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I Mārama te Rironga ko a te Kuīni
The Waipukurau Purchase and the Subsequent Consequences on
Central Hawke's Bay Māori to 1900.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

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Abstract

In 1820s and 1830s Māori from Central Hawke's Bay came into contact with Pākehā for the first time and they began to trade. From this contact they began to see the benefits of Pākehā. So they requested the government to establish a Pākehā settlement and offered land for sale. Land was purchased at Waipukurau on 4 November 1851. Donald McLean made sweeping promises of benefits and riches when the deed was signed however these benefits and riches would never come to the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay.

The Waipukurau purchase opened the door for more purchases. The Māori of Central Hawke's Bay began alienating their land. First through direct purchasing with Donald McLean then through the Native Land Court. Māori would soon find themselves in debt which would lead to the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873. Central Hawke's Bay Māori emerged as leaders of the Repudiation Movement of the 1870s and then the Kotahitanga Māori Parliament of the 1890s in order to fight for their lost lands.

In 2015 Māori of Central Hawke's Bay along with Heretaunga Māori settled their Treaty of Waitangi claim with the Crown. However, because they went straight to negotiations, a full report by the Waitangi Tribunal was never completed. This thesis demonstrates a long term and irrevocable effect of the Waipukurau purchase for the iwi and hapū concerned.

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Firstly I would like to thank my two supervisors Michael Belgrave and Peter Meihana, this thesis would not be possible without their help, knowledge and guidance. I would also like to thank the Waikato Tainui Trust Board, Manaiapoto Māori Trust Board, Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi and Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga for the scholarships which made this thesis possible. I must thank a Central Hawke's Bay kaumāuta Professor Roger Maaka, the discussions we had help me come up with the idea of this thesis, and he also took the time to read over some sections and provide feedback.

Lastly I offer my sincere thanks to my whānau, especially my wife Jodie, who is now more knowledgeable in the History of Central Hawke's Bay after spending many hours proof reading and having put up with me having discussions about the Waipukurau purchase. And my children William, Riley and Elise who are now unintentionally well versed in the Waipukurau purchase and their tipuna.

Michael Hunter.

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Glossary of Māori Terms

Ahi kā	Burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation
Hapū	Kinship group
Heke	Migrate, move
Hui	Assemble, meet
Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe
Kāinga	Village
Kaumāuta	Elder
Kōrero	Talk
Mahinga kai	Garden, cultivation, food-gathering place.
Mana	Power and status
Mākutu	To inflict physical and psychological harm
Pā	fortified village
Pākehā	Foreign, European
Rāhui	Temporary ritual prohibition
Rangatira	High ranking, chiefly
Rohe	District, region, territory
Rongoā	Remedy, medicine
Tangi	Rite for the dead, funeral
Tipuna	Ancestors
Taua	War party
Utu	Avenge
Whānau	Family
Whānaunga	Relation

Introduction

Ko Takitimu te waka

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi

Ko Ruahine te maunga

Ko Makaretū te awa

Ko Whatumā te waiū

Ko Ruataniwha te mānia

Ko Te Rangitotohu te tangata

Ko Ngāti Mārau te hapū

Ko Rākauātāhi me Tapairu te marae

Ko Michael Hunter tāku ingoa

This thesis examines the Waipukurau purchase and the consequences on Central Hawke's Bay Māori from the time of purchase in 1851 to 1900. The Waipukurau purchase was to change the lives and environment of the Central Hawke's Bay Māori and their descendants. There is no single study of the Waipukurau purchase instead the purchase has been included in regional Waitangi Tribunal Reports and mentioned in general histories of Hawke's Bay.

The Waipukurau block is located in Central Hawke's Bay on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. To Ngāti Kahungunu Māori, Central Hawke's Bay is known as Tamatea.

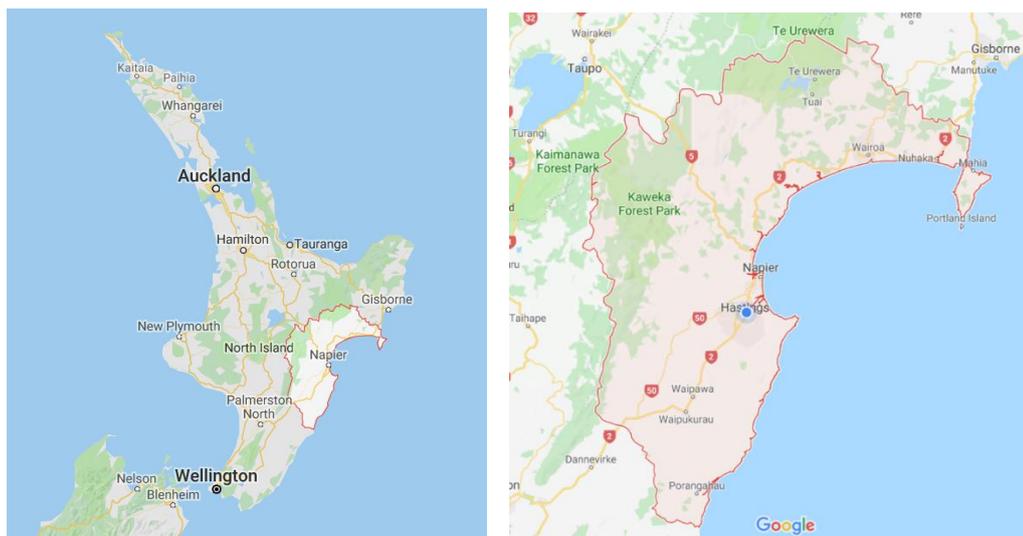


Figure 1: Map of Hawke's Bay – Google Maps 2019

The inspiration for this thesis comes from He Toa Takitini Treaty of Waitangi claim. This claim was a joint claim by the hapū of Heretaunga and Tamatea rohe of the Ngāti Kahungunu iwi. I attended the ratification hui, voted and attended the signing of the deed of settlement at Te Aute College in July 2015. I was intrigued with how this specific claim affected my hapū Ngāti Mārau. I asked my marae representative about the claim and settlement and I was told that our interests were in Lake Whatumā, Aorangi (Takapau), ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē (the secret purchases of 1854-55) and the Native Land Court. All of these issues stemmed from the Waipukurau purchase. I had a discussion with Roger Maaka, a kaumātua and former Waitangi Tribunal member, on why I could not find any in depth report on the He Toa Takitini claim. I discovered that it was because He Toa Takitini voted to enter into direct negotiations rather than going through the Waitangi Tribunal, therefore a report was never released. What I have found is that while there are lots of fragments of information in Waitangi Tribunal reports and published works regarding the purchase, there is no in depth work on the Waipukurau purchase and how the issues that the hapū faced stemmed from the purchase. This is their story and mine.

The thesis examines the consequences of the Waipukurau purchase on the Central Hawke's Bay Māori. Once the block was sold, other purchases followed as a consequence and the settlers made their presence felt in the area for the first time. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed ten years earlier in 1840. Only six Ngāti Kahungunu Māori signed the treaty, no resident Central Hawke's Bay Māori were invited to sign. During the negotiation of the purchase price Donald McLean made promises of benefits that would come with Pākehā settlement. He made these promises to get a lower price, these promises were part of the purchase price and he reiterated the benefits in his final speech prior to the signing of the Deed.¹ However, these benefits never came, instead Māori became landless and they were expected to adapt to Pākehā society at the expense of their own traditions.

The Māori of Central Hawke's Bay who were affected by the Waipukurau Purchase are from the Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne iwi. Donald McLean the Crown representative and purchaser of the Waipukurau block noted that 191 hapū were involved in the purchase in 1851.² However, today the Central Hawke's Bay hapū that were involved in the He Toa Takitini treaty settlement were Ngāti Mārau, Ngāti Kikiri o te Rangī, Ngāi Toroiwaho, Ngāi te Rangitekahutia, Ngāi te Rangitotohu, Ngāi Tahu ki Takapau, Ngāti Kere, Ngāti Pihere, Ngāi Tamatea, Ngāti Manuhiri, Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, Ngāti Pukututu, Ngāti Kekehaunga, Ngāti Parakiore, Ngāti Oatua, and Ngāi Tamaterā.³

I would consider the Waipukurau purchase the most significant event to happen in Central Hawke's Bay colonial history. The purchase invited the Colonial Government

¹ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 9 July 2015, 9-12.

² He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 13.

³ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 1; "Our Hapu – Tamatea", Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, accessed 16 September 2018, <https://www.kahungunu.iwi.nz/kahungunu-hapu---tamatea>

into the district and this had a significant impact on the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay. Their way of life and physical and political environment would change. When Donald McLean arrived in the district to purchase land in December 1850 it would have been the first time many of the local Māori had any dealings with Pākehā let alone the Colonial Government.

After nearly a year of negotiations the deed for the Waipukurau block was signed on 4 November 1851 for £4,800.⁴ The deed was signed by 397 Māori from 191 hapū as the 'chiefs and people of Heretaunga'.⁵ The block consisted of 275,000 acres, and within the boundaries Māori were to retain 4378 acres of reserves. Eight reserves were set aside for Māori. They were the Waipukurau pā at 213 acres, Tawera bush at 2135 acres, Haowhenua at 159 acres, Tukuwaru at 71 acres, Te Tamumu at 824 acres, Orea at 308 acres, Tapu o Hinemāhanga at 220 acres, and Porerere contained 448 acres.⁶ The block's boundary stretched from the east coast from Kairākau heading south along the coast to Parimāhu. The southern boundary stretched from Parimāhu in a straight line to the Maharakeke River. The western boundary followed the Maharakeke River, crossing both the major rivers (Tukituki and Waipawa), following the line of the Mangaonuku stream to a point called Tauparekohai. The northern boundary extended from Tauparekohai along the Argyll hills to the southern edge of Roto ā tara, to the Papanui stream. The boundary followed the Papanui stream to the Pātangata pā, then onto the Tukituki River to Elsthorpe through the valley back to Kairakau.⁷ However, the western boundary was

⁴ \$561,115.27 today. The inflation is from quarter 1 of 1862 as this is as far back the reserve bank inflation calculator goes. <https://www.rbnz.govt.nz/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator>

⁵ Translation of the Waipukurau Deed 4 November 1851. Donald McLean Papers. MS-Papers-0032-0004

⁶ H. Hanson Turton. *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (George Didsbury, 1878), 487 <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

⁷ Patrick Parsons, *Waipukurau – The History of a Country Town*, (Waipukurau, CHB Print. 2000), 41; Turton, *Maori Deeds*, 487.

extended by another 20,000 to 25,000 acres. This extension was not listed on the original deed that Māori signed on 4 November 1851. Six weeks later the new boundary was pointed out and surveyed. But the owners/occupiers would later maintain they were not aware that their land had been sold. As part of the purchase price McLean made sweeping promises to Māori. Promising benefits and riches that would come to Māori with Pākehā settlement.⁸ This was just the beginning, the Waipukurau purchase would have ongoing consequences for Central Hawke's Bay Māori.

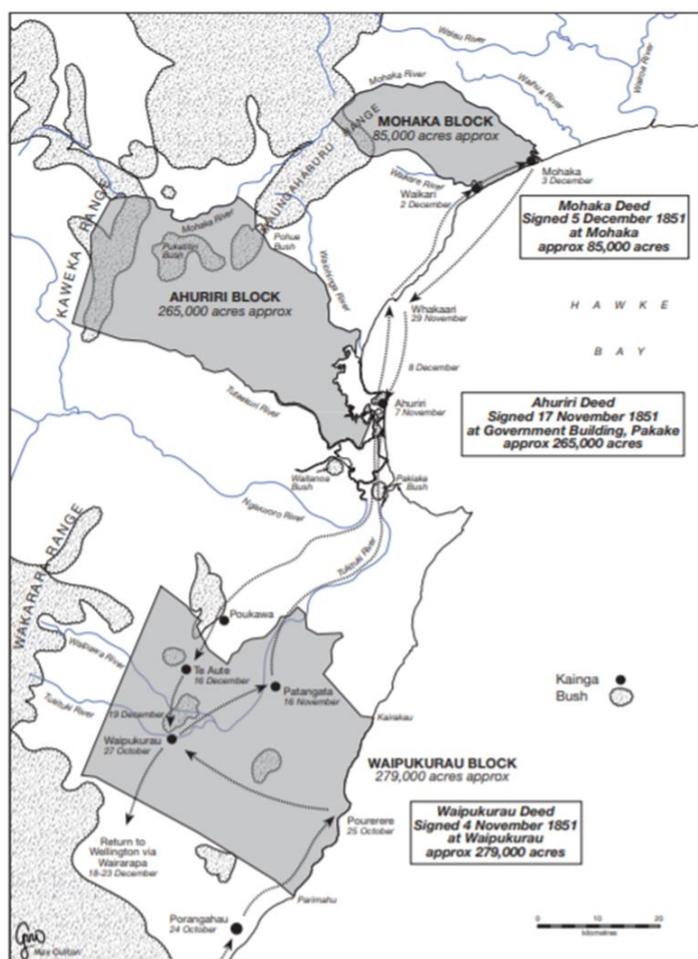


Figure 2: Donald McLean's 1851 Purchases

Waitangi Tribunal, *The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, 2004, 83

⁸ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 12; Ray Fargher, *The Best Man who ever served the Crown? : A life of Donald McLean*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2007), 98.

The historiography of New Zealand has evolved from amateur ethnologists to professional historians. Sir George Grey, S. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best were among a number of early collectors of Māori knowledge. These early encounters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century remain influential, due to the fact that they involved an attitude towards Māori which was a complex mixture of colonial exploitation and a fostered dependence. During this time, there was a strong belief that Māori were a dying race. Furthermore, Best, believed that the Māori were rapidly being civilized and that their traditions needed to be recorded before they became polluted or lost.⁹ Smith and Best exerted considerable influence in the way Māori histories were being theorized.¹⁰ Smith wrote *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century* which discusses the 1820s battles at Roto ā Tara in Central Hawke’s Bay.¹¹ He also translated an article for *The Journal of Polynesian Society* about te Pā Horehore in Takapau.¹² Best also contributed to *The Journal of Polynesian Society* with an article ‘The Land of Tara and they who settled it’ this covered the early occupation of Hawke’s Bay and the naming of the Seventy Mile Bush.¹³

Jock Phillips argues that late nineteenth century historians were amateurs outside the university and therefore holds their historical views with little credibility. History-writing among nineteenth-century Pākehā was left to people outside the academic

⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London: Zed Books, 2013), 156.

¹⁰ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 159.

¹¹ S. Percy Smith, *Māori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*. (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1910) <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-SmiMaor-t1-body-d45.html>

¹² Tanguru Tuhua and S. Percy Smith (trans). “Incidents in the History of Horehore Pa, Te Takapau, Hawkes Bay District.” *JPS*, 15, no. 2 (June, 1906): 69-93 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20700781>

¹³ Elsdon Best, “The Land of Tara and they who settled it” *JPS*, 26, no. 4, (58) (1917):143-169. http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document//Volume_26_1917/Volume_26%2C_No._4/The_Land_of_Tara_and_they_who_settled_it%2C_by_Elsdon_Best%2C_p_143-169/p1

walls.¹⁴ In 1898 the Politician W. Pember Reeves wrote *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa*. Phillips says ‘this was a well-ordered, intelligent view of New Zealand history, written with colour and verve.’¹⁵

Following the First World War many ex-Military men were writing about their experiences in the First World War, however, Phillips says many of the war histories were kept strictly to the field of battle and there was little attempt to describe the life away from battle or to analyse the values and mixtures of people who made up the New Zealand army. Journalist, James Cowan began writing history pieces in local newspapers. He wrote the official history of the New Zealand Wars in the two-volume *The New Zealand Wars: A history of the Maori campaigns and the pioneering period* (1922–23) and *Māori in the Great War* (1926).¹⁶

The interwar period saw a big change in New Zealand historiography with the emergence of J.C. Beaglehole. He brought a more empirical method and academic standard of writing with research and referencing he acquired while studying in Britain.¹⁷ Beaglehole, together with other academics such as F.L.W. Wood, James Hight, James Rutherford and W.T. Airey applied these methods to the New Zealand Centennial series of publications.¹⁸ Many of the commissioned histories in the 1950s were war histories completed by the War History department. The tradition of military

¹⁴ Jock Phillips. “Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 Years of New Zealand Historiography”, *NZJH*, 2, no. 2, (1990): 120 <http://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=906&page=0&action=searchresult&target>

¹⁵ Phillips, “Verandahs and Fish and Chips”, 121.

¹⁶ David Colquhoun. “Cowan, James”, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, updated January, 2012, , <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c36/cowan-james>

¹⁷ Rachael Elizabeth Bell, *Memory, History, Nation, War: The Official Histories of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939 to 1945*, Unpublished PHD Thesis, Massey University 2012, 26; Tim Beaglehole. “Beaglehole, John Cawte”, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, accessed 20 March 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5b16/beaglehole-john-cawte>

¹⁸ Bell, *Memory, History, Nation, War*, 26.

history written by former army men also continued, although the standard of the official war histories of the 1950s was somewhat higher than in the past.¹⁹

Following the Second World War a post-colonial perspective of history developed. This approach which engaged with colonisation and its aftermath.²⁰ Anna Green and Kathleen Troup in *The Houses of History* say ‘the decades immediately following the Second World War have often been described as the “age of decolonization”’.²¹ They state that ‘Post-Colonial histories included the perspectives of the colonized, revised the understandings of their experiences, and placed them at the centre of the historical process’.²² Furthermore, Green and Troup also state ‘Post-Colonial history also focused upon the continuing impact of imperialism and colonialism following independence’.²³ This is very similar to the Marxist theory of E.P. Thompson’s. As Marxist historiography is about the ‘people’s history’ Thompson coined the term ‘history from below’ in 1966.²⁴ New Zealand historians began taking a more diverse approach, it was no longer a white middle class mens club, new historians emerged with new approaches to historiography such feminist, indigenous and the ‘history from below’ were being applied to the study of New Zealand History.²⁵

These developments created space in which tribal histories were placed at the centre. Māori of Central Hawke’s Bay are from the Ngāti Kahungunu iwi. Kahungunu is the Great Grandson of Tamatea arikinui of the Tākitimu waka that sailed from Hawaiki. His son was Rangokako whose son was Tamateapōkaiwhenua (Tamatea who travelled

¹⁹ Phillips, “Verandahs and Fish and Chips”, 125.

²⁰ Giselle Byrnes, “Rethinking National Identity of New Zealand History”, nzhistory.govt.nz, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/files/documents/giselle-byrnes-national-identity.pdf>

²¹ Anna Green and Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in History and Theory*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 320.

²² Green and Throup. *The Houses of History*, 321.

²³ Green and Throup. *The Houses of History*, 321.

²⁴ Green and Throup. *The Houses of History*, 51.

²⁵ Byrnes, “Rethinking National Identity of New Zealand History”.

over land). Tamateapōkaiwhenua travelled all over New Zealand leaving his legacy by naming many places all over the country including the longest place name:

Taumatawhakatangihangakoauauatamateaturipukakapikimaungahoronukupokaiwhenuakitanatahu

(The place where Tamatea, the man with the big knees, who slid, climbed and swallowed mountains, known as 'landeater', played his flute to his loved one.)²⁶

This is located near Pōrangahau in Central Hawke's Bay.²⁷ Tamateapōkaiwhenua and Iwipūpū had a son called Kahungunu. Kahungunu was born near Kaitāia and grew up in Tauranga. He travelled around the country taking several wives along the way before settling down at Nukutaurua, Māhia Peninsula, with Rongomaiwahine. Their courtship and marriage would become the topic of legend.²⁸ The Māori who were involved in the Waipukurau purchase are descendants of this union.

When the descendants of Kahungunu led by Tāraia and Te Aomatarahi came to the Hawke's Bay the area was already inhabited by various hapū whom they 'conquered' through a process of intermarriage and gift exchange. The pre-Kahungunu iwi were absorbed into Ngāti Kahungunu by intermarriage and alliances or else they migrated away from the area.²⁹

Historians have documented who the pre Kahungunu hapū were. J.D.H. Buchanan in *Maori History and Place Names of Hawkes Bay*, says that the earliest known iwi (that is known by name) are the Ngāti Hotu and Ngāti Māhu who he says may be

²⁶ Rāwiri Taonui, "Tapa whenua – naming places - Traditions and place names from Polynesia", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 23 February 2019, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/tapa-whenua-naming-places/page-3>

²⁷ Mere Whaanga, "Ngāti Kahungunu - Ancestors", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 22 September 2018, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-kahungunu/page-2>

²⁸ See J. H. Mitchell. *Takitimu*. (Wellington: Reed. 1972). P.77-80

²⁹ J.M. McEwen, *Rangitāne: A Tribal History*. (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1986), viii-ix; Angela Ballara, *The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, PHD Thesis, Victoria University of New Zealand, 1991, 12-13

descendants of the Mōa-hunters.³⁰ Both Buchanan and J.M. McEwen in *Rangitāne*, mention that when Ngāi Tara and Rangitāne arrived in the area, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Mamoe were present. Ngāti Mamoe are the descendants of Orotu where the name Te Whanganui-o-Orotu (Ahuriri Lagoon/Napier inner harbour) comes from. When Tāraia of Kahungunu arrived in Hawke's Bay Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Māmoe were centred north of the Tukituki River, Rangitāne were in Heretaunga and Ngāi Tara were in Central Hawkes Bay. Ngāti Māmoe eventually made its way down to settle in the South Island and Ngāi Tara in the Wellington region.³¹ Mathew Wright in *The History of Hawke's Bay* used the latest environmental evidence to date the oral traditions of the migration into Hawke's Bay. Wright dates the migration at 1600-1640 whereas it was traditionally dated at about 1500-1625.³²

The local Māori that McLean encountered when he arrived in Hawke's Bay had only just returned from Nukutaurua after a period of time in exile following a series of invasions by other iwi. There were long standing rivalries between Ngāti Kahungunu hapū, Ngāti Whatuiāpiti and Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri, that erupted into all-out war about 1819/1820.³³ At the same time other iwi had made incursions into the area including Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto, Hauraki, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāpuhi. Ngāti Whatuiāpiti and Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri allied themselves with these invaders. An allied army of Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato and Ngāti Awa, forced Ngāti Whatuiāpiti to go to Nukutaurua under the protection of the Ngāpuhi leader Te Wera. From here they would launch attacks on Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri and

³⁰ J.D.H Buchanan, *Maori History and Place Names of Hawkes Bay*, (Wellington: Reed Publishing, 1973; Reprint, Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2004), 15

³¹ Buchanan, *Maori History*, 15; McEwen, *Rangitāne*. 19-20.

³² Mathew Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, (Wellington, Intruder Books. 2017), 14-15.

³³ Wright. *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 22; Ballara. *Origins*, 432; S. Percy Smith. *Māori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*. (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1910, 293-300 <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-SmiMaor-t1-body-d45.html>,

its allies.³⁴ Because of the raids by other iwi assisted by either Ngāti Whatuiāpiti or Ngāti Te Ūpokoiri, the Māori of Hawke's Bay left the area for self-preservation. The Ngāti Whatuiāpiti migration to Nukutaurua was led by Pareihe and was known as Te Hekengā Rangatira ki Nukutaurua (migration of the chiefs). At this time Ngāti Te Ūpokoiri went to the Manawatū while those who stayed if they were unable to escape were either killed or captured. Significantly, the main players during the Waipukurau purchase and other Crown Purchases were Te Hāpuku, Takamoana, Tārehā, Rēnata Kawepō and Te Moananui, all of whom were involved in these conflicts.³⁵

Te Hāpuku's actions would greatly affect other Māori. During the purchase McLean portrayed Te Hāpuku as if he had paramount status among the rangatira. McLean would even go as far as naming the Waipukurau block, 'Te Hāpuku's Block'. McLean made many journal entries regarding Te Hāpuku during the purchase. By promoting Te Hāpuku with paramount status McLean caused tension among the rangatira. Tārehā and Te Moananui who were equal if not more senior in status than Te Hāpuku. Angela Ballara in *Iwi: The Dynamic of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945* discusses Te Hāpuku's status where she says 'about 1850 Te Hāpuku was the 'paramount chief', that is, the highest ranking and most powerful chief among several of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, and a number of its derivative hapū, not Ngāti Kahungunu. Ballara states only his female cousin, the ariki Hineipaketia, was senior to him in rank, and she was of a younger generation'.³⁶ Despite his rank and mana within Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, Ballara argued that Te Hāpuku had no right to sell land in Wairarapa, and north of Ngaruroro River (Ahuriri

³⁴ Mathew Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), 19.

³⁵ Wright, *The History of Hawkes Bay*, 22.

³⁶ Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamic of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998), 264.

and Mohaka Blocks). She stated that the only land that he had the right to sell was limited to an area in Heretaunga in the area between Poukawa to Te Hauke area. As mentioned, McLean's claim that Te Hāpuku was the chief of the East Coast with the authority from Tūranga to Wairarapa (Wairoa ki Wairarapa), however, this was not correct and Ballara reinforces the fact that Te Hāpuku did not hold this status.³⁷ Post the Waipukurau purchase Te Hāpuku and Hineipaketia along with Hōri Niania would be major land sellers. They sold land often without the knowledge of the occupiers. These sales, called hoko tāhae tuku hē, were conducted between 1854 and 1856 under the influence of McLean.

McLean was the main player for the Crown during the Waipukurau purchase and the subsequent purchases. McLean was a Scottish Highlander who arrived in New Zealand in 1840 just before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Upon arriving in New Zealand he firstly worked as a trader in the Coromandel, it was here he developed a good knowledge of Māori.³⁸ McLean gained standing among Māori for his knowledge of their language and his respect for rank and protocol. As a result, Governor George Grey recognised McLean's skill and appointed him as a police inspector in Taranaki. From 1848 McLean worked on land purchase negotiations. Between 1848 and 1851 McLean brought nearly one million acres for the Crown in the southern half of the North Island.³⁹ After the success of the Hawke's Bay purchases in 1851, he began to struggle to buy land. So he began to cut corners. McLean had developed the practice of making payments to some hapū leaders, he began promising Crown grants to individuals if the purchase

³⁷ Ballara. *Iwi*, 264.

³⁸ Matthew Wright, *Man of Secrets: The Private life of Donald McLean*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2015), 26; Alan Ward. "McLean, Donald", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Accessed, DNZB, 20 March 2018, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m38/mclean-donald>

³⁹ Fargher, *The Best Man*, 58.

was completed and hoping that they would persuade a majority of the customary right holders to sell. He and other Crown officials often ignored the protests of the other rangatira. McLean's post 1851 purchasing style provoked tension amongst rangatira and this built up to physical conflict between sellers and non-sellers, in the Taranaki and Hawke's Bay at Pakiaka.⁴⁰

The journal of Donald McLean provides a considerable amount of historical information and a crucial eye witness account of the Waipukurau purchase. The main purpose of his journals was to record the complex issues of his meeting with Māori while he was negotiating land purchases as the Chief Native Land Purchase Commissioner. Another important primary source was McLean's letters. These letters are rich in information. The letters show the early interaction between Māori and Pākehā and also between rangatira and government officials especially during the 1850s land purchases in Hawke's Bay. Many of these letters were written in Māori, this demonstrates that McLean was proficient in the Māori language. McLean received many letters from Te Hāpuku and other Hawke's Bay rangatira regarding the land purchases. Also included are personal letters to and from McLean's family, letters to his wife Susan who died after giving birth to their son Douglas. Many of the letters to Susan occurred during the negotiations for the Waipukurau purchase and in one letter McLean tells Susan that the gold had arrived to pay for the block.⁴¹

The secondary sources used in this thesis include Waitangi Tribunal reports, the tribunals *Rangahaua Whanui Series* reports and He Toa Takitini *Deed of Historical*

⁴⁰ Ward, "McLean, Donald"; Fargher. *The Best Man*, 118 -119; Vincent O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014), 178; Richard Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land Governments and Māori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008), 31.

⁴¹ Alexander Turnbull Library, accessed 14 September 2018, <http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/static/introduction-mclean?l=en>

Claims, the collective of treaty claims from Heretaunga (Hastings) and Tamatea (Central Heretaunga). Mathew Wright wrote *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province* (2004) and an updated *The History of Hawke's Bay* (2017) both of these Hawke's Bay histories discuss the Waipukurau Purchase along with J.G Wilson's 1939 edition of *The History of Hawkes Bay*. The biographies of Donald McLean by Ray Fargher titled *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown? : A life of Donald McLean* and Mathew Wright's *Man of Secrets: The Private Life of Donald McLean* provide an insight in to how the purchase was conducted from Donald McLean's point of view.

As previously mentioned the intention of this thesis is to examine the consequences of the Waipukurau Purchase on Central Hawke's Bay Māori. In order to explain the consequences this thesis is divided into five chapters.

Chapter one sets the scene and gives the background to the purchase and how the purchase played out. This chapter is split in to two parts. Part one examines the decades immediately prior to the Waipukurau purchase. In the 1820s and 1830s Ngāti Kahungunu faced a series of invasions by other iwi. These invasions led to a migration to Nukutaurua and the Manawatū. After peace was declared and the return to Hawke's Bay the rangatira could see the benefits a Pākehā settlement could bring. Letters were sent to the Governor requesting Pākehā. The request was received and McLean arrived in the region in December 1850 to purchase land

The final part of chapter one examines the Waipukurau purchase from the negotiation through to the signing of the deed. McLean arrived at Waipukurau pā in December 1850 where he attended a large hui with the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay. The negotiations for the block took almost a year. McLean kept a journal during the negotiations which provided an in depth insight into the negotiations. Furthermore, the

correspondence to and from McLean also provides an extensive understanding of how the purchase was conducted and what each party wanted. After much negotiation over price and reserves the deed was signed on 4 November 1851. However, this land transaction would not go smoothly as boundaries were moved and land was added following the signing of the deed. The sale of the Waipukurau opened the way for more land sales in Central Hawke's Bay.

Chapter Two, covers the land sales that occurred in 1854. These sales are known as the 'secret sales' or ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē as the Māori called them. The sales were conducted in a very different way to the Waipukurau block. With the Waipukurau block, everybody was involved whereas the 1854 sales were conducted with Te Hāpuku and Hōri Niania only while they were in Wellington as a guest of McLean. These sales caused much distress to the Māori who occupied the lands. The sale of the Waipukurau block paved the way for more land sales. Because McLean was only dealing with a select few sellers many issues arose for the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay.

Chapter Three begins with an examination of the Crown's purchasing policy of pre-emption followed by the development and operation of the Native Land Court. The Native Land Court was established by the Native Lands Acts of 1862 and 1865. Ranginui Walker in *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou* says the aim of the court was to identify the owners of the tribal land and transform communally owned land held under customary title into individual title cognisable in English law, so that Māori ownership would become assimilated into British law.⁴²

The Native Land Court made its presence felt in Hawke's Bay right from the outset. As Richard Boast states 'The effects of the ten-owner rule are best documented in

⁴² Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou; Struggle Without End*, (Auckland: Penguin, 2004), 135.

Hawke's Bay because of the detailed testimony taken for the 1873 commission...'⁴³ The debt that occurred in relation to the Court and the pressure of the monetary society often left Māori with no choice but to alienate their land. The Waipukurau Reserve was one of the first blocks of land to be investigated by the Native land Court in 1866. Once titles were awarded more land was sold.

Chapter four will examine the fight back that the Māori of Central Hawkes Bay faced. By 1857 Donald McLean's purchasing strategy had caused tension among the Ngāti Kahungunu rangatira. The tension had built up so much that it spilled over into all-out war where Māori from Central Hawke's Bay were killed and wounded during three battles at Pakiaka. After Pakiaka the rangatira met with the Kingitanga where it was decided to adopt a Rūnanga system of Māori self-government. By 1873 Māori were protesting against the Native Land Court and a commission of inquiry was set up to investigate the actions of the Native Land Court in Hawke's Bay. At the same time as the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873 the Māori of Hawke's Bay established the Repudiation Movement. The movement was soon taken up by a number of other North Island tribes. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Kotahitanga movement adopted a similar approach and rose out of the ashes of the Repudiation movement, and in 1892 the Kotahitanga held the first Māori Pāremata (Parliament) at Waipatu near modern-day Hastings.

The fifth and final chapter examines the environmental and socio economic consequences on Central Hawke's Bay Māori. The impact of settlement changed the physical environment for Hawke's Bay Māori. The change of the environment had a devastating impact on Māori. They were cut off from vital food sources. Pākehā

⁴³ Boast, *Buying the Land*, 137.

settlement also brought sickness to Māori as they had never come into contact with European diseases. Māori had no immunity and illness's devastated Māori settlements. Many of the occupations for Māori were labouring in Central Hawke's Bay shearing was the main occupation for Māori.⁴⁴ The land that Māori owned was not large enough to be economically viable so they often went shearing to supplement their income. While Māori farms were struggling the Pākehā farmers were profiting.

⁴⁴ E. G. Schwimmer. "Shearing in Hawke's Bay" *Te Ao Hou*. No. 19 (August 1957) 12-14. 12.

Chapter One

‘Te Hāpuku’s Block’

The following chapter examines sale of the Waipukurau block or as Donald McLean called it Hāpuku’s Block. This chapter is divided in to three parts. Part one will discuss the decades preceding the purchase. In the decades prior to the sale of the Waipukurau block Hawke’s Bay faced a series of invasions by other iwi. These invasions led to a heke to Nukutaurua on the Māhia peninsula and to the Manawatū. The outcome of this period had influenced those who became involved in the purchase. At the time of the sale people were still returning to their home lands and rangatira were jostling to reestablish positions of influence. This was a complicated time for Central Hawke’s Bay Māori. Part two will expand on the lives of Te Hāpuku and McLean, both of whom had key roles during the purchase and the years following. Part three will examine how the Waipukurau purchase unfolded. By the end of the chapter it will become clear how Te Hāpuku and McLean would influence the following years Māori of Central Hawke’s Bay.

Part One

Central Hawke’s Bay Māori before the purchase

The thirty years leading up to the 1850s was a volatile time for the Māori of Hawke’s Bay. From the time of first contact with Europeans in 1769 up until 1850 when Donald McLean arrived, the Māori population of Hawke’s Bay had almost halved, the biggest

decline occurring after 1820, as a result of the Musket Wars. Major battles were fought at Roto a Tara and Te Pākake on the Te Whanganui o Orotu,¹ the Napier inner harbour.

For many generations leading up to the events of the 1820s, there were tensions simmering between the peoples of Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri and Ngāti Whatuiāpiti and this boiled over in to all-out war in 1819/1820.² It was at this time Hawke's Bay were facing a series of invasions by better armed iwi from the Waikato, Ngāti Maniapotō, Hauraki, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa along with Ngāpuhi. The Māori in Hawke's Bay had limited to no contact with Pākehā compared to the iwi that were invading them. About 1820 muskets were first used in battle by Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa and Waikato iwi when they fought at Te Iho o Te Rei an island pā in Te Whanganui o Orotu.³ Around this time at Roto ā Tara,⁴ Te Wanikau of Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri set up a series rāhui posts over the resources at Poukawa Lake so birds and eels could be collected for the tangi of Te Nahu. However, the people of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti did not appreciate their food supplies being cut off so they pulled out the posts and burnt them, a mākutū was also put on Te Wanikau. In response, Te Wanikau went to Taupō to raise a war party.⁵ The combined force of Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri and Ngāti Tūwharetoa made an unsuccessful attempt to take Te Awaruaoporirua the island pā of Roto ā Tara, and they were forced to

¹ The Napier Inner Harbour also known Ahuriri Lagoon as now drained following the 1931 Napier Earthquake, the sea bed was uplifted and the water drained away. Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 155

² Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 22; Smith. *Māori Wars*, 293-300; Ballara. *Origins*, 432.

³ Patrick Parsons. *Te Whanganui a Orotu: Traditional Use and Environmental Change*. A Report to the Waitangi Tribunal. Wai 55, D004. May 1992. 13-14

⁴ Roto ā Tara was a lake on the northern border of the Waipukurau block, across from Te Aute College. Roto ā Tara was drained by Rev. Samuel Williams in late 1800's much to the disappointment of Māori of Central Hawke's Bay who lost a valuable food source. Te Taiwhenua O Tamatea, *Cultural Impact Assessment of the Ruataniwha Water Storage Scheme: Addendum Report on Zone M: Old Waipawa River Bed/Papanui Stream*, 30 April 2013, 11-12.

⁵ Buchanan, *Maori History*, 36.

retreat to Mōkai Patea.⁶ In the years that followed the Māori of Hawke's Bay were on high alert, with the fear of invasion.⁷

It was about this time Te Wera of Ngāpuhi fought his way down the island to Nukutaurua on the Māhia Peninsula, where he had become the acknowledged leader. At Wairoa he had met up with Te Hauwaho who wished to avenge the death of his brother, Hungahunga, at the hands of Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri. A combined force of Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kahungunu from Wairoa made their way to Ahuriri where they attacked Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri and at Te Awangā where they attacked Kurupō Te Moananui. Te Wera's force wanted to attack Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, however, the Wairoa force persuaded him not to. Te Pareihe of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti and Tiakitai of Waimārama approached Te Wera who was camped at Tānenuiarangi pā on the banks of the Ngāraroro River for peace the two groups joined forces.⁸ The taua of Ngāti Whautiāpiti and Ngāpuhi defeated a force of Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri and Ngāti Tūwharetoa on the upper Waipawa River at Te Whiti o Tu.⁹

In 1824 or 1825 about one thousand man tauā left Taupō comprising men from Waikato, Hauraki, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa to besiege the pa of Te Pākake to avenge for the deaths of those who were killed at Roto ā Tara. Before the taua arrived at Te Pākeke, Te Pareihe received a warning from the tohunga, Ngoi, to flee, so he advised his people, a community of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, to go to Nukutaurua.¹⁰ While some left with te hekengā rangatira ki

⁶ Evidence from Marei Apatu. Statement of Evidence of Marei Boston Apatu on Behalf of Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri and Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga. Tukituki Catchment Proposal Plan Change, Notice of Requirement and Resource Consents. 8 October 2013

⁷ Buchanan, *Maori History*, 36.

⁸ Angela Ballara. "Te Wera Hauraki", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, Accessed 1 August 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t83/te-wera-hauraki>

⁹ Evidence from Marei Apatu.

¹⁰ Angela Ballara. "Te Pareihe", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, updated September, 2011, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t54/te-pareihe>

Nukutaurua (migration of the chiefs), others remained behind to defend the pā and keep ahi kā. At Nukutaurua, Te Paerihe and Te Wera planned to launch attacks. About three months later an attack came from the combined force from Taupō. Of the thousand man tauā approximately four hundred were armed with muskets. When Te Pākeke was besieged there were roughly three hundred men and about two hundred women in occupation and they were only armed with traditional weaponry. The defenders of Te Pākeke came from Ngati Tuku a Te Rangi, Ngati Te Rangikamangungu, Ngati Hinepare, and Ngati Matepu. Rangatira that stayed behind to defend the pā were Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, Tiakitai of Ngati Kurukuru of Waimarama and Te Moanau all of whom were taken prisoner. All that stayed were killed or taken prisoner, however some did manage to escape to Nukutaurua. Te Hāpuku and Te Moananui would go onto become major players during the crown purchases.¹¹ Tārehā was on his way back to Te Pākeke with his father Oneone from Nukutaurua when they saw that Te Pākeke was being besieged, so he returned to Nukutaurua.

By 1835 there were thousands of Hawke’s Bay and Wairarapa Māori on the Māhia Peninsula.¹² Here they were introduced to Christianity by visiting missionaries. They quickly adopted and embraced the aspects of European life that the missionaries brought with them. They would also come into contact with the traders and whalers that had settled amongst them on the peninsula.¹³ Other hapū such as Rangitāne and Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri went to the Manawatū for refuge under the Rangtāne rangatira Tiweka and

¹¹ Wright, *The History of Hawkes Bay*, 24; Ballara. *Origins*, 451; Buchanan. *Maori History*, 45; Parsons. *Te Whanganui a Orotu*, 17-18.

¹² Angela Ballara and Patrick Parsons. “Kawepo, Renata Tama-ki-Hikurangi”, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, Accessed 1 August 2018 <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k3/kawepo-renata-tama-ki-hikurangi>; Ballara. “Te Wera Hauraki”

¹³ Ngāti Kahungunu Ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 22 March 2018, 81 <https://www.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/Ngati-Kahungunu-ki-Wairarapa-Tamaki-Nui-a-rua-Deed-of-Settlement-22-March-2018.pdf>

Takore at Te Kuripaka.¹⁴ Some Rangitāne stayed behind at Rākautātahi at the entrance of the Seventy Mile Bush to maintain ahi kā and build a defensive network known as ringakaha¹⁵ which extended from Rākautātahi to Te Ahu a Tūranga near the Manawatū Gorge.¹⁶

Coinciding with the spread and influence of Christianity peace was declared in 1839 at Nukutaurua.¹⁷ However, the heke back to Hawke's Bay (including Central Hawke's Bay) and Wairarapa would not begin until after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. When William Williams (Church Missionary Society missionary) arrived in Ahuriri he noted that the 'Native' population did not exceed more than fifty. By 1845 when he made a return trip he came across a large group at Nuhaka who were planning to return to Ahuriri and when he reached Tongioio he encountered a large kāinga.¹⁸ At the end of 1850 Kurupō Te Moananui invited Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri to return to Hawke's Bay, much to the displeasure of Te Hāpuku. Te Moananui and Rēnata Kawepō were able to negotiate a peaceful resolution.¹⁹ The following year Rēnata Kawepō went to the Manawatū to gather the rest of his hapū. They remained in the Manawatū for two more years before they returned in two heke in 1853 and 1861.²⁰

These times would prove to be significant in relation to the Waipukurau purchase. While many were still returning to their lands, others were trying to re-establish their mana, like Te Hāpuku. Furthermore, the benefits that Pakeha settlement would bring

¹⁴ Evidence from Marei Apatu.

¹⁵ 'Ringakaha' or 'the eastern Rangitāne alliance'. The alliance was set up by the Ngāti Rangi-whaka-ewa leader Tūrake. Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report, volume 1*, 26 Jun 2010, 12; Tūrake is an ancestor of Karaitana Takamoana. see McEwen, *Rangitāne*, Page 265 for Whakapapa

¹⁶ Rangitāne o Wairarapa and Rangitāne o Tamaki Nui-ā-Rua. *Deed of Settlement of Historic Claims*. 6 August 2016, 10. <https://www.govt.nz/dmsdocument/6559.pdf>

¹⁷ Ballara, *Origins*, 470

¹⁸ Patrick Parsons, *Te Whanganui a Orotu*, 19

¹⁹ Patrick Parsons, "Repatriation and Colonisation" in *West to the Annie: Renata Kawepo's Hawke's Bay Legacy*, ed. Tony Robinson (Hastings: RD9 Historical Committee, 2002), 475

²⁰ Evidence from Marei Apatu.

became evident during their exile in Nukutaurua. It was not long after this that a request was sent to the Crown for Pakeha to come and settle among them.

Part Two

Te Hāpuku



Figure 3: Te Hāpuku

*Te Hapuku. Ref: 1/4-022221-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
/records/23031650*

Te Hāpuku Te Ika nui o Te Moana was the most enthusiastic land seller, and he had earned the respect of Donald McLean. He was of Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti, Ngāti Te Manawakawa,

Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāi Tapuhara and Ngāi Te Rangikoiānake descent.²¹ Te Hāpuku held mana and authority between the Ngāruroro and Tukituki rivers and inland to Te Haukē. During the Crown purchasing period of the 1850s Te Hāpuku became a firm ally of McLean. Following the constant raids from Ngāti Raukawa, Waikato and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and after being captured, Te Hāpuku and Ngāti Whatuiāpiti people went to live at Nukutaurua in 1833. After Te Hāpuku was captured, there are two versions of Te Hāpuku escaping. In one account while on route to the Waikato, the party encountered a party of Ngāti Raukawa and they sold Te Hāpuku for obsidian, he later escaped and made his way to Nukutaurua.²² Another version states that Te Hāpuku was recaptured at Te Haroto²³ and he was taken to Te Wherowhero,²⁴ who sent for Tiakitai to escort him and the other prisoner's home along with a casket of gunpowder and muskets.²⁵

During his time at Te Māhia, Te Hāpuku gained a reputation for being overbearing, especially with whalers, to such an extent that James Busby, the British Resident, was aware of Te Hāpuku. While visiting the Bay of Islands in 1838, Te Hāpuku signed He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiranga o Nu Tireni (the Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand).²⁶ The signatories of the Declaration asked the British King for protection against intrusion by other powers. Because Te Hāpuku had signed the Declaration, the Crown deemed it important that he sign the Treaty of Waitangi. So on the 24 June 1840 Te Hāpuku along with two other Hawke's Bay rangatira, Harawira Te Mahikai and Hoani Waikato, signed the Treaty of Waitangi at the mouth of the

²¹ Mīria Simpson and Pat Parsons eds. *Ngā taumata: He Whakaahua o Ngāti Kahungunu - A Portrait of Ngāti Kahungunu: 1870-1906*. (Wellington: Huia Publishers: National Library of New Zealand: Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Inc., 2003) 170; Angela Ballara. *Iwi*, 81-82.

²² Ballara. *Origins*, 451-452; Wright, *The History of Hawkes Bay*, 24

²³ Between Napier and Taupō

²⁴ He would become the first Māori King of the Kingitanga in 1858

²⁵ Ballara. *Origins*, 451-452

²⁶ Angela Ballara. "Te Hapuku", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, accessed 22 March 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t28/te-hapuku>

Tukituki River. At first Te Hāpuku refused to sign the Treaty as he believed that doing so would ‘make him a slave’.²⁷

In total seven chiefs of Hawke's Bay are known to have signed the Treaty. Of these, only one, Te Tore of Ngāti Matepu, had ahi kā at Ahuriri.

1. Matenga Tukareaho of Ngāti Rakaipaka (Nuhaka)
2. Te Tore of Ngāti Matepu (Petāne)
3. Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Rangikoianake (Te Hauke)
4. Harawira Mahikai of Ngāti Whakaiti (Waimarama)
5. Hoani Waikato of Ngāti Hori (Tānenuiarangi)
6. Rawiri Paturoa of Ngai Te Upokoiri (Ōmāhu)
7. Wiremu Te Ota of Ngai Te Upokoiri (Ōmāhu)²⁸

When Te Hāpuku signed the Treaty in 1840, he only signed on behalf of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti. At this time he was only a junior rangatira within Ngāti Whatuiāpiti.

McLean’s portrayal of Te Hāpuku as the paramount rangatira, and Te Hāpuku’s assumption in the role of Crown Agent caused tension with other rangatira who held similar rank, namely Tārehā and Kurupō Te Moananui. Angela Ballara says that Te Hāpuku’s mana was at its highest during the Waipukurau purchase.²⁹ He was seen as a friend of Governor George Grey and the Governor’s most powerful agent McLean. Due to the relationships Te Hāpuku had formed with the most powerful people in the colony

²⁷ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 10

²⁸ Pat Parsons, *The Ahuriri Block Maori Customary Interests*, Wai 201 (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal. May 1997), 106

²⁹ Ballara, “Te Hapuku”.

he became influential and was appointed a magistrate in 1852. In 1853 Te Hāpuku was at McLean's side when he made land purchases in Wairarapa.³⁰

By December 1853, Te Hāpuku, along with Karanama Te Nahu, Pūhara, Hineipaketia, and Hōri Niania were in Wellington as guests of McLean. During a dinner which was hosted in their honour, Te Hāpuku proclaimed that he would like more Pākehā in Hawke's Bay. What followed was an arrangement for the sale of four blocks of land. However, these blocks were sold without the knowledge of the occupants.³¹ Te Hāpuku was involved in land sales in 1855 while he was in Auckland, again without the knowledge of the occupiers. Furthermore, the money that Te Hāpuku received from the sale was never distributed among the owners.³² Te Hāpuku's involvement in land selling caused animosity amongst the rangatira.

Te Hāpuku's involvement in land sales, along with interference from McLean and G.S Cooper led to armed conflict in 1857 with other Ngāti Kahungunu rangatira Kurupō Te Moananui, Tārehā, Karaitiana Takamoana and Rēnata Kawepō resulting in fourteen deaths. When the peace deal was made in September 1858, Te Hāpuku was banished to the Ngāti Whatuiāpiti lands at Te Hauke. At Te Hauke, he turned his attention to farming and improving his lands. As he was often difficult to deal with due to his overbearing nature, Te Hāpuku often got offside with Pākehā settlers and Māori a like. It was noted that he often disregarded Pākehā law and took matters into his own hands.³³ In 1861,

³⁰ Ballara, "Te Hapuku".

³¹ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 14

³² G.S. Cooper to Donald McLean. 25 March 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District, AJHR, No.2, 7 C-1, 1862.

³³ *Hawke's Bay Times*, 3 April 1874, 170; *Hawke's Bay Times*, 20 March 1874, 153.

when a lessee failed to pay rent, he seized 2000 sheep as payment.³⁴ Te Hāpuku also took out loans for himself often getting into substantial debt.

Te Hāpuku took out loans from Pākehā namely Henry Russell, who would become a financial supporter of the Repudiation movement. Te Hapuku would often mortgage the land that he was named as a trustee/owner under 'ten owner' system. As his debts mounted up his creditors wanted to declare him bankrupt.³⁵

Donald McLean



Figure 4: Donald McLean

*Sir Donald McLean. Ref: PA10-098. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
/records/22412600*

³⁴ *Colonist*. 18 October 1861, 3.

³⁵ *Hawke's Bay Times*, 16 June 1874, 254; *New Zealand Times*, 15 June 1874, 2; *Evening Post*, 20 September 1871, 2.

McLean oversaw the purchase of millions of acres in the lower North Island and was the key Crown purchaser for the Waipukurau block. He would become a leading figure in Colonial New Zealand and had a significant impact in Hawke's Bay. In this section I will examine McLean to see why he was so important to the Waipukurau Purchase and how his actions had consequences for Central Hawke's Bay Māori.

McLean was a Scottish Highlander who was known to Māori as Makarini. He arrived in New Zealand on the eve of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.³⁶ He firstly worked as a trader in the Coromandel, where he gained standing among Māori for his knowledge of their language and his respect for rank and protocol. Grey recognised McLean's skill and appointed him as a Police Inspector in Taranaki.³⁷ McLean's biographer, Ray Fargher, suggests several potential factors that may have influenced McLean's actions in purchasing land. Firstly, born into a Highland gentry family with a strong Presbyterian faith, he held a strong sense of family obligation with deep religious beliefs. He was brought up with daily prayer and bible readings. Through this dedication 'McLean saw himself as being called by God to a high purpose and being guided by a divine providence'.³⁸ Secondly, as with other early young men who came to the colony, McLean set out to acquire wealth and it was through his association with the Crown purchases he was able to amass lucrative land of his own. And thirdly, McLean saw himself as the 'benefactor of the early pioneers'.³⁹ Fargher continues to say that McLean was seen as 'the man who was making it possible for them to build a better Britain on

³⁶ Wright. *Man of Secrets*, 26

³⁷ Wright. *Man of Secrets*. 26; Ward. "McLean, Donald".

³⁸ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 1

³⁹ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 2

the other side of the world'.⁴⁰ Furthermore, McLean held and displayed the typical Victorian view of ethnocentrism and paternalism towards Māori, as he believed 'assimilation would be for their benefit'.⁴¹ And the large amounts of land, in customary title, was an obstacle to civilisation.

During Grey's first term as Governor 1846-1853 he entrusted McLean with the responsibility to negotiate the purchase of land in Taranaki and Hawke's Bay.⁴² However, it was Grey who decided the location and the price the land was to be brought for. Fargher notes from McLean's reports and personal correspondence to Grey that he offered advice and suggestions, but it was clear that he waited on Grey's instructions. Therefore, when McLean made excuses to Māori that he could not exceed the price set by Grey he was genuine. However, during the Waipukurau negotiation, he did exceed the price set in his instructions, as he offered a higher price.⁴³ By 1850, McLean had developed a structure and reputation for land negotiations, Fargher writes that:

Once an offer to sell a block of land was known, his first step was to summon a meeting of tribes who might claim customary interest in the land. A surveyor was present to assist McLean and, in company with tribal representatives, they would traverse the boundaries of the purposed purchase, noting the claims of various tribes, defining natural features to act as boundary marks, and identifying reserves consisting of villages, cultivations and sacred places. When the meeting finally agreed to sell, often days of lengthy argument, the question of price would be settled. Some months would lapse before the tribes assembled again to witness the signing of the deed of transfer ... nearly a year went by before the deeds of the three ... Hawke's Bay purchases were signed. At this time, tribes again had the opportunity to register a protest. After the deed was signed, McLean paid out the first instalment of the sale price. Additional payments as agreed were made in subsequent years. Payment by instalments was

⁴⁰ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 2

⁴¹ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 2

⁴² Ward. "McLean, Donald".

⁴³ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 58-59

administratively convenient as colonial revenue was insufficient to cover all land-purchase commitments in any one year.⁴⁴

Between December 1850 and April 1851, McLean negotiated the Waipukurau block along with the Ahuriri and Mōhaka blocks. Fargher states the purpose of the negotiations was ‘to fulfil Grey’s policy of buying large blocks of land in advance of settler demand’.⁴⁵ While he was waiting for hapū to arrive for negotiations and to debate the sale, McLean would spend that time going around speaking to different hapū, as he believed much could be done. On his way to negotiate the sale at Waipukurau, McLean was accompanied through the Seventy Mile Bush by people from the Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri hapū who had been living in the Manawatū since the 1830s. As noted earlier Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri have interests in land around Heretaunga (Hastings), it was at this time he encouraged Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri to sell land, telling them of the benefits of the sale.⁴⁶

McLean’s early land purchases gained the consent of hapū in open dealings, as shown with the early Hawke’s Bay purchases of 1851. However, as noted by Fargher, McLean often overrode Māori requests for the extent of their reserves to remain in Māori ownership. He often insisted on smaller areas, and because there was no policy from Grey on this, it was McLean’s decision to make. The Waipukurau and Ahuriri blocks were of similar size, but the reserves in Waipukurau were 4738 acres compared to Ahuriri where the reserve were 2475 acres. Although the Land Purchase department was established in 1854, there was still no clear guidelines available for the district commissioners.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 85

⁴⁵ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 89

⁴⁶ Fargher. *The Best Man*, 89

⁴⁷ Ward. “McLean, Donald”; Fargher. *The Best Man*, 102-103

In 1853, McLean he became the chief land purchase commissioner. He set about his task vigorously, prosecuting settlers who held ‘illegal’ leases and at the same time pressing Māori to sell.⁴⁸ However, the rangatira knew the advantages of leasing their land and by the mid-1850s, their resistance to selling grew. After the success of the Hawke’s Bay purchases in 1851, McLean began to struggle to buy land for the Crown. So he began to cut corners. He developed the practice of making payments to some hapū leaders and began promising Crown grants to individuals when purchase was completed in the hope that they would persuade a majority of the rightful owners to sell. McLean and other Crown officials often ignored the protests of the dissenting rangatira. McLean’s purchasing practice provoked mounting tension amongst rangatira and this developed into physical conflict between sellers and non-sellers in the Taranaki at Waitara and in Hawke’s Bay at Pakiaka, where there were fourteen deaths and many more injured.⁴⁹

McLean kept a close association with Hawke’s Bay, becoming the Superintendent of the Hawke’s Bay Province in 1863. Three years later he was elected as a Member of Parliament for Napier, he stayed in office until December 1876. During the 1870s McLean was influential in framing the Native Land Act 1873 that saw all grantees named, not just the ten trustees named on the title, as was the case in the 1865 Act. During this time McLean was accused of unfair pressure and even fraud by the Repudiation Movement in Hawke's Bay and later accused by Grey. The commission of 1873 cleared McLean of the accusations. He later retired from politics in December 1876 and died the following month in January 1877.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ward. “McLean, Donald”

⁴⁹ Ward. “McLean, Donald”; Fargher. *The Best Man*, 118 -119; O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, 178; Boast. *Buying the Land*, 31; He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 15-18

⁵⁰ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 32-34; Ward. “McLean, Donald”

Part Three

Te Hāpuku's Block - i Marama te rironga ko a te Kuini⁵¹

When Donald McLean arrived in the Hawke's Bay region in 1850, a majority of the local Māori he encountered had just returned from Nukutaurua and the Manawatū after being invaded by other iwi in the 1820s and 1830s. Those who were at Nukutaurua had come into contact with Pākehā whalers and traders and saw the benefits of a Pākehā settlement. In the 1840s, Hawke's Bay Māori were eager to sell land to encourage Pākehā settlement. As early as 1844 a letter was sent by Kurupō Te Moananui and Tārehā with an offer to sell land to the Crown,⁵² and in June 1850 Te Hāpuku and Hōri Niania wrote to McLean requesting that Europeans be sent for the purpose of developing trade and pasture.⁵³

In the late 1840s the New Zealand Company were seeking land, they had envisaged an expanse of land from Cape Palliser to Ahuriri for their planned Canterbury Settlement.⁵⁴ In September 1849, McLean was appointed to assist the New Zealand Company to acquire a block which included land in Hawke's Bay. However, the New Zealand Company were lacking funds and unable to complete the purchase, so McLean started negotiating on behalf of the Crown. The Governor instructed McLean not to spend more than £3000 (\$349,314.98⁵⁵).⁵⁶

Māori just did not want just any old Pākehā to settle near them, so in June 1850 Te Hāpuku and Niania sent a letter to McLean stating:

⁵¹ Fairly transferred to the Queen – Rēnata Kawepō 1860 in Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 23.

⁵² Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 21.

⁵³ Letter from Te Hāpuku and Hori Niania to Donald McLean, 17 June 1851. MS-Papers-0032-0674C-03

⁵⁴ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 34.

⁵⁵ Reserve Bank of New Zealand Inflation calculator. <https://www.rbnz.govt.nz/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator>. Note: the rate of Inflation is calculated from 1862 as this is the earliest date.

⁵⁶ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 11.

Let me have a Pakeha, but a reputable Pakeha; don't give me a stupid Pakeha in case I run into more trouble. There are two things I would like: trade and pasture, but with the substance of the land remaining with me, to be land for my children and grandchildren.⁵⁷

Although Te Hāpuku had reservations about alienating land he still wanted Pākehā to trade with. In a letter to Hōri Te Hanea, an assessor and colleague of McLean, Te Hāpuku stated:

I did not write inviting you two to come and take land; I'm not in that practice of selling land. All I want is a Pakeha who can sell goods, a Pakeha who sells axes, not any other, but a Pakeha salesman. Now, if you and your friend McLean say you'll come here, fine, come here. It is not me calling you to come, but if you two do come, come here so we can all see each other, not because I am going to give up any land to you.⁵⁸

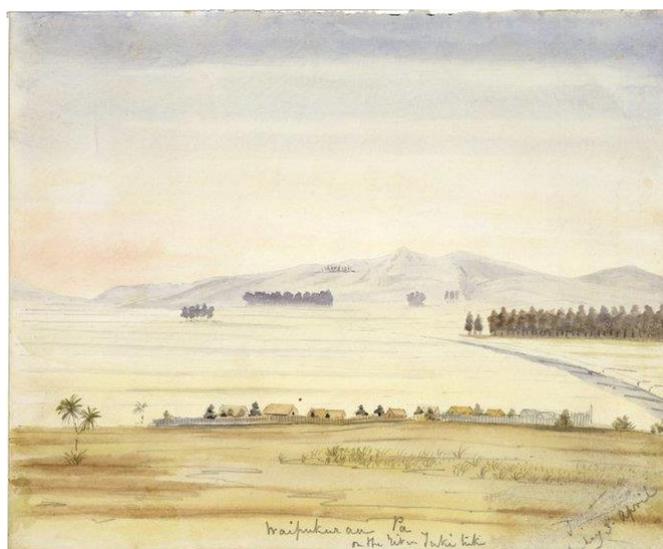


Figure 5: Waipukurau Pā

Rhodes, Joseph, 1826-1905. [Rhodes, Joseph] 1826-1905 : Waipukurau Pa on the river Tukituki. Saturday 3 April [1858?]. Ref: A-159-027. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22858802

In December 1850 McLean made his way to Hawke's Bay. In his diary he described his journey through the Manawatū Gorge. He wrote that the country was thickly wooded

⁵⁷ Letter from Te Hāpuku and Hori Niania to Donald McLean, 17 June 1851. MS-Papers-0032-0674C-03

⁵⁸ Letter from Te Hāpuku to Hori Te Hanea. 10 October 1850, MS-Papers-0032-0674E-07

and there was no evidence this area had ever been inhabited. McLean also describes a night time scene around a fire where Māori were singing songs with merriment. McLean noted as they passed an old umu (oven) where fifty men were killed, cooked and eaten, the spring below him, he imagined the death and utu, with blood flowing that may have played out. He speaks of an old warrior who was accompanying him by the name of Hanea, ‘Old Hanea, our grey headed warrior, was an active warrior; he performed his part in this scene, with great skill and dexterity; although he does not, like many others, boast of past acts, as most New Zealanders are fond of doing’.⁵⁹ On 10 December 1850 after walking through a heavy tōtara bush he came out of Tāmaki nui a Rua⁶⁰ and into the Ruataniwha⁶¹. McLean noted that the area is ‘the finest and pasturage land in the world’.⁶² The following day McLean was welcomed onto Waipukurau Pā. According to his account rangatira from the surrounding area gathered for several days to discuss the sale of the land, only one person opposed the sale, a man named Matai.⁶³ When Te Hāpuku spoke on 14 December he outlined the boundaries of the block he was willing to sell. Evidently McLean was impressed by Te Hāpuku

Te Hapuku is a chief of great importance and great influence. A fine, dignified, high-minded man apparently aware of his own importance. His speech to-day after the rest had spoken was the best I have heard for a long time. He seemed to feel the parting with his land exceedingly; and I trust he will be rewarded, and well-treated by the Government. The block of land of which he distinctly gave us the boundaries is of considerable extent, and includes the best part of the Ahuriri district.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Donald McLean in James Cowan, “Pioneering Hawke’s Bay — The First Land Purchases” in *Sir Donald McLean*, (Wellington, Reed Publishing, 1940), 59. . <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CowDonat1-body-d0-d14.html>

⁶⁰ Tamaki nui a Rua is the Māori name for Seventy Mile Bush.

⁶¹ Now known as the Takapau Plains

⁶² He Toa Takatini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 11.

⁶³ Cowan, “Pioneering Hawke’s Bay”, 59.

⁶⁴ Donald McLean in Cowan, “Pioneering Hawke’s Bay”, 61.

When Te Moananui spoke, he expressed his desire to have Pākehā settlers, as did many other leading rangatira, including Karaitana Takamoana, Pāora Kaiwhata, Paratene, and Wiremu Te Raheke.⁶⁵

McLean was pleased with the land that was offered at Waipukurau. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, McLean wrote that he believed ‘Waipukurau will eventually become the site of a flourishing little English settlement; there is abundance of wood, water, and rich soil in that vicinity.’⁶⁶ McLean held further meetings with rangatira throughout the beginning of 1851 to discuss the possibility of extending the block. He sent a letter to William Colenso advising him that he had ‘long korero with the natives at which they have agreed to add considerably to the first purchase at Te Waipukurau...’⁶⁷ However, Colenso had reservations about Māori alienating their land, so he sent a letter to McLean expressing his desire to protect Māori from McLean’s pressure and actions of buying land. Colenso explicitly states ‘I firmly believe things are rapidly altering for the worse in this district as well as in others and I cannot remain to see the utter spoliation of my flock without having it in my power to do them the least service. Much however will depend upon yourself while you retain your present situation.’⁶⁸ Colenso continued to berate McLean for extending the original boundaries and not taking the lands that were believed to be waste as originally discussed. Furthermore, Colenso continues to scold McLean for not dealing with those rangatira of standing who had the rights to sell the land and for not protecting them, as Colenso puts it, from ‘being beaten and brow beaten by the heathen Chief’.⁶⁹ Colenso also expressly told McLean he did not agree with him

⁶⁵ Cowan, “Pioneering Hawke’s Bay”, 62.

⁶⁶ Letter from Donald McLean to the Colonial Secretary. 21 December 1850. In Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District, AJHR, C-01, 1862, 308.

⁶⁷ Letter from McLean to William Colenso, 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0221

⁶⁸ Letter from William Colenso to Donald McLean, 26 March 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0221

⁶⁹ Letter from William Colenso to Donald McLean, 26 March 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0221

for telling Hupata (who was defending his right and land he would not part with) that he had no right to stand in the way of the majority.⁷⁰

A possible obstacle to securing the land was leasing, McLean needed to stop the illegal leasing of Māori land. The few settlers in Hawke's Bay had been leasing land from Māori, much to McLean's disgust and it was also in breach of the Native Land Purchase Ordinance Act. As the surveying and negotiations were happening McLean wrote to Pākehā settler, H.S Tiffen, in December 1850 to declare his lease was cancelled.⁷¹

Sir,—

The Native Chiefs Paraone, Hoani, Morena, Te Waka, and others, informed me that you have been entering into arrangements with them to lease tracts of land for sheep runs, that one or two of your flocks have actually arrived within a mile of this place where I am negotiating with the aforesaid Chiefs for the purchase of land, and that you have obtained their consent and signatures to a lease for a certain run for 21 years at (£60) Sixty pounds a year. I need scarcely tell you that there unauthorised arrangements entail various evils, besides operating against purchases of land by the Government; moreover they are a direct violation of the "Native Land Purchase Ordinance, sees. 7, no. 19," the provisions of which I am directed to carry into effect. I have distinctly and publicly given notice to the chiefs that the Government will not sanction the leasing of land from the Natives in this District therefore that they must consider your lease as cancelled, as no flock holders can be permitted to run their sheep here until the Government arrangements for the purchase of land are completed. I have therefore to request that you will make early preparations to remove your sheep from the Ahuriri plains.⁷²

By the end of March 1851 McLean and a large group of Māori began to walk the potential boundaries of the Waipukurau block. While they were inspecting the boundaries there were discussions regarding the important locations that Māori wished to be excluded from the sale, such as kāinga (settlements) and mahinga kai (gardens/food-

⁷⁰ Letter from William Colenso to Donald McLean, 26 March 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0221

⁷¹ He Toa Takitini *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims* 12; Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 20.

⁷² Donald McLean to Tiffen 16 December 1850, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District, AJHR, C-01, 1862

gathering place). Leading members of the iwi met with groups that had interests in parts of the block and tried to convince those who opposed the alienation. McLean assured those who opposed that they would have particular reserve areas set aside for them. Once the survey of the boundary was near completion the crown surveyor, Robert Park, calculated the Waipukurau block contained approximately 250,000 acres.

The following month a large hui was held at Te Waipukurau Pā. The leading rangatira; Hineipaketia, Te Hāpuku and Karaitana Takamoana, each spoke about the traditional associations to the land which included its rich food sources, they also spoke about how other tribes had attempted to possess the land and the many tīpuna that had died defending the land.⁷³ Tārehā and Kurupō Te Moananui did not attend as they found Te Hāpuku difficult to deal with. The rivalries between these rangatira would escalate throughout the 1850s. However, all three were in favour of the land sales.⁷⁴ It was at this hui they asked for a sum of between £10,000 and £20,000. Those present at the hui were well aware that their whānaunga (relations) in the Wairarapa were generating income of £1100 a year from leases and they too expressed that they would prefer to lease their land rather than alienate it, unless the crown offered them a heathy sum.⁷⁵ McLean replied by outlining the benefits of selling the land to the crown as the benefits were not only monetary:

the land when [in the Governor's] hand would rapidly increase in value as he would expend money in making roads, bridges, and other improvements to render the land attractive to the Queens subjects and induce them to come and live among them as friends bringing their wealth with them to a strange land among a strange people who they were to enrich by so doing. Whereas the land in [its] present state ...

⁷³ He Toa Takatini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims* 12.

⁷⁴ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 25.

⁷⁵ He Toa Takatini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 12.

produced nothing but fern it should here after produce wealth and abundance to the rising generations of their race.⁷⁶

McLean counter offered a sum of £3000 to be paid in three instalments, however, Te Hāpuku rejected this offer stating that the amount would not be large enough for the owners of the Waipukurau block. Te Hāpuku sent McLean a letter requesting the payment be raised from £3000 to £8000 and the gold be sent to Te Waipukurau Pā.⁷⁷ After going back and forth with price negotiations the rangatira wrote to Governor George Grey requesting £4800. Te Hāpuku followed up by writing personally to the Governor:

Friend, we have talked with Mr. McLean about the payment; he did not agree to our having a large payment for our land, for our ancestor and parent "Papa" or the earth under us. Mr. McLean said Three thousand pounds would be enough; this we did not like, neither did our Queen Hineipaketia like it; what we wish for is Four thousand eight hundred pounds also the amount of £4800 along with Europeans for the land as soon as possible along with the payment.⁷⁸

Te Hāpuku added a post script in the letter to the Governor: 'the land is not entirely mine, it is the property of this man and that man; mine is merely handing it over to Mr McLean'.⁷⁹ Cowie argues this is 'a principle to which McLean obviously paid little heed, especially in later purchases. Te Hāpuku, too, soon forgot his own words. The simple swap of land for people was baldly evident,'⁸⁰ as Te Hāpuku asked for a 'large, large, large, very large town' populated by respectable European gentlemen, I am annoyed with the low Europeans of this place; let the people for this place come direct from England.'⁸¹

⁷⁶ Donald McLean in He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 12.

⁷⁷ Letter from Te Hāpuku to McLean, 7 May 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0675D-06

⁷⁸ Te Hāpuku and others to Governor Grey, 3 May 1851, translation printed in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District, AJHR, C-01, 1862, 312.

⁷⁹ Te Hāpuku and others to Governor Grey, 3 May 1851, translation printed in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District, AJHR, C-01, 1862, 312.

⁸⁰ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*. 12; Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 32.

⁸¹ Te Hāpuku and others to Governor Grey, 3 May 1851, translation printed in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District, AJHR, C-01, 1862, 312

On 20 October 1851, McLean told Te Hāpuku that Grey had agreed to the amount of £4800 as requested by the rangatira and that the payment would be paid in four instalments.⁸² McLean reiterated to Te Hāpuku that included in the deal was an understanding that he was to ‘remember the Governor's kindness’.⁸³ The block was increased to include an area called Aorangi apparently ceded by Te Hāpuku to McLean, and this may have factored into the increased price. McLean arrived at Te Waipukurau Pā on 27 October 1851, the following day Te Hāpuku went out to gather the people to attend the hui at the Pā. On 4 November 1851 379 Māori signed the deed at Te Waipukurau Pā.⁸⁴

After the deed was signed the first instalment of the purchase gold of £1800 was distributed. McLean had to wait two days in order to get the 600 people present to assemble into groups of hapū, as this was happening they were busy dividing food and taking part in the formal proceedings that such a large gathering demanded. All 191 hapū groups were recorded and the rangatira made decisions on how the gold would be divided. In the end it was decided that all the hapū that had rights to the land would be paid equal amounts of the £1800.⁸⁵

McLean allowed Māori to retain ownership of eight reserved areas totalling 4378 acres.⁸⁶ They were Waipukurau pā at 213 acres, Tawera bush at 2135 acres, Haowhenua at 159 acres, Tukuwaru at 71 acres, Te Tamumu at 824 acres, Orea at 308 acres, Tapu o Hinemāhanga at 220 acres, and Porerere contained 448 acres.⁸⁷ McLean remarked in his journal that at one point they demanded ‘100 acre bush land reserve’, was ‘rather

⁸² He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 13.

⁸³ Colenso Journal, 7 November 1851, 1161

⁸⁴ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 32.

⁸⁵ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 33-33.

⁸⁶ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 34.

⁸⁷ Turton, *Maori Deeds*, 487.

moderate'.⁸⁸ Surveyor Park wrote that having 'good timber' in reserves would not inhibit European development, as the 'Natives are willing to sell the wood at a moderate rate'.⁸⁹

Six weeks later, several Māori escorted McLean and Crown surveyors to view the new boundary of the additional land, despite some of the occupiers knowing nothing about the sale. In December 1851, a straight line was drawn on maps of the Waipukurau purchase showing a new western boundary, which added between 20,000 and 25,000 acres to the original block, including approximately 3,500 acres of Aorangi.⁹⁰

Conclusion

The decades leading up to the Waipukurau purchase were a turbulent time for the Māori of Hawke's Bay. A series of invasions from other iwi put the region on high alert leading to exoduses to Nukutaurua and the Manawatū. While in exile the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay came into contact with Pākehā traders, whalers and missionaries. The Māori became aware of the benefits that Pākehā settlement could bring. Once peace was declared in 1838 it was safe to return to Hawke's Bay. However, the heke back did not begin until after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed and would continue well after the sale of the Waipukurau block. Upon returning the rangatira would jostle for positions of authority in the region, this jostling for mana would go on throughout the 1850s. Once they had returned Māori sent letters to the Governor requesting Pākehā come and settle and they had land to offer. Donald McLean arrived in 1850 to negotiate land purchases at Waipukurau, Ahuriri and Mōhaka. As Te Hāpuku was asserting his authority Tārehā and Kurupō Te Moananui often found him difficult to work with so they refused to attend

⁸⁸ McLean Journal, 25 March 1851, p 1264. The intended size of the Oero Reserve came under scrutiny at the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873, see Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-7, 1873, 41 for Commissioner Richmond's report.

⁸⁹ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 34.

⁹⁰ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 12.

any hui called by Te Hāpuku. The negotiations took almost a year to complete before the deed was signed, during the signing McLean promised riches and benefits for Māori that would come with a Pākehā settlement. After the negotiations and signing of the deed McLean unlawfully extended the boundaries. The Ngāi Toroiwaho would protest this action well into the next century.⁹¹ The sale of the Waipukurau Block allowed the Colonial Government to get a foot into the region and allow more sales and begin the process of assimilation Māori into Pākehā Society.

⁹¹ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 14.

Chapter Two

Ngā Hoko Tāhae Tuku Hē

‘The Secret Purchases’

The sale of the Waipukurau block opened the door for further crown purchases. The following chapter sets out to look at the Crown Purchases between 1854 and 1858 with a focus on the Tautāne block, Te Umuopua block, the Ruataniwha, Pōrangahau block and the Aorangi block. Māori called these purchases ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē as they were conducted without consulting all of the customary owners.¹ Rēnata Kāwepō stated that the sales of 1851 were i marama te rironga ko a te kuini (fairly transferred to the Queen) while sales of the 1854 onwards were called by Māori ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē (fraudulent sales) as you will be able to see in the following chapter.

The land sales of 1854 were conducted in a vastly different way to those of 1851. In 1851 McLean took the time to gain consent of the hapū through a series of hui which took almost a year. Donald McLean began to grow tired and impatient of the long drawn out hui dealing with customary ownership. He noted in his diary after a day of speeches ‘land land land boundaries boundaries boundaries all the talk from morning till dark’.² McLean’s diary also reveals the boredom having to listen to kōrero regarding names of claimants, and that his displeasure would have to remain in his pocket.³ Because of his impatience with the long speeches and on-going hui, McLean chose to only deal with one body of claimants to speed up the negotiations.⁴ McLean’s enthusiasm waned during the Ahuriri and Mōhaka negotiations, this is evident in the amount and size of reserves

¹ Brian Morris, Personal Communication. 22 June 2018

² Donald McLean 5 April 1851, in Cowie. *Hawke’s Bay*, 27-28

³ Cowie. *Hawke’s Bay*, 28; Fargher, *The Best Man*, 96-97

⁴ Fargher, *The Best Man*, 97.

that were granted compared to the Waipukurau purchase where eight reserves were set aside compared to three reserves set aside in Ahuriri and one at Mohaka.⁵ Furthermore, McLean was also inconsistent with negotiations. He spent a considerable amount of time with the customary owners at Waipukurau and Ahuriri but an insufficient amount of time at Mohaka.⁶

Between the 1851 and 1854 purchases two events may have influenced McLean. Firstly his wife Susan Douglas Strang passed away after giving birth to their son Douglas in 7 November 1852. Her death deeply affected him. She was to him ‘everything in the world’.⁷ McLean was stoic after her death but his true emotions were captured in his diary when he wrote:

You are gone to the world of spirits my own dear Douglas; and left me to mourn thy loss when I can share death with thee then happy shall be my lot ... but thou hasn't left a pledge of affection which I must not now neglect; and o may his mother's affection be renewed in this little prise [sic] I have got. May his Heavenly Father protect as mother he has got none ... Thou art still in my presence, my Susan, but alas in its lifeless form ... and soon shall that same be taken from me to mix with the kindred worms.⁸

A year later on 24 November 1853 he noted in his diary:

It has been the will of Heaven that my mild sweet unoffending Susan shouldn't be taken from her final home. But even at this moment I must not repine. God knows better than I do how to dispose of his creature. He gives and He takes away, and blessed forever be his name. O that my heart could henceforth join in holy aspirations of thankfulness to the Almighty for his endless blessings; and enable me to join Heaven, when it pleases the lord to take me thence to her who is now in the enjoyment of Heavenly bliss; and may my heavenly father bless, protect and nourish and establish in the fear and love of God, my young son Douglas; that he may be a blessing to all his friends and relatives; and that he may be blessed and sanctified in his generation.⁹

⁵ Cowie. *Hawke's Bay*, 27-28; Waitangi Tribunal, *Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report*, Wai 201, 1996.

⁶ Cowie. *Hawke's Bay*, 30.

⁷ Alan Ward. “McLean, Donald”; Fargher, *The Best Man*, 113.

⁸ Donald McLean in Fargher, *The Best Man*, 116.

⁹ Donald McLean in Fargher, *The Best Man*, 116.

These sentiments were noted in his diary a few weeks before he purchased the Tautāne and Umuopua blocks, and indicates that he was still grieving for Susan a year after her death and shows he was depressed.

Secondly, the Governor, Sir George Grey, departed New Zealand in late 1853 to take up the Governorship in the Cape Colony in South Africa at which time McLean became the chief land purchase commissioner.¹⁰ McLean's biographer, Ray Fargher, described Grey as McLean's mentor. McLean expressed his appreciation to Grey by stating 'I shall always esteem it an act of great condescension and kindness on the part of Your Excellency to have proposed my health at a public dinner at Wellington. It is one of those circumstances that I may have occasion to look back on in future years with infinite satisfaction.'¹¹ Both Grey and McLean had autocratic personalities and they believed that they were never wrong, Grey was confident in his own ability and McLean believed he was being guided by a divine power. They often rewarded those rangatira who were 'loyal' to them with gratuities such as gifts of pensions, livestock, agricultural machinery or they might be appointed as assessors. When Grey departed for South Africa, McLean became anxious about changes in Native policy and whether Maori would continue to have faith in the Crown when it purchased Maori land.¹² The next Governor, Thomas Gore Browne did not arrive in New Zealand until 1855.¹³

The first purchases of 1854 were conducted with Te Hāpuku, Pūhara, Hineipaketia and Hōri Niania while they were guests of Donald McLean in Wellington.

¹⁰ Keith Sinclair. "Grey, George", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, accessed 15 May 2018, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

¹¹ Donald McLean in Fargher, *The Best Man*, 128.

¹² Fargher, *The Best Man*, 128-129.

¹³ B. J. Dalton. "Browne, Thomas Robert Gore", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, accessed 15 May 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b39/browne-thomas-robot-gore>

These rangatira had been assisting McLean with purchases in Wairarapa in 1853.¹⁴ Dean Cowie points out that the motivations of these rangatira are uncertain. Cowie agrees with Ann Parsonson's suggestion 'that the sales (among other) were a continuation of Te Hāpuku's desire to secure the future of his iwi by bringing European settlers onto the land, and were an opportunity to assert his claims and mana over the blocks sold.'¹⁵ However, Angela Ballara rejected this idea in her 1982 article *The Pursuit of Mana? A re-evaluation of the Process of land Alienation by Maori 1840-1890* arguing that 'Māori were motivated by a combination of economic and social conditions, including the desire to have cash, as well as participating in the financial economy'¹⁶

Tautāne block

The first land purchase of 1854 was the 70,000 acre Tautāne block just south of Pōrangahau. McLean negotiated and purchased the block in Wellington on 3 January 1854, allegedly without the knowledge of those who occupied the land. Te Hāpuku and 31 others sold the block in Wellington. The Waitangi Tribunal stated their claim to the land was secondary at most.¹⁷ Those who occupied the land did not know it had been sold and when the sale was discovered, it had angered them. They were ready to turn away the settlers who would arrive to settle on the land.¹⁸ Te Rōpiha Te Takou, a rangatira of Pōrangahau and Tautāne, was disgusted when he found out the land had been sold. He told Alfred Domett,¹⁹ 'the only question as to them a little time ago would be which was

¹⁴ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 36.

¹⁵ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 38.

¹⁶ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 38; Angela Ballara, "The Pursuit of Mana? A re-evaluation of the Process of land Alienation by Maori 1840-1890", *JPS*, 91:4, (1982) 520-530.

¹⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, vol.1. 2010, 195.

¹⁸ Joy Hippolite, *Wairoa ki Wairarapa: The Hawke's Bay Purchases*, Waitangi Tribunal Report, A33, Wai 201, 1992, 7

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_93954631/Wai%20201%2C%20A033.pdf

¹⁹ The Commissioner of Crown lands and Resident Magistrate in the Ahuriri District in 1854

the fattest, in order that he might be killed to be eaten' for which Domett noted 'horrible savage!'²⁰ Te Rōpiha also threatened to cut the noses off Te Hāpuku and Hōri Niania twice as he was so incensed about them selling lands that did not belong to them. He made the threat once while Te Hāpuku and Niania were in Wellington and then again face to face when Te Hāpuku confronted him with thirty men. So Te Rōpiha repeated it. If it weren't for Christianity, Te Rōpiha would have killed Te Hāpuku and Hōri Niania for selling Tautāne and Te Umuopua in Wellington.²¹

Te Hāpuku, as the representative of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, claimed to have rights to the land that he sold. According to Cowie, the marks (in lieu of signature) of those who had rights to the land, looked remarkably similar to the marks of Te Hāpuku and Hōri Niania, furthermore, a number of rangatira from the Wairarapa signed the deed. It was negligent of McLean to accept the sale without an investigation to establish who actually owned the land and he may have been aware that fraud may have occurred, as some people who were said to have 'signed' the deed, were not actually present.²² The occupants were pressured by the Crown to accept the deed. The block was renegotiated in 1858, this time the deed was signed by ninety people. In the first deed only two reserves were set aside. The second deed included an occupation reserve of one thousand acres, an urupā and an area for cultivation.²³

The Waitangi Tribunal concluded it would not have been hard for McLean to find out who had rights to the land. When G. S. Cooper inquired it was quickly revealed that neither Te Hāpuku nor Hōri Niania had principal rights to Tautāne. By paying money

²⁰ Alfred Domett to Donald McLean. 7 March 1854. MS-Papers-0032-0245

²¹ Marina Sciascia, Hilary Pedersen, and Brian Morris, *Matatua: Fathers and Sons*. (Porangahau: Te Hanganui Partnership, 2011), 220.

²² Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 36.

²³ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 47.

to those who supported the sale, the sale became a *fait accompli* or it had been decided before those affected heard about it. It was also concluded by the Waitangi Tribunal that McLean's main concern was to push through with the sale regardless of the opposition he faced. He knowingly ignored the rights of the principal owners and he gave the rightful owners no opportunity to exercise any informed consent before monies were paid.²⁴

Hēnare Mātaua of Pōrangahau stated in 1874:

I do not know of any evils or, disturbances I cause to the tribes; all the evil that I know of is that I hold up the evil of land-purchasing, the wrong of the Land Courts, the wrong of Crown Grants, the evil of mortgaging land for ardent spirits and other things, and the wrong in dealing with reserves, and even to the land not operated on by law... when disputes first came, in the days of land-buying and -selling, great were the disputes in those days, but those disputes were not listened to, and the end of them was death; and that evil was put on the man whose words confounded talk. Soon after this another dispute arose; Wainui, Tautane and Umuopua, was the cause...²⁵

Te Umuopua

Te Umuopua, also known as Hōri's block or part of Ruataniwha, was sold by Hōri Niania, Hineipakeitia, Pūhara, Te Kuru and Te Waihiku for £300, six days after the Tautane block was sold in Wellington. Apparently, the money from the sale was spent in Wellington and those who were occupying the block received no share of the payment.²⁶ Cooper had earlier reported to McLean that the sellers of the block were only secondary claimants and the principal claimants should sell all the land from Parimāhu to Waimata including

²⁴ Waitangi Tribunal. *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*. 196

²⁵ *Hawke's Bay Times*, 14 July 1874

²⁶ G.S Cooper to Donald McLean, 25 March 1857, Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri District, AJHR. C-1 No.27, 1862; Ngāti Kūhungunu Ki Wairarapa Tāmaki Nui-a-Rua, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, March 2018, 88.

Hōri's block. Cooper said that the proceeds from that sale should compensate those who missed out on the money from the earlier sale that was spent.²⁷ Te Umuopua was repurchased in 1858 as part of the Pōrangahau block. For over forty years after the 1854 sale Māori were still protesting. Horomona Rongoparae, for example petitioned parliament in 1895 to have his land at Umuopua returned to him.²⁸ The 1854 Umuopua and the 1858 Pōrangahau sale would have ongoing consequences for Māori living on the block as disputes over the boundary at Aorangi would arise. This will be discussed further at the end of this chapter.

Ruataniwha

As early as April 1852 McLean had been negotiating the purchase of the Ruataniwha Plains.²⁹ The Ruataniwha block was sold in two parts, the Te Tōtara and Ruataniwha south blocks. In February 1855 land at Ruataniwha was sold for £100 by Te Hāpuku and Harawira Takuo who were in Auckland again as guests of McLean. Te Hāpuku was given an advance payment of £300 for the Ruataniwha plains with a final sum of £1000 to be paid to him after the block was surveyed.³⁰ The deed for the thirty thousand acre Ruataniwha south block was signed in March 1856.³¹ Te Hāpuku received an advanced payment of £100 for the Ruataniwha south block again while he was Auckland. The South block was brought for a total of £1200 and £1000 was paid to 'Chiefs and people of Ngatitewhatuiapiti'.³² The following year the remaining £100 was paid. During the 1891 Commission to inquire into the Native Land Laws it was revealed by Hēnare Mātua

²⁷ G. S. Cooper to Donald McLean. 19 April 1856. MS-Papers-0032-0227

²⁸ Native Affairs Committee (Reports of the). Nga Kupu a Te Komiti o Te Runanga Mo Nga Mea Maori, AJHR, I-03, 1 January 1896.

²⁹ *Lyttelton Times*, 10 April 1852, 6

³⁰ Hippolite, *Wairoa ki Wairarapa*, 9.

³¹ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 15.

³² Hippolite, *Wairoa ki Wairarapa*, 9.

that some of the blocks had been sold without the knowledge of the owners, he stated that the Ruataniwha block which extended to the summit of the Ruahine was sold without the knowledge of the owners.³³

Pōrangahau

The Pōrangahau block was the first block sold after Pakiaka and under the new system of Te Whata a Te Herenga, the outcome of the peace deal following the war at Pakiaka. The expression Te Whata a Te Herenga was explained in a letter from Te Moananui and other rangatira:

“the whata of Te Herunga,” is this, Te Herunga was a sacred man and so was his whata (storehouse, elevated upon poles) sacred also; if any food which had been put upon this was stolen by a dog, that dog must be killed, so with our lands that have been thus hung up; if anybody steals these lands he shall be killed whether he belongs to this tribe or to any other tribe of us, he shall be killed, for it is a sacred whata, and he had no business to climb up to a sacred place to steal there. The meaning of the expression stealing is selling lands without authority to the Europeans; this is the meaning of the expression.³⁴

Since Te Hāpuku was not involved in the peace deal, this clause may be aimed at him, declaring that the selling lands without authority the person shall be put to death.

The Pōrangahau block had been under negotiation for a number of years. The customary owners of block were initially offered £1400 but Pāora Rōpiha turned down the offer on behalf of the people of Pōrangahau. There were squatters on the land paying

³³ Evidence of Henare Matua, in Royal Commission on Native Lands and Native Land Tenure, in Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01 1891, 44-45.

³⁴ Letter from Te Moananui, Tareha, Karaitiana Takamoana, Renata Kawepo, Te Meihana, Te Hira, Te Waka Te Kawatini, Wiremu Te Ota, Paora Kaiwhata, Paora Torotoro, Porokoru Mapu. Dated 29 September 1858, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, C-01 AJHR, 1 January 1862, 346-347.

£60 a year, Cooper intended to fine them £5 then increase the fine until they stopped paying rent, in the hope that this would force the Pōrangahau Māori to sell the land.³⁵

In April 1856 Henry Tiffen made his way to Pōrangahau where he faced protests from the resident Māori over the 1854 purchase of Te Umuopua and Tautāne.³⁶ Tiffen stated ‘the money had been paid for Te Umuopua in 1854, the Crown’s title should stand’.³⁷ So, it was suggested that Te Umuopua be incorporated into the Pōrangahau block, to allow the occupiers to receive some form of payment. Pōrangahau Māori demanded £5000 for roughly 10,000 acres which included Te Umuopua.³⁸ On 3 August 1857 G.S. Cooper agreed to hand over £2500. The total area of the block was extended to the west past the Eparaima reserve, this was to compensate for the 1854 sale of Te Umuopua, to encourage settlers and be able to control the squatters who were already on the land.³⁹ However, the Pōrangahau sellers wanted an extra £500 and therefore refused to divide up the money until they had received it. They buried the money until Donald McLean arrived with the extra cash in March 1858.⁴⁰ In total £3000 was paid for Pōrangahau, on the condition that the Eparaima reserve be reduced from 2,500 acres to 1,000 acres. However, once the surveying commenced they protested saying that they had been not consulted about the reduction in the size of the reserve and that 1000 acres was not enough to support them and their sheep. In the end, the reserve was increased to 1300 acres, despite ongoing protests that it was still not enough to support them.⁴¹

³⁵ G.S. Cooper to Donald McLean. 24 February 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0227

³⁶ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 15.

³⁷ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 15-16

³⁸ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 15-16.

³⁹ Hippolite, *Wairoa ki Wairarapa*, 22.

⁴⁰ Cowie. *Hawke's Bay*, 47.

⁴¹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*. 3 April 1858, 2; He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 16.

Aorangi Block.

The boundary of the Waipukurau block was extended following the signing of the Waipukurau deed, this included 3500 acres of land at Aorangi near Takapau. This block named Aorangi is different to the Maraekakaho Aorangi block near Hastings. The disputed block of Aorangi is situated between the Pōrangahau, Maharakeke and Otakohe streams. The people who lived on the land did not know that this had happened. The boundary extension was in agreement with Te Hāpuku and not with the Māori that lived on the land. The people of Aorangi would dispute the loss of their land well into the twentieth century. By 1899, the block had been extended by 7200 acres.⁴²

The Waipukurau block deed was signed on 4 November 1851. When the deed was signed, the boundaries of the block had been confirmed. However, on 15 December 1851 McLean proceeded with examining another block, and on 29 December, he stated that ‘Hapuku has freely granted and pointed out another block in extension of the former purchase’.⁴³ At the same time a new line appeared on maps. This line became known as ‘Parks new line’⁴⁴ and extended the boundary to the Pōrangahau stream. The new boundary did not include any part of Aorangi. When an investigation into the Aorangi block was conducted in 1921 they could not find any deeds that included Aorangi prior to 1854.⁴⁵

The ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē sales began in 1854. The first block to be sold by Te Hāpuku was Umuopua. A portion of the land in this block included parts Aorangi. As soon as local Māori heard of the sale they protested to McLean who met with them to

⁴² Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of), AJHR, G-05, 1921, 6.

⁴³ Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of), AJHR, G-05, 1921, 6.

⁴⁴ Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of), AJHR, G-05, 1921, 6.

⁴⁵ Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of), AJHR, G-05, 1921, 6.

discuss the matter. The outcome of the hui was that a portion of the land was excluded and a surveyor was to mark the area off. Hēnare Mātua said in 1873 that McLean had offered money but they wanted part of their land back so McLean agreed.⁴⁶ Because money had been paid to Hōri Niania another portion of Umuopua would be retained by the Government. Apparently, Charles Pelichet was sent by McLean to survey the line and he was accompanied by fifty Māori. According to the commission of 1921 there was no record of this survey ever taking place.⁴⁷

In 1861 the provincial authorities marked for sale portions of land recently purchased from Maori. Samuel Locke needed assistance to define the boundary between the Māori and the Crown. Hōri Niania was called in to assist and Cooper provided Locke with the 1854 deed to assist him. But Locke had found that Hōri Niania had not been totally honest with him. In 1865, Mr Johnston a settler, who settled in the disputed area, leased Māori land, wanted to acquire more free hold land, and he wanted the line fixed. Locke, who believed Hōri Niania had deceived him, asked Karaitiana of Ngāi Tahu ki Takapau to assist him and point out the correct boundaries.⁴⁸ Locke was still using the 1854 deed as a reference. He did face some opposition but nothing major, he thought the ‘Natives’ were just trying to benefit from the Crown. The line was fixed and surveyed and included the southern portion of Aorangi. Ellison the surveyor appeared to have not seen Pelichet’s survey. Ellison faced some objection from local Māori.⁴⁹ Karaitiana, when examined at the 1873 Hawke’s Bay Alienation Commission stated that ‘Mr Locke had misled the natives, by telling them that the whole of Umuopua went when

⁴⁶ Evidence of Hēnare Mātua in Hawke’s Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 141.

⁴⁷ Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of), AJHR, G-05, 1921, 8.

⁴⁸ Hawke’s Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission. AJHR, G-07, 1873, 38.

⁴⁹ Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of), AJHR, G-05, 1921, 9.

Porangahau was sold'.⁵⁰ However, the Māori had better knowledge of block than Locke.⁵¹

Māori, namely Ngāi Toroiwaho, continued to live on the land up until the 1860s. In evidence presented to the Native Land Court in 1923, Ihaia Hutana recalled that in 1864 'he had seen his Ngāi Toroiwaho people driven off the land when the village of Ōruawharo was burned down while they were away fishing at Whatumā. Another papakāinga, Te Rae, was also burned to the ground. They ended up moving to the Tarewa Reserve at Waipawa, and to Mangapapa.⁵² At the 1873 Commission, it was argued that the Johnstons had lived on the block undisturbed for twelve years and had also acquired freehold land from the Crown. Hēnare Mātua stated that he had received £240 from McLean on Mr Johnston's behalf to run his sheep. When McLean was questioned he did recall but was rather vague about the details.⁵³

When the Aorangi purchase was investigated by the 1873 Hawke's Bay Alienation Commission (under the name of Whenuahou), the Commission was divided in their decision. When Te Hāpuku was called to give evidence he stated, 'What I have to say is, that Whenuahou is not inside that boundary. Whenuahou is separated – that belongs to the Maoris'.⁵⁴ Hōri Rōphia also stated that 'Mr. McLean left Whenuahou for us – all Whenuahou'.⁵⁵ The Chairman C.W Richmond stated, 'the claim ... seems to have been invented about the time of the first Land Courts, when the natives were looking

⁵⁰ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission Act 1872. AJHR, G-07, 1873, 38.

⁵¹ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission Act 1872. AJHR, G-07, 1873, 38.

⁵² He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 16.

⁵³ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission. AJHR, G-07, 1873, 38.

⁵⁴ Evidence of Te Hāpuku in Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 143.

⁵⁵ Evidence of Hōri Rōpiha in Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 141.

round for every piece to which they could set up title'.⁵⁶ While Commissioner Meaning found the investigation difficult due to the conflicting evidence, as he believed the 'Natives' had not understood McLean while the two Māori Commissioners ruled in favour of the Māori claimants stating 'that the evidence on the side of the Maoris is correct'.⁵⁷

Māori continued to protest. In 1895, Horomona Rongopai and Ihaia Hutana, both of whom signed the Waipukurau deed, presented a petition to Parliament arguing that the Māori protests about the Crown's failure to return Whenuahou, also known as Aorangi, had never been adequately investigated, despite complaints made at the time. The Native Affairs Committee recommended the petition for investigation. By 1899 nothing had been done, so Horomona Rongopai wrote to the Government to ask why nothing had happened. In June 1899, the Chief Surveyor wrote that he could find no authority for the extension of the Waipukurau block beyond its inclusion on a revised map in 1851.⁵⁸

The people of Aorangi continued to protest and in 1921 the Native Land Claims Commission found in favour of the Māori. The commission found 'It is pretty conclusive that the real explanation of the whole matter is that Aorangi was dealt with by officers of the Crown or the provincial authorities on mistaken assumption that it had duly passed to the Crown by effective deeds of sale'.⁵⁹ In November 1925 Sir Āpirana Ngata stated in parliament:

Honourable members will know the Johnson property near Takapau. That was formerly the Aorangi Block. The investigation revealed the fact that the Crown had never purchased it. The boundaries of old purchases came

⁵⁶ Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of). AJHR, G-05, 1921, 6-7; Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 38.

⁵⁷ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 51; Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of), AJHR, G-05, 1 January 1921, 6; Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 81.

⁵⁸ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 16.

⁵⁹ Native Land Claims Commission (Reports of). AJHR, G-05, 1921, 11.

on one side and the other side, and left an area of 7,000-odd acres for which the Crown could not produce a title, except a Proclamation declaring it to be Crown land. No money ever passed to any Native owner. I say that the Commission declared that the Crown had not purchased it, although it had become Crown land, and that some compensation should be paid. It was decided to investigate the identity of those who might be entitled to compensation if any was payable. That has been done, and the decision is on lines similar to those of the Ngaitahu—that there are persons pronounced to be entitled, should any compensation be awarded by the Government. I take it that if these matters had been in the hands of a European member the House would have been ringing with his demand to have compensation assessed and paid, whether the country was able to meet the claims or not. Fortunately, our constituents believe, more than the pakeha electors do, the assurances we have had from the Treasury benches from time to time that these are difficult times. Recognizing that, we have not pressed these claims upon the Government.⁶⁰

The dispute at Aorangi occurred as a consequence of the Waipukurau Purchase. Firstly, with the boundary extension that followed the signing of the deed in 1851, which opened the door for the ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē sales which caused even more issues and disputes over the Aorangi boundaries. Land at Aorangi was sold in two transactions beginning with the Waipukurau Block extension then more land was sold in the Umuopua and the Pōrangahau sales. By 1865, as Ihaia Hutana stated, they were forced off their land and their papakāinga were burnt to the ground. After they were unable to get a result from the 1873 Hawke's Bay Alienation Commission, Māori continued to protest Aorangi for the next century before settling in 2017.

Conclusion

The sale of the Waipukurau block in 1851 paved the way for more land sales. The sales after 1851 were conducted in a vastly different way to the Waipukurau purchase and would have vast consequences for the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay. The 1851 purchases involved negotiations that took almost a year to complete and McLean's

⁶⁰ NZPD, vol. 216, November 1925

enthusiasm and diligence began to wane by the end of the 1851 negotiations. With McLean being depressed after the death of his wife Susan in 1854 and the reassignment of Governor Grey to the Cape Colony, McLean's purchasing methods dramatically changed. He decided to only deal with a few rangatira. It was as though McLean was trying to purchase land quickly through a less thorough process. In contrast to 1851, McLean did not seek the consent of all customary owners or even seek out those who occupied the land, he was only dealing with Te Hāpuku. These later purchases were known by Māori as ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē or the secret purchases. The first two purchases of 1854, Tautane and Te Umuopua, were included in the four blocks sold by Te Hāpuku in Wellington while he was a guest of McLean. Both blocks were sold without the knowledge or consent of the occupiers. The sale of land had severe consequences for Central Hawkes Bay Māori who had lost a large amount of land. The reserves that were set aside were not big enough to be economically sustainable, leaving Māori to struggle financially. Owners continued to protest the unlawful sale of their land complaining that they had never received their share the money.

Chapter Three

Kōti Whakawā Whenua Māori

‘Native Land Court’

The sale of the Waipukurau block paved the way for European settlement and with European settlement, came a demand for more land along with a European system of land ownership. The previous chapter examined the ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē sales of 1854. These sales were conducted with a select few rangatira. This led to the loss of land and subsequent protests by Māori, as seen after the sales of the Tautāne, Te Umuopua and Pōrangahau blocks. Land sales slowed and halted in Central Hawke’s Bay into the 1860s and in 1866 a new system of land purchasing rolled into town by the way of Native Land Court. A phrase that Māori used to describe the way they lost their land is ‘i riro i te hoko’ (taken by sale or purchase).¹

The following chapter sets out to look at how the Native Land Court impacted on the Central Hawke’s Bay Māori. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part will examine Crown pre-emption, its origins, purpose, and application. Part two will expand on the Native Land Court, particularly the role the ten owner ‘system’ played in Central Hawke’s Bay. By the end of the chapter it will become clear that the Native Land impacted severely on the Māori of Central Hawke’s Bay.

¹ Angela Ballara. “‘I riro i te hoko’: Problems in Cross-Cultural Historical Scholarship” *NZJH*, 34, no. 1, (2000), 20

Pre-emption

Prior to the establishment of the Native Land Court the Crown exercised its right of pre-emption which was acquired in article two of the Treaty of Waitangi. Article two of the treaty states:

... the Chiefs of the united tribes and individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.²

Pre-emption was a standard feature in Imperial constitutional law and a standard practice in all British Colonies.³ This meant land was subject to Māori customary title and only the Crown could extinguish the title. Pre-emption was also included in section two of the New Zealand Land Claims Ordinance 1841, the Native Land Purchase Ordinance 1846 and the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852.⁴

On 14 January 1840, a few weeks before the Treaty was signed the Governor of New South Wales, Major Sir George Gipps,⁵ proclaimed that no new land titles in New Zealand would be recognised unless the land was obtained from the Crown. He also stated that the existing land titles that had been obtained from Māori would be investigated. William Hobson repeated this proclamation at Kororāreka. On 28 May 1840 the New Zealand Claims bill was introduced into the New South Wales legislature. On its enactment on 4 August pre-emption was applied in New Zealand.⁶

² Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, 407-408

³ Richard Boast. Andrew Erueti, Doug McPhail, Norman F. Smith. *Māori Land Law*, 2nd ed. (Wellington: LexisNexis, 2004,) 11.

⁴ Boast et al. *Māori Land Law*. 12.

⁵ Major Sir George Gipps was the first Governor of New Zealand once the Treaty of Waitangi was signed.

⁶ Boast et al. *Māori Land Law*. 12.

For most of the period from 1840 to 1865 only the Crown could acquire land from Māori. This meant that private individuals could not buy land directly from Māori.⁷ There are two issues concerning the translation of the treaty, the first is in the preamble and article one of the Māori text where ‘sovereignty’ translated to ‘kāwanatanga’ which is a transliteration of ‘governorship’. Secondly, in article two the term ‘hokonga’ which means buy or sell was used for ‘pre-emption’.⁸ Governor Robert FitzRoy argued the words in the English text, ‘exclusive right of pre-emption’, were not translated correctly, and have a meaning not generally understood by the Natives. Māori would ‘never have agreed to debar themselves from selling to private persons if the government, on behalf of Her Majesty, declined to purchase’.⁹ Michael Belgrave states that:

William Hobson’s mission had two primary goals for the Colonial Office: a basis for a proclamation of sovereignty under international law, and the immediate control of the land market. Only by the imposition of pre-emption could the latter be achieved ... Without the doctrine of pre-emption, however, any effective control of the colony would have been impossible.¹⁰

Pre-emption was temporarily waived under Governor FitzRoy between 1844 and 1845, during this time Māori and settlers were able to negotiate between themselves the sale and price of land, this was popular with the New Zealand Company and the companies’ settlers.¹¹ Under pre-emption, the Crown held exclusive rights of land

⁷ Richard Boast, “Te tango whenua – Māori land alienation - Crown pre-emption”, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 30 May 2018, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-tango-whenua-maori-land-alienation/page-3> ; Rose Daamen. *The Crowns Right of Pre-Emption and Fitzroy’s Waiver Purchases* Rangahaua Whanui National Theme D, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series. August 1998, vi; O’Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, 50.

⁸ *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti – The Declaration and the Treaty*, Wai1014, Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, 349-351.

⁹ Fitzroy to Stanley, 14th October 1844 in H. Hanson Turton ed., *An Epitome of Official Documents Relatives to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1883), 33, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TurEpit-t1-g1-t1-g1-t2-g1-t23.html>

¹⁰ Michael Belgrave. “Pre-emption, the Treaty of Waitangi and the Politics of Crown Purchase”. *NZJH*, 31, no.1, (1997): 26

<http://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=591&page=0&action=searchresult&target=>

¹¹ Belgrave, “Pre-emption”, 33.

purchases in New Zealand, this was unpopular with both settlers and Māori. However, the Crown was not a steady purchaser and between 1840 and 1843 the Crown had only purchased roughly 67,000 acres around Auckland and South Auckland. The Government's coffers were soon running dry.¹² This was subject to safe guards and the Crown receiving one-tenth of all land sold. For the benefit of the sellers the purpose of waiving Crown pre-emption was to encourage settler investment and enterprise, when the Crown had no money to purchase land itself. FitzRoy's pre-emption waiver started out well with sales in Ōtākou and Auckland with Māori getting better prices than they would have if they were dealing with the Crown. However, the safeguards that were created were badly administrated. The reserves that were promised to Māori were not created, when Māori protested they were overruled on the grounds that the land had been sold, therefore, they had no interest in the land.¹³

In 1844 Russell was sacked by Māori and with war raging in the north, FitzRoy and his policies came under review and he was eventually recalled. George Grey was appointed the new Governor and he arrived in New Zealand in late 1845.¹⁴ One of Grey's first actions was to reinstate Crown pre-emption under the Native Land Purchase Ordinance 1846, this made any land brought that was not brought from the Crown was an offence.¹⁵ There were no purchases made in the Hawke's Bay under Fitzroy's waiver.¹⁶ The appointment of George Grey showed a shift in Crown policy.¹⁷ Daamen explains that Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, informed Grey that 'if the right of pre-emption conceded to the Crown by the treaty of Waitangi, had not been waived on the

¹² Alan Ward, *An Unsettled History: Treaty Claims in New Zealand Today*, (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 1999), 95.

¹³ Ward, *An Unsettled History*, 95.

¹⁴ Ward, *An Unsettled History*, 99.

¹⁵ Boast et al, *Māori Land Law*, 12.

¹⁶ Alan Ward, *National Overview Volume III*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1997, 197.

¹⁷ Barry Rigby in Daamen, *The Crown's Right of Pre-emption*, 145.

terms in which it has been, the complexity of the case would have been far less than it actually is'.¹⁸

Grey appears to have allowed leasing, despite its illegality and in some cases encouraged squatting. By allowing this, Māori would have gained access to revenue from rents and 'grass money', this may have settled Māori discontent, as war was raging in the north.¹⁹ According to Alan Ward Grey's aim 'was ultimately to overcome Maori resistance to Crown purchases'.²⁰ Grey also introduced the Land Claims Compensation Ordinance 1846, under this he launched an investigation into the lands that were sold in the previous two years under FitzRoy's pre-emption waiver scheme. According to '...the Crown's review of the waiver purchases seems designed less to safeguard Māori interests than to further the interests of the Crown'.²¹

Grey left New Zealand in 1854 to take up the Governorship of the Cape Colony in South Africa. Before he left he set up the Land Purchase Department and appointed Donald McLean as Chief Land Purchase Commissioner.²² The same year as the New Zealand Parliament met for the first time.²³ With Grey leaving McLean continued Grey's purchasing policy of buying land in advance of settler demand. However, McLean started to buy land in haste due to a fear that the new incoming Governor may change land purchasing policies. These hasty purchases were evident in Central Hawke's Bay with the 1854 ngā hoko tāhae tuku hē purchases. McLean negotiated the purchase of the Tautāne

¹⁸ Daamen, *The Crowns Right of Pre-Emption*, 146

¹⁹ Daamen, *The Crowns Right of Pre-Emption*, 152

²⁰ Alan Ward in Daamen, *The Crowns Right of Pre-Emption*, 152

²¹ Ward, *An Unsettled History*. 99

²² Hazel Riseborough and John Hutton, *The Crowns Engagement with Customary Tenure in the Nineteenth Century*, Rangahaua Whanui National Theme C, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, July 1997.

³³ <https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/wt-theme-c-customary-land-tenure.pdf>

²³ Riseborough and Hutton. *The Crowns Engagement*, 33.

and Te Umuopua blocks with Te Hāpuku and a select few rangatira without the consent of the principal customary owners. These 1854 purchases were in contrast to the 1851 purchases where large hui were held and all the hapū invited, through a year-long process. McLean had nothing to fear as he became an advisor to the new Governor, Thomas Gore-Browne. Therefore, he was able to carry on with Grey's purchasing policy. McLean appointed G.S Cooper as the Land Purchase Commissioner for Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa despite Cooper's mishandling of Māori in the Taranaki, which led to armed conflict.²⁴ In 1856 Gore-Browne combined the offices of Chief Native Land Purchase Commissioner and Native Secretary thus enabling McLean to become the de facto ruler of the North Island apart from the Pākehā settlements.²⁵ McLean continued with his purchasing tactic of only dealing with select few rangatira, this caused tension and jealousy amongst the rangatira. Indeed, McLean's actions led to all-out war at Pakiaka.²⁶ Even though this war happened just out of Hastings, the fighting did involve Central Hawke's Bay Māori and the outcome would affect the way the land would be sold.

By the end of the 1850s, Māori were beginning to resist land sales and the Crown were keen to push their assimilation agenda. In the early 1860s, the Waitara purchase in the Taranaki was a disaster, there was a need for reform. The Colonial Office viewed Māori communal customary title as an obstacle in the assimilation and civilisation of Maori. The 'non-compliant chiefs' would also need to be dealt with. In 1861 the Colonial Office proposed a plan for the individualisation of Native title and direct purchases.²⁷

²⁴ Fargher, *The Best Man*, 162-163.

²⁵ Fargher, *The Best Man*, 150.

²⁶ O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, 178.

²⁷ O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, 178-179; David Williams "Te Tiriti o Waitangi – Unique Relationships between Crown and Tangata Whenua?" in *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, ed. I.H. Kawharu (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1989), 86; Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney & Aroha Harris. *Tangata Whenua: A History*. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 254.

The Native Land Court

The Native Land Court was established by the Native Lands Acts of 1862 and 1865 to investigate titles to Māori land. The 1862 act abolished the Crown's pre-emptive right while the 1865 made the court system more comprehensive. By setting up the Native Land Court it was hoped that it would bring Māori into the main stream of Colonial life, along with the hope that Māori would enjoy the same benefits and rights as the Pākehā settlers as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi. However, all the Native Land Court did was open up New Zealand for purchase.²⁸ Claudia Orange states that 'the most serious attack on the vitality of Māori life came from the Native Land Court.'²⁹ The Native Land Court created a burden upon Māori with Court costs, survey charges and other expenses. With the burden of these costs Māori were forced to sell the land they were fighting for in court in order to pay off the debt.

The Native Lands Act 1862 was meant to totally abolish pre-emption, which abandoned article two of the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi.³⁰ But pre-emption was not totally abolished until 1909 as it was reintroduced in certain areas such as Rotorua-Taupō in 1881, the King Country in 1884 and the Urewera in 1896. In 1891 James Carroll argued that the restoration of pre-emption was simply a form of confiscation. Furthermore, the reintroduction of pre-emption in these areas was simply a way of eliminating the competition of private purchases and making land cheaper.³¹

The legislation set up a process by which Māori could convert their land from customary or 'native' title to Crown-granted or freehold title, making Māori land legally

²⁸ Orange Claudia. *An Illustrated History of the Treaty of Waitangi*. 2nd ed, 2004; Reprint, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 80.-81

²⁹ Orange, *An Illustrated History*, 80.

³⁰ Boast et al, *Māori Land Law*, 12 -13.

³¹ Boast et al, *Māori Land Law*, 13; Boast *Buying the Land*, 172-173.

analogous to ordinary private land owned by Europeans. Now Māori were free to sell land to private buyers on the open market. It was not compulsory for Māori to bring their land before the Native Land Court – they were theoretically free to leave their lands in customary title if they wanted to. In practice, however, virtually all land still in Māori ownership in 1865 was brought before the court and converted to freehold title.³²

Māori used the court room to settle old scores. They found the court system was another method for acquiring land, ‘formerly they fought with guns and spears and clubs; now, to accomplish the same end, the defeat of the opponents and the conquering territory, they learned to fight with the brain and tongue’.³³ Māori had to attend the court to contest the title to their own land. Even if individuals did not want to go to court they would be drawn into the process if other right holders were intent on individualisation. Rees and Carroll noted that this could have easily been settled amongst Maori themselves by holding a rūnanga (tribal meeting).³⁴

The Native Land Court caused a lot of problems for Māori particularly the Māori of Central Hawke’s Bay. One major issue for Māori was section 23 of the 1865 Native Lands Act. Historians have called this section of the act the ‘ten owner rule’. This section of the act served to limit the number of owners on a certificate of title to ten. The ten owners may have been intended as representatives who held the land as trustees for the other owners, but in practice, once they received Crown grants they became legal owners. Section 23 of the act was repealed by the 1873 Native land Act. The 1873 Hawke’s Bay

³² James Carroll and W.L. Rees in Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, xi.

³³ James Carroll and W.L. Rees in Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, xi.

³⁴ James Carroll and W.L. Rees in Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, xi.

Native Lands Alienation Commission heard evidence that brought to light the impact of section 23 had on Maori.³⁵

As a result of Māori being able to sell their land directly, more Māori were coming into money from land sales, they were being offered credit and as a result they were finding themselves in debt. In 1867 Cooper, reported that Hawke's Bay rangatira were:

Allowed, indeed sometimes tempted to take credit without stint from merchants, tradesmen and sometimes their own tenants... to an extent almost incredible. Some of the principal landowners are at this moment in debt to the amount of many thousands of dollars. Then the pressure is put upon them, and seeing no other means of raising the money, they have begun to sell their lands in every direction.³⁶

Cooper recommended that the Government should act to ensure that the reserves as described in the Native Lands Act 1866, be made inalienable and that provisions be made to ensure sufficient maintenance to keep Māori from sinking further into poverty and becoming a burden on the state, but land should still be made available for colonists but still land should remain open for colonists.³⁷

The powers granted to the named owners under under section 23 led to complaints from the rangatira such as Karaitiana, Nepe te Apatu and Pāora Torotoro.³⁸ In a letter to the Native Minister Donald McLean, Haultain explains this grievance:

Has been felt most heavily in the Province of Napier, where much of the land is very valuable, where the Natives have acquired expensive habits,

³⁵ Richard Boast and Lisa Lefever Black. 'The Native Land Court and the Ten Owner Rule in Hawke's Bay 1866-1873 in *Droit Foncier et Gouvernance Judicaire dans le Pacifique Sud*, A.H. Angelo, O Aimot and Y-L Sage, eds (Wellington: Revue Juridique Polynesienne, 2010), 171.

³⁶ G. S. Cooper in Report on the Subject of Native Lands in the Province of Hawke's Bay, AJHR, A-15, 1867

³⁷ G. S. Cooper in Report on the Subject of Native Lands in the Province of Hawke's Bay, AJHR, A-15, 1867

³⁸ Papers Relative to the Working of the Native Land Court Acts, and Appendices Relating Thereto, AJHR, A-02a, 1871, 38-40.

and crave the means of indulging them, and where the settlers have been ready to purchase all that the Natives would alienate.³⁹

Another grievance regarding the Native Land Court was the expense of the surveys which came out of the pockets of the Māori owners who often had to sell the land to pay for the survey. These expenses were incurred while trying to prove they were the rightful owners of the land. This would be costly for Māori and would force them to sell the land to service the debt. As a result of pressure from both Māori and concerned Pākehā, a commission of enquiry into Hawke's Bay lands was established by Native Minister Donald McLean in 1873. The commission comprised two Māori and two Pākehā members and was chaired by Supreme Court Judge C.W. Richmond, who wrote the main report. Richmond rejected Māori claims of fraudulent dealings by Pākehā settlers in Hawke's Bay but strongly criticised the actions of the Native Land Court. In 1873, McLean oversaw the enactment of a new Native Lands Act with a number of changes. Most importantly, it abolished the 'ten owner rule' and replaced it with a new system of a memorial of title, whereby all the owners of a block were entered into the court records. Chief Judge Fenton thought that the 1873 Act was intended 'to do celestial justice, which I always believe to be impossible in this wicked world'.⁴⁰

The rangatira of Central Hawke's Bay who were named as an owner on more than six blocks between 1866 and 1873 under section 23 were:⁴¹

³⁹ Letter from The Hon. Colonel Haultain to the Hon. D. McLean, 18 July 1871, in H. Hanson Turton, *An Epitome of Official Documents Relatives to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1883), 42 <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TurEpit-t1-g1-t7-g1-t19-g1-t1-body1-d1.html#name-208610-mention>

⁴⁰ Evidence by Chief Judge Fenton to the Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, 47.

⁴¹ Boast and Lefever Black. 'The Ten Owner Rule in Hawke's Bay', 171; all these named in this list were listed as owners on the reserves in the Waipukurau Block.

Name	Number of Blocks
Karatitana Takamoana (Named on a number of blocks in Central Hawke's Bay)	30
Te Hāpuku	19
Hinepaketia	10
Renata Pukututu	7
Akeniki Patoka	6
Ereatara Te Kuru	6
Paroane Hakihaki	6
Pukepuke	6
Te Waihiku	6

Heretaunga block

The Heretaunga block is an example of the failing of section 23. Māori finding themselves in debt and the pressure to sell their land. The Heretaunga block encompasses modern day Hastings and was sold in 1870 and was 19,385 acres. This land was seen as the most fertile land in the province. Before the block was passed through the Native Land Court it had been informally leased to a consortium of Pākehā settlers led by Thomas Tanner.⁴² After two hearings at the Native Land Court the block was awarded in

⁴² Boast, Richard. 'Historical Foundations of the Court 1862-1890s' in *He Pou Herenga Tangata, He Pou Herenga Whenua, He Pou Whare Kōrero: 150 years of the Māori land Court*. 10-46, (Ministry of Justice. 2015) 16-17, <https://maorilandcourt.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/MLC-150-years-of-the-Maori-Land-Court.pdf> ; Pōhatu Paku *Heretaunga Haukū Nui*, Unpublished MA Thesis, Massey University. 2015
https://mro.massey.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10179/6795/02_whole.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

1867 to ten grantees. Because only ten could be named on the deed about 100 went outside the court to select the names to go on the deed.⁴³ Karaitiana Takamoana who has interests in Central Hawke's Bay was named as one of the owners, along with his half-brother Hēnare Tōmoana, Noa Huke, Te Waaka Kawaini, Manaena Tinikuranga, Tārehā Te Moananui, Paramena Oneone, Aprea Pahoro, Matiaha Tuhutuhu and Te Hāpuku's granddaughter Arihi Te Nahu.⁴⁴ Karaitiana initially wanted only Tōmoana and himself to be named as the grantees. However, he was incorrectly assured that other grantees would have no power to sell or deal with the block. Therefore, he agreed with the other rangatira to be named.⁴⁵

Ranginui Walker argues that 'the Heretaunga block was obtained by speculators advancing credit, fostering debts, suborning influential chiefs with bribes and threatening law suits for non-payments of debts'.⁴⁶ Wright states 'the sale epitomised Hawke's Bay Pakeha business culture of the period'.⁴⁷ The buyers of the block have been earned the nick name the 'Twelve Apostles' because they sub divided the block into twelve sections, although there was only seven lessees the name stuck.⁴⁸ The pressure that the buyers put on the grantees became rather comical. At one point in order to avoid Tanner Manaena Tinikuranga who weighed 20 stone (120kg) hid up a tree, he also hid in the loft of his minister. Another incident occurred when Pahoro got so drunk he was unable to proceed with the deal.⁴⁹

⁴³ Evidence of Henare Tomoana, in Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 18

⁴⁴ M.B. Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*. (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1984), 8.

⁴⁵ Angela Ballara. 'Takamoana, Karaitiana', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, accessed 11 February 2019, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t5/takamoana-karaitiana>

⁴⁶ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, 137.

⁴⁷ Wright. *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 82.

⁴⁸ Boyd, *City of the Plains*, 10; Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 83.

⁴⁹ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873, 18-20

The buyers also attempted to bully Tārehā Te Moananui who was the Member of Parliament for the East Coast who was cornered in Wellington's Empire Hotel after refusing to sell his shares, when he was cornered he was at a disadvantage as he was away from his land and people, they hounded him for three days.⁵⁰ Pākehā traders were owed large amounts money for food, drink, and clothing, while a buggy became a status symbol for rangatira.⁵¹ Tōmoana's war debt was used to exploit a sale, he was presented with a writ just as was about to leave to fight against Te Kooti.⁵²

Karaitiana was also fell into debt after arming his people for the expedition against the hau hau and Te Kooti, and after purchasing a trading vessel he was also presented with a writ as he was leaving for Auckland.⁵³ Karaitiana constructed a club house for his people to be used as a Māori Club much like the Pākehā Hawke's Bay Club.⁵⁴ Shop keepers and interpreters began working for Tanner and the other buyers on commission. They threatened the owners with summons, warrants and imprisonment to force them into selling their shares in the block.⁵⁵ Once it became apparent that their debts was going to cripple them Karaitiana and Tōmoana agreed to sell their shares. The purchase price was only just covered their debt. They also negotiated a secret bonus for themselves of £1500 and £1000 to be paid in instalments. They signed the deed on 6 December 1869.⁵⁶

By March 1870 the settlers had successfully purchased the individual shares of the grantees that were named on the title. Karaitiana later protested that the judge had

⁵⁰ Wright. *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 84; Boyd, *City of the Plains*, 10.

⁵¹ Boyd, *City of the Plains*, 10.

⁵² Wright. *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 81, 84.

⁵³ Wright. *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 85; Ballara. 'Takamoana, Karaitiana'.

⁵⁴ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 27.

⁵⁵ Boyd, *City of the Plains*, 10.

⁵⁶ Ballara. 'Takamoana, Karaitiana'.

assured him that no single grantee could sell without the consent of their fellow grantees.⁵⁷ Cowie argues that ‘The passing of this block into the ownership of the ‘12 apostles’ was the catalyst and progenitor of outrage against the Native Lands Acts as they then stood, leading to numerous reports, petitions, a commission, and the establishment of the Hawke's Bay repudiation movement’.⁵⁸ When the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission met in 1873 there were ten separate complaints. Commissioner Richmond condemned the provision of Act that applied the ten owners.⁵⁹

Alienation of Native Reserves under the Native Land Court

Between 1866 and 1867 five reserves from the Waipukurau Block were investigated by the Native Land Court. When pre-emption was abolished there was no provisions for the alienation of land that was reserved. In 1865 the Native Land Court began awarding individual titles to land that had been reserved.⁶⁰ Five reserves in the Waipukurau Block were put through the court and individual title awarded, they were:

Block Name	Sitting	MB reference	‘Owners’ named on the deed
Waipukurau Reserve	9 March 1866	Napier MB1 pg. 5	Hōri Niania Hineipaketia Hēmi Te Urunga Pani Te Touhare

⁵⁷ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 27.

⁵⁸ Cowie, *Hawke's Bay*, 67.

⁵⁹ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873

⁶⁰ J.E. Murray. *Crown Policy on Maori Reserved lands, 1840 to 1865, and Lands Restricted from Alienation, 1865 to 1900*. Rangahaua Whanui National Theme L. Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series. February 1997. 27

Te Tamumu	19 March 1866	Napier MB 1 pg. 52	Arapera Te Nguia Paraone Hakihaki Wiremu Te Haihae Huiata Te Rawini Taimona Te Wharepapa
Oreo	22 August 1866	Napier MB 1 pg. 157-158	Rēnata Pukututu Hakaraia Te Tumu Mata Te Aro Hoera Pareihe Raniera Putauhinu Hōri Huri Oriuia Tumu
Haowhenua	24 August 1866	Napier MB 1 pg. 166	Te Hāpuku Morena Hawea Hopa Te Whakaware Hoera Pareihe Ripata Muruki Hōri Morehu Arapiu Pohokura
Tarewa (Tarewa reserve was broken up into six smaller blocks)	18 January 1867	Napier MB 1 pg. 253-268	<u>Kaimotumotu North</u> Hōri Niania Hineipaketia Arihi Te Heipora Eretara Te Kuru Pukepuke Te Tauhare Oriwia Te Hōri Te Katene Te Aturangi

			<p><u>Kaimotumotu South</u></p> <p>Hēmi Ngarangingana Karaitiana Takamoana Tanguru Rangiawe Pāora Tamaihotua Inia Whangatana Akinihi Patoka Hēnare Tititi</p> <p><u>Rowhitu</u></p> <p>Paroane Hakihaki Nguha Auhi Te Urihe Rota Porehua Pourini Te Whiti</p> <p><u>Tapairu</u></p> <p>Heta Tiki Hanita Te Maero Harautu Poiutu Meihana Te Apatu Eraita Nohopapa Matiu Meke Herewini Tamehaua</p> <p><u>Tawera</u></p> <p>Hiraka Te Aroatua Horomoana Te Rongopare Paraniha Tomai Erihapeti Te Waiauki</p>
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			Retimana Trawaru Pateriki Hawaiki Atuaku Pire Pateriki Rehua Arapera Hōri Hoani Tokotoko <u>Whatarakai</u> Te Hāpuku Horea Pareihe Te Waihiku Tamawharau Te Watene Eraiha Powiaka Wiremu Pupora Hopa Te Whakaware Te Reweti Koropahau Morena Hawera
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The Native lands Act 1866 was created in order to protect the remaining reserves. Reserves were not to be sold, mortgaged or leased for more than twenty one years without the consent of the Governor.⁶¹ Unfortunately for the five reserves of the Waipukurau block that had been sold, this protection came too late. The Waipukurau Reserve which was sold soon after the title was granted.

⁶¹ Murray, *Crown Policy on Maori Reserved lands*, 27.

The Waipukurau Reserve

One of the first land blocks to go through the court was the Waipukurau Reserve. On 9 and 10 March 1866 at the Masonic Hall in Napier, Judge Thomas H. Smith determined ownership of the reserve. Hōri Niania was the first to appear along with Hineipaketia. Niania stated that he and Hineipaketia were the true representatives of the owners of the reserve who were Ngāi Tahu⁶² and Nāgti Matekato. There were up to fifty people interested in the land. When Hēmi Te Uranga was sworn in, he stated that he had heard that Hōri Niania had appeared for a grant therefore Hēmi appeared to object to Niania getting the rights over the whole of the land. Ouehina Te Tumatangi was named by Hēmi Te Uranga as a representative along with him. The Court named Hōri Niania Te Aroauta, Hineipaketia, Hēmi Te Uranga and Pani Te Whare as trustees of the 213 acre Waipukurau Reserve.⁶³

Once the Reserve was converted into individual title those that were named in the grant were free to sell. The Reserve, which included the Te Waipukurau Pā, was sold to Henry Russell in 1867. Three years earlier in 1864 H.R. Russell and T.P. Russell were running sheep on the Waipukurau Reserve. Russell had big plans for the reserve, he had envisaged a town containing a few well-to-do families, a group of tradesmen and artisans, and a parson. He retained ownership of the town sections, which he leased to residents (they were later made freehold). Residents were carefully selected and Russell approved plans before houses were built. He built community facilities, commercial buildings and small workers' cottages. This settlement was to become the township of Waipukurau.⁶⁴

⁶² This Ngāi Tahu is not the same as the South Island, but a hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu.

⁶³ Napier Minute Book 1, 16-21.

⁶⁴ Patrick Parsons. *Waipukurau: The History of a Country Town*. (Waipukurau: Waipukurau Rotary Club, 1999), 71-73.

Due to the sale of the Waipukurau Reserve, the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay lost access to the rich resources of Whatumā, despite their testimony that they had received a verbal promise by Donald McLean during the negotiations that Whatumā would be reserved. However, this was not recorded in the Waipukurau deed.⁶⁵

During the 1891 Native Land Laws commission Hēnare Mātua stated that:

Many of the grievances that the Natives suffer from have arisen out of land-sales. The difficulties and the grievances of which have complain in connection with sales arise out of lands that have been reserved—lands that were set apart as reserves. But from which the Maoris have not derived the advantage. The grievances in connection with these reserved lands are of long standing... The disposal of that land is not understood by the Natives who really have a claim to it. They were ignorant of the transaction.⁶⁶

Mātua discussed the Waipukurau sale during the hearing. According to Mātua, a condition of the sale was that a 100 acres was to be reserved near the northern portion of the township. That land was reserved for the whole tribe, and it was not passed through the Court.⁶⁷ Mātua stated that 'it was sold, by four of the Natives to a European who desired to purchase it. The tribe for whom it was reserved were left out in the cold.' Furthermore, Mātua said 'there were two eeling swamps these were also included for the benefit of the people. Whatumā was the name of this reserve. One of these reserves, or a part of it, is now claimed by the European as a portion of his purchase.' When the Waipukurau Block was sold a reserve was made at Waipawa called Tarewa. A portion of

⁶⁵ Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Bill 2017, 25 July 2017.

⁶⁶ Evidence of Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, 44.

that reserve has been taken by the Europeans, and there is only a small balance in the possession of the Natives now.⁶⁸

At Waipawa reserve, also known as Tapairu, issues arose over boundaries. Māori had occupied the land for over twenty years without issue and it was not until Heta Tiki of Tapairu Pā attempted to build a house in the disputed area that the issue arose. This issue was brought up at the 1873 Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission. It was said that the boundary had been remarked and differed from the original 1851 Waipukurau boundary. The people of Tapairu followed the 1851 boundary and had no knowledge of the new boundary.⁶⁹ It was not resolved at the 1873 commission and led to an armed stand-off in 1880 and 1881 after eviction notices were issued and money was offered for them to leave. Parliament heard this case in 1881 and the Native Minister, John Bryce, reviewed the evidence and concluded that a surveying error had indeed been made, and that the Maori occupants 'had just claim upon the land.' In 1884, just over 10 acres, or less than a third of the disputed area was granted back to its Maori occupants.⁷⁰

When Mātua discussed the consequences of the Native Land Court on the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay, he stated:

From the year 1866 right down to the present time the evils arising from that Court have been very grievously felt by the Natives. The first evil was that, even although there might be fifty people entitled to a block of land, yet only ten men were put in the certificate as owners. All the lands that were adjudicated on at that time were associated with and conveyed that evil; the majority of the true owners being excluded from the certificates.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Evidence of Henare Matua, Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, 44-45.

⁶⁹ Evidence of Nepia Te Apatu, Waipawa Land Dispute, AJHR, G-9, 1880, 6-7; NZPD, vol.40. 19 August to 24 September 1881. 739; Evidence of Heta Tiki, Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G-07, 1873. 140; He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 27.

⁷⁰ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 27

⁷¹ Evidence of Henare Matua, Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, 44-45.

For those who were excluded from the title they had no opportunity to apply for the block to be reinvestigated, then the law was altered which allowed hundreds of names to be included on the title. Therefore, there was a possibility for the blocks to be reinvestigated, however, this led to the money that was earned going into the hands of the investigators.⁷² Like Hēnare Mātua, Hōri Rōpiha felt that the current Native Land Laws hampered them.⁷³ Rōpiha was instrumental in trying to settle land claims with the Crown. In 1884 he joined King Tāwhiao's deputation to England to present Queen Victoria with a petition to investigate the state in which Maori now found themselves⁷⁴

During the hearing Arapeta Meha of Waipawa brought up a matter regarding J.D. Ormond, the first settler to settle alongside the Eparaima reserve, which was reserved for Māori during the sale of the Pōrangahau block.⁷⁵ Ormond was living on his own land for many years when he asked the Māori who were living on the reserve if he could use the reserve when Mere Te Hau passed away. Mere was the owner of the reserve and one of her brothers had sold timber rights to Donald McLean. The Māori who lived on the land believed they had only sold the rights to the timber, not the land. However, the land was subsequently sold. Once the Māori had found this out, they petitioned parliament. In 1877 this matter was brought up with Ormond who admitted he was aware it was Māori land. He told them to go to Wellington and he would try and get the land back, but nothing was done.⁷⁶

⁷² *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 7 May 1891, 2.

⁷³ Evidence of Hori Ropiha, Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, 46

⁷⁴ Sciascia et al, *Matatua*, 220; R. T. Mahuta. "Tawhiao, Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, updated July 2011, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t14/tawhiao-tukaroto-matutaera-potatau-te-wherowhero>

⁷⁵ The Porangahau block is the next to the Waipukurau block and was sold in March 1858

⁷⁶ Evidence of Arapeta Meha, Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of the Native Land Laws, AJHR, G-01, 1891, 46.

Conclusion

The Native Land Court was established by the Native Lands Acts of 1862 and 1865 to investigate titles to Māori land. The 1862 act abolished the Crown's policy of pre-emption and established the Court which made the court more comprehensive. The Waipukurau Purchase brought the Crown in to Hawke's Bay and gave Māori a taste of land sales. Section 23 of the 1865 Native Land Act brought the 'ten owner system'. This section of the act limited the number of owners on a certificate of title to ten. However, the ten may have been intended as hapū representatives who held the land as trustees for the other owners, but in practice, once they received Crown grants they became legal owners. Often the other customary owners never received monies from sale or rent. The 'trustees' sold or mortgaged land as if it was their own. When the Waipukurau Reserve was put through the Court in 1866, the four 'trustees' sold the land within a year. The Native Land Court brought more problems for Māori through the cost of attending Court, the court costs put Māori into debt and often the land they were fighting to retain had to be sold to pay off debt. The issues were often not heard, delayed or if the issue was settled it was not acted upon. Therefore, the consequence of the Court often left Māori of Central Hawke's Bay landless and in debt and often no better off.

Chapter Four

Ka whawhai Tonu Mātou

War, Rūnanga, Commission, Komiti and a Māori Parliament

This chapter discusses the ways in which war, the Rūnanga system, the Repudiation Movement and a commission of inquiry into Hawke's Bay land alienation impacted on Central Hawke's Bay Māori. The previous chapter examined the effects the Native Land Court had on Central Hawke's Bay Māori. The early court period was to affect the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay and the issues it caused were brought up in the 1873 Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission. The Central Hawke's Bay Māori protested the impact of the land alienation. Leaders such as Hēnare Mātua were influential in the Repudiation Movement and Hōri and Pāora Rōpiha in the Rūnanga and Kotahitanga Movements. This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one examines the Pakiaka war of 1857 while part two examines the Rūnanga, 1873 Hawke's Bay Native Lands' Alienation Commission, Repudiation and the Kotahitanga Māori Assembly. It will be argued that Central Hawke's Bay Maori were affected by the aforementioned in a number of ways, beginning with the loss of Central Hawke's Bay Māori life in a war over the rights to sell land and the continuous protest for land to be returned to the customary owners.

Part One

Fight at Pakiaka 1857

The fight at Pakiaka would involve many from Central Hawke's Bay, some would lose their lives others would be wounded. By the mid-1850s Government land purchases

were in full swing. As a result, Donald McLean's purchasing strategy caused tension among the Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs namely Tārehā, Karaitiana Takamoana, Te Moananui and Te Hāpuku. The distrust between the rangatira of Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Hāpuku had been building up since the arrival of McLean for the Waipukurau purchase.¹ McLean stood firm in his view that the intense rivalry between Te Hāpuku and Te Moananui had existed before the Crown purchases. He stated 'the extreme rivalry and jealousy existing between Te Moananui and Te Hapuku, years before any land was acquired by the Government in that District, were well known to every person who had any acquaintance with those tribes'.² Pressure to sell land led to arguments erupting between the rangatira.³ George Cooper and McLean insisted on accepting the lands that were on offer from Te Hāpuku, while at the same time promoting him as the paramount chief over the whole of Hawke's Bay, this increased the friction among the rangatira. Even though this did not happen in Central Hawke's Bay, many Central Hawke's Bay Māori were involved in this fight and the tensions over land sales started to rise out of the sale of the Waipukurau block.⁴

In 1856, at a hui held at Waipureku, there was talk of throat cutting, bloodshed and war. This unrest arose out of payment for the sale of the Matapiro and Okawa blocks in Hastings. Cooper attempted to set up a negotiation hui, which both sides accepted. However, Te Hāpuku advised Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri that he would be arriving armed. This proposed meeting never eventuated. Te Hāpuku started to occupy Whakatū.⁵ Cooper

¹ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 41.

² Memorandum of Donald McLean, in Further Papers Relative to Native Affairs, AJHR, E-3G, No 2, 1861.

³ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 41.

⁴ Buchanan, *Maori History*, 57.

⁵ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 19 Apr 1856. MS-Papers-0032-0227

noted that Te Hāpuku was attempting to cheat him by giving him false names for the payment of the South Ruataniwha block and right bank of the Ngaruroro River.

In early 1857, Cooper wrote to McLean advising him that the situation among the Hawke's Bay Māori was about to burst in to conflict. He stated that 'their mutual hatred is unbounded...' ⁶ and that he was beginning to sense that a fight was about to break out around Whakatū. According to Cooper the fight would not come from Te Hāpuku's people at Whakatū. He believed if violence was to breakout Te Hāpuku would have the upper hand,

In a Maori quarrel he might possibly get the worst of it, but were a collision to take place between the two races, he would fight on the strong side. On the other hand Moana and Tareha, who are both excessively vain and weak minded, are very jealous of Hapuku's growing influence and of the notice that is taken of him by the Govt. and the Europeans generally. ⁷

With tensions reaching boiling point after the sales of Aorangi (Maraekakaho), ⁸ Kurupō Te Moananui gave Te Hāpuku notice to stop the sales. This Te Hāpuku treated with contempt and nearly brought them to blows. Cooper had noted that the tension had been increasing since the sale of the Waipukurau block. Te Hāpuku was divvying out money unfairly and agreements were broken, mainly due to the fact that he was interfering with land out of his area. ⁹ This created animosity between rangatira and it did not help that Cooper was interfering with money exchanges and promoting Te Hāpuku as the paramount chief. He informed McLean that Te Hāpuku was,

determined to have a payment for Tawhara's land, and Moana, Tareha and Karaitiana equally determined to commence a war if such a payment were made. I therefore thought my best plan was to

⁶ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 24 Feb 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0227

⁷ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 24 Feb 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0227

⁸ This is a different block to the one in Central Hawke's Bay

⁹ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 24 Feb 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0227

take Hapuku on a tour through the District by himself to try the effect of public opinion upon him.¹⁰

Cooper went on to say that he had

been endeavouring to get Moana's party to give up the C. Kidnapper money to Hapuku who would then in return agree to their demands upon Aorangi and Otaranga. It appears that when they met at Waipureku, Tareha offered this, but Hapuku would not accept it, he says because Moananui did not speak. Now he would agree but they will not. Williams is going with me today to see them, and try what he can do to settle the matter.¹¹

Cooper did acknowledge that Te Hāpuku was involved in land sales when he should not have been,

I am afraid it will be some time before these lands can be bought as they are offered by Moananui and his people whose interference is resented by Te Hapuku as a usurpation of his special work. There is no disguising the fact that the fish has robbed his enemies to an enormous extent, and how they have submitted to it so long is a wonder to me.¹²

However, Cooper was still willing to deal with Te Hāpuku 'here have been such rows about Aorangi and Otaranga that I have not yet paid the money. I shall have to do it through Hapuku in the end and save what I can for the other people.'¹³

By August 1857 the situation between Te Hāpuku and the other rangatira had worsened. Te Hāpuku had moved his camp to Whakawhiti, which was closer to the Pakiaka Bush¹⁴, for which he asserted his claim and set up rahui pole.¹⁵ Pākehā officials intervened and Te Hāpuku agreed to withdraw once he had made his claim. Kurupō Te

¹⁰ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 19 Apr 1856. MS-Papers-0032-0227

¹¹ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 24 Feb 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0227

¹² George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 30 March 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0227

¹³ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean. 30 March 1857. MS-Papers-0032-0227

¹⁴ Pakiaka was a large stand of kahikatea and was surrounded by swamp.

¹⁵ Wright. *The History of Hawke's Bay*. 42-43.

Moananui agreed to allow Te Hāpuku to take dead firewood from the bush. On 17 August, instead of cutting firewood, Te Hāpuku and his people were felling trees, as they had done in the past, to erect a war pā.¹⁶ Te Moananui made his way to Wakawhiti to tell Te Hāpuku and his men to stop felling more trees but, they could still collect firewood. However, Te Hāpuku was defiant and Te Moananui returned to his own party who were led by Rēnata Kawepō and Karaitiana Takamoana. Kawepō and Takamoana went ahead to the bush and ordered Te Hāpuku's party to return back to their pā. They took no notice and an order to fire was given. The first shot was fired by Rēnata Kawepō.¹⁷ The fight continued around the base of the rāhui until 3 p.m. when Harawira Tātere (one of Te Hāpuku's men) advanced with a white flag calling on both sides to cease firing so the dead and wounded could be collected before dark. Neither Te Hāpuku nor Te Moananui took part in the battle. After a haka was performed both sides retired. On the first day of battle Te Hāpuku's side lost four people and thirteen were wounded, while Te Moananui's side lost three and seven were wounded.¹⁸ Māori from Central Hawke's Bay who were killed were Patoromu, Tamanoho and Kinokino, while Patariki and Taeto were wounded whilst they were fighting for Te Hāpuku.¹⁹

After this fight, a group of Te Hāpuku's supporters left the camp at Whakawhiti, despite Te Hāpuku trying to keep them together. This group of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti were heading back to their lands, however, before they were prepared to

¹⁶ G.S Cooper to Donald McLean 19 August 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C-1, 1862, 332.

¹⁷ G.S Cooper to Donald McLean 19 August 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C-1, 1862, 333; *Lyttelton Times*, 3 October 1857, 4.

¹⁸ G.S Cooper to Donald McLean 19 August 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C-1, 1862, 333.

¹⁹ *Maori Messenger: Te Karere Maori*, 15 October 1857, 8.

leave they wanted their share of the money that was owed to them.²⁰ While Te Hāpuku's supporters were leaving, the Ngāti Kahungunu party were sending for reinforcements from Taupō, Rotorua, Waikato, Turanga (Gisborne) and the East Coast, at the same time Te Hāpuku had appealed to the Wairarapa and Manawatū for assistance.²¹

In a letter that appeared in the *Hawkes Bay Herald* Tārehā and his fellow rangatira assured the settlers that they 'have nothing to fear from us'²² and that they did not intend to have another enemy other than Te Hāpuku. They did not want the Pākehā to view the actions of one as the actions of all Māori. They reiterated that their quarrel was not Pākehā but with Te Hāpuku because Te Hāpuku had been involved in land sales.²³

Another fight took place on 14 October 1857 where each side had a man killed.²⁴ The third conflict broke out on 9 December 1857 during which Pūhara Hawaikirangi was killed. Pūhara was a high ranking rangatira and the husband of Hineipakeita "the Queen". He was also one of Te Hāpuku's staunchest supporters. The fight begun in the afternoon and consisted of approximately sixty supporters of Te Hāpuku and one hundred and seventy of Te Moananui's people which included taua from Taupō and Taranaki. The fight ceased in the evening with Te Moananui's party being victorious. Hone Warani of Ngāti Awa was the only person of Te Moananui's party to lose their life. While eight of Te Hāpuku's party were killed and three were wounded.²⁵

²⁰ G.S Cooper to Donald McLean 29 August 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C-1, 1862, 334.

²¹ G.S Cooper to Donald McLean 29 August 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C-1, 1862, 334.

²² *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 15 October 1857, 11.

²³ *Hawke's Bay Herald*. 15 October 1857, 11.

²⁴ *Maori Messenger: Te Karere Maori*, 30 November 1857, 13.

²⁵ *Hawke's Bay Herald*. 12 December 1857. 3.

By January 1858, the two sides were in mediation with the McLean. The outcome of the mediation was that Te Hāpuku would move inland to Te Hauke. Te Hāpuku and his party were given two weeks to move there,²⁶ and the bodies of Pūhara and Te Watene who were killed during the conflict, were exhumed and taken also.²⁷ Te Hāpuku withdrew from Whakatū in March 1858, and his Pā was set alight. On 17 September a hui was held at Tanenuiarangi at which peace was declared. Te Hāpuku along with ten supporters stayed away, however, he was represented by Hoani Waikato, and other supporters from Central Hawke's Bay. Also absent from the hui was Hōri Niania, another influential rangatira from Central Hawke's Bay. When peace was declared, resolutions were made that any land which had been sold by rangatira should be abandoned, and if this rule was broken, the punishment would be death. The declaration was called *te whata a te herunga*.²⁸ Tārehā explained the meaning behind the phrase

The meaning of this expression "the whata of Te Herunga," is this, Te Heninga was a sacred man and so was his whata (storehouse, elevated upon poles) sacred also ; if any food which had been put upon this whata was stolen by a dog, that dog must be killed, so with our lands that have been thus hung up; if anybody steals these lands he shall be killed whether he belongs to this tribe: or to any other tribe of us he shall be killed, for it is a sacred whata, and he had no business to climb up to a sacred place to steal there. The meaning of the expression stealing, is selling lands without authority to the Europeans; this is the meaning of the expression "the whata of Te Herunga"²⁹

²⁶ *Hawke's Bay Herald*. 16 January 1858. 2.

²⁷ *Hawke's Bay Herald*. 27 February 1858. 3.

²⁸ *Hawke's Bay Herald*. 2 October 1858. 2

²⁹ Tareha and others, 29 September 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C1, 1862, 340.

When the speeches ended gifts of peace were exchanged. Guns, cartouche boxes, powder and caps were gifted to Ngāti Whatuiāpiti while in return Ngāti Kahungunu received women and horses.³⁰ The peace hui concluded with four days of feasting.³¹

Tārehā and his supporting rangatira wrote to the Governor stating

Now listen! Our quarrel originated in our lands being seized by other's and sold to the Europeans as a means of obtaining money for themselves, whilst the real owners of the soil were left without anything. We applied to the Governors, to the Ministers, to the English Magistrates, and to the Chiefs of some of our own Natives tribes, in the hopes that some arrangement might be hit upon for accommodating our quarrel peaceably, but without avail; the man still persisted in taking our lands then we determined to fight, and we erected a pole, that it might be seen, if we were beaten and our pole fell, then it would be right that our lands should be taken by others; but if Te Hapuku were beaten or should go to live elsewhere, and our pole remained standing, then our lands should come back to us again. Well, we fought, and Te Hapuku got beaten and withdrew to his own place to live, and all the lands fell to us.³²

While the fight at Pakiaka did not happen in Central Hawke's Bay, many Central Hawke's Bay Māori were involved and some lost their lives. The final outcome of the peace deal changed the way land would be sold to the Crown throughout Central Hawke's Bay as land sales were to be discussed and decisions were made at rūnanga.

³⁰ Tareha and others, 29 September 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C1, 1862, 340.

³¹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*. 2 October 1858. 2.

³² Tareha and others, 29 September 1857, in Report of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title in the Ahuriri, AJHR, C1, 1862, 340.

Part Two

The Rūnanga Movement

The Rūnanga Movement was system of Maori self-government that emerged after the Pahiaka war. Traditionally, the rūnanga was a formal meeting or hui where major issues or difficulties would be discussed.³³ At Pā Whakairo, on the banks of the Tūtaekurī River, a large hui was held in April 1859. The hui was attended by many rangatira from throughout Hawke's Bay along with a large delegation from the Kīngitanga.

The Kīngitanga were encouraging Māori to place their lands under the protection of the Māori King, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. In the 1850s, with increasing numbers of settlers arriving, there was more demand for Māori land. Realising this, but lacking political power, some Māori looked to unify under one sovereign. In 1853, Mātene Te Whiwhi and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha began travelling round the North Island looking for a chief who would agree to become King. However, most chiefs declined. In 1858, the Waikato chief Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was declared King after firstly declining the offer.³⁴

After the Pahiaka war, some rangatira met with representatives of the Kīngitanga. At this hui it was agreed to adopt a rūnanga system. One of the aims of the rūnanga was to restore some of the lands that had been purchased and to halt any future sales.³⁵ Furthermore, the rūnanga also took their own issues into their own hands as William Colenso points out in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*

³³ Sharron Cole, *The Repudiation Movement: A Study of the Maori Land Protest Movement in Hawkes Bay in the 1870's*, Unpublished MA Thesis, Massey University. 1977, <http://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/6140>, 10.

³⁴ Rahui Papa and Paul Meredith, "Kīngitanga – the Māori King movement", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kingitanga-the-maori-king-movement>

³⁵ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 22 October 1859, 5.

I have been credibly informed, that at a meeting of the *runanga* held a fortnight back at Te Waipukurau, to hear (among other matters) charges preferred against Matthew Meke an old Native Teacher there, (which however he denied, but which were said by the *runanga* to be proved, and the poor creature fined £100!) a Settler present strongly urged Matthew “ to confess to the *runanga*,” Of course the shrewd *runanga* sees its authority seemingly acknowledged by a European, - and perhaps, by a man who should have said (if he cared to say anything), - “Matthew do not heed this unlawful tribunal; pay no attention to it.” Further: Matthew having no money wherewith to pay, the *runanga* took his horses; and I have been also credibly informed, that another Settler (from Te Aute district,) said, “if Matthew confesses I will arrange with the *runanga* about the horses”: - here (supposing it to be true) is another most unwise strengthening of this mischief making *runanga*.³⁶

This letter shows that Colenso did not approve of the establishment of the *rūnanga* or the use of the *rūnanga* for Māori to sort out their own issues. However, it indicates that the *rūnanga* was strong in Central Hawke’s Bay. Further evidence to support the strength of the *rūnanga* is noted in the *Hawke’s Bay Herald* which reported that there were many assaults committed by Māori and the issue was then sorted by the *rūnanga*.³⁷ At a *rūnanga* hui held at Pā Whakairo in late 1860, the issue of the land sales resurfaced. The *rūnanga* believed that Waipukurau was purchased fairly, whilst the sales that followed such as Umuopua were unjust sales committed by one person.³⁸ The opposition to land sales was so strong that McLean was informed that land sales had stopped in the areas where the *rūnanga* were established.³⁹ By 1861, Pākehā were well aware that they could not purchase land from Māori without the consent of the *rūnanga*, it was at this time that there was a discussion about the individualisation of Māori title.⁴⁰ Throughout the 1860s the *rūnanga* remained strong with influence from Central Hawke’s Bay Māori. In 1863

³⁶ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 22 October 1859, 5.

³⁷ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 March 1860, 4.

³⁸ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 December 1860, 4.

³⁹ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 23.

⁴⁰ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 14 September 1861, 3.

Cooper wrote about one of the influential members of the rūnanga ‘... Paora te Ropiha. It appears that Paora, being one of the cleverest mischief plotters and leading men of the runanga ...’⁴¹. Cooper was referring to Pāora Rōpiha of Tapairu Pā and Pōrangahau.

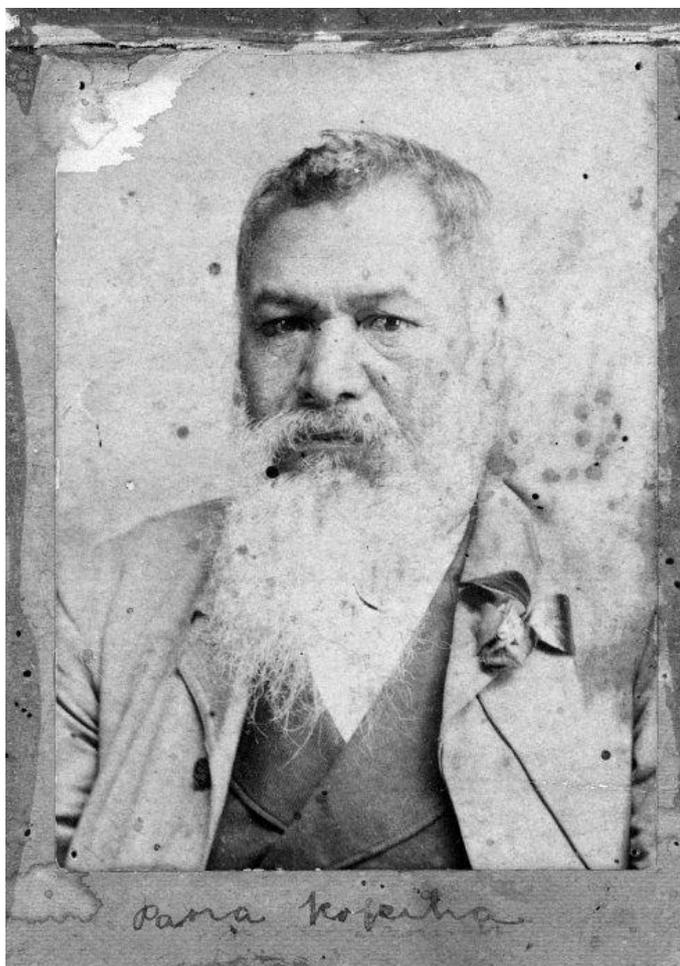


Figure 7: Pāora Rōpiha

*Paora Ropiha. Ref: 1/2-020090-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
/records/22847505*

Māori began leasing land in contravention of the 1846 Native Land Purchase Ordinance. By generating money through the leasing of their land, Māori began participating in the settler economy and trading within the settler community.⁴² Although Māori used the rūnanga to settle disputes and grievances, they also started to

⁴¹ George Sisson Cooper to Sir Donald McLean, 4 November 1863, MS-Papers-0032-0228.

⁴² He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Historical Claims*, 24.

use Pākehā methods to settle their disputes through the Pākehā judiciary system. This involvement within the Pākehā judiciary system effectively paved the way for the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873 and the Repudiation Movement.⁴³

The New Zealand Wars in Hawke's Bay

The New Zealand Wars were largely avoided in Hawke's Bay, this was in part due to Ngāti Kahungunu wanting peace in the rohe.⁴⁴ However, the Pai Mārire (hau hau) first came into Hawke's Bay in 1863 and again in 1865 at the invitation of Te Hāpuku who met with them at his pā in Central Hawke's Bay.⁴⁵ There was talk that Te Hāpuku had requested to meet with the hau hau to renew his quarrel with Karaitiana and Rēnata Kawepō.⁴⁶ Once the hau hau had met and refreshed with Te Hāpuku they moved south to call on Central Hawke's Bay Māori at Tikokino and Takapau.⁴⁷ Nothing came of these visits.⁴⁸ Hēnare Mātua forbade the hau hau from passing through Pōrangahau and he travelled south to warn the Wairarapa hau hau they would not receive his support. He established a boundary called hau te kohakoha for which the hau hau were not allowed to cross.⁴⁹

By 1866 there was fighting in Mōhaka and Waiora between the hau hau and kūpapa Māori (Māori who were supporters of the Crown),⁵⁰ there was a fear that the hau

⁴³ Cole. *The Repudiation Movement*. 19

⁴⁴ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 73.

⁴⁵ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean, 25 February 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0018; James Grindell to Donald McLean, 25 February 1865, MS-Papers-0032-0304.

⁴⁶ *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 21 February 1865, 2.

⁴⁷ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 25 February 1865, 2.

⁴⁸ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 74.

⁴⁹ Sciascia et al, *Matatua: Fathers & Sons*, 327.

⁵⁰ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, (Auckland; Penguin Books, 1998), 210.

hau were going to march onto Pōrangahau.⁵¹ The hau hau had settled at Te Haroto, Ōmarunui⁵² and Petāne with plans to raid Napier. In November 1866 a battle was fought between the Crown forces and the hau hau at the fortified pā of Ōmarunui.⁵³ The old rangatira Karaitiana Takimoana, Tārehā, Te Moananui and Rēnata Kawepō along with a force of 200 taua assisted the Crown against the hau hau.⁵⁴

In 1868 Ngāti Kahungunu agreed to support the Crown in their pursuit of Te Kooti. Under the leadership of Tārehā, Karaitiana Takiomoana, Tārehā Te Moananui, Rēnata Kawepō, Hēnare Tōmoana, Te Hāpuku, and Ihaia Hutana of Central Hawke's Bay. Ngāti Kahugunu engaged in battles with Te Kooti in the Urewera. In 1869 under the command of Hēnare Tōmoana and Rēnata Kawepō joined the Crown's on going pursuit of Te Kooti around Lake Taupō.⁵⁵

Karaitana Takimoana, Rēnata Kawepō, and Hēnare Tōmoana later protested that their contingent were under paid. The £888 they had been paid was less than that paid to the Napier Contingent, they never received any additional payments.⁵⁶ When Tōmoana raised his force he brought the gear that was needed on credit, when he was about to leave he was presented with a writ demanding £900. While Tōmoana was away fighting his debt was being pursued, leading to the debt crisis in Heretaunga triggering the sale of the Heretaunga block.⁵⁷

⁵¹ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume II: The Hauhau Wars, 1864–72*, (Wellington: R. E. Owen, 1956), 137-138. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cow02NewZ-c14.html>

⁵² Ōmarunui was about a thirty minute walk from Tārehā's kāinga Pā Whakairo.

⁵³ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, 138.

⁵⁴ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, 138.

⁵⁵ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 31; In the taua included a Māori from Central Hawke's Bay by the name of Iriwhata Hanita Te Maero who stated in the Māori Land Court that he was present at the fight at Taupō, Napier Minute Book 59, 117.

⁵⁶ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 31.

⁵⁷ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 81-82.

Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873

The Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission was set up to investigate the alienation of Māori land and the workings of the Native Land Court. By 1873, displeasure was growing in response to the operation of the Native Land Court and the alienation of customary lands for which 4,000,000 acres of Māori land had been alienated in Hawke's Bay since 1851.⁵⁸ Māori had been requesting that all laws that related to Māori be circulated in the Māori language. By not being fully informed of the laws, Māori had to rely on the Judges to explain the provisions of legislation. Hēnare Tōmoana, explained to Haultain⁵⁹ that it was not until 1870 that he was familiar with the provisions of the Native Lands Act. Tōmoana had also requested that the Heretaunga block be made inalienable, the Judge ignored this request. Along with this request Tōmoana outlined the dubious tactics that prominent Hawke's Bay settlers were using to secure the block. Other Hawke's Bay Māori complained about the way the Court was operating in Hawke's Bay.⁶⁰

An assessor of the Court from Te Arawa, Wiremu Hikairo, presented a detailed report of the Native Land Court where he suggested reform of the 1865 Native Lands Act.⁶¹ To prepare for the commission regular meetings were held up and down the coast of the Kahungunu rohe. Observably J.D. Ormond had his spies out as he was being kept updated on the situation and then passing this information onto McLean. Ormond wrote to McLean saying

Nairn wrote me on Saturday that Henare Matua was holding meetings along the Coast to prepare cases for the Commission and

⁵⁸ Vincent O'Malley, *Agents of Autonomy: Maori Committees in the Nineteenth Century*, (Wellington: Huia, 1998), 69

⁵⁹ Trust Commissioner under the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act

⁶⁰ O'Malley, *Agents of Autonomy*, 43-44.

⁶¹ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission. AJHR, G7, 1873.

that no end of old Wairarapa cases were to be brought forward. Of course the Commission cd. not entertain such - to give you an idea of what the Natives expect from the Commission old Morena of Pourere is going to dispute the sale of the Hapuku Block.⁶²

The Commission sat in April 1873 and was comprised of four commissioners. Two were Pākehā C W Richmond (a High Court Judge) who was the Chairman of the Commission, and F E Maning. Two of the Commissioners were Māori Wiremu Hikairo, of Rotorua, and Major Te Wheoro, from the Waikato. The Commission heard a great deal of evidence regarding the actions of dealers and middlemen rather than the actions of the Native Land Court itself. For instance many of the complaints arose, where land had been purchased with liquor which was illegal and where rangatira were being threatened with imprisonment for the debt they had incurred, if they did not sell their land for which they owned on behalf of their hapū.⁶³

Of the 301 cases presented to the commission, 16 blocks were from Central Hawke's Bay. Many of these blocks had multiple issues. The Central Hawke's Bay blocks were Tamaki (Seventy Mile Bush), Whenuahou (Aorangi), Waipawa (Tapairu), Oero, Haowhenua, Waipukurau reserve, Tawera, Tikokino, Umutuatanga, Mangarara, Taupari, Pātangata, Mangapuaka. Wharawhara, Purimu, Kopua, Eparaima.⁶⁴

The main focus of the Commission's report was on the Native Land Court and recommended new legislation be enacted to replace the 1865 Native Land Act. Richmond was highly critical of the Courts practice, and the impact of the ten owners system. Richmond's criticism was focussed on how the court awarded the title and that

⁶² J.D Ormond to Donald McLean. 11 November 1872. MS-Papers-0032-0485

⁶³ Richard Boast. "Historical Foundations of the Court 1862-1890s" in *He Pou Herenga Tangata, He Pou Herenga Whenua, He Pou Whare Kōrero: 150 years of the Māori land Court*. 10-46, (Wellington: Ministry of Justice. 2015), 19

⁶⁴ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, AJHR, G7, 1873.

those who were awarded title were able to sell without reference to the hapū or the customary owners.⁶⁵ Many Māori who were petitioners during the inquiry found Richmond's Report unsatisfactory, and according to Vincent O'Malley this 'fuelled the fires of the emerging Repudiation Movement'.⁶⁶

Repudiation Movement – The Komiti



Figure 8: Repudiation Party

Repudiation party, including Henry Robert Russell. Ref: 1/2-038687-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22881637

The Repudiation Movement was established to revoke earlier land transactions and to address broader issues around the alienation of Māori-owned land. It was led by influential rangatira and some Pākehā. The movement was soon taken up by a number of other North Island tribes. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Kotahitanga movement adopted a similar approach, and in 1892 the first Māori Paremata (Parliament) was held at Waipatu near modern-day Hastings.

⁶⁵ Boast, "Historical Foundations of the Court". 19

⁶⁶ O'Malley, *Agents of Autonomy*, 44.

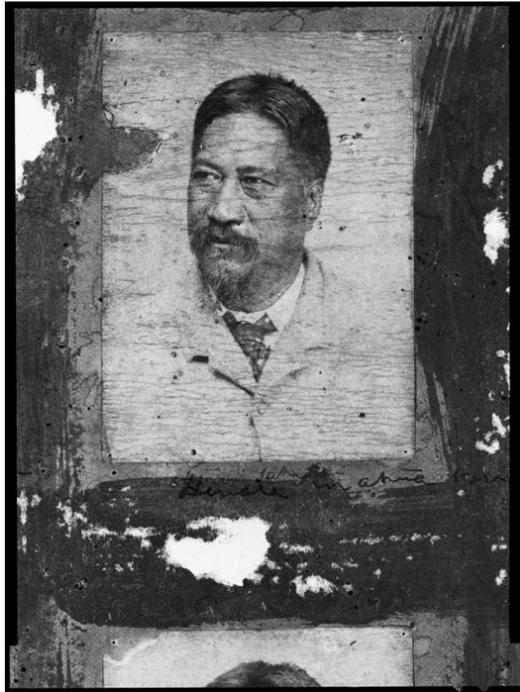


Figure 9: Hēnare Mātua

Henare Matua. Hamlin, E J: Portraits of Maori men. Ref: 1/2-020077-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22382839

Since 1871 the Repudiation Movement had been meeting in some form. The main spokesman for the movement was Central Hawke's Bay leader Hēnare Mātua. Even though Mātua signed the Waipukurau purchase deed, he became an opponent of Crown land purchases.⁶⁷ Land was being sold without the consent of all the owners and under section 23 of the Native Land Act 1865 up to ten names were put onto the title. Māori were finding themselves in debt after traders and other sellers were offering credit. Once Māori were unable to pay their debit, they were forced to sell land.⁶⁸ By 1873, nearly 4,000,000 acres of land had been alienated from Māori in Hawke's Bay. The land was brought by fewer than fifty Pākehā, which included Donald McLean.⁶⁹ It

⁶⁷ Lindsay Cox, *Kotahitanga: The Search for Māori Political Unity*, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), 63.

⁶⁸ Cox. *Kotahitanga*, 63.

⁶⁹ O'Malley, *Agents of Autonomy*, 69.

was claimed that J.D. Ormond, Donald McLean and J. N. and Samuel Williams had swindled them out of many thousands of acres mainly around the Heretaunga region.⁷⁰

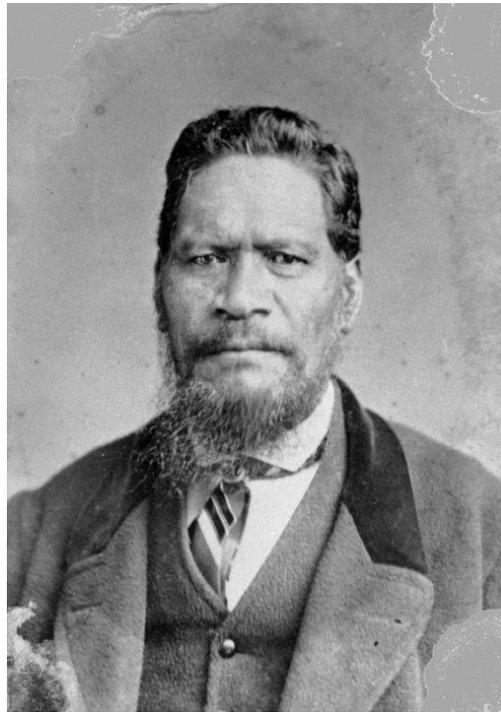


Figure 10: Karaitiana Takamoana

Karaitiana Takamoana. Ref: 35mm-00152-e-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22792172

In 1872 Hawke's Bay Māori had formed themselves into two groups. One group, led by the rangatira of Ahuriri and Heretaunga, included Karaitiana, Hēnare Tōmoana and Tārehā. The other group was from Central Hawke's Bay and was led by Hēnare Mātua. Both of these groups had the same focus opposing land sales and seeking redress for past grievances. However, they wanted to achieve these aims in very different ways. Karaitiana had been elected into the House of Representatives in 1871, having stood unsuccessfully against his brother-in-law, Tārehā, in 1868. Even though he had the same aims, Karaitiana often spoke out against Hēnare Mātua and his Repudiation movement.

⁷⁰ D. B. Waterson. "Sheehan, John", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, accessed 15 July 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s19/sheehan-john>

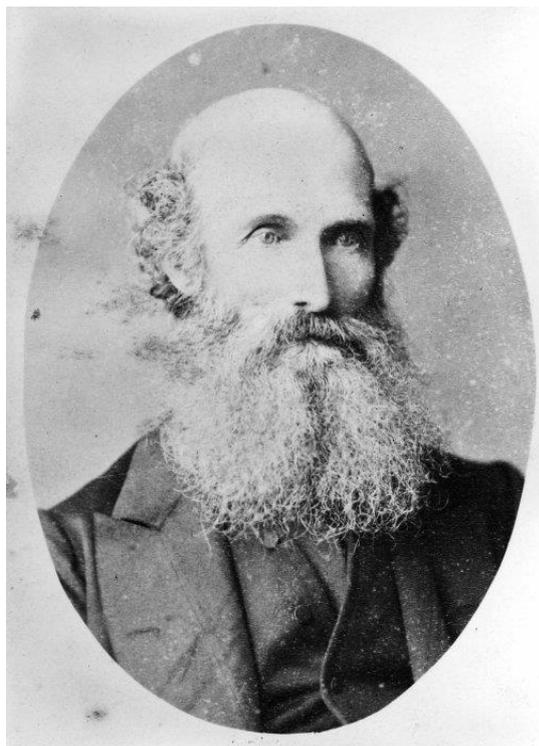


Figure 11: Henry Russell

*Henry Robert Russell. Ref: 1/2-043057-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
/records/23194105*

The Repudiation Movement was also supported by influential Pākehā Henry Russell, of Waipukurau. Russell provided financial support for the movement. Russell had developed a feud with Donald McLean and J.D. Ormond and was also unpopular with other settlers, creating many enemies.⁷¹ This feud is evident in a letter from J.D. Ormond to McLean where he wrote: ‘The letters from the district rūnanga's in Hawkes Bay to Henare show the hostile feeling they have to the Govt. and how that scoundrel H. Russell has worked to bring it about.’⁷² Despite his feud with Ormond and McLean, Russell was able recruit influential Pākehā to join the cause, including Auckland-based lawyer politicians W.L. Rees and John Sheehan. Sheehan would become Native Minister

⁷¹ *Hawke's Bay Times*. 19 June 1872. 2; Mary Boyd. “Russell, Henry Robert”, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, DNZB, 15 July 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2r32/russell-henry-robert>

⁷² J D Ormond to Sir Donald McLean. 23 April 1873. MS-Papers-0032-0486.

in 1877. Many Māori were indebted to Russell, it has been suggested by some historians that Russell's involvement with the Repudiation Movement was a way to recover these debts because if the movement was successful, Māori would be able to repay him.⁷³ Russell had lent Māori thousands of pounds including leading rangatira such as Pāora Rōpiha, Tārehā, Hēnare Mātua, Hōri Niania, Karaitiana, Hoani Waikato, Hineipaketia, Hēnare Tomoana and Te Hāpuku.⁷⁴ Te Hāpuku accumulated considerable debt and he was taken to court by Russell to recover it.⁷⁵ Russell had a genuine concern for the welfare of Māori, he had in fact gone to Hēnare Mātua to point out the injustices that Māori were facing.⁷⁶ Another reason he had a financial and active role in the movement was to bring down his enemies and political foes McLean and Ormond.⁷⁷

The two Māori divisions of the Repudiation Movement, Karaitiana's parliamentary and Hēnare Mātua's Repudiation group came together for a hui in July 1872. This hui was facilitated by Russell and was attended by about five hundred at Pākowhai. There were about two hundred Karaitiana supporters, which included some from Taupō and about three hundred supporters of Hēnare Mātua. The two groups were separated by a large rope of about fifteen feet. Noa Heke of Ōmāhu, opened the hui, and was followed by Hēnare Mātua's kōrero.⁷⁸ Hēnare Mātua expressed his disapproval of the land sales and the Government assessors. He said that Karaitiana had neglected Māori and was interested in looking after his own, but he had no quarrel with

⁷³ Cole, *The Repudiation Movement*, 52.

⁷⁴ Cole, *The Repudiation Movement*, 121-126.

⁷⁵ Bankruptcy Files Affidavit Te Hapuku R23212182 (Archives New Zealand)

⁷⁶ *Taranaki Herald*. 13 July 1872. 4.

⁷⁷ Cole, *The Repudiation Movement*, 51; Wright. *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 85-86.

⁷⁸ Samuel Locke to Donald McLean. 10 July 1872. MS-Papers-0032-0394.

Karaitiana.⁷⁹ Samuel Locke⁸⁰ who was a Resident Magistrate residing in Napier wrote to Donald McLean highlighting what Hēnare Mātua said:

Henare Matua followed with a very long speech. Stating that the Govt. only helped the Maoris when they were compelled, That laws were made and enforced without the nature or effect of them first being explained That the Govt. allowed them to be robbed and cheated out of their lands by means of mortgages etc. without interfering on their behalf, which state of things would have gone on until there was no land left had not Henry Russell and Purvis helped them, and frightened the people who were cheating them with the knowledge or sanction of Govt. etc. He wanted Tamaki to be handed over to him etc...⁸¹

Karaitiana disagreed with Hēnare Mātua and responded sarcastically, telling him that his work would not come to anything, and was not worth talking about.⁸² William Colenso believed the course of action that Hēnare Mātua was taking would lead to ruin.⁸³ Hēnare Tōmoana, a supporter of Karaitiana, proposed that all grievances should be taken to Wellington and a rūnanga should be formed, however, Hēnare Mātua was opposed to this.⁸⁴ In May 1873, Hēnare Mātua wrote to Ihaka Whaanga of Wairoa urging him not to support the Government and to band together amongst themselves.⁸⁵ Locke suspected that Karaitiana was going to petition parliament to appoint a commission to investigate the land issues.⁸⁶

Ormond did not think much of Hēnare Mātua's movement. In a letter to McLean he wrote 'Henare Matua's resolutions are great nonsense but show that the desire is to

⁷⁹ *Evening Post*, 11 July 1872, 2; *Taranaki Herald*, 13 July 1872, 4.

⁸⁰ Samuel Locke was a Resident Magistrate for Wairoa, Waiapu, Poverty Bay, and Taupō, but he resided in Napier. Locke would become Member of Parliament for East Coast from 1884-1887.

⁸¹ Samuel Locke to Donald McLean, 10 July 1872, MS-Papers-0032-0394.

⁸² *New Zealand Herald*, 11 July 1872, 3.

⁸³ Samuel Locke to Donald McLean, 10 July 1872, MS-Papers-0032-0394.

⁸⁴ Samuel Locke to Donald McLean, 10 July 1872. MS-Papers-0032-0394; *New Zealand Herald*, 11 July 1872, 3.

⁸⁵ Hanson Turton to Donald McLean, 30 May 1873, MS-Papers-0032-0611; a translation was published in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*; *New Zealand Herald*, 30 May 1873, 3.

⁸⁶ Samuel Locke to Donald McLean, 10 July 1872, MS-Papers-0032-0394.

get up a Maori national movement.’⁸⁷ Ormond blamed Russell and Sheehan for stirring up the Māori.

A committee was eventually formed and a newspaper established. *Te Wananga*, which lasted for four years from 1874-1878 was edited by Hēnare Tōmoana. Tōmoana was initially a supporter of Karaitiana and John White, a former secretary to Governor Grey and Native Land Court interpreter. *Te Wananga* was funded by Henry Russell, and in its first issue the newspapers intentions were laid out

He Perehi tenei mo te Motu katoa, mo nga tangata maori, kua huaina tona ingoa ko te Wananga o nga iwi katoa inaianei ... hei ritenga ia mo te Perehi e huihui ia tatou ki te whakaaro kotahi, koia i huaina ai kia *Te Wananga*, no te mea, mo tatou katoa tenei taonga.⁸⁸

This is a Press for the whole Island, for Maori people, it has been entitled *Te Wananga* for all the present day tribes ... in the manner of the Press it will bring us to a consensus of opinion, hence its title *Te Wananga*, because it is an asset for us all.⁸⁹

In 1876, the Repudiation movement was receiving strong support from Māori across the North Island. The influence and finances of the Repudiation Movement began to wane, so the Māori of Hawke’s Bay began promoting Kotahitanga a pan-tribal unity as well as establishing a Māori political organisation which could establish laws and investigate land disputes.⁹⁰

Kotahitanga Movement – Māori Assembly

The Kotahitanga was a Māori Parliament that met between 1892 and 1902. It emerged from the Repudiation Movement as the seeds were sown by the leaders to establish a

⁸⁷ J.D Ormond to Donald McLean, 7 May 1873, MS-Papers-0032-0486.

⁸⁸ *Wananga*, 5 August 1874, 1.

⁸⁹ Papers Past. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wananga>

⁹⁰ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 34.

unified Māori Parliament, following the successful unity that was promoted by the komiti of the Repudiation Movement in the 1870s. During the 1880s and 1890s the Māori of Hawke's Bay attempted to establish Māori unity that was promoted by the Repudiation Movement.

There were various other Kotahitanga style Parliaments being established around the North Island, one at Waitangi and another Kohimarama at Ōrākei in Auckland. In 1892 after many attempts to establish a unified pan-tribal Kotahitanga, all the different parliaments gathered. More than 1300 Māori met in Waitangi to discuss the establishment of a unified paremata (Parliament). It was hoped that the paremata would work in co-operation with the Pākehā Parliament.⁹¹ At this hui a structure was agreed to by all parties, and national elections were to be held to elect members to sit in the upper house (Whare Ariki) and the lower house (Whare o Raro), which consisted of 96 seats from eight districts, six from the North Island and two from the South Island.⁹² The paremata was based on the procedures of the Pākehā Parliament having a pirimia (Premier), a Leader of the House and a pīka (Speaker) and ministerial portfolios. Māori from Central Hawke's Bay who were elected into the house included Hōri Rōpiha who was elected into the Whare o Raro and Hēnare Mātua and Pāora Rōpiha who were elected into the Whare Ariki. Organisational networks were also established where marae-based women's committees (Ngā Komiti Wāhine) would oversee and attended to general health and well-being.⁹³

⁹¹ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 36; Basil Keane, "Kotahitanga – unity movements - Parliamentary unity movements, 1870 to 1900", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 29 August 2018, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kotahitanga-unity-movements/page-3>

⁹² Keane, "Kotahitanga"

⁹³ Richard S. Hill. *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*. (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004). 39; Walker. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, 167.



Figure 12:- Hōri Rōpiha

Whitton, Stephen, 1844-1921. Portrait of Hori Ropiha. Ref: PA2-1924. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23082312

The first paremata was held at Waipatu Marae near Hastings. The paremata sent a petition to Wellington was sent by the paremata with a draft bill to appoint a district Māori committee to replace the Native Land Court and a Federated Māori Assembly empowered to govern Māori. These requests and bill were ignored by the Crown.⁹⁴ For a decade the paremata tried to gain recognition from the New Zealand Government and sought to gain legislative autonomy as promised under article two of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁹⁵ They also cited section 71 of the 1852 Constitution Act, which made a provision for Native Districts, where Māori could govern themselves.⁹⁶ The Kotahitanga paremata proved that Māori could work together as a pan-tribal entity,

⁹⁴ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 36

⁹⁵ The Queen of England agrees to protect the chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures

⁹⁶ Walker, *Ka Whawhai*, 167.

they even gained the support and co-operation of the Kingitanga but not enough to merge, it also showed that a Māori Parliament could work along with the Pākehā Parliament. Unfortunately, they could not gain the recognition from the Central Government and the *paremata* was superseded by the Māori Councils that were established by the Māori Councils Act 1900. The last *paremata* held in 1902 at Waiōmatatini on the East Coast, there was a unanimous vote for its dissolution of the *paremata*. Lindsay Cox suggests that ‘the seeds of its demise was its pre occupation with its own extra-legal status’.⁹⁷

Conclusion

During the negotiations of the Waipukurau purchase Donald McLean began promoting Te Hāpuku as the paramount chief of Ngāti Kahungunu and the *de facto* Māori agent. The actions of McLean caused tension among the *rangatira*. McLean continued to use Te Hāpuku and buying land that was not Te Hāpuku’s to sell. Te Hāpuku’s and McLean’s methods would lead to war in 1857. Central Hawke’s Bay Māori were involved in fighting and were killed in the battles. With all the loss of land, Central Hawke’s Bay Māori began resisting and joined in political movements such as the *rūnanga* (Māori self-government), this was followed by the Repudiation Movement. While the Repudiation was gathering steam, the Hawke’s Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission sat in 1873. The Commission mainly focused on the ten owner system of the Native Land Court and the sale of the Heretaunga Block, however, Central Hawke’s Bay Māori also brought issues to the Commission. Māori did not get what they wanted from the Commission, so the Repudiation Movement was established to protest the issues. The Repudiation Movement fell away in the late 1870s. However, their cause

⁹⁷ Cox, *Kotahitanga*, 70.

was picked up again by the Kotahitanga which was a unified pan-tribal National Assembly involving Māori from Central Hawke's Bay, who were elected in to the Assembly. The aim of the Kotahitanga was to promote Māori self-governance. The issues that Māori were protesting against rose out of the Waipukurau purchase, these protest movements continued into the next century.

Chapter Five

Te Taiao ki Tamatea

Socio-Economic and the Environment

The following chapter sets out to explore the socio economic conditions and the physical environment following the sale of the Waipukurau block. While the Central Hawke's Bay Māori were losing land and protesting for it to be returned, the world around them was changing, notably the environment and lifestyle, which is the focus for this chapter. This chapter will be divided in to two parts. The first part will examine the environment, illness, education and occupations and how this brought change to the Māori life style. The second part of this chapter will examine the debt incurred by Māori with a focus on Te Hāpuku's bankruptcy. By the end of the chapter it will become clear how the Waipukurau purchase affected the environment and how the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay were effected socio economically.

Initially, when Britain colonised New Zealand there was genuine humanitarian concern for Māori. The British Government had ethical and moral reservations about the planned systematic colonisation of New Zealand.¹ Humanitarians had originally planned a Māori New Zealand, with the settlers somehow integrated. However, in the end when Normanby's instructions were sent to William Hobson, it was clear that New Zealand was to be British with the Māori people holding a protected status.² As Mason Durie argues 'the apparently paradoxical argument, to protect Māori by acquiring

¹ Mason Durie. 'Māori-Specific Provisions in Legislation' (Paper presented at the Australian Law Reform Agencies Conference, Wellington, New Zealand, 15 April, 2004), 4.

² Orange, *An Illustrated History*, 19.

sovereignty over their lands, hinged on the belief that British rule would sanction British laws which in turn could be used to remedy settler lawlessness.³ Samuel Locke reported in 1874 that the Māori of Hawke's Bay, which included Central Hawke's Bay Māori, felt that the 'balance of power had turned into the favour of the European. They felt that their mana, customs and powers of their chiefs were gone.'⁴

During the negotiations for the Waipukurau block, Donald McLean made promises of large benefits if they were to accept the low price. They were offered a benefits package that European settlement would bring.⁵ At this time the Crown believed that Māori only valued the land they were living on and cultivating, as they were seen as essential for Māori prosperity. They alleged that the low prices that were offered for the land would not have any consequence on Māori because the amount paid would be offset by the benefits that the sale of land for settlement would bring, such as the rise in land value for the land that Māori retained and the future benefits of schools, hospitals, roads and development.⁶ Instead, Māori experienced debt, illness, loss and changes to land and living under foreign laws which changed the way Māori lived. Sir George Grey truly believed the Crown purchases would bring benefits to Māori as he stated at the Smith-Nairn Commission into the Middle Island land Purchases in 1879. Grey was not the only Crown official who believed this, other officials who believed this included McLean, Eyre, and Gore Browne.⁷

³ Durie. "Māori-Specific Provisions in Legislation". 4.

⁴ S. Locke to the Native Minister in Reports from Native Officers in Native Districts, AJHR, G-2, 1874, 18.

⁵ He Toa Takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 2015. 18.

⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 99.

⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 100.

Part One

Taiao - Environment

Since contact with Europeans the environment occupied by the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay was changing. In 1850 Hineipaketia had stated, during the negotiations for the Waipukurau block, that the game and bird life had been wiped out leaving the land virtually useless.⁸ McLean had promised that once Māori had sold the land to the crown, the land (with improvements) would rapidly increase in value and become attractive to settlers, who would enrich the land. McLean had noted:

Therefore it was but right that they should know that land, when in Government hands, would rapidly increase in value; as they would expend money in making roads, bridges, and other improvements, to render the land attractive to their Queen's subjects, and induce them to come and live among them as friends, bringing their wealth with them to a strange land, among a strange people, whom they were to enrich by so doing; whereas the land in its present state, produced and reproduced nothing but fern. It should hereafter produce wealth and abundance to the rising generations of their race ...⁹

Therefore, Māori were led to believe that Pākehā settlers could bring benefits. However, this would not happen. Once the Pākehā settlers began to arrive on the Waipukurau block, the native grasslands and forests were wiped out and were replaced with exotic species. The new settlers began clearing forests, draining swamps (including the sacred Rotoātara) and diverting rivers, this left the land vulnerable to flooding.¹⁰

Māori were also cut off from mahinga kai (food gathering places) even though these areas were set aside during the negotiations. When the settlers began to arrive they

⁸ Steven Oliver, 'Tararua Environmental Issues Report' (2002) Wai 863 #A35, 31; in Bryan Gilling. Lands, Funds, and Resources. Aspects of the Economic History of Maori in Wairarapa ki Tararua since 1840. A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal. November 2004. 31

⁹ Parsons, *The Ahuriri Block Maori Customary Interests*, 156

¹⁰ Te Taiwhenua O Tamatea & Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga. 'Tukituki River Catchment Cultural Values & Uses', Report for Hawke's Bay Regional Council, June 2012. 20

fenced off their land thus preventing Māori from accessing traditional food gathering places. The settlers observed English law and would trespass anyone who attempted to access mahinga kai through their land. Māori were being denied access to these areas and their health began to decline. They had been restricted to small reserved areas that were not large enough to sustain enough cultivations and Māori were therefore able to access traditional foods such as tuna (eels), īnanga (whitebait), weka and waterfowl as well as other natural resources which were vital to Māori.¹¹

At the time of the purchase at the southern end of the boundary there was a major bush that extended from Takapau to the Manawatū gorge then into the Waiararapa. To the Pākehā it was known as (depending on where it was measured) Seventy Mile Bush or the Forty Mile Bush. The bush was known as Tamaki nui a rua and to the Rangitāne as Tapere nui o Whatonga. It contained great stands of mataī, kahikatea, tōtara, rimu, maire and many other native plants. The bush was a significant pātaka (pantry) for Māori as it was rich with bird life. The bush not only provided a food source it was also a place of refuge during times of war.¹² However, this bush was purchased by the Crown in 1871 and it was cleared and settled by Scandinavian settlers who were part of Julius Vogel's immigration scheme.¹³

At the northern end of the Waipukurau boundary the native bush was confined to areas along the Tukituki River. A large stand of this bush was reserved for Māori called Tarewa which contained kahikatea, mataī, tawa, tītoki and māhoe trees.¹⁴ In 1874

¹¹ Te Taiwhenua O Tamatea & Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, *Tukituki River Catchment Cultural Values & Uses*, 20

¹² Te Taiwhenua O Tamatea & Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, *Tukituki River Catchment Cultural Values & Uses*, 34

¹³ Michael King, *Penguin History of New Zealand*. (Auckland, Penguin. 2003), 229.

¹⁴ Te Taiwhenua O Tamatea & Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, *Tukituki River Catchment Cultural Values & Uses*, 35

it was said the bush stretched from Waipawa to Waipukurau.¹⁵ The vast areas of bush that once covered Central Hawke's Bay were disappearing. The bush was once a pātaka for Māori and after the purchase this pātaka disappeared, which had a negative consequence for Māori. The areas that were reserved for Māori were not enough to sustain them, in some cases they were denied access to these areas such as Lake Whatumā.

Lake Whatumā was a well-known place to gather eels. Māori would camp on the shores of Whatumā during the season to gather food, this season was called te rere tuna. At the end of the season what was harvested was shared amongst the hapū. The lake provided: kōkopu (fresh water fish), pātiki (flounder), kākāhi (freshwater mussel), toitoi (giant bully fish), koareare (type of bulrush), raupō (bulrush), pikopiko (young curved fern shoots), kouka (cabbage tree), pārerā (grey duck), kawau (shag), pūkeko (swamp hen), weka (woodhen), and tuna.¹⁶ When the Waipukurau Reserve was sold to Henry Russell in 1867, it was believed that Whatumā had been reserved for Māori during the purchase of 1851. However, the reservation of Whatumā was not recorded in the deed. Māori believed it had been as McLean stated 'e ruhe kare i au tō moana, engari kei a koutou anō. i au ko uta' (your lake is not for me, it is with you. The land is with me).¹⁷ For forty years after the Waipukurau Purchase Māori had undisturbed access to their mahinga kai, then in 1893 sections fronting the lake were sold which prevented Māori from accessing the lake. Despite the Crown selling off sections in three lots between 1863 and 1875, Māori did not encounter any problems with access until 1893.

¹⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 August 2016. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/the-country/news/article.cfm?c_id=16&objectid=11697052

¹⁶ Te Taiwhenua O Tamatea & Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, 'Tukituki River Catchment Cultural Values & Uses', 36

¹⁷ He toa takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 22

With apparent ownership of the lake passing from the Crown to the settlers, Māori approached Premier Richard Seddon in 1896 and again in 1901 to gain access to Whatumā. In 1901, a five acre fishing reserve was granted by the Crown so Māori could access the lake for a payment of a yearly rent, which would put pressure on Māori to pay. Even though Māori regained some access, damage had already begun as the area which was granted was limited for fishing due to the construction a railway line nearby.¹⁸ This would have consequences for Māori as this was a loss of another rich food source.

Hanga Mate –Illness/Sickness

Illnesses that Māori had never encountered before arrived with the settlers coming to the region after the sale of the Waipukurau block. As part of the sale agreement McLean promised health and wellbeing benefits. In the nineteenth century Māori suffered epidemics when they were exposed to infectious diseases such as measles, whooping cough and influenza, these epidemics caused a large number of deaths. Furthermore, with Māori coming into contact with Pākehā and living a more European lifestyle they were exposed to diseases such as tuberculosis and typhoid.¹⁹ These diseases may have been caused by poor living standards, over crowded houses, poor water supply and inadequate sanitation.²⁰ A far cry from the promise of wealth and wellbeing that McLean promised when he purchased the Waipukurau block. These new diseases were beyond the control of the tohunga. Known as tokotoko rangi (epidemics) they were also considered to be mate atua (sickness beyond human control).²¹ Tuberculosis began to

¹⁸ He toa takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 22.

¹⁹ He toa takitini. *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 42.

²⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 327-328.

²¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, 330; Waitangi Tribunal, *Napier Hospital and Health Services Report*, Wai 692, 2001, 79.

take hold from 1851-1852 and Measles struck in 1854.²² In 1858, the *Hawke's Bay Herald* mentioned the district was hit by a combination of influenza, measles and typhoid which had occurred two years earlier.²³ There were repeated epidemic outbreaks of influenza. Te Hāpuku's wife Hineirangia was one of thirteen that died during the influenza epidemic in 1860. The epidemics were severe in Māori areas.²⁴ Typhoid was rampant in Hawke's Bay in 1882 with over thirty cases reported.²⁵ Between 1890 and 1894 there was another major pandemic of influenza throughout New Zealand with 1393 reported deaths.²⁶ In 1891, the Māori population of Waipawa had decreased by 162 people to 263 down from the recorded number of 425 in 1886, when the last census was taken. However, this decrease cannot be explained as there is no report of an epidemic, there was a high number of deaths recorded among children and a low number of births. In other areas there was an increase in population.²⁷

Due to the arrival of European settlers the isolated Māori communities were exposed to new diseases that they were yet to build up immunity against. As mentioned, the tohunga were powerless and there were no traditional medicines to counteract the new symptoms. Therefore, there were no natural remedies, the rongoā would not work. So, with no natural immunity, the Māori were dying.²⁸ With Māori facing these new illnesses by 1900, the general health of the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay was good, however, many of the deaths were occurring in the young, with the main cause of death being bronchitis. The last epidemic outbreak was recorded in 1896, this was showing

²² Waitangi Tribunal, *Napier Hospital and Health Services Report*, 79.

²³ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 10 April 1858, 6.

²⁴ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 11 August 1860, 2.

²⁵ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 23 March 1882, 2.

²⁶ "A timeline of epidemics in New Zealand, 1817–2009", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/files/27772-enz.pdf>

²⁷ Census of the Maori Population. AJHR, G-2, 1886, 4, 17; Census of the Maori Population. AJHR, G-2, 1891, 10, 17.

²⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Napier Hospital and Health Services Report*, 79.

the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay were building an immunity and showing resilience to get through these tough times.

William Colenso, as the region's missionary, offered medical treatment even though he had no medical training. As a missionary he had control over European medicines and he was in high demand as a healer. He used this to his advantage, often mixing religion with medicine and in doing so attacked traditional Māori beliefs and practices. Colenso often used death as an ideological weapon regularly getting off-side with a number of high ranking rangatira. However, his methods did have some success in converting four prominent Hawke's Bay tohunga. It was noted that with the wide spread epidemic, his Christian converts were also struck down with equal force and he could not hide this. In the 1850s, Māori prophet-healers were appearing and rivalling the exclusive religious hold of Colenso.²⁹

Education

McLean promised the introduction of schools as one of the benefits in the purchase price during the purchase of the Waipukurau Block.

There were no 'Native' schools in Central Hawke's Bay. Before 1900 the only 'Native' schools in Hawke's Bay were established on land which was gifted by Māori, in Hastings at the Māori settlements of Pākōwhai and Ōmāhu in 1872, however, both were closed by 1878. Therefore, Māori children attended public schools, these schools did not cater for Māori and they often held lower expectations for Māori than of the Pākehā students. Generally, the education that Māori received would only prepare them

²⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Napier Hospital and Health Services Report*, 82-83.

for manual occupations such as farm labouring which was the main occupation for Māori in Central Hawke's Bay.³⁰

Mahi - Occupations

As Central Hawke's Bay is a rural community, occupations available for Māori were limited to shearing, fencing, ditch digging, and shepherding.³¹ Even though many Māori were land owners, their farms were usually uneconomic and many Māori in Central Hawke's Bay went out shearing during spring to top up their income. Central Hawke's Bay Māori excelled at shearing. Conditions were hard, they would fight exhaustion as part of the day's routine and their strength was admired. Sheep were clipped by hand up until 1898 when machine shearing was introduced. Many shearing gangs went to live by the shearing sheds. Sometimes, they could stay at their homes where they often started off before dawn on their horses to reach the sheds in time for the first shift and at the end of the day they would gallop back through the pā, long after everyone else had gone to bed. The accommodation and food were harsh, the station owner often provided bread and meat and nothing else. A shearer from 1900, Bob Tutaki of Pōrangahau, reminisces about the conditions of shearers quarters '... nothing to sleep on except bad straw, no room for eating, and no privies at all.'³² During the late nineteenth century Māori began to monopolise the shearing gangs in Central Hawke's Bay. A sheep farmer wrote a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1882 explaining why he employs Māori shearers over Pākehā the farmer stated that

... Maori shearers can be depended on to be on the spot when wanted; they live at their settlements, and do not leave the district. The European shearers generally have not been settled in the district, and could consequently not be depended on to return, or be on the ground

³⁰ He Toa Takitini, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 41- 42.

³¹ Anderson et al, *Tangata Whenua*, 277.

³² Schwimmer, "Shearing in Hawke's Bay". 13.

at shearing time. I have employed about twenty Maori shearers (and chiefly the same men) for the last twenty-one years, and could hardly have got the work done otherwise.³³

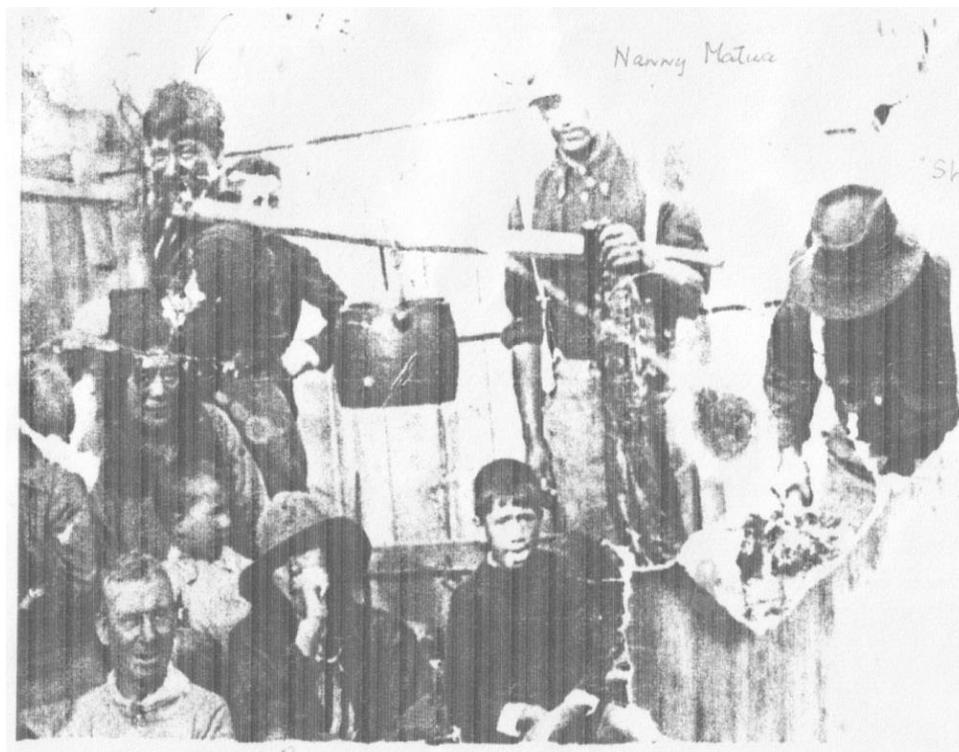


Figure 13: Shearing Gang at Hinerangi Station Central Hawke's Bay

Personal Collection

Māori in Central Hawke's Bay had become proficient at shearing by the 1860s. Henry Russell held a shearing competition at his station in 1868 and Māori were placed second, third, and fourth. Inia Whangataua of Takapau who placed second, was reported to be a 'beautiful shearer'. Nguhua of Pātangata who placed third, was highly commended on his shearing a difficult sheep and Hōri Tawhai of Waipawa who was fourth, was noted as a steady shearer. The competition was won by James Walker who was Te Hāpuku's shepherd.³⁴

³³ *Daily Telegraph*, 27 September 1882, 3.

³⁴ *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 1 February 1868, 2.

There were 441,956 sheep in the County of Waipawa ³⁵ in 1885 and 471,087 sheep in 1886.³⁶ It was the Pākehā station owners who ran the majority of sheep in the area. J.Harding of Mt Vernon Station in Waipukurau had 21,500 sheep. T.P Russell of Woburn had 31,600 and S. Johnston of Oruawharo in Takapau had 29,540 sheep, while the biggest Māori sheep run holder was Nepe te Apatu who had 4000 sheep and Pāora Rōpiha ran about 400 sheep. The total amount of sheep owned by Māori in 1885 was only 5980 sheep.³⁷ Far less than the major run holders, it would have been hard for Māori to run profitable sheep farms when they were farming small herds of sheep. By 1891, there were 535,027 in the County of Waipawa. T.P Russell was still one of the biggest run holders with 41,000 sheep. Nepe te Apatu who was running 3000 sheep was the largest Māori sheep farmer and Iriwhata Hanita Te Maero had about 500 sheep. Māori were running a total of 4700 sheep in 1891.³⁸ Hori Tawhai of Takapau was running 4000 sheep, he was the largest Māori sheep farmer in 1890 however, by the following year he had no sheep.³⁹ Again, this shows that the farms that Māori were farming were largely uneconomic compared the Pākehā farmers in the area.

By 1900, the total Māori population in Central Hawke's Bay was 395, they owned a total of 17,500 sheep, 391 cattle and 270 pigs, this is the combined total of all the livestock owned by all Māori in Central Hawke's Bay and is still less than an individual Pākehā. T.P Russell had 39,384 sheep in 1900, more than double the amount

³⁵ The County covered the Waipukurau Block

³⁶ The Annual Sheep Returns for the Year Ended 31st May, 1886, AJHR, H-15, 1887, 3.

³⁷ The Annual Sheep Returns for the Year Ended 31st May, 1886, AJHR, H-15, 1887, 13.

³⁸ The Annual Sheep Returns for the Year Ended 30th April 1891, AJHR, H-15, 1892. 30.

³⁹ The Annual Sheep Returns for the Year Ended 30th April 1891, AJHR, H-15, 1892. 30.

of sheep owned by Māori.⁴⁰ Labouring jobs, low wages and uneconomic farms, was not what the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay expected when they sold Waipukurau block.

Part Two

Debt

Once Māori became acquainted with monetary society, they were often tempted to take credit without hesitation from merchants, tradesmen, and often from their own tenants. This led to some of the principal landowners falling into debt by many thousands of pounds. And often, as pressure was put upon them and with no other means of raising money, they began to sell their lands in every direction. Following the 1867 report in to land sales in Hawke's Bay, G.S. Cooper wrote to the *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times* stating 'A future of pauperism, the details of which it is misery to look forward to, is therefore inevitable for the Maori race, in Hawke's Bay at least, unless immediate steps be taken ...'⁴¹

With European laws now in place, civil laws suits were taken out against Māori by Pākehā. In 1883 alone, there were sixty successful suits against Māori in Hawke's Bay. Whereas, only fourteen Pākehā were sued by Māori. The debt recovered from Māori was not huge, Cowie suggests that Māori were earning small incomes. In comparison the small number of Pākehā being sued by Māori maybe be due to the wealth imbalance between Māori and Pākehā or Māori being reluctant to use the Court system. Cowie's statement implies Māori were reluctant to use the Court system, this

⁴⁰ Census of the Maori Population, AJHR, H-26b. 1 January 190, 21; The Annual Sheep Returns for the Year Ended 30th April 1900, AJHR, H-23, 1901, 38.

⁴¹ *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 30 September 1867, 2.

can be supported by the fact that only five Māori were sued by Māori. Māori may have found other ways to settle their disputes.⁴² A case that did end up in court, where Māori sued Māori was between Raukura Rōphia and Matene Rōpiha. Raukura was suing Matene for maintenance for herself and six children. He was ordered to pay £1 and 5s a week maintenance.⁴³

Because of the ease to mortgage or transfer their land, Māori were often preyed upon by merchants, storekeepers, and others, who made large amounts of credit. It was reported by Colonel Haultain in a report to Donald McLean that

unscrupulous and dishonest persons have encouraged their extravagance and vices to get them into their debt, have charged exorbitant prices for the goods they have supplied, and have taken advantage of their ignorance or intemperance to secure mortgages over the lands or portions of them: which was but a sure preliminary to transfer on their own terms.⁴⁴

Hēnare Tōmoana stated ‘the tradesman comes down on our heads like the monkey of a pile driver, which crushes us by its weight and force’.⁴⁵ It has also been acknowledged that many of those Māori who were granted credit often indulged. Haultain stated money ‘was too often spent in riot and debauchery’.⁴⁶ Because of this, many leading Māori became impoverished and many hapū were left defrauded and

⁴² Cowie, *Hawke’s Bay*, 157.

⁴³ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 3 March 1899, 4.

⁴⁴ Letter from The Hon. Colonel Haultain to the Hon. D. McLean, 18 July 1871, in Further Dispatches from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand, AJHR, A-02a, 1871, 4-5

⁴⁵ Hēnare Tōmoana in Letter from The Hon. Colonel Haultain to the Hon. D. McLean, 18 July 1871, in Further Dispatches from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand, AJHR, A-02a, 1871, 5.

⁴⁶ Letter from The Hon. Colonel Haultain to the Hon. D. McLean, 18 July 1871, in Further Dispatches from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand, AJHR, A-02a, 1871, 5.

landless.⁴⁷ Tārehā stated ‘rum, rum has dispossessed us’.⁴⁸ By 1867, it was reported that something needed to be done regarding the drunkenness amongst Māori. There was an incident regarding Tārehā’s people being grossly intoxicated, riding horses and endangering other riders, one of whom being knocked off and slightly injured.⁴⁹ In his Report to McLean, Haultain blamed the situation that Māori were in on the Native Land Laws and the greed of the Pākehā.⁵⁰ Measures were put in place by some publicans to control the purchase of liquor by Māori. For example, Goodwin the publican at the Tavistock Hotel in Waipukurau had made a rule that he would never sell more than three glasses of liquor to a ‘Native’.⁵¹

The Bankruptcy of Te Hāpuku

The mortgaging and transfer of their land impacted many leading rangatira. During the period 1871-72 Te Hāpuku was a regular feature in the newspaper columns regarding potential bankruptcy,⁵² and in 1871 Te Hāpuku was declared bankrupt. Brothers Archibald and James Watt applied to have Te Hāpuku declared bankrupt after he signed a deed to his property and another application was made in 1872 by Henry Russell.⁵³ As part of the investigation of the 1873 Hawke’s Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission

⁴⁷ Letter from The Hon. Colonel Haultain to the Hon. D. McLean, 18 July 1871, in Further Dispatches from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand, AJHR, A-02a, 1871, 5.

⁴⁸ Letter from The Hon. Colonel Haultain to the Hon. D. McLean. 18 July 1871, in Further Dispatches from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand, AJHR, A-02a, 1871, 5.

⁴⁹ *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 17 December 1867, 2.

⁵⁰ Letter from The Hon. Colonel Haultain to the Hon. D. McLean, 18 July 1871, in Further Dispatches from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of New Zealand, AJHR, A-02a, 1871, 5.

⁵¹ *Hawke’s Bay Times*, 4 February 1867, 2.

⁵² *The Evening Post*, 19 April 1872, 2.

⁵³ *The Evening Post*, 9 August 1871, 2; *Hawke’s Bay Times*, 25 April 1872, 2; Bankruptcy Files, Affidavit Te Hapuku, R23212182.

it was noted that Māori failed to receive proper legal advice.⁵⁴ This was evident in the bankruptcy case of Henry Russell v Te Hāpuku. Te Hāpuku stated in his Affidavit:

That the deed was never explained to me nor was I aware of the contents of the meaning and before attaching my signature to that deed. I understand from the explanation given to me by the Honourable Henry Robert Russell that it was for the purpose of enabling him to look after my property during my absence from the district and that on my return the land and other property referred to in the deed would revert back to me.⁵⁵

In the deed between Te Hāpuku and Henry Robert Russell dated 12 June 1868, Te Hāpuku was indebted to the sum of £700⁵⁶ and had an interest rate of ten pounds per annum to mortgage his land. Te Hāpuku had the deed examined by the Commissioner of the Native Lands Fraud Prevention Act 1870 who explained the nature of the deed to Te Hāpuku. But Te Hāpuku then refused to rectify the source and the Commissioner also refused to sanction the deed.⁵⁷ In the case brought against Te Hāpuku by the brothers Archibald and James Watt the £100 debt was settled when Te Hāpuku consigned away his property. This application was granted.⁵⁸

Conclusion

The sale of the Waipukurau block changed the lives of the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay for ever. However, Māori demonstrated some resilience and they adapted to the changing situation. The new settlers cleared bush and drained swamps which caused changes to the physical environment as did the introduction of exotic animals and plants. Māori were finding that they were starting to be cut off from their mahinga kai. These

⁵⁴ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, G7, AJHR, 1873, 5.

⁵⁵ Bankruptcy Files, Affidavit Te Hapuku, R23212182.

⁵⁶ \$81,050.00 (2018)

⁵⁷ Bankruptcy Files, Affidavit Te Hapuku, R23212182.

⁵⁸ *The Evening Post*, 9 August 1871, 2.

changes had a negative impact on Māori. Furthermore, with the coming of the Pākehā and the sale of the land, Māori came into contact with new illnesses which Māori had no immunity to and as a result, many died. By 1900 Māori of Central Hawke's Bay started to develop immunity and the epidemics started to become infrequent. Even though Māori were land owners, their farms were uneconomic and they were falling behind the Pākehā economically. As their farms were uneconomic, Māori usually had to take on other employment, in Central Hawke's Bay this was predominantly shearing for which Māori excelled at. The Waipukurau purchase introduced Māori to a monetary society. Finding themselves in debt, Māori were then forced to sell more land in order to service the debt, rendering them landless. The riches and benefits that Donald McLean promised to Māori through the purchase of the Waipukurau block never came to Māori. The Pākehā received the riches and benefits while Māori were left behind.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the consequences of the Waipukurau purchase on Central Hawke's Bay Māori. The sale of the Waipukurau block opened the way for the New Zealand Colonial Government to set foot in the region which allowed for more land sales which had an impact on the livelihood of the local Māori.

In chapter one I discussed the decades leading up to the Waipukurau Purchase. During these turbulent times various Ngāti Kahungunu hapū were being invaded. Some Ngāti Kahungunu hapū allied themselves with the invaders and battles ensued. After a series of battles Ngāti Kahungunu migrated to Nukutaurua under the protection of Te Wera of Ngāpuhi and Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri went to the Manawatū. While Ngāti Kahungunu were at Nukutaurua they came into contact with Pākehā, trading with the whaling community that had been established at Māhia. From this contact the rangatira could see the potential benefits from engaging with Pākehā. In the 1840s once peace was declared between the waring hapū the heke back to Hawke's Bay began. At that time there were no Pākehā communities in Ahuriri or Heretaunga. However, they knew of the benefits that the Pākehā could bring, so letters were sent to the Governor requesting Pākehā to be sent to set up a community. Their call was heard and Donald McLean was sent to purchase land for European settlement.

From the time McLean arrived at Waipukurau Pā in December 1850, he began taking an interest in Te Hāpuku. His respect for Te Hāpuku had grown so much that McLean began portraying Te Hāpuku as the leading rangatira of Ngāti Kahungunu. However, there were other rangatira who could not be ignored. McLean had been made aware of this by William Colenso however, this did not stop McLean's aggrandizement

of Te Hāpuku. The other Ngāti Kahungunu rangatira did not take kindly to this. Their rivalry seems to have begun before the Waipukurau purchase as Tārehā and Te Maonanui refused to attend the great hui that Te Hāpuku called at Waipukurau Pā in December 1850. This might have been due to Te Hāpuku's overbearing autocratic personality and his quest to restore his mana.⁵⁹ The rivalry between the rangatira and Donald McLean's appointment of Te Hāpuku as the de facto land agent would have severe consequences for the Māori of Central Hawke's Bay.

Chapter two examined hoko tāhe tuku hē or the secret sales. The Waipukurau purchase set the precedent for more sales. The land sales that followed the 1851 purchases were conducted in a vastly different way. In 1851, McLean took care to listen and respect the rangatira. However, by early 1854 this was not the case. When purchasing land off Māori, McLean chose only to deal with a select few rangatira namely Te Hāpuku. The difference between the 1851 purchases and the purchases from 1854 was that McLean was depressed after the death of his wife and he was no longer under the instruction of Governor George Grey. Under Grey's control the procedure for McLean was to negotiate the sales at a large hui that involved all the Māori in the area.⁶⁰ Furthermore, large numbers of Māori signed the deeds of 1851 such as the 390 Māori who signed the deed for the Waipukurau block. McLean noted in his diary the boredom he faced during the year long negotiations for the Waipukurau block. In late 1853, Mclean had invited Te Hāpuku to be a guest of his in Wellington and in early 1854, Te Hāpuku, Hineipakeita and Hōri Niania sold four blocks of land in Hawke's Bay. Two of these blocks Tautāne and Te Umuopua were in the Central Hawke's Bay. By exclusively dealing with a select few rangatira, McLean caused animosity among Māori, especially

⁵⁹ Ballara. "Te Hapuku",

⁶⁰ Sinclair. "Grey, George"

those who were being directly affected. Those people who were living on the blocks did not know that the land had been sold. Nor had they ever received any money for the land either as Hōri Niania spent it he was in Wellington. Te Rōphia who was one of the customary owners of the sold blocks threatened to kill Te Hāpuku on two occasions. The occupiers of the blocks that were sold protested the sale, but they would never regain ownership. Boundary adjustments and further sales would compound the affects of earlier sales causing disruption and loss of customary lands. Māori protests were often not heard or if they were acknowledged the compensation was a token. With the Aorangi purchase, Māori were still protesting into the twentieth century and it was not settled until 2017. Consequences from the secret sales were the alienation of the land without the knowledge and consent of the customary owners. Money was spent without ever getting back to the rightful owners. McLean's land purchasing methods would have the biggest consequence. These methods and promotion of Te Hāpuku would eventually send the district into turmoil and war that would cost lives.

In chapter three the Native land Court was discussed. The Native Land Court created a burden upon Māori with the costs of the court such as Court costs, survey charges and other expenses being largely laid upon Māori. In order to meet these costs, Māori were forced to sell the land.

The biggest impact that the Native Land Court had on Central Hawke's Bay Māori was section 23, a provision of the 1865 act and it served to limit the number of owners on a certificate of title to a maximum of ten. From the legal point of view, the owners named on the title were intended to be representatives or trustees of the hapū. But in reality this was not the case. Once they received Crown grants, they became legal owners. The trustees could do what they pleased with the land. One of the first blocks to go through the Native Land Court in Hawke's Bay was the Waipukurau reserve in

1866. The reserve also contained the Waipukurau Pā. Only four names were put onto the title and the following year the reserve was sold to Henry Russell, who was already running sheep on part of the reserve. Again, those who were living on the reserve did not know that it had been sold and they forced off the land and settle on other reserves.

Chapter four explored the Pakiaka war and the land protest movements that had formed in the later half of the nineteenth century. Te Hāpuku's actions incensed the other rangatira and they refused to work with him. War broke out at Pakiaka in 1857 resulting in the loss of lives over three battles. It was Donald McLean's meddling in Māori politics, along with his on-sider G.S. Cooper that exasperated the situation. Even though the physical battles did not happen in Central Hawke's Bay, the Māori from Central Hawke's Bay were involved. A peace deal was negotiated following the battles in which Te Hāpuku was exiled to the Ngāti Whatuiāpiti lands of Te Hauke in Central Hawke's Bay. Significant also was the adoption of a clause called *te whata a te herunga* whereby anyone who sold land without permission would be killed. This clause was aimed at Te Hāpuku, following his irresponsible involvement with selling land that he did not hold exclusive ownership over.

Other iwi around the country were beginning to resist land sales at this time. In the Waikato and Ngāti Maniapotō area they formed the *kīngitanga* as a method of Māori self-governance and resistance to land alienation. The *kīngitanga* invited Ngāti Kahungunu to join, whilst they liked the idea of Māori self-Governance, Ngāti Kahungunu declined the offer and they formed the *rūnanga* instead which was used to deal with land sales and their own issues.

With the 1860s interrupted by the Māori Land Wars, and the establishment of the Native Land Court, Māori had found a voice and began protesting the impact of the

Native Land Court and land sales. This led to the Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission which was established in 1873. Māori wanted the actions of the settlers to be investigated and the repudiation of all Crown purchases. Instead, the commission with limited powers, focused on the actions of the Native Land Court and its 'ten owner system'. At the same time, the Repudiation Movement led by Hēnare Mātua and Karaitana Takamoana with the assistance of Henry Russell and John Sheehan was beginning to take shape. There are questions over Henry Russell's involvement with the movement, firstly many of the Māori were in debt to Russell and secondly, he had quarrels with other run holders and wanted them investigated for fraud, including McLean and J.D. Ormond who were also political enemies of Russell's. So by supporting the movement, if they were successful, Russell could recoup debt that was owed to him and get his enemies out of the way. The movement lasted from 1873-1878, during this time they published a newspaper *Te Wananga*. This is an example of the fight against injustices that Māori of Central Hawke's Bay were facing. The movement faded during the 1880s and another movement emerged called Kotahitanga which included many Central Hawke's Bay Māori.

The Kotahitanga was a Māori parliament rose from the ashes of the Repudiation Movement and functioned from 1892-1902. Central Hawke's Bay rangatira were involved in the pāremata and they continued to use it as a platform to protest the injustices of the loss of land and the secure the retention of the land they had retained.

Chapter five examined the consequences of the sale of the Waipukurau block on Māori of Central Hawke's Bay through an examination of the effects on the environment and socio economic conditions. Change has been constant for Central Hawke's Bay Māori. Since the first contact with Pākehā, the environment of Central Hawke's Bay had begun changing. The arrival of James Cook saw the introduction of exotic animals

such as pigs and ship rats. While Māori were in exile in Nukutaurua and the Manawatū, Cook's pigs had multiplied, so had the ship rats who fed on the native wild life. By the time they had returned from exile, the bird life had been decimated. Hineipaketia spoke of this during the negotiations for the Waipukurau block. More change occurred once the settlers arrived. The felling of great stands of bush, and planting exotic species which took over the native plants. New exotic animals such as possums and rabbits were also introduced and impacted on the environment. Deforestation led to erosion. The settlers also started to divert the rivers and drain the swamps and lakes including the highly prized lake Rotoātara and Whatumā. These changes to the environment deprived Māori of vital food sources. Consequently Māori had to adapt to a rapidly changing economy, one dominated by European farming methods. Most often Māori had to work for European settlers on their newly established farms. While Māori had some land it was not economical enough to support them and therefore they had to take employment to supplement their income. Farm labouring and shearing were the usual occupations

The education that Māori could receive would only prepare them for labouring style employment. Māori were struggling in Pākehā society. Māori were not used to a monetary society and this became another area of adaption to a European system. With the temptation of Pākehā wares, Māori were often taken advantage of often given credit for which they could not pay back. Te Hāpuku got himself into so much debt and mortgaged land he was a trustee for and his creditors wanted him bankrupt.

Another consequence of Pākehā settlement was disease. Māori had no immunity to the foreign diseases they were now encountering. Because they had lost their food source and their land was not big enough to support them they were susceptible to disease. Māori were still living in cramped conditions with no modern plumbing and inadequate ventilation. Māori were suffering from diseases related to the destitution.

The despoliation of their traditional food sources, uneconomical farms, low income employment and Pākehā diseases, was a far cry from the riches and benefits that McLean had promised when he purchased the Waipukurau block. The promised riches came to the Pākehā, while Māori were struggling to adapt to Pākehā society.

The one of biggest consequences for Māori of Central Hawke's Bay was the Crown's policy to assimilate Māori into Pākehā society. By having contact with missionaries this allowed Māori to have an insight into the Pākehā world and see what benefits the Pākehā world could bring. The influence of the missionaries was followed by the influence of Colonial Government. After the missionaries exposed the Pākehā world to the Māori, they were fully aware of the benefits that Pākehā could bring so Māori invited the Crown to purchase land in Central Hawke's Bay. Therefore, the Crown were able to gain a foot hold in Hawke's Bay and assert their ideology on to Central Hawke's Bay Māori. The Crown government did this by creating laws to assert their ideology on Māori. For example the Native Lands Acts converted customary lands into native title and attempted to bring Māori land into a similar ownership system as Pākehā, making it easier to control and tax in the form of rates. Once the Crown purchased the Waipukurau block the Crown could further its objective of assimilating Māori into Pākehā society.

Another significant consequence on Central Hawke's Bay Māori was land alienation. Before McLean arrived in Hawke's Bay, some Māori in Central Hawke's Bay had entered into lease agreements as they were well aware of what income their whanaunga in the Wairarapa were generating from leases. However, once McLean arrived he put an end to the lease agreements. Laws were created that made leasing Māori land illegal, this was a tactic by the crown to secure and control the land. The land purchases that followed 1851 were conducted in dubious ways. Many of the

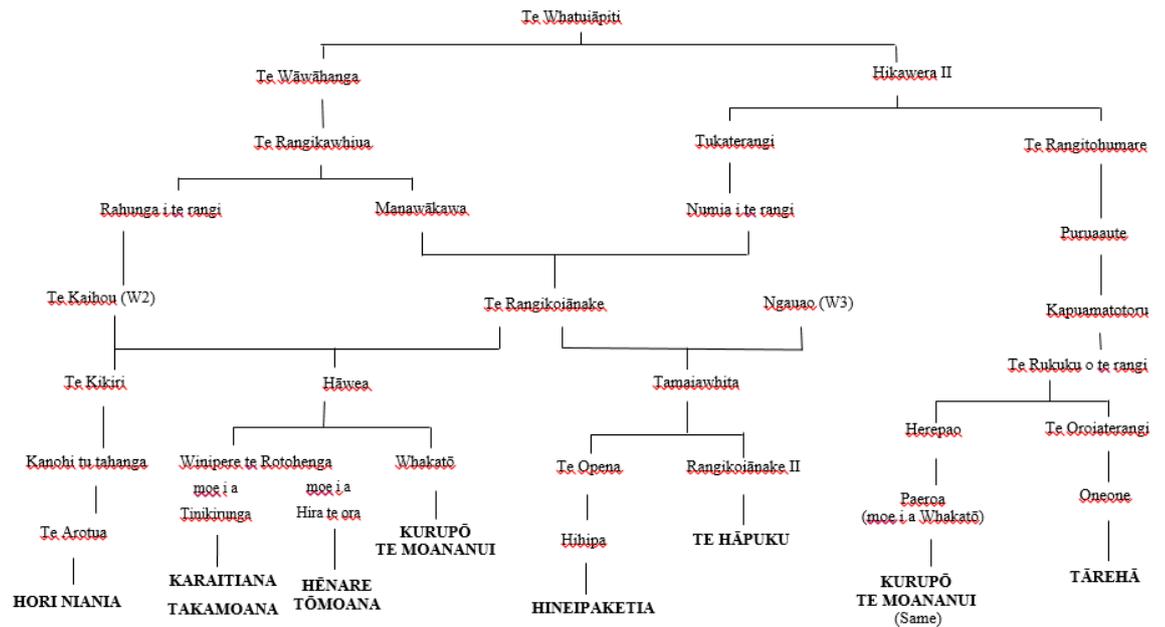
customary owners did not know they had alienated the land. Land commissioners such as G.S. Cooper took advantage of Māori who got themselves into debt. This was followed by the pressures of the Native Land Court through which more Māori found themselves in debt and had to sell more land to service their debt. The consequence of land alienation was that Māori became land less and the land they did have was too small and uneconomical.

Overall, Māori wanted a large Pākehā community established near them so they could trade with and benefit from the social and economic climate that the community would bring. Instead, Māori struggled to adapt to the Pākehā society. In Central Hawke's Bay the Pākehā were benefiting from the riches that were promised to Māori by Donald McLean during the sale of the Waipukurau block, while Māori were being left behind. The Crown were imposing assimilationist policies on Māori, causing the loss their culture and identity. Furthermore, Māori became landless and the small amount of land that they did have was not large enough to sustain them. The land was uneconomical and Māori were struggling to keep up. Whereas the Pākehā run holders had the large rich fertile lands and they were getting richer. In the end, the expectations of the benefits and riches through the sale of the Waipukurau block did not eventuate, instead the Waipukurau purchase brought the consequences of assimilation and continued hardship for Central Hawke's Bay Māori.

Appendix One

Whakapapa of Hawke's Bay Rangitira at the time of the Waipukurau Purchase

from Te Whatuiāpiti



MTG: Object 74788, Whakapapa and notes, Ngāti Whatu-i-Apiti; MTG: Object 74784, Whakapapa and notes, Heretaunga

Appendix Two

Waipukurau Deed.⁶¹

Tenei pukapuka e tuhituhia nei i tenei ra i te wha (4) o nga ra o Noema i te tau o to 1851. 4 November. Hawke's Bay. tatou Ariki kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma tahi 1851. He pukapuka tino WAIPUKURAU. whakaae pono na matou na nga Rangatira me nga tangata o Heretaonga mo matou mo a matou whanaunga me o matou uri e whanau mai i muri iho i a matou kia tino tukua to matou whenua e mau nei te ahua ki te pukapuka ruri o te whenua e piri nei ki te taha o tenei pukapuka ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

Nga rohe o te whenua.

Ka timata te rohe ki Paremahu tapatu ki uta ki Oure ka haere ki Tengawa ka Boundaries. haere ki Parairoa ka haere ki Te Mokopeke ka haere ki Moturaurakau ka haere Otutai-o-te-wanau-pani ka haere ki Te Whangai-o-Mauapou ka haere ki Te Tara-o-te-riwa ka haere ki Tangituporo ka haere ki Puangiangi ka haere ki Taumata-o-ngarengare ka witi ki Ngahape ka haere ki Tureirei ka haere ki Okupa wakamau ki te Pa o Te Rangitahia ka rere i te wai i Maharakeke haere tonu i roto i te wai o Maharakeke puta noa ki te ruri ki Waipauamate haere ki Manga-o-Nuku haere ki Manga-o-tae haere ki Taupare-kohai ka wakamau ki runga ki te Mimi-o-Rauru haere ki Mangatawata haere ki Te Arawata-totara haere ki Otane haere ki Te Haunga haere ki te Papanui haere ki Patangata ka haere i Tukituki puta noa ki Hawea haere ki Ngakautawa haere atu i Ngakautawa ka witi i Mokokakariki haere ki Kotukumauroa haere ki Te Wakataretau puta noa ki

⁶¹ H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 484-487. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

Te Tuhi haere noa atu ki runga i te ruritanga ki Manawarakau puta atu ki te Moana ka tae ki reira ka haere i te takutae ki Paoanui haere tonu Porerere haere Tuingara haere Te Waihirere haere atu ki Kohatupapa puta atu ki Paremahu.

Heoi ko nga ingoa enei o nga rohe kua oti nei i a matou te wakaatu te wakahaere ki a te Makarini raua ko Perehia te kai ruri i to matou haerenga nui ki te ruri i te whenua. Kua oti i a matou i o matou huihuinga ki Te Waipukurau ki Patangata ki Te Aute ki tenei huihuinga nui ano hoki o matou te hurihuri te wakaaro te mihi te tangi te poroporoake ki enei whenua o a matou tipuna tuku iho kia matou hei whenua pumau na matou i tenei ra e witi ana ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini me nga rakau me nga wai nga wahi atahua me nga wahi kino me nga aha noa iho o taua whenua hei whenua tuturu na matou ki a te Kuini o Ingarini ake tonu atu A ekore hoki matou e tuku i etahi tangata kia wakararuraru i nga pakeha ki runga i tenei whenua.

Nga wahi tapu.

Ko nga wahi enei e wakatapua, ara mo matou ki roto i ana rohe:

1st.	Ko te wahi i ruritanga ki te Pa o te Waipukurau	213	nga eka.
2nd.	Ko Tarewa	2135	nga eka.
3rd.	Ko Haowhenua	159	nga eka.
4th.	Tukuwaru	71	nga eka.
5th.	Te Tamumu	824	nga eka.
6th.	Oera	308	nga eka.
7th.	Tapu o Hinemahanga	220	nga eka.
8th.	Porerere	448 $\frac{3}{4}$	nga eka.

Kua oti nga rohe o enei wahi te wakahaere e Perehia e Hori Niania e Paora te Ropiha kei runga i to ratou rohenga e mau nei te ahua ki te pukapuka ruri o te whenua te tikanga

o aua rohe. E wakaae ana hoki matou ki nga ara ruri nui o te Kuini kia puta i aua wahi e wakatapua i te wa e rite ai i a te Kawana o Niu Tireni ki a wakatako-toria ana ara ruri.

A mo tou matou wakaetanga pono i te aroaro o tenei wakaminenga kia hokona Total price, £4,800. kia tino tukua rawatia tou matou whenua e wakaae ana te Kuini o

Ingarini kia utua matou ki nga pauna moni e wha nga mano takitahi e waru rau takitahi £4800 Kotahi Receipt for £1,800. mano e waru rau takitahi o aua moni kua riro mai nei ki o matou ringaringa na te Makarini i tenei ra.

2nd. Kotahi mano takitahi ka homai ki a matou i nga ra o Nowema i te tau o to tatou Ariki 1852.

3rd. Kotahi mano takitahi ka homai ki a matou i nga ra o Nowema i te tau o to tatou Ariki 1853.

4th. Te utunga whakamutunga rawatanga mo tenei whenua kotahi mano takitahi ka homai ki a matou i nga ra o Nowema i te tau o to tatou Ariki 1854.

A mo to matou wakaetanga pono ki nga tikanga katoa ki roto ki tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho o matou ingoa me o matou tohu. A mo te wakaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarini ki nga tikanga o tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho te ingoa o te Makarini te Kai wakarite whenua.

TRANSLATION.

This Deed conveying land written on this Fourth 4 day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty one 1851 is a paper of the full consent of us the chiefs and people of Heretaunga on behalf of ourselves our relatives and descendants who shall be born after us entirely to give up that portion of our land as delineated upon the plan hereunto attached to Victoria the Queen of England and to the Kings or Queens her successors for ever.

The Boundaries of the Land.

The boundary commences at Paremahu thence inland to Oure thence to Te Ngawa thence to Parairoa thence to Te Mokopeke thence to Moturaurakau thence to Otutai-o-te-wanau-pani thence to Whangai-o-Mauapou thence to Te Tara-o-te-riwa thence to Rangituporo thence to Puangiangi thence to Taumata Ngarengare crossing thence to Ngahape thence to Tureirei thence to Okupa and on to the Pa of Rangitahia thence to the Maharakeke stream and thence in the course of the Maharakeke to the survey line at Waipauamate thence to Mangaonuku thence to Manga-o-tae thence to Tauparekohai thence to Te Mimi-o-Rauru thence to Mangatawata thence to Arawata-Totara thence to Otane thence to Te Haunga thence to Papanui thence to Patangata and in the Tukituki to Hawea thence to Ngakautawa, going on from Ngakautawa it crosses at Mokokakariki and on to Kotukumauroa thence to Wakataretau thence to Te Tuhi thence along the survey line to Manawarakau and on to the sea on reaching which it proceeds along the sea side to Paoanui thence to Porerere thence to Tuingara thence to Waihirere thence to Kohatupapa and on to Paremahu.

Now these are the names of the boundaries pointed out to and perambulated with Mr. McLean and Mr. Pelichet the surveyor when we went in a body to survey the land. Now we have in our assemblies at Waipukurau at Patanga at Te Aute and at this great meeting also of ours considered thought over wept over lamented and bidden farewell to these lands handed down to us by our ancestors as a lasting possession from us under the shining sun of this day to Victoria the Queen of England with its timber waters fertile spots and barren places and all appertaining to the said land as a lasting portion of land from us to the Queen of England for ever. And we will not permit any person to molest the Europeans upon the land.

The Reserves.

These are the portions within the said boundaries which have been reserved by ourselves:—

First. 1st. That portion which has been surveyed at the Pa of Waipukurau two hundred and thirteen 213 acres.

Second. 2nd. Tarewa, two thousand one hundred and thirty five 2135 acres.

Third. 3rd. Haowhenua one hundred and fifty nine 159 acres.

Fourth. 4th. Tukuwaru seventy one 71 acres.

Fifth. 5th. Te Tamumu eight hundred and twenty four 824 acres.

Sixth. 6th. Oera, three hundred and eight 308 acres.

Seventh. 7th. Tapu-o-Hinemahanga two hundred and twenty 220 acres.

Eighth. 8th. Porerere, four hundred and forty eight three-quarters 448 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres.

The boundaries of these portions have been perambulated by Mr. Pelichet, Hori Niania, Paora, and Te Ropiha and the line as marked down by them on the sketch hereunto appended is the boundary. We also agree that the Queen's lines of road may pass through the said Reserves when the Governor sees fit that they shall be laid off.

And in consideration of our faithful assent in the presence of this assembly, to sell and finally give up our land the Queen of England agrees to pay us the sum of Four thousand eight hundred pounds £4800 once told.

One thousand eight hundred pounds £1800 once told has this day been paid into our hands by Donald McLean Esquire.

2nd. Second. One thousand pounds £1000 will be paid, to us in the day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty two 1852.

3rd. Third. One thousand pounds once told will be paid to us in the days of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three 1853.

4th. Fourth. The final instalment for this land one thousand pounds once told £1000 will be paid to us in the days of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty four 1854.

And in testimony of our true consent to all the conditions contained in this deed we hereunto affix our names and marks.

And in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England to all the conditions of this deed the name of Donald McLean Esquire Land Purchase Commissioner is here-unto subscribed.

(Signed) Ko Te Hapuku x his mark.

Ko Karenema Te Nahu.

Ko Puhara,

and 373 other signatures.

(Signed) Donald McLean ,
Land Commissioner.

Witnesses to these signatures and to these payments—

(Sd.) J. Thomas, J.P.

Wiremu Tako, Wellington, Chief.

C. L. Pelichet, Surveyor.

F. S. Abbott, Settler.

F. J. Tiffen , Settler.

E. Collins, Settler.

Robert Park, Government Surveyor.

Jas. Williamson, Clerk.

True Translation.

(Sd.) Wm. B. Baker,

for the Chief Commissioner.

Signatories of Waipukurau Block.⁶²

Ko te Hapuku x his
mark.

Ko Karenema te
Nahu.

Ko Puhara.

Ko Hiri Mania.

Ko te Haurangi.

Ko Paraone

Hakihaki.

Ko Hinepaketia x

her mark.

Ko Wiremu Tipuna.

Ko te Harawira.

Ko Morena.

Ko te Wakapapaka.

Ko Ani Patene.

Ko te Moananui.

Ko Paora Kopakau.

Karaitiana Taka.

Ko Hoera (10 years

old Ani Patene's

son).

Ko Haimona Te Pu.

⁶² H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 488. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

Ko Paora Ropiha.	Ko Hore te Hunga.	Ko Enoka Oneone
Ko Tamati te	Mata te Aro x her	x.
Waterau.	mark.	Ko Haromi Taata x.
Ko Hapata Heao.	Erihapeti te	Ko Horiana te
Ko Hoani Waikato.	Waiariki x her	Warepu x.
Ko Nona Taikiwa.	mark.	Ko te Harawira te
Ko Hapiata Te Ara	Wiremu Wiowio x	Kaiwai x.
x.	his mark.	Ko Matene Waewae
Ropata te Waeriki.	Te Hemara Piripiri	x.
Ko Arapeta te	x.	Ko Taituha
Ngera.	Natanahira x his	Kotokoto x.
Ko Ruka te Ari.	mark.	Ko te Pouraka x.
Ko Pareihe.	E. Tonga x her	Ko Ani Hinewara x.
Ko te waka	mark.	Ko Meri Peti x.
Rewarewa.	Paora Nikahere.	Ko Aperahama
Ko Wiremu te	Renata te Hapuku x	Huke x.
Rangituroa.	his mark.	Ko te Riwa Pohe x.
Ko Hori Morehu.	Hoani Hauerangi x	Ko Winipere
Ko Ihakara.	his mark.	Hineikake x.
Te Teira Tiaki tae x.	Roto Porehua x his	Ko Rihara Korohira
Te Ororoko Kahu x	mark.	x.
her mark.	Ko Hemi	Ko Tuku x.
Ko Puia x his mark.	Waiparere.	Ko te Tahana Tahito
Mare te Horo x her	Ko Henare	x.
mark.	Pungarehu.	

Ko Anaru te	Ko Roka Patumoe	Ko Meri Kaikino x.
Rawanui x.	x.	Ko Te Ware Pouri x.
Ko Roka Poroteke	Ko te Kaho x.	Ko Hapeta
x.	Ko Petera Puiti x.	Koroheke x.
Ko Ani Patene x.	Ko te Retiu Tahupa	Ko Matariri x.
Ko Horiaana Reka x.	x.	Ko te Kanewai x.
Ko Matua x.	Ko te Wakatere.	Ko Tikaokao x.
Ko Hera Awa x.	Ko Pangopango.	Ko Te Okotero x.
Ko Hohepa Tutewi	Ko Manani te	Ko Haniria Hau x.
x.	Rangi.	Ko Harata Hawea x.
Ko Paora Tuari x.	Ko Te Tohau x.	Ko Rahotaka x.
Ko Nanao x.	Ko Te Kiri x.	Ko Horeana x.
Ko te Wakamae x.	Ko Huruhuka x.	Ko Riperata x.
Ko te Hauwaho x.	Ko Kereopa Te He	Ko Hineipuakina x.
Ko Kuimara x.	x.	Ko Raniera Kokua
Ko Horomona te	Ko Ataneta x.	x.
Waia x.	Ko Haora Te Rangi	Ko Mangonuku x.
Ko Nirai Kaitahi x.	x.	Ko Mohi Te Ahiko
Ko te Manihera Toti	Ko Tupurupuru x.	x.
x.	Ko Hamuera	Ko te Rere Puka x.
Ko Horomona x.	Waipapa	Ko Miriata Te Ahi
Ko Raniera te	Ko Pahau Maunu x.	x.
Ahiko x.	Ko Pene Pihere x.	Ko Tuatawata x.
Ko te Tahana te	Ko Heperi Pito x.	Ko Pehi.
Pahu x.	Ko Katarina Kopi x.	Ko Mere Peka x.

Ko Rora Poneke x.	Hama x his mark	Ko Reupene
Ko Petera Wawara	(14 yrs. old).	Tikao x.
x.	Te Ritenga x his	Ko Eraihia Tama x.
Ko Pitaka Otupeka	mark (8 yrs. old).	Ko Heraro x.
x.	Te Rihia x his mark	Ko Hohua
Ko Patuare x.	(9 yrs old).	Kohimu x.
Ko Pirihita x.	Paraone x his mark.	Ko Raniera Kuki x.
Ko Hineirangia x.	Ko Eria x his mark.	Ko Atareta te
Hunuhunu x his	Rihari Perehi x.	Maruaroa x.
mark.	Pureko x his mark.	Ko Wiremu
Te Irimatao x his	Ko Ohaia Tama x.	Karere x.
mark.	Ko Hoani Papawi x.	Ko Hare Matene x.
Te Ataihi x her	Ko Apera	Ko Oneone x.
mark.	Makikere x.	Ko Rawinia
Ko Maiti x her	Ko Tumoia	Warepa x.
mark.	Oriwia x.	Ko Wiremu
Erihapeti Katopua	Ko Matuika x.	Maiaia x.
x.	Ko Wakaari x.	Ko Ana
Retimona Irawaru x	Ko Patoroma	Nohenohe x.
his mark.	Tama x.	Ko Mikaere
Ruiha Aurua x her	Ko Aritaku Pere x.	Homu x.
mark.	Ko Paramena	Ko Hepe
Mata Tahuu x her	Oneone x.	Horehore x.
mark.	Ko Matiaha Tiu x.	Ko Miriama
	Ko Matini Kawi x.	Hineihukua x.

Ko te Raurakau x.	Ko Pepe Hameke x.	Ko Pikipiki x.
Ko Hariata	Ko te Kapukapu x.	Ko Porikapa
Mahae x.	Ko Marania te	Tama x.
Ko Riria te Ru x.	Oranga x.	Ko Taituha
Ko Maraea te	Ko Ihaia Porou x.	Takoreua x.
Awaiti x.	Ko Eteriki Tiki x.	Ko Hakopa te
Ko Meri Hikapa x.	Ko Karaitiana te	Atua x.
Ko Eru te	Kahui x.	Ko Hemi Mokai x.
Wakaruamoko x.	Ko Hakaraia te	Ko Ana Torouka x.
Ko Rihara	Tuna x.	Ko Pane
Taukape x.	Ko Hone Tuimate x.	Ngahuka x.
Ko Mereana	Ko te Kuru x.	Ko Makareta Rua x.
Irawaru x.	Ko te Noho	Ko Pirihira Mae x.
Ko Rihara	Turuturu x.	Ko Merekihereka
Huango x.	Ko Mata Kuiatu x.	Mae x.
Ko Paiaka	Ko Pani x.	Ko Atareta Taupe x.
Tiakitai x.	Ko Wiremu Rohu x.	Ko Hemi Paipai x.
Ko Maraea	Ko Pipimohu x.	Ko Tami
Kohokakahu x.	Ko Hori Pouri x.	Mangere x.
Ko Kararaina	Ko te Tutere	Ko Matiria te
Kori x.	Tetakou x.	Kaho x.
Ko Panarima	Ko Nopera te	Ko Arama
Nakou x.	Mahue x.	Mokura x.
Ko Mata	Ko Akinihi	Ko Rawiri te Wi x.
Poraerae x.	Patoka x.	

Ko Wiremu	Te Kepa Tanga x	Heremaia te
Patene x.	(by Wi te Ota).	Maihotua x.
Harate Miro x.	Meri te Iki by	Wehepehana te
Toi x her mark.	Wi te Ota.	Rori his mark.
Whaira x his mark.	Te Kawena	Te Hoko Rae x.
Kino Rea x her	Hohua	Karauria x his
mark.	Pita	mark.
Te Waitawara x her	Hera Tawera	Irini Manuwiri.
mark.	Kaipaku x her	Rawinia Tukeke x
Hoani Tauaitu x.	mark.	her mark.
Ririra Raiera x.	Mihotoa (4 years	Hohepa Hotene his
Rawiri	old).	x.
Mangararo x.	Wiori x his mark.	Taihoa x his mark
Wi te Taba x.	Nikera x his mark.	(10 yrs. old).
E. Ruta	Tipene Kauri x (8	Reweri Pakiwa x.
Whawhaihai x.	years old).	Te Raurakau.
Hanata (her	Maka te	Ko Hinrohi x her
daughter) x.	Rangihatea x.	mark.
Nopera Pirirau x.	Mata (half caste	Tangata Ko his x.
Wiremu te Ota (also	girl).	Okipere Ngawe her
signs for his son)	Wi Tanihana x.	x.
Keta (and for)	Herewini Tawio.	Ngoikore x his
Meriteni te Tiroa.	Renata Pohoi x.	mark.
Hiriona	Wiramina Papa x	Maku x her mark.
Koropahare.	her mark.	Ko Pipi te Oi her x.

Hone te Whanake (a child).	Enoka Mokihi x.	Ko Pirihiira Tuarira.
Te Waihoru her x.	Horomona te Rongo x.	Ko Rora te Hoko x. Ko Paiara te Pu x.
Hamahona	Ko Tamati	Ko Hirini
Kekepu x.	Hapimana x.	Takataka x.
Ko Nguha his x.	Ko Wiremu	Ko te Wikiriwi
Te Tukuwai (9 yrs. old).	Hupora x. Ko Kararaina.	Potaka x. Ko Peneaha te
Te Mahinui her x.	Ko Kawa.	Hiakai x.
Honi Tokotoko his x.	Ko Tawai x. Ko Rewiti	Ko te Pohe x. Ko Taumaha x.
Miriama Hira her x.	Wairau x.	Ko Taukere x.
Renata te Rahui his x.	Ko Hone te Whakapai x.	Ko te Matenga Puru x.
Te Tutere his x.	Ko Erina Hirengo x.	Ko Rawinia
Ko Ruka te Are x.	Ko Anati te Piki x.	Kouae x.
Paratene te	Ko te Kakaho x.	Ko Riwia te Hori x.
Akonga his x.	Ko Raharuhi Tara x.	Ko Raharuhi
Ko Maki x her mark.	Ko Hemo Ata x. Ko Matua Kainga x.	Ngakai x. Ko Akapa te
Ko Rawiri his x.	Ko te Naera Ware x.	Wangaihau x.
Ko Manahi x.	Ko Hamiora	Ko Peti te Ware x.
Patariki his x.	Kaitahi x.	Ko Nokotawa x.
Matiu Meke.	Ko Hemi	Ko Riria Waipu x.
Maika Iwikatea.	Pokohiwi x.	

Ko Maretene te	Ko Hineinukua x.	Ko Enoka te
Ware x.	Ko Hohua te Aro x.	Waka x.
Ko Puapua	Ko Nihikora	Ko Heni Poheke x.
Taiamai x.	Miro x.	Ko Kaihaere.
Ko Rahera	Ko Raniera te	Ko Hirini.
Waitiri x.	Hoto x.	Ko Arapera
Ko te Ngaungau x.	Ko Nikorima te	Waipari x.
Ko Hori	Wana x.	Ko Mereana Kato x.
Hukahuka x.	Ko te.Rewatahi.	Ko Makareta
Ko Akatohe x.	Ko Amiria te Mi x.	Pene x.
Ko Mere Hora x.	Ko Hoera Rautu x.	Ko Pipi Ngahinu x.
Ko Patahipa	Ko Hongi x.	Ko Hone te Rore x.
Pouaru x.	Ko Miriama Puna.	Ko te Waka Tohu x.
Ko Tiripa te Kapi x.	Ko Tangótango.	Ko Mere
Ko Erihapeti te	Ko te Manihera	Raurimu x.
Hoki x.	Kaita x.	Ko Hipahipa x.
Ko Rihari Ikiiki x.	Ko Tane x.	Ko Kahaki x.
Ko Eruera te	Ko Riwia	Ko Raina
Hauae x.	Tirotona x.	Papapirau x.
Ko Tamati Tuhinga.	Ko Makareta.	Ko Renata Tauihu.
Ko Ani Kanara x.	Ko Natanahira.	Ko Ehepera
Ko Maraea	Ko Erena Rake.	Turihariha x.
Aorangi x.	Ko Hemi	Ko Horiana Hine x.
Ko Hopaea	Tamingaheka.	Ko Ani Rearea.
Hauinararo.	Ko Pene Te Puna x.	

Ko Mereana te	Jas. H. Williamson,
Kapo x.	Clerk.
Ko Rameka te	True Copy of
Wairere x.	Original Deed.
Ko Tamati	Elwin B. Dickson,
Hokopu x.	Native Office.
Ko Hoani te	Henry Monro,
Waingao x.	Interpreter.

Donald McLean,

Land

Commissioner.

J. Thomas, J.P.

Wiremu

Tako, Wellington,

Chief.

C. L. Pelichet,

Surveyor.

F. S. Abbott, Settler.

F. G. Tiffen, Settler.

E. Collins, Settler.

Robert Park,

Government

Surveyor.

Appendix Three

Tautane Block.⁴³¹

Tenei Pukapuka tuku whenua e tuhituhia nei i tenei ra i te toru (3) o nga ra o 1854. 3 January Hawke's Bay. Hanuere i te tau o to tatou Ariki kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma wha (1854). He Pukapuka tino wakaae pono na matou na nga Rangatira me nga Tangata o Ngati-Tautane. kahungunu e mau nei nga ingoa ki tenei Pukapuka mo matou mo a matou whanaunga me o matou uri katoa e whanau i muri iho i a matou kia tino tukua rawatia tetahi wahi o to matou Kainga ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

A mo to matou wakaetanga kia tino tukua rawatia tenei wahi o to miatou kainga Price, £1,000. e whakaae ana hoki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini mona kia utua matou ki nga pauna moni kotahi te mano takitahi (£1000). E rima rau (£500) takitahi o aua moni kua Receipt for £500, first instalment. riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra na te Makarini i homai. E rima rau (£500) takitahi o aua moni ko te utu wakamutunga ka homai ki a matou i nga ra o Hanuere 1855.

Ka timata te rohe ki te Arataura ka rere ki uta ki te Kohuotu ka rere ki te Awa-Boundaries. putahi puta noa ki te Ahititi puta noa ki te Irenga-o-ratunga ka wati wakatetonga ki te Rakaututaha puta noa ki Oporae rere noa te Ahunga wakatetae o te rohe ki Wahatuara puta noa ki te rohe o te whenua kua hokona ki a te Kuini o Ingarini tae noa ki Waimata ka rere tonu i te tana o te Moana puta noa ki te Arataura.

E rua nga wahi o roto o ena rohe o wakatapua mo matou ara ko te wahi ki te Two Native reserves. Waimata puta noa ki te Kohaikura rere noa ki uta ki te Pa o te ratunga tutaki noa ki te rohe ki Waimata. Ko te rua o nga wahi ko tetahi wahi ki Tautane me tetahi taha ngaherehere hoki. Heoi nga wahi mo matou.

⁴³¹ H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 497-498. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

Ko nga koha ano ki te ritenga o nga koha e homai nei ki Wairarapa ka homai ki aFive per cents to be paid. matou mo tenei whenua.

Heoi kua oti i a matou te hurihuri te mihi te poroporoaki te tino tuku rawa i tenei kainga o a matou tipuna tuku iho ki a matou me ona awa me ona manga me ona roto me ona wai me ona rakau me ona otaota me ona kohatu me ona wahi parae me ona wahi ataahua me ona wahi kino me nga mea katoa ki runga ranei o te whenua ki raro ranei o te whenua me nga aha noa iho o taua whenua ka oti rawa i a matou te tino tuku rawa atu i tenei ra e whiti nei he whenua pumau na matou ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muru iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

A mo to matou wakaetanga ki nga tikanga katoa o roto i tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho e matou o matou ingoa me o matou tohu.

A mo te wakaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarini mona ki nga tikanga katoa o roto i tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho e te Makarini te Kai wakarite whenua o te Kawana o Nui Tireni tona ingoa.

TRANSLATION.

This Document conveying land written on this the (3) third day of, January in the year of our Lord (1854) One thousand eight hundred and fifty four is a paper of the full and unreserved consent of us the Chiefs and People of the Ngatikahungunu tribe whose names are hereunto attached on behalf of ourselves our relations and descendants to transfer for ever a certain portion of our land to Victoria the Queen of England and to the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever and ever.

And in consideration of our full consent to sell this piece of our land Victoria the Queen of England agrees on her part to pay us the sum of (£1000) One thousand pounds once told. (£500) Five hundred pounds of this money we have this day received from Mr. McLean the remaining (£500) Five hundred pounds is to be paid in the month of January (1855) One thousand eight hundred and fifty five.

The boundary of the land commences at Arataura and runs inland to Kohuotu thence to Awaputahi to Ahititi and on to Irenga-o-rahunga where it turns in a southerly direction to Eakaututaha thence to Oporae to the place where the boundary line at Wahatuara runs towards the sea to Waimata thence following the line of coast till it joins the boundary at the starting point Arataura.

We have reserved two portions inside of these boundaries namely that commencing at Waimata thence to Kohaikura and inland to Pa-o-te-ratunga and thence to the commencement at Waimata. The second a piece at Tautane with some forest land annexed to it. These are the only reserves for us.

Five 5 per cent. as payable in some of the purchases at Wairarapa is also to be paid to us on account of this purchase.

We have entirely given up and bid farewell to this land inherited from our fore-fathers with its rivers its streams its lakes its springs its timber grass and stones with its plains and fertile spots its sterile parts and everything above the surface or under the surface and everything thereunto belonging we have now for ever delivered up and transferred to the Queen of England under the shining sun of this day to be the property of Victoria Queen of England or of the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever.

In testimony of our consent to all the conditions of this Deed we hereunto affix our names and marks.

And in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England to the conditions of this Deed the name of Donald McLean Principal Commissioner for purchase of Native Lands is also hereunto affixed.

Donald McLean ,

Land Commr

Ko te Hapuku x,

and 31 others.

Witnesses—

Alfred Domett , Land Commr.

Ko Piripi.

H. T. Kemp, Native Sectry., Wellington.
 A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation.
 H. HANSON TURTON.
 Wellington,
 February 18th, 1876

Signatories of the Tautane Block.⁴³²

Donald McLean,	Paora te Rangiwakaewa x.
Land Commr.	Ko Hemi Miha.
	Ko Huhana x.
Ko te Hapuku x.	Pirihira te Whakahu x.
Ko Hinepaketia x.	Ko Ngaika.
Ko Puhara x.	Ko te Ngira x.
Ko te Kemara.	Ko Karaitiana.
Ko te Wereta Kawekairangi x.	Ko Wereta Pita x.
Rapana Hauerangi x.	Ko te One Kahore x.
Piripi Patoromu.	Ko Katarina x.
Heremaia Tamaihotua.	Ko te Koroneho x.
Hoera Wakataha.	Ko te Hutana x.
Kapinera Hihira.	Ko Tamati x.
Ko Hori Niania.	Ko Heketa x.
Ko te Kuru x.	Ko Hiore x.
Ko te Hiriwanu x.	Ko Heriheri x.
Ko te Waihiku x.	Tiemi Tiakitai x.
Ko Tamihana x.	

⁴³² H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 498. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

Appendix Four

Part of Ruataniwha. (Te Umuopua).⁴³³

Tenei Pukapuka tuku whenua e tuhituhia nei i tenei ra i te ono (6) o nga ra o Hanuere i te tau o to tatou Ariki kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma wha (1854). He Pukapuka tino whakaae pono na matou na nga Rangatira me nga Tangata o Ngatikahungunu e mau nei nga ingoa ki tenei pukapuka mo matou mo a matou whanaunga me o matou uri katoa e whanau i muri iho i a matou kia tino tukua rawatia tetahi wahi o to matou kainga ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

A mo to matou whakaaotanga kia tino tukua rawatia tenei wahi o to matou kainga e whakaae ana hoki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini mona kia utua matou ki nga pauna moni E toru rau takitahi (£300). Ko aua moni kua riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra na te Makarini i homai.

Ka timata te rohe ki te Mauru ki te rohe o to whenua kua hokona e te Hapuku ara ki Kiriwai mau atu ki Waiaruhe mau atu ki te Mauru-o-Korako mau atu ki Rangitoto ka ahua waka te tonga ki Hakikino mau atu ki te Wai Kopiro ka mau ki te Kohiotahu ka rere ki te Eaorao puta noa ki Ngahape ka rere i te rohe tawito tutaki noa ki Kiriwai.

Heoi kua oti i a matou te hurihuri te mihi te poroporoaki te tino tuku rawa i tenei kainga o a matou tipuna tuku iho ki a matou. me ona awa me ona manga me ona roto me ona wai me ona rakau me ona otaota me ona kohatu me ona wahi parae me ona wahi ataahua me ona wahi kino me nga mea katoa ki runga ranei o te whenua ki raro ranei o te whenua me nga aha noa iho o taua whenua ka oti rawa i a matou te tino tuku rawa atu i tenei ra e whiti nei he whenua pumau na matou ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarini ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

⁴³³ H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 498-499. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

A mo to matou whakaaetanga ki nga tikanga katoa o roto i tenei Pukapuka ka tuhia iho e matou o matou ingoa me o matou tohu.

A mo te whakaaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarini mona ki nga tikanga katoa o roto i tenei Pukapuka ka tuhia iho e te Makarini te Kai whakarite whenua o te Kawana o Nui Tireni tona ingoa.

TRANSLATION.

This document conveying land was written on this the sixth (6) day of January in the year of our Lord (1854) one thousand eight hundred and fifty four is a paper of the full and unreserved assent of us the Chiefs and People of the Ngatikahungunu tribe whose names are hereunto attached on behalf of ourselves our relations and descendants who shall be born after us to transfer for ever a certain portion of our land to Victoria the Queen of England and to the King or Queen who may succeed her for ever.

And in consideration of our full consent to sell this piece of our land Victoria the Queen of England agrees on her part to pay us the sum of (£300) Three hundred pounds once told. This money we have this day received from Mr. McLean.

The boundary of the West commences on the boundary of the land sold by te Hapuku that is at Kiriwai and on to Waiaruhe and on to west of Korako and on to Rangitoto then going southward to Hakikino and on to Waikopiro and on to Kohiotahu then on to the Raorao till it joins Ngahape then on to the old boundary then on till it joins Kiriwai.

We have entirely given up and bidden farewell to this land which we have inherited from our forefathers with its rivers its streams its lakes its springs its timber grass and stones with its plains and fertile spots its sterile parts and everything above the surface or under the surface and everything thereunto belonging we now for ever deliver up and transfer to the Queen of England under the shining sun of this day to be the property of the Queen of England and to the King or Queen who may succeed her for ever.

In testimony of our consent to all the conditions of this deed we hereunto affix our names and marks.

And in testimony of the full consent of the Queen of England to the conditions of this Deed the name of Donald McLean Principal Commissioner for purchase of Native Land is also hereunto affixed.

DONALD MCLEAN ,

Land Commissioner.

Ko te Hineipaketia,

and 4 others.

Witnesses to these receipts and signatures—

E. Daniell, J.P. , M.P.C., Hutt.

John P. Russell, Settler, Wangai Moana, Wairarapa.

James Spiers, Crier, Supreme Court, Wellington.

**Signatories of the Part Ruataniwha Block
(Te Umuopua Block)**

Donald McLean .

Land Commissioner.

Ko Te Hineipaketia x.

KO Hori Niania.

KO Te Kuru x.

KO Puhara x.

KO Te Waihiku x.

Ngo kai titiro ki enei homaitanga utu me enei tuhinga ingoa—

E. Daniell, J.P. , M.P.C., Hutt.

John P. Russell, Settler, Wangai Moana, Wairarapa.

James Spiers, Crier, Supreme Court, Wellington.

Appendix Five

Te Tōtara Block, Rua o taniwha.⁴³⁴

1855. 28 August. Hawke's Bay. Tenei pukapuka tuku whenua i tuhituhia i tenei ra i te rua tekau ma waru (28) o nga ra o Akuhata i te tau o to tatou Ariki kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma rima (1855). He pukapuka tino whakaae pono na matou na nga rangatira me nga tangata o Ngatikahungunu e mau nei nga ingoa ki tenei pukapuka mo matou mo o matou whanaunga me o matou uri katoa e whanau i muri iho i a matou kia tino tukua rawatia tetahi wahi o to matou kainga ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi me nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

A mo to matou whakaaetanga kia tino tukua rawatia tenei wahi o to matou kainga e whakaae ana hoki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi mona kia utu i a matou ki nga pauna moni kotahi mano e toru rau (£1300). E toru rau o enei moni kua riro mai ki a matou i tangohia hoki e matou ki Ahuriri i te 23 o Maehe 1855 Ko te toenga ara te kotahi mano kua riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra na te Makarini i homai.

Ka timata te rohe i te taha tonu o te rohe o Paaka (Park) te kai ruri ki Totaratutahi ka rere i taua rohe puta noa ki Waipaua haere tonu i roto i Waipaua puta noa ki Kauaenui ka whati mai i reira mau noa mai ki Taumataopuatea mau noa atu ki te Atuamarama mau noa atu ko Rangiiiti mau noa ki te Paraikiri mau noa atu ki Tukituki ki te Wharau ka rere i roto i Tukituk mau noa atu ki te rohe o Paaka ara ki te tutakitanga ki te rohe tuatahi i Totaratutahi.

Heoi ka oti rawa nga wahi katoa o roto o enei rohe te tino hoko te tino tuku rawa atu i tenei ra e whiti nei ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu me ona rakau me ona kowhatu me ona aha noa iho o taua whenua. A mo te whakaaetanga ki nga tikanga katoai roto i tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho o matou ingoa me o matou tohu, a mo te whakaaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarangi mona ki nga tikanga

⁴³⁴ H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 505. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

katoa o roto o tenei pukapuka ka tuhia iho e te Makarini te Kai whakarite whenua o te Kawanatanga o Nui Tirenī tona ingoa.

TRANSLATION.

THIS DEED conveying land written on this twenty eighth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty five (1855) is a paper of the full consent of us the Chiefs and people of Ngatikahungunu whose names are hereunto affixed on behalf of ourselves our relations and all our descendants who shall be born after us to entirely transfer a portion of our land to Victoria the Queen of England and to the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever.

And in consideration of our full consent to give up this portion of our land Victoria the Queen of England agrees that we shall be paid the sum of One thousand three hundred pounds (£1,300). Three hundred pounds of these monies we have previously received at Ahuriri on the 23rd March 1855 the remaining sum of one thousand pounds we have received on this day from Mr. McLean.

The boundary commences by the boundary of Mr. Park the Surveyor at Totaratutahi along which it proceeds to Waipaua in the course of which stream it runs to Kauaenui where it turns and runs to Taumata o Puatea thence to Atuamarama thence to Rangi iti thence to Paraikiri thence to the Tukituki at te Wharau thence in the course of the Tukituki to Park's boundary that is to the commencement of the boundary at Totara tutahi.

Now we have for ever sold and given up under the shining sun of this day all the lands contained within these boundaries to Victoria the Queen of England to the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever with its timber minerals and all thereunto appertaining.

And in testimony of our consent to all the conditions of this Deed we hereunto affix our names and marks and in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England to all the conditions of this Deed Donald McLean the Commissioner for the purchase of land for the Government of New Zealand hereunto affixes his name.

DONALD MCLEAN,

Commr.

TE HAPUKU IKA O TE MOANA X.

HAKARAIA.

HIRINI HOEKAU x tona tohu.

Witnesses to these payments and signatures—

Ebenezer Baker, Clerk, Auckland.

John White, Interpreter, Auckland.

John Casey, Teacher, Auckland.

William B. Baker, 1st Clerk, L.P.D.

Appendix Six

Ruatanuiwha (South) Block⁴³⁵

Tenei pukapuka tuku whenua e tuhituhia nei i tenei ra i te rua tekau ma rua (22) o nga ra o Maehe i te tau o to tatou Ariki kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma ono 1856. He pukapuka tino whakaae pono na matou na nga rangatira me nga tangata o Ngati te Whatuiapiti e mau nei nga ingoa ki tenei pukapuka mo matou mo a matou whanaunga me o matou uri katoa e whanau i muri iho i a matou kia tino tukua rawatia tetahi wahi o to matou whenua ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

A mo to matou whakaaetanga kia tino tukua rawatia tenei wahi o to matou kainga e whakaae ana a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi mona kia utua matou ki nga pauna moni Kotahi te mano e rua rau takitahi (£1200) Kotahi te mano takitahi (£1000) kua riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra na te Kupa i homai Kotahi rau takitahi i homai e te PAGE 506Makarini ki a te Hapuku i Akarana. Ko te rau kotahi e toe nei ka homai ki a matou a te tau e haere ake nei.

Ka timata te rohe i te ngutu awa o Rakautihia ka anga mai ki te rawhiti mau rawa mai ko Taumata o te Makohu, Turanga pata, Taopo, Pukeiahu, te Kaha Koreke, Tukipo, te Waiahora, Taumata o Wakaori, Taumata o te Heuenga, ka heke ki Tukituki, ka rere i roto i te awa mau noa atu ki te rohe tawhito, ka rere ki runga ki taua rohe mau rawa atu ko te Whare o Hineitaia ka rere atu ki roto ki Makaretu, tutaki noa ki Rakautihia. Ka mutu. Heoi, kua oti i a matou te hurihuri te mihi te poroporoaki te tino tuku rawa atu i tenei kainga o a matou tupuna tuku iho ki a matou me ona awa me ona wai me ona roto me ona ngaherehere me ona hiwi me ona parae me ona wahi ataahua me ona wahi kino me ona tarutaru me ona rakau me ona pohatu me ona mea katoa kei runga ranei o te whenua kei raro ranei o te whenua me ona aha noa iho o taua whenua kua oti i a matou te tino tuku rawa atu i tenei ra e whiti nei hei whenua pumau tonu iho ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.

⁴³⁵ H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 506-507. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

A mo to matou whakaaetanga kia tino tukua rawatia tenei wahi o to matou kainga kua whakapirihia e matou o matou ingoa me o matou tohu.

A mo te whakaaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarangi mona ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei pukapuka kua whakapirihia iho te ingoa o te Kupa, Kai whakarite whenua mo te Kawanatanga o Nui Tireni.

TRANSLATION.

This deed conveying land dated this twenty second (22) of the days of March in the 1856. 22 March. Hawke's Bay. Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty six (1856) is a paper of the full and true consent of us the Chiefs and people of Ngatitewhatuiapiti whose names are hereto subscribed for ourselves our relatives and descendants hereafter to be born to fully and finally transfer a piece of our land to Victoria the Queen of England and to all the Kings and Queens her successors for ever.

And for our consenting entirely to surrender this piece of our land Victoria the

Queen of England on her part agrees to pay us the sum of one thousand two hundred pounds £1200 in money. One thousand pounds £1000 we have this day received from Mr. Cooper. One hundred pounds £100 was paid by Mr. McLean to te Hapuku in Auckland, and the remaining one hundred pounds is to be paid to us in the course of the forthcoming year.

The boundary begins at the mouth of the Rakautihia and runs in a northerly direction to Taumata o te Makohu, Turangapata, Taopo, Pukeiahu, te Kahakoreke, Tukipo, te Waiahora, Taumata o Wakaori, Taumata o te Heuenga, falls into Tukituki, runs down the stream as far as the old boundary, runs along that boundary to te Ware o Hineitaia, runs into Makaretu, and closes at Rakautihia. That is the end.

Now we have fully considered, wept over, and finally bid adieu to this land inherited by us from our ancestors, with its streams, waters, lakes, forests, hills, plains, good places, and bad, grass, trees, stones, and everything either above or below the soil, and everything connected with the said land have we finally given up, under the shining sun

of the present day, as a fixed possession to Victoria the Queen of England and to all the Kings and Queens her successors for ever.

And in witness of our consent entirely to surrender this piece of land, we have hereto subscribed our names and marks.

And in witness of the consent of Victoria the Queen of England, on her part, to all the conditions of this deed, it has been subscribed by Mr. Cooper, a Land Commissioner of the Governor.

G. S. Cooper,
District Native Land Commr.
Te Hapuku Ika o te Moana x,
and other signatures.

Witnesses to payment and signatures—

J. B. Williams, Clerk to Crn. Lds. Commr., Napier.
Henry Groom, Police Constable, Napier.

True Translation.

G. S. Cooper, D.C.

A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation.

H. Hanson Turton.

Wellington, February 18th, 1876.

Signatories Ruataniwha (South)

G. S. Cooper,

District Native Land Commissioner.

te Hapuku Ika o te	Hutana Puawhe x.	Te Harawira Takuao
Moana x.	Horomona	x.
Ropata x.	Wakarongo x.	Katerina Ngahopi x.
Tawhara x.	Eria x.	Makariri Tungane x.
Tupurupuru x.	Makarini Rohi x.	Hapurona Mohika
Kuini Hineipaketia	Hataraka Morehu x.	x.
x.	Iharaira te Riaki x.	Raharuhi Kouka x.
Kerei Tanguru.	Karepa Parengoto x.	Ripeta Muruki x.
Ko erena	Wehi Peihiana te	Teotira te Haurangi
Mekemeke x.	Rore.	(2 yrs.) x.
Karepa x.	te Patuare x.	Towhare x.
te Waka ruhi x.	Nikera taungakore	Patoromu
Aomahuta.	x.	Tamanoho x.
Hawhene Makutu.	Irihapeti te Waiariki	Mehaka Puhi x.
Patahipa x.	x.	Ripeka Hekeheke x.
Panapa te	Ngauru x.	Maraea Te ana x.
Ngarengare x.	te Hauwaho x.	Riwai Tawa x.
te Watene x.	Tane x.	Pipi Hineitahi x.
Matiria Waikura x.	Rewatahi x.	Rapana Tangiotea.
Te Hira te Rotoatara	Pahipa x.	Ropata te Nohu x.
x.	Kaipuha x.	Mereana te Hei x.
Hamuera Koroneho.	Waihi x.	Piripi Waikoi x.
Natima x.	Nanoa x.	Irihapeti te Mehi x.
Ripeka x.	Rora Poneke x.	Mahinui x.
te Manihera te	te Kepa Taupuhi x.	Wiremu Toke x.
Kaitoha x.	Hohepa Tuteiwirau	Hona x.
Hereatara x.	x.	te Uamairangi x.
Ihaia Poroutawhao	Rihara Ikiki x.	Hamuera Puku x.
x.	Waira te Marae x.	Hakaraia Taiamai x.

Paneke x.	Komene	Te	te Whiri x.
Horopapera Haruru	Rarowaipapa x.		te Paratene x.
x.	Tamihana Ngakai x.		Arihi Karanema x.
Roka Ringawhati x.	Waione.		te Hapuku
Hine Rangiaa x.	Hanita te Maero.		(Mokopuna) x.
Pirihira Puau x.	Nirai Potae.		Hatana x.
Horiana x.	Pirika.		Atareta Tawhara x.
Renata Pahau x.	Eria te Waerenga x.		Tua x.
Paora Kopakau x.	Manuera te Irimatao		Te Wao x.
Pipi Tupurupuru x.	x.		

Nga Kai titiro ki tenei homaitanga moni, me enei tuhinga ingoa—

J. B. Williams, Clerk to Crn. Ld. Commissioner, Napier.

Henry Groom, Police Constable, Napier.

Appendix Seven

Porangahau.⁴³⁶

Tenei pukapuka e tuhituhia i tenei ra i te tekau (10) o nga ra o Maehe i te tau o to tatou Ariki 1858 he pukapuka tino hoko tino hoatu tino tuku whakaoti atu na matouna nga rangatira me nga tangata o Ngatikahungunu no ratou nga ingoa e mau i raro nei a hei whakaatu tenei pukapuka mo matou mo o matou whanaunga me o matou uri mo te tuhituhinga o o matou ingoa ki tenei pukapuka i raro i te ra e whiti nei kua whakarerea rawatia kua tino tukuna rawatia atu ki a Wikitoria Kuini o Ingarani ki oua uri ki nga Kingi ki nga Kuini o muri iho i a ia me ana me o ratou e whakarite ai hei whakaritenga mo nga pauna moni e toru mano (£3000) takitahi kua utua mai ki a matou e te Makarini raua ko te Kupa mo te Kuini (a e whakaaetia nei e matou te rironga mai o aua moni) ko taua wahi whenua kei Porangahau ko ona robe kei raro i te pukapuka nei e mau ana te korero whakahaere ko te mapi hoki o taua whenua kua apititia ki tenei. Me ona rakau, me ona kohatu, me ona wai, me ona awa nui, me ona roto, me ona awa ririki, me nga mea katoa o taua whenua o runga ranei o raro ranei i te mata o taua whenua me o matou tikanga me o matou take me o matou paanga katoatanga ki taua wahi kia mau tonu ki a Kuini Wikitoria ki ona uri ki ana ranei e whakarite ai hei tino mau tonu ake tonu ake tonu atu. A hei tohu mo to matou whakaaetanga ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei pukapuka kua tuhituhia nei o matou ingoa me o matou tohu. A hei tohu lioki mo te whakaaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarani mo tana wahi ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei pukapuka Boundaries. kua tuhia te iugoa o te Makarini Kai whakarite whenua. Ko nga rohe enei o taua whenua ka timata ki Parimahu ka haere i te rohe tawhito o te tukunga tuatahi puta noa ki te Pa o te Rangitahia ka rere atu ki Otakoha rere tonu i roto i ie wai puta noa ki te Pou a Tapatu ka haere i te Ngutu Mara puta noa ki Tutae o Kahutia haere kite Manga o te Waiora puta noa ki te Raupi ka rere i roto i te Waikopiro puta noa ki te Manga a Purakau haere tonu i roto i te wai puta noa ki Pukanohi katahi ka makere ki roto ki te Whangai puta noa ki Manga Puaka ka haere tonu i roto i te wai puta noa ki Poutini ka mau ana ko Mangawhero ka haere tonu i roto i te wai puta noa mai i Taurekaitai ka haere tonu mai ki Porangahau puta

⁴³⁶ H. Hanson Turton, ed., *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: Volume Two*. (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 523-524. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur02Nort-t1-g1-g4-g1-g1-t2.html>

noa ki te ngutuawa ka haere tonu i te one tutaki tonu atu ki Parimahu. Ko nga wahi e purutia ana e matou hei nohoanga iho mo matou koia enei. Kei Eparaima ka timata te rohe i te ngutuawa o te Manga a te Wheki ka rere i roto i Taurekaitai puta noa ki Eparaima Taurangakoao te Rua a Tu Ahuriri ka mau ana ko Upoko o Paoa mau rawa atu ko te Motu o Taraia ka rere i roto i Manga-ongaonga puta noa ki te Wakapuni ka mau ki te Pa o te Kanawa ka mau atu ko te Motutotara ka whati i koua rere tonu ka mau ana ko Tahuanini ka haere i roto i te wai puta noa ki Taurekaitai ka rere tonu mai kai roto i Taurekaitai puta noa mai ki te pereti i te huanui katahi ka haere i te tuwhenua tika tonu mai ki te ngutuawa o te Manga a te Wheki. Ko nga rakau o te taha whakararo o te awa i te pereti ma nga pakeha ena. Ko te papa o te whenua ki a matou ko nga rakau anake ki nga pakeha. 2. Kei Eparaima ano. Ka timata te rohe ki Matakipuna ka haere i te taha o to Ngaherehere a te Umuti, Otuterito te Rua o te Waro, Taukanihi, tapahi tonu ma roto i te Ngaherehere ka puta ki waho ki Whaturua rere tonu i te taha o te Ngaherehere puta tonu ki te Hinaki tapahi tonu ma roto i te Ngaherehere puta tonu ki waho ki Taurangakoau ka makere ki roto ki te awa ki Taurekaitai rere tonu i roto i te wai tutaki tonu ki Matakipuna. Na ka apititia ano ki tenei kainga te motu Ngaherehere e huaina nei ko te Ahirara ko te awa tonu tetahi rohe ko te taha tonu o te Ngaherehere i raro i te hiwi ano tetahi rohe. 3. Kei Pakowhai. E rua rau nga eka kua oti i a Patiwira raua ko Paora Tamaihotua te ruri. Ko Waikaraka. tetahi rohe ka timata i Pakowhai rere tonu ki Waiparera katahi, ka rere ki uta tika tonu atu ki te Tohe. Ka whati i reira i te tunga kara a Patiwira tutaki tonu ki Pakowhai. Ko tetahi rau eka ka mau i a matou i runga i te tikanga Maori pupuri ai, ko tetahi rau eka ka whakatumautia ki a Wiremu te Rangi raua ko te Ropiha te Tukau. 4. Kei te Makahua. Kotahi tekau ma rima nga eka, na Perehia i ruri ki waenganui o to Makahua raua ko Waipaua kei te taha tonu o Porangahau. 5. Kei Oreprewaia E rua tekau ma rima nga eka kei te taha tonu o Porangahau. 6. Kei Manukaroa. E toru tekau ma waru nga eka, kei te taha tonu o Porangahau.

TRANSLATION.

THIS DEED written on this tenth day of March in the year of our Lord 1858 is a full and final sale conveyance and surrender by us the chiefs and people of the tribe Ngakahungunu whose names are hereunto subscribed and Witnesseth that on behalf of ourselves our relatives and descendants we have by signing this Deed under the shining sun of this day parted with and for ever transferred unto Victoria Queen of England, her

heirs the Kings and Queens who may succeed Her and her and their assigns forever in consideration of the sum of three thousand pounds (£3000) to us paid by Messrs. McLean and Cooper on behalf of the Queen Victoria (and we hereby acknowledge the receipt of the said monies) that piece of our land situated at Porangahau the boundaries whereof are set forth at the foot of this Deed and a plan of which land is annexed thereto with its trees minerals waters rivers lakes streams and all appertaining to the said land or beneath the surface of the said land and all our right title claim and interest whatsoever thereon, To hold to Queen Victoria, Her heirs and assigns as a lasting possession absolutely for ever and ever. And in testimony of our consent to all the conditions of this Deed we have hereunto subscribed our names and marks. And in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England on her part to all the conditions of this Deed the name of Donald McLean Esquire, Commissioner is hereunto subscribed.

These are the boundaries of the land, commencing at Parimahu and thence along the old boundary of the first purchase to Te Pa o te Rangitahia thence to Otakoha continuing thence in the stream to Te Pou-a-Tapatu thence along Te Ngutu Mara on to Tutae o Kahutia, thence to Te Manga a te Waiora and on to Te Raupi and in the course of Te Waikopiro to Te Manga-a-Purakau continuing thence in the stream to Pukanohi where it falls into the Whangai and onto Manga-puaka and continuing thence in the stream to Poutini and on to Mangawhero and in the stream to Taurekaitai thence to Porangahau and thence to the mouth of the river and along the beach till it meets again at Parimahu. The portions which are reserved for ourselves to reside on are

1. At Eparaima. The boundary commences at Te Manga-a-te-Wheki and thence in the course of the Taurekaitai to Eparaima Taurangakoao Te Rua-o-Tuahuriri thence to Te Upoko-o-Paoa thence to Te Motu-o-Taraia thence in the Mangaongaonga to Wakapuni thence to Te Pa-o-te-Kanawa. thence to Te Motutotara where it turns and runs on to Tahuanini and in the course of the stream to Taurekaitai and on in the Taurekaitai to the bridge on the road where it runs along the land in a direct line to the mouth of Te Manga-a-te-Wheki. The trees on the lower side of the river at the bridge are for the Europeans, the land itself is to be ours and only the trees for the Europeans.

2. At Eparaima also, the boundary commences at Matakipuna and thence along the skirts of the wood to Te Umuti Otuterito, Te Rua o te Waro, Taukanihi passing thence through the wood and coming out at Whakatuma and thence along the skirts of the wood to Hinaki

thence through the bush and coming out at Taurangakoau where it falls into the Taurekaitai river and continues therein till it reaches Matakipuna. The bush called Ahirara is to be added to this section; the river being one boundary thereof and the side of the wood below the ridge the other boundary.

3. At Pakowhai. Two hundred acres has been surveyed by Mr. Bousfield and Paora Tamaihotua. Waikaraka is one boundary, commencing at Pakowhai thence to Waiparera where it takes an inland course and runs to Te Tohe turning thence at Mr. Bousfield's flag and on to Pakowhai. One hundred acres is to be held by us according to Maori tenure the other hundred acres is to be made over to Wiremu te Rangi and Ropiha te Tukau.

4. At Makahua, fifteen acres surveyed by Mr. Pelichet between Makahua and Waipaua and near Porangahau.

5. At Oreorewaia twenty five acres near Porangahau.

6. At Manukaroa thirty eight acres near Porangahau.

(Sd.) DONALD MCLEAN , COMMR.

TE ROPIHA TUKAU.

APJATA KUIKAINGA.

WITERIKI TIKI and 80 others.

These persons who witnessed the payment of the monies and signing of names—

(Sd.) Purvis Russell .

Jno. Davis Canning.

Henry A. White.

William H. Hunter.

O. L. W. Bousfield.

Alfred Lambert.

C. G. Crosse.

True Translation.

(Sd.) DONALD MCLEAN, Chief Commr.

Signatories Porangahau Block

Te Otene te Kihi.	Signed by Nopera	Signed by Nopera
Heta Kakahu x (per	te Mahue. Winiata	te Mahue. Arapata
Otene Kihi).	Hemoata.	Meha.
Nopera te Mahue.	Signed by Nopera	Signed by Nopera
Paora Tamaihotua.	te Mahue. Hona Te	te Mahue. Ana
Horomona Te Huki.	Kaipo.	Torouka.
Atareta Taupe	Signed by Nopera	Signed by Nopera
Signed by Nopera	te Mahue.	te Mahue. Paiura Te
te Mahue. Matiu	Kaniuamu.	Pu.
Meke.	Signed by Nopera	Signed by Nopera
Signed by Nopera	te Mahue.	te Mahue. Rawiri
te Mahue. Roha	Porikaapa	Te Iwimahue.
Pango.	Tamaihotua.	Signed by Nopera
Signed by Nopera	Signed by Nopera	te Mahue. Ihakara
te Mahue. Taituha	te Mahue. Maraea	Te Kahu.
Koremu.	Hineunukua.	Renata Te Rahui x.
Signed by Nopera	Signed by Nopera	Te Koroneho
te Mahue. Nikorima	te Mahue. Matiria	Whakiteina x.
Te Wana.	Te Kaho.	Hemi Riparipa.
Signed by Nopera	Signed by Nopera	Hataneta Te
te Mahue. Heni	te Mahue.	Waitawara x.
Mokai.	Wiramina Papa.	Te Ahuroa x.
		Keta x.
		Tutere te Takou x.

Ruta Te	Te Wero.	Erihapati Te Noki x.
Wharehaehae x.	Mata Te Pare.	Meri Hoia x.
Henare Matua x.	Pani.	Wiremu Matua x.
Ani Kanara	Reweti Wairau.	Hera Kaikopa x.
Hinerohi x.	Erina Hinengohe.	Piripi Taua x.
Rawinia Tukeke x.	Rakapa	Ani Patene Ngaire
Honi Wakapai x by	Nohoturuturu.	x.
Paora.	Miriama	Makareta Tapura x.
Nikora Kainga	Hineinukua.	Ko Te Huru.
Kore.	Mata.	Te Hoko x.
Te Ropiha Tukau x	Ripeka Pakipaki.	Ruka Te Korohu x.
his mark.	Raina Koianake.	Erihapeti Katata x.
Apiata Kuikainga x.	Maraea Te Awaiti.	Maatu Paku x.
Reihana Huripapa	Horomona Te	Tipene Kuori x.
x.	Rongoparae.	Matene Te Wainohu
Witeriki Tiki.	Hoani Ripeka.	(child).
Herewini Tawio x.	Raina te Huna.	Wiremu Te Rangi
Aperahama	Tariu Mangere.	per Hori
Wakaanga x.	Arapera Waipari.	Pouri.
Aperahama Pouri x.	Patariki	Rawini
Wiremu Te Herehae	Kahuponga.	Mangaraurau x.
x.	Ihaia Kere x.	Donald McLean ,
Riria Raurau x.	Hori Pouri.	Commr.
Pirihira x child.	Haimona Pita	
Horiwia x child.	Wharekorohiki x.	

Ko nga tangata o kiti i te hoatutanga o nga moni me to tuhinga o nga ingoa—

Purvis Russell .

Jno. Davis Canning.

Henry A. White.

William H. Hunter.

O. L. W. Bousfield.

Alfred Lambert

C. G. Crosse.

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