

**Maori and Economic Development in the
Taihape Inquiry District**

1860-2013

Philip Cleaver

August 2016

RECEIVED Waitangi Tribunal
<i>30 Aug 2016</i>
Ministry of Justice WELLINGTON

Author

Philip Cleaver holds a Master of Arts in history from Victoria University of Wellington. Since 1999 he has mostly worked as a commissioned researcher for the Waitangi Tribunal. In addition to projects undertaken for the Taihape district inquiry, he has prepared research reports for the Hauraki, Gisborne, Urewera, Wairarapa ki Tararua, Whanganui, and Rohe Potae inquiries. He has appeared before the Tribunal as a technical witness on a number of occasions. For the Taihape inquiry, Philip has written a report on the taking of Maori land for public works purposes (Wai 2180 #A9) and, prior to undertaking this report on economic development issues, he prepared a scoping report on economic development and social service delivery (Wai 2180 #A14).

Table of Contents

List of Figures	6
List of Tables.....	6

Introduction	8
---------------------------	----------

Chapter One: Nineteenth Century Maori Population and the Physical Environment and Resources of the Inquiry District.....20

Introduction.....	20
The people of Mokai Patea and developments up to 1865	21
<i>Maori population and settlement patterns.....</i>	<i>25</i>
Physical environment and resources	34
Conclusion.....	43

Chapter Two: Emerging Opportunities and Early Settlement Activity, 1860-189045

Introduction.....	45
Assessment of physical environment, resources, and economic opportunities, 1862-1863	47
Ongoing speculation concerning gold within Mokai Patea, 1865-1875	52
Development of the pastoral economy in the north, 1865-1890	54
<i>Farming sheep for the wool export trade.....</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Growing interest in the grazing potential of Inland Patea</i>	<i>56</i>
<i>Pakeha runholders and Mokai Patea Maori enter into leasing arrangements</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Early Maori involvement in sheep farming</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>Pakeha runholders secure rights over further Maori land.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Continuing Maori involvement in sheep farming and conflicts over land use rights.....</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>Sheep ownership data, 1879-1890</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Pakeha runholders – investment and profitability.....</i>	<i>70</i>
<i>The Maori farming economy in the north</i>	<i>71</i>
Economic activity in the south, 1865-1890	75
<i>Land development obstacles</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Leasing of Maori lands in the south</i>	<i>77</i>
<i>Widespread alienation through sale.....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Maori involvement in land-based activities in the south</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Settler dominance of land-based economy in the south</i>	<i>83</i>
Role of the Native Land Court.....	84
<i>Effectiveness of the Court process.....</i>	<i>86</i>

Costs.....	92
Leasing.....	102
Land sales	105
Conclusion.....	113

Chapter Three: Expansion of Pakeha Settlement and the Decline of Maori Involvement in the Pastoral Economy, 1891-1909..... 119

Introduction.....	119
North Island Main Trunk railway and the ‘opening’ of the Mokai Patea interior.....	121
Sawmilling.....	135
Agriculture.....	150
<i>Maori aspirations and involvement</i>	159
Obstacles to effective Maori land utilisation.....	167
<i>Issues raised in letters of 9 September 1892 and 18 April 1895</i>	168
<i>Ongoing cost of Native Land Court</i>	177
<i>Land alienation</i>	178
<i>Title and consolidation</i>	187
<i>Management</i>	190
<i>Debt burden and access to lending finance</i>	191
Other economic opportunities	195
<i>Wage labour</i>	196
<i>Supply of resources for development of transport infrastructure</i>	200
<i>Opportunities associated with the development of townships</i>	201
Land sales and leasing.....	204
Conclusion.....	207

Chapter Four: Mokai Patea Maori and the Post-Settlement Era Economy, 1910-2013..... 210

Introduction.....	210
Population developments	212
Further decline of Mokai Patea Maori land base	216
Indigenous timber industry and exotic forestry.....	224
Agriculture.....	227
<i>Overview of developments in the agricultural economy</i>	227
<i>Mokai Patea Maori involvement in farming</i>	239
<i>State-assisted land development and lending finance</i>	254
<i>Title developments and statutory management entities</i>	263
Sale of timber and payment for protection of forest resources.....	266
Sale of stone resources.....	267
Employment patterns.....	269

<i>Maori employment prior to 1957</i>	270
<i>Electoral roll evidence</i>	272
<i>Employment data in 2013 census results</i>	279
Military employment	282
Other state-sector work opportunities	283
Restructuring of the state sector	287
Conclusion.....	291
Conclusion	296
Appendix 1: Specific economic development issues raised in Wai claims..	303
Appendix 2: Colenso and Taylor’s population observations, 1845-1860 ...	306
Appendix 3: Maori residing in the Taihape inquiry district, 1936 Census.	310
Appendix 4: Maori residing in the Taihape inquiry district, 1966 Census.	311
Appendix 5: Occupations recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls (comprehensive), Taihape inquiry district	312
Appendix 6: Occupations of males and females recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls, Taihape inquiry district	315
Appendix 7: Iwi affiliation recorded in 1960 electoral roll, Taihape inquiry district	322
Appendix 8: Research Commission.....	323
Bibliography	325

List of Figures

Figure 1: Locations of pa and kainga	28
Figure 2: Approximate forest cover in the Taihape inquiry district, 1840....	35
Figure 3: LUC Class 1 to 8 – increasing limitations to use and decreasing versatility of use	38
Figure 4: LUC land categories – Taihape inquiry district	40
Figure 5: Land use – Taihape inquiry district, 2012	41
Figure 6: Maori land remaining in the Taihape inquiry district, 1890.....	80
Figure 7: Railway alienation restriction area as defined by the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884	124
Figure 8: Maori land remaining in the Taihape inquiry district, 1910.....	134
Figure 9: ‘Maori Farm’ – Winiata, 1894.....	166
Figure 10: LUC classifications of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900	181
Figure 11: Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900-2010 (acres) .	217
Figure 12: Alienation of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900-1990	218
Figure 13: Alienation of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900-1990 (enlargement).....	219
Figure 14: Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 2013	220
Figure 15: Land use in portion of Taihape inquiry district, 1967.....	234

List of Tables

Table 1: Iwi groups of the Taihape inquiry district	21
Table 2: Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district, 1881 census	32
Table 3: Mokai Patea Maori living outside the Taihape inquiry district, 1881 census	32
Table 4: LUC land class descriptions	38
Table 5: Annual returns of sheep owners in northern lands of Taihape inquiry district, 1879-1890.....	66
Table 6: Judicial proceedings associated with determination of title for blocks in the Taihape inquiry district, 1871-1991	86
Table 7: Survey costs associated with title investigation for eight blocks in the Taihape inquiry district	93
Table 8: Native Land Court title investigation fees – southern blocks of the Taihape inquiry district	97
Table 9: Sawmills in the Taihape inquiry district cutting from Maori land, 1905 and 1907.....	145
Table 10: Annual returns of sheep owners in Taihape inquiry district, 1892-1910.	162

Table 11: LUC classifications of Maori land remaining in Taihape inquiry district, 1900.....	182
Table 12 Awarua subdivisions – estimated Crown sale price, proposed purchase price, and final purchase price	205
Table 13: Maori residing in the Taihape inquiry district, 1936 and 1966 census results.....	213
Table 14: Iwi affiliation recorded in 1960 Maori electoral roll, Taihape inquiry district	214
Table 15: Maori and non-Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district (approximate area), 2013 census results.....	215
Table 16: Iwi affiliation of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district (approximate area), 2013 census results.....	216
Table 17: Sawmills based in or near the Taihape inquiry district, 1920-1960	225
Table 18: Blocks against which mortgages were raised for development purposes, 1910-1930	241
Table 19: Annual returns of sheep owners in Taihape inquiry district, 1910-1928	244
Table 20: Maori farming initiatives in the Taihape inquiry district, 1945-1970	248
Table 21: Maori farming initiatives in the Taihape inquiry district, 1971-2013	252
Table 22: Loans secured against Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1931-1980	258
Table 23: Number of individuals and places of residence recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 electoral rolls, Taihape inquiry district	273
Table 24: Occupations recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls (categorised), Taihape inquiry district.....	274
Table 25: Proportion of individuals in each occupation category as recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls, Taihape inquiry district	277
Table 26: Occupation data recorded in 1960 electoral roll, Mokai Patea iwi	278
Table 27: Employment status of residents aged 15 years and over in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census	279
Table 28: Employment status of residents aged 15 years and over in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census results – proportion of Maori and non-Maori in each category	280
Table 29: Occupations of full-time and part employed in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census.....	280
Table 30: Occupations of full-time and part employed in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census – proportion of Maori and non-Maori in each category	281

Introduction

Project background

This report examines the impact of Crown policies and actions on Maori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district. The project stems from a recommendation made in Bruce Stirling and Evald Subasic's research scoping report for the Taihape district inquiry, dated August 2010, which proposed that a project titled 'Cultural and Economic Impacts' be undertaken.¹ This recommendation was adopted in a September 2010 Waitangi Tribunal discussion paper, with the proviso that it might be undertaken as separate economic and socio-economic projects.² At the second Taihape judicial conference, held on 29 November 2010, general consensus in favour of two separate projects was apparent, and on that basis the presiding officer Chief Judge Isaac endorsed splitting the research into separate projects.³ Following the third judicial conference, held in June 2011, it was renamed 'Economic and Social Impacts, Development and Service Delivery' and finally split into the following two topics in the casebook research programme:

- Economic capability and development.
- Social service delivery and socio-economic impacts.

Provision was also made in the casebook research programme to precede these two reports with an internal scoping project.⁴

On 18 February 2013, the Waitangi Tribunal Unit contracted Philip Cleaver to prepare an internal scoping report to help the Tribunal understand the nature of the claim issues as well as the research resources and skill sets required to examine them. On 22 April 2013, general support in favour of research on socio-economic issues was reiterated at the fourth Taihape judicial conference, and on that basis Judge Harvey approved a phase two research project on 'Economic capability and development, social service delivery and socio-economic impacts'.⁵

In October 2013, Cleaver completed a draft of his scoping exercise. The quality assessment undertaken on this draft noted that the scoping report, though not originally intended as a commissioned item, would be beneficial

¹ Wai 2180 #A2, pp147-151.

² Wai 2180 #6.2.21, p33, 37.

³ Wai 2180 #2.5.18, para 10.

⁴ Wai 2180 #6.2.20, p4.

⁵ Wai 2180 #2.5.29, para 59.

to the inquiry as a whole because of the important source material it contained. As a result, it was formally commissioned and placed on the record of inquiry. Filed on 22 December 2013, the scoping report recommended that two reports be commissioned to meet the requirements of the casebook research programme:

- Maori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district.
- The provision of healthcare, education, and housing to Maori of the Taihape inquiry district.⁶

Claimant issues

Claimants have raised a number of issues concerning Maori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district. In May 2015, during the early stages of preparing this report, the author reviewed all statements of claim that relate to the district. The following claims were identified as including issues relevant to the project: Wai 385, Wai 581, Wai 647, Wai 1639, Wai 1705, Wai 1888, and Wai 2180. In addition to examining claim documents, the author discussed the project with claimants at two research hui that were held around the time that work on the project began. The first of these hui, held on 25 May 2015, was with the Mokai Patea Waitangi Claims Trust. The second, held on 9 June 2015, was with Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki. On 5 August 2016, after a draft of the report had been distributed, the author attended a further hui with claimants in Taihape.

In statements of claim and at hui, claimants have raised a broad range of concerns regarding the Crown's role in shaping Maori economic development. (The specific issues raised in individual statements of claims are set out in Appendix 1.) Grouped together, the allegations claimants have made can be summarised to three key issues:

1. the extent to which the Crown protected the ability of Taihape Maori to benefit from economic development opportunities, particularly by ensuring that the people retained sufficient land and other resources for economic development purposes;
2. the extent to which the Crown was responsive to the economic aspirations of Taihape Maori and assisted them to develop their lands and resources in accordance with their wishes; and

⁶ Wai 2180 #A14, pp177, 181.

3. the extent to which any failure of the Crown in respect of Taihape Maori ability to participate in economic development opportunities resulted in their experiencing economic deprivation and marginalization.

Commission questions

These issues are broadly reflected in the commission questions, which require an examination of Maori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district, particularly the Crown's influence upon Maori participation in the economy and the outcomes that resulted from this. (A copy of the commission is provided in Appendix 8.) The commission requires that the report should cover the period between 1860 and 2013 and address the following questions:

- a) What were the major economic participation and development opportunities for Maori in the Taihape district inquiry, in particular in agriculture and forestry? What additional opportunities in the commercial economy became available in the Taihape district, including seasonal agricultural work, infrastructure building and maintenance and employment in the army? What general Crown legislation, policies and actions promoted such opportunities?
- b) What was the Crown's role in identifying and promoting these opportunities to Taihape Maori, including in enabling Maori to utilise and develop their own economic resources?
- c) Were there any barriers to Taihape Maori participation in the economic opportunities identified? To what extent were any barriers the result of Crown policies, actions or omissions?
- d) What steps did the Crown take to identify and remove or mitigate any barriers to Maori participation? How did the Crown inform itself of the economic status of Taihape Maori and, in particular, of any adverse effects on their economic capability and development? What steps did the Crown take to remedy any such adverse aspects? What was the Crown's capability to take remedial action and how effectively was it exercised?
- e) What was the degree of Maori participation and capability at all levels of the Taihape district economy? In what ways did Maori participation and capability differ from non-Maori patterns in Taihape, and why?
- f) What were the economic outcomes for Taihape Maori? Did they differ from those of non-Maori in the district, and if so, in what respects and

why? Specifically, what was the impact of economic restructuring in the 1980s on Taihape Maori?

Key issues and Treaty considerations

A key concept that the commission refers to is ‘economic capability’, which is defined here as an individual or a group’s ability to take advantage of available opportunities to achieve economic well-being. In practical terms, it means that an individual or a group has all the things that are required to participate in a particular economic activity, including, for example, the necessary skills, capital, and resources. Those who possess economic capability in respect of a particular opportunity are able – if they choose to participate – to derive an economic benefit from that opportunity. This report examines issues concerning the extent to which Taihape Maori have possessed economic capability with regard to the various opportunities that have existed in the inquiry district, especially the role that the Crown has played in determining this capability.

A wide range of factors has influenced the economic capability of Taihape Maori, including the extent to which they have been able to retain sufficient land and resources to participate in the opportunities that have existed in the district. In examining these factors, the report will focus only on how they functioned to shape the economic development of Taihape Maori. In respect of land alienation, for example, the report will not discuss at length the processes by which land was alienated, which are covered in other research. Instead, it will examine the extent to which the Crown’s role in land alienation may have limited the economic capability of Taihape Maori and the overall impact of this from an economic development perspective.

The Waitangi Tribunal, it should be noted, has considered economic development issues in other historical inquiries. The Tribunal’s debate of these issues has informed this report, forming part of the background against which research has been undertaken. In looking at economic development issues, the Tribunal has considered whether Maori possess ‘development rights’ under the Treaty and the nature of any associated Crown obligations. In the 2008 report on the Central North Island (CNI) claims, the Tribunal discussed development rights at length before turning to examine issues relating to the various economic opportunities that have existed in the CNI inquiry district. Drawing on the findings of earlier Tribunals and the courts as well as Crown submissions, the CNI Tribunal noted a general consensus that Maori, as property owners, have a right to develop the properties (lands, forests, and fisheries) and taonga guaranteed to them by the Treaty, and that this includes a right to utilise these

properties and taonga using technologies and knowledge that did not exist in 1840.⁷ The CNI Tribunal also reported broad agreement that Maori possess a Treaty right to participate in and share the benefits of the economic development opportunities that were expected to result from British colonisation.⁸ The CNI Tribunal noted, however, that the Crown characterised this right as ‘aspirational’ and suggested that the steps it needs to take to meet the right must be considered in light of what is reasonable at the time as well as its need to balance other interests.⁹

The CNI Tribunal explored a number of issues associated with the broadly agreed Treaty development rights. With regard to the right of Maori to develop their properties and taonga, the Tribunal considered, for example, the extent to which the property development right extends to resources over which Maori have a customary interest that is not necessarily recognised in law – encompassing, therefore, rivers, lakes, and their water resources.¹⁰ In the Taihape inquiry district, this issue appears to be relevant to the economic opportunities that have been associated with the extraction of shingle from Crown-owned riverbeds. The CNI Tribunal also considered the extent to which the right of Maori to develop their properties might extend to a wider Treaty right to develop as a people, including development of their culture, language, and social and economic status.¹¹

In respect of the right of Maori to participate in and share the benefits of the economic development opportunities anticipated to result from British colonisation, the CNI Tribunal considered whether Maori have been entitled to retain a sufficient land and resource base and to be actively protected in the retention of this base. In its examination of this issue, the Tribunal was concerned with sufficiency of land and resources for participation in development opportunities, rather than sufficiency merely for maintenance of a subsistence way of life.¹² As detailed above, a key issue for the Taihape claimants concerns the extent to which the Crown has failed to ensure that Maori of the inquiry district retained sufficient land and resources for economic development purposes.

The CNI Tribunal’s considerations relating to Maori retention of land and resources reflect that – in the CNI district and elsewhere in New Zealand – both have been integral to the main economic opportunities that have

⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo: Report on Central North Island Claims*, Volume 3, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 2008, p886, 890-891.

⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p891.

⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p891.

¹⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp897-898.

¹¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp897-898.

¹² Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp892-894.

existed. During the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, economic development was closely tied to the transformation of natural resources – land, forests, minerals, and waters – into sources of outputs. This was certainly the case in the Taihape inquiry district, where agriculture and, to a lesser extent, forestry, have been perceived and undertaken as the main economic opportunities throughout the period examined in this report. It will later be explained that during the 1860s the government, settlers, and Taihape Maori began to recognise that agriculture, in particular, presented a major economic opportunity in the district.

Exploring further the right of Maori to participate in and share the benefits of the economic development opportunities envisaged by the Treaty, the CNI Tribunal discussed whether the Crown has been obliged to provide positive assistance to Maori to ensure equal access to these opportunities. It observed that the ability to take full advantage of economic development opportunities requires more than just the possession of property and taonga – it extends also to appropriate experience, skills, and knowledge, the ability to accumulate funds or access loan finance as well as suitable management structures and title for property. The CNI Tribunal noted that Maori and other indigenous peoples have on occasions faced considerable challenges in participating equally in development opportunities.¹³ Any Crown obligation to provide positive assistance would therefore extend beyond simply making sure that forms of assistance available to other members of the community are available to Maori. It might, the CNI Tribunal stated, include assistance to overcome unfair barriers to development, some of them arising from Crown policies and actions.¹⁴ The CNI Tribunal emphasised, however, that the Crown could not be expected to guarantee the commercial success of ventures undertaken by Maori.¹⁵

The CNI Tribunal's discussion regarding the extent to which the Crown has been obliged to assist Maori to participate in economic development opportunities raises questions about the role that the state has played in New Zealand's economy. It is generally accepted that today the state plays a key role in shaping economic development. Commenting on this function, Whitehead and Annesley state that a 'primary role of government is to provide the institutions and policy settings that facilitate economic growth'.¹⁶ In this context, the 'institutions' of government are the formal rules that concern, for example, property rights, regulatory arrangements, and conflict

¹³ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p894.

¹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p912.

¹⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p896.

¹⁶ John Whitehead and Barbara Annesley, 'The context for Maori economic development: a background paper for the 2005 Hui Taumata,' The Treasury, Wellington, 2005, p7.

management. According to Whitehead and Annesley, these institutions provide the key means through which governments influence the economy.

This report will discuss how the state's role in the New Zealand economy has evolved since the nineteenth century, focusing particularly on the extent to which it has shaped economic development in the Taihape inquiry district and the participation of Taihape Maori. It is notable that the Crown would have had to actively monitor the economic situation of Taihape Maori if it was to fulfil any obligations to ensure that they retained a sufficient land and resource base and received positive assistance where this was required. As part of this, the Crown would have needed to listen to and consider communication from Taihape Maori regarding their development aspirations and any difficulties they were encountering. As required by the commission, this report will explore engagement between the Crown and Taihape Maori over economic development issues. The investigations of the Stout-Ngata Commission in the first decade of the twentieth century will, for example, be examined.

The CNI report also gave specific consideration to the application of development rights and obligations during the 'modern era' of the mid-to-late twentieth century and during current times. It emphasised that Maori today retain the right to develop and profit from the land, resources, and taonga that they own.¹⁷ Further, it considered whether and in what circumstances the Crown might have an obligation to enable Maori to participate in development opportunities that arise in respect of Crown-owned or Crown-regulated resources or industries.¹⁸ In the Taihape inquiry district, issues concerning the Tongariro Power Development Scheme (TPDS) relate closely to this discussion. Constructed by the Ministry of Works between 1964 and 1983, the TPDS is today operated by state-owned enterprise Genesis Energy Limited. Within the inquiry district, the Moawhango Dam was created as part of the scheme. The National Park Tribunal considered claims relating to the TPDS.¹⁹ While acknowledging that Maori had drawn some benefits from the development, it considered these had been offset by the scheme's impact upon Maori interests and failure to deliver on a significant development opportunity – a joint venture that recognised Maori rights in the waterways and paid for their use in the generation of power.²⁰ The National Park Tribunal suggested that it was not

¹⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p911.

¹⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp906-912.

¹⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Kahui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report*, Volume 3, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 2013, pp1065-1181.

²⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Kahui Maunga*, p1163.

too late for this potential to start being delivered and it made a number of suggestions about how this might be achieved.²¹

In the Taihape inquiry district, issues relating to Maori involvement in development opportunities associated with Crown-owned or Crown-regulated resources or industries also arise in connection with the ongoing extraction of river gravels from Crown-owned river beds. Except through the activities of Kiwirail, which operates the North Island Main Trunk railway (NIMT) through the inquiry district, the Crown currently has little involvement in other commercial ventures in the inquiry district. It is not involved in any operations within the dominant agricultural sector. The state-owned enterprise Landcorp has no properties within the inquiry district, and nor is there any Crown forest licence land.²²

Sources

This report is based on research of written sources – both secondary sources (research that is based upon information originally presented elsewhere) and primary sources (original documents created during the period under study).

Published books and articles are among the secondary sources that have been drawn upon during research for this report. These have provided useful contextual information regarding economic development in New Zealand as well as details of local developments in the Taihape inquiry district. However, of the secondary sources consulted, the report draws most heavily on a number of the research reports that have already been prepared for the Taihape inquiry. While not directly focussed on economic development issues, these reports include information that is relevant to this project. This evidence has been assessed and utilised in light of the economic development issues that are examined here. The report draws, for example, on the northern, central, and southern block study reports, which include information on the economic impacts of the Native Land Court and the alienation of the Taihape Maori land base.²³ It should be noted that, while these and other reports were available when work on the project

²¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Kahui Maunga*, pp1163-1167.

²² See 'Our Farms', Landcorp website, accessed 10 August 2016.

URL: <http://www.landcorp.co.nz/our-farms>

Also see Forest Ownership Map: 2008 in 'Forestry', Ministry of Primary Industries website, accessed 10 August 2016.

URL: <http://www.mpi.govt.nz/news-and-resources/open-data-and-forecasting/forestry/>

²³ Martin Fisher and Bruce Stirling, 'Sub-District block study – Northern aspect', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, November 2012, Wai 1200 #A6. Bruce Stirling and Evald Subasic, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, October 2012, Wai 1200 #A8. Terry Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, November 2012, Wai 1200 #A7.

began, several other research reports that include relevant information were produced alongside this report. Notably, this was the case with the nineteenth and twentieth century overview reports, which were completed in May 2016.²⁴ While this report draws on these works, especially the twentieth century overview, time constraints have somewhat limited the extent to which it has been possible to fully utilise the overview reports and integrate the relevant evidence they contain.

Among the primary sources that have been utilised, the report includes evidence drawn from regional and national newspapers. It also cites official published materials, principally the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, but also the *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, the *New Zealand Gazette*, and census results. A small amount of manuscript material has also been consulted during preparation of this draft report, namely the journals of the missionaries Colenso and Taylor, who were among the first Pakeha visitors to the Mokai Patea district. The report also utilises a small amount of unpublished file evidence held at Archives New Zealand in Auckland and Wellington as well as some material held at Archives Central in Feilding.

Research undertaken for this report has not identified any relevant Te Reo Maori language material. Two Crown Forestry Rental Trust research assistance projects draw together various Maori language sources that relate to the inquiry district, but neither of these document banks includes material that relates directly to this project.²⁵ Similarly, no relevant material appears to be available through *Niuepa*, a searchable website that provides access to a number of newspapers and periodicals that were published for Maori. This material, which was produced between 1842 and 1932, was mostly written in Te Reo, though English abstracts are provided. A search of these abstracts using place and district names located no articles of relevance.

Use of macrons

Macrons have not been used in this report, except where they appear in original sources that have been directly quoted.

²⁴ Bruce Stirling, 'Taihape District Nineteenth Century Overview', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A43. Tony Walzl, 'Taihape Hearing District: Twentieth Century Overview', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A46.

²⁵ Jane McRae, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo and Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry districts – Catalogue of Maori-language library sourced manuscripts document bank', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, December 2010. Jane McRae and Lee Smith, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo – Te Reo sources: regional manuscripts, archives, and private papers document bank', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, April 2012.

Report contents and structure

In order to best highlight developments over time, the report has a broadly chronological structure. It is divided into four chapters.

The first chapter sets out important contextual information regarding Maori and the economic opportunities that have existed in the Taihape inquiry district. Divided into two parts, the chapter first discusses evidence concerning the Maori population that lived in the inquiry district around the beginning of the period covered. It is noted that prior to the mid-1860s Taihape Maori do not appear to have been involved in any trade or other commercial activity within the developing colonial economy. The second part of the chapter discusses the physical environment and resources of the inquiry district, which have provided the basis for much of the economic activity undertaken in the district since the mid-nineteenth century.

Chapter two discusses developments between 1860 and 1890. It explains that during this period extensive pastoral sheep farming emerged as the main economic opportunity in the inquiry district. Undertaken on the tussock grasslands of the district's north, Maori showed a strong interest in this opportunity, both directly as owners of sheep and indirectly through leasing land to Pakeha runholders. In the south of the district, opportunities for immediate utilisation of land were more restricted owing to forest cover. For Maori, extensive land purchase further limited opportunities for land utilisation in the district's south. After discussing these developments, the chapter then examines the Native Land Court's impact upon Maori economic development up to 1890. Specifically, it looks at the efficiency of the Court process and the costs associated with title investigation – both of which, it is argued, negatively affected the ability of Taihape Maori to take advantage of emerging opportunities. The chapter concludes by examining issues relating to the leasing and sale of Maori land. In respect of the latter, the discussion includes an assessment of the extent to which the Crown sought to ensure that Maori retained sufficient land in the south of the district.

Chapter three deals with the period between 1891 and 1909, when the economy of the inquiry district underwent a major transformation that saw economic opportunities broaden significantly. It is explained that three developments underlay and defined this shift. First, government-led infrastructure development greatly improved access to the district's lands. Secondly, stemming from the provision of transport infrastructure, a sizeable sawmilling industry emerged in the district. The final development involved the growth of opportunities in the agricultural sector, which arose partly from the introduction of refrigerated shipping and government policies

that aimed to assist small farm development. The chapter then examines the extent to which Mokai Patea Maori participated in the opportunities that existed between 1891 and 1909. It explains that by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century Maori appear to have derived little benefit from the sawmilling industry, and from around the mid-1890s their involvement in the important agricultural sector began to decline significantly. A number of specific obstacles that limited the ability of Maori to utilise their remaining lands effectively are examined. These included the ongoing erosion of the Maori land base, title and consolidation issues, and the extent to which Maori were able to access lending finance. It is argued that, though the government played a major role in shaping the economic transformation that occurred in the district, it substantially failed to assist Mokai Patea Maori to overcome the disadvantages they faced, and as a result Maori were unable to participate in and benefit from the new economic order on equal terms with Pakeha. Outside of the major land-based activities, chapter three also briefly examines evidence concerning the ability of Mokai Patea Maori to take advantage of other economic opportunities, including wage work. It concludes with a discussion of issues concerning the sale and leasing of Maori land, including the prices that Maori were paid during a period when the Crown exercised a purchase monopoly.

The final chapter of this report, chapter four, covers the whole of the period between 1910 and 2013 – a much longer period than that covered in the two preceding chapters. The period up to 1910 has been the main focus of this report because, by 1910, Maori involvement in the dominant agricultural sector of the economy had declined to a very low level and potential for substantial Maori participation in the farming economy had largely ended. Chapter four therefore provides a broad survey of the economic experience of Taihape Maori after this time.

The chapter begins by presenting evidence concerning the size of the inquiry district's Maori population and how this changed during the period covered in the chapter. It then provides an overview of developments relating to the Mokai Patea Maori land base, which continued to decline through to the 1980s. Next, the chapter briefly describes the decline of the indigenous timber industry and the emergence of some exotic forestry activity. It notes little evidence of Maori participation in either of these industries after 1910. Maori participation in farming is then examined in some detail. It is explained that some Mokai Patea Maori continued to seek to utilise their land, but Maori involvement in farming remained limited. In the post-war years, however, a modest increase in Maori farming is evident, and this has been sustained through to the present day. In part, this increase in farming

activity reflected the introduction of government policies that aimed to support Maori land development. After briefly looking at the extent to which Maori derived income from forest and stone resources, the chapter turns to examine the involvement of Mokai Patea Maori in paid employment. By the mid-twentieth century this had become the main way that Maori participated in the local economy. Drawing on electoral rolls and census data, evidence is presented concerning the sorts of work that Maori were involved in and how this changed. It is explained that state-sector restructuring in the 1980s and 1990s impacted upon some Maori workers in the inquiry district and that government measures to minimise these impacts were minimal. Among the employment data presented in chapter four, occupation statistics drawn from the 2013 census provide evidence of significant differences in Maori and non-Maori employment patterns, which suggest that Maori, generally, have come to occupy a lower socio-economic position in the Taihape inquiry district.

It should be noted that several relevant issues that are covered in other casebook research are not discussed in this chapter. Notably, though touched upon in chapters two and three, issues concerning land sales and leasing are not examined in any detail. These include, for example, the extent to which purchase prices and rentals paid to Mokai Patea Maori were equitable. Such matters concerning the sale and leasing of land are comprehensively addressed in Tony Walzl's twentieth century overview report. Similarly, various issues examined in Woodley's report on rating and land-locked blocks are not discussed here.²⁶ Though rating and land access are among the ways that the Crown and local authorities have influenced Maori economic development, issues concerning these matters have related most strongly to the economically marginal lands of the district, where opportunities for commercial utilisation have, during the period examined in this chapter, generally been of a more limited nature.

²⁶ Suzanne Woodley, 'Maori Land Rating and Landlocked Blocks Report', 1870-2015', CFRT, July 2015, Wai 2180 #A37.

Chapter One: Nineteenth Century Maori Population and the Physical Environment and Resources of the Inquiry District

Introduction

This chapter provides contextual information that informs the examination of Maori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district, which is the focus of later chapters. It is divided into two parts, the first of which presents evidence concerning the Maori population of the district in the middle of the nineteenth century. This section briefly identifies the various iwi groups with interests in the district and explains that prior to 1860, the beginning of the period covered in this period, Taihape Maori do not appear to have been involved in trade or other activities within the evolving colonial economy. Before this time, few Pakeha had visited the district and there were no Pakeha residents. It is explained, however, that Mokai Patea Maori experienced pressure from conflict and land purchasing in neighbouring districts and, in the face of this, actively sought to retain control of their lands. The chapter then turns to examine evidence concerning the size of the nineteenth century Maori population and the places where Maori lived in the inquiry district. Though somewhat sketchy and impressionistic, the available evidence suggests that the district was relatively sparsely settled. Further evidence concerning the number of Maori within the inquiry district is presented later in the report and provides details of the population from the mid-1920s, when more reliable census data becomes available.

The second part of the chapter describes the physical environment and natural resources of the inquiry district, providing, for example, information on the forest cover, soils, and various classes of land within the district. It explains that the traditional Maori economy was based on utilisation of the district's lands and resources, which would also provide the basis for much of the economic activity that would be undertaken with the modern commercial economy. As detailed later in the report, the inquiry district's economy has been dominated by primary industries connected with utilisation of the land (largely through extensive agricultural activities) and, to a lesser extent, the extraction of resources (primarily through the milling of indigenous forests, but also the extraction of gravel from the district's riverbeds). Without a coastal port or easily navigable river and with relatively little land available for intensive agriculture or horticulture, the district has not been closely settled or the focus of significant urban development, which has limited opportunities for the emergence of secondary and tertiary industries.

The people of Mokai Patea and developments up to 1865

In his tribal landscape overview report, which covers developments up to 1865, Tony Walzl traces the migrations and events that underlay the pattern of tribal occupation in Mokai Patea in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁷ He explains that, after displacing earlier occupants, a number of kinship groups had by this time come to hold occupation rights, though the extent of these interests varied considerably. A key feature of the tribal makeup of the inquiry district is that the various groups – living in close proximity and with ancestral ties – came to be closely connected.²⁸ Many Mokai Patea iwi share descent from the Takitimu waka. Drawing largely on evidence presented to the Native Land Court, Walzl discusses particularly the interests of the following groups:

Table 1: Iwi groups of the Taihape inquiry district

Group	Broad affiliations	Interests within the district
Ngati Tamakopiri	Takitimu waka	Though their influence extended into the Awarua block in the centre of the inquiry district, Ngati Tamakopiri was associated mainly with the northern and northwestern lands. ²⁹
Ngati Whitikaupeka	Takitimu waka	The Ngati Whitikaupeka homelands were located within the Awarua block and across the northwestern and northern part of the Taihape Inquiry District. ³⁰
Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki	Takitimu waka	Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki occupation was centred within the Awarua block, particularly on the Rangitikei River and its tributaries. It also extended northwards and eastwards into the Mangaohane, Owahoko, and Te Koau blocks. ³¹
Ngai Te Ohuake	Takitimu waka	Described as ‘an umbrella term through which descendants share a common identity’, Ngai Te Ohuake land use rights on the ground are identified as being held by emergent iwi/hapu groups such as Ngati Whitikaupeka, Ngati Hinemanu, Ngati Paki, Ngati Haukaha, and Ngati Te Ngahoa. These interests centred on the Awarua block, especially along the Rangitikei River, and also spread across the northeastern lands. ³²
Ngati Hauiti	Takitimu waka	The Ngati Hauiti rohe comprises the western and southern part of the inquiry district, extending as far north as the southern Awarua lands. ³³

²⁷ Tony Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, September 2013, Wai 2180 #A12.

²⁸ Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, p26.

²⁹ Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, p23, 161-170, 410, 470-491.

³⁰ Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, p23, 181-194, 609-630.

³¹ Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, p24, 203-215, 718-740.

³² Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, p23, 170-181, 492, 526-552.

³³ Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, pp23-24, 194-203, 631, 669-694.

Group	Broad affiliations	Interests within the district
Ngai Te Upokoiri	Takitimu waka	While their homelands were in Heretaunga, Ngai Te Upokoiri had associations with a number of places within the inquiry district, which they used on a regular basis. These sites were located largely towards the north and east, within the Mangaohane and Owhaoko blocks. Further south were a group of sites associated with nineteenth century occupation. These sites were located within the Awarua block, primarily between the Rangitikei and Manawatu Rivers. ³⁴
Ngati Rangi	Descent from an early tribal entity	Many of Ngati Rangi's sites of occupation were located in the western portion of inquiry district, with most lying within the Rangipo Waiu block. ³⁵
Nga Poutama	Originally a hapu of the Whanganui River	Nga Poutama occupied sites within Te Kapua block, in the west of the inquiry district. ³⁶
Ngata Waewae and Ngati Pikiahu	Te Arawa waka (Ngati Waewae) and Tainui waka (Ngati Pikiahu)	Ngati Waewae and Ngati Pikiahu occupied seasonal sites in Rangipo Waiu before shifting to the southern part of the inquiry district in 1842 and eventually, by about 1850, settling at Te Reureu (near Halcombe). ³⁷
Ngati Tuwharetoa	Te Arawa waka	In the south of their rohe, Ngati Tuwharetoa came to be associated with a number of sites within the Owhaoko block, located in the northern part of the inquiry district. ³⁸

Walzl also acknowledges – but does not discuss in great detail – the interests of Ngati Apa in the south of the inquiry district. As Walzl notes, Ngati Apa, descended from the Kurahaupo waka, have not recorded an interest in the Taihape district inquiry and have settled their historical Treaty of Waitangi claims with the Crown.³⁹ In his 'Southern aspect' block study report, Hearn notes evidence of Ngati Apa interests in a number of the southern blocks, including Ohaumoko, Paraekaretu, and Rangatira.⁴⁰

In addition to the groups identified in Table 1 and Ngati Apa, Walzl notes the claims that some other iwi and hapu have made to lands within the inquiry district. He describes, for example, the claims of two hapu, Ngati Mahu and Ngati Hinepare, to interests in the Owhaoko, Te Koau, and Timahanga blocks. Before the Native Land Court, these groups – associated principally with lands in the Heretaunga district – were unsuccessful in putting forward

³⁴ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p24, 215-219, 774-786.

³⁵ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p25, 220-223, 904-911.

³⁶ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p25, 224-229, 883-895.

³⁷ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p24, 229-231, 819-863.

³⁸ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p25, 232; see also pp232-234, 941-944.

³⁹ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p25.

Grant Huwyler, 'Ngati Apa – Origins', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 15 May 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-apa/page-1>

⁴⁰ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp15-19.

claims to the Taihape lands.⁴¹ Walzl also discusses evidence concerning Rangitane's claims to historical interests in the southeastern block of Otumore. On the Rangitikei side of the Ruahine Ranges, the main landed interests of this iwi, which descended from arrivals on the Kurahaupo waka, lay outside the inquiry district.⁴² Walzl also presents information regarding the Tainui iwi Ngati Kauwhata. The interests of this iwi, associated particularly with the Oroua River, extend up to the southern boundary of the inquiry district.⁴³

Walzl explains that up until 1865 there were no resident Pakeha within Mokai Patea, though from 1840 there were occasional Pakeha visitors, most notably the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries William Colenso and Richard Taylor, who are discussed below.⁴⁴ Before the mid-1860s, there is no evidence of Mokai Patea being involved in trade within the developing colonial economy. However, Maori in some parts of the inquiry district had begun to grow at least one Pakeha-introduced crop, tobacco, as well as running small numbers of cattle.⁴⁵ But production from these activities was evidently for their own use, supplementing harvests from traditional cultivations and the gathering of mahinga kai from the district's forest areas and waterways.

While few Pakeha visited the district, the ripples of contact and colonisation elsewhere spread into Mokai Patea, with associated impacts on the district's Maori population. With regard to the period between 1820 and 1840, Walzl examines a number of developments that stemmed in part from increasing Pakeha contact with Maori in other districts, particularly the arrival of the musket. Conflict in the neighbouring Heretaunga district, for example, saw Mokai Patea become a place of refuge for Heretaunga kin groups, resulting in some upheaval and confusion within Mokai Patea, later borne out in disputes before the Native Land Court.⁴⁶ Other conflicts in the period saw members of Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Tuwharetoa residing at Rotoaira move into Mokai Patea following the fall of Motuopuhi, an island pa within Lake Rotoaira.⁴⁷ Within the inquiry district, there was fighting particularly between Ngati Hauiti and their southern neighbour Ngati Apa.⁴⁸ According to

⁴¹ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p24, 787-788.

⁴² Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p24, 808-818.

⁴³ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p24, 864-872.

⁴⁴ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p406.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Richard Taylor, *Journal*, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 13 March 1845, p91. Richard Taylor, *Journal*, vol.11, qMS-1995, 1859-1861, ATL, 21 March 1860, p49.

⁴⁶ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp273-287.

⁴⁷ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp290-292.

⁴⁸ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp288-299.

Stirling and Subasic, as a result of the alliances that Mokai Patea Maori forged with neighbouring iwi during these years of turbulence, some officials later saw them as part of Ngati Tuwharetoa, part of Ngati Kahungunu, or even (in the south) part of Ngati Apa.⁴⁹

Discussing the period between 1840 and 1865, Walzl explains that government activities outside the district placed increasing pressure upon Mokai Patea Maori, who witnessed in some neighbouring areas conflict between the Crown and Maori as well as substantial Crown land purchase. Faced with the threat of land acquisition, Mokai Patea Maori sought to assert their interests and protect their lands. Walzl provides two examples of the actions they took to achieve this. First, he discusses the 1842 migration of Ngati Waewae and Ngati Pikiahu, explaining that Ngati Tuwharetoa chief Te Heuheu instigated the migration to help resist encroachment from selling in the south of the district.⁵⁰ (This action, however, brought Te Heuheu into conflict with Ngai Te Upokoiri leader Renata Kawepo, who perceived the occupation as an attempt to take possession of Mokai Patea lands.⁵¹) Secondly, in 1849, Mokai Patea groups successfully asserted their interests when, in the south, a dispute arose over the inland boundary of the Turakina-Rangitikei purchase.⁵²

Recalling a journey he made through the district in 1862, while working as the Wellington Provincial Government's geologist, James Coutts Crawford observed that the Maori he had encountered in the interior were 'constantly moving about to visit their friends, attend feasts, and so on; and... know as much of the Europeans as those on the coast.'⁵³ Illustrating their awareness of and their concerns relating to developments happening outside the district, Mokai Patea Maori had in 1860 been involved in a large hui at the Ngati Rangi kainga of Kokako in the Murimotu district. Evidently a key event for all Mokai Patea Maori, this hui was attended by more than 500 Maori from Mokai Patea, Rangitikei, Manawatu, Heretaunga, Ahuriri, Taupo, and Whanganui. A range of matters appears to have been discussed, including the arrangement of tribal boundaries, opposition to land selling, and the possibility of bringing land under the protection of King Potatau, the Kingitanga's first leader.⁵⁴ The Kokako meeting was followed by another at

⁴⁹ Bruce Stirling and Evald Subasic, 'Taihape: Rangitikei Ki Rangipo Inquiry District – Technical Research Scoping Report', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, August 2010, Wai 1200 #A2, pp19-20.

⁵⁰ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp306-310.

⁵¹ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp316-322.

⁵² Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp323-335.

⁵³ James Coutts Crawford, *Recollections of Travel in New Zealand and Australia*, Trubner and Co, London, 1880, p129.

⁵⁴ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp382-386.

Turangarere. However, though important land issues again appear to have been discussed, little evidence concerning the hui is available.⁵⁵

The two meetings represent the ongoing efforts of Mokai Patea Maori to retain control over their land, in particular by trying to work collectively and establish understandings with neighbouring iwi. From the mid-1860s, as discussed in the next chapter, two developments would amplify the challenges they faced. First, in the north of the district, Mokai Patea Maori became involved in extensive pastoral sheep farming – both indirectly (through leasing land to Pakeha runholders) and directly (through undertaking their own farming operations). And in the south, the first Land Court sittings were held in the inquiry district. Soon afterwards, the southern blocks became the focus of substantial land alienation – a development that would limit the ability of Mokai Patea Maori to take advantage of the economic opportunities that were to emerge in that part of the inquiry district.

Maori population and settlement patterns

Evidence concerning the size of the Maori population of the inquiry district in the mid and late nineteenth century is sketchy and impressionistic. It is not possible to establish accurate population figures as the available sources provide only a rough indication of the number of Maori who lived in Mokai Patea during this time. This number may have been in the vicinity of a few hundred people, certainly less than one thousand, and it seems to have been subject to some fluctuation as the result of temporary movements out of and back into the inquiry district. Two main types of evidence concerning the size of the Maori population are discussed here. The first concerns the relatively casual observations that Pakeha visitors recorded from the mid-1840s, while the second type concerns more formal, official efforts to undertake localised censuses of the Maori population from 1870. As well as providing some details of population, these sources also provide information on some of the main places where Maori lived within the district.

The CMS missionaries Colenso and Taylor were the first Pakeha to record observations of the Maori population and settlement within the Mokai Patea district. In late 1844, Colenso took over a new mission station in Napier, with a territory that stretched as far south as Palliser Bay and westward

⁵⁵ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp386-387.

beyond the Ruahine Range to the upper reaches of the Rangitikei River.⁵⁶ Between 1847 and 1852, he made almost annual visits to Mokai Patea.⁵⁷ His journeys through the area were largely confined to routes through the central and northern parts of the inquiry district, all involving some travel across the Ruahine Ranges.⁵⁸ Colenso's westernmost travels in the area appear to have been undertaken as part of the journey he made in 1849, when he visited 'Murimotu' village, which appears to have been located just outside of the inquiry district, about 15 kilometres southwest of modern-day Waiouru.⁵⁹ This area, he recorded in his journal, lay within Richard Taylor's territory.⁶⁰

Taylor was based at the mission station at Putiki, across the river from Whanganui.⁶¹ Having taken up this post in 1843, his earliest journey into the Mokai Patea district was made in 1845. In contrast to Colenso, Taylor made only one other journey through the district. This was in 1860, fifteen years after his first visit. Like Colenso, Taylor accessed only a relatively small part of the inquiry district. Both of his journeys took him through the centre of the district, along a route that largely followed the Rangitikei and Moawhango Rivers. During his first journey, Taylor travelled northwards through the district. His second trip, made after he had attended the Kokako hui, was undertaken in the opposite direction.

The extent to which Colenso and Taylor's records of their travels through the inquiry district provide an insight into the size of the Mokai Patea Maori population is, obviously, limited by the fact that they did not visit all parts of the district. Details of people who lived in other areas were not recorded. This included, for example, some members of Nga Poutama who, Walzl

⁵⁶ David Mackay, 'Colenso, William', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 15 May 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c23/colenso-william>

⁵⁷ Earlier, in February 1845, Colenso led a party into the Ruahine Ranges, where he surveyed Mokai Patea from the peak Te Atua Mahuru. Two Maori in his party descended to Te Awarua village on the Rangitikei River, but found the village deserted. A.G. Bagnall and G.C. Petersen, *William Colenso, printer, missionary, botanist, explorer, politician: his life and journeys*, Reed, Wellington, 1948, pp195-208.

⁵⁸ The route that Colenso took when he first visited the inquiry district in early 1847 is shown in a map on the Te Ara website. (At the end of 1849 Colenso largely retraced this journey, travelling in the opposite direction.) See 'Colenso's journeys' map in Jock Phillips, 'European exploration', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 4 June 2015.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/map/11252/colensos-journeys>

⁵⁹ Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso*, p 206 (map), p294.

⁶⁰ William Colenso, Journal, vol.2, qMS-0488, 1849-1850, ATL, 27 November 1849, pp262-263.

⁶¹ J.M.R. Owens, 'Taylor, Richard', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 15 May 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t22/taylor-richard>

notes, occupied sites in the Te Kapua block into the 1880s.⁶² However, Colenso and Taylor's journeys often included travel along sections of the main waterways, where it might have been expected that the principal centres of population were located. Their journeys, it should be noted, were undertaken during spring, summer, and early autumn, when people sometimes left their main settlements to work in cultivations and engage in food harvesting in other places. In early December 1848, for example, Colenso recorded that the village of Otara was deserted upon his arrival. One inhabitant eventually turned up, advising that the others were away at different garden sites.⁶³

Colenso and Taylor's observations regarding the number of people in the various settlements they visited during their journeys through the inquiry district are set out in Appendix 2. Colenso was primarily interested in noting the number of people who attended the services and schools he held, while Taylor was more concerned with recording the overall size of a settlement's population. Taken as a whole, missionaries' observations provide a picture of a sparsely populated district. Of all the journeys they undertook, Taylor appears to have encountered the greatest number of people during his 1843 journey, when he noted more than 200 people living in three settlements. Even so, Taylor's overall impression was of an isolated, largely uninhabited district. After passing through two populated settlements, evidently Otara and Matuku, he reflected that: 'I have except in these two little places and Parawanui [near modern-day Bulls] not seen a single native, we have not seen one man on the road in this long journey.'⁶⁴

Describing the journey he made through the district in January 1862, geologist James Crawford provided a similar impression of Mokai Patea as being a remote and largely uninhabited district. As noted above, Crawford worked for the Wellington Provincial Government and had been appointed provincial geologist in 1861, the year before his journey through the inquiry district.⁶⁵ He began this expedition in Whanganui, making his way to Taupo via the Rangitikei River before returning to the coast via the Whanganui River. While Crawford's interest was primarily scientific, his record of the journey included references to Maori and their settlements. As well as

⁶² Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p883.

⁶³ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 3 December 1848, p123.

⁶⁴ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 13 March 1845, p92.

⁶⁵ L. Rosier, 'Crawford, James Coutts', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 15 May 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c26/crawford-james-coutts>

providing a report to the Provincial Superintendent, he later recounted the journey in a published memoir of his travels in New Zealand and Australia.⁶⁶

Figure 1: Locations of pa and kainga



Following a route similar to that taken by Taylor in 1843, Crawford spent about 10 days travelling through the inquiry district. His party spent six days poling up the Rangitikei River, through forested lands, before leaving their canoes near the confluence of the Moawhango River. During this section of the journey, Crawford recorded only one encounter with Maori – at Makohine, where he met a party from Taupo.⁶⁷ Continuing overland, following first the Moawhango River, then the Hautapu River, Crawford met small numbers of Maori at Popotai and at a settlement he called ‘Pakehiwi’, which was probably Pahikiwi kainga.⁶⁸ (Crawford made no mention of the hilltop Matuku pa, which Colenso and Taylor had visited the 1840s. Stirling and Subasic state that this pa, for several decades the main settlement of Ngati Whitikaupeka, was by 1860 abandoned in favour of more convenient kainga on lower ground.⁶⁹) Further on, Crawford passed through the deserted village of Turangarere, located on the western bank of the Hautapu

⁶⁶ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in J. Coutts Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, Province of Wellington Council Paper, Wellington Provincial Government, 1862. Crawford, *Recollections of Travel*, pp116-132.

⁶⁷ Crawford, *Recollections of Travel*, p119.

⁶⁸ Walzl presents evidence that describes Pahikiwi as a settlement belonging to Te Oti Pohe. Pakehiwi, on the other hand, was stated to be the name of a small lake near Popotai. Walzl, ‘Tribal Landscape Overview’, p 388, 909. Crawford described Popotai as ‘a settlement of no great size, situated in the middle of a potato garden’, where he found ‘only two men and several women and children’. There were also few residents at ‘Pakehiwi’, but Crawford’s party was ‘favoured with a small *tangi*’ and that night shared the company of ‘seven or eight Maoris of various ages’. Crawford, *Recollections of Travel*, pp125-127.

⁶⁹ Stirling and Subasic, ‘Technical Research Scoping Report’, pp26-27.

River. Continuing north, he eventually reached Rotoaira, which he stated was the first village he encountered after Turangarere. In comparison with the population on the Whanganui River, Crawford described the country to be 'comparatively uninhabited', observing that: 'On the Rangitikei, from the settled districts to Patea, we found only a few families.'⁷⁰

At the end of the 1860s, at least some Mokai Patea Maori may have temporarily abandoned the northern part of the district, with the inhabitants looking to avoid Te Kooti, the prophet and military leader who had been involved in conflict with the government from November 1868. During August and September 1869, Te Kooti and his followers were based in lands lying to the north of the inquiry district, withdrawing to the King Country after being defeated at Te Ponanga (near Tokaanu) and Te Porere Redoubt (near Rotoaira).⁷¹ Around this time, and possibly with security considerations in mind, three potential routes for a government road between Whanganui and Taupo were explored – routes via the Mangawhero and Whangaehu Valleys, the Turakina Valley, and the Rangitikei Valley.⁷² In his report on the Turakina route, dated 26 January 1870, civil engineer James Hogg stated that 'all the friendly Natives had left the Taupo and Patea Districts', with Te Kooti's scouts 'prowling about the deserted pas'.⁷³

From the early 1870s, the annual reports of the Native Department's district officers also include a little information on the inquiry district's Maori population and the main places of settlement. In July 1872, the Resident Magistrate at Marton, W.M. Willis, noted that, just to the south of the inquiry district, at Porewa and Te Reureu, Maori were engaged in sheep farming.⁷⁴ Two years later, in May 1874, the Resident Magistrate at Napier, Samuel Locke, reported that the 'few Natives who reside at Patea are a healthy, thriving lot of people, paying much attention to agriculture'. He stated that, as there were no schools locally, they sent their children to a school at Omahu in the Heretaunga district.⁷⁵ In 1877, Locke reported again on the people of Patea, but did not provide any indication of population,

⁷⁰ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

⁷¹ J. Binney, 'Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 15 May 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t45/te-kooti-arikirangi-te-turuki>

⁷² 'Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo', AJHR, 1870, A-5.

⁷³ Hogg to Churton, 26 January 1870, 'Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo', AJHR, 1870, A-5, p6.

⁷⁴ Willis to Native Minister, 5 July 1872, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1872, F-3, p16.

⁷⁵ Locke to Native Minister, 30 May 1874, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1874, G-2, p21.

commenting only that they continued to be, 'as they have always been, a most quiet and orderly people.'⁷⁶

The Native Officers were also involved in collecting data for national censuses of the Maori population. Censuses carried out in 1870, 1874, 1878, and 1881 are notable because they endeavoured to record localised information – the number of inhabitants at kainga and their tribal affiliations.⁷⁷ Earlier censuses of the Maori population had been undertaken, but the areas for which data were collected and presented do not correlate closely with the boundaries of the Taihape inquiry district. For example, the first national census of the Maori population, which F.D. Fenton carried out in 1859, includes figures for the Taupo and Rangitikei areas, but it is not possible to draw from the census results any details that relate to the Taihape inquiry district.⁷⁸

The accuracy of the data was an issue for the earliest censuses, and it continued to be an issue for the censuses of 1870, 1874, 1878, and 1881. Several factors undermined the reliability of the results. First, it was not uncommon for Maori to have periods of absence from their main places of occupation, including for the purpose of engaging in food gathering, taking advantage of seasonal work opportunities, and travelling to Native Land Court sittings. As a result of these movements, it is likely that Maori were sometimes overlooked when census data was collected. Also, Pakeha enumerators – especially in remote areas, such as Mokai Patea – did not always have had a good knowledge of the locations of Maori kainga, leading to further underreporting of population numbers. Further, in some instances, including counting within the inquiry district, a lack of communication between enumerators may have seen some areas counted twice.

In respect of the 1870, 1874, 1878, and 1881 censuses, responsibility for collecting data for the area covered by the modern-day Taihape inquiry district was divided amongst several Native Department district officers, who were each required to gather population details for the Maori within their districts. Relevant data concerning the inquiry district was variously

⁷⁶ Locke to Under Secretary, Native Department, 23 May 1877, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1877, G-1, pp12-13.

⁷⁷ 'Return giving the names, etc., of the tribes of the North Island', AJHR, 1870, A-11. 'Approximate census of the Maori population', AJHR, 1874, G-7. 'Census of the Maori population, 1878', AJHR, 1878, G-2. 'Census of the Maori population, 1881', AJHR, 1881, G-3. The 1870 census concerned only the North Island, while the 1874, 1878, and 1881 censuses dealt with the whole of New Zealand.

⁷⁸ F.D. Fenton, *Observations on the state of the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand*, printed by W.C. Wilson for the New Zealand Government, Auckland, 1859.

recorded in the results furnished by district officers working in the Rangitikei, Whanganui, Upper Whanganui, and Taupo districts. It is notable that a number of these district officers also worked as government land purchase agents. This was the case, for example, with District Officer Booth (Whanganui) and District Officer Locke (Taupo). In view of their involvement in land purchase, Maori may have been reluctant to provide population details to the district officers.

For the Taihape inquiry district, at least, underreporting of population numbers appears to have particularly been an issue in the 1870 and 1874 census results. While both censuses record about 50 Ngai Te Upokoiri residing at Porewa, neither includes any mention of Maori living at locations within the inquiry district.⁷⁹ As noted above, civil engineer James Hogg reported in January 1870 that all 'friendly' Maori had abandoned the Patea district.⁸⁰ But it seems that by 1874 at least some had returned, with Locke noting a small Maori population at Patea in his annual report for that year.⁸¹

The 1878 census was the first to record any Maori residing in the inquiry district. The data for the Whanganui district, gathered by District Officer Booth, noted that 83 Maori lived at 'Te Kinopuanga, Patea, Murimotu'.⁸² It is unclear, however, exactly what location Booth was referring to here – possibly Kuripapango or Te Riuopuanga, or even three different places.⁸³ These people were described as belonging to Ngati Whiti hapu of 'Ngatikahunuhuna' (meaning Ngati Kahungunu). Booth also recorded that 51 Ngai Te Upokoiri continued to live at Porewa. In his return for the Taupo district, District Officer Locke detailed that 69 Maori resided at 'Patea', describing these to be members of Ngati Whiti hapu of Ngati Tuwharetoa.⁸⁴ (In Booth and Locke's returns, there may have been some duplication of results in respect of Maori residing within Mokai Patea.) Locke's Taupo

⁷⁹ 'Return giving the names, etc., of the tribes of the North Island', AJHR, 1870, A-11, p11. 'Approximate census of the Maori population', AJHR, 1874, G-7, p17. The 1870 census may include relevant data in the results that are presented for the Whanganui and Upper Whanganui districts, but places of occupation are not identified for these districts in the 1870 census. AJHR, 1870, A-11, pp8-9. The 1874 census does provide details of the kainga where Maori lived in the Whanganui and Upper Whanganui districts, but none of those listed appear to be located within the Taihape inquiry district. AJHR, 1874, G-7, pp16-17.

⁸⁰ Hogg to Churton, 26 January 1870, 'Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo', AJHR, 1870, A-5, p6.

⁸¹ Locke to Native Minister, 30 May 1874, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1874, G-2, p21.

⁸² 'Census of the Maori population, 1878', AJHR, 1878, G-2, p19.

⁸³ Stirling and Subasic, 'Technical Research Scoping Report', p89. Walzl states that Riuopuanga was located in the vicinity of modern-day Moawhango. Drawing on evidence presented to the Native Land Court, he describes it to be an old kainga that was used by Ngati Whitikaupeka when they caught kaka. Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p190.

⁸⁴ 'Census of the Maori population, 1878', AJHR, 1878, G-2, p24.

figures also recorded some Mokai Patea Maori living outside the inquiry district – 22 Ngati Tama living at Rotoaira and 10 ‘Hapuiti’ at nearby Otukou. It is not clear exactly who the Hapuiti people are, but the next census was to record them to be residing with Ngati Tama and Ngati Whiti at Patea, so they would seem to have connections to Mokai Patea.

Table 2: Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district, 1881 census⁸⁵

Location	Tribe	Hapu	Total	Enumerator
Riuopuanga, Patea	Ngati Kahungunu	Ngati Whiti	81	Booth (Whanganui)
Waiu and Riuopuanga	Ngati Kahungunu	Ngati Tama	15	Booth (Whanganui)
Patea	Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	108	Scannell (Taupo)
Patea	Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Whiti	29	Scannell (Taupo)
Patea	Ngati Tuwharetoa	Hapuiti	41	Scannell (Taupo)
Otara	Ngai Te Upokoiri	Ngati Hauiti	13	Ward (Rangitikei)

Table 3: Mokai Patea Maori living outside the Taihape inquiry district, 1881 census⁸⁶

Location	Tribe	Hapu	Total	Enumerator
Motupuka	Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	30	Scannell (Taupo)
Kotukutuku	Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	15	Scannell (Taupo)
Poutu	Ngati Tuwharetoa	Ngati Tama	53	Scannell (Taupo)
Porewa	Ngai Te Upokoiri	Ngati Hauiti	17	Ward (Rangitikei)
Te Houhou	Ngai Te Upokoiri	Ngati Kahunga	17	Ward (Rangitikei)
Te Ruwai	Ngati Pamoana	Ngati Tama	17	Ward (Rangitikei)

Ahead of the 1881 census, the Under Secretary of the Native Department requested that Native Officers communicate with neighbouring officials to ensure that Maori were not overlooked or counted more than once.⁸⁷ However, as detailed in Table 2, the native officers for the Whanganui and Taupo districts – Booth and Scannell – again both recorded figures for ‘Patea’, which once more raises questions as to whether some Maori were counted twice. There are also other issues with the 1881 data, particularly the extent to which the accuracy of some of the figures was compromised by ‘guesswork’. In his report, Booth advised that he had estimated the population at ‘Riuopuanga and Patea’, having found that most of the

⁸⁵ ‘Census of the Maori population, 1881’, AJHR, 1881, G-3, pp17-18, 23-25.

⁸⁶ ‘Census of the Maori population, 1881’, AJHR, 1881, G-3, pp17-18, 23-25.

⁸⁷ Under Secretary, Native Department, to Officers in Native Districts (circular letter), 9 February 1881, ‘Census of the Maori population, 1881’, AJHR, 1881, G-3, p1.

residents were absent at the Taupo Native Land Court sitting and that those remaining were reluctant to supply any information. Faced with this situation, Booth reviewed the 1878 figures and made an estimate that he considered 'pretty nearly correct, though not absolutely reliable'.⁸⁸

In spite of its limitations, the 1881 census provides an indication of some of the places where Maori were living in the inquiry district at this time and a very rough idea of the number of Maori residing at these locations. It is the first to feature Otara as a kainga. However, the 1881 census makes no mention of Moawhango, though this was a significant Mokai Patea kainga. It is possible that the references to 'Patea' in the 1878 and 1881 censuses possibly relate to the Moawhango settlement. In April 1888, several years after the 1881 census, Education Department official James Pope described Moawhango in a report that concerned a proposal to establish a Native School. He explained that Moawhango, in fact, three settlements: Te Tohu o te Rerenga, a small settlement on the right bank of the Moawhango River; Paharakiki, 'a large and important settlement' on the left bank; and a third, 'much smaller settlement'.⁸⁹

The 1881 census was the last census for 35 years to provide data that relates usefully to the boundaries of the modern-day Taihape inquiry district. From 1886 to 1921, census results do not give localised information and instead record only the number of Maori living within local body boundaries – counties and their interior boroughs.⁹⁰ As these do not align closely to the inquiry district, the census figures are of limited utility. Moreover, existing problems with the accuracy of the results continued after 1881, in part because Maori were reluctant to provide enumerators with information. In 1891, for example, Resident Magistrate Brabant claimed that the results he was providing for the Rangitikei, Manawatu, Oroua, and Horowhenua Counties could only be 'relied on for approximate accuracy'. He stated, however, that Maori residing in these counties had generally been of 'very little assistance' and in several cases had 'positively refused information', though eventually this was obtained through 'quiet

⁸⁸ Booth to Under Secretary, Native Department, 22 April 1881, 'Census of the Maori population, 1881', AJHR, 1881, G-3, p8.

⁸⁹ Pope to Inspector-General of Schools, 27 April 1888, BAAA A440 1001 965 b 44/6, Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango, 1945-1963, ANZ Auckland.

⁹⁰ As with the earlier censuses, the results of the censuses of the Maori population undertaken between 1886 and 1921 were published in the AJHR. See: AJHR, 1886, G-12; AJHR, 1891, G-2; AJHR, 1896, H-13; AJHR, 1901, H-26B; AJHR, 1906, H-26A; AJHR, 1911, H-14A; AJHR, 1917, H-39A; AJHR, 1921, H-39A.

persistence'.⁹¹ In his 1896 census report, Brabant spoke again of these difficulties.⁹²

Improvements in data collection methods were undertaken slowly and eventually resulted in more accurate Maori census data. In 1926, Maori began to fill out their own census forms and the census was taken in one night. Even so, it has been suggested that as late as 1926 the level of under-enumeration for the national Maori population might have been as high as 10 percent.⁹³ The 1926 census was also the first census since 1881 to provide localised information on the Maori population. Census data concerning the Taihape inquiry district drawn from the 1936, 1966, and 2013 censuses is presented later in the report.

Physical environment and resources

This section provides an overview of the inquiry district's physical environment and resources, which have served as the basis for the main economic activities undertaken in the district.

In his examination of the occupation rights of the different iwi and hapu groups within Mokai Patea, Walzl provides numerous details of the resources that Maori traditionally used to sustain their communities. His report includes maps that show a large number of sites associated with the use of particular resources. He observes that Mokai Patea Maori, despite a comparatively small population, accessed 'the broadest of landscape' to collect or grow the right resource at the most suitable time. Use of resources was, no doubt, subject to seasonal variations as well as the implementation of resource management practices such as rahui. The distribution of traditional resource-use sites, the activities practiced at them, and the variety of resources collected reflects both the nature of the traditional economy and demonstrates the detailed knowledge that tangata whenua had of their lands.⁹⁴

Resources of the forest were traditionally of much importance to Mokai Patea Maori. Among the forest resources utilised, birds and kiore were hunted and fernroot was gathered.⁹⁵ In the mid-nineteenth century, a

⁹¹ Brabant to Under Secretary, Native Department, 19 May 1891, 'Census of the Maori population (papers relating to)', AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-2, p6.

⁹² Brabant to Department of Justice, 16 May 1896, 'Census of the Maori population (papers relating to)', AJHR, 1896, H-13B, pp7-8.

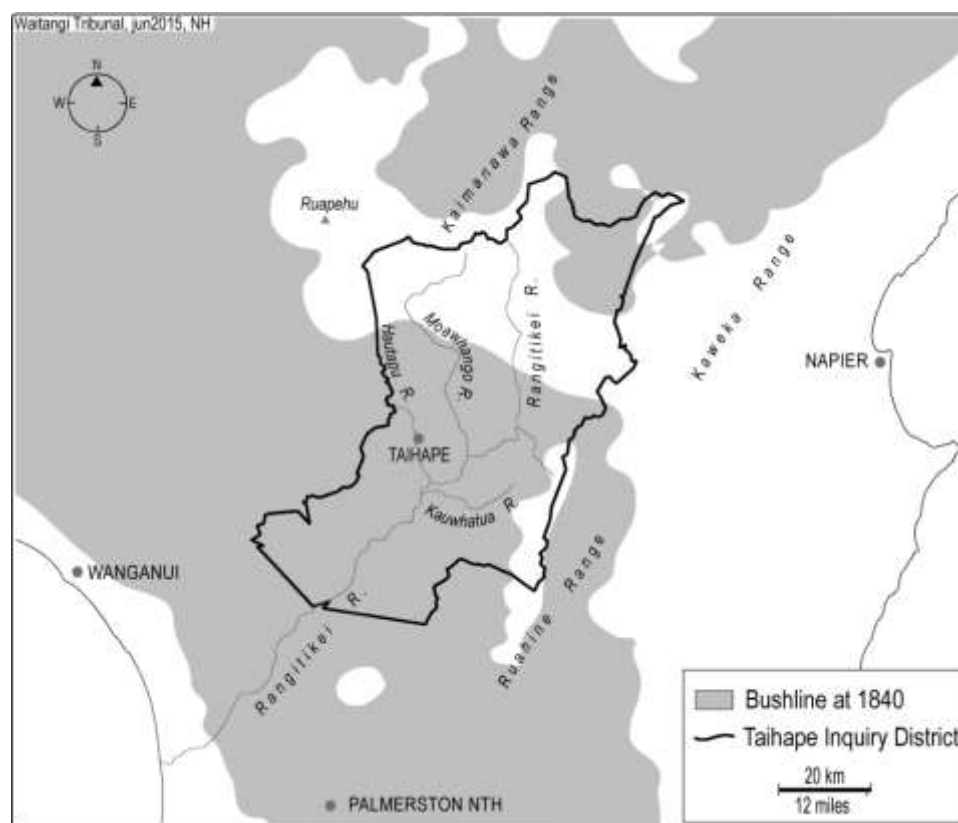
⁹³ Tahu Kukutai, Ian Pool, and Janet Sceats, 'Central North Island Iwi: Population Patterns and Trends', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, April 2002, Wai 1200 #A44, p16.

⁹⁴ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p396.

⁹⁵ See, for example, Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', pp617-618.

significant proportion of the inquiry district was covered in forest. Except for the upper lands of the Ruahine Ranges, the southern half of the inquiry district was almost completely covered in forest. The northern half of the inquiry district, however, contained a significant area of grassland. All of the early Pakeha visitors to the district noted the two distinct types of land cover. Travelling north through the district in 1845, for example, Taylor recorded the transition from forest to open grass country.⁹⁶ In 1862, James Coutts Crawford similarly described this change, reporting that, after leaving the Rangitikei and travelling a short distance up the Moawhango River, his party ascended from the river bed into ‘the open country at Patea’. He explained that their route north then ‘lay through an open and well grassed country, but also presented a large amount of forest within sight’.⁹⁷

Figure 2: Approximate forest cover in the Taihape inquiry district, 1840⁹⁸



⁹⁶ Richard Taylor, *Journal*, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 12 March 1845, p88.

⁹⁷ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862. In a later report, Crawford described the open land somewhat differently, stating that upon emerging from the forest at Patea he found ‘an open, rolling, grass country... but interspersed with belts and patches of bush’. Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

⁹⁸ Malcolm McKinnon, ed., *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Bateman, Auckland, 1997, plate 12.

Figure 2, based on a map presented in the *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, provides a rough indication of forest cover in the inquiry district in 1840. However, from the descriptions provided by Taylor, Crawford and others, it would appear the area of forest in the northern half of the inquiry district was somewhat less than that shown in the map. Further, as detailed below, nineteenth century observers noted clearings on some of the river terraces, which are also not indicated in the map.

The forests of the inquiry district were divided into two types that broadly reflected different climatic and soil conditions. In the northern uplands, beech forest existed, while podocarp forest dominated further south.⁹⁹ As detailed in later chapters, the indigenous forest of the inquiry district began to be removed around 1880. Some of the forest was harvested for sawmilling ahead of conversion to grazing pasture, while other areas of forest were cleared and the land put into pasture without utilisation of the timber. Much of the inquiry district's indigenous forest was eventually replaced with pasture – a transformation that resulted in soil loss and changes in soil quality on the hill country land that predominates in the district.¹⁰⁰

The climatic and soil conditions that underlay the different types of forest in the inquiry district have obviously also been of key importance to determining the sorts of crops and plants (including pasture) that people have been able to grow in the inquiry district. Maori appear to have traditionally gardened on the soils of the river terraces. Colenso and Taylor both observed such cultivations, and later visitors noted clearings on river terraces that may have been created for gardens.¹⁰¹ In January 1870, for example, after exploring the route for a road up the Rangitikei Valley, George Swainson described a couple of open areas on terraces just upstream of the Rangitikei's junction with the Makohine Stream. The first area was 'a small open flat' and half a mile beyond this was a larger area, 'some three hundred acres in extent', known as Ohingaiti.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Michael Belgrave et al., 'Environmental Impacts, Resource Management and Wahi Tapu and Portable Taonga', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, November 2012, Wai 2180 #A10, p24.

¹⁰⁰ Belgrave et al., 'Environmental Impacts, Resource Management and Wahi Tapu and Portable Taonga', p24.

¹⁰¹ Colenso, for example, recorded that on 4 December 1848, he reached a small village called Pouna on the western bank of the Rangitikei, where there was a potato plantation belonging to the people of Otara. William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 4 December 1848, p124.

¹⁰² Swainson to Colonial Secretary, 29 January 1870, 'Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo', AJHR, 1870, A5, p5. Later, in 1884, John Rochfort, while exploring a route for the NIMT, reported that about three miles of the Rangitikei was 'open grass and fern', while on the lower reaches of the Hautapu River there was 'one old Native clearing, overgrown with scrub, of about twenty acres'. Rochfort to the Engineer-in-Charge, 5 February 1884, 'Main Trunk Line, Auckland to Wellington (reports on)', AJHR, 1884, D-5, p1.

In their scoping report on environmental impacts and other issues, Belgrave et al describe the soils of the inquiry district, noting the strong influence of the underlying geology as well as the slope of the terrain. They identify three broad types of soil and, taking climatic conditions into consideration, describe the land-use limitations of each – as summarised here:

1. *Soils of the flood plains and river terraces.* Generally well drained, these soils offer the most potential for intensive use, though there are limitations associated with water deficiency, low nutrient status, and low soil temperatures.
2. *Soils of the flat-rolling, moderately-steep, and steep land.* Not suitable for intensive use, most of these soils have limitations for extensive land use and, sitting directly on the underlying parent rock, are prone to instability and slip.
3. *Soils of the northern uplands and dissected mountain lands.* Generally considered to be subalpine soils, the use of these soils is very limited owing to high rainfall and cold temperatures.¹⁰³

‘Land Use Capability’ (LUC) data provides a more detailed picture of the various classes of land in the inquiry district and their suitability for different uses.¹⁰⁴ The LUC system defines eight land categories that are based on several physical factors considered to be critical for long-term sustainable land use, including rock type, soil, slope angle, erosion type and severity, and vegetation cover.¹⁰⁵ Table 4 sets out descriptions of the eight LUC categories and the land use limitations of each category are described in Figure 3.

¹⁰³ Belgrave et al., ‘Environmental Impacts, Resource Management and Wahi Tapu and Portable Taonga’, p28, 30. The authors note that I.B. Campbell produced a soil map for the area, which classifies the soils of the inquiry district into three main groups. See I.B. Campbell, ‘Soils of Rangitikei County, North Island, New Zealand’ (map), N.Z. Soil Survey Report 38, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Wellington, 1979.

¹⁰⁴ New Zealand Land Resource Inventory Land Use Capability, LRIS website.
URL: <https://lris.scinfo.org.nz/layer/76-nzlr-land-use-capability/>

¹⁰⁵ Ian Lynn et al., *Land Use Capability Survey Handbook: A New Zealand Handbook for the Classification of Land, 3rd Edition*, Ag Research Ltd, Landcare Research New Zealand Ltd, Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences Ltd, Hamilton, Lincoln, and Lower Hutt, 2009, p12.

Table 4: LUC land class descriptions¹⁰⁶

LUC Class	Description
1	Land with virtually no limitations for arable use and suitable for cultivated crops, pasture or forestry
2	Land with slight limitations for arable use and suitable for cultivated crops, pasture or forestry
3	Land with moderate limitations for arable use , but suitable for cultivated crops, pasture or forestry
4	Land with moderate limitations for arable use , but suitable for occasional cropping, pasture or forestry
5	High producing land unsuitable for arable use, but only slight limitations for pastoral or forestry use
6	Non-arable land with moderate limitations for use under perennial vegetation such as pasture or forest
7	Non-arable land with severe limitations for use under perennial vegetation such as pasture or forest
8	Land with very severe to extreme limitations or hazards that make it unsuitable for cropping, pasture or forestry

Figure 3: LUC Class 1 to 8 – increasing limitations to use and decreasing versatility of use¹⁰⁷

	LUC Class	Arable cropping suitability†	Pastoral grazing suitability	Production forestry suitability	General suitability	
Increasing limitations to use ↓	1	High ↓ Low	High ↓ Low	High ↓ Low	Multiple use land	Decreasing versatility of use ↓
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5	Unsuitable	Low ↓ Unsuitable	Low ↓ Unsuitable	Pastoral or forestry land	
	6					
	7					
	8					

†Includes vegetable cropping

¹⁰⁶ P.F.J. Newsome, R.H. Wilde , E.J. Willoughby, *Land Resource Information System Spatial Data Layers – Data Dictionary*, Landcare Research New Zealand Ltd, Palmerston North, 2007, p7.

¹⁰⁷ Lynn et al., *Land Use Capability Survey Handbook*, p8.

The LUC classifications of the Taihape inquiry district lands are shown in Figure 4. Only about 3.8 percent of land in the inquiry district is classified LUC Class 1 or 2 – the categories that offer the highest land use potential.¹⁰⁸ (For the North Island as a whole, about 7.4 percent of land falls into these categories.¹⁰⁹) At the other end of the scale, about 51.0 percent of inquiry district land is classified LUC Class 7 or 8.¹¹⁰ (Across the whole North Island, only about 33.1 percent of land falls into these categories.¹¹¹) As detailed above, LUC Class 7 land is described as unsuitable for arable use (the growing of crops) and has severe physical limitations for use under perennial vegetation such as pasture or plantation forest.¹¹² Class 8 land is considered to have very severe to extreme limitations or hazards, making it unsuitable for cropping, pasture or forestry.

The high proportion of land within Classes 7 or 8 partly reflects that a significant amount of inquiry district land is at risk of erosion. Current data provided by the Ministry for the Environment recognises five categories of ‘erosion susceptibility’ – low, moderate, high, very high, and undefined.¹¹³ In the Taihape inquiry district, about 39.4 percent of land is classified as having high or very high erosion susceptibility.¹¹⁴ (For the whole North Island, about 34.6 percent of land falls into this category.¹¹⁵)

¹⁰⁸ Craig Innes, ‘Maori Land Retention and Alienation within Taihape Inquiry District – 1840-2013’, Waitangi Tribunal Unit, November 2012, Wai 2180 #A15, p32. Data is unavailable for about 0.3 percent of inquiry district land.

¹⁰⁹ Innes, ‘Maori Land Retention and Alienation’, p32. Data is unavailable for about 2.5 percent of inquiry district land.

¹¹⁰ Innes, ‘Maori Land Retention and Alienation’, p32.

¹¹¹ Innes, ‘Maori Land Retention and Alienation’, p32.

¹¹² While considered high-risk land, Class 7 land can be suited to grazing providing that intensive soil conservation measures are in place, and in many cases it is more suitable for forestry. Lynn et al., *Land Use Capability Survey Handbook*, p8.

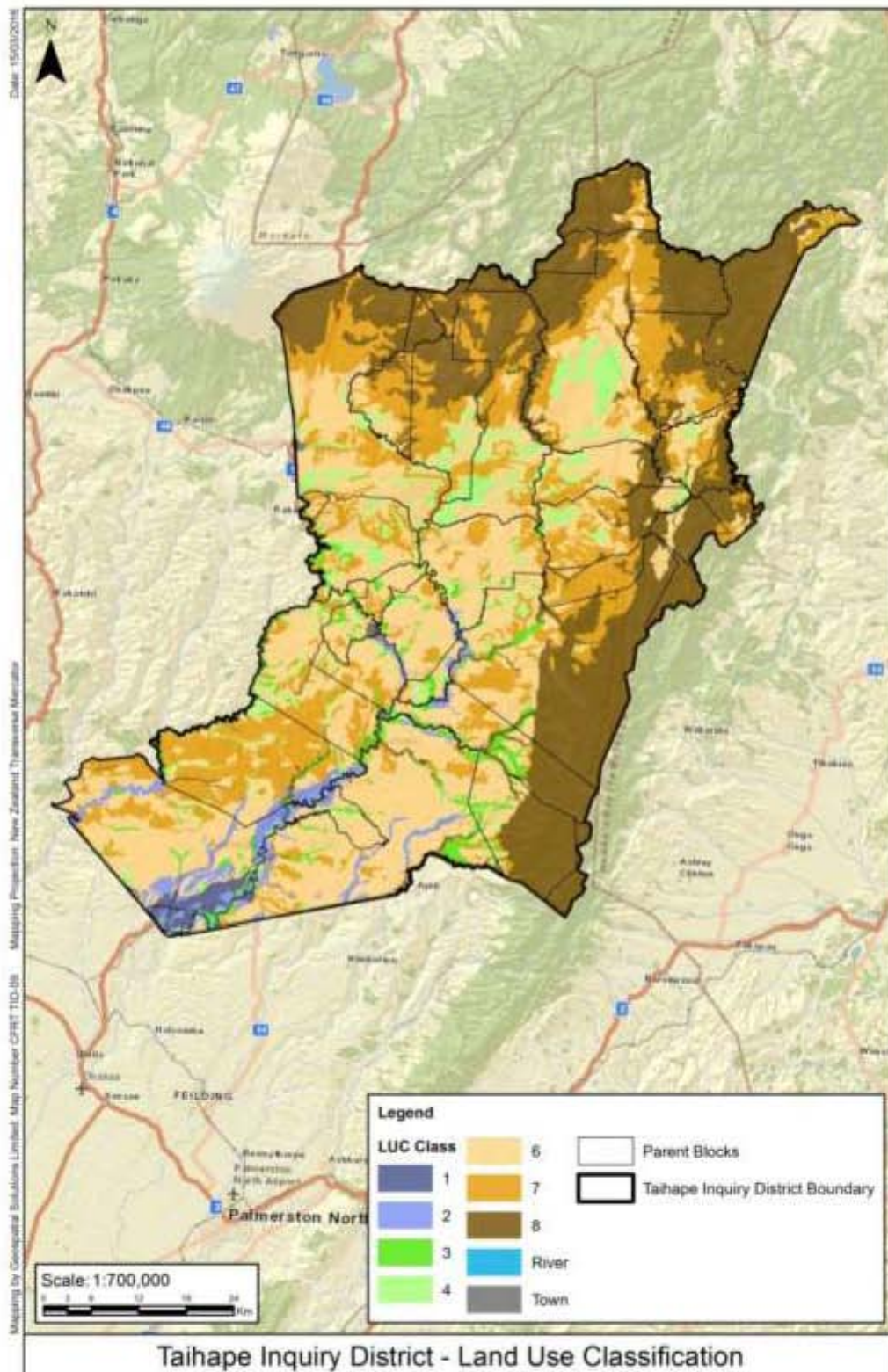
¹¹³ In determining the erosion susceptibility of an area of land, consideration is given to its predisposition to erode, preparatory factors (such as the removal of forest), the likelihood and severity of an erosion event, and the consequences of an erosion event. ‘Erosion Susceptibility 4 Classes (2012): MFE Data Management’, Ministry for the Environment website, access 15 June 2015.

URL: <https://data.mfe.govt.nz/layer/2373-erosion-susceptibility-4-classes-2012/>

¹¹⁴ Innes, ‘Maori Land Retention and Alienation’, p46; also see Map 10, p47. The erosion susceptibility of about 0.7 percent of inquiry district land is undefined.

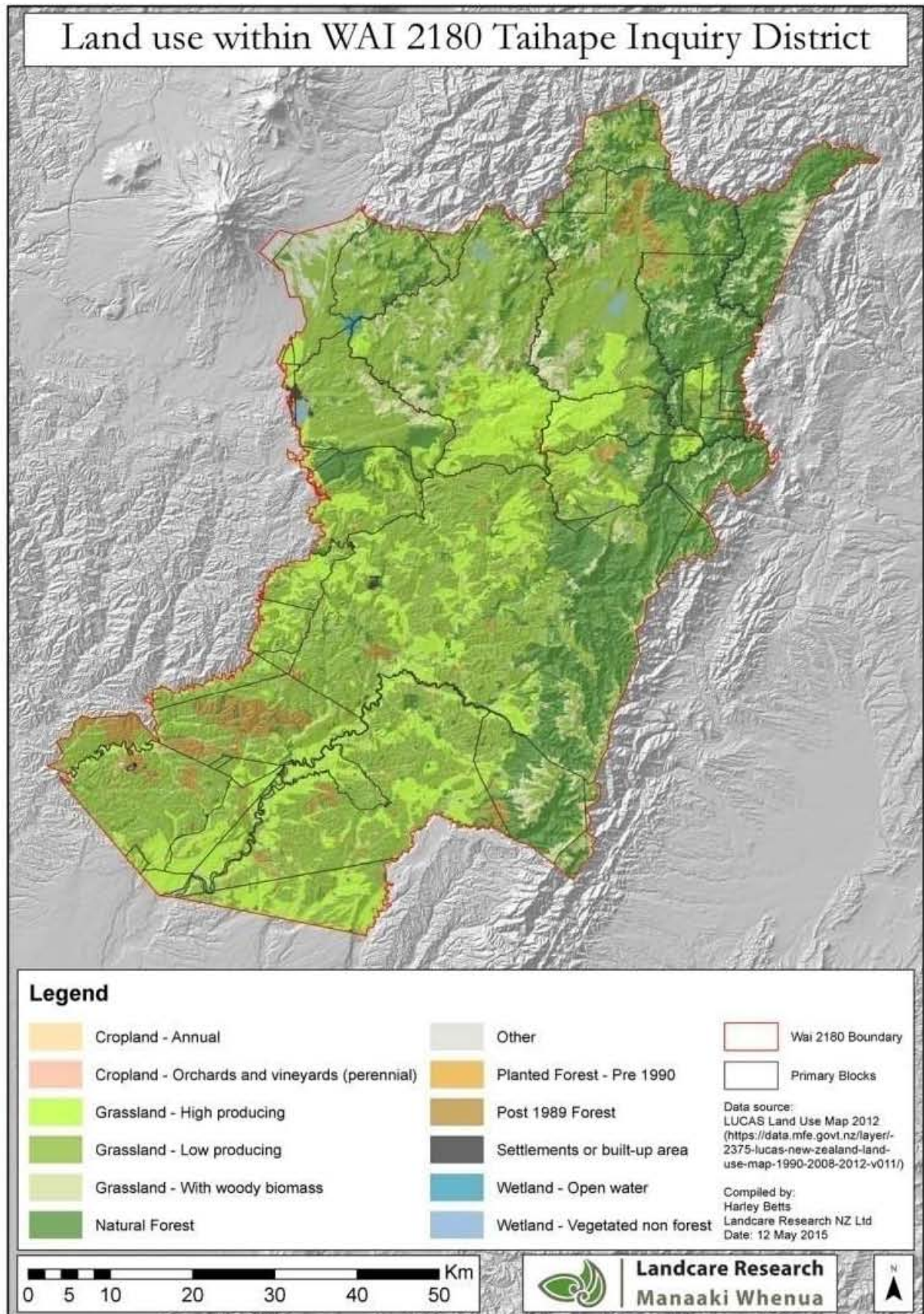
¹¹⁵ Innes, ‘Maori Land Retention and Alienation’, p46. The erosion susceptibility of about 2.5 percent of North Island land is undefined.

Figure 4: LUC land categories – Taihape inquiry district¹¹⁶



¹¹⁶ This map is drawn from Walzl's twentieth century overview report. See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p41 (Map 3).

Figure 5: Land use – Taihape inquiry district, 2012



Limitations of the different LUC categories of land are broadly illustrated in current patterns of land use and land cover, which are shown in Figure 5. However, a comparison of Figures 4 and 5 indicates that in some places current land use may be more intensive than the LUC limitations that relate to the land, casting doubt on the long-term sustainability of the current use of these areas. Figure 5, it should be noted, contains at least one significant inaccuracy. As explained in chapter four, an examination of recent satellite imagery indicates that the northernmost area of 'post 1989 forest' that is shown in Figure 5 does not exist. This inaccuracy evidently represents a mistake in the data source from which the map was generated.

As well as strongly influencing soil types in the inquiry district, the underlying geology has obviously determined the mineral and stone resources available for exploitation. The geology of the inquiry district has provided relatively limited opportunity for the development of resource extraction industries. There has been no mining of precious metals such as gold and nor has coal mining been undertaken. During the nineteenth century, government officials and other Pakeha sought to establish whether there were workable quantities of commercially valuable resources. In the early 1860s, as discussed in the next chapter, Wellington Province's geologist James Coutts Crawford was the first to attempt to determine whether such resources existed in the inquiry district and surrounding areas. Crawford's findings were not entirely conclusive and speculation about the existence of valuable resources continued for some years. In January 1870, for example, civil engineer James Hogg, when reporting on the feasibility of a road up the Turakina Valley, believed that the route would be most practical for Whanganui settlers in the event of a gold field being found in the Kaimanawa Ranges.¹¹⁷ Almost two decades later, in 1889, the Resident Magistrate in Hawkes Bay, J. Preece, urged the government to purchase the Awarua block because he believed it contained significant deposits of coal and copper.¹¹⁸

While mining of precious metals and coal has been not been undertaken, large quantities of gravel have been extracted from river beds within the inquiry district. Discussed later in the report, this has been the main economic opportunity associated with the inquiry district's mineral and stone resources. Crawford was the first Pakeha to record the existence of large quantities of river gravel, but he did not comment on its potential value as a material that could be used for roading purposes and as railway

¹¹⁷ Hogg to Churton, 26 January 1870, 'Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo', AJHR, 1870, A-5, p6.

¹¹⁸ Stirling and Subasic, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p 73.

ballast.¹¹⁹ In 1884, however, when reporting on his exploration of a route for the NIMT, Rochfort commented explicitly on the potential value of the gravels for the proposed railway.¹²⁰ In 1971, almost 90 years later, a Ministry of Works resource survey described ongoing use of river gravels, noting that the Rangitikei River and its Moawhango and Kawhatau tributaries provided high-quality roading aggregates.¹²¹ While the exploitation of stone resources has focussed largely on the inquiry district's river gravels, at least two quarries have operated at sites not located on waterways.¹²²

For Mokai Patea Maori, the value of the district's waterways extended significantly beyond the gravels of the riverbeds. The waterways were traditionally of much importance for travel through the district. Walzl notes, for example, that the Rangitikei River was significant to Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki as the main mode of transport between their settlements.¹²³ The waterways of the inquiry district and their associated wetlands were also very important as places to gather mahinga kai. In the north of the district, for example, Ngati Tamakopiri collected eels from a number of locations.¹²⁴ Later in the report, it will be explained that the district's freshwater fisheries – specifically eels – have presented a small economic opportunity within the modern commercial economy. As detailed later in the report, commercial eel fishing began in the inquiry district during the 1960s, with activity peaking on the Rangitikei and Hautapu rivers in the late 1970s.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided contextual information relevant to the examination of Maori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district from 1860 – the focus of the remaining chapters. Looking first at evidence concerning the nineteenth century Maori population, it has noted that before the mid-1860s Taihape Maori do not appear to have been involved in trade or other activities within the developing colonial economy. By 1860,

¹¹⁹ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹²⁰ Rochfort to the Engineer-in-Charge, 5 February 1884, 'Main Trunk Line, Auckland to Wellington (reports on)', AJHR, 1884, D-5, p3.

¹²¹ Ministry of Works (Town and Country Planning Division), *Wanganui Region, National Resources Survey, Part 7*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1971, pp37-38. The report includes a photograph of a crushing plant located at the confluence of the Rangitikei and Hautapu Rivers.

¹²² One of these quarries was located in the north of the inquiry district, between Taihape and Waiouru. See Philip Cleaver, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', Waitangi Tribunal, November 2012, Wai 2180 #A9, p42. Also, as detailed later in the report, another quarry was located on Maori land near Winiata.

¹²³ See, for example, Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p719.

¹²⁴ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p486.

Maori in some parts of the inquiry district were growing at least one Pakeha-introduced crop (tobacco) and running small numbers of cattle, but they evidently undertook these activities for their own use rather than for the purpose of trade. At this time, the Crown and settler population had little direct influence within the district. But from 1840, Mokai Patea Maori had witnessed, in some neighbouring districts, conflict between the Crown and Maori and also substantial Crown land purchase. In the face of this pressure, they actively sought to retain control of their lands, as illustrated through their involvement in the important 1860 Kokako hui.

As well as noting these developments, the chapter has examined evidence concerning the size of the inquiry district's nineteenth century Maori population and the places where Maori lived in the district. These were among the mix of factors that influenced the extent to which Taihape Maori were able to take advantage of the economic opportunities that emerged in the district. Owing to the nature of the available evidence, it is not possible to accurately determine the size of the inquiry district's Maori population in the mid and late nineteenth century. However, the overall impression is that the Maori population of the district was relatively small. It has been suggested here that the number may have been in the vicinity of a few hundred people, certainly fewer than one thousand, and was at times subject to fluctuation as the result of migrations into and from the district. By 1870, when security concerns in the region had substantially been resolved, it is likely that such movements would have lessened. Further evidence concerning the Maori population of the inquiry district is presented later in the report. It provides details of population and settlement patterns from the mid-1920s, when more reliable census data first becomes available.

The second part of this chapter has briefly described the physical environment and resources of the inquiry district. It has explained that utilisation of the district's lands and resources has provided the basis for much of the economic activity undertaken within the modern commercial economy. As detailed later in the report, the inquiry district's economy has been dominated by primary industries associated with the utilisation of the land (primarily agricultural activities) and, to a lesser extent, the extraction of resources (primarily the milling of indigenous forests, but also the extraction of gravel from the district's riverbeds). With little land available for intensive agriculture or horticulture and without a coastal port or easily navigable river, the district has not been closely settled or the focus of significant urban development, which has meant that opportunities for the development of secondary and tertiary industries have been limited.

Chapter Two: Emerging Opportunities and Early Settlement Activity, 1860-1890

Introduction

This chapter deals with the initial development of the commercial economy in the Taihape inquiry district, covering the years from 1860 to 1890. During this period, extensive sheep farming emerged as the main economic activity in the inquiry district. Undertaken upon the northern tussock lands, Maori soon became involved in this activity – both indirectly (through leasing their land) and directly (through running sheep themselves). In the predominantly bush-covered and less-accessible southern half of the inquiry district, farming activity was much more limited. Maori earned some income from leasing, but had little direct involvement in agriculture. In contrast with the north, a significant proportion of the land in the south of the district was alienated through sale. Across the whole inquiry district, the introduction of the Native Land Court was a further important development during the period examined in this chapter – one that had significant and lasting economic consequences for all Taihape Maori. By 1890, as chapter three will explain, new economic opportunities were beginning to emerge in the inquiry district, including opportunities arising from the construction of the NIMT and the introduction of refrigerated shipping.

The first section of this chapter looks at early official efforts to appraise the physical environment and resources of the inquiry district. Specifically, it examines the work of the Wellington Provincial Government's geologist, James Coutts Crawford, who travelled through the district in 1862. Crawford produced reports that identified some important areas of economic opportunity and helped to spread knowledge of the district and wider region. The chapter then turns to briefly discuss private and government efforts to establish whether gold was present in the north of the inquiry district, undertaken in the late 1860s and early 1870s. During the 1860s, it will be explained, gold mining emerged as an important economic opportunity in some parts of the country. Prospecting in the inquiry district, however, was unsuccessful, which meant that issues concerning the role that Maori might play in developing the resource were never properly addressed.

The next section of the chapter examines the emergence of extensive sheep farming in the north of the inquiry district, which – in contrast with gold mining – became a reality on the ground. In looking at this development, a brief description is provided of the wider economic context, especially the changes that saw the production of wool become increasingly important in the second half of the nineteenth century. The expansion of the industry in

the north of the inquiry district is then discussed, particularly the leasing arrangements that Pakeha entered into with Maori and the involvement of Maori as sheep owners. Examining the requirements of those who sought to participate in the industry, this section of the chapter explains that farming operations could be initiated on the open grasslands with relatively little capital investment. For Maori, the principal obstacle to participating successfully in the pastoral economy may have been the difficulty of gaining secure use rights where ownership of land was contested. It was in respect of this difficulty that the Crown, through the operation of the Native Land Court, exerted its main influence upon Maori involvement in sheep farming in the north of the inquiry district during the period examined in this chapter.

Before examining the role of the Court and its impact on Maori economic development in the inquiry district up to 1890, the chapter discusses developments in the southern half of the district. It describes the economic activities undertaken in the south, where opportunities to engage in agriculture were more limited. As noted, Maori had little involvement in farming in the south, but earned some income from leasing, though the leases entered into at this time were overshadowed by extensive land sales. As explained later in the report, these alienations were to have long-term implications on the ability of Maori to participate in economic development opportunities in this part of the district.

Turning to the operation of the Native Land Court, the chapter next discusses the Court's initial influence on Maori economic development in the inquiry district between its establishment in the 1860s and 1890. By the end of this period, most blocks in the district had been brought before the Court. Focussing on the process of title determination, two issues are examined in this section. The first concerns the extent to which the Court functioned in an efficient, timely, and fair manner when determining Maori ownership interests. The second issue, which is linked to the first, concerns the costs associated with proving ownership and the extent to which these were reasonable. It will be explained, in respect of both issues, that the Court process imposed a significant financial burden upon Taihape Maori.

The next section of the chapter discusses the leasing of Maori lands in the Taihape inquiry district between 1860 and 1890. In contrast with alienation through sale, leasing offered Maori landowners the opportunity to earn income from their land while retaining ownership and the potential for utilising the lands themselves at a later time. Widespread in the north, leasing was more limited in the south. It is noted that there was initially much pre-title leasing and that – though legally ‘invalid’ and sometimes the

subject of disputes – the Crown generally did not intervene in these arrangements. However, it will be explained that, following title investigation, existing leasing arrangements were in a number of cases formalised.

The chapter concludes by examining the sale of Maori land in the inquiry district, a development that mostly concerned blocks in the southern half of the inquiry district. Crown purchases dominated sales during the period, though private purchasing was also carried out. The process of purchase is not examined closely, and instead the discussion focuses on two issues that concern economic outcomes for Maori. The first concerns the price that Maori owners received for their land and the extent to which the Crown acted to ensure that the transactions were fair. The second issue concerns the extent to which the Crown monitored Maori land sales, and specifically whether it attempted to ensure that Maori retained sufficient lands to enable them to participate in the future in land-based economic development opportunities.

Assessment of physical environment, resources, and economic opportunities, 1862-1863

In the early 1860s, the Wellington Provincial Government sought to better establish the economic potential of the province, focusing particularly, it seems, on relatively inaccessible areas where Pakeha had yet to settle, such as the modern-day Taihape inquiry district. As noted in the previous chapter, the Provincial Government's geologist, James Coutts Crawford, travelled through the inquiry district in January 1862. Beginning in Whanganui, Crawford journeyed through Mokai Patea to Taupo before following the Whanganui River back to Whanganui. As well as describing the physical environment through which he had passed, Crawford reported on what he believed to be the main economic opportunities and offered views on the infrastructure that was required to take advantage of these. While evidently seeking to provide a positive assessment of the province's potential, Crawford nevertheless accurately identified a number of economic opportunities. His reports were published and would have increased settler knowledge of the lands through which he had travelled, including those of the Mokai Patea district – an interior that few Pakeha had visited.

Crawford appears to have travelled through the Mokai Patea district without explaining the purpose of his journey to local Maori or seeking their permission. However, his party included an interpreter, Samuel Deighton,

and initially also at least four Maori, whose iwi affiliations are unclear.¹²⁵ After completing the journey, Crawford reported that throughout the expedition the Maori he had encountered along the way were 'civil and hospitable, without exception'.¹²⁶ In making this statement, he may have been seeking to allay concerns about any difficulties that the Maori population would pose to Pakeha settlement objectives. As detailed earlier, Crawford spent about 10 days travelling through the modern-day Taihape inquiry district, following the Rangitikei and then Moawhango and Hautapu Rivers before crossing 'the blasted volcanic country' at the base of Ruapehu. Crawford had wanted to also explore the upper reaches of the Rangitikei River (beyond the Moawhango confluence), but had decided against this owing a lack of equipment, supplies, and the difficult nature of the country.¹²⁷

In the first report he prepared after completing the journey, Crawford expressed the view that the Rangitikei and its adjoining country were generally similar to that of the Whanganui, though he noted that the river was 'very inferior for navigation'. Expressing an interest in the scenic qualities of the land through which he passed and possibly its potential for tourism, Crawford stated that the Rangitikei was not equal to the Whanganui 'in beauty of scenery', though he thought that in some respects it was unique. He provided the following description of the upper Rangitikei and the Moawhango River:

The deep narrow chasms, through which the [Rangitikei] river flows in its upper part are singularly beautiful, and the tributary Moawhanga [sic.]... presents a cleft, perhaps 150 feet deep and only 18 feet wide, with perpendicular sides, and the trees meeting in an arched overhead, the beauty of which, clothed with ferns and other luxuriant indigenous vegetation, with the rays of light glancing down wards through the trees, can be easily understood.¹²⁸

In spite of the scenery he encountered, Crawford recorded that it was with 'great relief' that he emerged from the deep clefts and dense forest of the Rangitikei onto the open country at Patea.

¹²⁵ Crawford, *Recollections of Travel*, p116.

¹²⁶ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹²⁷ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹²⁸ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

In his reports, Crawford attempted to broadly classify the country he had passed through in terms of its potential or 'capabilities'.¹²⁹ He identified three broad zones for agricultural development in the western part of Wellington Province. The first zone concerned land outside of the inquiry district – the fertile coastal belt that extended 'from the sea shore, at Rangitikei and Whanganui, both inclusive, to an average distance of, say ten miles inland'.¹³⁰ The second zone, which included perhaps half of the modern-day inquiry district, was described as the 'belt, of forest, averaging perhaps from thirty to forty miles in breadth... extending from the first zone to the open country in the interior, and sweeping round from the flanks of Ruahine to the Province of Taranaki'.¹³¹ The third zone also included a significant portion of the modern-day inquiry district, comprising the open grass country of the interior, within which lay the central volcanic mountains.¹³²

In respect of the second zone, Crawford reported that the 'immense forest' grew upon broken country, though with soil that generally seemed to be 'of good quality'.¹³³ Full of 'rich and sheltered valleys', he believed that the area was 'capable of supporting a large population, and of producing most valuable commodities'. Crawford described the area to be 'almost without population', except on the banks of the Whanganui.¹³⁴ He thought that it would be best worked in small or moderate holdings, and considered the district to be 'peculiarly suited to the patient industry of German settlers, working in village communities, and giving mutual assistance in road-making and other things'.¹³⁵ (Crawford was perhaps here inferring that British settlers were unlikely to want the land, or at least not until it had been cleared.) Owing to the broken character of the land, he claimed it enjoyed 'a remarkably warm and sheltered climate', which he rather fancifully considered was 'suited... to the culture of the south of Europe'. Crawford acknowledged that as the altitude of the land increased it might be expected that the climate would be 'less genial', though he noted that his party had observed maize, tobacco, and water-melons thriving up to the

¹²⁹ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³⁰ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³¹ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³² Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³³ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³⁴ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³⁵ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*. Crawford to Featherston, 17 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

head of the Whanganui River.¹³⁶ He also commented that the rivers that ran through the area lay deep below the surrounding country and therefore could not be drawn upon for irrigation purposes.¹³⁷

Crawford spoke with somewhat less certainty about the agricultural potential of the third, interior zone. Outside of the volcanic mountains at the centre of this zone, and except for some patches of bush and fern, Crawford stated that this country was dominated by grass vegetation that reminded him of 'the herbage... of some runs in the Middle [South] Island'. Crawford described the land from Patea to within about ten miles of the base of Ruapehu to be 'good grass country'. Where the ground changed to volcanic sand, however, the grass changed from 'a good sward to a scanty herbage'. Crawford was unsure about the limitations that the climate would impose on farming endeavours. He reported that the inhabitants (presumably local Maori) all stated that the plateau under Ruapehu was covered in deep snow during the winter months and that stock could not be kept there. However, he had observed no indications of severe winters in the Patea country and he noted that sheep appeared to thrive on the hills over Taupo. Experience, he stated, would offer 'the surest guide on this point.'¹³⁸

Crawford emphasised that transport infrastructure, specifically roading, would be required to develop the economic potential of the lands he had travelled through in January 1862. In respect of the forest county, he stated that if either settlers or Maori were to develop the resources of the area it was 'imperative that a road, or roads should be formed'.¹³⁹ Similarly, until a road was made to connect the interior with the coast, it appeared to be 'impossible to work the grass country... to any advantage' as there was no means of getting wool out for shipment at a profit.¹⁴⁰ (Crawford apparently considered the existing tracks to be insufficient.) He believed that the trade of the interior would eventually be divided between Whanganui, Napier, and Tauranga. He thought that Whanganui (within Wellington Province) would not be able to take advantage of its position until a road was made through the forest.¹⁴¹ While he believed that several roads should be opened through

¹³⁶ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³⁷ Crawford to Featherston, 17 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³⁸ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹³⁹ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹⁴⁰ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹⁴¹ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

the forest, Crawford suggested that, with relatively little outlay, it would be most useful to first improve an existing rough track that followed the Rangitikei River to Patea.¹⁴² He stated that, once reached, the Patea country was easily traversed on horseback and with a few small bridges and cuttings could be opened for drays. Owing to the difficult terrain, extending the road across the central plateau to Taupo would, however, be more difficult.¹⁴³

As well as describing suitability for agriculture, Crawford's reports commented at length on the potential existence of commercially valuable metals and minerals – especially gold – as well as coal. During his January 1862 journey, Crawford's party polled up the Rangitikei River in a canoe so that he could observe the geological characteristics of the cliffs that ran alongside the river. Though more difficult than travelling by land, this enabled Crawford to 'follow the sections of the strata... the whole distance, and therefore to speak confidently of their character'.¹⁴⁴ His report of the expedition recorded no direct observations of gold or rocks that indicated the existence of gold, and he did not believe that exploratory prospecting work was warranted. Crawford also noted that, except for a small seam of 'semi-lignite' on one point of the river, he observed no signs of coal.¹⁴⁵ In a later report, he claimed that any coal would be located in the mid and lower reaches of the Rangitikei district and that the seams would be below the level of the river.¹⁴⁶

In reports prepared in February and April 1863, which dealt with the whole of Wellington Province, Crawford commented further on the potential existence of gold and other valuable metals and minerals.¹⁴⁷ Before furnishing these reports, he had sent rock specimens from many parts of the Province to Melbourne for analysis and had received feedback regarding the likelihood of gold being found and where it might be located. Drawing upon this advice and having undertaken further exploration (though not within the Mokai Patea district), Crawford spoke somewhat more confidently of the likely existence of gold, which he believed would lie in the ancient

¹⁴² Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹⁴³ Crawford to Featherston, 19 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹⁴⁴ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹⁴⁵ Crawford to Featherston, 17 February 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹⁴⁶ Crawford to Featherston, 17 March 1862, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1862.

¹⁴⁷ Crawford to Featherston, 14 February 1863, in J. Coutts Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, Province of Wellington Council Paper, Wellington Provincial Government, 1863. Crawford to Featherston, 14 April 1863, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1863.

rocks of the ranges, more particularly those in the western part of Wellington Province.¹⁴⁸ He also thought other valuable resources might be present, stating that there was ‘every reason to think that these ranges are full of mineral veins’.¹⁴⁹

However, Crawford emphasised the difficulty and expense of undertaking gold prospecting work and was hesitant about any such work proceeding in the near future. Believing that the mineral wealth of the Province lay deep, he stated that it would ‘require an expenditure of skill, capital, and patience for its development’.¹⁵⁰ Prospecting would involve ‘deep sinking, with powerful steam engines and immense outlay’.¹⁵¹ Crawford also noted the lack of any roads to access the Rangitikei and Whanganui interior lands.¹⁵² Leaving aside ‘the native question... the point whether we should be allowed to examine the sources of the rivers in the direction of the volcanic range, and the centre of the island more minutely than I have already done’, Crawford suggested that before taking any action it would be best to await the knowledge that would be gained from gold prospecting being undertaken southward from Coromandel.¹⁵³

Ongoing speculation concerning gold within Mokai Patea, 1865-1875

Crawford’s interest in establishing whether gold was present and could be profitably extracted reflected a heightened awareness of the economic potential of gold mining, which in some parts of New Zealand was emerging as a major economic opportunity, albeit one that proved to be relatively short-lived. In May 1861, gold was discovered in Central Otago, sparking New Zealand’s first major gold rush. In 1864, commercial quantities of gold were discovered on the West Coast, which also became the scene of a gold rush, while in 1867 there was a significant strike in the North Island near Thames.¹⁵⁴ After mining began in Central Otago, revenue from gold became the highest source of export earnings, amounting to more than 50 percent of

¹⁴⁸ Crawford to Featherston, 14 April 1863, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1863.

¹⁴⁹ Crawford to Featherston, 14 February 1863, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1863.

¹⁵⁰ Crawford to Featherston, 14 February 1863, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1863.

¹⁵¹ Crawford to Featherston, 14 April 1863, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1863.

¹⁵² Crawford to Featherston, 14 February 1863, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1863.

¹⁵³ Crawford to Featherston, 14 April 1863, in Crawford, *Geological and Other Reports*, 1863.

¹⁵⁴ Carl Walrond, ‘Gold and gold mining’, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 20 July 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gold-and-gold-mining>

annual revenue through to the end of the decade, with gold earnings peaking in 1864. In the early 1860s, immigrants in pursuit of gold accounted for a significant proportion of the increase in the non-Maori population.¹⁵⁵

Though Crawford had indicated that easily accessible gold was unlikely to be found in Wellington Province and that any gold would lie deep and require significant capital to exploit, closer exploration for gold was nevertheless undertaken in the northern part of the Mokai Patea district in the late 1860s, soon after the first Pakeha runholder, Captain Azim Birch, had entered the district.¹⁵⁶ The Kaimanawa area was a particular focus for the prospectors. Riseborough notes that there were rumours of a find in the upper Ngaruroro, with Panoko Stream becoming known as Gold Creek.¹⁵⁷ (This area lies within what was later defined as the Owhaoko block.) In about 1869, gold quartz was found at Kereru, in the foothills of the eastern side of the Ruahine Ranges, outside of the inquiry district.¹⁵⁸

Around this time, the government looked to ensure that Maori-owned lands in the Kaimanawa area were open for prospecting. In 1869, government representatives sought to enter into an agreement with Maori to obtain rights over a large area of land. In September 1869, Hawke's Bay Resident Magistrate Samuel Locke reported that he had reached an agreement with Maori during a meeting at Rotoaira, where he met with Hare Tauteka and Kingi Te Herekietie and chiefs that he identified to be from the Patea district, including Te Parea, Karaitiana Te Rango, and Ihakara Te Raro. He advised Native Minister Donald McLean that: 'Hare Tauteka and the Patea Chiefs are the principal owners of the Kaimanawa Country, and with them the final agreement was made for the handing over of the whole country, about 300,000 acres to the Government'.¹⁵⁹

The alleged agreement was secured a few days before Crown-allied Maori forces defeated Te Kooti at Te Porere.¹⁶⁰ After the battle, Colonel Thomas

¹⁵⁵ G.R. Hawke, *The Making of New Zealand: An Economic History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, pp38-40.

¹⁵⁶ Stirling and Subasic, 'Taihape: Rangitikei Ki Rangipo Inquiry District – Technical Research Scoping Report', p66.

¹⁵⁷ Hazel Riseborough, *Ngamatea: The Land and the People*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006, p8.

¹⁵⁸ See *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, vol. 3, 1870, pp16-17.

URL: http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_03/rsnz_03_00_000880.html

¹⁵⁹ Locke to McLean, 27 September 1869, AGG-HB 1 1*1/223, cited in Adam Heinz, 'Waiouru Defence Lands Research Scoping Report', Waitangi Tribunal Unit, December 2009, Wai 2180 #A1, p32.

¹⁶⁰ Stirling and Subasic, 'Technical Research Scoping Report', p66.

McDonnell reported that the Kaimanawa area had been ceded to the government in a deed and could be declared a gold-field. The terms of the deed, which researchers have yet to sight, are unclear, though reports made after it was executed claimed that the 'liberal terms' (i.e., high price) were justified given that the land was thought to be extremely rich in minerals.¹⁶¹ As Fisher and Stirling argue, the alleged transaction should be viewed with some scepticism because it was drawn up in the presence of Maori forces from Whanganui and Heretaunga who were allied to the government, some of whom asserted a claim over the area as a result of their 'conquest' (with the Crown) of the Taupo and Patea district in 1869. In light of this, it is doubtful that the right-holders who were reported to have been involved in the transaction were in a position to freely negotiate such an agreement.¹⁶²

No further reference to the Kaimanawa deed has been located and it appears to have been forgotten. A belief that gold might be discovered in the area appears to have persisted for a short time. In January 1870, James Hogg reported that, prior to exploring a route for a road up the Turakina Valley, the directors of the port at Whanganui had impressed upon him that the most practical and direct route should be located 'to open up the Taupo country to the enterprise of the people of Wanganui in the prospect of a gold field being found in the Kaimanawa ranges'.¹⁶³ In March 1870, Birch stated in a letter to McLean that he was disappointed about the progress of prospecting parties in the district. He acknowledged that it was now unlikely that there would be a find of alluvial gold, 'from which a poor man's field might be expected'. Birch nevertheless hoped that some gold would be found so that he might benefit from the resulting increase in population, presumably believing that this would provide trading opportunities and possibly also investment in transport infrastructure.¹⁶⁴

Development of the pastoral economy in the north, 1865-1890

Farming sheep for the wool export trade

Expectations that gold might be found in the northern reaches of the Mokai Patea district were never realised and in the early 1870s appear to have

¹⁶¹ Martin Fisher and Bruce Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, September 2012, Wai 2180 #A6, p139.

¹⁶² Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p139. Also see Bruce Stirling 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 #A71, p.85.

¹⁶³ Hogg to Churton, 26 January 1870, 'Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo', AJHR, 1870, A-5, p6.

¹⁶⁴ Birch to McLean, 6 March 1870, McLean Collection, ATL, cited in Heinz, 'Waiouru Defence Lands Research Scoping Report', p32.

faded. By this time, sheep farming was becoming established in the northern lands, and it would be this activity that came to firmly dominate economic activity in the Taihape inquiry district for many years, reflecting the situation in New Zealand as a whole. Though revenue from gold had led export earnings in the 1860s, the long-term expansion of the national economy required an ongoing source of income. In the 1870s and 1880s, at least, the main activity that served this function was the production of wool.¹⁶⁵

Supplying wool to textile manufacturers in Britain, Europe and the United States underpinned the development of sheep farming in New Zealand.¹⁶⁶ Wool production dominated sheep owners' earnings for many years¹⁶⁷, but they could also earn money from selling animals to others who were entering the industry or looking to quickly increase the size of their flocks.¹⁶⁸ Income from sheep meat started to grow and become significant only after the introduction of refrigerated shipping in 1882.¹⁶⁹ Before this time meat was supplied for domestic consumption, largely as a by-product of the wool economy. As well as providing fresh meat, sheep were 'boiled down' for preserved meat and to make products like glue.¹⁷⁰ Owing to the difficulty of transporting sheep to processing works outside the district, it seems very likely that sheep owners in the Taihape inquiry district would have remained focused almost exclusively on wool until the 1890s, when improvements to transport infrastructure (especially the construction of the NIMT) enabled live sheep to be moved more easily from the district.

Centred on wool production, sheep farming had become established in New Zealand in the 1840s, when land in the Wairarapa, Canterbury, and Otago began to be stocked by Pakeha settlers who, familiar with developments in New South Wales, looked to sheep raising as a more profitable pursuit than growing crops.¹⁷¹ Sheep could be farmed almost immediately on the open

¹⁶⁵ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p41.

¹⁶⁶ Hugh Stringleman and Robert Peden, 'Sheep farming', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 20 July 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/sheep-farming>

¹⁶⁷ See Figures 2.4 and 5.1, Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p34, 86.

¹⁶⁸ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p33.

¹⁶⁹ With some fluctuation, the quantity of sheep meat exported increased relatively steadily from 1882. See Figure 5.1, Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p86. In the year ending 31 May 1883, with the national sheep population approaching 13½ million, about 248,000 frozen carcasses were exported, of which about 9,000 were shipped from Napier. 'Annual sheep returns for the year ended 31st May, 1883', AJHR, 1884, H-3, pi.

¹⁷⁰ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, pp33-34. A boiling down works was opened near Napier in 1881. Mary Boyd, 'Williams, James Nelson', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 22 July 2015.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2w22/williams-james-nelson>

¹⁷¹ Stringleman and Peden, 'Sheep farming'. Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p30.

grasslands of the eastern North and South Islands, and by the early 1850s wool accounted for about twenty percent of export revenue.¹⁷² From the 1840s, significant expansion occurred in the South Island, where by 1857 much of the land had been purchased from Maori. By about 1866, pastoralists running fine-woolled merino sheep on large tracts of land leased cheaply from the Crown had taken up all the land between the main divide and east coast that was suited to running sheep.¹⁷³ In the North Island, extensive pastoralism was similarly being carried out in the Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay on land purchased or leased from Maori. Slower expansion in the North Island meant that, in terms of sheep numbers, the South Island dominated the industry for some years. In the 1860s and 1870s, the total number of sheep grew from two to 13 million, with about 10 million of these being in the South Island.¹⁷⁴

Growing interest in the grazing potential of Inland Patea

Early interest in running sheep in the Mokai Patea district, as in other parts of the country where sheep farming was underway, focused on the open tussock grasslands that were located in the north of the district. When travelling through the area in March 1860, Taylor, after crossing to the eastern side of the Moawhango River, noted that the land would be 'beautiful for sheep'.¹⁷⁵ As detailed above, Crawford had also reported on the potential of the interior grasslands for sheep farming, though was somewhat uncertain about the climatic conditions. Unlike the forested lands that covered much of the southern half of the inquiry district, which would require clearing and pasturing before sheep could be introduced, no such work was necessary in the north, where native grasses were available for immediate grazing. Owing to unrest in the wider region, Mokai Patea Maori were not well placed to participate in sheep farming ventures during the early 1860s. Security concerns lessened with the defeat of Pai Marire in 1866.¹⁷⁶ The prospect of unrest resurfaced when Te Kooti and his followers entered the southern Taupo district, ending with the prophet's defeat at Te Porere and departure from the area in September 1869.

From the mid-1860s, the grasslands of the Mokai Patea and Murimotu districts, which comprised a large contiguous area of tussock country, began to receive serious attention from prospective Pakeha runholders and land speculators. This partly reflected growing knowledge of the potential of

¹⁷² See Figure 2.7, Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p38.

¹⁷³ Stringleman and Peden, 'Sheep farming'.

¹⁷⁴ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, pp32-33.

¹⁷⁵ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 21 March 1845, p49.

¹⁷⁶ Stirling and Subasic, 'Technical Research Scoping Report', p66.

these lands (particularly following Crawford's exploration) as well as the improved security of the region. At the same time, as noted above, much of the easily accessible land available for grazing in the South Island had been taken up by the mid-1860s, which meant that those who wished to establish new pastoral operations increasingly focussed on opportunities in the North Island. Unsurprisingly, prominent and influential South Island pastoralists were among the early Pakeha runholders of the Mokai Patea district. Of these individuals, John Studholme was to play the most significant role. Alongside his brother Michael, Studholme had begun securing leasehold grazing land in the South Island in the mid-1850s.¹⁷⁷ He was also politically active and, representing South Island electorates, was a Member of the House of Representatives from 1867 to 1874 and again from 1879 and 1881.

Pakeha runholders and Mokai Patea Maori enter into leasing arrangements

As detailed above, the first Pakeha runholder in the Inland Patea district was Azim Birch, who by 1868 had entered into a pre-title leasing agreement with Maori to occupy land that would later be known as the Oruamatua-Kaimanawa block, an area of 115,000 acres.¹⁷⁸ Birch secured the land ahead of competing interests (including some leading political figures), who were also looking to take advantage of perceived opportunities for profitable runholding on the grasslands of Mokai Patea and adjacent areas.¹⁷⁹ Government geologist James Hector, whose services had been secretly called upon by one of the groups and who travelled through the district in late 1867, considered that the land over which Birch had secured use rights was the most desirable of the whole area.¹⁸⁰ According to Riseborough, Birch and his brother William brought 4,000 merinos onto the block.¹⁸¹ These sheep, and those of others that followed, were driven into the district from Hawke's Bay along a route that passed around the northern end of the Ruahine

¹⁷⁷ Cyclopedia Company Limited, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Canterbury Provincial District]*, Cyclopedia Company Limited, Christchurch, 1903, pp371-372. For an indication of John and Michael Studholme's land holdings also see map 'Studholme family land holdings', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 20 July 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/17926/studholme-family-land-holdings>

See also E.C. Studholme, *Te Waimate: early station life in New Zealand*, Reed, Dunedin, 1940.

¹⁷⁸ Fisher and Stirling note conflicting evidence regarding the exact year that lease began. Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp139-140.

¹⁷⁹ Stirling and Subasic, 'Technical Research Scoping Report', p66.

¹⁸⁰ Russell to Locke, 15 January 1868, 'Letter from the Hon. Mr Russell, enclosing letters referred to by the Hon. Mr Ormond in his speech of 6th September, 1877, together with statement by the Hon. Mr Russell', AJHR, 1877, H-31, p4. Hector, memorandum, AJHR, 1877, H-31, p5.

¹⁸¹ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p8.

Range.¹⁸² Wool was transported out of the district along the same difficult route, using packhorses or mules.¹⁸³

Following the Birch brothers' lead, other prospective Pakeha runholders looked to enter into leasing agreements with Maori and get sheep on the ground in the northern Mokai Patea district and adjacent grasslands. As these lands had yet to pass through the Native Land Court, any pre-title arrangements had no legal status. Under the Native Lands Act 1865, all dealings in Maori land prior to the issuing of a certificate of title were deemed 'absolutely void'.¹⁸⁴ The legislation fell short of declaring such dealings to be illegal, providing the government with some discretion as to how it could deal with pre-title leases. Generally, however, the government did not interfere with pre-title leasing arrangements in the Mokai Patea district. From the mid-1870s, as discussed later, the lands that were subject to informal leasing arrangements between Pakeha runholders and Maori in the northern part of the inquiry district began to be brought before the Court, requiring existing grazing rights to be renegotiated and confirmed in light of the Court's ownership orders.

There was a speculative element among the Pakeha who sought to secure grazing rights from Taihape Maori. With the growing importance of wool exports and with most of the easily accessible grazing land already taken up, some of those who looked to enter into informal leasing arrangements with Maori no doubt hoped to one day gain formal occupation rights and realise a profit from increasing land values. Some prominent land speculators were among the Pakeha who looked to gain a foothold on the tussock country of Mokai Patea and neighbouring areas. These included, notably, Auckland businessmen Thomas Morrin and Thomas Russell, who looked to secure an interest in the district as part of a partnership that also included John Studholme and Edward Moorehouse.¹⁸⁵ In the mid-1870s, as discussed

¹⁸² In January 1870, when reporting upon the potential for a road route up the Rangitikei Valley, Swainson estimated that the distance from Birch's station to Napier was 75 miles, 'all through open country'. Swainson to Colonial Secretary, 29 January 1870, 'Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo', AJHR, 1870, A-5, p5.

¹⁸³ Diana Beaglehole, 'Whanganui places – Inland Patea', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 20 July 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whanganui-places/page-8>

¹⁸⁴ Section 75, Native Lands Act 1865.

¹⁸⁵ Edward Moorhouse was brother of Studholme's wife Lucy and also the prominent Canterbury politician and settler William Sefton Moorhouse. Marian Horan, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaea, and Rangipo-Waiu, 1874-1885', Crown Law Office, November 2005, Wai 1130 #A52, p34 (footnote 72), 38. Russell served as a Member of the House of Representatives between 1861 and 1865 and afterwards remained closely connected to leading political figures. Through to the mid-1880s, Russell was the subject of persistent rumours alleging that his friends in government were all too

later, this partnership – referred to here as the Morrin-Studholme partnership, in recognition of the principal partners – began occupying lands in the Murimotu district, including what would later be known as the Rangipo Waiu block. Around the same time, Richard Maney, Hawke's Bay storekeeper and speculator in Maori land, secured informal leasing rights over the Owhaoko and Mangaohane lands.¹⁸⁶

However, while land speculators became involved in land dealings within the inquiry district, their influence was not lasting and was balanced by the presence of other Pakeha whose main focus appears to have been establishing long-term farming ventures. As detailed below, Maney's leasing of the Owhaoko and Mangaohane lands proved to be brief. His leases were secured by John Studholme and his brother Michael (a partnership that ended in 1878, when John took over all the partnership's North Island properties).¹⁸⁷ By 1885, Russell (and also Moorehouse) had bowed out of the Morrin-Studholme partnership, and a few years later, faced with bankruptcy, Morrin himself withdrew.¹⁸⁸ Among the Pakeha pastoralists, John Studholme and the Birch brothers emerged as most significant, in terms of the extent of their occupation rights and the longevity of their presence in the district.¹⁸⁹ It is evident that their principal focus was on establishing profitable farming operations. As detailed below, they invested in the development of these enterprises, seemingly with long-term aims. Studholme, while based in the South Island and with interests in properties in both islands, evidently took a keen interest in the farming that was undertaken on his estates.¹⁹⁰

ready to grant him favours. R.C.G. Stone, 'Russell, Thomas', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 22 July 2015.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1r20/russell-thomas>

¹⁸⁶ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p34. Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p8.

¹⁸⁷ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, pp10-11.

¹⁸⁸ Horan, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaea, and Rangipo-Waiu', p182.

¹⁸⁹ Azim and William Birch evidently occupied the Oruamatua-Kaianawa block for many years. Riseborough states that the brothers initially farmed the block as a partnership, but later divided their operation, with one occupying the homestead block (Ohinewairua Station) and the other an area known as the Erewhon block (Erewhon Station). Studholme maintained land interests in the inquiry district until his death in 1903, following which his sons (who had managed his estates since 1889) relinquished and sold his interests in the Owhaoko and Mangaohane blocks. Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p8, 13-14.

¹⁹⁰ According to Riseborough, Studholme's manager at Owhaoko, R.T. Warren, kept Studholme closely informed about all aspects of the farming operation on the Owhaoko and Mangaohane lands as well as developments concerning the leases. Warren was manager at Owhaoko for over 20 years from at least 1883. Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, pp11-12.

Early Maori involvement in sheep farming

Maori involvement in the emerging pastoral economy was not limited to receiving indirect income from the leasing arrangements they entered into with Pakeha. Those with interests in the grasslands of the north of the inquiry district showed a strong desire to participate in sheep farming and, soon after the Birchs' had introduced their stock, some began running sheep. It is likely that Maori directed some of the money they received from leasing towards acquiring sheep. In several cases, Maori entered the industry in partnership with Europeans. The available evidence sheds little light on the exact nature of these arrangements. Some of the Pakeha involved possibly viewed the partnerships as a means of circumventing the invalid legal status of pre-title dealings. While the Maori partner provided the necessary grazing land, it is likely that in return the Pakeha partner would have shouldered most, if not all of the stocking costs. The Pakeha partner is also likely to have contributed through bringing existing farming experience and expertise to the venture, including knowledge relating to animal management and disease control.¹⁹¹

Maori involvement in sheep farming appears to have been underway by 1870, when Henare Kepa (also known as Henare Akatarewa) formed a partnership with Robert Batley at Moawhango.¹⁹² Batley had moved to the district in 1868, when he began working for the Birch brothers. The available sources provide little information about the partnership and the lands it grazed. In 1871, a bale of wool produced by Kepa and Batley – alleged to be the first partly Maori-owned wool produced in Inland Patea – was sold in London.¹⁹³ For reasons that are unclear, the partnership had ended by 1874, when Batley was again working for the Birch brothers. Later, in 1882, he opened a store and then a post office at Moawhango, which became the service centre for the district's developing pastoral economy. Batley became involved in carting produce from the inland sheep stations and also began leasing land for his own flocks.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Control of scab, footrot, ticks and lice was the focus of disease control efforts. Public measures were introduced to combat scab, including prohibition of movement of infected sheep. Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p33.

¹⁹² R.A.L. Batley, 'Batley, Robert Thompson', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 22 July 2015.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b10/batley-robert-thompson>

Stirling notes evidence that suggests that Maori may have first brought sheep into the district in 1859. However, it seems that any farming operations associated with this was very limited in scale. Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p582.

¹⁹³ *Otago Witness*, 15 March 1905, pp21-22.

¹⁹⁴ Batley, 'Batley, Robert Thompson'.

Another Maori sheep farming initiative commenced around the time the Kepa-Batley partnership was operating. In about 1872, the influential Ngai Te Upokoiri leader Renata Kawepo began running sheep within the inquiry district on part of what later became known as the Rangipo Waiu block.¹⁹⁵ One source indicates that Ngati Tama and Ngati Whiti Maori also had an interest in this venture.¹⁹⁶ Kawepo apparently moved sheep onto the land with the agreement of Whanganui iwi-affiliated leaders Te Keepa and Topia Turoa. Again, little is known about the Maori sheep farming operation on Rangipo Waiu at this time, including the number of stock grazed.

Kawepo also began running sheep within what later became the Owahaoko block. An Irish migrant, G.P. Donnelly, joined Kawepo in this venture.¹⁹⁷ Donnelly initially appears to have worked as Kawepo's manager, but subsequently they formed a partnership.¹⁹⁸ In his annual report for 1874, the Native Department's district officer at Napier, Samuel Locke, recorded that 'Renata Kawepo... in partnership with a European, is stocking a large run at Owahaoko'.¹⁹⁹ It is uncertain how many sheep were run by Kawepo and Donnelly at this time. Locke also noted another, small-scale Maori sheep farming initiative at Patea, detailing that Henare Kaka was running 'a small flock... to which he pays much attention'.²⁰⁰ No further evidence has been located regarding Kaka's venture.

Pakeha runholders secure rights over further Maori land

At the same time, Pakeha pastoralists were continuing their efforts to secure occupation rights in the district. In the early 1870s, in response to pre-title dealings between Maori and Pakeha regarding lands in the Murimotu district, the government became involved in some of these negotiations. Reflecting government policies of the time, the government sought to prevent private interests from securing control of these lands, which included the Rangipo Waiu block and adjoining lands lying outside of the inquiry district

¹⁹⁵ Horan, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaea, and Rangipo-Waiu, 1874-1885', p81, 94.

¹⁹⁶ Nicholas Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000', Waitangi Tribunal, June 2004, Wai 2180 #A23, p77.

¹⁹⁷ Donnelly's interest in the district dated from the late 1860s, when he had sought to acquire a run on land adjacent to the land taken up by the Birch brothers. Russell and Whitmore to Locke, 18 March 1868, 'Letter from the Hon. Mr Russell, enclosing letters referred to by the Hon. Mr Ormond in his speech of 6th September, 1877, together with statement by the Hon. Mr Russell', AJHR, 1877, H-31, p4.

¹⁹⁸ A brother of Donnelly's may also have had an interest in this arrangement. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 23 February 1881, p3.

¹⁹⁹ Locke to Native Minister, 30 May 1874, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1874, G-2, p21.

²⁰⁰ Locke to Native Minister, 30 May 1874, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1874, G-2, p21.

– a sizeable area believed to be of value for settlement purposes.²⁰¹ The government looked to lease the land itself from the owners and prohibit private dealings with Maori.²⁰² However, it was prepared to make concessions (in the form of sub-leases) to private interests who had begun negotiating with Maori or had already secured arrangements to occupy land. From 1874, without consulting Maori, the government entered into agreements with a number of such parties.

The first of these agreements, reached in March 1874, was with the Morrin-Studholme partnership.²⁰³ The lands covered by this agreement included the areas that would later comprise the Rangipo Waiu block (98,000 acres) and adjacent Murimotu block (46,403 acres), which lies outside the inquiry district. In return for supporting the Crown's leasing objectives, the agreement provided that the partnership would be able to sublease the land from the Crown after it had passed through the Court.²⁰⁴ Around the time the agreement was reached, and before securing the permission of all owners, Morrin and Studholme introduced sheep and cattle on the ground.²⁰⁵ It is unclear how many stock the partnership started running at this time, but in early 1875 it moved 7,000 more sheep onto the land.²⁰⁶

Around the same time, Studholme, in partnership with his brother Michael, was looking to gain grazing rights over other lands in the district. From the mid-1870s, the Studholme brothers secured leasehold interests across substantial portions of the Owhaoko block (163,432 acres) and the Mangaohane block (54,342 acres). They worked these blocks together, with Mangaohane providing useful lower-level grazing that was suitable for

²⁰¹ Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu', p31, 42-43. The government's views regarding the value of these lands appears to have been at odds with the opinions of some individuals who were familiar with the area. Travelling through the district in late 1867, Hector considered 'the area of good country in the Rangipo has been very much over-estimated, and there is hardly too much for one good run, and certainly not more than for two'. These comments, he stressed, did not apply to 'the Patea country'. Hector, memorandum, 'Letter from the Hon. Mr Russell, enclosing letters referred to by the Hon. Mr Ormond in his speech of 6th September, 1877, together with statement by the Hon. Mr Russell', AJHR, 1877, H-31, p5. Years later, in 1881, Native Minister Bryce would also state that the land was of little value for agricultural settlement. Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu', p128.

²⁰² In September 1874, a proclamation (which was issued under the Immigration and Public Works Acts 1870 and 1874) prohibited all private dealings in the area. *New Zealand Gazette*, 1874, pp633-636. Horan, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaia, and Rangipo-Waiu', p84.

²⁰³ According to one contemporary source, Morrin, Studholme, and others had about two years previously commenced efforts to acquire the whole interior Murimotu country, an estimated area of about one and a half million acres. Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu', p48.

²⁰⁴ Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu', pp52-54.

²⁰⁵ Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu', p55, 98.

²⁰⁶ Horan, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaia, and Rangipo-Waiu', p94.

lambling and wintering stock.²⁰⁷ As noted above, pre-title leasing rights over the Owhaoko and Mangaohane lands had initially been acquired by Richard Maney, Hawke's Bay storekeeper and speculator in Maori land.²⁰⁸ It is doubtful that Maney introduced sheep onto these lands. The Bank of Australasia acquired his leasehold interests in both blocks, allegedly because he had insufficient capital to develop the land.²⁰⁹ In 1876, with the title determination process underway, the Studholmes took over the Owhaoko lease.²¹⁰ The following year, they also acquired the Mangaohane lease, which covered about 30,000 acres. Macgregor states that the Studholme brothers paid £25,000 for the Mangaohane and Owhaoko leases, though they were legally invalid.²¹¹ In October 1878, they signed a fresh and formal 21-year lease for occupation of most of the Owhaoko lands. The lease covered several subdivisions, an area of about 155,000 acres.²¹² On 31 July 1878, before this lease was signed, the Studholme brothers had dissolved their partnership, a development that saw John take over all the North Island properties that the partnership held.²¹³

Continuing Maori involvement in sheep farming and conflicts over land use rights

From the mid-1870s, Maori also began farming areas within the Mangaohane block, evidently occupying land alongside the Studholme's interest. In about 1874, Donnelly moved the sheep that he and Kawepo had been running at Owhaoko onto the block. In 1875, Locke's annual report again noted Kawepo's involvement in sheep farming, stating that he was running 'a considerable flock' at Inland Patea.²¹⁴ (One source indicates that the flock may have been in the order of 4,000 sheep.²¹⁵) The movement of Kawepo and Donnelly's sheep onto the Mangaohane block brought Kawepo into dispute with Ngati Whitikaupeka leader Hiraka Te Rango, who resented

²⁰⁷ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, pp16-17.

²⁰⁸ Fisher and Stirling state that Maney entered into an informal agreement to lease the Owhaoko block sometime between 1871 and 1874, when the block was surveyed. It is unclear when Maney's lease over the Mangaohane block was entered into, though it may have been around the same time. Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p34.

²⁰⁹ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p34. Miriam Macgregor, *Mangaohane: The Story of a Sheep Station*, Hastings Herald-Tribune Print, Hastings, 1978, pp12-14. Riseborough explains that Maney also used the surnames names Marney and Rainey. Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p8.

²¹⁰ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p34.

²¹¹ Macgregor, *Mangaohane*, p14.

²¹² Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp36-37. Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p9, 289 (chapter one, endnote 5).

²¹³ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, pp16-17.

²¹⁴ Locke to Native Department, 29 May 1875, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1875, G-1, p17.

²¹⁵ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p175.

Kawepo's assumption of control over the Owhaoko lands and did not welcome his coming onto Mangaohane.²¹⁶

Kawepo and Donnelly's sheep remained on the land, but their partnership broke down in about 1877, when Donnelly married the chief's great-niece, Airini.²¹⁷ Each took the other to the Supreme Court, seeking a determination of the partnership's finances and assets. The Court ordered that all of the sheep were to be sold by public auction. Renata purchased some of the sheep and also acquired 6,000 additional sheep from his neighbour and new sometime-business partner, John Studholme. Donnelly formed a new partnership with Hiraka Te Rango and together they purchased the remainder of the auctioned sheep.²¹⁸ Later describing the partnership, Hiraka explained that: '[He] was to have the sheep, and the land was to remain in my possession.'²¹⁹ Kawepo and the Donnelly-Te Rango partnership both looked to continue grazing on the Mangaohane land, though disputes between the two parties persisted as steps were taken to have the land surveyed and brought before the Court.²²⁰ The initial title investigation hearing was held between November 1884 and March 1885.

Kawepo's sheep farming efforts on Rangipo Waiu block were probably also affected by conflicts over occupation rights. As set out in Table 5, the earliest official returns of sheep ownership indicate that by the late 1870s there were no Maori-owned sheep on Rangipo Waiu. Morrin and Studholme gained control of the land, with the government fulfilling the conditions of the agreement it had reached with the partnership in March 1874. Following title investigation in 1881, the government formalised a lease with most of the owners, and in 1885 subleased about 89,269 acres of the Rangipo Waiu land to Morrin and Studholme. (By this time, the other individuals involved in the partnership had withdrawn and were not party to the sublease.²²¹) The lease also covered lands located outside the inquiry district, notably the Murimotu block, and amounted to a total area of 200,000 acres, which

²¹⁶ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp175-176.

²¹⁷ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p34, 176. This marriage took place in December 1877. S.W. Grant, 'Donnelly, Airini', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 31 July 2015. URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2d14/donnelly-airini>

²¹⁸ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 23 February 1881, p3.

²¹⁹ Napier Native Land Court minute book, No.9, p402, cited in Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p176.

²²⁰ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp176-178.

²²¹ Horan, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaia, and Rangipo-Waiu', p180.

became known as the ‘Murimotu Run’.²²² For a few years in the mid-1880s, from around the time the sublease was finalised, Maori may have run sheep again on the Rangipo Waiu land – upon areas that had not been leased, which amounted to 8,331 acres. Table 5 records that, between 1885 and 1887, Hiraka Te Rango and Ihakara Te Raro ran between 1,200 and 1,800 sheep at ‘Rangipo’ and ‘Ruapehu’.

Sheep ownership data, 1879-1890

Data on the number of sheep held by individual owners in the Mokai Patea district is available for years from 1879. Under the Sheep Act 1878, which was introduced to provide for the eradication of scab in sheep, individual owners were required each year to furnish a return setting out the number of sheep and lambs they owned and to pay a fee of two shillings for every hundred sheep or lambs. Owners who failed to provide a return were liable for a fine not exceeding £20, while the Crown could recover unpaid fees through Court proceedings.²²³ As well as preparing annual tabulated returns, sheep inspectors sometimes also commented on the development of the industry within their districts.

In spite of the obligations placed on sheep owners, it is possible that the early tabulated returns that relate to the Mokai Patea district were not entirely complete, in part because of the isolation of the area, which may have limited enforcement of the Act’s provisions. Details concerning the location of flocks are in some instances also difficult to determine and it is not always clear whether some are located within or outside the inquiry district. (The location of flocks at ‘Kaingaroa, Moawhango’, for example, is uncertain.) The returns nevertheless provide an indication of the significance of the pastoral economy in the northern inquiry district and the extent of Maori involvement. Table 5 sets out relevant details extracted from the annual sheep returns for the years from 1879 to 1890. The earliest return provided figures for sheep numbers at 1 May 1878, but did not include any details concerning holdings in the inquiry district. The Sheep Inspector at Napier, however, estimated that there was about 100,000 sheep in Inland Patea at this time, and he noted that sheep in this area would be included in future returns.²²⁴

²²² The Rangipo-Murimotu Agreement Validation Act 1882 empowered the government to give effect to the 1874 agreement. Bayley, ‘Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu’, pp 113-122, 127-133, 155-156, 169-175.

²²³ Sections 21 and 22, Sheep Act 1878.

²²⁴ Peacock to Sheep Inspector’s Office, Napier, undated, ‘Sheep inspectors’ reports, for year ended 31st December 1878’, AJHR, 1879, Session II, H-9, p1.

Table 5: Annual returns of sheep owners in northern lands of Taihape inquiry district, 1879-1890²²⁵

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 31 May)											
		1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
Maori													
Erueti Araui	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1000	1700	3000	5150
Eruini Akatarewa	Wainui, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	700	700	800	800
Airini Donnelly	Mangaohane	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22700	33059	30090	27278	21642
Noa Huke and Aronoa	Kaingaroa, Hastings/ Moawhango	-	-	1062	700	676	500	-	-	-	-	-	-
Waikare Karaitiane	Kaingaroa, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5000	6000	6600
Henare Kepa	Erehon	-	-	-	-	4000	4500	5000	5500	5000	4400	5000	6900
Ani Kingi	Wainui Run, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6000	7000	9500	10000	8500
Paurini Rawa Kopura	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1000	1000	900
Irimana Ngahou	Waiokaho, Erehon	-	290	581.	500	500	450	500	600	600	500	700	700
Horima Paerau	Makokomiko, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1000	-	-	-	-
Paki Paihau	Wainui, Patea	6000	4614	6000	8100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Te Hau Paimarire	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	900	-	-	1025	700	500	500
Ani Paki	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	6000	-	-	-	-	-
Puti Paranihi	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	150
Tawhi Paranihi	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	550	800
Heperi Pikirangi	Moawhango, Erehon	-	-	1000	-	700	640	600	700	500	800	820	1690
Tuakau Pine	Opaea, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	1600	120	1700	2000	-	2300
Ropoama Pohe	Hihitahi, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	400	400	600

²²⁵ The data presented in this table is derived from annual published sheep returns. See: AJHR, 1880, H-9; AJHR, 1882, H-7; AJHR, 1883, H-19; AJHR, 1884, H-3; AJHR, 1885, H-11; AJHR, 1886, H-8; AJHR, 1888, H-13; AJHR, 1891, Session II, H-15A. See also: *New Zealand Gazette*, 1888, No.62; *New Zealand Gazette*, 1889, No.68. Misspelled names and placenames have been corrected in the table.

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 31 May)											
		1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
Whaanga Te Koro	Tapuae, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	72	-
Hiraka Te Rango and Ani Paki	Erewhon		-	-	-	8050	6000	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hiraka Te Rango	Tutupapa and Pungatawa, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	5000	-	-	-	-	-
Hiraka Te Rango	Rangipo, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	1200	-	-	-	-	-
Hoera Te Rango	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2000	3500	3400	4500
Taiaru Te Rango	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1800	1800
Ihakara Te Raro	Ruapehu, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	1700	1800	1500	450	-	-
Raureti	Tapuae, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	89
Hori Tongaru	Waiokaha, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1000	1100	1100
Kingi Topia	Turangarere, Napier	-	-	800	2024.	1986	1900	2000	-	-	-	2000	2500
Anaru Te Wanikau	Kaingaroa, Erewhon/ Hastings	-	-	376	1000	650	640	600	-	-	-	-	-
Winiata Te Whaaro	Waiokaha, Erewhon	-	1500	2854	3000	2800	3300	3700	5000	5400	3000	4000	5000
Subtotal (Maori)		6000	6404	12673	15324	19362	18830	27900	43420	59884	64740	68550	72221
Maori-Pakeha partnerships													
Kerei Te Hokowitu and Mitchell	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1000	-	-	-
Paerau and Batley	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4220	6000	6000	6000	6000
Hiraka Te Rango and G.P. Donnelly	Tutupapa, Erewhon/ Moawhango	4650	3518	8150	5400	3360	3900	-	7400	-	-	-	-
Hiraka Te Rango and G.P. Donnelly	Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	2100	-	-	-	-	-	-

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 31 May)											
		1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
Anaru Te Wanikau and Boyd	Kaingaroa, Hastings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	500	5000	-	-	-
Anaru Te Wanikau and Boyd	Kaingaroa and Timahanga, Hastings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6000	7000	8000
Subtotal (partnerships)		4650	3518	8150	5400	3360	6000	-	12120	12000	12000	13000	14000
Pakeha													
Birch Brothers	Oruamatua, Erehon	-	38400	38900	38000	40400	42420	44200	50140	53500	54000	54100	55100
Robert Jones	Hautapu, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	450	500
C. Mitchell	Turangarere	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1000	1150	1425	1350
Northern Investment Co. (c/o P.S. McLean, Tapuaeharuru)	Rangipo, Napier	-	-	-	4500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Smith and Walker	Rangipo, Taupo	-	6500	7500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Studholme Brothers	Owhaoko, Patea	38324	41531	46000	43963	43740	46960	50000	56791	63000	-	-	-
John Studholme	Owhaoko, Napier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59000	59000	61500
Studholme, Morrin and Co.	Patea / Erehon [Murimotu Run]	30004	33938	36033	39571	35334	36900	33470	35064	40500	40600	40500	46000
R. Sutherland and Co.	Tutupapa, Moawhango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9500	11908	13410
Subtotal (Pakeha)		68328	120369	128433	126034	119474	126280	127670	141995	158000	164250	167383	177860
Total		78978	130291	149256	146758	142196	151110	155570	197535	229884	240990	248933	264081

Table 5 records that Maori sheep operations increased between 1879 and 1890, with the number of wholly Maori-owned flocks rising from three in 1880, to 11 in 1885, and to 20 in 1890.²²⁶ It is notable that the sheep returns do not record that Renata Kawepo owned any sheep in the Mokai Patea district, though other sources indicate that he had stock on Mangaohane until at least 1881.²²⁷ (The returns do, however, include details of flocks that Kawepo owned in Hawke's Bay. Hiraka Te Rango also ran sheep in that district.) It is possible that Kawepo's sheep are those that are detailed as belonging to Paki Paihu. Paihu, whose iwi affiliation is unclear, had interests in lands on the eastern side of the Ruahine Ranges and may have been managing Kawepo's farming operation in the Mokai Patea district.²²⁸ The size of the flock attributed to him appears to be consistent with the number of sheep that Kawepo had on Mangaohane. Moreover, details concerning the flock disappear from the sheep returns around the time that Kawepo's stock appear to have been driven off the land in connection with his dispute with Donnelly and Hiraka.²²⁹

As well as recording that the number of Maori sheep owners increased, the returns show an increase in the number of Maori-owned animals. The number of wholly-owned Maori sheep climbed from 6,404 in 1880, to 27,900 in 1885, and to 72,221 in 1890. The 1890 figure, it should be noted, includes 21,642 sheep on Mangaohane that are stated as belonging to Airini Donnelly. These sheep may have been jointly owned by Airini and George Donnelly, her Pakeha husband. Table 5 records a small increase in the number of flocks owned by Maori-Pakeha partnerships over these years. Excluding any partnership between Airini and George Donnelly on Mangaohane, two Maori-Pakeha partnerships existed in 1890, holding 14,000 sheep between them. In total, the 1890 returns record that Maori in the north of the inquiry district owned – by themselves or in partnership with Pakeha – some 86,221 sheep. The bulk of these animals were run on the Mangaohane, Timahanga, and Awarua blocks. By 1890, as discussed further in the next chapter, the open grasslands of the latter block appear to have been the focus of Maori sheep farming efforts.

Though the number of Maori-owned sheep grew considerably from the early 1870s, Pakeha runholders continued to dominate sheep ownership in the northern half of the inquiry district. The number of Pakeha-owned sheep

²²⁶ The 1885 figure includes two separate flocks owned by Hiraka Te Rango.

²²⁷ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 23 February 1881, p3.

²²⁸ Paki Paihau had an interest in the Ngatarawa block. See Ormond to McLean, 21 July 1871, Donald McLean, Inward Letters – J.D. Ormond, MS-Papers-0032-0485, 1871-1872, ATL.

²²⁹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 23 February 1881, p3.

(excluding those farmed in partnership with Maori) also increased, though at a lesser rate – from 120,369 in 1880, to 127,670 in 1885, and to 177,860 in 1890.²³⁰ Pakeha sheep ownership throughout the period was overwhelmingly dominated by the three large runholding operations of Studholme, the Morrin-Studholme partnership, and the Birch brothers, who in 1890 collectively accounted for about 91 percent of Pakeha-owned sheep and about 62 percent of all sheep run in the modern-day inquiry district. Table 5 also details the emergence, by this time, of several smaller Pakeha-owned flocks, grazing on land either leased or purchased from Maori

Pakeha runholders – investment and profitability

In order to establish and develop their runs, the large Pakeha runholders appear to have invested significant sums of money. However, this investment – in respect of the Studholme and the Morrin-Studholme partnership operations, at least – did not necessarily deliver profitable returns. As well as the cost of renting Maori land and the expenses involved in putting leases on a legal footing, the Pakeha runholders also spent money on farm development. John Studholme, for example, invested heavily in his operations on the Owhaoko and Mangaohane blocks. Macgregor details that, after the Studholme brothers had paid £25,000 for the pre-title leases, John Studholme spent further money on farm development, raising finance against a mortgage over the family's property in South Canterbury.²³¹ Studholme initially secured an advance of £4,000 for station expenses in April 1879.²³² While it was possible to start farming quickly and without much cost on the Inland Patea grasslands, this illustrates that money was nevertheless required to develop a long-term farming operation. Studholme presumably spent money on the acquisition of sheep and it would also have been necessary to develop stock facilities, including shearing sheds. A large fourteen-stand shearing shed was built on Mangaohane and other sheds were also erected on the Ngamatea and Mangataramaea areas that Studholme occupied.²³³ It is unclear whether Studholme acquired shearing machines, which began to be introduced in the 1880s.²³⁴

Money was possibly also spent on the construction of fencing, though evidence regarding this has not been located. Nationally, during the 1870s, the erection of wire fencing accounted for a considerable increase in the area

²³⁰ The 1880 figure includes 6,500 sheep owned by Smith and Walker at 'Rangipo, Taupo', though it is unclear whether these animals were grazed within the inquiry district.

²³¹ Macgregor, *Mangaohane*, p14.

²³² Macgregor, *Mangaohane*, p14.

²³³ Macgregor, *Mangaohane*, p14.

²³⁴ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p34.

of fenced farmland – a development that enabled stock to be managed more closely.²³⁵ Road and track construction and improvement were another potential cost. There is evidence that the Birch brothers, at least, took responsibility for making and maintaining part of the important track that connected Moawhango with Napier. According to an 1884 report in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, the brothers had ten years earlier formed the 14 miles of track that lay between Moawhango and the Rangitikei River and had maintained it since this time.²³⁶ The large runholders also would have faced ongoing labour costs. Studholme, who was based in the South Island, employed managers for both the Murimotu Run and the Owhaoko-Mangaohane Run.²³⁷

While evidence concerning the profitability of the Birchs' operation has not been located, the Studholme and Morrin-Studholme operations both suffered from financial difficulties. In the 1880s, according to Riseborough, the Murimotu Run and Owhaoko-Mangaohane Run lost money.²³⁸ This situation, at least in part, reflected pressures stemming from market conditions, and in particular a general decline in wool prices during the late nineteenth century.²³⁹ Owing to changes in manufacturing processes, prices for merino wool declined especially, prompting farmers to turn to 'half-bred' sheep that provided better returns.²⁴⁰ Studholme attempted to adapt to this situation, and by the 1880s the Murimotu and Owhaoko-Mangaohane flocks included both merinos and half-breeds.²⁴¹

The Maori farming economy in the north

Maori faced the same difficult market conditions, but this did not dampen their interest in running sheep. As detailed above, the number of Maori farmers in the northern part of the Mokai Patea district increased during this period, and there was a corresponding increase in the number of Maori-

²³⁵ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p32. In 1879, the Chief Inspector of Sheep for the Hawke's Bay district commented that depressed market conditions were restricting fence construction on station properties. 'Sheep inspectors' reports, for year ended 31st December 1878', AJHR, 1879, AJHR, 1879, Session II, H-9, p1. A few years later, the Superintending Inspector of Sheep stated that, nationally, a significant decline in the number of scab-infected sheep was due to a 'vast amount of fencing that has been erected during the past three years'. 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 31st May, 1882', AJHR, 1883, H-19, p1.

²³⁶ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 April 1884, p3.

²³⁷ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p11.

²³⁸ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p17.

²³⁹ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, pp34-35.

²⁴⁰ Hugh Stringleman and Robert Peden, 'Sheep farming'.

²⁴¹ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p17.

owned sheep.²⁴² A major obstacle that Maori farmers in the north of the inquiry district faced at this time was securing workable land use rights under which farming operations could be carried out. Where land was held under customary title, there were sometimes disputes about who possessed authority to utilise or lease the land. However, for reasons that are discussed later in the chapter, determining ownership in the Native Land Court often proved to be very drawn out and costly, involving expenditure that might otherwise have been invested in farming operations. Moreover, as discussed in the following chapter, the titles that the Court issued were associated with several problems that undermined the ability of Mokai Patea Maori to utilise their lands effectively.

As well as costs associated with securing title, Maori sheep owners – like the Pakeha runholders — also would have faced development and operational costs. However, before title was settled and interests defined on the ground, Maori land owners may have been reluctant to invest substantially in improvements and, if they did so, potentially would have faced resistance from other owners. This might explain why little fencing appears to have been erected on land that Maori were farming around Moawhango, presumably within the Awarua block. A newspaper report written in March 1890 noted that sheep at Moawhango were ‘all run together’, but at docking time all ewes and lambs were mustered and individual farmers took lambs in proportion to the number of ewes he owned.²⁴³ While a lack of secure title may have encouraged Maori to opt for a low cost structure, some minimum investment was nevertheless required to get sheep on the ground and establish basic operational facilities. It is evident, for example, that in the early 1880s Hiraka and Donnelly had stock yards on the Mangaohane block.²⁴⁴

Maori sheep owners also bore labour costs, with some evidently employing Pakeha workers. In April 1888, when visiting Moawhango to assess whether a Native School might be established, the Inspector of Native Schools, James Pope, observed that many Maori living in the area had Europeans working for them.²⁴⁵ Maori may have employed Pakeha in order to access farming

²⁴² Producing more wool through running larger flocks was one way of countering declining wool prices, though increased production could also be achieved through more careful animal management practices and the intensification of farming operations. As a result of the greater intensification of farming, there was a doubling of the average amount of wool secured from a sheep during the nineteenth century. Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p35.

²⁴³ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 19 March 1890, p3.

²⁴⁴ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 20 March 1883, p4.

²⁴⁵ Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 27 April 1888, BAAA A440 1001 Box 965b 44/6, Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango, 1945-1963, NA Auckland.

expertise and experience. (As noted earlier, entering into joint partnerships with Pakeha offered Maori a potential means of accessing farming expertise without having to directly pay wage costs.) By the end of the period covered in this chapter, however, Maori had been involved in sheep farming for about 20 years and would have gained significant knowledge. Some individuals had many years' experience, including, for example, Henare Kepa, who in 1870 had initially started in partnership with R.T. Batley and, as detailed in Table 5, appears to have begun running sheep again in the mid-1880s. By 1890, Winiata Te Whaaro and Irimana Ngahou had been farming for almost ten years on the Mangaohane block.

Income from leasing may have been directed towards meeting the various costs that Mokai Patea Maori farmers faced. Also, where Maori had entered into partnerships with Pakeha, it is likely that the Pakeha partner would have paid a greater share of the costs. While some expenses would have been met from these sources, it is clear that Maori also entered into financial loan arrangements before 1890. Some of the money raised from these loans was evidently directed towards farm development, with money also directed towards payment of Land Court expenses.

In April 1890, a correspondent for the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 'Patea', who wrote in support of Maori efforts to utilise the Awarua block, stated that the 'native wool growers' of Inland Patea were paying interest of about £2,000 to the banks and other financial institutions of Napier for cash advanced for the purchase of sheep.²⁴⁶ Drawing on information provided when debt proceedings were taken against some Mokai Patea Maori in the late 1880s and 1890s, Stirling states that these loans carried interest rates of between six to eight percent.²⁴⁷ Based on such rates, the total borrowings of the sheep farmers in 1890 would have amounted to between about £25,000 and £32,000.

Issues concerning Maori access to lending finance are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. In particular, the discussion focuses on the extent to which Mokai Patea Maori were able secure loans against their land. An important point to note here is that the early loan arrangements that Mokai Patea entered into were evidently leveraged against their flocks and annual wool clip. As discussed in chapter three, several obstacles prevented Mokai Patea Maori from using their land as security to raise finance. It is very likely that the loans they secured against their flocks and wool clips carried higher interest rates. This is because, for lenders, there was more risk

²⁴⁶ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 April 1890, p2.

²⁴⁷ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p588.

associated with sheep and wool, which did not offer the same level of lending security as land.

The high interest rates that Maori borrowers faced would have affected the profitability of Maori sheep farming operations, and they meant that Maori borrowers were more vulnerable to market changes or fluctuations in wool production. In May 1887, Hiraka Te Rango filed for bankruptcy, no doubt with a high debt burden. (Around this time, Hiraka was described as the leading chief at Moawhango.²⁴⁸) Some two years later, in August 1889, Hiraka's father, Ihakara Te Raro, was also declared bankrupt.²⁴⁹ As detailed above, Hiraka was prominently involved in sheep farming, and Ihakara also owned sheep. In Table 5, Hiraka and Ihakara are last listed as sheep owners in 1886 and 1887 respectively.

In spite of the experiences of Hiraka Te Rango and Ihakara Te Raro, and though the debt situation of Mokai Patea Maori sheep farmers would worsen during the 1890s, it appears that Maori were able to derive an economic benefit from the pastoral economy that developed in the north of the Mokai Patea district between 1865 and 1890. Contemporary observers noted that Maori were enjoying some prosperity as a result of their involvement in the pastoral economy, in spite of increasingly difficult market conditions. In 1888, Native Schools' Inspector Pope commented on what he viewed as the unusually well-off circumstances of Maori at Moawhango:

They are remarkably well to do. Their sources of income are rents from leased land; wool, grown and scoured [washed] by themselves; and flour produced by them at Moawhango. They have five woolsheds and a flour mill; also an accommodation house conducted in the European fashion. In many instances the Maoris have Europeans working for them. There are two stores and a post office here, but these belong to Europeans. On the whole, however, the population of this interesting little township is Maori, though no one passing through it without seeing the inhabitants would suspect this to be the case in view of the tokens of wealth and comfortable circumstances that are everywhere discernible.²⁵⁰

Pope's report also noted that, alongside wool production, Maori at Moawhango had a mill and were earning some income from flour. During

²⁴⁸ Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 27 April 1888, BAAA A440 1001 Box 965b 44/6, Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango, 1945-1963, NA Auckland.

²⁴⁹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p564.

²⁵⁰ Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 27 April 1888, BAAA A440 1001 Box 965b 44/6, NA Auckland. Wool was often scoured to avoid transport costs on unwanted dirt and grease. Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, pp34-35.

the nineteenth century, oats and wheat were the main cereal crops grown in New Zealand, with wheat being produced for both domestic consumption and export. The area of land dedicated to these crops grew considerably during the 1870s. Indeed, wheat growing was the best use of much land until refrigeration made possible a new intensive form of pastoralism, fat lambing.²⁵¹ It is unclear exactly when flour began to be produced at Moawhango, though steps towards setting up a mill and growing wheat were underway from the mid-1870s, no doubt using income from leasing and wool.²⁵² The amount of land set aside for producing wheat at Moawhango is unclear, and it is uncertain how much income Maori earned from selling flour. Nevertheless, Maori efforts to produce flour at Moawhango demonstrate a willingness to take advantage of a range of perceived commercial opportunities and to diversify their land-use activities.

Economic activity in the south, 1865-1890

This section provides an overview of developments in the southern half of the inquiry district between 1865 and 1890. It describes the economic opportunities that existed, the extent to which Maori were able to take advantage of these, and the factors that limited Maori involvement in emerging activities.

Land development obstacles

Unlike the lands that became the focus of early sheep farming operations in the north of the inquiry district, the southern lands were largely forested. As detailed in the previous chapter, there were some clearings on areas of river flat, but these were not extensive. Owing to the forest cover, the lands in the south did not possess the same immediate potential for grazing. Indeed, significant development work and costs were involved in establishing pasture on bush lands. The main method of clearing forest was through burning, which required skill if it were to be effective, and afterwards stumps needed to be cleared and secondary growth controlled.²⁵³ While certain varieties of trees could be milled ahead of pasture conversion, this potential economic opportunity could only be realised if there were adequate

²⁵¹ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, pp35-36.

²⁵² In August 1876, a party of Maori transported mill stones from Napier to Moawhango, though in March 1878 a mill had yet to be built. However, by this time, fencing and ploughing was underway in preparation for growing wheat. The mill that was eventually erected, which Pope later observed, was situated near the mouth of the Tikirere Stream, a tributary of the Moawhango River. R.A.L. Batley, Recommendation for the protection of the Tikirere Mill Race at Moawhango, 14 November 1970. AFIE W5683 619 Box 96 8/4/16, Tikirere Mill Race – Historic Reserve, 1971-1984, ANZ Wellington.

²⁵³ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p31.

transport infrastructure, which was required to establish milling operations and to convey sawn timber to distant markets.

For much of the period, a lack of transport infrastructure presented an obstacle to both agriculture and sawmilling in the southern half of the inquiry district. As noted above, the route of a road was explored up the Rangitikei Valley in 1870 – one of several potential routes explored at this time with the aim of linking Whanganui to Taupo.²⁵⁴ The Rangitikei route was not selected and neither provincial nor central government took immediate steps to form a road up the valley, which would have helped to connect the southern lands of the inquiry district with the settled areas and townships lying to the south. In the late 1870s, the Rangitikei Highways Board and the Rangitikei County Council undertook the first publicly funded road construction, building a road from Marton into the Paraekaretu block, which was being taken up by Pakeha settlers after the government had purchased most of the block in 1872.²⁵⁵ The construction of this road, which extended towards the site of what would later become the settlement of Hunterville, provides an example of how the early provision of public works was closely tied to settler needs.

Little roading appears to have been formed with the objective of providing access to Maori land – an issue that is explored further later in the report. From the mid-1880s, however, some roads built in connection with the NIMT were formed through Maori lands (in both the south and north of the inquiry district). In 1885, soon after work on the railway had commenced from Marton in the south and Te Awamutu in the north, the Public Works Department signalled that roads would be built to facilitate construction. Three years later, in 1888, the Department reported that ‘a good riding road’ had been made along the proposed route of the railway from Hunterville to the Mokau River, a distance of about 170 miles.²⁵⁶ The railway itself was, of course, a major infrastructure development. The objectives surrounding its construction and the economic opportunities that it opened up are examined in greater detail later in the chapter. By 1890, five years after construction began, the railway was open to traffic from the south to Rangitira, 19 miles from Marton.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ See ‘Reports on the practicability of constructing a road from Wanganui to Taupo’, AJHR, 1870, A-5.

²⁵⁵ S.G. Laurenson, *Rangitikei: The Day of Striding Out*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1979, p37, 42-43, 45.

²⁵⁶ Cleaver, ‘Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District’, p179.

²⁵⁷ Cleaver, ‘Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District’, p142.

Leasing of Maori lands in the south

As in the northern part of the inquiry district, Maori looked to lease some lands in the south to Pakeha. While leasing in the southern half of the district possibly commenced in the early 1860s, the earliest clear evidence of leasing concerns agreements entered into at the end of the decade, around the time that leasing began in the north. In terms of the area of Maori land subject to leasing arrangements, leasing in the south proved to be of less significance than in the north. This was no doubt partly because of the bush-covered and generally less accessible nature of the land, which is likely to have limited settler interest in obtaining leases. But the relatively limited scale of leasing also reflected the considerable extent to which land in the south of the inquiry district was alienated through sale during the period – a development that is described in more detail below.

As in the north, leasing in the south was initially based upon informal arrangements between Maori and Pakeha, entered into before blocks were brought before the Native Land Court for title investigation, which began happening from 1870. The earliest such agreement in the south of the district may have been entered into in 1863, when an arrangement involving an area of 500 acres was reached between Major John William Marshall and 'Utiku, Ngatiapa; the representatives of Moroati, Ngatiapa'. However, it is unclear whether the land that was subject to this agreement, described as lying on the north bank of the Rangitikei River, was located in the modern-day inquiry district.²⁵⁸

From the mid-1860s, the Otamakapua lands were the focus of some leasing negotiations. In 1865, 'Potaka' (evidently Aropata, father of Utiku Potaka) agreed to lease on behalf of 'te hapu Ngatiteao – Ngati Hinemanu' a substantial area of Otamakapua lands to George C. Rees, but it seems that Rees never took up the land and the lease lapsed.²⁵⁹ He later explained that, while Maori living locally were supportive of the lease, Renata Kawepo was unwilling for the land to be entered upon by Europeans.²⁶⁰ In 1869, however, S.M. Curl and Major Marshall secured 21 year leases over portions

²⁵⁸ In 1861, Marshall settled at Tutu Totara (on the southern boundary of the inquiry district, east of Marton), where he took up land with his father-in-law, William Swainson. Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p21, 23.

²⁵⁹ A copy of the agreement can be found in MS-Papers-0032-0689a, ATL. Stirling and Subasic, 'Technical Research Scoping Report', p49.

²⁶⁰ The area was estimated to be between 40,000 and 60,000 acres. Rees to McLean, 6 June 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0523, ATL, cited in Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p21.

of what became known as Otamakapua block.²⁶¹ Probably around the same time, another individual, Richard Hammond, acquired a lease over another area of Otamakapua land. In 1870, during title investigation proceedings, the Native Land Court heard that Marshall's lease covered an area called Takapurau (2,454 acres) and that Hammond's was over a larger area known as Mangamoko (6,498 acres). Both leases provided for annual rentals of £100.²⁶²

Located on the southern boundary of the modern-day inquiry district, the 3,075 acre Taraketi block was evidently also the subject of a pre-title leasing agreement. When the block came before the Court in 1877, it was stated to be under lease, with rents being paid to Utiku Potaka.²⁶³ Adjoining and extending northwards from the Taraketi block, the 19,500-acre Rangatira block was (unsurprisingly, given that it was flat and reasonably accessible) also subject to informal pre-title leasing arrangements. In 1882, during title investigation proceedings, the Court heard that several Pakeha – William Hammond, Richard Hammond, Major Marshall, and W.J. Swainson – had all leased parts of the block for grazing cattle.²⁶⁴

For the lands in the southern half of the inquiry district, investigations of title had been completed by the late 1880s.²⁶⁵ After blocks had passed through the Court, some of the informal leasing arrangements were formalised, and in at least one case it seems that a formal lease was entered into where no previous arrangement had existed. Major Marshall and Richard Hammond both maintained their leases over portions of the Otamakapua block. The two leased areas were set aside as a reserve block known as Otamakapua 1, which comprised a total area of 8,952 acres. Title investigation proceedings concerning this land ended in June 1880, ten years after the Otamakapua block had first been brought before the Court.²⁶⁶ Curl, who had also leased an area within the Otamakapua block,

²⁶¹ Hearn variously says that Major Marshall and William Marshall acquired a lease over an area of Otamakapua land in 1869, but it appears that it was Major Marshall who entered into the agreement. William Swainson Marshall was Major Marshall's son and later took over some of the leasehold interests that his father acquired. Around the time the 1869 lease was negotiated, another son, John Willoughby Marshall, appears to have settled on the land that was subject to the lease. He is stated to have occupied land called Te Hekenga, which is the name of an old Maori place of occupation that was later included in the boundaries of Otamakapua 1. Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp21-23, 114, 124.

²⁶² Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p22, 44.

²⁶³ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p184.

²⁶⁴ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p216, 218.

²⁶⁵ The 29,484-acre Waitapu block was an exception. The Crown purchased this block in 1879, without the Court ever awarding title to the land. Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp244-255.

²⁶⁶ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp43-45.

was unable to secure formal leasing rights and the land he occupied appears to have been included within the 104,522-acre Otamakapua 2 block, almost the whole of which passed into Crown ownership in June 1884.²⁶⁷ In 1880, when the Crown was trying to complete its purchase, Curl asked that he be allowed to continue occupying his run after the Crown took possession, but this request was rejected.²⁶⁸

In 1879, five months after the title of the block had been investigated, the owners of the 11,598-acre Ohaumoko block entered into a formal leasing agreement with E.T. Brissenden.²⁶⁹ (Brissenden had previously worked with land speculator Thomas Morrin, on whose behalf he had worked during the mid-1870s to purchase lands in the vicinity of modern-day Morrinsville.²⁷⁰) It appears that the Ohaumoko land had not been subject to an earlier, informal lease. The period of the Brissenden lease was 21 years, dating from 29 July 1879, with an annual rental of £81 10s. Trust Commissioner Heaphy enquired into the lease, approving the proposal without requiring any modification of terms.²⁷¹ In 1881, following title investigation, a formal lease over a 1000-acre portion of the Taraketi (later known as the subdivision Taraketi 1) was also entered into. This lease, in favour of J.W. Marshall, was for a period of 21 years.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p108. Sheep returns show that Curl continued to run sheep after this time, but it is not clear that these animals were pastured within the Otamakapua block. The location of Curl's flock is given simply as 'Marton'. See, for example, 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 31 May, 1885', AJHR, 1886, H-8, section C, p18.

²⁶⁸ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp21-22.

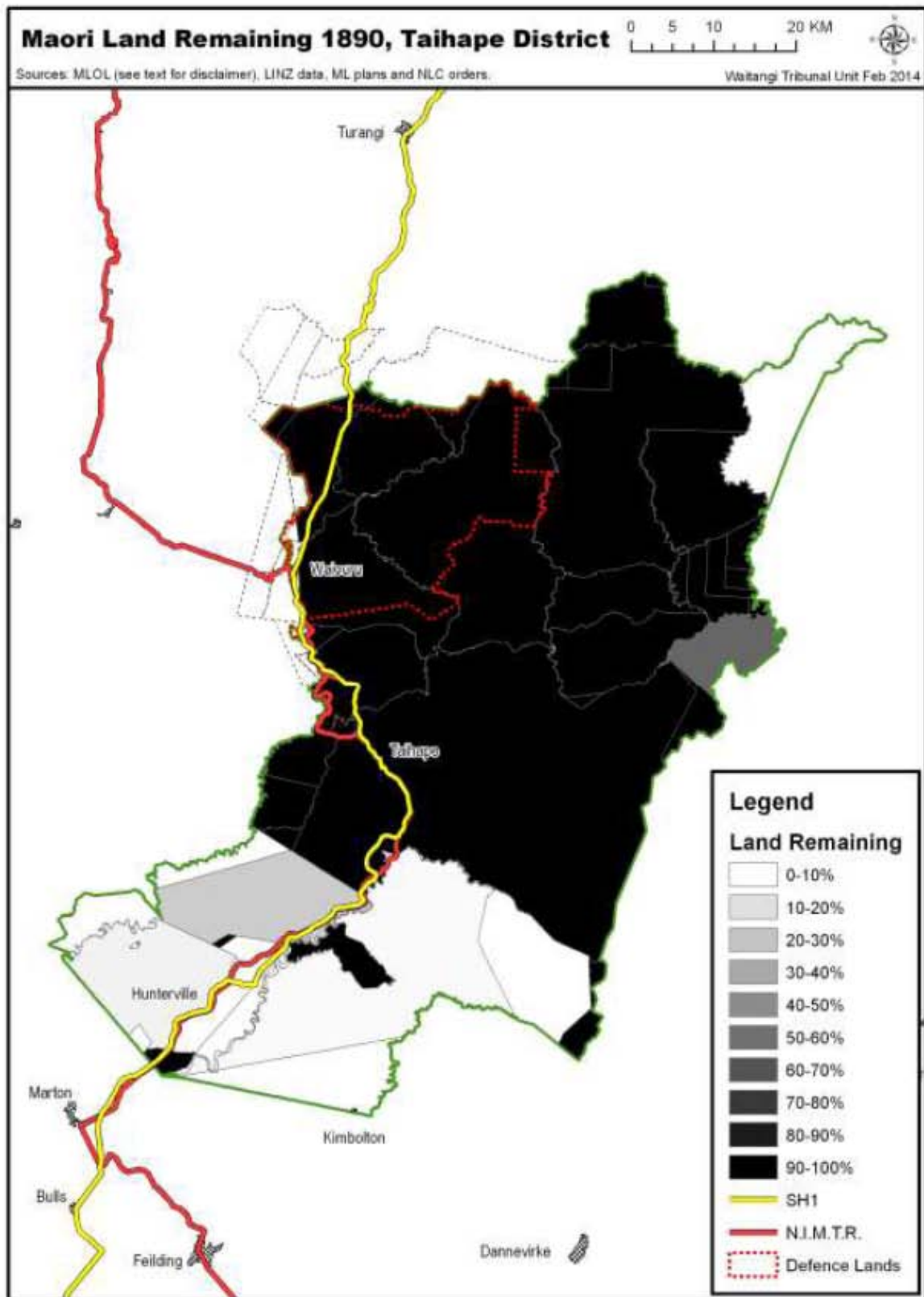
²⁶⁹ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p227.

²⁷⁰ R.C.J. Stone, *Makers of Fortune: A Colonial Business Community and its Fall*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1973, p132.

²⁷¹ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp227-229.

²⁷² Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p186.

Figure 6: Maori land remaining in the Taihape inquiry district, 1890²⁷³



²⁷³ This map was prepared by Craig Innes and originally presented in his land retention and alienation report. See Innes, 'Maori Land Retention and Alienation', Map B-5, p83.

Widespread alienation through sale

While some leasing continued after blocks had passed through the Court, leasing arrangements in the southern half of the inquiry district substantially gave way to permanent alienation through sale. Only the extent of this alienation is noted here. Substantial issues associated with land sales during the period covered in this chapter, which were dominated by government acquisitions, are examined below. Figure 6 shows the lands that remained in Maori ownership in the inquiry district in 1890, illustrating the significant extent to which Maori land in the south of the district had been alienated by this time. With the exception of the Taraketi, Otumore, and Te Kapua blocks as well as the large Awarua block (which straddled the centre of the modern-day inquiry district, with a substantial part of the block lying in the southern half of the district), the primary land blocks of the south were subject to extensive transfer of ownership, which commenced in the early 1870s. By the mid-1880s, the following blocks had wholly passed out of Maori hands: Ohaumoko, Rangatira, Waitapu, Mangoira, while a substantial proportion of the Otairi, Otamakapua, and Paraekaretu lands had also been alienated.²⁷⁴

Maori involvement in land-based activities in the south

The sale and leasing of land clearly limited the area of land that was available to Maori to participate in land-based economic opportunities in the south of the inquiry district. Where land was sold, any potential for Maori utilisation of that land was permanently removed. It is notable that the lands sold in the southern half of the inquiry district during the period examined in this chapter included much of the inquiry district's most valuable land, classified LUC class 1 or 2, with potential for a broad range of uses (see Figure 4). Maori retained a relatively small proportion of this land within the Taraketi block, which was withheld from sale. In terms of current land use, the lands that were sold before the mid-1880s are today dominated by a mixture of high and low producing grassland (see Figure 5). However, before pasture was developed and as the construction of the NIMT progressed, some areas of forest upon these lands became the focus of commercial milling operations – an opportunity that Maori were significantly less able to take advantage of after losing ownership of these areas.

There is little evidence that Maori sought to engage in farming in the south of the inquiry district during the period covered in this chapter. As noted, this was only possible where land had not been alienated through sale or

²⁷⁴ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp31-39.

lease. Within the large Awarua block, Maori sheep farming was evidently confined to the northern portion of the block – the open grasslands that from the written observations of early Pakeha visitors appear to have extended northward from a point near the confluence of the Rangitikei and Moawhango Rivers. Between 1860 and 1890, in the south of the district, Maori efforts to participate directly in the developing agricultural economy seem to have been confined to some small-scale running of sheep near the southern boundary of the district.

In his 1872 annual report, Resident Magistrate of the Rangitikei district W.M. Willis stated that, in addition to the agricultural efforts of Ngati Apa at Parewanui (southwest of Bulls), Maori were farming sheep at Porewa and at Reureu. However, little was being done at other places within his district.²⁷⁵ (Porewa is located southwest of the Taraketi block, just outside the inquiry district, and it is possible that the Maori sheep farming that was stated to be taking place at Porewa extended onto that block. Reureu is located immediately south of the Taraketi block, also outside of the inquiry district, on the true left bank of the Rangitikei River.) Three years later, in 1875, Willis claimed that Maori had largely abandoned agriculture, suggesting this was because income from sales and leases undermined their interest in farming: 'As for agriculture, there has been but little among them, and so long as they are able to supply their wants by the proceeds of the sale or lease of their lands, as has been the case lately, I do not expect them to exert themselves.'²⁷⁶

Contrary to the Resident Magistrate's comments, sheep returns produced from 1879 provide evidence of continuing small-scale Maori farming efforts near the southern boundary of the inquiry district. For the year ending 31 May 1880, for example, an individual named Ramaewa was recorded as owning 100 sheep at Te Houhou (within the Taraketi block). At Porewa, H.M Paetahi and Ramiha Potaka were respectively running 200 and 250 sheep. Another three Maori sheep owners at Reureu – Noa Rauhihi, Tipirini, and Winiata – were running a total of 230 sheep. At Pohui, also just outside of the inquiry district, Raukahawai was running a further 100 sheep.²⁷⁷ By 1890, fewer Maori were running sheep in the area. The return for the year ending 31 May 1890 records only two Maori sheep owners – Hare Tauna and Utiku Potaka, who were running 600 and 200 sheep respectively, both at Te Houhou.²⁷⁸ There is no evidence that Maori in the south of the inquiry

²⁷⁵ Resident Magistrate, Otaki, to Native Minister, 5 July 1872, AJHR, 1872, F-3, p16.

²⁷⁶ Willis to Native Minister, 17 May 1875, AJHR, 1875, G-1, p14.

²⁷⁷ 'Live stock and rabbits', AJHR, 1882, H-7, Return C, pp17-19.

²⁷⁸ 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April, 1891', AJHR, 1891, Session II, H-15A, Return A, pp35-37.

district engaged in agriculture as part of joint-venture partnerships with Pakeha.

Settler dominance of land-based economy in the south

In contrast with the Maori experience, Pakeha farming endeavours in the southern half of the district advanced as land was initially leased and then purchased from Maori. As noted, much of the purchasing in the south during the period examined in this chapter was undertaken by the government, which soon onsold some of this land to Pakeha settlers. Pakeha also acquired some land through direct purchasing, a notable example being the private acquisition of the two Rangatira block subdivisions (Rangatira and Hapopo), which were sold in 1882 and 1883 respectively.²⁷⁹

Sheep returns offer an insight into the progress of Pakeha agricultural activity in the southern half of the inquiry district at the end of the period examined here. The return for the year ending 31 May 1890 records at least 48 Pakeha sheep owners, who were farming variously at Rata, Silverhope, Hunterville, Otairi, and Pemberton. In total, these individuals were running about 42,000 sheep, with flocks that ranged in size from 60 to 5,652 sheep, indicating a range of property sizes and different stages of farm development.²⁸⁰ The extent of cattle grazing at this time is not clear, but it is likely that farmers in the south were running cattle in greater numbers than the north. Where land had been cleared, cattle were sometimes used to break in hill country and improve these areas for sheep farming.²⁸¹ Outside the agricultural sector, as noted above, commercial sawmilling had begun in the south of the inquiry district by 1890. As discussed in the next chapter, this activity, an opportunity that opened up with the construction of the NIMT, was dominated almost entirely by Pakeha, at least partly because of land alienation along the route of the railway.

²⁷⁹ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p224.

²⁸⁰ In some cases it is difficult to determine whether the sheep owners listed in the return were running their flocks within the inquiry district. The figures provided are conservative because they do not take account of these individuals or the animals they owned. For example, J.W. Marshall, located at Tutu Totara and running 5,000 sheep, has not been included. While Tutu Totara is located just outside the inquiry district, it is likely that some of Marshall's sheep were on land in the Taraketi block. As noted above, in 1881 Marshall secured a lease over Taraketi 1, an area of 1,000 acres. 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April, 1891', AJHR, 1891, Session II, H-15A, Return A, pp35-40.

²⁸¹ Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *New Zealand Agriculture*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1974, p113.

Role of the Native Land Court

This section discusses the operation of the Native Land Court and its initial influence on Maori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district between its establishment in the early 1860s and 1890. Focussing on the process of securing title, two issues are examined. The first concerns the extent to which the Court functioned in an efficient, timely, and fair manner when determining Maori ownership interests. The second issue, which is linked to the first, concerns the costs associated with proving ownership and the extent to which these were reasonable. Later chapters examine the role of the Court after 1890, including the extent to which the titles that the Court issued provided a useful platform for Maori to utilise their lands for economic development purposes.

Before looking at the first issue, a brief description is provided here of the establishment and statutory functions of the Court. Other sources should be consulted for further detail on the policies and legislation that underpinned the Court's creation and subsequent operation.²⁸² In brief, the introduction of the Court stemmed from the Native Lands Act 1862, which provided for the establishment of a court or courts to adjudicate upon the ownership of Maori land and to issue titles to individuals. The Act stipulated that ownership had to be defined before Maori land could be sold or leased, and under the Act the Crown waived the right of pre-emption that it had exercised since 1846. The operation of the 1862 Act was initially confined to district courts that worked in a few places in Northland. In December 1864, these courts were disestablished and a general district covering the entire colony was introduced.

The following year, a new statute was passed, the Native Lands Act 1865, which served as the foundation for all subsequent Land Court legislation up to 1909. Williams identifies that the 1865 Act had three objectives: first, to provide for 'the ascertainment' of customary owners; second, to secure 'the extinction of proprietary customs and... the conversion of such modes of ownership into titles derived from the Crown'; and, third, to regulate the 'the descent of such lands when the title thereto is converted'.²⁸³ In order to facilitate the alienation of land, then, the legislation's overriding goal was to determine and extinguish Maori title through the issue of 'paper titles'.

²⁸² See, for example, David Williams, *He Kooti Tango Whenua: The Native Land Court 1864-1909*, Huia, Wellington, 1999.

²⁸³ Preamble, Native Land Act 1865. David Williams, *He Kooti Tango Whenua: The Native Land Court 1864-1909*, Huia, Wellington, 1999, p142.

Upon its establishment, the Court became the most powerful instrument for defining Maori land interests. Traditionally, rangatira and runanga had played an important role in decisions about land allocation and use. The 1860 Kokako meeting, convened partly to settle tribal boundaries, provides an example of traditional efforts to demarcate tribal interests. These efforts continued to a limited extent after the Court began operating. In April 1874, for example, in the midst of pre-title government and private dealings and with Maori-owned sheep on the ground within the Rangipo Waiu block, Te Keepa, Renata Kawepo, and other chiefs met at Putiki in an attempt to reach an agreement about the location of tribal interests in the Murimotu district.²⁸⁴

The Court, however, overshadowed such efforts. Part of the machinery of the state, the Court provided the only legally enforceable tool for determining ownership of Maori land. It was difficult for Maori to avoid engaging with the Court, with title investigation proceedings able to be triggered from the application of a single individual.²⁸⁵ As detailed above, the legislation required that title be determined before Maori land was alienated through sale or leasing, though it has been seen that Taihape Maori were able to earn income from leasing without first securing a Court title. It appears that a key reason for land being brought before the Court was pressure arising from contested and overlapping land interests. While most blocks in the inquiry district were subject to competing claims, issues concerning ownership emerged most conspicuously in the north of the inquiry district and involved the lands that were the focus of pre-title leasing and farming initiatives. A number of pre-title disputes relating to these lands have been noted above.²⁸⁶

Having usurped traditional avenues of dealing with the allocation of land between groups, the Court clearly had an important role. The operation of

²⁸⁴ Resident Magistrate, Upper Whanganui, to Under Secretary, Native Department, 16 June 1874, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1874, G-2, p14. *Waka Maori*, vol. 10, issue 10, 19 May 1874, p126.

²⁸⁵ Under section 83 of the Native Lands Act 1865, the Crown itself was able to have blocks brought before the Court where it had entered into agreements with the owners for the purchase of the land. Later, section 6 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1877 enabled the Crown to apply to the Court to have pre-title advances partitioned out of the blocks concerned. The Crown does not appear to have directly exercised these powers in the Taihape inquiry district. In respect of the southern blocks, however, Hearn notes the possibility that the Crown may have used the provisions indirectly (through encouragement or coercion) to ensure that blocks were brought before the Court. Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p259.

²⁸⁶ There were also other pre-title disputes and tensions. For example, in the case of the Oruamatua Kaimanawa lands, tensions arose over the distribution of rentals. Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp139-140.

the Court and how this influenced Maori economic development will now be examined.

Effectiveness of the Court process

In looking at the first issue concerning the Court's operation – the extent to which it operated in an efficient, timely, and fair manner – it is necessary to briefly trace the course of title investigation proceedings, including the incidence of title rehearings and associated legal actions. Drawn from Stirling's nineteenth century overview report, Table 6 provides, for each block that passed through the Court, an overview of initial title determination proceedings and later hearings. It relates to the period up to 1910. It should be noted that, while Table 6 records Land Court proceedings, it does not detail judicial proceedings in other Courts or efforts to have land interests recognised through parliamentary petitions.

Table 6: Native Land Court proceedings, 1871-1910²⁸⁷

Block	Area (acres)	Date of Title Investigation or Hearing	Venue	Length of Case (days)
Otamakapua 1	8,952	June 1870	Bulls	1
Paraekaretu	46,975	December 1871	Whanganui	1
Owhaoko	38,220	September 1875	Napier	1
Oruamatua-Kaimanawa	115,420	September 1875	Napier	1
Owhaoko	163,432	August 1876	Napier	1
Owhaoko		December 1876	Napier	2
Owhaoko		October 1877	Gisborne	1
Taraketi	3,075	Jan & Feb 1877	Marton	3
Mangoira Ruahine	35,660	August 1877	Marton	3
Ohaumoko	11,598	Jan & Feb 1879	Whanganui	2
Rangatira	19,500	February 1879	Marton	1
Otamakapua 2	104,521	Sept & October 1879	Napier	37
Otamakapua 1		May & June 1880	Marton	7
Otairi	59,013	May & June 1880	Marton	40
Rangatira		June & July 1880	Bulls	15
Rangipo Waiu & 1 & 2	98,000	April and May 1881	Taupo	42
Rangipo Waiu & 1 & 2		1882 [Re-hearing]	Whanganui	3
Rangatira		May to Aug 1882	Marton	69
Rangipo Waiu & 1 & 2		1884 Partition	Whanganui	5
Te Kapua	21,878	Aug to Oct 1884	Whanganui	64
Mangaohane	54,342	Nov 1884 to Mar 1885	Hastings	63
Otamakapua 2		1884 Partition	Palm. North	19
Owhaoko		1885 Partition	Hastings	27
Oruamatua-Kaimanawa		1885 Partition	Hastings	26
Awarua	268,548	April to Sept 1886	Whanganui	62
Motukawa	32,935	May to July 1886	Whanganui	54

²⁸⁷ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp619-620. The table does not provide hearing details for two blocks that were brought before the Court after 1910: (1) Aorangi (Awarua) 967 acres (1910-1920) and (2) Awarua Hinemanu 6,330 acres (1991).

Block	Area (acres)	Date of Title Investigation or Hearing	Venue	Length of Case (days)
Owhaoko		1887 Rehearing	Hastings	56
Owhaoko		1888 Rehearing	Hastings	113
Mangaohane		1890 Partition	Hastings	72
Awarua		1890-1891 Partition	Marton	241
Awarua		1892 Re-hearing	Hastings	33
Mangaohane		1892-93 Re-hearing	Hastings	51
Owhaoko D	101,150	1893 Partition	Hastings	3
Mangaohane 1	22,084	1894 Partition	Hastings	16
Mangaohane 2	31,110	1894 Re-hearing	Hastings	13
Owhaoko C	36,125	1894 Partition	Hastings	46
Taraketi		1894 Partition	Marton	7
Otamakapua 1		1894 Partition	Marton	17
Oruamatua-Kaimanawa		Jan to April 1894	Moawhango	81
Awarua		1894 Partition	Moawhango	1
Awarua		1894 Partition	Hastings	1
Timahanga	21,388	Nov 1894 to Jan 1895	Hastings	65
Otamakapua 1		1895 Re-hearing	Whanganui	11
Oruamatua-Kaimanawa		1895 Re-hearing	Hastings	17
Motukawa		1895-1896 Partition	Marton	57
Motukawa		1896 Appeal	Marton	19
Oruamatua-Kaimanawa 1	60,500	1898 Partition	Whanganui	8
Motukawa		1899-1900 Partition	Whanganui	6
Owhaoko D		1899 Partition	Hastings	1
Te Koau	10,240	July to Sept 1900	Hastings	25
Motukawa		1900 Appeal	Whanganui	7
Te Koau		1905 to 1906 Appeal	Hastings	18
Total				1,535

The table shows the large extent to which blocks in the inquiry district were brought before the Court following its establishment. Only two blocks did not pass through the Court – Kaweka and Waitapu.²⁸⁸ Of the 20 blocks that were subject to the Court process, 16 were brought before the Court prior to 1890. In the majority of cases – 14 out of the 20 blocks that passed through the Court – title was determined through a single (but sometimes lengthy) Court hearing. Six blocks, however, were subject to extended and costly judicial proceedings, variously involving repeated title investigation hearings, rehearings, and other legal action: Mangaohane, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, Otumore, Owhaoko, Rangatira, and Te Koau. Except for Te Koau, all of these blocks first came before the Court before 1890.

Of the six blocks that became the focus of extended judicial proceedings, the most significant in terms of land area were Mangaohane, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, and Owhaoko. As detailed above, these blocks, when first

²⁸⁸ The Crown acquired Kaweka through several deeds signed between the 1850s and 1870s. It acquired Waitapu in 1879, without the Court ever awarding title to the land. Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp7-30. Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp244-255.

brought before the Court, were all subject to pre-title leasing arrangements with Pakeha, and Maori themselves were also running sheep on areas within the Mangaohane block. In part, the drawn-out judicial proceedings that concerned the three blocks reflected the complicated nature of customary interests and the fact that traditionally there had been little permanent occupation upon the lands. The depth of rivalries between claimants was also influenced by the existence of the pre-title leasing arrangements and the perceived economic importance of the blocks. Alongside these factors, however, it is evident that in all three cases the drawn-out and costly proceedings surrounding title investigation owed much to failings in the Court system itself.

Fisher and Stirling's report on the 'Northern Aspect' blocks includes detailed accounts of the developments associated with the determination of the Mangaohane, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, and Owhaoko titles. It is explained that in each case there were serious shortcomings in the Court's handling of the title investigation and that these failings were an important reason why there were extended judicial proceedings. In respect of the Owhaoko and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa blocks, for example, the initial hearings in September 1875 were held at very short notice, without all interested parties present. Some of those who were excluded from the titles sought rehearings, and Sir Robert Stout eventually undertook an inquiry, which resulted in the passage of the Owhaoko and Kaimanawa-Oruamatua Reinvestigation of Title Act 1886. In his report, Stout was unequivocal about the deficiencies in the Court's handling of the blocks.²⁸⁹

In the Mangaohane case, drawn-out judicial action again stemmed largely from Court procedural errors during title investigation. Held between November 1884 and March 1885, the hearing was conducted without a proper survey, with only a sketch map available in Court.²⁹⁰ This was to have serious implications for Winiata Te Whaaro and his people, who were farming within the block at Pokopoko.²⁹¹ Their claimed interests in this area were not recognised in the Court's award and Te Whaaro became involved in extensive litigation in an effort to remedy the situation. Te Whaaro was ultimately unsuccessful in his efforts to seek a rehearing and in May 1897 was eventually evicted from the Pokopoko land.²⁹² During the eviction, five houses belonging to Te Whaaro and his people were burned down, and

²⁸⁹ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp35-38, 42-47, 140-141, 144-145.

²⁹⁰ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp178-191.

²⁹¹ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p217.

²⁹² Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp218-221. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 22 May 1897, p3.

numerous outbuildings and many stock were destroyed, along with the year's wool clip.²⁹³

In economic terms, the Court's failings in the Mangaohane case saw Te Whaaro and others (notably John Studholme and Airini Donnelly, who opposed Te Whaaro) become involved in time consuming and expensive legal proceedings. For Te Whaaro and his people, however, the economic impact of the Court's errors extended beyond these costs – it saw their occupation and utilisation of the lands at Pokopoko brought permanently to an end. As detailed in Table 5, Te Whaaro and his brother Irimana Ngahou had begun running sheep within the Mangaohane block in about 1880. Ten years later, in 1890, Te Whaaro was recorded in the sheep returns as owning 5,000 sheep and Ngahou a flock of 700. By this time, another individual, Hori Tongaru, was running a further 1,100 sheep alongside Te Whaaro and Ngahou. The sheep returns suggest that, at the time of the eviction, Te Whaaro and Ngahou were the only sheep owners at Pokopoko. The 1898 return was the last to show Te Whaaro and Ngahou running sheep on the Mangaohane block. It records that, as at 30 April 1898, they owned 2,700 and 900 sheep respectively.²⁹⁴ This may misrepresent the situation because, as detailed above, the eviction took place in May 1897. But it is possible that Te Whaaro and Ngahou's sheep remained on the land for sometime afterward.

Evidence from another source suggests that the number of sheep that Te Whaaro and his people owned at Pokopoko may have been greater than that recorded in the official sheep returns. In his report on the Mangaohane block, Grant Young states that in January 1893, during the rehearing of Mangaohane 2, Winiata Te Whaaro told the Court that he had about 11,000 sheep at Mangaohane. Young also notes that the following year, in October 1894, Studholme estimated that Te Whaaro's flock was about 10,000 sheep.²⁹⁵ These figures differ somewhat from those that were recorded in the sheep returns around the same time. In the 1894 return, Te Whaaro and Ngahou were detailed to respectively own 5,000 and 1,100 sheep. Hori Tongaru, it should be noted, last appears as an owner in 1893.²⁹⁶

The Mangaohane case was evidently not the only case in the Taihape inquiry district where groups with seemingly legitimate ownership claims were

²⁹³ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p219.

²⁹⁴ 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April, 1899', AJHR, H-23, Return E, pp34-36.

²⁹⁵ Grant Young, 'Mangaohane: Mangaohane Legal History and the Destruction of Pokopoko', CFRT, December 2014, Wai 2180 #A39, pp13-14.

²⁹⁶ 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April, 1894', AJHR, 1894, H-17a, p31.

excluded from the Court's awards and were then unable to secure a rehearing to ensure that their interests in the land were recognised – a situation that clearly had economic implications for such groups. In their report on the 'Central Aspect' blocks, Subasic and Stirling explain that the Court's decision concerning the 21,878-acre Te Kapua block excluded a number of groups who may have had interests in the land. When the Te Kapua case was heard between August and October 1884, seven distinct groups claimed ownership. Though the Court noted in its judgement that no group could claim continuous occupation of the block, it awarded the whole area (divided into three subdivisions) to Ngati Poutama.²⁹⁷ According to Subasic and Stirling, the claims of some were rejected 'on rather spurious grounds'.²⁹⁸ There followed 'a wave of protest' from nearly all of the excluded groups, setting back Crown plans to purchase the block.²⁹⁹ Applications for rehearing were dismissed, and parliamentary petitions made from 1885 through to the early 1890s were similarly unsuccessful.³⁰⁰

The experiences of Te Whaaro and his people at Pokopoko and of the groups excluded from the Te Kapua block contrast with prominent Pakeha runholder John Studholme's ability to secure formal occupation rights over Maori lands in the inquiry district. Drawing on significant financial resources, Studholme was involved in Land Court proceedings and also pursued other avenues of litigation, working to ensure that pre-title leases were put on a legal footing and subsequently renewed – efforts that continued into the 1890s.³⁰¹ One son, William, who had studied law at Oxford, became Studholme's in-house lawyer and was sometimes based at Owahaoko, where he oversaw the legal side of the leases and worked at 'getting our titles through the Court'.³⁰²

Significantly, as well as engaging in judicial proceedings, Studholme appears to have been able to advance his interests through the influence and connections he possessed within parliament. As detailed above, in March 1874, the government entered into an agreement with Morrin and Studholme in connection with their efforts to negotiate a pre-title lease over lands in the Murimotu district (encompassing the Murimotu and Rangipo

²⁹⁷ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', pp20-24.

²⁹⁸ Subasic and Stirling note that the Court wrongly considered two of the main claimant groups – Ngati Hauiti and Ngati Whitikaupēka – to be virtually the same people. Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p37.

²⁹⁹ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p24.

³⁰⁰ These raised serious allegations about the way the hearing was conducted, including a claim that the Native Assessor had been an interested party and the Interpreter had not fulfilled his duties in a proper manner. Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', pp24-37.

³⁰¹ Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, pp15-16.

³⁰² Riseborough, *Ngamatea*, p13.

Waiu blocks). The agreement provided that the partnership, in return for supporting the Crown's own leasing objectives, would be able to sublease land from the Crown following title investigation. The Rangipo-Murimotu Agreement Validation Act 1882 confirmed the 1874 agreement, and the Crown subsequently subleased the Murimotu lands to Morrin and Studholme, finally putting the partnership's occupation of these lands on a legal footing.

The government was also prepared to protect Studholme's occupation of the Owhaoko block. The Owhaoko and Kaimanawa-Oruamatua Reinvestigation of Title Act 1886 explicitly recognised Studholme's leasehold interests in the block as well as the Birch brothers' lease over the Oruamatua-Kaimanawa block. While owners excluded from the original awards were not compensated for the Court's failings, the 1886 Act protected the Studholme and Birch leases, even though these stemmed from invalid pre-title arrangements. In securing the lessees' position, it is notable that the 1886 Act provided – in the event of the Court finding 'fresh owners' – that claims for back rents could not be made against either the original owners or lessees.³⁰³

Studholme also secured support at the national political level in connection with his interests in the Mangaohane block, where he sought to ensure that purchase arrangements remained in force and were not jeopardised by any rehearing of the title. In 1892, Studholme's son, Joseph Francis Studholme, petitioned Parliament to protest against an order of the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court for a partial rehearing, asking at the same time that his family's title to 'large areas' of the block be validated.³⁰⁴ In response, the Native Affairs Committee recommended that provision be made to ensure that Studholme's interests were not affected by the partial rehearing, 'except so far as Native rights may be judged to exist on the said rehearing'.³⁰⁵ Soon after, the Liberal Government passed legislation to assist land purchasers involved in invalid and illegal transactions. The Native Land (Validation of Titles) Act 1892 and the Native Land (Validation of Titles) Act 1893 provided for inquiry into and validation of incomplete dealings with Maori land.

³⁰³ Section 2, Owhaoko and Kaimanawa-Oruamatua Reinvestigation of Title Act 1886.

³⁰⁴ 'Native Affairs Committee (reports of the)', AJHR, 1892, I-3, pp14-15. Around the same time, Studholme's lawyers began a campaign in the newspapers, decrying the order and asserting that it undermined titles held by settlers and previously considered secure. Commenting on this campaign, Fisher and Stirling observe that: 'There was little attention paid to the fact that a large number of Maori groups with rights in the land had not consented to the sales, and that the Native Land Court process had been more injurious to these Maori than to Pakeha runholders such as the Studholmes (who had previously flagrantly breached Native Land laws intended to protect Maori from the likes of them).' Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p206.

³⁰⁵ 'Native Affairs Committee (reports of the)', AJHR, 1892, I-3, pp14-15.

Studholme, however, does not appear to have required recourse to these statutes as he was eventually able to secure his title to the Mangaohane lands through the Land Court.

Costs

Discussion of the Court now turns to look at the costs associated with title investigation and the extent to which these were reasonable. It has been noted that, of the 20 blocks in the inquiry district that passed through the Court, the process of finalising ownership orders of six of these blocks involved extended judicial proceedings. These proceedings clearly would have significantly added to the cost of determining ownership of these lands. However, even where proceedings were more straightforward and involved only a single Court hearing, it is evident that the cost of getting land through the Native Land Court was often substantial.

As discussed in other research and in Tribunal findings for other inquiries, claimants involved in the Court process faced a number of expenses. These included survey costs, Court fees, lawyers' fees, and – when sittings were held in venues distant from where claimants' resided, as was typically the case for claimants of the Mokai Patea district – travel and accommodation costs. Additionally, there were the indirect costs of attending Court, specifically how time spent at hearings affected claimants' involvement in other activities, including tending cultivations and agricultural pursuits. The remaining part of this section discusses evidence concerning the various costs that Maori claimants in the Mokai Patea district faced in seeking to prove ownership through the Native Land Court.

Significant among the costs associated with title investigation was the expense of having land surveyed. Ownership orders for a block could not be finalised without a licensed surveyor first carrying out a survey and producing a plan.³⁰⁶ Owners were required to pay for surveys and statutory provision was made for the recovery of survey costs from owners. Section 77 of the Native Lands Act 1865 enabled the Governor to ask for maps and surveys to be made at the request of Maori owners and provided also for the repayment of costs 'in such manner as the Governor in Council shall direct'. Section 69 of the Native Land Act 1873 continued to allow the Governor to arrange for land to be surveyed at the request of owners, while section 73 of the Act provided that the Court could order payment of outstanding survey costs to the Crown in the form of land.

³⁰⁶ See, for example: section 25, Native Lands Act 1865; sections 26 to 33, Native Land Court Act 1880.

Table 7: Survey costs associated with title investigation for eight blocks in the Taihape inquiry district

Block	Date survey completed	Area (acres)	Cost of survey (£)	Survey lien	Additional details
Otamakapua 2	1872-1875	104,522	?	No	In May 1875, Native Officer Booth paid Renata Kawepo £1,000 for the survey of the block and other incidental expenses. ³⁰⁷ In this case, it appears that the government may have met the cost of survey in order to facilitate the purchase of the land.
Owhaoko	1877	163,432	1,683.2.6	Yes	In August 1899, survey liens against the Owhaoko subdivisions were reduced to £1,080. ³⁰⁸
Ohaumoko	1879[?]	11,598	?	No	In February 1880, Trust Commissioner Heaphy established that survey costs for Ohaumoko amounted to some £600, of which about £200 had been paid. In July 1881, however, when the Native Land Court considered the matter of survey costs, the surveyor (Downes) indicated that the cost of surveying the block had been only £232. The Court found that the Maori owners had not authorised the survey. ³⁰⁹ Presumably, they were not liable for any outstanding survey costs.
Rangatira	1879[?]	19,500	500.0.0 ³¹⁰	No	

³⁰⁷ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p48.

³⁰⁸ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp71-72.

³⁰⁹ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp228-229.

³¹⁰ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p220.

Block	Date survey completed	Area (acres)	Cost of survey (£)	Survey lien	Additional details
Otairi	1880[?]	59,013	939.12.6	Yes	Soon after the boundary survey, a survey of subdivisions was carried out at a cost of £203. ³¹¹
Te Kapua	1882	21,878	505.5.10 ³¹²	No	
Mangaohane	1886	54,342	750.0.0 [approx.]	Yes	In December 1895, almost ten years after the survey was completed, survey liens against the two portions of the block – Mangaohane proper and Mangaohane 1 – remained in place. The charge against Mangaohane proper had, with interest at five percent, grown to £543.7.1, while the charge against Mangaohane 1 had grown to £602.12.7. ³¹³
Awarua	1886[?]	256,000 (approx.)	2,500.0.0 [approx.]	Yes	By January 1891, the lien against the Awarua block – which had presumably grown with interest – was £3,100. ³¹⁴ Based on interest payments of five percent, the cost of the original survey would have been about £2,500.

³¹¹ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p165.

³¹² Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p24.

³¹³ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp233-234.

³¹⁴ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p88.

Table 7 sets out information concerning survey costs for some of the blocks within the Taihape inquiry district. It draws on relevant evidence presented in the three sub-district block reports, which provide some coverage of survey costs. The table includes details relating to eight of the 20 blocks that passed through the Court. The surveys that were made in respect of these blocks were carried out over a period of about 12 years, from the early 1870s to the mid-1880s. The cost of survey is not clear in every case, and in some instances survey costs have been inferred from evidence concerning survey liens that remained charged against blocks years after survey. Nevertheless, the details presented in Table 7 provide an indication of the range of costs that were involved in surveying land in connection with title investigation. Unsurprisingly, the cost of survey appears to have been linked to the size of the block, which to a large extent determined the amount of work involved (though the nature of the topography was also relevant). Of the blocks listed in Table 7, the survey of the 256,000-acre Awarua block was the most expensive (costing about £2,500), while the least expensive was the survey of the 19,500-acre Rangatira block (costing about £500).

In one case, the survey of the 104,522-acre Otamakapua 2 block, the government may have met part of the cost of survey, seemingly in order to help facilitate the purchase of the block, which (except for an area of 1,460 acres) was completed in 1884.³¹⁵ The available secondary research provides little evidence about the survey, though it is noted that in 1875 – some four years before title investigation – Native Officer James Booth paid Renata Kawepo £1,000 for the survey and other incidental expenses.³¹⁶ It appears that the government later recouped some of this money from the price paid for the land. Hearn notes a shortfall of £1,738 between the nominal price of the land and the actual sum paid to the owners. For the government, this went some way towards offsetting the costs associated with the purchase (including the money paid to Kawepo), which amounted to £4,163.³¹⁷

In half of the cases listed in the table, the cost of the title survey was registered against the block as a lien that could be recovered in the future. In the case of the Otairi block, survey costs of £1,039.12.6 (which included the cost of surveying the original subdivisions) were repaid relatively soon after the 1880 title investigation. By December 1882, the survey costs owed on the block had been recovered in land and cash. Most of the sum owed, £891.0.7, was repaid in land when the Crown's interests in the block were partitioned out in November 1881.³¹⁸ In the other three cases where survey

³¹⁵ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p108.

³¹⁶ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p48.

³¹⁷ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p109.

³¹⁸ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp165-166.

liens were registered, involving the Owhaoko, Mangaohane, and Awarua blocks, the liens evidently remained in place for a number of years. As detailed in Table 7, they were subject to interest charges, though in the case of the Owhaoko block liens, the amount owing was subject to a reduction in 1899.

While the expense of surveying a block can be viewed as a fixed cost, most of the other costs associated with determining ownership – including Court fees, lawyer’s fees, and living expenses – were closely related to the length of time over which title investigation hearings took place, and these costs obviously escalated if there were additional judicial proceedings. Table 6 shows that there was significant variation in the duration of hearings, reflecting the extent to which there were competing claims in Court. Typically, the length of title investigation hearings appears to have ranged from a couple of days (for example, the Mangaoira Ruahine block) to several weeks (for example, the Rangipo Waiu block). Some, however, were held over longer periods. The Rangatira block title investigation was especially drawn out, with an initial application being withdrawn before the hearing was completed. Ownership was eventually determined after a second application was heard. (The withdrawal of the initial application, it seems, may have been at least partly linked to the Court’s decision to reconvene to another location before the case was completed.³¹⁹) Table 6 shows that rehearing proceedings were typically as lengthy, reflecting the complexity of these cases and the contested nature of ownership interests.

As noted, Court fees were among the costs that were, to a significant extent, determined by the duration of hearings. Section 62 of the Native Lands Act 1865 set out the different fees that the Court could impose, which included: £1 for an investigation of any claim or trial on any matter; £1 for every hearing day after the first; £1 for each counter claimant; up to £1 for examination of a plan; £1 for issue of a Crown grant, certificate of title, or testamentary order. The Native Land Act 1873 later provided that the Governor was able to fix and alter fees, which were to be published as regulations in the *New Zealand Gazette*. Under section 13 of the Native Land Court Act 1880, the judges of the Court were responsible for setting fees subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, a provision that was continued in section 103 of the Native Land Court Act 1886.

³¹⁹ The first hearing was held at Whanganui and had not been completed when the Court rose to convene at Patea on 7 July 1879. Though many of the Maori attending had journeyed from Napier, Taupo, and Murimotu, the Chief Judge insisted that the Patea Court had to sit as scheduled. Commenting on this, The *Wanganui Herald* stated that ‘The Natives have been deceived and put to a great and useless expense’. On 8 July 1880, Ngati Apa withdrew their application. Hearn, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect’, pp210-211. *Wanganui Herald*, 7 July 1880, p2.

Existing research provides some evidence regarding the costs associated with the Court fees charged in connection with title investigation hearings in the Taihape inquiry district. It confirms that these costs could vary considerably depending on the length of proceedings. Table 8 sets out details of the fees charged in respect of the title investigation hearings for the southern blocks of the district (except for Otairi block). It shows that in all except two cases the Court fees were less than £5, but were considerably greater for the hearings of the Otamakapua 2 and Rangatira blocks, reflecting the drawn-out nature of the proceedings. (The costs given for the Rangatira block, it should be noted, concern only the second hearing and include fees associated with the partition of the block into the Hapopo and Rangatira subdivisions, which occupied several days of Court time.³²⁰)

Table 8: Native Land Court title investigation fees – southern blocks of the Taihape inquiry district³²¹

Block	Court fees (£)*
Otamakapua (1870)	4.11.0
Paraekaretu (1871)	4.5.0
Taraketi (1877)	2.0.0
Mangaoira Ruahine (1877)	4.0.0
Ohaumoko (1879)	2.0.0
Otamakapua 2 (1879)	36.0.0
Otamakapua 1 (1880)	4.0.0
Otairi (1880)	details not located
Rangatira (1882)	100.1.0
Otumore (1906)	3.0.0
Waitapu	title not investigated

*Fees for hearing, witnesses, certificates/memorials, etc.

While the Court's fees were often recorded in the Court minute books, specific details concerning the cost of legal representation are more difficult to determine. Evidence presented in the three sub-district block reports shows that claimants and counter claimants commonly employed legal representatives to conduct their cases during title investigation hearings and rehearings, and parties appear to have always been represented during proceedings in the higher courts. During title investigations and rehearings, the number of representatives in Court reflected the extent to which claims were contested. For example, during the heavily contested title investigation hearing for the Otairi block, three lawyers were in attendance, representing variously the claimants and some of the counter claimants. Additionally, the

³²⁰ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp221-222.

³²¹ The table sets out data presented in Hearn's report. See Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp221-222, 275 (Table 11.1).

cases of several other counter claimants were conducted by ‘native agents’. Three counter claimants appear to have presented their cases without representation.³²²

In any one case, the cost of legal representation was, as stated earlier, linked to the duration of hearings and clearly would have been greatest when proceedings were drawn out, as was the case with the Otairi hearing, which lasted some 40 days. While specific details of the costs are not known, the financial burden on Maori in such cases is likely to have been significant, certainly considerably greater than the cost of Court fees. Existing research makes particular mention of the fees charged by lawyer Walter Buller, who represented Maori in connection with several blocks of the Taihape inquiry district, including Mangaohane, Otairi, Otamakapua 2, Owhaoko, and Rangatira. (Buller also acted for John Studholme and on occasions represented the Crown.³²³) Buller’s biographer, Galbreath, states that Buller’s legal work relating to Maori land was ‘very, very lucrative’, and he notes that in the early 1880s Buller recorded an annual income of between £6,000 and £8,000.³²⁴

Alongside expenses relating to the Court process – survey costs, Court fees, and the cost of legal representation – parties also faced significant travel and living expenses when attending sittings held at distant locations. While these expenses affected many Maori, it is likely that they were especially significant for Mokai Patea Maori because – during the nineteenth century, at least – nearly all title determination and rehearing proceedings were held outside the inquiry district. As detailed in Table 6, sittings outside the district were held at Hastings, Napier, Omahu, Taradale, Taupo (Tapuaeharuru), Whanganui, and Marton. The extent to which these locations were convenient for the parties that were involved in the hearings clearly would have varied. Marton, for example, was near the southern boundary of the inquiry district, close to where some claimants resided. On the other hand, the Hawke’s Bay sitting locations would have suited claimants who resided in that district.³²⁵

³²² Hearn, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect’, p154.

³²³ See, for example, Fisher and Stirling, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect’, p37; Hearn, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect’, p154.

³²⁴ R. Galbreath, *Walter Buller: The Reluctant Conservationist*, GP Books, Wellington, c.1989, p131.

³²⁵ The Otamakapua 2 hearing, for example, was held at Omahu, where Kawepo resided. Some claimants with interests in the south of the inquiry district, where the block was located, unsuccessfully objected to the decision to hold the hearing in the Hawke’s Bay. Hearn, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect’, pp59-60.

As with Court fees and the cost of legal representatives, the living expenses that claimants faced when attending distant Court sittings would soon have mounted during protracted hearings, no doubt adding significantly to the overall cost of participating in the Court process. As discussed above, many of the hearings for blocks in the inquiry district extended over several weeks. In some other districts, the prolonged absence from home during Court sittings sometimes led Maori to incur debt from storekeepers, which was commonly repaid through the sale of land. It is unclear whether any land sales in the Taihape inquiry district were linked to such debt, but it is likely that the financial burden of attending Court hearings was sometimes large. During the 1886 Awarua title investigation hearing, Utiku Potaka complained of this burden, objecting to any further adjournments to the case and telling the Court that the cost of attendance had already been too high.³²⁶ As noted above, in addition to the direct costs of attending hearings, there were indirect costs associated with attendance at Court sittings. These potentially included loss of earnings from farming activities as well as disruption to crop planting and harvesting and the gathering of mahinga kai.

In 1891, when giving evidence at Waipawa before the Native Land Laws Commission, Hiraka Te Rango spoke in strong terms of the Court's negative impact upon himself and his people, including the need to visit distant places to attend sittings. Te Rango noted instances where advertised cases had sometimes not been heard, stating that: '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.'³²⁷ The number of instances where this occurred has not been identified, though in every case it clearly would have involved an unnecessary cost (in terms of time and money) to those affected.

It is not possible to accurately quantify the overall financial cost that Mokai Patea Maori incurred in connection with their efforts to prove ownership in the Native Land Court, but it would seem that the title determination process constituted a significant financial burden. As noted above, this would have especially been the case for claimants and counter-claimants who were involved in title rehearings and proceedings in higher courts. But even when ownership was determined through a single Court hearing, it is likely that costs in many cases would still have been significant because such hearings were often lengthy, involving several weeks or more of Court

³²⁶ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p76.

³²⁷ 'Report of the commission appointed to inquire into the subject of the Native Land Laws', AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-1, p.53.

time. As argued earlier, Maori who wished to utilise or alienate land had little option but to secure title from the Court, but the cost of doing so would have affected their ability to take advantage of economic opportunities and would have impacted upon the financial returns available from selling and leasing.

Ideally, in order to accurately establish the burden of securing title through the Court system, it would be useful to compare, for each block, the costs of proving ownership against land block valuations. However, as specific details of the costs involved in determining title for individual blocks are limited, such an assessment is not possible. Evidence concerning one block, Rangatira, provides at least an indication of the extent to which the Court process could be a financial burden. As noted above, title investigation proceedings concerning this block were very drawn out, with two applications being heard. The cost of survey was about £500, while Court fees relating to the second hearing and subdivision of the block amounted to a little over £100. In November 1883, the *Manawatu Standard* suggested that the total cost incurred by Maori in respect of the Rangatira block title investigation hearings and subdivision ‘could not have been much under a total of £5,000’.³²⁸ Hearn details that in 1882 and 1883 the two subdivisions of the Rangatira block, Rangatira and Hapopo, were respectively sold to private purchasers for a total purchase price of £14,212 10s.³²⁹ While the exact reliability of the figure is unclear, the estimated cost of £5,000 for Court proceedings represents more than one-third of the purchase value, indicating the extent to which title proceedings could pose a significant financial burden upon Maori.

The drawn out Awarua case also would have involved considerable cost to the owners. In their report on the ‘Central Aspect’ blocks, Subasic and Stirling suggest that it is ‘more than reasonable to assume’ that the prolonged and costly Court proceedings in this case was ‘highly significant’ to some of the most prominent chiefs with interests in the block becoming

³²⁸ The *Standard* compared the case unfavourably with that of the 7,100-acre Aorangi 2 block, which lies outside the inquiry district. It reported that the owners of this block had been able to secure title and subdivide their interests for no more than £50 because the Court simply had to confirm arrangements previously made at a meeting of owners. The extent to which there were competing interests in the block is unclear, but the *Standard* believed that in all cases Maori could secure title with little cost: ‘We thus learn that the Natives if left to their own counsel, without the interference of lawyers, and simply aided by the advice of agents whom they can trust, can manage their affairs cheaply, and to the satisfaction of those seeking to purchase. The Natives simply require to be told what the law is, and they agree to mutual concessions without objection, thus greatly facilitating the dispatch of business in the Court.’ *Manawatu Standard*, 30 November 1883, p2.

³²⁹ Hearn, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect’, p224.

bankrupt.³³⁰ As noted earlier, Hiraka Te Rango filed for bankruptcy in May 1887, and in August 1889 Ihakara Te Raro was declared bankrupt. Stirling explains that the handling of these bankruptcies was drawn out and resulted in some debt being recovered during the 1890s through the sale of the land.³³¹ In the mid 1880s debt proceedings that appear to have been for the recovery of Courts costs were also taken against two owners with interests in Otamakapua 2 – Otene Toatoa and Paramena Te Naonao. Stirling states that both Toatoa and Te Naonao appear to have discharged their debts without payments from the sale of Otamakapua 2 being withheld from them.³³²

Even where owners were not bankrupted, it seems more than likely that some land in the inquiry district was sold because of financial pressure arising from the cost of securing title through the Land Court system. Indeed, where costs were significant, it is difficult to see how Maori could have met them without alienating some land. And in cases where securing title from the Court was undertaken expressly for the purpose of selling land, high costs associated with the Court process – as in the Rangatira case – would have substantially diminished the financial return to Maori.

While this section has focused on the cost of proving ownership and securing title through the Land Court, Maori owners who retained land faced significant costs through ongoing involvement in the Court system. In particular, as discussed in the next chapter, partition hearings could sometimes be time consuming and expensive, involving all the costs associated with title investigation. These hearings, in some cases, were undertaken to more closely define and delineate the Court's title investigation awards. For example, in the case of the lengthy Mangaohane block partition hearing, held in 1890, Fisher and Stirling state that the proceedings were to some extent 'an extension of the title investigation'.³³³

Such partition hearings link with and raise issues about the nature of the titles that Maori received from the Native Land Court and the extent to which they provided a suitable platform for Maori who wished to participate in economic development opportunities. These issues, explored in subsequent chapters, particularly concern the extent to which Land Court titles, while accommodating multiple ownership of land, allowed owners to

³³⁰ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p98.

³³¹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp570-572.

³³² Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp560-561.

³³³ According to Fisher and Stirling, the relative occupation rights of Ngati Upokoiri and Ngati Whiti were supposed to be the main focus of the partition, but some issues around Ngati Whiti and Ngati Hinemanu rights were also revisited. Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p197.

effectively manage and utilise their properties. Issues concerning the extent to which land held under Maori title could be used as security to access lending finance is another issue that is examined later in the report.

Leasing

Within the developing agricultural economy, leasing provided Taihape Maori with an opportunity to derive an ongoing financial return from lands that they were unable or did not wish to farm. Unlike permanent alienation through sale, Maori could earn rental income without losing ownership of land and the potential to one day utilise it themselves. As noted above, it is likely that Maori used income from leases to help establish their sheep farming operations in the north of the inquiry district. It has also been stated that during the period covered in this chapter leasing was more widespread in the north, where lessees were able to move sheep directly on to open tussock country and commence grazing. Leasing was much more limited in the south of the inquiry district, where land sales were extensive.

Except in the case of the Rangipo Waiu lands, the Crown did not interfere in the early pre-title leasing arrangements between Pakeha and Maori landowners, even though the leases had no legal status. The informal nature of these arrangements – especially in the north, where they covered large areas – may have allowed some customary usage and occupation to continue alongside the grazing of sheep, though limited evidence concerning this has been located. In 1875, during the Oruamatua-Kaimanawa block title investigation hearing, Noa Huke stated that there were owners residing on the land, even though by this time the block was the subject of an informal lease to Azim Birch and being grazed. However, the accuracy of Huke's statement is unclear. His claim was unsuccessful, and the Court did not attempt to identify the owners he spoke of.³³⁴

The terms of the informal leases, including rental rates, were matters of negotiation, and in each case the experience and knowledge of the negotiating parties were obviously influential in determining the lease terms. In the late 1860s, for example, Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri owners of the Oruamatua-Kaimanawa block negotiated to lease the land to Azim Birch for £250 per annum. In the early 1870s, with the help of Renata Kawepo, the annual rental was renegotiated and increased to £800. In part, this increase is likely to have reflected the lessening of security concerns as well as growing competition between prospective runholders.³³⁵ It provides

³³⁴ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p140.

³³⁵ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp139-140.

an example of a case where pre-title agreements evidently provided Maori owners with flexibility that enabled them to renegotiate terms to their advantage.

Where pre-title leases existed, the distribution of rental monies was sometimes a cause of tension among individuals and groups who claimed interests in the leased land. These tensions were alluded to during Land Court proceedings, and in some cases appear to have been among the pressures that saw Maori make applications for title investigation. For example, there were tensions associated with the distribution of the Oruamatua-Kaimanawa rentals. After Renata Kawepo helped renegotiate the annual rental, he evidently began receiving the lease monies and – to the frustration of the Ngati Whitikaupeka and Ngati Tamakopiri owners – retained a significant proportion of the money himself. During 1885 partition proceedings, one witness stated that the Ngai Te Upokoiri leader held on to one-quarter of the annual rental monies, while Kawepo himself claimed he kept half of the annual rental income.³³⁶ In respect of Studholme's pre-title Mangaohane lease, the Studholme's records indicate that during the first four years of this lease, from 1881 to 1884, the rent was paid to Kawepo alone – £250 in 1881, £400 in 1882, £700 in 1883 £700, and £500 in 1884. In 1885, following title investigation, but before a new lease had been negotiated, payments were split amongst the various owners, though Renata still received a large share of the total rental of £485.³³⁷

After blocks had passed through the Court, any pre-title leases – if the lessee's occupation were to continue – had to be renegotiated with and signed by the individuals named in the Court's awards. The Court had a role in confirming leases. Under section 62 of the Native Land Act 1873, the Court needed to be satisfied 'in every case of lease of the fairness and justice of the transaction, of the rents to be paid, and of the assent of all the owners to such lease'. Alongside the Court, district Trust Commissioners also scrutinised leases. Established under the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870, the Trust Commissioners were to inquire into all alienations of Maori land and could disallow transactions if these were considered to be inequitable or fraudulent.

Existing research provides relatively little evidence concerning Trust Commissioner inquiries into leases in the Taihape inquiry district. In his 'Southern Aspect' block report, Hearn describes an investigation that Trust Commissioner Charles Heaphy made in July 1879 into E.T. Brissenden's

³³⁶ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p141.

³³⁷ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp194-195.

proposed 21-year lease of Ohaumoko block. Hearn states that Heaphy's investigation into the terms of the lease was extensive. After seeking information on the character of the country and sufficiency of the price, he approved the lease on the terms that were proposed – 11,598 acres for 21 years at £81 10s per annum. However, it is unclear whether Heaphy's seemingly careful investigations into the Ohaumoko lease were typical.³³⁸ One of five commissioners, Heaphy appears to have been responsible for the whole of Wellington Province and he also had other official responsibilities.³³⁹ As Ward observes, it would not have been possible for the Trust Commissioners, all of whom worked on a part-time basis, to thoroughly investigate all transactions.³⁴⁰

It is uncertain whether the formal leases provided Maori owners with markedly better terms than earlier pre-title leases. Given that these leases provided lessees with greater security of tenure (following title investigation hearings that were often costly to the owners), it might be assumed that the rental rates were generally higher. Existing research provides some evidence of the annual rentals payable under leases that were formalised after determination of title. In the case of the Owhaoko block, 21 year leases entered into between the owners and John and Michael Studholme after title investigation in 1875 provided for annual rental payments of £1,750 for an area of about 163,000 acres.³⁴¹ As detailed in Table 7, a survey of the block carried out in 1877 cost £1,683 2s 6d, similar to the annual rental.

It should be noted that when a prospective lessee was unable to secure the signatures of all owners identified by the Court, the lease (if approved by the Court) was limited to covering an area of land that represented the interests of those whose signatures had been obtained. For example, when seeking to give effect to the Rangipo-Murimotu Agreement Validation Act 1882, the government was unable to secure the signatures of all owners of the Rangipo Waiu block, which had been divided into three subdivisions when title was determined in 1881. In the end, the Crown obtained a lease over

³³⁸ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp227-229.

³³⁹ During his time as a Trust Commissioner, Heaphy also served as Commissioner of Native Reserves. He occupied these positions from around 1870 until his death in 1881. Michael Fitzgerald, 'Heaphy, Charles', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 15 October 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h14/heaphy-charles>

³⁴⁰ Ward, Alan, *A show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1974, p252.

³⁴¹ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p77.

89,669 acres out of a total area of 98,000 acres.³⁴² The annual rental payments amounted to £1,136 7s.³⁴³

A notable aside to the Crown's leasing of the Rangipo Waiu lands is that seven Ngati Tama non-lessees, who (along with one other owner) held interests in a 4,000 acre area that had been cut out of one of the three subdivisions, later unsuccessfully sought to lease their land to private interests. In 1889 calls were made for the lifting of a proclamation restricting private dealings (in place since 1874) and for the Court to partition the interests of those who wished to lease.³⁴⁴ However, the government refused these requests because any private dealings were seen as a threat to its plans to purchase the Rangipo Waiu lands.³⁴⁵ (In November 1884, after the Crown's leases had been finalised, the Native Minister approved plans for the government to start purchasing shares in the block.³⁴⁶) As Bayley observes, the government's stance in this case ignored the interests of the owners and prevented them from profitably utilising their lands.³⁴⁷

Land sales

This section looks at economic development issues relating to the sale of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district between 1860 and 1890. Figure 6, presented earlier in the chapter, indicates the land that remained in Maori ownership at the end of this period. As shown in this map and described above, there was extensive land alienation in the south of the district before 1890, with sales in the north being confined to the early Kaweka transaction. It should be noted that Figure 6 indicates only completed sales. In 1890, purchase activity was underway in several blocks that are shown as remaining wholly in Maori ownership. For example, as detailed earlier, the government had commenced purchasing in the Rangipo Waiu block. Also, Studholme had begun to acquire interests in the Mangaohane block.³⁴⁸

While there were both Crown and private purchases between 1860 and 1890, Crown purchasing was – in terms of the total area acquired – by far the most significant. Hearn explains that Crown purchasing in the south of the district, which began in about 1870, stemmed from the so-called 'Vogel

³⁴² Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000', p175. As noted earlier in the chapter, the government then subleased to Morrin and Studholme.

³⁴³ Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000', p177.

³⁴⁴ As detailed above, a proclamation issued in September 1874 under the Immigration and Public Works Acts 1870 and 1874 prohibited all private dealings in the area.

³⁴⁵ Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000', pp176-177.

³⁴⁶ Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000', pp153-154.

³⁴⁷ Bayley, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000', pp176-177.

³⁴⁸ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp224-225.

plan', formulated by the Fox Ministry (1869-1871). The main architect was the Colonial Treasurer, Julius Vogel, who later served as Premier, from 1873 to 1875 and again in 1876. The plan held that the state should expand its role in shaping economic development, particularly through promoting immigration, investing in transport infrastructure (ports, railways, and roads), and effecting the transfer of land into small-farmer settler ownership. As well as stimulating settlement and economic growth, it was believed that greater internal security would stem from the implementation of these policies, which were embodied in the Immigration and Public Works Act 1870.³⁴⁹ In respect of the land purchase objectives, an 1871 Amendment Act enabled the government to exclude private competition when purchasing Maori land. During the following decade, however, government policy in respect of Maori land oscillated somewhat, with 'free traders' and 'Crown pre-empters' alternately holding sway.³⁵⁰ From around 1880, financial constraints served to restrict government land purchase activity for several years.³⁵¹

Within the modern-day Taihape inquiry district, government purchase operations under the Vogel plan focused upon securing lands adjacent to those already acquired and settled outside the inquiry district's southern boundary. By about 1885, Crown purchasing in the south of the inquiry district was mostly concluded.³⁵² The lands in the centre and north of the district then became the focus of government purchase activity. By this time, as discussed in the next chapter, Crown land acquisition in the inquiry district was closely linked with the construction of the NIMT and the settlement objectives associated with this major public work – all of which were consistent with the vision that had been set out in the Vogel plan.

In examining economic development issues relating to the purchase of Maori land between 1860 and 1890, this section discusses the extent to which the Crown, while pursuing its own objectives, sought also to accommodate and protect the economic interests of Taihape Maori. It focuses on two key issues. First, it examines whether the Crown monitored Maori ownership of land and sought to ensure that Maori retained sufficient lands to meet their existing and future needs. The second issue looks at the prices that Maori received for their land and attempts to assess whether these were reasonable and in line with market rates.

³⁴⁹ Section 2, Immigration and Public Works Act 1871.

³⁵⁰ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp27-30, 258.

³⁵¹ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p257.

³⁵² Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p257.

It respect of the first issue, it is evident that though statutory provision existed for the creation of reserves and government policy at times made reference to the concept of 'sufficiency', the Crown did little to actively monitor and protect the Taihape Maori land base during the period examined in this chapter. This failing is conspicuous in the south, where extensive purchasing was to restrict the extent to which Maori were later able to take advantage of land-based opportunities in this part of the district.

Sketching briefly the statutory and policy background, it is notable that a number of 'protection mechanisms' were introduced from the mid nineteenth century. Provision for the creation of Maori land reserves was initially established in the Native Reserves Act 1856, under which Maori were able to vest land in the Crown, whereupon it would become inalienable except with consent of the Governor. An 1862 amendment provided that land reserved under the Act would remain in Maori ownership. It also provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Reserves, who was responsible for the administration and management of the reserves set aside under the legislation. Between 1869 and 1881, Charles Heaphy held this position.³⁵³ As noted above, Heaphy was also a Trust Commissioner during this period.

Further protective measures were introduced under section 28 of the Native Lands Act 1865, which allowed the Native Land Court, acting either upon its own initiative or in response to a request from owners, to recommend to the Governor that restrictions be imposed on the alienability of any block. Later, section 36 of the Native Land Court Act 1880 provided that the decision was for the Court alone.

The Native Land Act 1873 included provisions that sought to proactively ensure that Maori retained a sufficiency of land to meet their future needs. Before the Act was passed, Donald McLean, who was Native Minister from 1869 to 1876, told the House of Representatives that:

the chief object of the Government should be to settle upon the natives themselves in the first instance, a certain sufficient quantity of land which would be a permanent home for them, on which they would feel safe and secure against subsequent changes or removal; land, in fact, to be held as an ancestral patrimony, accessible for occupation to the different hapus of the tribe; to give them places which they could not

³⁵³ Fitzgerald, 'Heaphy, Charles', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

dispose of, and upon which they would settle down and live peaceably...³⁵⁴

Sections 21 to 32 of the 1873 Act provided for the appointment of District Officers and required that they take active steps to establish reserves within their districts. As part of this work, these officials were expected to define tribal lands, make a record of hapu and whanau, and establish a list of all existing reserves within his district. Section 24 required that:

It shall also be the duty of every District Officer to select, with the concurrence of the Natives interested, and to set apart, a sufficient quality of land in as many blocks as he shall deem necessary for the benefit of the Natives of the district: Provided always that no land reserved for the support and maintenance of the Natives, as also for endowments for their benefit, shall be considered a sufficiency for such purposes, unless the reserves so made for these objects added together shall be equal to an aggregate amount of not less than fifty acres per head for every Native man, woman, and child, resident in the district.

The legislation evidently envisaged that reserves would be created from customary land as it provided that proposed reserves should be surveyed and brought before the Court for title investigation. Six months after ownership was determined, and upon publication of a notice in the *Gazette* and *Kahiti*, the land became inalienable except with the consent of the Governor.³⁵⁵

In 1886, a return published in the AJHR provided, for the North Island, details of remaining Maori customary land and Maori land that was subject to various ownership protections. It was prepared after the MP for the East Coast electorate, Samuel Locke, had asked that such a return be laid before the House. In addition to recording customary holdings in each district, the return provided details of reserves that had been created 'in accordance with the various Native Reserves Acts, or by special grants, or by awards of Commissioners, or by Compensation Courts, or by Acts of Parliament, or otherwise reserved' as well as inalienable lands that had passed through the Native Land Court.³⁵⁶ It therefore provided a clear picture of the amount of Maori land in the North Island that was subject to statutory protections.

An examination of the 1886 return reveals the very small extent to which remaining Maori lands in the Taihape inquiry district were formally

³⁵⁴ NZPD, vol. 14, 25 August 1873, p604.

³⁵⁵ Section 16 of the Native Land Laws Amendment Act 1883 provided that an alienation restriction could not be removed until at least 60 days after notice advising of the intention to remove the restriction had been published in the *Gazette* and *Kahiti*.

³⁵⁶ 'Land possessed by Maoris, North Island (return of)', AJHR, 1886, G-15.

protected. Only three areas within the inquiry district were listed – all within the category of lands described as ‘inalienable’: Otamakapua 2C (10 acres), Paraekaretu (46,975 acres), and Te Kapua (11,000 acres).³⁵⁷ The first area, Otamakapua 2C, contained an urupa and was one of three areas retained by Maori when the Crown’s interest in Otamakapua 2 was defined in 1884.³⁵⁸ The inclusion of the Paraekaretu block was an anomaly, because (as the return noted) the Crown had already purchased this land. The last area, Te Kapua, was part of the larger Te Kapua block (12,878 acres), which following title investigation in 1884 had been divided into three subdivisions – Te Kapua, Te Kapua A, and Te Kapua B.³⁵⁹

Outside the inquiry district, it should be noted that the 1886 return recorded details of protected lands near the southern boundary, including Te Reureu (4,510 acres) and land ‘Near Marton’ (400 acres), both of which were classified as ‘Native Reserves’.³⁶⁰

Overall, however, the strong impression is that little Maori land was subject to formal protections – within the inquiry district and elsewhere. It is evident, for example, that no land in the inquiry district was reserved under the provisions of the 1873 Act. In 1877, James Booth, Government Land Purchase Officer, suggested (in relation to lands lying between Waikanae and Manawatu) that part of the reason for this was that, where land was not encumbered with purchase advances, Maori sought to retain ownership without any government interference.³⁶¹ On the other hand, it is far from clear that Native Officers actively sought to implement the provisions of the 1873 Act and work with Maori land owners to set aside reserves. This is perhaps unsurprising given that they often appear to have looked forward to a future where the lands of their districts were dominated by Pakeha settlement. In his 1877 annual report, for example, the Resident Magistrate at Whanganui, Woon, noted with enthusiasm the early settlement activity that was taking place within the Paraekaretu block, celebrating what he hoped was the start of a district-wide economic and social transformation:

The Paraekaretu Block is now coming into repute, and the occupation of same by thriving and industrious settlers will be the beginning of the advance yet to be made into the far-famed Murimotu Plains and other parts of the interior, which only require the hand of man to turn them into smiling fields and populous neighbourhoods, abounding in natural wealth and happiness. The development of these inland tracts of

³⁵⁷ ‘Land possessed by Maoris, North Island (return of)’, AJHR, 1886, G-15, pp19-20.

³⁵⁸ Hearn, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect’, p108.

³⁵⁹ Subasic and Stirling, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect’, p24.

³⁶⁰ ‘Lands possessed by Maoris, North Island (return of)’, AJHR, 1886, G-15, p9.

³⁶¹ AJLC 1877, No.19, cited in Hearn, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect’, p278.

country is a matter of great moment to the colony, and every effort should be made to foster and promote settlement in these parts.³⁶²

It is also evident from the 1886 return that the Native Land Court's powers to declare land inalienable were seldom exercised in the Taihape inquiry district. As noted above, the 1886 return properly records only two such areas – Otamakapua 2C (10 acres) and Te Kapua (11,000 acres). Other areas of land that might have been made inalienable were not subject to any alienation protections. Fisher and Stirling note, for example, that when the Owahaoko block was partitioned in 1885 (prior to the rehearing of the original 1875 award), no part of the block was made inalienable, even though a significant area (about 28,782 acres) had originally been meant to be used for a school endowment.³⁶³

Towards the end of the period covered in this chapter, new statutory measures were introduced to enable alienation restrictions to be removed. Under section 5 of the Native Land Act 1888, the Governor could remove any restriction upon the application of a majority of owners. At the same time, section 6 of the Native Land Court Act 1886 Amendment Act 1888 empowered the Court, upon enquiry, to remove or vary any alienation restriction providing that it was satisfied that all owners agreed and had 'sufficient' other land 'for their maintenance and occupation'. The requirement for all owners to agree was rendered unnecessary by section 3 of the Native Land Laws Amendment Act 1890. In 1891, following an application by the owners, the alienation restriction over Te Kapua was removed ahead of acquisition by the Crown.³⁶⁴ Further statutory provisions to accommodate the removal of alienation restrictions were introduced in the 1890s, with section 207 of the Native Land Act 1909 eventually removing all restrictions.

Though very few areas of land were formally protected from alienation in the Taihape inquiry district, it must be noted that Maori in the south did set aside lands from surrounding areas that were sold. Notably, the Taraketi block (3,075 acres) was set apart for Ngati Hauiti from the Paraekaretu block.³⁶⁵ (Within the Paraekaretu itself, three small 'reserves' with a total area of 1,311 acres were excluded from the sale of the block, but were later

³⁶² Woon to Under Secretary, Native Department, 22 May 1877, AJHR, 1877, G-1, p18. Local histories provide greater detail of Pakeha settlement and agricultural efforts in the south of the inquiry district during the period examined in this chapter. See, for example, Rusk Harris, *Otairi, 1881-1981*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1986.

³⁶³ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', pp36-41.

³⁶⁴ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p31.

³⁶⁵ Utiku Potaka described the Taraketi land to be a reserve for the Paraekaretu owners. Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p143.

sold by their Ngati Apa owners in the mid-1880s.³⁶⁶) Similarly, Otamakapua 1 (9,000 acres) appears to have been deliberately set apart and withheld from the sale of the surrounding Otamakapua 2 block. As shown in Figure 6, the Taraketi block and Otamakapua 1, though not formally protected, remained wholly in Maori ownership in 1890.

Alongside provisions that enabled land to be formally reserved and made inalienable, the district Trust Commissioners, before confirming any alienation, were expected to establish whether owners' remaining lands would be sufficient to meet their needs. Under section 5 of the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870, Trust Commissioners needed to be satisfied that sufficient land remained 'for the support of the Natives'. Later, section 6 of the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1881 required the Trust Commissioners to assess whether owners retained sufficient land for their 'occupation and support'.

Casebook research sheds little light on the extent to which the district Trust Commissioner thoroughly considered the matter of sufficiency when dealing with proposed alienations involving lands in the Taihape inquiry district. However, as noted above, the Trust Commissioners, given the number of applications that they had to deal with, could not possibly have thoroughly enquired into every case or the circumstances of every owner. Further, it appears that the legislation provided little guidance as to how sufficiency of land was to be assessed and the level of economic wellbeing that it should provide.

Turning to the second issue examined here, which concerns the prices that Maori received for their lands, the discussion focuses on evidence concerning purchases undertaken by the government, which dominated purchasing during the period. In examining the adequacy of the prices paid to Maori, it is worth noting again that Maori often faced significant costs in proving ownership through the Court, which meant that it would seem to have been especially important that the prices they received accurately reflected market value. Further, in the absence of readily available lending finance, the sale and leasing of land offered an important source of income, which Maori potentially could have directed towards the development of lands that they retained.

The discussion here is based on Hearn's examination of government purchasing in the 'Southern Aspect' blocks. As noted above, purchasing during the period – government and private – was largely confined to these

³⁶⁶ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p145.

blocks. Hearn explains that an important feature of government purchasing in the south is that it was undertaken largely without competition from private interests. As noted above, statutory provision enabling the government to exclude private competition was introduced in 1871. Under section 42 of the Immigration and Public Works Act Amendment Act 1871, the Crown could issue notice of its intention to enter into negotiations to acquire interests in Maori land, and upon publication of the notice private parties were debarred from acquiring any interests from the Maori owners. In the face of strengthening private competition, measures introduced in the Immigration and Public Works Act 1874 and the Government Native Land Purchases Act 1877 helped to further strengthen the government's position.³⁶⁷

Hearn states that notifications under the 1877 Act were issued over Otamakapua and Otairi lands – a total area of almost 165,000 acres, in respect of which pre-title advances of £11,805 had been paid.³⁶⁸ Earlier, in 1874, as noted above, the Crown had in the north of the inquiry district also used its statutory powers to prohibit private dealings within the Rangipo Waiu block. According to Hearn, the Crown's efforts to exclude private competition in the south appear to have been largely successful: 'the evidence is clear that while owners may have wished to proceed, private purchasers were deterred by the notifications that had been issued'.³⁶⁹

In cases where a fully functioning market was absent, the Crown's exclusion of private competitors potentially may have influenced the prices that Maori received for their land. However, it is not possible to easily compare the rates that the Crown paid in the inquiry district with other land sales. Hearn observes that the prices offered by the Crown were set in a rather arbitrary fashion, and he presents evidence that supports the view that Maori generally received less for their land when private competition was excluded.³⁷⁰ (He notes, for example, comments that James Carroll made in respect of the evidence presented to the 1891 Native Land Laws Commission. According to Carroll, this evidence showed that 'where the Government interposed with its pre-emptive right... the Natives could not obtain a fair price for their land'.³⁷¹) Discussing evidence that relates more specifically to purchases in the Taihape inquiry district, Hearn cautiously suggests that the data indicates that the prices that the government paid to

³⁶⁷ Section 2, Immigration and Public Works Act 1874. Sections 2 and 3, Government Native Land Purchases Act 1877.

³⁶⁸ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp268-269.

³⁶⁹ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', p269.

³⁷⁰ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp270-271.

³⁷¹ 'Report of the commission appointed to inquire into the subject of the Native Land Laws', AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-1, ppxxviii-xxix.

Maori owners were likely to have been beneath the market rate.³⁷² In the case of Otamakapua, the evidence suggests that private purchasers were prepared to pay up to 20s per acre. But under the protection conferred by notification, the Crown paid only 10s per acre.³⁷³

The district Trust Commissioners potentially could have ensured that the prices that Maori received for their lands were in keeping with market rates. Under section 4 of the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act 1870 Act, no alienation was to be valid if deemed 'contrary to equity and good conscience'. The existing research provides little evidence regarding the extent to which the Trust Commissioner considered whether the prices that Maori received were reasonable and fair. Heaphy's investigations into the 1879 Ohaumoko lease, discussed in the previous section, shows that the Trust Commissioner's enquiries could be thorough. But it has been noted that the Commissioners were under resourced and, as a result, their investigations generally would have been of a perfunctory nature.

Conclusion

The period between 1860 and 1890 was a time of profound change in the Taihape inquiry district. During these years, Mokai Patea Maori began to participate in the evolving colonial economy, but faced significant challenges as Pakeha settlers and the Crown exercised an increasingly strong influence within the district.

From the early 1860s, the settler community and government began to show an interest in the economic potential of the modern-day inquiry district and adjoining interior lands. In 1862, Wellington Provincial Government geologist James Coutts Crawford first investigated this potential, later producing reports that would have widened awareness of the area. Though Crawford sought to offer a positive picture of the lands through which he had travelled, his description of the physical environment was reasonably accurate and he identified some key potential opportunities. Crawford did not explicitly discuss the role that the relatively small Maori population might play in developing these opportunities, but it is evident that he believed any future economic activity would be closely linked with Pakeha settlement of the district.

Mokai Patea Maori, however, were interested in participating in the opportunities that emerged in the district. From the outset, they were

³⁷² Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp272-274.

³⁷³ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp273.

involved in the principal economic activity undertaken during the period examined in this chapter: extensive pastoral sheep farming. Focused upon the production of wool for export, this activity, it has been explained, was carried out on the open tussock grasslands of the northern half of the inquiry district, where it was possible to begin grazing with relatively little capital outlay. As security concerns in the region eased, and with most suitable grasslands in other parts of the country already being grazed, the first sheep were brought into the Mokai Patea district in the late 1860s. Around the same time, some brief and unsuccessful gold prospecting efforts confirmed that production of wool would be the focus of early economic activity.

Maori became both indirectly and directly involved in the pastoral economy that developed in the north of the inquiry district. They participated indirectly through the leasing arrangements they entered into with Pakeha pastoralists, who sought grazing rights over the tussock lands. While there was a speculative element amongst these Pakeha, those who secured the greatest stakes in the district appear to have been focused primarily on establishing profitable long-term farming operations, rather than benefitting from rising land values. Initially, because title had yet to be determined in the Native Land Court, the leasing arrangements between Maori and the Pakeha pastoralists had no legal status and were technically invalid. Though it generally did not interfere with these arrangements, the government did intervene when, in the early 1870s, the Morrin-Studholme partnership looked to lease the Rangipo Waiu block and adjacent lands lying outside the inquiry district. In this case, the administration of the day was not focussed upon protecting the interests of the Maori owners, but rather sought to ensure that a large part of the interior of the North Island did not come under the control of a small group of Pakeha 'monopolists'.

By 1870, Maori were also directly involved in the pastoral economy of the north of the district. It is likely that at least some income from leasing was directed towards the establishment of Maori sheep farming ventures. In some cases, Maori farmed in partnership with Pakeha – arrangements where, presumably, the Maori partner provided land while the Pakeha partner provided development capital and possibly also offered relevant experience and skills. Official annual sheep returns show that, during a period of difficult market conditions, Maori farming operations in the north of the inquiry district expanded. By the end of the period examined in this chapter, Maori had gained a significant stake in the industry. In 1890, in the north of the inquiry district, there were about 72,000 Maori-owned sheep and a further 14,000 sheep owned by two Maori-Pakeha partnerships. However, large Pakeha pastoralists dominated the industry, as had been the

case from the beginning. In 1890, there were about 178,000 Pakeha-owned sheep in the north (excluding those farmed in partnership with Maori).

In the southern half of the inquiry district, a different set of circumstances prevailed and opportunities for Maori participation in agriculture were more limited. The largely forested and relatively inaccessible lands of the south did not possess the same potential for immediate pastoral utilisation. Before grazing could be undertaken, the land required significant development work, involving time, experience, and expense. While Maori engaged in some leasing in the south, the extent of this leasing was much less than in the north. Similarly, Maori involvement in agriculture appears to have been very limited, being confined to some small-scale sheep farming along the inquiry district's southern boundary. The government does not appear to have offered Maori any encouragement or support to develop and utilise lands in the south of the district. However, it is notable that the earliest publicly funded roading in the inquiry district was carried out in the Paraekaretu block, after Pakeha settlers had begun to take up this land, which the government had purchased in 1872.

The sale of land dominated economic developments in the south of the inquiry district during the period examined in this chapter. Purchasing was extensive, involving especially the southernmost blocks. For Maori, an apparently greater willingness to sell may have stemmed from the fact that, unlike in the north, these lands could not be immediately utilised. At the same time though, those with interests in the south faced significant pressure to alienate their lands. The Crown dominated the purchasing, acquiring lands in the south of the inquiry district from the early 1870s in accordance with Vogel's development plans. Making extensive use of powers that enabled it to exclude competition from private purchasers, the government focussed on the blocks within the inquiry district that were closest to existing areas of settlement.

Intent on pursuing its own objectives, the Crown did not actively seek to protect the future ability of Maori to participate in land-based economic opportunities in the south of the inquiry district. Statutory provisions that enabled Maori land to be reserved and made inalienable were seldom used, reflecting, at least in part, that government and officials had other priorities. (Outside the statutory regime, however, Maori informally set aside some lands in the south of the district, notably the Taraketi block and Otamakapua 1. But without formal protection, these lands remained more vulnerable to alienation.) Another statutory protection mechanism, the office of district Trust Commissioner, also appears to have been of limited effectiveness in monitoring sales in the south of the district. Before

confirming any alienation, the Trust Commissioners were required to be satisfied that the vendors retained sufficient other lands. However, though little specific evidence concerning their role in the inquiry district has been presented here, it has been explained that these officials worked on a part-time basis and were insufficiently resourced to thoroughly carry out their duties.

A further issue arising from the sale of lands in the south of the inquiry district concerns the prices that Maori were paid. Along with revenue from leasing, the sale of land offered an important source of income for Maori. The discussion presented here has focused on the prices paid by the district's principal purchaser – the Crown. A key question concerns how the exclusion of private competition influenced the prices that Maori received. Owing to differences in the qualities of the areas sold, it is not possible to easily compare the government prices with the rates that private purchases paid in the inquiry district. However, it has been generally observed that when private competitors were excluded Maori received less money for their land. Some evidence suggests that this was the case in the Taihape inquiry district. Though expected to inquire into the fairness of transactions, it is unlikely that the district Trust Commissioner consistently and thoroughly scrutinised the prices paid in the inquiry district. No purchases were refused on the grounds that the price was insufficient.

During the period examined in this chapter, the introduction of the Native Land Court was a major development, with the operation of the Court being one of the main ways that Crown policies and legislation shaped the economic position of Taihape Maori. Across the district, the Court had a negative economic influence. It has been explained that, especially where there were conflicting and overlapping land interests, it was difficult for Maori to avoid engagement with the Court. In the Taihape inquiry district, the Kaweka and Waitapu blocks were the only lands not subject to the Court process. Of the 20 other blocks, 16 had been brought before the Court by 1890, though in several of these cases judicial proceedings continued beyond this time.

Discussion of the Court's impact on Maori economic development in this chapter has focussed on the title investigation process, specifically the effectiveness of the Court's operation and the costs associated with proving ownership. Superseding traditional means of allocating land rights, the Court (in order to facilitate the alienation of Maori land) provided an officially sanctioned and legally enforceable mechanism for allocating ownership interests. In the north of the inquiry district, disputes between Maori over land use rights appear to have been one of the main difficulties

that Maori faced when seeking to participate in the pastoral economy. The Court, however, fell short of providing a reliable and effective means of determining ownership. Of the 16 blocks brought before the Court prior to 1890, five became the subject of drawn-out and costly judicial proceedings, involving rehearings and, in some cases, other legal action. Of these blocks, the most significant in terms of land area were Mangaohane, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, and Owhaoko. In each of these cases, the drawn-out proceedings resulted largely from failings of the Court, including, for example, a failure to ensure that all interested parties were given adequate notice and opportunity to attend the initial hearings.

In cases involving at least two blocks, the Court's awards did not include groups with apparently legitimate ownership claims and the unsuccessful claimants were unable to secure rehearings to ensure that their interests were recognised. This situation, which affected Winiata Te Whaaro and his people in the Mangaohane block and also some groups with interests in the Te Kapua block, clearly had an economic impact on those involved. Te Whaaro, who was eventually evicted from the Mangaohane block in 1897, had been running sheep within the block since 1880. The experiences of Te Whaaro and his people and those who were excluded from Te Kapua contrast markedly with the Pakeha pastoralists' ability to secure their position in the district. Of particular note, John Studholme was able to use his significant financial resources to participate in the Court system, and he also appears to have benefitted from the influence and connections he possessed in parliament, which passed legislation to protect his land interests.

Where claimants became involved in drawn-out judicial proceedings, the financial cost of proving ownership is likely to have been considerable. Even when ownership was determined through a single hearing, this cost could be significant, with participants facing a number of direct and indirect expenses. For Mokai Patea Maori, the financial cost of the Court process may have been greater than normal because they commonly had to travel to distant venues to attend sittings. In any one case, the cost of determining title was closely linked to the length of time that the hearing was conducted over, which reflected the extent to which ownership was contested. Typically, title investigation hearings in the inquiry district ranged from a couple of days to several weeks.

While it is not possible to accurately quantify the total financial cost that Mokai Patea Maori incurred in connection with their efforts to prove ownership, the overall impression is that the process constituted a significant financial burden. The evidence that supports this includes, for

example, the bankruptcy of several prominent chiefs who were involved in lengthy title investigation proceedings. In order to pay for the direct expenses they incurred, Mokai Patea Maori would have needed to draw on income from leasing and sales and possibly also revenue earned from farming ventures. It is possible that continued leasing of land and some sales were directly linked to the need to meet the costs associated with determining ownership. It seems very likely that the financial burden of these expenses would have affected the ability of Maori to initiate farming ventures or extend existing operations. The Crown, for its part, did not adequately monitor the costs of securing legal title and ensure that these did not unfairly disadvantage Maori. As explained in the following chapters, problems associated with the Court would continue beyond 1890 and were among the factors that limited the ability of Maori to take advantage of new economic opportunities.

Chapter Three: Expansion of Pakeha Settlement and the Decline of Maori Involvement in the Pastoral Economy, 1891-1909

Introduction

The period examined in this chapter covers the most important developmental phase of the inquiry district's economy. During this time, opportunities associated with the utilisation of land within the district broadened significantly. Three developments underlay and defined this transformation. The first involved the major steps that the Crown took to expand the district's transport infrastructure, which increased the potential for land use through improvement of access. The second development was the growth of a significant but temporary sawmilling industry, which in a number of areas saw timber harvested from land before it was converted to grazing pasture. The final development involved the growth of activity within the inquiry district's dominant agricultural economy and the widening of opportunities within this sector. The Crown, it will be explained, played a key role in supporting this through the measures that aimed to foster land settlement and development.

The first section of the chapter discusses the construction of the NIMT, which was built between 1885 and 1908. It examines the government policies that underlay this major public work, which was linked to extensive roading development. Rather than simply viewing the NIMT as a transport link between Wellington and Auckland, the government was very much concerned with facilitating the settlement of interior lands along the route of the railway, including within the Taihape inquiry district. It will be explained that Mokai Patea Maori were not consulted about these plans, even though construction of the line was coupled with extensive purchasing of Maori land. While the NIMT would open up significant new economic opportunities in the district, the government did not look to ensure that Mokai Patea Maori were among those who benefitted from the railway.

The next section of the chapter explains that development of the sawmilling industry was significant among the opportunities that arose as a result of the construction of the NIMT. Sawmills opened up along the railway as construction progressed and, while the industry would remain significant for some years, timber production peaked around the time that the railway was completed. Though some Mokai Patea Maori were interested in participating in the industry, they evidently had little involvement in the ownership of sawmills. With the exception of two Maori-owned mills that operated briefly,

Maori participation in the industry was confined to receiving royalties for timber that Pakeha sawmillers cut from Maori land.

The chapter then turns to examine the important agricultural sector. It explains that, while improved transport infrastructure greatly increased opportunities for agricultural land use, other factors also underlay the development of agriculture in the inquiry district. In addition to the advent of refrigerated shipping in the early 1880s, which opened up an important export trade in sheep meat and dairy products, the government actively supported development of the agricultural economy, particularly through promotion of small-scale farming operations based around the model of the family farm. However, in spite of these broadening opportunities and with settler activity in the sector increasing, the involvement of Mokai Patea Maori in sheep farming began contracting from the late 1890s and by the end of the period examined in this chapter had declined to a very low level. This seems to have been offset, to a small extent, by some participation in dairying as owners of dairy cows.

The next section of the chapter discusses the various difficulties that confronted Mokai Patea Maori land owners who sought to utilise their lands. It looks particularly at the role that the Crown played in creating these obstacles and the extent to which the government responded to concerns that Maori raised. The section begins by discussing correspondence that Mokai Patea Maori leaders wrote to the government ministers in the early and mid 1890s, which set out their development aspirations and called for assistance to overcome a range of problems they were encountering. The remainder of the section examines the various barriers that Mokai Patea Maori faced: ongoing costs associated with the Native Land Court; extensive and determined Crown land purchase; title issues and an inability to consolidate scattered land interests; management issues associated with multiple ownership; and problems arising from a high debt burden and restricted access to lending finance.

The extent to which Mokai Patea Maori were able to take advantage of other economic opportunities is examined next. The discussion focuses on wage labour, the supply of materials for the construction of transport infrastructure, and opportunities associated with the development of townships. It will be explained that, except for some involvement in township development, Mokai Patea Maori did not participate in these activities and overall derived very little benefit from the opportunities that existed outside the dominant agricultural and sawmilling industries. Again, the Crown's role in defining the extent of Maori involvement is discussed.

The final section of the chapter briefly discusses the sale and leasing of Mokai Patea Maori land. It primarily examines issues concerning the prices that Mokai Patea Maori were paid for land that was alienated through sale. It also discusses land leasing, which continued to provide some income for Maori during the two decades examined here. Reflecting the decline of Mokai Patea Maori participation in the agricultural economy, it will be explained that from 1905 there was a significant increase in the leasing of higher-value lands suitable for farming.

North Island Main Trunk railway and the ‘opening’ of the Mokai Patea interior

The construction of the NIMT was to significantly influence economic development in the Taihape inquiry district and other parts of the North Island interior through which the railway passed. The railway played an important role in improving access to these districts and, along with associated road construction, was linked to the emergence of new economic opportunities. In the Taihape inquiry district, the railway was closely connected to the development of a sawmilling industry and it also provided scope for growth within the agricultural sector. Additionally, there were opportunities associated directly with the building of the line, particularly employment for construction workers.

This section of the chapter discusses the government’s objectives in building the NIMT and examines the extent to which it sought to ensure that Taihape Maori were able to take advantage of the economic benefits that were anticipated to arise from the railway. The aims that underlay the construction of the NIMT have been examined in a number of secondary sources, including research reports prepared for other Tribunal inquiry districts.³⁷⁴ Briefly, these sources explain that the building of the railway stemmed from the development policies that Julius Vogel first outlined in 1870, while serving as Colonial Treasurer within the Fox Ministry (1869-1871). As detailed in the previous chapter, Vogel advocated a broad programme of immigration, public works, and land purchase. He believed that public works – especially railway construction – had the potential to help address the state of economic stagnation that existed following the wars of the 1860s. As well as linking previously isolated settlements, the construction of railways would allow European settlement to be extended

³⁷⁴ See, for example: Cathy Marr, ‘The Waimarino purchase report’, Waitangi Tribunal, June 2004, Wai 903 #A60; Philip Cleaver and Jonathan Sarich, ‘Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae, 1870-2008’, Waitangi Tribunal, December 2009, Wai 898 #A20.

into new districts and would serve to reduce security threats from disaffected Maori.³⁷⁵

In setting out his plans for railway building, Vogel called for the development of a trunk railway system running the length of both islands. However, while significant rail construction was undertaken during the 1870s, a number of political and financial factors prevented completion of a North Island trunk line.³⁷⁶ In the early 1880s, steps towards undertaking this work finally gained momentum. In 1883, four potential routes for the proposed railway were explored. It is notable that the reports prepared in connection with these surveys not only discussed engineering issues, but also included observations about the economic potential of the lands that lay along each route. The reports illustrate that there was a strong expectation that, in addition to providing a land connection between Wellington and Auckland, the NIMT would enable land and resources along the route of the railway to be utilised and developed.

This is clearly evident in the report that John Rochfort prepared after exploring the 'central route', which would connect existing rail infrastructure at Marton and Te Awamutu. Subsequently selected as the route for the NIMT, this route passed through the modern-day Taihape inquiry district. Describing the route through the district, Rochfort made a number of positive observations about the quality of the soil and land, and he also noted the existence of timber in several places. Where the route followed the Rangitikei River, for example, he encountered about three miles of open grass and fern, but the remaining areas were 'bush of good mill timber – pines, rimu, totara, tawa, and maire-totara'.³⁷⁷ Rochfort also observed river gravels that he believed could be used for construction of the railway and maintenance purposes. He noted that ballast could be sourced from two places within the district – a location near the Porewa Stream and from creeks near the Hautapu's confluence with the Rangitikei River.³⁷⁸

Unsurprisingly, the potential economic opportunities of the railway were closely considered when the route was selected. In September 1884, a parliamentary select committee (the North Island Main Trunk Railway

³⁷⁵ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', pp21-23.

³⁷⁶ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', pp23-28.

³⁷⁷ Rochfort to the Engineer-in-Charge, 5 February 1884, 'Main Trunk Line, Auckland to Wellington (reports on)', AJHR, 1884, D-5, p1.

³⁷⁸ Rochfort to the Engineer-in-Charge, 5 February 1884, 'Main Trunk Line, Auckland to Wellington (reports on)', AJHR, 1884, D-5, pp1-2. Ballast is the broken stone or gravel that is packed under and around the rails and sleepers of a railway track.

Committee) was formed to consider and report upon the best route for the railway. In October 1884, before introducing the committee's findings to the House of Representatives, the chairman, Mr E. Richardson (Minister of Public Works), explained that the committee had considered three main criteria:

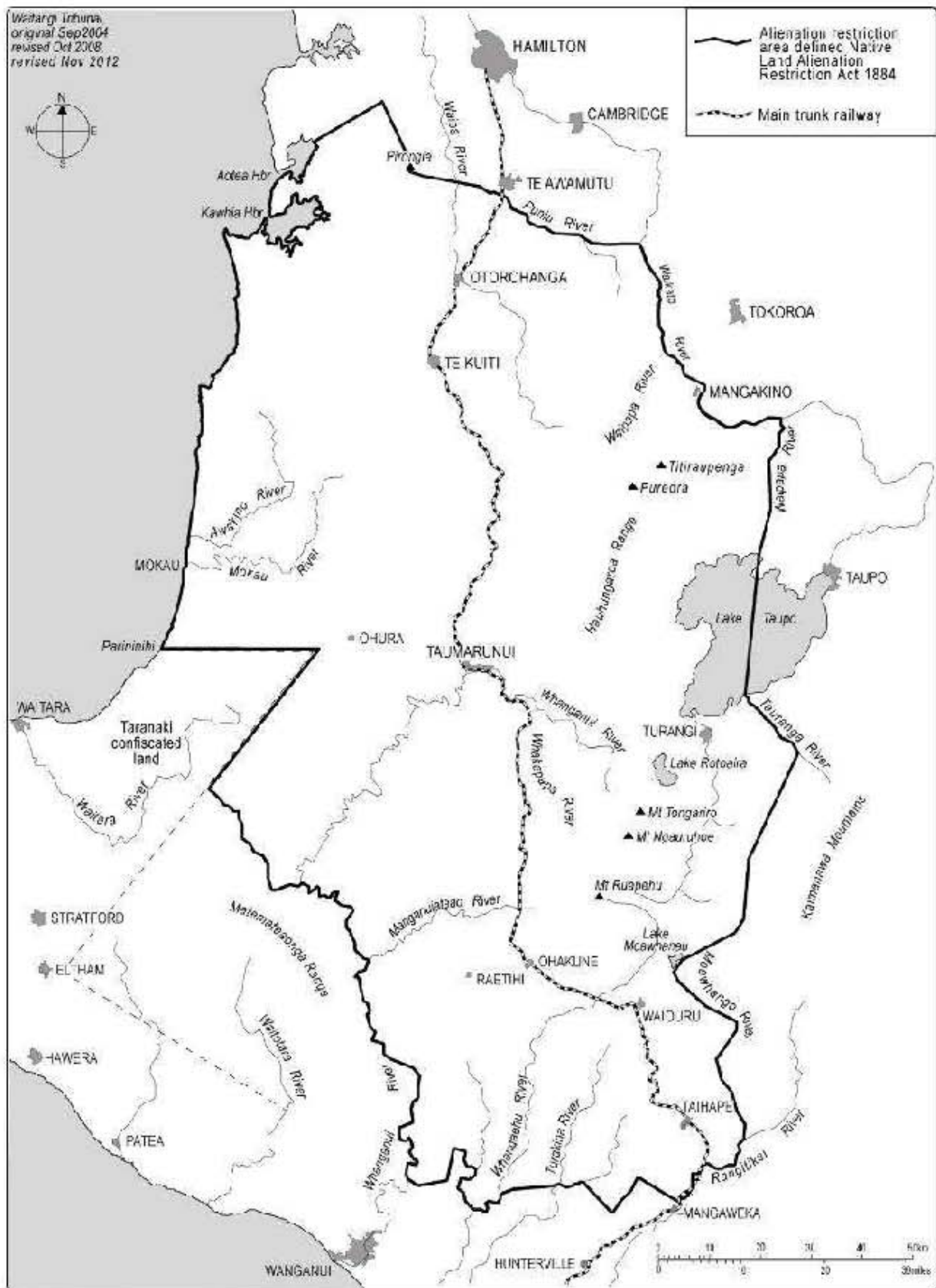
One point was that the route which should be selected should be one fitted for agricultural carriage, and one that would open up the largest amount of land suitable for that purpose. Another point was that the line constructed should be as direct as possible, and that the grades should be easy as possible, and consequently that it should be a line upon which a fair rate of speed could be maintained. And another point of course, which they had to keep in view was as far as possible to accommodate any settled population which might already be found existing.³⁷⁹

The ability of Mokai Patea Maori to benefit from many of the economic opportunities that would arise from the railway would be significantly influenced by the extent to which they retained lands along the route. The previous chapter has detailed that there was extensive purchasing in the south of the inquiry district prior to 1885, the year during which construction of the line began. It has been explained that the government dominated this purchasing, initiating its operations in the early 1870s in accordance with the land purchase component of Vogel's development plan. The purchasing appears to have been undertaken without knowledge that the NIMT would be formed through the district.

However, as steps towards construction of the railway advanced, provision was made for extensive and deliberate government purchasing along the route of the proposed railway. In November 1884, soon after the select committee had chosen the central route, the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884 was passed, prohibiting private purchasing within a broad corridor of land that followed the length of the proposed railway. As shown in Figure 7, a significant proportion of the lands that lay along the route of the NIMT within the inquiry district were included in the restriction area. Of the lands that lay to the south of the restriction area, most were no longer in Maori ownership.

³⁷⁹ NZPD, vol. 49, 22 October 1884, p596.

Figure 7: Railway alienation restriction area as defined by the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884



Government plans to purchase along the railway reflected a desire to ensure that Pakeha settlers would be able to take advantage of the economic opportunities that would result from the construction of the railway. As noted above, Vogel had originally envisaged that railways, along with land purchase, would enable Pakeha settlement to expand into new areas. In the mid 1880s, this view continued to underlie plans to build the NIMT. However, provision for government purchasing and the prohibition of private alienation were also linked to another policy that Vogel had advocated: that revenue earned from on-selling and leasing purchased lands should help meet the cost of construction.³⁸⁰ As detailed below, legislation passed in 1886 (after construction had commenced) provided for application of this policy to the NIMT.

It is notable that the government began building the NIMT without consulting with Mokai Patea Maori. Though Maori retained ownership of much of the land in the inquiry district through which the railway would pass, the government made no attempt to discuss the underlying objectives of the railway or associated land purchase proposals. Nor were Mokai Patea Maori consulted about the route of the railway, how construction would be undertaken, and the acquisition of their lands for the track. The government did not seek to establish whether Taihape Maori wished to engage in any development opportunities that would arise in connection with the railway and how any such goals might be achieved.

At least some Mokai Patea Maori sought to discuss the proposed railway with government representatives. Rochfort reported that Maori at Turangarere had been unwilling to let him pass until a general meeting had been called. (According to Rochfort, this was the first place that he encountered Maori.) But ‘as opposition was feeble’, Rochfort disregarded the suggestion of a meeting and proceeded northwards. He claimed that he later received a letter from the Turangarere people, requesting that he return and, in his words, ‘see the advantages they had to offer for the railway coming there’.³⁸¹ A copy of this letter has not been located. Rochfort’s description of the letter indicates that at least some Maori at Turangarere may have supported the railway, but nevertheless wished to discuss the proposal with a government representative.

The government’s lack of consultation with Mokai Patea Maori over the proposed railway contrasts markedly with the negotiations it undertook with

³⁸⁰ Cleaver and Sarich, ‘Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae’, p24.

³⁸¹ Rochfort to the Engineer-in-Charge, 5 February 1884, ‘Main Trunk Line, Auckland to Wellington (reports on)’, AJHR, 1884, D-5, p 3.

Maori of the Rohe Potae district. Indeed, delay in completing a trunk line through the North Island owed much to the government's inability to successfully engage with the Maori leadership of the Rohe Potae, which had been closed to the government and settlers following the warfare of the 1860s. Early in 1885, before construction of the NIMT commenced, the government secured the agreement of the district's leaders. Their approval was gained on the basis of government assurances regarding potential reform to Native land legislation and the long-term benefits that the railway would bring Rohe Potae Maori. Additionally, a number of specific promises were made regarding the building of the railway, including that Rohe Potae Maori would be able to earn income from construction work.³⁸²

It seems likely that the government did not consider that such negotiations with Maori of the Taihape inquiry district were necessary because Mokai Patea Maori did not present the same political obstacle and would not have been able to resist moves to build the railway. As noted in the report on public works takings in the inquiry district, existing legislation provided the Government with ample authority to proceed with construction and take the land required for the railway without any requirement for owners to be consulted.³⁸³ The government's treatment of Taihape Maori is consistent with the general approach that was taken around this time with most other Maori groups whose lands were required for railways and other public works.³⁸⁴ It should also be noted that, as construction of the NIMT advanced, the government did not uphold the agreements that had been reached with Rohe Potae Maori.

In April 1885, construction of the NIMT commenced, with work proceeding from the southern and northern ends of the proposed railway. Building the 209-mile length of line proved to be protracted and was to take over 20 years to complete. It was not until September 1908 that the first train completed the journey from Wellington to Auckland.³⁸⁵ Within the inquiry district, the railway extends from the southern boundary to Waiouru. Formation work appears to have begun in the inquiry district in 1886 and concluded in 1908, when the line was completed to Waiouru. Soon after, all construction

³⁸² Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', pp56-79. Rohe Potae Maori and government representatives discussed the railway at meetings held at Ranana and Kihikihi in January and February 1885. The minutes of these meetings contain no reference to Mokai Patea Maori being present. See 'Notes of native meetings', AJHR, 1885, G-1, pp1-24.

³⁸³ Cleaver, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', p141.

³⁸⁴ For example, between 1870 and 1880 the Wellington-Napier railway was built through southern Hawke's Bay without consultation with Maori who owned land along the route.

³⁸⁵ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1908, D-1, pi.

activity ended and the railway was opened to through traffic.³⁸⁶ It should be noted that considerable road building was undertaken in connection with the railway. Roads were built to support the construction work and to link the railway with adjacent lands.³⁸⁷

In 1886, with construction of the NIMT underway, the government began to take steps to facilitate the purchase of Maori land along the route.³⁸⁸ In July 1886, Native Minister John Ballance explained to the House of Representatives that the purchase of Maori lands adjacent to the railway was 'of very great urgency', noting that the government was under considerable pressure to acquire the lands for settlement purposes.³⁸⁹ The following month, in August 1886, the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Application Act 1886 was passed. The Act specified that £100,000 of loan monies previously authorised for the NIMT (10 percent of the total amount) could be used for the purchase of Maori land within the area defined in the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884. It provided that 2.5 percent of the purchased land be reserved for 'Education Boards and Hospital and Charitable Aid Boards', while the remainder of the land would constitute a 'railway reserve'. Profits from the sale and lease of this reserve land would be directed towards meeting construction costs.

The government actively sought to ensure that purchasing of Maori land advanced at a sufficient pace alongside construction work. From the late 1880s, building work largely stalled for several years owing to government concerns about progress with land purchasing along the railway. This demonstrates the extent to which the government viewed the acquisition of Maori land as an essential adjunct to the construction work. By August 1888, the line in the south had been completed and opened to traffic to Rangatira, 19 miles from Marton.³⁹⁰ However, in August 1889, a year later, it was reported that work at the southern end was at a standstill.³⁹¹ Work also slowed at the line's northern end. The Minister of Public Works explained that the government planned to purchase 'a large area of Native land, suitable for settlement... at both ends of the line, and within easy reach of it'. This purchasing was to be carried out before the railway was formed into

³⁸⁶ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1886, D-1, p4. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1908, D-1, pv.

³⁸⁷ Cleaver, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', pp179-180.

³⁸⁸ In mid-1886, it began expanding its capacity for the direct purchase of lands within the railway alienation restriction area. The number of government land purchase officers was increased specifically for the purpose of acquiring these lands. Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', pp90-91.

³⁸⁹ NZPD, vol. 56, 20 July 1886, p33.

³⁹⁰ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1888, D-1, p14.

³⁹¹ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1889, D-1, p3.

the southern part of Awarua block and before further work was undertaken in the north.³⁹²

In order to achieve this objective, the North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Application Act Amendment Act 1889 provided that a further £100,000 of loan money be set aside for the purchase of Maori lands within the alienation restriction area. It appears that the 1889 Amendment Act and a later 1892 Amendment Act also specified alterations to the boundaries of the alienation restriction area. Within the Taihape inquiry district, these adjustments appear to have seen almost the whole of the Awarua block and part of the Otairi block included in the restriction zone.³⁹³ In 1894, the prohibition on private purchasing within the restriction area was superseded with the passage of the Native Land Court Act 1894, which prohibited private purchasing of all Maori land.

In 1890, the Minister of Public Works' annual statement noted the availability of funds for land purchase and detailed that negotiations were in progress for acquisition of the Awarua block, which was described to be 'One of the most valuable tracts of land along the line'.³⁹⁴ While work at the southern end of the line remained at a standstill, it was stated that construction of the section of railway between Rangatira and Makohine would proceed.³⁹⁵ The Minister also stated that further road construction would be undertaken using NIMT funds. This work was to be confined to roads 'to and through the Native lands already purchased'. It was not intended that Maori land owners would benefit from the proposed roads, and the government evidently believed that access roads – as with the railway itself – should be formed only after land had been purchased. Explaining the policy, the Minister stated that the lands purchased along the NIMT and expenditure on their improvement were 'simply an investment of the railway funds, which can be drawn upon from time to time as required'.³⁹⁶

While it was noted in the 1890 annual statement that negotiations for the purchase of the Awarua block were underway, progress towards securing land within the block was not rapid, reflecting in part difficulties with the block's title. As detailed in the previous chapter, the title of the Awarua

³⁹² 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1889, D-1, p4.

³⁹³ Second Schedule, North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Application Act Amendment Act 1889. Schedule, North Island Main Trunk Railway Loan Application Acts Amendment Act 1892

³⁹⁴ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1890, D-1, p4.

³⁹⁵ Around the latter place, it was noted there was 'a considerable extent of good land and a valuable totara forest'. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1890, D-1, p5.

³⁹⁶ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1890, D-1, p4.

block had been investigated in 1886. However, a further hearing was required to define and locate the various tribal interests, posing an obstacle to purchase operations.³⁹⁷ The Awarua partition hearing eventually commenced in July 1890 and, after drawn-out proceedings, was completed in July 1891.³⁹⁸ In July and August 1892, the Court's decisions regarding the relative interests of the owners of four of these subdivisions were reheard.³⁹⁹

In his annual statement for 1891, dated 8 September 1891, the Minister of Public Works once more stated that the government was reluctant to proceed with construction of the NIMT until further progress was made with land purchase. Commenting on railway construction generally, he emphasised the need for the 'throwing-open of lands for settlement in the vicinity of the works' and noted that the proceeds from sales and leasing would help meet construction costs. The Minister observed, however, that it was sometimes difficult to secure land along railway routes where it was held by Maori or private owners. The construction of the NIMT was a case in point:

If we proceed with the construction of that line to any material extent, it will happen that the further we progress through or approach towards Native Lands the more difficult it will become for the Government to deal with the Natives, and the higher the price we shall have to pay.⁴⁰⁰

Under these circumstances, the government – planning to at least partly pay for the railway through onselling land at increased values – considered it would be 'folly' to continue construction of the NIMT much further until arrangements had been made with the Maori owners for the purchase of their lands.⁴⁰¹ At the southern end of the line, work was nevertheless to begin on the Makohine Viaduct. It was explained that a failure to start this work, which would take many years to construct, would 'retard the prosecution of the works when the Native land difficulty is removed'.⁴⁰²

When the annual statement was issued in September 1891, the Minister of Public Works was Richard John Seddon, a member of the Liberal

³⁹⁷ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', pp71-72.

³⁹⁸ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p81-87.

³⁹⁹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp402-407.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1891, Session II, D-1, p7.

⁴⁰¹ The government also believed that construction should be discontinued in cases where railways were being formed through large tracts in Pakeha ownership. However, in such cases, work would resume after owners had agreed to lease or dispose of the lands, on terms agreed between the government and owners. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1890, Session II, D-1, p7.

⁴⁰² 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1891, Session II, D-1, p9.

Government that had taken office in January 1891. The Liberals would hold power until 1912, with Seddon serving as Premier between 1893 and 1906. In his 1891 statement, Seddon, as detailed above, was unequivocal about the need to acquire Maori land along the NIMT. Purchasing along the railway, however, would be carried out as part of a broader Liberal programme of Maori land acquisition, undertaken for the purpose of making land available for close settlement, specifically settlement based upon the model of the family farm.⁴⁰³ During the Liberals' time in office, Crown secured about 3.1 million acres Maori land in the North Island, while private purchasers acquired a further area of about a half-million acres. Most of this purchasing was undertaken during the 1890s, prior to the policy of 'Taihoa' and the passage of the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900, which for several years saw purchase activity slow almost to a halt.⁴⁰⁴

Within this wider context, steps to acquire land along the NIMT and construction of the railway itself proceeded. In 1892, a select committee was formed to reinvestigate the 'best method of connecting Auckland and Wellington by railway'. In its report, dated October 1892, the committee found that the cost of building a railway along the central route had been underestimated and that some of the surveys were incorrect. It recommended that construction cease until detailed surveys were carried out and the purchase of Maori land completed. However, it suggested that the railway be extended to a point 26 miles north of Marton as soon as negotiations concerning an offer of 100,000 acres within the Awarua block were completed.⁴⁰⁵

The select committee's report shows that at the southern end of the railway the government's purchase efforts remained firmly focussed on the large Awarua block. Other research prepared for the Taihape inquiry provides details of the negotiations that were being undertaken in respect of the block at this time.⁴⁰⁶ On 7 September 1892, a meeting was held between representatives of the owners and government representatives, including the Native Minister. While a record of this hui has not been located, the owners' position is outlined in a letter to the Native Minister dated 9 September 1892.⁴⁰⁷ This letter, which provides important information on the

⁴⁰³ Tom Brooking, "Busting Up" the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891-1911', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1992, vol. 26, pp89-98.

⁴⁰⁴ Brooking, "Busting Up" the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891-1911', p78. Richard Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2008, p224.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Reports of public petitions', AJHR, 1892, I-9, pp 1-2.

⁴⁰⁶ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study - Central Aspect', pp94-104.

⁴⁰⁷ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

development aspirations of owners of the Awarua block and neighbouring Motukawa block, will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter. Here, it is sufficient to note that in the letter the owners offered the government 100,000 acres from these blocks, about one-third of their total area of 300,108 acres.⁴⁰⁸ It appears that this was the offer that the select committee referred to in its October 1892 report.

As detailed below, purchasing within the Awarua and Motukawa blocks was to considerably outstrip the 100,000-acre offer, which was evidently insufficient to meet the government's demands. In March 1894, during a meeting with Mokai Patea Maori at Moawhango, Seddon clearly articulated the government's determination to acquire a substantial area of land in the district.⁴⁰⁹ The meeting was one of a number of hui that the Premier and Native Minister James Carroll held with Maori at this time to discuss the government's land policies. By March 1894, when the Moawhango hui was held, the government had purchased interests in various Awarua subdivisions. Soon after, in April and May 1894, these interests were defined, with the Crown being awarded an area of 142,585 acres.⁴¹⁰

In spite of this purchasing, Seddon told the Moawhango meeting that Mokai Patea Maori (and Maori in other districts) needed to put forward more land for sale:

He (the Premier) desired to point out that the time had now arrived when settlement must no longer be retarded. The land could not be allowed to lie unproductive, for the European population was increasing... The time had come when this question must be dealt with fairly and, at the same time, firmly. The Government could no longer allow millions of acres of land to remain in a state of nature while thousands of people were wanting land to settle upon and cultivate.⁴¹¹

Seddon encouraged those attending the Moawhango meeting to voluntarily identify and put forward land for sale. He stated that the government, when working out the details, would ensure the owners were provided with 'ample reserves'. Alternatively, non-transferable and interest-bearing debentures

⁴⁰⁸ The owners offered portions of several subdivisions (some of which lay along the route of the railway). Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp411-412. The figure given here as the total area of the Awarua and Motukawa blocks (300,108 acres) is based on details provided in Innes, 'Maori Land Retention and Alienation', p121.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier's trip through the native districts of New Zealand', AJHR, 1895, G-1, pp3-6.

⁴¹⁰ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p99. *New Zealand Gazette*, 1894, p1079.

⁴¹¹ 'Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier's trip through the native districts of New Zealand', AJHR, 1895, G-1, pp4-5.

would be issued so that the owners ‘would not be pauperised’.⁴¹² However, in the event of sufficient areas not being offered, Seddon indicated that Maori land might be acquired compulsorily. The government, he explained, was planning to introduce legislation that would enable it to take land that was held by Europeans in large estates and ‘kept in a state of nature’.⁴¹³ (He was referring here to what became the Land for Settlement Act, passed in October 1894, under which the government was to make 1.3 million acres available for close settlement.⁴¹⁴) Seddon told the Moawhango meeting that: ‘If Parliament passed such a law applying to European land, they were not likely to allow the Natives to keep millions of acres locked up and unused. There must be equality in their legislation.’⁴¹⁵

Such legislation, however, was not introduced for Maori, and it is doubtful whether Seddon had believed it to be a realistic option. Instead, the Liberal Government secured substantial areas of Maori land through purchasing carried out under a statutory regime that facilitated the alienation of Maori land.⁴¹⁶ By 1900, the government had secured 205,214 acres of the Awarua and Motukawa blocks, which amounted to about 68 percent of their total area.⁴¹⁷ While the Awarua block was the focus of the government’s purchase efforts, it also secured other Mokai Patea lands in the vicinity of the railway during the 1890s. In 1891, the Crown acquired all three subdivisions of the Te Kapua block, an area of 21,878 acres.⁴¹⁸ As detailed in the previous chapter, steps to purchase this land had begun in the mid 1880s, but were set back by protests from groups excluded from the title. The government also purchased interests in the Rangipo Waiu lands, a process that had also begun in the mid 1880s. By 1901, the Crown had secured 77,866 acres of the Rangipo Waiu lands, about 80 percent of their total area.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹² ‘Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier’s trip through the native districts of New Zealand’, AJHR, 1895, G-1, p4. Sections 12 and 13 of the Native Land Purchases Act 1892 and section 17 of the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act 1893 provided for owners to receive debentures in lieu of sale monies.

⁴¹³ ‘Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier’s trip through the native districts of New Zealand’, AJHR, 1895, G-1, p4.

⁴¹⁴ Brooking, “‘Busting Up” the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891-1911’, p78.

⁴¹⁵ ‘Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier’s trip through the native districts of New Zealand’, AJHR, 1895, G-1, p5.

⁴¹⁶ Brooking, “‘Busting Up” the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891-1911’, p81.

⁴¹⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1894, p1079; *New Zealand Gazette*, 1897, p1747; *New Zealand Gazette*, 1899, p1359.

⁴¹⁸ Subasic and Stirling, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect’, p38. *New Zealand Gazette*, 1892, p1304.

⁴¹⁹ Bayley, ‘Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000’, pp178-179. *New Zealand Gazette*, 1901, p1749.

Alongside purchase operations, construction of the NIMT proceeded falteringly during the 1890s. Following the annual ministerial statement of 1891, subsequent Public Works' statements do not record that construction was delayed to await progress with purchase operations.⁴²⁰ It seems that for much of the 1890s indecision about the route of the NIMT and funding constraints were the main impediments to construction. In 1894, the loan money raised for the railway was expended, and the government was reluctant to undertake further borrowing for public works.⁴²¹ (Purchasing along the railway continued after this time with funds from the Native Lands Purchase account.) Work on the NIMT progressed slowly. By 1899, the south end of the line was open to Mangaonoho, about 22 miles north of Marton. Beyond this, work continued on the Makohine Viaduct, while grading work extended to Taihape, some 44 miles from Marton.⁴²²

Around this time, detailed surveys were completed of the central route and three possible alternative lines to Taranaki. From this evidence, the decision was finally made to proceed with the central route, with a future branch line to Taranaki.⁴²³ This decision, combined with an improving economic situation, saw the rate of construction increase significantly. In 1901, the government took another £1,000,000 Public Works loan, largely to complete the NIMT.⁴²⁴ In mid 1904, the line was completed to Taihape and four years later, on 30 June 1908, it was opened to Waiouru.⁴²⁵ A little over a month later, the first train ran between Auckland and Wellington. The total cost of the railway, including associated road construction, amounted to more than £2,500,000.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁰ The statements recorded details of the purchase of Maori lands along the railway. See: 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1895, D-1, px, xiv; 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1896, D-1, ppi-iii, ix, xvi; 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1897, D-1, ppv-vi, xiii.

⁴²¹ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1892, D-1, p1. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1894, D-1, piv.

⁴²² 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1899, D-1, pv.

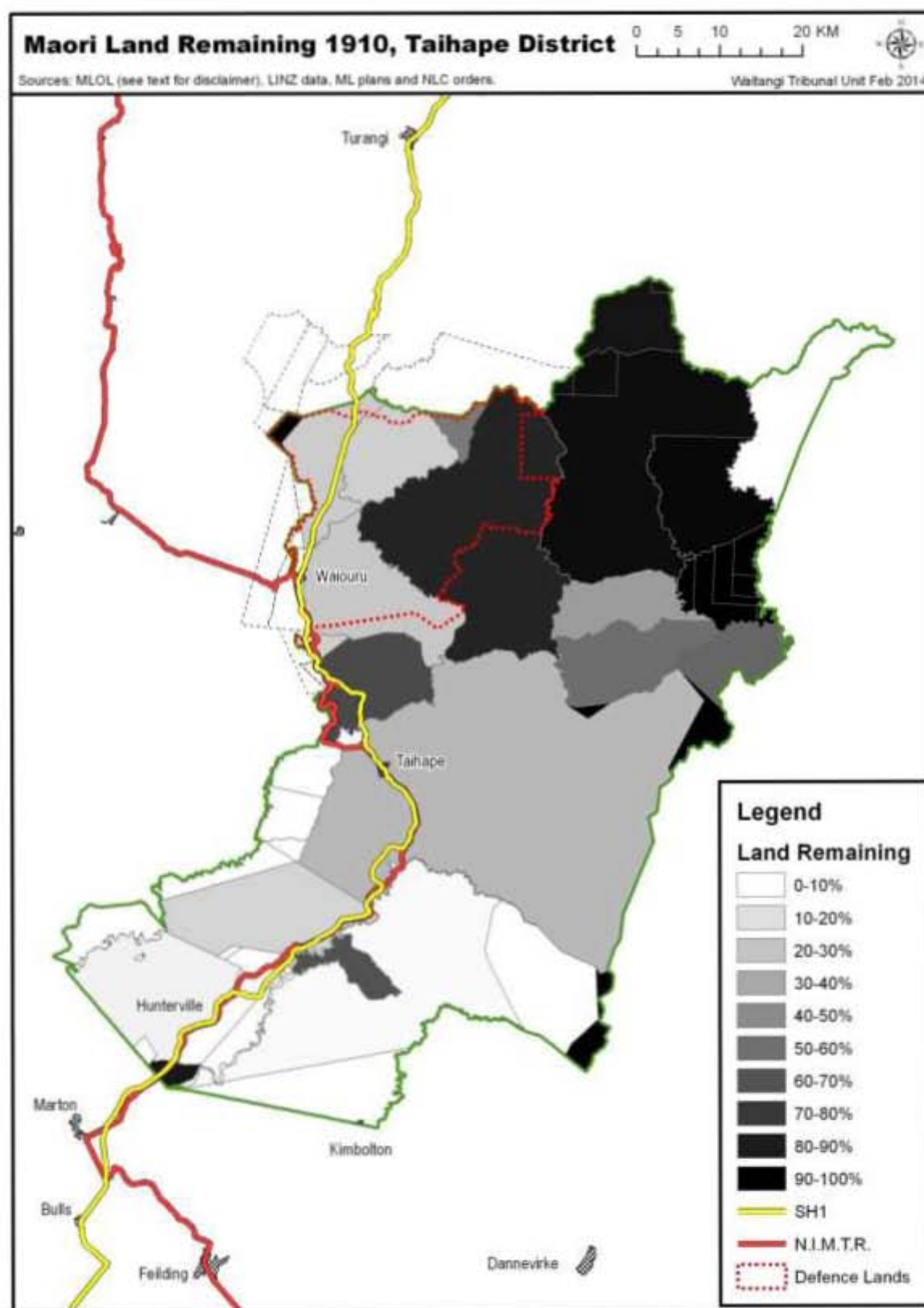
⁴²³ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1899, D-1, pp105-117. Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p98.

⁴²⁴ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1901, D-1, ppi-ii.

⁴²⁵ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1905, D-1, pp50-51. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1908, D-1, pp61-62.

⁴²⁶ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1908, D-1, pii.

Figure 8: Maori land remaining in the Taihape inquiry district, 1910⁴²⁷



⁴²⁷ This map was prepared by Craig Innes and originally presented in his land retention and alienation report. See Innes, 'Maori Land Retention and Alienation', Map B-5, p83.

Sawmilling

As construction of the railway advanced, sawmilling emerged as an important economic activity in the Taihape inquiry district and in other areas, further north, through which the railway was formed. The NIMT played a crucial role in the development of the industry because it enabled sawn timber to be transported to distant markets. Without rail transport, sawmilling in the inquiry district would have been largely restricted to supplying the local timber market, and it is possible that many of the areas of forest that were milled would have been cleared for farming without any attempt to harvest the available timber resource. Rollo Arnold observes that rail-based sawmills established in New Zealand towards the end of the nineteenth century were often situated in districts of high farming potential, and the timber industry was therefore able to serve as 'a springboard' for the establishment of more permanent agriculture activities.⁴²⁸ This was the case in the Taihape inquiry district.

Before construction of the NIMT commenced, government officials and representatives were aware that the railway would create an opportunity for commercial milling of the indigenous forests that lay along the line. As detailed above, Rochfort had included observations about timber resources when reporting upon his exploration of the route between Marton and Te Awamutu.⁴²⁹ In November 1885, not long after work on the railway had begun, newly-appointed Chief Conservator of State Forests, Thomas Kirk, provided a more detailed assessment of the forests that lay along the route, noting the existence of valuable stands of timber.⁴³⁰ Kirk undertook this appraisal as part of a broader examination of the country's indigenous forest resources and the state of the timber trade. In his report, Kirk forecast the decline of the dominant kauri timber industry, which was based in Northland and Coromandel.⁴³¹ In keeping with Kirk's prediction, supply of kauri began to diminish as construction of the NIMT progressed, resulting in greater demand for species that lay along the railway – rimu, totara, matai, and kahikatea.⁴³²

⁴²⁸ Rollo Arnold, 'The Virgin Forest Harvest and the Development of Colonial New Zealand', *New Zealand Geographer*, vol. 32, no. 2, October 1976, p109.

⁴²⁹ 'Main Trunk Line, Auckland to Wellington', AJHR, 1884, D-5, pp1-3.

⁴³⁰ 'Native forests and the state of the timber trade (report on), by T. Kirk', AJHR, 1886, C-3, pp18-20.

⁴³¹ 'Native forests and the state of the timber trade (report on), by T. Kirk', AJHR, 1886, C-3, p25.

⁴³² Michael Roche, *History of Forestry*, New Zealand Forestry Corporation and GP Books, Wellington, 1990, pp115-116.

The sawmilling industry that developed in the Taihape inquiry district was based exclusively upon the operation of privately-owned mills. Most of the district's sawmill owners worked a single mill, though a few operated more than one, including plants outside the district.⁴³³ The scale of each milling operation varied, reflecting underlying levels of investment and the quantity of timber accessible from each site. However, detailed evidence concerning the level of capital investment that was involved in setting up sawmills in the inquiry district has not been located. Research into sawmilling enterprises that were established near the NIMT in the West Taupo region around the same time provides an indication of the likely scale of investment. According to Roche, the nominal capital of sawmilling companies operating in this region between 1900 and 1920 generally ranged from £2,000 to £7,000. Some of these ventures, he notes, were conceived as medium-term enterprises that were set up to mill timber off a single block of land, perhaps over a ten-year period.⁴³⁴

Roche observes that the timber industry was not viewed as an especially desirable investment option at this time, unlike the kauri industry of the 1870s and 1880s.⁴³⁵ This is likely to have influenced the sources of lending finance that were available to those who wished to establish sawmilling ventures. The industry that operated along the NIMT and elsewhere around the turn of the twentieth century appears to have been privately financed. The CNI Tribunal has noted that state finance does not seem to have been available for sawmilling.⁴³⁶ The temporary and commercially risky nature of the sawmilling industry, the perceived short-term life of the companies involved, and the perception that the industry was not a long-term land use are likely to have made it less attractive for government lending.

As well as having access to finance to meet capital development costs, those who wished to participate in sawmilling ventures required relevant technical expertise and the business skills necessary for running a commercial operation. As technical skills could be procured through employing people with sufficient experience in the industry, individuals and groups who sought to establish sawmilling enterprises did not necessarily need to have prior involvement in the industry. A further essential requirement for those who wished to participate in the industry was, of course, access to sufficient stands of commercially valuable milling timber. As detailed below, the

⁴³³ In 1905, for example, Gardner and Sons were operating a mill at Turangarere. The Gardner family also appears to have had interests in two substantial milling operations in northern Wairarapa. 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p14, 22.

⁴³⁴ Roche, *History of Forestry*, p119.

⁴³⁵ Roche states that it was not until the state-led afforestation boom of the 1920s and 1930s that investment again began to flow into the sector. Roche, *History of Forestry*, p119.

⁴³⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p1121.

sawmillers that operated in the inquiry district do not appear to have owned the land from which they cut timber. Instead, sawmillers entered into agreements with land owners and paid for the logs they processed.

Geographically, the development of the sawmilling industry in the inquiry district broadly progressed alongside the construction of the NIMT. Local histories provide some details of the industry's emergence. In D.M. Laing's history of Hunterville, for example, it is noted that from the mid 1880s sawmills began operating in several places, including Rata, Silverhope, Hunterville, Mangaonoho, Orangipongo, and Poukiore.⁴³⁷ These mills were to operate until the forest in each locality was exhausted. The supply of timber for construction of the railway provided some impetus for the industry. From various locations within the inquiry district, many thousands of sleepers were supplied to the Public Works Department, especially between about 1900 and 1908.⁴³⁸

Reports on the timber industry prepared by the Lands Department in 1905, 1907, and 1909 provide a picture of sawmilling operations in the inquiry district during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁴³⁹ During this period the exhaustion of the extensive Seventy Mile Bush saw some sawmillers shift to locations along the NIMT in the Rangitikei district before moving northwards to the West Taupo forests.⁴⁴⁰ While the industry remained largely unregulated at this time, the 1905, 1907, and 1909 reports reflect that the government – in the face of diminishing indigenous timber resources – was becoming increasingly concerned about the future supply of timber as well as some of the environment consequences of large-scale deforestation.⁴⁴¹ All of the reports acknowledged the economic importance of the timber industry, which was described in 1905 as being 'of so much importance to the well-being of the community'.⁴⁴²

The 1905 report details that most sawmills operating in the modern-day inquiry district were, by this time, located on the NIMT in the vicinity of Taihape township. A number of mills were stated to be working in this area and, as the line was open for traffic to Taihape, were all operating 'full time

⁴³⁷ D.M. Laing, *Hunterville: the first hundred years*, Hunterville Museum, printed by Wanganui newspapers, 1983, p5, 15, 21, 58.

⁴³⁸ See, for example, 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1890, D-1, p 22; 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1901, D-1, pp 115-116, 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1908, D-1, pp 55-56.

⁴³⁹ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6. 'The timber industry in New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4. 'Forestry in New Zealand', AJHR, 1909, Session II, C-4.

⁴⁴⁰ Roche, *History of Forestry*, p 116.

⁴⁴¹ See for example, 'General Remarks' in 'The timber industry in New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4, pp4-6.

⁴⁴² 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p2.

and almost [to] full capacity'.⁴⁴³ Sawmills were located on the fringes of Taihape township and at Turangarere, Mataroa, Moawhango, and Utiku. Further south, mills continued to work at Mangaweka, Ohingaiti, Silverhope, and Rata. In total, 21 sawmills were operating within the inquiry district, drawing logs variously from Maori land, Crown land leased to Europeans, and freehold land. Sawn timber produced at the mills was sold locally, sent to other districts, and exported to Sydney. Some timber was also supplied to the Public Works and Roads Departments. In total, the sawmills operating in the inquiry district produced almost 23 million superficial feet of timber or about 5½ percent of national production.⁴⁴⁴

Two years later, the 1907 report recorded 26 sawmills in the inquiry district and an increase in annual production to more than 32 million superficial feet or about 7½ percent of national production.⁴⁴⁵ The mills had become further concentrated along the northern sections of the NIMT. Following a familiar pattern, some had relocated to access new areas of forest. Just north of Taihape, for example, an individual named Zajonskowskie owned a mill that he had recently moved from Silverhope. It was detailed that this mill was cutting entirely on Maori land, with the timber being sold 'between Wellington and New Plymouth'.⁴⁴⁶

Production of sawn timber appears to have peaked in the inquiry district around the time of the 1907 report. This is evident from returns of goods transported by rail, which indicate that the volume of sawn timber produced in the inquiry district began to decline around the time construction of the NIMT ended. During the year ending 31 March 1907, almost 21 million superficial feet of timber had been transported from stations in the inquiry district.⁴⁴⁷ Smaller though significant quantities of timber continued to be transported over the next couple of decades, but by 1940 it appears that production had declined considerably. In the year ending 31 March 1940, only about 3 million superficial feet of timber would be conveyed from inquiry district stations.⁴⁴⁸

The Lands Department's 1909 report on the timber industry provides less detail concerning the sawmills that were operating within the inquiry district and elsewhere. However, the report suggested that the industry in the Taihape area was facing decline, stating that the Awarua forest 'around and

⁴⁴³ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p19.

⁴⁴⁴ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p3, 19-24.

⁴⁴⁵ 'The timber industry in New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4, p4, 24-27.

⁴⁴⁶ 'The timber industry in New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4, p24.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Railways statement', AJHR, 1907, D-2, pp16-17.

⁴⁴⁸ 'Railways statement', AJHR, 1940, D-2, p51.

south of Taihape... has been so depleted of late years by contract cutting that its supply will probably be exhausted before very long'.⁴⁴⁹ On the other hand, the report later noted that within the Awarua block there remained 'a large amount of very valuable milling-timber still standing in the neighbourhood of Taihape, where several sawmills are busily engaged'.⁴⁵⁰

Around this time, difficult market conditions were adversely affecting the sawmilling industry, illustrating that involvement in the industry carried risk.⁴⁵¹ Newspaper reports from March 1909 describe a sharp decline in milling activity around Taihape. The *Wanganui Chronicle* reported that several small mills had ceased cutting and others were due to close in the near future. At the same time, among the larger mills, there was said to be a 'terrible war' going on as they competed for work.⁴⁵² This situation, which was suspected to be linked to the importation of Oregon pine, was among a number of issues investigated by a 1909 parliamentary commission into the timber and timber-building industries. In its report, dated 23 June 1909, the commission found that the sawmilling industry was 'not in a satisfactory condition at the present time', attributing this to 'trade depression, and local financial stringency' as well as overproduction.⁴⁵³

Maori had limited involvement in the ownership of the sawmills that operated in the inquiry district up to 1910. The available evidence indicates that Maori possessed interests in only two milling ventures. Utiku Potaka was responsible for the earliest of these. In 1897, the *Cyclopedia* noted that Potaka had set up and was leasing a mill at Kaikoura, a settlement situated on the route of the NIMT about 8 kilometres south of Taihape.⁴⁵⁴ In July 1899, Kaikoura, which lay within Awarua 4C9, was proclaimed the site of Potaka Native Township, also known as Utiku.⁴⁵⁵ (This was one of two native townships established in the inquiry district. Issues concerning the creation of these townships and the extent to which they fulfilled Maori economic aspirations are discussed later in the chapter.) When Potaka Native Township was proclaimed, the sawmill, at Utiku Potaka's request, was located within one of the allotments set aside for Maori use.⁴⁵⁶ An 1899 plan

⁴⁴⁹ 'Forestry in New Zealand', AJHR, 1909, 1909, Session II, C-4, p14.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Forestry in New Zealand', AJHR, 1909, 1909, Session II, C-4, p14.

⁴⁵¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp249-250.

⁴⁵² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 16 March 1909, p8.

⁴⁵³ See 'Forestry in New Zealand', AJHR, 1909, 1909, Session II, H-24, ppixiii-xiv.

⁴⁵⁴ Cyclopedia Company Limited, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District]*, Cyclopedia Company Limited, Wellington, 1897, p1282.

⁴⁵⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1899, p1404.

⁴⁵⁶ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships: Potaka [Utiku] and Turangarere', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A47, p35. The mill was located on Section 7, Block III, Potaka Native Township.

shows that a tramline built in connection with the milling operation ran through part of the township.⁴⁵⁷

It is unclear exactly when Potaka set up the Kaikoura mill, though clearly it was prior to the publication of the *Cyclopedia* in 1897. Railway construction activity began in the area around this time, yet the line between Mangaweka and Taihape was not opened to traffic until 1904.⁴⁵⁸ Before the line's opening, the Potaka's mill would have been limited to meeting local demand for timber as well as supplying materials for the construction of the railway.⁴⁵⁹ Between about 1899 and 1905, a number of Europeans based at Utiku were involved in supplying sleepers to the Public Works Department under contract.⁴⁶⁰ One of these individuals may have held the lease over Potaka's mill. The nature of the leasing arrangement noted in the *Cyclopedia* is unclear. It is not known, for example, whether the lease required payment of a fixed rental or provided for profit sharing. For Potaka, leasing of the mill may have been an attractive option because it enabled him to participate in the industry as a sawmill owner while at the same time providing him with access to individuals who possessed the necessary skills and experience in the timber industry.

From 1904, when the NIMT was opened for traffic to Taihape, the ability to transport sawn timber clearly expanded opportunities for sawmilling along the newly-opened section of line, including at Utiku. In April 1904, the *Wanganui Chronicle* described the preparations that sawmillers were making to set up new milling plants in and around Utiku. All of the individuals involved appear to have been Europeans. The existing mill (belonging to Utiku Potaka) was to be removed and replaced by a new plant. The sawmillers associated with this venture were Perham, Larsen, and Company. The *Chronicle* reported that Mr Perham had recently travelled to 'the Empire City' to arrange for installation of an 'up-to-date milling plant'. The old mill was to be relocated 'a mile or so' to the north of the township.⁴⁶¹ This development appears to have marked the end of Utiku Potaka's participation in the timber industry as a mill owner. It seems that he sold or otherwise disposed of the plant that was removed from the township.

⁴⁵⁷ See Map 2, Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p37.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1896, D-1, pix. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1897, D-1, pv. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1903, D-1, pv. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1904, D-1, pv.

⁴⁵⁹ In 1897, it was reported that, along with the timber mill, the Kaikoura settlement had a store, residential dwellings, accommodation houses, school, and post office. Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', pp27-28.

⁴⁶⁰ 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1900, D-1, p99.

⁴⁶¹ 'Utiku Notes', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 April 1904, p8.

The Lands Department's 1905 report does not mention Utiku Potaka among the sawmill proprietors who were operating in the inquiry district at this time. It does, however, mention another Maori-owned sawmill – the second of the two Maori sawmill ventures that appear to have operated in the district. Located south of Taihape, the mill was owned by Winiata Te Whaaro.⁴⁶² As detailed in the previous chapter, the Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki leader and his people had been evicted from the Mangaohane block in May 1897. During the following year, Te Whaaro was looking to participate in the sawmilling industry. In June 1898, the *Wanganui Chronicle* reported that he had nearly all the plant for a sawmill on his property and expected to have it in working order by the end of the month.⁴⁶³ Like Utiku Potaka, Te Whaaro may not have been directly involved in the operation of the mill. The Lands Department's 1905 report stated that it 'was worked by a European'. The venture appears to have lasted for about five or six years. The 1905 report detailed that the mill had closed down after the operator 'got into financial difficulties'.⁴⁶⁴

Within or near Potaka Native Township, three sawmills were reported to be operating in 1905. The most significant of these was Utiku Sawmill, owned by Perham, Larsen, and Company, and operating on the native allotment where Utiku Potaka's mill had been located.⁴⁶⁵ (In 1906, Perham and Larsen looked to obtain a lease over the allotment, perhaps to provide greater security for their occupation of the mill site, which appears to have been subject to an informal arrangement. The proposed lease, however, was not finalised.⁴⁶⁶) The 1905 report details that Perham and Larsen were cutting timber on Maori land and had secured a large contract to provide sawn timber to Sydney as well as the Wellington and Whanganui markets. Utiku Sawmill was at this time the largest milling operation in the inquiry district – in terms of output of sawn timber and hands employed, who numbered 50.⁴⁶⁷

The Lands Department's 1907 and 1909 reports provide no further evidence of Maori ownership of milling operations in the inquiry district. By 1907, it

⁴⁶² 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p20.

⁴⁶³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 June 1898, p3.

⁴⁶⁴ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p20.

⁴⁶⁵ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p20.

⁴⁶⁶ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p45.

⁴⁶⁷ Another mill, owned by A.F. Gibbs, was also reported to be operating in the township. This mill was stated to be processing timbers from settlers' holdings located on the east side of the Hautapu River. Just outside the township, the Tamaki Sawmill, owned by B.L. Knight, was also cutting timber from Maori land – Awarua 3A2. Tramway systems had been built in connection with both the Gibb's and Tamaki mills, which together produced almost the same quantity of sawn timber as Utiku Sawmill and employed a total 43 hands. 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, pp20-21.

is notable that, within Potaka Native Township, Perham and Larsen had begun working a second mill on another site. This mill also processed timber cut from Maori land. The 1907 report does not provide separate figures for the two mills, but the combined operation again saw Perham and Larsen dominate the inquiry district's milling ventures, producing the most sawn timber and employing a total of 60 hands.⁴⁶⁸ It is unclear exactly when sawmilling operations at Utiku ceased. In 1910, a prospective lessee noted that the mill plant had been removed from the native allotment upon which Utiku Potaka's sawmill had been located and from where Perham and Larsen had subsequently worked.⁴⁶⁹ By this time, Perham and Larsen appear to have shifted their operations to Rangataua, located further north along the NIMT, east of Oakune.⁴⁷⁰

The two Maori milling ventures that have been described here show that at least some Mokai Patea Maori sought to become involved in sawmill ownership, viewing it as an opportunity from which an economic benefit might be derived. In the CNI report, the Tribunal observed that the relatively small amount of capital investment required and the small scale of some operations appears to have made the ownership of sawmills an ideal opportunity for Maori in that inquiry district.⁴⁷¹ These comments also seem applicable to Maori of the Taihape inquiry district. However, it has been explained that the involvement of Mokai Patea Maori in this level of the industry, confined to the efforts of Utiku Potaka and Winiata Te Whaaro, was limited. Moreover, in Te Whaaro's case at least, these enterprises were unsuccessful and not long-lasting.

For Maori, the establishment of sawmill ventures would seem to have presented the greatest opportunity for those who retained forest land alongside or close to the NIMT route and who would therefore have been able to utilise a resource they already owned. (Potentially, any profits from such operations could have been applied towards developing the land for agricultural purposes.) The Crown's ongoing purchase of Maori land can therefore be seen as having negatively influenced the ability of Mokai Patea Maori to become involved in sawmill ownership. No evidence has been located to suggest that the Crown, after construction of the railway commenced, sought to preserve Maori ownership of forest areas in order to protect their ability to participate in future sawmilling opportunities. As

⁴⁶⁸ Gibb's mill continued to operate in the township, though was stated to be now cutting from Crown lease and Maori land. The Tamaki Sawmill, however, had relocated to a location east of Utiku owing to difficulties with its tramway system. 'The timber industry in New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4, p24, 26-27.

⁴⁶⁹ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p45.

⁴⁷⁰ 'Situations Vacant', *Dominion*, 2 November 1910, p2.

⁴⁷¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp 1120.

explained in the previous section, the Crown was instead determinedly focused on purchasing Maori land along the railway after construction commenced.

The difficulty of raising sufficient finance is likely to have been a significant barrier to greater Mokai Patea Maori involvement in the ownership of sawmills, even though only relatively modest levels of capital investment were sometimes required. As well as preventing some Mokai Patea Maori from starting up milling ventures, an inability to access sufficient lending finance might also partly explain why Utiku Potaka and Winiata Te Whaaro's efforts followed the course they did. It is possible that, owing to lending constraints, neither was able to establish sawmilling operations of a scale that was commercially viable.

As noted above, state sources of lending do not appear to have been available for sawmilling ventures. Most state finance, including that made available under the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, was primarily for farm development purposes.⁴⁷² The sawmilling industry therefore relied on private sources of finance. But as the CNI Tribunal has noted, private lenders were generally averse to loaning money to Maori for development purposes.⁴⁷³ This is likely to have especially been the case for proposed sawmilling ventures, which entailed some risk and are likely to have offered lenders less security than mortgages that were secured against land. At the same time, government policies also prevented Maori from accessing private sources of lending. As well as prohibiting private purchasing of Maori land, the Native Land Court Act 1894 limited new lending on Maori land to state lending agencies.⁴⁷⁴

With lending options very restricted, a further financing avenue that Mokai Patea Maori might have considered was that of entering into joint-venture partnerships with Pakeha sawmillers. As discussed in the previous chapter, some Maori and Pakeha had formed partnerships to farm sheep in the north of the inquiry district. Under such arrangements, Maori who retained suitable areas of accessible forest might have provided timber for milling while the Pakeha partner provided the capital and business and technical skills that were necessary to establish and operate a sawmill. With both parties holding an ownership interest, the profits of any such ventures would have been shared. It appears, however, that operations along these lines were not established in the inquiry district. While details about the Potaka and Te Whaaro ventures are sketchy, Pakeha seem to have been

⁴⁷² Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p 1121.

⁴⁷³ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p 1121.

⁴⁷⁴ Section 117, Native Land Court Act 1894.

brought in after the mills were set up, possibly as a means of obtaining technical expertise. Potaka evidently leased his sawmill, while it was reported only that Winiata's 'was worked by a European'.⁴⁷⁵

Though the enterprises of Potaka and Te Whaaro show that some Mokai Patea Maori wished to participate in the timber industry as sawmill owners, the extent to which others were interested in becoming involved at this level of the industry is unclear. The ventures of Potaka and Te Whaaro are unlikely to have engendered a great deal of enthusiasm. It is likely that at least some Mokai Patea Maori did not look positively upon sawmilling as a viable commercial activity – partly because of the difficulties involved in setting up operations, but also because of the financial risk that sawmill ownership entailed. Those who owned areas of forest may have been content to participate indirectly in the industry, through selling cutting rights to mill operators. In the event of a downturn that resulted in the closure of mills, forest owners could retain the resource for later exploitation when market conditions were more favourable. Utiku Potaka, who in 1900 was 76 years old, may have decided that focussing on the sale of cutting rights was his best option when he eventually gave up ownership of the Utiku sawmill. Potaka was among those Maori of the inquiry district who began receiving income from timber sales around 1900.⁴⁷⁶

During the early stages of the sawmilling industry in the inquiry district, Mokai Patea Maori had little opportunity to earn money from the sale of timber cutting rights. As detailed above, milling commenced in the south of the district in the mid 1880s. By this time, as a result of widespread land alienation, Maori retained ownership of only a small proportion of the timber resources in southern part of the district. However, as the industry pushed northwards, sawmills became established within the Awarua and Motukawa blocks, where Maori continued to own areas of forest land in the vicinity of the NIMT. By the late 1890s, Maori were beginning to receive income from timber cutting on these lands.

The Lands Department's 1905 and 1907 reports on the timber industry provide useful information regarding the extent to which timber was being cut from Maori land during the first decade of the twentieth century, when the sawmilling industry reached its height. As detailed in Table 9, the reports show that a significant proportion of the sawn timber produced in the inquiry district was based on cutting from Maori land. In both 1905 and 1907, sawmills that exclusively utilised Maori-owned timber accounted for

⁴⁷⁵ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, D-1, p20.

⁴⁷⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp256-258.

about half of the district's total output. Additionally, roughly ten percent of production came from operations that cut from a combination of Maori and private or Crown land.⁴⁷⁷ The 1905 report provides details of some of the Maori-owned blocks that timber was being cut from: Awarua 1A2 West, Awarua 3A2, Awarua 4C3, Awarua 4C12, Awarua 4C15, Awarua 9B, and Otamakapua 1.⁴⁷⁸

Table 9: Sawmills in the Taihape inquiry district cutting from Maori land, 1905 and 1907⁴⁷⁹

Year	Total number of sawmills	Number of sawmills cutting exclusively from Maori land	Proportion of total timber production from sawmills cutting exclusively from Maori land (%)	Number of sawmills cutting from Maori and other land	Proportion of total timber production from sawmills cutting from Maori and other land (%)
1905	20	8	47.8	2	8.9
1907	27	11	53.8	4	13.1

Initially, it appears that the cutting of timber from Maori land was quite commonly carried out after informal arrangements had been reached between sawmillers and the owners. Walzl details, for example, that a March 1903 valuation report recorded that part of Awarua 4C15 was occupied by sawmiller J.H. Knapp, yet at this time the land was subject to an alienation restriction.⁴⁸⁰ In 1905, with cutting on the block was underway, Knapp secured formal leases over several subdivisions of Awarua 4C15.⁴⁸¹

Some evidence suggests that Mokai Patea Maori may not have received significant economic benefit from cutting that was carried out under early,

⁴⁷⁷ The reports do not provide a breakdown of the production figures for these sawmills, and it is therefore not possible to identify how much of their output was based upon cutting of Maori-owned timber.

⁴⁷⁸ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p20, 21, 24.

⁴⁷⁹ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p21, 24. 'The timber industry in New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4, pp26-27.

⁴⁸⁰ Walzl records this detail in a draft of his twentieth century overview report that was released in July 2015. He provides the following reference: March 1903, Valuation Report Parts Awarua 4C15 – Awarua 4C15F4, F3, E, C, & B, MA1 913, 1907/150, ANZ Wellington.

⁴⁸¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p255. The Lands Department's 1905 report described Knapp to be 'the pioneer sawmiller' at Taihape. He was stated to be the owner of Taihape Sawmill, which was cutting exclusively on Awarua 4C15. 'He has recently gone in for a new and up-to-date plant and has moved the mill further into the bush... The cutting capacity of this mill is 1,200,000 superficial feet per annum, but Mr Knap [sic.] has only been cutting at the rate of 250,000 superficial feet per annum up to the present. He expects to be able to cut at the mill's full capacity now the railway is open to here.' AJHR, 1905, C-6, p20.

informal arrangements. However, the situation appears to have improved when these agreements were substituted with new leases that were confirmed by the Maori Land Board. On 29 April 1907, John Chase, who appears to have represented some Mokai Patea Maori in negotiations with sawmillers, stated in a letter to his brother Robert that:

I want you and Kirihiro to take warning by the many unsatisfactory leases entered into by the Ngati Tama that have all turned out practically valueless to them. They, the Ngati Tama & Ngati Whiti have all made new leases, and all but Heperi's... have adopted new methods of leases, and all seem to be very satisfactory to them.⁴⁸²

Later in the same year, legislation was introduced that required informal timber agreements between sawmillers and Maori to be validated. Under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, sawmillers who were party to informal timber agreements were required to apply to the local Maori Land Board to have the agreements validated.⁴⁸³ Applications under the Act were required only in cases where cutting under existing agreements had yet to be completed. Only two applications appear to have been made in respect of agreements that related to areas of Maori-owned forest in the Taihape inquiry district.⁴⁸⁴

Submitted in January 1908, the two applications related to agreements that the sawmilling firm Gardner and Sons had entered into in 1902 for cutting rights over Motukawa 2B15 and Motukawa 2B17.⁴⁸⁵ Gardner and Sons appear to have begun operating a mill at Turangarere in about 1903. In 1905, the Lands Department reported that the firm had secured cutting-rights over a large area of Maori land – ‘first-class’ bush consisting of rimu,

⁴⁸² John Chase to Robert Chase, 29 April 1907, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, Motukawa 2B Section 15 No. 2 – Maniapoto-Tuwaharetoa report as to Gardner Bros application under Section 26 (timber Rights), 1908-1909, ANZ Wellington.

⁴⁸³ This legislation appears to have reflected government concern that the agreements did not provide adequate protection of Maori interests, especially in respect of the royalty rates that Maori received. The timber agreements were also thought to contravene the prohibition against private alienations set out in the Native Land Court Act 1894. Roche explains that these concerns emerged in the early years of the twentieth century. The Maori Land Laws Amendment Bill 1903 had initially included clauses to invalidate all informal timber agreements, but these were struck out. Roche, *History of Forestry*, p121.

⁴⁸⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1908, p486. This contrasted markedly with the situation in the Rohe Potae, further north along the NIMT, where numerous applications were made under section 26 of the 1907 Amendment Act. See, for example: *New Zealand Gazette*, 1909, p1396.

⁴⁸⁵ Application under section 26 of Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 20 January 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington. Application under section 26 of Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 14 January 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, Motukawa 2B No. 17 – Maniapoto-Tuwaharetoa report on application by Gardner Bros under Section 26 (timber rights), 1908-1909.

matai, and totara. At this time, the sawmillers were required to cart timber to Taihape and were cutting only to meet local requirements.⁴⁸⁶ Two years later, in 1907, it was reported that Gardner and Son had begun to send timber out of the district.⁴⁸⁷

In December 1908, following 'due enquiry', the Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa District Maori Land Board reported on the two applications. In respect of Motukawa 2B15, which had a total area of 1,714 acres, it noted that the 1902 agreement had been signed by only two owners, Kirihoro Maihi and Hori Maihi.⁴⁸⁸ (It is likely that Kirihoro Maihi was the same individual that Chase referred to in his letter of 29 April 1907.) Partitions since 1902 had seen Kirihoro Maihi's interest (amounting to 218 acres) included in Motukawa 2B15B1, while Hori Maihi's interest (also 218 acres) was located in Motukawa 2B15B2.⁴⁸⁹ Cutting had mostly been carried out on Motukawa 2B15B1, which was located closer to Gardners' mill. However, both owners had received royalty payments that totalled £652 19s 4d.⁴⁹⁰ The Board noted that the Gardners had recently entered into a formal lease with Kirihoro Maihi, and that the prices in this lease were 'somewhat in advance' of those set out in the earlier, informal agreement. In light of this formal arrangement, the Board considered Gardners' application only in respect of Hori Maihi's interest in Motukawa 2B15B2.⁴⁹¹

The Board reported that Hori Maihi, though receiving royalties from Gardner, had in 1907 also entered into a formal timber lease, but with an individual named Peter Arcus. The Board had confirmed this lease without knowing of the Gardner agreement.⁴⁹² In spite of the Arcus lease, the Board believed that Hori Maihi's earlier agreement with Gardner and Sons should be confirmed, subject to certain modifications. These not only included adjustments to the schedule of royalties, but also introduced new

⁴⁸⁶ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p22.

⁴⁸⁷ 'The timber industry in New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4, p24.

⁴⁸⁸ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington, p1.

⁴⁸⁹ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington, p2.

⁴⁹⁰ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington, p3.

⁴⁹¹ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington, pp5-6.

⁴⁹² Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington, pp2-3.

requirements regarding how cutting was to be carried out and monitored. The proposed variations provide some insight into what are likely to have been the standard protections that the Board required in timber leases at this time. They included, for example, provisions that closely defined the dimensions of the trees that sawmillers were required to utilise as well as provisions that enabled the vendors to closely check the volume of timber being processed.⁴⁹³

While the Board was prepared to back the Gardners' 1902 agreement with Hori Maihi, this would have resulted in two sawmilling companies having cutting rights to the same area. Around the time that the Board furnished its report, the Gardners took over Arcus' formal lease, removing any need for the 1902 agreement to be formalised. In February 1909, soon after the Board forwarded its recommendations to the Minister of Native Affairs, solicitors representing the firm requested that the application be withdrawn.⁴⁹⁴

As in the case of Motukawa 2B15, Gardner and Sons had not dealt with all the owners of Motukawa 2B17, which had a total area of 1,670 acres. In its report on the application concerning this land, the Board detailed that the sawmillers had entered into an agreement with only one owner, Hiha Akatarewa, whose interest amounted to 494 acres.⁴⁹⁵ Since entering into the agreement, Akatarewa had died. The Board noted that there was only about 250 acres of bush on the block and that Akatarewa's share might amount to only about 74 acres. In order to define this share, the block would need to be partitioned. Nevertheless, the Board considered that the 1902 agreement, 'for what it is worth', should be confirmed.⁴⁹⁶

In adopting this position, the Board was prepared to override objections from Akatarewa's successors, who claimed to have no knowledge of the 1902 agreement and believed that the sawmillers had failed to comply with provisions that required the timber to be cut as soon as reasonably

⁴⁹³ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington, pp6-9.

⁴⁹⁴ Earl and Kent to President, Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa District Maori Land Board, 8 February 1909, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington.

⁴⁹⁵ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, ANZ Wellington, p1.

⁴⁹⁶ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, ANZ Wellington, p3.

possible.⁴⁹⁷ It seems that that the Board considered that the main purpose of the legislation under which the application was being considered was to enable sawmillers to validate informal agreements. It stated that:

in justice to Messrs Gardner... if they have acquired any rights to the timber under the agreement, they are entitled to the benefits proposed to be conferred by Section 26, and should be placed in such a position as to be able to enforce it.⁴⁹⁸

However, as in its report on Motukawa 2B15, the Board suggested that certain changes be made to the original agreement, including an increase in royalty rates and the inclusion of provisions that offered greater protection of the vendors' interests.⁴⁹⁹

In March 1909, before the Minister had made a final decision on the application, information began to surface about the existence of another, more recent timber agreement that the owners of Motukawa 2B17 had entered into.⁵⁰⁰ The Native Affairs Department file concerning the case does not record the fate of the application relating to Motukawa 2B17, and it is unclear whether the Board's recommendations were ever confirmed.

The Board's reports on the Motukawa 2B15 and 2B17 applications provide evidence that royalty rates generally increased during the first decade of the twentieth century. Commenting on the prices offered in the 1902 agreements, the Board considered that the prices 'were fair at the time', though somewhat out of step with current rates. In explaining the difference, the Board indicated that timber values had increased as a result of the construction of the NIMT, which had greatly improved access to the lands in question.⁵⁰¹ John Chase's letter of 29 April 1907, detailed above, also suggests that royalty rates increased and that Maori were able to secure

⁴⁹⁷ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, ANZ Wellington, pp2-3.

⁴⁹⁸ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, ANZ Wellington, p3.

⁴⁹⁹ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, ANZ Wellington, pp3-7.

⁵⁰⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs, to Marshall and Hutton, 31 March 1909, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, ANZ Wellington.

⁵⁰¹ Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, ANZ Wellington, p5. Report of the Board on application under section 26 of the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1907, 23 December 1908, ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, ANZ Wellington, p2.

higher rates of payment by substituting existing informal agreements with new, formal leases.

Agriculture

While the milling of indigenous timber was an important activity in the inquiry district for a number of years, its significance was to decline. As noted above, in terms of production output, the industry appears to have peaked around the time construction of the NIMT ended, reflecting in part the depletion of timber resources. Agriculture would prove to be the most enduring of the inquiry district's land-based industries and the single most important wealth-generating activity. As explained in the previous chapter, agriculture was first undertaken in the district during the 1860s, with an initial focus on farming sheep for wool on the open tussock grasslands of the north. During the period examined in this chapter, the area of land utilised for agricultural purposes increased and new activities began to be undertaken in the sector.

As with the development of the sawmilling industry, the expansion of agriculture between 1890 and 1910 stemmed in part from the development of transport infrastructure, which provided greatly improved access to the inquiry district lands and enabled stock and produce to be moved more easily. The construction of the NIMT was central to this, but road building was also important. It has been explained earlier that roads were formed in connection with the construction of the railway and also to provide access to surrounding lands. As explained earlier, the building of the NIMT was carried out in conjunction with extensive government land purchasing, undertaken to ensure that the lands 'opened' by the railway would be available for Pakeha settlement. Evidence presented above also suggests that linking roads were primarily formed to provide access to lands that had been purchased from Maori.

While the construction of transport infrastructure enabled more land to be utilised in the inquiry district, the introduction of refrigerated shipping saw the development of an export trade in frozen meat and dairy products, broadening opportunities within the agricultural sector. As noted in the previous chapter, refrigerated shipping commenced in 1882. From this time, the quantity of meat exported from New Zealand increased fairly steadily.⁵⁰² The export trade in dairy products, however, was slower to develop, reflecting several initial constraints upon supply.⁵⁰³ Butter began to be

⁵⁰² See Figure 5.1, Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p86.

⁵⁰³ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, pp88-92.

exported in increasingly significant quantities from about 1890, while cheese exports started to grow during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁵⁰⁴ In spite of the development of refrigerated trade, wool remained the most significant source of export earnings throughout the period examined in this chapter.⁵⁰⁵ In the Taihape inquiry district, as noted in the previous chapter, it seems likely that sheep owners remained almost exclusively focussed on wool production until the 1890s.

The meat and dairy industries that expanded as a result of refrigerated shipping were based upon farming operations that involved more intensive land use than pastoral operations that produced only wool. Where sheep were farmed for meat and wool, for example, new husbandry techniques included use of paddocks that were small enough for controlled feeding of pregnant ewes and lambs.⁵⁰⁶ Dairy farms similarly involved more intensive land use than wool growing.⁵⁰⁷ In the Taihape inquiry district, as in other places, environmental factors have significantly influenced the extent to which it has been possible to use land for more intensive farming operations.⁵⁰⁸ This can be seen, for example, in the relatively limited extent to which dairying has been undertaken in the district. It is explained later that, among the opportunities that arose from refrigeration, the farming of sheep and cattle for meat was pursued most widely in the inquiry district.

An important result of the move towards more intensive land use was that, in areas where this shift was possible, the average size of farms was reduced.⁵⁰⁹ Refrigeration made smaller-scale farming of dairy and meat products viable.⁵¹⁰ The new potential for smaller farming units was an important factor underlying the Liberal Government's land policies. As noted earlier, the Liberals sought to significantly increase the amount of land

⁵⁰⁴ See Figures 5.3 and 5.4, Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p91.

⁵⁰⁵ Figure 2.7, Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p38.

⁵⁰⁶ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p86. Brian Easton, 'Economic history – Refrigeration, dairying and the Liberal boom', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 2 February 2016.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/economic-history/page-6>

⁵⁰⁷ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p92.

⁵⁰⁸ Figure 5, which shows land use in the inquiry district in 2012, broadly indicates the areas where it has been possible to undertake more intensive land use. This would appear to have been upon the lands categorised 'Grassland – high producing', which include grassland with high quality pasture species. It is unlikely that intensive farming has been possible on the lands categorised 'Grassland – low producing', which include low fertility grassland and tussock grassland, located mostly on hill country. Peter Newsome, James Shepherd, and David Pairman, 'Establishing New Zealand's LUCAS Land Use and Land Use-Change and Forestry 2012 Map', Landcare Research, June 2013, Appendix 1, p32.

⁵⁰⁹ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p92.

⁵¹⁰ Robert Peden, 'Farming in the economy – Refrigeration and the growth of the dairy industry', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 2 February 2016.
URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/farming-in-the-economy/page-6>

available for close settlement, particularly settlement based around the model of the family farm. It has been explained that this was achieved through the purchase of Maori land – including significant areas within the Taihape inquiry district – and, to a lesser extent, the breaking up of large estates held by Pakeha pastoralists.⁵¹¹

From the 1890s, on the back of these policies, the family farm became the dominant economic unit throughout New Zealand.⁵¹² The new class of small-medium farmers mostly had holdings within the range of 100 to 1000 acres, averaging from 300 to 400 acres in the period between 1898 and 1911.⁵¹³ Within the Taihape inquiry district, the parcels that the Crown disposed of were of varying sizes, reflecting the different classes of land that existed in the district.⁵¹⁴ Allotments within village settlements were among the lands offered in the inquiry district. In its annual report for 1900, the Lands Department explained that village settlements were laid out in connection with larger farms and were intended to provide homes for settlers who depended partly on paid work. As the size of the allotments ranged from less than one acre to 100 acres, it was thought that the system met the ‘the wants of a numerous class’.⁵¹⁵ The 1900 report noted that the occupiers of village settlements at Makohine, Mangaweka, and Taihape were principally employed on the construction of the railway, but were ‘gradually improving their holdings’. It was anticipated that a proposed dairy factory at Taihape and a creamery at Utiku would greatly benefit the surrounding villagers as well as other settlers.⁵¹⁶

Those who took up Crown land benefitted from a system that aimed to ensure that settlers had a reasonable chance of farming their lands successfully. Their position will later be compared to that of Mokai Patea Maori who around the same time sought to develop and farm their remaining lands. At the most basic level, the Crown land system provided

⁵¹¹ As noted earlier, the breakup of these estates was carried out under the Land for Settlement Act 1894. This legislation does not appear to have been applied in the Taihape inquiry district. See map in Tony Nightengale, ‘Government and agriculture – land reform and farmer education, 1890s’, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 2 February 2016.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/interactive/18053/north-island-land-purchases>

⁵¹² Emma Dawson and Jock Phillips, ‘Farm families – The rise of the family farm, 1880-1970’, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 2 February 2016.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/farm-families/page-3>

⁵¹³ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Penguin Press, Auckland, 2001, p58.

⁵¹⁴ This is evident from details provided in the annual reports of the Lands Department, particularly the sections the administrative work of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Wellington Land District. See AJHR, 1891-1909, C-1.

⁵¹⁵ ‘Department of Lands and Survey (annual report of)’, AJHR, 1900, C-1, pv.

⁵¹⁶ ‘Department of Lands and Survey (annual report of)’, AJHR, 1900, C-1, p12.

settlers with holdings that had secure titles, which had been surveyed and divided into separate parcels. Under the Land Act 1892, there were three ways that prospective farmers could take up land: cash purchase (which required the buyer to improve the property to receive a certificate of title); occupation with right of purchase (a 25-year lease with the right to purchase after 10 years); and a lease in perpetuity for 999 years. Another form of state assistance, these tenures provided settlers with options that helped ensure that individual farmers had sufficient capital for land development. Reflecting the Liberal's aim of promoting closer settlement for small-scale, independent farmers, a lessee or purchaser could hold no more than 640 acres of 'first-class' land or 2,000 acres of 'second-class' land.⁵¹⁷

Settlers taking up Crown lands were also provided with road access to their properties – a necessity if their farming efforts were to be successful. As noted above, the Public Works Department used a portion of the NIMT construction funds to build roads – not only roads that were required in connection with the construction of the railway, but also roads that would link the NIMT with adjacent lands. The linking roads, it has been explained, appear to have been built primarily to provide access to lands that the Crown had purchased from Maori. The Lands Department and the Rangitikei County Council were also closely involved in road building.⁵¹⁸ The Lands Department's focus was on providing road access to Crown lands before they were opened for sale.⁵¹⁹ In 1900, for example, it reported that roads within the Awarua block were rapidly being formed (including a bridge over the Moawhango River on the Torere Road) and that this would enable progress in the district to accelerate.⁵²⁰ However, a lack of roading or poor quality roads sometimes presented a major problem for some settlers. For example, in August 1906, it was reported that an estimated 40 to 50 families in the lower Moawhango area were 'practically isolated by bad roads'. As a result, many were looking to sell as nothing was being done to help them.⁵²¹

In addition to the provision of roading, settlers benefitted from other state support that was not targeted specifically at those who took up Crown land. Notably, the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894 offered financial

⁵¹⁷ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p93. Jim McAloon, 'Land ownership – The Liberals and land policy', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 2 February 2016.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/land-ownership/page-5>

⁵¹⁸ In respect of the Rangitikei County Council's role, see, for example, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 27 November 1902, p2.

⁵¹⁹ The Lands Department's annual reports include maps showing the roads that were formed to open Crown lands for sale. See, for example, AJHR, 1900, C-1, p172.

⁵²⁰ 'Department of Lands and Survey (annual report of)', AJHR, 1900, C-1, p12.

⁵²¹ *Wairarapa Age*, 2 August 1906, p4.

support to individuals who sought to secure and develop land. The title of the Act states that its purpose was ‘to enable the Government to assist Settlers by advancing Money to them on Mortgage at Reasonable Rates of Interest’. The Act, Hawke explains, was introduced following a banking crisis in Australia, which saw British lenders become more cautious about investing in Australasia generally.⁵²² Belich notes that the state advances system was to have an impact upon the private lending market as it pressured banks to lower the cost of credit and ease access to it.⁵²³

The Liberal Government further supported the development of the agricultural economy through the establishment of the Department of Agriculture in 1892. The Department offered advice to farmers and became involved in the grading and quality control of exports, including the introduction of dairy-herd testing and meat inspection. State assistance also extended to agricultural research, including research that led to the improvement of sown pasture, which from 1900 contributed significantly to progress within the agricultural economy.⁵²⁴

In the Taihape inquiry district, activity within the agricultural economy increased significantly during the period between 1891 and 1909. This growth was linked closely to the expansion of Pakeha settlement. As detailed below, Mokai Patea Maori continued to participate in the agricultural economy, but their involvement declined – both in real terms and as a proportion of overall activity. The general development of agriculture is illustrated, for example, in annual returns that record freight statistics for individual railway stations. These indicate that agricultural activity in the inquiry district grew steadily during the period examined in this chapter, though this was most pronounced after 1900.⁵²⁵ The NIMT, it should be noted, was not only used by those who took up areas of Crown land; those engaged in existing farming operations also began to use the railway. After the line was opened to Taihape in 1904, the large pastoral operations in the north of the district found that Taihape station provided an easier outlet than the Napier road.⁵²⁶

As construction of the railway advanced through the district, observers expressed considerable optimism about the farming potential of the land

⁵²² Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p94.

⁵²³ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p59.

⁵²⁴ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p60.

⁵²⁵ See, for example, details provided in the following annual statements of the Minister of Railways: AJHR, 1895, D-2, p26; AJHR, 1900, D-2, p32; AJHR, 1905, D-2, p26; AJHR, 1910, D-2, pp15-16.

⁵²⁶ S.G. Laurenson, *Rangitikei: the day of striding out*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1979, pp93-94. ‘Public Works statement’, AJHR, D-1, 1904, pv.

through which the line would pass. In July 1900, for example, the Special Commissioner of the Wellington Railway League reported on what he thought was the considerable potential of the land between Mangaweka and Taihape, suggesting that 'nowhere in New Zealand is a finer class of country to be found than in the immense area surrounding Taihape'.⁵²⁷ Such impressions, however, were revised as settlers began taking up land. In 1905, for example, the *Taranaki Herald* reported that the quality of the land around Taihape was 'patchy'. While there was some 'very good grass', this came in late and the cold temperatures meant that it would not be suitable for dairying.⁵²⁸ Infestation of weed plants, especially the Californian Thistle, also posed a problem for farming operations, as did increasing rabbit numbers in some parts of the district.⁵²⁹ In 1910, Californian Thistles were declared a weed under the Noxious Weeds Act and enforcement of control measures began in the district.⁵³⁰

In spite of these challenges, settler demand for Crown land remained strong. Walzl explains that during the first decade of the twentieth century, settlers appear to have placed considerable pressure upon the government to open further lands for settlement within the inquiry district.⁵³¹ In 1905, for example, settlers in the Taihape area signed a petition demanding that the government open Awarua 1B for selection. (Comprising 57,500 acres, this block had been purchased from Maori ten years earlier.) In October 1905, when sections within the block were opened for selection, nearly a thousand people attended the ballot that was held at Mangaweka.⁵³² As well as pressuring the government to make Crown land available for settlement, settlers also lobbied for more land to be purchased from Maori. In making these calls, settlers sometimes stated that Maori land was not being properly utilised and pointed to risks concerning the spread of noxious weeds.⁵³³

Sheep farming remained the focus of the inquiry district's developing agricultural economy. Reflecting greater land utilisation within the district, sheep returns for the period covered in this chapter record an increase in

⁵²⁷ *Evening Post*, 10 July 1900, p2.

⁵²⁸ *Taranaki Herald*, 21 March 1906, p3. Other newspaper reports also noted how the district's climate could negatively influence farming operations. In one report, unseasonably harsh weather during January 1905 was said to have caused the death of 450 recently shorn sheep on one of the stations. 'Taihape', *Press*, 5 January 1905, p8.

⁵²⁹ See, for example, *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 12 May 1910, p4, and *Otago Witness*, 5 April 1905, p7.

⁵³⁰ On 20 April 1910, several farmers in the Taihape area were fined 10 shillings and seven shillings costs for failing to obey notices under the Act. *Star*, 20 April 1910, p3.

⁵³¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p212.

⁵³² *Wanganui Herald*, 9 October 1905, p7, cited in Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p213.

⁵³³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp217-219, 231-239.

both total sheep numbers and the number of flocks.⁵³⁴ The returns also show the spread of sheep farming into new areas, illustrating the expansion of Pakeha settlement. While the returns record a broad range of flock sizes, they indicate that mid-sized farming operations (involving flocks of between 1,000 and 5,000 sheep) were becoming increasingly significant. This suggests that, following the national pattern, the family-farm model was becoming established in the district. At the same time though, extensive pastoralism on large holdings continued to dominate operations in the northern lands of the district, where conditions were less suitable for more intensive farming. These operations continued to involve the district's largest flocks, though as a proportion of the total number of sheep, their overall significance declined.⁵³⁵

The railway freight returns show that wool remained a crucial output of sheep farming in the inquiry district during the period examined in this chapter. They record increasing numbers of wool bales being transported from the district's stations. However, the returns also show that stock were freighted out of the district, reflecting that farmers began to derive earnings from the export trade in frozen meat.⁵³⁶ At the end of the period covered here, the potential for this activity had yet to fully develop. In May 1910, one commentator observed that further pasture development around Taihape would see 'many thousands of fat lambs sent away where there are now hundreds'.⁵³⁷ The lack of a processing facility in the district also may have constrained sheep meat farming. As explained in the next chapter, a freezing works was eventually built near Taihape in 1914. Further south, another plant was established near Marton.⁵³⁸

It is also evident that sheep farmers in the inquiry district earned income from selling animals for flock development in other parts of the country. Some of the animals freighted from the district appear to have been transported for this purpose. In April 1905, for example, it was reported that large numbers of sheep were being trucked out from Taihape to other parts

⁵³⁴ See, for example, details recorded in the following annual sheep returns: AJHR, 1895, H-23, pp31-32, 43-50; AJHR, 1900, H-23, pp34-36, 49-58; AJHR, 1905, H-23, pp34-36, 51-60; AJHR, 1910, H-23, pp39-42, 60-71.

⁵³⁵ For the year ending 30 April 1910, for example, G.P. Donnelly's flock at Mangaohane was the largest in the inquiry district, comprising almost 40,000 sheep and lambs. 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30 April, 1910', AJHR, 1910, H-23, p40.

⁵³⁶ See, for example, details recorded in the following annual statements of the Minister of Railways: AJHR, 1895, D-2, p26; AJHR, 1900, D-2, p32; AJHR, 1905, D-2, p26; AJHR, 1910, D-2, pp15-16.

⁵³⁷ *Dominion*, 31 May 1910, p8.

⁵³⁸ A. Gordon, 'The history and trends in farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', *New Zealand Journal of Forestry*, vol. 54, no. 1, May 2009, p22.

of the country, particularly the South Island.⁵³⁹ Generally, as the sheep farming economy expanded in the district, trade in stock increased. Reflecting this activity, supporting businesses began operating in the inquiry district. For example, it was announced in February 1905 that ‘the well-known stock auctioneers’, Abraham and Williams, were to open a branch office in Taihape.⁵⁴⁰ In May 1909, it was reported that: ‘The popularity of Taihape as a stock sale centre is becoming more and more evident as each season passes, and it is now quite certain that the Taihape sales will be the largest inland in a few years’ time.’⁵⁴¹ In February 1910, it was reported that in a single day over 150 head of cattle and between 9,000 and 10,000 sheep had been through the Taihape stock. The prices paid had been exceptionally good, and it was noted that: ‘The farmers in this district seem a happy and contented lot and if the building of good homes is any criterion they must have been and are doing well.’⁵⁴²

Alongside the expansion of sheep farming, dairying became established in some parts of the inquiry district during the period examined in this chapter. Around the turn of the twentieth century, some commentators believed that dairy farming would emerge as a significant activity along the railway, especially around Taihape. For example, in March 1900, with plans afoot to establish a dairy company at Taihape, the *Feilding Star* commented that:

The district is a promising one for the development of the dairying industry, being good grazing country, situated along the line of the North Island Trunk railway, and it is believed that ere long a number of factories will spring up in the locality and flourish.⁵⁴³

Development of the dairy industry, however, proved to be limited. The main dairy farming areas would be located in other parts of the country, where conditions are more suitable for this type of farming.⁵⁴⁴ In the inquiry district, dairying has been restricted to areas of relatively flat country, primarily in the vicinity of Rata, Ohingaiti, and Taihape.⁵⁴⁵ It appears that dairy farming in the district has not always been undertaken as an exclusive

⁵³⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 4 April 1905, p2.

⁵⁴⁰ *Bush Advocate*, 2 February 1905, p4.

⁵⁴¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 25 May 1909, p3.

⁵⁴² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 25 February 1910, p3.

⁵⁴³ *Feilding Star*, 30 March 1900, p2. Also see *Feilding Star*, 22 February 1900, p2, which notes plans to establish a dairy factory at Taihape.

⁵⁴⁴ Hawke explains that in these areas, which include Taranaki, Waikato, and Northland, rainfall produces lush grass better suited to cattle than sheep. Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, p88.

⁵⁴⁵ Gordon, ‘History and trends in farming’, p23. Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp109-110.

activity. Initially, some sheep farmers milked cows as a supplementary source of income while pasture was being developed.⁵⁴⁶

An important requirement for the local development of dairying was the establishment of dairy factories that could process easily-perishable milk and cream. At first these factories were established by entrepreneurs and companies, but farmer co-operatives became the dominant ownership model. By the early twentieth century, half of the country's dairy factories were owned by farmer co-operatives.⁵⁴⁷ This ownership pattern was evident with the dairy factories that were established in the Taihape inquiry district. At Rata, for example, the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company established a butter making factory in about 1900.⁵⁴⁸ In connection with this factory, creameries were set up at Hunterville and Mangaonoho.⁵⁴⁹ The close proximity of the railway was no doubt important to the location of the Rata factory and associated creameries. In 1902, farmers in the area formed a company and acquired the Rata factory and creameries.⁵⁵⁰ In its first year, the co-operative produced 130 tons of butter.⁵⁵¹

Around the time the Rata factory was set up, there was also interest in the potential for dairy farming on lands lying further north. As noted above, plans were being made to set up a dairy factory at Taihape in 1900. However, in spite of offers of government support, efforts to set up a co-operative dairy company at this time were unsuccessful owing to the difficulty of attracting shareholders and a lack of cows for supply.⁵⁵² Insufficient transport infrastructure also presented an obstacle to the development of dairying in the Taihape area at this time. As detailed earlier, the NIMT was not completed to Taihape and opened to traffic until mid 1904. In the meantime, 'bad roads' were considered a major impediment to plans for dairying.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁶ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, p 135.

⁵⁴⁷ Hawke, *Making of New Zealand*, pp89-90.

⁵⁴⁸ K.M. Little, *Achievement: the Rata Co-operative Dairy Company Limited, 1902-1952*, Rata Dairy Company Limited, Palmerston North, 1952, p12. According to Laing, dairying had begun in the Rata area about ten years earlier, when cows were introduced as the bush was cleared. Laing, *Hunterville*, p82.

⁵⁴⁹ Where farmers were unable to easily transport milk to a factory, creameries served as factory outposts. Milk was skimmed of cream and the cream then transported in bulk to the factory. Stringleman, Hugh, and Frank Scrimgeour, 'Dairying and dairy products', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 9 November 2012.

URL:<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/dairying-and-dairy-products>

⁵⁵⁰ The company was incorporated with a nominal capital of £10,000, divided into £1 shares.

⁵⁵¹ Laing, *Hunterville*, p83. Little, *Achievement: the Rata Co-operative Dairy Company*, p14.

⁵⁵² *Feilding Star*, 31 August 1900, p2. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 September 1900, p2.

⁵⁵³ *Feilding Star*, 2 June 1900, p2.

With the railway opened to Taihape, the *Wanganui Herald* reported in June 1904 that ‘dairy factories and creameries are going up in all directions, between Hunterville and Taihape’.⁵⁵⁴ By this time, a dairy factory was operating at Torere (near Ohotu), on the eastern side of the Hautapu River.⁵⁵⁵ Set up by a private firm, the Taihape Co-operative Dairy Company purchased the factory in 1904 and operated creameries at Taihape and Mangaweka. In the 1905/06 season, the company produced 64 tons of butter.⁵⁵⁶ In May 1910, a travelling correspondent for the *Dominion* described how across the Hautapu River there was ‘a nice block of land... which has been cut up into small farms, chiefly dairying sections’. He indicated that the Torere enterprise was operating successfully, noting that ‘the suppliers seem to be very well satisfied with their venture’ and that the company turned out ‘a first class article’.⁵⁵⁷

In addition to the establishment of a modest dairy industry, it is evident that some arable farming was also undertaken during the period covered in this chapter. This type of farming involves the growing of crops in fields, usually after ploughing. Reflecting the national picture, arable farming appears to have been of relatively limited importance in the Taihape inquiry district.⁵⁵⁸ Where suitable land was available, some arable crops were grown in conjunction with sheep farming operations. They have, for example, been grown on the ploughable lands of the large sheep farms located in the north of the district.⁵⁵⁹ Of the crops grown by sheep farmers, the main crop initially seems to have been oats, which provided chaff for horses.⁵⁶⁰

Maori aspirations and involvement

Within the context of an evolving agricultural economy and transport infrastructure development, Maori of the Taihape inquiry district clearly wished to utilise their lands and take advantage of opportunities in the farming sector. As detailed in the previous chapter, Maori had by 1890

⁵⁵⁴ *Wanganui Herald*, 20 June 1904, p5.

⁵⁵⁵ *Wanganui Herald*, 20 June 1904, p5.

⁵⁵⁶ K.M. Little, *Fifty years in retrospect: the Taihape Co-operative Dairy Company Limited, 1904-1954*, Dudley Rabone and Co. (printers), Palmerston North, 1954, p7, 18, 22.

⁵⁵⁷ *Dominion*, 30 May 1910, p10.

⁵⁵⁸ Grown primarily for the domestic market, arable farming has accounted for a small proportion of the value of New Zealand’s agricultural production. See, for example, Sue Zydenbos, ‘Arable farming’, *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13 July 2012.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/arable-farming>

⁵⁵⁹ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp166-167.

⁵⁶⁰ In January 1909, a reporter for the *Wanganui Chronicle* noted, for example, a 200-acre crop of oats a few miles from Taihape. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 30 January 1909, p7.

gained a significant stake in the wool industry and were recorded in official sheep returns as owning – predominantly by themselves, but also in partnership with Pakeha – almost one third of the sheep in the north of the inquiry district. In the early 1890s, Mokai Patea Maori looked to continue their involvement in the agricultural economy and place it on a more solid footing. These aspirations were clearly articulated in two important letters that Mokai Patea Maori wrote to government representatives in 1892 and 1895. These letters specifically concerned the Awarua and Motukawa blocks, which by the early 1890s had become a key focus of the development aspirations of Mokai Patea Maori. Of the lands that remained in Maori ownership, these blocks included a significant proportion of the land that had most potential for economic development.

The first letter, which was briefly mentioned earlier in the chapter, was dated 9 September 1892 and from owner representatives of the Awarua and Motukawa lands to the Native Minister. As detailed above, this letter was written amidst purchase negotiations and two days after the owners had met with government representatives. The letter was signed by a number of leading rangatira – Utiku Potaka, Wiremu Paratene, Raumaewa Te Rango, Hiraka Te Rango and Wirihana Hunia, on behalf of themselves and Ngati Whiti, Ngati Hauiti, Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Tama. As well as offering a portion of the Awarua and Motukawa blocks to the Crown, the letter of 9 September 1892 conveyed the owners' strong desire to effectively utilise the lands they sought to retain. It also set out a number of obstacles that lay in the way of this aim and requested the Crown's assistance to overcome these barriers, offering suggestions as to how this might be achieved.⁵⁶¹

The second letter, dated 18 April 1895, was from Hiraka Te Rango, writing on behalf of Ngati Whiti living at Moawhango, to the Minister of Lands. In this letter, Hiraka again conveyed strong development aspirations and at the same time drew the government's attention to certain barriers that he believed were preventing the Awarua owners from successfully utilising their lands.⁵⁶² The obstacles to development that were identified in Hiraka's letter and the letter of 9 September 1892 will be discussed in further detail below. Here, it is noted only that the two letters show that Mokai Patea Maori, at the beginning of the period examined in this chapter, wanted to be able to farm their lands effectively and take advantage of the available opportunities within the important agricultural sector.

⁵⁶¹ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

⁵⁶² Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

For the period covered in this chapter, official sheep returns again provide a valuable record of Maori involvement in sheep farming. By 1890, as detailed in the previous chapter, Maori in the northern half of the inquiry district owned about 86,000 sheep, with at least 14,000 of these belonging to Maori-Pakeha partnerships. It has been explained that sheep were grazed on the open tussock lands of the north, which did not require extensive development work before stock were introduced. In the south, the situation was quite different. Maori involvement in sheep farming was very limited. In 1890, Maori owned less than one thousand sheep in the south of the district, reflecting extensive land alienation and the significant challenges of converting forested land to pasture.

Table 10 sets out details of Maori sheep ownership in the Taihape inquiry district for selected years between 1892 and 1910. Like Table 5, it provides separate figures for Maori sheep owners and for Maori-Pakeha partnerships. In a few cases, it is not entirely clear whether the farming ventures that are listed in the table lay within the inquiry district. For example, the extent to which Ngaruroro and Ropoama Pohe were farming entirely within the inquiry district boundaries is uncertain. However, the number of sheep involved in these cases is relatively small and they do not significantly shape the overall trends that are recorded in the table.

The returns show that Maori sheep farming endeavours continued to be based almost entirely in the northern half of the inquiry district. In the south, Maori involvement remained very limited: Table 10 records that Maori owned only a small number of sheep in the vicinity of Rata, though by 1907 this had ended. In the north, most of the Maori farming ventures appear to have utilised land within the Awarua block. Maori also continued to be involved in sheep farming operations on the Mangaohane block. These efforts were dominated by the partnership of Airini and George Donnelly, which ended with Airini's death in 1909. Up until around the time of their eviction from the block in 1897, Winiata Te Whaaro and several others also ran sheep within Mangaohane.⁵⁶³ Elsewhere, in addition to a flock they ran at Makokomiko, which was located in the north of Awarua, the partnership of Anaru Te Wanikau and Boyd ran sheep on the Timahanga block.⁵⁶⁴ To the west, Maori were evidently also farming some sheep within the Motukawa block, in the vicinity of Turangarere.

⁵⁶³ The sheep returns record these individuals to be farming within Mangaohane at Pokopoko and Waiokaha. As noted in the previous chapter, the 1898 sheep return records that both Te Whaaro and Irimana Ngahou continued to own flocks on the block, suggesting their stock may not have been immediately removed. Neither Te Whaaro or Ngahou are mentioned in the 1899 return.

⁵⁶⁴ For details of the location of Makokomiko, see Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p614, 618.

Table 10: Annual returns of sheep owners in Taihape inquiry district, 1892-1910.⁵⁶⁵

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 30 April)						
		1892	1895	1898	1901	1904	1907	1910
Maori								
Eruini Amorewa	Wainui, Moawhango	850	778	1090				
Erueti Arani	Moawhango	6474	7822	9866	4318	4000	4000	
Mariana Arani	Moawhango				1923			
Tihema Aropeta	Moawhango			304	300			
Airini Donnelly ⁵⁶⁶	Mangaohane	22000						
Harawira Heperi	Moawhango	140	1220	1608	1570	834		
Te Piira Hipango	Moawhango				1834			
Pukutohe Hohepa	Moawhango					794	1400	1900
Kereopa Ihaka	Rata		320					
Waikare Karaitiane	Kaingaroa, Moawhango	8600	10900	8316	8392			
Henare Kepa	Moawhango	7500	7080	4105	1319			
Ani Kingi (Ani Paki)	Wainui Run, Moawhango	14000	12415	9006				
Pehira Kingi and Te Ngu Kingi	Turangarere, Moawhango		4516	5367	1985			
Paurini Rawa Kopura	Wainui, Moawhango	1420	1054	1515				
Kopura and Paurini	Wainui, Moawhango				1018			
Hohepa Kumeroa	Moawhango	140	600					
Te Raiti Makarini	Pokopoko, Moawhango	500	500					
Mohoanui	Moawhango		489	565				
Irimana Ngahou	Waiokaha, Erewhon	800	704	400				
Ngarape	Moawhango		109					
Paurini Paengahuru	Moawhango				1043			
Te Hau Paimarire	Moawhango / Taihape				3035	1040		
Puti Paranihi	Moawhango	400						

⁵⁶⁵ The data presented in this table is derived from annual published sheep returns. See: AJHR, 1892, H-30; AJHR, 1895, H-23; AJHR, 1898, H-23; AJHR, 1901, H-23; AJHR, 1904, H-23; AJHR, 1907, H-23; AJHR, 1910, H-23. Misspelled names and placenames have been corrected in the table.

⁵⁶⁶ While the 1892 return gives only Airini Donnelly's name, it is possible that she owned the sheep on Mangaohane block in partnership with her husband, G.P. Donnelly. The 1895, 1898, 1901, and 1904 returns list both Airini and G.P Donnelly as the joint owners of sheep on Mangaohane.

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 30 April)						
		1892	1895	1898	1901	1904	1907	1910
Tawhi Paranihi	Moawhango	746	502	866				
Heperi Pikirangi	Moawhango	1700	2400	2320	2336			
Tawake Pine	Moawhango					444	413	527
Te Rini Pine	Moawhango		7750	10460	3717	2364	2305	2363
Hauturu Piriniha	Moawhango		2100	1800				
Ngaruroro Pohe	Turangarere, Moawhango			1687	1182	857	247	
Ropoama Pohe	Turangarere, Moawhango	900	1300	1508	1113	1718	350	375
Te Oti Pohe	Moawhango					192		
Utiku Potaka	Houhou, Marton	250	50	40				
Raukawa	Moawhango	200	323	452				
Merehira Taipu	Makokomiko, Moawhango			869	693			
Maari Taiuru	Moawhango	2500						
Rapana Tanguru	Moawhango		600					
Raureti Tapuae	Moawhango	150						
Hakopa Te Ahunga	Taurawhiri, Moawhango		2609	4217	1896			
Tekirekire	Moawhango					300		
Onewa Te Marangatawa	Moawhango		500	400	598	681	90	100
Hiraka Te Rango	Wainui and Moawhango			7317				
Hoera Te Rango	Moawhango	4000	4309					
Ihakara Te Raro	Kotuku, Raeroa, Moawhango		1025					
Rihiona Te Tua	Moawhango	100	500	1280	1146	812	468	
Ngahoa Te Wharo	Taihape			300				
Winiata Te Whaaro	Waiokaha, Erewhon	6000	3500	2700				
Hori Tongaru	Waiokaha, Moawhango	1200	600					
Kingi Topia	Moawhango	3500						
Pine Tuakau	Opaea, Moawhango	3700	3000	4016	2723	1119	510	609
Tarana Utiku	Rata		470					
Rirerire Wereta	Moawhango			400	390			
Waeroa Whatu	Rata		220	228	65	158		
	Subtotal (Maori)	87770	80256	83002	42596	15313	9783	5874

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 30 April)						
		1892	1895	1898	1901	1904	1907	1910
<i>Maori-Pakeha partnerships</i>								
Airini and G.P. Donnelly	Mangaohane		24000	18183	16879	14536		
G.P. Donnelly ⁵⁶⁷	Mangaohane						34428	
Paerau and Batley	Moawhango	6500	11073		8318			
K. Pine and T. Chase	Moawhango					1262		
Anaru Te Wanikau and Boyd	Kaingaroa/Makokomiko and Timahanga	11000	15494	18091	20357	18859	17450	17220
R. Sutherland and Co. [with Tairuru Te Rango ⁵⁶⁸]	Tutupapa, Moawhango	18450	15200					
	Subtotal (partnerships)	35950	65776	36274	45554	34657	51878	17220
	Total	123720	146032	119276	88150	49970	61661	23094

⁵⁶⁷ Airini Donnelly, who died in 1909, also may have had an ownership interest in the sheep on Mangaohane in 1907.

⁵⁶⁸ The 1892 and 1895 returns list only R. Sutherland's name, but it appears that at this time Sutherland was farming in partnership with Tairuru Te Rango. Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

In the letter that Utiku Potaka and others wrote to the Native Minister on 9 September 1892, the writers set out the following details of Maori sheep owners and flock numbers on the Awarua block and immediate vicinity:

Ani Paki (in the sheep returns, Ani Kingi)	16,000
Taiuru Te Rango & R. Sutherland	14,000
Te Rina Pine	7,000
Horima Paerau & R.T. Batley	6,000
Hoera Te Rango	5,000
Erueti Arani	5,000
Waikari Te Rango	8,000
Anaru Te Wanikau & John Boyd	2,500
Pine Makau	4,000
Paurini	1,500
Eruini	1,200
Tawhi	700
Henare Keepa	7,000
Kingi Topia	4,000
Heni Whakaheke	3,500
Toia Ngarangi	2,000
Piriniha	1,000
Hau Paimarire	2,000
Onewa	300
Tawake	1,000
Kumeroa	500
Winiata Te Whaaro	8,000
Irimana Ngahou	2,000
Hori Tanguru	1,000
Te Maari	2,000
10 others	2,500
Total	107,000

Including Maori-Pakeha partnerships, this list notes almost all of the Maori sheep owners of the north of the inquiry district who were recorded in the official sheep returns. Notably, Airini Donnelly's Mangaohane flock is not included in the list. While there is some variation in the individual figures, and taking into consideration Airini Donnelly's flock at Mangaohane, the total figures recorded in the list and in the 1892 sheep return are similar – suggesting that the sheep returns are a reasonably reliable source.

The data recorded in Table 10 shows that up until about 1895 Maori sheep ownership continued to steadily increase. Thereafter, the pattern is one of decline, though there was some fluctuation in the number of sheep owned by Maori-Pakeha partnerships. Between 1898 and 1910, stock owned wholly by Maori declined sharply – from 83,002 to 5,874. Over the same period, and again excluding partnerships, the number of Maori sheep farming

operations fell from 29 to just six. Also, by 1910, only one Maori-Pakeha partnership remained – that of Anaru Te Wanikau and Boyd, which possessed 17,220 sheep, most of which were grazed on the Timahanga block.⁵⁶⁹ In total, Maori in the inquiry district were recorded in 1910 as having ownership interests in only 23,094 sheep – about 16 percent of the number they had owned in 1895. The decline in Maori sheep ownership and participation in sheep farming occurred while the industry, as described above, expanded significantly as Pakeha settlement in the inquiry district increased.

Figure 9: ‘Maori Farm’ – Winiata, 1894⁵⁷⁰



While Maori involvement in sheep farming declined to a low level during the period covered in this chapter, it appears that some began to participate in the developing dairy industry. By the mid 1890s, as shown in Figure 9, some Mokai Patea Maori owned cows. At this time, however, milk production

⁵⁶⁹ In 1910, the partnership grazed 10,600 sheep on the Timahanga block and 6,620 at Makokomiko within the Awarua block. ‘The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April, 1910’, AJHR, 1910, H-23, p39, 61.

⁵⁷⁰ Maori group at a farm in Winiata, 1894, Child, George Edwards, Photographs of the Ongaiti district, ref ½-032309-G, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
URL: <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22753437>

would mostly have been for whanau use, though it is possible that some was sold for local consumption. As detailed earlier, it was not until about 1900 that the first dairy factory in the inquiry district opened at Rata, with another opening soon after at Torere. Evidence concerning Maori participation in dairying is limited, but it seems likely that some in the vicinity of the NIMT began supplying the district's factories. In his 1911 report, the Maori census sub-enumerator for Rangitikei County would claim that, since the previous census (carried out in 1906), Maori across the county had 'gone in largely for dairying'.⁵⁷¹ He claimed that at the beginning of the season some were milking as many as 60 cows, though it is unclear whether these relatively large operations were within the inquiry district, where opportunities for dairying were generally restricted.

There is also evidence that some Mokai Patea Maori were involved in arable farming during the period covered in this chapter. In 1906, the census sub-enumerator noted that at Opaea, north of Taihape, Maori had 'plenty of work, and worked their lands for growing grains'. The scale of this operation is unclear, and it is uncertain whether Maori in other locations were also involved in what appears to have been commercial crop growing. The sub-enumerator also observed that potatoes were being grown at Opaea, but it is likely that this was a food crop rather than commercial crop. He noted that the Opaea potatoes were not affected by the blight that had destroyed potato crops in other places.⁵⁷² For example, it was reported that at Moawhango 'the blight had a little mercy on the people', with a few crops escaping. Nevertheless, the sub-enumerator believed that during the upcoming winter Maori at Moawhango would 'suffer for the want of their principal diet'. He added that onions, corn, and pumpkin had in many cases also been destroyed.⁵⁷³

Obstacles to effective Maori land utilisation

The previous section has explained that, though Mokai Patea Maori wished to take advantage of opportunities within the developing agricultural economy, their involvement in the dominant and expanding sheep farming industry declined to a very low level during the period examined in this chapter. Alongside this decline, however, it has been noted that some Maori in the inquiry district appear to have begun dairy farming. This section

⁵⁷¹ Report of sub-enumerator R. Davies, undated, 'Census of the Maori population (papers relating to)', AJHR, 1911, H-14A, p17.

⁵⁷² Extracts from reports of sub-enumerators, 'Census of the Maori population (papers relating to)', AJHR, 1906, Session II, H-26A, p20.

⁵⁷³ Notes of enumerators and sub-enumerators, 'Census of the Maori population (papers relating to)', AJHR, 1906, Session II, H-26A, pp28-9.

discusses the significant obstacles that Mokai Patea Maori faced in seeking to utilise their land and the extent to which the government assisted and enabled them to overcome these barriers. The section on the sawmilling industry has briefly discussed the ability of Maori to access lending finance for development purposes. This issue and others are explored more thoroughly here, with particular reference to participation in the important agricultural sector.

The section begins by describing in detail the various matters that Mokai Patea Maori leaders raised in the letters they wrote to government representatives on 9 September 1892 and 18 April 1895 – correspondence referred to earlier in the chapter. As well as expressing their development aspirations, these letters are important because they show that Mokai Patea Maori made the government aware of the difficulties they were facing and sought engagement over how these obstacles could be overcome. The section then proceeds to examine the various issues that were negatively affecting Maori land owners who wished to utilise their lands – the ongoing cost of the Native Land Court, continuing land alienation, title and consolidation issues, management problems arising from multiple ownership, and the difficulty of accessing lending finance. It is argued that the government did not take effective steps to address the problems that Maori were experiencing, which were substantially of the Crown's own making. Without such action, the ability of Maori to maintain their involvement in the agricultural economy lessened.

Issues raised in letters of 9 September 1892 and 18 April 1895

Addressed to the Native Minister, the letter of 9 September 1892 was signed by leading rangatira Utiku Potaka, Wiremu Paratene, Raumaewa Te Rango, Hiraka Te Rango, and Wirihana Hunia on behalf of themselves and Ngati Whiti, Ngati Hauiti, Ngati Hinemanu, and Ngati Tama.⁵⁷⁴ The letter dated 18 April 1895 was addressed to the Minister of Lands and written by Hiraka Te Rango on behalf of Ngati Whiti living at Moawhango.⁵⁷⁵ As noted earlier, the first letter dealt with the Awarua and Motukawa blocks, while the letter of 18 April 1895 discussed only the Awarua block. The letters illustrate that at this time the farming aspirations of Mokai Patea Maori were focused on the Awarua block.

⁵⁷⁴ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

⁵⁷⁵ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

During the 1890s, as described above, most of the inquiry district's Maori sheep farming ventures were based in the Awarua block, where stock was grazed upon areas of open tussock grassland. At the beginning of the decade, the huge block, comprising about 256,000 acres, remained in Maori ownership and was not subject to long-term leases. Outside the eastern portion that formed part of the Ruahine Range, the block was thought to contain much land suitable for agriculture, though a significant area was covered in forest. While development work was required to convert such land to pasture, the sawmilling industry would utilise some of the available timber resources. Running through the western half of the block, the NIMT provided improved access to the Awarua lands and was crucial for the sawmilling industry's development. But construction of the railway, it has been explained, was closely linked with determined government efforts to purchase within the block.

The letter of 9 September 1892, as detailed earlier, was written amidst purchase negotiations, two days after a meeting between owners and government representatives, who included the Native Minister. In the letter, the owners set out an offer to sell to the government portions of the Awarua and Motukawa blocks that amounted to 100,000 acres. According to Subasic and Stirling, the Awarua owners were 'resigned to selling large parts of the block', facing purchase pressure from the government owing to the land's position on the NIMT route as well as heavy expenses associated with Court proceedings.⁵⁷⁶ While prepared to offer some land to the government, the owners sought to retain land for their own benefit and use. The letter of 9 September 1892 stated:

We wish it to be fully recognised that the homes of most of us are within the Awarua block including Motukawa and therefore it is our desire to have our interests guarded with more care than has been shown in the past in respect to our lands.⁵⁷⁷

As well as seeking to limit alienation, the letter called for the Court to allocate, without delay, whanau interests within the subdivisions that had been made of the Awarua block. It also asked that no further surveys be made at the owners' expense unless the owners requested them. As noted earlier, a hearing for the partition of the Awarua block was held between July 1890 and July 1891.⁵⁷⁸ This resulted in the creation of nine subdivisions. During July and August 1892, the Court's decisions regarding

⁵⁷⁶ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', pp90-91.

⁵⁷⁷ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

⁵⁷⁸ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp382-394.

the relative interests of the owners of four of these subdivisions were reheard.⁵⁷⁹ In the wake of the rehearing, the letter of 9 September 1892 asked that the interests of the owners now be allocated within the subdivisions, which would involve further partitioning.

The letter called also for the introduction of governance structures that would enable owners to manage their land more effectively:

That legislation be at once enacted to empower the owners of the said blocks to form themselves into a company or companies with a committee or committees of management. Any such company may comprise a family or a group of families, and any such committee, to consist of not more than ten persons elected from themselves, the members of the company.⁵⁸⁰

From this, it seems that the owners were open to either the establishment of a single body that would cover all of the Awarua and Motukawa subdivisions or separate companies for each subdivision.⁵⁸¹ The letter explained that the uncoordinated efforts of individual sheep owners were compromising the overall ability of Maori to farm effectively:

at this moment we have over 100,000 sheep and a large number of cattle and horses on these blocks, but these are practically running in common over the land, which is objectionable for many reasons and must soon cause serious trouble and disturbances from overstocking through increase, and others wanting to put on stock, who at present have none on the land.⁵⁸²

The letter of 9 September 1892 also requested that the proposed companies be able to access government lending finance for land development purposes:

That the Government will on the application of any company so formed advance to its committee from the funds of the Government Insurance Department or any other fund at its disposal a sum of money not exceeding half the value of the land owned by the persons for whom the said committee may be acting. Such advance to be made at the same rate of interest as is charged by said Department to Europeans and to

⁵⁷⁹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp402-407.

⁵⁸⁰ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

⁵⁸¹ The initial partition of Awarua created nine subdivisions, while the Motukawa block had been divided into two subdivision following title investigation in 1886. Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', pp41-42, 85-87.

⁵⁸² Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

be made solely for the purpose of improving and stocking the land upon which the said money is borrowed, the expenditure of said money so advanced to be made under such official supervision as the Government may deem necessary.

Elaborating on the development work that the owners sought to undertake, it was stated that the blocks' open country required only fencing and surface sowing to enable it to carry three times the number of stock presently being run. However, it was noted that some owners principally had interests in bush-covered areas. For these individuals, it was 'very necessary there should be some means thrown open to them by which they may bring their lands under cultivation and into grass.'⁵⁸³

The letter did not rule out all possibility of future land sales, but stated that the proposed management committees should oversee the transactions, which would ensure that sales were subject to some collective control:

That should any of the owners in the said blocks wish at any time to sell some portion of their land they may do so only through the particular committee of management having authority over the land desired to be sold – but if there should be no such committee, the owners of the said land shall not be able to dispose of the same until they have formed themselves into a company and elected a committee of management from themselves.

Similarly, the letter stated that the management committees should be involved where individuals wished to lease land:

That should any of the owners in the said block wish at any time to lease some portion of their land they may do so only in the same manner of sale except that as regards each such lease the land comprised therein shall first be allocated and divided by fence from users' occupation of other owners, before tenant can enter into possession.⁵⁸⁴

The letter of 9 September 1892 concluded with a clear request for government assistance. As well as expressing their 'earnest hope that the conditions we ask may be granted', the writers invited the government to introduce other measures it believed would assist the owners 'towards supporting and carrying out our views and so bring about without delay a

⁵⁸³ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

⁵⁸⁴ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

better state of things for our people and our lands than that which now exists.⁵⁸⁵

The letter of 9 September 1892, it should be noted, was followed by another, dated 17 September 1892, written by W. Parker of Napier, who had married into the Inland Patea people.⁵⁸⁶ Concerned with the need for ownership interests to be rationalised, Parker's letter had a different emphasis from the owners' letter of 9 September 1892. He commented on the Awarua owners' inability to exchange and consolidate their interests in the Awarua block, which, as noted above, had been divided into nine subdivisions following the partition hearing of 1890-1891:

I am now desired to point out that as matters now stand – through the many restrictions to which the Block is subject – it is not competent for an owner even to transfer any share that he may have in any one of the ten [sic.] subdivisions thereof in exchange for any share that another owner may have in any one of such subdivisions.

Several of the owners of the Block have interests in nearly all of its subdivisions, and it is urged that this alone is a great reason why there should be facilities for such exchanges as may be desired between the people. Especially do the flock-owners ask for some alteration of the present fettered position in which they are placed.

In many instances a person's share in one subdivision of the block is not sufficient for him to occupy, but consolidation by exchange of interests in one or more subdivisions for those in another would remedy this and I am desired to ask you to cause the removal of the impediments which are now in the way of legality to such transactions.⁵⁸⁷

It is likely that Parker was referring primarily to the restriction against private purchasing that existed under the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884. And it should also be noted that the Awarua block had been made inalienable at the owners' request when title was investigated in 1886. While the 1884 Act did not specify that owners could not exchange interests, such trading of interests might have been regarded as a form of alienation. The government, for its part, did not clarify whether in fact it was possible to exchange interests while the 1884 Act remained in force.

⁵⁸⁵ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

⁵⁸⁶ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p414.

⁵⁸⁷ W. Parker to the Native Minister, 17 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, p12270.

While the letters of 9 September 1892 and 17 September 1892 highlighted a number of important issues and offered solutions that sought to enable the owners to effectively utilise the lands they wished to retain, the government was disinterested in engaging with the owners about their concerns. Instead, the government focused on getting its purchasing programme underway. The Native Minister instructed officials to write in response to the letters that:

the Govt hopes to be able within the ensuing month to begin the purchase of such shares as any of the owners may feel inclined to dispose of and that when all those who desire to sell have had an opportunity of doing [so] the land will be again brought before the Court when with the reduced ownership it will probably be possible to get the titles into a more satisfactory position.⁵⁸⁸

The Crown then began purchasing individual interests within the Awarua block. The interests that the Crown secured were initially partitioned at the Court hearing that was underway when Seddon visited the district in March 1894.⁵⁸⁹ Further purchasing followed and, as detailed earlier, the Crown had by 1900 secured 205,214 acres of the Awarua and Motukawa blocks, which amounted to about 68 percent of their total area. As Walzl observes, this purchasing put the titles issued in 1894 ‘in a state of flux’.⁵⁹⁰ Where the Crown held undefined interests, non-sellers could not be confident of the location of the lands they retained.⁵⁹¹ It was within this context that Hiraka Te Rango, on 18 April 1895, wrote to the Minister of Lands on behalf of Ngati Whiti living at Moawhango. A key focus of this letter was a call for the owners’ interests to be clearly defined:

We are very desirous of getting a further subdivision made of the Awarua block so that each family may have their interest allocated and defined on the ground and be placed in a position to occupy permanently and improve what is their own.⁵⁹²

This request stemmed not only from Crown purchase activity, but from the Court’s failure to define the owners’ interests. Hiraka stated that since the owners had first brought the Awarua block to the Court in 1886 ‘we have been constantly urging upon the Government our wish to have this block

⁵⁸⁸ Native Minister, minute, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, p12267.

⁵⁸⁹ Subasic and Stirling, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect’, p99.

⁵⁹⁰ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p181.

⁵⁹¹ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p181.

⁵⁹² Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

properly subdivided and the interests therein allocated.⁵⁹³ As detailed above, the letter of 9 September had also called for the interests of owners to be allocated. When the Court dealt with the Awarua subdivisions during the 1894 hearing, the proceedings focussed upon identifying the interests that the Crown had acquired through purchase.⁵⁹⁴ Hiraka explained that the ‘Court refused to do anything more’, and then proceeded to describe how the failure to allocate interests was affecting the owners:

Through want of allocation of our interests in Awarua we have been caused, and continue to suffer, a great deal of trouble, pain and unhappiness. We have constant quarrelling and wrangling over this spot of land or the other piece of land – as to who has the better or sole right here or there – quite preventing us making improvement to the land and fixing permanent homes for ourselves.

There were certain reasons long since past which led to our forming the ‘village in common’ where it is now at Moawhango – and had our interests in Awarua been early allocated we would long ago have moved out on to the land and made separate holdings and dwellings on different portions of our country. This would have broken up to a great extent the communal style of living as existing in the village of Moawhango and have brought about a better state of things for my people.⁵⁹⁵

Hiraka claimed that many owners were prevented from gaining any benefit from the land at all. On the other hand, some with interests in the land had come to occupy a larger area than their share. However, in the absence of clear title, effective land utilisation was not possible. Overstocking was particularly a problem. In the case of Awarua 2, Hiraka detailed that 57,000 sheep were being grazed. He indicated, however, that overstocking was a wider issue, affecting the whole block and ‘in fact all the Patea country’. He indicated that a ‘very large’ death rate of sheep during the previous winter resulted from overstocking.

Alongside his call for titles to be properly defined, Hiraka sought consolidation of the owners’ interests: ‘The other subject I desire to call your attention to is our wish to have our interests consolidated and located as nearly as possible in one place.’ Describing the situation that Parker had earlier outlined in his letter of 17 September 1892, Hiraka explained that many of the people he represented had interests in several Awarua

⁵⁹³ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

⁵⁹⁴ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p191.

⁵⁹⁵ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

subdivisions, some of which represented small areas of land. The interests of these individuals, he stated, 'would be unworkable unless consolidated.' Hiraka looked to the government to provide a solution to the problem:

How the consolidating is to be done is the question we submit to your consideration. I and Captain Blake had a conversation with Mr. Carroll here on 6th April in respect to this matter as well as the other subject. We suggested that the shares sought to be transferred might be sold to the Crown and in exchange a grant to be made to such sellers for like area in value out of Government land in the block in which they wished to have their land interests consolidated. Mr. Carroll remarked that such grant would have to be as a Native Reserve – with which I agreed. He told us you were coming soon to Hastings and advised me to lay what I had to say on these two subjects before you in writing.⁵⁹⁶

In making this suggestion – that Maori receive areas of Crown land in exchange for their scattered land interests – Hiraka evidently looked to place Maori owners on a similar footing as that of Pakeha settlers who purchased sections from the Crown: individual Maori owners would receive title to clearly defined sections, which they could work independently without having to accommodate other ownership interests.

Hiraka also advised the Minister that sheep farmers in the district had become encumbered with high levels of debt, a situation that had become more pronounced as a result of a decline in prices: 'All the flocks of sheep in Patea, excepting Anaru Te Wanikau's, are heavily mortgaged, quite up to full value now since the fall in prices of sheep and wool.' He explained that:

The only persons really benefiting by the existing state of things on our lands in Patea, in the past and up to the present, have been the storekeepers and Mercantile Loan Companies holding mortgages and wool liens over the sheep.⁵⁹⁷

As an example of this indebtedness, Hiraka described the situation of Ani Paki.⁵⁹⁸ He recorded that she was the largest flock owner, running about 20,000 sheep in Awarua 3 and 3A though her interests in these blocks was only 1,480 acres. Her flock had increased to the point that the land was now overstocked and other owners on those blocks had no opportunity to take up farming. Hiraka suggested that debt had been a driving force that had

⁵⁹⁶ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

⁵⁹⁷ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

⁵⁹⁸ Ani Paki appears to have been listed in the sheep returns under the name Ani Kingi.

motivated Ani Paki to continually increase her flock. He stated that she was 'now hopelessly involved with certain storekeepers and a loan company'.⁵⁹⁹

In his letter, Hiraka indicated that the owners might consider selling further Awarua land to the government. However, the suggestion was possibly made to encourage the government to take measures to address the owners' title concerns:

We have sold a great deal of the Awarua to the Crown but a further subdivision would show what other portions of the block it would be to our advantage to part with.⁶⁰⁰

Concluding his letter, Hiraka emphasised to the Minister that the development aspirations of his people shared common ground with the Pakeha settler community and that they were not happy with their present position:

We beg and pray you will do your best to assist us in the matters now laid before you and help us to become good and useful settlers on our own lands instead of living as we are now doing – comparatively a life of enforced idleness.

In a file minute dated 24 April 1895, the Minister of Lands asked Sheridan of the Land Purchase Department to consider and then consult with him on the issues raised in Hiraka's letter.⁶⁰¹ There is no further evidence of a response to the letter.

Between them, the letters that have been discussed here raised five key issues relating to the ability of Mokai Patea Maori to utilise and develop their remaining lands. These issues concerned: 1) limiting and controlling land alienation; 2) the awarding of titles; 3) consolidation of owners' interests; 4) the introduction of management structures; and 5) access to development finance. Though the letters focused upon the important Awarua lands, the issues they raised were of wider relevance. The correspondence might have served as the starting point for ongoing engagement between the Crown and Mokai Patea Maori regarding their development aspirations. However, this was not to be the case.

⁵⁹⁹ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

⁶⁰⁰ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

⁶⁰¹ Mackenzie to Sheridan, 24 April 1895, minute on Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, p12415.

Ongoing cost of Native Land Court

Alongside the issues raised in the owners' letters of 9 September 1892 and 18 April 1895, it is important to note that costs associated with proceedings in the Native Land Court continued to negatively influence the economic position of Mokai Patea Maori. During the period examined in this chapter, these costs arose particularly from the partitioning of blocks. However, costs arising from title investigation and proving ownership continued to weigh upon some owners. For example, as detailed in the previous chapter, Winiata Te Whaaro undertook costly legal action to have his claim to the Mangaohane block recognised – efforts that ended when Te Whaaro and his people were evicted from the block in 1897. Also, as Table 6 records, the titles of the Timahanga and Te Koau block were investigated during the period – cases that began in 1895 and 1900 respectively.

The significant costs sometimes associated with partition are sharply illustrated in the initial subdivision of the Awarua block. As detailed above, the drawn-out case came before the Court in July 1890 and was not completed until July 1891.⁶⁰² The hearing would have been especially expensive owing to the extended nature of the proceedings, which in part reflected the need to define and locate the interests of the different tribal groups. In spite of strident pleas from a number of the Awarua owners, who asked that the partition hearing be held at Moawhango, the case was heard at Marton. This meant that many claimants were again required to face the costs associated with attending a distant Court hearing. The owners' pleas, however, did garner some sympathy from the Native Affairs Committee. On 19 August 1890, after proceedings had begun at Marton, the committee made the following comments when reporting on a petition that Winiata Te Whaaro and others had signed on 25 June 1890:

It is alleged that the holding of Land Courts in European townships at unsuitable seasons, is productive of much sickness and even worse evils among the natives who attend the Courts on these occasions. The Committee therefore desire to express the opinion that in fixing the time and place for sittings of the Court, the utmost consideration compatible with the efficiency of the Court and the speedy ascertainment of titles should be extended to the Natives, and their interests consulted as far as possible.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰² Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p81-87.

⁶⁰³ Native Affairs Committee Report on Petition of Winiata Te Whaaro, 19 August 1890, MA-MLP 1905/93, Porirua ki Taihape Purchasing Document Bank, pp.12116-12117, cited in Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p80.

As well as the costs involved in attending the partition hearing, the Awarua owners faced other expenses associated with the Court process. These included, for example, significant survey costs. On top of the original boundary survey, which by 1891 was registered against the block as a lien of £3,100, the subdivisional survey cost a further £3,000.⁶⁰⁴ During 1891, the financial burden of the Awarua partition was evident when some claimants asked the government to advance them money to cover some of the subdivision costs and offered to repay the money in land. The government appears to have been unwilling to offer any assistance, with officials believing that dealings in the block should not begin before the title had been settled.⁶⁰⁵

In March 1894, during his meeting with Mokai Patea Maori at Moawhango, Seddon acknowledged the high cost that Maori faced in subdividing their lands, stating that expenses incidental to partition ‘ate up the value of the land’.⁶⁰⁶ In making this statement, Seddon was trying to encourage those present to place their lands in the hands of trustees who could deal directly with the government. Nevertheless, his assessment of the cost of subdivision contained much truth and would have rung true for many present. It should be noted, however, that by the time of Seddon’s visit one improvement had taken place: the Native Land Court had begun to hold sittings within the district. When Seddon travelled through the district the Court was sitting at Moawhango. The sitting, which had begun in mid January 1894, was expected to last for several months.⁶⁰⁷

Land alienation

The erosion of tribal lands through alienation continued to jeopardise the ability of Mokai Patea Maori to take advantage of existing and future land-based opportunities in the enquiry district. The government dominated purchasing during the period covered in this chapter, reflecting restrictions against private alienation. While the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884 prohibited private purchasing across much of the inquiry district, the Native Land Act 1894 reimposed comprehensive Crown preemption, prohibiting all private dealings in Maori lands, including purchases, leases, and mortgages.⁶⁰⁸ As noted earlier, during the period examined in this chapter, most purchasing in the inquiry district was undertaken prior to the

⁶⁰⁴ Subasic and Stirling, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect’, p88.

⁶⁰⁵ Subasic and Stirling, ‘Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect’, pp90-91.

⁶⁰⁶ ‘Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier’s trip through the native districts of New Zealand’, AJHR, 1895, G-1, p4.

⁶⁰⁷ ‘Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier’s trip through the native districts of New Zealand’, AJHR, 1895, G-1, p4.

⁶⁰⁸ Section 117, Native Land Court Act 1894.

introduction of the 'Taihoa' policy and the passage of the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 – initiatives that for several years saw purchase activity slow almost to a halt.⁶⁰⁹

In March 1894, during the meeting at Moawhango, Seddon explained why the government sought to secure land in the district. He told those present that the 'land could not be allowed to lie unproductive', especially in light of the growing settler population.⁶¹⁰ Supporting Mokai Patea Maori to effectively utilise their lands was evidently not considered a viable option for addressing the situation that Seddon complained of. The government evidently believed that the only way that Maori land in the district could be brought into productive use was through steps that began with the land being transferred out of Maori ownership.

As detailed above, government land purchase was to significantly exceed the owners' offer to sell 100,000 acres of the Awarua and Motukawa lands, which had been set out in the letter of 9 September 1892. The letter had not ruled out future land sales beyond the area offered, but indicated that any such sales should be subject to the scrutiny of the proposed management committees. In his letter of 18 April 1895, Hiraka Te Rango also did not rule out future sales of the Awarua block, though he acknowledged that by the time of his writing 'a great deal' of the block had already been sold. As noted above, he called for a further subdivision to enable the owners to identify parts of the block that might 'be to our advantage to part with'.⁶¹¹ While both letters, especially that of 9 September 1892, emphasised that future sales should be subject to some collective control, the Crown, it has been explained, instead focused on the acquisition of individual shares, ignoring the owners' wishes.

Outside of the Awarua and Motukawa lands, other blocks in the inquiry district were also subject to purchasing activities during the period examined in this chapter. A comparison of Figure 6 and 8 shows that alienation of the Rangipo Waiu, Mangaohane, Te Kapua, and Otamakapua 2 lands contributed significantly to the decline in the area of Maori land that remained in Maori ownership between 1890 and 1910.

⁶⁰⁹ Walzl indicates that alienations between 1900 and 1910 amounted to 49,554 acres. See table entitled 'Blocks and Areas in acres: 1900-2010', Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p66.

⁶¹⁰ 'Pakeha and Maori: A narrative of the Premier's trip through the native districts of New Zealand', AJHR, 1895, G-1, p4.

⁶¹¹ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

Walzl, in his twentieth century overview report, provides a snapshot of Maori lands within the Taihape inquiry district at the turn of the twentieth century. At this time, about 41 percent of inquiry district land remained in Maori ownership.⁶¹² Figure 10, drawn from Walzl's report, shows the lands that Mokai Patea Maori retained in 1900 and indicates the LUC categories of these areas. Walzl notes that about 60 percent of the remaining Maori estate comprised lands within the LUC 7 or 8 categories, which respectively refer to lands that are highly difficult to use or unusable.⁶¹³ Across the whole inquiry district, about 52 percent of land has been classified LUC 7 or 8.⁶¹⁴ The higher proportion of Maori lands within the LUC 7 or 8 categories reflects that the Crown (though it had by 1900 acquired more than half of the district's LUC 7 and 8 lands) had secured proportionately more of the better classes of land that lay in the other categories, with the exception of LUC 4.⁶¹⁵ Table 11 sets out details of the LUC classifications of the land that remained in Maori ownership in 1900.

Of the lands that remained in Maori ownership in 1900, Walzl notes that block size was not a good indicator of the land's potential for utilisation within the commercial economy.⁶¹⁶ In respect of the different LUC categories, he observes that all the northern and eastern blocks (with the exception of Rangipo Waiu and Mangaohane 1) contained predominantly LUC 7 or 8 land. On the other hand, the western Awarua blocks, the Motukawa blocks, and all of the remaining Otairi, Otamakapua, and Taraketi lands were largely free of the limitations associated with having LUC 7 or 8 lands as part of the estate. However, the higher quality lands were not necessarily distributed evenly between these blocks. Most of the small area of LUC 1 or 2 land was concentrated in a couple of the blocks (Taraketi and Otairi), while most of the other blocks included some LUC 6 land that presented challenges for farming.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp35-35.

⁶¹³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p45.

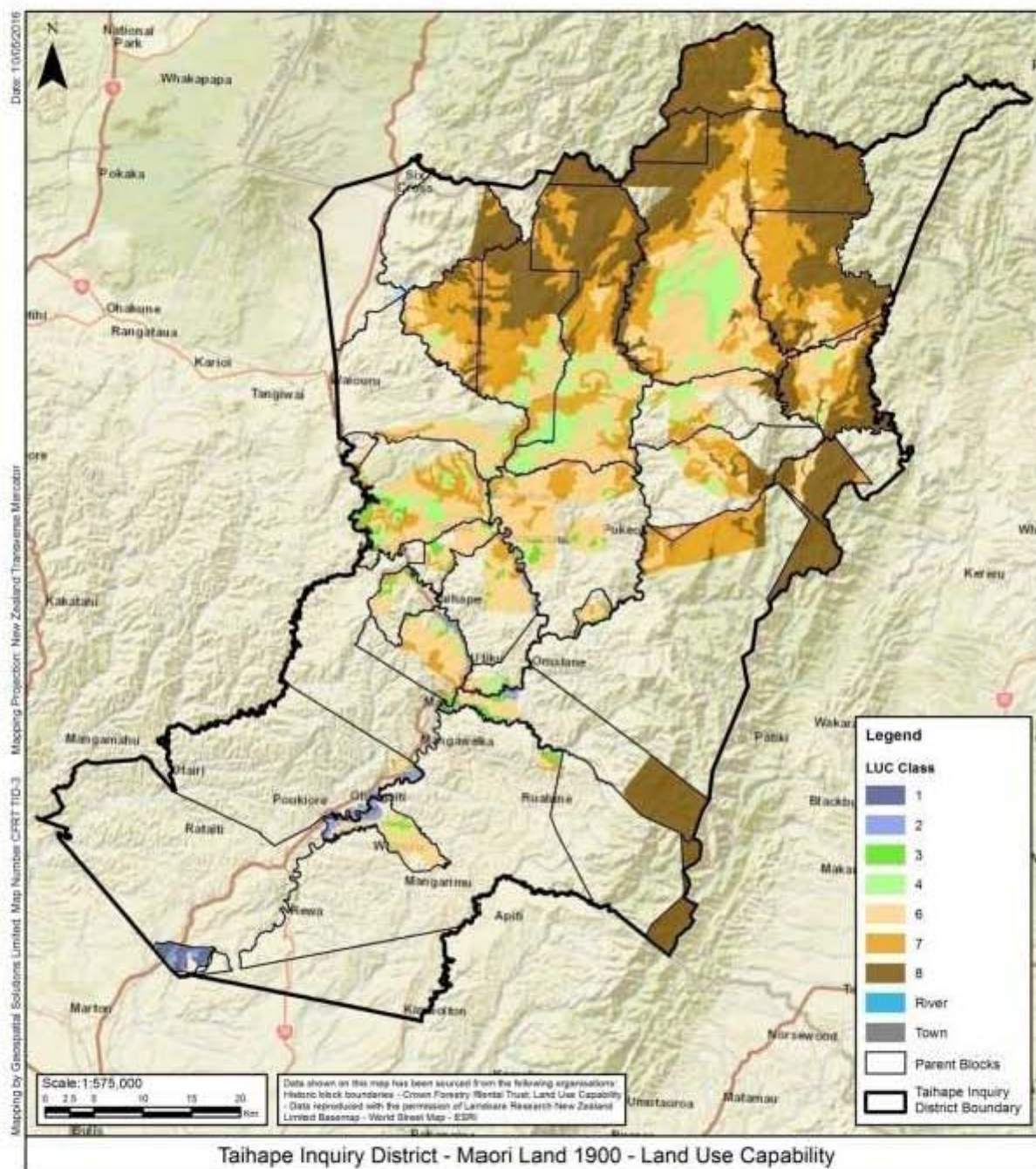
⁶¹⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p40.

⁶¹⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p44.

⁶¹⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p47.

⁶¹⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p48.

Figure 10: LUC classifications of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900⁶¹⁸



⁶¹⁸ This map is drawn from Walzl's twentieth century overview report. See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p45 (Map 4).

Table 11: LUC classifications of Maori land remaining in Taihape inquiry district, 1900⁶¹⁹

LUC	Description	Taihape inquiry district (percentage)	Maori land 1900 (percentage)	Maori land 1900 (approx acres)
1	Land with virtually no limitations for arable use and suitable for cultivated crops, pasture or forestry	0.68	0.36	1,641
2	Land with slight limitations for arable use and suitable for cultivated crops, pasture or forestry	2.65	0.88	4,039
3	Land with moderate limitations for arable use, but suitable for cultivated crops, pasture or forestry	3.10	1.71	7,863
4	Land with moderate limitations for arable use , but suitable for occasional cropping, pasture or forestry	5.22	7.85	36,035
5	High producing land unsuitable for arable use, but only slight limitations for pastoral or forestry use	--	--	--
6	Non-arable land with moderate limitations for use under perennial vegetation such as pasture or forest	35.91	28.75	131,936
7	Non-arable land with severe limitations for use under perennial vegetation such as pasture or forest	23.07	25.31	116,191
8	Land with very severe to extreme limitations or hazards that make it unsuitable for cropping, pasture or forestry	29.10	35.12	161,177
River		0.16	0.02	100
Town		0.10	0.00	0
Total		100.00	100.00	458,983

⁶¹⁹ This table has been adapted from a table that appears in Walzl's twentieth century overview report. See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p40. The figures presented in the table have are based on GIS calculations.

The details presented here provide a picture of Maori land holdings in the inquiry district at the time when important changes in government policy and legislation were being introduced. Notably, in 1899, in response to calls from Maori, the government decided to halt purchasing of Maori land. The following year, the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 was passed. This legislation was the result of government efforts to introduce a new Maori land management system that would allow land development to proceed under Maori ownership. According to Loveridge, the legislation was a compromise that reflected a range of Maori and Pakeha views regarding the future management of Maori land. Among Maori, Loveridge notes, there was consensus that there should be no further land sales.⁶²⁰ Though the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 did not explicitly include a ban on purchasing, the government had resolved to stop purchasing and restrictions against private alienation remained in force.

The preamble of the 1900 Act stated that the intention of the legislation was to address the following problems with Maori land:

- the decline in the amount of land in Maori ownership;
- that much of the remaining Maori land was unoccupied and unproductive;
- that Maori were not encouraged to use their land; and
- that Maori land was not administered well.

In order to deal with these problems, the Act provided for the establishment of Maori Land Councils that would operate within six districts of the North Island.⁶²¹ With a maximum of seven members, the government was responsible for some appointments (including the council president), while other positions were elected by Maori of the district.⁶²² The provisions ensured that at least half and usually a majority of members were Maori.

Among the key functions of the councils, the 1900 Act required that each council, 'with all convenient speed', identify the land that each Maori man, woman, and child required for their maintenance and support and then issue a certificate that made such land inalienable.⁶²³ The councils were also to be involved in handling a new system of land alienation. Under this

⁶²⁰ Donald M. Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards: a historical overview 1900 to 1952*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, First Release, December 1996, pp8-19.

⁶²¹ The Act pertained only to the North Island.

⁶²² The government appointed a council president and two or three other members, at least one of whom was to be Maori. A further two or three members were to be elected by Maori of the District. Section 6, Maori Lands Administration Act 1900.

⁶²³ Section 21, Maori Lands Administration Act 1900.

system, land could not be alienated by way of lease, sale, or mortgage without evidence that owners had sufficient land left for his/her occupation and support.⁶²⁴ Existing restrictions against private alienation remained in force. Another important role of the councils was to act for owners in the administration of lands that Maori voluntarily vested in or placed under the authority of councils.⁶²⁵

Describing the progress of the land administration system introduced in the 1900 Act, Loveridge states that the councils encountered problems arising from the complicated nature of Maori land titles and were also affected by a lack of funding.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, Maori owners, concerned about permanently losing control of their lands, were reluctant to vest land in the councils. By 1900, only 236,650 acres had been vested in the councils and almost half of this was made up of Whanganui lands.⁶²⁷ According to Walzl, no land in the Taihape inquiry district was vested under the 1900 Act.⁶²⁸

In 1905, the Council system was substantially modified through the passage of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905. According to Loveridge, this legislation arose largely from pressure that the government faced from Pakeha who were impatient and frustrated by the system's failure to provide land for settlement purposes.⁶²⁹ Under the 1905 Act, the Maori Land Councils were replaced with seven Maori Land Boards, each of which was to consist of a president and two other appointed members, at least one of whom was to be Maori.⁶³⁰ All elected membership was eliminated, which meant that Maori lost any formal control over the composition of the boards. Moreover, the 1905 Act contained principles that allowed for a greater degree of compulsory vestment of land in the new Boards, though this was only applied in the Tokerau and Tairarwhiti districts.⁶³¹

A significant aspect of the 1905 Act was that it reactivated Crown purchase, empowering the Governor to acquire lands from Maori.⁶³² However, before purchasing any Maori land, sufficient land was to be reserved for the owners' use. In defining what was necessary for owners' 'support and maintenance', the Act deemed that for each individual the area set aside was

⁶²⁴ Section 23, Maori Lands Administration Act 1900.

⁶²⁵ Sections 28 and 29, Maori Lands Administration Act 1900.

⁶²⁶ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, pp35-36.

⁶²⁷ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, p37.

⁶²⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p169.

⁶²⁹ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, p38.

⁶³⁰ Section 2, Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.

⁶³¹ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, p44.

⁶³² Section 20, Maori Land Settlement Act 1905. This provision was delayed in respect of lands in the Tararwhiti and Tokerau districts until 1 January 1908.

not to be 'less than twenty-five acres of first class land, or fifty acres of second-class land, or one hundred acres of third-class land'.⁶³³ The 1905 Act also enabled Maori land to be leased, removing all existing titular and statutory restrictions against alienation by lease. The new Land Boards were given full authority over the confirmation of leases.⁶³⁴

In spite of the changes introduced in the 1905 Act, the government did not make significant and immediate progress towards achieving its primary objective of ensuring that any Maori land suitable for Pakeha settlement and not being utilised by Maori was made available. In order to address this situation, Native Minister James Carroll called for preparation of an inventory on Maori lands and their status.⁶³⁵ In January 1907, a Royal Commission was set up to undertake the task, with Sir Robert Stout (Chief Justice) and Apirana Ngata (MP for Eastern Maori) appointed commissioners. The Stout-Ngata Commission represented the government's first real effort to take stock of remaining Maori land holdings and their utilisation. Under the Maori Land Settlement Act 1907, passed in August 1907, the commission was able to categorise Maori land into two types for administrative purposes:

- 1) land not required for the occupation of its owners and therefore available for sale or lease (such land to be vested in the district Land Board for disposal); and
- 2) land required for the use and occupation of Maori (such land to be inalienable except by lease to other Maori).

In his twentieth century overview report, Walzl outlines and discusses the data that the commission produced in respect of Maori lands within the Taihape inquiry district.⁶³⁶ He notes that, in contrast with its reporting on lands of some other districts, the commission provided little in the way of general comment on the history of the Mokai Patea lands, the aspirations of owners, and land use potential in the district. He suggests this reflected the approach that the commission took in grouping lands for analysis within county boundaries. The Mokai-Patea lands were split between several counties, though lay predominantly in Rangitikei County, where they comprised only a small component of Maori lands within the county.⁶³⁷

⁶³³ Section 22, Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.

⁶³⁴ Section 16, Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.

⁶³⁵ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, p44.

⁶³⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp57-62.

⁶³⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp60-61.

Walzl details that two of the commission's reports provided coverage of Mokai Patea lands. The first of these was an interim report produced in March 1908, which dealt with lands in the Wanganui, Waimarino, Rangitikei, and Waitotara counties.⁶³⁸ The Rangitikei data included details relating to some lands in the inquiry district. It was divided into two parts. First, it listed those lands that were either being leased or under negotiation for lease. Included in this category were almost all the subdivisions of Otamakapua 1 and 2 as well as subdivisions of the Otairi and Taraketi blocks. The second data set listed lands that were recommended for reservation for Maori occupation and included the Mokai Patea blocks Otamakapua 1G (a one-acre urupa), Taraketi 3 (an urupa), and Taraketi 4 (a church reserve). In addition to these small sections, four larger Taraketi sections were identified: 2A (a 216-acre 'farm and kainga'), 2D (a 54-acre 'farm and kainga'), 2F (a 595-acre 'farm'), and 5 (a 101-acre 'kainga').

The other report that provided some coverage of lands in the inquiry district was dated 19 December 1908.⁶³⁹ In this report, the commission dealt with remaining lands of Rangitikei County and also provided information on blocks within Hawkes Bay, Patangata, and Waipawa Counties. Before presenting land data, the commission identified three large blocks that it had not been able to enquire closely into owing to time constraints. These included part of the Owhaoko blocks (an area amounting to 81,294 acres). In respect of this land, the commission stated that:

Owhaoko and subdivisions... were formerly under lease, but, owing to the poor quality of the land and the difficulty of suppressing the rabbit nuisance, the leases were surrendered. These lands may be utilised only as pastoral runs in very large areas.⁶⁴⁰

In the county schedules, land was divided into two categories: lands under lease or negotiation for lease, and other lands not been dealt with owing to time constraints. In Hawkes Bay County, the following Mokai Patea lands were stated to be under lease or negotiation for lease: Owhaoko C6, 7, D5, D6, and D7 as well as subdivisions of the Timahanga and Mangaohane blocks. Under the second category, listing lands not dealt with, were the remaining Owhaoko subdivisions (which, as noted above, amounted to an

⁶³⁸ See 'Native lands and native-land tenure: Interim report by Native Land Commission on native lands in the counties of Wanganui, Waimarino, Rangitikei, and Waitotara', AJHR, 1908, G-1B.

⁶³⁹ See 'Native lands and native-land tenure: Interim report by Native Land Commission on native lands in Hawke's Bay, Patangata, Waipawa, and Rangitikei counties', AJHR, 1909, G-1C.

⁶⁴⁰ Valuations supplied to the Commission showed that the Owhaoko blocks were valued between 1s 6d and 5s per acre.

area of 81,294 acres). The Commission again noted that these lands were only suitable only for grazing in large areas. To achieve this, it recommended that these lands be vested under the administration of the Land Board.

In Rangitikei County, dozens of Awarua, Motukawa, and Oruamatua-Kaimanawa subdivisions (amounting to 151,195 acres) were recorded as being leased or under negotiation for lease. However, Walzl states that this data was inaccurate, with analysis showing that nowhere near this number of blocks were leased or about to be leased.⁶⁴¹ In the category of lands that had not been dealt with, the Rangitikei county data listed dozens of Awarua and Motukawa sections (totalling around 13,841 acres) as well as Rangipo Waiu subdivisions (amounting to about 17,746 acres). While some were noted to be occupied by owners or noted to be township areas or reserves, the position of the other subdivisions was not provided and there was no recommendation as to whether the land should be sold or vested in the Board.

Incomplete and marked by inaccuracies, the Stout-Ngata Commission's reporting on the lands of the Taihape inquiry district did not provide a strong basis for assessment of the remaining Mokai Patea Maori land base and the needs of owners. Though uncertain as to why the commission's findings in respect of Taihape lands were so inaccurate, Walzl points out that the commission did not visit the district. He also notes that there was no reference to blocks within the inquiry district during hearings held in neighbouring towns such as Wanganui, Napier, Taupo, or Wellington.⁶⁴² It is possible that the shortcomings of the commission's investigation of Mokai Patea lands may have limited immediate pressure to vest or sell these lands. Walzl notes that the commission identified most lands as being leased or occupied, and that almost all of the remaining lands were simply passed over without recommendations being made. As for the Owhaoko blocks recommended for vesting in the Board, he states there is no evidence that this was picked up on and any attempt made to achieve such a vesting.⁶⁴³

Title and consolidation

As detailed above, the letters of 9 September 1892 and 18 April 1895 both called for action to be taken to allocate the owners' interests in the Awarua subdivisions. Without knowing where their interests were located, owners could not confidently make decisions about the best long-term land use options, and the lack of clear title would have posed an obstacle to raising

⁶⁴¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p61.

⁶⁴² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp61-62.

⁶⁴³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p62.

development finance against the land. In his 1895 letter, Hiraka Te Rango discussed at some length the long delay that the Awarua owners had faced and how the absence of clearly defined owner interests was impeding land utilisation. The problems he referred to would have been most serious in the Awarua block, which was the focus of Maori sheep farming efforts. However, title issues are also likely to have affected the owners of other blocks, especially where there was a delay in partitioning Crown interests.

The Crown was unresponsive to the calls that were made regarding the allocation of owner interests in the Awarua block. As detailed above, the Native Minister, when commenting on the owners' letter of 9 September 1892 and Parker's letter of 17 September 1892, suggested simply that the Court would be able to tidy up titles after the government's purchasing programme had been completed.⁶⁴⁴ Eventually, the title situation – within Awarua and elsewhere – was resolved after government purchasing came to an end and Crown and owner interests were partitioned. Walzl explains that, in the five years before 1900, newly-partitioned titles were awarded for almost all Mokai Patea land blocks.⁶⁴⁵

Assessing the title situation in 1900, Walzl states that the lands of Mokai Patea Maori were held in approximately 260 subdivisions. While there were 725 owners, the interests of 508 of these owners were confined to some of the marginal lands of the north and east – Owhaoko and Mangaohane. This left only 217 persons with interests (both single and multiple) in the remaining lands, which amounted to about 200,000 acres and included the central and southern blocks of most value in the emerging post-1900 economy – Awarua, Motukawa, Otamakapua or Taraketi. Many of these lands were identified to be either solely owned or held by a small group of owners as close whanau units (parents, children, grandchildren). According to Walzl, the 217 individuals who owned these lands represented 12 whanau groupings.⁶⁴⁶

Alongside other factors, it is possible that the eventual settling of titles in the late 1890s was linked to the decline of Maori participation in sheep farming. As recorded in Table 10, between 1895 and 1901 the number of sheep owned by Mokai Patea Maori (including in partnership with Pakeha) slumped from about 146,032 to 88,150, while the number of Maori sheep farmers declined from 36 to 25. In the Awarua block and elsewhere, Maori sheep farming had had to develop without clear definition of owners'

⁶⁴⁴ Native Minister, minute, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, p12267.

⁶⁴⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p23.

⁶⁴⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp23-25.

interests on the ground. In cases where sheep owners occupied areas that did not match the land interests that were eventually defined, grazing operations would have been disrupted, potentially with serious consequences. This would have been the case, for example, where indebted sheep owners were forced to graze smaller areas and were unable to meet their debt repayments. This situation possibly contributed to the indebted Ani Paki's demise as a sheep owner. For many years among the largest Awarua flock owners, Paki (under the name Ani Kingi) last appears in the sheep returns in 1899.⁶⁴⁷

Related to the requests for titles to be put in order were calls for the government to take steps to enable owners to consolidate their land interests. Both Parker in his letter of 17 September 1892 and Hiraka Te Rango in his letter of 18 April 1895 asked the government to take action to allow Awarua owners with interests in more than one subdivision to exchange and consolidate their holdings. Parker's letter dealt almost wholly with the issue of consolidation, which the owners' earlier letter of 9 September 1892 had not touched upon. Consolidation was evidently an issue for a number of Awarua owners. For individuals and whanau groups, it would enable scattered and potentially uneconomic land interests to be brought together, offering improved opportunities for effective utilisation. Hiraka noted in his letter that without consolidation the small interests some owners possessed within individual blocks 'would be unworkable'.

Parker believed that restrictions in place over the Awarua lands posed an obstacle to exchange and appealed to the Native Minister 'to cause the removal of the impediments'. In his 1895 letter, Hiraka Te Rango did not call for the lifting of restrictions, but he did request the Minister of Land's assistance to facilitate the exchange and consolidation of owners' land interests. It should be noted that, by the time Hiraka Te Rango wrote his letter, statutory measures had been introduced to enable owners to exchange land interests. These provisions were included in the Native Land Court Act 1894.⁶⁴⁸ It is doubtful, however, whether a systematic and comprehensive consolidation of land interests could have been achieved through these measures, which provided for land exchanges between two individual owners. In the case of the Awarua lands, it would not have been possible for owners to make exchanges under the 1894 Act until their interests had been allocated. Casebook research provides evidence of one exchange under the 1894 Act, which was arranged in about 1900.⁶⁴⁹ Walzl

⁶⁴⁷ 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April, 1899', AJHR, 1899, H-23, p34. It appears that indebtedness was a problem for Paki after this time.

⁶⁴⁸ Sections 44 and 45, Native Land Court Act 1894.

⁶⁴⁹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p538.

suggests the government would have been reluctant to award titles and support owners to comprehensively consolidate their land interests. If it had done so, owners potentially would have been more reluctant to sell and the Crown might have had to pay higher prices.⁶⁵⁰

Management

A further issue that Mokai Patea Maori faced during the period examined here was the difficulty of managing lands held by multiple owners. The establishment of formal governance structures offered a potential solution to the challenges that owners faced. As detailed earlier, the letter of 9 September 1892 asked the government to introduce measures that would enable the Awarua and Motukawa owners to establish companies that would be run by elected management committees. The letter envisaged that the committees would be closely involved in managing sales, leases, and accessing state lending finance. Though not explicitly stated, it was no doubt also thought that the committees would make decisions about where and how people occupied the land. As noted above, the letter reported that serious problems had arisen from individual sheep owners working without any coordination of their activities.

Two years after the Awarua and Motukawa owners wrote to the Native Minister, the Native Land Court Act 1894 introduced statutory provisions that enabled Maori land owners to form incorporations and elect or nominate management committees.⁶⁵¹ The government appears to have considered that establishment of incorporations would be most suitable in areas where the process of title individualisation might not provide owners with lands that were suitable for development.⁶⁵² This describes the situation in some parts of the Taihape inquiry district, where conditions were unsuitable for the creation of small family farms. However, there is no evidence that Maori of the Taihape inquiry district sought to establish incorporations under the 1894 Act. A number of limitations characterised these bodies and as a result they were not widely embraced by Maori.⁶⁵³ In 1907, the Stout Ngata Commission observed that owners who wished to set up incorporations generally faced significant problems and financial hurdles and that the legislation surrounding the powers of incorporations was not

⁶⁵⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p302.

⁶⁵¹ See Part II, Division II, Native Land Court Act 1894.

⁶⁵² Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 2, p777.

⁶⁵³ Writing in 1940, Belshaw noted that incorporations were practically confined to the district between Gisborne and Hicks Bay, where Ngata had encouraged their establishment. Horace Belshaw, 'Maori Economic Circumstances', in I.L.G. Sutherland (ed), *The Maori People Today: A Survey*, Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1940, pp 201-204.

clear.⁶⁵⁴ These shortcomings would not be comprehensively addressed until the mid-twentieth century.⁶⁵⁵

It seems reasonable to suggest that, in the absence of suitable statutory governance structures, the partitioning of some Mokai Patea Maori lands at the end of the nineteenth century was motivated partly by owners' desire to overcome land management difficulties. This was a costly approach to solving the problem and nor did it provide a mechanism for managing multiple blocks, which potentially could have been achieved by a single governance entity. Furthermore, in the long-term, the strategy of reducing ownership through partition was likely to be undermined by the process of succession, which in many cases would have ensured that problems associated with multiple ownership would reemerge as generations passed.

From the turn of the twentieth century, provisions for vesting land in Maori Land Councils and, later, Maori Land Boards offered another avenue for management of Maori blocks. However, as noted above, Mokai Patea Maori – like Maori in most other districts – did not pursue this option and are likely to have harboured concern over the loss of control that any vesting would entail.

Debt burden and access to lending finance

As explained in chapter two, by the 1880s some Mokai Patea Maori had begun to enter into loan arrangements to fund their expanding sheep farming operations and cover the high costs they faced in connection with Native Land Court proceedings. These loans were evidently leveraged against their flocks and annual wool production.

At the beginning of the period covered in this chapter, several obstacles prevented Mokai Patea Maori from using their land as security to raise finance. Where lands were subject to the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884, the prohibition against private alienations is likely to have acted as a disincentive for private lending agencies, though the Act did not specifically prohibit mortgages. Lands that had been made inalienable through an order of the Native Land Court also would not have been able to be used as security for lending purposes. The incomplete state of titles was a further obstacle for owners of some lands, while multiple ownership posed another complication because lenders would have been reluctant to offer mortgage finance unless all owners were party to the agreement. All of these

⁶⁵⁴ 'Native lands and native land tenure (general report on lands already dealt with and covered by interim reports', AJHR, 1907, G-1C, p14.

⁶⁵⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 2, p788.

barriers stood in the way of Awarua owners who may have wished to mortgage the block to access funds for development purposes.

One consequence of the inability of Mokai Patea Maori to raise lending finance against their land was that the interest rates they paid for loans taken out against their flocks and wool clips appear to have carried higher interest rates. This is because lenders would have perceived the loans to carry a greater level of risk. In their letter of 9 September 1892, the Awarua and Motukawa owners hinted at the difficulties that Mokai Patea Maori faced in accessing lending finance for farm development. They sought to access government funds equivalent to up to half of the value of their land and emphasised that they wanted to be charged the same interest rates as Pakeha. Any loan monies made available to them would be used only for improving and stocking the land, and official scrutiny of the expenditure of the loans monies was invited if the government deemed this necessary.⁶⁵⁶

It appears that the debt position of Inland Patea Maori farmers deteriorated during the 1890s. As detailed above, Hiraka Te Rango discussed the seriousness of the position in his letter of 18 April 1895. He advised the Minister of Lands that the district's sheep farmers had become encumbered with high levels of debt, a situation that had become more pronounced as a result of a decline in prices: 'All the flocks of sheep in Patea, excepting Anaru Te Wanikau's, are heavily mortgaged, quite up to full value now since the fall in prices of sheep and wool.' He claimed that the only people who were benefitting from the situation were the storekeepers and Mercantile Loan Companies holding mortgages and wool liens over the sheep.⁶⁵⁷

Pointing to an example of the sheep owners' indebtedness, Te Hiraka noted the case of Ani Paki, who he described as being 'now hopelessly involved with certain storekeepers and a loan company'. Unsurprisingly, Paki soon after became involved in debt recovery proceedings. In August 1896, Moawhango runholder and storekeeper Robert Batley secured a charging order for debts owed by Ani Paki and Raumaewa Te Rango.⁶⁵⁸ Both individuals were also subject to later debt recovery actions instigated by other creditors. In 1898, some of their debts were paid through mortgaging some of their lands. Additionally, in June 1899 Raumaewa Te Rango appears to have sold a 298-acre subdivision of Taraketi 2F block, evidently

⁶⁵⁶ Utiku Potaka and others to the Native Minister, 9 September 1892, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12272-12277.

⁶⁵⁷ Hiraka Te Rango to John McKenzie, 18 April 1895, MA-MLP 1905/93, Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank, pp12415-12421.

⁶⁵⁸ The named debtors were, in fact, Ani Raumaewa and Raumaewa Te Rango. Stirling assumes that Ani Raumaewa was another name for Ani Paki. Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p572.

for the purpose of repaying debt.⁶⁵⁹ (This is among the most economically valuable areas of land in the inquiry district.) As noted above, Ani Paki last appeared in the sheep returns in 1899.⁶⁶⁰ However, her difficulties continued beyond this time. In January 1900 a loan company successfully took civil proceedings against Paki for the recovery of further debt.⁶⁶¹

It has been explained that, at the beginning of the period examined in this chapter, several obstacles stood in the way of Maori who sought to raise loans through mortgaging their land. Barriers to securing mortgages from private lenders became more deeply entrenched with the passage of the Native Land Court Act 1894, which reimposed Crown pre-emption through prohibiting private dealings in Maori land, including mortgages.⁶⁶² The prohibition against private mortgages continued through to the passage of the Native Land Act 1909. Restrictions against private dealings and the inalienable status of some land could be lifted, but there were sometimes delays in this process and many applications concerning inquiry district lands were unsuccessful.⁶⁶³

In the same year that the comprehensive statutory restriction against private lending to Maori was introduced, the Liberal Government passed the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894. As explained earlier in the chapter, this measure, an important part of the Liberal's plan to encourage closer land settlement, offered state financial support to individuals who sought to secure and develop land. The Act's title noted that it aimed to provide mortgages to settlers at reasonable rates of interest. As the CNI Tribunal has observed, Maori land owners were not specifically excluded from receiving advances under the scheme, but the lending criteria did not correspond easily with the nature of Maori land tenure. In order to apply for an advance, the consent and signatures of all the owners needed to be obtained, which would have posed a difficulty when there was a large number of owners. As detailed below, officials introduced a further barrier for prospective Maori borrowers by insisting that rental income from leases be available for repayment of mortgages.⁶⁶⁴

Other sources of state lending aimed specifically at Maori were subsequently made available, but these were limited in scope. Notably, from 1895, the

⁶⁵⁹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p476.

⁶⁶⁰ 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April 1899', AJHR, 1899, H-23, p34.

⁶⁶¹ In January 1900, Commercial Agency Limited, in a case against Paki, was awarded £195 19s. *Evening Post*, 11 January 1900, p5.

⁶⁶² Section 117, Native Land Court Act 1894.

⁶⁶³ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p537. Section 52 of the Native Land Court Act 1894 provided for the removal of restrictions.

⁶⁶⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p965.

management committees of incorporations could raise investment money through the Public Trustee for the purpose of settling and farming the land.⁶⁶⁵ However, as discussed above, incorporations were generally unattractive to Maori until the mid-twentieth century and there is no evidence that any were established in the Taihape inquiry district. Further provision for finance for Maori farm development was included in the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905. Section 18 of the Act enabled the Minister of Lands to offer mortgages out of money available for the purposes of the Land for Settlements Consolidation Act 1900. The mortgages were to be for the purpose of stocking, improving, or farming the land, with the sum not to exceed one-third of the land's value. In October 1906, Ngata commented that, in practice, the provision was characterised by major limitations.⁶⁶⁶

In the Taihape inquiry district, extensive partitioning of land interests meant that Maori land owners who wished to secure state lending finance generally would not have faced difficulties arising from multiple ownership. It has been explained that, by 1900, many Maori-owned subdivisions outside the Owhaoko and Mangaohane lands were either solely owned or held by a small group of whanau members. In this situation, it would have been easier for owners to reach an agreement to apply for a loan and sign the relevant documents. But while this was the case, title restrictions needed to be removed before finance applications could be submitted. Stirling provides details of a number of cases from the late 1890s and early 1900s where owners sought the removal of restrictions in order to access state finance. (Owners also sought to have restrictions removed to enable land to be sold or leased.) These cases included various subdivisions of the Awarua, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, and Owhaoko blocks.⁶⁶⁷ Applications were submitted to the Court and dealt with on a case-by-case basis. In some cases this resulted in the removal of restrictions, but, as noted above, there were often delays in the process and many applications were rejected.⁶⁶⁸

As noted above, officials introduced a rule that required Maori to have sufficient leasehold income to cover their mortgage repayments. The leasehold income could evidently be derived from either the block that was to be mortgaged (in which case the loan monies would be used for the development of other land) or another block owned by the applicants.⁶⁶⁹ Mokai Patea Maori were among those affected by the rule. In a letter written

⁶⁶⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 2, p795.

⁶⁶⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p970. NZPD, vol. 86, 2 October 1894, pp415-416.

⁶⁶⁷ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp307-308, 537-538, 572.

⁶⁶⁸ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p537.

⁶⁶⁹ See, for example, the case concerning Awarua 2C20. Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p263.

to the Minister of Justice in January 1900, representatives of the owners of Awarua 1A2 East noted, for example, that state finance was unavailable because the owners lacked the necessary leasehold income.⁶⁷⁰ The rule continued to be applied to Mokai Patea Maori at the end of the decade, restricting their ability to access state finance and thereby contributing to the barriers faced by those who sought to develop and utilise their lands.⁶⁷¹ As Walzl observes, requirements for Maori borrowers seem to have differed from the Pakeha experience, where land that was being mortgaged was typically the only property of the owner applying for the mortgage. The costs of the mortgage and the mortgage itself were to be paid from the earnings of working the land.⁶⁷²

In spite of the obstacles they faced, Mokai Patea Maori were, from the late 1890s, able to raise a small number of mortgages against their lands. Existing casebook research indicates that about ten such loans were raised up to 1909 – the end of the period covered in this chapter.⁶⁷³ Many of these loans concerned subdivisions of Awarua block, and most appear to have been obtained through the Advances to Settlers Office. A feature of a number of the loans was that they were raised at least partly for the purpose of repaying existing debt, which is likely to have involved higher interest charges than finance accessed through the Advances to Settlers scheme. While some of the loans were taken out wholly or partly for land development purposes, the lending cannot be linked to any substantial improvement in Maori participation in farming. As detailed above, Maori sheep ownership declined sharply during the first decade of the twentieth century, though this was offset partly some Maori becoming involved in dairying.

Other economic opportunities

This section looks at the economic opportunities that lay outside the dominant agricultural and sawmilling sectors. It examines the extent of Maori participation and any evidence regarding obstacles Maori may have faced. Three main opportunities are discussed: wage labour, the supply of

⁶⁷⁰ Stafford, Treadwell, & Field to Under-Secretary, Justice, 26 January 1900, J 1/636/h/1900/251, ANZ, cited in Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p554.

⁶⁷¹ Walzl details that the whole of the rental from the lease of Awarua 2C11 was to be applied to paying off the interest and principal of the mortgage raised against the block. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp549-550.

⁶⁷² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p551.

⁶⁷³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp548-551. D.A. Armstrong, 'The Impact of Environmental Change in the Taihape District, 1840-c1970', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A45, pp32-37.

materials for the construction of transport infrastructure, and opportunities associated with the development of townships.

Wage labour

During the period examined in this chapter, the most important wage work opportunities in the inquiry district were associated with the sawmilling industry and the building and maintenance of transport infrastructure, particularly the construction of the NIMT. Employment opportunities were also available in the agricultural economy, though limited evidence concerning this work has been located.

The sawmilling industry may have employed the greatest number of workers in the inquiry district during the period examined here. The Lands and Survey Department's 1905 and 1907 reports on the industry provide details of the number of workers engaged at individual mills. The 1905 report records that the mills operating in the inquiry district employed 342 hands.⁶⁷⁴ In 1907, around the industry's height, 504 workers were recorded at the district's mills – a significant increase.⁶⁷⁵ In 1909, as noted earlier, the industry was affected by a downturn, which appears to have resulted in many workers being laid off as mills ceased operating or cut back production. It is doubtful whether any Mokai Patea Maori were among the workers employed in the sawmilling industry during the period examined in this chapter. The available written sources contain no reference to Maori involvement in this level of the industry. It is also notable that Maori are not shown in photographs of workers who were employed at mills within the district.⁶⁷⁶

Alongside employment within the sawmilling industry, the construction and maintenance of transport infrastructure provided the other major opportunity for wage work. While construction of the NIMT was the focus of this work, road building was also important. The Public Works Department was responsible for most of the employment, though the Department of Lands and Survey and local authorities (particularly the Rangitikei County Council) were also involved as they oversaw much of the district's road construction. Most work undertaken for the Public Works Department and Lands and Survey Department was carried out under the co-operative

⁶⁷⁴ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', AJHR, 1905, C-6, p21, 24.

⁶⁷⁵ 'The timber industry of New Zealand in 1907', AJHR, 1907, C-4, pp26-27.

⁶⁷⁶ Two relevant photographs have been located – one of Bell's Sawmill, Ohingaiti (c.1895), the other of Carter & Wright's Sawmill, Mangaweka (c.1895). See Edward George Child (photographer), 'Workers at Carter & Wright's saw mill, Mangaweka, NZ', c.1895, ref 1/2-032317-G, ATL; and Edward George Child (photographer), 'Men outside Bells sawmill, Ohingaiti', c.1895, ref 1/4-016539-G, ATL.

system, whereby the department directly employed gangs of labourers for labour-intensive tasks.⁶⁷⁷ For projects of a more technical nature (such as the Makohine Viaduct) the services of larger firms were contracted.⁶⁷⁸

It is difficult to estimate the number of individuals who were involved in the construction and maintenance of transport infrastructure in the inquiry district during the period covered in this chapter. In 1897, the Public Works Department reported that on average some 157 men had worked on the southern end of the NIMT line during the previous year.⁶⁷⁹ This number would have increased significantly after 1900, when government resolve to complete the railway strengthened and additional funding was made available. As detailed earlier, construction of the railway through the inquiry district ended in 1908, when the line was completed to Waiouru.

While it is unclear how many people were involved in road construction, the number – at certain times and places, at least – was evidently significant. In 1899, for example, it was reported that work on the main road at Utiku was ‘employing a good deal of the labour at present’.⁶⁸⁰ According to Laurenson, staff numbers at the Rangitikei County Council increased during the first decade of the twentieth century owing to continuing road and bridge building.⁶⁸¹ While the county boundaries extended beyond the present-day inquiry district, some workers would have been based within the district, where it is likely that much of the road development work was undertaken.

Some settlers who took up land in the inquiry district were employed as co-operative workers on the railway and roads, which provided them with income while they developed their lands. For some of these individuals and their families, the wages they earned appear to have been a crucial form of financial support. In July 1900, the Special Commissioner of the Wellington Railway League reported it rumoured that in the vicinity of Mangaweka ‘if it was not that the settlers spend the bulk of their time in co-operative labour at the railway works they would be starved off their holdings’. From what he had observed during a visit to the district, the Special Commissioner believed that this was ‘no doubt true’.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁷ G.W. Heron, ‘The development of railway policy in New Zealand and the growth of the North Island railway system before 1908’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1946, pp131-132.

⁶⁷⁸ Heron, ‘The development of railway policy in New Zealand’, pp131-132.

⁶⁷⁹ ‘Public Works statement’, AJHR, 1897, D-1, p 56.

⁶⁸⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 February 1899, p2.

⁶⁸¹ S.G. Laurenson, *Rangitikei: the day of striding out*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1979, p94.

⁶⁸² *Evening Post*, 10 July 1900, p2. Many small landowners in the vicinity of Mangaweka worked on the construction of the NIMT. *Mangaweka and district’s first 100 years*, Mangaweka and District Centennial Committee, printed in Marton, 1985, p41.

When co-operative work was offered, settlers who had recently taken up land were given preference for the work that was available.⁶⁸³ In 1896, the road surveyor for the Wanganui district (which included at least part of the inquiry district) noted that, in accordance with this policy, at least 60 percent of those currently employed were settlers. He further explained that 'those who are actually improving their sections have the preference over the non-improving settlers'. While some settlers appear to have relied on income from co-operative work, the road surveyor noted 'a certain amount of dissatisfaction at the amount of the earnings'.⁶⁸⁴

It is likely that the proportion of co-operative workers who were settlers declined after construction activity on the NIMT increased from 1900. Some of those who worked on the railway and who did not own land pressured the government to make land available to them. In his twentieth century overview report, Walzl notes that in February 1906 co-operative workers in the Taihape area petitioned the Minister of Lands regarding their desire to settle in the district if suitable land could be secured for them. In response, the petitioners were advised that the Commissioner of Crown Lands would ascertain what blocks of Maori land were suitable for settlement so that these could be placed under the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.⁶⁸⁵ Research for this report has not established the outcome of any investigations that the Commissioner of Crown Lands made in response to the petition.

The available sources include no evidence that Mokai Patea Maori participated in wage work associated with the construction and maintenance of the railway and roading in the district. Neither written nor photographic evidence suggest any Maori involvement.⁶⁸⁶ Several sources indicate that a significant number of those employed on the construction of the NIMT were recent immigrants, some of whom were assisted to come to New Zealand so that they could work on the line.⁶⁸⁷ According to Laurenson,

⁶⁸³ In his thesis on the settlement of the Taihape district, Moar states that it was a definite policy of the Liberal Government to assist settlers by offering them work of this kind during the first years after taking up land. Norman Trevor Moar, 'The Origins of Taihape: A Study in Secondary Pioneering', M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1955, p40.

⁶⁸⁴ 'Department of Lands and Survey (annual report on)', AJHR, 1896, C-1, p92.

⁶⁸⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp218-219.

⁶⁸⁶ Two photographs of groups of workers involved in the construction of transport infrastructure during the period examined in this chapter have been located. See Edward George Child (photographer), 'Group, including workmen, on the Otara swing bridge, Ohingaiti', 1900, ref PA7-07-07, ATL; and See Edward George Child (photographer), 'Makohine viaduct workers', between 1898 and 1902, ref 1/2-057719-F, ATL.

⁶⁸⁷ *Mangaweka and district's first 100 years*, Mangaweka and District Centennial Committee, printed in Marton, 1985, p 41; R.S. Fletcher, *Single Track: The Construction of*

some of the railway construction workers were induced to take up work with the offer that they would be rewarded with sections of land.⁶⁸⁸ It is unclear whether Maori wished to participate in the wage work opportunities connected with the development of transport infrastructure, but were overlooked as a result of a preference to employ settlers and bring in labourers from outside the district.

As noted earlier in the chapter, the government had negotiated with Maori leaders in the Rohe Potae district prior to commencing construction of the NIMT, and the agreements reached included an assurance that Rohe Potae Maori would be able to earn income from construction work. Contrasting with this, no special provision was made for Mokai Patea Maori to receive employment on the section of the railway that was to be formed through the Taihape inquiry district. As a result, Mokai Patea Maori were not assured of deriving an economic benefit from participation in the building of the NIMT. It should be noted that, following a change of government, the reservation of contracts for Rohe Potae Maori appears to have ended in about 1888, and just three years after construction began.⁶⁸⁹

Outside of the sawmilling industry and the construction and maintenance of transport infrastructure, some wage work was available within the agricultural sector, though little evidence has been located regarding the extent of such work and the involvement of Maori. As noted in the previous chapter, Maori sheep owners were among the district's agricultural employers, and this continued at the beginning of the period examined in this chapter. It appears that Maori predominantly employed Pakeha, who may have possessed specific, sought-after skills.⁶⁹⁰ There is no evidence that during the period examined here Mokai Patea Maori became involved in shearing wool for wages or on a contract basis. As explained in the next chapter, Mokai Patea Maori were clearly involved in agricultural employment by the 1920s.

the Main Trunk Railway, Williams Collins Publishers Ltd, Auckland, 1978, p 186; Peter Gibbons, 'Some New Zealand Navvies: Co-Operative Workers, 1891-1912' in *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1977, pp 55-57.

⁶⁸⁸ Laurenson, *Rangitikei: the day of striding out*, pp62-63.

⁶⁸⁹ Many politicians were opposed to the policy, believing that it was unfair on the European population. Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', pp100-101.

⁶⁹⁰ See, for example, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 April 1890, p2. In his 1891 annual report, Resident Magistrate Preece noted that: 'The Patea Natives employ Europeans largely, and I understand pay them well. I have only had one or two cases of disputed wages.' Preece to Under Secretary, Native Department, 2 June 1891, 'Reports from officers in Native Districts', AJHR, 1891, Session II, G-5, p8.

Supply of resources for development of transport infrastructure

The construction of both the NIMT and the district's roading network involved the use of large quantities of materials, especially timber and stone resources. Timber was required for a range of purposes, including sleepers, culvert and bridge structures, buildings, and fences. Stone was used for railway ballast (where it was packed under and around the rails and sleepers of a track) and for surfacing of roads. There are various references to use of these materials in the inquiry district. In February 1899, for example, it was reported that in the Utiku district the government was 'having a very large quantity of metal placed on the main road'.⁶⁹¹ According to Laurenson, the Rangitikei County Council's demand for road metal grew in the early years of the twentieth century as a result of ever increasing road traffic.⁶⁹² The use of timber and stone resources presented a potential opportunity for Maori who owned these resources and were able to receive payment for their use.

At least some of the timber used in the district was sourced locally. In at least one case, Maori owners were party to negotiations regarding the use of timber required for road construction. Stirling explains that in 1893 the owners of Awarua 4A negotiated with the Wanganui district road surveyor in respect of timber required for the road at Moawhango. In this case, the owners agreed to receive royalty payments, but subsequently suggested that the government retain the money as a contribution from the owners towards the road.⁶⁹³ Through the agreements they entered into with local sawmillers, some Maori timber owners indirectly received income from the supply of timber for transport infrastructure construction purposes. As noted above, a number of sawmills in the inquiry district had contracts to supply the Public Works Department. In 1905, for example, it was reported that timber processed at Gardner Bro's Turangarere mill (which cut exclusively from Maori land) was used locally, with the Public Works Department being the principal customer.⁶⁹⁴

No evidence has been located to suggest that Mokai Patea Maori received income from the use of stone resources. It is possible that some local stone resources, especially river gravel, were used for construction and maintenance of the NIMT and roading network, though clear evidence of this has not been located. The government was certainly aware of the existence of stone resources within the district. As noted above, Rochfort reported in

⁶⁹¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 February 1899, p2.

⁶⁹² Laurenson, *Rangitikei: the day of striding out*, p106.

⁶⁹³ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p533.

⁶⁹⁴ 'The timber industry of New Zealand', *AJHR*, 1905, C-6, p24.

1884 that ballast could be sourced from two places within the district – a location near the Porewa Stream and from creeks near the Hautapu’s confluence with the Rangitikei River.⁶⁹⁵ In his report on the Rangitikei River and its tributaries, David Alexander notes that in 1888 land was taken compulsorily from Maori owners of the Piaka block for a quarry that was established for railway purposes.⁶⁹⁶ This quarry, located outside the southern boundary of the inquiry district, is likely to have provided at least some of the stone required for construction of the NIMT.

Opportunities associated with the development of townships

A further economic opportunity that emerged in the period examined here was the potential for profitable involvement in the development of townships along the route of the NIMT. Within the inquiry district, the creation of settlements along the line had begun during the 1880s. Expanding Pakeha settlement, ongoing construction of transport infrastructure, and activity in the sawmilling industry all underlay the establishment of settlements along the NIMT. Identifying the need for township development, some Mokai Patea Maori sought to benefit from the creation and growth of settlements, and they looked to achieve this through making suitable areas of land available for development.

Three relevant cases have been identified. The earliest of these relates to plans of Raumaewa Te Rango to make land available for an extension of the settlement at Mangaweka. In 1894, as a condition of selling his interests in Awarua 4, Raumaewa entered into an arrangement to purchase back from the Crown an area of 66 acres located at the northern end of the township.⁶⁹⁷ As detailed earlier, from 1896 creditors began to take action against Raumaewa for debts that he owed. It is likely that his financial position was insecure when he entered into the agreement concerning the Mangakino land. Possibly in order to protect the land from his creditors, it was agreed that the land would be vested in Whatu Raumaewa, Raumaewa’s son and a minor at the time of the agreement.⁶⁹⁸

Raumaewa no doubt saw the development of the Mangaweka land as an opportunity to improve his financial situation. However, Stirling explains

⁶⁹⁵ Rochfort to the Engineer-in-Charge, 5 February 1884, ‘Main Trunk Line, Auckland to Wellington (reports on)’, AJHR, 1884, D-5, pp1-2.

⁶⁹⁶ David Alexander, ‘Rangitikei River and its Tributaries Historical Report’, CFRT, November 2015, Wai 2180, #A40, p443.

⁶⁹⁷ The agreement noted that government workers had erected buildings on the land, which were to be left undisturbed until they had completed their work. Stirling, ‘Nineteenth Century Overview’, p496.

⁶⁹⁸ Stirling, ‘Nineteenth Century Overview’, p498.

that Raumaewa's plans to realise a profit from the land at Mangaweka were frustrated by the government's failure to promptly issue title. In December 1896, Raumaewa's lawyer, Cuff, called for the title to be issued without delay, noting that Raumaewa had paid £90 for the land to be surveyed into small sections.⁶⁹⁹ But no immediate action was taken, and by 1898 Raumaewa – 'an obviously desperate vendor', in Stirling's words – had entered into negotiations to sell the land to the Crown.⁷⁰⁰ In October 1898, the title was finally completed in order to facilitate the Crown's purchase of the area that Raumaewa had identified as a potential development opportunity.⁷⁰¹

The government's failure to honour its undertakings to Raumaewa in respect of the Mangaweka land would clearly have contributed to his financial difficulties and the serious problems he was facing with creditors. While the government paid an almost unparalleled £10 an acre for the land (a price that recognised the surveying work that Raumaewa had undertaken), this was considerably less than the price the government asked for after the land was cut up and offered for sale. In 1900, the quarter-acre sections at Mangaweka were put up for sale at from £6 to £15 each, equal to £24 to £60 per acre.⁷⁰²

The second case where Mokai Patea Maori sought to benefit from development of a settlement on the NIMT relates to Utiku Potaka's efforts to establish a township at Utiku, within Awarua 4C9. As detailed earlier, the settlement of Utiku was earlier known as Kaikoura, where by 1897 Potaka had set up and was leasing a timber mill. In addition to the mill, there was also a store, accommodation house, post office, school, as well as various businesses and dwellings.⁷⁰³ In their report on native townships, Bassett and Kay explain that the government intervened in plans that Potaka had to extend the Kaikoura settlement. Officials considered that the Ngati Hauiti chief was encroaching on development that was best led by the government.⁷⁰⁴ In July 1899, under the Native Townships Act 1895, a native township comprising a total area of 138 acres was proclaimed over the area occupied by Kaikoura and some surrounding lands.⁷⁰⁵ (The township was named Potaka Native Township, but more commonly became known as Utiku.) With the establishment of the native township, Maori control over

⁶⁹⁹ He also noted that timber was being cut from the land and Raumaewa had no power to prevent this. Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p498.

⁷⁰⁰ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p577.

⁷⁰¹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp499.

⁷⁰² Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp499-500.

⁷⁰³ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', pp27-28.

⁷⁰⁴ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p28.

⁷⁰⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1899, p1404.

the settlement was substantially removed and the potential benefit remaining to Maori would largely have to be derived from leasing of township sections.

Though the creation of the native township limited the potential of Maori to control and benefit from development of the settlement, it should be noted that early expectations that Utiku might grow into a reasonably sizeable township proved to be incorrect. By the end of the period examined here, Utiku had fallen in the shadow of Taihape, which had become firmly established as the main township within the modern-day inquiry district. Census results record that between 1896 and 1911 the non-Maori population of Taihape grew from 86 to 1,577.⁷⁰⁶ In contrast, development at Utiku stalled following the contraction of the local sawmilling industry and the completion of the railway. In May 1910, a reporter for the *Dominion* observed that, with many empty cottages and vacant stores, Utiku wore a 'very different aspect' compared with the 'busy little town' he had visited three years earlier. He attributed this to the closure of local mills, noting that only one mill continued to operate in the area around Utiku.⁷⁰⁷

The final case where Maori looked to benefit from the development of settlements along the railway involved the establishment of another native township, this one located at Turangarere. Located just outside the inquiry district, Turangarere Native Township, comprising 120 acres of Raketapauma 2B8, was proclaimed in February 1907 and vested in the Aotea District Maori Land Board.⁷⁰⁸ The township was created at the request of the owners, who first proposed the establishment of the township during a meeting with the Minister of Lands in 1904.⁷⁰⁹ Officials considered the proposal, but no immediate action was taken. Steps towards the creation of the town proceeded when, in November 1906, a representative of the owners submitted an application to the Aotea District Maori Land Board for the removal of restrictions to allow Raketapauma to be subdivided and sold.⁷¹⁰ The owners evidently believed that the sale of sections would be encouraged

⁷⁰⁶ Office of the Registrar-General, *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of 12 April 1896*, John Mackay (Government Printer), Wellington, 1897, Table 27. M. Fraser, Government Statistician, Registrar-General's Office, *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand taken for the night of the 2nd April 1911*, John Mackay (Government Printer), Wellington, 1912, Table 22.

⁷⁰⁷ *Dominion*, 12 May 1910, p8.

⁷⁰⁸ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p227. *New Zealand Gazette*, 1907, p445.

⁷⁰⁹ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p223.

⁷¹⁰ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p226.

by the existence of the railway, which appears to have been opened to traffic to Turangarere around the end of 1907.⁷¹¹

By the time the township was established, the need for development of new settlements along the line appears to have been limited, and it is doubtful that the owners were able benefit much from the alienation of the township land. Bassett and Kay detail that between 1907 and 1909 about 71 acres (half of which comprised a large hillside section) were sold at auction. There is insufficient evidence to conclusively determine whether these sales – and subsequent alienations – returned a profit to the owners as hoped. In respect of the lands auctioned between 1907 and 1909, Bassett and Kay note that, before any distributions were made to the owners, the costs of surveying the township, advertising and conducting the auctions, transfer fees, and a board commission would have been deducted from the sale proceeds.⁷¹²

Land sales and leasing

This section primarily discusses issues concerning the prices that Mokai Patea Maori were paid for land sold during the period examined in this chapter. It also briefly examines land leasing, which continued to provide some income for Maori of the inquiry district over the two decades examined here.

The extent to which Mokai Patea Maori were paid a fair value for the lands they sold was a matter of equity of treatment, but especially important given the Court costs they faced and their restricted access to lending finance (sales proceeds offered a potential source of money for development). It has been explained that most of the purchasing undertaken in the district during the period covered in this chapter was carried out by the Crown in the 1890s, reflecting restrictions against private alienation and the introduction of the 'Taihoa' policy in 1899. Existing research suggests that, with a lack of market competition, the operation of the Crown purchase monopoly seriously disadvantaged the owners in respect of the prices they received for their land.

In his nineteenth century overview report, Stirling discusses at some length how the government established the prices that it offered the owners of the Awarua block, which was the focus of Crown purchase efforts during the

⁷¹¹ Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', pp223-224, 227. 'Public Works statement', AJHR, 1907, D-1, p61.

⁷¹² Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships', p236.

1890s.⁷¹³ The most notable feature of the system was that the prices offered to owners were not based upon independent, thorough valuation of the land. Instead, they were set by officials who sought to ensure that the government would not be left out of pocket when land was onsold to settlers. When working out the prices to be offered, officials first made an estimate of the value that the land would be onsold to settlers for ‘under the ordinary settlement conditions’.⁷¹⁴ (This presumably referred to the ordinary conditions whereby Crown land was offered in subdivided parcels, with provision of road access.) The prices offered to Maori were somewhat less than this. This is evident, for example, in the figures presented in Table 12, drawn from Stirling’s report, which details for Awarua subdivisions the estimated Crown sale prices, initial proposed offer prices, and the final prices imposed in the Awarua purchase deed. The final prices paid to Maori ranged from between about 56 and 67 percent of the expected Crown sale price.

Table 12 Awarua subdivisions – estimated Crown sale price, proposed purchase price, and final purchase price⁷¹⁵

Block	Selling Price Per Acre	Proposed Purchase Price Per Acre	Final Purchase Price Per Acre
Awarua 1	10s.	7s. 6d.	6s.
Awarua 1A	12s. 6d.	?	7s.
Awarua 2	£1 12s. 6d.	£1	£1
Awarua 2A	12s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	7s.
Awarua 3	£2 7s. 6d.	£1 10s.	£1 7s. 6d.
Awarua 3A	£2	£1 10s.	£1 3s.
Awarua 3B	£1 12s. 6d.	£1	£1
Awarua 4	£1 10s.	£1	£1
Awarua 4A	£1 2s. 6d.	15s.	15s.

Stirling provides evidence that casts doubt on the accuracy of officials’ estimates of land value. He notes, for example, the case of Awarua 1A2 East (1,416 acres). In 1895, the Assistant Surveyor General determined that the selling price of this land (and neighbouring Awarua 1A2 West (2,587 acres)) was from £1 to £1 2s 6d per acre. On this basis, the Surveyor General advised the Land Purchase Department that no more than 7s 6d should be paid for the blocks. However, in 1897, with the land still in Maori ownership, and seemingly without any improvements having been made, the Land Tax Valuation of Awarua 1A2 East was given to be of £1 per acre. As land tax valuations often ran below market price, the true value of the land

⁷¹³ Stirling, ‘Nineteenth Century Overview’, pp417-419.

⁷¹⁴ Stirling, ‘Nineteenth Century Overview’, p417.

⁷¹⁵ Stirling, ‘Nineteenth Century Overview’, p417.

may have been even higher, which in part may have reflected appreciating land prices. Two years later, in 1900, a lawyer acting for the owners noted that an offer to purchase the land for £1 5s had been received.⁷¹⁶

It should be noted that, for much of the period examined in this chapter, alienations were able to be confirmed without any review of price. In 1894, the Trust Commissioners – whose role was discussed in the previous chapter – were abolished and the Native Land Court assumed all responsibility for the confirmation of alienations. It appears the Court did not have to enquire into the sufficiency of the price paid when land was sold.⁷¹⁷ Statutory provision was reintroduced in the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905, which required District Land Boards to ensure, before confirming any sale, that the purchase money was not less than the capital value of the land as assessed under the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896.

The remainder of this section briefly discusses leasing of land, which continued to provide some income for Mokai Patea Maori during the period examined in this chapter. The extent to which this was the case was limited in part by the imposition of restrictions against private alienation in 1894, which as noted above included leases. Controls over private leasing were not substantially loosened until the passage of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905, which once again enabled regulated leasing of Maori land by private interests. The District Land Board was able to confirm such leases providing that a number of requirements had been satisfied, including that the proposed rent was adequate and not less than five percent of the government valuation of the land.⁷¹⁸

By around the time the 1905 Act was passed, most old leasing arrangements had come to an end. Commenting on the nature of these leases, Walzl observes that they had usually involved low value, marginal backblock lands.⁷¹⁹ Among the leases that ended around this time were leases over various Owahaoko subdivisions, which covered an area of about 143,000 acres. These were terminated in 1904, following John Studholme's death the previous year.⁷²⁰ In 1905, Birch's lease over Oruamatua Kaimanawa (115,160 acres) also came to an end.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁶ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', p418.

⁷¹⁷ Sections 53-57, Native Land Court Act 1894.

⁷¹⁸ Section 16(2)(a), Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.

⁷¹⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p515.

⁷²⁰ Fisher and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Northern Aspect', p185.

⁷²¹ Stirling, 'Nineteenth Century Overview', pp271-273.

From 1905, when private leasing became easier, Mokai Patea Maori entered into a number of new leases.⁷²² These arrangements appear to show a growing preference for leasing land rather than Maori attempting to utilise it themselves in the face of substantial obstacles. The leases entered into from 1905 reflect the decline in Maori involvement in sheep farming from the late 1890s. Walzl notes that a new feature of the leases was that they were more concerned with the higher-value 'core' blocks that whanau groups possessed, which were more suitable for farming.⁷²³ After 1910, the leasing of such lands increased significantly.⁷²⁴ Issues concerning these leases are examined in the next chapter.

Conclusion

During the period discussed in this chapter, the economy of the Taihape inquiry district underwent a major transformation. Among the key developments, large-scale construction of transport infrastructure provided improved access to the district's lands, greatly increasing potential for land-based activities and helping to more closely integrate the district into the wider colonial economy. The growth of the sawmilling industry was significant among the economic opportunities that arose from the development of transport infrastructure. However, based on the exploitation of indigenous timber resources, the industry was a temporary opportunity, with timber production peaking towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. In contrast, developments within the important agricultural sector were to be of a more lasting nature. Not only did improved transport access enable more land to be utilised for agriculture, the advent of refrigerated shipping saw opportunities within the sector broaden beyond the farming of sheep for wool. In the inquiry district, the development of the export trade in frozen meat enhanced farming opportunities most significantly. While dairy farming commenced in the district, scope for development of this industry was limited owing to a lack of land suitable for dairying.

It has been explained that the government played a central role in shaping development in the inquiry district during the period examined in this chapter. However, it was focused on providing opportunities for Pakeha settlers rather than Mokai Patea Maori. This was perhaps most clearly illustrated in the objectives that underlay the construction of the NIMT, which incorporated plans to purchase and open up extensive areas of land for settlement along the railway, ensuring that most of the potential benefits

⁷²² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p515.

⁷²³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p515, 1051 (footnote 2352).

⁷²⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p515.

would pass to Pakeha settlers. Mokai Patea Maori were not consulted before construction of the railway began and evidently featured in the government's plans only as would-be vendors of lands required for settlement. With most lands in the south of the district purchased before construction of the railway began, the government's purchase efforts focused on the large and important Awarua block, which contained substantial areas of economically valuable land as well as timber resources. In the early 1890s, work at the southern end of the railway halted temporarily to await the progress of purchasing within the block.

Focused as it was on facilitating Pakeha settlement, the government offered little support to Mokai Patea Maori who sought to utilise their lands and take advantage of the developing economic opportunities. In 1892 and again in 1895, Awarua owners wrote to the government, seeking its assistance to overcome several difficulties that they were facing. While this correspondence might have served as a starting point for closer engagement with Mokai Patea Maori over their economic aspirations, the government substantially failed to respond to the owners' concerns. As a result, Mokai Patea Maori land owners continued to face barriers that restricted their ability to effectively utilise their lands. During the period examined in this report, the main problems concerned ongoing costs associated with the Native Land Court; extensive and determined Crown land purchase; title issues and an inability to consolidate scattered land interests; management difficulties associated with multiple ownership; and problems arising from a high debt burden and restricted access to lending finance.

While the government introduced policy and legislative measures that were relevant to some of these issues, these initiatives came too late or were ineffectual. For example, while provisions for the establishment of owner incorporations were introduced in the Native Land Court Act 1894, a number of limitations characterised these bodies. There is no evidence that Mokai Patea Maori attempted to establish incorporations during the period examined in this chapter. By 1900, Mokai Patea Maori had partitioned much of their most valuable land so that it was held in subdivisions owned by small whanau groups or just one or two owners. It seems likely that owners resorted to this costly process in order to overcome some of the problems associated with multiple ownership, which not only posed a barrier to effective land management, but made access to lending finance more difficult.

The situation faced by Mokai Patea Maori owners contrasted with the conditions under which Pakeha settlers took up Crown land in the inquiry district. The government evidently viewed these conditions as necessary if

settlers were to have a reasonable chance of successfully developing their holdings. When taking up land, settlers were provided with clear title to surveyed sections. In order to facilitate development, different tenure options were available, and settlers were able to access state lending finance. Also, their sections were provided with road access. Indeed, much of the road building undertaken during the period examined in this chapter was for the purpose of providing access to Crown land that was being cut up for settlement. It is also notable that settlers were given preference for work within the co-operative labour system, under which much of the railway and road construction was carried out. For some who took advantage of this opportunity, the work provided valuable income while they developed their properties.

Given the various barriers they faced and the government's failure to sufficiently support their aspirations, it is unsurprising that – even though economic opportunities in the inquiry district developed considerably during the period – Mokai Patea Maori involvement within the commercial economy declined overall. In respect of the sawmilling industry, it has been explained that ownership of mills was an opportunity that Maori forest owners might have benefitted from, with profits from milling operations potentially being used to convert milled forest land to pasture. However, Mokai Patea Maori were involved in only two small-scale milling ventures, both of which were short-lived and unlikely to have provided much economic benefit. Instead, the main way they participated in the industry was through receiving royalty payments for timber cut from areas of forest they retained. Initially, at least, it seems that returns from timber royalties are not likely to have been substantial.

Within the agricultural sector, Mokai Patea Maori continued to participate in sheep farming during the 1890s, with most of this activity focused upon the open grasslands of the Awarua block. However, it has been explained that Maori sheep ownership peaked in the mid 1890s and thereafter declined. By 1910, the number of sheep owned by Maori (alone and in partnership with Pakeha) had fallen to about 15 percent of the number recorded in 1895. While this decline appears to have been offset by some Maori involvement in the emerging dairy industry, it effectively marked the failure of Mokai Patea Maori to gain a solid footing in the inquiry district's developing agricultural economy. This was further illustrated in the shift from 1905 towards greater leasing of remaining whanau lands that were most suitable for agricultural use. Outside of the main opportunities associated with the agricultural sector and temporary sawmilling industry, Mokai Patea Maori also appear to have derived little benefit from other opportunities that emerged during the period covered in this chapter.

Chapter Four: Mokai Patea Maori and the Post-Settlement Era Economy, 1910-2013

Introduction

Covering the period between 1910 and 2013, this chapter examines developments almost up to the present day. The period examined here is considerably longer than that dealt with in the two preceding chapters, which together cover a period of just fifty years. As explained in the report introduction, research has focused on developments between 1860 and 1910 because it was during this period that most opportunity existed for Mokai Patea Maori to secure a significant and lasting stake in the district's dominant agricultural sector. By 1910, this opportunity was fading. As explained in the previous chapter, Maori participation in sheep farming had, by the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, declined to a very low level. After owning more than 145,000 sheep in the mid 1890s, sheep returns for 1910 record that Mokai Patea Maori owned just 23,094 sheep, about three-quarters of which were held by a single Maori-Pakeha farming partnership. Though some Maori became involved in dairying, it is apparent that from 1905 many owners of commercially valuable land began entering into long-term leasing arrangements with Pakeha. At the same time, in 1910, as discussed below, the Mokai Patea Maori land base faced significant further erosion in the face of renewed land purchase.

Dealing with the years after the period of greatest economic opportunity, this chapter therefore provides a broad survey of the economic experience of Taihape Maori from 1910. Owing to the length of time covered, the key focus is on establishing the position that Maori have occupied in the district's economy, including the extent to which they have participated in the main economic activities. The Crown's role in shaping this participation is again discussed, particularly in respect of ongoing Mokai Patea Maori efforts to utilise their land for agricultural purposes and their involvement in paid employment.

The chapter begins by setting out key contextual information concerning the Maori population and Maori land base. First, it presents census information that provides a reasonably accurate picture of the size of the Maori population of the inquiry district and the main places where Maori lived. Supplemented by data from electoral rolls, evidence of iwi affiliation is also provided. This shows that by the mid-twentieth century a significant proportion of the Maori population comprised people whose primary iwi affiliation lay outside the district. The chapter then provides an overview of

changes to Maori land holdings, which continued to diminish. Supported by mapping, the various stages and process of alienation are described.

The chapter then turns to examine Maori involvement in the district's main land-based opportunities. First, it briefly discusses the forestry sector, but notes little evidence of Maori participation in either the declining indigenous timber industry or relatively recent exotic forestry enterprises. The next section of the chapter examines at some length the important agricultural sector. After first describing developments in the national and local agricultural economy, it discusses evidence concerning the involvement of Mokai Patea Maori. While some continued to seek to utilise their land, it is explained that Maori participation in farming remained limited. However, a modest increase in Maori farming occurred in the mid twentieth century and this activity generally appears to have been sustained through to the present day. In part, this increase in Maori farming activity reflected the introduction of government policies that aimed to support Maori land development.

Next, the chapter examines Maori involvement in paid work. By the mid twentieth century, this appears to have been the main way that Maori were involved in the local economy. Drawing on electoral rolls and census data, a description is provided of the sorts of work that Maori were involved in and how this changed. In the 1980s and 1990s, it is explained, state-sector restructuring adversely affected some Maori workers in the inquiry district. Limited government efforts to minimise the social and economic effects of restructuring are examined. Among the employment data presented in chapter four, occupation statistics drawn from the 2013 census include details relating to non-Maori. A comparison of the occupation statistics of Maori and non-Maori is therefore provided, which sheds some light on the different positions that Maori and Pakeha have generally occupied within the economy of the district.

Lastly, the chapter briefly examines the extent to which Maori, since 1910, have derived income from forest and stone resources that have remained in their ownership. In respect of the forestry sector, it looks at the extent to which Maori continued to earn income from the sale of timber cutting rights and, more recently, from placing state-sponsored forest protection covenants over their remaining forest lands. In respect of stone resources, royalties appear to have been derived from only a couple of quarrying operations, though it is noted that the Crown's assertions of ownership over the bed of the portions of the Rangitikei River deemed to be navigable may have limited this opportunity.

Population developments

The first section of this chapter presents further evidence concerning the size of the inquiry district's Maori population, the places where Maori have resided, and details of iwi affiliation. It provides contextual information that is relevant to the employment data presented later in the chapter. Also, details of changes in the size of the district's Maori population shed light on the extent to which Maori may have moved out of the district in response to shifting economic opportunities. Further, some of the recent census data that is presented here sheds light on the current level of Maori participation in the land-based economy.

As explained in chapter one, increasingly localised census data is available for Maori from 1926, when the census results provide details of the number of Maori residing within county ridings, boroughs, and town districts.⁷²⁵ The next census, which was held in 1936, provides even more localised data, giving details of the number of Maori residing at individual localities within each county as well as numbers residing in town districts and boroughs. This data, available through to the 1971 census, enables the Maori population of the inquiry district to be calculated more accurately and provides information on the places where Maori lived. It should be noted that during this period 'Maori' was defined for statistical purposes as including 'full-blooded' Maori, Maori-European 'half castes', and Maori-Europeans who were predominantly of Maori descent.⁷²⁶

Drawing on census results, Table 13 provides details of the number of Maori living at localities, town districts, and boroughs within the Taihape inquiry district in two sample years – 1936 and 1966. Appendices 3 and 4 set out the census results for these years more comprehensively, listing the data for all localities. An examination of Table 13 shows that between 1936 and 1966 there was a significant increase in the inquiry district's Maori population – one that defied a national trend that saw growing Maori migration to the main cities and regional centres in the post-war period. Some Mokai Patea Maori may have left the district at this time. However, countering any such migration, it is evident that many Maori from other areas moved into the modern-day inquiry district between 1936 and 1966, seemingly to take up employment opportunities.⁷²⁷ For example, as

⁷²⁵ Department of Statistics, *Population Census, 1926, Vol. 1, Increase and Geographical Distribution*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1927.

⁷²⁶ Census and Statistics Department, *Population Census, 1936: Volume 3, Maori Census*, Paul, Wellington, 1940, pii. Department of Statistics, *Population Census, 1966: Volume 8, Maori Population and Dwellings*, Department of Statistics, Wellington, 1967, p6.

⁷²⁷ Claimants spoke of this development during a research held on 25 May 2015.

discussed later, many of those engaged in military employment at Waiouru appear to have been Maori from other parts of the country. In 1966, the 47 Maori residing at the Waiouru Ministry of Works camp were also likely to have included many Maori without Mokai Patea iwi affiliations. As explained below, this appears to have been a temporary camp established in connection with the construction of the Tongariro Power Development Scheme.

Table 13: Maori residing in the Taihape inquiry district, 1936 and 1966 census results⁷²⁸

Place	1936	1966
Waiouru locality, township, and vicinity	1	38
Waiouru military camp	-	433
Waiouru Ministry of Works Camp	-	47
Waiouru Naval Station (HMNZS Irirangi)	-	17
Hihitahi locality	-	29
Turangarere locality	59	35
Mataroa locality, township, and vicinity	13	59
Bennett's Siding locality	-	22
Moawhango locality	89	112
Taihape Borough and vicinity	55	362
Taihape Ministry of Works camp	-	5
Winiata locality	66	14
Ohotu	-	52
Utiku township and vicinity	19	54
Kawhatau locality	12	17
Mangaweka Town District and vicinity	11	45
Ohingaiti township and vicinity	13	49
Orangipongo locality	-	24
Huntermville Town District and vicinity	9	52
Rata township and locality	57	74
Other localities	26	144
Total	428	1684

Data drawn from Maori electoral rolls confirms that Maori from other parts of the country came to comprise a significant proportion of the inquiry district's Maori population. Electoral rolls prepared between 1949 and 1969 include details of each registered voter's principal iwi affiliation. One roll from this period has been examined. Table 14 sets out summary details of the principal iwi affiliations of those who were listed on the 1960 electoral roll and who resided in the modern-day inquiry district. A comprehensive

⁷²⁸ Census and Statistics Department, *Population Census, 1936: Volume 1, Increase and Location of Population*, Paul, Wellington, 1937, tables 14, 15, and 23. Department of Statistics, *Population Census, 1966: Volume 1, Increase and Location of Population*, Department of Statistics, Wellington, 1967, tables 15 and 17.

listing of the various iwi recorded on the 1960 roll is presented in Appendix 7.

Table 14: Iwi affiliation recorded in 1960 Maori electoral roll, Taihape inquiry district⁷²⁹

Iwi	Number affiliated
Ngati Hauiti	6
Ngati Hine	1
Ngati Kahungunu	20
Ngati Tama	1
Ngati Tuwharetoa ⁷³⁰	55
Ngati Whiti	4
Other	105
No iwi given	11
Total	203

Of the six iwi listed in Table 14, Ngati Hauiti, Ngati Hine, Ngati Tama, and Ngati Whiti appear to represent Mokai Patea iwi interests. It seems that the following abbreviations have been used: Ngati Hine (Ngati Hinemanu), Ngati Tama (Ngati Tamakopiri), and Ngati Whiti (Ngati Whitikaupeka). Alongside these four groups, those who stated that their iwi was Ngati Kahungunu or Ngati Tuwharetoa also may have had tribal interests that were located primarily within the Mokai Patea area. Individuals who stated that they were affiliated to the six iwi listed in Table 14 comprised about 45 percent of those who were listed on the 1960 electoral roll and who gave details of an iwi affiliation. (The 11 individuals who provided no details of iwi affiliation comprised about 5 percent of those listed.) At least 52 percent of those listed on the roll stated a primary iwi affiliation that lay outside the district.

In her sociodemographic scoping report for the Taihape inquiry, Georgie Craw sets out data drawn from the 2013 census results. Provided by Statistics New Zealand, this data relates closely to the boundaries of the inquiry district. Craw explains that it is comprised of both ‘Census Area Unit’ and ‘meshblock’ data.⁷³¹ Based on this data, Table 15 provides details of the Maori and non-Maori population residing in the inquiry district in 2013. It should be noted that the Hunterville, Mangaweka, Taihape, and

⁷²⁹ Data extracted from the following electoral rolls: Southern Maori 1960, Western Maori 1960, and Western Maori supplementary 1960.

⁷³⁰ The Ngati Tuwharetoa figure includes two individual whose iwi affiliations were given as ‘Ngati Wharetoa’ and ‘Tu Eroa’, which are presumably abbreviations of Ngati Tuwharetoa.

⁷³¹ Craw provides maps that show the areas in respect of which data has been collected. See Georgie Craw, ‘Maori in the Taihape inquiry district: A sociodemographic scoping exercise’, Waitangi Tribunal Unit, January 2015, Wai 2180 #A28, pp11-13.

Waiouru Area Units cover the townships at each of these places, while the Ngamatea Area Unit and meshblock data covers other settlements, rural areas, and uninhabited parts of the district. It should also be noted that, in the census, individuals selected their ethnicity without reference to the extent to which their parentage represented a particular racial profile.

Table 15: Maori and non-Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district (approximate area), 2013 census results⁷³²

Ethnicity	Maori only	Maori and at least one other ethnic group	Total Maori	Non-Maori	Not elsewhere included	Total
Huntermville Area Unit	54	42	93	315	15	426
Mangaweka Area Unit	15	9	27	120	C	147
Taihape Area Unit	330	348	678	780	51	1,512
Waiouru Area Unit	189	147	333	396	12	741
Ngamatea Area Unit	C	C	C	27	C	27
Selected Meshblocks	180	231	408	2,214	96	2,721
Total	765	777	1,542	3,849	183	5,574

NB: In providing the 2013 census data, Statistics New Zealand applied confidentiality rules, including randomly rounding data within cells to base 3. As a result, individual figures do not always add up to the totals provided. 'C' indicates cells have been suppressed for confidentiality reasons

Table 15 records that in 2013 the total Maori population of the inquiry district was 1,542. This represents a decline of about 8 percent from the 1966 figure of 1684. Unlike the data set out in Table 13, the census results presented in Table 15 also provide details for non-Maori, enabling comparisons between the Maori and non-Maori groups. A notable difference between the two population groups concerns the places where they resided in the inquiry district. While about 73 percent of the total Maori population resided in Huntermville, Mangaweka, Taihape, or Waiouru, only about 43 percent of the inquiry district's non-Maori population resided in these towns. That the majority of non-Maori lived outside the main settlements partly reflects the significant extent to which non-Maori have dominated activity in the agricultural sector and have therefore lived upon farms.

⁷³² See Table 1: 2013 Census of Population and Dwellings, in Craw, 'Sociodemographic scoping exercise', Wai 2180 #A28(a).

Table 16: Iwi affiliation of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district (approximate area), 2013 census results⁷³³

Iwi	Number affiliated
Manawatu/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui-a-Tara Region	63
Ngapuhi	141
Ngati Apa (Rangitikei)	45
Ngati Hauiti	84
Ngati Kahungunu ki Heretaunga	54
Ngati Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa	60
Ngati Kahungunu (region unspecified)	54
Ngati Maniapoto	144
Ngati Porou	147
Ngati Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatu)	60
Ngai Tahu	87
Ngati Tuwharetoa	363
Ngati Whatua	30
Te Arawa	39
Te Atiawa (Taranaki)	33
Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi	126
Tuhoe	81
Waikato	51
Other	Number unclear
Don't know	288
Total people stated	1,572

As well as providing details of the size of the inquiry district's population, the 2013 census data provides some further evidence relating to the iwi affiliations of Maori within the district. This is set out in Table 16. It should be noted that respondents were able to state an affiliation to more than one iwi. Where a person reported more than one iwi, they were counted in each applicable iwi group. Overall, the data presented in Table 16 suggests that Maori who were not affiliated to Mokai Patea iwi continued to make up a significant proportion of the district's Maori population.

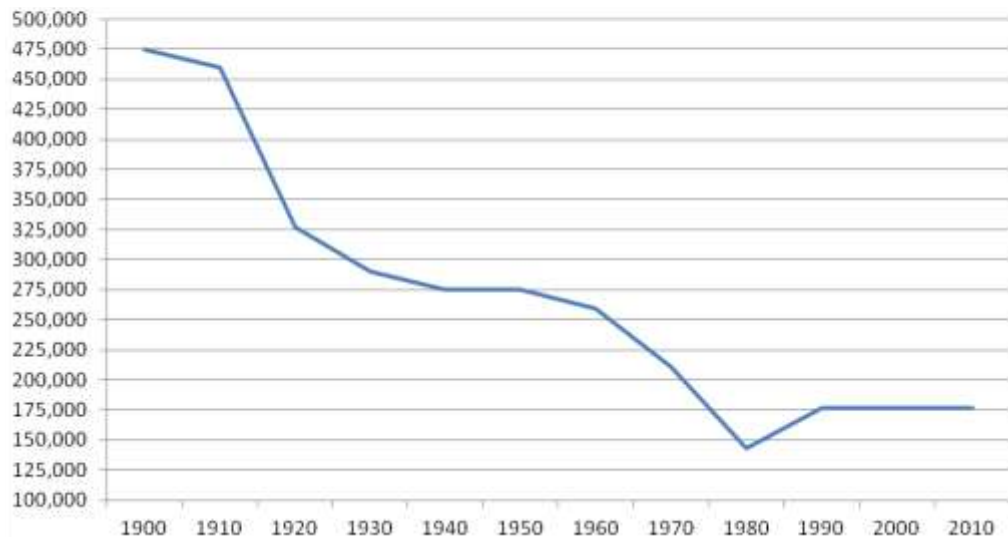
Further decline of Mokai Patea Maori land base

This section describes the ongoing decline of the Mokai Patea Maori land base from 1910. As discussed previously, the extent to which Maori have retained land has been an important factor in defining their potential to take

⁷³³ See Table 8: 2013 Census of Population and Dwellings, in Craw, 'Sociodemographic scoping exercise', Wai 2180 #A28(a).

advantage of the largely land-based economic opportunities that have existed in the Taihape inquiry district.

Figure 11: Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900-2010 (acres)⁷³⁴



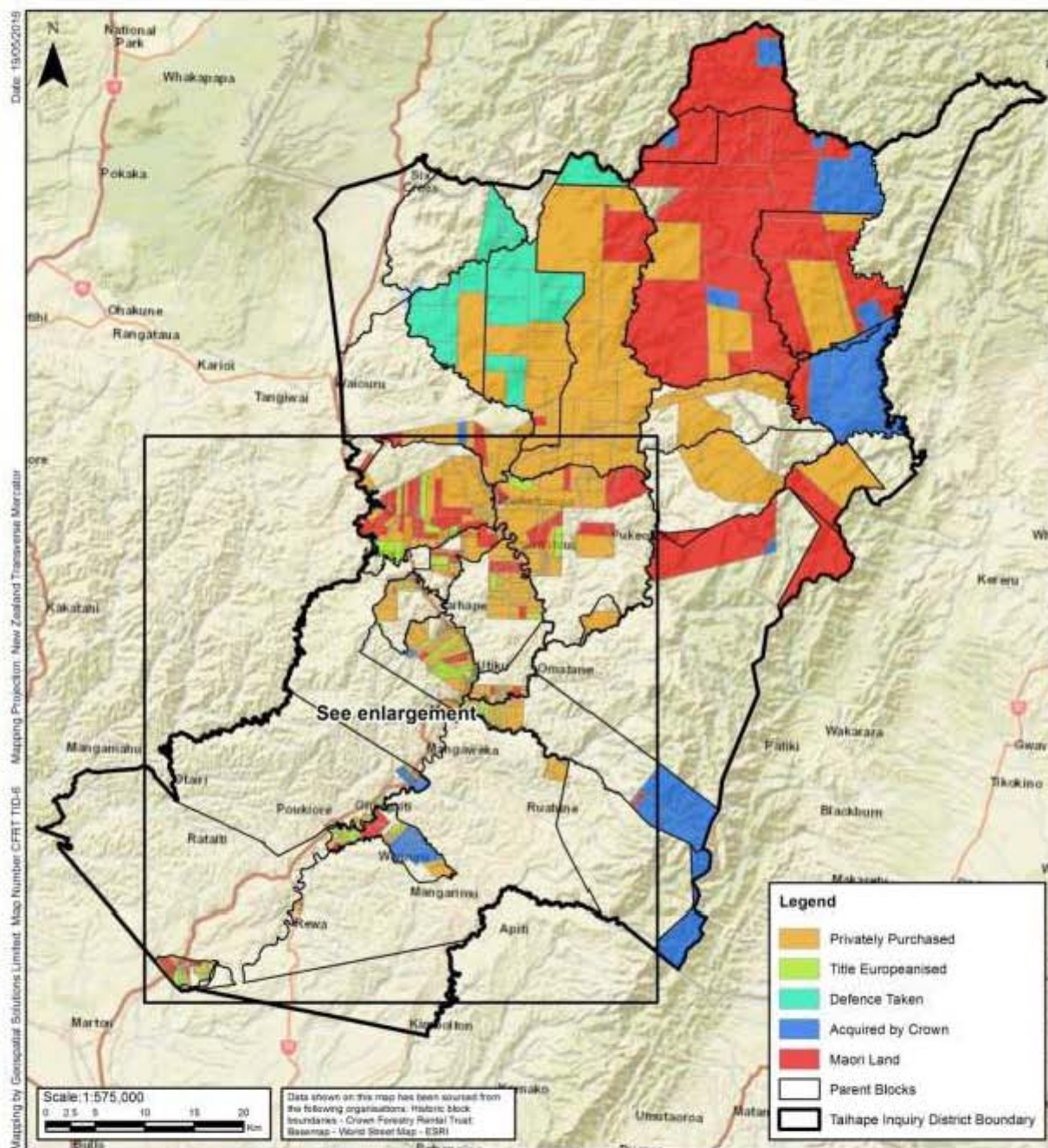
Existing research on the record of inquiry explains that erosion of Maori land in the inquiry district continued through to the late twentieth century, though the rate of alienation was subject to fluctuation. Figure 11, drawn from Walzl's twentieth century overview report, charts the decline of Maori land in the inquiry district from 1900. According to Walzl, about 423,000 acres remained in Maori ownership in 1910, the beginning of the period covered in this chapter. Today, the total area of Maori land in the inquiry district is only about 176,000 acres or about 15 percent of the inquiry district's total area.⁷³⁵

Figures 12 and 13 show how the lands that Mokai Patea Maori held in 1900 have been alienated. Drawn again from Walzl's report, the maps illustrate developments up to 1990, though after this time (as shown in the graph above) there appears to have been little further alienation. While Figures 12 and 13 deal with alienations from 1900, the area of Maori land alienated during the first decade of the twentieth century, as discussed in the previous chapter, was relatively small. Almost all of the alienations shown in Figures 12 and 13 therefore concern the period covered in this chapter. Figure 14, drawn from Innes' land retention and alienation report, shows Maori lands in the Taihape inquiry district in 2013.

⁷³⁴ This graph has been drawn from Walzl's twentieth century overview report. See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p68.

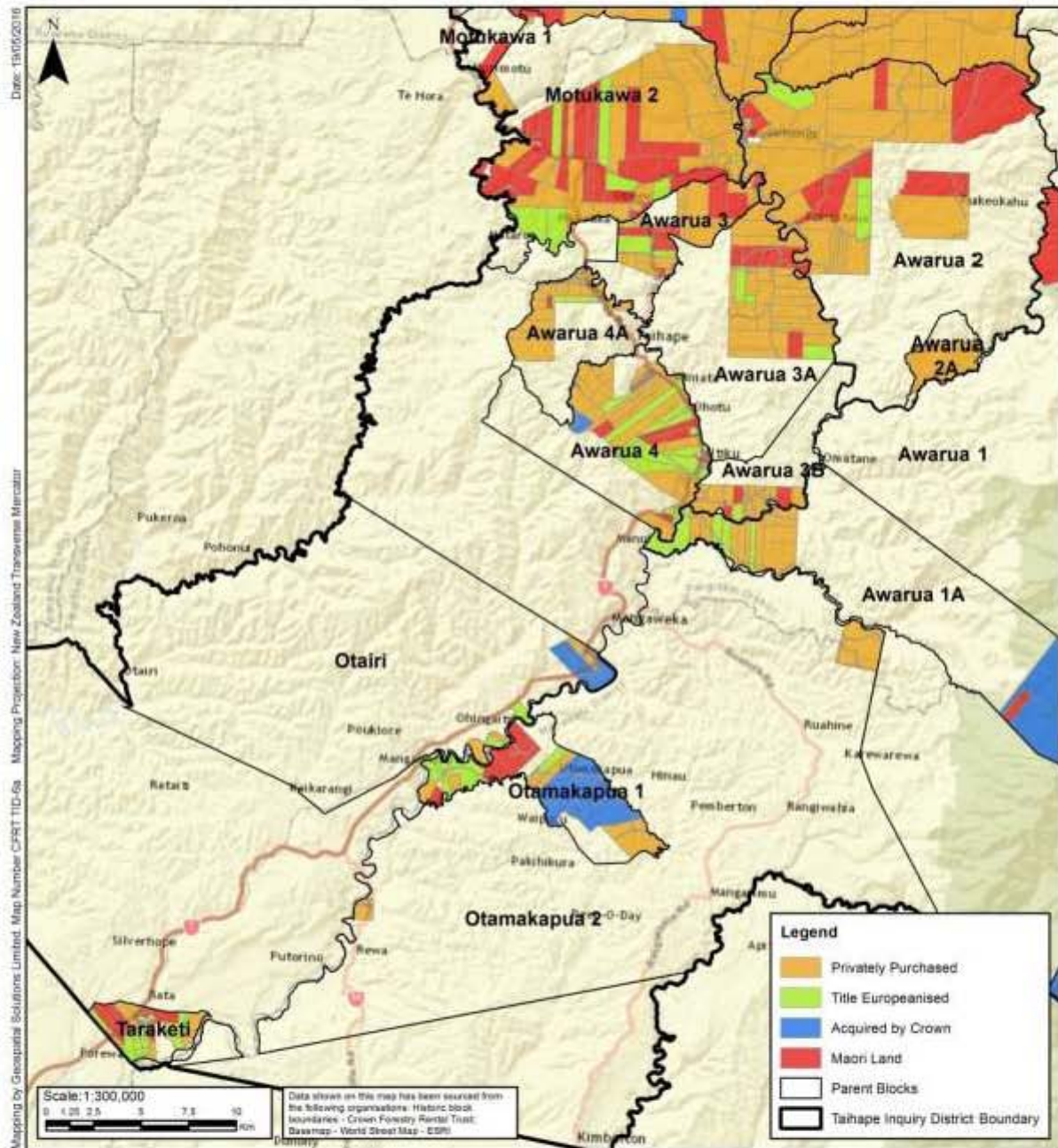
⁷³⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p66.

Figure 12: Alienation of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900-1990⁷³⁶



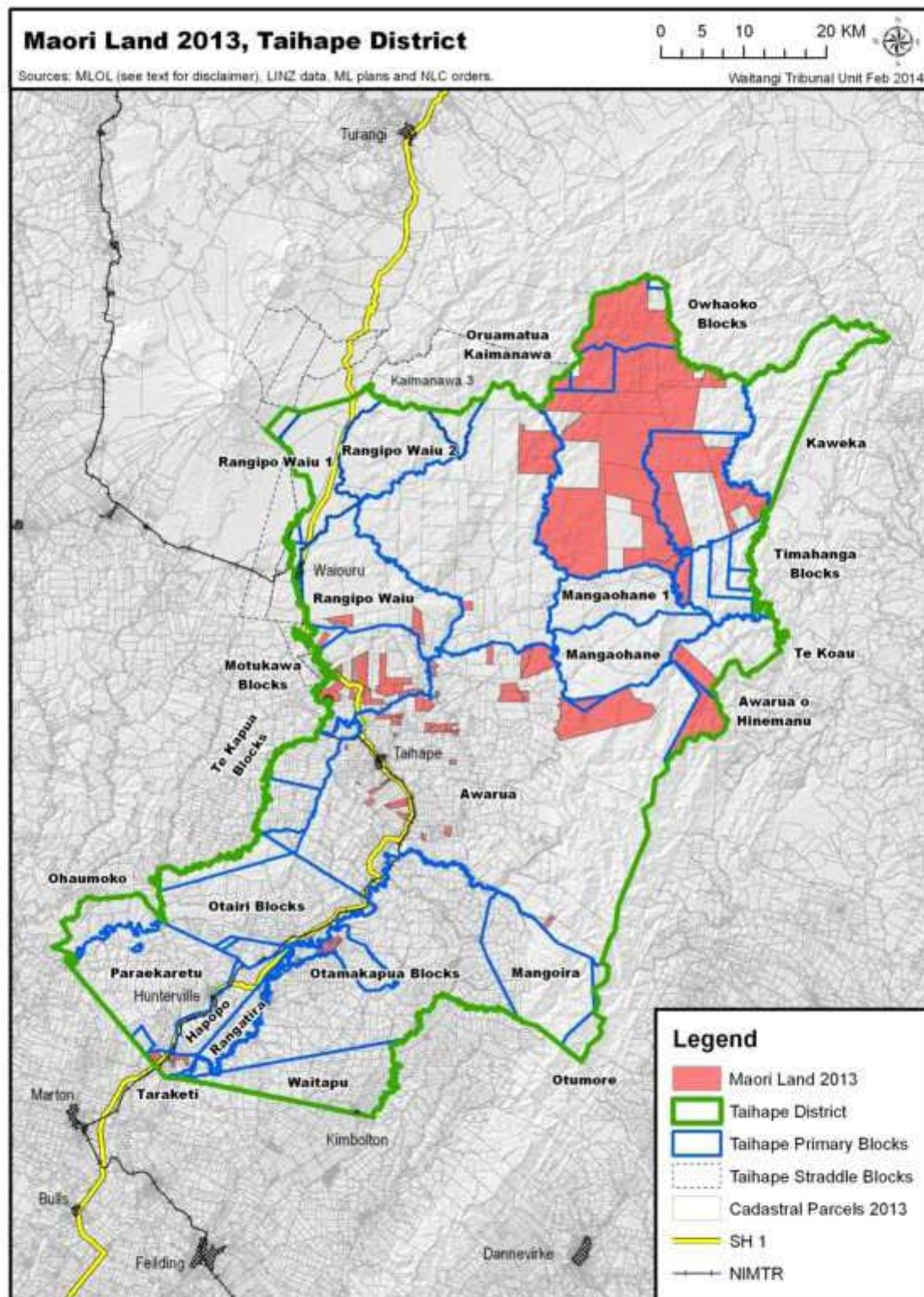
⁷³⁶ This map has been drawn from Walzl's twentieth century overview report. See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p81 (Map 9). The 'Privately Purchased' lands appear to have been almost exclusively acquired by non-Maori.

Figure 13: Alienation of Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1900-1990 (enlargement)⁷³⁷



⁷³⁷ This map has been drawn from Walzl's twentieth century overview report. See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p82 (Map 10).

Figure 14: Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 2013⁷³⁸



⁷³⁸ This map has been drawn from Innes' land retention and alienation report. See Innes, 'Maori Land Retention and Alienation', p67 (Map A-10).

Key among the legislative developments that influenced alienation during the period covered in this chapter was the introduction of the Native Land Act 1909. As well as consolidating existing native land legislation and introducing measures that arose from the findings of the Stout Ngata commission, the 1909 Act brought an additional and far-reaching change: all restrictions over Maori land were automatically lifted and any block became available for private purchase. As Loveridge has observed, the focus on Land Boards as the key means through which ‘unused’ Maori land was to be utilised came to an end, with the free market gaining dominance.⁷³⁹ However, while this was the case, provisions that enabled land to be vested in the Land Boards continued in the 1909 Act.⁷⁴⁰

The Act introduced a more streamlined procedure for the sale and leasing of Maori land, which applied to both Crown and private dealings. Where a block had fewer than 10 owners, a prospective purchaser or lessee could deal directly with owners. Where there were more than 10 owners, Part XVIII of the Act established a process whereby a Land Board could call a meeting of assembled owners to consider proposals to alienate land. Resolutions were passed if the combined shareholdings of those who voted in favour was greater than those who voted against.⁷⁴¹

While all private alienations needed to be confirmed by the Land Board, alienations to the Crown required confirmation only in cases where a resolution had been passed by a meeting of assembled owners. Where the Crown acquired land through direct dealing with less than ten owners, Walzl suggests that Crown officials might nevertheless have taken into account the standard protections in the Act before completing the purchase.⁷⁴² These protections, which the Board needed to consider before confirming any alienation, were set out in section 220 and included the following criteria:

- the instrument of alienation had to be properly executed;
- an alienation could not be contrary to equity or good faith or to the interests of the Natives alienating’;
- no Native could be made landless by the alienation⁷⁴³;

⁷³⁹ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, p75.

⁷⁴⁰ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, pp80-82.

⁷⁴¹ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, pp84-85. See Section 343, Native Land Act 1909.

⁷⁴² Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p64.

⁷⁴³ In section 2 of the 1909 Act, ‘Landless Native’ was defined as ‘a Native whose total beneficial interests in Native freehold land... are insufficient for his adequate maintenance’. Section 91 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1913 amended the provision relating to landlessness. It enabled land to be alienated if it was unlikely to be ‘a material means of support’. Land could also be alienated if the vendor was ‘qualified to pursue some

- the payment had to be adequate; and
- in the case of a sale the purchase money had to have been either paid or sufficiently secured.

It is notable that the Act included special provisions relating to Crown acquisitions, which illustrate that it was envisaged that the Crown would continue to play a significant role in the purchase of Maori land. For example, the Crown was able to prohibit other attempted alienations on land for which it was negotiating. As Loveridge notes, this provision ‘amounted to a selective reintroduction of the Crown’s pre-emptive right’. Crown purchasing was further assisted by the creation of the Native Land Purchase Board, which would direct government purchase activities. A sum of £500,000 was made available for purchase operations each year.⁷⁴⁴

Consistent with developments in other parts of the country, the passage of the 1909 Act heralded a period of significant land alienation in the Taihape inquiry district. As charted in Figure 11, there was substantial alienation between 1910 and 1930, especially in the decade following the passage of the 1909 Act.⁷⁴⁵ It was during these years that the change in legislation that enabled private persons to purchase directly from Maori owners brought the greatest impact. Leased lands were among the areas acquired.⁷⁴⁶ By the 1920s, purchasing began to tail off, though remained significant.

Unsurprisingly, the higher quality Taraketi, Otairi, and Otamakapua lands and the medium quality Awarua and Motukawa lands were the focus of much of the purchasing that occurred in the twenty years after the passage of the 1909 Act. Walzl details that, from the area that remained in Maori ownership at the turn of the century, about 53 percent of these lands had been alienated by 1930.⁷⁴⁷ In spite of the significant land loss that occurred during the period, there were few sales in some blocks – primarily the lower quality northern or eastern blocks.⁷⁴⁸ There were a number of exceptions, however, including Timahanga 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, which had a total area of 19,012 acres.⁷⁴⁹ Purchased between 1911 and 1915, these lands were

avocation, trade, or profession, or... otherwise sufficiently provided with a means of livelihood.’

⁷⁴⁴ Loveridge, *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards*, pp85-86.

⁷⁴⁵ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p75.

⁷⁴⁶ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p529.

⁷⁴⁷ The ‘high quality’ and ‘medium quality’ lands that Walzl refers to are the subdivisions of Awarua 1A, 2C, 3D, 3A, 4A, and 4C, and Motukawa 2, Otairi 1, Otamakapua 1, Otamakapua 2, and Taraketi. Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p69.

⁷⁴⁸ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p69.

⁷⁴⁹ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, pp276-278.

acquired by the Crown and their acquisition comprised a significant proportion of the total area of Crown purchases between 1910 and 1930.⁷⁵⁰

In 1917, in addition to the lands that were sold, Maori gifted portions of Owahaoko A, B, and D to the Crown for returned soldier settlement (an area of 35,611 acres). In 1974, almost 60 years later, with the land having been utilised to only a small extent, it was returned to Maori ownership.⁷⁵¹ This revesting explains the increase in the area of Maori land during the 1970s that is shown in Figure 11.

After 1930, further small declines occurred during the three decades through to 1960. There was no Crown purchasing over this 30-year period, but about 20,000 acres of Maori land were privately purchased, mostly within the higher value Awarua, Motukawa and southern blocks.⁷⁵²

Between 1960 and 1980, Mokai Patea Maori experienced another period of significant land loss, as illustrated in Figure 12. The alienation that occurred during these two decades was primarily the result of land loss in several of the lower quality northern or eastern blocks.⁷⁵³ Crown acquisitions accounted for more than half of the area alienated.⁷⁵⁴ Focussed on the backblocks, the Crown purchased 24,500 acres for forestry or conservation purposes, including subdivisions of Awarua 1A and the whole of the Otumore block.⁷⁵⁵ Alongside this purchasing, the Crown also compulsorily acquired under public works legislation more than 37,000 acres for extensions to the Waiouru army training ground. These takings, shown in Figure 12, primarily involved subdivisions of the Oruamatua Kaimanawa block.⁷⁵⁶

Though not dominant, there were also significant private sales from 1960. These alienations, which amounted to some 44,000 acres, involved not only the higher value southern and central lands, but also some of the remaining northern and eastern lands.⁷⁵⁷ As Walzl observes, the post-1960 period saw 'a further boom in land sales', which was linked partly with many long-term leases coming to an end.⁷⁵⁸ At the same time, as discussed later in the

⁷⁵⁰ Between 1900 and 1930, the Crown purchased about 28,000 acres in the inquiry district. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p73.

⁷⁵¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p75, 86.

⁷⁵² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p68, 73, 78, 80.

⁷⁵³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p70.

⁷⁵⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p78, 83.

⁷⁵⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp84-85.

⁷⁵⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p85.

⁷⁵⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p85.

⁷⁵⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p85.

chapter, some Mokai Patea Maori looked to take advantage of the expiry of these leases and begin directly utilising some of their remaining lands that possessed commercial potential.

It should be noted that a small proportion of the decline in Maori land after 1960 resulted from the status of some Maori land being changed under the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967. Where titles were held by four persons or fewer, the 1967 Act enabled Maori land to be compulsorily changed to general land. In cases where this occurred, the land was not alienated from Maori, but it was no longer deemed to be Maori land. In the Taihape inquiry district, about 12,000 acres of Maori land was 'Europeanised' under the 1967 Act.⁷⁵⁹

As noted above, Maori land holdings in the inquiry district have changed little since 1990. However, according to Walzl, there have been several cases where owners of Europeanised land have had their titles reverted back to being Maori land. Conversely, there are also some examples where owners have voluntarily changed their title status from Maori land to general land.⁷⁶⁰ But overall, as a comparison of Figures 12 and 14 shows, the period since 1990 has been characterised by an absence of change, with the land holdings of Mokai Patea Maori remaining almost static.

Indigenous timber industry and exotic forestry

This section examines the extent to which forestry-based enterprises continued to provide an economic opportunity in the inquiry district and the involvement of Mokai Patea Maori in this sector of the local economy. It looks at both the milling of indigenous timber and the utilisation of land for commercial planting of exotic species.

As described in chapter three, a sawmilling industry based on utilisation of indigenous timber began in the inquiry district in the 1880s, with development of the industry being closely linked to the construction of the NIMT railway. In terms of production output, the sawmilling industry peaked towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, around the time the railway was completed. The decline of the industry from this time, it has been explained, reflected the depletion of accessible timber resources. In his report on environmental change in the inquiry district between 1840 and 1970, Armstrong describes the industry's contraction, providing evidence that shows a decline in sawn timber production from

⁷⁵⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p83, 86.

⁷⁶⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p83.

about 1908.⁷⁶¹ By the 1920s, he states, ‘it was generally accepted that the heyday of the timber trade in the Taihape district was long past’.⁷⁶²

While the economic importance of the industry began to lessen from around the beginning of the period covered in this chapter, it remained a component of the inquiry district economy into the second half of the twentieth century, with sawmills operating until at least the 1960s.⁷⁶³ Drawing upon New Zealand Forest Service sawmill registers, Armstrong provides details of the mills that were based in the district during the four decades between 1920 and 1960. This evidence is tabulated in Table 17. It is likely that some of the sawmills operated on only a part-time basis. There appears to have been variance in the length of time over which the ventures lasted, with some mills operating during more than one decade.

Table 17: Sawmills based in or near the Taihape inquiry district, 1920-1960⁷⁶⁴

Decade	Number of sawmills operating at various times
1920s	28
1930s	29
1940s	15
1950s	11

Despite continuing decline in production, a considerable number of mills continued to operate in the inquiry district during the 1920s and 1930s. Armstrong states that the mills that operated during the 1920s utilised remaining timber on Maori and settler land, small quantities of timber left standing on land that had already been cleared, and Crown forests that continued to be made available for settlement from time to time.⁷⁶⁵ Following World War II, improved roads, trucks, and the new technology of chainsaws are likely to have assisted continuing activity within the indigenous timber industry, which had initially been limited to utilisation of forest areas that were in close proximity to the railway.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶¹ Armstrong, ‘Environmental Change in the Taihape District’, pp67-69.

⁷⁶² Armstrong, ‘Environmental Change in the Taihape District’, p69.

⁷⁶³ Armstrong, ‘Environmental Change in the Taihape District’, p70.

⁷⁶⁴ Armstrong, ‘Environmental Change in the Taihape District’, pp70-74.

⁷⁶⁵ Armstrong, ‘Environmental Change in the Taihape District’, pp69-70. In respect of this statement, Armstrong cites: ‘Forestry Department report for the year ended 31st March, 1920’, AJHR, 1920, C-3, p33.

⁷⁶⁶ J.C. Somerville notes that these factors were important in opening up new areas for milling in the King Country after World War II. See J.C. Somerville, ‘The timber industry of the King Country’, MSc thesis, Canterbury University, 1965, p 26.

According to Armstrong, the Forest Service actively sought to encourage and sustain the industry in the post-war period. During the 1950s (and possibly earlier) it issued licences to only a limited number of mills so that they might remain in operation for longer and therefore be encouraged to provide better housing and amenities for workers.⁷⁶⁷ However, from the state's point of view, potential cutting areas in the Taihape inquiry district were becoming limited. In 1955, the Forest Service released a national survey of indigenous forest resources. Maps included in the report showed that the inquiry district was largely denuded of forest cover, except within the Ruahine, Kaweka and Kaimanawa ranges. The only 'merchantable' native timber remaining was at Hihitahi.⁷⁶⁸

As was the case during the period covered in chapter three, Mokai Patea Maori appear to have had very little involvement in the ownership of the sawmills that operated in the inquiry district during the period covered in this chapter. In respect of the mills that worked between 1920 and 1960, Armstrong notes that, based on their names, only one or two mill operators can be identified as Maori.⁷⁶⁹ One operator who can be identified as Maori was D. Honore, who in the 1940s worked a mill at 'Mokai' and in the 1950s was recorded to be operating at Taihape.⁷⁷⁰ No further evidence of Maori involvement in sawmill ownership has been located. For Maori who sought to be involved, access to finance is again likely to have posed a problem. It is notable that, for both Maori and Pakeha, state sources of lending do not appear to have been available for the establishment of sawmilling operations.⁷⁷¹ While Mokai Patea Maori had little involvement in sawmill ownership, it will be explained later in the chapter that some continued to receive income from the sale of timber cutting rights. It will also be explained that in the late twentieth century some Mokai Patea Maori received payments from the state for permanently protecting areas of indigenous forest.

Unlike in some parts of the North Island, the decline of the indigenous timber industry in the Taihape inquiry district did not take place alongside significant development of exotic forestry. It is evident that there has been relatively little planting of exotic plantation in the inquiry district, with most of the land cleared of indigenous forest being used for pastoral farming. No large state plantings have been undertaken in the district, though during

⁷⁶⁷ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p70.

⁷⁶⁸ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p74. Armstrong cites: S. Masters, J. Holloway, and P. McKelvey, *The National Forest Survey of New Zealand, 1955*, Vol. 1, 'The Indigenous Forest Resources of New Zealand', 1955.

⁷⁶⁹ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p70.

⁷⁷⁰ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', pp73-74.

⁷⁷¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p1121.

the 1920s the State Forest Service planted at Karioi, just outside the northwestern boundary of the inquiry district.⁷⁷² The earliest planting of exotic forest in the district may have taken place in the 1980s. In an article on farming and land use in the Rangitikei River catchment, Angus Gordon notes that a number of farm to forest conversions took place in the vicinity of Hunterville after returns from sheep farming declined in the 1980s.⁷⁷³

While some planting has taken place from the late twentieth century, the area of land occupied by exotic forest in the inquiry district today is relatively limited. The extent of exotic forest cover in the inquiry district today is shown in Figure 5. A comparison between Figures 5 and 14 shows that very little of the land that remains in Maori ownership today is planted in exotic forest. One exception appears to be an area of ‘post 1989 forest’ within Owhaoko block.⁷⁷⁴ However, this forest cannot be seen in recent satellite imagery and evidently represents an error in the data source from which Figure 5 was generated.⁷⁷⁵

Agriculture

Overview of developments in the agricultural economy

National overview

By 1910, agriculture had become firmly established as New Zealand’s most important area of economic activity and leading earner of export revenue. The farming of sheep for wool and meat dominated the industry, though production from dairying was becoming increasingly significant. Of much less importance, arable farming was also undertaken in some places. During the period covered in this chapter, the agricultural economy continued to evolve and has been subject to developments that have influenced both the extent of its importance within the national economy and its profitability to those directly involved in the various farming sectors.

Growth in the area of land utilised for agriculture began to slow from around 1920, by which time most efforts to convert North Island bush into pasture

⁷⁷² Michael Roche, ‘Exotic forestry – The first planting boom, 1925-1935’, Te Ara – Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/exotic-forestry/page 2>

⁷⁷³ Gordon, ‘Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment’, p 24.

⁷⁷⁴ The distinction between forest areas planted before and after 1989 has been made for purposes relating to the Emission Trading Scheme.

⁷⁷⁵ The land has been examined using the imagery available through the Google Earth application. This imagery is dated 30 October 2012.

had been completed.⁷⁷⁶ At this time, the country's pastures produced about 90 percent of New Zealand's export earnings.⁷⁷⁷ For individuals who wished to secure land and start farming, opportunities were generally more restricted from around the end of World War I. As Belich observes, windows of opportunity to acquire farms opened up in the 1890s and 1900s, but thereafter became more limited. He notes that around 1920 the total number of farm holdings over 100 acres reached 40,000 and was to remain at about that level.⁷⁷⁸

Farming was hampered by economic depression during the 1920s and 1930s, while labour shortages resulting from World War II affected the industry during the 1940s. During this period, both wool production and wool prices fluctuated dramatically.⁷⁷⁹ Sheep numbers continued to grow, but were also subject to significant fluctuation.⁷⁸⁰ Cattle farming continued as an adjunct to some sheep farming operations. Within the dairying industry, cow numbers continued to grow until the mid 1930s, whereafter there was little change until about 1975.⁷⁸¹ Between 1920 and 1950, the growth in cow numbers and advances in pasture production resulted in a large increase in the quantity of butter and cheese exports, the value of which increased by more than 450 percent.⁷⁸²

Government support for development of the agricultural economy continued during the period examined in this chapter. For example, a strong focus on improving agricultural production underlay the establishment of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) in 1926. Other government research initiatives, which partly came under the umbrella of the DSIR, included the setting up of plant and animal research centres, and research was also undertaken at Massey and Lincoln Colleges. Government-supported research brought about improvements in pasture production, grazing management, and animal breeding.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁶ Robert Peden, 'Farming in the economy – The closing of the farming frontier, 1900s to 1920', Te Ara - Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/farming-in-the-economy/page 5>

⁷⁷⁷ Peden, 'Farming in the economy – The closing of the farming frontier'.

⁷⁷⁸ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p151. See also Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p934.

⁷⁷⁹ Robert Peden, 'Farming in the economy – Times of change, 1920 to 1950', Te Ara – Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/farming-in-the-economy/page 6>

⁷⁸⁰ Hugh Stringleman and Robert Peden, 'Sheep farming – Importance of the sheep industry', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 19 May 2015.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/interactive/16621/sheep-numbers-in-new-zealand-1851-2014>

⁷⁸¹ Peden, 'Farming in the economy – Times of change'.

⁷⁸² Peden, 'Farming in the economy – Times of change'.

⁷⁸³ Peden, 'Farming in the economy – Times of change'.

At the same time, however, environmental problems stemming from agricultural land use began to increase. During the 1920s and 1930s, soil erosion in North Island hill country and South Island high country became a matter of increasing concern. Partly in response to this problem, the government established the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council in 1941. Between 1943 and 1948, catchment boards were set up to manage river control and soil conservation at a local level. In some places, rabbits were a major pest problem, with numbers increasing significantly in the mid to late 1940s.⁷⁸⁴

The post-war-war period was an especially prosperous time for the farming sector. For sheep farmers, the two decades that followed World War II have been described as ‘the golden years’. Sheep numbers grew significantly and prices for both wool and sheep meat increased.⁷⁸⁵ Though there was no growth in the number of dairy cows, earnings from dairying also increased substantially.⁷⁸⁶ Agriculture, unsurprisingly, remained New Zealand’s key export earner. In 1955, almost 96 percent of export income was from products grown on the country’s pastures.⁷⁸⁷ Aerial topdressing of fertiliser greatly assisted the farming of hill country lands during the post-war years, while aerial drops of poison also helped to control rabbits. Further improvement of livestock breeds also contributed to higher production.⁷⁸⁸

From the late 1960s, the agricultural economy began to face increasing pressures. During the 1966/67 financial year, there was a sharp fall in prices for wool, which in 1960 had earned one-third of the country’s export revenue. Though prices recovered, the fall marked the beginning of a change in fortunes for the wool industry, which faced growing competition from synthetic fibres.⁷⁸⁹ Two developments in 1973 particularly threatened New Zealand’s reliance on agriculture. Firstly, the country faced increased fuel costs as a result of the first international oil shock. Secondly, access to the important British market was affected when Britain joined the European Economic Community. Though New Zealand was able to secure access to the British market for cheese and butter, existing agreements relating to other products became void.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁴ Peden, ‘Farming in the economy – Times of change’.

⁷⁸⁵ Stringleman and Peden, ‘Sheep farming – Importance of the sheep industry’.

⁷⁸⁶ Peden, ‘Farming in the economy – The golden years, 1950s to 1980s’, Te Ara - Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/farming-in-the-economy/page-7>

⁷⁸⁷ Peden, ‘Farming in the economy – The golden years’.

⁷⁸⁸ Peden, ‘Farming in the economy – The golden years’.

⁷⁸⁹ Peden, ‘Farming in the economy – The golden years’.

⁷⁹⁰ Peden, ‘Farming in the economy – The golden years’.

In response to the problem of rising costs and falling prices, the government actively assisted farmers to increase production. It did this through offering a raft of subsidies and production incentives, some of which were aimed at developing marginal land. Within this context, there was further growth in stock numbers, with sheep numbers peaking in 1982, and between 1975 and 1985 there were significant increases in the volume of wool and meat exports.⁷⁹¹ However, the measures that the government had introduced served only to delay the impacts of a changed economic environment. This situation ended after the election in 1984 of the Fourth Labour Government, which soon began to remove agricultural subsidies and price support mechanisms.⁷⁹²

With the removal of many government support measures, farm earnings declined, especially profits from sheep and cattle. Reflecting this, grazing land prices fell by about one third during the 1980s, and by 2002 sheep numbers had fallen to about 43 percent of their 1982 height. Cattle numbers have also declined after peaking in 1975. Today, sheep and cattle farming is subject to price fluctuations and its importance to the national economy has diminished. For sheep farmers, the focus has shifted primarily to meat lamb production. In 2003, total exports from meat (primarily lamb and beef) amounted to 14 percent of the country's export earnings.⁷⁹³ In 2015, the proportion of export earnings from meat products was again 14 percent. During the same year, revenue from wool comprised only about one percent of earnings.⁷⁹⁴

Though the developments of the 1970s and 1980s affected dairying, it has performed more strongly than the sheep and cattle sectors and has emerged as New Zealand's leading export earner. Between 1975 and 2005, there was a steady rise in dairy cow numbers as a result of increased fertiliser use, improved pasture species, and the growth of dairying in the South Island. By 2004, dairy products brought in about 20 percent of New Zealand's total

⁷⁹¹ Peden, 'Farming in the economy – The golden years'.

⁷⁹² Peden, 'Farming in the economy – 1984 to the present', Te Ara - Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/farming-in-the-economy/page 8>

⁷⁹³ Peden, 'Farming in the economy – 1984 to the present', Te Ara - Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/farming-in-the-economy/page 8>

⁷⁹⁴ 'Statistics – Exports – Top 20 commodities', New Zealand Trade and Enterprise website, accessed 15 May 2016.

URL: <http://www.nzte.govt.nz/en/invest/statistics>

export revenue.⁷⁹⁵ In 2015, amidst a downturn in the industry, the sale of dairy products amounted to about 17 percent of export earnings.⁷⁹⁶

Taihape inquiry district

At the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, forest clearance continued within the modern-day inquiry district. Some of the timber was utilised for milling purposes, though it has been explained that by this time the sawmilling industry had begun to contract as suitable and easily accessible areas of bush were exhausted. The industry's significance was increasingly overshadowed by development of the agricultural economy that was based on grazing of pasture. In April 1913, the *Auckland Star* reported that only a few mills remained within a five-mile radius of Taihape, with the land round the town 'devoted entirely to grazing'. While noting that there was about a dozen mills working in the wider district, the *Star* observed that, overall, the sawmiller was 'giving way to the settler, who wins a living from the soil itself'.⁷⁹⁷

It is unclear when the removal of forest from land that would be utilised for agricultural purposes came to an end in the inquiry district. Presumably, forest clearance from such land would have begun to diminish during the 1920s. As noted above, most efforts to convert North Island bush into pasture had been completed by 1920. It has also been noted that the indigenous timber sawmilling industry continued in the inquiry district into the second half of the twentieth century. However, it is not clear that lands from which timber was harvested in later years was subsequently utilised for agricultural purposes. In their scoping report on environmental impacts and other issues, Belgrave et al state that change in land use from native forest to pasture since 1880 has increased the area of grasslands in the inquiry district from approximately 40,000 to 300,000 hectares.⁷⁹⁸ The extent of these grasslands, which are not all utilised within the commercial economy, is shown in Figure 5.

As noted earlier in the report, clearance of forest land for conversion to pasture was time consuming and posed a significant development cost. Armstrong notes evidence that suggests that in 1913 it cost about £1 15s

⁷⁹⁵ Peden, 'Farming in the economy – Times of change'

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/graph/17632/dairy-cattle-numbers>

⁷⁹⁶ 'Statistics – Exports – Top 20 commodities', New Zealand Trade and Enterprise website, accessed 15 May 2016.

URL: <http://www.nzte.govt.nz/en/invest/statistics>

⁷⁹⁷ *Auckland Star*, 16 April 1913, p8.

⁷⁹⁸ Belgrave et al., 'Environmental Impacts, Resource Management and Wahi Tapu and Portable Taonga', p24.

per acre to clear bush in the inquiry district. By the time the land was ready for the plough, the total cost was about £3 per acre.⁷⁹⁹ In an article on the history of farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment, Angus Gordon describes the sometimes drawn-out nature of improving land that had formerly been covered in forest. During the 1920s, he notes that work was undertaken to clear stumps from many areas in the middle and upper Rangitikei valley that had once been heavily forested and were potentially ploughable.⁸⁰⁰

Following forest clearance, farmers faced further costs and challenges to maintain and improve pasture. Gordon notes ongoing problems with noxious weeds, stating that during the 1920s weeds in some areas began to take over from introduced grasses or remaining native species.⁸⁰¹ Gordon also describes efforts to encourage pasture growth through the application of fertiliser. Initially applied by hand during the inter-war period, after World War II fertiliser was spread through aerial topdressing. According to Gordon, this 'was probably the most important tool in the maintaining of grass and clover pastures as the dominant ecosystem on the farms of the Rangitikei for the next 50 years'.⁸⁰² Erosion of hill country, however, posed a threat to some grazing areas. Gordon notes that from the early 1950s the Rangitikei Catchment Board undertook erosion control work through planting trees on hill country land.⁸⁰³

Reflecting land use potential, sheep farming remained the focus of agricultural activity in the inquiry district during the period covered in this chapter. Official returns of sheep owners, which are available up to 1930, record that between 1910 and 1930 there was an overall increase in both the number of sheep owners and sheep within the inquiry district.⁸⁰⁴ This is evident from a scrutiny of the returns, though it should be noted that they have been analysed closely only in respect of evidence they include regarding Maori ownership of sheep (the results of this analysis are discussed later in the chapter). From 1930, the available statistical information concerning sheep ownership does not relate closely to the inquiry district boundaries.⁸⁰⁵

⁷⁹⁹ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p29. Armstrong cites: *New Zealand Herald*, 2 July 1913, p14.

⁸⁰⁰ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23.

⁸⁰¹ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23. See also Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, p123.

⁸⁰² Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23.

⁸⁰³ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23.

⁸⁰⁴ Between 1910 and 1919, the sheep returns are located in section H-23 of the AJHR. From 1920, they are in section H-23b.

⁸⁰⁵ For example, up to 1953, agricultural statistics in the *Yearbook* are presented for each land district. After 1953, the statistics relate to smaller, regional areas, but even these

During the period examined in this chapter, sheep farming operations in the inquiry district were divided into two classes, which largely continued patterns that had emerged in the nineteenth century. In part, the two classes of farm have reflected the different stock-carrying capacity of the lands involved. One class is comprised of the large sheep stations, where extensive pastoral farming has been carried out on more economically marginal lands. These stations have mostly been located in the north of the inquiry district and include Ohinewairua, Erewhon, Ngamatea, and Mangaohane. In 1979, Ngamatea Station was stated to be one of the largest stations in the country, occupying some 8,000 hectares.⁸⁰⁶ In the west of the inquiry station, Otairi Station, which lies northwest of Hunterville, is another large extensive pastoral operation.⁸⁰⁷

The other class is made up of smaller farms, often involving better quality lands that have been cleared of bush since the 1880s. Within this class, property sizes have varied, but many appear to have been consistent with the family farm model that the Liberals had promoted in the 1890s. The minimum size of an economically viable unit within this class of sheep farm has been subject to change. For example, according to Gordon, 'a steady increase in cost structure' saw the area of hill country farms balloted to returned servicemen after World Wars I and II increase from 400 to 600 acres.⁸⁰⁸

After 1910, a number of meat processing facilities were established in the inquiry district, reflecting both the expansion of sheep farming operations and farmers wishing to earn money from the meat export trade. According to Armstrong, privately owned rural slaughterhouses have operated at Utiku, Winiata, Hunterville, Ohingaiti, Hihitahi, Utiku, Turangarere, and Mangaweka.⁸⁰⁹ Among the largest of these concerns was the Winiata operation – a co-operative works that opened in about 1914 and had a killing capacity of 1,000 sheep per day. In 1917, 52,948 sheep, 17,860 lambs, and 1,968 cattle were slaughtered at Winiata.⁸¹⁰ After enjoying profits during World War I, the Winiata works closed in the early 1920s.⁸¹¹ Gordon states that the Winiata venture was financially squeezed out when British-

correspond poorly to the boundaries of the inquiry district. See 'Yearbook collection: 1893-2012', Statistics New Zealand website.

URL: http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digital-yearbook-collection.aspx

⁸⁰⁶ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp166-167.

⁸⁰⁷ See Rusk Harris, *Otairi, 1881-1981*, Palmerston North, 1986.

⁸⁰⁸ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23.

⁸⁰⁹ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p316.

⁸¹⁰ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p316.

⁸¹¹ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp115-116. Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p22.

owned plants at Feilding, Palmerston North, and Wanganui outbid it for livestock, which were railed out of the Rangitikei hinterland.⁸¹² In 1925, not long after the closure of the Winiata plant, an abattoir opened at Taihape on a relatively small site of two and a half acres.⁸¹³ This plant was still operating in the late 1960s.⁸¹⁴

Figure 15: Land use in portion of Taihape inquiry district, 1967⁸¹⁵

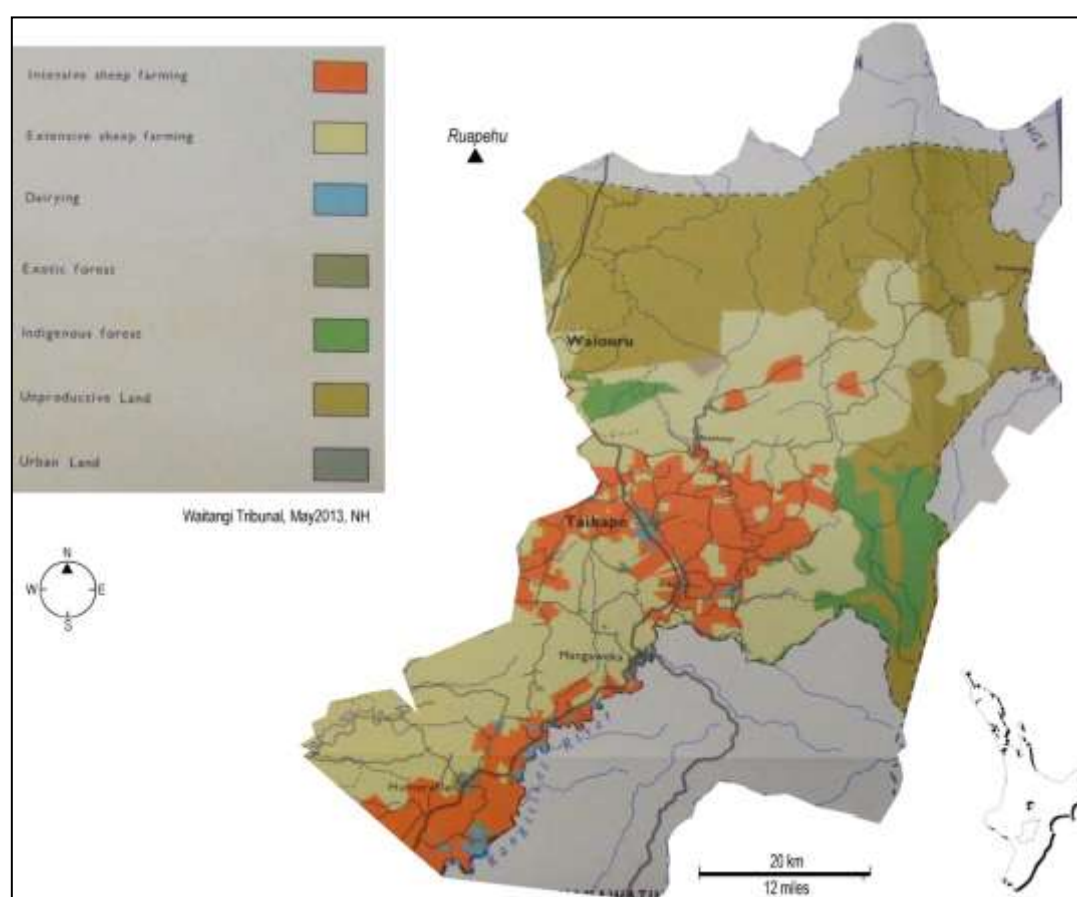


Figure 15, which covers only part of the inquiry district, shows lands utilised for sheep farming at the end of the 1960s. Distinguishing between intensive and extensive farming operations, it indicates the significant extent to which sheep farming has dominated farming efforts in the inquiry district. The map does not show the extent to which cattle were being farmed in conjunction with sheep. Earlier chapters have presented evidence of cattle

⁸¹² Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p22.

⁸¹³ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p316.

⁸¹⁴ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p317.

⁸¹⁵ Ministry of Works (Town and Country Planning Division), *Wanganui Region*, 'Map 5 land use 1967'. This map is derived from a map that appears in the Ministry of Works' 1971 resource study of the Wanganui region, which covers Waitotara, Wanganui, and Rangitikei counties. A report for the neighbouring Manawatu region was not prepared and it has therefore not been possible to show land use over a significant portion of the southeast of the inquiry district.

being run in the inquiry district since the nineteenth century. According to Laurenson, cattle numbers for many years remained relatively low in Rangitikei County (within which much of the modern-day inquiry district was situated). However, he notes that, as time passed, stations of Inland Patea began maintaining 'very useful cattle numbers' to assist the breaking in of once forest-covered land.⁸¹⁶ In February 1910, as detailed in the previous chapter, 150 head of cattle were sold at a sale in Taihape alongside 9,000 and 10,000 sheep.⁸¹⁷ And as noted above, slaughter at Winiata in 1917 included almost 2,000 cattle (about three percent of the animals processed).

During the period examined in this chapter, sheep farmers in the Taihape inquiry district, like farmers in other parts of the country, experienced changing economic fortunes as a result of dynamic market conditions and, especially from the 1970s, shifting government policies. Gordon states that farmers in the district benefitted from the favourable conditions that prevailed during the post-war years – the so-called 'golden age' of sheep farming. He notes, for example, that as early as 1951 many World War II servicemen who had been balloted sheep properties were able to pay off their entire debt as a result of soaring wool prices.⁸¹⁸

Similarly, the removal of government support measures after 1984 adversely affected pastoral farmers in the inquiry district. According to Gordon, some farmers turned to speculation on the sharemarket, only to have their investments hit by the 1987 market crash. By the early 1990s, with pastoral farming 'almost down for the count', many farming families came close to having to sell their land, and a number did. Among those who experienced difficulty were those on small marginal farms that had previously been soldier settlement blocks, but which were no longer economically viable.⁸¹⁹

In 1997, Marg Gilling, on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, produced a report on the social and economic position of farm families in

⁸¹⁶ Laurenson, p 142. A 1976 Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries report on farming in Rangitikei County also provides some relevant details of beef cattle farming. See Laurenson, Appendix C, pp203-205,

⁸¹⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 25 February 1910, p3.

⁸¹⁸ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23. It appears that the government purchased and made available a number of properties in the inquiry district for returned World War II servicemen. For example, the Lands and Survey Department's annual report for 1947 provides details of at least 17 farm units, which were located at Utiku, Mangaweka, Rewa, and Rata. 'Department of Lands and Survey settlement of Crown lands (annual report on)', AJHR, 1947, C-1, pp 25-30.

⁸¹⁹ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p24.

the ‘mid Rangitikei’.⁸²⁰ This area was defined as stretching from Rata in the south and almost to Waiouru in the north, and from Papanui Junction in the west to Rangiwahia in the east. From a farming perspective, it was described as ‘steep hill or medium hill sheep and beef country, with finishing farms scattered through the river valleys’.⁸²¹ For farming families in the district, the report stated that it was a time of major transition, resulting from:

- steadily falling farm prices since the mid 1960s and rising production costs;
- changes introduced in the 1980s that ‘had an immediate and devastating impact on many farm families’;
- the 1987 sharemarket crash, which exacerbated the troubles of a number of families; and
- difficulties associated with inflated land prices as well as a high interest rates and the high value of the New Zealand dollar.⁸²²

Based on information gathered from interviews, Gilling reported that farming families had been able to maintain ‘a reasonable standard of living’, but were very concerned about their future economic security and the viability of the family farm model. Illustrating this, for example, she reported that:

Older farmers consider they cannot sell their farm to their sons, or, in rare instances, daughters, for they do not want to put a noose round their necks... Middle-aged and younger farmers are suffering because they are servicing debts out of proportion and ratio to land values and income. If they walk they may lose everything. If they sell they may come out with less than they went in with, yet if they stay they are likely to see *‘more money going down the bottomless pit’*.⁸²³

Gilling’s report emphasised that, by the end of the twentieth century, sheep farming no longer offered the secure livelihood that it had in earlier times. Those involved in sheep farming were more vulnerable to changing market conditions, which required a more flexible and responsive approach to farming – a situation that continues today.

⁸²⁰ The purpose of this report was to ‘examine some of the social elements of sustainable agriculture’, using the mid Rangitikei area as a case study. It was envisaged that it would be ‘a valuable piece of research for all central and local government policy makers... so that they may better understand one of the target groups of their policy’. M. Gilling, ‘Farm families and sustainability in the mid-Rangitikei, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Policy Technical Paper’, 97/19, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Wellington, 1997, p7.

⁸²¹ Gilling, ‘Farm families and sustainability in the mid-Rangitikei’, p13.

⁸²² Gilling, ‘Farm families and sustainability in the mid-Rangitikei’, p9.

⁸²³ Gilling, ‘Farm families and sustainability in the mid-Rangitikei’, p55.

Alongside the dominant sheep farming sector, dairying continued to develop in the inquiry district after 1910, though this development was constrained by the availability of suitable land. As shown in Figure 15, the area of land utilised for dairy farming has been relatively small, mostly comprising higher quality areas of flat land in the river valleys. Chapter three has explained that, by 1910, there were two dairy companies operating in the inquiry district: the Rata Co-operative Dairy Company, which operated a factory at Rata; and the Taihape Co-operative Dairy Company, which operated a factory at Torere.

As detailed earlier, the Rata Co-operative Dairy Company produced 102 tons of butter in 1902. Eight years later, in 1910, 177 tons were produced.⁸²⁴ In 1923, a new factory was opened at Rata, replacing the co-operative's existing premises.⁸²⁵ The construction of this factory perhaps reflected the processing requirements of a growing supply base. After World War I, some land balloted to returned servicemen in the vicinity of Rata was used for dairying. At Putorino, east of Rata, an area of 922 acres was divided into 15 dairy farms for soldier settlement.⁸²⁶ Further north, a 1,740-acre property known as the McGregor Estate was also developed into small dairy farms for returned soldiers.⁸²⁷ Located on the eastern side of the Rangitikei River, across from Ohingaiti, this land was part of Otamakapua block and was held by the Crown under long-term lease from its Maori owners.⁸²⁸ It was subdivided and subleased to 15 settlers, nine of whom were financially assisted under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915.⁸²⁹

By 1934, the Rata factory was producing 1,246 tons of butter.⁸³⁰ At this time, the factory had its own housing estate (for more than 20 workers), a general store, and a variety of amenities for employees.⁸³¹ In 1952, annual production of over 1,000 tons was being maintained and there were more than 300 suppliers, some of whom probably occupied land located outside of the inquiry district.⁸³²

⁸²⁴ Little, *Rata Co-operative Dairy Company*, p16.

⁸²⁵ M. Haywood. *Rata, in the Heart of the Rangitikei*, M. Haywood, Hamilton, 2003, pp8-10.

⁸²⁶ 'Department of Lands and Survey: Discharged soldiers settlement, report for the year ended 31st March, 1920', AJHR, 1920, C-9, pp9-10. Following World War II, further land at Putorino was taken up by returned serviceman for dairying. According to Laing, this land was cut into economic blocks capable of running 50 cows. Laing, *Hunternville*, p 83.

⁸²⁷ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp 109-110.

⁸²⁸ Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp 127-130.

⁸²⁹ The Department of Lands and Survey appears to have been interested in purchasing the owners interests to provide secure tenure for the sub-lessees, but nothing came of this and in 1947 the lease over the land expired. Hearn, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', pp128-129.

⁸³⁰ Laing, *Hunternville*, p83.

⁸³¹ Haywood. *Rata*, pp8-10.

⁸³² Laing, *Hunternville*, p83.

Reflecting supplier numbers and herd sizes, the Taihape Co-operative produced less butter than the co-operative at Rata. As detailed in chapter three, the co-operative produced 64 tons in the 1905/06 season. In 1924, it erected a new factory at Utiku, upon land it had purchased from Maori.⁸³³ At this time there were about 90 suppliers. Production at the Utiku factory peaked in 1933, when 745 tons of butter was produced. Thereafter, production declined, and in the early 1950s between 200 and 300 tons was being produced.⁸³⁴

The Rata Co-operative Dairy and Taihape Co-operative Dairy Company continued to operate in the district until the 1960s. By this time, whole milk tanker collection was being favoured and many factory closures and mergers of co-operatives took place. The Manawatu Dairy Company absorbed both the Rata and Taihape co-operatives. The factories at Rata and Utiku were closed and milk was transported instead to a factory at Longburn.⁸³⁵

It is unclear whether, in recent years, dairying in the inquiry district has expanded as the profitability of the industry has increased. Owing to the limitations of the physical environment, a significant increase in the area of land utilised for dairying seems unlikely. Gordon states that, following an increase in land values from around 2002, some of the district's sheep farmers used their increased equity to invest in shared-equity dairy farms.⁸³⁶ These investments, however, did not necessarily involve land in the Rangitikei district.

Arable cropping has also remained part of the agricultural economy. As detailed in the previous chapter, arable crops have been grown on some sheep farming properties where suitable land exists. In 1910, the main crop was oats, which provided chaff for horses. During the 1920s, oats gave way to other grains as machines powered by combustion engines took over the role of horses.⁸³⁷ Barley was among the new crops that began to be grown in the inquiry district.⁸³⁸ However, potatoes were to become the most

⁸³³ Little, *Taihape Co-operative Dairy Company*, p18. In 1923, the company purchased three sections of Awarua 4C9G, an area of about 2 acres. Stirling and Subasic, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p178.

⁸³⁴ Little, *Taihape Co-operative Dairy Company*, p22.

⁸³⁵ Ministry of Works (Town and Country Planning Division), *Wanganui Region*, p130. Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, p135.

⁸³⁶ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p24.

⁸³⁷ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23.

⁸³⁸ Barley was grown, for example, at Waiouru Station. Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp175-176. A 1976 Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries report notes that land in Rangitikei County was being used for growing wheat, barley, potatoes, oats, freeze peas, sweet corn, and maize. The total area occupied by these crops was 6,980 hectares, though it is uncertain how much of this lay within the inquiry district. Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, Appendix C, p205.

significant of the arable crops grown in the inquiry district. Early commercial potato growers worked areas at Rata and Ohingaiti, often leasing the required land.⁸³⁹ From 1940, tonnage increased as a result of improved equipment and the certification of seed potatoes. In 1976, 120 hectares of land near Hunterville was being used for growing seed potatoes.⁸⁴⁰ Around this time, the Jim Bull Potato Company established a processing plant near Rata.⁸⁴¹ In the early 1980s, according to Laing, this company was growing about seven percent of New Zealand's potatoes, with annual sales of seven million dollars.⁸⁴²

Mokai Patea Maori involvement in farming

This section describes Mokai Patea Maori participation in farming from 1910 through to the present day. It looks at the extent to which Maori in the inquiry district have directly utilised their remaining lands in order to take advantage of opportunities in the agricultural sector. Apart from official returns of sheep ownership, which end in 1930, there is no quantitative data that records Maori involvement in farming during the period examined in this chapter. The details of Mokai Patea Maori farming efforts presented in this section have been drawn primarily from Walzl's twentieth century overview report.

Based largely on archival evidence relating to individual land blocks, Walzl's coverage of land dealings and utilisation focuses particularly on the experiences of the following seven whanau case-study groups: Te Akatarewa, Te Raro, Potaka, Pohe, Te Rango, Te Whaaro, and Tanguru. Additionally, a secondary level of analysis is provided for nine further whanau groups. Walzl explains that, between them, the 16 whanau accounted for 40 percent of total Maori landholding in the inquiry district at 1900. And significantly, these whanau held 78 percent of remaining interests in what he describes as the western and southern blocks, which include Rangipo Waiu, Oruamatua Kaimanawa, Motukawa, all of the Awarua subdivisions (except the large 1D2B back block), Otairi, Otamakapua, and Taraketī. Leaving aside Rangipo Waiu and Oruamatua Kaimanawa, Walzl notes that these blocks – reflecting their greater potential for commercial utilisation – have contributed most to the post-1900 economy of Maori land owners in the inquiry district.⁸⁴³

⁸³⁹ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp140-141.

⁸⁴⁰ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, Appendix C, p 205.

⁸⁴¹ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp141-142.

⁸⁴² Laing, *Hunterville*, p 83.

⁸⁴³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp25-26, 726.

It will be explained that from 1910 through to 1945 the involvement of Mokai Patea Maori in the agricultural economy continued at a low level. The sheep returns record an ongoing decline in Maori ownership of sheep, which was offset by an apparent increase in Maori participation in dairy farming. Overall, Maori farming ventures during the period struggled and in many cases do not appear to have been not long-lasting. An increase in Mokai Patea Maori involvement in agriculture and particularly sheep farming is evident in the prosperous post-war period, when many old leases over remaining Maori lands expired. Though linked also to an increase in land sales, the expiry of the old leases opened the way for some Maori to directly utilise their remaining lands.

While some of these efforts were unsuccessful, Mokai Patea Maori participation in farming appears to have increased modestly through to the present day. It will be explained that the source material sighted for this report has provided evidence of eleven recent and current Maori farming ventures, involving about 8,774 acres of land. While this represents an improvement in Maori involvement in the farming sector, it must be seen alongside the overall potential for land utilisation in the inquiry district, where some 542,410 acres of land is classified as being without severe use limitations.⁸⁴⁴ A significant proportion of this land, it is assumed, is currently grassland being utilised within the wider farming economy.⁸⁴⁵

1910-1930

In spite of the significant decline in Mokai Patea Maori ownership of sheep by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, some Maori in the inquiry district continued to look to actively farm their lands at the beginning of the period covered in this chapter. One source that indicates this is evidence relating to Maori efforts to access development finance between 1910 and 1930. The ability of Mokai Patea Maori to obtain finance is examined later in the chapter. Here, it is noted only that lending secured by Mokai Patea Maori reflects that at least some land owners remained interested in participating in the farming economy and directly utilising their lands.

⁸⁴⁴ This is the total area of land that has been identified within LUC categories 1 to 6. See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p40.

⁸⁴⁵ In their environmental scoping report, Belgrave et al state that in 2007 forest clearance since 1880 had seen the total area of grassland in the inquiry district increase from about 100,000 acres to about 740,000 acres. Belgrave et al, p 24.

Existing casebook research provides details of Mokai Patea Maori securing loans over about 43 land blocks between 1910 and 1930.⁸⁴⁶ Of these loans, which may not comprise the full extent of lending from government and private sources during the period, at least 13 were secured for the stated purpose of using at least part of the loan monies for development purposes, including the purchase of stock. As detailed in Table 18, the total area of the blocks against which development finance was raised was only about 3117 acres, though in some cases the loans may have been for the purpose of improving other lands.

Table 18: Blocks against which mortgages were raised for development purposes, 1910-1930⁸⁴⁷

Loan date	Block	Applicant	Area (acres)
1910	Taraketi 1C	Reupena Mete Kingi	194
1910	Taraketi 1E (unleased portion)	Rakera Hunia (Potaka)	58
1910	Taraketi 1B	Rangipo Mete Kingi (Paetahi)	193
1912 ⁸⁴⁸	Awarua 2C11	Kewa Pine & Henare Teehi	675
1913	Taraketi 2H & 2K	Tauiti Potaka	103
1915	Awarua 1A2 West B	P.E. Potaka	217
1916 ⁸⁴⁹	Awarua 2C16C2	Mokohore Pine	420
1917	Motukawa 2B16A	Ngahuia Hiha	673
1921	Taraketi 2F3	H.M. Downs	100
1928	Motukawa 2B9A	Wherowhero Piwhare	216
1929	Awarua 2C12A2C	K.H. Hakopa	193
c1930	Awarua 4C7A	W. Pine	43
1930	Awarua 2C12B1 and 2C12B2	T. Hakopa	32
Total			3,117

Alongside the loans raised against these lands were the several earlier mortgages detailed in chapter three, which date from the late 1890s to 1909. As noted in chapter three, some of these earlier loans were also taken out for land development purposes.

⁸⁴⁶ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change', pp32-37. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp548-551. Also see details of mortgages over Awarua 2C9 and 2C10A and Motukawa 2B17A. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p743, 746.

⁸⁴⁷ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', pp32-37. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp548-551.

⁸⁴⁸ As detailed in chapter three, a mortgage was first raised against this block in 1908. It was subsequently remortgaged in 1912, 1917, 1923, and 1928. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p550.

⁸⁴⁹ This block was remortgaged in 1920. See Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p33.

A proportion of the finance raised for development purposes would have been intended for the establishment and improvement of sheep farming operations, which remained the main economic opportunity within the dominant agricultural sector. Following the 1911 census, the Rangitikei County enumerator stated in his report that a few Maori, especially in the vicinity of Taihape, had started sheep farming.⁸⁵⁰ As well as lending for sheep farming, it is evident that some loans were taken out to establish and develop dairy operations. As detailed in the previous chapter, the Rangitikei County census enumerator noted in 1911 that Maori had ‘gone in largely for dairying’.⁸⁵¹

In the Taihape inquiry district, dairying provided an opportunity principally to those Maori who retained areas of high-quality land along the NIMT. Even where land was held in relatively small parcels, it would have been possible to participate in dairying, which was more intensive than sheep farming. The Taraketi lands appear to have been especially well suited for dairying, given the quality of the land and close proximity to the Rata factory. The loans raised in 1910 against Taraketi 1C and Taraketi 1E were both for the purpose of developing dairying operations.⁸⁵² Other evidence also points to Maori dairying initiatives on the Taraketi lands. A 1914 valuation report detailed that improvements to Maori-occupied Taraketi 2F1 (100 acres) included a dwelling and a cowshed.⁸⁵³

Commenting generally on the success of Maori farming ventures between 1900 and 1930, Walzl observes that there was ‘a comparative handful of cases’ where Maori occupation of land inside the inquiry district appeared to be of a commercial nature. Moreover, he states that these efforts usually did not last the whole period, with much of the land being either leased or sold.⁸⁵⁴ Consistent with these observations, it is evident that in a number of cases the development aspirations that underlay the loans secured against the lands detailed in Table 18 were not fulfilled. This was evidently the case with the loan that P.E. Potaka raised in 1915 against Awarua 1A2 West B, which was sold within a month of the mortgage being granted.⁸⁵⁵ Mokohore Pine’s farming efforts in respect of Awarua 2C16C2 were also unsuccessful. According to Walzl, Pine had begun farming this land in 1910, some years before raising a loan against the block in 1916. Acquiring further debt and

⁸⁵⁰ Report of sub-enumerator R. Davies, undated, ‘Census of the Maori population (papers relating to)’, AJHR, 1911, H-14A, p17.

⁸⁵¹ Report of sub-enumerator R. Davies, undated, ‘Census of the Maori population (papers relating to)’, AJHR, 1911, H-14A, p17.

⁸⁵² Armstrong, ‘Environmental Change in the Taihape District’, p33.

⁸⁵³ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p553.

⁸⁵⁴ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, pp588-589.

⁸⁵⁵ Walzl, ‘Twentieth Century Overview’, p549.

facing threats of foreclosure, Pine leased the block in 1921, ending his farming efforts.⁸⁵⁶

Official returns of sheep owners indicate that Mokai Patea Maori participation in sheep farming did not recover after 1910 and remained low through to 1930, when publication of the returns ended. Continuing from the period recorded in Table 10, Table 19 presents details of Maori owners of sheep in the inquiry district for selected years between 1910 and 1928. During this period, the number of Maori-owned sheep in the Taihape inquiry district continued to decline, though with some fluctuation. The total number dropped by about 70 percent – from 23,094 sheep in 1910 to 7,074 in 1928. Over the same period, the number of Maori sheep owners declined modestly from seven to five. Most of the farming ventures appear to have been relatively brief, with only a few spanning more than a decade. From the location details provided in the sheep returns, it appears that most of the farmers listed in Table 19 were occupying areas within the Awarua and Motukawa blocks.

Anaru Te Wanikau's demise from the list of sheep owners contributed especially to the decline in the number of Maori-owned sheep in the district. As detailed earlier in the report, Te Wanikau had farmed in a longstanding partnership with a Pakeha, Boyd. He last appears as a sheep owner in the 1912 return, where he is listed as co-owner of two flocks – one on the Timahanga block and the other at Makokomiko, in the north of the Awarua block.⁸⁵⁷ Te Wanikau's disappearance from the sheep returns was partly offset by a new Maori owner, J.C. Whenuaroa, who first appears in the returns in 1913, where he was listed as the owner of a sizeable flock of 6,087 sheep at Erewhon, within the Oruamatua Kaimanawa block. From 1919, Whenuaroa's flock was stated to be located at Pukeokahu, a locality within the Awarua block. For reasons that are unclear, Whenuaroa is shown as owning no sheep during two of the years that he is listed in the returns. During the years that he is shown to hold sheep, Whenuaroa dominates Maori sheep ownership in the district, as recorded in Table 19.

⁸⁵⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p126, 550.

⁸⁵⁷ 'The annual sheep returns for the year ended 30th April, 1913', AJHR, 1913, H-23, p29, 52.

Table 19: Annual returns of sheep owners in Taihape inquiry district, 1910-1928⁸⁵⁸

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 30 April)						
		1910	1913	1916	1919	1922	1925	1928
Maori							-	
Pukutohe Hohepa	Moawhango	1900	2200	1009	-	-	-	
Tihema Henare	Turangarere	-	700	300	-	-	-	
Kingi Kumeroa	Winiata	-	-	-	-	-	-	217
Tawake Pine	Moawhango	527	842	-	-	-	-	
Te Rini Pine	Moawhango	2363	-	-	-	-	-	
Maiangi Winiata Potaka	Utiku	-	-	-	860	565	-	
Utanga Winiata Potaka	Utiku	-	-	-	-	-	590	460
Ropoama Pohe	Turangarere, Moawhango	375	-	-	-	-	-	
P.E. Potaka ⁸⁵⁹	Ohingaiti	-	761	491	50	-	-	
Utiku Potaka	Rata	-	-	34	70	40	-	
Huitahi Rawiri	Turangarere	-	1930	-	-	-	-	
Pepeni Ruka	Mataroa	-	-	-	-	420	350	491
Onewa Te Marangatawa	Moawhango	100	-	-	-	-	-	
Hiraka Te Rango	Taihape	-	700	-	-	-	-	
Pine Tuakau	Opaea, Moawhango	609	-	-	-	-	-	
R.C. Tuhe	Hihitahi	-	-	-	-	1033	1842	1331
J.C. Whenuaroa	Erewhon / Pukeokahu	-	6087	-	6632	-	3790	4575
William Winiata	Winiata	-	-	-	-	189	-	-
	Subtotal (Maori)	5874	13220	1834	7612	2247	6572	7074

⁸⁵⁸ The data presented in this table is derived from annual published sheep returns. See: AJHR, 1910, H-23; AJHR, 1913, H-23; AJHR, 1916, H-23; AJHR, 1919, H-23; AJHR, 1922, H-23b; AJHR, 1925, H-23b; AJHR, 1928, H-23b. Misspelled names and placenames have been corrected in the table.

⁸⁵⁹ The 1913 and 1916 returns use the name P.G. Potaka, but it is likely that this is P.E. Potaka.

Owner	Location / run or farm	Number of sheep (as at 30 April)						
		1910	1913	1916	1919	1922	1925	1928
<i>Maori-Pakeha partnerships</i>								
Anaru Te Wanikau and Boyd	Kaingaroa/Makokomiko and Timahanga	17220	-	-	-	-		
	Subtotal (partnerships)	17220	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	23094	13220	1834	7612	2247	6572	7074

1931-1944

In the early 1930s, when conditions of severe economic depression took hold in New Zealand, Mokai Patea Maori appear to have continued their involvement in dairy farming, albeit at a modest level. For example, when applying for mortgage finance in 1933, Ripeka Utanga Potaka (who may have been listed in the sheep returns as Utanga Winiata Potaka) stated that she had three farms, two of which were operational and involved at least some dairying. On Awarua 1A2 West E (217 acres) she had placed her nephew, who was milking 57 cows. Ripeka Potaka herself was occupying Awarua 4C9E (299 acres), where she was milking 37 cows and running between 500 and 600 sheep.⁸⁶⁰ Some Maori dairying continued on the Taraketi block. In 1938, Tumihau Utiku Potaka was farming on Taraketi 2A (216 acres), where he was stated to be milking between 80 and 100 cows.⁸⁶¹

Alongside evidence of these dairying operations, it is evident that Mokai Patea Maori looked to expand other dairying initiatives or start new ventures. Some of these efforts involved lands outside the inquiry district. In about 1930, for example, Tutunui Rora (who possessed land interests in the Mokai Patea district) looked to use land sale and loan proceeds to increase the herd of 17 dairy cows that she and her husband were running at Reureu, just outside the southern boundary of the inquiry district.⁸⁶² In 1936, Tukino Hakopa unsuccessfully sought to raise a further sum of £135 against the Awarua 2C12B1 and 2C12B2 blocks in order to build a cowshed.⁸⁶³ Later, in 1938, Tumihau Utiku Potaka looked to secure a private mortgage against Taraketi A2 in order to purchase land near Kawakawa in the Bay of Islands, where he wished to enable a nephew to start dairying on the land, which was adjacent to land occupied by another nephew.⁸⁶⁴

Some efforts to participate in the sheep farming economy also continued in the 1930s. In 1937, for example, the Pakeha lessee of Motukawa 2B17A (775 acres) transferred the lease to Kotuku Horima Hakopa, who most likely looked to farm sheep on this land.⁸⁶⁵ Around the same time, in the south of the inquiry district, Tihoni Kereopa began grazing sheep and some cattle on Otamakapua 1F2A, a hilly 211-acre property that he owned solely.⁸⁶⁶ In 1938, in connection with his efforts to farm this land, the Board of Native

⁸⁶⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p800.

⁸⁶¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p791.

⁸⁶² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p479.

⁸⁶³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p884.

⁸⁶⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p791.

⁸⁶⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p746.

⁸⁶⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p807.

Affairs approved a loan of £1,000 to Kereopa.⁸⁶⁷ As discussed later, this loan was advanced as part of lending associated with the somewhat misleadingly named 'Taihape Development Scheme', which included only a couple of units, one of which was Otamakapua 1F2A. Kereopa's farming operation, which lasted until about 1960, appears to have been modest and, according to Walzl, was financially viable only because he paid no rent.⁸⁶⁸

1945-1970

The post-war period through to the end of the 1960s saw an increase in Mokai Patea Maori involvement in farming. The focus of these efforts was again the lands in the west and south of the inquiry district, which possessed the greatest potential for commercial use. Two developments in particular increased the opportunity for some Maori to utilise their remaining lands. First, direct utilisation became possible in respect of a number of blocks as leases entered into during the early part of the century came to an end.⁸⁶⁹ Secondly, economic conditions for farming, especially during the early 1950s, were very favourable, which meant that new ventures had a greater chance of success. It appears that substantial profits earned during this time enabled some farmers in the district to quickly repay existing debts. As noted above, many returned World War II servicemen who had been balloted sheep properties were able to pay off their debt in the early 1950s as a result of soaring wool prices.⁸⁷⁰ Tihoni Kereopa would have been among those who benefitted from these conditions. By 1950, he had paid off the £1,000 loan he had secured from the Board of Maori Affairs some 12 years earlier for his farm on Otamakapua 1F2A.⁸⁷¹ For reasons that are unclear, he appears to have later raised a mortgage with the Maori Trustee.⁸⁷²

In his 1955 thesis on the settlement of Taihape, Moar observed that at the time of his writing, with leases of Maori land in the surrounding district coming to an end, Maori were choosing to reoccupy the land themselves rather than renew the leases. Claiming that this choice stemmed from '[t]he Maori Land League and a strong tribal influence', Moar stated that it had

⁸⁶⁷ Bruce Stirling and Evald Subasic, 'Taihape: Rangitikei Ki Rangipo Inquiry District – Technical Research Scoping Report', CFRT, August 1910, Wai 2180 #A2, p111.

⁸⁶⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p807.

⁸⁶⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p947.

⁸⁷⁰ Gordon, 'Farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', p23.

⁸⁷¹ Stirling and Subasic, 'Technical Research Scoping Report', p112.

⁸⁷² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p808.

resulted in a gradual but marked increase in the number of Maori farmers over the previous decade.⁸⁷³

During the post-war period, it should be noted, two censuses of agriculture were carried out in New Zealand, both part of world censuses of agriculture conducted by the United Nations. The first was undertaken for the year 1949/1950 and the second for 1959/1960.⁸⁷⁴ Both censuses provide data on Maori farms, but only at a regional level. The data therefore relates poorly to the boundaries of the inquiry district and does not provide useful statistical evidence concerning Maori farming in the inquiry district. In a 1996 thesis, Hiroshi Ishida utilised data from the 1959/1960 census to establish a profile of Maori farming. He also employed unpublished data held by Statistics New Zealand, including county level data.⁸⁷⁵ But even this county-level data relates poorly to the inquiry district and is therefore not presented here.

A picture of Maori farming in the Taihape inquiry district during the post-war period can be drawn from the details of Maori farming endeavours that Walzl mentions in his twentieth century overview report. These details are set out in Table 20, which covers the period from 1945 to 1970.

Table 20: Maori farming initiatives in the Taihape inquiry district, 1945-1970

Block	Details
Areas including Awarua 1A2 West D, Awarua 4C9D1, and Awarua 4C9D2 (total area farmed about 750 acres)	In 1957, Alfred James Te Huki Potaka stated that he had been farming on his own account for four years. By 1957, he was farming 750 acres, including at least part of Awarua 1A2 West D, Awarua 4C9D1 and Awarua 4C9D2. He appears to have occupied these lands primarily under leasehold arrangements. In 1957 he was running 150 ewes and 10 head of mixed cattle. ⁸⁷⁶
Awarua 2C16C2 (421 acres) and Awarua 2C16C3 (182 acres)	In 1967, a 42-year lease over the Awarua 2C16C2 and 2C16C3 blocks expired. Members of the Thompson whanau appear to have begun occupying the land around this time, with mortgage finance being raised. ⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷³ Norman Trevor Moar, 'The Origins of Taihape: A Study in Secondary Pioneering', M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1955, p3.

⁸⁷⁴ Department of Statistics, *Report on the New Zealand Census of Farm Production 1949-1950*. Wellington, 1956. Department of Statistics, *Report of the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959/1960*. Wellington, 1964.

⁸⁷⁵ Ishida, Hiroshi, 'A geography of contemporary Maori agriculture,' PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1996.

⁸⁷⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp797-799.

⁸⁷⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp761-762, 941.

Block	Details
Awarua 3A2D1 (254 acres)	In the mid 1950s, Hoani Peretini Rewi and Wineti Peretini Rewi took up a 21-year lease over Awarua 3A2D1 dating from January 1956. Both possessed ownership interests in the land. ⁸⁷⁸
Awarua 3A2K7 (260 acres)	In the late 1950s, John Haitana obtained a lease over Awarua 3A2K7, which during the 1930s and 1940s had been farmed as part of a sheep station – evidently a Pakeha operation. Haitana had been farm manager on the station. He was not an owner of Awarua 3A2K7, but had various uneconomic interests in other lands. When he took over the lease, he had 600 ewes 16 hoggets and 11 rams, and planned to graze other people's cattle. ⁸⁷⁹
Awarua 3B2C1 Awarua 3B2C2 Awarua 3B2C3B Awarua 4C8A1 Awarua 4C8A2 Awarua 4C8B (total area about 1,281 acres)	By the early 1950s, Ngahina Edmonstone Haddon and Mick Reupene Haddon were leasing and farming these lands. They possessed ownership interests in at least one of the blocks – Awarua 4C8A1 (430 acres). By the mid 1960s they appear to have been farming separately. In 1966, Ngahina Edmonstone Haddon was farming 429 acres near Utiku. At the same time, Mick Reupene Haddon appears to have been independently farming three Awarua subdivisions. By 1967, Mick Reupene Haddon was suffering from poor health and could do only light work. Unable to make a living, he planned at this time to give up his farm and sell the stock. ⁸⁸⁰
Awarua 3D3 17C1 (211 acres)	Pita Sidney Whale initially secured a 5 year lease over Awarua 3D3 17C1 dating from May 1958. Whale was an owner without other land interests. Whale and J.M. Horton later secured a 21 year lease over the block dating from May 1963. This lease was conditional upon the lessees erecting a two-stand woolshed on the land within five years. ⁸⁸¹
Awarua 4A3C8A (87 acres)	In the mid 1950s, when a 42-year lease came to an end, the owners leased Awarua 4A3C8A to a whanau member. ⁸⁸²
Awarua 4C9F3 (pt) (211 acres)	In 1962, Pene Winiata Potaka obtained a 15 year lease over Awarua 4C9F3 (part). It is unclear whether this land was previously leased. ⁸⁸³
Motukawa 2B17A (775 acres)	In 1950, William Rakeipoho Bennett and Edwin Abraham Bennett secured a lease over Motukawa 2B17A. (As detailed above, Kotuku Horima Hakopa had secured a lease over this land in 1937.) William Bennett and Edwin Bennett were respectively the husband and son of one of the owners – Hira Wharawhara Bennett, who during the 1950s acquired the interests of the other owners. By September 1959, steps were being taken to surrender the Bennetts' lease. At this time, the land was included within the Taihape Development Scheme, with the Board of Maori Affairs having approved an advance to £15,600. ⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁷⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp820-821.

⁸⁷⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp907-908.

⁸⁸⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p786, 789-790.

⁸⁸¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p752.

⁸⁸² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p941.

⁸⁸³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p800.

⁸⁸⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp746-747.

Block	Details
Otamakapua 1F2A (211 acres)	As detailed earlier, Tihoni Kereopa began farming this land in the late 1930s. He continued to do so until about 1960, when the land was leased to a Pakeha. ⁸⁸⁵
Taraketi 2K, 2L4 and 2M (total area 81 acres) and adjacent land	In 1958, the Maori Land Court approved an application by Taami Potaka to lease Taraketi 2K, 2L4, and 2M. Potaka had been farming an area of adjacent land since about 1947. He intended to use the additional land to graze about 40 dairy cows. ⁸⁸⁶
Taraketi 2J and 2L2 (total area 62 acres)	In 1951, Taraketi 2J and Taraketi 2L2 were being farmed by Robert Tahupotiki Haddon and his three brothers, who together owned the land. At this time, Haddon unsuccessfully applied to the Department of Maori Affairs for development assistance. ⁸⁸⁷ In 1958, Taami Potaka applied for a lease over Taraketi 2J and Taraketi 2L2, which he planned to use for grazing 190 sheep and a few cattle. The Maori Land Court approved the lease. ⁸⁸⁸

The details presented in Table 20 provide evidence of ten farming operations during the post-war period through to 1970. (Taami Potaka's utilisation of various Taraketi subdivisions is viewed here as a single operation.) These ventures together involved a modest area of about 4,786 acres. However, as Table 20 draws only upon evidence presented in Walzl's twentieth century overview report, the farming ventures indicated in the table may not comprise the full extent of Mokai Patea efforts to utilise their lands for agricultural purposes in the post-war period. Nevertheless, the farming initiatives recorded in the table confirm that from the early 1950s, when many long-term leases began to come to an end, some Mokai Patea Maori took the opportunity to farm some of their remaining lands. From the available evidence, the majority of operations appear to have focussed on the farming of sheep. In many cases, individuals who wished to utilise whanau lands secured leases and paid rentals to other owners. As detailed below, unlike many earlier Mokai Patea Maori farming ventures, a number of the efforts to directly utilise whanau lands in the post-war period were of a more enduring nature, though the ownership and management structures that land was administered under were subject to change.

While a trend towards greater direct utilisation of Maori land is evident in the post-war period, not all Mokai Patea Maori who retained commercially valuable land in the west and south of the district were part of this pattern. For example, as detailed in Table 20, Tihoni Kereopa farmed Otamakapua 1F2A from the late 1930s to about 1960, when he may have retired owing to

⁸⁸⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp807-808.

⁸⁸⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp795-796.

⁸⁸⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p787.

⁸⁸⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp787-789.

his age. Direct Maori utilisation of the block ended at this point, when the land was leased to a Pakeha for 10 years.⁸⁸⁹ Another case concerns the lands owned by Ripeka Utanga Potaka – Awarua 1A2 West E (217 acres), Awarua 4C9E (299 acres), and part Awarua 4C9F3 (25 acres). As detailed above, in the early 1930s Ripeka Potaka and her nephew were respectively farming Awarua 4C9E and Awarua 1A2 West E. In the early 1960s, both of these blocks and the 25-acre part of Awarua 4C9F3 were leased to Pakeha.⁸⁹⁰ However, around the same time, as detailed in Table 20, another portion of 4C9F3, which had an area of 212 acres, was leased to Pene Winiata Potaka for a term of 15 years.

The owners of Awarua 2C9 (945 acres) and Awarua 2C10A (1,597 acres) also were not part of a trend towards greater direct utilisation of Maori land in the post-war period. Originally owned by Whakatihi Rora, these blocks were held by 17 owners in the early 1960s. From the early 1900s both blocks had been leased and in 1920 a mortgage of £5,000 was also raised. Rental payments did not keep up with the mortgage payment requirements and by the early 1960s there was almost £5,000 owing on the mortgage with £1,000 of interest payment arrears. Walzl explains that at this time some owners wished to sell, but the majority wanted to retain the land and set up an incorporation. However, the Court discouraged establishment of an incorporation as the current lease had 10 years to run. Subsequent valuation information indicated that a substantial proportion of the blocks (1,133 acres) was of limited commercial value and without easy access. This evidently discouraged further owner action and seven years later, in 1970, the lessee purchased the land.⁸⁹¹

1971-2013

In order to obtain a picture of recent and current Maori land utilisation in the inquiry district, relevant evidence has again been extracted from Walzl's twentieth century overview report. Drawing upon this source and including some additional detail from Maori Land Court records, Table 21 sets out details of Mokai Patea Maori land occupation and utilisation since 1971. Again, the table may not provide details of all Mokai Patea Maori farming initiatives during the period covered. In some cases, tracking current land utilisation has been made difficult where land was Europeanised in the late 1960s but has remained in Maori ownership. The various Taraketi

⁸⁸⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp807-808.

⁸⁹⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp800-801.

⁸⁹¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp743-744.

subdivisions listed earlier in Table 21, for example, have been Europeanised.⁸⁹²

Table 21: Maori farming initiatives in the Taihape inquiry district, 1971-2013

Block	Details
Awarua 2C2A (1,062 acres)	Awarua 2C2A appears to have been leased to Pakeha for much of the twentieth century, with leases executed in 1927, the late 1930s, and 1956. ⁸⁹³ In 1995 the Karena Family Trust secured a seven-year lease over the block with a seven-year right of renewal. Today the land is owned by one individual and two whanau trusts. It is not currently leased so is presumably occupied by the owners. There does not appear to be a formal management structure for administration of the land. ⁸⁹⁴
Awarua 2C3A, Awarua 2C3B (pt), Awarua 2C3C, and adjacent land (total area of 3,693 acres)	In February 1978, Mrs H. Waipaki applied to transfer her shares in Awarua 2C3B and Awarua 2C3C to two of her sisters, M. Taite and N. Nepe. The proposed transfer reflected a farming partnership, and the land was subject to a trust established under section 438 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953. There was a mortgage of \$71,000 against the land. ⁸⁹⁵ Today, Awarua 2C3B and 2C3C have been amalgamated with Awarua 2C3A and some adjoining land, comprising a total area of 3,693 acres. This property is known as Makokomiko Station. With 65 owners or ownership groups, the station is managed by an Ahu Whenua Trust – the Maata Kotahi Partnership Trust. ⁸⁹⁶
Awarua 2C16C2 (421 acres) and Awarua 2C16C3 (182 acres)	As detailed in Table 20, whanau members appear to have begun occupying Awarua 2C16C2 and 2C16C3 in the late 1960s. In 1989, William Wiremu Thompson, a farmer of Taihape, purchased both blocks. Thompson was presumably the son of the blocks' owner Ngahuia Teehi (Mrs. Martin Thompson). Current title information indicates the land remains in whanau ownership. ⁸⁹⁷
Awarua 3A2D1 (254 acres)	As detailed in Table 20, two of the owners – Hoani Peretini Rewi and Wineti Peretini Rewi – began leasing Awarua 3A2D1 in 1956. From this time, there was a number of exchanges and transfers of ownership interests. In 1971, the leasees transferred their interests to Kaahu Estates Limited, a company comprised of five shareholders, all of whom were Maori farmers of the Karioi district. Both Hoani and Wineti Rewi were shareholders. (Kaahu Estates Limited owned 1000

⁸⁹² See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp164-165.

⁸⁹³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p123, 873-874.

⁸⁹⁴ Block 18770, Maori Land Online website.

URL: <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/18770.htm>

⁸⁹⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p926.

⁸⁹⁶ Block 19533, Maori Land Online website.

URL: <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/19533.htm>

See also testimonial of Warwick Whenuaroa, Maata Kotahi Partnership trustee.

URL: <http://www.ryanthomas.co.nz/about-us/detailed-testimonials/>

⁸⁹⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p762, 941.

Block	Details
	acres of freehold land at Karioi in the Rangiwaea block and ran about 3,500 sheep and 300 cattle.) By 1981, the company had acquired all interests in Awarua 3A2D. ⁸⁹⁸ Kaahu Estates Limited continues to own the land today. ⁸⁹⁹
Awarua 3D3 17C1 (211 acres)	Awarua 3D3 17C1 is currently administered by an Ahu Whenua trust. Since about 1960 it has been leased to a whanau member. ⁹⁰⁰
Awarua 4A3C8A (87 acres)	Awarua 4A3C8A is currently administered by an Ahu Whenua trust. It is leased to a whanau member. ⁹⁰¹
Motukawa 2B5A (325 acres)	Motukawa 2B5A is currently administered by the Ropoama Whanau Trust. There is no record of a current lease, so possibly the trust is occupying the land. ⁹⁰²
Motukawa 2B5B1 (148 acres)	Held by 16 owners or ownership groups, Motukawa 2B5B1 is currently administered by the Komakoriki Ahu Whenua Trust. There is no record of a current lease, so possibly the trust is occupying the land. ⁹⁰³
Motukawa 2B7A (943 acres)	In 1967, Motukawa 2B7A was leased for 10 years to a Pakeha. In 1978, Pita Sydney Whale secured a 15-year lease, with a right of renewal for a further ten years. Today, the block, which is held by 16 owners or ownership groups, is leased to the Kerry Whale Farm Trust. ⁹⁰⁴
Motukawa 2B16A (673 acres)	Formerly leased, the owners appear to have directly occupied Motukawa 2B16A from the 1980s. It is currently administered by an Ahu Whenua Trust. ⁹⁰⁵
Motukawa 2B17A (775 acre)	As detailed earlier, Maori had been occupying this land since the late 1930s, and in 1959 it was included within the Taihape Development Scheme. The land remained within the scheme until 1984. In 1981, the Motukawa 2B17A Ahu Whenua Trust was established. There is no evidence that the land is currently leased so possibly the Trust is farming the block. There are 19 owners or ownership groups interested in the Motukawa 2B17A. ⁹⁰⁶

Though it is not entirely clear whether some owner management entities are utilising lands that have not been leased, the details presented in Table 21 suggest eleven Maori farming initiatives during recent years. In spite of the limitations of the evidence, Table 21 shows that Mokai Patea Maori have continued to directly utilise some of their remaining lands that possess commercial potential for agriculture. Indeed, the extent of such efforts

⁸⁹⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp820-821.

⁸⁹⁹ Block 18201, Maori Land Online website.

URL: <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/18201.htm>

⁹⁰⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p935, 1087.

⁹⁰¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p935, 1087.

⁹⁰² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp819-820.

⁹⁰³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp819-820.

⁹⁰⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p735, 935, 1087. See also Block 18876, Maori Land Online website. URL: <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/18876.htm>

⁹⁰⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p935, 941, 1087.

⁹⁰⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p742.

appears to have increased since the post-war period. The total area of land encompassed by the farming ventures described in Table 21 is about 8,774 acres, which compares to 4,786 acres detailed in Table 20 for the post-war period. Six of the farming operations listed in Table 20, which concerned a total area of about 2,856 acres, are not recorded among the current farming initiatives detailed in Table 21. Conversely, Table 21 lists six farming operations, covering an area of 6,844 acres, which appear to have commenced after the earlier period dealt with in Table 20. In at least half of these cases, the operations began after leases to Pakeha expired.

While little evidence has been sighted concerning the nature of the farming operations listed in Table 21, it appears likely from the lands involved that sheep and beef farming have been the focus of these operations. The single largest venture is Makokomiko Station, which comprises a total area of almost 3,700 acres. It is notable that this land and most of the areas listed in Table 21 are administered by ownership entities, primarily ahu whenua trusts that operate under Te Turi Whenua Maori Act 1993. In some cases the management entities are directly involved in farming the land, while in other cases the management entity has leased the land to individual whanau members or whanau trusts.

The following sections in this part of the chapter discuss several factors that have influenced Mokai Patea Maori involvement in the agricultural economy between 1910 and 2013. They focus especially on the extent to which the government has supported Maori farming aspirations and has introduced effective measures to overcome obstacles that Mokai Patea Maori have faced when seeking to utilise their lands.

State-assisted land development and lending finance

During the twentieth century, the most significant state effort to encourage Maori farming was the large-scale land development schemes that were established from around 1930. Promoted by Native Minister Apirana Ngata, the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929 initially provided for the creation of these schemes. Ngata believed that development of remaining Maori land was crucial if the economic needs of an increasing Maori population were to be met.⁹⁰⁷ Where land development schemes were established, the Native Minister was able to make Crown funds available for development and settlement. As well as aiming to better utilise Maori land, the development provisions of the 1929 Act aimed to

⁹⁰⁷ Heather Bassett and Richard Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori Land Development Schemes 1930-1990', CFRT, August 2006, Wai 1040 #A10, p21.

encourage Maori 'self help' through 'agricultural pursuits'. On the other hand, schemes would be subject to close government supervision and the Native Minister assumed full legal powers of ownership over the farming or other use of the land.⁹⁰⁸ Coleman *et al* commented that, overall, 'The programme proved successful at improving the commercialization of Maori agriculture.' They note that by 1937 some 750,000 acres were being developed under the Act, with nearly 200,000 acres under cultivation in 1,500 farms or stations.⁹⁰⁹

The government evidently did not identify the modern-day inquiry district as an area that offered much potential for creation of large-scale land development schemes. No evidence has been located to indicate that Ngata visited the district for the purpose of encouraging Mokai Patea Maori to put forward lands for inclusion in a development scheme as was the case in some other districts.⁹¹⁰ Several factors are likely to explain why the district was not viewed as a major area of potential. One such factor would have been the district's comparatively small Maori population. A further reason would have been the significant extent to which lands suitable for development had been alienated by 1930. That much of the remaining land was held under long-term lease is also likely to have been relevant.

Though no large-scale schemes were created in the district, some land development funds were advanced following the establishment of the 'Taihape Development Scheme', which was very limited in scale. The scheme was evidently created in May 1938 in connection with a loan application that Tihoni Kereopa made to develop and farm Otamakapua 1F2A (211 acres). As detailed above, the Board of Native Affairs granted a loan of £1,000 to Kereopa, which he paid off in 1953. In 1939, the Board reported that:

Prior to bring brought under development this land was leased to a European, and when handed back to the owners it was in poor condition, the pasture being completely worn out and the fences in disrepair. Sixty acres of scrub have been cleared during the year and 60 chains of new boundary fence erected, while 40 acres of old pasture have been resown. The settler is a young and keen Native who is

⁹⁰⁸ Section 23, Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929.

⁹⁰⁹ Andrew Coleman, Sylvia Dixon, and David Maré, *Maori economic development – glimpses from statistical sources*. Motu Working Paper 05-13, Motu economic and public policy research, September 2005, p17.

⁹¹⁰ See, for example, Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori Land Development Schemes', pp26-27.

milking 27 cows and running 497 sheep and 13 other dairy stock. The scheme supports ten persons.⁹¹¹

Funds also may have been advanced to owners of Awarua 4C8A1 (430 acres) in connection with the Taihape Development Scheme. Walzl notes that this land was brought under the scheme in April 1947, but was released by May 1952.⁹¹² By this time, as detailed in Table 20, two owners were farming the block, Ngahina Edmonstone Haddon and Mick Reupene Haddon.

In another case, the Department of Maori Affairs declined to assist owners who requested support to develop two Taraketi subdivisions – Taraketi 2J and 2L2 (a total area of 62 acres). In 1951, Robert Tahupotiki Haddon contacted the Department about the possibility of receiving development support. At this time Haddon and his three brothers were farming the land, which they owned together. At the end of 1951, Haddon was informed that the Department did not consider the property an economically viable proposition. The land therefore was not brought under the Department's control and supervision for development purposes.⁹¹³ In 1958, as noted in Table 20, Taraketi 2J and 2L2 were leased to Taami Potaka.

The most significant lending in connection with the so-called Taihape Development Scheme was in respect of Motukawa 2B17A (775 acres), which was included in the scheme in 1959 and remained so until 1984. When the land was included within the scheme, the Department of Maori Affairs' land development assistance was administered under Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953. As detailed in Table 20, Motukawa 2B17A was solely owned by Hira Wharawhara Bennett when it became part of the scheme. At this time, the Maori Affairs Department approved a loan of £15,600 for land development purposes.⁹¹⁴

Development scheme lending following the passage of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929 obviously did not comprise the only source of lending finance available to Mokai Patea Maori during the period covered in this chapter. As detailed above, existing casebook research provides details of Mokai Patea Maori raising mortgages against about 41 land blocks between 1910 and 1930. (At least two of these blocks were remortgaged during the period after existing loans had been

⁹¹¹ 'Native land development and the provision of houses for Maoris, including employment promotion, report on – by Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1939, G-10, p52.

⁹¹² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p786.

⁹¹³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p787.

⁹¹⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p747.

paid off.⁹¹⁵) With loans ranging from between £200 to £5,000, the mortgages represent an increase in the extent to which Mokai Patea Maori accessed lending finance from around 1910.⁹¹⁶ As detailed in the previous chapter, Maori of the inquiry district had secured only a small number of loans against their land before this time.

The mortgages that Mokai Patea Maori secured between 1910 and 1930 were from several lending sources, including the state's Advances to Settlers scheme, the Public Trustee, and a relatively small number of private mortgages.⁹¹⁷ In the early 1920s, two new forms of lending aimed specifically at Maori had also become available. First, the Native Trustee Act 1920 empowered the Native Trustee to lend to Maori. Secondly, from 1922 Land Boards were able to advance money on Maori land with the consent of the Native Minister.⁹¹⁸ However, existing research provides evidence of only two loans secured by Mokai Patea Maori from these sources up to 1930 – both mortgages with the Aotea District Maori Land Board.⁹¹⁹ In respect of the Native Trustee's ability to lend at this time, the CNI Tribunal has stated that 'it seems that the Native Trustee was not practically able to offer significant loans during the 1920s'.⁹²⁰ The lack of evidence of Native Trustee lending to Mokai Patea Maori up to 1930 is consistent with this assessment.

While there is evidence that Mokai Patea Maori raised a greater number of loans against their lands after 1910, this did not translate into a significant increase in their participation in the agricultural economy. In many cases, it is not clear that the loans were secured in connection with efforts to develop and utilise land. Of the 43 land blocks against which loans have been identified for the period between 1910 and 1930, it is clear that lending was for land development purposes in only about 13 cases (see Table 18). Debt repayment and funding the construction of dwellings were significant among the reasons that the mortgages were raised.⁹²¹ Some of this lending may

⁹¹⁵ Awarua 2C11 (675 acres), for example, was first mortgaged in 1908 and remortgaged in 1912, 1917, 1923, and 1928. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p550.

⁹¹⁶ The £200 mortgage was raised by Tauti Potaka in 1913 over Taraketi 2H and 2K (a total area of 103 acres) for the purpose of land improvement and purchase of stock. Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', p36. The £5,000 mortgage was raised by Whakatihi Rora in 1920 over Awarua 2C9 (420 acres) and Awarua 2C10A (1,597 acres). Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p743.

⁹¹⁷ See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp548-551; Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', pp32-37.

⁹¹⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp988-989.

⁹¹⁹ See details of Land Board lending to Hiira Wharawhara (in respect of her interest in Motukawa 2B17A) and Hautiti Te Whaaro (possibly in respect of his interests in Awarua 4C15F1H and 4C15F1F). Both mortgages had been entered into by or in 1930. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p746, 853.

⁹²⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p988.

⁹²¹ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', pp32-37.

have been related to farm development, but in many cases, as Walzl observes, the mortgaged lands were under lease when the loan was raised. Walzl notes a continuing requirement for Maori lenders to possess income from leased land, which was used to pay the mortgage.⁹²²

In some cases, the loan monies that Mokai Patea Maori raised appear to have been used for living expenses. This was the case with mortgages raised against Awarua 2C11 (675 acres). As detailed earlier, this block was first mortgaged in 1908 and then subsequently remortgaged in 1912, 1917, 1923, and 1928.⁹²³ The owners' efforts to farm the land did not last long, and at some point after they ended the Land Board started to distribute the loan as a living allowance to surviving owner Kewa Pine.⁹²⁴ Mortgages over Awarua 2C16C3 (182 acres) similarly may have been raised to pay for living costs. First mortgaged in 1926, the year after it was leased to a Pakeha for a period of 42 years, this block was subsequently remortgaged every five years through to 1957.⁹²⁵

Table 22: Loans secured against Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district, 1931-1980

Mortgaged land	Date indication	Details
Awarua 2C16C3 (182 acres)	Mortgaged in 1926; later remortgaged	Awarua 2C16C3 was first mortgaged to the Public Trustee in 1926. Along with Awarua 2C16C2, the land had been leased the previous year for a term of 42 years. The mortgage was renewed every five years through to 1957. In 1967, when the lease came to the end and the whanau began to occupy the land, a new mortgage over Awarua 2C16C3 was raised with the Maori Trustee. ⁹²⁶
Awarua 3D3 No 5 (264 acres)	Mortgaged by 1932	By 1932, Awarua 3D3 No 5 was mortgaged with the Public Trust Office. The block had been under lease since at least 1918. ⁹²⁷

⁹²² See Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp548-551.

⁹²³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p550.

⁹²⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p759.

⁹²⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p761.

⁹²⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp761-762.

⁹²⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p766.

Mortgaged land	Date indication	Details
Awarua 1A2 West E (217 acres), Awarua 4C9E (299 acres), and part of Awarua 4C9F (230 acres)	Mortgaged in 1934	In 1934, Ripeka Potaka secured a mortgage of £2,000 from the Union Bank of Australia using Awarua 1A2 West E, 4C9E, and part of 4C9F as security. Much of value of the mortgage was required to pay a range of existing debts and expenses, including a stock mortgage with the New Zealand Distributing Company of £407 10s. When the mortgage was taken out, Ripeka Potaka's nephew was farming Awarua 1A2 West E, while Potaka herself was working Awarua 4C9E. ⁹²⁸
Block details unclear	Mortgaged by 1936	In 1936, when Motukawa 2B4B (61 acres) was leased for a term of 42 years, a portion of the rent was set aside for repayment of a mortgage held by the Aotea District Maori Land Board. It is unclear whether the mortgage was over Motukawa 2B4B itself. ⁹²⁹
Taraketi 2A (216 acres)	Mortgaged in 1938	In 1938, Tumihau Utiku Potaka applied for confirmation of a private mortgage over Taraketi 2A. The mortgage was for £1,600, about half of the block's unimproved value. The money was required to enable Potaka to purchase land near Kawakawa in the Bay of Islands. ⁹³⁰
Otamakapua 1F2A (211 acres)	Mortgaged in 1938; later remortgaged	In 1938, the Board of Native Affairs approved a loan of £1,000 to Tihoni Kereopa in connection with Otamakapua 1F2A. The loan was paid off in 1953. ⁹³¹ By 1960, when Kereopa leased the land, he had a mortgage with the Maori Trustee. He repaid this loan using money received from the lessee for stock and plant on the property. ⁹³²
Taraketi 2K, 2L4, and 2M (81 acres)	Mortgaged in 1947	In 1947, the sole owner of Taraketi 2K, 2L4, and 2M, Reneti Tapa Potaka, secured a mortgage with the Maori Trustee. In 1958, when a lease in favour of Taami Potaka was being considered, it was proposed that rent of £312 4s be assigned to the Maori Trustee to meet past mortgages. ⁹³³

⁹²⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp801-802.

⁹²⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p819.

⁹³⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p791.

⁹³¹ Stirling and Subasic, 'Technical Research Scoping Report', pp111-112.

⁹³² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p808.

⁹³³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp795-796.

Mortgaged land	Date indication	Details
Motukawa 2B16A (673 acres)	Mortgaged in 1953	In 1953, Hira Wharawhara raised a mortgage with the Maori Trustee to purchase Rangi Tutunui's share in Motukawa 2B16A. In 1960, Hira Wharawhara sold her interests in the block to Riini Henare and some of the sale proceeds were used to repay the mortgage. ⁹³⁴
Taraketi 2G and 2H (101 acres)	Mortgaged in 1956	In 1956, Taraketi 2G and 2H were mortgaged with the Maori Trustee for a term of 8 years. The loan amount was £1,410. Around the same time and possibly in connection with the mortgage, the land was vested in the Maori Trustee. The Maori Trustee soon became involved in finding a tenant for the block. ⁹³⁵
Awarua 4C15F1A2G subdivisions (about 8½ acres and 1 acre)	Mortgaged in 1958	In 1958, a mortgage was taken out over part of Awarua 4C15F1A2G containing about 8½ acres. (This mortgage was discharged in February 1964.) By this time loans had also been raised against a smaller subdivision. The lending appears to have been for housing purposes. ⁹³⁶
Block details unclear	Mortgaged by 1959	In May 1959, the owner of Awarua 4C9D2 (252 acres), Arona Potaka, leased the block in response to pressure from the Maori Trustee, to whom he was indebted by way of a mortgage. ⁹³⁷ It is unclear whether this loan was over Awarua 4C9D2.
Motukawa 2B17A (775 acres)	Mortgaged in 1959	In 1959, Motukawa 2B17A was included within the Taihape Development Scheme, with the Board of Maori Affairs having approved an advance to £15,600. ⁹³⁸
Taraketi 1A (103 acres)	Mortgaged by 1960	By 1960, when steps were being taken to lease Taraketi 1A, the land was mortgaged with the Maori Trustee. All rent monies were to be paid to the Trustee until the mortgage was paid off. ⁹³⁹

⁹³⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp739-740.

⁹³⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p794.

⁹³⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p868.

⁹³⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p799.

⁹³⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp746-747.

⁹³⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp929-930.

Mortgaged land	Date indication	Details
Motukawa 2B7C (654 acres) and Motukawa 2B7D (594 acres)	Mortgaged in mid 1960s	In the mid 1960s, Riini Henare sold Motukawa 2B7C and 2B7D to her sons Pryce and Andrew Williams, who raised mortgages with the Maori Trustee to purchase the land. ⁹⁴⁰
Awarua 2C16C2 (421 acres)	Mortgaged in late 1960s; later remortgaged	In 1967, as detailed above, a long-term lease over Awarua 2C16C2 and 2C16C3 ended and whanau members began to occupy the land. In 1968, Awarua 2C16C2 was mortgaged to the Maori Trustee. In 1978 it was mortgaged again to both the Maori Trustee and Rural Bank. ⁹⁴¹
Awarua 2C3C	Mortgaged by 1978	By 1978, the owners were involved in farming Awarua 2C3C. At this time, there was a mortgage of \$71,000 over the land. ⁹⁴²

Mokai Patea Maori continued to raise mortgages against their remaining lands after 1930. Based upon evidence presented in Walzl's twentieth century overview report, Table 22 sets details of mortgages entered into between 1931 and 1980. Walzl provides no evidence of mortgages raised after this time. It is unlikely that the lending listed in Table 22 comprises the full extent of mortgages that Mokai Patea Maori raised during the period. The table provides details of new lending between 1931 and 1980, alongside of which some existing mortgage arrangements entered into before 1930 would have continued. The two loans that were offered through the Taihape Development Scheme are included in the table.

Table 22 details that between 1931 and 1980 mortgages were raised over about 17 areas of land that remained in Mokai Patea Maori ownership. In several cases the mortgaged lands comprised more than a single block, and in three instances more than one mortgage was raised against the land during the period. The lending detailed in Table 22 compares with evidence in existing research, noted above, of loans being raised against about 41 land blocks between 1910 and 1930. The decline in the number of areas subject to new mortgages after 1930 would seem to at least partly reflect the diminishing Maori land base – Maori owned less land to secure mortgages against. While it is also possible that Mokai Patea Maori found it more difficult to secure mortgages after 1930, further research into this issue is required. From the available evidence, it is also not possible to easily

⁹⁴⁰ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p734.

⁹⁴¹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp761-762.

⁹⁴² Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p926.

compare the amount of money that Maori were able to obtain through lending entered into during the different periods.

Across the 50-year period covered in Table 22, the number of new loans appears to have been reasonably consistent. Between 1931 and 1950, mortgages were entered into in respect of seven areas. These loans were from a range of sources and included mortgages from the Public Trustee, Maori Trustee, Land Board, and private sources. Between 1950 and 1980, Table 22 records loans secured against about 11 areas. A significant feature of this lending is that almost all of the mortgages were with the Maori Trustee.

As detailed above, the office of Maori Trustee (known as the Native Trustee until 1947) had been able to loan money to Maori upon its establishment in 1920, though in practical terms its capacity to do so was initially restricted. It has also been noted that from the early 1920s Land Boards were also able to offer loans. In 1952, the Land Boards were abolished and the Maori Trustee took over a number of the Boards' responsibilities, including those relating to lending.⁹⁴³ The Maori Trustee's powers to lend were subsequently defined in the Maori Trustee Act 1953. Subsection 32(1)(a) of the 1953 Act provided that the Maori Trustee could, using any funds in the Consolidated Fund allocated for the purpose, advance moneys to a Maori on the security of a mortgage over any freehold or leasehold interest in land or on the security of any chattels or other property. Research for this report has not examined the criteria that the Maori Trustee used when considering loan applications. However, claimants recall that during the post-war period accessing loans from the Maori Trustee was difficult and bound with restrictions.⁹⁴⁴

Though it is unclear what all of the loans detailed in Table 22 were raised for, the available information shows that mortgages were secured for a range of purposes, including land development, debt repayment, and housing. In some cases, loans taken out after 1950 enabled individuals to purchase land interests, seemingly in connection with plans to utilise land. This was one strategy for rationalising titles and dealing with multiple ownership of land in the post-war period – an issue that is discussed further below.

For those who sold land interests, the sale of land provided another avenue for raising finance that could have been applied to the development of other lands. This was evidently the case when in 1966 Edmonstone Ngahina

⁹⁴³ Maori Land Amendment Act 1952. See also *Te Ao Hou*, No. 2, Spring 1952, p46.

⁹⁴⁴ Peter Steedman spoke about this during the hui held on 5 August 2016.

Haddon sold his interests in Taraketi 2J and Taraketi 2L2, a total area of about 62 acres. (As detailed above, this land was owned by four brothers. In 1951, one of the brothers, Robert Tahupotiki Haddon had unsuccessfully sought development assistance from the Department of Maori Affairs. From 1958, the land was leased to Taami Potaka.) When giving evidence to the Maori Land Court regarding his reasons for wishing to sell, Haddon explained that he was working 429 acres at Utiku and wanted to use the sale proceeds to build a new woolshed. He stated that he had no mortgage with the Maori Trustee and owed only the normal liabilities to the stock company.⁹⁴⁵

While access to lending would have assisted some Mokai Patea Maori who sought to take advantage of new opportunities in the post-war period, in at least one case the burden of existing mortgage debt appears to have contributed to the alienation of land. As detailed above, Awarua 2C9 (945 acres) and Awarua 2C10A (1,597 acres) were leased from the early 1900s and in 1920 a mortgage of £5,000 was also raised. Rental payments did not keep up with the mortgage payment requirements and by the early 1960s there was almost £5,000 owing on the mortgage with £1,000 of interest payment arrears. The burden of this debt was no doubt among the factors that influenced the owners to sell the land in 1970 to the Pakeha lessee.⁹⁴⁶

Title developments and statutory management entities

At the beginning of the twentieth century, as detailed in the previous chapter, a notable feature of Maori land ownership in the centre and south of the inquiry district (where the most commercially valuable lands have been located) was that many of the blocks were either solely owned or held by a small group of whanau owners. It has been suggested that the partitioning that brought this about was at least partly undertaken to overcome some of the difficulties of managing land held in multiple ownership. One notable advantage of ownership by a single owner or small group was that lending finance could be accessed more easily.

By the mid-twentieth century, this ownership situation had begun to be undermined as a result of the process of succession, which often saw the ownership interests of a deceased owner pass on to more than one whanau member. As owners died and successors were appointed, the number of owners increased. During the post-war period, this development was

⁹⁴⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp787-790.

⁹⁴⁶ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp743-744.

occurring at the same time as some Mokai Patea Maori were looking to directly utilise lands that had previously been subject to long-term leases.

Some owners looked to address difficulties arising from multiple ownership through transferring and consolidating their land interests. This was the case, for example, following the death in 1946 of Tauti Potaka, who solely owned Awarua 1A West A (654 acres) and Taraketi 2G, 2K, 2L4, and 2O (a total area of about 311 acres). In respect of the Taraketi subdivisions, Walzl details that Tauti Potaka's sons Reneti Tapa Potaka and Tenga Potaka succeeded equally to the land. However, the brothers appear to have subsequently taken steps to consolidate their interests. As a result, Reneti Tapa Potaka became the sole owner of Taraketi 2G and 2H (which were formed into one title), while Tenga Potaka became the sole owners of Taraketi 2K, 2L4 and 2M (which were also formed into one title).⁹⁴⁷

As noted above, some loans taken out after 1950 enabled owners to rationalise land interests. As detailed in Table 22, one such loan was raised in respect of Motukawa 2B16A (673-acres). By the early 1930s, the sole owner of this block, Ngahuia Hiha, had died and been succeeded to by her nieces Riini Henare, Rangi Tutunui, and Hira Wharawhara. In the early 1950s, Rangi Tutunui sold her one-third share to Hira Wharawhara, who organised a mortgage with the Maori Trustee to raise the capital. In about 1960, Hira Wharawhara transferred her two-third share to Riini Henare and was required to repay the mortgage.⁹⁴⁸ However, by this time, through purchasing the shares of other owners, Hira Wharawhara had secured sole ownership of Motukawa 2B17A (775 acres), which was included within the Taihape Development Scheme in 1959.⁹⁴⁹

From about 1960, Mokai Patea Maori have increasingly adopted statutory management structures that have assisted owners to overcome difficulties associated with multiple ownership. The government has shown some support for Maori economic development through introducing measures that have improved statutory management structures. Provisions in the Maori Affairs Act 1953 are notable. Part XXII of the Act substantially amended existing provisions relating to incorporations.⁹⁵⁰ Also, as an alternative to incorporation, section 438 of the 1953 Act enabled block owners to establish trusts. Under Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993, section 438 trusts became ahu whenua trusts, while incorporations continued without name change.

⁹⁴⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp793-796.

⁹⁴⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp739-741.

⁹⁴⁹ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp746-747.

⁹⁵⁰ For example, some of restrictions on incorporation activities were relaxed. Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 2, p785, 788.

The 1993 Act also provides for establishment of whanau trusts, which have enabled whanau to bring together their land interests for share management purposes.⁹⁵¹

In the Mokai Patea District, owners interested in establishing statutory management entities appear to have initially looked to set up incorporations. The earliest example appears to have been the establishment of the Awarua 1A3C Incorporation, which was created in about 1960 under Part XXII of the Maori Affairs Act 1953.⁹⁵² Comprising an area of 9,806 acres this was a large block of marginal, forested land adjacent to Ruahine Forest Park, which appears to have been held by about 100 owners at the time of incorporation.⁹⁵³ The incorporation was set up to arrange for the 'alienation by sale, exchange or lease or otherwise of the land or any portion thereof or the timber thereon'.⁹⁵⁴ However, in 1965 the land was sold to the Crown in accordance with a resolution passed by a meeting of assembled owners, where only 22 owners had been present or represented.⁹⁵⁵ It is unclear why the alienation was not negotiated by the incorporation, which possessed the same power to alienate land as that of a sole owner.⁹⁵⁶

In the early 1960s, around the time that the Awarua 1A3C Incorporation was set up, the 17 owners of Awarua 2C9 (945 acres) and Awarua 2C10A (1,597 acres) also looked to establish an incorporation. However, as detailed above, the Court discouraged the creation of an incorporation as an existing lease still had 10 years to run. The Court pointed out that during this time there would be costs associated with operating an incorporation, yet there would be little room for the management entity to make decisions about the land. Facing significant debts from a previous mortgage and with doubt about the commercial potential of the land, the blocks were sold to the lessee in 1970.⁹⁵⁷

Alongside the short-lived Awarua 1A3C Incorporation, other Mokai Patea Maori owners have set up incorporations in the district. For example, a number of Taraketi subdivisions that remain in Maori ownership are today held by owner incorporations.⁹⁵⁸ However, the main type of statutory

⁹⁵¹ Section 214, Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993.

⁹⁵² Stirling and Subasic, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p109. Suzanne Woodley, 'Maori Land Rating and Landlocked Blocks Report', 1870-2015', CFRT, July 2015, Wai 2180 #A37, p306.

⁹⁵³ Stirling and Subasic, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p110.

⁹⁵⁴ Woodley, 'Land Rating and Landlocked Blocks', p306.

⁹⁵⁵ Stirling and Subasic, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', pp109-111.

⁹⁵⁶ See section 286, Maori Affairs Act 1953.

⁹⁵⁷ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp743-744.

⁹⁵⁸ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p165.

management entity adopted in the district has been the owner trust that since 1993 has been known as an ahu whenua trust. These entities have evidently been widely adopted. Many of the lands listed in Table 21, for example, are today administered by ahu whenua trusts. Not only have these entities been established by the owners of blocks that have been utilised within the commercial economy, ahu whenua trusts have also been set up for the administration of more economically marginal land. For example, both Owhaoko D3 (5,724 acres) and Owhaoko D7B part (42,234 acres), held by 199 and 366 owners respectively, are today both administered by ahu whenua trusts.⁹⁵⁹

Sale of timber and payments for forest protection

This section examines the extent to which Mokai Patea Maori, during the period covered in this chapter, derived income from forest lands that remained in their ownership.

The previous chapter has explained that, though they were not significantly involved in sawmilling enterprises, some Mokai Patea Maori received income from the sale of timber cutting rights. Cutting under some of these agreements continued into the period that is covered in this chapter. However, very few new agreements seem to have been entered into after the first decade of the twentieth century. Even though the milling of indigenous timber continued until at least the 1960s, it is unlikely that timber royalties provided a significant source of income for Mokai Patea Maori during the period examined in this chapter. The limited cutting that took place on Maori land reflected the decline of activity within the sawmilling sector as well as significant and ongoing alienation of Maori land.

The Native Land Act 1909 set down new, clear procedures for the sale of timber on Maori land, requiring that the sale of timber be confirmed by the Land Board. Further legislative change was introduced in the Forests Act 1921-22, which required that all alienations of timber on Maori land be approved by the Commissioner of Forests. This requirement, a response to growing concern about the future supply of timber, lasted until 1963. Where Maori-owned timber was alienated, the procedural requirements of the 1909 and 1921-22 Acts generated substantial administrative records. Existing casebook research has identified records of only four timber alienations that concern Maori land in the Taihape inquiry district during the period covered in this chapter. These alienations concerned areas of forest within the

⁹⁵⁹ Blocks 20003 and 19997, Maori Land Online website.
URL: <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/20003.htm>
URL: <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/19997.htm>

following Maori-owned blocks: Awarua 3A2K (timber alienated in 1912), Motukawa 2B16A (1920), Motukawa 2B15A and 2B15C (1962), and Motukawa 2B3D (1964).⁹⁶⁰ These alienations involved relatively small areas and, in at least one case, the cutting area had previously been milled.⁹⁶¹

During the second half of the twentieth century, government policies that aimed to protect forest resources and prevent erosion began to influence potential for any future cutting on Maori land in the inquiry district. Some Crown purchasing during this period, it should be noted, was motivated by forest protection policies.⁹⁶² From the late 1990s, Maori owners of a number of forested blocks negotiated with the Department of Conservation to place protection covenants on their land. These arrangements, known as Nga Whenua Rahui, provided for cash payments to the owners in recognition of the protection restrictions. Casebook research includes details of the following Nga Whenua Rahui, all of which appear to have been for an initial period of 25 years:

Aorangi and Awarua 1DB2 (5,142 hectares): From the mid-twentieth century, forestry companies had shown an interest in logging this land. In 1999, representatives of the owners agreed to a covenant that provided for a payment of \$1,617,000 plus GST.⁹⁶³

Owhaoko D8B (1,876 hectares): A covenant was registered against the title of this block in 2005.⁹⁶⁴ Research has not established how much money the owners were to receive in respect of this arrangement.

Part Te Koau A (1,360 hectares) and Awarua o Hinemanu (2,562 hectares): These lands, and possibly also some adjacent areas, become subject to a covenant that was established in 2006. The owners of Te Koau A received \$125,640, while the Awarua o Hinemanu owners accepted \$230,500.⁹⁶⁵

Sale of stone resources

The sale of stone resources has also provided a limited source of income for some Mokai Patea Maori during the period examined in this chapter. The

⁹⁶⁰ Armstrong, 'Environmental Change in the Taihape District', pp56-57. Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p739, 919.

⁹⁶¹ Awarua 3A2K (2,341 acres) had been subject to earlier cutting.

⁹⁶² The alienation of Awarua 1A3C in 1965 is one such example. See Woodley, 'Land Rating and Landlocked Blocks', pp314-315.

⁹⁶³ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', pp706-708.

⁹⁶⁴ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p838.

⁹⁶⁵ Walzl, 'Twentieth Century Overview', p670, 713.

previous chapter noted the possibility that local stone resources were used during the construction and maintenance of the NIMT and roading network. During the period covered here, there is evidence of stone resources being extracted from various locations in the inquiry district, with the river gravels of the Rangitikei River and its tributaries being of most significance. The Ministry of Works' 1971 resource survey, for example, noted that the Rangitikei River and its Moawhango and Kawhatau tributaries provided high quality roading aggregates.⁹⁶⁶

Casebook research has identified two cases where Maori land owners have received royalty income from quarrying. The first case involves a quarry on Toe Toe Road, near Utiku, just downstream from the confluence of the Rangitikei and Hautapu Rivers. This operation has been carried out subject to a royalty agreement with the Maori-owners of Awarua 1A2 West A. The first grant for metal rights appears to date from 1965 and was for a period of five years.⁹⁶⁷ In 1975, a new agreement provided for a royalty payment of 25 cents per cubic yard for the first 1,000 cubic yards taken each month, and 20 cents per cubic yard for any further amount taken that same month. A minimum annual payment of \$1,200 was to be paid to the owners.⁹⁶⁸ Quarrying has continued at the site since this time. According to Alexander, it has been the most substantial gravel operation on the Rangitikei River upstream of its confluence with the Kawhatau.⁹⁶⁹

The second case where Maori have received income from stone resources concerns a gravel pit on Awarua 4C12A2, near Winiata, which the Rangitikei County Council appears to have worked from the late 1960s. The Council extracted stone from this pit into the 1980s.⁹⁷⁰ The Maori Trustee, representing the owners, became involved in drawn out negotiations with the County regarding the payment of royalties. In July 1982, a settlement was reached that provided for payment of \$40,816.63. This sum covered unpaid royalties and interest on these royalties.⁹⁷¹ Research has not established when quarrying on the land ended.

⁹⁶⁶ Ministry of Works (Town and Country Planning Division), pp 37-38. The report includes a photograph of a crushing plant located at the confluence of the Rangitikei and Hautapu Rivers.

⁹⁶⁷ Subasic and Stirling, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', p107.

⁹⁶⁸ Alexander, 'Rangitikei River and its Tributaries', p493.

⁹⁶⁹ Alexander, 'Rangitikei River and its Tributaries', pp492-511.

⁹⁷⁰ County Clerk to Evans, Easter, Harris, and Goodman, 8 November 1972, RDC 00065 32 R/2/3/4, Maori Trustee Royalty Claims, 1968-1977, AC Feilding.

⁹⁷¹ Terms of Settlement, 9 July 1982, RDC 00079 21 M20/0003, Metal Pits – Maori Trustee Claims, 1981-1981, AC Feilding.

In the first case mentioned here, concerning Awarua 1A2 West A, the agreement that was entered into with the Maori riparian owners covered an area of riverbed adjacent to their property. Alexander explains that the agreement recognised the owners' common-law right to claim ownership to the middle of the river (known as the *ad medium filum aquae* right).⁹⁷² However, downstream of the Rangitikei River's confluence with the Kawhatau, this right had been removed from riparian owners. Between the mid 1920s and 1959, on the basis of the river's alleged navigability in terms of the Coal Mines Act 1925, the Crown, in stages, asserted ownership of the Rangitikei River from its mouth to the Kawhatau confluence.⁹⁷³ This assertion of ownership impacted on the ability of the Maori owners of at least one riparian block to claim gravel royalties.⁹⁷⁴

Employment patterns

It has been explained that Mokai Patea Maori, during the period examined in this chapter, had relatively little involvement in the ownership and management of enterprises that were based on the utilisation of land and resources. This section of the chapter looks at evidence concerning Mokai Patea Maori participation in paid employment. In particular, it seeks to establish the extent to which Mokai Patea Maori have undertaken paid work and the main types of work they have engaged in. The evidence presented here helps to provide a more complete picture of the economic position of Mokai Patea Maori and how this has changed. Also, in respect of the Crown's role, it sheds light on the extent to which Mokai Patea Maori have benefitted from state-sector employment opportunities.

During the first half of the twentieth century, government thinking regarding Maori economic development underwent a shift, which looked towards greater Maori involvement in paid work. In the late 1920s, as discussed earlier, Ngata's promotion of state-assisted land development was underpinned by the belief that utilisation of remaining tribal lands would enable Maori to improve their economic position. However, from 1935, when the First Labour Government was elected, this view – that land development would be able to meet the economic needs of a growing Maori population – was increasingly questioned.⁹⁷⁵ In addition to land development, Labour

⁹⁷² Alexander, 'Rangitikei River and its Tributaries', p493.

⁹⁷³ Alexander, 'Rangitikei River and its Tributaries', pp112-133.

⁹⁷⁴ This land was part of Otamakapua 1B block. Alexander, 'Rangitikei River and its Tributaries', pp117-127.

⁹⁷⁵ In the CNI report, the Tribunal notes, in particular, the views of economist Horace Belshaw. See Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp1020-1021. See also Claudia J. Orange, 'A Kind of Equality: Labour and the Maori People, 1935-1949', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1977, pp82-84.

emphasised equality of rights for Maori and the potential for Maori involvement in paid employment. As the CNI Tribunal has observed, these three features of Labour's policy 'became recurring themes for the rest of the twentieth century'.⁹⁷⁶ The National Government of the 1950s, for example, continued to develop policy and legislation within this general framework. Illustrating this, the Maori Affairs Act 1953 was viewed as an effort to encourage equality in employment, education, housing as well as the utilisation of remaining tribal lands.⁹⁷⁷

During the post-war period, the government saw urbanisation of rural Maori as a necessary process that would enable Maori to take advantage of available work opportunities.⁹⁷⁸ In the Taihape inquiry district, no evidence has been located to suggest that the government at any stage took deliberate steps to encourage Maori employment and provide work opportunities for Maori. However, while this was the case, there have nevertheless been various state-sector employment opportunities in the district that Mokai Patea Maori may have benefitted from. As discussed below, some of these opportunities were long-lasting, while others were of a more temporary nature. They included employment with New Zealand Railways (NZR), the Ministry of Works (MOW), and the Army. Some branches of state-sector work, it will be explained, contracted significantly as the result of restructuring that the Fourth Labour Government initiated following its election in 1984.

Maori employment prior to 1957

Chapter three has suggested that Mokai Patea Maori had little involvement in the main wage-work opportunities that existed in the district between 1891 and 1909. These opportunities were associated with the sawmilling industry and the building and maintenance of transport infrastructure, with some work also available in the agricultural sector. Employment opportunities within these areas continued into the period that is covered here, though the significance of these three types of work would be subject to change. Around the beginning of the period examined in this chapter, other types of employment became increasingly important. For example, the number of jobs in dairy factories and meat processing works would have increased around this time, while employment opportunities within the townships of Taihape, Mangaweka, and Hunterville are also likely to have grown.

⁹⁷⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p901.

⁹⁷⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, p901.

⁹⁷⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, Volume 3, pp901-902.

Electoral roll data provides the most useful source of information on Mokai Patea Maori employment patterns during the period covered in this chapter. However, this data is available only for years from 1957, when the rolls begin to record the occupations of those listed. Prior to 1957, little evidence concerning Mokai Patea Maori involvement in paid employment is available and, where such evidence exists, it is of an impressionistic nature.

Research has identified details of Mokai Patea Maori involvement in only two areas of employment between the beginning of the period covered in this chapter and 1957. First, there is evidence of participation in paid agricultural work. By the early 1920s, Mokai Patea Maori had become involved in shearing. In January 1922, the *Auckland Star* reported that W. Winiata and 'Taki' were among four men who had shorn more than 1,100 sheep in one day at J. Whenuaroa's shed at Pukeokahu.⁹⁷⁹ Maori also began doing stock work on Pakeha-owned sheep farms and stations. In his history of Otairi Station, Harris notes, for example, that one Maori employee, Toha Winiata, worked as a drover on the station during the 1920s.⁹⁸⁰ By this time, some Maori also appear to have become involved in harvesting commercial potato crops in the district.⁹⁸¹

Alongside agricultural work, there is also a little evidence of Maori involvement in roading work between 1910 and 1957. As explained in the previous chapter, central government agencies and local authorities were involved in road construction in the district. Some road building continued at the beginning of the period examined in this chapter. After roads were completed, their maintenance generally appears to have been handed to the local authority. However, central government assumed responsibility for main highways following the passage of the Main Highways Act 1918. The section of State Highway 1 that passes through the Taihape inquiry district was designated a main highway under the Act.⁹⁸²

Evidence of early Maori involvement in roading work relates to the inquiry district's local authorities. In his history of the Rangitikei County Council, Laurenson includes a photo taken in 1946, which shows about 40 county staff at Taihape, a few of whom appear to be Maori.⁹⁸³ Writing in 1955, Moar noted that some Maori who lived in locations around Taihape worked as

⁹⁷⁹ *Auckland Star*, 7 January 1922, p11.

⁹⁸⁰ Rusk Harris, *Otairi, 1881-1981*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1986, p169.

⁹⁸¹ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, pp140-142.

⁹⁸² Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, p111, 150. Several major road upgrades and deviations of this road have been carried out. In the early 1940s, for example, a significant deviation of the main road between Taihape and Turangarere was undertaken. See Cleaver, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', pp192-193.

⁹⁸³ Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, p 148 (pages following).

labourers for the Taihape Borough Council.⁹⁸⁴ It is likely that at least some of these individuals were involved in roading work.

Electoral roll evidence

As noted above, from 1957 the electoral rolls that were prepared for the Maori parliamentary seats began to record details of the occupations of those who enrolled to vote. The rolls therefore provide a useful source of information on Maori employment patterns. This report has examined electoral rolls prepared in three sample years: 1960, 1978, and 1996. These years have been chosen because they provide useful chronological coverage and are separated by the same interval of time. The 2013 census results, discussed later, provide recent data on Maori employment in the inquiry district.

While a helpful form of evidence, electoral rolls do not provide a comprehensive source of employment data. This is because, over the years, as with Pakeha, not all eligible Maori have enrolled to vote, even though enrolment has been compulsory for Maori since 1956.⁹⁸⁵ Also, since 1975, some Maori have chosen to enrol on the general roll instead of the Maori roll.⁹⁸⁶ As it is not possible to easily identify Maori on the general roll, this roll cannot be examined as a source of information on Maori employment. It should be noted that in 1969 the voting age was reduced from 21 to 20 years of age, and in 1974 was lowered again to 18 years of age.

In his history of Maori parliamentary representation, Sorrenson provides data on the proportion of Maori enrolled on Maori electoral rolls between 1949 and 1984.⁹⁸⁷ The data shows some fluctuation between election years. Enrolment rates in 1960 and 1978 (two of the sample years examined here) were among the highest, with about 85 percent and 82 percent of eligible Maori being enrolled on the Maori rolls. These figures, it should be noted, are based on a definition of Maori as being an individual of half or more Maori descent. Further, Sorrenson states that, owing to difficulties with the compilation of the 1978 roll, the figures he provides for 1978 must be treated with caution. Research for this report has not established the proportion of eligible Maori voters who registered on the 1996 Maori electoral roll.

⁹⁸⁴ Moar, 'The Origins of Taihape', p3.

⁹⁸⁵ M.P.K. Sorrenson, 'A history of Maori representation in parliament', Appendix B of *Towards a Better Democracy – Report of The Royal Commission on the Electoral System*, Wellington, V.R. Ward, Government Printer, 1986, p47.

⁹⁸⁶ Sorrenson, 'A history of Maori representation', p52.

⁹⁸⁷ Sorrenson, 'A history of Maori representation', p82.

The discussion of enrolment rates presented here has been based on national-level figures. The census information collected for this report sheds some light on the proportion of eligible Maori in the Taihape inquiry district who were enrolled to vote in 1960. Table 13 has recorded that the 1966 census results recorded 1,684 Maori residing in the inquiry district. As detailed in Table 23, the 1960 electoral roll includes only 203 individuals who were living within the district. The census figures, it should be noted, deal with the total Maori population, while only individuals aged 18 years and over were eligible to vote. It is possible that there was some population increase between 1960 and 1966. (As discussed below, the Tongariro Power Development Scheme brought some workers into the district around this time.) But even if this was the case, it appears likely that the rate of enrolment in the Taihape inquiry district in 1960 was lower than the national average.

In 1978, the number of individuals in the inquiry district enrolled on the Maori roll was 799, a significant increase from the 1960 figure. (This partly reflects the lowering of the voting age, which would have increased the number of eligible voters.) In 1996, however, only 533 individuals residing in the inquiry district are listed on the Maori roll. Without accurate census data for these years, it is not possible to determine the extent to which the 1978 and 1996 figures represent changes in the size of the district's Maori population or fluctuating rates of enrolment. One potential cause of population decrease between 1978 and 1996 was government economic restructuring policies introduced from the mid 1980s. The decline of employment opportunities within the state sector that resulted from this is discussed later.

Table 23: Number of individuals and places of residence recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 electoral rolls, Taihape inquiry district⁹⁸⁸

Place of residence	1960	1978	1996
Bennett's Siding	1	1	-
Erewhon Station	-	1	-
Hihitahi	7	1	3
Huntermville	3	67	52
Kimbolton	-	2	-
Mangaweka	1	7	6
Mataroa	-	1	1
Moawhango	21	17	-
Ohingaiti	14	9	12

⁹⁸⁸ Data extracted from the following electoral rolls: Southern Maori 1960, Western Maori 1960, Western Maori supplementary 1960, Southern Maori 1978, Western Maori 1978, Western Maori supplementary 1978, Western Maori addendum 1978, and Te Puku o Te Whenua composite 1996.

Place of residence	1960	1978	1996
Ohotu	-	7	-
Opaea	4	3	-
Orangipongo	2	-	-
Pukeokahu	-	4	-
Pukeroa	-	1	-
Pungataua	-	2	-
Putorino	1-	8	2
Rangiwaia	1	-	-
Rangiwahia	-	4	2
Rata	14	28	-
Taihape	59	332	256
Titiraukawa	-	1	-
Turangarere	6	1	-
Utiku	4	21	16
Wainui Junction	-	1	-
Waiouru	56	267	183
Winiata	-	13	-
Total	203	799	533

As noted above, given that electoral rolls do not capture the whole of the adult Maori population, there are limits to the extent to which they can be relied upon to provide a clear representation of Maori employment. It is possible that, as a group, those who did not enrol to vote had a different occupation and employment profile from those who registered to vote. For example, a failure to enrol might reflect higher levels of social, economic, and political marginalisation. Nevertheless, data extracted from the rolls at provides an indication of the sorts of work undertaken by Maori and how this changed.

Table 24: Occupations recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls (categorised), Taihape inquiry district⁹⁸⁹

Category	Sub-category	1960	1978	1996
Managers	Hospitality, Retail and Service Managers	-	-	5
	Other Managers	-	5	9
Professionals	Arts and Media Professionals	-	3	2
	Business, Human Resource and Marketing Professionals	-	-	1
	Education Professionals	4	9	17
	Health Professionals	3	14	5
	Legal, Social and Welfare Professionals	1	-	1
Technicians and Trades Workers	Automotive and Engineering Trades Workers	1	9	7
	Construction Trades Workers	1	4	2
	Electrotechnology and Telecommunications Trades Workers	-	2	-

⁹⁸⁹ Data extracted from the following electoral rolls: Southern Maori 1960, Western Maori 1960, Western Maori supplementary 1960, Southern Maori 1978, Western Maori 1978, Western Maori supplementary 1978, Western Maori addendum 1978, and Te Puku o Te Whenua composite 1996.

Category	Sub-category	1960	1978	1996
	Engineering, ICT and Science Technicians	-	-	1
	Food Trades Workers	-	8	7
	Textile, Clothing and Footwear Trades Workers	-	-	1
	Other Technicians and Trades Workers	-	1	2
Community and Personal Service Workers	Health and Welfare Support Workers	-	-	7
	Carers and Aides	2	5	6
	Hospitality Workers	-	16	9
Clerical and Administrative Workers	Clerical and Office Support Workers	-	15	6
	General Clerical Workers	-	5	3
	Inquiry Clerks and Receptionists	-	1	1
	Numerical Clerks	-	-	1
	Personal Assistants and Secretaries	-	-	2
	Office Managers and Program Administrators	-	-	2
Sales Workers	Sales Representatives and Agents	2	1	1
	Sales Support Workers	-	4	4
Machinery Operators and Drivers	Machine and Stationary Plant Operators	-	7	2
	Mobile Plant Operators	-	-	1
	Road Drivers	6	30	13
	Storepersons	-	4	8
Labourers	Cleaners and Laundry Workers	-	4	7
	Construction and Mining Labourers	3	2	2
	Factory Process Workers	-	6	3
	Forestry and Garden Workers	-	2	3
	Food Preparation Assistants	-	4	3
	Other Labourers	33	47	17
Farming	Farmers	16	14	8
	Farm Managers	1	1	-
	Farm Workers	6	70	38
Government	Ministry of Works	1	3	-
	New Zealand Railways (and later rail enterprises)	10	50	3
	Other Government Workers	1	8	2
Military	Civilian	-	-	1
	Officer	-	5	6
	Soldier	34	127	94
Studying and Self Employed	Studying	-	2	21
	Self-employed	-	-	5
Pensioners		6	27	27
Domestic Duties		68	272	99
Unemployed		0	2	48
Other/ Unclear		4	10	20
Total		203	799	533

Table 24 presents details of the occupations of Maori listed in the 1960, 1978, and 1996 electoral rolls as residing in the Taihape inquiry district. In order to present the data more concisely, the various occupations have been grouped together in categories that Statistics New Zealand currently uses to present employment data.⁹⁹⁰ This provides a clearer picture of the types of

⁹⁹⁰ The Australian and New Zealand Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) provides eight high-level occupation categories, which are broken down into five sub-levels of increasing granularity. The first two levels were found to be sufficient to categorise the employment data gathered for the Taihape inquiry district. In addition to the standard categories, eight additional categories were added to group the Taihape employment data. Three of these categories (farming, government and military) were added to reflect the key sources of employment in the inquiry district. Five other categories were added to cater for individuals

work that Taihape Maori were doing in the three years sampled and how this changed. The uncategorised data, comprising 250 different occupation titles, is presented in Appendix 5.

The data presented in Table 24 does not distinguish between the occupations of males and females, yet there are significant differences in the employment data that has been yielded for each gender. Appendix 6 sets out the electoral roll data for males and females (in uncategorised form). It shows that, unlike males, females were involved in domestic work to a significant extent. It is likely that much of this was unpaid work. In the three sample years, the proportion of women engaged in domestic work was: 86 percent (1960), 72 percent (1978), and 37 percent (1996).⁹⁹¹ By 1996, proportionately fewer women were involved in domestic work – a little more than one-third of those enrolled to vote. A greater diversity of occupation is evident among women by this time. However, not all of the new types of occupation that women listed in 1996 involved paid work, including ‘student’ (5 percent) and ‘unemployed’ (6 percent).

Unsurprisingly, the data presented in Appendix 6 shows that males dominated participation in some occupations. Notably, males were overwhelmingly involved in the occupations that fall within the following categories listed in Table 24: Labourers, Farming, Government, and Military. The various occupations within these categories all appear to have involved paid work.

Table 25 sets out the proportion of individuals listed in each occupation category for the three sample years. In 1960 and 1978, Maori participation in paid work in the inquiry district appears to have been dominated by employment within the Labourers, Farming, Government, and Military categories. By 1996, involvement in the Government work category work had declined to a low level, and employment within the Labourers and Farming categories had diminished somewhat, though both remained important. In contrast, the proportion of Maori employed in the Military category was greater in 1996.

who are not employees of an existing organisation (studying and self employed, pensioners, domestic duties, unemployed, and other/unclear).

⁹⁹¹ These calculations are based on the number of individuals who identified themselves to be female. Among the individuals listed on the 1978 and 1996 rolls were some who did not specify their gender – about 10 percent and 8 percent respectively. The following domestic work descriptions are provided in the three rolls: Domestic, Domestic Duties, Hom Executy, Home Duties, Home Excute, Home Maker, Home Person, House Excute, House Mother, Housemum, Housewife, Hsmthr, Hsrf, Hswf, Kaiawhina, Married, Mother, Parent, Solo Mother, Solo Parent.

Table 25: Proportion of individuals in each occupation category as recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls, Taihape inquiry district⁹⁹²

Category	1960	1978	1996
Managers	0.0	0.6	2.6
Professionals	3.9	3.3	4.9
Technicians and Trades Workers	1.0	3.0	3.8
Community and Personal Service Workers	1.0	2.6	4.1
Clerical and Administrative Workers	0.0	2.6	2.8
Sales Workers	1.0	0.6	0.9
Machinery Operators and Drivers	3.0	5.1	4.5
Labourers	17.7	8.1	6.6
Farming	11.3	10.6	8.6
Government	5.9	7.6	0.9
Military	16.7	16.5	18.9
Studying and Self Employed	0.0	0.3	4.9
Pensioners	3.0	3.4	5.1
Domestic Duties	33.5	34.0	18.6
Unemployed	0.0	0.3	9.0
Other/ Unclear	2.0	1.3	3.8
Total (rounded)	100	100	100

Between 1949 and 1969, Maori electoral rolls also included details of individual's principal iwi affiliation. Of the three sampled years, the 1960 roll is therefore the only one from which it has been possible to collect data on the iwi affiliation of those enrolled. Table 14, presented earlier in the chapter, details that only 87 (or about 43 percent) of the 203 Maori listed on the 1960 roll stated that they were primarily affiliated to one of the Mokai Patea iwi or an iwi that potentially represented a primary affiliation to Mokai Patea tribal interests. Appendix 7 comprehensively lists the various iwi named in the 1960 electoral roll and the number of people affiliated to each group.

It is likely that many of the individuals on the 1960 roll who were without Mokai Patea tribal affiliations moved into the district in order to take advantage of work opportunities. Claimants have stated that some of these

⁹⁹² In respect of the 1960 data, it should be noted that the significance of the male-dominated occupation categories is exaggerated because of a seemingly large difference in male and female enrolment rates. For reasons that are unclear, only about 38 percent of those listed on the 1960 electoral roll were woman. In the two later sample years, the proportion of male and female enrolments was very similar.

individuals intermarried with Mokai Patea Maori.⁹⁹³ Table 26 records, in uncategorised form, the occupations of the 87 individuals listed on the 1960 roll who stated Mokai Patea iwi affiliations or potential affiliations. A comparison of Table 24 and Table 26 shows that non-Mokai Patea Maori were involved in all categories of occupation. In respect of the four most important categories of paid work, non-Mokai Patea Maori dominated Maori participation: Labourers (61 percent), Farming (65 percent), Government (67 percent), and Military (76 percent).

Table 26: Occupation data recorded in 1960 electoral roll, Mokai Patea iwi⁹⁹⁴

Occupation	Female	Male
Carpenter	-	1
Contractor	-	3
Domestic duties	24	-
Driver	-	5
Farmer	-	5
Farmhand	-	1
Housekeeper	1	-
Housewife	2	-
Labourer	-	10
Married	9	-
Naval rating	-	2
Nurse	1	-
NZR employee	-	2
NZR fireman	-	1
Pensioner	-	1
Railway employee	-	1
Retired	-	1
Roadman	-	1
School teacher	1	-
Shearer	-	1
Shepherd	-	1
Soldier	-	6
Spinster	2	-
Surfaceman	-	3
Teacher	-	1
Widow	1	-
Total	41	46

⁹⁹³ At the research hui held on 25 May 2015, Hari Benevides and Neville Lomax stated that some men from outside the rohe who came into the district for work married local women.

⁹⁹⁴ Data extracted from the following electoral rolls: Southern Maori 1960, Western Maori 1960, and Western Maori supplementary 1960.

Employment data in 2013 census results

Data from the 2013 census provides accurate, recent statistical information regarding employment in the Taihape inquiry district. As with the 2013 population data, Statistics New Zealand has supplied this data, which relates closely with the boundaries of the inquiry district. Table 27 provides details of the work and labour force status of the inquiry district's Maori and non-Maori population in 2013. Adapted from this, Table 28 sets out the proportion of Maori and non-Maori within the various employment categories. Tables 29 and 30 provide details of the occupations held by Maori and non-Maori employed in the inquiry district.

Table 27: Employment status of residents aged 15 years and over in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census⁹⁹⁵

Work and labour force status	Maori only	Maori and at least one other ethnic group	Total Maori	Non-Maori	Not elsewhere included	Total
Employed Full-time	333	258	594	1,902	12	2,508
Employed Part-time	78	69	150	456	C	609
Total Employed	414	330	744	2,358	12	3,114
Unemployed	27	33	60	75	C	138
Total Labour Force	438	366	804	2,433	12	3,249
Not in the Labour Force	150	90	240	726	9	975
Work and Labour Force Status Unidentifiable	C	C	C	51	120	123
Total	588	456	1,044	3,156	144	4,350

⁹⁹⁵ Employed includes Full-time & Part-time Employed and is related to work in the 7 days prior to Sunday 3 March 2013. Full-time is equal to people working 30 or more hours per week. Confidentiality rules have been applied to all cells in this table, including randomly rounding to base 3. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary in different tables. 'C' indicates cells have been suppressed for confidentiality reasons. Table 2: 2013 Census of Population and Dwellings, Georgie Craw, 'Sociodemographic scoping exercise', Wai 2180 #A28(a).

Table 28: Employment status of residents aged 15 years and over in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census results – proportion of Maori and non-Maori in each category

Work and labour force status	Maori⁹⁹⁶	Non-Maori
Employed Full-time	56.9	60.2
Employed Part-time	14.4	14.4
Total Employed	71.3	74.7
Unemployed	5.7	2.4
Total Labour Force	77.0	77.1
Not in the Labour Force	23.0	23.0
Work and Labour Force Status Unidentifiable	C	1.6

Table 29: Occupations of full-time and part employed in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census⁹⁹⁷

Occupation	Maori only	Maori and at least one other ethnic group	Total Maori	Non-Maori	Not elsewhere included	Total
Managers (includes farmers and farm managers)	45	54	99	690	C	792
Professionals	30	27	57	237	C	291
Technicians and Trades Workers	57	42	96	240	C	339
Community and Personal Service Workers	69	57	126	261	C	390
Clerical and Administrative Workers	24	27	51	174	C	225
Sales Workers	27	27	57	117	C	174
Machinery Operators and Drivers	33	21	54	129	C	183
Labourers	93	66	159	402	C	564
Not Elsewhere Included	33	12	45	108	C	156
Total	411	330	744	2,358	12	3,114

⁹⁹⁶ Includes individuals whose ethnicity is recorded as 'Maori only' and those recorded as 'Maori and at least one other ethnic group'.

⁹⁹⁷ Employed includes Full-time & Part-time Employed and is related to work in the 7 days prior to Sunday 3 March 2013. Again, confidentiality rules have been applied to all cells in this table, including randomly rounding to base 3. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary in different tables. 'C' indicates cells have been suppressed for confidentiality reasons. Table 2(a): 2013 Census of Population and Dwellings, Georgie Crow, 'Sociodemographic scoping exercise', Wai 2180 #A28(a).

Table 30: Occupations of full-time and part employed in Taihape inquiry district, 2013 census – proportion of Maori and non-Maori in each category

Occupation	Maori	Non-Maori
Managers (includes farmers and farm managers)	13.3	29.3
Professionals	7.7	10.1
Technicians and Trades Workers	12.9	10.2
Community and Personal Service Workers	16.9	11.1
Clerical and Administrative Workers	6.9	7.4
Sales Workers	7.7	5.0
Machinery Operators and Drivers	7.3	5.5
Labourers	21.4	17.0
Not Elsewhere Included	6.0	4.6
Total (rounded)	100.0	100.0

As detailed earlier in Table 16, the 2013 census data shows that a significant proportion of the Maori population of the inquiry district does not affiliate to Mokai Patea iwi. However, the 2013 census results do not provide employment data that distinguishes between Mokai Patea Maori and other Maori who live in the district.

The data presented in Tables 27, 28, 29, and 30 shows some differences in the employment status and occupations of Maori and non-Maori within the inquiry district. In terms of employment status, the proportion of Maori employed was a little less than non-Maori, both being in the range of 70 to 75 percent. Rates of unemployment were more significant. At 5.7 percent, the Maori unemployment rate was almost 2½ times greater than that of non-Maori.

Further significant differences are evident in respect of the occupations held by those employed. There was a notable divergence in the extent to which Maori and non-Maori were employed within the Managers and Professionals categories, which is likely to have involved the highest-paid work in the inquiry district. (As noted in Tables 29 and 30, farmers and farm managers are captured here within the Managers category.) Only about 21 percent of Maori worked within these categories, compared to about 39 percent of non-Maori. Conversely, more Maori worked in the presumably lower-paid Labourers category, with rates for Maori and non-Maori being about 21 percent and 17 percent respectively.

Differences between Maori and non-Maori rates of employment and levels of involvement in the various occupation categories are reflected in personal income levels recorded in the 2013 census. For individuals aged 15 years

and over, the mean income of Maori residing in the inquiry district was \$30,000, only about 81 percent of figure for non-Maori, which was \$36,900.⁹⁹⁸

Military employment

Since the mid-twentieth century, employment with New Zealand's military forces has been an important form of paid work in the Taihape inquiry district. This work has been based at Waiouru and stems from the establishment of the Waiouru military camp and Army training ground at the beginning of World War II. Between 1943 and 1993 a Navy radio communications station also operated near Waiouru, though employment with the New Zealand Army provided the main work opportunity.⁹⁹⁹

Data extracted from the Maori electoral rolls and presented above in Table 24 shows that, in the second half of the twentieth century, military employment was numerically among the most significant of the occupations that Maori were involved in within the inquiry district. In terms of paid employment, military work appears to have been the single most important form of employment. An examination of Appendix 6 shows that military employment has been dominated by males, though some females have been involved. In 1960, 1978, and 1996, the proportion of Maori males listed on the electoral rolls as being engaged in military occupations was at least 27 percent, 29 percent, and 35 percent respectively.

Unsurprisingly, a significant proportion of the Maori population of the inquiry district has resided at Waiouru since the mid-twentieth century. The 1966 census results, presented in Table 13, recorded 433 Maori residing at Waiouru camp, which equated to about 26 percent of the inquiry district's Maori population. Population data from the 2013 census, detailed in Table 15, shows relatively little change, with about 22 percent of the Maori population residing at Waiouru. Maori have evidently comprised a large proportion of those who have been employed in military work at Waiouru, reflecting high levels of Maori involvement in the Army generally.¹⁰⁰⁰ In 2013,

⁹⁹⁸ Table 3: 2013 Census of Population and Dwellings, Georgie Crow, 'Sociodemographic scoping exercise', Wai 2180 #A28(a).

⁹⁹⁹ See David Davies, *Morse code and snowflakes: the story of HMNZS Irirangi, the Naval Radio at Waiouru and of the people who served there in war and peace*, Levin, 2007.

¹⁰⁰⁰ In 2008, the New Zealand Army was believed to be New Zealand's largest single employer of Maori, with at least 1,000 Maori serving – more than 20 percent of all personnel. 'Warriors of the land sea and air', *Kokiri*, Issue, 9 August 2008, p41. Te Puna Kokiri website, accessed on 1 June 2016.

URL: <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/mo-te-puni-kokiri/kokiri-magazine/kokiri-9-2008>

as detailed in Table 15, about 45 percent of people within the Waiouru Census Area Unit were of Maori descent.

As noted already, many of the Maori involved in military work at Waiouru were from outside the inquiry district and not affiliated to Mokai Patea iwi. However, it is evident that some Mokai Patea Maori were engaged in military occupations at Waiouru. In the 1960 electoral roll, as detailed in Table 26, 8 (or about 17 percent) of the 46 males affiliated or potentially affiliated to Mokai Patea iwi were involved in military work. All these individuals stated that their iwi was either Ngati Kahungunu or Ngati Tuwharetoa, so the extent to which these individuals represented Mokai Patea tribal interests is not entirely clear. However, claimant evidence indicates that some Mokai Patea Maori have definitely been involved in military employment at Waiouru. During a research hui held at Winiata Marae in July 2012, it was stated that a number of local men had worked in the Army over the years.¹⁰⁰¹ It is possible that some of these men served at Waiouru for a period and then served at other bases, which meant that they would not be captured in local electoral roll data. Claimants have also stated that some women used to commute to Waiouru to work in the mess hall.¹⁰⁰²

Research for this report has not closely examined the sorts of positions that Maori held within the Army at Waiouru and the extent to which they were able to gain leadership roles. As recorded in Table 24, the 1960 electoral roll records no details of Maori serving as officers. However, the 1978 and 1996 rolls include details of several Maori officers among those stationed at Waiouru. These individuals respectively represented 4 and 6 percent of the total number of those involved in military work.

Other state-sector work opportunities

Military employment at Waiouru has been one type of government employment. Other work opportunities within the state sector also existed during the period examined in this chapter. As detailed in Table 24, an apparently small number of Maori worked for the Ministry of Works (until 1943, the Public Works Department). The Ministry of Works was for many years responsible for maintaining and upgrading the main roads that passed through the district.¹⁰⁰³ Of a more temporary nature, as detailed below, it

¹⁰⁰¹ This hui concerned the taking of Maori land for public works purposes. As noted above, a large proportion of the training ground land was compulsorily taken from Maori.

¹⁰⁰² Hari Benevides mentioned this during the research hui held on 25 May 2015.

¹⁰⁰³ The Ministry of Works carried out several major upgrades and deviations within the inquiry district. In the early 1940s, for example, a significant deviation of the main road between Taihape and Turangarere was undertaken. Later, during the 1970s, major reconstruction works were carried out on the section of main highway between Mangaweka

was also responsible for the construction of the Tongariro Power Development Scheme during the 1960s and 1970s. Table 24 also records that, within the state sector, Maori worked for New Zealand Railways (NZR) and were involved in miscellaneous other government work, included, for example, employment with New Zealand Post Office. It is possible that some individuals recorded in other occupation categories were employed by state-sector agencies. For example, some of those listed as Labourers potentially might have worked for the Ministry of Works. The sharp drop off of work within the government category by 1996 reflects the extensive restructuring of state-sector agencies that had taken place by this time – a development that is discussed further below.

Of the categories listed in Table 25, occupations within the Government category were the fourth most important form of paid work for Maori in 1960 and 1978 (behind Military, Farming, and Labourers). As detailed in Table 24, employment with NZR was by far the most important form of work within the category. It is evident that NZR, which had assumed control of the NIMT as sections of the line were completed, maintained a reasonably large workforce in the inquiry district for many years, reflecting the importance of the NIMT within the rail network. The work of NZR employees included line maintenance, yard work, track control, and the operation of trains. Along with a secure income and opportunities for promotion, some workers were able to occupy NZR houses.¹⁰⁰⁴

The main place of NZR employment in the inquiry district was at Taihape, which officials selected as a regional centre for rail operations during the construction of the NIMT. After the line was completed, staff numbers increased in the town as Taihape's station became the loading and unloading point for the incline between Marton and Ohakune.¹⁰⁰⁵ According to Moar, there were 68 NZR employees in Taihape in 1914. By 1955, the number was about 200 and there were 94 NZR houses in the town.¹⁰⁰⁶ It is uncertain how many NZR employees were located in other places in the inquiry district at this time.

It is unclear when Maori became involved in the NZR workforce within the inquiry district. The electoral rolls provide the first evidence of Maori employment with NZR. As detailed in Table 26, the 1960 roll recorded 10

and Utiku. Cleaver, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', pp192-193. Laurenson, *Rangitikei*, p184.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', pp215-219.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Moar, 'The Origins of Taihape', pp59-65.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Moar, 'The Origins of Taihape', p64.

Maori railway employees. All of these individuals were men, and they comprised 8 percent of the males listed on the 1960 roll. The 1978 roll lists 50 railway workers, 48 of whom were men – about 14 percent of the males listed on the 1978 roll. By this time, Maori appear to have comprised a significant proportion of the NZR workforce. A 1980 NZR staff list records a total of 136 employees in the inquiry district, the majority of whom (87 percent) were based in Taihape.¹⁰⁰⁷ Assuming there was little change in the NZR workforce between 1978 and 1980, at least 37 percent of railway workers in the inquiry district were Maori.

As with military employment at Waiouru, it seems that many of those who worked for NZR were Maori from outside of the inquiry district. This is unsurprising given that there generally appears to have been high mobility within the NZR workforce, with employees sometimes shifting around the country to take up new positions. Some Mokai Patea Maori who gained employment with NZR shifted to other parts of the country in the course of their work.¹⁰⁰⁸ The 1960 electoral roll provides some indication of the extent to which Mokai Patea were involved in NZR employment. As detailed in Table 26, 4 (or about 9 percent) of the 46 males affiliated or potentially affiliated to Mokai Patea iwi were NZR employees. As these individuals all stated an iwi affiliation to either Ngati Kahungunu or Ngati Tuwharetoa, the extent to which they represented Mokai Patea tribal interests is, again, unclear.

Before examining the post-1984 restructuring of the state sector, two other government employment opportunities are briefly examined here, neither of which are obviously captured in the 1960, 1978, and 1996 electoral roll data. In contrast to the employment opportunities that existed within the military and NZR, this work was of a more short-term nature. It arose from two major state-sector construction projects that were undertaken within and near the inquiry district during the second half of the twentieth century. The most significant of these was the Tongariro Power Development Scheme, which, as noted above, was built during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁰⁰⁹ Most of the works associated with the scheme lay outside and to the north of the inquiry district.¹⁰¹⁰ Within the inquiry district, an aqueduct and tunnels

¹⁰⁰⁷ Other workers were located at Hunterville (5), Mangaweka (1), and Waiouru (7). See *NZR List of Staff 1980*, ANZ Wellington (open shelf).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Neville Lomax, a former NZR employee, noted this during the research hui held on 25 May 2015.

¹⁰⁰⁹ The Waitangi Tribunal's *Turangi Township Report* provides a useful overview of the planning of the scheme and its layout. Waitangi Tribunal, *Turangi Township Report 1995*, Brooker, Wellington, 1995.

¹⁰¹⁰ Jock Phillips, 'Bridges and tunnels – Road and utility tunnels', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 15 November 2012.

were formed and the Moawhango River was dammed to create Lake Moawhango. Construction of these particular works appears to have begun in about 1965.¹⁰¹¹

Research for this report has not established details of the number of people who worked on the Tongariro Power Development Scheme during its various stages of construction. However, given the scope of the scheme and the length of time over which it was built, it is likely that the scheme created significant employment opportunities. Though Maori had interests in the lands and waterways that were affected by the project, no special provision appears to have been made for Maori involvement in the construction work. In *Turangi Township Report*, the Tribunal notes that officials held meetings with Ngati Tuwharetoa before work on the scheme began. While a number of assurances were made to Ngati Tuwharetoa (primarily in respect of the land required for the scheme and the development of Turangi township), it appears that no undertakings were made regarding Maori employment.¹⁰¹² The government evidently did not consult with other Maori with interests in the area.¹⁰¹³

Though it seems that no special provision was made for local Maori to gain work on the Tongariro Power Development Scheme, the project nevertheless presented an employment opportunity and some Maori appear to have worked on the project. The 1966 census results, presented in Table 13, record 47 Maori residing at a Ministry of Works' camp at Waiouru. (Some 154 Pakeha were also residing at the camp.) It is very likely that these people were engaged in work on the Tongariro Power Development Scheme. The extent to which Mokai Patea Maori were among the Maori who worked on the scheme is unclear. Some may have relocated to Turangi, which was developed in connection with the project, though no evidence concerning this has been located.¹⁰¹⁴

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map2/23658/tongariro-power-scheme>

¹⁰¹¹ Cleaver, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', p89, footnote 371.

¹⁰¹² Waitangi Tribunal, *Turangi Township Report 1995*, Brooker, Wellington, 1995, chapter four.

¹⁰¹³ The absence of consultation with Whanganui iwi, for example, is noted in the Tribunal's report on claims concerning the Whanganui River. Waitangi Tribunal, *The Whanganui River Report*, GP Publications, Wellington, 1999, pp233-238.

¹⁰¹⁴ In her scoping report on socio-economic issues in the National Park inquiry district, Leanne Boulton notes that very little evidence is available on the number of Maori who were employed at Turangi in connection with the scheme. She states that several surveys of employment in Turangi were undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s, but these provide no data on Maori. Leanne Boulton, 'Scoping Report: Contextual Material on Maori and Socio-Economic Issues in the National Park Inquiry District, 1890-1990', Waitangi Tribunal Unit, February 2006, Wai 1130 #A57, p98.

The second major state-sector construction project undertaken in the inquiry district was the Mangaweka Deviation of the NIMT, which covered a distance of seven kilometres and was the most substantial realignment undertaken after the railway's completion.¹⁰¹⁵ This project began in the 1970s and, after several years of construction activity, finished in 1981. According to one source, Mangaweka experienced a 'mini boom' when work on the deviation was being carried out.¹⁰¹⁶ Electoral roll data for 1978 provides no clear indication of the extent to which Maori were involved in the construction of the deviation. Some of those listed in the Machinery Operators and Drivers and the Labourers categories were possibly involved in the work. On the other hand, as detailed in Table 23, the 1978 roll recorded only seven Maori residing at Mangaweka, though it is possible that Maori workers travelled to the deviation works from other locations.

Restructuring of the state sector

Military work opportunities at Waiouru do not appear to have been substantially affected by the economic restructuring that began in the 1980s. Other important areas of government employment, however, contracted significantly. This is reflected in the number of Maori who worked within these areas. The data presented in Table 24 indicates that that between 1978 and 1996 there was a dramatic decrease in the number of Maori within the Government work category, defined as comprising employment with the Ministry of Works, NZR, and 'Other Government Workers'. As detailed in Table 25, the proportion of Maori listed on electoral rolls as being employed within this category fell from 7.6 percent in 1978 to 0.9 percent in 1996. During the same period, there was a corresponding increase in the proportion of individuals who were recorded as being unemployed, which rose from 0.3 to 9.0 percent.

Maori involvement in railway work, the most important form of government work outside of military employment, fell to an insignificant level. While more than six percent of all those listed on the 1978 roll were railway workers, only about 0.5 percent of individuals on the 1996 roll were involved in railway work. This was consistent with developments at the national level, which saw the number of railway workers decrease from 21,000 in 1980 to 5,400 in 1992, when rail operations were privatised.¹⁰¹⁷ In 1999, the number

¹⁰¹⁵ Cleaver, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', p158.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Mangaweka and district's first 100 years*, Mangaweka and District Centennial Committee, printed in Marton, 1985, pp41-43.

¹⁰¹⁷ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p226, 233.

of full-time equivalent staff employed by the private operator, Tranz Rail, was about 4,300.¹⁰¹⁸

The first steps towards a comprehensive restructuring of NZR were taken in the early 1980s by the National Government. These moves were in response to NZR's deteriorating financial performance and they followed developments overseas, where some restructuring of national railway operators had already taken place.¹⁰¹⁹ In 1982, NZR was corporatised and expected to return a financial profit. The implementation of major cuts to the number of railway employees began in mid-1980s after Labour entered office. NZR workers were offered redundancy packages, which provided employees with some short-term economic security.¹⁰²⁰ In 1989, the chief executive of the New Zealand Railways Corporation, Kevin Hyde, claimed that all severances had been achieved on a 'voluntary' basis, without compulsion.¹⁰²¹ Alongside NZR, other state-sector trading departments were also subject to corporatisation and restructuring that involved substantial job losses.¹⁰²²

The extent to which central government considered and attempted to mitigate the social impacts of state-sector restructuring is considered here. The discussion draws largely on Cleaver and Sarich's report on the NIMT prepared for the Rohe Potae district inquiry, which examines the restructuring of the rail system. Their report explains that the Labour Government was aware that the process of corporatisation and restructuring would be attended by significant social impacts. In July 1986, for example, the government's Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee on State-Owned Enterprises expressed concern about 'transitional issues', particularly regional employment impacts, arising from the establishment of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).¹⁰²³

¹⁰¹⁸ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p235.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p225.

¹⁰²⁰ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', pp240-241.

¹⁰²¹ *Rails*, July 1989, p266, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p244.

¹⁰²² According to Duncan and Bollard, between 1987 and 1991 some 30,000 jobs were cut from the following seven SOEs: Coalcorp, Electricorp, Forestrycorp, New Zealand Post, Railways, State Insurance, and Telecom. Ian Duncan and Alan Bollard, *Corporatization and privatization: lessons from New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, p67.

¹⁰²³ Briefing paper, 'Social Costs of Transitions to Corporation', Chairman, State Services Commission to Chairman, Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee on State Owned Enterprises, 19 August 1986, p1, AAFH W4160 24 100/3/1/2 part 1, ANZ Wellington, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p245.

The Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee requested that the State Services Commission (SSC) prepare a report on the social costs that would arise from the transition to corporations. In a paper dated 28 August 1986, the SSC advised that social impacts from corporatisation were inevitable and would affect both individuals and communities. The SSC considered, however, that the reduction in staff numbers would cause only 'short term dislocation'. There was no suggestion that the restructuring of SOEs should not proceed to avoid the social impacts that would result from the process. Rather, restructuring was considered an important part of the reforms deemed necessary to regenerate the economy and create new, more profitable areas of employment.¹⁰²⁴

In a paper prepared for the Minister of Finance, dated 28 October 1986, the Treasury reiterated the view that the general process of economic reform should continue regardless of social impacts. It argued that these impacts would be of a temporary nature and would ease when the benefits of the reforms were felt. Treasury acknowledged that the adjustment process involved 'a number of short term costs' and would result in a period of slower economic growth and higher unemployment. Treasury further acknowledged that the 'adjustment costs' would be higher for some individuals and regions, particularly where earlier Government policies had had 'distortionary effects across regions'. However, it was argued that surplus labour released from firms and areas of the economy that were no longer profitable would – as a result of the reforms – eventually be picked up by new firms and activities, often in different parts of the region or the country. Though Treasury anticipated that some regional migration would be necessary, it believed that many of the reforms would benefit regions and that it would be wrong to assume that the outcome of the policies would lead to all regions declining.¹⁰²⁵

In August 1986, in accordance with a recommendation from the SSC, the Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee on State-Owned Enterprises decided to set aside resources for one year to enable a special unit within the SSC to monitor and provide advice on the social impacts associated with the restructure of the public sector.¹⁰²⁶ The unit that was created, somewhat

¹⁰²⁴ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p245.

¹⁰²⁵ Briefing paper, 'Structural Adjustment Assistance and Disadvantaged Workers', Secretary to the Treasury to the Minister of Finance, 28 October 1986, p2, AALR 873 W5427 230 39/1A part 2, ANZ Wellington, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p246.

¹⁰²⁶ Briefing paper, 'Social Impact of Transition to Corporations', undated, AAFH W4160 24 100/3/1 part 1, ANZ Wellington, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae', p247.

late in the corporatisation process, was known as the Social Impact Unit (SIU). An official who worked in the SIU observed that it was constrained by access to information and a limited scope for consultation – reasons that helped to explain why it was viewed as ‘somewhat marginal to the corporatisation process’.¹⁰²⁷

Government measures to provide assistance to individuals and communities affected by the restructuring of SOEs were of a limited nature. This approach perhaps reflects advice that Treasury provided the Minister of Finance in its paper of 28 October 1986, where it was argued that any assistance, including employment creation schemes, should be of a level that would not affect the reform process:

From our perspective, it is important to ensure that any intervention facilitates the adjustment process and does not prevent it or slow it down. In other words Government interventions should not impede the release of productive resources, including labour, from declining industries and regions into activities where there will be long term benefit to New Zealand.¹⁰²⁸

Assistance was mostly provided through existing Government services, including the unemployment benefit, retraining under the Training Assistance Programme, and targeted employment subsidies under the Job Opportunity Scheme.¹⁰²⁹ In October 1986, Cabinet decided to supplement existing schemes by providing \$5 million for an ‘Adjustment Assistance Contingency Fund’.¹⁰³⁰ The objective of the fund, it was noted, was to facilitate rather than inhibit the changes arising from the Government’s SOE policy. The fund would provide \$4 million for allocation in 20 regional co-ordination areas.

¹⁰²⁷ Malcolm, ‘State Owned Enterprises: Social Impact Assessment’, 27 January 1987, p5, AAFH W4160 21 100/1/6 part 1, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, ‘Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae’, p247.

¹⁰²⁸ Briefing paper, ‘Structural Adjustment Assistance and Disadvantaged Workers’, Secretary to the Treasury to the Minister of Finance, 28 October 1986, p3, AALR 873 W5427 230 39/1A part 2, ANZ Wellington, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, ‘Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae’, p247.

¹⁰²⁹ Briefing paper, ‘Social Costs of Transitions to Corporation’, Chairman, State Services Commission to Chairman, Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee on State Owned Enterprises, 19 August 1986, p4, AAFH W4160 24 100/3/1/2 part 1, ANZ Wellington, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, ‘Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae’, p247.

¹⁰³⁰ Draft briefing paper, ‘Summary of Operation of the Adjustment Assistance Contingency Fund’, author unknown, undated, p1, AALR 873 W5427 230 39/1A part 3, ANZ Wellington, cited in Cleaver and Sarich, ‘Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae’, p248.

The Taihape inquiry district was included within the Manawatu regional co-ordination area, which included Horowhenua, Whanganui, Taranaki, Southern King Country, and Manawatu.¹⁰³¹ Between November 1986 and June 1987, a regional co-ordination committee operated in this area, with officials from the Labour Department's Palmerston North office taking the lead role. The committee was to oversee the allocation of monies from the contingency fund and other related efforts to support workers who were to lose their jobs. The committee was expected to focus on providing assistance to Forest Service workers.¹⁰³² The committee contracted consultants to undertake this work. In their final report to the committee, the consultants confirmed that most of their time had been spent with state forestry workers. Few such workers appear to have resided in the Taihape inquiry district.¹⁰³³

On 10 July 1987, after the regional co-ordinating committee had been wound up, the committee's former chairman wrote to the manager of the Social Impact Unit regarding the committee's work. He stated that, in spite of serious time and resource limitations, the committee had been able to usefully assist affected forestry workers. On behalf of the committee, he expressed concern about the lack of suitable co-ordinated regional support for expected future job cuts in the state sector.¹⁰³⁴ In their final report, the consultants that the regional co-ordinating committee had engaged also expressed this concern. In making these comments, they noted the inevitability of future jobs cuts:

Ministry of Works employees see that the restructuring being piloted in our region is only the first stage. Those who haven't been affected this round are aware they could be on the list for the next round, and already they see that the best jobs have gone. Other departments will follow.¹⁰³⁵

Conclusion

Throughout the period covered in this chapter, land-based activities continued to dominate economic activity in the Taihape inquiry district.

¹⁰³¹ Hornblow and Hornblow, Final Report to the Social Impact Regional Co-ordinating Committee, 17 June 1987, AAFH W4160 31/ 100/5/9 part 1, Social Impact Unit – Regional Co-ordinating Committee (Regional Representatives) – Palmerston North/Manawatu, 1986-1987, ANZ Wellington.

¹⁰³² Regional Chairman to Manager, Social Impact Unit, 10 July 1987, AAFH W4160 31/ 100/5/9 part 1, ANZ Wellington.

¹⁰³³ Hornblow and Hornblow, Final Report to the Social Impact Regional Co-ordinating Committee, 17 June 1987, AAFH W4160 31/ 100/5/9 part 1, ANZ Wellington.

¹⁰³⁴ Regional Chairman to Manager, Social Impact Unit, 10 July 1987, AAFH W4160 31/ 100/5/9 part 1, ANZ Wellington.

¹⁰³⁵ Hornblow and Hornblow, Final Report to the Social Impact Regional Co-ordinating Committee, 17 June 1987, AAFH W4160 31/ 100/5/9 part 1, ANZ Wellington.

However, within this sector the forestry industry diminished in importance. While cutting continued into the 1960s, output from the indigenous timber industry declined, and more recent exotic forestry initiatives have been limited. Between 1910 and 2013, Mokai Patea Maori appear to have had little direct involvement in forestry-related ventures.

In contrast to the forestry industry, agriculture – in particular, sheep farming – remained important. Overall, though farm earnings fluctuated from the mid-1980s, agriculture represented the main wealth-generating activity in the inquiry district during the period covered in this chapter. Illustrating the importance of agriculture to the national economy, the government continued to support the development of farming, including, for example, through funding research that helped to improve production. However, in the 1980s, in response to falling prices and a negative long-term outlook, government subsidies and price mechanisms that served to support farmers' incomes were removed, leaving farmers directly exposed to the market.

It has been explained that, at the beginning of the period examined in this chapter, the opportunity for Mokai Patea Maori to secure a strong and lasting stake in the agricultural economy was fading. By 1910, Maori participation in sheep farming, which had begun about 40 years previously, had declined to a low level. As discussed in chapter three, a range of factors contributed to this situation, including the high costs associated with the Native Land Court. The sharp fall in Maori sheep farming was, to a limited extent, offset by some Maori participation in dairying. But at the same time, as an alternative to directly utilising their lands, Mokai Patea Maori turned to long-term leasing arrangements, which saw much of their remaining productive land tied up until the mid-twentieth century. Potential for Maori to establish a substantial role in the agricultural economy diminished further with the passage of the Native Land Act 1909, which opened the way for renewed and extensive purchasing of Maori land. The purchasing that followed resulted in significant further erosion of the Mokai Patea Maori land base and included higher-value farm lands.

During the period examined here, Mokai Patea Maori who sought to utilise their land accessed and sought to take advantage of two different forms of government assistance and support. First, some Maori, using their land as security, continued to access state lending finance. Indeed, government sources of lending, some of which were aimed specifically at Maori, appear to have been the main source of mortgage finance for Mokai Patea Maori. From the number of loans they secured, it seems their ability to secure government loans may have become easier around the beginning of the

period covered in this chapter. However, up until the mid twentieth century, this did not translate into any significant improvement in Mokai Patea Maori participation in the farming economy. Indeed, some of the lending does not appear to have been for farm development purposes, including, for example, loans that appear to have been raised to cover living costs.

The second government initiative that Mokai Patea Maori took advantage of was the provision for improved statutory land management structures. Introduced in the Maori Affairs Act 1953, these measures illustrate that government policy continued to place some emphasis on land utilisation, even though by this time it was understood that land alone could not meet the needs of the Maori population. The owners of many blocks in the inquiry district were to adopt the new structures. As explained in chapter three, at the beginning of the twentieth century many subdivisions of productive land were held by just one or two owners. Fifty years later, the process of succession had undermined the early (and costly) partitioning of interests that had achieved this. In the post-war period, adoption of the improved management entities assisted the modest increase in Maori farming efforts that occurred at this time, which appears to have been sustained through to the present day.

But while some Mokai Patea Maori were able to secure government lending and take advantage of new statutory land management structures, the Crown, overall, failed to sufficiently support Maori participation in the agricultural economy. By 1910, given the extent to which Mokai Patea Maori efforts to farm their land had failed, significant corrective measures appear to have been warranted to assist them to take advantage of the main economic opportunity that existed in the inquiry district. But the Crown did not engage with Mokai Patea Maori and attempt to support their aspirations to utilise their remaining lands. Instead, its immediate focus was upon overseeing and supporting a statutory regime that was to facilitate further, significant land alienation. Ongoing land alienation, it has been noted, was to further limit any potential for Mokai Patea Maori to establish a significant presence in the agricultural economy. Along with the relatively small size of the district's Maori population, a lack of suitable remaining lands would seem to explain why, from the late 1920s, no large-scale land development schemes were initiated in the inquiry district.

With limited direct involvement in forestry and farming, some Mokai Patea Maori derived income from other sources, including from the sale of timber, from placing protection covenants over forest land, and from the sale of stone resources. The proceeds of land sales and rentals from leases were other forms of revenue. During the period examined in this chapter, Mokai

Patea Maori also began to participate in wage work, and it appears this became the main way that they were actively involved in the local economy. Electoral roll data from 1960 and 1978 indicates that Maori (men, in particular) were engaged in four main categories of paid work: farming, labouring, military employment, and government work. It has been noted that opportunities for work in the inquiry district saw many Maori from other areas move into the district. This inward migration appears to account for an increase in the district's Maori population between the 1936 and 1966 censuses.

It might be argued that opportunities for work within the state sector partly offset the government's failure to ensure that Mokai Patea Maori were able, on equal terms with Pakeha, to take advantage of opportunities in the agricultural economy. It has been explained that by the mid-twentieth century the government was generally aware that participation in wage work would be necessary if Maori, as a people, were to achieve a reasonable level of economic wellbeing. In the inquiry district and elsewhere, no special provision was made for employment of Maori within the state sector. However, alongside Maori from outside the district, local Maori became involved in various forms of government work. Numerically, employment with the Army at Waionuru was the most important type of government work, but other forms of work in the state sector were also significant. Notably, a fairly large number of Maori worked for NZR. In the 1978 electoral roll, about 14 percent of males residing in the inquiry district were railway employees.

With the exception of military employment, restructuring of the state sector from the mid 1980s and into the 1990s saw a significant decline in the number of Maori engaged in government work. Of the males and females listed on the 1978 electoral roll, almost eight percent stated that they were involved in non-military government work. The 1996 roll, however, records less than one percent in this category. A decline in the number of NZR workers accounts for most of this drop. As well as showing a sharp decline in government workers, the 1996 electoral roll data records a corresponding increase in the number of unemployed. Compared to just 0.3 percent of individuals on the 1978 roll, nine percent of those listed on the 1996 roll stated that they were unemployed.

In carrying out the restructuring of the state sector, government efforts to mitigate attendant social and economic impacts appear to have been quite limited. It seems that little consideration was given to how Maori, in particular, might be affected. Without significant involvement in land-based opportunities, there is some evidence to suggest that Maori may have relied

more heavily on state sector work. In the Taihape inquiry district, it is likely that a higher proportion of Maori were involved in government work and, therefore, affected by the restructuring. It has been noted, for example, that in 1980 almost 40 percent of railway workers in the inquiry district were Maori.

Data presented in this chapter from the 2013 census sheds light on the recent economic position of Maori in the inquiry district and how this compares with Pakeha. The 2013 census shows that the Maori population of this district has declined since the 1966 census, reflecting partly the impact of the restructuring of the state sector. The 2013 population data also shows that Maori predominantly reside in the district's towns, unlike Pakeha, who occupy much of the rural land and have derived most of the benefits from opportunities in the agricultural sector. A higher rate of Maori unemployment and significantly lower mean annual income indicate a generally lower socio-economic position, reflecting that Maori have not equally been able to take advantage of the key economic opportunities that have existed in the inquiry district.

Conclusion

During the period covered in this report, land-based activities presented the main economic opportunity in the Taihape inquiry district, reflecting the physical environment and natural resources of the district. Without a coastal port or easily navigable river, and with little land available for intensive agriculture or horticulture, the district has not been closely settled or the focus of significant urban development. Opportunities for development of secondary and tertiary industries have therefore been limited.

Within the land-based sector, non-intensive agriculture dominated economic activity, with sheep farming being of most importance. Sheep were initially farmed for their wool, but farmers in the inquiry district also came to supply sheep and lambs for the frozen meat export trade. Refrigerated shipping, which began in the early 1880s, also opened the way for an export trade in dairy products. While dairy farming increased in the inquiry district from around the turn of the twentieth century, a lack of suitable land restricted scope for development of this industry. During the 1890s, alongside increasing agricultural activity, a major sawmilling industry emerged in the inquiry district, reaching its peak towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. Though the significance of this industry diminished, agriculture remained of key importance throughout the period examined. Farm earnings became subject to greater fluctuation from the mid-1980s, but agriculture continued to represent the main wealth-generating activity.

The government, it has been explained, played a key role in promoting and shaping economic development in the inquiry district. It did so through a number of means. For example, the Native Land Court, which was established in the early 1860s, provided a system whereby Maori customary land interests could be converted into Crown-derived titles. These titles provided formal recognition of ownership rights and enabled land to be more easily transacted. The government was also responsible for the development of much of the district's transport infrastructure, which opened up access to lands that could be utilised for agriculture and forestry purposes. The construction of the NIMT railway between 1885 and 1908 was the most notable infrastructure development, though the government also supported extensive road building in the inquiry district. Land settlement expanded significantly during the railway's construction – a period that can be characterised as the inquiry district's key developmental phase.

A further way that the government assisted economic development in the inquiry district was through the support that it offered to the many Pakeha

settlers who took up areas of Crown land. After entering office in 1891, the Liberal Government introduced various measures that aimed to promote closer land settlement. Among the forms of support offered, settlers were, for example, able to take up land under several different tenure options, which provided flexibility that helped to ensure they had sufficient capital for land development. Also, under the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, settlers could access state loans that carried lower rates of interests. It has also been noted that settlers were given preference for work within the co-operative labour system, which was introduced in 1894 and under which much of the railway and road construction was carried out. For some settlers, the work provided valuable income while they developed their properties.

The government also supported the development of agriculture in more general ways, reflecting the importance of farming within the national economy. It did so through a range of initiatives, including the establishment of regulatory regimes for monitoring the quality of agricultural products. It also funded research that helped to increase farm production. Government support of farmers and farming continued during the twentieth century, though in the 1980s the removal of subsidies and price support mechanisms left farmers more directly exposed to market volatility.

Mokai Patea Maori, at an early stage, looked to take advantage of opportunities to participate in the developing agricultural economy. Farming in the inquiry district focussed initially upon the northern tussock lands, where it was possible – unlike in the forested south – to begin grazing with relatively little capital outlay. Sheep were brought into the north of the district in the late 1860s. At first, through the leasing arrangements they entered into with Pakeha pastoralists, Mokai Patea Maori participated indirectly in the pastoral economy that emerged in the north. But by 1870 they had also become directly involved in farming, in some cases working in partnership with Pakeha. Official annual sheep returns record the expansion of Maori farming efforts. By 1890, Mokai Patea Maori had secured a significant stake in the pastoral economy. While Pakeha pastoralists dominated the industry, Maori owned 86,000 sheep (including 14,000 sheep owned by Maori-Pakeha partnerships) – about one-third of the total number farmed in the north of the district.

However, the early, significant involvement of Mokai Patea Maori in the pastoral economy was not sustained. The decline of Maori farming efforts, it has been argued, was linked to a number of difficulties that meant that Maori were unable to equally take advantage of the significant land-based

opportunities that existed in the inquiry district. These problems, to a large extent, stemmed from Crown policies, legislation, and actions.

One of the difficulties that Mokai Patea Maori faced was the financial burden associated with the Native Land Court, which began operating in the district in 1870. It has been explained that, for both Maori and Pakeha, the Court – through its role in formally defining Maori customary land interests – had a crucial function in facilitating economic development in the district. By 1890, Maori had brought almost all of the blocks in the inquiry district before the Court. While it seems fair that there was a cost attached to this process, the expenses that Maori faced in proving ownership were unreasonably and unnecessarily high.

Of the 16 blocks that were brought before the Court prior to 1890, five – including Mangaohane, Oruamatua-Kaimanawa, and Owhaoko – became the subject of drawn-out and costly proceedings that involved rehearings and, in some cases, other legal action. In each of these cases, the drawn out nature of the proceedings resulted substantially from failings in the Court process. But even when ownership was determined through a single hearing, the costs could be significant, with participants facing a number of direct and indirect expenses. These costs continued when blocks were again brought before the Court for partitioning. For Mokai Patea Maori, expenses arising from the Court process are likely to have been greater than normal because, up until the mid-1890s, they were expected to travel to venues outside the district to attend sittings.

It is likely that the bankruptcy of several prominent chiefs was at least partly related to their involvement in lengthy Court proceedings. And some land sales appear to have been directly linked to the need to pay debts associated with the Court. In meeting the costs of the Court, Mokai Patea Maori drew upon financial resources that could alternatively have been used to initiate farming ventures or extend existing pastoral operations. For its part, the Crown seems to have given little attention to ensuring that the costs associated with the Court were reasonable, though the introduction of Court sittings in the inquiry district was a positive development.

It has been noted that, in cases involving at least two blocks, the Court's awards omitted groups with apparently legitimate ownership claims and the unsuccessful claimants were unable to secure rehearings to ensure their interests were recognised. This situation, which affected Winiata Te Whaaro and his people in the Mangaohane block and also some groups with interests in the Te Kapua block, clearly had an economic impact on those involved. The experiences of these people contrasts with that of the leading

Pakeha pastoralists such as John Studholme, who had useful political connections and were able to draw upon considerable financial resources to secure their position in the district.

The report has discussed at length a number of issues that Maori leaders raised with the government in letters written in September 1892 and April 1895. These letters referred specifically to the large and economically important Awarua block, but the issues they dealt with were of wider significance. The grasslands of the Awarua block had become the focus of Maori sheep farming efforts in the north of the district. The letters were written at a crucial time: Maori remained significantly involved in the pastoral economy, but this was threatened by a range of difficulties. Between them, the letters discussed several problems and offered solutions as to how these difficulties might be overcome. Given that the various problems were matters over which the Crown exercised strong influence, it is understandable that the Awarua owners addressed their concerns to the government.

Among the difficulties they identified, the Awarua owners drew attention to serious problems arising from delays in the Court process and they called for the Court to hasten to allocate their interests in the Awarua block. The owners called also for the introduction of ownership structures that would enable them manage multiply owned land. While the Awarua owners were prepared to sell some land, they requested that the proposed ownership entities be vested with powers that would provide for some collective control over alienation. Scattered and uneconomic land interests were a further issue, with the owners requesting a means by which they could exchange and consolidate their holdings. Finally, with high levels of indebtedness affecting many of those who were farming the Awarua grasslands, and with the owners wanting to develop land, they called for access to state lending at the same interest rates as Pakeha.

The difficulties that the Awarua owners were experiencing contrasts sharply with the conditions under which Pakeha settlers took up Crown land in the inquiry district. In addition to financial support measures, settlers enjoyed the fundamental benefit of receiving surveyed sections with clear titles. The government evidently viewed these conditions as necessary if settlers were to have a reasonable chance of successfully developing their holdings. However, though this was the case, the government failed to engage with the Awarua owners and address the issues they raised.

As a result, Maori land owners continued to face barriers that restricted their ability to utilise their lands effectively. Following the 1892 letter, for

example, the government did not ensure that steps were taken to allocate interests in the Awarua block. Serious problems associated with this were continuing when the 1895 letter was written. While some relevant statutory measures were introduced around this time, these did not adequately deal with the difficulties that Maori land owners faced. For example, though the Native Land Court Act 1894 provided for the establishment of owner incorporations, these provisions were beset with shortcomings. Similarly, while it was possible for Maori to secure state finance under the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, they faced a number of obstacles that did not affect Pakeha lenders, which restricted their ability to raise lending finance against their lands for development purposes.

While unprepared to engage with Mokai Patea Maori over the issues raised in the 1892 and 1895 letters, the government determinedly focused upon extensive purchasing of Maori land in the inquiry district. At this time, with competition from private purchasers excluded, the government especially sought to acquire lands along the NIMT corridor, motivated partly by a plan to use profits from the onsale of land to help pay for the railway. Building on earlier purchasing, which between the early 1870s and 1885 had seen the government secure much of the land in the south of the district, the Liberal Government's purchase activities eventually eased at the end of the 1890s, when the 'Taihoa' policy was introduced. For Mokai Patea Maori, the factors that contributed to the sale of lands would have included the costs of the Native Land Court, owners' restricted access to lending finance, and the other difficulties that owners faced when seeking to utilise their lands. By failing to address these problems, the Crown – inadvertently or advertently – helped to ensure the success of its purchase objectives.

Unsurprisingly, given the various barriers they faced and the government's failure to address these problems, the involvement of Mokai Patea Maori within the land-based economy declined. This process, which appears to have begun in the mid-1890s, ran against the extensive development that was occurring in the inquiry district at this time. Maori sheep ownership peaked in the mid 1890s and thereafter diminished. In 1895 Mokai Patea Maori owned about 146,000 sheep, but by 1910 the figure had dropped to about 23,000 sheep, and approximately three-quarters of these were held by a single Maori-Pakeha partnership. This decline was, to a limited extent, offset by some Maori involvement dairy farming. In respect of the sawmilling industry, it has also been explained that Mokai Patea Maori were involved in only two small-scale milling ventures, both of which were short-lived. The main way they participated in this industry was through receiving royalty payments for timber cut from areas of forest they retained. Evidence

suggests that, initially at least, the income that Maori received from this source was quite modest.

From 1905, instead of directly utilising their lands, Mokai Patea Maori began turning to long-term leasing arrangements. By this time, Maori involvement in the agricultural economy had contracted significantly. The shift to leasing reflected that Maori were unable to profitably farm their lands. They do not appear to have deliberately ended successful farming operations in order to free up land for leasing. By 1910, it has been argued, the opportunity for Mokai Patea Maori to secure a strong and lasting footing in the agricultural sector had largely closed. Their direct involvement in farming had declined to a very low level and the long-term leases they entered into saw much of their remaining productive land tied up until the mid-twentieth century. The Native Land Act 1909, which opened the way for renewed and extensive purchasing of Maori land, further diminished any potential for Maori to establish a substantial role in the agricultural economy. The purchasing that was to follow resulted in significant further erosion of the Mokai Patea Maori land base.

However, it has been noted that Mokai Patea Maori who continued to seek to utilise their lands after 1910 were able to access and take advantage of two different forms of government assistance and support. First, some Maori were able to access state lending finance. From the number of loans secured, it seems that their ability to secure government loans may have improved around 1910. But up until the mid-twentieth century, this did not translate into any significant improvement in Mokai Patea Maori participation in the farming economy. The second government initiative that Mokai Patea Maori took advantage of was the provision of improved statutory land management structures, introduced in the Maori Affairs Act 1953. The owners of many blocks in the inquiry district would eventually adopt the new structures. In the post-war period, adoption of these entities assisted the modest increase in Maori farming efforts that occurred at this time, which appears to have been sustained through to the present day.

During the twentieth century, with little involvement in enterprises within the important land-based sector, wage work became the main way that Mokai Patea Maori participated in the local economy. Electoral roll data from 1960 and 1978 indicates that Maori (men, in particular) became involved in four main categories of paid work: farming, labouring, military employment, and government work. Employment opportunities within the state sector, it might be argued, partly offset the government's failure to ensure that Mokai Patea Maori were equally able to participate in farming. Alongside Maori from outside the district, local Maori became involved in various forms of

government work. Numerically, employment with the Army at Waiouru was the most important type of government employment, but other forms of work in the state sector – especially employment with New Zealand Railways – were also significant.

Restructuring of the state sector, undertaken from the mid 1980s and into the 1990s, saw a significant decline in the number of Maori engaged in non-military government work. Of the males and females listed on the 1978 electoral roll, almost 8 percent were involved in such work. However, the 1996 roll records less than 1 percent in this category and shows a corresponding increase in the number of unemployed. Government efforts to mitigate the social and economic impacts of restructuring appear to have been limited. It seems that little consideration was given to how Maori, in particular, would be affected. Unsurprisingly, given their limited involvement in the land-based economy, there is some evidence to suggest that Maori in the Taihape inquiry district relied more heavily on state sector work.

Data from the 2013 census sheds light on the recent economic position of Maori in the inquiry district. A decline in the district's Maori population is evident between the 1966 census and 2013, which no doubt partly reflects the impact of the state-sector restructuring. The 2013 population data also shows that, unlike Pakeha, Maori predominantly reside in the district's towns, illustrating that they have not been significantly involved in the farming sector. A higher rate of unemployment and significantly lower mean annual income suggest that Maori generally occupy a lower socio-economic position, reflecting that they have not equally been able to take advantage of the key economic opportunities that have existed in the inquiry district.

Appendix 1: Specific economic development issues raised in Wai claims

As detailed in the report introduction, a number of Wai claims raise issues relating to economic development in the Taihape inquiry district. These claims allege that:

Wai 385: Ngati Hauiti have been prejudicially and materially affected by the actions of the Crown in its continued retention of the Potaka township land.¹⁰³⁶

Wai 581: The Crown's land acquisitions have denied Ngati Hauiti access to and the use of the material resources necessary for their economic and social development, which has prevented their participation in any associated monetary activities.¹⁰³⁷

Wai 647: The Crown's compulsory acquisition of parts of the Awarua 4A1 block under the Public Works Act for the NIMT has deprived Ngati Tamakopiri and Ngati Whitikaupeka of a cultural resource that has the potential to be used as a commercial commodity.¹⁰³⁸

Wai 1639: Crown instruments and actions, including the operation of the Native Land Court and the acquisition of Maori land, have resulted in the peoples of Mokai Patea suffering significant cultural, social and economic disadvantage.¹⁰³⁹

Wai 1705: The Crown has failed to ensure that the peoples of Mokai Patea have retained sufficient lands and resources upon which to build a future, and it has prevented them from developing, exploiting and managing their resources in a manner consistent with their cultural preferences.¹⁰⁴⁰

Wai 1888: Crown policies, legislation, and actions have severely eroded Ngati Whitikaupeka wealth and resources, leaving the people dispossessed, deprived and alienated from their land and each other.¹⁰⁴¹

Wai 662/1835/1868: The Crown was responsible for alienating Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki from their resources (including their lands, forests, rivers, fisheries rights and riparian rights), and it failed to actively

¹⁰³⁶ Wai 385 #1.1, Statement of Claim, 14 August 1993, pp1-3.

¹⁰³⁷ Wai 581 #1.1, Statement of Claim, 2 February 1995, pp3-4.

¹⁰³⁸ Wai 647 #1.1, Statement of Claim, 24 October 1996, p1.

¹⁰³⁹ Wai 1639 #1.1.1, Statement of Claim, 20 August 2008, p2.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Wai 1705 #1.1.1, Statement of Claim, 29 August 2008, p5, 7.

¹⁰⁴¹ Wai 1888 #1.1.1, Statement of Claim, 30 August 2008, p1.

protect Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki's ability to benefit from social and economic development. More particularly, the claimants allege that:

- from the signing of the Treaty, the Crown took deliberate action to shift the economic, political and social balance of power in favour of the settlers and the government;
- successive governments largely failed to respond to the economic aspirations of Maori, who possessed limited political influence at both the central and local level;
- during the nineteenth century, the Crown introduced various institutions and regimes (including the Native Land Court) that facilitated Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Paki's alienation from their social and economic base;
- the Crown did not allow the market for Crown-granted Maori land to operate freely, but instead imposed limitations on the rights of ownership, which were inconsistent with the freedoms that the grant of title implied;
- the Crown failed to assist Maori to develop land that remained in their ownership, and parliament modified the right to possess, use, manage, derive income from, and mortgage the land;
- between 1900 and 1929, legislation dealing with Maori land and resource management continued to inhibit Maori economic growth;
- from the 1920s, the Crown adopted a policy of individualisation and assimilation as the best way to absorb a declining Maori population, and it subsequently failed to heed warnings over the implications of renewed Maori population growth and of ongoing loss of resources and limited economic capability;
- the impact of the Crown's failure to respond to Maori economic aspirations was far-reaching in scope and sustained in consequence, and it was characterised by economic deprivation and marginalisation and a marked inequality in the distribution of wealth;
- loss of land, which continued well into the twentieth century, was a key factor underlying Maori poverty and – by the 1930s – the emergence of significant dependence on state welfare assistance. This dependence was accelerated by:
 - (a) rapid population growth;
 - (b) ongoing fragmentation of remaining Maori land;
 - (c) the inaccessible and marginal quality of much of this land;
 - (d) difficulties in raising investment capital to develop land;
 - (e) constraints on the freedom of Maori to deal with their lands and interests as they deemed appropriate;
 - (f) low levels of income received from leased lands;

- though gravel extraction (focused primarily on the Rangitikei River) has been of great economic significance to the region, tangata whenua owners have been prevented from obtaining an income from royalty payments. Utilizing the common law rule that the bed of a navigable river is Crown land, the Crown has asserted ownership over the Rangitikei River and has delegated power to local authorities to issues licences for gravel extraction and collect the associated royalties.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰⁴² Wai 662/1835/1868 amended consolidated Statement of Claim, 15 December 2014, pp90-94.

Appendix 2: Colenso and Taylor's population observations, 1845-1860

Party	Date of journey	Settlements visited	Location	Population notes
Taylor	February & March, 1845	Te Karaka	Rangitikei River	No details of inhabitants were recorded; the village appears to have been unoccupied. ¹⁰⁴³
		Kotara [Otara?]	Rangitikei River	Taylor stated that the inhabitants were living under the chief Ngawaka. (These people may have been part of the Ngati Waewae / Ngati Pikiahu heke that came into the district in 1842). Taylor recorded that while he was in the village another party of Patea Maori arrived. He counted 107 people gathered. ¹⁰⁴⁴
		Matuku	Moawhango River, eastern side	Taylor estimated the population of this pa to be about 100. ¹⁰⁴⁵ Situated on a high hill, Matuku was primarily a Ngati Whitikaupeka kainga. ¹⁰⁴⁶
		Ngaingai [alternative name for Pungataua?]	Moawhango River	Taylor indicated this to be a small settlement. Pohe was the principal chief. ¹⁰⁴⁷
Colenso	February 1847	Unnamed kainga	Moawhango River, western side, 3 to 4 miles north of Matuku	Colenso described this to be a small village, 'only 2 huts'. ¹⁰⁴⁸
		Matuku	Moawhango River, eastern side	Colenso stated that this was the 'principal village of these parts', though when he visited most of the inhabitants were absent as they were involved in gathering food. Some arrived during his stay, including the chief Te Kaipou, who Colenso believed to be the leading man. ¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴³ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 4 March 1845, p81.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 8-9 March 1845, pp84-86.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 12 March 1845, pp89-90.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p348.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 13 March 1845, pp92-94.

¹⁰⁴⁸ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 23 February 1847, p18. Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso*, p251.

¹⁰⁴⁹ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 23 February 1847, p18. Walzl notes that Te Kaipou was from Heretaunga and his residence rights came from the two Mokai Patea women he married. Walzl, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', p348.

Party	Date of journey	Settlements visited	Location	Population notes
Colenso	February 1847 (contd.)	Te Awarua	Rangitikei River, eastern side	Colenso described this to be the most outlying eastern village of Patea. He did not record the number of inhabitants, but noted that some Matuku people travelled with and ahead of his party to Te Awarua. ¹⁰⁵⁰
Colenso	January 1848	Te Awarua	Rangitikei River, eastern side	Colenso stated he was welcomed by six Maori. ¹⁰⁵¹
		Matuku	Moawhango River, eastern side	Colenso recorded that he preached to a congregation of 45. ¹⁰⁵²
Colenso	November & December 1848	Otara	Rangitikei River, western side	Deserted upon arrival, one inhabitant arrived while Colenso was in the village. He advised that the others were away at different garden sites. ¹⁰⁵³
		Pounga	Rangitikei River, western side	Described as a small village, Pounga was stated to be the site of a potato cultivation belonging to the Otara people. There were no inhabitants when Colenso arrived. ¹⁰⁵⁴
		Tarere	Rangitikei River	Tarere was also a cultivation site. It was unoccupied. ¹⁰⁵⁵
		Matuku	Moawhango River, eastern side	When Colenso arrived most of the people were away at their cultivations. However, Maori arrived from several locations and, before Colenso departed, he taught a class to 8 men, 15 women, and 22 children (59 in total). ¹⁰⁵⁶
		Te Awarua	Rangitikei River, eastern side	Colenso held a service, but did not record the number who attended. ¹⁰⁵⁷ Described on earlier visits to be a small village.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso*, pp253-254.

¹⁰⁵¹ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 1 January 1848, pp1-2.

¹⁰⁵² William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 1 January 1848, p3.

¹⁰⁵³ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 3 December 1848, p123.

¹⁰⁵⁴ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 4 December 1848, p124.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Memorandum written by Leonard Kawepa N., Teacher, Mission Station, Waitangi, in William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, Appendix located between p100 & 101. Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso*, p286.

¹⁰⁵⁶ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 6 December 1848, pp126-127.

William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 10 December 1848, p130.

¹⁰⁵⁷ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 12 December 1848, pp131-132.

Party	Date of journey	Settlements visited	Location	Population notes
Colenso	November 1849	Te Awarua	Rangitikei River, eastern side	Colenso held a service for 2 men, 2 women, and 4 children, who happened to be in the village. ¹⁰⁵⁸
		Matuku	Moawhango River, eastern side	During his stay, Colenso held several services, the largest of which was attended by 71 people, including children. He noted that several people with severe colds stayed away. ¹⁰⁵⁹
		Murimotu	Outside of inquiry district, about 15 kilometres southwest of modern-day Waiouru	Welcomed by Pohe and his people, Colenso held a service attended by a small congregation. People from the village were stated to be elsewhere. ¹⁰⁶⁰
Colenso	October 1851	Kuripapango	Northern end of the Ruahine Range	Described to be just a location, without any inhabitants. ¹⁰⁶¹
		Matuku	Moawhango River, eastern side	Colenso held a service attended by 28 people, though others appear to have been present in the village, including a party from Murimotu. ¹⁰⁶²
		Te Awarua	Rangitikei River, eastern side	Colenso taught to a gathering of 27 people, though others may have been present in the village. ¹⁰⁶³
Colenso	February 1852	Matuku	Moawhango River, eastern side	Colenso held two services, the second being attended by 60 people. ¹⁰⁶⁴
		Te Awarua	Rangitikei River, eastern side	Colenso found the few inhabitants of this village at home. ¹⁰⁶⁵
Taylor	March 1860	Popotai	Moawhango River	Taylor did not record any inhabitants, erecting his tent in any empty shed. ¹⁰⁶⁶
		Nukutanua	Moawhango River	Possibly a location, rather than village; no inhabitants were recorded. ¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁵⁸ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 22 November 1849, p260.

¹⁰⁵⁹ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 25 November 1849, p261.

¹⁰⁶⁰ William Colenso, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848, ATL, 27 November 1849, pp262-263. Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso*, p206 (map), 294.

¹⁰⁶¹ William Colenso, Journal, vol.3, qMS-0489, 1851-1854, ATL, 16 October 1851, pp598.

¹⁰⁶² William Colenso, Journal, vol.3, qMS-0489, 1851-1854, ATL, 19 October 1851, pp606-607. Bagnall and Petersen, *William Colenso*, p314.

¹⁰⁶³ William Colenso, Journal, vol.3, qMS-0489, 1851-1854, ATL, 26 October 1851, pp623.

¹⁰⁶⁴ William Colenso, Journal, vol.3, qMS-0489, 1851-1854, ATL, 20 February 1852, pp682-684.

William Colenso, Journal, vol.3, qMS-0489, 1851-1854, ATL, 22 February 1852, p685.

¹⁰⁶⁵ William Colenso, Journal, vol.3, qMS-0489, 1851-1854, ATL, 23-24 February 1852, p690.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 21 March 1845, p50.

Party	Date of journey	Settlements visited	Location	Population notes
Taylor	March 1860 (contd.)	Kiripawera-wera [Pawerawera]	Moawhango River	Possibly the site of an old kainga; no inhabitants were recorded. ¹⁰⁶⁸
		Unnamed kainga	Rangitikei River (just south of the Moawhango confluence)	The kainga, a small collection of huts, was empty. ¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁷ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 21 March 1845, p50.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 21 March 1845, p50.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Richard Taylor, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846, ATL, 21 March 1845, p50.

Appendix 3: Maori residing in the Taihape inquiry district, 1936
Census¹⁰⁷⁰

Place	Number
Waiouru locality	1
Ngatamatea locality	3
Otupae locality	1
Turangarere locality	59
Mataroa locality	13
Moawhango locality	89
Pukeokahu locality	3
Opaea locality	6
Taoroa locality	1
Taihape Borough	52
Taihape vicinity	3
Winiata locality	66
Utiku township	19
Kawhatau locality	12
Mangaweka Town District	11
Ohingaiti township	1
Ohingaiti vicinity	12
Mangaonoho locality	1
Huntermville Town District	2
Huntermville vicinity	7
Vinegar Hill locality	1
Putorino locality	2
Rata locality	57
Mount Curl locality	5
Marton Block	1
Total	428

¹⁰⁷⁰ Census and Statistics Department, *Population Census, 1936: Volume 1, Increase and Location of Population*, Paul, Wellington, 1937, tables 14, 15, and 23.

Appendix 4: Maori residing in the Taihape inquiry district, 1966
Census¹⁰⁷¹

Place	Number	Place	Number
Waiouru township	28	Winiata locality	14
Waiouru vicinity	10	Ohotu location	52
Waiouru Military Camp locality	433	Utiku township	52
Waiouru Ministry of Works Camp locality	47	Utiku vicinity	2
Waiouru Naval Station (HMNZS Irirangi)	17	Tiriraukawa locality	8
Kuripapango locality	2	Mangaweka County Town	36
Ngatamatea Station	3	Mangaweka vicinity	9
Erewhon Station	5	Kawhatau locality [Kiwitea and Rangitikei counties]	17
Otupae Station	3	Ruahine locality	5
Hihitahi location	29	Ohingaiti township	23
Turangarere locality	35	Ohingaiti vicinity	26
Mataroa township	45	Poukiore locality	11
Mataroa vicinity	14	Otairi locality	3
Bennett's Siding locality	22	Pukeroa locality [near Otairi]	7
Moawhango locality	112	Kaikarangi	5
Pukeokahu locality	15	Orangi Pongo [Orangipongo] locality	24
Opaea locality	16	Rangiwahia vicinity	14
Wainui location	2	Livingstone locality	4
Taoroa locality	1	Huntermville Independent Town District	40
Omatane locality	7	Huntermville vicinity	12
Hiwera location	1	Matapouri locality	6
Pungatawa [Pungataua?] locality	6	Rata township	74
Taihape Borough	361	Rewa locality	1
Taihape vicinity (excluding Ministry of Works Camp)	1	Putorino locality	1
Taihape Ministry of Works Camp	5	Kimbolton township	18
Total			1684

¹⁰⁷¹ Department of Statistics, *Population Census, 1966: Volume 1, Increase and Location of Population*, Department of Statistics, Wellington, 1967, tables 15 and 17. It has not been possible to determine the location of three places listed within the Rangitikei and Kiwitea Counties. These places may lie within the inquiry district. The names of the three unknown places and the number of Maori residents are: Mangahoe, 18; Raukura, 4; and Springvale Station, 1.

Appendix 5: Occupations recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls (comprehensive), Taihape inquiry district

Occupation	1960	1978	1996	Occupation	1960	1978	1996
Accounts Clk	-	-	1	Dental Asst	-	-	1
Administrator	-	-	2	Dental Nurse	-	-	1
Ag Worker	-	-	1	Df Frce Cvl	-	-	1
App Joiner	-	-	1	Diver	-	1	-
Army Off	-	-	1	Domestic	-	-	1
Army Officer	-	2	5	Domestic Duties	43	17	-
Assembler	-	-	1	Driver	6	24	7
Asst Prncpl	-	-	1	Driver Oprtr	-	-	1
Assurance Ag	-	1	-	Drvr	-	1	-
Baker	-	-	1	Electrician	1	-	1
Bar Steward	-	1	-	Eng Driver	-	1	-
Barmaid	-	2	1	Engine Driver	1	2	-
Barman	-	2	-	Exch Attd	-	1	-
Beneficiary	-	2	9	Exchange Opr	-	1	-
Builder	-	1	-	Executive	-	-	1
Bus Driver	-	-	1	Factory Hand	-	5	-
Businss Ownr	-	-	1	Farm Hand	-	5	2
Butcher	-	-	1	Farm Labourer	-	1	-
C S CK	-	1	-	Farm Labr	-	2	1
Café Hand	-	1	-	Farm manager	1	-	-
Café Wkr	-	1	-	Farm Mgr	-	1	-
Café Mangrss	-	-	1	Farmer	16	14	8
Caretaker	-	-	1	Farmhand	2	-	-
Carpenter	1	4	-	Fencer	1	1	2
Casual Wkr	-	-	3	Fencing contractor	2	-	-
Catering Ast	-	1	-	Fitter	-	1	-
Chef	-	-	2	Foreman	-	1	-
Childcare Wkr	-	-	1	Forestry Tnr	-	-	1
Childcre Wkr	-	-	1	Forestry Wkr	-	-	1
Civil Servant	1	6	-	Frm Hnd	-	-	1
Ck	-	1	-	Fruit pkr	-	1	-
Cleaner	-	3	7	Ganger	-	-	1
Clerk	-	5	2	Garage Attnd	-	-	1
Clinc Asstn	-	-	1	Gardener	-	1	-
Cmnty Hlth	-	-	1	Gen Farmhand	-	-	1
Contractor	4	6	4	General Hand	-	1	5
Cook	-	4	3	Gnrl Frm Hnd	-	-	1
Counter Hand	-	1	-	Gnrl Hand	-	1	-
Csl Labourer	-	-	1	Grader Driver	-	-	1
Cutter	-	-	1	Grocer	-	1	-

Occupation	1960	1978	1996	Occupation	1960	1978	1996
Gym Manager	-	-	1	Motel Asst	-	1	-
Hairdresser	-	-	2	Mother	-	1	14
Handyman	-	1	-	Motor Mechanic	-	-	1
Hom Executy	-	-	1	MOW	-	2	-
Home Duties	-	-	1	MOW driver	1	-	-
Home Excutive	-	-	4	MOW Operator	-	1	-
Home Maker	-	-	5	Naval Rating	6	1-	-
Home Person	-	-	1	Not given	-	2	-
Hosp Aide	-	1	-	Not Stated	-	-	15
Hotel Tranee	-	-	1	Nrs	-	-	1
Hotelier	-	-	2	NS	-	9	-
House Excutv	-	-	2	Nurse	3	5	2
House Mother	-	-	1	Nurse Aid	1	4	-
Housekeeper	1	3	1	Nurse orderly	1	-	-
Housemum	-	-	1	NZ Army	-	3	-
Housewife	3	23	51	NZR	-	37	-
Hsmthrr	-	-	1	NZR employee	4	-	-
Hsrfr	-	1	-	NZR fireman	1	-	-
Hswf	-	-	1	Office Clerk	-	-	1
Interior Dtr	-	1	-	Operator	-	4	1
Kaiako	-	-	3	Oprtr	-	-	1
Kaiawhina	-	-	5	Overseer	-	1	-
Kitchen Asst	-	1	-	Owner Driver	-	-	2
Kitchen Ast	-	-	1	Painter	-	3	-
Kitchen Hand	-	3	1	Panel Beater	-	1	-
Kohanga Tchr	-	-	1	Panelbeater	-	-	2
Lab NZR	-	1	-	Parent	-	-	6
Labourer	31	45	10	Pensioner	1	7	5
Lb Tchncn	-	-	1	Plant Op	-	1	-
Lineman	-	2	-	Plant Oprtr	-	-	1
Loco Asst	-	1	-	Plumber	-	-	1
Logger	-	-	1	Po Clerk	-	1	-
Lotto Oprtr	-	-	1	Post Worker	-	1	-
Lsn Offcr	-	-	1	Postie	-	-	1
Machine Operator	-	6	-	Postman	-	1	-
Machine Oprt	-	-	1	Presser	-	1	-
Machinist	-	4	1	Probatn Off	-	-	1
Manager	-	3	1	Processor	-	1	-
Manageress	-	1	3	Pub Svnt	-	1	-
Married	21	225	2	Public Servant	-	1	-
Mechanic	-	3	1	Public Servt	-	-	1
Mill Hand	-	1	1	Pulp Worker	-	-	1
Minister	1	-	-	Radio Off	-	2	-

Occupation	1960	1978	1996	Occupation	1960	1978	1996
Radio Tech	-	1	-	Steward	-	-	2
Radio Techn	-	-	1	Stewardess	-	2	3
Radiographer	-	-	1	Storekeeper	-	1	-
Railway employee	1	-	-	Storeman	-	-	2
Railway Wkr	-	-	1	Storeperson	-	-	1
Receptionist	-	-	1	Student	-	2	21
Researcher	-	-	1	Super Annt	-	-	1
Retired	1	13	15	Superannuant	-	-	1
RF Soldier	-	-	1	Supervisor	-	-	5
Rly Worker	-	1	-	Surfaceman	3	5	-
RNZA Crewman	-	-	1	Take Aways	-	-	1
RNZN	-	1	-	Tavern Keeper	-	-	1
Roadman	2	-	-	Taxi Driver	-	1	-
Rstrntr	-	-	1	Taxi Prop	-	1	-
Rtrd Nurse	-	-	1	Tchr Ad	-	-	1
Sailor	-	2	-	Teacher	1	9	12
Sch Teacher	-	-	1	Telephonist	-	2	1
School teacher	3	-	-	Telex/Type	-	1	-
Sctn Offcr	-	1	-	Timber Wkr	-	1	-
Sculptor	-	-	1	Tiphn P	-	1	-
Seaman	-	-	1	Toll Op	-	1	-
Secretary	-	-	2	Track Maint	-	-	1
Self Employed	-	-	4	Track Wkr	-	-	1
Service Brkr	-	-	1	Trainee	-	-	1
Serviceman	-	-	2	Trrfc Ffr	-	1	-
Shearer	1	30	17	Truck Driver	-	1	2
Shearing Cntr	-	-	1	Trunk Driver	-	1	-
Shed Hand	-	11	3	Tunneller	-	1	-
Shepherd	2	18	2	Tx Opr	-	-	1
Shop Assist	-	2	-	Typist	-	2	1
Shop Asst	-	1	-	Tyre Techncn	-	-	1
Shop Asstnt	-	-	3	Unemployed	-	-	39
Shop Prop	-	1	-	Waiter	-	1	-
Social Wkr	-	-	1	Waitress	-	6	2
Soldier	28	110	88	Weaver	-	-	1
Solo Mother	-	-	3	WI Tchncn	-	-	1
Solo Parent	-	2	3	Widow	1	7	4
Spinster	3	-	-	Wool classer	1	-	-
Sprntdnt	-	-	1	Wool Handler	-	-	1
Srvc Mn	-	-	1	Wool Tchn	-	-	1
Staff Nurse	-	-	1	Yardsman	-	1	-
Station agent	2	-	-	TOTAL	203	799	533
Steam Driver	-	1	-				

Appendix 6: Occupations of males and females recorded in 1960, 1978, and 1996 Maori electoral rolls, Taihape inquiry district¹⁰⁷²

Occupation	1960		1978			1996		
	M	F	M	F	NS	M	F	NS
Accounts Clk	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Administrator	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Ag Worker	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
App Joiner	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Army Off	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Army Officer	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	1
Assembler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Asst Prncpl	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Assurance Ag	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Baker	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Bar Steward	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Barmaid	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
Barman	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Beneficiary	-	-	-	1	1	2	6	1
Builder	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bus Driver	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Businss Ownr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Butcher	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
C S CK	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Café Hand	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Café Wkr	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Café Mangrssl	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Caretaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Carpenter	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Casual Wkr	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Catering Ast	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Chef	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Childcare Wkr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Childcre Wkr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Civil Servant	1	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
Ck	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Cleaner	-	-	-	2	1	-	7	-
Clerk	-	-	2	3	-	-	1	1
Clinic Asstn	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Commnty Hlth	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Contractor	4	-	6	-	-	3	1	-
Cook	-	-	-	4	-	1	2	-
Counter Hand	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

¹⁰⁷² 'NS' denotes individuals whose gender was not specified.

Occupation	1960		1978			1996		
	M	F	M	F	NS	M	F	NS
Csl Labourer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Cutter	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Dental Asst	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Dental Nurse	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Df Frce Cvl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Diver	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Domestic	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Domestic Duties	-	43	-	17	-	-	-	-
Driver	6	-	23	-	1	6	1	-
Driver Oprtr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Drvr	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Electrician	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Eng Driver	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Engine Driver	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Exch Attd	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Exchange Opr	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Executive	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Factory Hand	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Farm Hand	-	-	2	1	2	2	-	-
Farm Labourer	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Farm Labr	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
Farm manager	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farm Mgr	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Farmer	16	-	9	1	4	6	1	1
Farmhand	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fencer	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-
Fencing contractor	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fitter	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Foreman	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Forestry Tnr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Forestry Wkr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Frm Hnd	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Fruit pkr	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Ganger	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Garage Attnd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gardener	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Gen Farmhand	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
General Hand	-	-	1	-	-	3	2	-
Gnrl Frm Hnd	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Gnrl Hand	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Grader Driver	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Grocer	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Occupation	1960		1978			1996		
	M	F	M	F	NS	M	F	NS
Gym Manager	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hairdresser	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Handyman	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Hom Executy	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Home Duties	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Home Excutive	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Home Maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Home Person	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hosp Aide	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Hotel Tranee	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hotelier	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
House Excutv	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
House Mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Housekeeper	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-
Housemum	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Housewife	-	3	-	23	-	1	50	-
Hsmthrr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hsrfr	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Hswf	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Interior Dtr	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Kaiako	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Kaiawhina	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Kitchen Asst	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Kitchen Ast	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Kitchen Hand	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-
Kohanga Tchr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Lab NZR	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Labourer	31	-	42	1	2	9	1	-
Lb Tchncn	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Lineman	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Loco Asst	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Logger	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Lotto Oprtr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Lsn Offcr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Machine Operator	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-
Machine Oprt	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Machinist	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1
Manager	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-
Manageress	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-
Married	-	21	2	221	2	-	2	-
Mechanic	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-
Mill Hand	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-

Occupation	1960		1978			1996		
	M	F	M	F	NS	M	F	NS
Minister	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Motel Asst	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Mother	-	-	-	1	-	-	14	-
Motor Mechanic	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
MOW	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
MOW driver	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MOW Operator	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Naval Rating	6	-	6	1	3	-	-	-
Not given	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Not Stated	-	-	-	-	-	3	7	5
Nrs	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
NS	-	-	3	5	1	-	-	-
Nurse	-	3	-	5	-	-	2	-
Nurse Aid	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-
Nurse orderly	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZ Army	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-
NZR	-	-	28	1	8	-	-	-
NZR employee	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NZR fireman	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Office Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Operator	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-
Oprtr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Overseer	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Owner Driver	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Painter	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Panel Beater	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Panelbeater	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Parent	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Pensioner	1	-	5	1	1	1	1	3
Plant Op	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Plant Oprtr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Plumber	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Po Clerk	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Post Worker	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Postie	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Postman	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Presser	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Probatn Off	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Processer	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Pub Svnt	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Public Servant	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Public Servt	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Occupation	1960		1978			1996		
	M	F	M	F	NS	M	F	NS
Pulp Worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Radio Off	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Radio Tech	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Radio Techn	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Radiographer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Railway employee	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Railway Wkr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Receptionist	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Researcher	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Retired	1	-	4	2	7	4	5	6
RF Soldier	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Rly Worker	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
RNZA Crewman	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
RNZN	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Roadman	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rstrntr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Rtrd Nurse	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Sailor	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Sch Teacher	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
School teacher	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sctn Offer	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sculptor	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Seaman	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Secretary	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Self Employed	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-
Service Brkr	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Serviceman	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Shearer	1	-	27	-	3	17	-	-
Shearing Cntr	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shed Hand	-	-	2	9	-	-	3	-
Shepherd	2	-	17	-	1	2	-	-
Shop Assist	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Shop Asst	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Shop Asstnt	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Shop Prop	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Social Wkr	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Soldier	28	-	91	2	17	74	8	6
Solo Mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Solo Parent	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	-
Spinster	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sprntdnt	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Srvc Mn	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Occupation	1960		1978			1996		
	M	F	M	F	NS	M	F	NS
Staff Nurse	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Station agent	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Steam Driver	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Steward	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Stewardess	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	-
Storekeeper	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Storeman	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Storeperson	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Student	-	-	1	1	-	7	12	2
Super Annt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Superannuant	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Supervisor	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
Surfaceman	3	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Take Aways	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Tavern Keeper	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Taxi Driver	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Taxi Prop	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tchr Ad	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Teacher	1	-	3	4	2	2	1-	-
Telephonist	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
Telex/Type	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Timber Wkr	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tiphn P	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Toll Op	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Track Maint	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Track Wkr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Trainee	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Trrfc Ffr	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Truck Driver	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-
Trunk Driver	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tunneller	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tx Opr	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Typist	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
Tyre Techncn	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Unemployed	-	-	-	-	-	22	15	2
Waiter	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Waitress	-	-	-	6	-	-	2	-
Weaver	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
WI Tchncn	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Widow	-	1	-	7	-	-	4	-
Wool classer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wool Handler	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Occupation	1960		1978			1996		
	M	F	M	F	NS	M	F	NS
Wool Tchn	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Yardsman	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	125	78	356	367	76	240	253	40

Appendix 7: Iwi affiliation recorded in 1960 electoral roll, Taihape inquiry district

Iwi	Number affiliated	Iwi	Number affiliated
Arawa	1	Ngati Takitimu	1
Aupouri	2	Ngati Taku	1
Hanui	1	Ngati Tama	1
Kaiwhaiki	1	Ngati Terangi	2
Kauwhata	1	Ngati Toa	1
Maniapoto	2	Ngati Tuera	1
Ngapuhi	20	Ngati Tukoreha	1
Ngarauru	1	Ngati Tuwharetoa	53
Ngati Awa	1	Ngati Uenuku	2
Ngati Hau	2	Ngati Wairere	1
Ngati Haua	1	Ngati Whakaike	1
Ngati Hauiti	6	Ngati Whanaunga	1
Ngati Hine	1	Ngati Wharetoa	1
Ngati Kahungunu	20	Ngati Whiti	4
Ngati Kawa	1	Ngawairiki	2
Ngati Kura	1	No iwi given	11
Ngati Mahuta	1	Puata	1
Ngati Maniapoto	4	Rakaipaka	1
Ngati Maru	1	Rangitane	1
Ngati Mutunga	1	Tainui	1
Ngati Parewahawaha	1	Taranaki	2
Ngati Pokai	1	Te Apatu	1
Ngati Porou	6	Te Arawa	1
Ngati Pourama	1	Te Atiawa	1
Ngati Rangi	3	Tu Eroa	1
Ngati Rangituhia	1	Tuhoe	1
Ngati Raukawa	6	Waikato	5
Ngati Rongowhateata	1	Wainui-Arua	3
Ngati Ruahine	2	Whanganui	4
Ngati Ruru	2	Whawhakia	1
Ngati Tahu	2	Total	203

Appendix 8: Research Commission

OFFICIAL

Wai 2180, # 2.3.13

Wai 2180

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

CONCERNING the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975
AND the Taihape: Rangitīkei ki Rangipō
District Inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Philip Cleaver, historian, to prepare a research report on aspects of Māori economic development in the Taihape inquiry district, with a focus on the period from 1860 to 2013, covering the following matters:
 - a) What were the major economic participation and development opportunities for Māori in the Taihape district inquiry, in particular in agriculture and forestry? What additional opportunities in the commercial economy became available in the Taihape district, including seasonal agricultural work, infrastructure building and maintenance and employment in the army? What general Crown legislation, policies and actions promoted such opportunities?
 - b) What was the Crown's role in identifying and promoting these opportunities to Taihape Māori, including in enabling Māori to utilise and develop their own economic resources?
 - c) Were there any barriers to Taihape Māori participation in the economic opportunities identified? To what extent were any barriers the result of Crown policies, actions or omissions?
 - d) What steps did the Crown take to identify and remove or mitigate any barriers to Māori participation? How did the Crown inform itself of the economic status of Taihape Māori and, in particular, of any adverse effects on their economic capability and development? What steps did the Crown take to remedy any such adverse aspects? What was the Crown's capability to take remedial action and how effectively was it exercised?
 - e) What was the degree of Māori participation and capability at all levels of the Taihape district economy? In what ways did Māori participation and capability differ from non-Māori patterns in Taihape, and why?
 - f) What were the economic outcomes for Taihape Māori? Did they differ from those of non-Māori in the district, and if so, in what respects and why? Specifically, what was the impact of economic restructuring in the 1980s on Taihape Māori?
2. The researcher will consult with claimant groups to determine which of the above issues they consider to be of particular significance to their claims and to access such relevant oral and documentary information as they wish to make available.

3. The commission commenced on **7 April 2015**. A complete draft of the report is to be submitted by 27 November 2015.
4. The commission ends on **15 April 2016**, at which time a copy of the final report must be submitted for filing in unbound form. An electronic copy of the report should also be provided in Word or Adobe Acrobat PDF format. Indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts are also to be provided as soon as practicable after the final report is filed. The report and any subsequent evidential material based on it must be filed through the Registrar.
5. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.

The Registrar is to distribute this direction to:

Philip Cleaver
 Claimant counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Taihape Rangitikei ki
 Rangipō Inquiry
 Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Principal Research Analyst, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Manager Research and Inquiry Facilitation, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Inquiry Supervisor, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Inquiry Facilitator(s), Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Solicitor General, Crown Law Office
 Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
 Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust
 Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri

DATED at Rotorua this 20th day of May 2015



Judge L R Harvey
 Presiding Officer
WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

Bibliography

(1) Archival records and manuscripts

Alexander Turnbull Library

Colenso, William, Journal, vol.1, qMS-0487, 1841-1848.

Colenso, William, Journal, vol.2, qMS-0488, 1849-1850.

Colenso, William, Journal, vol.3, qMS-0489, 1851-1854.

McLean, Donald, Inward Letters – J.D. Ormond, MS-Papers-0032-0485, 1871-1872.

Taylor, Richard, Journal, vol.3, qMS-1987, 1844-1846.

Taylor, Richard, Journal, vol.11, qMS-1995, 1859-1861.

Archives Central, Feilding

Rangitikei District Council

RDC 00065 32 R/2/3/4, Maori Trustee Royalty Claims, 1968-1977.

RDC 00079 21 M20/0003, Metal Pits – Maori Trustee Claims, 1981-1981.

Archives New Zealand, Wellington

Department of Conservation, Whanganui Conservancy Office

AFIE W5683 619 Box 96 8/4/16, Tikirere Mill Race – Historic Reserve, 1971-1984.

Department of Maori Affairs, Head Office

ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/9, Motukawa 2B Section 15 No. 2 – Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa report as to Gardner Bros application under Section 26 (timber Rights), 1908-1909.

ACIH 16036 MA1 965 1909/10, Motukawa 2B No. 17 – Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa report on application by Gardner Bros under Section 26 (timber rights), 1908-1909.

Archives New Zealand, Auckland

Department of Education, Northern Regional Office

BAAA A440 1001 965 b 44/6, Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango, 1945-1963, ANZ Auckland.

(2) Newspapers and Periodicals

Auckland Star

Bush Advocate

Daily Telegraph

Dominion

Evening Post

Feilding Star

Hawke's Bay Herald
Horowhenua Chronicle
Manawatu Standard
Otago Witness
Taranaki Herald
Te Ao Hou
Waka Maori
Wanganui Chronicle
Wanganui Herald
Wairarapa Age

(3) Official publications

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
New Zealand census results
New Zealand parliamentary electoral rolls
New Zealand Gazette
New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
New Zealand Statutes
New Zealand Yearbook

(4) Books and articles

- , *Mangaweka and district's first 100 years*, Mangaweka and District Centennial Committee, printed in Marton, 1985.
- Arnold, Rollo, 'The Virgin Forest Harvest and the Development of Colonial New Zealand', *New Zealand Geographer*, vol. 32, no. 2, October 1976.
- Bagnall, A.G. and Petersen, G.C., *William Colenso, printer, missionary, botanist, explorer, politician: his life and journeys*, Reed, Wellington, 1948.
- Belich, James, *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001.
- Belshaw, Horace, 'Maori Economic Circumstances', in I.L.G. Sutherland (ed.), *The Maori People Today: A Survey*, Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1940
- Boast, Richard, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008.
- Brooking, Tom, "'Busting Up" the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891-1911', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1992, vol. 26, pp89-98.
- Campbell, I.B., 'Soils of Rangitikei County, North Island, New Zealand', N.Z. Soil Survey Report 38, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Wellington, 1979.
- Coleman, A., Dixon, S., and Maré, D., *Maori economic development – glimpses from statistical sources*. Motu Working Paper 05-13, Motu economic and public policy research, September 2005.

- Crawford, J. Coutts, *Geological and Other Reports*, Province of Wellington Council Paper, Wellington Provincial Government, 1862.
- Crawford, J. Coutts, *Geological and Other Reports*, Province of Wellington Council Paper, Wellington Provincial Government, 1863.
- Crawford, James Coutts, *Recollections of Travel in New Zealand and Australia*, Trubner and Co, London, 1880.
- Cyclopedia Company Limited, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Canterbury Provincial District]*, Cyclopedia Company Limited, Christchurch, 1903,
- Davies, David, *Morse code and snowflakes: the story of HMNZS Irirangi, the Naval Radio at Waiouru and of the people who served there in war and peace*, Levin, 2007.
- Duncan, Ian, and Bollard, Alan, *Corporatization and privatization: lessons from New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992.
- Fenton, F.D., *Observations on the state of the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand*, printed by W.C. Wilson for the New Zealand Government, Auckland, 1859.
- Fletcher, R.S., *Single Track: The Construction of the Main Trunk Railway*, Williams Collins Publishers Ltd, Auckland, 1978.
- Galbreath, R., *Walter Buller: The Reluctant Conservationist*, GP Books, Wellington, c.1989.
- Gibbons, Peter, 'Some New Zealand Navvies: Co-Operative Workers, 1891-1912' in *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1977.
- Gilling, M., 'Farm families and sustainability in the mid-Rangitikei, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Policy Technical Paper', 97/19, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Wellington, 1997.
- Gordon, A., 'The history and trends in farming and land use in the Rangitikei catchment', *New Zealand Journal of Forestry*, vol. 54, no. 1, May 2009.
- Haywood, M., *Rata, in the Heart of the Rangitikei*, M. Haywood, Hamilton, 2003.
- Hawke, G.R., *The Making of New Zealand: An Economic History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981.
- Laing, D.M., *Huntermville: the first hundred years*, Huntermville Museum, printed by Wanganui newspapers, 1983.
- Laurenson, S.G., *Rangitikei: The Day of Striding Out*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1979.
- Little, K.M., *Achievement: the Rata Co-operative Dairy Company Limited, 1902-1952*, Rata Dairy Company Limited, Palmerston North, 1952.
- Little, K.M., *Fifty years in retrospect: the Taihape Co-operative Dairy Company Limited, 1904-1954*, Dudley Rabone and Co. (printers), Palmerston North, 1954.
- Lynn, Ian, et al., *Land Use Capability Survey Handbook: A New Zealand Handbook for the Classification of Land, 3rd Edition*, Ag Research Ltd, Landcare Research New Zealand Ltd, Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences Ltd, Hamilton, Lincoln, and Lower Hutt, 2009.

- Macgregor, Miriam, *Mangaohane: The Story of a Sheep Station*, Hastings Herald-Tribune Print, Hastings, 1978.
- McKinnon, Malcolm, ed., *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Bateman, Auckland, 1997.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *New Zealand Agriculture*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1974.
- Ministry of Works (Town and Country Planning Division), *Wanganui Region, National Resources Survey, Part 7*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1971.
- Newsome, P.F.J., and Wilde, R.H., Willoughby, E.J., *Land Resource Information System Spatial Data Layers – Data Dictionary*, Landcare Research New Zealand Ltd, Palmerston North, 2007.
- Pool, D. Ian, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand population, past, present & projected*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991.
- Pool, D. Ian, *The Maori Population of New Zealand, 1769-1971*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1977.
- Rice, Geoffrey, W. (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Riseborough, Hazel, *Ngamatea: The Land and the People*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006.
- Roche, Michael, *History of Forestry*, New Zealand Forestry Corporation and GP Books, Wellington, 1990.
- Harris, Rusk, *Otairi, 1881-1981*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1986.
- Sorrenson, M.P.K., 'A history of Maori representation in parliament', Appendix B of *Towards a Better Democracy – Report of The Royal Commission on the Electoral System*, Wellington, V.R. Ward, Government Printer, 1986.
- Stone, R.C.J., *Makers of Fortune: A Colonial Business Community and its Fall*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1973.
- Studholme, E.C., *Te Waimate: early station life in New Zealand*, Reed, Dunedin, 1940.
- Ward, Alan, *A show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1974.
- Whitehead, John, and Annesley, Barbara, 'The context for Maori economic development: a background paper for the 2005 Hui Taumata,' The Treasury, Wellington, 2005.
- Williams, David, *He Kooti Tango Whenua: The Native Land Court 1864-1909*, Huia, Wellington, 1999.

(5) Electronic sources

Maori Land Online website

URL: <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz>

Ministry for Environment website

‘Erosion Susceptibility 4 Classes (2012): MFE Data Management’, accessed 15 June 2015.

URL: <https://data.mfe.govt.nz/layer/2373-erosion-susceptibility-4-classes-2012/>

New Zealand Land Inventory website

New Zealand Land Resource Inventory - Land Use Capability.

URL: <https://lris.scinfo.org.nz/layer/76-nzlri-land-use-capability/>

New Zealand Trade and Enterprise website

‘Statistics – Exports – Top 20 commodities’, accessed 15 May 2016.

URL: <http://www.nzte.govt.nz/en/invest/statistics>

Niupepa website – New Zealand Digital Library

URL: <http://www.nzdl.org/gsdmod?gg=text&e=p-00000-00---off-0niupepa--00-0----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-mi-50---20-about---00-0-1-00-0--4----0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=p&p=about&l=en>

Te Ara website

Batley, R.A.L., ‘Batley, Robert Thompson’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b10/batley-robert-thompson>

Beaglehole, Diana, ‘Whanganui places – Inland Patea’.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whanganui-places/page-8>

Binney, J., ‘Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t45/te-kooti-arikirangi-te-turuki>

Boyd, Mary, ‘Williams, James Nelson’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2w22/williams-james-nelson>

Dawson, Emma, and Phillips, Jock, ‘Farm families’.

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/farm-families/>

Easton, Brian, ‘Economic history’

URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/economic-history/>

Fitzgerald, Michael, ‘Heaphy, Charles’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h14/heaphy-charles>

Grant, S.W., 'Donnelly, Airini', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2d14/donnelly-airini>

Grant, Huwyler, 'Ngati Apa'
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-apa/>

McAloon, Jim, Land ownership'
URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/land-ownership/>

Mackay, David, 'Colenso, William', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c23/colenso-william>

Owens, J.M.R., 'Taylor, Richard'.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t22/taylor-richard>

Peden, Robert, 'Farming in the economy'.
URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/farming-in-the-economy/>

Phillips, Jock, 'European exploration'.
URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/map/11252/colensos-journeys>

Phillips, Jock, 'Bridges and tunnels – Road and utility tunnels'.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map2/23658/tongariro-power-scheme>

Roche, Michael, 'Exotic forestry'.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/exotic-forestry/>

Rosier, L., 'Crawford, James Coutts', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c26/crawford-james-coutts>

Stone, R.C.G., 'Russell, Thomas', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.
URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1r20/russell-thomas>

'Studholme family land holdings' (map).
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/17926/studholme-family-land-holdings>

Stringleman, Hugh, and Peden, Robert, 'Sheep farming'.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/sheep-farming>

Stringleman, Hugh, and Scrimgeour, Frank, 'Dairying and dairy products'.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/dairying-and-dairy-products>

Walrond, Carl, 'Gold and gold mining'.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gold-and-gold-mining>

Zydenbos, Sue, 'Arable farming'.
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/arable-farming>

Te Puni Kokiri website

'Warriors of the land sea and air', *Kokiri*, Issue, 9 August 2008.
URL: <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/mo-te-puni-kokiri/kokiri-magazine/kokiri-9-2008>

(6) Waitangi Tribunal reports

He Maunga Rongo: Report on Central North Island Claims, Volume 3, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 2008.
Te Kahui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report, Volume 3, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 2013
Turangi Township Report 1995, Brooker, Wellington, 1995.
Whanganui River Report, GP Publications, Wellington, 1999.

(7) Research reports

Alexander, David, 'Rangitikei River and its Tributaries Historical Report', CFRT, November 2015, Wai 2180, #A40.
Armstrong, D.A., 'The Impact of Environmental Change in the Taihape District, 1840-c1970', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A45.
Bassett Kay Research, 'Taihape Native Townships: Potaka [Utiku] and Turangarere', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A47.
Bassett, Heather, and Kay, Richard, 'Tai Tokerau Maori Land Development Schemes 1930-1990', CFRT, August 2006, Wai 1040 #A10.
Bayley, Nicholas, 'Murimotu and Rangipo Waiu 1860-2000', Waitangi Tribunal, June 2004, Wai 2180 #A23.
Belgrave, Michael, et al., 'Environmental Impacts, Resource Management and Wahi Tapu and Portable Taonga', CFRT, November 2012, Wai 2180 #A10.
Boulton, Leanne, 'Scoping Report: Contextual Material on Maori and Socio-Economic Issues in the National Park Inquiry District, 1890-1990', Waitangi Tribunal, February 2006, Wai 1130 #A57.
Cleaver, Philip, 'Taking of Maori Land for Public Works in the Taihape Inquiry District', Waitangi Tribunal, November 2012, Wai 2180 #A9.
Cleaver, Philip, and Sarich, Jonathan, 'Turongo, North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae, 1870-2008', Waitangi Tribunal, December 2009, Wai 898 #A20.
Craw, Georgie, 'Maori in the Taihape inquiry district: A socio-demographic scoping exercise', Waitangi Tribunal, January 2015, Wai 2180 #A28
Fisher, Martin and Stirling, Bruce, 'Sub-District block study – Northern aspect', CFRT, November 2012, Wai 1200 #A6.
Hearn, Terry, 'Sub-District Block Study – Southern Aspect', CFRT, November 2012, Wai 1200 #A7.

- Heinz, Adam, 'Waiouru Defence Lands Research Scoping Report', Waitangi Tribunal, December 2009, Wai 2180 #A1.
- Horan, Marian, 'Government Lease Negotiations for Murimotu, Ruanui, Rangiwaia, and Rangipo-Waiu, 1874-1885', Crown Law Office, November 2005, Wai 1130 #A52.
- Innes, Craig, 'Maori Land Retention and Alienation within Taihape Inquiry District – 1840-2013', Waitangi Tribunal, November 2012, Wai 2180 #A15.
- Loveridge, Donald M., *Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards: a historical overview 1900 to 1952*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, First Release, December 1996.
- Kukutai, Tahu, Pool, Ian, and Sceats, Janet, 'Central North Island Iwi: Population Patterns and Trends', CFRT, April 2002, Wai 1200 #A44, p16.
- Marr, Cathy, 'The Waimarino purchase report', Waitangi Tribunal, June 2004, Wai 903 #A60.
- Stirling, Bruce, 'Taihape District Nineteenth Century Overview', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A43.
- Stirling, Bruce, 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview', CFRT, 2004, Wai 1200 #A71.
- Stirling, Bruce, and Subasic, Evald, 'Taihape: Rangitikei Ki Rangipo Inquiry District – Technical Research Scoping Report', CFRT, August 2010, Wai 1200 #A2.
- Stirling, Bruce, and Subasic, Evald, 'Sub-District Block Study – Central Aspect', CFRT, October 2012, Wai 1200 #A8.
- Walzl, Tony, 'Tribal Landscape Overview', CFRT, September 2013, Wai 2180 #A12.
- Walzl, Tony, 'Taihape Hearing District: Twentieth Century Overview', CFRT, May 2016, Wai 2180 #A46.
- Woodley, Suzanne, 'Maori Land Rating and Landlocked Blocks Report', 1870-2015', CFRT, July 2015, Wai 2180 #A37.
- Young, Grant, 'Mangaohane: Mangaohane Legal History and the Destruction of Pokopoko', CFRT, December 2014, Wai 2180 #A39.

(8) Theses

- Heron, G.W., 'The development of railway policy in New Zealand and the growth of the North Island railway system before 1908', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1946.
- Ishida, Hiroshi, 'A geography of contemporary Maori agriculture,' PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1996.
- Moar, Trevor, 'The Origins of Taihape: A Study in Secondary Pioneering', M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1955.
- Orange, Claudia J., 'A Kind of Equality: Labour and the Maori People, 1935-1949', Ma thesis, University of Auckland, 1977,
- Somerville, J.C., 'The timber industry of the King Country', MSc thesis, Canterbury University.

(9) Crown Forestry Rental Trust research assistance projects

McRae, Jane, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo and Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry districts – Catalogue of Maori-language library sourced manuscripts document bank', December 2010.

McRae, Jane, and Smith, Lee, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo – Te Reo sources: regional manuscripts, archives, and private papers document bank', April 2012.

Subasic, Evald, and Taylor, James, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo and Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry Districts – Crown and Private Land Purchasing Records and Petitions Document Bank', December 2010.