

**Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo Inquiry
District**

Technical Research Scoping Report

HistoryWorks

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Introduction

The Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo Inquiry District extends from the Kaimanawa ranges in the north to the Taraketi block (near Rata) in the south, being bounded in the west by the Desert Road section of State Highway 1, and the Hautapu, Mangapapa, and Turakina rivers, and in the east by the Ruahine and Kaweka ranges. (See map on page 23)

The terms of reference for this project identified three key tasks:

- Identify relevant statements of claim for the Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo Inquiry District and conduct a claims analysis;
- Identify and review extant research relevant to claims in the district, and;
- Make recommendations as to the most effective and efficient way of organising technical research for the district inquiry

Related research assistance projects for the district include newspaper research, Crown and private land purchases research, Native/Maori Land Court minute books and block records research, and te reo Maori language sources research.

This scoping report has been structured in six sections, but these are not organised to directly reflect the project brief on a step by step basis (where, for instance, one section would deal with the statements of claim, the next would discuss existing research, the next would discuss further research required, and so on). Instead, the focus for Sections 2 to 5, as set out below, is on presenting the key historical issues and themes in a broad narrative, supplemented with any relevant detail that has been gleaned from existing research or readily available sources. This approach is in part because there is not a great deal to discuss in a stand-alone section when it comes to the existing published and unpublished research relating to the Taihape inquiry district, as there is so little relevant existing research. What is instead available is very useful existing research concerning areas adjacent to Taihape, some of which is relevant to Taihape historical issues. The existing research is thus discussed where it specifically relates to the various key historical themes and issues outlined in the broad historical narrative of sections 2 to 5.

Section 1 analyses the statements of claim relating to the Taihape inquiry district. These are not numerous and are not unduly detailed, although some contain useful block-specific and issue-specific detail that has proved helpful.

Section 2 briefly outlines some key aspects of the early history of the district leading up to the early colonial period. At this stage it should be observed that a major hindrance to the historical aspects of this scoping report (Sections 2 to 5) is the dearth of existing historical writing relating to the district, both in terms of published sources and unpublished research. A few matters have been addressed in research commissioned for adjacent inquiry districts, but not generally in great detail or in a way focused on the district itself.

Section 3 looks at early land dealings and settlement in the district. Existing research proved useful in relation to issues in the northwest of the district, at Rangipo-Waiu, and there are some useful and readily available sources illustrating some key issues in the south of the district (at Otamakapua) and in the north, (at Owahaoko and Kaimanawa). However, there are significant gaps for further research to address.

Section 4 considers twentieth century land issues, but with the notable exceptions of the Waiouru defence lands, there are again large research gaps to fill in future research. Some specific issues have been addressed in Chapter 4 (such as the Owahaoko gifted lands), and in most cases (such as the Utiku/Potaka Native township) these indicate the need for further research on these issues, as well as a range of broader research on twentieth century land issues.

Section 5 outlines the main environmental and natural resources issues apparent from the existing research and the sources examined to date. Only one significant issue, the Moawhango dam, has, by and large, been adequately addressed in the existing research.

Finally, Section 6 proposes some research recommendations to address the issues identified in this scoping report.

1. The Taihape District Claims

To date 22 claims have been identified that relate to the Taihape inquiry district, most of which were located in the statements of claim supplied by CFRT for the Wai 2180 and 2200 inquiries (Taihape and Porirua ki Manawatu districts). These are listed in the 'Statements of Claim' table appended to this Scoping Report.

The 'Statements of Claim' table does not include two Mohaka ki Ahuriri district claims that may include some interests in the northeast of the Taihape inquiry district; these being Wai 400 (Nga Hapu o Ahuriri) and Wai 1034 (Ngati Hineuru). The table also does not include Ngati Apa claims (including Wai 265, filed by George Matthews on behalf of Ngati Apa) that extend into southern Taihape district (mainly in the Paraekaretu, Rangatira, Otairi, and Ohaumoko blocks). This omission is based on the understanding that Ngati Apa claims have been included in a deed of settlement (currently awaiting settlement legislation).

Similarly, it is understood that Rangitane claims are under negotiation and have already been the subject of extensive research to this end. In any event, it is not evident at this stage that Rangitane interests in this district are very extensive, apparently being confined to the southeast.

It should also be noted that parts of the recommended research programme (such as the Tribal Landscape project) would, as a matter of course, need to identify any Ngati Apa and Rangitane interests in order to satisfy the requirements of the relevant research projects.

Most of the claims listed in the appended table have been filed on behalf of tribal groups, ranging from an individual hapu or iwi through to a cluster of several hapu and iwi groups. A few claims are filed on behalf of the descendants (or 'nga uri') of a named tipuna; such groups may or may not coincide with tribal groups that also share that tipuna.

For the purposes of this Scoping Report, the claims can be broadly viewed in three ways: by geographical grouping, by tribal affiliation, and by key claim issues.

Geographical Spread of Claims

Geographical clustering is a blunt instrument, although of course the inquiry district itself is a geographical construct. If the claims are organised in this way three main groupings emerge:

1. Claims taking in most or all of the Taihape district, or block-specific claims confined to the Taihape district – 10 (Wai 385, 581, 647, 662, 1639, 1705, 1835, 1868,¹ 1888, 2091);
2. Claims based in Hawke's Bay that take in eastern parts of the Taihape district – 5 (Wai 127, 263, 378, 382, 1425, although 127 and 1425 have been withdrawn from the Taihape Inquiry);
3. Claims largely confined to the Waiouru defence lands, mostly from tribal groups whose main claims lie to the north and west of Taihape – 7 (Wai 61, 151, 575, 588, 1260, 1262, 1263).

The exception in category 3, the Waiouru defence lands claims, is Wai 588, which is a Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupaka claim confined to the Taihape district, rather than being a claim made by iwi in adjacent districts. It should also be noted that Ngati Tuwharetoa's Wai 575 claim is also concerned with broader interests in Owahaoko, Oruamatua, and possibly other Taihape blocks.

This categorisation of the claims reveals the predominance of the 'core' Taihape claims, as well as the significance of a discrete set of claims involving the Waiouru defence lands (one of the most important potential settlement assets in the districts). The contested nature of lands along the eastern boundary is also apparent from the claims grouped in category 2. Some of these claims are confined to one or two key blocks (some of which are, at the time of drafting, awaiting a Tribunal determination as to their inclusion in the Taihape district), but others (such as Wai 127 – now withdrawn) extend along the entire eastern boundary of the district.

On the other hand, a weakness in this approach to the claims is that three of the claims in category 1 also take in the Waiouru defence lands (Wai 1639, 1795, 1835). In other words, any research work focused on the Waiouru defence lands would involve not only the claims specific to those lands but also broader district-wide claims.

¹ Given the current lack of detail on this claim it is not clear if it sits in category 1 or 2; several other Ngati Hinemanu claims are in category 2 but Wai 1868 is a Ngati Paki and Ngati Hinemanu claim and other Ngati Paki claims sit in category 1. Members of the Hoet whanau (the Wai 1868 named claimants) live in Taihape, further indicating a better fit with category 1.

Tribal Grouping of Claims

Grouping the claims by broad tribal affiliation gives somewhat similar results to the geographical categorisation: the eastern Taihape claims based in Hawke's Bay share a common tribal affiliation and those claims largely confined to the Taihape district also share some common affiliations. The claims made by those based in adjacent districts but whose claims include the Waiouru defence lands reflect the predominant affiliations in those districts. This results in the following grouping:

1. Ngati Hinemanu/Ngai Te Upokoiri (Hawke's Bay) – 5 (Wai 127, 263, 378, 382, 1425);
2. Ngati Hauiti – 3 (Wai 385, 581, 2091);
3. Mokai Patea grouping (Ngati Tamakopiri, Ngati Whitikaupeka, Ngati Paki, Ngati Hinemanu, Ngai Te Ohuake, Ngati Hauiti) – 8 (Wai 588, 647, 662, 1639, 1705, 1835, 1868, 1888);
4. Ngati Tuwharetoa – 4 (Wai 61, 575, 1260, 1262);²
5. Ngati Rangi – 2 (Wai 151, 1263).

This categorisation reflects that most of the claims specific to the Waiouru defence lands come from adjacent iwi whose interests overlap into the northern and north-western part of the Taihape district.

Some Ngati Hauiti claimants have been included amongst the Mokai Patea grouping of Taihape tribes, but not all. As a result the solely Ngati Hauiti claims remain as a distinct category here. There are also some distinct claims made by one or more of the tribes grouped together above as Mokai Patea, but for the purposes of categorising the claims by broader tribal affiliation, the term Mokai Patea is a useful term for the core Taihape claimant groups. As such, if the term Mokai Patea was taken to include Ngati Hauiti, this would account for all 11 of the claims confined to the Taihape district (as opposed to those that are predominantly located in adjacent districts but include parts of Taihape district). It might be noted that the

² For the purposes of this exercise Ngati Hikairo ki Tongariro and Ngati Waewae have been treated as affiliated to Ngati Tuwharetoa.

tribes of Mokai Patea, including Ngati Hauiti, have historically been seen as very closely connected.³

Other Iwi Claims

As regards overlapping interests in the south of the inquiry district, it is not apparent from the statements of claim that Rangitane claims extend into the south of the Taihape inquiry district to any significant extent. Nonetheless, Rangitane representatives did assert interests in Waitapu, Otamakapua, Mangoira, and Otumore blocks in the south of the district. These claims were opposed by those awarded title, and generally met with little success, but will need to be considered as part of any history of these blocks. In terms of customary tenure, some of Rangitane's historical claims raise referred to the interests of Ngati Tumokai hapu, who were included in some southern Taihape titles but not necessarily due to their Rangitane connections (they also being connected with Ngati Hauiti). The origins, extent, and nature of Ngati Tumokai interests are thus an issue requiring consideration.

Ngati Apa have claims into southern parts of the district but as their claims have now been settled they are not considered here. Their role in the history of the southern Taihape district and in land dealings in the area will need to be considered during research as a matter of course, but would not, of course, be the focus of any research. It should be noted that the area of interest specified in their deed of settlement extends up the Rangitikei River nearly as far as Ohingaiti, and up the Oroua River to north of Apiti. The settlement also includes the vesting of 'Waitapu'; a block of nearly 11 hectares lying between the Rangitikei River and Reu Reu Road, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Waitapu Stream.

Grouping of Claims by Key Issues

In terms of organising the claims, grouping them by key claim issues is less helpful, with one notable exception (the Waiouru defence lands). In most respects, as is evident from the appended table of the statements of claim, the key Treaty claim issues are broadly similar for many of the Taihape district claimant groups. Other than a few 'single issue' or block-specific claims (generally related to compulsory land acquisitions), the claims are not readily grouped by key claim issues. The issues shared by most of the broader-based Taihape claims include:

³ See, for instance, the statement to this effect by Utiku Potaka in the Native Land Court in the 1880s (Napier NLC MB 5, p.129, cited in Angela Ballara, 'Origins of Ngati Kahungunu', PhD, Victoria University, 1991, p.206).

- The ability of hapu and iwi to retain, maintain, and exercise te tino rangatiratanga;
- Loss of hapu and iwi authority to the Crown, Crown agencies, and local government;
- The ability of hapu and iwi to retain ownership and authority over their customary lands (with reference to the Native Land Court, land alienation, and Maori land administration);
- The compulsory acquisition of Maori land, especially Public Works takings;
- The ability of hapu and iwi to exercise kaitiakitanga over (and customary interests in) lands, forests, wahi tapu, and the environment generally, particularly with respect to waterways;

As currently put, the broader statements of claim do not provide a great deal of historical detail beyond these fairly generic issues, with the exception of the more focused claims to the Waiouru defence lands and a small number of exemplar blocks identified in some broader Taihape claims. This relative lack of detail (compared to other inquiry districts) reflects the extremely limited published history related to the Taihape district and the very limited claims-related research undertaken to date.

On the other hand, the current statements of claim do identify a range Native Land Court issues, land alienation, Public Works takings, and environmental management matters that will need to be reflected in the recommended Taihape research programme. As noted above, some claims also raise block-specific issues (such as those related to the Otumore and Taraketi blocks), which will need to be addressed (most probably as case studies) in a broader-based research programme. However, it is anticipated that any research programme will unearth a great deal of additional block-specific issues.

Specific waterways, and waterways-related environmental management issues (including the impact of the Tongariro Power Development project on the Moawhango River) are also raised in several claims.

As noted in the preceding paragraph the Waiouru defence lands are the notable exception when it comes to the utility of organising the claims by issues. These lands have already been the subject of a discrete scoping report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal and completed by Adam Heinz in December 2009. They are subject to claim by a range of hapu and iwi groups. As noted above, the claims of some of these groups are largely located outside the Taihape district but do include parts of the Waiouru defence lands. On the other hand, some of the claims to the defence lands are made by groups whose claims lie entirely

within the Taihape district but are concerned with far broader Taihape issues than simply the defence lands.

One claim that does not sit readily within any organisation of the claims (whether by issues or by geographical/tribal grouping) is Wai 2091, filed on behalf of Ngati Hauiti women and more particularly relating to what can be seen as far broader manawahine and health issues, especially mental health issues. To a considerable extent the issues raised in this claim are similar to those in Wai 1707, lodged in the Porirua ki Manawatu district in relation to the whanau, hapu, and iwi of Turakina Maori Girls' College. As stated, the claim is essentially a national generic claim rather than one specific to the Porirua ki Manawatu district. Suggestions for research to address these manawahine claims are discussed later in this scoping report.

2. The Early History of the Taihape Inquiry District

As with most other aspects of the history of the Taihape inquiry district, there is little in the existing literature (published or unpublished) concerning the pre-1840 history of the district. Instead, there are a handful of local histories that touch briefly on the pre-colonial Maori history of the district. These include works by local amateur ethnographer and historian, R. A. L. Batley of Moawhango,⁴ Isobel Clouston's amateur history of the Mokai valley,⁵ and Terry Steadman's brief contribution to one of the few histories of Taihape township.⁶ The sketchy nature of their coverage means these works are of limited use in relation to the issues outlined in this chapter (covering the pre-colonial Maori history and early post-colonial history of the district), but they are referred to briefly where appropriate.

The main existing sources that delve into some aspects of the early Maori history of the Taihape district – or at least the northern portion of the district – are those written by Dr Angela Ballara.⁷ Diana Morrow's report for the Crown, 'Iwi Interests in the Manawatu' (OTS, 2002) touches on a few blocks and iwi interests in the southern part of the Taihape district, but only on a fairly piecemeal, block-by-block basis that relies heavily on Native Land Court minutes with little broader context. This reflects its purpose, which was to help inform the Crown in its settlement negotiations with some Manawatu iwi; as such it is of marginal use for Taihape research, but (as noted on occasion below) does provide some useful information on a handful of Taihape blocks.

Ballara's 'tribal landscape' overview for the Central North Island inquiry districts includes more useful discussion of the Murimotu and Owahaoko area in the north of the Taihape district, which is relevant to other adjacent lands in the Taihape district. Her earlier published works, *Taua*, and *Iwi*, draw on her PhD thesis on Ngati Kahungunu and thus contain some useful discussion of the history and interests of some hapu of that iwi in the Taihape district,

⁴ R. A. L. Batley (comp.), *Moawhango Valley and School. A Short History of the Inland Patea*, Moawhango School Jubilee Committee, Taihape, 1958

⁵ Isobel Coulston, *Te Wairua o Ruapuke: a short history of Ruapuke Farm and the Mokai Valley, Taihape. The land and the people*, I. Coulston, Gisborne, 1995.

⁶ Terry Steadman, 'Te Awarua Riu o Puanga', in Denis Robertson, *1894–1994: "Give Me Taihape On a Saturday Night"*, Heritage Press, Waikanae, 1995, pp.15-18

⁷ Angela Ballara, *Iwi*, Victoria University Press, 1998; *Taua*, Penguin, Auckland, 2003, and; 'Tribal Landscape Overview, c.1800–c.1900 in the Taupo, Rotorua, Kaingaroa and National Park Inquiry Districts', CFRT, 2004.

as well as material relating to influential figures such as Renata Kawepo. As noted below, she also refers briefly to some of the fighting in the southern part of the district in the early nineteenth century, which is also useful. Her work is referred to extensively in this chapter, not so much because it is the last word on the subject, but because it is a useful ‘first word’ on the subject and provides some indication of the issues that will need to be traversed in subsequent research.

In relation to the interests of hapu and iwi with strong connections to the Heretaunga district, the first chapter of Dean Cowie’s overview report of the Hawke’s Bay district for the Waitangi Tribunal is also of some utility.⁸ However, as he admits, his introductory chapter on the hapu and iwi of Hawke’s Bay draws heavily on Ballara’s work on Ngati Kahungunu.⁹

Much of the existing literature on this period remains contested; hardly surprising when a key source for much of it is early Native Land Court (‘NLC’) minutes relating to land in and around the inquiry districts. The often protracted contesting of titles in the Taihape district led some judges of the NLC to criticise what they saw as the contradictory and inconsistent evidence put before them. Whatever the accuracy of these views (or their motivations), they do raise the need for any research into customary tenure in the district to not be overly reliant on NLC minutes and, more particularly, to ensure that a range of minutes are consulted rather than simply a few ‘big’ or supposedly determinative cases.¹⁰ Considering a wider range of cases will enable a wider range of evidence to be canvassed.

NLC minutes often have as much to do with the motives of, and relationships among, those contesting title as they do with recording some sort of fixed and ‘true’ history of customary rights. For instance, Paramena Te Naonao admitted that, in an earlier hearing, he had said that Ngati Whitikaupeka had no claim to Mangaohane (he having located them to the west, between the Rangitikei and Hautapu rivers), this was because, “I was then opposed to N’Whiti.” At that earlier hearing, Ngati Whitikaupeka had opposed Paramena and Renata, so the iwi was in turn opposed by the two men, “and therefore I made that statement. It is not false but we were opposed to each other, but peace has now been made.”¹¹ That is, he no longer opposed Ngati Whiti at Mangaohane, as the breach in their relationship had been mended. Rather than being read as a fixed historical truth, NLC minutes need to be

⁸ Cowie, Dean, *Rangahaua Whanui District 11B, Hawke’s Bay*, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1996, Chapter 1.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ On these and other limitations of the NLC minutes, see Angela Ballara, *Iwi*, Victoria University Press, 1998, pp.43-51.

¹¹ Cited in Ballara (1998), p.47.

interpreted as a statement of position in a particular cultural and temporal context; another forum in which customary relationships and changing resource rights were played out.

The NLC, and some observers, tended to adopt a rather more culturally specific view of what were seen as contradictions in evidence, or as they saw it, outright lies. Expert kaiwhakahaere such as Captain Blake would comb earlier minutes for supposed inconsistencies and confront rangatira with them on the stand. Their responses were sometimes recorded as “gives no intelligible answer,” or “witness refuses to answer the question and practically defies the Court.” As regards Paramena Te Naonao, quoted above, the notorious Airini Donnelly once scornfully pronounced of him that “he was a most unreliable witness.”¹² He was certainly one of many among Mokai Patea who opposed the claims she made into the district from her Heretaunga base.

Other influences on the NLC title process include (as set out in later sections of this report) Crown and private pre-title land dealings (not least those entered into by Airini Donnelly in the area from Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, eastwards across Owahaoko and Mangaohane). The differing attitudes of the various early NLC judges also played a part in influencing how Maori presented their cases. The NLC preferred simple, final, and ‘clean’ concepts such as conquest or extermination, and constructed histories that emphasised successive and separate waves of conquest in which the conquered were either extirpated or permanently driven out of the district. The Court’s view was of a hierarchical structure of iwi, hapu, and whanau, and of battles, victories, and exclusive rights. The customary importance of peace-making and strategic marriage alliances in cementing the rights of new arrivals who had proved victorious in battle was a more subtle and complex reality that did not suit the NLC judges. For instance, in the Owahaoko case, Judge J. A. Wilson could not accept that the mana over a defined rohe could be held by more than one ‘tribe’ at a time. For him, traditional history consisted of one tribe ‘destroying’ or driving out another, not co-existing for a time, or forming alliances that evolved over time. The idea of tribes coming into and passing out of existence as a result of shifting webs of whakapapa was also outside the bounds of such rigid thinking.¹³ In the case of Owahaoko, Wilson’s judgment was overturned at a subsequent re-hearing (not, of course, for reasons related to the NLC’s approach to customary tenure).

¹² Cited in Isobel Coulston, *Te Wairua o Ruapuke: a short history of Ruapuke Farm and the Mokai Valley, Taihape. The land and the people*, I. Coulston, Gisborne, 1995, p.16.

¹³ Naper NLC MB No. 13, pp.97-114, 1 July 1887. See also Ballara, *Taua*, Penguin, Auckland, 2003, p.90.

The northern and central part of the district – the high country lying between the Ruahine and Kaimanawa ranges – was known in the colonial period as ‘Inland Patea’ (named for the Waimarama man, Patea, who fled there and took shelter for a time between the Moawhango and Rangitikei rivers). South of about Taihape, the district has, in the historical period, become more generally known as central and upper (or northern) Rangitikei. Many of the district’s Maori inhabitants referred to most of the area covered by the Taihape inquiry district as Mokai Patea; a name that has more latterly been revived.¹⁴

As noted in the previous section, nearly all of the claims of the Mokai Patea people lie entirely, or almost entirely, within the Taihape district, and cover effectively the entire district. The active marae and kainga within the district are primarily those of the Mokai Patea tribes. Nonetheless, other tribal groups – most of whose lands lie in adjacent districts – do have claims to parts of the district. These groups include those that can, for the purposes of this scoping report, be broadly grouped as Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Kahungunu, and Ngati Rangi. Many of these claims are confined to fairly distinct portions of the Taihape inquiry district.

The Ngati Kahungunu claims concern blocks in the east of the district, such as Timahanga, Te Koau, Mangaohane, and parts of Owahaoko. Historically, groups and individuals associated with Ngati Kahungunu contested these lands with the peoples of Mokai Patea, and in some instances their claims in the NLC and involvement in Crown and private land dealings were successful. The influential Ngati Kahungunu leader Renata Kawepo also asserted rights in other Taihape district lands, notably Waitapu and Otamakapua. As noted later in this report there are customary reasons for his claims in the south of the district, but they were claims that were made more on the basis of his connections to Mokai Patea tribes than on the basis of any acknowledged Ngati Kahungunu claim to those lands. As such, these southern Taihape lands do not appear to be subject to the claims today made by those representing Ngati Kahungunu interests.

Ngati Rangi claims are focused on the northwest of the Taihape inquiry district, principally the Waiouru defence lands, but are likely to include other public works takings (especially for railways and roads) and environmental issues related to the land in the vicinity of Waiouru and the Hautapu river.

¹⁴ It is also the name of a place east of the Rangitikei river, near Te Awarua kainga.

At first glance, Ngati Tuwharetoa claims (here including Ngati Waewae and Ngati Hikairo ki Tongariro) might also be thought to be confined to the north of the district, taking in the Waiouru defence lands. However, Ngati Tuwharetoa have historically asserted claims to northern parts of Owhaoko and have been involved in Rangipo and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa lands around Moawhango. As set out below, they also have connections to Ngati Tama in this area. At the southern end of the Taihape district, some Ngati Tuwharetoa groups (notably Ngati Waewae) have long been established at Te Reureu (just outside the inquiry district) and more generally in the vicinity of Bulls and Tokorangi. Some of these southern Ngati Tuwharetoa communities were placed there in the 1840s to prevent the further advance of land dealings inland towards Ngati Tuwharetoa territory. This is reflected in the whakatauki: “Ko te tomokanga o te iwi ki te tonga, ki Tokorangi” (‘the gateway to Tuwharetoa in the south is at Tokorangi’). This gateway is outside the Taihape inquiry district, but its presence near the southern boundary, combined with the existence of Ngati Tuwharetoa claims in the north of the district, raises questions as to the extent of any claims to the land in between. At this scoping stage it can only be said that these claims are not apparent in current statements of claim nor in the evidence considered to date.

There are close relationships between several tribal groups within Mokai Patea and with neighbouring iwi, particularly with Ngati Tuwharetoa or with Ngati Kahungunu (connections with Ngati Rangi have not been explored to the same extent in the existing literature). Many of the Mokai Patea people assert a principal line of descent from the *Takitimu* waka through Tamatea-Pokaiwhenua (Tamatea the land explorer). True to his name, Tamatea explored Mokai Patea, meeting the district’s earliest inhabitants, Ngati Hotu, and naming many places. He was accompanied for part of his journey by one of his sons, Kahungunu, after they met at a stream that was named Waitutaki to acknowledge their meeting (Kahungunu having said “i tutaki raua ki reira”). Kahungunu soon returned to Heretaunga, travelling down the Ngaruroro river, a journey that led to another place name when he sat on a large rock at the junction with the Taruarau river looking for fish (upokororo): the rock was named Te Upoko o Kahungunu. Tamatea continued on, leaving mokai (‘pets’) at various places to remain as guardians of the land that his descendants were to occupy. These places remain significant sites. For instance, a koura was placed beneath Papakore waterfall at the junction of Tikirere stream with the Moawhango river. One mokai, Tamatea’s lizard Pohokura, escaped at the junction of the Taruarau and Ikawetea rivers (a site of significance to Mokai Patea tribes), lending its name

to the land in the vicinity. By some accounts Pohokura resided on Aorangi, which remains an important maunga for Mokai Patea.¹⁵

Although Tamatea was the father of Kahungunu, and some groups among Mokai Patea have many connections to the tribes of Ngati Kahungunu, only some among them descend from Kahungunu. Many are descended from other children of Tamatea, including Tamakopiri (the tipuna of Ngati Tamakopiri), and Ruaehu (a brother of Tamakopiri and Kahungunu and a tipuna of Ngati Hauiti and Ngati Whitikaupeka). According to Ballara, in some tribal traditions the mother of Tamakopiri and Ruaehu is Kahukare, whereas Kahungunu is the son of Iwipupu, another wife of Tamatea.¹⁶ Mokai Patea tribes dispute this view, as whakapapa not consulted by Ballara establishes that Taanewhare is the mother of Tamakopiri. Other Mokai Patea tribes such as Ngati Ohuake, Ngai Te Upokoiri, and Ngati Hinemanu are in part descended from Kahungunu (see below). The importance and relevance of the various wives of Tamatea, and of Tamatea's children, to the Mokai Patea district are matters requiring careful attention and close consultation with tangata whenua who hold knowledge of such whakapapa.

Following Tamatea's exploration of the district, his son Tamakopiri and grandson Tawharekaperei subsequently settled in the area, initially fighting with Ngati Hotu, the land's earlier occupiers who were encountered at Kuripapango and defeated in a series of battles that extended to the Moawhango river. A peace was eventually forged, under which Ngati Hotu moved west of Moawhango and Tamakopiri's people, who became Ngati Tamakopiri, occupied the land they had conquered.

Ngati Hotu are not the only early people of significance to Mokai Patea. Cowie's report on Hawke's Bay emphasises the importance of "ancient" peoples such as Ngati Hotu in the formation of Ngati Kahungunu hapu and iwi, which obviously also drew on the descendants of Kahungunu and other later arrivals, who Cowie distinguishes as the "migrant" peoples. It was the contesting between and (in many cases) the eventual combination of, these ancient and migrant peoples that led to the emergence of the hapu and iwi comprising Ngati Kahungunu. One of the 'ancient' peoples identified by Cowie that is relevant to some of the Mokai Patea tribal groups (those with strong ties to Ngati Kahungunu) is Ngati Whatumamoā. He links Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu with not only Omahu on the Heretaunga plains but also with Mokai Patea, and notes that while they descended in part from

¹⁵ Terry Steadman, 'Te Awarua Riu o Puanga', in Denis Robertson, 1894–1994: *"Give Me Taihape On a Saturday Night"*, Heritage Press, Waikanae, 1995, pp.15-18.

¹⁶ See, for instance, Ballara (1998), p.166.

Kahungunu and had connections with Ngati Whatuiapiti, they also descended from Whatumamoa, not to mention Whitikaupeka¹⁷ (the latter being a key tipuna for Mokai Patea).

During the early phase of the settlement of Mokai Patea by Tamatea's descendants, tribal names such as Ngati Tamatea, Ngati Kahukare (often written as Kahukore), and Ngati Ruaehu were in use, but by the nineteenth century these were no longer functioning groups. Ngati Tamakopiri was one of the few of these early groups that endured, although by 1840 it had been through significant changes (see below). Sometime after arrival of Tamakopiri, Tamatea's descendants entirely expelled Ngati Hotu from the district. These descendants included Hauiti, from whom sprang Ngati Hauiti. In turn, Hauiti's granddaughter, Toroiro, married a son of Whitikaupeka, from whom came Ngati Whitikaupeka.

On a line of descent from Tamatea that included Kahungunu was the tipuna Ohuake, who is said to have been involved in the defeat of Ngati Hotu. However, as Cowie has noted, other ancient peoples, notably Ngati Whatumamoa, are also important. For instance, Anaru Wanikau, related to the famed early nineteenth century tipuna Te Wanikau (or Te Wanikau-nui¹⁸) of Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu, noted in the Owhaoko hearing in 1888 that a key source of mana o te whenua there was from Te Ohuake's wife, "Nukuteaio" and this mana came from Whatumamoa.¹⁹ For a time, Ohuake's descendants were known as Ngati Ohuake and although Angela Ballara has expressed the view that this tribal name soon died out,²⁰ it has long been kept alive amongst Mokai Patea. Ngati Paki descend in part from Ngati Ohuake (while also having strong ties with Ngati Hinemanu). In addition, Whitikaupeka married a granddaughter of Ohuake, and their descendants became known as Ngati Whitikaupeka.

Ngati Hinemanu emerged from these lines of descent, as it was Whitikaupeka's grandson, Tautahi, who married Hinemanu, and amongst their descendants are Ngati Hinemanu. Again, Hinemanu and Tautahi could also trace descent from Whatumamoa, ensuring that they and their descendants acquired rights from what Cowie calls the 'ancient' and the 'migrant' people. Hinemanu was a daughter of Punakiao (sometimes written as Punakiteao), who was not only sister to Whitikaupeka's wife but who had also married Taraia II, a key leader among the descendants of Kahungunu who occupied the Heretaunga district (southern Hawke's Bay). This brings in strong lines of descent from Kahungunu and from those who

¹⁷ Cowie, Chapter 1.2.2 and 1.2.5.

¹⁸ Hogan, p.166.

¹⁹ Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu', PhD, Victoria University of Wellington, 1991, p.139.

²⁰ Ballara (1998), p.166.

came to be known as Ngati Kahungunu in Hawke's Bay. At the same time, Hinemanu's marriage to Tautahi and her connections to earlier Mokai Patea tipuna emphasise the extent to which Ngati Hinemanu in the Patea district were a Mokai Patea tribe. However, others of Ngati Hinemanu also settled in Heretaunga, and are still active there. In turn Hinemanu's siblings, Mahuika and Honomokai, became important tipuna in the tribes that led to the emergence of Ngai Te Upokoiri from the Heretaunga district, where they had ties to Whatuiapiti. They played a significant role in the history of the Heretaunga district in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but also became an important Mokai Patea tribe through marriages and strategic alliances.

In the north of Mokai Patea, Ngati Tuwharetoa connections extend back to the early Maori settlement of the district. Kurapoto (tipuna of Ngati Kurapoto) and his descendant Maruwahine (tipuna of Ngati Maruwahine) inhabited the area around the upper Mohaka river and Kaimanawa, touching on the north of the Taihape inquiry district. Kurapoto descends from *Te Arawa* waka, and Maruwahine is an important tipuna for Ngati Tuwharetoa. Many generations later, Ngati Tuwharetoa groups who had moved west into the southern Taupo area, around Rotoaira, developed close associations with some Mokai Patea tribes.²¹

The comparatively bald summary given above is, in some respects, but the beginning of the story of Mokai Patea, which thereafter can appear increasingly complex. Nonetheless, the earlier tribes such as Ngati Tamakopiri, Ngati Whitikaupeka, Ngati Hinemanu, Ngati Paki, and Ngati Hauiti maintained their presence across much of the district. Ngati Tamakopiri settled in the northwest of Mokai Patea, and Ngati Whitikaupeka in the northeast. By some accounts, Moawhango formed a boundary between them, but by others it was the Hautapu stream.²² Elsewhere, Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki settled in the far northeast of the district. To the south, the central Rangitikei valley was settled by Ngati Hauiti (later bringing them into extensive conflict with Ngati Apa). To a significant extent, the interests of these Mokai Patea groups met in the enormous Awarua block, in the heart of the Taihape district.

The tenurial situation in Mokai Patea was, as in many parts of the country, in flux in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; a period of upheaval marked by prolonged fighting and large movements of tribal populations. The centrality of Mokai Patea, and the geography of the Rangitikei River basin, made the district something of a battleground as numerous

²¹ Ballara (1998), pp.167-8.

²² Te Haupaimarire evidence in Rangipo Waiu case, Taupo MLC MB 2, pp.170-171, cited in Angela Ballara, 'Tribal Landscape Overview, c.1800–c.1900 in the Taupo, Rotorua, Kaingaroa and National Park Inquiry Districts', CFRT, 2004, p.152.

large taua traversed the district to engage in the fighting that ravaged not only Mokai Patea but also Heretaunga and the entire lower North Island. From the north, Ngati Raukawa (armed with muskets) moved south through Mokai Patea, looking to establish new homes in the Manawatu and Kapiti district. From the west came Whanganui iwi, seeking to battle Ngati Kahungunu. Some among Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa also took the fight to Heretaunga. Meanwhile, to the south, Ngati Apa (already dealing with Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa migration as well as fearsome Ngapuhi taua) continued a long-running conflict with Ngati Hauiti. No matter where the fighting was, it inevitably seemed to involve Mokai Patea, compelling the tribes to, variously, fight, seek alliances, and take refuge in order to survive this turbulent period.

The extensive conflict in the northern part of Mokai Patea has recently seen the area from Rotoaira to Moawhango to Murimotu being dubbed a 'Bermuda Triangle' of conflict; a long-term flash-point where the interests of the tribes of the Whanganui, Taupo, Heretaunga, and Mokai Patea met and they competed for mana and resources. Unlike the Caribbean original, those who venture into this Bermuda triangle do not vanish: the conflict there was destructive and could not continue unchecked, so it was also an area where alliances were formed, strategic marriages arranged, and peace was made.²³ For Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri in particular, the forging of a relationship with Ngati Tuwharetoa at Rotoaira proved to be important. The capture of the Ngati Tuwharetoa wahine rangatira Ripoarangi by Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka prompted retaliation by Ngati Tuwharetoa, but the marriage of Ripoarangi to Tamakaitangi (a descendant of Tamakopiri) helped resolve the conflict. Their children were raised at Rotoaira, and later – during the prolonged conflict in the 'Bermuda Triangle' – some Ngati Tama and Ngati Whiti were given shelter there.²⁴

The situation at Rotoaira gave rise to the emergence of another hapu dubbed Ngati Tama; being those descended from Tamakaitangi. To add to the mix, another group called Ngati Tama (also descended from Tamakopiri) emerged, being descendants of Tamakaurangi (grandfather of Tamakaitangi). This later tended to lead to confusion in the NLC when Ngati Tama were referred to in relation to lands in this area, as there were three groups bearing that name.²⁵ Notwithstanding such connections to Rotoaira, many of the Ngati Tama and Mokai Patea people there fled after the fall of Motu o Puhī pa (in 1828 or 1829), some finding sanctuary with their whanaunga in the upper Rangitikei district (including at Kaiinanga).

²³ Ballara (2004), pp.155-6.

²⁴ Ballara (2004), p.154.

²⁵ Ballara (1998), p.166.

Meanwhile, in the east of Mokai Patea developments occurred that led to some observers later viewing a portion of the Mokai Patea tribes as part of Ngati Kahungunu. This may in part be due to the extensive interests later asserted by individuals typically seen only as Ngati Kahungunu, such as Renata Kawepo and Airini Donnelly. However, Ngai Te Upokoiri of Mokai Patea had connections to Heretaunga and in the late eighteenth century increasingly asserted land interests there. To retain and enhance those interests, they looked to recruit allies, not only within Mokai Patea but also among Ngati Tuwharetoa and further afield. Hawke's Bay became the focus of attacks by large forces comprising numerous tribes, and this continued when subsequent waves of musket-bearing taua bore down on the district.²⁶ The lengthy siege of Roto-a-Tara led to the capture of Renata Kawepo, who was taken north to the Bay of Islands, where he converted to Christianity. When eventually freed by his captors, becoming one of Reverend William Colenso's lay teachers when he returned to Heretaunga and Mokai Patea in the early 1840s.²⁷

While Renata was absent, many Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu were forced to withdraw from Heretaunga (much of Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa being largely abandoned during the 1830s), and lived with Mokai Patea whanaunga on the Awarua and Mangaohane blocks. Te Wanikau was an important leader of Ngai Te Upokoiri in this period who, in the 1830s, led his people out of the district to seek refuge with Ngati Raukawa, they having moved to the Manawatu. Te Wanikau himself moved again to Kapiti, living with Te Rauparaha, and did not return to Ngai Te Upokoiri lands, but some of his people settled in the Manawatu, including near the southern reaches of the Taihape inquiry district. Renata's role in leading this community home to their Mokai Patea and Heretaunga lands is considered below, for that is getting a bit ahead of events.

Central and upper Rangitikei became a focus of conflict in the 1830s, particularly fighting between Ngati Apa and Ngati Hauiti. Contesting between Ngati Apa and Mokai Patea had begun even before that; the great battle of Potaka in the early nineteenth century involved an attack on a relatively small force of Mokai Patea tribes (primarily Ngati Hauiti, Ngai Te Ohuake, and Ngati Hinemanu) by a combined Ngati Apa and Whanganui force. It was only the arrival of reinforcements from Heretaunga that enabled Mokai Patea to hold off the attackers. According to Utiku Potaka, it was the intention of the attackers to conquer all of

²⁶ Ballara (1998), pp.237-8).

²⁷ Parsons, Patrick, and Angela Ballara, 'Kawepo, Renata Tama-ki-Hiurangi, ?-1888', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Mokai Patea and if not for the arrival of aid from Heretaunga, Ngati Apa and Whanganui would have succeeded.²⁸

At the start of the turbulent decade of the 1830s, there was also an important conflict further inland, at Kaiinanga on the upper Rangitikei. Among the Ngati Tama from Rotoaira sheltering there was the rangatira Pikirangi. When a son of his died (a brother to Hepiri Pikirangi, a leading Ngati Tama figure in the latter nineteenth century) at Otara (near Ohingaiti) the Ngati Hauiti and Ngati Tumokai tohunga Te Hiakai was responsible for preserving the head. He breached tapu while doing so, provoking a Ngati Tama attack.²⁹ En route to this attack (which some Ngati Whiti and Ngai Te Ohuake joined), Ngati Tama killed Te Porae (or Porai), a friend of Te Hiakai who was of Ngati Hauiti and Ngati Tumokai, but who was also closely related to Ngati Apa.

Ngati Apa responded to the killing of Te Porae by attacking the Mokai Patea people at Kaiinanga kainga and the nearby Te Hue pa. Those at Te Hue included Ngati Whiti, Ngati Hinemanu, Ngai Te Ohuake, and some Ngati Hauiti (although others of Ngati Hauiti were with the Ngati Apa taua), but Kaiinanga was primarily occupied by Ngati Tama. Te Hue was successfully defended, but Kaiinanga was a mere kainga, not a defensible position, and Ngati Tama were heavily defeated there, the survivors fleeing to Taupo.³⁰ The attack on Ngati Tama provoked a response from their Ngati Tuwharetoa kin, who were in any case then planning a journey to the Manawatu with Ngati Raukawa (who later permanently migrated there). Amongst the taua that sought out Ngati Apa were Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Raukawa, Ngai Te Upokoiri, Ngati Tama, and Ngati Whiti. A few Ngati Apa were killed, but most had fled before the taua. Facing conflicts with the newly arrived Ngati Raukawa and others, Ngati Apa later ceased their fighting with Ngati Hauiti.

The situation by the 1840s was that the Mokai Patea tribes had successfully retained a great deal of their lands in the Taihape inquiry district. In part this was due to their ability to withstand attack during the turbulent decades prior to 1840, but to some extent their success was also due to their extensive connections to neighbouring tribes, and the alliances their leaders had been able to forge. In the wake of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, officials came to see such

²⁸ Evidence of Utiku Potaka in Mangaohane case. Napier NLC MB No. 9a, p.81. Cited in Ballara (2004) p.159.

²⁹ In the Mokai Patea account given by Retimana Te Rango (Napier NLC MB No. 5, pp.211-7), the tohunga, Te Hiakai, defiled tapu by using his hands while eating, before the ritual of pakipaki (preserving the head) was complete. In Hepiri Pikirangi's account, it was the hands of Pikirangi's son that were being 'embalmed' (rather than his head) (Ballara, 2004, pp.157-8).

³⁰ Ballara (2004), pp.157-8.

alliances less as a necessary strategy and more as a sign of weakness. In their eyes, Mokai Patea tribes were not simply allied or linked to neighbouring iwi, but largely subsumed by them. It is this sort of thinking that led to various Mokai Patea tribes being perceived to be part of Ngati Kahungunu, part of Ngati Tuwharetoa, or even (in the south) as part of Ngati Apa. For instance, a crude map drafted in the late 1860s that purported to show tribal boundaries divided Mokai Patea between Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Apa, with the northeast portion allotted to Ngati Kahungunu.³¹

The length of time that some among Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka sheltered at Rotoaira, and the connections that developed between them and the Ngati Tuwharetoa people there, played a part in them later being considered by some observers in the colonial period to be a part of Ngati Tuwharetoa. Their presence with Ngati Tuwharetoa in the area from Rotoaira down to Murimotu did little to clarify the picture. Official observers in the colonial period perceived Ngati Tamakopiri (or Ngati Tama as they called them) as a hapu of Ngati Tuwharetoa. Yet at the very same time, other officials would refer to Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka as hapu of Ngati Kahungunu.³² Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka do have long-standing and close connections with Ngati Tuwharetoa at Rotoaira, but do not perceive themselves as part of that tribe. Nor do they see themselves as part of any Ngati Kahungunu confederation to the east, pointing to their descent from Tamatea rather than from Kahungunu.

Such were the connections between these two Mokai Patea tribes that they were sometimes referred to as a singled combined tribe: Ngati Tamawhiti or Ngati Whititama.³³ In the 1880s, the Ngati Tamakopiri rangatira, Te Haupaimarire, could state that “Ngatitama are Ngatiwhiti, and N’Whiti are N’Tama. The people are now mixed and their lands are now mixed also.”³⁴ That may have been the case in the lands to which he referred (Rangipo Waiu), but it does not follow that this is the case with all Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka lands. As with so many statements in the NLC, context is critical. An example from the south of the district will suffice to illustrate this point: when Rakera Hunia asserted rights in Otamakapua 1 (near Ohingaiti) in the late nineteenth century, this might be assumed to imply a Ngati Apa claim (through her father, the Ngati Apa leader Kawana Hunia). However, Rakera (who had

³¹ AJHR, 1870, D-23.

³² AJHR, 1881, G-3, p.18 and p.24.

³³ See, for instance, Ballara (2004), p.148. ‘Ngati Whititama’ was still in use in the mid-twentieth century as the name of a local women’s hockey team (R. A. L. Batley (comp.), *Moawhango Valley and School. A Short History of the Inland Patea*, Moawhango School Jubilee Committee, Taihape, 1958, p.8).

³⁴ Rangipo Waiu evidence, Taupo NLC MB 2, pp.170-171, cited in Ballara (2004), p.152.

formerly been married to Utiku Potaka) had connections to other tribes through her mother (Reta [or Ruta] Ngapapa): as she told the NLC: “I am of Hauiti, Whiti, Upokoiri, Mokai [Patea], and Apa. I am sometimes called Ngati Hauiti. I am in Taraketi as Upokoiri.”³⁵ Similarly, Wirihana Hunia and Warena Hunia (the sons of Kawana Hunia) were included by Ngati Hauiti in the title to Mangoira, not because Ngati Hauiti acknowledged Ngati Apa’s claim but because the mother of Wirihana and Warena was Reta (or Ruta) Ngapapa, of Ngati Hauiti and Ngai Te Upokoiri.³⁶

To some extent, the erroneous conflation of some Mokai Patea tribes with Ngati Kahungunu developed in the colonial period, during which such generalised tribal groupings were often preferred by colonial officials and observers. This was also a time that saw the emergence of the strong Ngati Kahungunu leader Renata Kawepo, who had connections to Mokai Patea people. He also played a key role in the local campaigns of the New Zealand Wars, and was subsequently heavily involved in land management and Native Land Court matters across much of Mokai Patea. Indeed, according to his supporters, Kawepo was appointed in the 1850s by his Ngati Kahungunu people (presumably those in Hawke’s Bay) to be a protector of their lands in the district, and extending west to Murimotu (in the National Park inquiry district).³⁷ That did not necessarily mean the Taihape people saw him as having significant rights to their land; rather, he was included in titles or land dealings because, as Ihakara Te Raro said, “he knew how to deal with Europeans,” and was connected to Pakeha then perceived as “good advisers” (including George Donnelly, who was soon out of favour with not only Ihakara but also Renata).³⁸

Kawepo’s role in the Taihape district in later years (in the Native Land Court and in land transactions) was not without controversy but for his part, Renata did not always assert a simplistic Ngati Kahungunu claim. At Otamakapua, for instance, his attempt to assert a leading role in the sale of that enormous block to the Crown was based on his personal connections to Ngati Hinemanu (that is, Ngati Hinemanu of Mokai Patea), rather than a general tribal claim on behalf of his Hawke’s Bay people (also Ngati Hinemanu, as well as Ngai Te Upokoiri).³⁹ At the same time, the preference of officials and forums such as the NLC for broad iwi definitions was such that it was sometimes adopted by Mokai Patea

³⁵ Whanganui NLC MB 21, p.384.

³⁶ Whanganui NLC MB No. 2, pp.44-60.

³⁷ Ballara (2004), p.150, and; Parsons, Patrick, and Angela Ballara, ‘Kawepo, Renata Tama-ki-Hiurangi, ?–1888’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

³⁸ Ihakara Te Raro evidence, Oruamatua Kaimanawa subdivision, 1885. Napier NLC MB 11, p.33. See also Retimana Te Rango’s evidence, op cit, p.41.

³⁹ See Otamakapua special file, MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

leaders. In 1877, Utiku Potaka, making a claim to Mangoira on behalf of Ngati Hauiti, described them as being “of Ngati Kahungunu.”⁴⁰

Within the NLC environment, Renata Kawepo was just as capable of fitting the claims he led within broader iwi groupings. When Oruamatua Kaimanawa was first investigated in 1875, he referred to belonging to “the Ngati Te Upokoiri and Ngati Whiti hapu,” adding: “These are hapu of the Ngati Kahungunu tribe.”⁴¹ Renata’s whakapapa connected him to Ngati Whiti but from their perspective that did not make them Ngati Kahungunu, nor did it give him the right to arrange the title to their land in the Native Land Court (something that became clear when the title was further considered in 1885).

Other important figures in this much contested triangle of lands (from Murimotu to Rotoaira and Moawhango) have strong connections to neighbouring tribes, as well as within Mokai Patea. These rangatira include some (such as Heperi Pikirangi) of Ngati Tama (although he was also an important figure in southern Taupo) or Te Herekieke (who lived with his Mokai Patea kin at Turangarere but was also a leading figure amongst his southern Taupo people), while others (such as Topia Turoa, whose mother was connected to Ngati Tamakopiri) have more usually been associated with upper Whanganui iwi. Leaders also emerged within Mokai Patea who were more emphatically identified as Ngati Tama, such as Te Hiraka Te Rango and Retimana Te Rango.

The Early Colonial Period

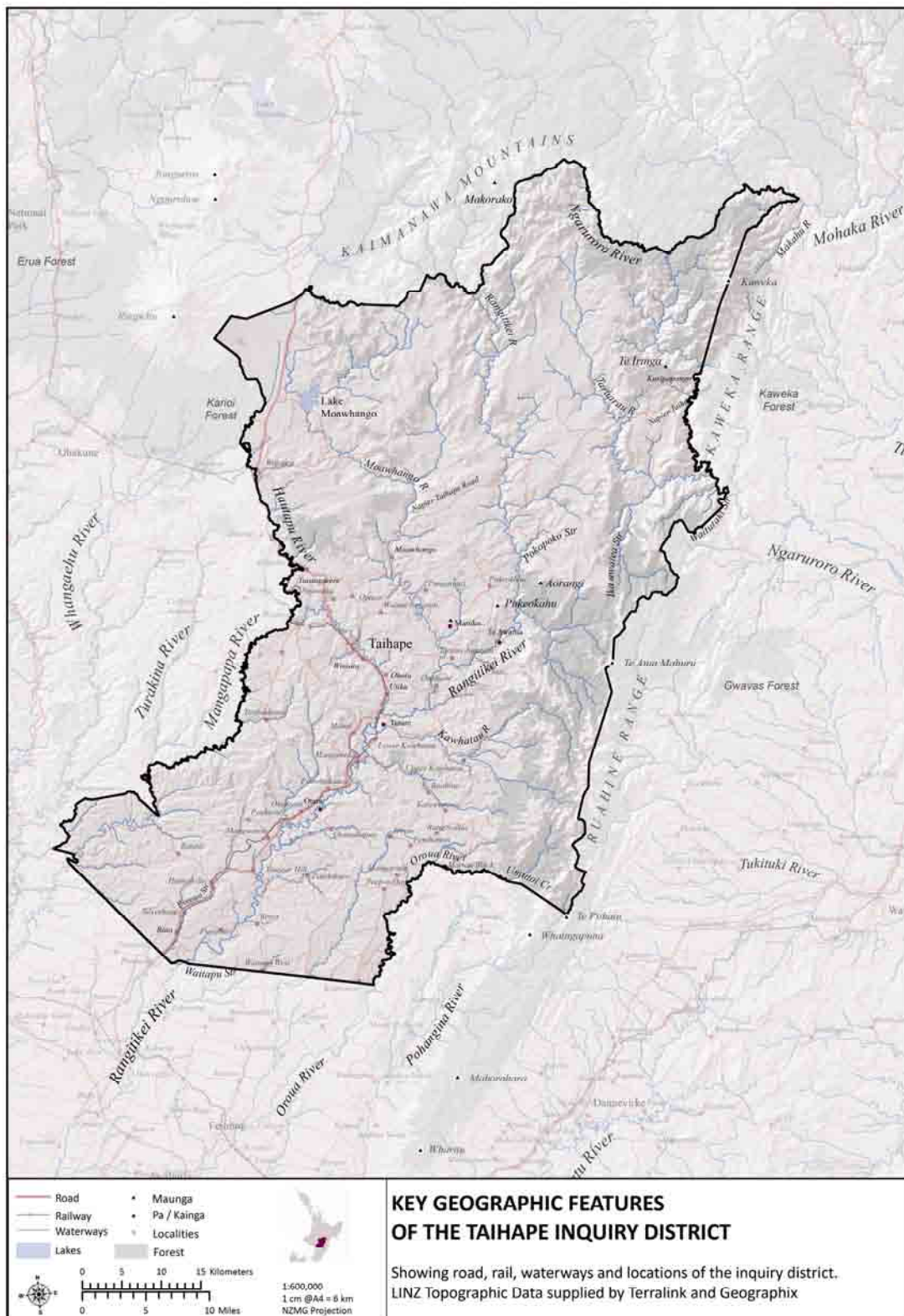
The comparatively settled situation prevailing in the Taihape district by about 1840 was largely unaffected by the arrival of the Crown and the limited settler presence to the south of the district. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed at various places outside Mokai Patea (notably at Whanganui, Kapiti, and Ahuriri), but it was not brought to Mokai Patea nor does it appear that any leaders from within the district signed the Treaty elsewhere. Paramena Te Naonao testified in 1885 that some among Ngai Te Upokoiri living at Kapiti in 1840 signed the Treaty there.⁴² If so, it is not yet apparent who they were for none of the signatories there have been identified as Ngai Te Upokoiri.⁴³

⁴⁰ Wanganui NLC MB No. 2, p.44.

⁴¹ Oruamatua Kaimanawa title investigation, 1875, Napier NLC MB 4, p.3.

⁴² Napier NLC MB No. 11, p.14 (Oruamatua-Kaimanawa case, 1885).

⁴³ This matter may repay further research: there are several Kapiti signatories whose identity is little known who could possibly be of Ngai Te Upokoiri (see Miria Simpson, *Nga tohu o te Tiriti: making a mark*, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, 1990).



Map 1: Key Geographic Features of the Taihape Inquiry District

Of greater import locally was the return of Renata Kawepo from captivity in the Bay of Islands and his role as a Christian teacher. He visited his Ngai Te Upokoiri people in the Manawatu in 1843 and subsequently took many of them back to their homes in Mokai Patea and Heretaunga (subsequently basing himself at Omahu).

In terms of sources relevant to this period, Renata Kawepo's 1843 visit is described in some detail, along with information about his life, whanaunga, and whakapapa, in Helen Hogan's transcribed and translated account of Renata's journey through the North Island with Reverend William Colenso.⁴⁴ Colenso was based in the Heretaunga district from 1844, but made numerous journeys through Mokai Patea through to 1855, so his journals from this period will prove a useful source in relation to the location and lives of Mokai Patea Maori at this time. Typically for the time, the path over the ranges from Heretaunga to Mokai Patea that Colenso was shown by Maori became known as 'Colenso's trail', even though it had long been in use by resident Maori. There is much relevant information from the journals in the rigorous biography of Colenso written by Bagnall and Petersen (referred to below),⁴⁵ but the journals themselves will also be a vital source.⁴⁶ Another early missionary was Richard Taylor, based in Whanganui but who travelled extensively up the Whanganui River and into parts of Mokai Patea. His early journals will also be a useful source for this period (as noted below).⁴⁷ One early visitor to Mokai Patea whose reports were published was James Crawford, although his interest in the district was large scientific (being an official study of the geology of the Wellington province) so his references to the people of Mokai Patea is fairly limited.⁴⁸

Renata is also considered to have been instrumental in seeing that the southern outpost of Ngati Tuwharetoa were located no further north than Te Reureu. In the 1840s, Te Heuheu was concerned about Ngati Apa and Whanganui land dealings extending inland from the coast towards Ngati Tuwharetoa lands, and sought to confine these by placing Ngati Waewae, Ngati Pikiahu, and others (including Ngati Whiti at Rotoaira) in the Rangitikei. Renata perceived this as Te Heuheu asserting a claim to Mokai Patea (particularly at Otamakapua),

⁴⁴ He left a detailed and valuable record of his journey home with Colenso, one that is of passing interest to Mokai Patea research (Renata Kawepo, *Renata's Journey*, translated, edited, and annotated by Helen Hogan, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1994).

⁴⁵ A. G. Bagnall and G. C. Petersen, *William Colenso, printer, missionary, botanist, explorer, politician: his life and journeys*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1948.

⁴⁶ William Colenso Journals, 1841-54, qMS-0487-0489, and Journeys, 1843-46, qMS-0490. Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁴⁷ Richard Taylor manuscripts collection, MS-Papers-0254, and Journals, 1844-1861, qMS-1987 to 1995. Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁴⁸ Crawford, James Coutts, *Geological And Other Reports*, Wellington, 1864, pp.8-14, and *Recollections of travel in New Zealand and Australia*, London, 1880.

leading to what he described as a quarrel between them; the outcome of which seems to have been that the Ngati Tuwharetoa outpost, or gateway, was at Te Reureu rather than within Mokai Patea lands at Otamakapua.⁴⁹

On the other hand, Renata's role may have been overstated by past writers, who have tended to rely on Renata's own statements to this effect. Or perhaps Renata's later actions (in about 1849) have been conflated with earlier moves by Mokai Patea leaders to remove their northern guests from Otamakapua. This is indicated by the evidence of Hue Te Huri, an important Ngati Pikiahu figure at Te Reureu in the late nineteenth century. He testified in 1894 that he had been living temporarily in the Otara (Ohingaiti) area in the early 1840s, with Utiku Potaka and others. Hue did not refer to Renata's role, but said others did ask them to leave the land in about 1844.⁵⁰

With Pakeha settlement concentrated at coastal locations well to the south and east of Mokai Patea, there was very limited contact with Pakeha in the Taihape inquiry district prior to the 1860s. This did not prevent cultural contact – such as the introduction of Christianity, literacy, and new crops, livestock, and tools – but these innovations were mediated through Maori kin in adjacent districts where settlement was advancing, rather than through a great deal of direct contact with Pakeha. One of the earliest recorded Pakeha visitors to at least the fringe of the Taihape district was the New Zealand Company stalwart, E. J. Wakefield, who observed the district from the west in 1845, on his way back to Whanganui from southern Taupo. He passed along the western side of Onetapu desert, and was told by his guides that the path that led across Onetapu passed through the valley of the upper Waikato (or Tongariro) River before entering the Kaimanawa ranges. They assured him it was “a very tedious path, with many hills to ascent, and many streams to cross.” A prominent table-land was pointed out to him further along that path, which his guides told him was “inhabited by huge ngarara or lizards. No one, they said, had ever dared to ascend it.”⁵¹ This is obviously a reference to Aorangi. It is not clear whether the reference to the strong tapu of the maunga was an attempt to dissuade Wakefield from heading in that direction, or instead indicated that the guides (almost certainly not being of Mokai Patea) did not wish to enter the district or were ignorant of Aorangi.

⁴⁹ Ballara (2004), p.384.

⁵⁰ Whanganui NLC MB No. 21, p.378 (Otamakapua 1 relative interests case, 1894). Cited in Diana Morrow, ‘Iwi Interests in the Manawatu c.1820–c.1910’, OTS, 2002.

⁵¹ E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, London, 1845. Cited in R. A. L. Batley (comp.), *Moawhango Valley and School. A Short History of the Inland Patea*, Moawhango School Jubilee Committee, 1958, p.13.

Two Pakeha missionary-explorers did visit Mokai Patea in February 1845. The Whanganui missionary Richard Taylor travelled up the Rangitikei river with two Maori teachers (lay preachers) before travelling overland from Porewa to Otara (near Ohingaiti), which then had a population of 107. Taylor moved on to Taoroa Junction and then to Matuku pa. The hilltop Matuku pa was established above Hiwera by Ngati Whiti, under the leadership of Wharepurakau, in the late eighteenth century. It remained the tribe's principal settlement through to the mid-to-late nineteenth century, being visited by early Pakeha visitors such as Taylor and Colenso. By 1845, the inhabitants of Matuku had their own Maori teacher and had already built a chapel. He moved on to Ongaengae, the kainga of Te Oti Pohe, and en route noted the extensive potato gardens and tobacco crop on the ridge between Matuku and Hiwera clearing. Pohe guided Taylor from there, taking him across the Moawhango river's famed 'Narrows' and on to Opaea (north of Taihape) and on to Turangarere (then deserted). Taylor was then guided on towards the upper Whanganui River at Hikurangi, from where he could travel by river back to Putiki.

In the case of the other missionary-explorer, Colenso, on his first visit in 1845 he only reached Te Atua o Mahuru at the top of the Ruahine ranges before he was forced to return to Hawke's Bay. He thus saw Mokai Patea, but only from afar. In 1847 he reached the district by another route, travelling by way of Tarawera (on the Napier-Taupo road) and Rangipo before crossing Onetapu (the Desert Road area) and heading on to the Moawhango river valley and as far as Matuku pa. He returned many times, but did not tarry on his first visit; soon returning to Hawke's Bay, being guided by the rangatira Te Kaipou to Te Awarua, via Ngatarua (home to ti kouka renowned for their huge girth), and the ford at Otaporoto. The path they took from Te Awarua up through the rugged hills to Te Atua a Mahuru (the summit of the Ruahine ranges at which Colenso was forced back east in 1845) became known as 'Colenso's Track'. Colenso made five further visits to Mokai Patea up to 1852.⁵²

For Taylor's part, he returned to the district only once more, in 1860, when he accompanied about 100 Whanganui Maori heading to an inter-tribal hui at Kokako that was attended by more than 500 Whanganui and central North Island Maori, including representatives of Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka as well as the influential Renata Kawepo from Hawke's Bay (see below). After leaving the Kokako hui, Taylor travelled to the Moawhango river which was then more easily crossed via a small bridge fit for horses. By this time, the hilltop

⁵² A .G. Bagnall and G. C. Petersen, *William Colenso, printer, missionary, botanist, explorer, politician: his life and journeys*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1948, and; Batley, p.15.

Matuku pa had been abandoned for more convenient kainga on lower ground. Taylor returned by waka down the Moawhango and Rangitikei rivers to Te Reureu.

Two years after Taylor's final visit, the Wellington settler J. C. Crawford travelled up the Rangitikei and Moawhango rivers in 1862, and on to Turangarere, which was then home to the famed pataka Niu Tireni ('New Zealand'; apparently named for its enormous size, but perhaps also to signal a willingness to engage with Pakeha). Along the way he sketched the spectacular junction of the Moawhango and Rangitikei rivers.⁵³

These early visitors left relatively limited accounts of the people they found in Mokai Patea and their situation, but given the paucity of sources, these accounts will need to be closely considered to assist in building up a picture of the location and condition of Mokai Patea communities through the 1840s and 1850s.

⁵³ Reproduced in Heinz, Adam, 'Waiouru Defence Lands. Research Scoping Report', Wai 2180/1510 #A1, Waitangi Tribunal, 2009 p.88.

3. Pre-1900 Land Dealings and Settlement

There are no private pre-Treaty land dealings ('old land claims') and few or no pre-1865 Crown land purchases directly affecting the Taihape inquiry district. However the district is affected by early Crown land purchases to the east and south; in Hawke's Bay and Manawatu.

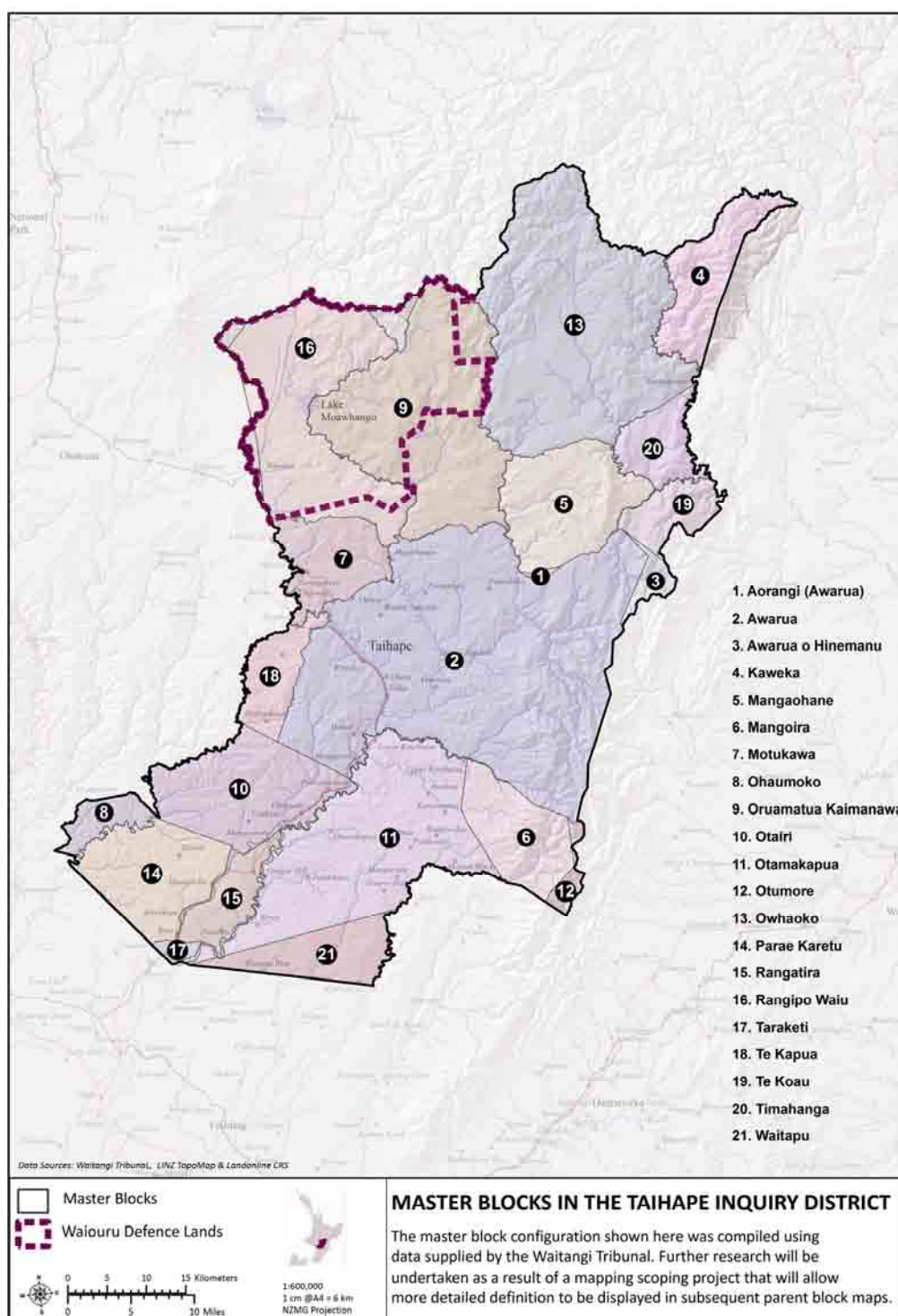
Early Crown Land Purchases in Hawke's Bay

The northeast of the district is affected by the boundaries of poorly-defined Crown land dealings in Hawke's Bay, notably the Ahuriri and Kaweka deeds (1851-1875), Otaranga (or Oteranga) (1857), and Ruataniwha North (1855-1862). The Kaweka deeds have not previously been closely studied, although Cowie's report (referred to earlier) does touch on Crown purchasing in the Kaweka area,⁵⁴ drawing heavily on an earlier overview report by Ballara and Gary Scott on Hawke's Bay lands (supplemented by 'block' reports on individual Crown purchases, including Kaweka).⁵⁵ These issues, and the existing research relating to them are set out on an issue by issue basis below, beginning with the inland boundary of early Hawke's Bay purchases around Kaweka.

The 1851 Ahuriri deed, particularly the inland boundary adjacent to Kaweka, has already been the subject of extensive research for the Mohaka ki Ahuriri inquiry, and the Waitangi Tribunal's report on that inquiry provides vital context for any examination of the Kaweka deeds in the Taihape inquiry. Part of the lack of clarity over this boundary stems from the Crown's 1851 Ahuriri purchase from Ngati Kahungunu, and the disputes which arose following the transaction over its western boundary (which extends to, if not overlaps, with the Kaweka deeds, part of which lie within the Taihape inquiry). The Ahuriri purchase and the details surrounding it have been extensively covered, most notably by the Waitangi Tribunal, and it is not the purpose of this scoping report to revisit this transaction itself. Some comment, however, is necessary in order to highlight some of the issues raised by the Tribunal in relation to the western boundary of the Ahuriri purchase.

⁵⁴ Cowie, Chapter 5.3.

⁵⁵ Ballara and Gary Scott, 'Crown Purchases of Maori Land in early Provincial Hawke's Bay', and 'Kaweka Block File' Waitangi Tribunal, 1996.



Map 2: Master Blocks in the Taihape Inquiry District

Ngati Hineuru, who held lands inland, west of the Maungaharuru and Te Waka ranges, had been unhappy with the Ahuriri purchase proceedings at the outset, and under the leadership of Te Rangihiroa, protested the inclusion of the interior land of the block. In May 1851, Donald

McLean seemingly agreed to leave out the disputed land from the purchase, but what eventually happened was that the boundary was moved further to the west. The survey report from June 1851 placed the western boundary at the foot of the Kaweka range, but at the signing of the Ahuriri deed in November 1851, the boundary was placed at the summit of the Kaweka range. It is not at all clear as to why the boundary was extended, or indeed whether there were any negotiations or discussion with the vendors over this extension, which proved more than troublesome over the succeeding years.⁵⁶

In 1856 land purchase commissioner G. S. Cooper noted that Ngati Hineuru were still disputing the western boundary:

The inland part of the Ahuriri block (which contains some tolerable runs) is . . . disputed, that is to say, a small hapu called Ngati Hineuru, whose chief is named Te Rangihiroa claim it, & they say they received no payment, & never assented to the sale. They are backed up by Te Heu Heu, & the sellers are, to say the least, very lukewarm.⁵⁷

McLean visited Hawke's Bay again in January 1858, partly to deal with any remaining issues stemming from the Ahuriri purchase, but he refused to countenance re-opening the issue of payment for the block, although Te Moananui, the leading chief of the Ngati Kahungunu vendors, admitted the Ngati Hineuru claim, but did not have the finances from their own purchase money to acknowledge it. In February 1858, McLean eventually succeeded in persuading Te Rangihiroa to withdraw his opposition to the boundary on condition that Ngati Hineuru would be compensated for that particular claim through the Crown purchase of their other lands.⁵⁸

But the matter did not rest there. The following year, in July 1859, Ngati Hineuru and Ngati Kahungunu sold the Kaweka block to the Crown, which clearly included parts of the interior sections of the Ahuriri purchase. By 1860, however, Cooper noted severe problems with the purchase, mostly in regard to its remoteness and inaccessibility, as well as 'exorbitant' demands made by the Maori. With regard to the inland sections of Ahuriri, Cooper noted:

the language held by many of the Natives with reference to the Inland parts of the Ahuriri Block is very unsatisfactory: they state that at the time the block was purchased advantage was taken of their ignorance to obtain the land for a fraction of its value, that a bargain made in such a way ought not to be held binding, and they express their determination to resume possession of the inland

⁵⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, Wellington, 2004, p.104.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, Wellington, 2004, p.104.

⁵⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, Wellington, 2004, p.105.

parts of the block, to the extent probably of nearly one hundred thousand acres, to exact rents from the settlers in occupation, or to drive their sheep across the line which they thought fit to mark off as the Queen's boundary and destroy the homesteads. I must state at the same time that the influential Chiefs of the party, who sold this land, do not join in the above language, but treat or affect to treat the whole affair with contempt. In these days of King and Runanga, however, the authority of hereditary Chiefs goes for very little when opposed to the wishes of the majority of the tribe, and I know that these Natives look to receive support from the Runanga party in the neighbourhood of Taupo; I have treated all these threats with derision and contempt: and I think that the firmness of my language and demeanour has acted to some extent as a check upon them.⁵⁹

The situation remained tense over the following years. In 1860 Cooper once again wrote of the problems relating to the interior boundary, noting that a hui was being held at Mokai Patea to discuss the issue, and from which the Hawke's Bay rangatira were apparently excluded. Despite this lingering friction, it is not entirely clear how this dispute was resolved. In 1863 and 1864 McLean made payments to Ngati Tuwharetoa and Tareha for their respective interests in Ahuriri and Kaweka lands, but there is no clear evidence available as to whether, or how, the matter was fully resolved.⁶⁰

Cowie, drawing largely on Ballara and Scott, picks up a different thread on Kaweka from that of the Waitangi Tribunal (which was not so concerned with Kaweka itself, as it lay outside its inquiry district). He notes that deals over Kaweka began as early as 1855, when the Ngaruroro deed was signed by six vendors in Wellington, one of many similar "secret deals" done by the Crown with a few select rangatira (in this case, "Kerei Tanguru, Paora Te Pakau, Te Hapuku, Puhara Kawaikirangi, Wereta Kawakairangi, and Te Harawira Tatari"). The apparently huge area for which £200 was paid, took in parts of Timahanga and included Kuripapango, while its boundaries referred to Taruarau and even the Rangitikei River and on to Kaimanawa. Cowie gives an estimate of 5,000 acres for this block but it is clearly far larger than that.⁶¹ A later deed, dated 4 July 1855, refers to 50,000 acres, which is a closer estimate to the area involved.

Nothing further occurred until 1859. As noted above, the Tribunal refers to a July 1859 deed involving Ngati Hineuru and Ngati Kahungunu, but Cowie notes a separate deed of June 1859, involving only five Ngati Kahungunu rangatira for land west of Ahuriri called Te Ranga a Tawhao. A series of deeds and receipts followed, with small amounts paid to various rangatira who came forward to make claims, but Maori opposition to the Kaweka deals

⁵⁹ Quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, Wellington, 2004, p.105.

⁶⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, Wellington, 2004, p. 105.

⁶¹ Ngaruroro block receipt, 14 February 1855. Turton's deeds, p.578. Cited in Cowie, Chapter 5.3.2.

prevented Cooper from completing the survey and thus completing the deeds.⁶² Like the Tribunal, Cowie concludes that the 1864 deed for Kaweka was supposed to bring an end to the Kaweka purchase. Yet, the land had still not been surveyed, so the original deed contains only a sketch plan. As Cowie concludes, further research is needed to clarify what land was actually included in these transactions and when it was surveyed, not to mention the motivations of the parties, their understandings of the transactions, and the reaction (or even the knowledge) of Mokai Patea Maori of these dealings in their Kaweka lands.

The picture is further clouded by an overlap with the Central North Island inquiry district in northern Kaweka, where the Kaweka land abuts the Mangatainoko and Tapapa blocks, which were part of the CNI inquiry. Cowie (drawing on Ballara and Scott) surmised that the Crown dealings for this land in 1875 took in a large part of what had previously been transacted as the Kaweka block. It is, of course, difficult to conclude that in the absence of any survey of the Kaweka deeds or a clear description of their boundaries. The 1875 deed was signed by 43 Maori described as Ngati Kurapoto, although they included Tareha, Toha Rahurahu, and Te Heuheu, who were initially paid £540.⁶³

Bruce Stirling's Central North Island report, 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview', CFRT, 2004, picks up the Mangatainoko story at about this point. He notes that earlier in 1875 Hawke's Bay-based Ngati Kahungunu, including the Mokai Patea rangatira Renata Kawepo, opposed the Crown dealing exclusively with Ngati Tuwharetoa for the Mangatainoko (16,435 acres) and Tapapa blocks (46,620 acres). It was only after a May 1875 hui at Napier that Ngati Kahungunu received a £500 payment for their interests, but the matter was far from resolved. Various advances were paid to Taupo claimants from 1873 to 1878, many payments being made to clear store debts and meet Native Land Court costs incurred by those claiming to be owners. By 1883, the pre-title payments amounted to £1,318, plus a Crown survey lien of £788.⁶⁴

Ngati Kahungunu claimants tried to have the title to Mangatainoko and Tapapa heard at Napier in 1879, but the Crown intervened in the Native Land Court process to frustrate their application and ensure that the title was instead heard at Taupo, in order to favour the Ngati Tuwharetoa claimants favoured by the Crown. Both sides later sought to refute the Crown's advances to regain control of their land, but the Crown wished to maintain its hold on the

⁶² Cowie, Chapter 5.3.2.

⁶³ Cowie, Chapter 5.3.3.

⁶⁴ Stirling, B., 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview', CFRT, 2004, pp.174, 313-315 and 366.

land. Title was finally determined during the Taupouiatia sittings in 1886, when Mangatainoko was awarded to 14 Tuwharetoa hapu, but just 27 names went on the title to facilitate the inevitable transfer to the Crown. Tapapa was a little different as the Crown had a grip on only 7,526 acres of the block, so that was awarded to the same 27 owners, but the bulk of it (39,355 acres) was awarded to 366 members of the 14 hapu deemed to be owners. Even so, the Crown proceeded to acquire interests in both parts of Tapapa in 1886 and was awarded 21,290 acres of the block in 1887. Yet it did not complete its title to Mangatainoko until 1894⁶⁵

Ngati Kahungunu were not included on the titles to Mangatainoko and Tapapa. Whether Mokai Patea Maori were also excluded is not certain, as the existing overview report does not look closely at the details of the ownership, but it seems likely. A closer study of CNI documents and Native Land Court minutes would be needed to definitively clarify that issue.

The Waitangi Tribunal's *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report* is the most authoritative source on the main Kaweka issues. Additional primary sources have not yet been identified for these issues as they relate to Mokai Patea, but those preparing research for the Mohaka ki Ahuriri report did not have the advantages of searchable online databases such as the McLean Papers online⁶⁶ and 'Papers Past',⁶⁷ both of which may facilitate the unearthing of relevant additional material likely to shed light on the issues around the Kaweka transactions. It has not been possible to assess such sources within the confines of this Scoping Report project.

Land purchase correspondence published in AJHR refers to the Ruataniwha North deed. In 1857, McLean's land purchase commissioner, G. S. Cooper, noted of Ruataniwha North that it was:

so much subdivided by the intersecting claims of the opposing parties, and there is so much difference of opinion as to their extent and value, that until they come to an understanding among themselves, it would not be advisable to conclude a purchase, unless the principle be admitted of buying up the claims of opposing parties separately, which would increase the labour and expense of purchasing, but would assure in the end a more satisfactory purchase.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Stirling, pp.366, 946-7, and 1163-7.

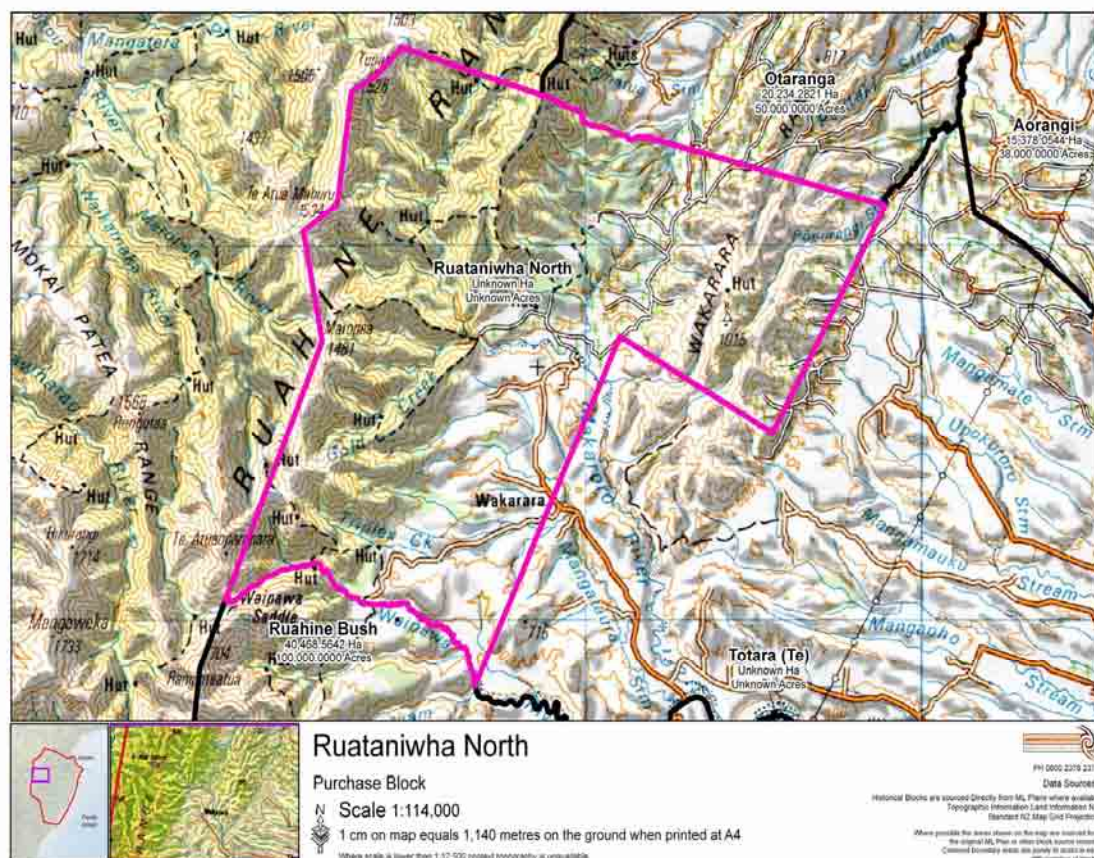
⁶⁶ <http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/static/introduction-mclean?l=en>

⁶⁷ <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>

⁶⁸ Cooper to D. McLean. March 27, 1857. AJHR, 1862, C1, p.331.

Cooper was dealing with a large area of about 87,500 acres that also included Oteranga, but Te Moananui and the other vendors with whom he was dealing advised that they would have to exclude portions belonging to Te Hapuku. Evidently, the areas to be excluded did not satisfy Te Hapuku's claims, for he strongly opposed the proposed Ruataniwha North deed, rejected any further dealings with Cooper, and sought a meeting with McLean and Governor Gore Browne.⁶⁹ Te Moanaui challenged Te Hapuku's claims and asserted his own right to deal in the land.⁷⁰

Amidst growing tensions in the Heretaunga district over the Crown's land dealings, Cooper continued his work, following up the Ruataniwha North deed of March 1857 with the Oteranga deed (under which the estimated 50,000 acres of land was sold for £1,000) signed by 27 vendors in mid-April 1857.⁷¹



⁶⁹ Te Hapuku and 16 others of Ngati Whatuiapiti to McLean, 28 March 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0005. Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁷⁰ Te Moannui to McLean, 27 March 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0005. Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁷¹ Turton's Deeds, p.516.

With respect to Oteranga, Maori were able to establish in 1890 that land subsequently defined as Te Koau had not been included in the Otaranga deed and remained customary Maori land (see Wai 263, Marei Apatu for Ngati Hinemanu). The Royal Commission on the Otaranga [sic] and Ruataniwha North deeds reported in 1891 that the land had not been included in the 1857 Otaranga Crown purchase. The Commission appears to have been sought by Noa Huke, Airini Donnelly (for Ngai Te Upokoiri), and Ngati Whitikaupeka. The commissioners, Resident Magistrate Preece and J. A. Connell, sat in Napier. The issue arose largely because of disputed boundaries in the east of Mangaohane and the northeast of Awarua, with the Maori claimants to those blocks rejecting assertions that the area later identified as Te Koau had even been included in the Otaranga deed. Indeed, the commissioners found that Te Koau (17,400 acres) had not been included in the deed. As 7,100 acres of land had already been wrongly on-sold by the Crown, it was not available to be returned.⁷⁴ The Crown claimed to have paid compensation for this land,⁷⁵ but records relating to any payment have yet to be located. This is a matter requiring further research. Title to the balance of the land was investigated by the NLC as Te Koau block in 1900.

Many years later, it was established without similar inquiry or protest that customary title to the adjacent Awarua o Hinemanu had never been extinguished, and this last piece of customary land was investigated in 1991.

Early Crown Purchases in Rangitikei

In the south, the district is defined by the inland boundaries of adjacent early Crown land purchases, particularly the Rangitikei-Manawatu deed. It appears that some rangatira in the south of the district asserted interests in Manawatu district purchases adjacent to the Taihape inquiry district, making the issue relevant at least in terms of their degree of engagement with these land dealings and the Crown officials responsible for them. There is an extensive historiography on the adjacent purchases, and others of some relevance to southern Taihape, notably the Whanganui deed (1848), the Rangitikei-Turakina deed (1849) and, most importantly, the Rangitikei-Manawatu deeds. With respect to the latter, the existing sources are discussed in Terry Hearn's recent 'Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, A Technical Research Scoping Report'.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Royal Commission on the Otaranga and Ruataniwha North Minutes, August 1890. LS 67/1. Archives New Zealand.

⁷⁵ Wai 263 statement of claim.

⁷⁶ Hearn, Terry, 'Manawatu ki Porirua, Inquiry District, A Technical Research Scoping Report', CFRT, 2010, Chapter 3.3 to 3.6.

Hearn refers to the range of existing published and unpublished research relevant to the Rangitikei-Manawatu purchase, which include early histories such as T. L. Buick's *Old Manawatu* (Palmerston North, 1903) and J. G. Wilson's *Early Rangitikei* (Christchurch, 1914), as well as a range of research reports, including Jane Luiten 'Early Crown purchases – Whanganui ki Porirua' (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992), Victoria Fallas, 'The Rangitikei-Manawatu Block' (1993), Robyn Anderson and Keith Pickens, *Wellington District* (Waitangi Tribunal, Rangahaua Whanui series, 1996), Matthew Melvin, 'Rangatiratanga, Government, and the Rangitikei-Manawatu Purchase, 1866' (1995), Bernadette Arapere, 'Maku ano hei hanga i toku nei whare: hapu dynamics in the Rangitikei area, 1830-1872' (1999), Bryan Gilling, "'A land of fighting and trouble": the Rangitikei-Manawatu purchase' (2000), and Richard Boast and Gilling, 'Ngati Toa lands research project: Report Two, 1865-1975' (2008). As noted later in relation to the Waitapu boundary issue, Diana Morrow's report, 'Iwi Interests in the Manawatu' (OTS, 2002) is also relevant to land dealings on the southern boundary of the Taihape inquiry district.

After reviewing this welter of research, Hearn concludes that some of the reports rely too much on a narrow range of official sources, have failed to look closely enough at the evidence, and have not taken into account local tikanga around land rights. In many cases, the wider political context is also overlooked. A careful and extensive investigation of the issues and sources is thus still required for the Manawatu ki Porirua inquiry.⁷⁷ The sources referred to by Hearn will need to be traversed with a view to fully understanding their impact on southern Taihape interests. In addition, some additional primary research may also be required to tease out those Taihape interests; including Maori language sources such as the Maori correspondence held in the McLean papers, and a close study of transactions with the Crown for Rangitikei-Manawatu to ascertain the extent to which Taihape Maori were involved.

The definition of the boundaries of other early Crown purchases is, in some instances, relevant to Maori within the Taihape inquiry district. For instance, the belated definition of the inland boundary of the Whanganui (1848) and Rangitikei-Turakina (1849) purchases in 1850 may have involved and affected those holding interests in the Taihape district. These issues have been explored in existing research, notably that of Bruce Stirling ('Whanganui Maori and the Crown: 1840–1865') and David Armstrong ('"A sure and certain possession":

⁷⁷ Hearn, pp.74-76.

the 1849 Rangitikei-Turakina transaction and its aftermath').⁷⁸ As noted earlier, there was concern amongst inland iwi (notably Ngati Tuwharetoa) about the inland advance of Crown land dealings from the Whanganui and Manawatu districts. According to Native Land Purchase Commissioner Donald McLean, these inland iwi included Ngai Te Upokoiri, Te Patutokotoko, and Ngati Pehi. The Crown's failure to fix the inland boundary of the 1849 Rangitikei-Turakina purchase from Ngati Apa made these iwi nervous; as they saw it, each purchase instalment paid to Ngati Apa would see the boundary move inland until it took in their interests around Otairi.⁷⁹

Mokai Patea tribes also had interests at Otairi, but McLean does not seem to have considered them at this stage. The existing research on this issue has focused on the assertion of interests by Ngati Apa and, to a lesser extent, by Whanganui and Ngati Tuwharetoa. A further consideration of the sources relied on in existing research, supplemented by additional research that may be more relevant to Mokai Patea (such as the Otairi block NLC minutes) may prove worthwhile.

In the case of the Rangitikei-Manawatu purchase (1849–1866), the impact on Maori in the south of the Taihape district is more apparent in the existing research: the incorrect survey of the northern boundary line of the purchase led Kawana Hunia (primarily of Ngati Apa) to lead objections on behalf of affected Maori right holders, who included Ngati Apa, Ngati Hauiti, Ngati Whitikaupeka, and perhaps Ngati Hinemanu, and Ngai Te Upokoiri (the latter two represented in this instance by Renata Kawepo). The boundary was subsequently corrected and those acknowledged by the Crown as owners were paid for the land, known as Waitapu, being a triangular piece extending east from the mouth of the Waitapu Creek (the acknowledged boundary of the Rangitikei-Manawatu deed) to Umutoi (a point on the Oroua River opposite Apiti), and down the river to Parimanuka (a distinct cliff on the Oroua River east of Kimbolton).⁸⁰

These early Crown land dealings played a part in the convening of the Kokako hui in 1860, which was attended by Ngati Rangi, Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Kahungunu, Whanganui tribes, Ngati Raukawa, and Mokai Patea tribes (such as Ngati Whiti, Ngai Te Upokoiri, and Ngati Tama). In part, Kokako (a Ngati Rangi kainga in the Murimotu district) was a political

⁷⁸ See, for instance, David Armstrong, 'A sure and certain possession': the 1849 Rangitikei-Turakina transaction and its aftermath', Ngati Apa, 2004, and; Bruce Stirling, 'Whanganui Maori and the Crown: 1840–1865', CFRT, 2004, pp.690-696.

⁷⁹ McLean diaries, July to October 1850, and July 1851. Cited in Ballara (2004), p.439. See also Armstrong, and; Stirling, pp.690-6.

⁸⁰ J. G. Wilson, *Early Rangitikei*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch, 1914, p.243.

meeting related to promoting Kingitanga and pledging the land to the Kingitanga.⁸¹ Indeed, many of those attending had differing understandings of the purpose of the hui, although a remarkable degree of consensus emerged as to the outcomes of the hui.⁸² Much of the evidence relating to Kokako only emerged during subsequent NLC title investigations, and much of that concerned the contested inland boundaries in the upper Whanganui and Rangipo area.⁸³ However, given the rejection of Kingitanga by some of the key tribal representatives present (notably those of lower Whanganui), it was also a boundary-making hui. To some degree, the purpose of making such boundaries was to separate the land of those who were selling (such as Ngati Apa and some among Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Kahungunu) from those who opposed selling (who were at the same time more inclined towards Kingitanga).⁸⁴

What emerged from Kokako was laying down a boundary for the Whanganui tribes, in relation to land dealings and political allegiances. At the same time, Ngati Rangi saw the inland boundaries as being those of Ngati Rangi. As Winiata Te Puhaki of Ngati Rangi later said: “The line was laid down because N’Apa were selling their lands – also N’Raukawa N’Te Upokoiri & N’Kahungunu & because some of N’Whiti & N’Tama had intermingled with the N’Kahungunu & N’Te Upokoiri in agreeing to sell land and because the Tuwharetoa were joining to the King.”⁸⁵ Te Keepa recalled that “a rope” had been fixed from Kaiwhaiki (the upriver limit of the 1848 Whanganui Crown purchase) to Te Houhou (the limit of the Rangitikei–Manawatu purchase), and then inland to Hautapu, Tikirere, Huriwaka, the Moawhango river, across Onetapu, and on to Tongariro (or Ruapehu): “This was done to protect their lands and put them under the protection of King Tawhiao ‘kei riro i te hoko’ (lest they be taken by purchase).”⁸⁶

According to Te Keepa, Ngati Tama of Mokai Patea were present and did not object to the boundary.⁸⁷ However, Hepiri Pikirangi, conducting Ngati Tama’s case in the Rangipo Waiu hearing, said that Ngati Tama had challenged the boundary.⁸⁸ Te Haupaimarire of Ngati Tama

⁸¹ See, for instance, Stirling, pp.716-7.

⁸² Ballara (2004), pp.443-4.

⁸³ See, for instance, the Rangipo Waiu hearing, during which Winiata Te Puhaki of Ngati Rangi referred to the Kokako hui (Taupo NLC MB No. 2, pp.119-20. Cited in Ballara (2004), p.444).

⁸⁴ Te Keepa Rangihiwini noted this during the Awarua hearing in 1886, recalling that Ngati Apa had tried to sell land east of the Rangitikei river, but were opposed (Wanganui NLC MB 10, p.188. Cited in Tony Walzl, ‘Ngati Rangi Land Issues. 1840–1970’, Ngati Rangi, 2004, p.14).

⁸⁵ Taupo NLC MB No. 2, pp.119-20. Cited in Ballara (2004), p.444.

⁸⁶ Te Keepa, cited in Ballara, pp.444-5.

⁸⁷ Taupo NLC MB No. 1, pp.144-5, Rangipo Waiu case. Cited in Walzl, p.15.

⁸⁸ Taupo NLC MB No. 1, p.147, Rangipo Waiu case. Cited in Walzl, p.15. Te Keepa responded that the Ngati Tama who opposed the boundary were “unimportant men.”

also challenged the boundary for Ngati Tama, saying it was placed much further west than Moawhango, at the Makahikatoa stream.⁸⁹

Renata Kawepo viewed the southern part of the boundary as more important, in that it set the boundaries of Mokai Patea lands in the Rangitikei, the boundary marker there being Te Houhou. He saw this as limiting the claims of Ngati Apa north of Te Houhou. This was also the position of Te Haupaimarire, who saw the focus of the boundary as marking the points “beyond which no land should be sold.” This linked back to Ngati Apa’s earlier dealings as far inland as Otairi; Te Haupaimarire’s Ngati Tama tribe had heard that Ngati Apa were selling land as far inland as Otara (Ohingaiti) so they put a stop to this by “putting in a post at Porewa,” adding that Ngati Hinemanu joined him in this action. They also joined in trying to stop land being sold by Ngati Kahungunu between Heretaunga and Kaimanawa: “We erected another post at Whanawhana.” A post was also put up at Kuripapango. This was all before the Kokako hui was even called.⁹⁰

Renata also focused on events prior to Kokako as being influential on the 1860 hui. In 1875 he wrote to the Repudiation Movement newspaper *Te Wananga* to recall his dispute in the 1840s with Te Heuheu over southern Mokai Patea lands, notably Otamakapua (see above). He linked this to the 1860 Kokako hui, asserting that his word about the division of the land was agreed to, with the result that, “at Pikitara my post called Whitikaupeka was put up.”⁹¹ This statement could be seen as linking into that of Te Haupaimarire, although he referred to Ngati Hinemanu rather than to Renata personally (or to Ngai Te Upokoiri). Ultimately, the efficacy of this setting or tribal or land-holding boundaries during the early Crown purchase period was not generally tested, as there were few attempts to open up the interior of Mokai Patea at this time. The marker set at Te Houhou (or, on the other side of the line, at Te Reureu) seemed, however, to prove effective, at least for a time.

The Native Land Court

Other than the relatively discrete early Crown land purchase issues outlined above, all of the lands in the Taihape inquiry district are affected by NLC title processes. There can be no doubt that the Native Land Court had an immense, almost invariably negative, impact on Maori across New Zealand. The evidence considered in this district to date suggests that Taihape was no exception. This section will discuss some of the trends and patterns evident in

⁸⁹ Taupo NLC MB No. 2, p.173. Cited in Walzl, p.16.

⁹⁰ Taupo NLC MB No. 2, p.179 (Rangipo Waiu case). Cited in Ballara, p.445.

⁹¹ Renata Kawepo letter, *Te Wananga*, 4 September 1875. Cited in Ballara (1998), p.285.

the operation of the Native Land Court in the district, focusing on the hearings of the three big blocks, Owhaoko, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, and Awarua, and on some significant Crown purchasing in the south of the district. It should, however, be noted that the following discussion is merely illustrative and intended as a starting point for more detailed research.

In terms of existing research, this is primarily in the nature of existing Tribunal findings on general Native Land Court issues, as well as scholarly works on the Native Land Court that will provide context for any discussion of the detailed impact of the Native Land Court on the ground in Taihape. Amongst the most useful Tribunal reports are the Central North Island Tribunal's report, *He Maunga Rongo*, the Turanga Tribunal's report, *Turanga Tangata Turanga Whenua*, and the recent Wairarapa ki Tararua Tribunal's report, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*. Other useful secondary sources include David Williams, '*He Kooti Tango Whenua*': *The Native Land Court 1864-1909* (Huia, 1999), and Stuart Banner's chapter on New Zealand in *Possessing the Pacific: land, settlers, and indigenous people from Australia to Alaska* (Harvard University Press, 2007). Morrow's work is, as noted earlier, of some use in identifying iwi interests in a handful of southern Taihape blocks (Otamakapua, Waitapu, Mangoira, and Otumore).

A few hearings of Taihape district blocks were commenced under the Native Land Act 1865 (notably the southern blocks, Otamakapua, Paraekaretu, and Taraketi), but titles appear to have been completed under the Native Lands Act 1873 (with the exception of Paraekaretu). The 1873 Act (and innumerable amending statutes) is therefore the main instrument under which customary title was investigated and extinguished in the Taihape inquiry district. Despite this, to some extent the way in which the NLC initially operated in the district (or, rather, outside the district, as most of the critical early hearings were held in Pakeha towns in adjacent regions) continued to reflect the 'ten-owner' rule approach of the 1865 Act. For instance, very few owners were placed on the first Owhaoko titles, despite their enormous size and despite the NLC being informed that there were additional owners not included on the title. More closely occupied lands, such as Otamakapua 1 (withheld from the sale of the surrounding Otamakapua 2 block), were also awarded to very few individuals, although the land was clearly supporting many more. However, in other cases, such as the massive Awarua block, title was awarded to hundreds of right-holders.

The engagement of the land's customary owners with the NLC, and their responses to it, are not something that is apparent from the research to date, and which will need to be explored. In some cases, it is evident that the sale of land was arranged prior to its title being determined (Otamakapua 2 or Paraekaretu for example), and that the NLC was merely a

means to an end in such cases. At the same time, lands to be withheld from sale as reserves were identified (such as Otamakapua 1 or Taraketi). In other cases, the NLC was used by some parties without the knowledge of other right-holders and perhaps with the goal of excluding them, as occurred with the early Owahaoko hearings. Mokai Patea tribes also sought to resolve some land issues outside the forum of the NLC, as when Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri met with Whanganui tribes at Turangarere to decide on a boundary between them (an issue that needed to be resolved amidst Crown and private land dealings in the Murimotu and Rangipo district from the late 1860s).⁹²

What was common across the entire Taihape district were the title disputes – often quite protracted – that emerged around numerous Native Land Court title investigations, particularly when Crown and private land dealings were also at issue. As noted below, Mokai Patea tribes sought to avert such disputes through their own komiti investigations of title (as with Awarua), but such komiti had no legislative sanction in the face of the NLC, to which any disgruntled individual or minority could turn.

However, wider issues around responses to the NLC will need to be assessed in future research. Given the connections with Ngati Kahungunu to the east, it seems likely that some in Mokai Patea would have supported the so-called Repudiation Movement (or “Ngatihokohe” as Maori dubbed it), based in Hawke’s Bay. Its opposition to the NLC, and calls for reform and for a greater Maori role in title determination and land management, may thus have been endorsed by some within the Taihape inquiry district. They certainly had complaints about common NLC issues, such as clashing sittings and inadequate notification of hearings (both of which afflicted the Owahaoko investigations).⁹³ Other political responses, such as participation in the ‘committee movement’, Kingitanga,⁹⁴ or later pan-iwi organisations such as Kotahitanga and the Young Maori Party, will also need to be assessed.⁹⁵

Vincent O’Malley’s *Agents of Autonomy* is an important published source on the ‘committee movement’ and, to a lesser extent, Repudiation. He examines the repeated Maori attempts to stave off complete political marginalisation at the hands of the Crown throughout the nineteenth century, and the role which Maori runanga and komiti played in this effort.

⁹² Ballara (1998), p.286.

⁹³ See, for instance, Taupo NLC MB No. 8, p.137. Cited in Bruce Stirling, ‘Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview’, CFRT, 2004, p.980.

⁹⁴ Hiraka Te Rango, for instance, was among numerous Mokai Patea attendees at the big Paetiuhou hui at Poutu in September 1885 (AJHR, 1886, G-3).

⁹⁵ It is evident that some Moawhango Maori were involved in the ‘moderate’ faction of Kotahitanga, which agreed to engage with the government in the late 1890s, leading to the short-lived legislative innovations of Maori Councils and Maori Land Boards in 1900 (AJHR, 1898, I-3a).

Although O'Malley does not specifically discuss runanga and komiti in the Taihape district, the analytical framework which he provides in this book should prove immensely useful in discussing the functions, motives, and intentions of such bodies in the Taihape district for future research, particularly in relation to the Hawke's Bay-based Ngati Hokohe (or Repudiation Movement). Local komiti are, for instance, referred to in connection with the Awarua and Owahaoko blocks (see below).

Leaders such as Hiraka te Rango certainly testified to the Native Land Laws Commission in 1891 about the defects of the NLC and its governing legislation; referring to difficulties such as distant venues, clashing settings, the use of agents (lawyers and conductors/kaiwhakahaere), partisan judges, and poor interpreting.⁹⁶ This Commission heard evidence from a wide range of Maori and Pakeha with experience of Native Land Court processes, and will need to be read closely for other evidence relating to the Taihape district. Hiraka strongly endorsed a role for Maori komiti in determining titles and managing land, referring to the difficulties that had emerged in the Owahaoko block. The 134 owners of his hapu's portion of the title had elected a komiti of seven to represent the hapu, but found "there was no legal authority or means of empowering this committee to act for the whole number." After being put to "great expense" the owners had the land put under some form of deed that endowed the committee with limited power, but he urged the government to "give proper power to these committees... my hapu and tribe would consent to it, because we have been carrying out this principle ourselves for a long time, and yet we had not the power of the law to assist us."⁹⁷

Such matters are related to wider engagement with the Crown and the expanding settler economy, as well as Maori cultural change, which will also need to be considered in the research programme. There are some hints of how traditional leaders such as Renata Kawepo saw education as critical to the future of their people, leading to his attempt to set aside a large part of Owahaoko as a school endowment (having become dissatisfied with the way in which the existing Te Aute school endowment was being administered).⁹⁸ Hiraka Te Rango was another rangatira who looked to education, but found the government wanting in fostering this for the younger generation of his people. He complained to the government in 1891 that even though land had been set aside for education at Moawhango, the government had done nothing.⁹⁹ He repeated his complaint in 1895, as still nothing had been done.¹⁰⁰ It

⁹⁶ AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-1, pp.49-50.

⁹⁷ AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-1, p.53.

⁹⁸ AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-1, p.55.

⁹⁹ AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-1, p.55.

¹⁰⁰ AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.5.

was not until 1897 that a Native school opened at Moawhango, one of the few to operate in the Taihape inquiry district.¹⁰¹

To the south Utiku Potaka (the first Utiku Potaka, in the nineteenth century) was acknowledged as a modernising leader, who looked to the economic development of his people and their land. Yet in his time, there was no policy to assist Maori in such development, and a great many Maori land policies that positively hindered attempts at development. One strategy Maori did have was to obtain Pakeha partners in the agricultural development of their land, and rangatira such as Utiku, Renata, Hiraka, and others looked to large-scale leasing as one way to introduce settlement and development without permanently alienating their land. This introduced large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle to the district; providing local Maori with a rental income as well as employment and training on the farms of 'their' Pakeha. They then sought to build up their own farms on remaining lands.

One indication of Maori farming endeavours, and the extent to which they succeeded, can be found in the annual sheep returns, gathered and published from the late 1870s onwards in AJHR¹⁰² (with partial returns published in newspapers from the mid-1870s). These show sheep flocks by county and district, with flock owners named, as well as the current size of their flock and the size of the flock the previous year. From this, the extent of Maori sheep farming in the Taihape district will become apparent, as well as the relative success of those farmers alongside their Pakeha tenants or neighbours. The scale of the task confronting Maori agriculturalists, and the degree to which they were hindered by limited access to development finance, is readily apparent. A glance through the published annual sheep returns demonstrates the relatively small scale and short duration of many Maori farming efforts (ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand sheep) compared to the extensive Pakeha-owned stations operating around them (well established stations running tens of thousands of sheep).

Some secondary sources are of use in providing context for the limited Maori economic development that was able to be achieved. Local histories such as those of Miriam Macgregor,¹⁰³ Isobel Clouston,¹⁰⁴ R. A. L. Batley,¹⁰⁵ and Elizabeth Allen,¹⁰⁶ as well as the

¹⁰¹ Batley, p.28.

¹⁰² AJHR, 1879, H-9 (which includes sheep numbers at 1878).

¹⁰³ Macgregor, Miriam, *Mangaohane: the story of a sheep station*, Hastings Herald-Tribune Print, Hastings, 1978.

¹⁰⁴ Coulston, Isobel, *Te Wairua o Ruapuke: a short history of Ruapuke Farm and the Mokai Valley, Taihape. The land and the people*, I. Coulston, Gisborne, 1995.

Hazel Riseborough work already referred to, have only a limited amount of material on local Maori, and still less on Maori agricultural endeavours, but they do have a great deal of information relevant to local Pakeha economic development.

The investment required to reach the necessary scale of operations could be considerable: for instance, in 1877 Studholme paid £25,000 for the two-year-old lease of Mangaohane, a lease that was legally invalid as the land was still under customary title (but nonetheless it had been taken over from the original lessee, Rainey, by the Union Bank of Australasia). Studholme soon invested hundreds of thousands of pounds in improving the property, but was caught out by the slump in wool prices in the early 1880s and was left with a debt of £280,000 (which was met by a mortgage against his family's prime Waimate farm, then valued at £1million).¹⁰⁷

These are sums well beyond the resources available to Maori land owners. By comparison, Winiata Te Whaaro and his people operated one of the more successful Maori sheep farms in the district in the 1880s, running about 10,000 sheep on part of the Mangaohane block and something of “a thorn in the side” for the big run-holders, Messrs Studholme. The latter responded by liaising with rival claimants to the land, who managed to secure title under questionable circumstances in 1884, and eventually had Winiata forcibly removed from his land in 1897 (as set out in more detail below).

Few Maori farmers faced this degree of intrusion and obstruction of their efforts, but for all the NLC titles under which their lands were held were a major hindrance to rational economic management, let alone the remote prospect of raising real development finance. Overlooking such obstacles, Premier Seddon noted in 1895 the good use Moawhango Maori were making of their land, and their leasing of large runs to Pakeha settlers (such as Birch and Batley). Ihakara and Hiraka Te Rango of Moawhango were also interested in modernising their settlement; seeking a township (prior to the establishment of Taihape, Moawhango was the principal settlement in the area), a telephone exchange, a policeman, and a lock-up. Seddon could respond only with jokes about them needing a lock-up for the lawyers and “Pakeha-Maori” who had “eaten up” their lands in the NLC.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Batley, R.A.L. (comp.), *Moawhango Valley and School: a short history of the inland Patea published to commemorate the diamond jubilee of the Moawhango Maori School, 1897-1957*, Moawhango School Jubilee Committee/ Taihape Times, Taihape, 1958

¹⁰⁶ Allen, Elizabeth C., *In the hills of the Waimarino: the human story of the development of the district*, Whanganui Newspapers, Whanganui, 1984.

¹⁰⁷ Macgregor, Miriam, *Mangaohane: the story of a sheep station*, Hastings Herald-Tribune Print, Hastings, 1978, p.14.

¹⁰⁸ AJHR, 1895, G-1, pp.4-5.

Even in more general terms – and when there were no obvious machinations of Pakeha lawyers – the NLC was a cause of considerable strife in the Taihape inquiry district. In giving evidence before the Native Land Commissioners Rees and Carroll at Waipawa in 1891, Hiraka Rango complained bitterly of the adverse impact the Native Land Court was having on his people:

I come from Patea. Perhaps I had better begin what I have to say by referring to the Native Land Court. Myself and hapu are people who have suffered grievously through the operation of the Native Land Court. The way in which we have been afflicted by it is through having to repair to distant places in order to attend the sittings of the Court. Another grievance under which we labour is having our cases gazetted for hearing and called on, say, at Napier, and then, on our attending there, finding that our cases had been adjourned without being proceeded with at all. Yet another grievance under which myself and hapu labour is what has already been referred to with respect to the employment of agents in the Court. A further grievance of which we have to complain relates to the Assessors and the interpreters, and likewise the Judges. The fault that we find with the Judges, the Assessors, and the interpreters is that they have feelings of partisanship with one side or the other before the Court. In fact, they take sides. The interpreters in the Court will not correctly interpret all the evidence, but it will be misinterpreted to the Court. I object to them also on the ground of their incompetence. But the source of all these troubles is the Native Land Court itself.¹⁰⁹

The experiences described by Hiraka were shared by Maori across New Zealand. Distant and prolonged sittings of the Court entailed immense financial hardship for the claimants, who often had to be present for a hearing over the course of weeks and months. As Hiraka Te Rango explained, the title investigation of Awarua took over eight months, and had not yet been completed at the time of his testimony:

During the year that has just passed there was a block of land called Awarua, belonging to myself and hapu, under adjudication by the Native Land Court at Marton. We, the hapus who owned that land, applied and endeavoured to obtain permission to settle the inter-hapu boundaries among ourselves. The Court consented to our going outside the Court and settling this business among ourselves. Three hapus satisfactorily arranged the boundaries between themselves, but the other two hapus, which did not join in the agreement, asked the Court to deal with the subdivision. It went before the Court, and in consequence of the Court's investigation the contention of one of the objecting hapus fell to the ground. Then, if that dissentient had listened to what others had arranged, there would not have been the expense of fighting the matter before the Court. The case of the other dissentient hapu was then proceeded with, and the case of this particular hapu was before the Court for eight months. If the Court, however, had listened to the suggestion thrown out by the Native Committee – and that was to confine the investigation to such portion of the block as was in dispute – the entire hearing could have been shortened

¹⁰⁹ Hiraka Ti Rongo evidence to Native Land Commissioners, 5 May 1891, G-1, AJHR 1891, p.53.

considerably. But the investigation was extended to the whole block, and hence it was that it occupied such a long time. In fact, it is not over yet, and the Court has adjourned.¹¹⁰

This prolonged absence from home during Court sittings often led to the incurring of debt from shopkeepers, which was often repaid through sale of land. The absence from home also severely restricted the earning potential of the claimants during this time, and the cost of loss of labour is usually difficult to quantify. On top of these costs came the procedural costs of the Court itself – including lawyers, interpreters, agents, and a host of other unsavoury characters – and the biggest one of the all, the survey fees, which were inevitably high and charged against the block, which in many cases around New Zealand resulted directly in the sale of part of the block in question in order to pay the fees. To what extent these issues were prevalent in the Taihape inquiry district will require further and more detailed research, but early indications are that they were certainly a matter of considerable concern for the hapu in the region.

It is also notable from Hiraka's evidence that he and his hapu opposed the Court on political grounds – there is a clear sense of resentment against the Court's ignoring of the Native Committee's recommendations with respect to the Awarua hearing, and he clearly states on several occasions during the course of his testimony that he would prefer Native Committees to conduct title investigations rather than the Native Land Court.¹¹¹ Once again, this was a concern shared by other hapu around New Zealand. The Native Land Court usurped the role traditionally held by rangatira and runanga – that of land allocation and use. The Native Land Court process not only took away this decision-making out of Maori hands, but frequently took the land away, through already mentioned indebtedness caused by the Court and associated costs, or through erroneous awards such as that for Owahaoko. Through the last three decades of the nineteenth century, considerable and organised opposition to the Native Land Court and general political marginalisation arose among hapu around New Zealand, embodied in such movements such as the Kotahitanga, which acquired considerable prominence in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The extent to which the hapu of Taihape district were involved in such movements, and what results and outcomes they achieved from them is an issue for further research.

When it comes to the wider impact of the operations of the NLC and subsequent land alienation in the Taihape inquiry district at the broadest level, there are two quite distinct

¹¹⁰ Hiraka Ti Rongo evidence to Native Land Commissioners, 5 May 1891, G-1, AJHR 1891, p.53.

¹¹¹ Hiraka Ti Rongo evidence to Native Land Commissioners, 5 May 1891, G-1, AJHR 1891, pp.53-54

patterns to post-1865 dealings in land held under Native Land Court title in the Taihape inquiry district: transactions in the south of the district are markedly different from those in the centre and north. In the south, Maori had been exposed to extensive Crown land dealings and settlement in the lower Rangitikei district from the 1840s, immediately adjacent to their lands and papakainga in central Rangitikei (notably the district around Rata and Te Houhou). As settlement spread across the lower Rangitikei, settler and Crown eyes looked to the southern Taihape district as an area into which settlement could expand. However, tensions arising from the emergence of Kingitanga and, later, the New Zealand Wars seem to have delayed Crown and private land dealings in southern Mokai Patea that might otherwise have commenced a little earlier than the early 1870s. Initially, the Crown was interested in the best quality lands adjacent to those already acquired and settled, commencing with Paraekaretu and Otamakapua.

By contrast, in the centre and north of the district (from Rangipo across to Owhaoko and down to Awarua), land purchases came later, being preceded by extensive private (and, later, Crown) lease arrangements from 1867 onwards, even before Native Land Court title investigations. Private and Crown purchases soon followed, but far larger areas remained in Maori ownership up to 1900 in this part of the district than is the case with the southern part of the inquiry district.¹¹²

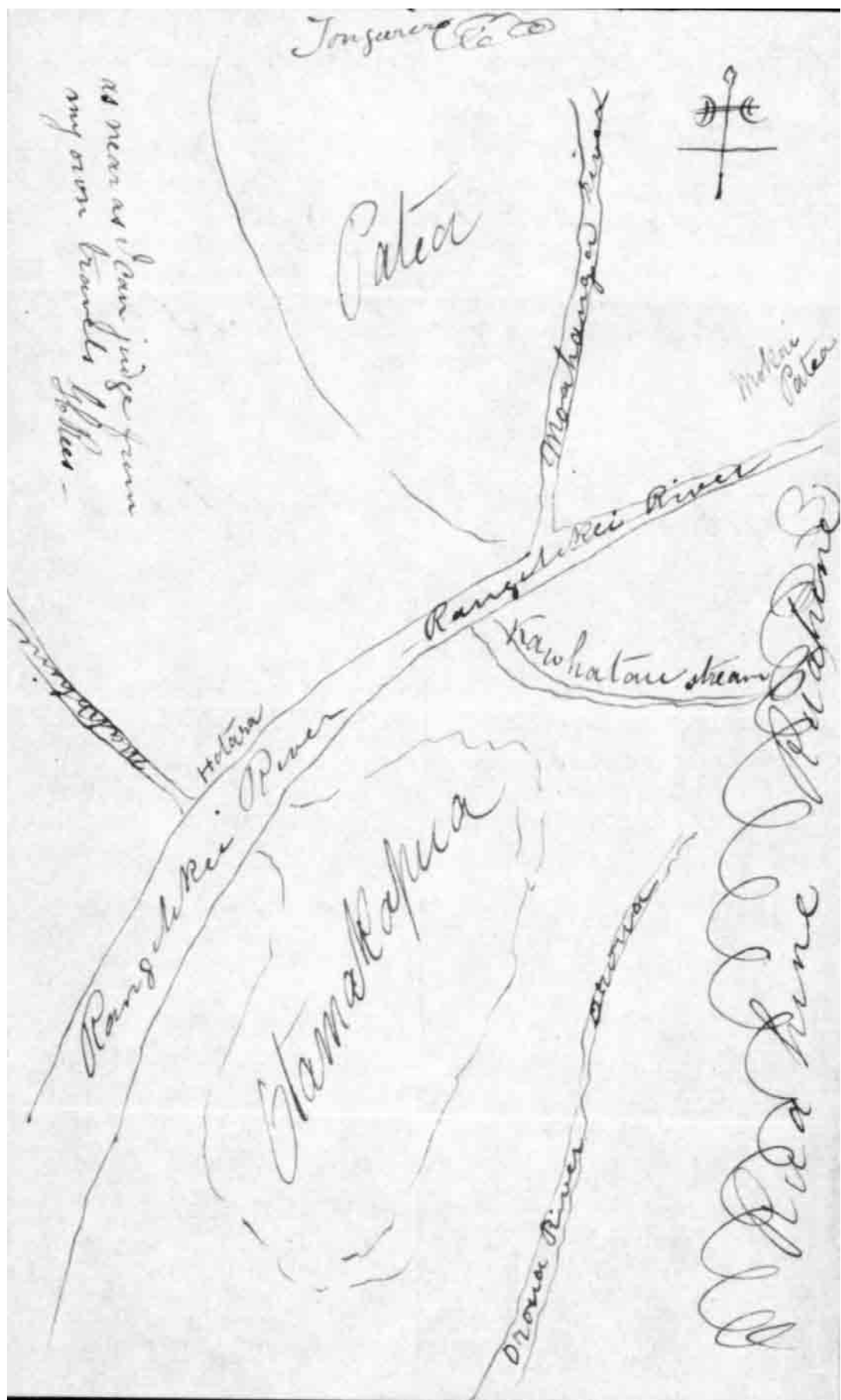
The extent and patterns of alienation are evident from Map 3 (see below), showing Maori land loss in the Taihape Inquiry District over time. A great deal of the land in the south of the district had been alienated by 1890, through a mix of Crown purchasing and early NLC private transactions. Despite the great loss of land there, alienations continued after 1890 and even after 1910 (when nominally protective measures were in place), with the result that very little Maori land remains in the south. In the centre and north of the district, the impact of the NLC and of land loss occurred later, but the same lack of protection of Maori land holdings becomes evident in the twentieth century (see Section 4 below).

Within these broad patterns, there are of course exceptions: lands that were not heavily disputed, lands that were not investigated by the Native Land Court for many years (such as Aorangi, Te Koau, and Awarua o Hinemanu), lands that remained in Maori ownership for some time (such as Otumore), not to mention early attempts at run holding in the southern

¹¹² Exact figures are not available at present, not least because the usually useful data contained in the reports of the Stout-Ngata Commission in 1907-08 does not exist for the Taihape district. Nonetheless, the pattern of land alienation is apparent from maps of Maori land holdings over time in the Taihape district.

part of the district (when such moves were more a feature in the north). With regard to the latter, reference has been located to “Potaka” (either Utiku or his father Aropata) arranging a lease of Otamakapua lands with George Rees in January 1865. Under the “tuku whenua” Potaka, “o te hapu Ngaiteao – Ngati Hinemanu,” agreed to let Rees occupy Otamakapua as a sheep run from 1866 to 1887. The agreement seems to involve varying payments, including sheep and a rent that rose during the term of the lease (see accompanying sketch map of the run overleaf).¹¹³

¹¹³ Copy of agreement between Potaka and George Rees, 2 January 1865. MS-Papers-0032-0689a. Alexander Turnbull Library.



Crown Purchasing of Native Land Court Blocks to 1900

The preceding section noted some broad patterns around Native Land Court title investigations and land alienation. Crown land purchases were a significant component in land alienation in the Taihape district, beginning in the south of the district (at Waitapu and Otamakapua) before moving into Paraekaretu, Otairi, and Mangoira. In the north of the district, leases were transformed into purchases in Rangipo Waiu, before the centre of the district – Awarua – was opened up to extensive Crown land purchasing. Crown purchasing continued into the early twentieth century, particularly in the south of the district even though, by then, so little Maori land remained.

The returns of Crown's acquisitions of Maori land annually published in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) are a useful guide to Crown purchasing activity from the mid-1870s on. The returns do not pick up some of the early purchases detailed in this scoping report, such as those of Waitapu, Otamakapua, and Mangoira nor do they do provide a complete picture of the purchase process by any stretch of imagination – the nature of negotiations, motivations and understandings of the transactions by the involved parties cannot be grasped by looking at mere numbers, but are vital issues for consideration of Crown purchases. The returns can, however, reveal patterns of Crown's purchasing activity in any given district, including Taihape. The purpose here then is to outline the discernable patterns of Crown purchasing activity in the Taihape district up until 1930, on which subsequent research can build on to provide the necessary detail.

At first glance, there appear to be two main thrusts of Crown acquisition of Maori land in the Taihape district. The first was the direct result of Crown's efforts to acquire land for the North Island Main Trunk Railway, and included acquisitions of significant portions of the Rangipo Waiu and Awarua blocks in the 1880s and 1890s. The second thrust of Crown purchasing followed in the wake of the 1909 Native Land Act, when portions of Otamakapua, Timahanga, and Oruamatua Kaimanawa blocks were acquired by the Crown (see section on Twentieth Century Land Issues below).

The Crown acquisition of Rangipo Waiu blocks – first by leasing soon followed by permanent alienation – has already been covered in existing research, notably that of Nicholas Bayley and Marian Horan.¹¹⁴ The Crown purchase of large sections of Awarua, however, has not been considered in existing research, and considering its size and location in the Taihape

¹¹⁴ N. Bayley, 'Murimoto and Rangipo Waiu, 1860-2000', A Report Commissioned by Waitangi Tribunal, June 2004; M. Horan, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaia, and Rangipo Waiu, 1874-1885', Crown Law Office, November 2005.

district, this issue is a critical one for future research. As noted elsewhere in this report, significant parts of Awarua had been earmarked for acquisition as soon as the Crown settled on the North Island Main Trunk route going through the Taihape district.

The first round of Crown purchasing of individual interests in Awarua was completed until 1892, largely because of the prolonged nature of title ascertainment process for the subdivisions of the block in the Native Land Court (referred to elsewhere in this scoping report). With regard to pre-title dealings in Awarua, references have been located to the Crown paying advances on Otairi 5 and 6 (said to comprise 109,000 acres) by March 1884. It is noted that Otairi had not yet passed the Native Land Court.¹¹⁵ In fact, the title to Otairi was investigated in 1880, at which point private purchasing commenced (see below). The Crown purchases referred to in 1884 as Otairi 5 and 6 instead appear to be part of the adjacent Awarua block (title to which was not investigated until 1886). The subsequent history of Otairi 5 and 6 (or part of Awarua) is not clear from the AJHR returns, and further research is clearly required to unravel what had actually transpired. It seems likely that the expenditure on the ‘Otairi’ purchases claimed by the Crown in 1884 (amounting to £3,670 10s.) was actually pre-title advances on Awarua, which may have been seriously prejudicial to the Maori owners. Further research into land purchase files will undoubtedly cast more light on this matter and to what extent purchase negotiations commenced prior to title being finalised.

The Crown acquired individual interests in Awarua (1, 1A, 2, 2A, 3, 3A, 3B, 4, 4A, totalling 269,048 acres) from March 1892, and the 1893 return showed that 59,540 acres of those blocks had already been acquired.¹¹⁶ By the end of March 1894, the Crown acquisitions climbed to 84,545 acres.¹¹⁷ Further parts of sections of Awarua were acquired between March 1894 and March 1895 – out of the 115,295 acres in which purchasing continued (being the total area of Awarua 1D, 2C, 3D, 3A2, 3B2, 4A3 and 4C combined), the Crown acquired 20,815 acres during this period.¹¹⁸ This figure increased in the following year, when the further 28,429 acres were acquired, making the total of 49,244 acres out of the total area of 115,295 acres.¹¹⁹ Small sections of Awarua 1DA, 2C1, 3A2A, 3B2A and 4C2 (blocks comprising 45,899 acres), were acquired by March 1897, totalling 2,855 acres.¹²⁰ By the end

¹¹⁵ AJHR 1888, G-2, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ AJHR 1893, G-4, p. 6.

¹¹⁷ AJHR 1894, G-3, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ AJHR 1895, G-2, p. 11.

¹¹⁹ AJHR 1896, G-3, p. 11.

¹²⁰ AJHR 1897, G-3, p. 5.

of March 1899, 223 acres of Awarua 4C15 (out of 2,057 acres) were acquired, and by the end of March 1900, 392 acres of Awarua 1DB (out of 11,443 acres) were also acquired.¹²¹

Thus, initial research in the AJHR returns indicates that, by 1900, the Crown had acquired 137,259 acres of Awarua. Subsequent research will need to focus on clarifying the exact extent and timing of purchasing, before looking at the purchasing process itself, and consider the motivations, understandings and any undertakings that both the Maori owners and the Crown brought to the process.

Crown purchasing identified to date is set out in the table below:

Crown Purchasing in the Taihape District to c.1900

Block	Area (acres)	Crown purchase (acres)	Year(s)
Paraekaretu	46,975	46,975	c.1871
Waitapu	29,484	29,484	1872-1879
Otamakapua 2	104,521	104,521	1874-1884
Mangoira	35,660	35,660	1870-c.1880
Awarua	269,048	137,259	c.1884-1900
Te Kapua	21,878	21,878	1884-1891
Rangipo Waiu	43,036	35,215	1884-1901
Rangipo Waiu 2	27,550	22,586	1884-1901
Totals	578,152	433,848	

These figures indicate that in blocks in which it was purchasing, the Crown was doing very little to set aside any reserves for Maori. In the early purchases, blocks were acquired in their entirety, while in later purchases the only interests remaining were those of the pupuri whenua (non-sellers) which were not so much ‘reserves’ as land the Crown had not yet acquired. As is evident from later sections of this scoping report, during the twentieth century the Crown continued to acquire individual interests in blocks such as Awarua, further diminishing a Maori land base that had been hit very hard by 1900. Even supposed ‘reserves’, such as Otamakapua 1 (excluded, as noted below, from the wider Otamakapua block when it was sold as Otamakapua in the 1870s) were subject to Crown purchasing in the twentieth century (see below).

¹²¹ AHJR 1899, G-3, p. 12; AJHR 1900, G-3, p. 7.

Waitapu Boundary Issues

The Waitapu boundary issue is relatively well documented, because it was amongst claims by Wellington Province against the colony. These claims related to land revenue to which the Province claimed it was entitled. Despite that, there are still matters arising from Waitapu that require further research. The key sources in this regard have been located and are briefly analysed by Diana Morrow in her 2002 report for the Crown on iwi land interests in the wider Manawatu district.¹²² However, her report is focused on identifying iwi interests rather than focusing on the broader issues around the Crown's acquisition of Waitapu. Paula Berghan's 2003 'Block Research Narratives for Aorangi and Waitapu, 1873-1930' (Ngati Apa, 2003, pp.76-79) contains a very brief history of Waitapu, but this draws heavily on Morrow and on a single land purchase file (MA-MLP 1/1873/117. Archives New Zealand). Given this, it is still necessary for any Taihape research projects to look at the primary sources she has relied on, check for the existence of any further primary sources, and to draw – as this section of the scoping report has – on the main archival file relating to the adjacent Otamakapua block (MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand).

To summarise what is known, Native Minister Donald McLean discovered in 1872 that the ambiguity about the location of the north-eastern boundary was hindering negotiations for the adjacent Otamakapua block. He admitted that the Rangitikei–Manawatu deed was “not clear in its description,” and advised that it be located and surveyed in order to facilitate the sale of the adjacent inland block (Otamakapua).¹²³ A survey of the correct line from Waitapu to Parimanuka was completed in January 1873 and the government's negotiations at this stage were principally with Renata Kawepo and Utiku Potaka.¹²⁴ It is not clear if the boundary from Waitapu to Umutoi was also surveyed, or merely marked on the map: the triangular block was included in the 1875 survey of Otamakapua 2, and only later separated out from it.¹²⁵

As title to the triangular portion from Waitapu to Umutoi to Parimanuka had not been extinguished, the Crown sought to acquire what became known as the Waitapu block (29,484 acres). As in 1872, Waitapu was entangled in the protracted negotiations over the Otamakapua block. Utiku Potaka referred to a hui held at Whangaehu in 1875 to discuss the matter, but two years later Kawana Hunia asserted to the government that the matter “rests with Pera [Aperahama Tipae?] and Renata [Kawepo] to say who the people are who have a

¹²² Morrow, Diana, 'Iwi Interests in the Manawatu c.1820–c.1910', OTS, 2002, pp.192-200.

¹²³ AJHR, 1872, G-4, p.13.

¹²⁴ MA-MLP 1/1873/117. Archives New Zealand. Cited in Morrow, pp.193-194.

¹²⁵ Booth to Native Land Purchase Department Under-Secretary Gill, 24 June 1880. MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

claim to it.” Two years later, Kawana asserted of Waitapu that, “possession...was given into my hand by Sir D. Mclean,” and asked that the government conclude the purchase.¹²⁶ It seems unlikely that Kawana meant the Crown had formally granted him title, but rather that he believed the matter was put into his hands. One issue yet to be resolved is what title Waitapu was held under, and how this title was determined and awarded. No record of a Native Land Court title investigation has been located to date.¹²⁷ Kawana Hunia asserted on several occasions that McLean gave, or granted, the land to him, but the issuing of a Crown grant before title was determined seems unlikely.

The fate of Waitapu was eventually caught up with the adjacent and far larger Otamakapua purchase, so it was not resolved until 1879. The purchase of Waitapu was at the same rate as that paid for Otamakapua – 10 shillings per acre (rather more than the Crown typically paid, but well under the value of this prime land).¹²⁸ As in 1872, Waitapu proved to be the stumbling block to the Otamakapua purchase, with Native Minister John Bryce insisting that Native Land Purchase Officer James Booth complete Waitapu before seeking to finalise the Otamakapua purchase, as Waitapu was “the key to the larger block.” A particular issue was Kawana Hunia’s opposition to the proposed division of the Waitapu purchase payment; something that, as Bryce noted, needed to be resolved before the even more complex division of the Otamakapua payment could be arranged.¹²⁹ The resolution of the matter is clear: in November and December 1879 half the total purchase price of £14,742 was paid to Kawana Hunia and others, and half to Utiku Potaka and numerous others (whose names will need to be ascertained). Kawana Hunia’s group received half the payment, and Utiku Potaka’s group the other half.¹³⁰

It may not be possible to ascertain how the purchase payments were distributed and how this related to interests in the land, but further research may reveal more. Existing research reveals a reference to the division of the Waitapu payment in the minutes for the title investigation to Otumore: Hanapeke Matina of Ngati Tumokai (and Rangitane), whanaunga to Hoani

¹²⁶ MA-MLP 1/1873/117. Archives New Zealand. Cited in Morrow, pp.194-195.

¹²⁷ The Crown purchase deed for Waitapu should assist in resolving this question as it is likely to refer to the title to land being acquired. It would have been unusual for the Crown to acquire land at this late date without title having been determined.

¹²⁸ Wilson, for instance, notes that private purchasers paid 11 shillings per acre for the adjacent Rangatira block but that the expenses associated with the purchase (survey, land tax, and NLC-related costs), which they had agreed to bear, more than doubled the actual price, to £1 3s. per acre (Wilson, p.239).

¹²⁹ Native Minister Bryce to Native Land Purchase Officer Booth, 17 October 1879. MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

¹³⁰ Native Land Purchase Department Ledgers, MA-MLP 7/2, p.290, and and 7/9, pp.44, 55. Archives New Zealand, and; AJHR, 1880, C-3, p.9. Cited in Morrow, pp.197-198.

Meihana and Hamuera Raikokoritia (of Ngati Tumokai), said she received a share of the Waitapu payment from Kawana Hunia at Whangaehu, on account of her Ngati Tumokai connections.¹³¹ When hearing Kawana Hunia's petition for a rehearing of Otamakapua 2, the Native Affairs Committee was informed by Ratana Ngahina of Ngati Apa that the Waitapu payment (or, perhaps more likely, a portion of it) was given to Renata Kawepo even though Ngati Apa believed he was not in the title to Waitapu.¹³² This is in contrast to Kawana Hunia's earlier advice (see above) to McLean that Renata Kawepo was one of the two key figures who should decide who held "the mana of the land."

Waitapu, at first glance, appears to be a relatively simple boundary issue that was resolved to the satisfaction of those who pointed out the survey error in the Rangitikei–Manawatu purchase. Yet, it is clearly linked in to a range of wider questions about customary rights, and also to questions of leadership and management of land dealings, in a critical area of the Taihape inquiry district. Further research, particularly into manuscript and perhaps newspaper sources, is likely to prove illuminating. The rather more straightforward matter of the title to Waitapu will also need to be resolved.

Lands in the South of the Taihape District

The more accessible blocks in the south of the district were the first to be alienated, with the exception of the small Taraketi block, which was effectively a reserve from the adjacent Paraekaretu block when that was put through the NLC with a view to selling it. Blocks such as Paraekaretu, Otamakapua, Rangatira, and Otairi were closest to existing Crown and private land holdings and were alienated in the 1870s and early 1880s. The Crown acquired the bulk of these lands, but Rangatira was subject to private purchasing, and the Crown secured only a portion of Otairi. With the exception of Otamakapua and Mangoira (see below), very little is currently known about the alienation of these lands. Wilson's local history of the Rangitikei district, *Early Rangitikei* (Christchurch, 1914), contains some brief mention of when and to whom some of the blocks were alienated, but as his work is not referenced it is of little use.

Otamakapua

The first and most significant purchase in the south of the district was the southernmost block: Otamakapua (104,521 acres). Again, Morrow has looked at Otamakapua, but from the perspective of assessing various iwi interests in the block rather than all of the relevant

¹³¹ Otaki NLC MB No. 47, p.148. Cited in Morrow, p.199.

¹³² Le 1/1881/5. Archives New Zealand. Cited in Morrow, p.199.

historical issues. Her brief analysis of the available archival and minute book research forms a useful starting point, but will need to be supplemented by further research on the wider issues around the title investigation and alienation of Otamakapua.¹³³ The principal primary sources are the Maori Affairs special file on Otamakapua (MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand), and the various minute books relating to the title investigation of Otamakapua.

Briefly put, when first surveyed, this enormous block comprised more than 147,000 acres, but after the Waitapu land (29,484 acres, see above), an overlap with Mangoira (2,115 acres), the Otamakapua 1 'reserve' (8,952 acres) were deducted, along 2,253 acres lost in an apparent survey error, the block was reduced to 104,521 acres.¹³⁴ As with other southern blocks (see below), it appears that a pending purchase may have been behind the first applications in 1870 and 1871 to have title to part of Otamakapua investigated. The applications related to the 8,952 acres that later became Otamakapua 1 (the smaller block to be excluded from the purchase of Otamakapua), with the surrounding main block being Otamakapua 2, which the Crown sought to acquire. The Otamakapua 1 'reserve' (comprised of Mangamoko and Takapurau) extended east of the Rangitikei River opposite Ohingaiti.¹³⁵ By 1870 the Mangamoko portion was leased out to Richard Hammond at £100 per annum while Takapurua was leased to William Marshall. (Hammond later acquired the freehold of much of the Rangatira block to the south, while Marshall seems to have remained: old maps show a settlement called Marshall, located between Otamakapua 1 and Rangiwhia. Dr Curl was also leasing land in this area.)¹³⁶

The 1870 claimants were Aropata Potaka (of "Ngati Hauiti, of Upokoiri")¹³⁷ and his son Utiku Potaka (of Ngati Te Ao of Ngai Te Upokoiri), as well as other important Ngati Hauiti figures (whose tribal affiliation was not actually recorded in the minutes), Ema Te Naihi, Te Retimana Te Rango, and others. Title was ordered for just seven grantees,¹³⁸ but at a rehearing later that year, Utiku withdrew the claim, with a view to bringing it forward at a later date (presumably after amending the ownership list). Renata Kawepo (speaking for Ngati Hinemanu) responded: "Nako te korero a Utiku e korero nei," indicating that he and

¹³³ Morrow, pp.71-103.

¹³⁴ MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

¹³⁵ See, for instance, Otamakapua 2 deed in MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

¹³⁶ See maps folded into back pocket of Wilson.

¹³⁷ It is not clear if he meant that Ngati Hauiti was a hapu of Ngai Te Upokoiri, or was simply listing the two tribal groups who were claiming the land; Ngati Hauiti and Ngai Te Upokoiri. The latter seems more likely. Indeed, it was more typical for Ngati Hauiti witnesses to refer to Ngai Te Upokoiri as a hapu of Ngati Hauiti.

¹³⁸ Whanganui NLC MB No. 1B, pp.87-90.

Utiku would discuss the matter before the claim was brought back to the Court.¹³⁹ Despite this evidence of Renata's challenge to the claim, the Court was advised that one reason for the withdrawal was that Aropata Potaka wished to bring on the wider Otamakapua block (later Otamakapua 2) for hearing together with Otamakapua 1.¹⁴⁰ Others who later became involved in the block included Hoani Meihana and Hoani Rangiotu, typically seen as Rangitane but in this instance asserting claims as Ngati Tumokai. (Title to Otamakapua 1 was resolved without objection in 1880, being awarded to just 13 owners).

Thereafter, Otamakapua 1 and 2 were closely connected but the titles were not finalised until some years after Crown negotiations for Otamakapua began in earnest in about October 1874. The first person consulted was Renata Kawepo, described in this context as Ngati Hinemanu, and it was he who dominated the early negotiations, even offering to sell Otamakapua 2 at the same time. By Crown standards, the price of 10 shillings per acre was fairly high, although the land was valuable and well adapted to quick settlement. Renata received some significant payments, with a £3,200 advance paid in May 1875, followed just days later by a £2,000 payment for services to the government in negotiating the sale, assisting with survey, and bearing other expenses. Interestingly, he later referred to himself in connection with Otamakapua as only a "pupuri noa iho."¹⁴¹

Remarkably, the £2,000 payment to Renata was not part of the purchase price, but part of what the government dubbed 'incidental' expenses. Other incidentals included more than £1,000 later paid to the lawyer Walter Buller for his role in assisting in the purchase (he also having acted for Ngati Hauiti at the 1879 title investigation). McLean had initially offered Renata £2,000 'only', but Renata told him he would reject the money unless he was offered a great deal more, which seems to have led to the £2,000 being put down as 'incidentals' and the sum of £3,200 then being offered. The purchase involved some figures who had already proved notorious in shonky Maori land dealings in Hawke's Bay, such as R. D. Maney, who in 1875 received the handsome sum of £300 for his negotiations for Ngai Te Upokoiri interests in Otamakapua.¹⁴²

By 1876, it was clear that further progress depended on title being determined, so the Crown could complete its purchase from registered owners. Finding a venue proved difficult, with the local people pushing for Bulls or Marton, while Renata Kawepo preferred Omaha. Every

¹³⁹ Whanganui NLC MB No. 1B, pp.107-8.

¹⁴⁰ Whanganui NLC MB No. 1B, pp.107-8.

¹⁴¹ MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

¹⁴² MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

time a hearing was scheduled at a local venue he would object and seek an adjournment to Omaha. Ngati Apa entered the fray, seeking a hearing at Whanganui. Ultimately, the hearing was scheduled at Omaha in 1879; a venue that would appear to unduly favour absentee claimants from a completely different region. However, the government's Maori-language newspaper, *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, asserted that this venue was selected by common consent, after Renata offered to host all other claimants. There was a lengthy pre-Court hui at Omaha, lasting several weeks, at which it initially appeared that it was agreed that the title would be simplified down to just two representative owners: Renata for Ngati Hauiti and Aperahama Tipae for Ngati Apa. When this offer later foundered, Renata insisted it was an act of grace on his part and that he actually denied that Ngati Apa had any rights to Otamakapua.¹⁴³

Buller presented the Ngati Hauiti case, which included Utiku Potaka for Ngati Hauiti as well as Wiari Turoa for Ngati Hinemanu, Retimana for Ngati Tama[kopiri], and Raita for Ngati Whiti[kaupeka]. Utiku also noted that Ngai Te Upokoiri had lived on Otamakapua, which was evidently something of a Mokai Patea block. Aperahama Tipae claimed for the Ngati Hauiti hapu Ngati Rangiwhaeo, but Utiku rejected this claim (perhaps viewing it as a covert Ngati Apa claim). Kawana Hunia and others raised a direct Ngati Apa claim (through Tonganui and Ngati Tupaaku), which Utiku rejected. Hone [Hoani?] Meihana claimed for Ngati Tumokai, who Utiku then admitted to his claim.¹⁴⁴

Ngati Apa claimed an extensive portion Kawana Hunia called Tapuai (or Tapuwai), which extended from Mangamoko Stream (opposite Ohingaiti) all the way to Kiwitea and the Oroua River, to the Rangitikei–Manawatu block, west to Waitapu Stream, and up the Rangitikei to Mangamoko Stream. This took in not only Otamakapua 1 but also Waitapu (already committed to sale to the Crown). Unfortunately, neither Kawana nor his other witnesses could give a great deal of evidence to prove their occupation or knowledge of the block. By contrast, Utiku Potaka, for the claimants, displayed an impressively detailed knowledge of the land, including landmarks, tracks, pa, hunting grounds, and tuna fishing spots. He also convincingly attacked the credibility of key elements of Ngati Apa's case (he testified, for instance, that Papaohauiti was not a Ngati Apa cultivation, as they had claimed, but a pile of stones where Ngati Apa had killed Hauiti). At the same time, Utiku confirmed that his

¹⁴³ *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, 25 October 1879, pp.542-551.

¹⁴⁴ Napier NLC MB No. 5, pp.129ff. In this instance, Ngati Tumokai's connections to Ngati Hauiti are acknowledged, but in other blocks (nearer the coast) they were usually seen as closer to Ngati Apa (Morrow, pp.77-8), but they had of course fought alongside Ngati Hauiti against Ngati Apa in earlier years (as Retimana Te Rango later testified; Napier NLC MB No. 5, cited in *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, 25 October 1879, pp.546-9).

relationship with Ngati Apa had previously been more amicable: until about 1876 he had been married to Rakera, a daughter of Kawana Hunia (but also of Ngati Hauiti descent; see above), and that he had been living with Ngati Apa on friendly terms in the early 1870s. Further weakening the Ngati Apa claim was the evidence of Hue Te Huri of Ngati Pikiahu at Te Reureu, who denied any knowledge of their presence on Otamakapua.¹⁴⁵

The judgment of the NLC in 1879 dismissed the Ngati Apa claim and, while dismissing Aperahama Tipae's claim through Ngati Rangiwahao, insisted that the rangatira himself did have a claim and would need to be included in the lists to be prepared by the six groups to whom title was awarded: Ngati Hauiti, Ngati Hinemanu, Ngati Tamakopiri, Ngati Whitikaupeka, Ngai Te Upokoiri, and Ngati Tumokai. (Aperahama was later included under the Ngati Hinemanu list.) The Court advised that these tribes should agree on an ownership list, or lists (for each tribe), or otherwise it could ascertain their relative shares.¹⁴⁶ After adjournments and debate, tribal representatives agreed on 94 names for the title, although these were far from all of the actual owners (for instance, only 7 Ngati Tumokai were included when it was noted that the tribe comprised about 50 people).¹⁴⁷

Ngati Apa responded by unsuccessfully appealing and then petitioning for a rehearing, along the way raising points that may merit closer examination in subsequent research (for instance, in relation to Ngati Apa claims, the Omaha sitting, and Ngati Tumokai's relationships with other tribal groups).

Despite the title being resolved, the Ngati Apa appeals delays in agreeing on the relative interests and distribution of the Crown's purchase money continued to hold up the completion of a purchase commenced more than five years earlier. In particular, Ngati Hinemanu sought an equal share for all of those named on the title, but this would have proved grossly unfair to most other groups who had nominated only one or two tribal representatives, whereas Ngati Hinemanu had insisted on putting every individual entitled to claim in Otamakapua (possibly because they did not trust Renata to equally distribute Ngati Hinemanu's share of the purchase payment). Aperahama Tipae's share was another sticking point.¹⁴⁸

Finally, in 1882 the allocation of shares was taken to the Native Land Court. Native Land Purchase Officer Booth, who had managed most of the Otamakapua 2 purchase, spoke for the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Napier NLC MB No. 5, pp.239-40.

¹⁴⁷ Op cit, pp.255-8.

¹⁴⁸ MA 13/58. Archives New Zealand.

Ngati Hauiti groups, but said he appeared as the ‘resident interpreter’ rather than as a land purchase officer; a rather shaky assertion that will require closer scrutiny. Manawatu settler Alexander McDonald appeared for Aperahama, whose claim appeared to be the only remaining sticking point. Agreement appeared to have been reached but eventually foundered, and the case was dismissed in order for a fresh application to be made.¹⁴⁹ The matter was not back before the Court until 1884, before which several hui were held at Te Houhou to resolve the issue. Finally, in April 1884 an agreement was submitted to the Court under which Ngati Hinemanu (38,000 acres), Ngati Hauiti (20,000 acres), and Ngai Te Upokoiri (18,000 acres) received the bulk of the purchase payment, with Ngati Tumokai on 12,000 acres, Ngati Whiti and Ngati Tama with 7,000 acres each, and Aperahama Tipae receiving 2,000 acres. The total of 104,000 acres, worth £52,000. The final Court awards were not quite in accord with the agreement. For instance, Ema Retimana raised a personal claim, as she had been unable to attend the Omahu hearing and was omitted from the title. She was awarded 250 acres. A further 1,200 acres was set aside for four children of the Karauria whanau (successors to Haromi Te Ata, of Hawke’s Bay). Finally, the 10 acre Matuahu urupa was excluded from the Crown award as an inalienable reserve.¹⁵⁰

The extent to which the Crown’s purchase, and the apparently large cash payments on offer, influenced how the title to Otamakapua 2 is evident, but is also worth of further research. The contrast with Otamakapua 1 is striking: after the title to Otamakapua 2 was awarded in 1879, title to Otamakapua 1 was quietly resolved without conflict and awarded to Utiku Potaka and 12 others. As noted earlier, Hue Te Huri observed in 1880 that many who had no rights through occupation and who had rarely, if ever, been on Otamakapua 2, emerged to assert rights. It was only in 1894, when relative interests in the Otamakapua 1 were ascertained, that the importance of occupation emerged. The Court acknowledged, “that if there was a case where the shares should be unequal,” it was Otamakapua 1; quite possibly the same stricture should have applied to Otamakapua 2. As a result of considering occupation, the successors to Aropata and Utiku Potaka received large awards and Ema Retimana, Paramena Te Naonao, and a few others received moderate awards, whereas some (such as Retimana Te Rango) received only very small awards.¹⁵¹ This was promptly appealed, and a gaggle of lawyers litigated the case in 1895, with the result that most awards were slightly adjusted (except the tiny 62 acres awarded to Retimana Te Rango).¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Whanganui NLC MB No. 7, pp.47-8.

¹⁵⁰ Op cit, p.69.

¹⁵¹ Whanganui NLC MB No. 21, pp.372-421.

¹⁵² Morrow, p.97.

Despite the attempt of Ngati Hauiti, and Utiku Potaka in particular, to retain Otamakapua 1 as a reserve when all of the surrounding land was sold, the definition of relative interests in 1895 was the prelude to the fragmentation and alienation of the block. From 1898 through to 1915, Crown and private purchasing reduced this ‘reserve’ by about 3,000 acres.¹⁵³ These transactions, and subsequent piecemeal alienations, require further research, particularly continued Crown purchasing in the twentieth century of land intended as a reserve and amongst the few areas of Maori land remaining in the immediate district (the Crown acquired two extensive portions and two very small blocks in three separate transactions¹⁵⁴). Less than 1,000 acres remain as Maori land today, or about 10 percent of the parent block and less than 1 percent of the original Otamakapua block.

Other blocks in the southern Taihape district

Paraekaretu proved rather simpler to investigate and acquire, with title being awarded by the Native Land Court in 1871 and purchased by the Crown in 1872, it paying £9,135 for the 46,975 acres (or less than 4 shillings per acre, or about one-third the price per acre paid for the adjacent Rangatira block; see below). As with Otamakapua (for which 10 shillings per acre was paid), a key motive for obtaining a NLC title was to enable sale to the Crown. Aperahama Tipae (primarily of Ngati Apa) played a leading role in the process, but so too did Ngati Hauiti. The Taraketi block, taking in important kainga around Te Houhou, was a separate title but it was defined by Ngati Hauiti (represented by Utiku Potaka) as a ‘reserve’ for resident owners when the Paraekaretu block was sold.¹⁵⁵

Rangatira (c.19,500 acres) was acquired through a local agent, Fraser, who was acting on behalf of the Member of Parliament J. Johnston and his partner McKelvie. As noted elsewhere, their relatively modest purchase price of 11 shillings per acre was exclusive of the various expenses associated with NLC titles (surveys, land duty, interpreters fees, legal costs, and sundry other costs), which more than doubled what the land cost them to purchase, although the Maori owners still received only the actual purchase price of 11 shillings per acre.¹⁵⁶ It was not unusual for expenses associated with NLC to consume more than half of the total cost of a land transaction.

¹⁵³ Morrow, p.97.

¹⁵⁴ See Wellington Crown purchase deeds 1098, 1099, and 1106.

¹⁵⁵ Wilson, pp.237-8.

¹⁵⁶ Wilson, p.239.

The Crown secured only a modest central portion of Otairi in the twentieth century (see below), with much of the balance being acquired by several private purchasers soon after title was awarded in 1880.¹⁵⁷ Published returns indicate that, from 1880–85, the following portions were purchased privately: Otairi 1B, 12,560 acres (John Duncan); Otairi 1E, 9,175 acres (Thomas Watt and Henry Churton); Otairi 2B, 3,938 acres (John Duncan); and Otairi 3, 3,772 acres (Donald Fraser) were purchased by private individuals (John Duncan in the case of Otairi 1B and 2B, Thomas Taylor Watt and Henry Churton in the case of Otairi 1E, and Donald Fraser in the case of Otairi 3) in the period between 1880 and 1883.¹⁵⁸ This is a total of 29,445 acres, leaving only a small portion of Otairi in Maori ownership, but this too was purchased by about 1900.

The Crown was more successful in acquiring Te Kapua outright.¹⁵⁹

Other than Mangoira (see below), little is presently known about the alienation of these southern Taihape blocks. It is assumed that the relevant information (notably NLC minutes, NLC files, and any archival land purchase files) will be located as part of the current Research Assistance projects.

Mangoira (35,660 acres), a block lying between Otamakapua and the western Ruahine ranges, has been briefly considered by Morrow¹⁶⁰ although, as before, her focus is on iwi interests rather than the full range of historical issues that need to be considered. From her report, a few key sources and an outline narrative can be gleaned but further primary research is still required, particularly into land purchase records.

Mangoira was before the NLC at Marton in August 1877, being claimed by Utiku Potaka for Ngati Hauiti. He testified that the tipuna Hauiti had lived on the block and that Ngati Hauiti had occupied it thereafter, having seen off challenges from Ngati Apa. However, by 1877 there were no houses or cultivations on the block; reflecting the relatively recent concentration of Ngati Hauiti at Rangitikei valley kainga. The title investigation was brief but a few individuals of Ngati Apa and also of Ngati Hinemanu and Ngai Te Upokoiri did make counter-claims, but these did not succeed. The individual Ngati Apa claims were generally derived from Ngati Hauiti women, who had married into Ngati Apa and whose descendants remained with Ngati Apa. Title was awarded entirely to Ngati Hauiti, being divided equally

¹⁵⁷ Wilson, p.241.

¹⁵⁸ AJHR 1883, G-6, p. 12; AJHR 1885, G-6, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ Wilson, p.241.

¹⁶⁰ Morrow, pp.61-70.

amongst the descendants of Tamateareka, Ngahoa, Tukoki, and Tarahe. Despite the Ngati Apa claim being rejected by the Court, Ngati Hauiti included Wirihana Hunia and Warena Hunia in the title; although they were children of Kawana Hunia (of Ngati Apa), their mother was Reta (or Ruta), of Ngati Hauiti and Ngai Te Upokoiri.¹⁶¹

As with Otamakapua, the Crown had commenced purchase negotiations some years before title was determined, paying a substantial advance of £1,269 in April 1874. This was out of a total intended purchase price of £4,424.¹⁶² This may have influenced how few names were put on the title (just 13), as this facilitated the completion of the purchase. However, full details of the purchase have yet to be ascertained. What is known is that the land was acquired by the Crown and in 1900 was proclaimed as a State Forest, along with other adjacent lands.¹⁶³

Lands in the Centre and North of the Taihape District

The lands in the north of the Taihape district underwent a quite different mode of alienation, commencing with large-scale private run holding from 1867 on a leasehold basis, which was succeeded in some parts by Crown leases that were intended as a prelude to purchase (Rangipo Waiu). In other parts, such as Owhaoko and Mangaohane, private leasing on a large scale continued for some time. In most instances, resolving titles to the lands being leased proved to be a protracted and heavily contested issue, with appeals, rehearings, petitions, and, in the case of Owhaoko, an extensive Parliamentary investigation (see sections below on Mangaohane and the Owhaoko and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa lands).

Existing research on these issues that is relevant to the northern part of the Taihape inquiry includes Robyn Anderson's reports for the Whanganui inquiry, 'Whanganui Iwi and the Crown, 1865-1880' and 'Whanganui Iwi and the Crown, 1880-1900' (CFRT, 2004) as well as the more specific report on Murimotu and Rangipo land dealings by Nicholas Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu, 1860-1900' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004) and the Crown's response on Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu issues, Marian Horan's 'Government lease negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaea, and Rangipo-Waiu' (Crown Law Office, 2005). Another existing report of some relevance to early land dealings in the northern Taihape area is Bruce Stirling's report for the Central North Island inquiry 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview' (CFRT, 2004), which includes some discussion of the 'leasing

¹⁶¹ Wanganui NLC MB No. 2, pp.44-60.

¹⁶² Native Land Purchase Department Ledger. MA-MLP 7/2, p.241. Archives New Zealand. Cited in Morrow, p.66.

¹⁶³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1900, p.103. Cited in Morrow, p.70. See also Le 1, box 449, 1908/254 (being proposals to "disafforest" part of Mangaoira State Forest Reserve). Archives New Zealand.

fever' in the wider area (from Tongariro and southeast to the Kaimanawa portion of the Taihape district) in the late 1860s, as well as interest in the potential gold resources of the district.¹⁶⁴

Briefly put, ambitious plans for run-holding commenced soon after the defeat of Pai Marire in the wider region in 1866. By early 1867 a cabal of Hawke's Bay politicians and would-be gentry were turning their attention to the untapped open lands of Mokai Patea and adjacent lands, which had come to be seen as a strategic area for settlement and pacification. Amongst this group was Governor Grey, Henry and Thomas Russell, Colonel Whitmore, and the colonial official Samuel Locke. They were up against competition from the likes of John Buller (a Wellington Provincial politician) in the south of the district, as well as rival political interests led by the Hawke's Bay politician J. D. Ormond, and big South Island capital in the form of the Studholmes (who also had political influence, not least through John Studholme's role as a Legislative Councillor). Ormond was dealing with Renata Kawepo for a large run in the Owhaoko and Kaimanawa district, while Captain Azim Birch was looking at other land in the vicinity. Despite the efforts of the government-linked cabal, Birch secured what was seen by the government geologist Dr Hector (whose services were secretly called on by the cabal) as "the cream of the whole country." By early 1868, another key figure, Donnelly, was also involved, negotiating for a run adjacent to Birch's on what was later Oruamatua-Kaimanawa.¹⁶⁵

The development of this early run holding in Mokai Patea has been considered to some extent in the existing research from the Whanganui and National Park inquiries (the reports of Anderson, Bayley, and Horan), but with more of a focus on the Rangipo area than on Moawhango, Owhaoko, and Kaimanawa lands. This existing research on Rangipo Waiu land dealings is detailed and sets out the nature and extent of the Crown's dealings in the land in sufficient detail. It also places these dealings within the wider context of private leases and Crown dealings for adjacent land in Murimotu and other blocks. No further research should be required on these issues, other than to specify the role of Taihape district Maori in the events set out in the existing research, and to provide further context on private leases and Crown dealings for lands in the northern Taihape district that were not considered in the Whanganui research.

¹⁶⁴ Bruce Stirling, 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview', CFRT, 2004, pp.16-26 and 84-8.

¹⁶⁵ AJHR, 1877, H-31. See also Stirling, pp.17-25.

To summarise, before significant progress was made outside Birch's run, a brief spate of gold-fever struck the district amidst the campaign against Te Kooti in the southern Taupo district in 1869. The Kaimanawa area was a particular focus of prospectors, and in September 1869 Locke met with southern Taupo men, including Hare Tauteka, as well as Mokai Patea leaders, including Ihakara Te Rango, and claimed to have secured some sort of agreement "handing over" the entire area (about 300,000 acres) to the Crown.¹⁶⁶ This was in the midst of fighting and uncertainty arising out of Te Kooti's continued presence in the district, and those being negotiated with were not entirely representative. The victory of Crown-allied Maori forces over Te Kooti at Porere a few days after the agreement was secured led Ormond to proclaim "possession" of the district, enabling the supposed gold fields of Kaimanawa to be tested. No gold was found, but rumours of some sort of El Dorado deep in the inland ranges continued into the 1870s, with no result.¹⁶⁷

Unlike most of the other central North Island run holders, Birch remained safely on his Oruamatua-Kaimanawa run through Te Kooti's campaign, even supplying cattle to feed those who attacked Te Kooti at Porere. His run provided a springboard for one his employees, Robert Batley, who subsequently opened a store at Moawhango and then established his own run, based at the settlement growing around Moawhango.

The situation to the west, on Rangipo and further west, was more fraught. From the early 1870s, the government began competing with the existing private interests jockeying for leases; leases that would, it was anticipated, be transformed into purchases once positions were secure and title determined by the NLC. Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupaka were actively involved in bringing sheep on to Rangipo-Waiu at this time. Studholme sought to secure his interests in Murimotu and Rangipo through collaborating with the government from 1874 in its purchase, in exchange for the right to lease the land from the government when it secured its rights to the land.¹⁶⁸

At the time, Ngati Tama interests were primarily represented by Topia Turoa, while Renata Kawepo sought to oppose dealings that did not acknowledge his rights in the area. This led to competition between the two rangatira, with Renata demanding that stock run on Rangipo-Waiu by a Pakeha leasing from Topia and others be removed, leading to confrontations on the land. These disputes continued through to the early 1880s, and the NLC's investigation of

¹⁶⁶ Locke to Ormond, 27 September 1869. AGG-HB 1/1, item 223. Archives New Zealand. Cited in Stirling, p.85.

¹⁶⁷ Stirling, pp.85-88.

¹⁶⁸ Bayley, pp.39ff.

title, beginning in 1881, did little to resolve these tensions. Ngati Tama interests were, however, acknowledged over Rangipo-Waiu, but the NLC did not distinguished their interests from those of Ngati Rangi in the same block, leading to a fraught partition hearings.¹⁶⁹ Through to 1900, the Crown acquired individual interests in Rangipo-Waiu, when it finally partitioned out those interests, with the remaining Ngati Tama and Ngati Rangi owners also having their interests separated out in distinct parts of what remained of the block.¹⁷⁰

Owhaoko and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa Blocks

Difficulties over pre-title land dealings and NLC titles were almost as pronounced on Oruamatua-Kaimanawa and Owhaoko lands as they were in Rangipo Waiu. Certainly, the most complicated case before the Native Land Court relating to the lands in the Taihape inquiry district relates to the twin investigations of title for Owhaoko and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa. Even a cursory look at the evidence available about the multiple hearings to determine the ownership of these blocks by the Court reveals much chicanery and underhanded tactics by officials and agents closely connected to the Court, not to mention a failure on the part of the Court to adhere to the law and its processes.

Hazel Riseborough's recent book *Ngamatea* is a useful introduction to some of the issues between Maori and the Crown in this part of the Taihape district, most notably the Owhaoko blocks on which the Ngamatea station is situated. The opening chapters outline some of the traditional Maori history of the area, and introduce the issues faced by Maori – land alienation by way of leasing and purchase, introduction of the Native Land Court and subsequent disputes, and some of the twentieth century issues, including the Owhaoko gift block (see below) – in a fairly broad manner. It thus serves as a solid base from which to build on with additional primary research for this part of the Taihape district, particularly into Native Land Court minutes, newspapers, and government archives.

Beyond Riseborough's work, the key published primary sources are the government papers about the Owhaoko title and some early dealings in it, tabled in Parliament and published in AJHR and AJLC in 1886 (AJHR, 1886, G-9 and I-8, 1887, G-1, and AJLC, 1887, No. 1, 1A and 2). These official sources are relied on heavily for the following summary narrative.

The whole saga began in 1875 when a small group of Maori, headed by Renata Kawepo, applied to have the title to the two blocks investigated by the Court. The hearing was gazetted

¹⁶⁹ Bayley, pp.102ff.

¹⁷⁰ Bayley, pp.168ff.

on 7 September 1875, and held a mere nine days later at Napier. The only claimants to appear and give evidence before the Court were Renata Kawepo and Noa Huke, claiming both blocks. With respect to the Oruamatua-Kaimanawa block, Huke stated in evidence that there were other people living on the land who had a claim to the land, and who were not present at the Court hearing. Although Huke claimed that they were included in the list supplied by Renata Kawepo, in his investigation of the whole sorry saga some years later Sir Robert Stout noted that:

It will also be noticed that even in the application it was stated that there were “others” beyond the names mentioned who claimed to be the owners, and that Renata omits some of the names that appear in the notice from his list.¹⁷¹

In the hearings for Owhaoko 1 and 2, which amounted to 38,220 acres, Huke stated in evidence that:

There are a great many more living in Patea. We three are all here. I will give a long explanation with respect to those absent, all of whom have settled that this block of land is to be set apart for a school endowment. It is to be inalienable. That is the reason this portion has been taken from the large survey – so that the other portion may be for the people. The large block has not been investigated. It is left for the people to decide among themselves whether it shall be put through the Court or not.¹⁷²

The presiding Judge deemed that the title investigation was straightforward, and ordered the memorial of ownership for Oruamatua-Kaimanawa block in favour of Renata Kawepo, Karaitiana Te Rango, Ihakara Te Raro, Te Retimana Te Rango, and Horima Te Ahunga, noting he would order the memorial of ownership for Owhaoko lands upon completion of survey. The peculiarity of ordering the memorial of ownership in this situation – when there was clear admission that there were other claimants interested in the land, and that their consent was not asked for when the memorial of ownership was ordered – was noted by Stout in his later investigation.¹⁷³

The backlash from the other owners was not long in coming. Hepiri Pikirangi Te Hau wrote to NLC Chief Judge F. D. Fenton in December 1875 asking for:

[another] sitting of the Native Land Court to adjudicate upon our lands which were brought before the Court held at Napier. The names of the lands are

¹⁷¹ Cited in Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.2.

¹⁷² Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.2.

¹⁷³ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.3.

Ohaoko [sic], Mataipuku, Papakai, Ruamatua, Whangaipotiki, Ohinewairua, Oarenga, and Kaimanawa. We were too late for the first Court, the reason being that we only received notices on the 13th, and on the 16th the Court sat. We travelled night and day, but did not arrive in time for it; and therefore we send this application. Friend, Mr. Fenton, do you accede to this request; and if the letter reaches you answer it, so that we may be aware of your decision on the subject.¹⁷⁴

Despite this plea, no re-hearing was granted for the Oruamatua-Kaimanawa block at this time. Renata Kawepo had objected to a re-hearing, and Donald McLean, upon learning that the land in question was then being leased by Birch and that the claimants now asserting their interests had allegedly not claimed any rents from Birch, refused a re-hearing.

In 1876, Renata Kawepo applied to have the rest of the Owhaoko block – 164,000 acres – investigated, a claim that was gazetted on 27 June 1876 and heard with undue promptitude on 1 August 1876. Renata Kawepo was the principal claimant and only witness examined, and the Court once again accepted Renata as the principal claimant and assumed there were no objections to his claim, although somewhat peculiarly, no actual decision regarding the ownership of this block was given at the time. The memorial of ownership for Owhaoko – for Renata Kawepo, Ihakara Te Raro, Retimana Te Rango, Noa Huke, Hira Te Oke and Karaitiana Te Rango – was only ordered some four months later at a sitting of the Court at Porangahau on 2 December 1876, although it is clear that no adjudication regarding the Owhaoko block was made on that day. This subsequently raised questions about the legality of the title.¹⁷⁵

Once again, other Maori claiming interest in Owhaoko demanded a re-hearing. Topia Turoa wrote to the Governor in January 1878 asking that Owhaoko be re-heard, noting that:

We have only now heard that the land was adjudicated on at Turanga (Gisborne), the case having been adjourned from Napier. As for this hearing at Gisborne, we heard nothing whatever about it, and did not see a single Kahiti.

Therefore we pray that you will be pleased to have that land re-opened, because we, the whole tribe of Tuwharetoa, have large interests in that land.¹⁷⁶

After some correspondence, Chief Judge Fenton recommended in September 1878 that a re-hearing be held, but nothing was done on the matter through 1879, largely due to an error by

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.3.

¹⁷⁵ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.6.

¹⁷⁶ Quoted in Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.7.

the NLC, who seemingly confused the dates of the original judgment and the application for re-hearing (the application for a re-hearing had to be submitted within 12 months), although Fenton saw no reason that the re-hearing could not go ahead.¹⁷⁷ Throughout 1879 further applications for a re-hearing were made, and even Gilbert Mair wrote on behalf of Ngati Tuwharetoa in August 1879 pleading for the case to be re-heard, as he believed that they had a real grievance.¹⁷⁸

The change in Government in 1879 seemed to finally put things in motion. The new Native Minister, Bryce, advised the Governor to grant a re-hearing of the Owhaoko block, which was duly done on 4 February 1880, and the Court sitting was to take place on 30 June 1880. Yet no re-hearing took place at this time – Walter Buller, who acted for Renata Kawepo and the Owhaoko lessee John Studholme, succeeded in getting the re-hearing adjourned even while admitting in the process that a majority of the Owhaoko claimants lived in the Taupo district. The re-hearing was then gazetted for 29 October 1880. Buller in the meantime had obtained the names of the applicants for the re-hearing – Topia Turoa, Hohepa Tamamutu, Perenara Te Papanui, Rawiri Kahia, Te Rangitahau, Te Rehu Te Keka, Te Heahea [Te Heuheu?] and Paurini Karamu – and made his way to Taupo to cajole them into withdrawing their demand for a re-hearing.¹⁷⁹ On 26 October Buller again intervened, wiring Fenton that he had forwarded to him a signed withdrawal of application for re-hearing from the original applicants, and by 27 October Fenton confirmed that the application for re-hearing was withdrawn. The document Buller forwarded to Fenton stated:

This is a request from us, the persons applying for a rehearing of Owhaoko, that the claim for a rehearing contained in our letter to the Government of the 31st January 1878 may be cancelled.

We have seen the Gazette notifying that that land will be heard at Napier on the 29th October. Let it (our application) be entirely cancelled.¹⁸⁰

The document was ostensibly signed by all eight original applicants, although only three signed personally – Topia Turoa, Hohepa Tamamutu, and Te Rehu Te Keka – while the other signatures were written in Tamamutu's handwriting. There were subsequently allegations (strenuously denied by Buller, who was apparently a teetotaller) from Maori interested in

¹⁷⁷ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.8.

¹⁷⁸ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.8.

¹⁷⁹ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, pp.9-10.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.12.

Owhaoko that Buller had plied the applicants with liquor before getting them to sign the withdrawal notice.

Buller then appeared before the Court on 1 November 1880, formally seeking to have the application for the re-hearing withdrawn (apparently now appearing for the Tuwharetoa claimants). The Chief Judge, however, expressed some doubts as to what the impact would be on the current title with the withdrawal of the application, eventually deciding to submit the case to Supreme Court.¹⁸¹

In the meantime, Ngati Tuwharetoa claimants raised doubts about the validity of the withdrawal of the application for a re-hearing Buller had forwarded to Fenton. On 3 November 1880 Heperi Pikirangi wrote to Fenton stating:

This is a greeting to you on account of the good way in which you administer the law; also to inform you of the reason of our being late for the first hearing of Owhaoko. When the Kahiti reached us we commenced to catch our horses, and came. When we arrived the investigation was over. Owhaoko was below some other lands in the Kahiti, and Renata had it placed before them, with the intention that it should be over on our arrival. We then waited till the Court was opened; and the Judge would not consent. We then sent claims to the Government and the Chief Judge, and our application was granted. The Kahiti for the hearing of that land came here, and we came on account of that Kahiti. Renata had it stopped. I waited for the Court to have it adjourned to Taupo. We went to that Court, and Renata had it stopped. On account of this Kahiti he sent Mr. Buller to Taupo to work mischief among the people of that place. He wrote the names of absent persons to his letter asking that the Court should not be opened. When they came here they caught Te Rehu and asked him to sign his name, but he would not consent; he was paid £5. There are other words that I cannot write.¹⁸²

Further letters from Tuwharetoa claimants came flooding in. Hohepa Tamamutu sent a telegram to Native Minister Bryce on 11 November 1880 stating:

We request that you will remove our names from the document withdrawing the Owhaoko case from Court. We now wish the hearing to go on. This lawyer, Dr. Buller, cajoled us to sign our names to the draft document you gave him. Friend the Minister, let the title to Owhaoko be reheard at Napier. We, the persons who signed Dr. Buller's document, agree to it.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, pp.12-14.

¹⁸² Quoted in Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.15.

¹⁸³ Quoted in Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.15. Bryce was befuddled by the telegram, noting that he had given no draft document for signature to Buller.

That something nefarious had gone on is further confirmed by the letter from Rawiri Kahia, written on 10 November 1880. He stated:

This is a word of explanation to you with reference to the report that has reached me to the effect that I was one of the persons who wished to stop the Court investigating the title to the Owhaoko Block. Now, I state that I did not see my name signed to that document. It was signed secretly without my concurrence, and I ask that my name may be erased from that document stopping the operation of the Court with respect to the investigation of the title to Owhaoko. I did not wish to stop the Court. I have a surveyor in that block; therefore it is that I say that my name should be erased from that document, and placed in the document agreeing to the investigation of the title to the portion of that block called Owhaoko, in which I am interested. Therefore I say that I should be omitted from that document. There are two reasons for this: first, lest it should apply to all my interests; and secondly, my name having been appended to that document without my knowledge. I am of opinion that the Court should be reopened.

I object to a statement reported to have been made by Hohepa Tamamutu, to the effect that he was justified in placing a person's name to that document without his knowledge, or secretly forwarding the claims of a person to certain lands. I say, No. Let him deal with his interests, and me with mine, which would only be acting according to law.¹⁸⁴

Yet despite these strong indications of underhanded tactics on Buller's behalf, no action was taken by the Government. The Supreme Court heard Fenton's submission in July 1881 – in which he made no mention of the letters questioning the validity of Buller's withdrawal of the application for the re-hearing – and it granted the right of the Native Land Court to uphold the original decision in this case.¹⁸⁵

It appears that significant tension was rising between different claimant groups at this time. In February 1881 Renata Kawepo sent an armed party to the Owhaoko-Mangaohane boundary, and it seems an armed confrontation with the Moawhango people was narrowly avoided only after the latter surprised Kawepo's party during a religious service, taking their weapons and escorting them back to Hawke's Bay.¹⁸⁶

Further applications for another re-hearing of Owhaoko block continued through 1882 to 1884, but nothing was done. In 1884 a major application for the subdivision of the Owhaoko block came before the Court, with Renata Kawepo being awarded the largest share, and the

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, pp.15-16.

¹⁸⁵ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.17.

¹⁸⁶ Hazel Riseborough, *Ngamatea: The Land and the People*, Auckland, 2006, pp.7-8.

subdivision orders were made without any reference to the 28,000 acres of Owhaoko 1 which had been set apart as a school reserve and made inalienable.¹⁸⁷ In the same year, some of the Moawhango people moved onto the Owhaoko block – just inside the southern boundary of Owhaoko C3B – thus clearly stating their claim to the land. They also had a post at Kuripapango, a pou called Whitikaupeka. As Riseborough writes, “[i]t was all an assertion of their mana whenua, especially against the claims of the Omaha people [Renata Kawepo and his co-claimants].”¹⁸⁸

By 1886, the Government could no longer ignore the protests over the whole saga, and a large mass of papers relating to the Owhaoko and Oruamatua Kaimanawa title investigations was forwarded to the Attorney General Sir Robert Stout for investigation. Stout was highly critical of the entire process, and summarised the result of his investigation as follows:

- No valid orders regarding the Owhaoko blocks had ever been made by the Native Land Court;
- That the order for Oruamatua Kaimanawa was improperly made since the Court had been informed that other persons had interests in the land;
- That the Native Land Court in adjourning the Court sine die and in dealing with the question of withdrawal of the rehearing in the absence of the claimants concerned acted both improperly and illegally.

Stout recommended that in the interests of justice to all the claimants, the Government needed to introduce special legislation ordering a re-hearing of whole of the blocks.¹⁸⁹ Following an extensive select committee inquiry by the Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands Committee,¹⁹⁰ that legislation came in the form of the Owhaoko and Kaimanawa-Oruamatua Reinvestigation of Title Act, passed on 18 August 1886. The select committee inquiry that preceded the passage of the Act included evidence from Fenton, by then retired, that is revealing of the *modus operandi* of the NLC and the attitudes and behaviour of Fenton as Chief Judge. This evidence will need to be further explored in subsequent research.

The re-hearing took place in the middle of 1887, the first time all the claimants interested in the land appeared before the Court. At this hearing, Renata’s claim was rejected, although at a yet another re-hearing in 1888 his claim was recognised, albeit too late for him, for he had died a few weeks before the Court commenced sitting. The Court eventually awarded around

¹⁸⁷ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.22.

¹⁸⁸ Riseborough, p.8.

¹⁸⁹ Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Native Lands, Memorandum by Sir Robert Stout, G-9, AJHR 1886, p.23.

¹⁹⁰ AJHR, 1886, I-8.

20,000 acres on the northern side of the block to the original applicants Ngati Kurapoto and Ngati Maruahine (or Maruwahine) of Ngati Tuwharetoa, on the basis of conquest, with that part of the block becoming known as Owhaoko A. Owhaoko B, a small block estimated at 7,225 acres on the western side of the block was awarded to Ngati Tama, and Owhaoko C, on the eastern side and estimated at 36,125 acres was awarded to Renata Kawepo, Noa Huke, Paramena Te Naonao, Anaru Te Wanikau, and such of their co-claimants as could prove descent and occupation, as well as to Airini Donnelly and her co-claimants. By far the largest share of the block – estimated at 101,150 acres and known as Owhaoko D – was awarded to Ihakara Te Raro, Retimana Te Rango, Karaitiana Te Rango, and their co-claimants of Ngati Whiti and Ngati Whititama.¹⁹¹

Mangaohane Block Litigation and the Destruction of Pokopoko

The history of the title to the Mangaohane block is long and litigious, and will need to be the subject of more detailed research. It is raised in several statements of claim, more particularly in relation to the fate of Winiata Te Whaaro and his people, who were forcibly removed from their land after a 12-year legal battle. Despite the specific nature of the issues raised, some are of broader significance as they relate to the policies and practices of the NLC and the availability of remedies for defects in NLC practice, and are also relevant to adjacent blocks, notably Awarua and Owhaoko.

This scoping report has gleaned an outline of the case from newspaper coverage, which includes not only reports on Native Land Court proceedings and printed copies of judgments, but also reports on proceedings in the Supreme Court and Court of Appeal and accounts of the eviction of the Pokopoko community from their land. A preliminary reading of these sources has enabled the events and issues to be outlined, but they will need to be researched and written in greater detail and depth in subsequent research, and supplemented by further primary sources. Other sources to be canvassed include Native Land Court minutes, any surviving Native Land Court correspondence files, records held by the other courts involved in proceedings, and archival records (particularly any Maori Affairs, Justice Department, or Police correspondence files from the early 1890s, which will need to be searched for in inwards correspondence registers). Finally, given the nature of the issues, legal analysis of the cases will be an important further task for counsel.

¹⁹¹ Riseborough, pp.8-9. See also AJLC, 1887, No. 1.

Title to Mangaohane was investigated at a lengthy hearing that commenced in November 1884 and ended in March 1885, but which was promptly subject to numerous appeals and protests. The tipuna Te Ohuake was a central figure in the case, and the rights of those on various lines of descent from him were bitterly contested. Another very particular issue arose from the failure to properly survey the land before determining title, with the result that the NLC sought to exclude an area in the south of the block from its title order, as it sought more evidence on that portion. The portion excluded was around Pokopoko, the papakainga that lay at the heart of Winiata Te Whaaro's successful sheep farming operation, involving a flock of about 10,000 sheep before he was forced off the land after critical losses in the NLC, the Supreme Court, and the Court of Appeal. The hearings, re-hearings, partitions, and higher court cases make for a complex story; one that will require some effort to unravel, as well as efforts to access any relevant archival and higher court records. At this stage, press accounts (including copies of key judgments) are useful in sketching out the key elements.

One issue that emerged in the Mangaohane investigation was the application of the NLC's '1840 rule' (in terms of determining customary title to land, the NLC sought to determine this as it was supposed to have existed at about 1840, when the Crown proclaimed sovereignty over New Zealand). During the case, Airini Donnelly and Renata Kawepo were opposing claimants even though they were closely related, a stance that was related to their opposing views as to the management and disposition of Mangaohane (and other lands such as Owhaoko and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa), then subject to leasing and purchase by Pakeha business interests. Seeking to defeat Renata, Airini brought up the 1840 rule: she claimed that Renata was a captive of Ngapuhi in 1840 and as "a slave Renata forfeited all rights to land." This assertion was bolstered by reference to William Colenso's writings on his early travels in the Ruahine ranges. Judge O'Brien's judgment ignored the matter (neither accepting or rejecting the argument, but simply not referring to it), leading Airini to appeal.¹⁹²

NLC Chief Judge Macdonald rejected the application for a rehearing on this point, and also on other aspects of Airini's appeal (including her assertion that Ngati Whitikaupeka were not entitled to any share in Mangaohane). The facts as to Renata's captivity were admitted, and this was relevant to the NLC's 1840 rule. (The status of Airini and her ancestors in 1840 does not appear to have been inquired into, but many people in the Heretaunga were not then securely in possession of their lands.) In addition, as part of her application for rehearing, Airini argued that Renata was not fighting in defence of his lands when taken captive but was instead engaged "in a civil war, whereby he proposed to arrogate to himself the whole tribal

¹⁹² *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 3 March 1885.

land, and this his capture was really by the members of his tribe whom he sought to aggress and their allies.” This was ignored by Macdonald as it had not been put in evidence earlier; indeed the evidence put had been rather different.

The focus of the appeal was the 1840 rule, but it was a rule that Macdonald chose to set aside on this occasion, stating:

I cannot concur in the contention that the fact of a native owner having been taken captive in war by the enemies of his tribe entailed forfeiture of his interest in the tribal lands as would have ensured had he voluntarily abandoned his people, and so, of his own motion [or volition?], deprived them of his contribution to the defence of the tribal life and property. ...former judgments of the Court...lay it down that a case must be now dealt with as it would had the Court been dealing with it in [or] immediately after the year 1840. In its broad sense that doctrine is accepted, and no doubt in 1841 the interest of Renata would have been passed over, but I think this instance may be taken as one of those exceptions which prove the rule, and that there may such an exception is admitted by both sides when the accession of quantity of interest is admitted as a result of an individual owners dying and leaving numerous issue, each of whom would become a like owner as his deceased ancestor.¹⁹³

In other words, if the 1840 rule was applied to Renata, he would get nothing, but Macdonald deemed that it did not apply in this instance. His rationale is difficult to detect, but in later testimony to the Owhaoko and Kaimanawa Lands Select Committee (the same matter having been raised there by Airini), his predecessor as Chief Judge, Fenton, admitted he felt that Renata had been treated unfairly by Airini and other rivals in the NLC and that, as a venerable rangatira and a staunch government ally, he should not be treated thus. It could be argued that the 1885 decision was correct, but the reasoning faulty: indeed, it exposed the fallacy of the 1840 rule.

At the same time, Macdonald also rejected Winiata Te Whaaro’s application for a rehearing. Winiata asserted that the judgment was contrary to the evidence and that the Court had not dealt with the whole block. Macdonald rejected the first ground of the appeal simply by asserting that the judgment was not contrary to the evidence. On the latter ground of the appeal, he simply stated that the law allowed the Court to give judgment over only part of the block.¹⁹⁴ That may have been so, but the NLC certainly should not have given judgment over only part of the block, when neither the part to which the judgment applied nor the part to which it did not had been defined by survey, leaving things in a very confused state. The failure to obtain anything more than a sketch plan before title investigation later proved

¹⁹³ Cited in *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 7 May 1885.

¹⁹⁴ Cited in *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 7 May 1885.

critical, because the part that the Court sought to exclude from its 1884 judgment was the part around Pokopoko. Due to the lack of a proper survey, it was unclear what area the Court excluded from its findings.

A more critical flaw – at least in the eyes of the law – in Chief Judge Macdonald’s treatment of the 1885 appeals was failing to properly consider two other appeals; those of Ema Retimana and Terina Mete (see below). Before those appeals were raised again, and finally given a hearing in 1892, other problems with the Mangaohane title emerged. In 1890, Winiata appealed to Parliament for legislation providing for a fresh investigation of title, arguing that his application for rehearing had not been properly heard. His petition was rejected by the Native Affairs Select Committee, but was championed by some in Parliament, including Sir George Grey, who urged that the title be reheard. He asserted that the NLC judges themselves were not satisfied with the justice of their decision in the case, and moved that the land be rendered inalienable until the next session of Parliament. Native Minister Mitchelson and his supporters easily out-voted Grey.¹⁹⁵ Parliament’s Pakeha members adopted a more considerate attitude to Studholme’s subsequent petition in 1892, seeking relief for his defective Mangaohane title and claiming he had paid £20,000 for the 40,000 acres he claimed, added to which he had invested heavily in improvements. He claimed his title suffered only a “technical defect” and the Native Affairs Committee urged that legislation to validate such titles be enacted¹⁹⁶ (the Native Land (Validation of Titles) Acts 1892 and 1893 were subsequently enacted, but it does not appear that Studholme needed recourse to them as he secured his title through the NLC).¹⁹⁷

Winiata Te Whaaro’s last resort was the Supreme Court, where in November 1890, he obtained a writ of *certiorari*, ordering the NLC to return the Mangaohane title order to be quashed, “on the ground that the Native Land Court had no jurisdiction to make the same.”¹⁹⁸ The title was subsequently quashed by the Court of Appeal but this did Winiata no good at all. The reason for the title being quashed related not to his pleas, but to the rather more technical defects of the actions of the NLC in failing to properly dispose of the other two applications for rehearing in 1885, from Ema Retimana and Te Rina Mete. After these were properly considered by the Chief Judge, Mangaohane was eventually reheard but, after a further legal battle by Winiata, the NLC decided that it would only rehear the claims of the

¹⁹⁵ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 5 September 1890.

¹⁹⁶ *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 23 September 1892. See also *Evening Post*, 27 June 1893.

¹⁹⁷ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 1 February 1895.

¹⁹⁸ *Whanganui Chronicle*, 22 November 1890.

two appellants, meaning that Winiata Te Whaaro's claims remained excluded from the rehearing.

Judgment on the two outstanding 1885 appeals was given in April 1892. The 1885 awards were summarised: Mangaohane was divided along the Mangaohane stream, from the Rangitikei River up to the source at Otupae and then in a line to Taruarau; the part to the north of this line was Mangaohane 1, awarded to the descendants of Wharepurakau and Honomokai who could show occupation; the part to the south of the dividing line to be Mangaohane (2) which was awarded to the descendants of Homomokai only. The part excluded from the title was the southern portion, south of "Te Papa a Tarinuku," as the evidence for that part was "not sufficiently clear to justify us coming to a judgment upon it." In 1892, Chief Judge Smith saw no reason to alter this judgment. As to the two outstanding appeals, that of Terina Mete was dismissed as she failed to prove occupation.

As for the appeal of Ema Retimana (since deceased, so the appeal was taken up by "Rena Maikuku"), the Court agreed there was evidence of "acts of ownership" by others in some parts of the Mangaohane, "especially in the neighbourhood of Pokopoko." However, the Court was of the view that Pokopoko was actually north of the area excluded by the 1885 judgment and it had already stated that it was not about to disturb that award. It was admitted that "the exact position of these places...not having been determined by survey when the case was heard, their locality could only be estimated by the necessarily inaccurate opinion of witnesses." Judge O'Brien reported in 1885 that "they drew the line [of the excluded portion] at Pokopoko, the place about which there seems to have been a strong conflict of evidence." Despite this – and despite the lack of accuracy in the sketch plan O'Brien relied upon – the line defining the excluded area seems to have been placed south of Pokopoko (or, as Smith put it in 1892, perhaps Pokopoko actually lay further north than the Court had guessed in 1885). If this was so, Smith observed in 1892, "a decision partially erroneous has been arrived at which it seems cannot be satisfactorily ratified" under the powers the Court had under the Native Land Court Act 1880.¹⁹⁹

Rather than resolve the critical issue of the location of Pokopoko relative to the contested area excluded from the 1885 Mangaohane title, the Court chose to hold only a "partial rehearing" in relation to the claims of Rena Maikuku and others in Mangaohane 2. The survey issue that was so critical to Winiata Te Whaaro and his people at Pokopoko was ignored, just as Winiata's appeal had been in 1885, and was again ignored in 1892. The rehearing, thus

¹⁹⁹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 5 April 1892.

narrowly defined, proceeded in December 1892 and judgment was given in April 1893. The entire history of the case was closely traversed. Studholme and Airini were separately represented by two lawyers apiece, seeking to prevent a title that had already been sold by one and bought by the other from being disturbed. The claim of Rena Maikuku was that Ngati Hau (aka Ngati Tamakorako²⁰⁰), Ngatihaukaha and Ngati Paki who occupied Mangaohane 2 were entitled to be included in the ownership. Her extensive list of owners to be added was perceived as an attempt to also include many among Ngati Hinemanu (whose claims had been rejected by the NLC in 1885). The Court rejected this attempt to thus include a large number who had been excluded from the title, and allowed only 21 individuals with particular lines of descent and proof of occupation to be added to the title. Winiata Te Whaaro had claimed for Ngati Paki (and Ngai Te Ngahoa) but his appeal had already been excluded from the narrowly defined rehearing.²⁰¹

The matter of the area in the south of Mangaohane (around Pokopoko) excluded from the 1885 title was raised in the rehearing:

The Chief Judge...expressed the opinion that there was evidence before the Court of acts of ownership on the Mangaohane No. 2 block exercised by other besides the descendants of Honomokai, in certain localities, especially in the neighbourhood of Pokopoko, and that it was apparently intended at the original hearing to have excluded the land to the south of Pokopoko, but that owing to the want of accurate information as to the position of that locality with Papa o Tarinuku, the place the original Court fixed the southern boundary at, it was found on survey that Pokopoko was situated further to the north that it was supposed to be at the time the first judgment was given.²⁰²

Judge O'Brien, who excluded the southern part of the block from the title order in 1885, and who was also involved in the partition of Mangaohane in 1890, told the Court during the rehearing (in December 1892) that this was correct:

He further stated that the Court at the first hearing intended to exclude certain parts of the land from adjudication, and for this purpose certain names were given and pointed out on the plan, and a line was intended to be drawn through these places. The plan before the Court was only a sketch plan, so that it was immaterial where the line was drawn; it was the position of these places on the land that was material.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Tamakorako was a critical tipuna in the case, being a grandson of Te Ohuake.

²⁰¹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 25 April 1893.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

This fails to account for the confusion that could arise from a sketch plan that did not show places where they should be, potentially confusing those trying to use the plan in 1885 and leading to fundamental errors, such as excluding Winiata Te Whaaro from Pokopoko. Not even being able to put his case in 1893, he remained excluded.

He responded by appealing this decision to the Supreme Court, and raised a fresh point; which was that his original application for a rehearing in 1885 had been wrongly disposed of as the judge of the NLC who rejected it had been sitting without a Maori assessor, and that an assessor was necessary to constitute the court. This was rejected by the Supreme Court (Justice Richmond), tending to confirm the limited utility of Maori assessors in the NLC's proceedings. Winiata then took his case to the Court of Appeal in 1894.²⁰⁴ The Supreme Court had also held that no appeal was possible from a decision of the Chief Judge of the NLC on an application for rehearing under the Native Land Court Act 1880, and any error of the Chief Judge could not be corrected by the Supreme Court. That is, the NLC was held to be the last word on some matters related to customary title (despite the many times the findings of the NLC had been overturned on subsequent investigation). The Court of Appeal agreed: finding, firstly, that Winiata's 1885 application for rehearing had been dealt with according to the law, regardless of the presence of an assessor, and, secondly, that the NLC was the forum with expertise in Maori title matters and they should not be brought to the Supreme Court.²⁰⁵

With the Mangaohane title at last held by the highest court in the land to be final, Winiata had all but run out of options. He applied to the NLC to deal with his claim under the Native Land Court Acts Amendment Act 1889, s.13 of which allowed for anyone claiming their interest in land had been prejudicially affected to apply to the Chief Judge for an inquiry to ascertain if any error has been made and, if so, to correct, providing that the land had not been alienated. The Chief Judge evidently rejected Winiata's application, so he appealed to the Supreme Court, which (as noted above) and lost again.²⁰⁶ The next step was for Studholme to subdivide out his interests, but this too was contested by those seeking to hold the land and continue to farm at Pokopoko. Airini, who had defended the sale to Studholme, asked that "substantial costs should be allowed against the natives who appealed, as the proceedings amounted to blackmailing." T. W. Lewis (Junior), son of long-serving Native Department Under-Secretary T. W. Lewis, was now acting for one of the parties, and also asked for costs.²⁰⁷ The outcome of the costs application is not apparent from research to date.

²⁰⁴ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 12 May 1894.

²⁰⁵ *Evening Post*, 29 May 1894.

²⁰⁶ See *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 11 May 1895.

²⁰⁷ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 1 February 1895.

Winiata's last throw of the legal dice came in 1895, when he took a case against Airini and another to the Court of Appeal, appealing against the Supreme Court's decision in relation to his application to the Chief Judge under the 1889 Act (see above). The error he wanted to have corrected under the 1889 Act was that relating to fixing the southern boundary of Mangaohane "so as to include the land known as Pokopoko, although the Court intended to exclude Pokopoko." The Chief Judge had asserted:

that the Court had seen the error, and to remedy it had made an order that Winiata, who claims the title to Pokopoko, be admitted as one of the owners of Mangaohane 1, the extent of his interest to be afterwards determined on partition. The Chief Judge made an order in this form, because on the evidence before the original Court and before himself, it was impossible to define the land known as Pokopoko which had been erroneously excluded.²⁰⁸

The Supreme Court held that this error did not come within the terms of s.13 of the 1889 Act. The Court of Appeal did not depart from that view. That is, the surveying error continued to be acknowledged, but no court wished to correct it. Nor does it appear that Winiata's interests were on partition as the Chief Judge assumed they would be, or if they were, this was not done so as to enable Winiata to locate his interests at Pokopoko, resulting in this land being included in Airini's sale to Studholme. The case was argued for four days, with Sir Robert Stout appearing for Winiata. Details of the Court of Appeal decision have yet to be located, but it went against Winiata. He was subsequently given leave to appeal to the Privy Council, "on condition that he gave security for costs." This proviso may have prevented the matter being taken to the Privy Council.²⁰⁹ In the interim, the positions of the parties to the case were preserved, which seems to have allowed Airini's sale of Pokopoko to Studholme to stand. In any case, that was the final outcome and Studholme moved to assert his rights to the land.

Winiata continued to defend his rights to the Mangaohane land around Pokopoko, land that he had long occupied but which had been granted to others and sold from under him. Studholme eventually called in the bailiffs, and after confronting police trying to effect the resulting ejectment order, Winiata was arrested and held in custody in Wellington on a charge of contempt of court (for defying the ejectment order). Stout secured his discharge, but he was freed only after promising the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court not to further obstruct Messrs Studholme in obtaining possession.²¹⁰ He finally had to concede defeat, or face imprisonment and still be defeated. In the process of Studholme 'obtaining possession' five

²⁰⁸ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 11 May 1895.

²⁰⁹ *Evening Post*, 27 July 1895.

²¹⁰ *Evening Post*, 21 and 22 May 1897.

houses were burned down by the sheriff, and numerous outbuildings and many stock were destroyed, as well as that years wool clip. All that was left to Winiata was the urupa on Mangaohane (although his initial response to an offer to reserve the urupa was to resolve to disinter the remains and move them to a safer place rather than leave them in isolated and unprotected reserve).²¹¹

The status of the wahi tapu at Pokopoko remains to be resolved. The somewhat complex and convoluted saga of the Mangaohane title and the destruction of Pokopoko will need to be more closely studied in future research, drawing on primary sources referred to earlier.

The Centre of the Taihape District: Awarua and the Main Trunk Railway Line

In contrast to the protracted disputes in the north, Awarua (almost 270,000 acres) – the massive block that comprises the centre of the Taihape district – was not subject to early purchase pressures (as in the south) nor the competitive leasing and protracted contesting of the right to lease (or sell) (as in the north). Awarua remained under customary title until 1886, relatively late in the history of land titles in the district, and somewhat resembles to the ‘rohe potae’ tribal blocks that were a feature in adjacent districts at the same time (such as Taupouiatia or the Aotea block).²¹² Those other big tribal blocks fell to NLC title processes in the wake of the breaking up of the original rohe potae – the Kingitanga heartland – in the mid-1880s.

There is no existing research to speak of directly relevant to Awarua block, but there is some existing research that is germane to some of the issues that are important to the alienation of Awarua. That is, research concerning the North Island Main Trunk railway line, legislation privileging Crown land purchases in a wide region around the railway, and public works takings associated with it. This research includes Philip Cleaver’s report for the Whanganui inquiry, ‘The Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Whanganui Inquiry District, 1850-2000’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004), and the reports of Bayley and Anderson referred to earlier, all of which touch on these issues and help provide some context for any Taihape research.

The reasons for Awarua coming before the NLC in 1886 are not apparent from research to date, but the motives of the applicants to the NLC will need to be considered. The reference (noted earlier) to the Crown, by 1884, having paid more than £3,000 in advances on

²¹¹ Macgregor, pp.16-19.

²¹² Te Urewera, Ngai Tuhoe’s rohe potae, held out a little longer, until about 1900.

customary land referred to as “Otairi 5 and 6” (evidently part of the southern Awarua block), indicates that the sale of some of Awarua was envisaged by some right-holders. As noted earlier, Hiraka Te Rango later complained to the Native Land Laws Commission that very few of the customary right-holders of Awarua had wanted the NLC to investigate the block. A Maori committee had already dealt with the block and only needed the NLC to issue title to reflect the committee’s findings. However, one hapu claiming only part of the land rejected the komiti’s findings. In response, the Awarua people tried to confine the NLC to an investigation of the portion claimed by that hapu, but the NLC insisted on hearing the entire block at Marton; a NLC venue infamous for the ‘predatory horde’ of shopkeepers, lawyers, land agents, and grog sellers that gathered there for the protracted and costly hearings of the NLC. Hiraka said the NLC action meant the Awarua people had to attend a title investigation at Marton that dragged on for eight months, at which time it was still not concluded.²¹³ Research into the impact on Taihape district Maori of hearings such as this is needed.

Given the advance of title determinations and alienation in adjacent areas, pressure would have been growing for Awarua lands to be put through the NLC in a piecemeal fashion. This pressure was increased when the west of the block was identified as lying on the proposed route of the North Island Main Trunk (NIMT) railway in the early 1880s. The Crown’s monopoly purchase powers where land in the vicinity of the railway was concerned may have been a concern to the Mokai Patea owners. At the time of investigation, Awarua was profitably occupied by its owners, who ran growing flocks of sheep on the extensive areas that had already been cleared (most of which was well to the east of the proposed NIMT in an area linked to Hawke’s Bay by overland roads).²¹⁴

The move to put the enormous area through as a single title may have been intended as a pre-emptive move to retain the land intact, rather than see it heard as a series of smaller blocks. Of course, the mere act of putting it through the NLC and having title vested in 437 individuals immediately militated against any idea of retaining the land as a tribal estate. As it transpired, Awarua was soon subject to Crown purchasing of individual interests, followed by the partitioning out of those interests through the 1890s. As discussed later, defining the north-eastern boundary of Awarua also proved a fraught process, lying as it did in the vicinity of the poorly surveyed and hotly disputed Mangaohane block. The process of title fragmentation thus got underway. The details of the purchase and partitioning processes are

²¹³ AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-1, pp.53-54.

²¹⁴ See, for instance, ‘Patea’ to the Editor, *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 8 April 1890.

not apparent from existing research, and will need to be examined and traversed in some detail. As noted earlier, by 1900 the Crown had acquired 137,259 acres of Awarua.

The completion of the NIMT railway – the line that provided the main land link between Wellington and Auckland – was perhaps one of the most significant public works undertaken in the North Island, and took decades to accomplish after the general route was selected in the early 1880s. The completion of such a monumental project hinged on acquisition of Maori land, and from the early 1880s the government entered into negotiations with principal Maori groups whose lands were expected to be required for the purposes of completing the railway line, while also embarking on a number of legislative measures designed to facilitate the acquisition of these lands.

By the early 1880s the line extended to Te Awamutu in the north and Marton in the south. As Philip Cleaver has noted (in evidence for the Whanganui inquiry), the Crown was unwilling to risk aggravating its relationship with some iwi in the area through which the line had yet to be built; seeking to enter into negotiations with the owners of the Maori land needed for the railway before construction commenced. The Crown, for example, entered into negotiations with King Country, western Taupo, and Whanganui Maori between 1883 and 1885, with the result that in 1885 an agreement was reached whereby they consented to the construction of the railway subject to certain conditions – namely that only the land required for track and station purposes would be given up, and that compensation would be paid.²¹⁵

In 1882 the Government passed twin legislation – the North Island Maori Trunk Railway Loan Act and the New Zealand Loan Act – which authorised the borrowing of £4 million for the construction of the line, but not land purchase. The final route of the main trunk had not been yet finalised at this stage, but it was widely recognised that whichever route was to be followed depended on “settling the native difficulty.”²¹⁶ Further legislation to facilitate the construction of the railway was introduced in 1884, when the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act re-imposed Crown pre-emption over a large area of land, but this did not include Awarua. Also in 1884, the Railway Authorisation Act defined the route which the line would eventually take, connecting Marton and Te Awamutu via Murimotu, Taumaranui, and the Ongarue River Valley.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Philip Cleaver, ‘The Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Whanganui Inquiry District, 1850-2000’, Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p.183.

²¹⁶ Nicholas Bayley, ‘Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu, 1860-2000’, Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p.141.

²¹⁷ Bayley, p.143.

The settling of the route going through the central North Island as the best of the three considered options (western and eastern routes were also considered) placed the Taihape district high on the agenda for acquiring land for the railway line. Indeed, the township of Taihape was established and came to prominence because of the establishment of the railway line through the district. The purchase of this and other Maori land related to development associated with the NIMT railway was managed through a range of Crown policies and practices. The Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884 had a far broader focus than the relatively straightforward land requirements of the railway line itself (and facilities such as railway stations). It was intended to ensure that the Crown (exploiting its pre-emptive right) could acquire land within a broad district that might rise in value when the railway was completed. Other NIMT railway legislation provided finance for the construction of the line and purchase of Maori land in the districts around it. The Crown's sale of this land for settlement was intended to generate profits to offset the cost of the railway line.

The Awarua block was thus a critical acquisition for the Crown's purposes related to the railway. Not only was land needed for the railway, and station developments at what became Taihape township, but so too was cheap Maori land; the sale of which to settlers was intended to help fund this vital part of the colonial project. Awarua underwent a long Native Land Court title investigation in 1886, and an even more protracted partition hearing in 1890–91. Once the title issues were resolved in the NLC, the Crown acquired parts of Awarua, but seems to have paid for them out of the ordinary land purchase funds (under the Native Land Purchase Act 1892) rather than from the railways loan legislation which had been passed in the 1880s.²¹⁸

Crown purchasing of Awarua land in relation to the NIMT railway is an important issue for the Taihape district, one which has not been previously researched. Further research is required to fully uncover all the issues involved in these purchases. Related issues of interest would be any assurances the Crown officials gave to the owners in terms of benefits to be reaped from having the trunk line pass through their rohe, and well as what expectations the owners themselves had from the entire process (including public works and other employment opportunities). At this stage, there are indications that the Crown looked to take advantage of the Awarua owners in the wake of their prolonged partition hearing in 1891: Hawke's Bay Resident Magistrate Preece advised the government that the owners had incurred "large liabilities" in obtaining title in the NLC (as Hiraka had complained), and that these uncleared liabilities made the owners anxious to sell parts of the block, particularly the

²¹⁸ Robyn Anderson, 'Whanganui Iwi and the Crown, 1880-1900', CFRT, 2004, p.91.

bush portion (cleared areas obviously being used by them in farming endeavours). Preece urged the government to buy up “every inch of this block that they can without injuring the interests of the Natives.”²¹⁹ The latter proviso was not one the government long heeded, and the bulk of Awarua was alienated by 1910. The township of Taihape was established on a portion of Awarua 4A in 1894.

An issue related to the Crown purchasing in Awarua (and elsewhere, notably Rangipo-Waiu²²⁰) is the taking of the far smaller areas required for the railway line and related purposes, as well as takings in the Taihape township area. As set out in Chapter 6 of this report, it is recommended that the details of these public works takings be considered with other takings in a discrete project on public works and other takings. Some of the relevant public works and other takings are discussed in Chapter 4 below, in the context of other twentieth century issues (when most public works and other takings in the district were effected).²²¹

A Note on Maori Census Data

The project brief for this scoping report includes a requirement to list historical and contemporary census and demographic data relating to the Taihape inquiry district. Unfortunately, as with other aspects of the historiography relating to this district, the sources are extremely limited and of extremely limited utility. There is, for instance, no existing demographic research specific to the district. The main difficulty is that the various forms of census data cannot readily be related to the Taihape inquiry district. Data tends to be gathered on a district, regional, or county basis that makes it impossible to discern what portion relates to Taihape Maori and what does not.

The Taihape inquiry district generally falls between two, three, or even four, stools; some of its Maori occupants falling inside the Rangitikei district, others in the Whanganui district, some in the Taupo district, and possibly a few in Hawke’s Bay district. In terms of county-based data (which is how the census tables are organised from 1886 onwards), only some of the district falls within Rangitikei County. The exceptions to this lack of specificity in the data with respect to Taihape district Maori are three lots of census data from 1874, 1878, and

²¹⁹ Preece to Under-Secretary Native Department, 1 April 1891, NLP 91/58, in MA-MLP 1/1891/126. Archives New Zealand. Cited in Robyn Anderson, ‘Whanganui Iwi and the Crown, 1880–1900’, CFRT, 2004, p.103.

²²⁰ Bayley, pp.168-81.

²²¹ Even many railway takings were not finally proclaimed until after 1900, despite the land being occupied for railway purposes in the 1890s.

1881 which include reference to specific kainga and hapu in the Taihape district and which are of some utility (see below).

In terms of early census data, the district figures are impressionistic and patchy. For instance, Reverend Taylor of Whanganui undertook an informal census of what he called 'Rangitikei' in 1843,²²² and Colenso (in his journals) made some passing observations about kainga in the Mokai Patea district in the period 1845–1855,²²³ but we have not had sufficient time to consider these sources closely. Even so, given their nature they are unlikely to shed much light on the demography of the Taihape district. Being based on partial coverage or sporadic observations, the most that could be anticipated is that they will give some indication of the kainga in which Taihape Maori are living in the early colonial period: as noted earlier, these include Moawhango, Kuripapango, Te Awarua, Matuku, Otara, and Porewa.²²⁴

Similarly, outside the district, Reverend Skinner refers to the Maori population in kainga around Rotoaira and southern Taupo in the late 1840s (he being a missionary for the area in 1848–1850); this includes some Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka of Mokai Patea, but who were then resident in southern Taupo (some of whom were still there in the 1870s; see below). Skinner's data is incorporated into Tony Walton's broader study of the demography of Taupo Maori in the early colonial period, which is also of some use as regards Mokai Patea hapu who were then living in the Rotoaira area.²²⁵ Yet this gives little information about Taihape Maori as such.

Other studies of the Maori demography of the region have only been able to express Maori population at the district level. For instance, Brad Patterson has analysed the available census data for the period from 1840–1874, and the figures for the Rangitikei district are generally relevant to the southern part of the Taihape inquiry district. His figures show that the Rangitikei district Maori population was 600 in 1840, which was 5.6 percent of the total Wellington region Maori population of 10,720 (taking in Whanganui and Wairarapa south to Wellington). In 1850 the Rangitikei Maori population was estimated at just 259; in 1857 it was back up to 647; and down to 407 in 1874, yet this reduced number represented a higher proportion of the total Wellington region Maori population in 1874 – 8.2 percent of a total of

²²² Taylor Papers, MS 254 Folder 3. Alexander Turnbull Library.

²²³ See, for instance, William Colenso's journals, 1841–1854 and journal of 'Journeys', 1843–1846, qMS-0487 to 0490. Alexander Turnbull Library.

²²⁴ Most of these kainga are shown on a map based on Colenso's travels through the district in the period 1845–1855, and included in A. G. Bagnall and G. C. Petersen's biography of Colenso.

²²⁵ Cited in Walton, A. 'The Population of the Lake Taupo Region, New Zealand, 1839–1859', *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, No. 8, 1986, pp.73–88.

just 4,936. That is, the regional Maori population had fallen by more than half, and although the Rangitikei population had fallen it had fallen by a lower proportion than that.²²⁶

While broadly indicative of gross demographic trends, this is of little use when it comes to the Taihape district. Such general figures are only of marginal utility for Rangitikei district, as they fluctuate so wildly. A far closer study of populations at the hapu and kainga level would be needed to explain these broad demographic changes. Even when official sources provide more localised data, they provide little information on Taihape district Maori: the official 1870 Maori population return for the Rangitikei district indicates there were no Ngati Apa at all in the district, which seems somewhat unlikely. Another Taihape iwi, Ngai Te Upokoiri are, however, recorded at Porewa, where 51 “Ngaiteao” hapu lived.²²⁷

More useful Maori population data emerges from 1870–1881, when the periodic censuses included details on specific hapu and kainga populations. Even so, the Maori census figures are notoriously unreliable for the nineteenth and early twentieth century – the nature of Maori daily life ensured prolonged absences from home (for Native Land Court sittings, political gatherings, and seasonal and other work opportunities), while the largely Pakeha sub-enumerators were not always well versed in the locations of main Maori kainga and other settlements. Examples of this in relation to Taihape district are noted below. This situation thus necessarily means that the census figures in this period were hardly ever accurate, and this was widely acknowledged by the enumerators themselves. Nevertheless, the census figures can give us some idea of the general demographic trends and, in the case of the first three Maori censuses, the main Maori population centres.

No census of Maori population ever produced a single census for the Taihape district, with the district usually grouped together with the adjoining ones (Rangitikei and Taupo, with some Whanganui entries also relevant). The first full census in 1874, for example, covered the Rangitikei region (fairly poorly, it would seem):

Tribe	Hapu	Residence	Total
Ngati Raukawa	Ngati Pikiahu	Te Reureu	120
Ngati Raukawa	Ngati Maniapoto	Te Karaka	51
Ngati Raukawa	Ngati Rangatahi	Kakariki	49
Ngati Raukawa	Ngati Parewahawaha	Matahiwi	64
Ngati Raukawa	Ngati Parewahawaha	Ohinepuhiawe	37

²²⁶ Patterson, Brad ‘The white man’s right:’ alienation of Maori lands in the southern North Island district, 1840-1876,’ in Jack McConchie, David Winchester, and Richard Willis (eds.), *Dynamic Wellington: a contemporary synthesis o and explanation of Wellington*, Wellington, 2000, pp.155-178.

²²⁷ AJHR, 1870, p.10.

Ngai Te Upokoiri	Ngati Whiti	Pourewa	48
Ngati Raukawa	Ngati Kauwhata	Awahuri and Oroua	215 ²²⁸

The only relevant figure from this is that for Ngai Te Upokoiri at Porewa, whose numbers are very similar to those recorded in 1870 (see above). However, the ‘hapu’ name given has changed from Ngai Teao to Ngati Whiti; terminology that confirms the level of ignorance among the enumerators to whom the task of counting the Maori population was assigned.

The following census, from 1878, grouped the Taihape district with an even wider region, including all of Whanganui. This supposedly included Mokai Patea and Murimotu²²⁹ It recorded a slight increase in the population of Porewa, rising back to 51, with 30 males and 21 females. Curiously, the hapu affiliation of the residents (supposedly of the Ngai Te Upokoiri iwi) changed yet again; this time being recorded as Ngati Hauiti. For the first time, figures from “Patea” are included, but the only kainga Whanganui District Officer Booth recorded in that district was, “Te Kinopuanga, Patea, Murimotu,”²³⁰ which may be a mangling (perhaps by the printers rather than Booth) of Kuripapango. Then again, in 1881 he referred to sole kainga in this district as Te Ruiopuanga [sic, Te Riuopuanga], Patea, which does not appear to be Kuripapango;²³¹ instead being a name for a kainga at or near Moawhango. A total of 83 Ngati Whiti were said to reside there in 1878, but their iwi affiliation was given by Booth as “Ngatikahunuhuna”; meaning Ngati Kahungunu.²³²

The reliability of this figure is brought into question by the figures from the Taupo district for the 1878 census, which includes 69 Ngati Whiti at “Patea” kainga. Whether this is the same community of Ngati Whiti recorded by Booth as part of the Whanganui region is unclear; it is certainly of a markedly different population. The Taupo figures also include 22 Ngati Tama living at Rotoaira, and 10 “Hapuiti” at nearby Otukou.²³³ It is not clear who Hapuiti are, but they were later recorded as living with Ngati Tama and Ngati Whiti at Patea,²³⁴ so they would seem to have connections to Mokai Patea.

Taihape district figures were included in the Rangitikei, Manawatu and Otaki figures for the 1881 census, but Booth’s report on the census revealed some of the difficulties and

²²⁸ Table adapted from AJHR 1874, G-7, p. 17.

²²⁹ District Officer Booth, Whanganui, to Native Department, 1 May 1878. AJHR, 1878, G-2, p.7.

²³⁰ AJHR 1878, G-2, p. 19. He may even have been referring to three different kainga, and simply lumped the figures for them together; later censuses refer to Patea as a kainga.

²³¹ AJHR, 1881, G-3, p.8.

²³² AJHR 1878, G-2, p. 19.

²³³ AJHR, 1878, G-2, p.16.

²³⁴ AJHR, 1881, G-3, p.16.

inconsistencies in the data, which go towards rendering it so unreliable. He noted the wide variations between his figures and those supplied in 1878 by Upper Whanganui District Officer Woon for parts of the region. He thought some of the Murimotu people had been counted by both of them. The original census papers (which have not survived) recorded people by name and he felt that in some cases Woon had recorded the same person under two or three names. Moreover, in Booth's rather questionable opinion Maori "not unfrequently[sic] try to swell up the numbers in their own particular kainga to give them a greater importance." Contradicting this assertion, other Maori were reluctant to give detailed information to officials such as Booth: most of the residents of "Riuopuanga and Patea" were absent at the Taupo Native Land Court sitting when he called, and those remaining "would not supply any information," so he reviewed the 1878 figures and made an estimate which he considered "pretty nearly correct, though not absolutely reliable."²³⁵ That is drastically overstating the utility of his 1881 guesswork. Similarly, Robert Ward, Marton Resident Magistrate and census enumerator for Rangitikei district attributed the marked fall in his district's Maori population to the sittings of the Native Land Court and a gathering in Taupo.²³⁶

The 1881 census is perhaps the most complete in terms of referring to Taihape district Maori, albeit in three different census returns: those for Taupo, Whanganui, and Rangitikei. The result is fairly messy and not particularly reliable, but the overlapping responsibilities of the various census enumerators does explain why kainga such as Patea appear repeatedly, as set out in the composite table below:

Tribe	Hapu	Residence	Total
Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	Motupuka	30
Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	Kotukutuku	15
Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	Poutu	53
Ngati Kahungunu	Ngati Whiti	Riuopuanga, Patea	81
Ngati Kahungunu	Ngati Tama	Waiu and Riuopuanga	15
Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	Patea	108
Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Whiti	Patea	29
Ngati Tuwharetoa	Hapuiti	Patea	41
Ngai Te Upokoiri	Ngati Hauiti	Porewa	17
Ngai Te Upokoiri	Ngati Kahunga	Te Houhou	17
Ngati Pamoana	Ngati Tama	Te Ruwai	17
Ngai Te Upokoiri	Ngati Hauiti	Otara	13 ²³⁷

²³⁵ AJHR, 1881, G-3, p.8.

²³⁶ R. Ward to Native Under-Secretary, 30 April 1881, AJHR 1881, G-3, p. 8.

²³⁷ Table adapted from AJHR 1881, G-3.

Interestingly, the 1881 census is the first one to feature Otara as a kainga. Yet none of the censuses refer to Moawhango or to Pokopoko, both significant Mokai Patea kainga. (It is possible that the “Patea” referred to by officials was in fact Moawhango.)

The census figures for the Taihape district become even more problematic with the approach taken for the subsequent census, starting from 1886. These were done on a county basis, and unlike the first three censuses, did not record tribal affiliation or place of residence; only Maori population by county. For Taihape district, the census figures from 1886 almost become meaningless, since Taihape was only partially covered by Rangitikei County, and the figures obviously included many Maori from outside the Taihape district. Other parts of the district fell within East Taupo County and, later, Waimarino County, but again these counties included a large area that falls outside the Taihape district. The fact that no tribal affiliation and place of residence were taken into account from this point on, it is practically impossible to separate Maori living in the Taihape district from those living outside it, but still within the various relevant counties. Taking this into account, the Maori census figures from 1886 are, for all intents and purposes, meaningless for the Taihape district, and are not further referred to here.

Yet while the figures themselves fail to shed any light on the Maori demography in the Taihape district in any meaningful way, observations from the enumerators who conducted censuses sometimes remain useful. While they continued to note that the actual numbers varied from census to census based on the factors already mentioned, as well as the changes in county boundaries in the early twentieth century, their reports also make some comment on Maori demography and the general standard of living, especially after 1900. While these reports were invariably coloured by the enumerators’ own prejudices and biases (as in the quotes below), they do nevertheless reveal energy, enthusiasm, and hope for the future existing among some Maori in the Taihape district in the early twentieth century. For instance, in 1906, the Whanganui district enumerator observed of Opaea, north of Taihape, that:

Here I found the houses in the pa of a European type, and the sanitary conditions of the kainga very good. The Maoris also have a church erected in this pa, and during my stay I found them very strict in attending their services. ...The Natives here do not seem in want of food. I visited their mahingas[sic] and found that their potatoes were only affected by the frost [rather than by the potato blight then ravaging crops nationally], and the yield on the whole was very fair. During the night the young people indulged greatly in spirituous liquors, which were brought up from Taihape by the bottle. I should like to see

this stopped... I also found that the Natives had plenty of work, and worked their lands for growing grain.²³⁸

On a more positive note, census sub-enumerator R. Davies noted in 1911:

I rode through the [Rangitikei] county, and wherever I came across Maoris, whether amongst Europeans or in the Maori pas such as Moawhango, Mangaono[sic, Mangaone?], Parewanui, Turakina and W[h]angaehu, I found them all enjoying good health. This I attribute to the fact that the old style of communistic living is fast receding, and in place of it each family appears to be enjoying the comforts of a private home, although, of course, not far removed from one another.

The majority of Maoris right through the Rangitikei County have within the last four years, and since the last census was taken, gone in largely for dairying, some milking as many as sixty cows in the beginning of the season. A few, especially around the vicinity of Taihape, have started sheep-farming.²³⁹

²³⁸ AJHR, 1906, H-26a, p.20.

²³⁹ R. Davies, Sub-enumerator, Rangitikei County, AJHR 1911, H-14A, p. 17.

4. Twentieth Century Land Issues

Throughout the twentieth century the Native/Maori Land Court/Maori Land Board, the Maori Trustee, and the Native/Maori Affairs Department exercised a great deal of control over the use, occupation, management, and alienation of Maori land, including compulsory alienations. There is very little existing research that is relevant to these twentieth century issues in Taihape, and the research for this inquiry will need to draw heavily on primary sources, particularly the innumerable Native Land Court files relating to the administration and piecemeal alienation of remaining Taihape district lands after 1909. The one exception to the paucity of existing research is a brief section in Morrow's report on iwi interests in Otumore and their alienation, which is discussed below.²⁴⁰ Other existing research that is useful concerns Public Works takings and Native townships, which are discussed as discrete issues later in this section.

The importance of twentieth century land administration and alienation issues is apparent from Map 3 (see below), showing a series of snapshots of Maori land alienation within the Taihape Inquiry District over time. It is evident that extensive loss of Maori land occurred in the centre and north of the district after 1890. Even in the south of the district, where very little Maori land remained, piecemeal alienation continued after 1910 when it clearly should have been halted even before then. Meanwhile, in the centre and north of the district extensive alienation evidently continued after 1910 and even after 1939, by which time it must have been evident that Maori land loss in this area should have been halted.

Where existing research is useful is in providing a policy context for any consideration of specific Taihape blocks. The Waitangi Tribunal's *He Maunga Rongo* report (Chapter 14) on the Central North Island claims is useful in this regard, as is some of the research it drew on for its findings, notably that of Terry Hearn ('Taupo-Kaingaroa Twentieth Century Overview Land Alienation and Land Administration, 1900-1993'), and also of Michael Belgrave, Anna Deason, and Grant Young ('Crown Policy with respect to Maori land, 1953-1999', CFRT, 2004 and, to a lesser extent, 'Rotorua Twentieth Century Overview') which include useful

²⁴⁰ Morrow, pp.104-135.

general sections on the policy and practices surrounding Maori land administration and alienation in the twentieth century.

In terms of a brief narrative overview, for a few years from 1900 Maori-controlled land councils had a role in title determination and land management. The work of the Maori Land Council in the Taihape inquiry district should be examined, although it does not appear that it played any role in title determination; there being little customary land remaining for investigation at 1900. The extent of any leasing arranged by the Council should be ascertained from archival and Maori Land Court records. However, within a few years, the Maori Land Councils became Maori Land Boards, coming under greater government control and, as a result of legislative changes commencing with the Maori Land Administration Act 1905, shifting their focus from leasing to sale. The extent of vesting of Taihape district land in the Maori Land Boards (MLB) for lease, or sale, from 1905-1909 should be ascertained.

Under the 1909 Native Land Act, effectively all restrictions on the alienation of Maori land were removed, and the main role of Maori Land Boards was to smooth the path to alienation; transforming it into a facile bureaucratic process that saw little input from Maori land owners. The rate of land loss increased accordingly during the 1910s and 1920s, and will need to be tracked through the numerous alienation files created by the MLB.

Crown purchasing also continued during the early twentieth century, with purchasing of individual interests in several Otamakapua 1 subdivisions being wrapped up, and significant areas awarded to the Crown while purchasing of interests within what was left of the fragmented Awarua blocks also continued. The period between 1900 and 1909 was fairly quiet on the Crown purchasing front, largely as the result of the Liberal 'taihoa' policy of staying further Maori land sales, and an increased focus on the leasing of Maori land through the newly established Maori Land Councils (and Maori Land Boards which soon replaced them) as the main form of alienation. Furthermore, the Crown apparently no longer saw many of the Maori-owned lands in the Taihape district as prime areas for settlement.²⁴¹

Nevertheless, this did not stop the Crown from subsequently acquiring interests in Otamakapua 1, Timahanga, and Oruamatua Kaimanawa in the period between 1911 and 1915. Between December 1911 and March 1915, 2,939 acres of Otamakapua 1 were acquired by the Crown: being made up of Otamakapua 1J1D, 1J1C, 1H2 and 1H6, totalling 626 acres

²⁴¹ Thomas Fisher, Native Under-Secretary, to the Native Minister, 24 October 1911, AJHR 1911, G-6, p. 5.

in December 1911; Otamakapua 1N1 and 1N3, totalling 66 acres in December 1912; Otamakapua 1J1B, 1J2 and 1H4, totalling 1,132 acres in December 1913; Otamakapua 1J1A totalling 141 acres in October 1914, and; Otamakapua 1H5, 1H1 and 1H3 totalling 974 acres, in March 1915.²⁴²

Between February 1912 and August 1915, the Crown also purchased 19,238 acres of Timahanga: comprising Timahanga 2 and 6, totalling 11,660 acres, in February 1912; Timahanga 4, of 862 acres, in April 1913; Timahanga 3, totalling 4,956 acres in December 1913, and; Timahanga 5, totalling 1,760 acres in August 1915.²⁴³

The Crown also purchased Oruamatua Kaimanawa 1T in February 1915, totalling 3,583 acres.²⁴⁴ In addition, it appears a small section of Aorangi (Aorangi B1B) was acquired by the Crown in September 1926, totalling 210 acres.²⁴⁵ Again, future research will need to consider these transactions in considerably more detail, discussing the motivations, understandings and any undertakings that both the Maori owners and the Crown brought to the purchasing process.

While the MLB was overseeing alienation, the operations of the NLC led to the continued fragmentation of titles and blocks through partition and succession rules that favoured individual ownership rather than rational economic management of multiply-owned land. These processes will need to be traced through the remaining Taihape district lands, particularly in what were, at least in 1900, larger retained blocks, such as Awarua. This led to often extensive survey charges for small and increasingly uneconomic titles. The extent of these title problems in the Taihape district will need to be ascertained; it is noteworthy that the government's policy response in the 1920s – title consolidation schemes – do not appear to have been applied in the district. This could indicate that the problems consolidation was intended to resolve were not sufficiently serious to require action, or it could indicate that Crown and local body interests were not sufficiently harmed by these title problems to prompt it to act.

Another key problem confronting Maori with multiply-owned land was managing and improving that land. The finance, including state-subsidised finance, available to settlers seeking to develop land was largely denied to Maori. (Nonetheless, the Maori Land Boards

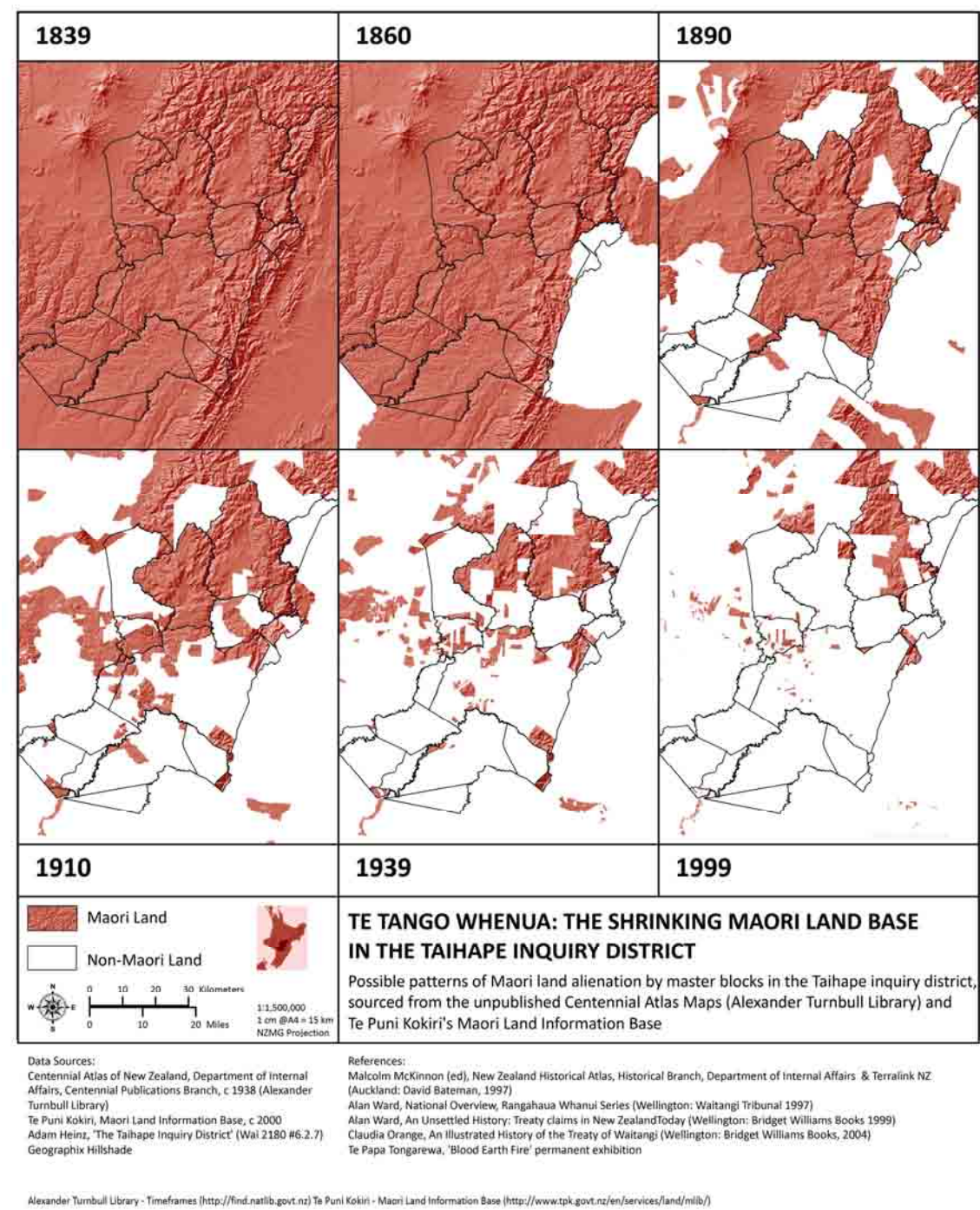
²⁴² AJHR 1913, G-9, pp. 10-11; AJHR 1916, G-9, pp. 10-11.

²⁴³ AJHR 1913, G-9, pp. 10-11; AJHR 1916, G-9, pp. 10-11.

²⁴⁴ AJHR 1916, G-9, p. 10.

²⁴⁵ AJHR 1926, G-9, p. 7.

and the Maori Trustee did have very modest surplus funds available to loan to individual Maori land owners seeking to improve their lands. Applications such as one from Hauiti Te Whaaro for a £225 loan from the Aotea MLB will need to be examined to determine the extent of this sort of small-scale finance.²⁴⁶) This, combined with the often small or uneconomic larger holdings they had been able to retain, hindered the development of their lands.



Map 3: The Shrinking Maori Land Base in the Taihape Inquiry District

²⁴⁶ MA 1 box 1431, 1927/487. Archives New Zealand.

The Crown's response to Maori title difficulties and inability to readily obtain development finance was the Native land development schemes introduced in the 1930s under the auspices of Native Affairs Minister Apirana Ngata. As with consolidation, almost no assistance was provided to Taihape district Maori under the land development schemes (see section below on one of the two farmers assisted under the Taihape Native Land Development Scheme). A few individuals were assisted in the development of their farms but there were none of the bigger-scale developments of Maori land that featured in other districts. The project will need to ascertain the reasons for this outcome; in the south it will probably relate to the lack of land available for development, while in the north many of the remaining large areas of Maori land may have been deemed unsuited to development, or were already being used effectively by their owners.

Another policy development intended to facilitate the more effective management of Maori land were title amalgamations and the creation of incorporations and trusts, particularly in the wake of the enactment of the Maori Affairs Act 1953. The MLC and Maori Trustee played a critical role in establishing these bodies, defining their purposes, and monitoring their performance. The alienation of so-called 'uneconomic' shares through the 1950s and 1960s is also likely to warrant attention, as will the 'Europeanisation' of Maori land that occurred under the Maori Affairs Act 1967 (until 1974).

Utiku/Potaka Native Township, 1903-1977

The establishment and management of Utiku/Potaka Native township, just south of Taihape, is a discrete twentieth century issue that will need to be addressed within research on twentieth century land issues. The existing overview research on Native townships – the Waitangi Tribunal's Rangahaua Whanui report by Suzanne Woodley, *The Native Townships Act 1895* – provides a useful overview of the policy issues related to Native townships.²⁴⁷ Leanne Boulton's more detailed report for the Whanganui inquiry – 'Native Townships in the Whanganui Inquiry District' – contains some useful additional material on Native townships policy.²⁴⁸ With respect to Utiku/Potaka Native Township, Woodley states that no information has been located. Scoping research has established that this observation was premature: a range of files covering the establishment and management of Utiku/Potaka Native township – as well as more than 50 files relating to individual township sections – have been located (admittedly not amongst the series in which other Native township files are located, but

²⁴⁷ Suzanne Woodley, *The Native Townships Act 1895*, Waitangi Tribunal (Rangahaua Whanui Series), 1996.

²⁴⁸ Leanne Boulton, 'Native Townships in the Whanganui Inquiry District', Waitangi Tribunal, 2004.

instead scattered in more obscure record groups generated by several different government agencies, as set out in the attached bibliography).

The files identified to date indicate that Utiku/Potaka Native township was established in about 1901, and that many township sections were alienated while under the control of government agencies, including sections that were compulsorily taken from Maori owners for public purposes (and which have yet to be returned, according to the Wai 385 statement of claim). Other than compulsory takings, most sections were alienated under long-term renewable lease (as was the policy for Native township sections), but some appear to have been sold. A file from the Whanganui office of Maori Affairs indicates that the reversion of the remaining township sections (those not permanently alienated) in the descendants of the original owners was set in train in 1972. This and the numerous MLC files relating to individual township sections should enable research to identify which sections have been reversioned, and which were alienated under the Native township regime.

The permanent alienation of land by Crown agencies while that land had been compulsorily vested in the Crown for the benefit of Maori owners is obviously an issue for further research in relation to the Utiku/Potaka township. The benefits, if any, derived by the Maori owners from the Native township regime – which effectively alienated them from their land for about 70 years – will also need to be assessed.

Turangarere Native Township, 1907-2002

Turangarere Native Township was established in 1907, but existing research (Leanne Boulton's Native townships report for the Whanganui inquiry) indicates that very little is known about how the township was established and administered.²⁴⁹ The township appears to be located right on the boundary of the Taihape inquiry district, as the 120-acre site includes portions of the Motukawa block (part of the Taihape inquiry district) and Raketapauma block in the adjacent Whanganui inquiry district.²⁵⁰ Indeed, Turangarere Native township has already been the focus of some research for the Whanganui inquiry. Unfortunately, this research (completed in 2004) did not locate several key files related to the formation and administration of the township. This means there is ample scope for further research on the subject in relation to the Taihape district, particularly given the relationship between the

²⁴⁹ Leanne Boulton, 'Native Townships in the Whanganui Inquiry District', Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p.49, and pp.103-111.

²⁵⁰ The inclusion of Raketapauma is evident from Boulton's report (p.109).

township and the resources on the land around it, particularly land within the Taihape inquiry district.

The existing Turangarere Native township appears to have been established with a view to exploiting the adjacent timber resources, as well as to service a flax mill that was already operating nearby. Several sawmills were also already in operation, and new timber areas were under negotiation. The township's proximity to Turangarere railway station would also have been a factor in its location.²⁵¹ Boulton's report includes a photograph of the Turangarere Native township site in the early stages of development, which has been reproduced overleaf.²⁵²

Boulton's research indicates that the Crown's administration of Turangarere as a Native township (through the Aotea District Maori Land Board) was "minimal and intermittent,"²⁵³ although given the extent and nature of the additional files located for this scoping report, further research may lead to this conclusion being revised. Nonetheless, by the 1950s, the township could no longer be described as such: most of the land was used for grazing, rather than as a town, and the little township land remaining in Maori ownership that was being leased brought in a negligible return.²⁵⁴ The reasons for the failure of the township will need to be ascertained, but it seems evident that a combination of the exhaustion of the timber and flax resources, improvements in road transport, and the concentration of services in Taihape would have contributed to the demise of Turangarere (as they did for so many other small rural service towns).

²⁵¹ Boulton, p.49.

²⁵² 'Photograph of Turangarere Native Township, c.1908', photographer unknown. Ref: F-1/2-107015, Alexander Turnbull Library; reproduced in Boulton, p.111. The image can be viewed online. URL: http://find.natlib.govt.nz/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=TF&fromLogin=true

²⁵³ Boulton, p.103 and pp.105-6.

²⁵⁴ Boulton, p.107.



Photographer unknown, 'Photograph of Turangarere Native Township, c.1908' F-1/2-107015. Alexander Turnbull Library.

What is apparent from Boulton's report is that sections in Turangarere Native township were sold outright when the township was established, which is at variance with the general policy for Native townships – to lease rather than sell sections. She suggests this approach is linked to the enactment of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907, and this will require investigation. The alienation of Maori land compulsorily vested in the Aotea District Maori Land Board to administer as a Native township appears to be the main issue in relation to Turangarere, as nearly the entire Turangarere Native township site was alienated while under the Board's administration. Boulton notes that by 1955 just under 16 acres remained in Maori ownership out of the 120 acres set aside for the township in 1907.

Most of the remaining Maori land in the township appears to be part of the Raketapauma block, in the Whanganui inquiry district. The bulk of this was sold in 1955 under standard Maori Land Board processes (involving a meeting of owners).²⁵⁵ By 1975, just under 4 acres of the township remained, land which was then administered by the Maori Trustee; sections were either vacant or bringing in minimal rentals. This land also appears to be part of the Rakepatauma block,²⁵⁶ so is not part of the Taihape inquiry district (although a closer study of

²⁵⁵ Boulton, pp.107-8.

²⁵⁶ Boulton, pp.108-9.

the exact portions of land should be made to ensure that this is so). Thus, the re-vesting of land in Maori owners from the 1970s onwards may not be an issue in relation to Motukawa or to the Taihape district.

This indicates that all of the Motukawa land included in the Turangarehe Native Township in 1907 had been sold by the 1950s while it was vested in the administration of the Aotea District Maori Land Board as a Native township. These sales of Motukawa land set aside for Turangarehe Native Township will be the main topic for further research, as well as the establishment of the township in 1907, and the fate of any sections taken for public purposes (including roads).

Otumore

Otumore (5,152 acres) was exceptional among the southern Taihape district blocks, in that it remained as customary Maori land until after 1900; title being investigated by the Native Land Court in 1906. The block, lying on the east of Mangoira on the upper slopes of the Ruahine ranges, comprised 7,000 acres when initially surveyed in 1907,²⁵⁷ but after a re-survey in 1923 it was significantly reduced to 5,152 acres (losing land on the eastern boundary along the peaks of the Ruahine ranges).

The subsequent compulsory alienation of Otumore to the Crown for survey debt has already been raised as a specific issue in the Taihape district claims (Wai 581, Ngati Hauiti) (see below).

Given its location, Otumore was a focus for the claims of Ngati Hauiti and Rangitane, with the relationships of Ngati Tumokai hapu to both iwi at issue. As a result, the relatively small block was the focus of extensive evidence by claimants and counter-claimants, perhaps because it was the last intact Maori land block remaining in the district. Ngati Hauiti viewed Otumore very much as part of Mangoira, to which they had already established a strong claim. Rangitane argued that Otumore had been included in the 1864 Te Ahuaturanga deed but was omitted from the subsequent survey, so it remained Rangitane land. A separate Rangitane claim was made by the descendants of Marama and Tumokai, and was made on the same basis as the other Rangitane claim.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ ML 1642, LINZ.

²⁵⁸ Otaki NLC MB No. 47, pp.70ff.

A major issue in the protracted hearing was the location of Umutoi (the place, rather than the stream of that name that flows into the Oroua River roughly where the Mangoira and Otamakapua block boundaries terminate). The Rangitane claimants insisted that Umutoi was a hill on the northern-most point of the Te Ahuaturanga purchase, and that it was considerably further north than surveyors had previously fixed it²⁵⁹ (it seems to have been wrongly rendered in Turton's Deeds as 'Te Matoi', but the original manuscript deed has not been sighted²⁶⁰). Interestingly, Umutoi is not noted as a landmark on the Otumore plan, although all maunga on and near the boundary are plotted and named.²⁶¹

The assertions about the location of Umutoi were significantly undermined by Utiku Potaka, whose evidence (as in other cases) revealed his extensive knowledge of the land. He placed Umutoi well to west of the location given by Rangitane witnesses, and stated that Otumore (named for one of his tupuna) was left out of the Mangoira block on his instructions, due to a dispute about Pohangina land. Wirihana Hunia endorsed much of Utiku's evidence, although he believed Otumore had been left out of the Mangoira survey because the surveyors could not proceed to the summit, due to heavy snow (a not entirely convincing reason). Wirihana argued that, in any case, it was only with the permission of Ngati Hauiti/Ngati Tumokai that the boundary of Te Ahuaturanga was brought as far north as Umutoi, where the Rangitane vendors had "no rights."²⁶²

The Court carefully examined the plan of the Te Ahuaturanga deed and other surveys in Wellington before giving judgment. It considered Umutoi was correctly placed, which greatly undermined the Rangitane claims. Moreover, the evidence that Otumore was part of Mangoira was considered "clear and conclusive," so title was awarded to those descendants of Hauiti who owned and occupied it.²⁶³

The award exposed divisions within Ngati Hauiti between the group represented by Utiku Potaka and those who had hired the lawyer A. L. D. Fraser to represent their predominantly Ngati Tumokai claims within Ngati Hauiti. The minutes refer to vesting the title in Utiku alone to facilitate the sale of the block to the Crown, but the Court preferred that ownership lists be prepared regardless of the fate of the land. Finalising these lists provoked considerable

²⁵⁹ Otaki NLC MB No. 47, p.125.

²⁶⁰ It should be noted, however, that this point was considered by the Native Land Court, which examined the deed plan and included a sketch of the relevant portion in the Otumore minutes (Otaki NLC MB No. 47, p.123a).

²⁶¹ ML 1642, LINZ.

²⁶² Otaki NLC MB No. 47, pp.113-4.

²⁶³ Op cit, pp.124-7.

dispute.²⁶⁴ To enable the Court to rule on the ownership list, Judge Gilbert Mair was obliged to deliver what amounted to a second judgment on the title. He was very critical of the kaiwhakahaere, or ‘conductors’, who had acted for the different groups, referring to them engaging in intrigue and in supplying alcohol to the claimants. Mair deprecated the Rangitane claim, and that of Ngati Tumokai, but included some individuals from the latter group as Utiku had admitted them.²⁶⁵

The remote block was divided up amongst five groups of claimants, some receiving awards as small and all-but worthless as 200 acres for seven Ngati Tumokai. The bulk of the title was awarded to Utiku Potaka and those in the Ngati Hauiti lists. Further objections led to this being amended to two awards: Otumore 1 (4,000 acres in the south) for Utiku and Ngati Hauiti (45 grantees), and Otumore 2 (3,000 acres) to various other groups (46 grantees).²⁶⁶ This award was promptly appealed, and the case was reheard later in 1906. It was a hearing dominated by the lawyers acting for the contending parties but it did not materially amend Mair’s earlier award.²⁶⁷

Despite references during the investigation of Otumore to a pending sale to the Crown, no such sale was effected. A final survey of the block was not completed until 1923, which resulted in Otumore being significantly reduced in area from 7,000 acres down to 5,152 acres. This was the result of the eastern boundary (along the summit of the Ruahine ranges) on the first survey being based on a sketch map which apparently proved inaccurate, leading to the odd shape of the final Otumore block.²⁶⁸ The shortage of area led to a complaint to the Native Department by Esther Potaka in 1926, which is an issue requiring further research (the file was not closed until 1933, indicating the matter was not readily resolved).²⁶⁹ As noted earlier, Otamakapua was affected by a similar reduction in area as a result of ‘survey errors’, leading to protest from Utiku Potaka (the ‘corrections’ being made at the expense of the Maori titles).

A Lands and Survey file relating to Otumore (and Mangoira) land being acquired for a state forest has been located, covering the period from the 1930s to 1963, by which time the alienation of Otumore was finally being completed.²⁷⁰ This file will need to be assessed, although the main issue around Otumore is the method by which it was acquired by the

²⁶⁴ Op cit, pp.163-82.

²⁶⁵ Op cit, pp.183-9.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Morrow, pp.119-23.

²⁶⁸ Otumore Correspondence file, 1906-42. Whanganui MLC. Cited in Morrow, p.128.

²⁶⁹ MA 1, box 136, 1926/184. Archives New Zealand.

²⁷⁰ ABWN 6095/W5021, box 309, 10/95/42. Archives New Zealand.

Crown in 1962 for a long-pending survey lien. In 1962 Otumore was vested in the Maori Trustee by order of the Maori Land Court, the order stipulating that Otumore was to be sold to the Forest Service to clear the survey lien, with any surplus money to be invested in the Maori Education Foundation.²⁷¹ MLC records will need to be examined to ascertain how and why this order was made, and what the view of the owners was. However, under the Maori Affairs Act 1953, it was common for land perceived as ‘idle’ and which was carrying debts (such as rates or survey liens) to be vested in the Maori Trustee (or another receiver) to enable it to be economically utilised, which usually meant it was alienated either by lease or sale (as in the case of Otumore).

The level of the survey lien itself is a matter worthy of further research: Otumore was charged with survey costs of £566 17s. 3d., or more than 2 shillings per acre, which is a very high price, particularly when all the surrounding blocks were already surveyed and the first survey was deficient, having to be later corrected. Added to this high cost was five years of interest, totalling £141 14s. 4d.²⁷² The Forest Service was willing to have Otumore added to the existing State Forest (which included Mangoira) for the purposes of control. Indeed, the Forest Service was only willing to pay a token, or “extremely modest,” price of £750, adding that if that was deemed too low, then the land could be left as it is. It is apparent that compulsory alienation was entirely unnecessary. Or, as Lands and Survey put it bluntly: “This is a useless bit of Maori land, we should have it but only if we can get it cheap.”²⁷³ In fact, the land have been valued at a far higher price than that: as early as 1919, when it was valued together with about 7,000 acres of adjacent land, it was said to be worth nine shillings per acre (or more than £2,300), to which should be added 45 years of rising land values. Nonetheless, the land was duly and cheaply acquired for addition to the State Forest,²⁷⁴ with minimal input from, or benefit to, its owners.

Owhaoko: Gifting and Return

Parts of Owhaoko A, B, and D blocks were gifted to the Crown by their Maori owners in 1916–17 with the intention of the land being used for the settlement of Maori soldiers returning from World War One. The gifted land was never used for the intended purpose – indeed, it was (and remains) utterly unsuited to agricultural development – but despite the government being aware of this almost before the ink had dried on the deeds of gift, it failed

²⁷¹ ABWN 6095/W5021, box 309, 10/95/42. Archives New Zealand.

²⁷² AANS 828, W5491, box 842, 9/3/143. Archives New Zealand.

²⁷³ AANS 828, W5491, box 842, 9/3/143. Archives New Zealand.

²⁷⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1963, p.1018.

to return the land to the Maori donors until 1973. Or rather, it failed to return the land to a Maori organisation until 1973; it took several more decades before the land was actually revested in the original donors. As noted earlier, Riseborough's *Ngamatea* outlines this issue, but it is one that requires closer scrutiny, and more primary research, than she was able to devote to it. The relevant primary sources are outlined in the narrative below, and include a key series of archives files and newspaper coverage. It would still be desirable for later research to involve a thorough check for other useful sources.

The saga began in October 1916, when Te Heuheu Tukino, Kingi Topia, and Ngati Tuwharetoa offered to gift about 25,000 acres of Owhaoko land for the settlement of returning Maori soldiers. Dr Maui Pomare praised them for what he called, "this great self-sacrifice."²⁷⁵ This occurred at a conference between Dr Pomare (representing the Crown) and Ngati Tuwharetoa.²⁷⁶ The Governor was delighted, and assured Ngati Tuwharetoa that he would tell the King about their great "patriotic spirit," which in turn was said to have greatly pleased the Ngati Tuwharetoa conference at Tokaanu.²⁷⁷ Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka appear to have been involved in the gift, or very promptly agreed to join in with it, for it was reported just days later that they had met to discuss gifting Owhaoko land.²⁷⁸ Or, as another report put it, "the Taihape section of the tribe interested in the Owhaoko block is considering what it can do in the same way." A deputation was expected to call on Dr Pomare in Wellington in due course.²⁷⁹

Accordingly, three blocks (Owhaoko A East, A1B, and B East) were proclaimed Crown land in November 1917, following an earlier resolution of assembled owners in July 1917²⁸⁰ to gift the land to the Crown for the settlement of discharged Maori soldiers. The gifting of Owhaoko D1 (3,934 acres) and D7 (8,574 acres) was confirmed in January 1918, bringing the total area of the gift to about 35,000 acres.²⁸¹

The process of confirming alienations through meetings of assembled owners (under the Native Land Act 1909) is a deeply flawed one. It allowed transactions to be approved by a tiny minority of owners. Judging by later evidence, it is clear that some owners had not

²⁷⁵ Maui Pomare to Sir Francis Bell, 3 October 1916. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁷⁶ *Ashburton Guardian*, 4 October 1916.

²⁷⁷ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 12 October 1916.

²⁷⁸ *New Zealand Times*, 7 October 1916. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁷⁹ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 12 October 1916.

²⁸⁰ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 10 July 1917.

²⁸¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, No. 170, 1917, and No. 3, 1918. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

endorsed the gift and actively opposed it (see below). The meeting of owners in July 1917 to confirm the gift was held at Tokaanu,²⁸² which means it may not have included many representatives from among the Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri owners based around Taihape. There is also the matter of motivations for the gift other than patriotic fervour: the land was (as noted below) heavily infested with rabbits, and there have been suggestions by today's owners of the land that Rabbit Board rates were a burden on the land's owners in the 1910s, and may have been a factor in the gifting. Given this, it will be necessary to research any other records relating to the gift (including Maori Land Board, Native Department, and newspaper records) in order to ascertain the background to the gift and which owners endorsed it.

The Commissioner of Crown Lands inspected the land in 1918 and reported in July that:

it would seem that this patriotic gift of 35,000 acres which looks so well on paper is practically useless for the purpose for which it was donated, viz., the settlement of discharged Maori soldiers, and is in fact of very little value for any other purpose. In view of these facts it seems useless to have the land proclaimed under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act, and is not easy to make a recommendation as to what is best to do with it.²⁸³

Nothing further seems to have been done. In August 1925 a hapless soldier inquired about the land, but was advised that it was of poor quality, unsuited to farming, and there had been little interest in it.²⁸⁴

The Owahaoko land was also infested with rabbits, and the Department of Agriculture was then spending £400 per annum in controlling them. In 1928 J. Watherston, the manager of the adjoining Ngamatea station, offered to take over some of the land under lease (offering no rent for the first five years, with £250 per annum thereafter).²⁸⁵ This offer spurred a flurry of official activity, as it did not appear that the terms of the gift permitted such a lease. The outcome was the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act, 1930, s.25(1) of which discharged the land from the purpose for which it was originally gifted. It was thereafter to be administered as Crown land under the Land Act 1924, although any revenues from such land collected by the Maori Land Board (could under subsection (2)) be

²⁸² *Poverty Bay Herald*, 10 July 1917.

²⁸³ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Under-Secretary for Lands, 1 July 1918. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁸⁴ J. G. Coates to P. Grey, 13 August 1925. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁸⁵ W. C. Barry to Department of Agriculture, 6 November 1928. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

distributed in assistance to discharged Maori soldiers or their successors or dependents. It does not appear that the land's donors were consulted over this change, although this issue may benefit from further research.

It appears that the donors had pre-empted the 1930 legislation, as it was reported in 1930 that they had previously granted a lease over the gifted land. In fact, the lease was arranged by owners who had opposed the gifting of the land, and they continued to receive rentals after the gift had been confirmed. The leases dated back to 1906, had a term of 30 years, and were to Ngamatea station, but the leases related to Owhaoko D7 only, and were complicated by the fact that they included some land outside the gifted area.²⁸⁶ The Maori landlords insisted that they were entitled to continue to receive the rentals, regardless of the gift or the statutory declaration of the land as Crown land. However, from 1931, Ngamatea station withheld the rents due to concerns about their legality and over possible Crown action against Ngamatea.²⁸⁷

The Native Minister decided to allow the Maori owners to retain the rentals they had received, but instructed Ngamatea to discontinue payments to them in 1931, and instead pay the rentals to the government. Special legislation was even drafted to provide for this, but the Lands Department found this proposal to be “impracticable,” due to difficulties around apportioning the rent between the Crown and the owners of Maori land outside the gifted area that was included in the leases. It eventually proposed an apportionment of interests that would see the Crown receive £101 of the rent per annum. Ngamatea challenged this apportionment, leading to a raft of technical correspondence on the matter, but the result was a refusal to pay rent to the Crown.²⁸⁸ The matter appears to have remained unresolved, although the leases were due to expire in 1936, so the dispute may have simply expired with them.

The Owhaoko files were quiet again, until 1956 when there were proposals to include parts of the gifted land in the Ngaruroro Catchment Scheme, and an offer from Ngamatea to purchase part of the land. The Forest Service also expressed interest in taking over parts (presumably

²⁸⁶ Commissioner of Crown Lands note, 11 June 1930, and Commissioner of Crown Lands to Under-Secretary for Lands, 23 December 1930. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁸⁷ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Under-Secretary for Lands, 10 January and 18 February 1931. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁸⁸ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Lee, Grave & Grave, 11 April 1931. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

for afforestation, but possibly for conservation).²⁸⁹ At about the same time, Pani Otene (apparently acting on behalf of the donors) suggested to the government that the gifted lands be returned to Maori as they had not been used for the purpose intended. The government contacted the Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board, but rather than returning the lands it offered to pay them 2s. 6d. per acre for 10,000 to 20,000 acres it wanted to secure for soil and water conservation purposes (presumably meaning the Ngaruroro Catchment Scheme).²⁹⁰ The Trust Board preferred that the land be returned to its former owners.²⁹¹

The government did not act to return the land, instead seeking an aerial inspection with a view to separate out the catchment area wanted for soil and water conservation purposes (which the government clearly did not want to return). It was then decided that a ground inspection was necessary, which was not arranged until 1962.²⁹² In 1967 Maori Affairs proposed a land development scheme over a part of the land, but this came to naught.²⁹³ There was further inter-departmental correspondence between Lands and Survey and the Forest Service over the fate of the land but not, apparently, any communication with the donors. In 1970, the Forest Service was dismissive of suggestions by unidentified officials that the land be returned to its donors.²⁹⁴

In 1971, Lands and Survey proposed transferring the land to the Forest Service, again without consulting Maori. Maori Affairs, however, advised that the donors should be consulted about the land, and the Minister of Maori Affairs suggested that the land be returned as they had not been used for the intended purpose.²⁹⁵ Following further correspondence in 1971 and 1972, it was decided to meet with Ngati Tuwharetoa to (again) ascertain their views, but it proved more difficult to get the owners together about returning the land than it had done when securing the agreement of a minority to the original gift. A meeting was eventually convened, again at Tokaanu, in October 1972, where those present opposed sale of the land to the

²⁸⁹ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Director-General of Lands, 29 September 1956. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹⁰ Maori Affairs Secretary to Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board, 16 January 1957. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹¹ Maori Affairs Secretary to Director-General of Lands, 2 May 1958. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹² Commissioner of Crown Lands to Director-General of Lands, 19 February 1962. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹³ Maori Affairs Secretary to Director-General of Lands, 25 August 1967. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹⁴ W. J. Wendelken to Director-General of Lands, 20 November 1970. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹⁵ R. J. Maclachlan to Maori Affairs, 20 January 1971, and J. M. McEwen, Maori Affairs, to Director-General of Lands, 29 March 1971. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 1. Archives New Zealand.

Crown, although they were prepared to lease land to the Forest Service for conservation and river protection purposes.²⁹⁶

The Forest Service and Lands and Survey considered mounting a legal challenge against any return of the land to its donors, but those Maori consulted were firmly opposed to sale and wanted the land returned. The Minister of Maori Affairs was again approached about the return of the land.²⁹⁷ The new Minister, Matiu Rata, favoured returning the land, later telling Parliament it was the Labour Government's policy to return land not being used for the purpose for which it was gifted. He advised the Forest Service (who still wanted some of the land) to negotiate with the owners.²⁹⁸ Finally, in June 1973 it was reported that the government had decided to return 16,000 acres of the gifted land to the donors. Some of the gifted land (6,833 acres) was said to have already been set aside as a State Forest (in 1939) and could not be returned.²⁹⁹ Nonetheless, it seems to have been returned.

Subsequently, the Maori Purposes Act 1973 (s.23) provided for the revesting of the gifted land in the Maori found by the MLC to be entitled to receive it (this applied to Owhaoko A East, A1B, B East, Part D1 and Part D7). A MLC hearing was held, again at Tokaanu, on 31 October 1974 when the land was vested in the Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board and six advisory trustees appointed to represent the owners.³⁰⁰ It does not appear that Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri were represented at this hearing or among the trustees. At a subsequent MLC hearing, another advisory trustee was appointed ("Hepi") to represent their interests.³⁰¹

It is not currently known what became of the land after 1975 (other than a two year lease to a helicopter-based deer extraction operation in 1976) but in 1996, Owhaoko A East (16,640 acres) and A1B (555 acres) were constituted as a separate trust, as were Owhaoko B East (5,851 acres) and Part D1 (3,061 acres)³⁰² and Part D7 (D7B Part, 8575 acres) (the Owhaoko

²⁹⁶ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Director-General of Lands, 18 October 1972. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 2. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹⁷ J. M. McEwen memo for Maori Affairs Minister, 17 May 1973. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 2. Archives New Zealand.

²⁹⁸ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 385, 1973, pp.3573-81.

²⁹⁹ J. M. McEwen to Director-General of Lands, 14 June 1973. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 2. Archives New Zealand.

³⁰⁰ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Director-General of Lands, 13 November 1974. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 2. Archives New Zealand.

³⁰¹ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Director-General of Lands, 15 April 1975. AAMX 6095/W3430, box 6, 26/1/12, part 2. Archives New Zealand.

³⁰² Owhaoko D1 appears to be almost 900 acres smaller than when it was first gifted, but it is not clear if this is the result of an error in the original figure or if land was taken from the block for other purposes before most of the gifted land was returned.

B & D Trust, with a total area of 34,000 acres, which also includes B1B, D3, D4B, D8B). The Owhaoko B and D Trust represents Ngati Tamakopiri, Ngati Whitikaupeka, and Ngati Whititama owners. It is assumed that the Owhaoko A East and A1B Trust represents owners more closely affiliated to Ngati Tuwharetoa owners.

The Taihape Native Land Development ‘Scheme’

Native land development schemes were one of the key forms of government assistance given to Maori in the first half of the twentieth century. There is useful existing research on these development schemes, but given the paucity of such schemes in the Taihape inquiry district (as set out below), there is little need to delve into this too deeply. General development issues have been usefully summarised by the Central North Island Tribunal in *He Maunga Rongo* (Chapter 14), and related issues in the inquiry are addressed to some extent by Terry Hearn’s ‘Taupo-Kaingaroa Twentieth Century Overview Land Alienation and Land Administration, 1900-1993’ (CFRT, 2004).

No full scheme was implemented in the Taihape inquiry district, so there is little need here to discuss the policies and practices related to the land development schemes introduced from about 1929 (some of which were not wound up until the 1980s). However, two Maori farmers were assisted in developing their land under the legislative provisions governing Maori land development. The file relating to one of these farmers is available and has been examined for this scoping report (see below).³⁰³

The file for the other farm (which appears to have involved two successive farming operations: that of Hira Wharawhara Bennet from 1959 to 1963, and then N. A. and J. C. Duncan from 1963 to 1984) is subject to restrictions on access.³⁰⁴ Viewing the file will require the permission of Te Puni Kokiri who, in turn, are likely to require the permission of the Duncans or their descendants.

One of the two farmers assisted under the Maori land development schemes was Tihoni Kereopa, a returned soldier who in 1937 applied for government assistance in the development of his land, Otamakapua 1F2A (211 acres). He came to the government’s

³⁰³ A further file, containing balance sheets for the period 1939-1958 proved to contain no useful material (AAMK 869 W3074 box 1401f 65/30/1, Land Development Schemes - Taihape Development Scheme - Audited Copies of Balance Sheets, 1939-1958)

³⁰⁴ AAMK 869 W3704 box 600a 15/5/100, Development Units – Land Settlement – Bennett, Hiira Wharawhara – Taihape Development Scheme, 1959-1963, and; AAMK 869 W3704 box 600b 15/5/100, Development Units – Land Settlement - Bennett, Hiira Wharawhara - Duncan N.A. and J.C. – Taihape Development Scheme, 1963-1984.

attention when he applied for a loan from the State Advances Corporation, which was the government agency that assisted thousands of farmers with development finance. He sought a loan of £500 to increase the dairy stock on his mixed farm, on which he was then running 50 cows and 150–200 sheep.³⁰⁵

A leading obstacle for Maori land owners seeking finance through the institutions and agencies available to the owners of general land was the nature of their NLC titles. In Tihoni's case, he only owned a half-interest in his farm; the other half being owned by his brother.³⁰⁶ This was an immediate hindrance, and he was apparently turned down by the State Advances Corporation, for he promptly wrote to Prime Minister and Native Minister Savage, to seek the assistance he required to expand his farm and support his large family. He had been trying to take over the farm since August 1936 but lack of funds had prevented this, and he observed to Savage that being a Maori "was a handicap when it came to money matters."³⁰⁷

The Native Department eventually visited Tihoni in 1938 and found him to be a "good worker, intelligent, and deserving of help." He "urgently required" a house before the next winter set in, as he, his wife, and six children were living in tents.³⁰⁸ Development finance of up to £1,000 was promptly approved.³⁰⁹ An unforeseen difficulty was the illegal action of the former lessee of the land (Richard Hammond, whose family had been involved in Otamakapua lands since the 1870s) had illegally removed the house and fencing material already on the land. Tihoni sued him and was awarded damages of £1,018, but Hammond promptly declared bankruptcy so no money was received, on top of which Tihoni incurred heavy legal costs. In mid-1940, he was in danger of being sent to jail (apparently not having been notified of one court appearance) in relation to the debts arising from this legal action. The government advanced further funds to cover the legal costs, seeing Tihoni as a reliable farmer who had already made good progress despite these difficulties.³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ T. Kereopa to State Advances Corporation, 12 October 1937. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

³⁰⁶ T. Kereopa to State Advances Corporation, 12 October 1937. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

³⁰⁷ T. Kereopa to Savage, 1 November 1937. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

³⁰⁸ Native Department inspection report, 29 March 1938. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

³⁰⁹ Native Department to NLC Registrar, Whanganui, 10 May 1938. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

³¹⁰ T. Kereopa to Native Minister Langstone, 30 June 1940; Native Department to NLC Registrar, Whanganui, 9 July 1940, and; NLC Registrar, Whanganui, to Native Department, 16 July 1940. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

In 1945, Tihoni Kereopa sought further finance to build a small wool shed. This would not normally have been approved because his sheep flock was not large, but the inconvenience caused by having to drive his sheep to his neighbour's shed was significant. As before, he was also seen as unusually worthy of assistance:

The keen interest taken by this unit and his wife in their farming operations and the amount of their personal revenue which is put back into the property in the form of livestock and plant are rarely met with in the majority of our units, and it is considered that that they should be given every possible encouragement, and that this request be acceded to.³¹¹

As early as 1950, Tihoni had paid off his Native Department loan, and looked to expand through the purchase of an adjacent Pakeha farm. Again, the authorities were willing to assist as they found him to be almost uniquely worth of continued aid:

Mr. Kereopa has achieved an almost unique position, in this district at any rate, having overcome many difficulties and obtaining his present happy position as a result of hard work, sound farming methods and sustained effort. He has been materially assisted by Mrs. Kereopa who possesses unusual capabilities and farming knowledge. You will note from correspondence that he suffered a heavy loss through the illegal removal of his house from the farm by a European lessee against whom he was unable to obtain any legal redress. It is suggested that in the view of outstanding results obtained by this unit, he is deserving of some special commendation, and it is considered that he would greatly appreciate a letter from either the Hon. Minister or yourself congratulating him on his success in his farming operations.³¹²

A congratulatory letter was duly written to Tihoni Kereopa, praising him as "a worthy example of the fruits of its Maori Land Development policy." It is unfortunate that only one other Taihape district farmer appears to have been given any similar assistance (and then not until 1959). As it transpired, Tihoni was unable to maintain his enlarged farm as he could not obtain the labour needed. In 1953, he approached Maori Affairs for help, but was advised that he should sell the farm and find a smaller one.³¹³ As he was no longer being assisted, the file was closed.

³¹¹ NLC Registrar, Whanganui, to Native Department, 12 March 1945. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

³¹² MLC Registrar, Whanganui, to Maori Affairs, 19 December 1950. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

³¹³ Whanganui District Officer Brooker to Tihoni Kereopa, 23 April 1953. MA 1, box 301, 15/5/64. Archives New Zealand.

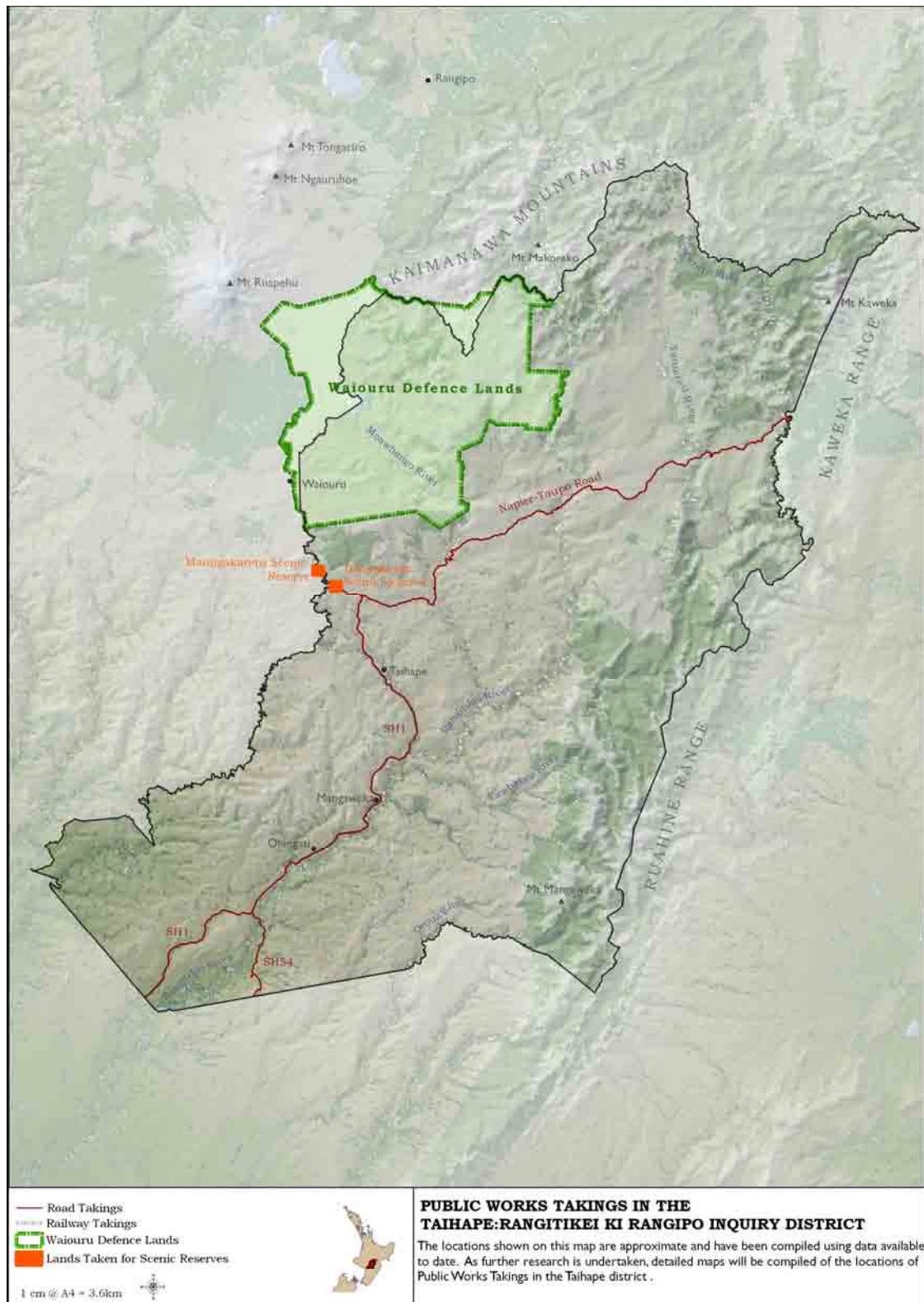
Public Works and Other Compulsory Takings

Public works and other compulsory takings of land for public purposes are a significant issue in parts of the Taihape district (notably takings for defence purposes in the vicinity of Waiouru, as set out below). They are also a significant issue for particular groups in other part of the district (such as those affected by takings for railways purposes in Motukawa and Awarua blocks [including Taihape township and vicinity], as well the owners of Taraketi 5 [part of which was, after title was issued, deemed to be riverbed and was assumed by the Crown under the Coal Mines Act 1903]).

The main existing research from adjacent inquiries that is relevant to these issues is Philip Cleaver's report on Public Works and other takings. His report is referred to below in the subsequent sub-sections relating to the main issues affecting the Taihape district in relation to such takings. At a more general policy level, the Central North Island Tribunal's report includes a useful chapter on Public Works and other takings (*He Maunga Rongo*, Chapter 12).

In addition to the takings already identified in statements of claim, there are likely to be numerous further takings not yet identified, including takings for railways and roading, and possibly other purposes (such as gravel pits, public facilities, waste disposal, etc). Such takings should be identified as part of current research assistance projects, and further research into those takings identified will be required (as set out in the research recommendations in Chapter 6).

As discussed in Chapter 3, takings for the NIMT railway were mooted in the 1880s, once the route north from Marton through to Taihape and northwards had been identified. Any takings from Maori land will need to be identified as part of any research into this subject. As previously discussed, the Crown agreed with iwi in other districts that compensation would be paid for the land required for the railway, but it is not yet clear if this was also agreed with Taihape district Maori. In any case, research in the Whanganui district inquiry indicates that after about 1890 the Crown appeared less willing to pay compensation for the land taken for the railway purposes. It will need to be determined if this was also the case in the Taihape inquiry district.



Map 4: Public Works Issues in the Taihape Inquiry District

Scenery Reserves

An issue associated with the NIMT railway takings are the scenery preservation reserves taken from land beside or near the railway line. The ideology behind scenery preservation in the late eighteenth century has been addressed Cleaver's report. It is also discussed and analysed by the Central North Island Tribunal (*He Maunga Rongo*, Chapter 12). Cleaver also looks at proposals in the early twentieth century to take a variety of Taihape district lands for scenic purposes, and the two scenic reserves in the northeast of the district that he identified as having been established after these proposals were considered by the government of the day (see below). As his focus was on Whanganui inquiry scenic reserves, it seems likely that he only identified issues in the Taihape district that were adjacent to Whanganui, meaning that there will need to be a wider search undertaken of primary sources with a view to identifying other scenic reserves in other parts of the district that may have been established on land taken from Maori.

With respect to scenic reserves generally, there had been a pronounced change and more value placed in Western societies on natural scenery, as opposed to simply considering it as a wilderness. By the late nineteenth century, the scenery preservation movement began growing in New Zealand, leading to the development of policies to preserve spots deemed to be 'scenic'. The scenery preservation activists were at pains to point out that they did not wish to stifle settlement, but rather preserve the natural bush land unsuited to farming, and were to a considerable extent driven by the economic impetus of tourism. Many scenic reserves were selected alongside tourist routes, and it was for this reason that numerous reserves were identified beside the NIMT railway. Scenic reserves also tended to be confined to unproductive land.

The scenery preservation movement was largely driven by Pakeha, with very little input from Maori, and indeed there was later considerable Maori protest over how the land was taken over under Scenery Preservation legislation.³¹⁴ The first piece of such legislation was the Scenery Preservation Act 1903, which established the Scenery Preservation Commission which was empowered to inspect and recommend for proclamation any Crown, Maori or private land deemed worthy of preservation for scenic, thermal or historical reasons. Section 5 of the Act allowed any land to be taken for such purposes under the 1894 Public Works Act. The Act was amended in 1906 when the Commission was replaced by the Scenery Preservation Board as a permanent body composed of officials from various Government departments. Curiously, the 1906 Act was not translated into Maori and all references to

³¹⁴ Cleaver, p.82.

Maori land were deleted in the Act. The consolidating Scenery Preservation Act from 1908 did not restore the provisions regarding the Maori land, and these facts throw into doubt the legality the taking of Maori land for scenic reserve purposes during this period. The reference to Maori land, however, was included in the 1910 Scenery Preservation Amendment Act (indeed, it seems that restoring this provision was the primary aim of the amending Act).³¹⁵

By early 1905, the Scenery Preservation Commission was considering creating scenic reserves along the main trunk line between Marton and Taumaranui. The line by this time had reached Taihape, and the Commission had already recommended some of the areas in the vicinity of Taihape and Torere village as possible scenic reserves.³¹⁶ Yet although the original idea of preserving bush along the trunk line came in 1905, it does not appear that a full inspection of the area was carried out until early 1907, carried out by the Scenery Preservation Board by this stage. The Board was suitably impressed with the scenic potential of the area, concluding in its report that:

The hundred odd miles of scenery traversed from Makohine [north of Marton] to Manunui [south of Taumaranui] forms a national asset that, in our opinion, should be most jealously conserved and protected. . . . Most of the area is not well adapted for close settlement, and the timber growing thereon forms its principal value. The varieties of timber, the natural beauty of the forest, its magnificent situation amongst numerous deep ravines and sinuous gorges through which run rapid mountain streams, together with the background of frowning hills and lofty ranges, and in the distance the grand snow-capped peaks of the Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe, and Tongariro Mountains, all unite in proclaiming this portion of New Zealand as one of the principal attractions of the colony. As time goes on forest country will disappear from most of the other parts of the colony, but its picturesqueness will be more appreciated as its extent diminishes. It is almost needless to say that once the forest is sold and felled it can never be replaced as it now stands, and from the climatic and utilitarian points of view its retention is necessary to secure much broken and otherwise comparatively useless country from slipping into the valleys and gorges, and thus becoming a perpetual eyesore in contrast to its present pristine beauty.³¹⁷

The report concluded with a recommendation of all the blocks to be reserved for scenic purposes along the main trunk line between Marton and Taumaranui, including around 710 acres of Awarua lands – in four different blocks: Part Awarua 1A2 West (the largest, 500 acres), part Awarua 4C8 and 4C9 (40 acres), part Awarua 4C9 (80 acres) and part Awarua 4A3C7 (90 acres).³¹⁸

³¹⁵ Cleaver, pp.82-83.

³¹⁶ Scenery Preservation Board Report, Appendix 2, C-6, AJHR 1907, p.34. The report does not give the particulars of the lands that had been recommended in this manner.

³¹⁷ Scenery Preservation Board Report, Appendix 2, C-6, AJHR 1907, p.36.

³¹⁸ Scenery Preservation Board Report, Appendix 2, C-6, AJHR 1907, p.37.

Yet despite these recommendations, and the government's willingness to act on them, very few reserves were actually made along this section of the main trunk line, and it appears none of them on the Awarua blocks mentioned above. Cleaver has suggested that the main reason for this is the clearing of the timber-clad blocks which occurred before the Crown was able to fully engage the mechanism of surveying and proclaiming the reserves. This applied in particular to the timbered lands along the railway route beside the Hautapu and Rangitikei Rivers. The timber on the land was an important economic resource for Maori, and was also sought after by Pakeha millers.³¹⁹

Nonetheless, the government did proceed with two scenic reserves not noted in the earlier reports cited above. In 1910 the Turangarehe Scenic Reserve (which included the taking of 25 acres of Motukawa 2D1) and the Maungakaretu Scenic Reserve (which included the taking of 62 acres of Motukawa 2D7) were proclaimed.³²⁰ A key feature related to the Turangarehe scenic reserve would have been the waterfall there, which was photographed in about 1910 (about the time the scenic reserve was established).³²¹ This photograph is reproduced overleaf.

³¹⁹ Cleaver, p.94.

³²⁰ Cleaver, pp.92-3.

³²¹ Unknown photographer, 'Waterfall at Turangarehe, c.1910'. Ref 1/2-107056-F, Alexander Turnbull Library. The image can be viewed online. URL:
http://find.natlib.govt.nz/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=TF&fromLogin=true



Unknown photographer, 'Waterfall at Turangarere, c.1910'. Ref 1/2-107056-F, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Waiouru Defence Lands

Between 1942 and 1973, the Crown took over large areas of Maori owned land in Rangipo-Waiu and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa blocks for defence purposes, notably for the extension of the Waiouru military camp training grounds. These acquisitions have already been covered in some detail by Cleaver, and added to more recently by Adam Heinz. This section merely aims to provide a general overview of the issues involved in these takings. As noted in the research recommendation in Chapter 6, only a small amount of additional research is necessary on this issue.

In 1941 the military sought to extend the existing Waiouru training area, requiring the Maori owned lands on Rangipo North and Rangipo-Waiu to expand the artillery range for training exercises. The lands – Rangipo-Waiu 1B and Rangipo North 6C – were acquired in July 1942. Although the Native Department corresponded on the matter of the takings from 1941, no meeting of assembled owners, even an informal one as suggested by the Registrar, appears to have been ever held. A meeting of assembled owner of Rangipo-Waiu 1B had been

convened previously in 1913, when they had resolved to sell the land, but were unable to do so since alienations were restricted to leases only.³²²

The matter of compensation seems somewhat confusing from the current research. The matter was considered by the Maori Land Court in 1943, which noted that the land was encumbered with survey liens to the value of £155. The Government approved a compensation amount of £250, but the Registrar proposed that some of the survey liens be waived since they “were out of all proportion to the value of the lands.”³²³ Although Cleaver originally argued that no compensation had actually ever been paid, Heinz notes that the former has now changed his opinion since being shown documents by the Crown during cross-examination which presumably showed otherwise.³²⁴ As the situation stands right now, it is not clear what, if any, compensation was paid for the taking of these lands.

By 1949 the military began plans to further expand the training area at Waiouru for the purpose of large-scale artillery and armour training exercises without endangering public safety. The Maori lands required for this extension were in the Rangipo-Waiu and Oruamatua Kaimanawa blocks, and the military advised the Registrar of the Maori Land Court of their intentions in August 1949, with the Registrar again suggesting holding informal meetings with the owners to discuss the proposals. The Army engaged the Ministry of Works to conduct its negotiations, and the Ministry recommended compulsory acquisition under the Public Works Act due to the difficulty of negotiating with multiple Maori owners. The Maori Affairs Department, however, recommended that negotiations be attempted first before any action is taken under the Public Works Act. By May 1950 the Government had approved £10,000 for acquiring the lands. The owners were then to be asked if they agreed to the taking of the land under the Public Works Act 1928, but at the meeting in September 1950 the owners of the Rangipo Waiu 2B and Oruamatua Kaimanawa 2 and 3 lands (identified as Ngati Tuwharetoa living in Tokaanu) opposed any taking and proposed a land exchange instead.³²⁵

No exchange, however, could be effected. No government department was willing to exchange the land, and all of the blocks suggested by John Asher on behalf of the owners in the Taupo area as suitable for exchange were rejected by the Director-General of Lands, who argued that they were all required for one purpose or another. With the situation thus

³²² Heinz, p.66.

³²³ Heinz, p.66.

³²⁴ Heinz, p.66.

³²⁵ Heinz, p.69.

seemingly at an impasse, the Army decided to attempt to purchase the lands, and the Government approved £14,000 for the proposed purchase of 43,000 acres (not all of which was Maori land) in March 1953.³²⁶

The proposed purchase was approved by the Board of Maori Affairs in January 1957, but by November that year no meeting with the assembled owners had taken place, with many of the owners complaining that the travel expenses were out of all proportion with the monetary value of the interests involved, and suggested that the land be compulsorily taken and compensation subsequently assessed by the Maori Land Court. This in the end was the course taken, with Walter Nash, the Minister of Maori Affairs, agreeing it was the preferred course of action, although he insisted that notices of the intention to take should be given, even though they were not necessary for defence purposes. Notice of intention to take was given in July 1960, and there was one objection from the principal owner of Oruamatua-Kaimanawa 3F on the grounds that the land had good farming potential, but the objection was dismissed. The actual taking of the lands was proclaimed in February 1961.³²⁷

The Maori Land Court assessed the compensation for Maori lands taken in October 1961. Heinz writes:

The total compensation for all the Maori land parcels taken amounted to £9,195. The compensation for the freehold of the general land parcels, and the leasehold over some of the Maori land parcels, however, were higher as they were part of the Ohinewairua Station. The Army Department does not seem to have been able to afford to purchase those areas outright, and had to accept continued leasing at little or no rent (the Army was even required to pay the Rabbit Rates) as part of compensation package. The Army did, however, gain guaranteed annual access to the land and could end the lease without notice in a national emergency.³²⁸

A further extension of the Waiouru training area involving Maori land (Oruamatua-Kaimanawa 2C2, 2C3 and 2C4) took place in 1973, as the Army had to move its training area for live firing further to the east because of the advent of the Tongariro Power Development Scheme. These lands were compulsorily acquired in October 1973, perhaps for the same reason as the acquisitions in 1961, or perhaps to acquire the general land lying to the north and east of the Maori owned blocks, and which the principal owner, Nicholas Koroneef, had refused to sell. Koroneef in fact took his case to the Supreme Court, and the owners of the

³²⁶ Heinz, p.69.

³²⁷ Heinz, pp.69-70.

³²⁸ Heinz, p.70.

Maori blocks did not have their very small compensation claims settled by the Maori Trustee until the Koroneef case was completed.³²⁹

³²⁹ Heinz, p.75.

5. Environmental Issues and Management of Natural Resources

Three specific environmental issues have been raised in statements of claim: the Rangitikei River, Tongariro Power Development scheme (particularly in relation to the Moawhango Dam), and the Kaimanawa wild horses. These issues are briefly addressed below.

Other than those specific issues, there are likely to be a range of broader environmental impact and natural resource management issues that have affected the tangata whenua of the Taihape inquiry district. The research recommendations include a project intended to address these broader issues. The goal of a broader environmental impacts and land-based resources³³⁰ project is to consider customary resources significant to Maori, and assess how these have been affected by Crown policies and practices relating to natural resources, and by colonisation more generally. The role of Crown agencies and local authorities in managing and controlling land-based resources is a particular focus, but there is also an emphasis on changes imposed on the physical environment with little or no regard for the interests or concerns of Taihape district Maori.

This includes issues such as forest clearance, timber milling, the advance of settlement, erosion, solid waste disposal, the expansion of primary production, management of remaining forests, the introduction and management of exotic species (including noxious pests and plants), the establishment of management regimes for wildlife, and more generally the extent to which Maori interests, concerns, and practices have been recognised or accommodated in the formulation of central and local government policies and practices for environmental management.

Rangitikei River

The Rangitikei River and its tributaries are an important customary and contemporary natural resource to the tangata whenua who live alongside them, in both the Taihape district and the adjacent Manawatu inquiry district. Taken together, the river and its tributaries account for most of the main waterways in the district (other than those in the Ngaruroro catchment in the

³³⁰ Issues around waterways will be addressed separately in relation to the Rangitikei River.

northeast of the district). As set out in the research recommendations, a discrete report on the entire Rangitikei River and its tributaries is proposed, with a view to addressing the wide range of issues related to waterways (as set out in the research recommendations section).

Moawhango Dam

One of the more visible environmental issues that has been raised in the Taihape inquiry district is that of the Moawhango Dam and its impact on Moawhango and Rangitikei rivers. Ordinarily, this could be considered as a specific issue within the context of a report on the Rangitikei River and its tributaries, as it is primarily a waterways-related matter. However, as the Moawhango Dam and related Tongariro Power Development scheme matters have already been the subject of extensive research, there is no need for further technical research on the issue, as set out below. The existing research is that of Tony Walzl, 'Environmental Impact of the Tongariro Power Development Scheme' (CFRT, 2006) for the National Park inquiry, which has looked closely at the entire Tongariro Power Development scheme, including the Moawhango portion.

The following section draws heavily on Walzl's conclusions and findings on the environmental impact of the scheme and Moawhango dam in the Taihape District. Drawing on extensive primary sources (government archives and documents related to Resource Management Act proceedings), Walzl provides a general overview of the main issues, which are discussed in more detail in Walzl's report. Considering that Walzl's research is recent and the report relatively comprehensive, it is not anticipated that further technical research of these issues will be required. However, tangata whenua evidence regarding the impacts of the dam is wanting.

Briefly put, Moawhango Dam forms a part of the eastern division of the ambitious Tongariro Power Development Scheme constructed in the period between 1972 and 1975. It dams the Moawhango River and Mangaio Stream, both tributaries of the Rangitikei River, thereby creating the artificial Lake Moawhango, which was filled in 1979. The water from Lake Moawhango is diverted to the Rangipo dam through the 19.2 kilometres long Moawhango tunnel. The role of the Lake Moawhango in the scheme is quite significant as it provides its only major storage area.

Walzl identified a range of environmental impacts on the Moawhango River caused by the Moawhango dam. These include negative impacts in terms of reduced downstream water flow, sedimentation, reduction in amount and quality of aquatic habitat for macro

invertebrates and fish, changed chemical composition and increases in temperature in the waters of both the lake and the river, allegedly limited native fish population and declined numbers in Blue Duck numbers since the commissioning of the Rangipo dam in 1983.³³¹

Walzl notes that the reduction in the high flows on the Moawhango River – the mean flow 30km downstream from the dam had been reduced from 14.1 to 4.7 cubic metres – resulted in fine sediment accumulation in localised pools, while organic matter would also build up in these pools. In warm summer weather, anoxic conditions in the fine sediments of the pools occurred producing localised areas of anaerobic decomposition, which in turn caused strong odours. Whanganui and Waikato environmental officers agreed in their Combined Report from September 2000 that this process was the result of the changed flow patterns of the Moawhango River, and the Tongariro Power Development Hearing Committee also accepted this view in their August 2001 Decision.³³²

The Department of Conservation noted in its response to the Assessment of Environmental Effects produced by Genesis Power in 2000 that the balance of the Moawhango River system had been altered due to the lower flows of the river, further commenting that “the series of sluggish pools that make up the ‘river’ below the dam now supported the type of benthic community expected of stagnant waters”.³³³ The Department of Conservation argued that this was not the standard of life that the Moawhango River had the capacity to support before the dam, and that it was well short of a standard to be expected even in regulated rivers.³³⁴ The Department further recommended that the river flow be returned to support the type of invertebrate community expected in a lake-fed river. The 2000 Combined Officers’ Report referred to above accepted that the changed river flow had significant and adverse on aquatic habitat, macro-invertebrate communities and aquatic vegetation with increased periphyton growth and macrophytes, and the Tongariro Power Development Hearing Committee accepted this view in their decision in 2001.³³⁵

Walzl notes that Genesis’ review of literature in the Assessment of Environmental Effects found that the water quality in Lake Moawhango had changed as a result of the diversion of water into the reservoir from the Wahianoa Aqueduct. These changes included heightened concentration in the lake water of chloride and sulphate, as well as calcium and magnesium as

³³¹ Tony Walzl ‘Environmental Impact of the Tongariro Power Development Scheme’ CFRT, 2006, pp.10-11.

³³² Walzl, pp.228, 239.

³³³ Walzl, p.247.

³³⁴ Walzl, pp.247-248.

³³⁵ Walzl, p.248.

a result of these elements featuring in the Mangaio Tunnel discharge. It was also noted that there was a lack of nitrate in summer and low concentrations in winter, as well as low concentration of dissolved reactive phosphorus. Furthermore, the lake water temperature was relatively high compared to other bodies of water (such as the Tongariro river), but the Assessment of Environmental Effects noted that the observed changes did not have adverse impact on the lake environment. Similar conclusions were reached with respect to the Moawhango river, where the quality of water upstream of Aorangi Stream confluence was found to be high, although the section of the river downstream of the confluence was found to be worse, reflecting the effects of the adjacent agricultural land use. Even so, the environmental officers in their Combined Report in 2000 accepted that the effects of the Moawhango Dam on the water quality of the downstream Moawhango River had been less than minor.³³⁶

Although there were fears that the Moawhango dam would have an adverse impact on indigenous fish species, Walzl concluded that this seems not to have been the case. The Assessment of Environmental Effects argued that the Moawhango dam and river diversion had little effect on the distribution of fish species within the river system since their distribution and composition in the middle reaches of the river were influenced by the natural barriers present downstream from the dam, in addition to other factors such as altitude and distance inland. Walzl further notes that long finned eels occurred upstream of the Aorangi confluence, although short finned eels were not observed beyond this point, and concludes that the indigenous fish communities of the Moawhango River compared well to those of other New Zealand systems at higher elevations both in terms of the density and diversity of fish species recorded.³³⁷

Legislative changes in 1991 – in the form of the Resource Management Act – ushered in a new era in consultation with Maori groups with later resource consents. This allowed the hapu in the Taihape district to engage with the electricity authority to ensure the best outcomes for themselves. Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri undertook consultation with Electricity Corporation New Zealand (ECNZ) jointly, and attended hui with the electricity body in 1996 and 1997 to discuss resource consents and concerns with the hapu. The consultation also involved a visit to the Moawhango Dam, and kaumatua were taken to inspect the upper and lower Moawhango by helicopter. During 1998 and 1999 there was little consultation between the hapu and Genesis, but by December 1999 consultative process

³³⁶ Walzl, pp.241-242.

³³⁷ Walzl, pp.250-251.

between the two parties began, and Genesis supported the hapu in the preparation of their confidential Cultural Impacts Assessment. The parties eventually reached agreement over the issues raised, and this agreement provided for the establishment of consultative committees, allowed for kaitiakitanga to be exercised and provided for protection of wahi tapu. The agreement also supported a 35-year term of consent for Genesis, and since 2000 a working group has been established between the parties.³³⁸

Ngati Hauiti also succeeded in reaching an agreement with Genesis, although it appears that the road they had travelled was somewhat rockier. Although Ngati Hauiti were in consultation with Genesis over the resource consents, Grant Huwyler, the Environmental Manager of Te Runanga o Ngati Hauiti noted in August 2000 that the two parties were still some way from reaching an agreement:

Ngati Hauiti are opposed to the granting of consents for the on-going operation and maintenance of the TPD (Tongariro Power Development).

This opposition is founded upon our belief that the TPD impinges upon our cultural values. As the tribal collective that has traditionally occupied the Central Rangitikei River area, from the mouth of the Moawhango River, downstream as far as Rata, we have felt the spiritual impact and seen the physical impact of the TPD on our environment and our people.³³⁹

Huwyler elaborated on the particular aspects of the Power Scheme which Ngati Hauiti objected to:

The Wahianoa Aqueduct channels water from the upper Mangawhero and Whangaehu Rivers into the Moawhango Dam. Each of the Mangawhero and Whangaehu Rivers has a spiritual and physical uniqueness that was cherished and protected by the kaitiaki of old, and which gave these waterways their mauri and their mana.

The mixing of these waters by the Wahianoa Aqueduct diminishes the mauri and mana of these natural waterways. Of particular concern to Ngati Hauiti, the mixing of these waters with the Moawhango water has the affect [sic] of polluting the spiritual and physical characteristics of the Moawhango River.

The Moawhango Dam prevents the natural flow of the Moawhango River beyond the dam. This has had a major impact upon this stretch of the River, and has impacted also upon the Rangitikei River.

Such activities were forbidden in the time of our ancestors, when iwi and hapu were the sole managers of the environment. The fact that our established values

³³⁸ Walzl, pp.254-255.

³³⁹ Quoted in Walzl, p.256.

and practices were ignored when the TPD was established is the first and most obvious impact of the TPD.

However, the major impact has been the loss of life-essence or mauri, and the resulting loss of mana to the River and the surrounding environment, including the people of Ngati Hauiti. We believe that our cultural and spiritual relationship with our River has been diminished by the TPD.

Therefore, we oppose the ongoing operation of the TPD for an additional 35 years.³⁴⁰

Yet despite this strong stance taken by Ngati Hauiti, they succeeded in reaching an agreement with Genesis aimed at addressing the issues raised during the consultative process within the following year. Like the agreement reached between Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri with Genesis, the Ngati Hauiti agreement also provided for the establishment of consultative committees, allowed exercise of kaitiakitanga, and provided protection for wahi tapu. The agreement also entailed support for a 35-year term of consent for Genesis.³⁴¹

Ngati Rangi also participated in the consultation process, but unlike the already mentioned tribes, they failed to reach an agreement with Genesis and consequently opposed the resource consent application at the hearing. Walzl covers the history of this breakdown in the consultation between Genesis and Ngati Rangi in a fair amount of detail, and considering that the primary concerns raised by the latter were not directly connected with the Moawhango Dam and its impact, there is no need to re-visit those issues at this point.³⁴²

While it seems fairly clear that the construction of the Moawhango Dam had some negative environmental impacts – especially in terms of reducing the river flow of the Moawhango River which has led to sedimentation problems and problems with the aquatic habitat – there are some mitigation proposals aiming at reducing this negative impact. Furthermore, considering the amount of research already completed on these issues, and that the principal Maori groups in the district have reached an agreement and gave their consent to the continued operation of the Moawhango Dam within the last decade, it does not seem that further research on these matters is necessary at this point in time. However, as Adam Heinz has already suggested tangata whenua evidence on these issues could be beneficial.

³⁴⁰ Quoted in Walzl, pp.256-257.

³⁴¹ Walzl, p.258.

³⁴² Walzl, pp.258-279.

Kaimanawa Wild Horses

The wild herd of horses roaming the Kaimanawa seems to have originated in the deliberate release of a stallion and a few mares onto Kaimanawa plains by Sir Donald McLean in the 1870s. The herd was apparently added to in 1941 by the Army which let loose cavalry horses in the area, and once again in the 1970s when Nicholas Koroneef allegedly introduced an Arabian and a Palomino stallion into the herd.

In 1995 the Department of Conservation developed a plan focused on the “threatened, rare and local plants” in the Moawhango Ecological Region. As Heinz states, the report:

was particularly concerned with plants existing in unique tussock grassland habitats (below the treeline) arising in basins, flush zones and peat bogs, which, due to the effects of cold air inversion and poor drainage, had ‘probably never supported forests since the last glaciation’ Those areas of ‘hard tussock’ in the northern half of the ecological region were distinguished from areas of red tussock in the southern areas that were probably in the process of natural forest regeneration.³⁴³

The plan recommended that all the horses be removed from the ecological zone bar a residual herd of 500 wild horses which was to be confined to the ‘Argo’ zone in the south-east corner of the Army Training area at Waiouru. The plan also called for negotiations with the owners of adjoining private (Maori) lands to ensure a ‘compatible’ herd management, since the herd needed to be controlled to ensure it did not encroach into the ecological zone. Finally, the plan suggested an establishment of a ‘Kaimanawa Wild Horse Trust’ to assist in the management of any herd remaining outside of the Army land.³⁴⁴

The working party which developed the plan consisted primarily of officials from the Department of Conservation, but also from the Kaimanawa Wild Horse Preservation Society, The Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society, and the SPCA. As Heinz notes, Maori groups are conspicuously absent from this working party, although there is some suggestion that consultation had been undertaken with Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Rangi, and that they either consented to the plan or had no objections to it. Further discussions were also apparently held with a representative of the owners for Oruamatua Kaimanawa 1U and 1V in late 1995, and there was some suggestion that the iwi may choose to work with, or join, the proposed Kaimanawa Wild Horse Trust, although such a body was not established.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ A. Heinz, ‘Waiouru Defence Lands’, Research Scoping Report, Waitangi Tribunal, December 2009, pp. 91-92.

³⁴⁴ Heinz, p. 92.

³⁴⁵ Heinz, p. 92.

The 1995 plan was updated in 2004. The 2004 plan recommended maintaining the population of around 500 wild horses in the Argo area only, and urged negotiations with the owners of the adjoining private (and Maori) lands which may have maintained horses to ensure 'compatible' management of the herds. The herd had been culled in the meantime, in 1997, and a Kaimanawa Wild Horse Advisory Group had been set up, which included the Oruamatua Kaimanawa Trust or the Oruamatua Kaimanawa 1U and 1V landowners. It had also been reported in 2003 that the Oruamatua Kaimanawa Trust was protesting the Department of Conservation's intentions to cull around 20 horses which had strayed from the adjoining Maori land, with the Trust seeking permission to bring the horses back onto Maori land, Oruamatua Kaimanawa 1V.³⁴⁶

It is not entirely clear how current the Kaimanawa wild horse issue is for Taihape district claimants, or if the issue is less about the customary significance of the horses themselves and more about an effective role for tangata whenua in environmental management. Claimant feedback on this issue would be most welcome before any recommendations or decisions as to how to proceed further can be finalised.

³⁴⁶ Heinz, pp. 92-93.

6. Research Recommendations

Six key projects have been identified to address the issues arising out of the scoping research. These are set out in greater detail below but are in summary:

1. Tribal Landscape – Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo, c.1800–c.1900
2. Land and Politics, c.1840–1900
3. Twentieth Century Maori Land Issues
4. Public Works and Other Compulsory Takings
5. Environmental Impacts and Resource Management
6. Cultural and Economic Impacts, c.1860–2006

Typically, the period from 1840 to 1900 would require two separate projects; one focusing on early contact, early Crown purchasing, and relationships with the Crown and settlers, and the other project focusing on NLC land dealings and later political relationships from 1865 to 1900. However, as there are fairly limited issues arising from the period before about 1870 in the Taihape inquiry district, it is recommended that the entire period be traversed in a single report.

Research Project 1: Tribal Landscape – Taihape Inquiry District, c.1800–c.1900

The purpose of this report is to explore customary tenure in the Taihape inquiry district, and to examine how legal ‘ownership’ of land and resources was determined by the Native Land Court and, in the case of pre-title dealings, by the Crown or private parties.

Issues to be considered include:

- the nature of iwi/hapu customary rights, how they were exercised
- the geographical and temporal distribution of those rights (patterns of occupation), what boundaries existed between them, and how (or if) they overlapped
- how those rights changed over time, notably any movement or displacement of iwi/hapu in the decades preceding c.1850
- customary resource management and sharing of resources, including waterways and their fisheries

- the whakapapa relationships between iwi
- socio-political relationships between iwi
- the location of authority within iwi and hapu over lands and resources, including the role of rangatira, tohunga, and wahine
- decisions of the Native Land Court in the nineteenth century in respect of primary block title investigations, and the impact of these on Maori
- Maori responses (including appeals and petitions) to Native Land Court determinations of customary interests, particularly in disputed areas
- the Crown's understanding of iwi/hapu customary rights, its recognition or non-recognition of such rights, and the role of Crown land purchase agents and other parties, in identifying and defining relative interests
- any changes in land tenure or tribal relationships resulting from the New Zealand Wars

The century-long focus of this project indicated by its title (c.1800–c.1900) is indicative only. Clearly, in order to consider the issues raised by this project, ancestry and occupation far earlier than 1800 will need to be considered. Nor is it necessary to traverse all that occurred in the period up to 1900, as other research will be closely examining this period; the focus in the latter nineteenth century for this project would be on NLC title determinations and pre-title land dealings that impacted on issues of customary tenure.

Angela Ballara's tribal landscape overview for the CNI and National Park inquiries provides a good model for this project. Indeed, sections of her CNI overview are relevant to parts of the Taihape inquiry district and will serve as a useful starting point for more detailed research. There are few experts available with Dr Ballara's range of experience, knowledge, and ability, but with the research base and example she has provided, the task of preparing a Taihape tribal landscape report is not as forbidding a prospect as it might otherwise seem. Another useful model is provided by Merata Kawharu, et al, 'Nga mana o te wheuna o Te Arawa Customary Tenure Report' (2005) for the CNI Inquiry, Sections 1 to 4 of which cover similar issues of tribal landscape, even if at a more detailed and iwi-specific level but with less analysis than provided by Ballara.

The statements of claim and evidence of some clustering of claimant groups (notably the Mokai Patea group) might appear to indicate that the tribal landscape of the Taihape inquiry district is not terribly complex. However, as some of the existing literature and, hopefully, this scoping report have indicated, there is a considerable degree of contesting over customary

interests within the district, and a reasonable amount of complexity around hapu and iwi relationships, both within tribal groups whose interests are largely confined the district and between them and tribal groups whose interests lie predominantly outside it.

This project will need to refer to a range of documentary sources, but would be greatly strengthened by extensive input from Taihape district claimants, in the form of oral history and other forms of traditional knowledge. Ideally, the project would be undertaken in conjunction with a claimant oral and traditional history programme. In the absence of such a programme, a series of hui and wananga with the tribal groups of the Taihape inquiry district will need to be arranged as part of the Tribal Landscape project.

Research Project 2: Maori Land and Politics, c.1840–1900

The key issues for this report are indicated by its title. Land – how its title was determined, how it was managed, and how and why it was alienated – is a key basic focus, but so too is considering the context within which those land dealings took place: the politics, policies, and practices affecting the people and lands of the Taihape inquiry district from the arrival of the Crown to the turn of the century.

The focus will necessarily be on the period during which land dealings were taking place, and the political context within which they took place: in the case of the Taihape inquiry district this would be from the late 1860s to 1900. However, part of the context is the quarter-century and more leading up to the period of active land dealings and the expansion of settlement (in its various forms) throughout the district. This period, from about 1840 to the 1860s, is effectively the ‘early contact’ period for the Taihape inquiry district, as there as relatively minimal contact with early Pakeha or the Crown. The period should be traversed with a view to illuminating the following matters:

- identifying Maori communities within the inquiry district, c.1840
- ascertaining the effects of the period of upheaval and conflict prior to 1840
- accounts of early visitors to the district, including early travellers and missionaries (notably Taylor and Colenso) as well as relevant Maori records (such as Renata’s journey)
- the impact of Christianity, literacy, and Pakeha technical innovations (such as new crops, tools, and livestock)

- the allocation (if any) of land-use or resource rights to early Pakeha settlers or residents, and relationships with Pakeha settlers
- the responses of Taihape district Maori to, and any involvement in, early Crown land dealings in lands adjacent to the district in the Manawatu and Hawke's Bay, and the effects of these dealings on relationships with neighbouring tribes (such as Ngati Apa, Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Tuwharetoa, and Rangitane)
- any early attempts to acquire southern Taihape district land
- other interaction or engagement with Crown officials, such as land purchase officials, protectors of aborigines, Native secretaries, Resident Magistrates, Governors, or other Crown representatives
- attendance at mission schools in adjacent districts
- responses to Grey's 'new institutions'
- responses to, and involvement in, the emergence of Kingitanga and the New Zealand Wars, including the campaign against Te Kooti

The end of this early period – marked by the conclusion of the local campaigns of the New Zealand Wars in the defeat of Te Kooti at Te Porere – generally coincides with the introduction of settlement and the NLC to the district. Prospective run-holders (some based in Hawke's Bay, others with powerful political and business connections) investigated the pastoral potential of the pacified northern Taihape district. Rumours of gold in the Kaimanawa district also briefly stimulated interest. To the south, the Crown and settlers looked to expand into the easily settled lowlands adjacent to existing purchased and settled land in the Manawatu.

The NLC was essential to the further progress of the settlement anticipated by those interested in Taihape lands. The Native Lands Act 1865 seems to have had relatively little direct impact on Taihape district lands, with most titles being determined under the Native Land Act 1873, which should thus be the focus of analysis. Accordingly, the second part of this project should examine the following issues:

- the introduction of the NLC to the Taihape inquiry district, and the extent to which this occurred outside, rather than within, the district (in that the Court operated outside the district, even while dealing with lands within it)
- the extent of early run holding, particularly in the north of the district and before title was determined

- the responses of Taihape district Maori to the expansion of settlement, their engagement with it, and participation in it (including establishing their own farms or other businesses, cropping to supply settlers, and employment on settler farms and in public works)
- an examination of Taihape district Maori demographic changes, including population movements, health indicators, living conditions, the nature and level of income, and employment in the period under review
- the pace and nature of the expansion of settlement, and the development and impact of related infrastructure (or the lack of it), such as roads, railways, townships (including Taihape township), schools (including Native schools), and medical services (including Native Medical Officers)
- the responses of Taihape district Maori to the NLC, including efforts to manage land outside of NLC processes, and political responses (such as protests to the government over Native land policies, input into reviews of Native land policies, submissions to government or Parliamentary representatives, the promotion of komiti Maori, support for Ngati Hokohe/Repudiation Movement, Kotahitanga, or other pan-iwi movements)
- the impact of costs associated with the NLC (including fees, survey charges, legal costs, and expenses linked to attendance at sittings)
- the impact of other NLC processes (such as title fragmentation, succession, and limited numbers of owners being included on titles)
- the extent to which land was alienated following the introduction of the NLC, the motivations of those engaged in alienating it, the income generated by alienation (and how it was utilised), and the responses of Taihape district Maori to land dealings
- any preference for leasing over selling in land alienation, and the extent to which this preference was able to be exercised
- the extent, conduct, and impact of Crown purchasing (including the use of pre-title advances, the use of pre-emption to exclude private competition, what effect this had on the prices paid by the Crown, whether timber was factored into the purchase price, the purchasing of individual interests, what (if any) reserves made, what (if any) purchases were associated with the North Island Main Trunk Railway or arranged under special legislative provisions associated with it, and any ancillary promises associated with Crown transactions such as the provision of educational, medical, or other public services or infrastructure such as roading)
- the extent, conduct, and impact of private leasing and purchasing (including any use of debt to foster transactions, the use of pre-title advances, the role of land agents and the role of lawyers)

- the use of specific legislative measures, such as the Validation Court
- the impact of local body rates and of the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act 1882 on Maori land holdings

As outlined in the body of this scoping report, there are a number of examples of the issues outlined above associated with specific blocks in the Taihape inquiry district, including (but not restricted to):

- the Crown's purchase of Waitapu, Otamakapua, Paraekaretu, Otairi, Mangoira, and Te Kapua
- Crown purchasing in Awarua, including purchases related to the North Island Main Trunk Railway and the site of Taihape township
- Crown leasing and purchasing in Rangipo-Waiu
- private leasing and purchasing in Owhaoko, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, Rangipo-Waiu, Mangaohane, Timahanga, and Te Koau
- private purchasing of Rangatira
- NLC title disputes over Owhaoko, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, and Mangaohane (including defects in NLC processes identified in inquiry into Owhaoko and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa)
- NLC title determination to Awarua

Reports of a similar nature that can serve as a useful model for Research Project 2 include reports completed for the Central North Island inquiry (Bruce Stirling, 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview'),³⁴⁷ David Armstrong and Vincent O'Malley (with Kawharu, et al), Section 5 of 'Nga mana o te wheuna o Te Arawa Customary Tenure Report' (2005) for the CNI Inquiry, and Robyn Anderson's reports for the Whanganui Inquiry, 'Whanganui Iwi and the Crown 1865-1880' (2004) and 'Whanganui Iwi and the Crown 1880-1900' (2004).

Research Project 3: Twentieth Century Maori Land Issues

The twentieth century Maori land project will continue on from the nineteenth century project, although the focus will be more on Maori lands in the Taihape inquiry district, and somewhat less on the broader political context (in which Maori feature less and less, other than in relation to their lands). The focus will be on Crown policies and practices relating to

³⁴⁷ Note that this report was completed for a limited 'stage one' inquiry as part of a potential two-stage modular inquiry, and was supported by extensive block-specific research (the Land History Alienation Database).

Maori and Maori land, and their impact on Taihape district Maori and their lands. Other matters not directly related to land, or which raise broader social and cultural issues (such as tribal executives, marae redevelopment, housing, and planning rules and zoning restrictions) are considered within the context of Project 6 below.

By 1900 almost all of the land in the district had been through the NLC, and a significant amount of it had been alienated, particularly in the south of the district where only fragments remained. By contrast, extensive holdings remained in the centre and north of the district; some of them under lease, others subject to ongoing purchasing of individual interests by the Crown and private interests. The absence in the Taihape records of the 'stock-take' information compiled for most other districts by the Stout-Ngata inquiry into Maori land holdings in 1907–09 is something of a hindrance, but similar information as to land holdings c.1900 will need to be compiled. This project should examine the fate of these remaining lands; not merely tracking continued alienation (although that is a basic and important task), but also how the lands that were retained were managed and administered under the changing policies and practices governing Maori land from 1900 to the present day.

The project should provide a general history of Maori land ownership and administration through the twentieth century (drawing on existing overviews of twentieth century Maori land policies), including statistical summaries of lands sold, leased, and retained at key points. It is apparent from existing research that despite the small areas remaining in the south of the district, land there continued to be alienated in a piecemeal fashion through to 1940 and beyond. Land loss in the centre and north of the district accelerated after 1910 and also continued through to 1940 and beyond. Although some significant land blocks remain in Maori ownership in the north of the district (notably Owahaoko blocks), the economic utility of this land is very limited. The impact of changing Maori land policies on retained land should also be assessed, particularly after 1953 when incorporations and trusts began to feature, as did compulsory alienations of 'uneconomic' shares. From 1967, the impact of compulsory 'Europeanisation' of Maori land and other aspects of the Maori Affairs Act Amendment Act 1967 should also be assessed.

In the general absence of Native land development schemes in the Taihape district, it will be important to consider to what extent Maori were able to benefit from the other main form of state assistance for land development: discharged soldier settlement (after World War I) and 'rehab' farms (after World War II). As noted earlier, some of those later given Native land development assistance were World War I veterans, but they do not appear to have been assisted as such. As also noted earlier, the gifting of large portions of Owahaoko was also

intended to foster the settlement of discharged Maori soldiers, but the date of the gift (first mooted in 1916) is too early to indicate that Maori were not otherwise being provided for. Whether local Maori veterans were or were not assisted after the war remains to be ascertained.

This project should include an examination of the impact of local body rates on remaining Maori land. This issue has, in some districts, been the subject of discrete research reports, or combined in a report on local government issues. As local body charges were levied against land, and could lead to the alienation of land, it is appropriate to consider them as part of any twentieth century overview of Maori land issues. The amount of work involved should not be so substantial that it cannot be incorporated into this project. Other local government issues are considered in other projects, as outlined later in this scoping report.

The report on twentieth century Maori land issues should consider the following issues:

- the location and extent of Maori land holdings in the Taihape district, c.1900
- the impact, if any, of the introduction of Maori Land Councils in 1900
- the impact of the introduction of Maori Land Boards on the leasing and sale of Maori land in the Taihape district from 1905
- the impact of the land alienation and administration provisions of the Native Land Act 1909 and the role of the District Maori Land Board in overseeing alienations
- the mechanisms in place to protect Taihape district Maori from landlessness, and the effectiveness of those mechanisms
- the extent and conduct of Crown purchasing in Otamakapua 1, Awarua, and elsewhere in the Taihape district
- the extent and conduct of private leasing and purchasing under the auspices of the Maori Land Board, and the impact of lease provisions (such as length of term or compensation for improvements) on subsequent sales
- the establishment of Utiku/Potaka Native Township, the alienation of township sections (including compulsory alienations for public purposes), and the reversioning of township lands
- the impact of survey liens on Maori land holdings in the Taihape district (including the survey lien on Otumore leading to the sale of the block)
- the impact of title fragmentation on Maori land holdings in the Taihape district
- access difficulties and the creation of land-locked blocks

- title and land management problems caused by paper roads, e.g., at Moawhango papakainga where numerous paper or stopped roads fragment ownership and hinder land administration
- the extent and impact of local body rates charges (including those of district councils, pest control boards, river boards, and other local bodies) on Maori land holdings, the policies and practices governing the levying and collection of rates, the government's role in any rates compromises in the 1920s, and compulsory alienations effected as a result of unpaid rates
- the provision (or otherwise) of land development assistance to Maori land owners, and to Maori generally, including under the Taihape Native land development scheme, discharged soldier settlement, and post-1945 'rehab' farms for Taihape Maori veterans
- the motivations behind the gifting of Owahaoko land for soldier settlement, the uses to which that land was put, the delay in revesting the land in the Maori donors, and how and when that revesting took place
- the impact of changes in the role of the MLC and the Maori Trustee under the Maori Affairs Act 1953, including the growth and impact of title amalgamations, incorporations, and trusts, including trusts established by the MLC for the purposes of vesting land for alienation (such as the vesting of Otumore in the Maori Trustee for sale to the Crown)
- the impact of the compulsory alienation provisions in the 1953 Act and its amending statutes (related to 'uneconomic' shares)
- the impact of the alienation and 'Europeanisation' provisions of the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967
- the retention (or otherwise) and management of existing reserves, and establishment of new reserves, set aside for collective or tribal purposes, such as urupa, wahi tapu, papakainga, and marae

Reports of a similar nature that may serve as models of aspects of this project include Terry Hearn's report for the CNI Inquiry, 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Overview: Land Alienation and Administration 1900-1993' (2004) and, for the same inquiry, Grant Young, et al, 'Rotorua Twentieth Century Overview: The Alienation and Administration of Maori Land in Rotorua, 1900-1999' (2004). Hearn's Northland Inquiry overview, 'Social and Economic Change in Northland c.1900 to c.1945: The Role of the Crown and the Place of Maori', introduces some of the elements beyond Maori land administration and alienation that are the focus of the other two reports.

Research Project 4: Public Works and Other Compulsory Takings

Public works and other compulsory takings of land for public purposes are a significant issue in parts of the Taihape district (notably in the vicinity of Waiouru), and a significant issue for particular groups in other parts (such as those affected by takings for railways purposes in Motukawa and Awarua blocks [including Taihape township and vicinity], as well the owners of Taraketi [part of which was, after title was issued, deemed to be riverbed and was assumed by the Crown under the Coal Mines Act 1903]).

Takings for scenic purposes (as at Maungakaretu and Motukawa, and perhaps elsewhere) are also an important issue for this project.

Note that compulsory takings related to Utiku/Potaka township are to be addressed as part of Project 3, as those takings relate to the land's status as a Native township.

In addition to these known takings, there are likely to be numerous further takings not yet identified for railways and roading (in particular), and possibly other purposes (such as gravel pits, public facilities, waste disposal, etc). Such takings should be identified as part of current research assistance projects, but further research may be required.

It is recommended that this project be divided into two parts (ideally with the first part to be completed as a priority before the second part, or even as a discrete project): Part 1 would address the Waiouru defence lands, and Part 2 would look at other public works and compulsory takings.

Part 1: Waiouru Defence Lands

Adam Heinz's existing Tribunal scoping report on Waiouru defence lands has addressed this most significant public works issue in the Taihape inquiry district. As he concludes, the existing research (that of Philip Cleaver for the Whanganui district inquiry, and additional research by Heinz for his scoping report) has addressed most (but not all) of the issues and necessary detail relating to the Waiouru defence lands.

It should be noted that Part 1, as proposed here, would not be a stand-alone report, but part of an integrated research programme. Issues around customary tenure and earlier NLC title determinations and title fragmentation would be addressed in other research projects, which would form a necessary part of the context for Part 1 of this project. Heinz has outlined an

alternative approach, in which all issues related to the Waiouru defence lands and the parent NLC blocks be completed as a stand-alone project, including details of NLC title investigation and title histories prior to the taking of parts of the land for defence purposes. Deciding on a research programme is for others to decide, but we would note that completing a discrete report such as that proposed on the lands involved in the Waiouru defence lands not negate the need for much of the work outlined above under Projects 1, 2, and 3.

In addition, Part 1 of this project would benefit from accompanying claimant oral and traditional histories, particularly as regards significant sites or wahi tapu within the defence lands (such as Waiu pa,³⁴⁸ and wahi tapu damaged by military operations) and oral histories related to the public works takings themselves.

Following on from Heinz's scoping report, a report on the Waiouru defence lands could supplement the existing research in the following areas:

- the extent to which NLC title difficulties and complexities affected how Maori land owners were treated as regards consultation (and which owners were consulted), resort to compulsion, and payment of compensation
- consideration of alternative sites not on Maori land
- consideration of any alternatives to compulsory and permanent alienation, such as leasing (which was used in relation to some general land)
- comparisons between the treatment of Maori land owners and the owners and lessees of general land as regards consultation, treatment, and compensation in the taking of the Waiouru defence lands

Part 2: Taihape District Public Works and Other Compulsory Takings (Outside the Waiouru Defence Lands)

This project should examine the nature and extent of public works takings and other compulsory acquisitions of Maori land for public purposes in the Taihape inquiry district. This includes takings for roads, railways, mining, utilities, and scenic reserves. The report should include a brief review of the Public Works legislation and other powers of compulsory acquisition, based on existing overview research, Tribunal reports, and inquiry-specific research reports. Issues to be considered include:

³⁴⁸ Heinz, p.91.

- the extent of public works taking of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district
- consultation with affected Maori land owners and other affected parties
- the extent to which consent was sought, and negotiations entered into, prior to compulsion being resorted to
- the rationale and ideology behind the establishment of scenic reserves
- the consideration of alternatives to permanent alienation
- the response of Taihape district Maori land owners to public works and other takings, and how the Crown responded to their concerns
- what compensation (if any) was paid, how was it assessed, was it comparable to compensation paid to similarly affected general land owners, and did the assessment of compensation consider the value placed by Maori to the land beyond economic worth
- if the sufficiency of land remaining in Maori ownership was considered when lands were selected for compulsory acquisition
- if the Crown acquired more land than was necessary for the intended purpose, and how that land was otherwise utilised
- what became of lands no longer required for the purpose for which they were acquired, particularly before the offer-back provisions of the Public Works Act 1981 were implemented

This project should draw on, and supplement, existing research where possible, such as that of Philip Cleaver into proposed scenic reserves in Awarua 1A2 West, Awarua 4C8 and 9, and Awarua 4A3C7, the Turangarere Scenic Reserve (Motukawa 2D1), and the Maungakaretu Scenic Reserve (Motukawa 2B7).

Other notable compulsory acquisitions include land taken for railways (particularly in and around Taihape Township, elsewhere on the Awarua block, and from Motukawa block) and the portion of Taraketi 5 deemed to be riverbed. Takings for road, including areas taken without compensation under the ‘five percent’ rule should be ascertained.

A useful model for such a report is provided by Philip Cleaver in the Whanganui Inquiry, ‘The Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Whanganui Inquiry District: 1850-2000’ (2004).

Research Project 5: Environmental Impacts and Resource Management

This project will examine how Crown and local authorities have managed and controlled the land-based resources and waterways of the Taihape inquiry district, with particular emphasis on changes imposed on the physical environment with little or no regard for the interests or concerns of Taihape district Maori.

It is proposed that this project be divided into two parts: Part 1 to deal with the Rangitikei River and its tributaries from their sources to the sea, and Part 2 to deal with land-based resources and any other significant waterways (notably the Ngaruroro and its tributaries within the Taihape district, such as the Taruarau).

Part 1: Rangitikei River Report (Taihape and Manawatu Districts)

The Rangitikei River and its tributaries are an important customary and contemporary natural resource to the tangata whenua who live alongside them, in both the Taihape district and the adjacent Manawatu inquiry district. It seems both impracticable and a peculiarly Pakeha approach to try to separately study the parts of these waterways that lie in the Taihape district and those parts that lie in the Manawatu district. Admittedly, some of the issues around river and resource management are different in each district (in degree if not in content), but it is the same river and what happens upstream has a very big effect on the river downstream. As such, it is appropriate to consider not just the Rangitikei River and its tributaries, but also their catchments, as a single integrated entity, rather than try to break them down into supposedly discrete components.

A combined Rangitikei River report will require extensive co-ordination across both inquiry districts, and consultation and liaison with claimant groups in both districts. Ideally, the technical experts report outlined here should be supplemented by oral and traditional histories relating to the River.

A report on the Rangitikei River and its tributaries will address many of the key environmental and resource management issues in the Taihape inquiry district (from the Kaimanawa ranges to Onetapu and east to the Ruahine ranges), and numerous key issues in the Manawatu district. Amongst the issues to be considered are:

- a brief description of the Rangitikei River, its tributaries, and their catchment areas

- the customary use and significance of the Rangitikei River and its tributaries (including the Haupatu, Moawhango, and Oroua rivers) to Taihape and Manawatu district Maori
- an outline of the progress of Pakeha settlement through the catchment area, timber milling, the development of townships, and the expansion of farming
- post-colonisation changes in waterways arising from forest clearance, land settlement, and changes in land use (including erosion, increased run-off, including sedimentation, river bed aggradation, worsened flooding, changes in river beds) and the effects on Maori and their customary uses of the waterways
- ownership of the Rangitikei River and its tributaries, including customary ownership and the impact on customary ownership of introduced legal concepts of ownership of riverbeds (including the *ad medium filum* rule,³⁴⁹ issues around ownership of land adjacent to river banks, and Crown assumption of ownership of the beds of navigable rivers)
- the establishment and empowerment of local bodies to manage waterways, including district and regional councils, catchment boards, town boards, and river boards, the soil and water conservation board, the extent to which the policies and practices of these bodies affected customary Maori interests and resources and the extent to which they recognised or accommodated Maori interests
- the extent and effects of flood control efforts, including stopbanks, river diversions, gravel extraction, and river straightening
- the extent and effects of the exploitation of wetlands resources (notably harakeke, e.g., near Turangarere)
- the extent and effects of the drainage of wetlands on customary resources (including harakeke and other plants, and tuna and other fisheries)
- the extent and impact of pollution of waterways by agricultural, human, and industrial waste and run-off (including gravel extraction) on customary Maori resources (including fisheries) and use of waterways
- the extent and impact of drawing off or diversion of water for town and rural water supplies, rural irrigation (e.g., the Erewhon Rural Water Scheme), and hydro-electric power generation (e.g., Moawhango dam; see note below)
- the establishment and empowerment of acclimatisation societies, the role of those societies and government agencies in the introduction and management of exotic

³⁴⁹ The legal principle under which it is held that the owner of land adjacent to a non-navigable waterway owns the riverbed to halfway across the river.

- species in waterways, the impact of these species on customary Maori resources, and the extent to which Maori resource use was recognised and accommodated
- the establishment and operation of formal resource regimes for the management of freshwater fisheries, including exotic species, and the extent to which Maori interests were recognised and accommodated in these regimes
- the extent to which the Crown or its agencies recognised and accommodated Maori environmental management practices – kaitiakitanga – in relation to waterways and their customary resources

With regard to the damming of the Moawhango River for hydro-electric power generation, it should be noted that the construction of the dam and its environmental impacts have been addressed in existing research by Tony Walzl for the National Park inquiry. As noted by Adam Heinz,³⁵⁰ there is possibly a need for tangata whenua evidence from Taihape district Maori on this issue. This research gap could be addressed within any broader oral and traditional history project related to the Rangitikei River and its tributaries.

In terms of models for this work there are a variety of reports that have examined environmental issues related to waterways and waterways management which should be referred to: Robert McClean, 'Wairarapa 20th Century Environmental Overview Report: Inland Waterways' (2002), Garth Cant, et al, 'The Impact of Environmental Changes on Lake Waikaremoana and Lake Waikareiti, Te Urewera' (2004), Tony Walzl, 'Environmental Impacts of the Tongariro Power Development Scheme' (National Park Inquiry, 2006), David Alexander, 'Land-Based Resources, Waterways, and Environmental Impacts' (Northland Inquiry 2006), and R. Kirkpatrick, et al, 'Land-based Cultural Resources and Waterways and Environmental Impacts (Rotorua, Taupo, and Kaingaroa) 1840-2000' (2004).

Part 2: Environmental Impacts and Management of Land-based Resources

Many environmental issues are dealt with in Part 1 of this project, focusing on the catchment of the Rangitikei River and its tributaries. This leaves Part 2 to address environmental change and resource management of land-based resources and any waterways not covered under Part 1. To some extent, Parts 1 and 2 should be strongly interconnected: it is hardly appropriate to reject dividing research on the Rangitikei between two districts and then turn around and attempt to separate waterways from 'land-based' resources, particularly in light of the need to take a more holistic view of the environment. However, separating the work into

³⁵⁰ Heinz, p.95.

two projects is viable, provided that Parts 1 and 2 are treated less as two entirely separate projects, but rather as two linked parts of a broader environmental impacts project.

The focus of Part 2 will be on land-based resources, particularly aspects not already covered within Part 1. It is not apparent at this stage what waterways issues will arise in Part 2: the main waterway not included in the Rangitikei River catchment is the Ngaruroro and its tributaries (notably the Taruarau). Given the nature of the country through which the upper reaches of the Ngaruroro passes there may be fewer issues around degradation of the river environment. (More severe environmental impacts on the river further downstream, beyond the Taihape inquiry district, have been addressed in a recent environmental impact for the Heretaunga-Tamatea claims.) This is a matter on which claimant feedback is sought. If the issues are not too extensive, it may also be appropriate to consider them in a discrete section of the Part 1 report.

Land-based environmental impacts and resource management issues include:

- a brief description of the environmental characteristics of the Taihape inquiry district
- an outline of customary Maori use of the natural environment, settlement patterns, resource use, and environmental change
- an outline of the progress of Pakeha settlement through the Taihape district, changing land uses, timber milling, the development of townships, and the expansion of farming (these first three matters will obviously overlap considerably with the introductory issues under Part 1)
- an analysis of the nature and extent of environmental change following settlement, notably the impact of bush clearance, the transformation of land into pasture, and erosion
- inquiries into forest use, control of timber extraction, and moves towards forest preservation and conservation, particularly on steeper lands (or in water catchment areas deemed significant to settler interests), and the extent to which Maori interests and resource uses were recognised, accommodated, or compensated for (including in relation to proposals for milling in the vicinity of Aorangi in the early 1990s, or the compulsory alienation of Otumore for addition to an existing forest park)
- the establishment of management regimes for wildlife, including native birds as well as introduced species (such as deer), and the extent to which Maori resource use was recognised and accommodated

- the establishment and empowerment of acclimatisation societies, the role of those societies and government agencies in the introduction and management of exotic species (including pests, pest control, and noxious plants), the impact of these species on customary Maori resources, and the extent to which Maori resource use was recognised and accommodated
- the extent to which Maori interests in the natural environment and land-based resources were recognised and accommodated in central and local government policy formulation and decision-making
- the extent to which the Crown or its agencies recognised and accommodated Maori environmental practices – kaitiakitanga – in relation to sustainable use of the natural environment, the management of mahinga kai, and the protection (or otherwise) of wahi tapu and other sites of significance (including maunga). The Makino reserve near the Rangitikei River around Mokai has been suggested by Mokai Patea claimants as one suitable case study as it contains several sites of significance to the iwi
- the extent to which central and local government have observed and implemented the provisions of the Resource Management Act 1991 regarding the Treaty partnership and consultation with tangata whenua
- the significance of the Kaimanawa wild horses to Maori, and the extent to which Maori interests have been recognised and accommodated in the management of the horses.³⁵¹

In terms of models for this work there are a variety of reports that have examined similar environmental issues, including Brad Coombes, 'Making 'sense of nature and sport' – resource and wildlife management in Te Urewera, 1895-1954 (2003),³⁵² Cathy Marr, 'Wairarapa Twentieth Century Environmental Overview Report: Lands, Forest and Coast' (2002), Steven Oliver, 'Tararua Environmental Issues Report' (2002), David Alexander, 'Land-Based Resources, Waterways, and Environmental Impacts' (Northland Inquiry 2006), and R. Kirkpatrick, et al, 'Land-based Cultural Resources and Waterways and Environmental Impacts (Rotorua, Taupo, and Kaingaroa) 1840-2000' (2004).

³⁵¹ This issue is included on a provisional basis, depending on the nature of claimant feedback on this issue.

³⁵² Those aspects of this report concerned with Te Urewera National Park will obviously be less relevant to the Taihape Inquiry District.

Research Project 6: Cultural and Economic Impacts, c.1860–2006

Projects of this nature are frequently referred to as ‘socio-economic impact’ reports. This is not quite what is recommended here. True, Project 6 is partly about the economic impacts of the policies and practices of the Crown – the colonial project – on Taihape district Maori over time, but it is also about its cultural impacts: cultural changes of a sort that may be related to economic impacts but, regardless of any economic impact, also have profound cultural impacts.

To some extent, this project draws together many of the threads emerging from other research and places them within the framework of cultural impacts: the tenurial revolution of the NLC was intended to, and did, facilitate rapid and extensive land loss is an obvious economic impact that will be illuminated by Project 2. What are less obvious from that project, and in Project 3, are the cultural impacts of the NLC, which involved not merely the alienation of Maori land (a sufficiently dramatic economic and cultural impact on its own) but also the individualisation of what land remained. It was not merely land loss that led to the poor economic position of Maori and the extensive loss of their culture. Indeed, some land loss was arguably always intended, as necessary to attract settlers and a degree of development (leaving aside the question of how settlement was to be regulated, and for whose benefit). Merely retaining land was no guarantee that Maori culture would be able to continue to adapt and flourish as it had in the early colonial period, or that economic security could be maintained.

The issue was also how the land that was retained was owned and managed. The NLC process, whereby collective land was transformed into (or, perhaps, degraded down to) individually owned property had an impact almost as severe as the loss of other lands. The NLC’s tenurial revolution impacted on rangatiratanga, mana wahine, tribal cohesion, whakapapa connections, and inter-iwi relationships. There are also the economic and social impacts of the protracted and costly process of obtaining a NLC title (which will be addressed in Project 2), and the divisive effects of prolonged title disputes. In subsequent decades, the effects worsen as land titles are fragmented through piecemeal purchasing, partitioning, the NLC succession regime and the rapid growth in the number of owners it fosters. Over time, effective management of multiply-owned land became more difficult, retarding economic development and hindering the maintenance of Maori communities and culture.

Another issue with cultural and economic impacts relates to housing: NLC titles severely hindered the ability of Maori to raise finance for improved housing, but at the same time even

where finance was not an overwhelming handicap, a local government planning regime (particularly after the Town and Country Planning Act 1953) which favoured single-dwelling Pakeha farms over rural Maori papakainga was just as effective a barrier to improving Maori housing, while it also had severe cultural impacts on Maori communities.

Similarly, cultural impacts can be identified from the issues traversed in other projects, such as the environmental impacts report. Other matters to be considered in this project also have direct cultural impacts, such as education and health policies and the provision of health and education services to Taihapa district Maori. Education policy of course has a direct impact on te reo Maori, a critical expression of Maori culture. The te reo Maori claim may have been heard and reported on, and policy changes effected since 1986, but that does not address the specific cultural impacts of educational and other policies related to te reo Maori on Taihapa district Maori.

The reference above to Maori adaptation raises the issue of cultural change. Cultural impacts in this context are not necessarily negative, any more than economic impacts need be: just as a positive economic impact could lead to (or sustain) prosperity, so too could a positive cultural adaptation (one undertaken willingly with a view to a positive outcome) enhance Maori culture. Literacy, for instance, was rapidly adopted by Maori and was fitted into the Maori world view. Conversely, subsequent education policy that suppressed te reo Maori in favour of education solely in English had negative cultural impacts. This project is not, however, an anthropological exercise in contact and adaptation, although some of the literature on this topic would inform this project, but it should be kept in mind that Maori in the period under review were living through a period of rapid cultural (and economic) change. This need not be viewed as a negative, but there are times when it was (when, for example, it was imposed as the NLC generally was, rather than positively sought out), and the overall cultural and economic impact is indeed negative.

The range of issues to be traversed in this project are not entirely distinct from those that characterise 'socio-economic' impact reports. Overall the project should identify links between Crown actions or omissions and the economic status of Taihapa district Maori, and the cultural impacts of Crown policies and practices. Areas such as health, education, employment, housing, land holdings, resource use, and land development should be examined as set out below:

Health

- the extent to which Maori were subject to ‘diseases of poverty’, including high infant mortality, typhoid, and tuberculosis
- the extent to which the Crown recognised and responded to particular Maori health needs, including during periods of crisis
- the role of Native schools in providing health services
- the extent to which Maori had access to health services
- any improvements in Maori health over time
- the water supply and sanitation needs of Maori communities and the extent to which these were addressed by central and local government

Education

- the establishment, location, and operation of Native schools in the district
- the provision of education services to Maori through education board schools
- Maori participation in primary and secondary education
- the extent to which te reo Maori and tikanga Maori was reflected in the education services provided
- the establishment and operation of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Maori

Housing and Papakainga

- examine the housing conditions of Maori (particularly in the twentieth century) and consider factors in Maori housing conditions
- compare, where possible, the housing conditions of Maori and Pakeha
- the extent to which Crown policy and practice responded to poor Maori housing conditions
- the extent to which Crown housing assistance impacted on the location and distribution of Maori communities (including policies such as urban ‘pepper potting’)
- the impact of NLC/MLC titles on the ability of Maori to obtain housing finance
- the impact of planning regimes on the ability of Maori to build on rural land, and the impacts on rural Maori communities
- the extent to which

Economy and Employment

- describe and analyse the Taihape district’s resource potential and how resources were used by Maori prior to 1860
- what aspirations did Taihape district Maori had for the use of their resources, and how Crown policies and practices promoted or obstructed these aspirations

- consider how Crown policies impacted on the cultural and economic well-being of Taihape district Maori
- outline the development of the Taihape district economy, assess the place of Maori and Maori land within it over time, and compare it to the general experience of Pakeha
- examine Maori access (and equality of access) to the higher levels of social services and welfare benefits provided by governments from the 1930s onwards
- consider Maori population movements, particularly into urban areas, and post-war changes in employment
- consider the impacts on Maori of the economic restructuring of the 1980s and 1990s, and any Crown efforts to ameliorate these impacts

In addition, broader topics, such as the extent of Maori population growth, the extent of the Crown's awareness of demographic change, and whether such circumstances informed its land and other policies and practices. Maori political and organisational efforts and aspirations should also be considered, including local participation in Kotahitanga and other political movements, the Maori War Effort Organisation, post-war tribal executives, and more latterly marae redevelopment efforts. The impact of the broadly assimilationist policy approach enunciated in the 1960 Hunn report on Maori Affairs and in planning regimes should also be considered within the project, including issues such as 'Europeanisation' of Maori land.

Other key cultural impacts emerge from the policies and practices of central and local government agencies in the management and protection of wahi tapu and 'portable' taonga (moveable artefacts), including the role of environmental management policies (including the RMA) in protecting and managing wahi tapu.

The model for this report is Brian Murton's report for Te Urewera Inquiry, 'The Crown and the Peoples of Te Urewera: The Economic and Social Experience of Te Urewera Maori, 1860-2000' (2004), which sets out a very useful methodology for such a report, with the focus on political economy, empowerment, and entitlements. This approach facilitates a focus on issues, such as the impact of the changing property rights regime on Maori economic capability (rather than simply on detailing Maori socio-economic disadvantage).

More specific material related to land administration policy after 1953 can also be found in the relevant overview report by Michael Belgrave, et al, 'Crown Policy with respect to Maori

land, 1953-1999' (2004). Issues such as wahi tapu, taonga, and te reo Maori have been examined most recently in David Armstrong, et al, 'Northland Language, Culture and Education. Part Two: Wahi Tapu, Taonga and Te Reo Maori' (2008), while a key report on general policy and practice around wahi tapu and taonga is Janet Davidson's report for the Wairarapa Inquiry, 'Wahi Tapu and Portable Taonga of Ngati Hinewaka: Desecration and Loss; Protection and Management' (2003).

Project 6a – Mana Wahine Claim (Wai 2091)

Mana wahine is an issue raised in the Taihape district claims (and in the Manawatu district claims Wai 1641 and 1707): a claim of Treaty breach arising from the cultural impacts of the undermining of mana wahine throughout the colonial project. This is not an issue that has featured in claims-related research to date and one which, as we noted at our first meeting with claimants in Taihape, we (as Pakeha men) are not best placed to address. The claim from, and on behalf of, Taihape Maori women has nonetheless been made, and should not simply be set aside; at least not by us.

To some extent the mana wahine claim could be classed as a generic claim, in that it is not so much a claim specific to the Taihape district but one that is relevant to all Maori (especially to all Maori women). Indeed, the related Turakina Maori Girls College claims (Wai 1641 and 1707, in the Manawatu district) refer to all the ex-pupils of the College, which could be Maori women across the country, rather than just in the Taihape or Manawatu districts. It is for the claimants and the Tribunal to determine if these claims should be heard as part of any district inquiry. Our intention here is merely to raise one way in which they might be researched.

One difficulty is that it scarcely seems appropriate to look at the mana wahine claim in the Taihape district, without also considering the related claims in the Manawatu district. It may be that, if it is decided to investigate these claims, those in the Manawatu and Taihape districts are considered together.

The nature of the mana wahine claim is such that it could be addressed within the framework of Project 6, particularly as it is a claim whose central concerns are cultural impacts: the negative changes in the role and authority of Maori women under colonisation; health, especially mental health, issues arising from cultural impacts, and; the impact of education policies on Maori (particularly Maori women).

The issue then becomes one of researching and analysing mana wahine issues alongside related issues being examined in Project 6 (health and education for instance), or whether mana wahine issues should be researched and analysed separately, as a discrete part of Project 6, if not an entirely separate project. Given the existence of related claims in the Manawatu district, it seems a more effective use of the available resources and expertise (the latter arguably being in even shorter supply than the former) to address the mana wahine claims in both districts together.

Given the paucity of existing research on some aspects of the mana wahine claims, and the limited extent to which the issues have been previously addressed, it would be necessary to commission a discrete modest scoping report on these claims. It is, we believe, somewhat outside our area of expertise and beyond the resources of this scoping report. A suitably qualified Maori woman academic (or more than one) would be the most appropriate candidate for a mana wahine scoping report.

A mana wahine scoping report would consider how the issues raised could be addressed within the context of Treaty claims research, and identify the sources relating to the claims (including contemporary and traditional oral sources amongst the claimant community). In addition, there are various studies of Maori education policies and outcomes, and of Maori health policies and outcomes, that should prove useful. Other issues raised by the claims, such as adoption, have also been extensively researched, although perhaps not with the intended focus on mana wahine. The inclusion of Maori women in NLC titles is apparent, but the effects of its succession regime relative to Maori women may need further study (in relation to primogeniture, for instance). The status of the property of Maori wives in relation to Pakeha husbands may also prove worthy of research. A limited amount of research into the role of Maori women in the Kotahitanga movement is also available.

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At this scoping stage, these sources have yet to be explored in great detail, but at the very least the following newspapers will need to be subjected to targeted searching: *Whanganui Chronicle and Patea-Rangitikei Advertiser*, *Whanganui Herald*, *Wellington Independent*, *Evening Post*, *Daily Southern Cross*, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, *New Zealand Herald*, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*.

There is a range of AJHR material that will be of general relevance, such as the reports of Resident Magistrates and other Crown officials, reports of land purchase officials, reports of census enumerators, returns of land holdings, returns of land transactions, annual sheep returns, reports of meetings and ministerial visits, and reports of commissions of inquiry.

A few of these reports have been noted in the text of the scoping report (such as the report on the 1885 Poutu hui, the minutes of the 1891 Native Land Laws Commission, and the reports on the 1895 tour of 'native districts' by Premier Seddon and Native Minister Carroll). More specific material includes that related to Owhaoko and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa lands: AJHR, 1886, G-9; 1886, I-8, and; 1887, G-1, and; AJLC, 1887, Session II, No. 1, 1A, and 1B.

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MLC-WG W1645 box 6 3/1910/147, Motukawa, 2B 15C - 10 September 1908 - 19 July 1930

MLC-WG W1645 box 8 3/1911/13, Motukawa, 2B 16B2 - 30 February 1907 - 18 December 1912

MLC-WG W1645 box 11 3/1911/148, Motukawa, 2B8 - 3 June - 5 September 1911

MLC-WG W1645 box 13 3/1911/219, Motukawa, 2B etc - 28 June 1909 - 19 August 1914

MLC-WG W1645 box 13 3/1911/228, Motukawa, 2A 4B - 15 May 1906 - 7 May 1912

MLC-WG W1645 box 16 3/1912/67, Motukawa, 2B 3B - 29 February 1912 - 31 March 1919

MLC-WG W1645 box 16 3/1912/68, Motukawa, 2B 3C - 13 March - 30 July 1912

MLC-WG W1645 box 22 3/1912/336, Motukawa, 2A 4A - 24 September 1912 - 16 April 1913

MLC-WG W1645 box 24 3/1913/141, Motukawa, 2B 19A - 25 June 1906 - 28 July 1913

MLC-WG W1645 box 28 3/1913/328, Motukawa, 2B6 - 12 May 1906 - 19 February 1914

MLC-WG W1645 box 28 3/1914/4, Motukawa, 2B 7B - 12 May 1906 - 11 July 1914

MLC-WG W1645 box 36 3/1915/109, Motukawa, 2A 3B - 10 May 1915 - 24 March 1916

MLC-WG W1645 box 37 3/1915/176, Motukawa, 2B2O - 3 - 31 July, 1915

MLC-WG W1645 box 37 3/1915/212, Motukawa, 2A3 - 30 October 1915 - 4 April 1915

MLC-WG W1645 box 40 3/1916/6, Motukawa, 2A3 - 15 November 1915 - 6 May 1916

MLC-WG W1645 box 46 3/1916/362, Motukawa, 2B 15B2 - 17 December 1907 - 26 January 1923

MLC-WG W1645 box 46 3/1916/371, Motukawa, 2B 10A - 8 December 1905 - 12 March 1917

MLC-WG W1645 box 46 3/1917/43, Motukawa, 2B 27C, Number 1, 2B 27B - 14 December 1916 - 16 August 1918

MLC-WG W1645 box 46 3/1917/44, Motukawa, 2B 27C, Number 3, 2B 27B - 20 January 1917 - 2 February 1943

MLC-WG W1645 box 49 3/1917/232, Motukawa, 2B 16 - 14 January 1908 - 18 June 1917

MLC-WG W1645 box 67 3/1919/210, Motukawa, 2B 26 - 7 December 1903 - 15 October 1920

MLC-WG W1645 box 77 3/1920/89, Motukawa, 2B 3A - 11 October 1920 - 25 February 1924

MLC-WG W1645 box 88 3/1920/603, Motukawa, 2B14 - 8 November 1920 - 2 December 1969

MLC-WG W1645 box 88 3/1920/604, Motukawa, 2B14A - 8 November 1920 - 2 December 1969

MLC-WG W1645 box 118 3/1314, Motukawa, 2A, Number 2A - 10 August 1907 - 26 June 1969

MLC-WG W1645 box 119 3/1317, Motukawa, 2B, Number 4 - 10 July 1909 - 12 April 1910

MLC-WG W1645 box 119 3/1319, Motukawa, 2B, Number 17 - 13 July 1906 - 13 January 1908

MLC-WG W1645 box 119 3/1320, Motukawa, 2B, Number 19 - 16 December 1909 - 17 May 1910

MLC-WG W1645 box 119 3/1338, Motukawa, 2B, 27C, 2 - 24 February 1904 - 12 March 1925

MLC-WG W1645 box 120 3/1354, Motukawa, 2B, 7C, 2B, 7D - 14 May 1906 - 26 June 1967

MLC-WG W1645 box 126 3/1647, Awarua, 3D3, Number 12 & Motukawa, 2B9 - 21 October 1906 - 16 May 1928

MLC-WG W1645 box 136 2/2254, Motukawa, 2B13 - 18 March 1913 - 18 December 1929

MLC-WG W1645 box 146 3/3332, Motukawa, 2A, 5, Pt - 22 February 1904 - 19 June 1929

MLC-WG W1645 box 161 3/4064, Motukawa, 2B14C - 24 January 1910 - 6 August 1954

MLC-WG W1645 box 164 3/4146, Motukawa, 2B 4C2 - 20 November 1930 - 28 July 1954

MLC-WG W1645 box 171 3/4498, Motukawa, 2B 5B - 10 March 1926 - 18 July 1949

MLC-WG W1645 box 206 3/5771, Motukawa, 2B, 23, 24 & 25 - 30 December 1904 - 28 November 1941

MLC-WG W1645 box 225 3/6457, Motukawa, 2F2 - 21 May 1948 - 2 February 1949

MLC-WG W1645 box 228 3/6615, Motukawa, 2E, Number 2 - 8 December 1950 - 6 November 1953

MLC-WG W1645 box 288 4/5771, Motukawa, 2B23 TB, 1971

MLC-WG W1645, various Potaka Township alienation files (52 files covering 1915-77)

MLC-WG W1645 box 185 3/5094 – Turangareere township block V, sections 3, 4, 5, 1935

MLC-WG W1645 box 185 4/5094 – Turangareere township block V, sections 3, 4, 5, 1935

Land Information New Zealand

ABWN 6095 W5021 box 558 22/707 part 1, Wellington Land District - Oruamatua Kaimanawa - Block 4, 1914-1976

ABWN 6095 W5021 box 308 10/95/18 part 1, Wellington Land District - Proposed Provisional State Forest Blocks in Ruapehu, Kaimanawa, Karioi, Moawhango, Murimotu, Rangiwaea and Rangipo Waiu Survey Districts, 1925-1986

ABWN 6095/W5021 box 309 10/95/42 part 1, Wellington Land District – Land for State Forest – Mangoira and Otumore block, 1937-63.

Ministry of Works

AATE A961 box 241c 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1979

AATE A961 box 241d 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1978

AATE A961 box 241e 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1975-1978

AATE A961 box 242a 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1972-1973

AATE A961 box 242b 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1974

AATE A961 box 243a 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1974-1975

AATE A961 box 243b 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1973

AATE A961 box 244a 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1971-1972

AATE A961 box 244b 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1971

AATE A961 box 245a 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1966-1971

AATE A961 box 245b 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1983
 AATE A961 box 245c 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1974
 AATE A961 box 246a 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1973-1974
 AATE A961 box 246b 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1973
 AATE A961 box 247a 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1972
 AATE A961 box 247b 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1972
 AATE A961 box 248a 81/34, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – General, 1970
 AATE A961 box 248b 81/34/1, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – Bridge, 1974
 AATE A961 box 248c 81/34/1, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Dam – Bridge, 1974
 AATE A961 box 248d 81/34/2, Moawhango Residency - Moawhango Upper Dam, 1966
 AATE A961 252a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1979
 AATE A961 253a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1979-1980
 AATE A961 254a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1979-1980
 AATE A961 254b 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1982
 AATE A961 255a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1979
 AATE A961 255b 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1977
 AATE A961 256a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1980
 AATE A961 256b 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1980
 AATE A961 257a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1980
 AATE A961 257b 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1979
 AATE A961 258a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1976
 AATE A961 259a 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1978-1979
 AATE A961 259b 81/43, Moawhango Residency - Diversion Commissioning of Moawhango Dam, 1976

Ministry of Works – Wanganui Office

AATC 5114 W3456 box 23 PW12/242, Mangaohane – Napier, 1926-1928
 AATC 5114 W3457 box 354 44/270, Rangipo – Waiu, 1926
 AATC 5114 W3456 box 35 PW14/81, Otamakapua Block - Kiwitea County, 1918-1924
 AATC 5114 W3456 box 36 PW14/112, Otamakapua Block - Kiwitea County, 1923-1934
 AATC 5114 W3456 box 99 PW 45/182, Utiku Township Block, 1901-08
 AATC 5114 W3457 box 341, 44/28, Utiku Township, 1909-15

Works Consultancy Services Limited

ABKK 889 W4357 box 149 39/585, Wanganui Road District - Access Road to Maori Trust Land, Motukawa 2B, 3D Rangitikei County, 1953-1971

New Zealand Forest Service

F 1 box 126 17/2/7 – Turangarere 17A & B and 2B, sale to McDonald, 1920-21
 F 1 box 126, 17.2.8 – Motukawa-Turangarere 2B and 16A, sale to McDonald, 1920

F 1 box 127 17/3/94, Ohinewairau Survey District, Motukawa No 1 and 2, Blocks IX and X (J Stoddart to F Hiatana), 1924

F 1 W3129 box 147 18/3/249 part 1, Licences to Cut on Native or Maori Land - Wellington Conservancy - E. Casey - Motukawa 3B15A, 2B15C Blocks - I, V, Ohinewairua Survey District, 1962

Justice Department

J W2781 box 13 WLR1885/2, Wellington District Land Registrar - Registrar of Native Land Court, Wanganui - Forwarding Order of Court declaring Donald Fraser the freehold owner of Otairi No 3, Rangitikei District, 1885

Napier High Court

AAOW 22760 W3846 box 748 file 444 – Renata Kawepo probate, 1888-1894

AAOW 22760 W3846 box 747 file 445 – Renata Kawepo probate, 1888

OPUS International Consultants Limited

ABZK 889 W5472 box 435 92/12/81/34 part 1, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam, 1965-1969

ABZK 889 W5472 box 435 92/12/81/34 part 2, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam, 1970-1971

ABZK 889 W5472 box 435 92/12/81/34 part 3, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam, 1971-1972

ABZK 889 W5472 box 435 92/12/81/34 part 4, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam, 1972-1974

ABZK 889 W5472 box 435 92/12/81/34 part 5, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam, 1974-1979

ABZK 889 W5472 box 435 92/12/81/34 part 6, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam, 1979-1986

ABZK 889 W5472 box 438 92/12/81/43 part 1, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam Commissioning, 1979

ABZK 889 W5472 box 439 92/12/81/43 part 2, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam Commissioning, 1979-1980

ABZK 889 W5472 box 439 92/12/81/43 part 3, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam Commissioning, 1980-1982

ABZK 889 W5472 box 439 92/12/81/43 part 4, Power Schemes Moawhango Project Dam Commissioning, 1982-1985

Railways

R 3 W2278/200, 1907/4743 Part 1 – Turangarere land for scenic reserve, 1909-35

Supplementary List of Awarua Files

Maori Affairs

MA 1 88 / 5/5/191, Awarua 1A3C (un-incorporation) - Crown purchase 1964 – 1965.

MA 1 436 / 21/3/60, Awarua 4C 15F 1A2A - Maori Reserve, Section 298/1931 1938 – 1939.

MA 1 438 / 21/3/93, Awarua 2C13J No.7 - Maori Reserve - Section 298/1931, see M.A. 12/899 1936 – 1941.

MA 1 442 / 21/3/157, Awarua No.2K 2A1 Block - Native Reservation 1962 – 1964.

MA 1 444 / 21/3/201, Awarua 2C13L - Maori Reservation, Wanganui 1949 – 1950.

MA 1 507 / 22/2/123, Horopito-Bulls Road via Taihape State Highway Awarua 4C Block 1951 – 1951.

MA 1 509 / 22/2/261, Awarua 1A2 West A. B. C. D. E. F. F. H.1, H.2 and H.3 - Roadlines 1948 – 1949.

MA 1 541 / 27/1/293, Aotea District Maori Land Board to Hiira Wharawhara Bennett, Husband-William (Toby), Rakeipoho Bennett, Awarua 3D3 No.16B, Motukawa 2B17 A, Kai Iwi 5B1 1929 – 1961.

MA 1 842 / 1892/386, Received: 10th March 1892 - From: W Bidsom, Wellington - Subject: Copy of certificate of the Awarua Block 1892 – 1892.

MA 1 849 / 1892/1027, Received: 21st June 1892 - From: Chief Judge, Native Land Court, Waipawa - Subject: With regard to rehearing of Awarua Block 1892 – 1892.

MA 1 869 / 1906/51, Received: 1st June 1906 - From: A.E. Remington Member of the House of Representatives Hunterville - Subject: Forwarding complaint as to action of J.M. Fraser, Licensed Interpreter, in connection with leasing of Awarua 3.A. No. [Number] 2. I. Block. 1906 – 1907.

MA 1 878 / 1906/319, Received: 4th July 1906. - From: Fitzgerald and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Part Awarua 4.C.9.F., For removal of restrictions, (recommended by Aotea District Maori Land Council). Sale to G. McGregor, Jnr. 1905 – 1906.

MA 1 888 / 1906/672, Received: 23rd August 1906. - From: Justice department. - Subject: Awarua 3A No. [Number] 1J. File regarding removal of restrictions to enable lease to J. Allan Oliver. Application by J.M. Fraser. 1905 – 1906.

MA 1 888 / 1906/695, Received: 28th August 1906. - From: Fitzherbert and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4.A.3.C. No. [Number] 4. (581 acres). For consent to lease to H. D. Bennett. (Aotea). 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 888 / 1906/696, Received: 28th August 1906. - Fitzherbert and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4. A. 3. C. No. [Number] 3. For consent to lease to J.A. Anderson. (212 acres). (Aotea). 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 890 / 1906/745, Received: 4th September 1906. - From: Whatu Raumaewa for Brown and Dean, (Solicitor) Wellington. - Subject: Awarua No. [Number] 1A 2 East No. [Number] 3 Sub. B. For consent to lease to Arthur Totman of Mangaweka. (Aotea). 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 893 / 1906/836, Received: 11th September 1906. - From J.M. Fraser, Hastings. - Subject: Awarua 2.C No. [Number] 2 - As to appreciation by Waikari Karaitiana and another for removal of restrictions to enable sale. 1905 – 1906.

MA 1 893 / 1906/855, Received: 13th September 1906. - From: Fitzherbert and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 3D No. [Number] 3 sec. [Section] 10 (91.2.0). For consent to lease to Daniel Addis. (Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa). 1906 – 1907.

MA 1 893 / 1906/873, Received: 15th September 1906. - From: Fitzherbert and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 3.D.3. Section 9, 596 acres. For consent to lease to Daniel Addis. 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 895 / 1906/980, Received: 25th September 1906. - From: A.E. Remington. Member of the House of Representatives Wellington. - Subject: Awarua 4C Secs. [Sections] 4,6,7. Complaint by J.H. Lyon against J.M. Fraser as to non-completion of leases. 1905 – 1907.

MA 1 897 / 1906/1063, Received: 15th October 1906. - From: Native Affairs Minister, House of Representatives. - Subject: Petition No. [Number] 580/06 Hokopa te Ahunga and 581/06 Huiaka te Rango and others. Awarua and Motukawa Blocks. For rehearing as to succession of interest of Hiraani te Hei. 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 898 / 1906/1071, Received: 17th October 1906. - From: Fitzherbert and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 3 D 3 No. [Number] 7. For consent to lease to Robert Woods. (91.0.35). (Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa Board). 1906 – 1908.

MA 1 898 / 1906/1072, Received: 17th October 1906. - From: Fitzherbert and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4A 3C No. [Number] 1 (616 acres). For consent to lease to R.W. Smith and Francis J Carter. (Aotea). 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 898 / 1906/1073, Received: 17th October 1906. - From: Fitzherbert and Marshall, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4 A 3C No. [Number] 2 (505 acres). For consent to lease to R.W. Smith and F.J. Carter. (Aotea). 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 903 / 1906/1250, Received: 8th November 1906. - From: Barnicoat and Treadwell, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4A 3C No. [Number] 1. For removal of restrictions. Aotea. 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 903 / 1906/1259, Received: 12th November 1906. - From: Henare Teehi and another. Per H.L. Arrowsmith Solicitor Taihape. - Subject: Awarua 2 C No. [Number] 11. For consent to lease to Donald C. Wright. 1906 – 1907.

MA 1 906 / 1906/1380, Received: 10th December 1906. - From: Whakatihi Rora per brown and Dean, Wellington. - Subject: Awarua 3A no. [Number] 2I (257 acres). For consent to lease to John Collins Jr. (Aotea) 1906 – 1906.

MA 1 913 / 1907/150, Received: 8th April 1907. - From: Honourable Minister of Land. - Subject: Awarua 4C No. [Number] 15 No. [Number] F4, F3, E, C and B lease to J.H. Knap and W. Smith. Knap's complaint re delay in registering. 1905 – 1907.

MA 1 929 / 1907/588, Received: 10th October 1907. - From: Aotea Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 1A No. [Number] 3 North. Lease to H.R. Waldegrave and E. Larcomb. (Kirk and Stevens). [Includes 1907/587]. 1907 – 1908.

MA 1 930 / 1907/600, Received: 16th October 1907. - From: Aotea Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 4C 9F. Lease Utiku Potaka to Elizabeth Perham and Elizabeth Larsen. Board's recommendation. (Bullock and Currie). 1907 – 1908.

MA 1 931 / 1907/637, Received: October 1907. - From: W. Parker, Utiku. - Subject: Tauakira 2E and Awarua 4C Blocks. As to Aotea Board's action in regard to leases of. 1907 – 1907.

MA 1 934 / 1907/703, Received: 1st November 1907. - From: Governor. - Subject: Awarua 3A No. [Number] 2 E No. [Number] 3. Restrictions removed. Lease Ratima Hakopa and another to C.W. Reardon (Aotea). (Fitzherbert and Marshall). 1905 – 1907.

MA 1 947 / 1908/269, Received: 8th June 1908. - From: Aotea Maori Land Board. - Awarua 3A No. [Number] 2E 3. Mortgage Ratima Hakopa and others to Government Advances to Settlers Office. Field, Luckie and Toogood. 1907 – 1908.

MA 1 950 / 1908/352, Received: 15th July 1908. - From: R.J. Batley, Moawhango. - Subject: Awarua No. [Number] 2A No. [Number] 2B. For removal of restrictions (Gazette 15/11/1900). 1900 – 1908.

MA 1 954 / 1908/469, Received: 29th August 1908. - From: Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 2C No. [Number] 11. Mortgage Kewa Pine and henare Teehi to G.A.S.O. [Government Advances to Settlers Office] (Barnicoat and Treadwell). 1908 – 1908.

MA 1 954 / 1908/470, Received: 29th August 1908. - From: Maniapoto Tuwharetoa Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 2C No. [Number] 13M and 13O. Lease Ngaraihe and Ngameko te Rango and Hakopa te Ahunga to G.W. Batley. 1907 – 1908.

MA 1 954 / 1908/471, Received: 29th August 1908. - From: Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 3D 3 Section 11. Lease Henare Teehi to Daniel Addis. (Marshall and Hulton). 1906 – 1908.

MA 1 958 / 1908/552, Received: 19th September 1908. - From: Rangi Whakahaua, Townhill, Hastings. - Subject: Awarua 4C 12A. Application for removal of restrictions. 1908 – 1908.

MA 1 964 / 1908/688, Received: 10th December 1908. - From: Public Trustee. - Subject: Awarua 3A No. [Number] 2G Ohinewairua S.D. [Survey District] Application for removal of restrictions on behalf of Kathleen Otiraani Blake and Ralph Holden Wellwood to enable lease. 1908 – 1908.

MA 1 964 / 1908/689, Received: 10th December 1908. - From: Public Trustee. - Subject: Awarua 2C No. [Number] 14 Sub 2 Ohinewairua S.D. [Survey District] Application for removal of restrictions on behalf of Kathleen Hiraani Blake and Ralph Holden Wellwood to enable lease. 1908 – 1908.

MA 1 971 / 1909/128, Received: 22nd March 1909. - From: Aotea Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 4C 12A. Mortgage te Rangi Whakahaua. Board's recommendation. (Marshall and Hutton) For Logan Williams and White. 1909 – 1909.

MA 1 978 / 1909/320, Received: 27th July 1909. - From: Maniapoto Tuwharetoa Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 2C No. [Number] 19. Mortgage Kuripapongo Hakopa and Ngawaiata Kahungunu to G.A.S.O. [Government Advances to Settlers Office] Board's recommendation. (Field, Luckie and Toogood). 1909 – 1910.

MA 1 987 / 1909/501, Received: 8th October 1909. - From: Aotea Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 4C 9C. Mortgage Arapata Potaka to Francis Victoria Smith and Geraldine Fullerton Smith. Board's recommendation. Bullock and Currie. 1909 – 1910.

MA 1 987 / 1909/505, Received: 8th October 1909. - From: Aotea Maori Land Board. - Subject: Awarua 4A 3C Sub 5A part. Sale henare Teehi to Michael W O'Brien. Board's recommendation. (Richard Davies). 1909 – 1910.

MA 1 1034 / 1910/4822, Received: 24th September 1910. - From: Native affairs Committee, House of Representatives. - Subject: Petition No. [Number] 439/10. Hakopa te ahunga. For rehearing re succession to Hiraani te Hei in Awarua 4C No. [Number] 11 Block. 1910 – 1910.

MA 1 1043 / 1910/5129, Received: 22nd December 1910. - From: Chief Judge, Native Land Court. - Subject: Awarua 2C No. [Number] 2 mortgage by Rangiapoia Waikari (Mrs E.R. Broughton). Complaint as to conduct of Mr S.R. East Clerk Native Land Court in connection with translation. [Includes: 1907/125, 1903/1183.] 1903 – 1910.

MA 1 1048 / 1911/162, Received: 14th March 1911. - From: E.R. Broughton. P.O. Box 172, Wellington. - Subject: Awarua 3A 2C and 3A 2D. Asks if rumour as to compulsory taking of land is true. His wife being a large holder objects and expresses wish that the blocks remain under lease. 1911 – 1911.

MA 1 1062 / 1911/700, Received: 25th October 1911. - From: President Aotea Board. - Subject: Awarua 3A 2K. Application by Egmont Box Company Ltd. For Timber Rights. Board recommends issue of Order in Council under Section 203 to permit the alienation. 1911 – 1912.

MA 1 1107 / 1913/3319, Received: 11th August 1913. - From: A Bland, Utiku. - Subject: Awarua 1A No. [Number] 2 West H. Wishes to fence his holding but cannot get his neighbours to take away notice. Asks for advice. 1913 – 1913.

MA 1 1139 / 1915/470, Received: 23rd February 1915. - From: Aotea District Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 1A No. [Number] 2 West B. Mortgage Pape Epiha Potaka to The New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Co. Ltd. Board recommends precedent consent under Section 230/1909. 1915 – 1915.

MA 1 1141 / 1915/1581, Received: 8th June 1915. - From: President Aotea District Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4C 15B. Mortgage Kahu Ngakaraihe Downs and Harry Downs to Samuel Duncan Lourie. Board recommends that an Order in Council be issued permitting the alienation under Section 230/1909. 1915 – 1915.

MA 1 1162 / 1916/4193, Received: 4th December 1916. - From: Aotea District Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4C 8A No. [Number] 1. Mortgage Te Haku Ramiha to J.S. Stevenson and A.C. Hogg. Board recommends consent of Governor in Council under Section 230/1909. 1916 – 1917.

MA 1 1163 / 1916/4211, Received: 12th December 1916. - From: Aotea District Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 1A No. [Number] 2 West H No. [Number] 3. Mortgage interests of Te rangi Whakahana to Robert Lamb Paterson. Board recommends consent of Governor in Council under Section 230 Native Land Act 1909. 1916 – 1917.

MA 1 1251 / 1920/508, Received: 20th October 1920. - From: President, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 2C 16C No. [Number] 2. Mortgage. Mokohore Pine to Dalgety and Co. Ltd. For consent under Section 230/1909. 1920 – 1922.

MA 1 1394 / 1926/355, Received: 12th August 1926. - From: Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4C No. [Number] 12B and 4C No. [Number] 12C. Application for a Loan. Board to Kaporere Ngatoa and Tharaira Ngatoa. For consent under Section 19/22. 1926 – 1926.

MA 1 1425 / 1927/325, Received: 15th August 1927 - From: Te Pango Pukutohe, Wairoa - Subject: Awarua 3A 2K 2 for payment of money held by the Board under Section 92/13 [Including: 27/68] 1927 – 1927.

MA 1 1428 / 1927/417, Received: 29th October 1927 - From: Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui - Subject: Awarua 3D 3 No. 4B - Mortgage: Ngapera Pine alias Hira te Huiarei to Board for consent under Sections 19/22 and 8/26 1927 – 1927.

MA 1 1431 / 1927/487, Received: 17th December 1927 - From: Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui - Subject: Awarua 4C 15F 1A 1 and Awarua 4C 15E 1F Blocks - Hauiti te Whaaro: Application for a loan of £225 for consent under Sections 19/22 and 8/26 1927 – 1927.

MA 1 1459 / 1928/468, Received: 22nd September 1928 - From: Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui - Subject: Awarua 3D 3 No. 13 forwarding application by J M Hussey for refund of £5 fee paid in respect of a Meeting of Assembled Owners 1928 – 1928.

MA 1 1466 / 1928/577, Received: 16th November 1928 - From: Registrar, Aotea Native Land Court, Wanganui - Subject: Awarua 3D 3 No. 15 - Recommendation of the Court that the land be set aside as a Native Reservation under Section 232/09 1928 – 1928.

MA 1 1476 / 1929/101, Received: 28th February 1929 - From: Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui - Subject: Awarua 2C 12A 2C - Advance by Aotea Maori Land Board to Kotuku Horima Hakopa for consent under Sections 19/22 and 8/26 1929 – 1929.

MA 1 1489 / 1929/327, Received: 16th July 1929 - From: The Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui - Subject: Awarua 2C 3B - Mortgage: Maata Kotahi Tawhara to Pukeokahu Taoroa Rabbit Trustees - For consent under Section 230/09 1929 – 1929.

MA 1 1516 / 1930/10, Received: 3rd January 1930. - From: Tui ti MacDonald, mp[Member of Parliament], Levin. - Subject: Awarua 3A 2E 2 and 3B 2G 1; Rangipo Waiu B 7B - Application by Hineiti Arani under Section 3/25 for payment of money held by the Aotea District Maori Land Board under Section 92/13. 1929 – 1930.

MA 1 1527 / 1930/209, Received: 28th May 1930. - From: Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 4C 7A - Advance by Aotea District Maori Land Board to William Pine - For consent under Sections 19/22 and 8/26. 1930 – 1930.

MA 1 1529 / 1930/258, Received: 7th July 1930. - From: Registrar, Aotea Maori Land Board, Wanganui. - Subject: Awarua 2C 12B 1and 2 - Advance by the Aotea District Maori Land Board to Tukino Hakopa - for consent under Sections 19/22 and 8/26. 1930 – 1936.

MA 1 1550 / 1931/16, Received: 14th January 1931. - From: Tutunui Rora, Tokorangi. - Subject: Awarua 2C 10B - Application under Section 3/25 for money held by the Aotea District Maori Land Board under Section 92/13. [Includes: 29/48] 1929 – 1931.

MA 14 7 / 7, List of owners of Awarua Block c.1890 - c.1890.

AAMK 869 W3074 405 / 1 12/1144 1, Maori Trustee Appointed Agent - Awarua A3B 2C 2C1 1954 – 1968.

AAMK 869 W3074 407 / b 12/1251 1, Maori Trustee Appointed Agent - Awarua 2C 15B2 1967 – 1968.

AAMK 869 W3074 615 / d 15/5/198 1, Development Units - Land Settlement - Mako, Winston Ngawhare and Mary Waikare - Awarua 3A 2D2 - Block II - Ohinewairua Survey District 1977 – 1978.

AAMK 869 W3074 1186 / d 54/9/37, Maori Trustee - Awarua 3B 2C1 and 3B 2C 3B - Enforcement of Covenants 1965 – 1968.

AAMK 869 W3074 1187 / i 54/9/53, Maori Trustee - Awarua 4C 8A2 - Nahina Haddon - Breach of Covenant 1966 – 1969.

Maori Affairs District Office, Wanganui

MA-WANG 7 1 / 1, Native Land Court - Minute of the Court relating to the Awarua Case - 18 June - 8 July 1886 – 1886.

MA-WANG 7 1 / 2, Native Land Court - Minute of the Court relating to the Awarua Case - 11 September - 21 September 1886 – 1886.

Maori Land Court – Aotea District

MA-WANG W2140 35 / Wh. 591 1, Awarua - 29 October 1898 to 24 August 1945 1898 – 1945.

MA-WANG W2140 35 / Wh. 591 2, Awarua - 30 June 1949 to 30 November 1955 1949 – 1955.

MA-WANG W2140 35 / Wh. 591A, Awarua - 26 June 1892 to 29 October 1898 1892 – 1898.

MA-WANG W2140 36 / Wh. 593A, Awarua 3B - 6 November 1906 to 12 September 1951 1906 – 1951.

MA-WANG W2140 36 / Wh. 594A, Aorangi (Awarua) - 8 August 1910 to 16 September 1953 1910 – 1953.

MA-WANG W2140 36 / Wh. 598, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 23 August 1892 to 3 February 1915 1892 – 1915.

MA-WANG W2140 36 / Wh. 598A 1, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 6 November 1906 to 7 July 1947 1906 – 1947.

MA-WANG W2140 36 / Wh. 598A 2, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 18 June 1948 to 12 April 1956 1948 – 1956.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 598B 1, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 13 June 1892 to 5 November 1912 1892 – 1912.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 598B 2, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 4 June 1918 to 14 June 1948 1918 – 1948.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 598B 3, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 2 July 1942 to 21 June 1954 1942 – 1954.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 600, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 10 July 1916 to 31 January 1956 1916 – 1956.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 600A 1, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 28 October 1892 to 18 June 1915 1892 – 1915.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 600A 2, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 3 October 1938 to 5 July 1955 1938 – 1955.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 600B 1, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 23 August 1891 to 9 September 1910 1891 – 1910.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 600B 2, Awarua [Use copy Micro 2163] - 9 May 1911 to 15 January 1948 1911 – 1948.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 602 1, Awarua - 13 August 1891 to 6 October 1915 1891 – 1915.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 602 2, Awarua - 2 July 1942 to 1 May 1956 1942 – 1956.

MA-WANG W2140 37 / Wh. 602A, Awarua - 8 April 1904 to 9 June 1934 1904 – 1934.

MA-WANG W2140 38 / Wh. 602B 1, Awarua - 4 December 1899 to 3 November 1913 1899 – 1913.

MA-WANG W2140 38 / Wh. 602B 2, Awarua - 26 June 1934 to 2 July 1942 1934 – 1942.

MA-WANG W2140 50 / Wh. 651, Awarua - 25 September 1888 to 6 July 1891 1888 – 1891.

Maori Land Court

MLC 1 1 / 1 120, Miscellaneous file - Awarua and other blocks 1909 – 1910.

MLC 7A 8 / 13, Plan of Awarua Block - Scale 40 chains to 1 inch no date - no date.

Maori Land Court, Aotea District (Whanganui)

MLC-WG W1645 1 / 3/1904/306, Awarua, 4C 12A - 23 January 1903 - 10 October 1904 1903 – 1904.

MLC-WG W1645 1 / 3/1904/340, Awarua, 4C15 - 30 October 1903 - 2 April 1904 1903 – 1904.

MLC-WG W1645 1 / 3/1904/355, Awarua, 3A2E3 - 4 - 13 October 1904 – 1904.

MLC-WG W1645 1 / 3/1904/370, Awarua 3B2B1, Pt - 15 March 1902 - 17 October 1904 1902 – 1904.

MLC-WG W1645 1 / 3/1905/49, Awarua, 4C6 - 7 March - 13 June 1905 – 1905.

MLC-WG W1645 2 / 3/1905/179, Awarua, 3B2C - 20 November - 15 December 1905 – 1905.

MLC-WG W1645 2 / 3/1906/106, Awarua, 4A3C4 - 9 August - 23 November 1906 – 1906.

MLC-WG W1645 2 / 3/1906/16, Awarua, 4C8 - 9 April - 26 May 1906 – 1906.

MLC-WG W1645 2 / 3/1906/168, Awarua 4A 3C2 - 11 September - 6 November 1906 – 1906.

MLC-WG W1645 2 / 3/1906/54, Awarua 3A2F - 15 May - 21 July 1906 – 1906.

MLC-WG W1645 2 / 3/1906/69, Awarua, 4C3 - 11 July - 29 August 1906 – 1906.

MLC-WG W1645 3 / 3/1907/293, Awarua, 4C 9D - 17 December 1907 - 21 January 1908 1907 – 1908.

MLC-WG W1645 3 / 3/1907/74, Awarua, 3A2E, Pt - 8 - 16 May 1907 – 1970.

MLC-WG W1645 4 / 3/1908/84, Awarua, 4C 9B - 16 March 1904 - 23 June 1908 1904 – 1908.

MLC-WG W1645 5 / 3/1909/96, Awarua, 3A 2G - 19 June - 2 September 1909 – 1909.

MLC-WG W1645 5 / 3/1910/35, Awarua, H 1A2 - 26 February 1910 - 16 March 1950 1910 – 1950.

MLC-WG W1645 6 / 3/1910/170, Awarua, 1A2, West F - 27 February 1908 - 16 September 1932 1908 – 1932.

MLC-WG W1645 7 / 3/1910/203, Awarua, 3B 2E - 12 May 1908 - 17 January 1911 1908 – 1911.

MLC-WG W1645 7 / 3/1910/204, Awarua, 3B 2F - 12 May 1908 - 17 January 1911 1908 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 7 / 3/1910/228, Awarua, 1A2, West G - 6 September 1909 - 30 November 1910 1909 – 1910.

MLC-WG W1645 7 / 3/1910/238, Awarua, 3A 2F1 - 3 October 1910 - 16 May 1911 1910 – 1911.

MLC-WG W1645 7 / 3/1910/239, Awarua, 3D 3 1b - 31 October 1910 - 5 April 1911 1910 – 1911.

MLC-WG W1645 9 / 3/1911/42, Awarua, 3D3, Section 6 - 28 May 1907 - 18 February 1911 1907 – 1911.

MLC-WG W1645 9 / 3/1911/44, Awarua, 4C 12A1 - 11 February - 10 May 1911 1911 – 1911.

MLC-WG W1645 12 / 3/1911/177, Awarua, 4A 3C 8C - 9 August 1911 - 2 May 1912 1911 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 13 / 3/1911/191, Awarua, 3A 2B - 9 August - 11 November 1911 – 1911.

MLC-WG W1645 13 / 3/1911/227, Awarua, 4A 3C 8D - 18 November 1905 - 27 November 1911 1905 – 1911.

MLC-WG W1645 13 / 3/1911/240, Awarua, 4A 3C 2A - 18 October 1911 - 12 January 1912 1911 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 14 / 3/1911/258, Awarua, 4C 14B - 18 October 1911 - 13 April 1912 1911 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 16 / 3/1912/69, Awarua, 3B 2G, 2 & 3 - 26 February - 28 May 1912 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 16 / 3/1912/70, Awarua, 3B 2J3 - 29 February - 16 December 1912 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 16 / 3/1912/71, Awarua, 3D3, Number 2 - 13 June 1908 - 20 March 1912 1908 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 17 / 3/1912/109, Awarua, 4A 3C 6 - 17 November 1905 - 16 May 1912 1905 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 17 / 3/1912/116, Awarua, 2C 7 - 15 August 1907 - 9 January 1917 1907 – 1917.

MLC-WG W1645 17 / 3/1912/88, Awarua, 3A2 1 - 14 November 1905 - 25 June 1912 1905 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 19 / 3/1912/176, Awarua, 3A 2C 3B - 15 June - 10 July 1912 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 19 / 3/1912/179, Awarua, 4C12A1 - 21 December 1909 - 11 June 1913 1909 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 20 / 3/1912/254, Awarua, 4A 3C3 - 27 August 1906 - 8 August 1913 1906 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 20 / 3/1912/258, Awarua, 4A 3C 4A2 - 24 August - 26 September 1912 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 20 / 3/1912/269, Awarua, 3B 2D2 - 12 May 1908 - 5 February 1914 1908 – 1914.

MLC-WG W1645 20 / 3/1912/270, Awarua, 3A 2E 3B - 20 August 1912 - 28 February 1913 1912 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 21 / 3/1912/298, Awarua, 1A2, West, H3 - 2 August 1910 - 16 December 1912 1910 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 22 / 3/1912/328, Awarua, 4A 3C 4D - 11 October 1907 - 24 June 1913 1907 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 22 / 3/1912/332, Awarua, 3D3, Number 8 - 9 June 1905 - 15 November 1912 1905 – 1912.

MLC-WG W1645 22 / 3/1912/369, Awarua, 4A 3C 2B - 14 December 1912 - 18 March 1913 1912 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 22 / 3/1912/370, Awarua, 4A 3C 8C - 12 July 1906 - 10 September 1913 1906 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 23 / 3/1913/51, Awarua, 3D3 16A - 7 August 1911 - 20 May 1913 1911 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 23 / 3/1913/8, Awarua, 4C 15E - 9 August 1905 - 15 April 1913 1905 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 24 / 3/1913/76, Awarua, 3D3, Section 14A1 - 6 May 1913 - 26 June 1914 1913 – 1914.

MLC-WG W1645 25 / 3/1913/154, Awarua, 2C 12B2 - 28 August 1913 - 23 June 1969 1913 – 1969.

MLC-WG W1645 25 / 3/1913/211, Awarua, 1A2, West, C - 31 March 1913 - 19 September 1932 1913 – 1932.

MLC-WG W1645 26 / 3/1913/213, Awarua, 2C 16B (Pt) - 14 May 1912 - 15 November 1913 1912 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 26 / 3/1913/216, Awarua, 3B 2I - 12 May 1908 - 11 October 1913 1908 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 27 / 3/1913/288, Awarua, 1A2, West, 6 - 23 February 1910 - 3 December 1913 1910 – 1913.

MLC-WG W1645 27 / 3/1913/289, Awarua, 4C 15F5 - 9 August 1905 - 29 May 1936 1905 – 1936.

MLC-WG W1645 28 / 3/1914/11, Awarua, 3D3, Numbers 18 & 19A - 24 July 1906 - 6 April 1914 1906 – 1914.

MLC-WG W1645 29 / 3/1914/44, Awarua, 4C11 - 5 August 1907 - 25 June 1969 1907 – 1969.

MLC-WG W1645 31 / 3/1914/166, Awarua, 3D3, Number 11 - 17 July 1908 - 8 September 1914 1908 – 1914.

MLC-WG W1645 31 / 3/1914/167, Awarua, 3D3, Number 9B - 15 September 1908 - 6 September 1915 1908 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 31 / 3/1914/183, Awarua, 2C 13B & 2C 13Q - 23 June - 14 December 1914 – 1914.

MLC-WG W1645 32 / 3/1914/258, Awarua, 2C 19 - 7 April 1904 - 13 May 1915 1904 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 32 / 3/1914/259, Awarua, 3D3, Number 10 - 9 April 1907 - 4 September 1915 1907 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 32 / 3/1914/261, Awarua, 4C 14A - 14 August 1914 - 18 December 1916 1914 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 32 / 3/1914/262, Awarua, 3D3, Number 7 - 14 March 1907 - 12 June 1915 1907 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 33 / 3/1914/269, Awarua, 2C 14B (Pt) - 20 April 1904 - 6 November 1914 1904 – 1914.

MLC-WG W1645 33 / 3/1914/272, Awarua, 3A 2H - 15 May 1906 - 12 May 1915 1906 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 33 / 3/1914/292, Awarua, 4C 15D - 31 October 1914 - 28 August 1915 1914 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 33 / 3/1914/300, Awarua, 3A 2C2 - 15 May 1906 - 2 November 1914 1906 – 1914.

MLC-WG W1645 34 / 3/1915/16, Awarua, 4A 3C 4G - 19 June 1907 - 26 June 1916 1907 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 35 / 3/1915/59, Awarua, 4C 13A - 23 February - 16 June 1915 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 35 / 3/1915/64, Awarua, 4C 15F4 - 9 August 1915 - 9 September 1916 1915 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 36 / 3/1915/106, Awarua, 4C5 - 15 May 1906 - 11 June 1915 1906 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 36 / 3/1915/107, Awarua, 2C6A - 22 January 1907 - 8 September 1915 1907 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 36 / 3/1915/117, Awarua, 4A 3C1 - 10 September 1906 - 10 July 1915 1906 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 37 / 3/1915/130, Awarua, 1A2, West B - 17 December 1914 - 29 June 1915 1914 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 37 / 3/1915/211, Awarua, 2C 13M - 25 August 1908 - 6 May 1916 1908 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 37 / 3/1915/214, Awarua, 2C 6B - 6 August - 3 September 1915 – 1915.

MLC-WG W1645 39 / 3/1915/288, Awarua, 2C 6C - 15 November 1915 - 6 April 1917 1915 – 1917.

MLC-WG W1645 39 / 3/1915/302, Awarua, 2C 3A - 15 November 1915 - 10 February 1916 1915 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 40 / 3/1916/32, Awarua, 4C 15F 3B - 9 August 1905 - 19 November 1926 1905 – 1926.

MLC-WG W1645 42 / 3/1916/105, Awarua, 4C 15B - 9 August 1905 - 5 September 1916 1905 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 42 / 3/1916/120, Awarua, 4C 15F2 - 7 May 1908 - 26 May 1936 1908 – 1936.

MLC-WG W1645 42 / 3/1916/87, Awarua, 1A2, East 3B - 13 November 1908 - 6 November 1916 1908 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 43 / 3/1916/151, Awarua, 3D3 4A - 6 August 1911 - 8 October 1921 1911 – 1921.

MLC-WG W1645 43 / 3/1916/155, Awarua, 3A 2C1 - 18 May 1911 - 20 September 1916 1911 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 44 / 3/1916/247, Awarua, 1A, 2, East, 2 - 12 July 1916 - 29 January 1917 1916 – 1917.

MLC-WG W1645 44 / 3/1916/248, Awarua, 1A, 2, East, 3A - 26 June 1906 - 15 September 1916 1906 – 1916.

MLC-WG W1645 44 / 3/1916/283, Awarua, 3A 2F2 - 3 October 1916 - 29 January 1917 1916 – 1917.

MLC-WG W1645 47 / 3/1917/64, Awarua, 3D3 9A - 2 July 1917 - 4 February 1918 1917 – 1918.

MLC-WG W1645 47 / 3/1917/65, Awarua, 3D3 6B - 13 January 1911 - 8 November 1917 1911 – 1917.

MLC-WG W1645 50 / 3/1917/288, Sub 19B, Awarua, 3D3, etc - 23 July 1906 - 4 September 1917 1906 – 1917.

MLC-WG W1645 52 / 3/1917/414, Awarua, 3B 2D1 - 12 August 1917 - 11 March 1918 1917 – 1918.

MLC-WG W1645 53 / 3/1917/470, (Pt), Awarua, 3D3, Number 1A - 27 June 1913 - 2 May 1918 1913 – 1918.

MLC-WG W1645 54 / 3/1917/598, Awarua, 4C 8C - 6 December 1909 - 11 February 1918 1909 – 1918.

MLC-WG W1645 55 / 3/1917/624, Awarua, 3A, Number 2F3 - 17 December 1917 - 28 May 1918 1917 – 1918.

MLC-WG W1645 56 / 3/1918/53, Awarua, 3A 2K 5C - 1 July 1916 - 9 May 1918 1916 – 1918.

MLC-WG W1645 58 / 3/1918/161, Awarua, 4A 3C 4F - 1 March 1918 - 26 March 1920 1918 – 1920.

MLC-WG W1645 58 / 3/1918/163, Awarua, 2C 13A - 3 May - 30 September 1918 – 1918.

MLC-WG W1645 62 / 3/1918/416, Awarua, 3D3, Number 6A - 28 October 1911 - 29 May 1919 1911 – 1919.

MLC-WG W1645 68 / 3/1919/304, Awarua, 2C 12A1 - 8 August 1903 - 10 October 1924 1903 – 1924.

MLC-WG W1645 72 / 3/1919/474, Awarua, 3A 2K 5B - 12 February 1918 - 9 June 1925 1918 – 1925.

MLC-WG W1645 75 / 3/1919/628, Awarua, 3A 2K1-7 - 20 January 1920 - 9 February 1923 1920 – 1923.

MLC-WG W1645 76 / 3/1920/6, Awarua, 2C 13L - 6 January 1920 - 15 December 1949 1920 – 1949.

MLC-WG W1645 79 / 3/1920/191, Awarua, 2C 12E - 21 April 1920 - 22 July 1963 1920 – 1963.

MLC-WG W1645 80 / 3/1920/206, Awarua, 3A 2K2 - 7 June 1917 - 8 July 1925 1917 – 1925.

MLC-WG W1645 81 / 3/1920/229, Awarua, 2C5 - 6 August 1915 - 27 October 1920 1915 – 1920.

MLC-WG W1645 85 / 3/1920/395, Awarua, 2C 13J1 - 7 September 1920 - 9 June 1921 1920 – 1921.

MLC-WG W1645 85 / 3/1920/402, Awarua, 3B2J, Section 1 - 4 November 1907 - 1 May 1924 1907 – 1924.

MLC-WG W1645 88 / 3/1920/599, Awarua, 3A 2K3 - 9 October 1916 - 22 September 1920 1916 – 1920.

MLC-WG W1645 88 / 3/1920/648, Awarua, 2C 10B - 27 June 1928 - 25 November 1928 1926 – 1928.

MLC-WG W1645 89 / 3/1921/42, Awarua, 3A 2K 5A - 1 March 1918 - 16 July 1936 1918 – 1936.

MLC-WG W1645 95 / 3/1921/349, Awarua, 3A2K4 - 20 September 1919 - 12 March 1937 1919 – 1937.

MLC-WG W1645 99 / 3/131, Awarua, 4A 3C5 - 17 May 1906 - 19 October 1922 1906 – 1922.

MLC-WG W1645 106 / 3/479, Awarua, 2C 13F - 23 October - 3 December 1923 – 1923.

MLC-WG W1645 107 / 3/506, Awarua, 3A 2E2 - 29 August 1907 - 11 July 1923 1907 – 1923.

MLC-WG W1645 109 / 3/615, Awarua, 4C 15H 1H - 25 October 1923 - 24 May 1944 1923 – 1924.

MLC-WG W1645 109 / 3/645, Awarua, 3B 2G1 - 17 November 1923 - 18 March 1924 1923 – 1924.

MLC-WG W1645 118 / 3/1303, Awarua, 2C1 3C1 - 6 August 1904 - 14 March 1969 1904 – 1969.

MLC-WG W1645 118 / 3/1304, Awarua, 2C 13 2C 13N - 25 August 1908 - 23 June 1969 1908 – 1969.

MLC-WG W1645 118 / 3/1306, Awarua, 2C1 14A - 29 May - 7 June 1909 – 1909.

MLC-WG W1645 118 / 3/1308, Awarua, 2C, Number 18 - 24 February 1904 - 17 May 1906 1904 – 1906.

MLC-WG W1645 118 / 3/1310, Awarua, 3B 2G - 20 April 1904 - 5 January 1909 1904 – 1909.

MLC-WG W1645 124 / 3/1535, Awarua, 4C 15F 1A - 7 June 1917 - 30 November 1925 1917 – 1925.

MLC-WG W1645 126 / 3/1647, Awarua, 3D3, Number 12 & Motukawa, 2B9 - 21 October 1906 - 16 May 1928 1906 – 1928.

MLC-WG W1645 126 / 3/1659, Awarua, 4C7 - 26 May 1905 - 24 July 1926 1905 – 1926.

MLC-WG W1645 133 / 3/2137, Awarua, 3B 2C 3A - 16 November 1926 - 11 March 1927 1926 – 1927.

MLC-WG W1645 133 / 3/2152, Awarua, 3D3, Number 14C - 17 June 1907 - 13 May 1927 1907 – 1927.

MLC-WG W1645 135 / 3/2231, Awarua, 2C 15C - 1 November 1910 - 29 June 1959 1910 – 1959.

MLC-WG W1645 136 / 3/2248, Awarua, 4A 3C, Number 8B - 1 June 1945 - 23 July 1948 1945 – 1948.

MLC-WG W1645 136 / 3/2360, Pt, Awarua, 3D3 - 5 February 1925 - 17 September 1927 1925 – 1927.

MLC-WG W1645 137 / 3/2395, Awarua, 3D3, Number 17A - 6 June 1923 - 17 November 1927 1923 – 1927.

MLC-WG W1645 142 / 3/2979, Awarua, 2C 16A - 3 September 1915 - 23 November 1928 1915 – 1928.

MLC-WG W1645 146 / 3/3237, Awarua, 3D3, Number 15 - 7 February 1929 - 12 September 1941 1929 – 1941.

MLC-WG W1645 148 / 3/3508, Awarua, 2C 13H, Pt - 26 July 1929 - 23 June 1969 1929 – 1969.

MLC-WG W1645 150 / 3/3582, Awarua, 2C 16C 1, Pt - 15 January 1913 - 26 May 1936 1913 – 1936.

MLC-WG W1645 190 / 3/5263, Awarua, 1A2, West, H1 - 20 October 1910 - 24 March 1938 1910 – 1938.

MLC-WG W1645 198 / 3/5557, Awarua, 4C 7A - 23 May 1929 - 6 March 1939 1929 – 1939.

MLC-WG W1645 201 / 3/5647, Awarua, 4C 15F 1A 2A - 9 May 1939 - 4 November 1960 1939 – 1960.

MLC-WG W1645 220 / 3/6233, Awarua, 4C 15F 1A 2G - 17 July 1944 - 17 December 1974 1944 – 1974.

MLC-WG W1645 228 / 3/6602, Awarua, 1A, 2, West H3 - 5 October 1912 - 4 March 1954 1912 – 1954.

MLC-WG W1645 231 / 3/6773, Awarua, 2C 12A 2B - 10 September 1953 - 29 September 1955 1953 – 1955.

MLC-WG W1645 274 / 4/615, Awarua, 4C, E1H 16 June 1930 - 26 September 1943 1930 – 1943.

MLC-WG W1645 275 / 4/2248, Awarua, 4A 3C 8B - 25 January 1928 - 16 November 1937 1928 – 1937.

MLC-WG W1645 275 / 4/2979, Awarua, 2C 16A - 20 November 1928 - 30 March 1931 1928 – 1931.

MLC-WG W1645 286 / 4/5557, Awarua, 4C and 7A 1934 – 1939.

MLC-WG W1645 287 / 4/5647, Awarua, 4C, 15F, 1A and 2A no date - no date.

Maori Trust Office

MA-MT 1 80 / 1900/1444, Native Reserves - Regarding monies paid to Hanapeka and Te Maurae Rangitahua, both minors, for shares in the sale of Awarua Nos. 1A and 4 Blocks 1900 – 1900.

MA-MT 1 83 / 1905/1227, Native Reserves - Regarding monies paid to Kuheke Raurimu for shares in the sale of Awarua 2A and 2B 1905 – 1905.

MA-MT 1 83 / 1905/1376, Native Reserves - Regarding trustees for the successors of Tea Aperhama, deceased, for shares in the sale of Awarua 3D No. 1 1905 – 1905.

MA-MT 1 86 / 1911/576, Native Reserves - Regarding rent payable by Mr Morrison for Awarua 2C No. 2 1911 – 1911.

MA-MT 1 87 / 1911/960, Native Reserves - Regarding monies paid to Potaka Taiuiu for shares in the sale of Awarua 4 No. 3 Block 1911 – 1911.

MA-MT 1 98 / 1914/1524, Native Reserves - Regarding monies paid to Huitahi Taitumu for shares in the sale of Awarua 3D3 No. 8 Block 1914 – 1914.

MA-MT 1 104 / 1916/567, Native Reserves - Regarding Public Trust holding an order signed by Hakopa te Ahunga in respect of shares in the proceeds of the sale of timber from Awarua 2C No. 19 1899 – 1899.

Department of Lands

AAQU 889 W3428 50 / 39/454, Local Authorities: Wanganui Road District - Toe Toe and Poroa Roads, Taking Land and Closing Road; Part Awarua 4C No. 6, 1A No. 2, Block VI and III, Hautapu Survey District 1980 – 1980.

Ministry of Works, Wanganui District Office

AATC 5114 W3456 20 / PW 12/179, Otaihape Valley Road - Deviation in Awarua 1923 – 1928.

AATC 5114 W3456 22 / PW 12/218, Awarua Road 1907 – 1907.

AATC 5114 W3456 94 / PW 45/122, Awarua Branch Roads 1899 – 1919.

Nature Conservation Council

AAZU W3619 22 / 31/6/74, Aorangi-Awarua Maori Trust Block, Taihape - Indigenous Forest Logging 1974 – 1974.

AAZU W3619 23 / 31/6/74, Awarua-Aorangi Maori Trust Board, Taihape Logging 1974 – 1974.

AAZU W3619 23 / 31/6/74, Indigenous Forest - Awarua/Aorangi Maori Trust Block 1974 – 1987.

AAZU W3619 23 / 31/6/74, Logging of Indigenous Forest: Awarua-Aorangi Maori Trust Block 1974 – 1974.

Land Information New Zealand

ABWN 6095 W5021 309 / 10/95/49 1, Wellington Land District - State Forest Land - Awarua 1A3 & 1DB2 Blocks - also State Forest land in Pukeokahu Survey District 1939 – 1980.

Lands and Survey Department

LS 1 1575 / 16/784, Roads - Awarua Number 4c Number 11 Block II, Hautapu Survey District no date - no date.

LS 1 1595 / 16/2187, Roads - Awarua 4a 3c, 4c and 4h no date - no date.

LS 1 1596 / 16/2269, Roads - Awarua 3B2 Block VII, Hautapu Survey District no date - no date.

LS 1 1607 / 16/3087, Roads - Sections B-G and H1, H2 and H3, Awarua 1A Number 2 West no date - no date.

Public Works Department

W 1 343 / 19/527, Railways - Branch Lines and Lines Initiated After 1913 - North Island Main Trunk (NIMT) - Land taken - Awarua [burnt] 1894 – 1912.

Commissions of Inquiry

COM 20 5 / 2/3/8, (Maori Reserved Lands Inquiry) Background Information - Information Received - Awarua, Taumarunui, Tokaanu 1974? – 1974.

COM 20 17 / 2/3/8, (Maori Reserved Lands Inquiry) Awarua, Taumarunui, Tokaanu 1974? – 1974.

New Zealand Forest Service

F 1 126 / 17/3/23, Awarua 2C No 16B (Bennett to Ranganui Sawmill Company) 1920 – 1920.

F 1 128 / 17/3/132, Awarua 2C 20 (Arani to Pungatana Sawmill Company) 1926 – 1926.

F 1 128 / 17/3/144, Ohinewairua Survey District, Awarua No 19 Block XII and XII (Mrs Batley to Jensen) 1927 – 1927.

F 1 128 / 17/3/148, Pukeokahu Survey District, Section Awarua 2A and 2B, Block XIII (Batley to Gregory) 1928 – 1928.

Land Corporation Limited

AAMA 619 W3150 6 / 20/18 1, Wellington - Awarua 1 1913 – 1940.

AAMA 619 W3150 6 / 20/18 2, Wellington - Awarua 1 1940 – 1976.

AAMA 619 W3150 7 / 20/20 1, Wellington - Awarua 2 and 3 1908 – 1918.

AAMA 619 W3150 7 / 20/20 2, Wellington - Awarua 2 and 3 1918 – 1937.

AAMA 619 W3150 14 / 20/60, Wellington - Awarua 4A - 4C15E 1915 – 1947.

AAMA 619 W3150 21 / 20/187, Wellington - Awarua AC15F 1908 – 1910.

AAMA 619 W3150 28 / 20/336, Wellington - Awarua Alienation Notices 1910 – 1933.

Department of Conservation (Wanganui Conservancy)

AFIE 6905 W5683 163 / 18/54, Maori Areas - Aorangi/Awarua 1D B2 1974 – 1974.

AFIE 6905 W5683 158 / 9/24/3 2, Aorangi/Awarua 1DB2 1974 – 1986.

Manuscripts

Alexander Turnbull Library

Adkin, G. L.	Ethnological notebooks, vol. 24 (includes data from Moawhango from R. A. L. Batley, with map), MS-Papers-6061-25
Blake, A. T.	Whakapapa prepared for Marton NLC, 1868-90, Micro-MS-0082
Buller, Walter Lawry	Maori letters mainly dealing with land claims (including Otamakapua, Owahaoko, and other Taihape district blocks), MS-Papers-0048
Buller, Walter Lawry	Correspondence re Owahaoko and dispute with Fenton, 1886-87, Bell Family papers, MS-Papers-5210-207
Buller, Walter Lawry	Otamakapua case notes, 1879, qMS-1613 (see also plan removed to MSO-Papers-7280)
Colenso, William	Precis of evidence given by Colenso in Mangaoahane case (includes particulars and papers relating to Renata Kawepo), qMS-0505 Journals, 1841-54, qMS-0487-0489 Journeys, 1843-46, qMS-0490 Letters, 1834-53, qMS-0491-0492
Field, H. C.	Map of country between Whanganui and Taupo, 1869 (includes parts of upper Rangitikei), qMS-0726-12 (with copy of report by Field on route, qMS-0726)
Johnston, Royden	Papers re early Taihape, MS-Papers-6215-1
Lockwood, D. G.	Lockwood-McGregor papers (includes papers relating to lease and purchase of Otamakapua 1, 1886-97), 73-046

McDonnell, A. F.	Request to L. W. Aynsley for material on Taraketi, 1922, MS-Papers-0151-24-14
McLean, Donald	Wide range of Maori and general correspondence, diaries, telegrams, official papers, and maps: see http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/
Maney, Richard	Lease of Owhaoko 1 from Renata Kawepo and others (with map), MS-Papers-2928
Rangitikei land deed	Deeds relating to lease of Otamakapua 1 to Thomas William and John and Herbert Hammon, 1886–97, Micro-MS-0897
Studholme, John	Correspondence (includes legal papers, business accounts, notes, maps related to Mangaohane, Owhaoko, and Murimotu, including ejectment of Winiata Te Whaaro and purchase of Renata Kawepo interests), MS-Papers-0272
Taylor, Richard	Correspondence, MS-Papers-0254 and MS-Copy-Micro-191 Inwards correspondence, MS-Papers-0953 Journals (typescript), 1844-61, qMS-1987 to 1995

Auckland City Library

The Maori correspondence with Sir George Grey held in the Auckland City Library (GNZMA) will need to be researched, largely in relation to Project 2.

Another potentially relevant source are Reverent Richard Taylor's papers (GNZ MSS 297)

Appendix 1: Statements of Claim

Wai No.	Named Claimant(s)	Tribal Identification in Statement of Claim	Main Issues Raised	Specific Blocks Identified
61	Rotoaira Forest Trust	Ngati Tuwharetoa (especially Ngati Waewae and Ngati Hikairo) (NB, now clustered with Wai 575)	Public Works takings for defence purposes ³⁵³	Rangipo Waiu Oruamatua Kaimanawa
127	Waipa Te Rito Joe Te Rito Dardi Collier Joanne Ross and others	Ngati Hinemanu (formerly part of He Toa Takatini/ Southern Hawke's Bay claims)	Native Land Court/land loss	Eastern Taihape district, from Otumore to Kaweka
151	Tumanako Maaka Gray Matiu Marino Mareikura James Richard Akapita Ropata Matiu Koroniria Gray	Ngati Rangi ³⁵⁴ (descendants of Rangituhia, Rangiteauria, and Uenukumanawawiri)	Public Works takings for defence purposes Public Works takings for Hihitahi State Forest	Rangipo Waiu A (defence taking) Rangipo Waiu B (defence taking) Motukawa (Hihitahi State Forest)
263	Marei Apatu	Ngati Hinemanu (NB now grouped with He Toa Takatini/Southern Hawke's Bay claims)	Te Koau (early Crown purchase boundary issue, 1877 Education reserve, and Native Land Court)	Te Koau Awarua o Hinemanu
378	Wero Karena	Ngai Te Upokoiri Ngati Hinemanu (NB now grouped with He Toa Takatini/Southern Hawke's Bay claims)	20 th century Maori land administration	Owhaoko CB3
382	Wero Karena	Ngai Te Upokoiri Ngati Hinemanu (NB now grouped with He Toa Takatini/Southern Hawke's Bay claims)	Early Crown purchases Waterways (Ngaruroro)	Owhaoko C7 Timahanga
385	Neville Franze Te Ngahoa Lomax Ngahapeaparataue Roy Lomax Michael Joseph O'Connor Utiku Potaka, and others	Ngati Hauiti	Utiku (Potaka Native Township) Public Works takings	Potaka Native Township

³⁵³ The main issues raised in some claims relate to adjacent inquiry districts (eg, Whanganui, National Park, Porirua ki Manawatu, Taupo, Mohaka ki Ahuriri, or Heretaunga-Tamatea), so only those issues relevant to the Taihape Inquiry District are noted here.

³⁵⁴ Ngati Rangi's interests in Rangipo Waiu were inquired into as part of the Whanganui inquiry and it may be that no further research is required in relation to their claims in this block.

Wai No.	Named Claimant(s)	Tribal Identification in Statement of Claim	Main Issues Raised	Specific Blocks Identified
575	Te Ariki Te Heuheu Tukino VIII Tumu	Nga Hapu o Ngati Tuwharetoa	Public Works takings for defence purposes	‘Waiouru Army Training Area’ (Rangipo Waiu and Oruamatua Kaimanawa)
581	Neville Franze Te Ngahoa Lomax Tupakihi Potaka Mark Peina Ngahapeaparatuae Roy Lomax Lewis Haines	Ngati Hauiti (Ngati Tamatereka Ngati Ruaanga Ngai Te Upokoiri Ngati Te Ngaoha)	Native Land Court Land loss Public Works takings for railways Waterways (Rangitikei river) Takings under Coal Mines Act (riverbeds) Survey liens	Southern portion of Taihape inquiry district (Taihape and Taoroa Junction south to Waitapu Stream) Taraketi (Coal Mines Act) Otumore (survey liens)
588	Ike Hunter Maria Muir (Taiuru)	Ngati Tamakopiri Ngati Whitikaupeka (Ngati Tama Whiti)	Public Works takings for defence purposes Kaimanawa wild horses/ environ-mental management Tongariro Power Development Wahi tapu	Oruamatua Kaimanawa Rangipo Waiu 1 Rangipo North
647	Maria Muir (Taiuru) Herbert Steedman	Ngati Tamakopiri Ngati Whitikaupeka	Native Land Court Public works takings for railways	Awarua 4A1 (Taihape township Public Works takings)
662	Peter Wairehu Steedman	Ngati Paki Nga uri o Winiata Te Whaaro (see also Wai 1835)	Native Land Court Wahi tapu	Mangaohane 2
1260	John Reweti Louis Chase	Ngati Waewae	Public Works takings Tongariro Power Development	Rangipo Waiu 1 Rangipo North
1262	Tyronne Smith Te Ngaeha Wanikau Ngaiterangi Smallman Brenda Pakau	Ngati Hikairo ki Tongariro	Public Works takings Tongariro Power Development	Rangipo North
1263	James Reid Miller Waho Nga Kupu Waho Cassandra Katarina Stark Nerissa Tarihira Waitaka Te Patu	Nga uri o Rangiteauria, Rangituhia, and Ueknukumanawawiri (Ngati Rangi)	Public Works takings for defence purposes Public Works takings for railways Tongariro Power Development	Rangipo
1425	Waipa Te Rito Jo Anne Whaanga Mereara Hesketh Te Muri Whaanga and others	Ngati Hinemanu Ngati Rameka o Omaha (formerly part of He Toa Takatini/ Southern Hawke’s Bay claims)	No details	

Wai No.	Named Claimant(s)	Tribal Identification in Statement of Claim	Main Issues Raised	Specific Blocks Identified
1639	Jack Hoani Cribb	Mokai Patea	Native Land Court Public Works takings Waterways (Hautapu, Moawhango, Rangitikei, Taruarau, Kawhatau, and Ngaruroro Rivers) 20 th Century Maori land admin Wahi tapu Tongariro Power Development	All or most of Taihape inquiry district
1705	Mokai Patea Claims Committee (Isaac Hunter, Hari Benevides, Utiku Potaka, Maria Taiuru, Jordan Winiata-Haines, Peter Steedman, Barbara Ball, and Richard Steedman)	Mokai Patea (Ngati Tamakopiri Ngati Whitikaupeka Ngati Hauiti Ngai Te Ohuake Ngati Paki Ngati Hinemanu)	Native Land Court Waterways (Rangitikei, Moawhango, Kawhatau, Ngaruroro, Taruarau and Hautapu Rivers) Tongariro Power Development	All or most of Taihape inquiry district
1835	Lewis Winiata Ngahapeaparatuae Roy Lomax Patricia Anne Te Kiriwai Cross Christie Teariki Jordan Haines Winiata	Ngati Paki Ngati Hinemanu (see also Wai 662)	Native Land Court Waterways (Hautapu, Moawhango, Ngaruroro, Taruarau, Kawhatau, and Rangitikei Rivers) Tongariro Power Development	Most of Taihape inquiry district ³⁵⁵
1868	Waina Raumaewa Hoet Grace Hoet	Nga uri o Raumaewa Te Rango, Whatu, and Pango Raumaewa (Ngati Paki and Ngati Hinemanu)	No details	No details
1888	Iria i te rangi Halbert	Ngati Whitikaupeka	Native Land Court Waterways (Moawhango River) Tongariro Power Development	Motukawa Rangipo (Oruamatua?)Kaimanawa
2091	Barbara Tangiahua	Ngati Hauiti wahine	Manawahine Mental health issues Medical services	

³⁵⁵ Original claim extended east to include extensive lands in Southern Hawke's Bay/Heretaunga-Tamatea district.

Appendix 2: Native Land Court Title Investigations

Block	Date of Hearing	Notes
Paraekaretu	1871	
Oruamatua Kaimanawa	1875– 1894	1875, title investigation 1885, partition 1893 & 1894, rehearing of title
Owhaoko	1875– 1889	1875 & 1876, title investigation 1880, withdrawn 1882, struck out 1884, adjourned 1885, partition 1887, rehearing 1888, further rehearing
Mangoira (Mangoira, Mangaoire Ruahine)	1877	
Taraketi	1877	1871, dismissed 1877, title investigation 1888, compensation for Public Works taking for railway 1894, relative interests hearing
Otamakapua	1879– 1894	1870, Otamakapua 1 claim commenced but withdrawn 1871, withdrawn 1876, hearings interrupted by opposition Feb 1879, appln for hearing dismissed Oct 1879, Otamakapua 2 title investigation at Omaha 1880, Otamakapua 2 title investigation at Marton 1884, Otamakapua 2 partition and completion of sale 1894 & 1895, Otamakapua 2 rehearings
Ohaumoko	1879	
Rangitira	1879– 1882	1879–1880, title investigation 1882, rehearing
Otairi	1880	
Rangipo-Waiu & Rangipo-Waiu 2	1881	
Te Kapua	1884	
Mangaohane	1884	
Motukawa	1886	1892, inquiry into objections to plan 1895–96, partition
Awarua	1886	1890–91, partition
Timahanga	1894	
Aorangi	1900	1896, adjourned hearing 1899, inquiry 1900, title investigation
Te Koau	1900	
Otumore	1906	1906, appeal 1907, partition
Awarua o Hinemanu	1991	

