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RACE RELATIONS IN THE WAIMARINO

1880 - 1911

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University.

Rex Herbert Voelkerling

1970

To my Parents

* * * * *

PREFACE

This thesis makes an examination of Maori-Pakeha relations in the Waimarino area of the King Country in the belief that all too often Maori history is approached on a national scale and viewed within a framework of national trends and Parliamentary Acts. Through the explorations of the dynamics of a bi-racial community it is hoped a regional corrective may be made to former national interpretations. A local study possesses the advantage of getting back to the 'grass-roots'. History is reduced to its very common denominator, the individual in a small community.

From a point of 'culture contact' the emphasis in this thesis is placed on the years leading up to the new century, these initial years being crucial in determining the future of race-relations in the Waimarino. Briefly, it was not a series of Land Acts so much as particular comments and actions on the local level which influenced both Maori and European attitudes. These comments and actions have been investigated up to 1911 with one exception: the liquor question has been pursued to the early 1920's, it being very difficult to formulate any sort of a conclusion prior to this period in time.

Paucity and unreliability of source materials posed a

considerable problem in writing this thesis. By checking local sources against official publications such as the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives and the New Zealand Gazette, local sources were rendered more reliable. This cross examination was very important. Local identities often possess 'set' views, their history tending to be constructed around a hard 'mythological' core. One of the most arduous tasks was the process of 'demythologising'. There is also a relative paucity of newspaper material. The two local papers, the Waimarino County Call and the Ohakune Times appear to have been destroyed or lost with time, although several issues still exist, and these have been used in the thesis. A complete set of the Wanganui Chronicle, the Wanganui Herald and the Yeoman exist at the Wanganui Public Library, but, generally, yielded a disappointing amount of material.

Raetihi township received more emphasis than Ohakune, although neither are very important in this study, as very few Maoris had ventured permanently into the town by 1911. Neither is Pikipiki brought into the picture in any depth. The Maoris who lived there were closely linked to the Wanganui River, and seldom made any consequential penetrations inland. They appear to have been very 'civilised', probably due to the influence of the Catholic mission established in the vicinity. They depended on the river for food as well as communication.

A map of Waimarino County is included, which indicates the area under survey in this thesis. It should be pointed out that what was originally known as the 'Waimarino Block' as purchased in 1887, constituted considerably more territory to the North, but did not extend south of the Fipiriki-Karioi road. For convenience, chapter two, on the purchase of the land by the Government, refers to the entire Waimarino Block, and is thus not restricted to the area inside the Waimarino County.

Collecting figures and statistics proved almost impossible. On 4 May 1903, Waimarino County came into existence, and prior to this date, Raetihi was in the County of Waitotara, and in the electoral district of Patea. Census figures for the years 1906 and 1911 are included.

My sincere thanks go to Professor W.H. Oliver of Massey University for supervising this thesis, and to members of the 1969 History honours class for helpful criticism both in and out of class. Special thanks must also go to Dr. J.M.R. Owens and Mr. P.J. Gibbons for constructive criticism. The assistance of the librarians at the Alexander Public Library in Wanganui, the General Assembly Library and Alexander Turnbull Library at Wellington, along with the assistance of Miss J. Hornabrook

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It is doubtful if this thesis would have been presented had it not been for the infinite help of my parents which has already been acknowledged. I would also thank Mr. M.R. Turner for acting as virtually my research colleague for a short while in Wanganui, and Mr. G.R. Dickson for the provision of material comforts.

Finally special thanks to Margaret Brogden as any credit for the neatness of the appearance of this thesis is due entirely to her.

Orutoha Valley,
Raetihi.

R.H. Voelkerling.

May, 1970.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	111
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
I. INTRODUCTION	1.
II. SALE OF THE WAIMARINO BLOCK	10.
III. THE MELTING POT	16.
IV. HEALTH AND THE ECONOMY IN THE CREATION OF HARMONY	24.
V. NO-LICENSE ISSUE	30.
VI. VESTED LANDS: THE CHOTU BLOCK	44.
VII. CONCLUSION	58.
APPENDIX A	63.
APPENDIX B	64.
LIST OF SOURCES	65.
MAP.	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AJHR Appendix to the Journals of
the House of Representatives.
- PD New Zealand Parliamentary
Debates.
- Voelkerling Journals A collection of private diaries
written by A.W. Voelkerling,
1896-1898.

I. INTRODUCTION

The story of race-relations in the Waimarino is singularly devoid of the spectacular. Physical violence is not the keynote. Rather it is the story of a quiet backwater in the history of Maori-Pakeha relations. Before the 1880's there had been little European contact with the central island tribes. The only effective means of communication was the river-system of the Manganui - a - te - ao forming a vital artery to the Wanganui river. In 1884, the Native Lands Alienation Restriction Act shut off the King Country from private purchase. This occurred after a long series of meetings conducted by John Bryce and later John Ballance (as Native Ministers) with the Ngatimaniapoto chiefs. In April 1885 Stout turned the first sod of the North Island Main Trunk Railway; and in the middle of 1886 the Native Land Court held its first sitting at Oterohanga. The first peg in the survey of the Waimarino was driven on the morning of 10 June 1886—ever remembered for the Tarawera eruption which took place that day.¹

1. Waimarino County Call, 23 February 1940.

Before 1884 the Waimarino was little known, the only settlement of any note being Karioi. It was a small settlement on the eastern boundary of the Waimarino, and was an over-night stopping-place for travellers going to or from Taupo. Unfortunately, the early history of Karioi is poorly documented, although it is reputed to have had a race-course where annual meetings were held. There is still in existence a programme of a race-meeting in 1870 which was conducted by a Maori Committee.²

J.H. Nicholls, who travelled through the area in 1882, described Karioi as 'a small settlement of whites and natives', the native race being represented by several hapus of one of the principal Wanganui tribes, and the 'whites' by a collection of people including representatives of at least six to eight different European countries.³ It was in Karioi that W.A. Studholme kept his place of residence. In 1881 he and his partner (L.B. Moran) had negotiated a private twenty-year lease from the Maori owners of 200,000 acres lying between Tokaanu and Karioi: sheep were grazed, the wool being scoured at Karioi and taken to Napier. Considerable confusion arose over the terms of Studholme's lease, and several Maori tribes claimed sole right to the rent. Studholme declined to recognise the claims of any, whereupon two

2. Waimarino County Call, 23 February 1940.

3. J.H. Kerry-Nicholls, The King Country, or Explorations of New Zealand, Third edition (London, 1884), p.254.

tribes in retribution erected forts alongside the route, and for two years they prevented any wool from reaching Napier. Eventually the Commissioner of Police journeyed up from Wanganui and settled the claims of all contenders.⁴ In 1903 the Government bought this land from the Maoris and divided it into sheep runs.

The first private attempt to purchase the Waimarino prior to the 1884 Act was conducted by two Europeans, R. Hay and D. Buchanan.⁵ In February 1882 they arrived at Ranana on the Wanganui river, along with two interpreters—George Rees and a Captain Blake. However, the famous Major T. Kemp, then residing at Ranana, held some grievances against these men, and consequently would not allow them to proceed up the river. Gregor McGregor, described by McDowell who interviewed him over 50 years later, as 'an educated and cultured Maori', accompanied Hay and Buchanan as interpreter and guide. The following day sixteen canoes set out for Pipiriki with a considerable quantity of liquor. Upon arrival, the party was welcomed by a large gathering of Maoris from the upper Wanganui. In typical fashion the evening witnessed a large assembly. Speeches were

4. Wanganui Chronicle, Centennial Issue, 1956. (Precise date of publication not given.) See also, E.G. McDowell, 'The History of the Development of Raetihi and the surrounding District', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, 1936. The precise terms of the settlement remain unknown.

5. References to this endeavour may be found in: McDowell, 'History of Raetihi', pp. 13-14; Wanganui Herald, 29 December 1933; and the Ohakune Times, 23 August 1938. I have been able to trace no detailed information about these two men.

exchanged and a considerable amount of liquor consumed. It was arranged that the following day the party would proceed to Utapu (up the river) but Hay and Buchanan later changed their minds, and informed McGregor that as they were behind schedule, they would proceed immediately up the Manganui - a - te - ao river. McGregor warned that this would probably arouse antagonism, as it constituted a breach of promise, but regardless, the party moved on up the Manganui. Half a mile up the river, they met with a very angry Maori, named Pitama, who, according to McGregor, 'abused me in a language that would hardly be parliamentary'. The irate Pitama then made several charges, grazing McGregor's shoulder. The latter remained calm, and was told that although Pitama 'always thought Rangatiras [in this context, Europeans] were men of their word' he now called them 'dogs'. McGregor did not interpret the last phrase.⁶ Subsequently the party went to Utapu where a huge feast had been prepared.

The incident just related is interesting in that it reveals the significance of the interpreter in these early contacts. In that situation McGregor played a positive mediating role. On the one hand he attempted to pacify Pitama, and on the other he did not translate the more abusive passages of Pitama's speech to Hay and Buchanan, either of whom might well have taken offence. The incident was a minor and rare clash, but it does reveal the

6. Ohakune Times, 23 August 1938.

importance Maoris attached to the spoken promise. The two Europeans returned home. Their desire for purchase was dampened and they were suffering from a general disillusionment as to the value of the Waimarino.

Having exemplified the situation we move from the particular to a discussion of general features. Yet, before any analysis of Maori-Pakeha relations can be fully appreciated, it must be emphasised that, rather uniquely, the Maoris in the Waimarino formed a highly intricate network of tribes and sub-tribes.⁷ Collectively they belonged to what was loosely phrased the 'Upper Wanganui tribes'. Although sub-tribes might be fiercely proud, the influence of the King Movement, and of Te Whiti at Parihaka, was relatively insignificant.⁸ The Wanganui Maoris were perhaps the only ones to manifest any (however vague) 'anti-Pakeha' attitudes.

Nicholl's, the first traveller to leave extensive documentation of his tours, gives an interesting account of his 1882 meeting with the Wanganui Maoris at Ruakaka Pa. In the first instance he experienced difficulty in obtaining the services of a Maori from Karioi to accompany a colleague (named Turner) and himself to Ruakaka. The local Maoris gave the excuse that they 'did not like

7. On the Wanganui alone there were different hapus of the following tribes: Ngatihaus, Ngatiapa, Ngatimaringi, Ngatitamakana, Ngatitamira, Ngatiraakopiri, Ngatiikewaia and Ngatitaoa—for this see Nicholls, King Country, p.277.

8. AJHR, 1887, G-1, p.14.

to undertake the responsibility of introducing Europeans into the country'.⁹ Eventually the Europeans were conducted on to the track by a Maori, Te Wheu, who 'could not guarantee our safety, as the Maoris of that part were true Hauhaus and objected to Pakehas going into their territory'.¹⁰ It appeared that Te Wheu's words were true for at Ruakaka Pa they received anything but a cordial welcome. They were immediately surrounded by Maoris, and incessantly questioned for an hour. Finally, an old woman, who had been watching the proceedings carefully, rose and shouted 'Haeremai! Haeremai!' and then 'the pakehas have been following up the rivers of great names, and have come to our homes; they are hungry and we must give them food'.¹¹ Her words were the catalyst, and a feast was readily devoured. During the feast Nicholls asked why the Maoris had acted so suspiciously. Their chief, Te Pareoterangi, replied that they had always been suspicious of half-castes and Pakehas. But the chief went on to relate a recent incident showing that the tribes suspicion of Europeans was related to an occurrence in their immediate history. It would appear that a gold prospector called Moffat on his last journey came to Ruakaka, and induced several of the natives to accompany him to the Tuhua

9. Nicholls, King Country, p.259.

10. ibid., p.260.

11. ibid., p.273.

country. He had previously been warned not to enter the country in his search for gold. On his way he was shot in the back by Te Takaru, and as he fell from his horse another Maori split his skull with a tomahawk. Now, continued Te Pareoterangi, they were afraid that Nicholls and Turner had come to pursue Te Takaru.^{12.}

In comparison with the Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto tribes, the response of the Manganui Maoris to European penetration appeared mild. W.J. Butler, the Government land purchaser, noted in his 1887 report that the inhabitants of the Manganui were converts to the Hauhau religion, and employed most of their time in 'travelling about from place to place performing religious ceremonies'.^{13.} However, Turner, Nicholl's companion, sounded an old fighting chief 'about the present and upon the hereafter'. The old warrior replied candidly:

At one time I thought there were two saints in the island, Tawhiao and Te Whiti, and I waited a long time to see if they would be taken to heaven in a chariot of fire, but I have waited so long that I'm tired, and now I think that there are no saints in heaven or earth.

At this juncture, old Hinepareaterangi, 'who was always a good talker and displayed at all times a facetious spirit', laughed heartily at the admission of the old man, and then blatantly exclaimed: 'We believe in nothing here, and get fat on pork and potatoes'. This

12. Nicholls, King Country, p.274.

13. AJHR, 1887, G-1, p.15.

brought down roars of laughter from the assembled 'Hauhaus' and Turner dropped the religious question.^{14.}

Thus, despite the fact that the Maoris were always ready to sing Hauhau chants to the glorification of Te Whiti and Te Kooti, (who apparently were their presiding prophets) these Maoris were basically 'heathen', and beyond a superstitious variety of Hauhauism, no germ of religious teaching appeared to have affected them. These two factors—the lack of any strong form of 'tribalism' and the absence of religious fanaticism—facilitated the creation of a neutral disposition towards European arrivals. Therefore much would depend on the nature of the first permanent^{contact} between the two races. So far spasmodic contact had been relatively peaceful.

In January 1885 Ballance (the Native Minister) met the Wanganui Maoris of Ranana. Present at the meeting were representatives of most tribes in the Waimarino. As this was the first time a Minister of the Crown had visited the Wanganui tribes, great importance was attached to it by the Maoris. Ballance received a cordial welcome, the Maoris pointing out how they had not supported Tawhiao's visit to England. (In 1884 King Tawhiao had led a delegation to England to present his petition, asking that the Maoris be granted real power and authority, separate from the New Zealand Government.) As the preliminary surveyors had previously been obstructed by the removal of pegs, it is interesting to note

14. Nicholls, King Country, pp.278-279.

the conciliatory tone of the speeches of two chiefs representing the Manganui tribes in relation to Ballance's question over the Main Trunk Railway—which would pass through their domains. Te Peehi, obviously impressed by Ballance, admitted that obstruction had occurred but he 'would go back to his people and discuss the matter with them ... [for] when the explorations were going on I was instrumental in removing the obstruction'.¹⁵ Winiata himself had assisted the surveyors, but agreed with Te Peehi that the matter should be discussed with his people.¹⁶ Later, on 10 February, Te Kurukaanga, writing on behalf of the Manganui people, informed Ballance that the line for the railway had been agreed to, and that there would be no trouble whatever.¹⁷ Ballance's friendly attitude had won the day. Of all the Waimarino Maoris likely to show resistance to European colonisation, the Manganui Maoris were prepared to follow a conciliatory policy.

15. *AJHR*, 1885, G-1, p.7.

16. *ibid.*, p.8.

17. Native Dept. Special File 61, Te Kurukaanga/Ballance, 10 February 1885.

II. SALE OF THE WAIMARINO BLOCK

In the whole history of the Colony there has never been any purchase so extensive in any district, or one completed with such expedition.

(R. Stout and A. Ngata, Royal Commission, 1907).¹

Thus the Stout - Ngata Commission introduced their report on the Waimarino, and in doing so, aptly placed it in its perspective in relation to the acquisition of Maori land elsewhere in the Dominion. In view of the multiple opinions existing on this all too inflammatory topic, the background to the sale of this massive block will be investigated.

The purchase followed closely the generous gift by the Ngatituwharetoa tribe through their chief Te Heuheu Horonuku of Ruapehu, Tongariro and Ngauruhoe as a national park. The spirit behind the gift of the park was summed up by one newspaper correspondent:

1. AJHR, 1907, G-1A, p.5.

This gift to the public of New Zealand by a Maori chief and his tribe is a magnificent one, and cannot be too highly appreciated or too cordially recognised.²

The only request made by Te Heuheu was in a letter to Ballance, asking that his father who was buried on top of the mountain, be removed and a tomb be erected by the Government, and that his second son Tureti be made trustee after his death.³ The Government subsequently honoured this request, and the first piece of land passed into official hands.

On 14 April 1886 the purchase of the Waimarino Block began under the auspices of the government purchaser, W.J. Butler. The time-span involved, less than a year, is indicative of the over-all co-operation between buyer and seller. It is a mistake to view the purchase (as so many have done)⁴ in terms of Maori owners desperately clinging to their soil against the intrusion of the land-hungry European. Litigation was reduced to a minimum, although (as Butler admitted) several complaints were issued concerning the lack of accommodation for, and length of the Native Land Court sittings.⁵ A stronger criticism was the average price the Government paid, usually 2s.6d. per acre, although it ranged

2. Yeoman, 25 March 1887.

3. AJHR, 1887, G-4, pp.1-2; AJHR, 1888, G-2A, p.4.

4. See M.P.K. Sorrenson 'The Purchase of Maori Lands 1865-1892', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1955.

5. AJHR, 1887, G-1, p.15.

from 9d. for the poorer land to 5s.0d. for good land. However as chapter VI illustrates private negotiations did not necessarily mean larger profits, and in this sale, the Maoris at least received their money.

Throughout the negotiations reserves were set aside for those who had sold land. These reserves were personally allocated by Butler, and had nothing to do with the Native Land Court.⁶ Finally, on 3 April 1887, the Waimarino Block was awarded to the Government. Out of 1,006 names on the original order of the Court only one hundred had not sold their land. At the final hearing of the Court, Butler read out the names of the non-sellers, and asked the Court to award to ^{the} Crown the interest of the persons who had sold. Major Topia, a rather curious Maori identity (little is known of his background), applied for an adjournment to enable the parties to come to some agreement, and this was acceded to. When the Court resumed it was informed that the adjournment had been fruitless. It appears that Major Topia had incited the non-sellers to create confusion over hapu boundaries. As it was impossible to get reliable evidence in the face of the strong opposition manifested by Topia, a statutory declaration made by a chief, Rangihoutou, as to the various hapu boundaries was produced in Court and received as evidence.⁷ In the final analysis, the Crown ended up with 417,500

6. PD, 1887, 57, p.805.

7. Yeoman, 8 April 1887; Wanganui Herald, 5 April 1887.

acres, the boundaries of which were defined in the Gazette.⁸
 The reserves made for those who had sold (Waimarino A-F) amounted to 33,115 acres, while subdivisions 2-8, amounting to 41,000 acres were awarded to the 115 owners who had not sold.⁹

The purchase was completed. Generally speaking, the negotiations were carried out smoothly because wherever there was a land purchaser, there was a Maori or group of Maori owners willing to sell. An editorial in the Yeoman would appear to explain the final fiasco with Major Topia. He was apparently 'seen advising the non-sellers and coaching up the sellers to give evidence adverse to the Crown'.¹⁰ Topia in all probability feared that the Maori race would become a large landless body and he consequently embarked on a last-minute rear-guard action. This appears logical when it is considered that he himself had sold all his land and was therefore suddenly one of the landless. If he had firmly believed in the Maori retention of land prior to the negotiations, his personal sale would appear highly ambiguous. However when the Native Minister finally left Wanganui, Topia, and the Maoris who did not sell, gave Ballance an assurance that they were perfectly satisfied with the decision of the Court.¹¹

8. New Zealand Gazette, 1887, pp.677-678; AJHR, 1909, C-11, p.1.

9. AJHR, 1907, G-IA, p.5.

10. Yeoman, 8 April 1887.

11. ibid., 15 April 1887.

Undoubtedly injustices did occur in the distribution of land and titles. It is very likely that some of the more remote members of hapu on the Manganui river were not fairly represented at the Court.¹² For, in subsequent years several petitions reached the Government praying for redress of grievances resulting from the 1887 settlement. The petitions received a genuine hearing. For example, when 'Paraone Rophia and Another' prayed that a reserve be set aside for them in the Waimarino Block, the Native Affairs Committee¹³ recommended that:

The Government should make inquiry into the case of the petitioners, and, by way of a compassionate allowance, grant such relief as may be considered just to those owners in the Waimarino Block whose names were, through ignorance on the part of the head of their hapu, withheld from the Court at the time of hearing (7 August 1895).¹⁴

The Government at least, did not wipe its hands of the implications of land purchase after 1887.

It is improbable, that the purchase of Maori land in any one corner of the Dominion could claim the altruistic title, a 'just deal'. Yet it is apparent, that in comparison with the sale of

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12. This statement is largely speculative, although the results of extensive interviews given formal expression in the words of Duncan Ropata (a learned district identity) suggest that as the interpreters were (again presumably) 'outsiders', misrepresentation did occur. (Interview with Duncan Ropata, February 1970, at Ruakaka Pa.)
13. The Committee was 'appointed to consider all petitions, reports, returns and other documents relating to affairs specifically affecting the Native race that may be brought before the House....' (AJHR, 1895, I-3, p.8.)
14. AJHR, 1895, I-3, p.8, petition 80. For other examples refer to AJHR, 1910, I-3, p.24, petition 732; 1896, I-3, p.22, petition 507; 1914, I-3, p.8, petition 225.

Maori land in other districts, the Waimarino purchase does not necessitate a denunciation of the European purchasers at the bar of history. In fact, land purchase in the Waimarino shows a vesting of rather than a clash of interests, and is of a piece with the general sophistication of race relations generally in the area.

III. THE MELTING POT

The first known European settler other than Studholme of Karioi was an Italian known to the Maoris as 'Morriu', who squatted on some land nine miles west of Raetihi. He was found in 1886, living with his Maori wife. Apparently he was of an industrious nature, for the land had been cleared and trees planted. Eventually, in 1892, he was ordered off the land, though the Government made a generous compensation of £200.¹ In 1888, Peter Bran the first 'legal' settler, and first Justice of the Peace for the area arrived, and after him came a succession of pioneers (probably less than fifty at this time), most of whom took up small blocks and immediately commenced the arduous task of clearing the bush for farming purposes.

A basic concern of all the settlers was to improve the roads. As far back as 1886 a track from Karioi to Phipiriki

1. Waimarino County Call, 23 February 1940; McDowell, 'History of Raetihi', p.23.

had been cut,² and this was gradually being widened into a dray road. Virtually all the roading in this area was constructed on the co-operative principle. The Government would let a section of road on contract to the settlers themselves, who then proceeded to build their own road. The average was supposed to be 6s.9d. a day (though it varied because of weather and other influences) and the settlers provided their own shovels. In the initial phase of settlement it was their only ready supply of cash.³

The Maoris played an integral role in these roading schemes, as they formed the only ready supply of labour the early settlers could rely on to any degree. Where there were no roads, the Maoris would act as guides. As food was a necessity for the traveller, it was Maori hospitality that ensured a full stomach wherever there was a village or a family. One European travelling up the Parapara wrote:

I negotiate with old Mary for paddocking my horse for 1/-. Mary is a good old soul and gives you plenty of pork and potatoes to eat, and makes a fire in your whare, one seemingly built purposely for European convenience. After seeing you comfortable for the night, she hints a request for a few matches and a candle ... I only had to pay 1/- for the horse ... nothing whatever for food and shelter, which I can assure you was given with true Maori hospitality.⁴

2. Waimarino County Call, 23 February 1940.

3. New Zealand Farmer, 1895, pp. 322, 405; also Cyclopedia of New Zealand, (six volumes, Wellington and Christchurch, 1897-1908), I, p.1459.

4. Yeoman, 17 October 1887.

A less tangible factor behind this symbiotic relationship between the two races was the geographical location of the Waimarino. That is to say, in a sense it was a true frontier situation. Until 1893 Raetihi was just a clearing in the bush, but in that year eighty quarter-acre sections were sold for £16. each, but for the next ten years the town was virtually a single muddy track with a mixture of commercial and residential buildings on each side. As a town Raetihi could not be separated from its environment—the surrounding rural area was the means and raison d'être of its existence.⁵ The isolation factor was readily appreciated by the early settlers: a columnist for the New Zealand Farmer wrote in 1895:

The Raetihi settlers are not apparently satisfied with their means of communication with the outer world ... and at a meeting have passed a resolution ... that ... while naturally expecting the completion of the metalling on the Pipiriki-Ohakune road, this meeting is opposed to all further expenditure on the Wanganui River, and considers that the Main Trunk and the Parapara Road are the district's best outlets.⁶

This isolation (and awareness of it) fostered pragmatism. An individual will nearly always develop a 'working' relationship with his neighbour if they both need each other; and around Raetihi the newly settled farmer could scarcely afford to quarrel

5. For an accurate but fuller account of Raetihi's development, see McDowell, 'History of Raetihi', passim.

6. New Zealand Farmer, 1895, p.405.

with his darker-skinned acquaintances when his next cheque depended on 'Rangi' or 'Tira' supplying him with potatoes or clipping his wool the following month. In brief, the Waimarino tended to become a melting pot for the two races.

As the Maoris were such a great help to the early settlers, it benefitted the European most if he could win their esteem. For the provision of pack-horses and shearing services the Maoris would seldom accept monetary reward when they were on friendly terms with their employers. It was customary for the farmer to supply the shearers and their dependents with food during the shearing operations. A wise farmer found it to his advantage to supply his benefactors with gifts of mutton from time to time. This rather informal system of services and payment through gifts was particularly common in the years before 1910. With the later increase in farmers' profits, and the development of Raetihi township and roads, a greater reliance came to be placed on money wages.

When in 1895 Orautoha valley was opened up for settlement, several German families bought up sections. They spoke German and were staunch adherents of the Lutheran faith, factors which would normally tend to produce self-consciousness and a consequent narrow circle of acquaintances. Yet within a week after the arrival of the Voelkerling family (one of the first families to settle in the valley) a liaison was struck with the Maoris:

In the morning Joe [a Maori] called at our tent looking for cattle; asked to have a lend of my gun, so I let him have it [when] we arrived back at Liggins the Natives had boiled some potatoes and

pigeons which Joe had shot, and he asked us to have some kai with them; so to please them we had a bit of pigeon and made out we enjoyed it first rate.⁷

Thus, a rifle was lent and kai received in return. But this passage does not simply reveal the reciprocal relationship that was created. Albert Voelkerling was making a conscious effort at the time to write spoken English, and he was therefore somewhat susceptible to the characteristics of the Maori idiom. The passage above shows the subtle penetration of the Maori vernacular, manifested in such phrases as kai and 'we enjoyed it first rate'.⁸

Two weeks later this family was receiving pork, swapping dogs with 'Tira' and was even offered a milking cow by 'Joe'.⁹ The solidarity of this relationship was in the year 1917 increased when a Maori, the Reverend H.H. Te Punga, became Raetihi's first Lutheran minister, and remained in that post for thirty years. Throughout his ministry, and despite the fact that he was not resident locally, Te Punga was greatly respected by both the Lutherans and other members of the community with which he came into contact.

The peculiar frontier situation which characterised the Waimarino also meant that the Maori came into contact with a certain type of Pakeha. Apart from the occasional sly-grog

7. Voelkerling Journals, 14 May 1896.

8. The influence of Maori idiom is evident throughout the Journals.

9. Voelkerling Journals, 24 May; 5 June; 24 June 1896.

seller the average European tended to be an industrious and honest worker. Raetihi was not a trading centre or sea port, and the 'scum' of European society had not yet penetrated this colonial back-water. On the other hand the European community did not look askance at those who associated with the Maoris.

When Seddon travelled throughout the native districts of the North Island in 1894, he received a warm welcome from the small settlements in the Waimarino.¹⁰ For the Maoris, 'King Dick's' visit provided an opportunity to voice several requests. A correspondent described Seddon's meeting with the Maoris of a small kainga two miles east of Raetihi:

We arrive at a small Maori kainga called Toanui, and the entire population of which, three generations of one family, came out and offered a big welcome. The principal man is Winiata, and finding he has two Ministers before him [Carroll accompanied Seddon] he acts on the motto carpe diem. He is concerned for the preservation of the graves of the ancestors of his hapu, who lie buried on the various hill tops on the Waimarino Block, now belonging to the Government. Will the Premier reserve these sacred places?¹¹

This was not a question involving national issues or policy, rather something that was immediately relevant to the people involved. As it was, Seddon did not give a direct answer, but lent a sympathetic ear, stating that he 'felt pleased at finding

10. New Zealand Farmer, December 1895, p.477; Yeoman, 10 March 1894; AJHR, 1895, G-1, passim.

11. AJHR, 1895, G-1, pp. 6-7.

amongst the Maoris such a reverential feeling for the dead.^{12.}

At his meetings with the Maoris, Seddon frequently mentioned his desire that schools should be built to allow both races to grow up in harmony. The Native Schools Code of 1870 had provided for the operation of Native Schools and the establishment of new ones.^{13.} In 1898 J.H. Pope, Inspector of Native Schools, recommended that a Native School be opened at Karici and as it was situated 'on one of our more frequented tourist lines, and very conspicuous, it is really necessary that it should be a specially good school'.^{14.} The school was opened in the final quarter of 1899, under the guidance of Miss A.C. Grant, who remained there until 1904 when she retired because of ill-health. (Karici continued as a Native school until the mid 1920's, when it was eventually taken over by the Wanganui Education Board.) Her achievements and those of later teachers would make an interesting study but would require more space than is available here. The school record would have to be assessed in the light of Pope's policy, which was a paternalistic one, aimed at saving the 'dying' Maori race through a vigorous schooling in the English, lower-middle class virtues of cleanliness, thrift, self-discipline and sobriety. The assumption behind the policy was that a minority

12. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.7.

13. AJHR, 1888, H-1F.

14. AJHR, 1900, E-2, p.11.

culture would be assimilated by the dominant culture. This is reflected in the exclusive use of English as the teaching medium.¹⁵ Several extracts from Pope's reports suggest that the Karioi school would be fruitful to examine:

'Really useful kindergarten work is done here'

'The relations existing between the teachers' family and their Maori clients give no support to the catch-word that the Maori knows no gratitude.'

'It is pleasing to see that the Committee here ... have worked heartily and well'.¹⁶

So too, would it be interesting to examine multi-racial schools such as Raetihi (an example of an 'urban' school - 94 pupils on the roll in 1909) and Orautoha (an example of a rural school - 15 pupils on the roll in 1909). The key to such research would be to see, especially in relation to Karioi school, how the comparatively 'individualistic' approach of the Waimarino Maori would react to a programme conducted along the lines of Pope's paternalistic policy.

15. AJHR, 1900, E-2, p.2.

16. AJHR, 1900, E-2, p.11; 1901, E-2, p.11; 1903, E-2, p.2.

IV. HEALTH AND THE ECONOMY IN THE CREATION OF HARMONY

A predominant factor in the creation of racial harmony in the Waimarino was the economic status of the Maori race. Health too, was important. Had the Maoris existed in a state of disease and semi-starvation, the resultant class differentiation with the Europeans could easily have turned into a racial one—the Maoris being viewed as the lower class, dirty and lazy. Evidence, however, points to the contrary.

Butler in 1887 reported the Maoris of the Waimarino to be in 'good health'. However he referred to the Maoris living on the Manganui - a - te - ao settlements as being in a 'wretched state not the slightest regard is paid to the most common laws of health'.¹ The 1891 census enumerator for the area, made a similar report, stating that their mode of life was unsatisfactory, 'and it is a matter for surprise

1. AJHR, 1887, G-1, p.15.

that the mortality among them is not much greater than it is.' Yet despite misgivings about the Manganui Maoris, the population appears to have steadily increased, the 1911 census reporting, 'their sanitary arrangements are all that can be desired'.²

This over-all sound health can partly be attributed to the viability of the Maori economy in the Waimarino. Timber proved to be a considerable asset. In 1894 one mill operated at Raetihi.³ Very quickly the number multiplied, and for good reason. E.P. Turner, who conducted an official botanical examination of the Waimarino in 1909, stated:

The Waimarino Forest probably carries in its timber the most valuable crop it will ever produce. In several localities rimu and matai are so plentiful that they are the chief forest trees.

The Maoris who owned the land certainly made a profit, getting as much in 'some instances as £8. an acre solely for the timber-rights'.⁴ The sawmills also provided the Maoris with a ready source of work: by 1920, there were up to twenty sawmills operating within a radius of five miles from Raetihi. Often though, Maori work habits clashed with the European organisation

2. AJHR, 1891, G-2, p.6; 1911, H-14A, p.18. Refer to Appendix A, below.

3. New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1894, p.502.

4. AJHR, 1909, C-11, p.16. The bush worked by one sawmill in the Kakahi locality was yielding 40,000 super feet of rimu, totara and matai to the acre. See also, Auckland Weekly News, 28 December 1911, p.48.

designed for profits. If a hangi was being held, a single hapu might be involved for several days in the celebrations. Naturally this was most unfortunate in the eyes of the mill-owner, if, as was often the case, members of one family worked together in the same mill.

The crux of Maori economic prosperity lay in their ability to operate sheep farms. From as early as 1887 European travellers into the Waimarino had noticed the high standards of Maori sheep-farming. Just south of Raetihi, for example, the Maoris:

have a fine settlement and a magnificent country road, on which they are felling the bush They very proudly pointed out to me their sheep, cattle and pigs, of which they have a good stock, and all looking well.⁵

Butler, and the various census enumerators in the years following him, all had ready words of praise for the level of farming the Maoris displayed.⁶ At Pipiriki, where wheat was grown, the Maoris operated a local flour mill.⁷

The obvious Maori success in sheep farming is remarkable when it is contrasted with the over-all national pattern which was one of considerable expansion in activities in the 1890's, followed in the first decade of the new century by a decline in the number of sheep farmers only a little less rapid than the increase registered in 1890-99. In 1890 there were fewer than 400 Maori

5. Yeoman, 12 August 1887.

6. AJHR, 1887, G-1, p.15; 1911, H-14A, p.18.

7. McDowell, 'History of Raetihi', p.34.

sheep farms; in 1895 this had more than doubled, and by 1899 there were over 1,000 owners in the entire country. From 1900 on, however, the number of owners declined, there being 558 in 1905 and 494 in 1910. Nevertheless, the Waimarino and the Manawatu were the only counties which did not show a drop in the number of Maori sheep farmers.⁸

This would at first sight, appear contradictory. A brief glimpse at Appendix B (below) will indicate that the area under common cultivation was precisely nil. Indeed, the 'erroneous principle of individual title ... the pregnant cause of mischief and confusion'⁹ was the life-blood of Maori farming in the Waimarino. As mentioned earlier, 'tribalism' does not appear to have been very strong, and this seems to be reflected in the desire the Maoris showed for individual titles. The Stout - Ngata Commission of 1907 made special note of Waimarino Maori views. Several reserves had been set aside in 1887 for those who had sold land, and now the Maoris urged that the Court should, as early as possible, partition them, so that the interest of each individual or family could be defined and allocated. Beyond this point they were not prepared to say what would be done with the land—but emphasised that it would be for each individual

8. E.J. Martin, 'Aspects of Maori Affairs in the Liberal Period', Unpublished M.A. thesis, Victoria University, 1956, pp. 143-144.

9. AJHR, 1907, G-1C, p.2. (Stout-Ngata Commission).

or family to decide after partition.¹⁰ As illustrated further on, the Maoris of this locality were to evince strong feelings about vested lands. The eastern portion of the Waimarino was an area of vigorous Government purchasing and the creation of titles to the Maori blocks was much more advanced than in any of the other Waimarino sub-tribes, many subdivisions having been made into individual and family holdings. As the Stout - Ngata Commission recognised, the demand for land, enhanced by the construction of the Main Trunk railway, and the natural advantages of pastoral and agricultural country:

justified the comparative activity of the Maori owners, assisted by the Court, in pursuing the European ideal of individualizing their holdings. A policy which might have been suicidal under other circumstances, would seem to have been justified here, because of the extent of the individual and family interests, the position and value of the land involved.¹¹

Thus communal farming was not suited to the Waimarino—the European ideal of individual title was pursued, not so much because it was forced on the Maoris, but because it suited their requirements. Although gradually the Maoris tended to accept the material values of European society, their pattern of farming was not the consequence of an uncritical acceptance

10. AJHR, 1907, G-IA, p.6.

11. ibid, p.9.

of the Pakeha way. Rather it resulted from a rational approach, the benefits being clearly indicated in their economic progress.

The situation is aptly expressed by an old proverb:

The fame of the warrior is shortlived, but the fame of the man strong to cultivate, is everlasting.

V. NO-LICENCE ISSUE

From 1887 to the early 1950's Waimarino, as part of the Rohe Potae or King Country, was a 'dry' area: no licenses were issued for selling liquor. The motivating force behind King Country no-licence was the desire to preserve the Maori race from the evils of liquor. The story of no-licence begins in the early 1880's when the Government was still pursuing a policy of colonial expansion with roads and railways generally being further developed. The King Country was viewed in a more appreciative manner, especially since it cut across the direct route between Wellington and Auckland along which, it was assumed, the highly vaunted Main Trunk railway line would run. Negotiations with the various King Country tribes were thus given top priority by the Government. It was in this context, that the question of no-licensing arose.

Prior to the issue of the Proclamation defining the areas now known as the King Country, section twenty five of the Licensing Act of 1881 stated:

The Governor, on the application of any block or area of Native land on which no publican's license has been granted, may by proclamation in the Gazette, declare that no license shall be granted within such block or area, and it shall not be lawful for the Licensing Committee to issue any license to take effect within any block or area so proclaimed.¹

In October, 1884, Tawhiao and twenty Waikato chiefs signed a petition for Parliament, praying that Wahanui, the great Maniapoto chief, might be heard at the Bar of both Houses, and that intoxicating liquor might be excluded from the King Country altogether. In the course of his address, Wahanui said:

Another request I have to make is that the sale of spirits within our district shall be stopped absolutely. I do not want that great evil brought upon our people. I hope that the House will be strong in preventing this evil coming upon us and upon our people.²

There was no bickering: Ballance immediately informed the House that the prohibitive clauses of the 1881 Licensing Act were going into force in the King Country.³ As a result the Kawhia Licensing Area was proclaimed on 3 December 1884.⁴

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1. New Zealand Statutes, 1881, p.135 (No. 21).
 2. PD, 1884, 50, p.556.
 3. *ibid.*, p.312.
 4. New Zealand Gazette, 1884, II, p.1685.

It is most significant that no 'pledge' or 'pact' was entered into—there was no tacit implication that, in return for a liquor ban, the chiefs would allow European penetration of the area. The dominant small force behind Wahanui's petition was the Gospel Temperance Mission, whose supporters formed the Blue Ribbon Army, pledged by personal example to do their utmost to advance the temperance cause throughout New Zealand. In 1882 their foremost leader, C.F. Snow launched a Maori newspaper Te Korimako, with the avowed aim of improving the moral and social conditions of the Maori people, the first issue containing a full-page portrait of Wahanui.⁵ The Proclamation was purely a humanitarian move, Stout himself admitting that it could be superseded by an Act of Parliament;⁶ 'The law was there to be invoked if the Maoris so desired, and there was therefore no need for pacts, or covenants or bargaining',⁷ Ballance stated at Mokoia. The ban was simply an expression of Government policy, and there is no indication that the Proclamation had been issued by the Government in return for a gift or concession of the land for the railway or for any right of entry into the King Country. Certainly, Wahanui, Taonui and other leaders believed that the Proclamation could be revoked by the

5. AJHR, 1953, H-25, pp. 4-10. (Article by A.H. McIntock, 'Liquor in the King Country'.)
 6. AJHR, 1953, H-25, p.8.
 7. AJHR, 1885, G-1, p.27.

authority of Parliament, and that it possessed nothing of a 'sacred' or inviolable character. Wahanui and Taonui both subsequently tried to secure the revocation of the Proclamation in certain areas.^{8.}

Raetihi, of course, did not exist as a town in 1885; the Waimarino Block had not even been purchased then by the Government. However, according to the Resident Magistrate, Robert Ward, in Wanganui (14 April 1884) the Blue Ribbon had spread and the drinking habits of the Maoris had greatly changed for 'the better'.^{9.} In January 1885 when Ballance met at Banana the Wanganui Maoris as well as representatives from the Waimarino tribes, the Minister pointed out how Tawhiao's petition for prohibition was immediately answered by the Government: 'You will see, therefore, that the laws of the colony are sufficient in most instances, if they are only applied and asked for'.^{10.} Therefore under the stimulus of the Temperance Movement, and no doubt inspired by the words of Ballance, and indeed of the prestigious personal meeting with Ballance, the 'Upper Wanganui' Maoris applied to have their district proclaimed a no-licence area under the provisions of section twenty five of ^{the} Licensing Act of 1881. The exact methods they adopted and the petitions they submitted are unknown, as no records exist to illucidate the picture. The

8. FD, 1948, 284, p.4217; AJHR, 1896, I-3, p.19.

9. AJHR, 1884, G-1, p.19.

10. AJHR, 1885, G-1, p.8.

Proclamation itself made it clear that it was issued upon the application of 'the owners of the Native land described in the Schedule hereto on which no publicans licence has hitherto been granted'.^{11.}

It would appear however, that several licenses of doubtful validity were subsequently issued. In 1908 the Taumarunui Licensing Commission granted three licenses for Raetihi, Ohakune, and Rangitaua. This fact was brought to the attention of the House, and in 1909 the validity of the existing proclamations were confirmed by legislation. Any licenses already granted in the King Country and in force on the passing of the 1909 Act, were 'on the expiry of the period for which they were granted, [to] cease and determine' and be incapable of renewal.^{12.}

The history of King Country no-licence after 1887 takes on a second dimension. Many people viewed the two proclamations as 'sacred pacts'. The central and vital fact, many people assumed, was to be the lifting of the tapu against the entry of the Pakeha and placing it against the entry of the liquor traffic. The real issues became blurred. The turning of the first sod for the Main Trunk line by Stout in April 1885 became the symbol of the 'pact', but as the Smith Commission on Licensing was to point out in 1946, the final decision of the Maoris was

11. New Zealand Gazette, 1887, I, p.436. The area was hence known as the 'Upper Wanganui Licensing Area'.

12. New Zealand Statutes, 1909, p.266 (No.16).

that they consented to the railway line in return for payments for the land required.¹³ The liquor question was strictly another issue, but not separate for long in the minds of men. Prohibitionism was looming up as an increasingly powerful force, and its appeal had an emotional not an objective base. Past events were distorted by eager partisans, and as events grew more distant, the facts themselves became rather dubious, dependent as they were on doubtful secondary sources. A curious situation occurred. A general consensus of 'Maori opinion' was not obtained; the crusading spirit of the Pakeha seemed to win the day on an issue which basically concerned the Maoris. As mentioned, in 1891, the native chiefs who had previously petitioned for a proclaimed area, addressed a communication to the Native Minister requesting that licenses should be granted at Kawhia and Otorohanga because of the increasing European population. But this request evoked only an emotional speech in the House. A.K. Newman queried whether the Government's Native policy was to be: 'the opening of a public-house in the King Country for the purpose of demoralising the Native democracy'.¹⁴

In 1900 Seddon proposed to give the Maoris the right to vote on the liquor issue, and a campaign was immediately waged to fight this proposal. Stout broke silence and claimed 'it was a feature of the arrangements [of the 1880's] that no liquor

13. AJHR, 1946, H-38, p.368.

14. PD, 1892, 75, pp. 80-81.

was to be sold if the territory was to be opened for the railway'.¹⁵ Stout, either because he saw an opportunity for dispute with Seddon, or because his belief in the cause of prohibition was so strong, had oversimplified the no-licence details of the 1880's to the point of inaccuracy. A vigorous and emotional debate ensued in the House, and in general few Members contributed anything of substance to the problem. In the midst of all this chaos George Fisher (a member for Wellington City) probably penetrated to the crux of the matter when he said:

All the particulars necessary to the discussion of the subject are now in the possession of the House, except one thing—and that is, we want proof of the statement ascribed by Sir Robert Stout to the now dead chief Wahanui. And I assert positively that proof cannot be produced.¹⁶

Seddon's proposal was eventually squashed and for the next twenty years little inclination was shown on behalf of the Government to alter the situation. The passing of the 1909 Bill in the words of Sir Joseph Ward proposed:

to put the law as it was intended to be before these wholesale licenses were issued; and to preserve the status quo until Parliament decides by legislation to give the people there an opportunity of voting on the question.

However, two members, W.F. Massey (Franklin) and W.T. Jennings

15. Evening Post, 12 July 1900.

16. PD, 1900, 113, p.331.

(Taumarunui) favoured local option as the numbers of Europeans in certain King Country areas were increasing.¹⁷

How effective was the no-licence ban? When it was drawn up it appeared 'water tight', but it perhaps suffered from a certain lack of vision. In 1887 there were few Europeans in the Upper Wanganui Licensing Area, but with the purchase of the Waimarino Block, and the development of the road between Karioi and Pipiriki, the situation began to change. The Magistrates' Courts after 1887 increasingly became jammed with liquor offenders—in the Waimarino at least, the ban was tending to prove farcical. Liquor was readily sold to members of both races. When Seddon travelled throughout the Native districts in 1894 he met with repeated requests from the Maoris for a hotel. A reporter wrote of one chief, Hiraka, from Moawhango:

Hiraka said that he did not wish the Premier to depart with the idea that they wanted a hotel established in the district in order that they might get drunk. It was for quite a different reason. They could not shut their eyes to the fact that grog was imported clandestinely into the district It was not desirable that evil should exist in any district but perhaps the lesser evil in this particular case was that it should be under control.¹⁸

Two factors seemed to be at work against no-licence; the Maori love for waipiro and the contaminating influence of a

17. PD, 1909, 148, pp. 1315-1316.

18. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.5.

particular kind of European who travelled through the Waimarino from Karioi to Pipiriki, bringing with him liquor (often adulterated with methylated spirits) which was retailed to customers of both races. As for the first factor, Seddon was 'assured that nearly every second Native is concerned either directly or indirectly in dispensing waipiro'. Yet the liquor ban did not appear to create racial tension in the Waimarino, and according to the Police Force Commission, 1898, one 'sly grogger' found refuge in a Maori pa when being pursued by the police.¹⁹ To Maori and Pakeha drinkers, the 'Grog Act', as the 1909 Act was vulgarly termed, though often a source of irritation, tended to be accepted as one of the more unwholesome facts of life. Certainly many breaches of the Act did occur, and although a European could bring liquor into the Waimarino caution had to be exercised in the way it was brought in and in the manner it was consumed.²⁰

19. AJHR, 1895, G-1, pp.136-137; AJHR, 1898, H-2, pp.136-137.

20. The following is a list of the chief offences—collected from innumerable sources:
- (a) To sell or expose or keep for sale any liquor.
 - (b) To send or deliver within the area, liquor intended to be sold.
 - (c) To supply intoxicating liquor to any Maori, other than for medical purposes.
 - (d) To fail to notify intention to import liquor and address and name of addressee.
 - (e) To store liquor for others.
 - (f) To supply liquor to a person in the area without a signed order.
 - (g) To take liquor into the area or from a Railway Station within the area without a signed order by the purchaser.
 - (h) To consign liquor through the New Zealand Railways or Post Office without bearing a statement as to the nature, quantity and name and address of the addressee.

If it did not create racial tension, sly-grogging did create tension of another kind. One resident of Raetihi claimed in an article:

Many an honest drinker who had procured a quantity of liquor through legal channels but who had been indiscreet enough to dispose of it too rapidly, frequently through treating friends, was unable to satisfactorily answer questions asked by the police and thus sealed his fate. The onus was on the person to prove that he had not disposed of it by sales.²¹

The following statement contains a kernel of truth:

Proclaimed Area law differed from the general law, in that an accused person was held to be guilty until such time as he could prove himself innocent.²²

It certainly did not profit one suddenly to dispose of a large quantity of liquor unless one could explain its consumption. As a consequence some of the more familiar sights around Raetihi were the notorious 'keg-parties'. At these parties a limited number of persons, having acquired a considerable quantity of liquor, would gather together and drink until all the available liquor was consumed. Kegs of whisky proved very popular, especially with local sports bodies and other social groups. Yet tension grew through uncertainty; uncertainty created conditions of abundance followed by shortage or vice versa. Sometimes embarrassment arose. It was customary for a European farmer, when shearing was finished for a season, to

21. Wanganui Chronicle, 15 August 1959. Article by Tom Shout. This account has been verified by informal discussions with residents who lived in the Waimarino when it was a 'dry' area.

22. ibid.

order a certain quantity of liquor to be consumed by the shearers. More often than not, half of the shearing gang were Maoris, yet legally they were not allowed to participate fully in the festivities. In most instances, the farmer took the risk, and the liquor took a bi-racial flow.

On the other side, vigilante groups such as the Primitive Methodists and the Women's Christian Temperance Union were constantly working lest a chance of indulging in a burst of conviviality should slip by their notice. To them the King Country was an opportunity which was not open to them in the rest of the country. Liquor was singled out by reformist groups generally, probably because it was an easily identifiable 'sin' and appeared to be a manageable problem.

The Hockly Licensing Commission, 1922, revived the whole question of the King Country 'Pact'.²³ John Ormsby, who had been spokesman for the Ngatimaniapoto during some of the 1883-85 discussions, gave 'evidence' in 1922 which suggested that a 'solemn pact' had in fact been entered into, although the term itself came from members of the Commission. Ormsby's views were then quoted by temperance groups, although he himself was now in favour of licenses.²⁴ The Commission recommended (though only on the casting vote of the Chairman) that if national

23. AJHR, 1922, I-22, passim.

24. AJHR, 1953, H-25, pp. 6-10. Both Ormsby and his wife had been fined several times for selling liquor to the Maoris.

prohibition were not carried in the next general licensing poll, a local vote should be taken in the King Country to decide the future of no-licence.²⁵ At the same time a conference of King Country Borough Councils resolved to urge upon the Government the desirability of its granting local option.²⁶

This recommendation was all that was needed to bring about what was probably the most stormy controversy in the history of King Country no-licensing. Nevertheless the 'storm' in the King Country must be placed in the context of the national scene. The period of the First World War exacerbated many of the religious and semi-religious tensions in New Zealand society.²⁷ During the war and afterwards the prohibition movement increased its propaganda against liquor with some fanaticism; and in the national poll of 1919 the majority for prohibition was reversed only by the soldiers votes. Thus in 1923, with the thought the 'sacred pledge' of the King Country was in danger of being treated as a 'scrap of paper' it is no wonder that there was a considerable outcry from the reformers. In July, 1923, a deputation waited on the

25. AJHR, 1922, I-14, clause 5.

26. H.W. Milner, Liquor Laws in the King Country (Wellington, 1946), p.31.

27. See, for instance, P.S. O'Connor, 'Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand', Political Science, XIX number 1 (July 1967), pp. 3-16; H. Moores, 'The Origins of the Protestant Political Association', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1966.

Prime Minister, William Massey. A petition was presented by W. Stenton (Chairman of the Taumararui County Council), R. Harris (Mayor of Raetihi) and the Reverend T. Dennis of Te Kuiti. The deputation was introduced by Frank Langstone, Member of Parliament for Waimarino.²⁸ The deputation argued that the 'Pact' should remain in force. On the national scene the New Zealand Alliance published a special booklet, in which Article twenty two of the Covenant of the League of Nations was cited to give full 'force' to their argument.²⁹ Against this background, Stout speaking at Wellington on 23 August 1923, made his famous statement in reference to the cutting of the first sod of the Main Trunk Railway:

in this discussion [of 1885] and by questions put to me by Wahanui, the Natives wished to know if the Government would continue the prevention of alcohol being brought into the Rohe Potae District ... there was a bargain made between the Maoris and the Government that this district was to be kept free from the sale of spirituous liquors

He concluded:

And what will be thought of us if the future historian of New Zealand has to record that we made a solemn pact [sic] with the Natives, and that we afterwards repudiated it?³⁰

28. W.H. Milner, Liquor Laws, p.37.

29. New Zealand Alliance 'The King Country, a prohibited area: Our Native Race (Wellington, 1923). Article 22 of the Covenant reads: 'Conditions which guarantee freedom of conscience and religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic....'

30. H.W. Milner, Liquor Laws, pp. 20-21.

Despite the fact that no 'Pact' really existed, Stout's prestige had given him an almost unassailable authority, and it was accepted by many as gospel. Consequently, the Hockly Committee removed the offending recommendation and the storm passed over.

Curiously, though despite the fact that no 'Pact' existed, Waimarino remained a 'dry' area. Perhaps in the first years the Proclamation served an admirable purpose in keeping the bulk of the liquor trade from the Maoris. Thus at the outset, the proclamations were in intent and effect humanitarian. To the Pakeha they symbolised a moral responsibility to a race that had been torn by war, was rapidly declining in numbers, and was thought to be dying out. To the Maori chiefs the proclamations symbolised a conviction that it was the environment which was involved in the high infant mortality rate, and that alcohol exacted a considerable toll. It was felt that liquor turned the intelligent men of their race into fools. At the same time, the strength of the prohibitionist organisations cannot be ignored, for these carried on 'no-licence' long after it had ceased to operate at all effectively. Yet in the final analysis, despite weighty European agitation, the majority of Maoris in the Waimarino discreetly ignored no-licence. The moral is simple: European influence was only effective in as long as it corresponded with the wants and needs of the Maori people.

VI. VESTED LANDS: THE OHOTU BLOCK

A considerable area of land in the southern portions of the Waimarino County was (and still is) Maori land vested in the Aotea Maori Land Board.¹ The bulk of this area, known as the Ohotu Block, constitutes the largest single area of Maori land in New Zealand to be vested in the Maori Land Boards. The vesting of this land was facilitated by the 1900 Lands Administration Act.

Early in 1898 Seddon distributed a Bill providing for Boards to manage Maori lands. The motivating factor behind this Bill was the recognition that the Maori could not forever live off his only capital asset. It was feared that ultimately if land sales were not prohibited 'a large landless body of natives' would emerge to become a burden on the State.² The 1900 Act provided for the establishment of six Maori Land Councils whose membership would consist of a President and two or three members, including one Maori, to be appointed by the Governor, together with two or three Maoris from the land district

1. Known today (1970) as the Maori Trustee.

2. PD, 1899, 110, p.744 (R. Seddon).

in which the Council was situated. These Councils had powers which up to that time had been exercised solely by the Native Land Court. The new Councils could impose restrictions on the leasing and sale of land. Land alienation was not to be approved unless the council was satisfied that the Maoris concerned had sufficient other land for their maintenance. Leasing of land was favoured, but the vesting of land in the Councils was to be voluntary.³

Prior to the Administration Act of 1900, most of the large blocks of land in the upper Wanganui district could not be leased or dealt with in any way by private persons; sales could only be made to the Crown. The opportunity afforded by the 1900 Act of leasing through the Council was eagerly seized upon by the local Maoris. Between the years 1900 and 1903, approximately 100,000 acres were vested in the Council by deeds of trust, executed by a majority of the owners.⁴ This operation and the completion of the titles in the Councils occupied a period up to 1903. The Ohotu Block, consisting of 62,444 acres, was offered to the public as leasehold land in 1903, but only five tenders for land were made. Explanations for the lack of public interest (as recorded

3. A good background to Maori Affairs during the Liberal era may be found in R.J. Martin, 'Maori Affairs'; and J.A. Williams, 'Maori Society and Politics: 1891-1909', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1963. The latter work has recently been published as Politics of the New Zealand Maori ([Auckland], 1969).

4. AJHR, 1907, G-1A, p.11.

in the minutes of the Aotea District Maori Land Council) were that other Crown lands were more attractive; that the terms of lease (twenty one years) were too short; and that there was a lack of roading in the area.⁵ It was therefore proposed that the tenants should be entitled to receive the value of the permanent improvements at the end of a second period of twenty one years when the lease expired. Perpetual right of renewal was also suggested. In 1904 when discussions were taking place preliminary to the making of the second offer of land for leasing, the European members of the Council did their best to gain the approval of the Maori members for a perpetual lease, but succeeded only in obtaining agreement over compensation for permanent improvements at the end of the second period of lease.

Between 1904 and 1907 practically all of the land in the Ohotu Block was taken up under lease from the Aotea Maori Land Council or its successor the Aotea Maori Land Board, the latter having taken over the functions of the Council after the 'Maori Land Settlement Act' of 1905.⁶ After the first period of lease (twenty one years) there was a right of renewal for a further twenty one years. Rental for the first term was fixed by tender, and for the second period was to be five per cent of a valuation

5. AJHR, 1951, G-5, p.20 (Myers Commission).

6. The Aotea Maori Land Board is hereafter referred to as the Land Board.

carried out under the terms of the original lease.⁷

Dissatisfaction in the initial stages were felt by the Maori owners, as the Stout - Ngata Commission discovered in 1907. The Maoris held 'strong opinions' as to this system of land administration. They compiled a 'strong' case against the Land Board by instituting comparisons with leases they themselves had negotiated or were negotiating since section sixteen of the 1905 Act came into operation. This section allowed the general removal of restrictions to enable leasing by direct negotiations with the Maori owners, and was availed on at once by many Maoris in the area.

Briefly, 'they [the local Maoris] did not favour any system of leasing which divested them of the fee-simple of their lands'. They believed the system inaugurated by the 1900 Act was expensive; and though good rentals might be obtained, the deductions for the costs of surveying, roading and administration would more than counter balance any advantage that leasing by tender through the Land Board might have over leasing by direct negotiations with the lessees. Parts of the Ohotu Block were cited by Maoris as an example. The Land Board, after an estimated expenditure of £8,000 to £10,000 for roading and surveying, had not delivered any rents from the land leased by it. However the moment the Maoris' private leases were approved by the ^{Land} Board, the rents were available without

7. AJHR, 1951, G-5, p.21.

any deductions except for land tax.^{8.}

Yet it would also appear, that freedom to deal with land by way of private lease possessed a false glitter. In their general report on the Wanganui region the Stout - Ngata Commission went to considerable length to expose the usual procedure in negotiating a private lease:

Secure the assistance of a prominent owner in the block, a man of influence, who, as agent, takes the preliminary agreement round and obtains signatures thereto. His 'expenses' are paid by the intending lessee, while money passes to the owners on signing the agreement. This becomes a proposal to lease, which is then brought before the Board for approval of the terms of rental, and on approval (provisional only) the formal lease is executed before the usual official witnesses—interpreters and J.Ps. There is nothing to prevent any other party taking the same course in regard to a block already under negotiation, and obtaining the signatures of the owner or owners who had already signed other agreements. Theoretically there may be competition, practically there is none. The first man to secure the assistance of the leading influential owners to carry the deal through, generally gains a clear field until he obtains the signatures of all willing to lease.

Competition as in the case of the Koire Block (N.W. Waimarino) produced awkward complications. Some owners signed two leases to different parties, others were being induced to renounce earlier ones in favour of new parties. In the confusion produced by this rivalry the ^{Land} Board withheld approval until a full inquiry was made. As some of the dealings were commenced eighteen months previously, the intending lessees were out of pocket to a considerable extent.^{9.}

8. AJHR, 1907, G-1A, pp.11-12.

9. ibid., p.14.

Nevertheless, despite the Stout - Ngata Commission's report that private negotiations for leases might not be as (or even more) profitable than land leased through the ^{Land}Boards, the Waimarino Maoris believed that the Land Boards were less profitable for them. Therefore they opted for a system which seemed to produce quicker, more individual, more profitable results.

If the Maori owners were to show discontent with the ^{Land}Board in its earlier phases, the lessees themselves were to experience frustration. But the frustration was, in its initial stages, not racial. It is worth looking at settler discontent in detail to make the point that the lessees suffered from difficulties common to (or not untypical of) general difficulties of lessees in under-developed New Zealand areas. There is no evidence that the difficulties arose, or worsened, because the landlord happened to be a Maori.

After smouldering for several years, discontent broke out in the middle of 1911 in the form of a settlers' petition to the Government requesting the right of the freehold to 'certain sections of the Ohotu Block'. There were over forty people involved in the petition, which was immediately referred to the Government for inquiry.¹⁰ At the same time 140 Maori petitioners

10. McDowell, 'History of Raetihi' pp.53-54; AJHR, 1911, I-3, p.13. According to the 1905 Royal Commission on Land Tenure, European settlers in the Waimarino had 'unanimously resolved in favour of the option of the freehold given to Crown tenants' largely because of the difficulty in obtaining finance to develop a lease-hold property. No specific reference was made to Maori land. AJHR, 1905, C-4, p.1180.

prayed that the Europeans be not given the right to purchase the Ohotu Block.^{11.}

A parliamentary committee was set up, and inquiries began. C.E. Pemberton and C.L. Duigan gave evidence on behalf of the Ohotu lessees.^{12.} Poor roading was one grievance. The settlers had been forced to raise loans in order to provide themselves road access. As Pemberton stated:

They will have to pay off these loans, and at the end of 21 years, there will be a revaluation. They will have increased ~~the~~ value of the land by raising these loans and making roads. They will not only have to pay off the loans, but they will have to pay an increased rental in consequence of making the roads.....^{13.}

The Oruakukuru Road (see map following page 67) running through the Block was cited as an example. The settlers had themselves raised a loan to give access and the Land Board promised a subsidy of £300, which was later refused when it was discovered that the £300 was not to be used for metalling purposes. It appeared to the settlers that a man was not entitled to anything as an improvement at the end of the lease, unless it was actually on the land within his own boundaries. T.W. Fisher (President of the Aotea Maori Land Board) had claimed in 1907, before the Stout - Ngata Commission, that there was an 'understanding' that any expense over £8,000 for surveying and roading would be borne by the Government as the roading and settlement of Ohotu would benefit adjoining lands owned

11. AJHR, 1911, I-3, p.12, petition 111.

12. AJHR, 1911, I-3B, passim.

13. ibid., p.2.

by the Crown.¹⁴ However, in the final analysis this 'understanding' came to nothing. It would appear that the settlers were holding a false impression at the outset. Pemberton bluntly claimed that he would not have taken his block up had he know the difficulties involved:

When I took it up, the road making was going on so briskly that I thought it would be roaded.... they made the culverts of sufficient length for a dray-road, and we understood that they were going to make the dray-roads afterwards.¹⁵

The problem of finance was at the heart of the petitioners' requests. Even if they had to do their own roading, there was a marked difficulty in raising loans on the leases which were not considered a negotiable security. The small amounts obtainable from the Government Advances to Settlers' offices were of little practical benefit, and with outside loans (if obtainable) a higher rate of interest was exacted than with a free-hold security. Money invested for improvements was not safe, because the lessees were not protected for improvements. As Duigan expressed it:

It does not necessarily follow, that because provision for compensation appears in a duly registered lease, the same is of much value unless the provision is inserted in pursuance of legislation making the compensation-money a charge on the land. The provision may operate only as a personal covenant by the Native owners, or it may not even have that effect.¹⁶

Apparently section 263 of the Maori Land Act 1909 which gave lessees

14. AJHR, 1907, G-1A, p.12.

15. AJHR, 1911, I-3B, p.5.

16. ibid., p.6.

a right to compensation could not apply to the original lease of twenty one years.^{17.}

A needless destruction of timber was also occurring. Sections of the Ohotu Block, especially around Raetihi and Ohakune, carried most valuable stands of timber. (See above, p.28.) However, as there was a clause in the lease which compelled the lessee to give the Land Board a half royalty, the lessees themselves would 'certainly not trouble with the bush'^{18.} Several of the settlers had approached a timber company about the prospects of milling the bush. The company subsequently looked into the matter and replied in a letter that they:

could not consider the matter, if the ruling Government royalty were charged, as the block is so far from a station that the tramming charges would, when added to the royalty, be more than we could purchase timber for close to the line. If however, the Aotea Maori Land Board were to allow the timber to be sold at a reduced rate, our company, I think, would probably agree to buy the timber and put in a tram to get it out.^{19.}

The ^{Land} Board replied to the settlers that it 'had no power to grant the request'.^{20.} Again, the settlers claimed that although they were aware of the half royalty clause when they took up their sections, they were not aware that it was considered as an absolute bar by the timber companies. Also, according to R.W. Smith, the Member of Parliament for Rangitikei, trouble arose from the fact that the

17. For those interested in land tenure rather than race relations, the perplexities of section 263 are discussed in AJHR, 1951, G-5, passim, especially p.23.

18. AJHR, 1911, I-3B, p.6.

19. ibid., p.7.

20. ibid., Appendix I, p.14.

clause provided that the royalty payable should not be less than the ruling price charged by the crown in the district, which was absurd because it included bush lands that were 12-15 miles away from the railway at the same royalty as land adjacent thereto. As it was, the farmers simply burnt the bush, and this led to a large-scale devastation of valuable timber.²¹ In some areas, acres of turnips were seen rotting because lessees were short of money to purchase stock, and others could not get their stock in during winter because of the bad roads. It was felt that the land would be better cultivated if the settlers had the freehold. At the time it was the 'business of the settler ... to make as much as he can out of the land, with as little outlay as possible.' Noxious weeds, for example, were merely cut to pass inspection, but, according to Pemberton a greater effort would be made to eradicate them if the land was theirs.²²

On 2 November 1911, a large meeting of the settlers from the Oheu Block was held at Raetihi. It was decided to form an association of lessees under the Aotea Maori Land Board, the object being to request Parliament to give effect to the recommendation of the Native Affairs Committee which had reported favourably on the lessees petition to acquire the freehold.²³ For all that European grievances were of a piece with general grievances of

21. PD, 1911, 156, p.751.

22. AJHR, 1911, I-3B, p.3.

23. Wanganui Chronicle, 2 November 1911.

leaseholders, when discontent moved into a more European context, the difficulties were translated from being those of a leaseholder to those of a leaseholder with a Maori landlord, and ultimately to the issue of Europeans on the one hand and Maoris on the other. This attitude, as we have seen above, was not that of the settlers; but in a broader context, the Ohotu controversy took on this second dimension.

Significantly the two local newspapers did not take sides in the dispute, but the question of the Ohotu leases was taken up by the two Wanganui newspapers and debated in Parliament. This was the era when Judge W.B. Edwards voiced a peculiarly European opinion held by many throughout the Dominion that 'a Maori landed aristocracy was being created in New Zealand.'²⁴ The Wanganui Herald ran several vigorous editorials against the Liberal Native land policy, especially against Carroll's alleged policy of taihoa which was supposedly disastrous for the Dominion. The prospect of the Maori reaping the benefit of the industry of the settlers was 'alarming If this is not creating a Maori landed aristocracy we should like to know how it can be accomplished', stormed the editorial.²⁵

J.T. Hogan, Member of Parliament for Wanganui, questioned the usefulness of the function of the ^{Land} Boards, apart from providing revenue for the Maoris; the Maoris should have the choice to determine whether their lands were to be continually administered by the ^{Land} Board or to be administered by themselves. Certainly he felt the settlers

24. Wanganui Herald, 12 August, 1911.

25. ibid.

should be able to acquire capital, and that Government Public Works should contribute more to the roading situation. Members of Parliament R.W. Smith (Rangitikei), G.V. Pearce (Patea), E. Newman (Manawatu), P.H. Guthrie (Oroua) and W.T. Jennings (Taumarunui) endorsed his statements. Pearce led a scathing attack. The Land Boards were ineffective because the Maoris could not sell even if they wanted to. He objected to the setting up of a 'Native Aristocracy'. He did not want to force the Maoris to sell and preferred them to farm, but he read a 'report' 'to show that this was not being done':

When the block was first opened for settlement a number of the best sections were, at the instance of the Native Minister, leased to Natives in the laudable hope that these Natives would reside on their sections and improve them. But what happened? So far as we know, not a single one of the Maori tenants is farming his section in the Ohotu Block today. Some of them were actually assisted by loans from the Advances to Settlers Office to improve their holdings, but the money [or some of it] was spent in other ways, and the sections were first allowed to become sanctuaries for rabbits and noxious weeds, and when the attention of the Government Inspectors became too pressing the Natives sold out to Europeans at a handsome goodwill, which they forthwith squandered in the usual manner.^{26.}

The authorship of this 'report' is unknown.^{27.} Little substance can be credited it, despite its admittedly persuasive style. In fact the Ohotu controversy arrived at a time when all kinds of agitation

26. PD, 1911, 156, pp.748-752.

27. An identical 'report' may be found in the Wanganui Herald, 9 August 1911—two months before Pearce read it in the House. It is thus possible that Pearce was merely reading an extract from an editorial in the Herald.

and inflated claims were being made against Maori landlordism generally. The solutions proposed were like much of the agitation—varified, and often unrelated to the actual situation on the Ohotu Block. The petitioners Pemberton and Duigan had thought it would be equitable if the land were bought by the Government and the money invested for the Maoris, although they all agreed that the consent of the Maori owners was necessary. Hogan, the member for Wanganui insisted that the Maoris must give consent, or otherwise such legislation should apply to European landlords too.²⁸ But the less personal the question was, the more vigorous became the 'solutions'. Pearce and Guthrie wanted compulsive legislation. To them no injustice would be done as the settlers were all prepared to give what was a fair price for the land, whilst the flamboyant editor of the Herald snugly entrenched in his office, 'could see no reason why the concession of the right to purchase their holdings should be withheld.'²⁹

Initially, then, the Maori owners were dissatisfied with the vesting of their lands in the ^{Land}Board. This was evident after the 1905 Act allowed them to negotiate privately with their land; so much for state paternalism. Yet enough land was irrevocably vested in the ^{Land}Board, more than in any other district in New Zealand, to allow the experiment to be carried through. Although in 1911 the Government acceded to the request for the freehold, no compulsive legislation was passed, and no land was compulsorily purchased from the Maoris. The controversy was never repeated. Belatedly, the

28. PD, 1911, 156, p.749.

29. Wanganui Herald, 9 August 1911.

Government subsidised the roads and the Maori owners agreed to a 'fair honest and just' compensation, leaving the Ohotu Block a monument to Liberal 'State paternalism'.

VII. CONCLUSION

It now remains to draw the threads of the thesis together, to attempt to entwine the strands into a single rope. The years 1880-1911 were crucial in terms of the national Maori situation. These were 'post-war' years, and healing of past wounds was not to be performed by a miracle. Sorrenson concludes:

the unfortunate effect of the wars, the confiscations and the subsequent thirty years of land purchases was that the Maoris had to start their climb to equality from a position of extreme inferiority.¹

But in this thesis the danger of such generalisations if applied in an unqualified manner has been illustrated.

By dealing with a number of at first, scarcely related topics the conclusion is reached that in the Waimarino, Maori and Pakeha attained a remarkable degree of social and economic equality. The local Maoris before 1880 had been sheltered from the devastating effects of the Maori wars—they revealed no tendencies towards religious fanaticism. During the entire research programme for this thesis, not one reference was discovered of Tohungaism,

1. M.P.K. Sorrenson, 'Purchase of Maori Lands', p.241.

before or after the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907.² It is tempting to view this fact in the light of what has already been stated ^{above} about the religious aspect of the Maoris' way of life in this area.

Chronologically and actually the most important event was the purchase of the Waimarino Block in 1887. The purchase was not distinguished by devious transactions, rather it was welcomed by both Maori and European.

Shortly afterwards, into this new area came (a handful at first) the Europeans. Both races lacked immediate provincial or tribal ties or identification. They worked together for their own ends, but at the same time because of the lack of tribal or provincial ties, they co-operated in labour, mixed their languages and adapted their domestic techniques. It was very much a give-and-take relationship.

The viability of the Maori economy meant that the health and economic status of the Maoris was on par with the Europeans. This prevented racial prejudice from evolving out of class prejudice. The local Maoris not only accepted the 'erroneous principles' of individualisation and subdivision of land titles,

2. For a discussion of Tohungaism see R.T. Lange, 'The Tohunga and the Government in the Twentieth Century', University of Auckland Historical Society Annual 1968, pp. 12-38.

No reference to Tohungaism in the Waimarino could be found in this article.

but utilised them, which prevented economic polarisation between the two races. Through all this we can see the theme of European influence being less effective when it did not correspond with the wants and needs of the local Maoris.

We can subsequently identify discontent in the Waimarino area mainly after 1900. There was settler discontent over land tenure, and there was Maori discontent over the disposal of lands. But as has been detailed in the thesis, and must be emphasised here, the settlers were not complaining about Maori landlordism; their troubles were common to leaseholders throughout the Dominion. In opting for individual freedom to deal with their land, the Maoris were not rejecting the local Pakehas, but were rebelling against the aura of 'State-paternalism'.

Discontent perhaps reached its peak outside our period, in the 1920's, when there was a question as to whether the Waimarino would remain 'dry' and whether solemn 'pledges' to protect the Maoris from alcohol would be honoured or dishonoured. Yet we find these discontents either had their beginnings or rationale in non-racial problems, or were formed above the local level by non-local critics and pressure-groups.

It would not be true to say that there was no antagonistic feeling between the races in the community. It would be true to say, nevertheless, that in the period before the Great War, two striving societies, Maori and European, acted primarily for self

and community interest, and did not indulge in socio-economic or even simply racial conflict. Harmony did not evolve from outside influences, neither did it spring from notable 'cultural mediators' from within the community. The Waimarino tended to produce a host of 'mini-mediators'.

If the conclusions I have reached for the Waimarino area that the relationships were marked by co-operation and a complexity often able to be reduced to individual circumstances, we may have to apply grass-roots investigation to other geographic and chronological areas of Maori-Pakeha history. It is true that there were no Ngatas or Bucks in the Waimarino. Yet for all we may find their role to have been important, even formative in other areas, one is led to question whether existing studies may not have to be qualified by investigations of smaller communities and individual relationships.

There were, after all, many other areas (or, perhaps, sub areas) relatively isolated with (perhaps) weak tribalism and small numbers of European settlers. The history of race relations in the Waimarino may be an exceptional case of co-operation and adaptation by both communities, but it is quite likely that many of the processes found in the area of settler adjustment and Maori development were present elsewhere in New Zealand. If the arguments of this thesis are borne out by future research, we may find that race-relations in New Zealand are both more complex and more individual-orientated than we have previously suspected.

APPENDIX A

Maori population figures for Waimarino County

Year	Male	Female	Total
1906	359	310	669
1911	316	276	592

NB. The divergence shown between these two years is probably the result of inaccurate census taking.

Source: Census of the Colony/Dominion of New Zealand 1906, 1911.

APPENDIX B

Acres of individual cultivation by Maoris in
the Waimarino County

Year	Potatoes	Other Crops	Sown Grasses	Common Cultivation
1906	266½	187	4,361	Nil
1911	140½	167	6,409	Nil

Maori Stock Returns for the
Waimarino County

Year	Sheep	Cattle	Pigs	Horses
1906	10,608	1,363	1,573	-
1911	19,832	1,058	298	868

Source: Census of the Colony/Dominion of New Zealand
1906, 1911.

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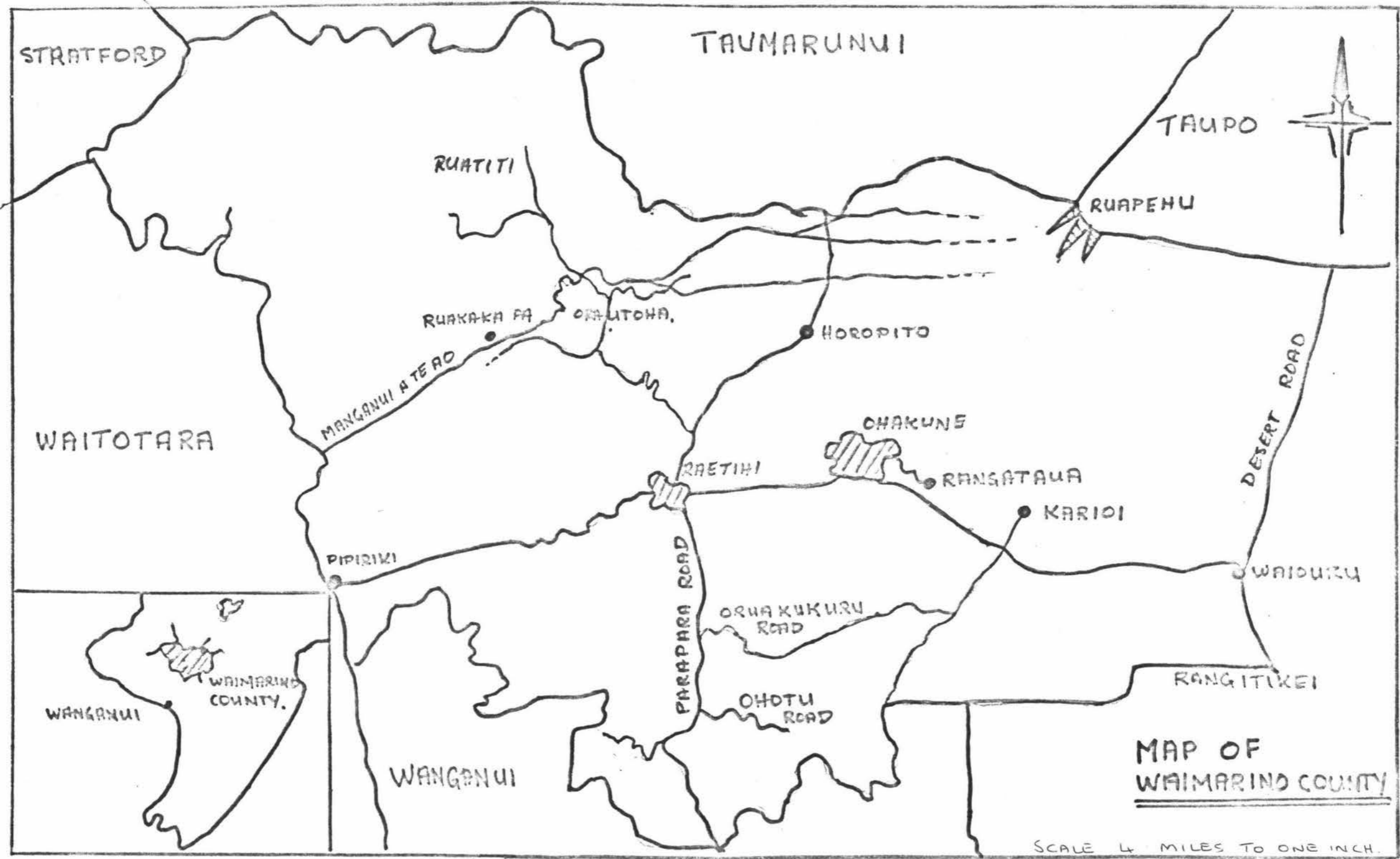
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VII. Interviews

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STRATFORD

TAUMARUNUI

TAUPO

RUATITI

RUAPEHU

RUAKAKA PA

ORUAITOHA

HOROPITO

MANGANUI A TE AO

WAITOTARA

OHAKUNE

RAETIHI

RANGATAUA

KARIOI

PIPIRIKI

DESERT ROAD

WAIKURU

WAIMARINO COUNTY

WANGANUI

PARAPARA ROAD

ORUAKUKURU ROAD

OHOTU ROAD

RANGITIKEI

WANGANUI

MAP OF
WAIMARINO COUNTY

SCALE 4 MILES TO ONE INCH.