SETTLEMENT IN POVERTY BAY

1868 to 1889

A Study in Historical Geography

Being a thesis
Presented to the University of Canterbury
in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts
in Geography

by

J. J. Burton

1962
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the help of the many people I have met during the research for this thesis. I would especially mention the staffs of the Lands and Survey Department, Lands and Deeds Department, Maori Affairs Department, the Gisborne Museum, the Cook County Offices and "The Gisborne Herald" who did much to facilitate my research.

Many thanks are due to Mr J. H. Macdonald and Miss C. Ramsay for assisting in lettering some of the maps and to several of my friends and colleagues who have acted as research assistants from time to time. Thanks also to my typists for their willing assistance. Finally, I wish to thank my tutor, Dr H. McGaskill, for his valuable advice and criticism.
ABBREVIATIONS

The following are the abbreviations used:

N.Z.H.  The New Zealand Herald
P.B.H.  The Poverty Bay Herald
P.B.S.  The Poverty Bay Standard
A.J.H.R.  Appendices to Journals, House of Representatives
J.P.S.  The Journal of the Polynesian Society
N.Z.G.  The New Zealand Geographer
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter | Part | Page
---------|------|-----
I | Introduction | 1

Part I

II | Location of the Area and Physical Setting | 4

Location | 4
The Physical Setting | 5
Topography, Rock types and Drainage | 5
Soils | 8
Vegetation | 13
Climate | 15

III | The Maori Land Problem | 17

(a) Introduction | 17
(b) Maori Land | 18
(c) The Native Land Acts | 19
(d) Development of Land Ownership to 1868 | 23
(e) The Problem of Land Ownership 1869 | 29
(f) Developments in Land Ownership 1869-1876 | 30
(g) The Pattern of Land Ownership 1876 | 40
(h) Developments in Land Ownership 1876-81 | 41
(i) The Pattern of Land Ownership 1881 | 49
(j) Developments in Land Ownership 1882-1889 | 50
(k) The Pattern of Land Ownership 1888 | 61

IV | The Problem and Development of Communications | 63

(a) Communications by Sea | 63
   (i) Development of the Port | 63
   (ii) Shipping | 68
(b) Communications by Land | 70
   (I) Roads | 70
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Roads Leading out of the District</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Local Roads</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) The Pattern of Roads in 1871</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) The Development of the Road Pattern 1871-1889</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) The Metal Question</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) The Finance Question</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) The Local Bodies</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Road Development</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Methods of Road Construction</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) The Pattern of Roads in 1889</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Coaching</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) Railway Exploration</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IV) Mail Routes, Telegraph Services and Newspapers</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Mail Routes</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Telegraph Services</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Newspapers</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Development of Economic Activities</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Pastoralism</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Developments in the Activities to 1877</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) The Distribution of Sheep 1877</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) The Development of Sheep Farming 1877 to 1882</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) The Distribution of Sheep in 1882</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) The Development of Sheep Farming 1882 to 1886</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) The Distribution of Sheep 1886</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) The Advent and Importance of Refrigeration</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) General Aspects of Sheep Farming</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Sheep Numbers</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Methods of Taking up a Sheep Station, Necessary Buildings and Equipment</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Agriculture</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Early Agriculture</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Grass Seed</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Experiments with Crops</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) The Agricultural Landscape 1880</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VI The Growth of Settlement

(a) The Motives for Settlement 110
(b) The Methods Used to Clear the Land 111
(c) Settlement Before 1868 and the Maori Wars 114
(d) The Pattern of Settlement 1868-1870 116
(e) The Growth of Settlement 1870-1877 118
(f) The Numbers, Distribution, Composition and Origins of the People, 1877 120
   (i) Numbers and Distribution 120
   (ii) Composition of the Population 122
   (iii) Origins of the People 123
(g) The Growth of Settlement, 1877 to 1881 124
(h) The Numbers, Distribution, Composition and Origins of the Population 1881 129
   (i) Numbers and Distribution 127
   (ii) Composition of the Population 128
   (iii) Origins of the People 129
(i) The Growth of Settlement 1881-1889 129
(j) The Numbers, Distribution, Composition and Origins of the People 1886 133
   (i) Numbers and Distribution 133
   (ii) Composition of the Population 134
   (iii) Origins of the People 135
(k) The Role and Expansion of the Town of Gisborne, 1868 to 1889 135
VII Conclusion

APPENDIX I
The Waingeromia Block

APPENDIX II
A Short Biographical Note on Rees and Wi Pare

APPENDIX III
Source and Construction of Maps

BIBLIOGRAPHY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Subdivisions of the Cook County, 1876-1964</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Topographic Sketch of the District</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Slope Categories</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Landforms of the Floodplain</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Drainage</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Correlation of Soils</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Soils</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Soils of the Floodplain</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Primitive Vegetation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Vegetation on Poverty Bay Plats 1870</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vegetation - Poverty Bay District 1870</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Maori Tribal Areas and Confiscated Land 1869</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Hapus, 1870s</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Maori Blocks</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16(a)</td>
<td>Maori Blocks on Poverty Bay Plats</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Maori and European Crown Grants 1871</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Land Ownership 1859</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Reads Land Purchases 1869-78</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The Makauri Subdivision 1878</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Crown Grants 1871-77</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Land Ownership 1876</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Blocks - European Single Interests 1877-81</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Land Held by Rees and H.E. Native Land Settlement Company</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Subdivisions, Native Titles and Government Purchases 1860</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Land Ownership 1881</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Blocks Subdivided and Crown Grants, 1881-85</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28 Subdivisions and Crown Grants 1856-59
29 Land Ownership 1858
30 Two Photographs:
   (a) Gisborne Harbour 1871
   (b) Napier 1867
31 Port of Poverty Bay 1852
   Proposed Harbour Schemes 1860-1869
32 Vessels and Tonnages
33 Value of Imports and Exports
34 Maori Tracks and External Roads
35 Two Photographs:
   (a) Bridge Track
   (b) Dray Road
36 Two Photographs: Coaches on the East Coast "Road"
37 Road Pattern 1871
38 Road Pattern 1889
39 Coach Routes, Proposed Railway 1866,
   Telegraph line
40 Two Photographs:
   (a) Bullock Dray
   (b) Pack Horses
41 Sheep Distribution 1877
42 Numbers - Sheep and Owners
43 Sheep Totals 1877-89
44 Table, Scabby Sheep
45 Sheep Distribution 1882
46 Sheep Distribution 1886
47 Three Photographs:
   (a) Wool Shed
   (b) Dip
   (c) Yards
48 Fenced - Occupied Land
49 Crop Acreages, 1878 and 1886
50 Local Industries
51 Settlements 1858-89
52 Two Photographs: Vegetation cover in
   Thames Valley
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Four Photographs:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Bush Felling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Bush drying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Bush burn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Surface Sowing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Settlement 1868</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Settlement 1870</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Population Distribution 1870</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Population 1878-86</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Age - Sex Distribution</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Male - Female Ratio by Ridings</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Origins of the People</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Patutahi Block Sections</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Population Distribution 1881</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Population Distribution 1886</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Population Increases and Male - Female Ratio,</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gisborne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The general aim of this study is to analyse the human geography of a significant portion of the East Coast at a time when large-scale European settlement was beginning. A more specific aim is that of discovering the reasons for the late settlement of this portion of New Zealand.

Two major themes are found in the study. The first is the land problem and the difficulties which arose from the system of Maori land ownership. The second is that of the changing landscape and the developing economy as Europeans settled in the district in increasing numbers.

The study is divided into two major parts, the first being a discussion of the physical landscape and of the major problems confronting the settlers and the second the development of economic activities and settlement. The second part is integrally bound to the first as the problems in the district were those confronting settlement and the development of the economy.

Chapter two of part one deals with the physical setting which includes a consideration of terrain and geology, drainage, soils, natural vegetation and climate. Chapter three is concerned with the Maori land problem, chapter four with communications and chapters five and six, in part two, with the development of economic activity and settlement. By relating the separate facets of the geography of Poverty Bay over ninety years ago in such a manner a relatively complete interpretation of the settlement of the district is obtained.

Thus it is fairly evident that the study is historical and it is sincerely hoped that in its concentration on spatial distributions it is geographical. Recently, Edward A. Ackerman has stated the case for geography as a fundamental
research discipline. He considers that there is one basic characteristic of the geographer subject matter that has received less recognition than it deserves: "the context of earth space is not static; instead it is always changing. Only for a photographic moment may it be considered static."  

In the past students of historical geography, because of the range in time and place of their subject matter, have found it necessary to devise different methods of approach. Many students believed that it was only possible to use patterns of phenomena derived from instantaneous cross-sections of an area and have regarded the study of change of any sort as forming a part of history. But the dynamic approach to studies of place and area has never been lacking and today, as Ackerman has pointed out, the most useful tool for prediction in geography is the identification and analysis of varying kinds and intensities of distributional change within an area.

This study is intended both as a mirror for the understanding of the present day landscape and as part of a success of periods (or sequent occupances) which could perhaps be used ultimately for the prediction of future changes. The relatively short period, 1868 to 1889, has been chosen because it was one of fairly rapid change and the method followed is a mixture of both the cross-sectional and dynamic approaches. There is a wealth of historical material on the East Coast available to the student, but most of it is social and political in nature rather than geographical. The key to the study is the 898 Maori block plans 1868 to 1889, lodged in the

---

1 Edward A. Ackerman, "Geography as a Fundamental Research Discipline," University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research paper, No.53,1958.
2 Ibid, p.18.
4 Ackerman, "Geography as a Fundamental Research Discipline," p.19.
Lands and Survey Department, Gisborne. These, plus information from Deed books in the Lands and Deeds Department, Maori Land Court piles, and Cook Country Rate Books form the basis for the chapters on the Maori land problem and settlement. The several newspapers of the period are full of useful information for all the chapters of the paper and are possibly the most valuable single source. Official publications are another valuable source as are the many contemporary journals and books mentioning the Poverty Bay district. Photographs taken between 1868 and 1889 also proved useful in constructing maps and describing the landscape.

The majority of the material for this study was gathered in Gisborne in late 1960 and early 1961 and the rest in Christchurch in 1961. Although based mainly on indoor research field work was carried out to check the documentary sources.
PART I  

CHAPTER II

LOCATION OF THE AREA AND PHYSICAL SETTING

(i) Location

The area chosen for the study has been designated the Poverty Bay district on arbitrary grounds. This region, is today, defined by the boundaries of the Cook and Waikoua counties but in 1868 these counties did not exist and the district was part of the County of Stafford in the Auckland Province. (Fig.1.)

When the Cook County was constituted in 1876 it was bounded "Towards the Northwest and West by the South East and Eastern boundaries of the Whakatane County . . . . . from Puketapu to Cape Runaway: thence towards the North and East by the Ocean to Peritu and thence by a right line to the junction of the Ruakituri and Hangaroa Rivers and by the centre of the Ruakituri to Puketapu, the commencing point."1 Thus the county covered an area of more than 2,000,000 acres.

Since 1876, the once large Cook County has been subdivided several times. In 1890 the settlers in the northern portion of the county successfully petitioned for the constitution of a new county, the Waipu, which extended from Cape Runaway to Anaura. Later the Matakoa County was formed in the north and the Cook County was considerably diminished in area when Waikoua and Uawa counties were formed. (Fig.2.)

Thus the boundaries of the present day Cook and Waikoua counties are taken as the boundaries of the Poverty Bay District 1868 to 1889. This is a purely arbitrary choice as these boundaries do not correspond to the nineteenth century administrative boundaries. But the area was the tributary region to Gisborne and is drained almost wholly by streams

1 "The Counties Act 1876.' First Schedule.
Fig. 1: Location. Note the distance from the major centres of population.
Fig. 2:
Subdivisions of the Cook County since 1876 and townships on the East Coast.
SUBDIVISIONS OF THE COOK COUNTY
1876-1961

WAIKOIGU
flowing into Poverty Bay and thus the area has a claim to be called a region. Settlement had not penetrated to the boundaries of the region by 1889 and consequently, the boundaries are simply lines on the map with the type of country varying little on either side.

The area of the Poverty Bay district is more than 1,900 square miles.

(ii) The Physical Setting

(a) Topography, Rocktypes and Drainage

Viewed from the sea, or from a commanding elevation, the Poverty Bay district presents the appearance of gently rolling elevated hills, which slope gently towards the coast, but have an inclination southward rather than southeastwards. These hills are bordered on the west by a still higher landmass, cut into massive tabletopped mountains. (Fig. 3.)

A closer acquaintance, however, quickly destroys the illusion of mature topography produced by a distant aspect, and the district is found to consist of a maze of interlocking, deeply cut stream channels, separating steep-sided, smooth-topped ridges that rise gradually from a height of about 800 feet near the shore to over 2,000 feet along the western and northern borders. The whole topography suggests an uplift of the land at no distant period and it is along the coastline that precise evidence of the amount of elevation can be obtained. Evidence of land depression in partly drowned valley mouths is also found here.

The main divide between the Bay of Plenty and the East Coast crosses the southwestern and western parts of the region. The highest land is about 3,000 feet and from here the ridges drop steadily eastward, although higher land can be found.

The Tutuomoe Ridge, which branches from the main divide in the north, is well over 3,000 feet and forms the waterparting between the Waipaoa and Waiapu riversystems.

The sinuous divide between the basin of the southward flowing Waioa and that of the Waipaoa has a generally northerly course. However, it is little, if at all, higher than the surrounding hill crests. Peaks on it are Te Pahanga,
Fig. 3:
Topographical sketch from the top of Kaiti Hill looking to the northwest. Note the high level dissected plateaus in the interior and the general rounded appearance of the lower hills.
Perikanapa (2,327 feet), and Rimuhau. The insignificant ridge separating the Waipaoa basin from the coastal streams in the north has a general northeasterly course. Points on it from south to north are Kopaatuaki (1,183 feet), Waiviriki (1,631 feet), Ngatekuke (1,955 feet), Ahititi (1,911 feet), Arakihi (1,960 feet), and Parekeka (1,967 feet).

Steep hill country predominates over much of the area, although flat to rolling and moderately steep land is widely scattered. (Fig.4.)

However, even if deeply dissected hillcountry predominates flat lowlands are very significant. The largest, the Poverty Bay Flats (or the Gisborne Plain), cuts the area almost in two and penetrates the hill country for about thirty miles. The plain is fan shaped and covers more than 40,000 acres. It has been formed by the convergence of the floodplains of the Waipaoa and Waimata Rivers, as well as beach deposits, which may be traced inland as far as Makaraka.

Remnants of a higher floodplain level exist and fanlike deposits are common along the eastern and western margins of the plain. Several former islands, almost completely surrounded by silt deposits are found near the coast. In its middle course the Waipaoa has a series of terraces and, although it meanders across its floodplain, it is deeply entrenched. (Fig.5.)

The oldest rocks in the district, Triassic and Jurassic Greywackes and argillites are exposed at various points along the mountain axis of the Raukumara Range and thence eastwards younger formations appear successively. (Fig.6.) The Geological Survey distinguishes seven series ranging from Cretaceous to Recent. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alluvium, terrace and subaerial deposits</th>
<th>Recent and deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waipaoa series</td>
<td>Upper Pleistocene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ormond series</td>
<td>Lower Pleistocene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawhiti series</td>
<td>Lower Pliocene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Arai series</td>
<td>Upper Miocene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whaka series</td>
<td>Lower Miocene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangatu series</td>
<td>Recent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cretaceous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 N.Z. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 21. Gisborne and Whatutu p.90. Note, however, that the area covered is not as large as
Fig. 3: Topographical sketch from the top of Kaiti Hill looking to the north-west. Note the high level dissected plateaus in the interior and the general rounded appearance of the lower hills.
GENERAL RELIEF - POVERTY BAY DISTRICT
Parikanapa (2,327 feet), and Rimuheu. The insignificant ridge separating the Waipaoa basin from the coastal streams in the north has a general northeasterly course. Points on it from south to north are Kopastasi (1,183 feet), Waiwiriki (1,631 feet), Ngautekuke (1,965 feet), Ahititi (1,911 feet), Arakihi (1,960 feet), and Parekeka (1,957 feet).

Steep hill country predominates over much of the area, although flat to rolling and moderately steep land is widely scattered. (Fig.4.)

However, even if deeply dissected hillcountry predominates flat lowlands are very significant. The largest, the Poverty Bay Flats (or the Gisborne Plain), cuts the area almost in two and penetrates the hill country for about thirty miles. The plain is fan shaped and covers more than 40,000 acres. It has been formed by the convergence of the floodplains of the Waipaoa and Waimata Rivers, as well as beach deposits, which may be traced inland as far as Makaraka.

Remnants of a higher floodplain level exist and fanlike deposits are common along the eastern and western margins of the plain. Several former islands, almost completely surrounded by silt deposits are found near the coast. In its middle course the Waipaoa has a series of terraces and, although it meanders across its floodplain, it is deeply entrenched. (Fig.5.)

The oldest rocks in the district, Triassic and Jurassic Greywackes and argillites are exposed at various points along the mountain axis of the Raukumara Range and thence eastwards younger formations appear successively. (Fig.6.) The Geological Survey distinguishes seven series ranging from Cretaceous to Recent.2

| Alluvium, terrace and subaerial deposits | Recent and Upper Pleistocene |
| Waipaoa series | Lower Pleistocene |
| Ormond series | Lower Pliocene |
| Tawhitirangi series | Upper Miocene |
| Te Arai series | Lower Miocene |
| Waea series | Recent |
| Mangatu series | Cretaceous |

2 H.Z. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 21. Gisborne andWhatutu, p.90. Note, however, that the area covered is not as large as the region under discussion.
Fig. 4:

Slope categories.
Fig. 5:

Landforms of the floodplain.

Note the variety present on this flat area.
Fig. 6:  

Geology. Note the absence of hard rock. This led to a series of problems, i.e., road construction, metal for roads.
GEOLOGY

- EOCENE-WHEAO SERIES-SHALY MUDSTONE & SANDSTONE
- UPPER MIocene-TAWHITI SERIES-MUDSTONE, ARGILLACEOUS SANDSTONE & CONGLOMERATE
- CRETACEOUS-MANGATU SERIES-LIMESTONE, SANDSTONE, GREEN SAND, CLAYSTONE
- LOWER MIocene-TE ARAI SERIES-MUDSTONE, SANDSTONE
- LOWER PLIOCENE-ORMOND SERIES-LIMESTONE, CALCAEous SANDSTONE & SANDSTONE
- EARLY PLEISTOCENE-WAIPAQA SERIES-FLUVATILE, DELTAIC, & MARINE GRAVELS, SANDS & SILTS
- RECENT & LATE PLEISTOCENE-FLUVATILE & ESTUARINE GRAVELS, SAND & SILTS, BEACH DEPOSITS & RAISED BEACH AERIAL TUFF
These formations, with the exception of the greater portion of the Recent and Pleistocene deposits are of marine origin, and indicate that most of the area was under the sea during late Mesozoic and Tertiary times.

The Mangatu series comprises the great thickness of shales, greensand, limestone and claystone covering eighty-one square miles in the northwest of the area. The shales and sandstones of the Wheao series occupy a considerable area to the south and east of the Mangatu series and the sandstones, grits, conglomerates and claystones of the Te Arai series cover an area of over 455 square miles.

The Tawhiti series consist of a great thickness of claystone and sandstone covering over 288 square miles. Rocks of the Ormond series are decidedly more pumiceous and calcareous than those of the Tawhiti series. The largest areas are found on either side of the Waipaoa valley around Ormond. The youngest beds, the Waipaoa series, consist of sandstones, aerial pumice, beach and fluvalite deposits.

All the rocks of the region are of a relatively soft nature and are prone to accelerated erosion.

The Waipaoa, the largest river, drains fully two-thirds of the region. The main stream rises on the flanks of the Arowhana, one of the most prominent mountain masses of the Raukumara Range, and, flowing southwards, enters the sea in Poverty Bay. Two important tributaries, the Mangatu and Waingaromia, each nearly as long as the upper Waipaoa, join it near Whatatutu. The Waikohu comes in at Te Karaka, as does the Waihora.

The only other branches worthy of mention are the Whakaatu and the Te Arai which flow from the hills in the west and join the Waipaoa on the Poverty Bay Flats.

The tributaries of these major streams form an intricate dendritic pattern of streams, which have been responsible for the dissection of the soft rocks of the area.

Portions of several other drainage systems are found in the region. The Hangaroa and Mangapoike and their tributaries flow southwards to Hawkes Bay and in the west the Motu and
Waioeka rise in the main divide and flow northwards to the Bay of Plenty. Other notable streams, the Pakarae and the Waimata, flow in a general southerly direction. Almost at its mouth, the Waimata receives the drainage of the Poverty Bay Flats via the Taruheru and the Waikanae. Below the junction of the Taruheru and the Waimata the river is known as the Turanganui. The only lake is Repongaere, an oval sheet of water sixty chains long and forty chains wide. It is swampy and shallow. Extensive swamps covered much of the Poverty Bay Flats prior to European settlement. A large tidal lagoon, Awapuni, is found behind the sandhills near the mouth of the Waipaoa. The Waikanae Creek was undoubtedly a lagoon once. (Fig.7.)

The course of the Waipaoa, as it meanders over the floodplain, has changed frequently in the past and is today quite different from even ninety years ago. The beds of the Taruheru and Waikanae streams and the Awapuni Lagoon have all been former courses of the river. Meanders and cutoffs are common on the floodplain. The last major natural change in course occurred in the 1870s when a meander was cut off at Te Arai.3 The present mouth of the Waipaoa was cut by the maoris during a big flood in 1841.

(b) Soils

The following section is divided into two parts:

(1.) The soils of the hill country.
(2.) The soils of the flood plain.

The soils in each of these areas have been classified under different systems and on different scales but it is possible to correlate the classifications. (Fig.8.)

The hill country has a variety of soils and soil types. (Fig.9.) Skeletal soil types are found on most of the steep country in the west, northeast and south. Most of these types

---

3 The river has been straightened by the P.B. Catchment Board over the last ten years.
Fig. 7: Drainage. The Waipaoa system flows into Poverty Bay. Note the many tributaries converging upstream from Te Karaka.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soils of Gisborne Plain (Soil Bur. Bull. 19)</th>
<th>Soil Set in which type included in North Island Survey (Soil Bull. 5)</th>
<th>Soil Groups of Genetic classification (Soil Bur. Bull. 3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WAIPOA</td>
<td>WAIRARIO</td>
<td>Recent soils from alluvium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silt loam</td>
<td>silt loam</td>
<td>Manawatu loam, silt loam and clay loam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy silt loam</td>
<td>------friable topsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay loam</td>
<td>------friable topsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mottled clay loam</td>
<td>------mottled subsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>------friable topsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WAIRARIO</strong></td>
<td><strong>clay loam</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recent soils</strong> from <strong>alluvium</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silt loam</td>
<td>------friable topsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy silt loam</td>
<td>------mottled subsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay loam</td>
<td>------saline phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAKARAKA</strong></td>
<td><strong>clay loam</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recent soils from alluvium</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy silt loam</td>
<td>------friable topsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay loam</td>
<td>------friable subsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KAITI</strong></td>
<td><strong>silt loam</strong></td>
<td><strong>Saline gley</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silt loam</td>
<td>------firm topsoil phase</td>
<td><strong>Wesnee - Farndon soils complex</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy silt loam</td>
<td>------friable topsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay loam</td>
<td>------shallow topsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MURIAWAI</strong></td>
<td><strong>clay loam</strong></td>
<td><strong>Patea sand</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay loam</td>
<td>------friable subsoil phase</td>
<td><strong>Yellow Brown sands</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OPOTANEA</strong></td>
<td><strong>sand</strong></td>
<td><strong>Yellow Brown pumice soils</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandy loam</td>
<td>------friable subsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mottled sandy loam</td>
<td>------friable subsoil phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** In 1946, the Soil Map of New Zealand was published on a scale of 32 miles to an inch and on this is set out the classification of soils for whole of New Zealand. In 1954, the bulletin, "General Survey of the Soils of the North Island, New Zealand" was published and this work classified and described the principal soils of the North Island. The maps were printed on a scale of 4 miles to an inch; the maps of Gisborne Plain are on a scale of 20 chains to an inch.
**Fig. 9:**

Soils. Note the correlation between soils derived from volcanic ash and areas of gentle slope.

*(Fig. 4.)*
have shallow, yet fertile topsoils, and were under native bush in 1868. However, subsoils vary widely in fertility according to variations in the underlying rocks.

Soils derived from Taupo Ash are found mainly in the west but soils from Gisborne Ash, aeolian sand and volcanic ash are found over considerable areas. These soils belong to the Primary Podzolic and Brown Loam Groups. Primary Podzols are locally called "pumice soils" and the Yellow Brown Leams are derived from fine textured volcanic ash which is widely spread over the North Island.

The secondary Podzolic group has been formed from sediments relatively high in silica and have, for the most part, developed under forest.

It is on the floodplain that the various soil types assume significance and will thus be discussed in greater detail. 4 Here there are four classes of soils: 5

- recent soils from alluvium
- saline gley soils
- Yellow Brown sands
- Yellow Brown pumice soils

The area of each class is respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43,180 acres</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,170 acres</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,250 acres</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,720 acres</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>49,320 acres</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fig. 10.)

(a) Recent soils from alluvium.

(i) Waipaoa series

These soils are the "new" soils of the plain and were formed after 1932 when accelerated erosion became serious in parts of the Waipaoa River catchment. They are thus of little interest in this paper.

(ii) Matawhero series

Matawhero soils are deep, friable and well drained and are

---

4 The following is based on W. A. Pullar: "The Soils and Agriculture of the Gisborne Plain." Unpublished manuscript.

5 "To be of any use to scientific agriculture soils must be classified." W. A. Pullar, p. 3.
Fig. 10:

Soils of the floodplain. Note the regular pattern. This map is simplified from W.A. Fuller's 1:15,040 map.
the most productive. They are more mature than the Waipaoa soils but are less so than Waihirere soils which have a distinct topsoil and subsoil.

Matawhero soils are distributed mainly in large, continuous strips down the middle of the plains from Patutahi township to the Te Arai River on the western side of the Waipaoa River and from Waerenga-a-hike to near the mouth on the eastern side. Soil types usually lie together in pieces sufficiently large to carry many entire farms. The total area is 9,898 acres, of which 4,648 acres is not now flooded. There are three types, Matawhero silt loam, Matawhero heavy silt loam and Matawhero clay loam. Matawhero soils are today used mainly for maize cropping, market gardening, orcharding, pea cropping and sheep and cattle fattening.

(iii) Waihirere series.

Waihirere soils are highly fertile for most crops and along with Matawhero soils are the best all-purpose ones of the plains. Their fertility is in large measure due to a combination of good aeration and drainage and an ample supply of plant nutrients. They are one of the oldest soils of the Recent group and are distinguished by their black topsoils and yellow subsoils.

The soils lie above flood level and have not been flooded for perhaps hundreds of years. They are part of the old floodplain and occur chiefly on natural levees of the Waipaoa and Te Arai Rivers. Although widely distributed they occur mainly in large units in the Waihirere, Matawhero and Mamutuke localities. The total area is 8,438 acres and most of the land is farmed.

There are three types, Waihirere silt loam, Waihirere heavy silt loam and Waihirere clay loam.

(b) Gleyed Recent Soils from Alluvium.

(i) Makaraka series

Makaraka soils are poorly drained with the water-table near the surface in winter and spring. They occur on the lower-lying parts of the modern floodplain where thin layers of fresh alluvium are added to the surface after each major flood.
Although the soils occur throughout the plain, they are distributed chiefly in irregular, but continuous strips on both sides of the Waipaoa River from Patutahi to the Te Arai River in the west and from Waerenga-a-hika to Awapuni Lagoon in the east. The total area is 5,572 acres. There are two types, Makaraka heavy silt loam and Makaraka clay loam. Makaraka soils are best used for grassland farming with cropping as a rotation.

(ii) Makauri series.

In this series there is only one type, Makauri clay loam and associated with it is a friable subsoil phase. Makauri clay loam is a heavy soil and the most difficult one to manage on the plains. It is waterlogged in winter, is wet in Spring and fissures badly in summer. Even with artificial drainage, groundwater remains close to the surface in winter.

The type occurs in large continuous and regular pieces of about 500 to 1,000 acres in shallow, saucer-shaped depressions at Ormond, Makauri and Opou and in smaller units of about 200 acres at Kaitaratahi and Te Karaka. The area is 3,533 acres. At the time of European settlement, the depressions were semi-swamps in which grew a dense cover of Kahikitea forest. Land-use includes lamb and cattle fattening, dairying, maize and pea cropping and grass seed production.

(iii) Kaiti series.

Kaiti soils are very wet in winter and dry out and crack badly in summer. They occur in shallow depressions along the margins of the plains and have escaped sedimentation for a long time. They cover a relatively large area of 8,718 acres, nearly half of which is distributed in units of about 1,000 acres in the Patutahi, Hexton and Tamarau localities.

There are three types, Kaiti silt loam, Kaiti heavy silt loam and Kaiti clay loam. Present land-use includes sheep and cattle fattening, dairying, market gardening, grape growing and seed production.
(c) Soils of the Tidal Flats.

Saline Gley Soils.

Muriwai soils are restricted to the tidal flats in Awapuni Lagoon and at Muriwai where the total area is 1,171 acres. They are saline and poorly drained and can grow only the most salt tolerant plants. The tidal flats are the wasteland of the plain but could be reclaimed for agriculture.

There are two types, Muriwai clay loam which is moderately saline and Muriwai clay which is strongly saline.

(d) Soils of the Beachlands.

Yellow Brown Sands.

(i) Opoutama Series.

Opoutama soils are formed from sands of the new beach bordering the coast. Along Poverty Bay, the beach lands are continuous but follow an irregularly shaped plan; they are a few chains wide at Young Nick's Head and about one mile wide in Gisborne City. At Waimai they follow a strip five chains wide parallel to the shoreline.

The total area is 2,216 acres and only 1,000 acres are available for farming. There are two types, Opoutama sand and Opoutama loamy sand.

Yellow Brown Pumice Soils.

(i) Te Hapara Series.

Te Hapara soils are associated with the raised beach. They are formed from rhyolitic pumice which is up to twelve inches thick and which is underlain by fine beach sand. Their distribution is restricted to Gisborne City and to parts of the Taruheru, Makara and Wainui localities. On these soils, there is now little land left for farming and it is likely that within the next decade, much of the land will be built upon. There are two types, Te Hapara sandy loam which is excessively drained and Te Hapara mottled sandy loam which is poorly drained.

All of the soil types have an agricultural potential though this varies from the fertile, well drained soils of the
Matawhero series to the saline and poorly drained soils of the Muriwai series where improvements are necessary. Later in the study an attempt will be made to discover whether or not there was any correlation between settlement and the most productive soils.

(c) Vegetation.

As the clearing of the pre-European vegetation is of importance, the distribution and character of bush, scrub and fern, prior to, and in the nineteenth century, is of relevance.

About two thousand years ago, the area was covered with a dense podocarp - broadleaf forest with perhaps small areas of scrub and fern. The hypothesis has been formulated that the vegetation of the Uawa River catchment, just to the north, was destroyed wholly or in part by the Taupo Ash showers of 1,750 years ago, the ash, being deposited in thick drifts on the flatter and more gentle country.6 As the soils over considerable areas of the Poverty Bay district indicate Taupo and other ash deposits it is logical to assume that much of the vegetation may have been destroyed in a similar fashion.

The soils of the district indicate that the pioneer vegetation developed into climax mixed forest again over most of the area. However, on the flatter and rolling country scrub and fern associations appear to have been the only vegetation that developed. Considerable areas with soils derived from Taupo Ash were covered with dense forest again and it appears that scrub and fern developed mainly on soils from Gisborne Ash. (Fig. 11.) Thus there appears to be much truth in McLean's suggestion but in the Poverty Bay district much of the scrub is certainly the result of somewhat intensive Maori cultivation.7

However, statements by early settlers such as "The

---

Fig. 11:

Primitive Vegetation. This map is derived from the 1/4 inch soil survey and is inaccurate in detail.
Poverty Bay Flats . . . were covered with valuable bush"\(^8\) and the "Makauri Bush stretched away to the right of the Ormond Road and formed an agreeable and attractive feature of the landscape . . ."\(^9\) illustrate that considerable areas of the flats were still wooded in 1868. (Fig. 12.) There were extensive bushes at Makauri, Pipiwhakao, Kupenga, Whakawa, Whatautu, Rakaukaka and Papatu and swamp covered four large areas.

The rest of the Poverty Bay Flats were covered with scrub, fern, native cultivations and areas of grass. However, evidence, in the form of buried kahikitea and totara logs, demonstrates that at one time much of the floodplain was covered in dense forest. It is almost certain that the large Maori population residing on the lowlands of the district had destroyed much of this vegetation when clearing land for cultivation. Accounts of bushfires were numerous among the Maoris and several large areas of bush were destroyed after 1830.\(^10\)

It is also suggested that the Waipaoa River may have contributed to the destruction of areas of bush through either changes of course or by depositing thick layers of silt at frequent intervals and thus preventing the growth of all but the most rapidly growing types of plants.

The forest on the Poverty Bay Flats was of the coastal, lowland, semi-swamp type and contained kahikitea, pukatea, puriri, tawa and matai as dominants. In the sapling and thicket layer kawakawa, hangahanga, pigeonwood, mahoe, karaka, nikau, white maire, coprosera, ngaio, mapou, tarata, lance bark, flax, wireberry and the cabbage-tree were all important and ferns, mosses, and liverworts were found on the forest floor.\(^11\)

---

8 "Jubilee of the Civic Government of the Borough of Gisborne and County of Cook, New Zealand, 1877-1927", p. 89.
9 Ibid. p. 89.
10 Much of the bush on Rakaukaka was destroyed in the 1830s, "Times Jubilee Handbook", MacKay, (editor). p. 162.
11 A. M. Moore: "Gray's Bush Reserve" from W. A. Pullar, unpublished manuscript, Appendix I.
Fig. 12:
Vegetation of the Poverty Bay Flats, 1870. Note the presence of large areas of native bush and swamp. Scrub, fern and Maori cultivations covered most of the floodplain.
By 1868 the primitive vegetation pattern appears to have been modified considerably. (Fig. 13.) The steep hills inland from the coast in the north were covered in dense podocarp-broadleaf forest but there was much manuka and fern. Dense forest clothed the inland ranges and the hills to the south of Poverty Bay but there were only scattered areas of bush in the central part of the district. A survey of the Wharekapae block in 1876 listed rata, rimu, puketea, kahikitea, matai, titoki, kowhai, whinau as the predominating species. Black beech was found on the high ridges.\textsuperscript{12}

Much of the broadleaf forest inland from Poverty Bay appears to have disappeared by 1870. This may have been due to the failure of the surveyors to distinguish between scrub and light bush but Maori burnings may have destroyed large areas of broadleaf forest.

Thus the surface cover that confronted the early settlers on both flat and hill country was predominantly scrub and fern with only scattered patches of bush. The steeper country was bush covered but this was purchased and cleared only after most of the fern and scrubland. These lands were the first settled, probably because of their flat and easily accessible nature.

(d) Climate

The climate of the Poverty Bay district is largely influenced by the geographical position and the diverse topography of the area. All the climatic elements can be contrasted between the Poverty Bay Flats and the adjoining hill country.

Temperature readings taken at the Gisborne Aerodrome show that February is the warmest month and July the coldest.

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
Month & J & F & M & A & M & J & J  \\
\hline
Temperature & 48.8 & 47.7 & 49.2 & 52.1 & 55.5 & 59.0 & 62.7  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{12} Lands and Surveys Department, Gisborne, Maori Block Plan No. 179.
Fig. 12: Vegetation 1870. This map, compiled from data on Maori block plans, gives a relatively accurate picture of the vegetation on the eve of large scale European settlement.
The mean extreme maximum temperatures are amongst the highest in New Zealand.

| J | F | M | A | M | J | J | S | O | N | D | M | A | M | YEAR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 65.4 | 64.8 | 66.0 | 70.2 | 75.2 | 32.3 | 34.8 | 89.6 | 85.8 | 82.9 | 78.2 | 70.0 | 90.2 |

Frosts have occurred in all months except January and February but the frequency is not great. Hail, which can fall in any month is infrequent and snow is rare on the lower country although falls occur every winter in the higher hill country.

The influence of topography on the rainfall is shown by a pronounced maxima in the high country northeast and southwest of the plain. The average annual rainfall rises from 40 inches per annum to over 100 inches in a distance of about twenty miles.

The average monthly rainfall has its greatest values in late autumn and midwinter and is smallest in November and December.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>4.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a rain day maxima in winter and over the floodplain the mean annual number is between 120 and 150. Further inland, the number of rainy days increases as the total rainfall increases. Parikanapa, for example, has 65.58 inches per annum on 168 days.

The most notable feature of the rainfall regime is the great variability. Droughts are common and frequently very heavy falls of rain occur, most rainfall stations having twenty four hour maximum falls of over 3 inches. Although orographic effects cause an increase in mean annual totals in high country, individual heavy falls are just as likely over the plains as over the hills. The highest daily fall for the district, over 11 inches, was recorded on the plains at Ormond. These heavy falls are usually due to low pressure systems, sometimes of tropical origin moving over New Zealand or down the east coast of the North Island.
CHAPTER III

THE MAORI LAND PROBLEM

(a) Introduction

It appears that from the viewpoint of historical geography the Maori land problem has seldom, if ever, been reviewed.\(^1\) As the Poverty Bay district was perhaps the most affected by the confusion which arose from the series of Native Land Acts operating after 1865 it is perhaps the best area in New Zealand in which to analyse the situation geographically. It is felt that an explanation of the changing spatial patterns of land ownership may contribute to the better understanding of a complex set of problems related not only to the land but also to the settlement and development of the district.

This section will only be concerned with the alienation of land from the Maori, either by leasehold or freehold and settlement and development will be considered later. It is not claimed that the complex changes in ownership have been traced for every Maori block but rather generalizations have been attempted and these illustrated with detailed examples as an attempt to detail the process of change in ownership could be an immense task and beyond the limits of a study such as this.

A series of maps, constructed for approximately five yearly intervals is presented to show the changes in landownership from 1868 to 1889 and developments in the intervening periods are traced to demonstrate how the changes came about.

---

(b) Maori Land

For the pre-European Maori the largest political and social unit was the tribe. In the Poverty Bay district the tribes traced their ancestry from the "Takitimu" and "Horouta" canoes, and consequently all the tribes were bound together by a loose loyalty of sentiment. Each tribe had hapus (subtribes) and at a lower level, the whanau (enlarged family group.) Each tribe occupied a known area. In Poverty Bay only two tribal areas, the Rongawhakaata and T'Aitanga-a-Mahaki, fell wholly into the district, when the advent of European settlement stabilised the ownership of land. These two areas covered the Poverty Bay Flats and the surrounding hilllands but four further tribal areas, the T'Aitanga-a-Hauiti, the Ngaitahupo, the Ngati Kahunguna and Urewera extended into the district. (Fig.14.) Each of these tribes had several hapus. (Fig.15.) and within the tribal areas each hapu and whanau had the use of assigned areas. Thus the concept of wasteland was unknown although only a minute area was used for dwellings and cultivation.

The Maori owners knew exactly where the boundaries of their land lay. These areas varied in size, in the district, from the one acre of the Wharetunoa block to the 180,000 acres of the Mangatu block. Each of these blocks of land belonged to different sections of the various tribes and most of the Maoris had interests in many of the blocks with the chiefs having interests in nearly all. It is with these individual interests in the blocks that this paper will be concerned because the land dealings in the district mainly took place after the 1865, the 1867 and 1873 Native Land Acts.

There are in the district well over two hundred Maori blocks. (Fig.16.) Where Maori settlement was concentrated, as on the southwestern portion of the flats, the blocks are small but in the hill country the blocks are much larger. Many of these blocks will only be touched upon in the discussion of the patterns of change.

It must be remembered that the pattern of Maori blocks with concise boundaries is essentially a thing created by the
Fig. 1b:
Tribal areas and Confiscated Land.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRIBE</th>
<th>LAPU</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Porou</td>
<td>Ngatiwhakatemo</td>
<td>Whangara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngatikouoti</td>
<td>Turanganui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'Aitanga-a-Mahaki</td>
<td>Ngapotiki</td>
<td>Waerenga-a-hiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T'Aitanga-a-Mahaki</td>
<td>Waerenga-a-hiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te Whansu-a-kai</td>
<td>Waerenga-a-hiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongowhakaata</td>
<td>Ngaitawhiri</td>
<td>Tapatahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rongowhakaata</td>
<td>Oweta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngaitahupo</td>
<td>Ngaitahupo</td>
<td>Te Muriwai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngaitirangi-i-wahu</td>
<td>Te Muriwai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngatikahungunu</td>
<td>Ngatikohapu</td>
<td>Te Reinga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CENSUS OF N.Z. 1878
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig. 16:</th>
<th>MAGRI BLOCKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Waikato</td>
<td>35. Wharekopaehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Arowhena</td>
<td>36. Hihiroa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Waipaoa</td>
<td>37. Waikohu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mangarongo</td>
<td>38. Tangihanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mangataikapua</td>
<td>39. Puketapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pakake-O-Whirikoko</td>
<td>40. Te Karaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Waitangi</td>
<td>41. Ruangarehu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Waihiroma</td>
<td>42. Ngakaroa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Arakihi</td>
<td>43. Kopaatuaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Waihoro No. 2</td>
<td>44. Whataupoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Waimata North</td>
<td>45. Kaiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mangapapa</td>
<td>46. Makauri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Panikau</td>
<td>47. Waihirere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Te Fohue</td>
<td>48. Muhunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Rangikohua</td>
<td>49. Tawhiritu, Waitui, Toru O'Haia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Pakerae</td>
<td>50. Reponaera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Whangara</td>
<td>51. Okhuatiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Pouawa</td>
<td>52. Hangaroa Matawai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Waimata South</td>
<td>53. Teahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Waimata East</td>
<td>54. Tauwharetoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Matawhero</td>
<td>55. Waikau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Waimata West</td>
<td>56. Whakeangaonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Oparokororo</td>
<td>57. Parutahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Manganwe</td>
<td>59. Tarewuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Hauomatuku</td>
<td>60. Maraetaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Waihora</td>
<td>61. Mangapoike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Rongitira</td>
<td>62. Ruhaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Whatautu</td>
<td>63. Paritu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Manukawhitikitiki</td>
<td>64. Whareongaonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Puhatikotiko</td>
<td>65. Gisborne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Poututu</td>
<td>66. Waikane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Motu</td>
<td>67. Awapuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Waikohu Matawai</td>
<td>68. Wai-O-Hi-Harore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 16 (g):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKARI BLOCKS OF POVERTY BAY FLATS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Hapongere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mahanga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Makauri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Whataupoko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rahau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tutoko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Foupase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Patutahi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Whenuakura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Oariki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Tahuniorangi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Tahoka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Teruteru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Taeorewhanga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Mangamoteo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Matawhoro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Huistos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Te Koru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Wainui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Kaiourou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Paritu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Rakaokaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Poroporo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Whatauta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Pipiwakao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Tarewa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Tarerewa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Kohanga Karearea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Kupenga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Mairimiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Aohuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Pouniruri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Ahipakura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Parea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Ohinkura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Waiari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Opou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Okaunga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Tawatea O Te Rangi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Te Aihmanawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Awapuni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Aushituroa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Te kate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Te Apeka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Kaiparo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Wharaurangi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Te Ahipipi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Te Wairao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Whakawhitira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Packahu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Karsaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Pakirikiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Te Kowhai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Te Arei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Tapatoho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Inland Patutahi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Arai Matawai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Tapato</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Waiwakata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Tau-O-Whiro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Te Ranginui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Tiraotane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Te Rangaia-O-Minehau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. Pakowai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Wherowhero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Tangotete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Te Kuri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Maraetaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
European with his entirely different approach to landownership. The concept of a block of land belonging to several people with legal titles was an alien one to the Maori. The numbers of owners of any one block could vary from a mere handful to several hundred. The problems which arose, from the Native Land Acts, over this fact, will be brought out later.

(c) The Native Land Acts

In the early days of settlement, both before and after the Treaty of Waitangi, land was purchased in a simple and public manner.\(^2\) The proposal to purchase was made to the head-chief in the presence of the lesser chiefs. The boundaries would be described, the price agreed upon and the day fixed for the bargain to be completed in the presence of the tribe. The purchaser counted the purchase money before the chiefs and the people, placed it in bags and gave it to the chiefs who distributed it amongst the hapus and families. Frequently chief's kept no money themselves and "when the gold was thus bestowed would shake the empty bag which held it, upside down, to show that nothing remained".\(^3\) Chief Judge Fenton of the Native Land Court describing such a scene said that "Those were the days when the Maori chief was a gentleman".\(^4\)

No such sales were ever disputed, although sometimes the boundaries were, as the contract was held irrevocable. One danger did exist prior to the institution of the Native Land Court. This was that the same land might be claimed by two tribes or hapus and no sale by one could be held binding by the other. Thus the early settlers ran into this difficulty and it is claimed that all the wars in New Zealand were directly caused by contentions arising from disputed ownership of the land.\(^5\)

---

\(^2\)"Report on Native Land Legislation", Appendix to Journals, House of Representatives, (G-1), Wellington, 1897.

\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) Ibid.
The necessity arose of determining the tribal ownership of land before it was sold. After the start of the Waikato War in 1859 it was evident that if lands were to be peacefully acquired a competent tribunal would have to be set up.

Under the first Native Land Act, 1862, the Crown waived all its pre-emptive rights to the purchase of land secured by the Treaty of Waitangi and "The Constitution Act, 1852". Henceforth all subjects of the Crown were authorized by law to deal, under certain restrictions, with the natives, in order to purchase their lands after the titles had been ascertained by the Native Land Court.⁶ But the "Native Land Act 1862" remained a dead letter and the first operative law was the "Native Land Act 1865".

A Native Land Court with powers to issue certificates of title and Crown Grants was instituted. Lands in which the title had been investigated and determined were declared the property of the tribe. If there were no more than ten owners all the names were to be placed on the certificate of title.

There was no doubt that all the lands in New Zealand were held tribally and that certificates of title should have been issued to tribes and hapu by name and some simple method of public dealing in land devised, analogous to that in the early days. There were two schools of thought on this matter. The first, led by W. L. Rees, held that the Native Land Courts should simply allot blocks of land with defined boundaries to the entitled tribe or hapu. The sales could take place under the old system of cash payment by the European to the chiefs in the presence of the whole tribe. Thus the tribal system would have been maintained.

In opposition to these ideals were the hard-headed settlers who maintained that the Maoris should be given the responsibilities and privileges of Europeans, that they should

---

⁶ Ibid.
be individualized, and the tribal system broken down. The
Maori would be given his personal share of the land as an
individual to farm or sell it as he wished.

The first policy was approved of by the Maori leaders and
gradually came to be adopted by parliament. However, this
policy of Rees and his friends was not carried out properly.
If it had been, it is considered that the difficulties, frauds,
sufferings and attendant loss and litigation leading to a state
of confusion over titles to land would never have occurred.7

The Judges of the Native Land Court had the right, under
the Act of 1865 to name up to ten owners on the certificate of
title to blocks of less than 5,000 acres but these larger
blocks were to be granted to the whole tribe or hapu. However,
the Court issued certificates for all blocks to ten or fewer
owners, as individuals, and consequently the Crown Grants were
to these ten persons. It was believed that these ten would
act as trustees for the whole body but the certificates
erroneously alleged that they were the absolute owners of the
land. Thus native custom and the Crown Grants vested absolute
freehold title to ten privileged persons unencumbered by any
trust or conditions.

Consequently, in some districts vast areas were sold,
leased or mortgaged to the European and thousands of natives
saw land belonging to them passing, often without their
concurrence, out of their control. Often the money paid to
the ten was spent by them without reference to the rest of
the tribe.

The 1865 Act was amended in 1867 to emphasize that not
only should each block be vested in less than ten persons but
that the names of all persons interested and the particulars of
the interests should be registered. This was aimed at stopping
the ten listed owners from frittering away the land of their
tribe. Thus all the names of the owners were to be inscribed on
the back of the certificate of title and it was stated that where
the land was

7 Ibid.
granted to ten people they had no power to deal with it beyond leasing it for twenty-one years, thus stopping the rapid loss of land. But the scheme of having the names of all owners on the certificate of title endorsed the policy of the individual system of land ownership.

A Frauds Prevention Act was passed in 1870 to protect Maori interests by stopping the "dozen muskets for a thousand acres" type of purchase. A purchaser now had to satisfy a Trust Commissioner that the transactions were above board and that the price was adequate.

By 1873 it was evident that as long as the heads of hapus were permitted to deal privately with the lands of their people frauds and malversion of funds would be the rule. The 1867 Act had endorsed the policy of an individual system of land ownership and this policy of individualization was carried to its furthest limits in the Act of 1873. Now when a block came under review in the courts it was to be granted not just to ten men, but to every member of the tribe and every name was to be listed on the memorial of ownership, which replaced the certificate of title. The extent of each individual share had now to be fixed but the exact location of each in a block was not determined so the consent of everyone in the tribe was required before a sale, lease, mortgage or subdivision took place.

The Act established the principle of individual title where no such title existed by nature and was the foundation and source of all the difficulties which arose after it, not merely in the transfer of land from Maori to Pakeha, but in the settlement of the North Island of New Zealand.

All competent authorities condemned this principle and system and it was not surprising that evil effects followed. After 1873 there were many amendments, repeals and alterations to the Native Land Law but in all of these the emphasis was on the effort to establish, contrary to native custom, a system of

8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
individual title to tribal land. These individuals were
suddenly possessed with land which could be sold. They had no
more strength in union, the authority of their leaders had gone,
they were surrounded by temptations and were eager for money
with which to buy European food and goods.

As all the names of owners could be found on the lists
of ownership they all had the same right of occupation and thus
for a European to purchase a block of land every individual
interest had to be obtained. Disputed ownership compelled the
natives to enter the arena of the Native Land Court and contest
the title to the land. The Maori looked upon the European
method of getting land as merely another form of the old wars.
They now fought with the brain and tongue and would say any-
thing and use any method to gain success. Thus they became
utterly unreliable and many Maoris fabricated wills or swore
false oaths. 10 Thus the Native Land Courts were overburdened
with work and heavy expenses and uneasy public feelings
resulted.

Amendments to the 1873 Act and new Acts continued the
principle of individualization. The "Native Land Administration
Act, 1886" was the one effort of the government of the time to
ease the situation. But it was misinterpreted by Europeans
and Maoris and it was repealed in 1888 as being inoperative. A
series of new Acts in 1888 were intended to revive the old law
and to produce "free trade in native lands." But by this date
it was realized that the days of the old methods of purchasing
land were numbered and the hazardous condition of native title
under the Act of 1873 was finally revealed by a commission in
1890.

(d) Development in Land Ownership to 1868

By 1868 small areas of land had been bought from the Maori
by several of the early traders and settlers and larger areas
had been leased for pastoral purposes. The purchased lands had

10 Ibid.
never been legalized by the government. Prior to the establish-
ment of a colony in 1840 only small numbers of land trans-
actions had taken place and all these claims had to be sent to
the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales. Some were
investigated by Colonel E. R. Godfrey during his visit to the
East Coast in 1844. Commissioner Dillon Bell visited the
district in December 1859 but obstructionist tactics on the
part of the native runanga prevented him from making any real
progress. He was told by the leading Europeans that he had
better delay matters until the illfeeling had died down. 11

After the East Coast War it was understood that the
authorities intended to confiscate all land belonging to those
natives who had taken arms against the government but that ample
reserves would be left for their support. To do this a deed of
cession was prepared and signatures were obtained from chiefs
and important men in the district who had not borne arms against
the government. This deed ceded to the Crown all the land east
of a line from Lottin Point to the north east of Waikaremoana
on the condition that each of the owners whose land was not to
be confiscated should receive a Crown Grant for his own portion.

In the ensuing parliamentary session "The East Coast
Land titles Investigation Act, 1866", which confiscated all
land in the district belonging to natives who had been engaged
in rebellion, was passed. 12 Two Judges of the Native Land
Court were appointed as Commissioners to sit at Turanganui in
1867. The Commission was opened in 1867 but a flaw in the Act
prevented any business being done. The inquiry was postponed
for twelve months so that Parliament could amend its own blunder
in failing to specify clearly the class of persons intended to
be adversely affected by the Act. 13

Although the measure was rectified in 1867 it was con-
sidered that it would take years to separate the land of the

12 N.Z. Statutes, 1866, p.139.
loyalists from the dissentients. Mr Donald McLean, early in 1868 suggested to the loyal chiefs that certain blocks of land in Poverty Bay and others on the East Coast and in Wairoa should be handed over to the Crown voluntarily, this representing the land to be given up by the rebellious tribesmen, and in turn the Crown would waive all claims to rebel interests outside the blocks so ceded.\textsuperscript{14} The proposal was under consideration in March 1868 when Judge E. F. Manning visited the area. The Wairoa chiefs ceded to the Crown a substantial area and a military settlement was established at Manumaru. In October the Ngatiporou offered an area which was considered to be too small. The matter was in abeyance in Poverty Bay when the Te Kooti Massacre took place in November. Before this there had been no definite arrangement but now an appeal for protection from the friendly Maoris, coupled with the fact that land for settlement was needed for the members of the Hawkes Bay Defence Corps, moved the government to action.

At the end of 1868 the Honourable J. C. Richmond arranged with the loyal chiefs of the T'Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Rongowhakaata and Ngaituhupo tribes to cede the whole of their tribal lands to the Crown on condition that the portions found by the Native Land Court to be the property of friendly Maoris should be returned. This arrangement was signed by Henare Ruru and 278 others on 18 December, 1868.

However, when the Poverty Bay Crown Grants Commission sat in Gisborne on 30 June 1869 under Judges Rogan and Munro, Mr Atkinson, for the Crown intimated that a fresh arrangement had been agreed upon. The Muhunga, Patutahi and Te Arsi (or Papatoetoe) blocks were to be given up to the Crown and in return all claims to other blocks would be waived. (Fig. 14)

In 1868, during the attempts to reach a workable solution to the problem McLean had attempted to negotiate a compromise with the friendly chiefs. Although this attempt failed an

\textsuperscript{14} Bishop W. L. Williams: "East Coast (N.Z.) Historical Records", Gisborne, p. 58.
arrangement was made to purchase 741 acres at Turanga to be used as a future township site.

Besides the question of confiscated land the Commission also had to consider the determination of the ownership of the various blocks of land in the district. By 1869 several small blocks had been purchased by Europeans and several large ones had been leased. At first the natives had a plan to object to all the purchases and this would not have been difficult as the inquiry was directed to the date which the property had originally been purchased. Some of the original European purchasers were dead, others had left the district, other properties had changed hands several times and bills of sale had been destroyed in the destruction of property by the Hauhaus in 1865 and Te Kooti in 1868. But there was sufficient verbal proof to enable the history of each claim to be reconstructed.

The earliest land purchased had been made by Captain Harris on 30 June 1831 when he bought one acre on the western bank of the Turanganui River from Paratene Turangi, Kahutia and several others for twenty-nine pounds of powder, one axe, forty-eight pipes and six pounds of tobacco.¹⁵ No written agreement was made out at the time but when New Zealand became a British Colony the vendors signed a memorandum of sale. In 1869 although the vendors were dead, the sale was opposed unsuccessfully by Paora (a brother of Kakutia). Wai-o-nguruwai, of approximately one acre, at the confluence of the Taruheru and Turanganui Rivers was bought in 1838 by Harris and Robert Espie from Kahutia. Captain George Edward Read owned the land in 1869 and this purchase also received a Crown Grant.

The claim most strenuously opposed was that of Captain W. B. Rhodes to 300 acres at Karua which he claimed he had purchased in February 1843, in the names of D. Cooper, London,
J. Holt, Sydney, and himself.\textsuperscript{16} The boundaries of the property were marked, at the time, by holes filled with charcoal. Matenga Tamaioreao testified that he had sold the land without consulting with the chiefs and this was substantiated by Rutaruhi Rukupo. Keita Waere (Mrs Kate Wyllie) in a counter-claim said that the land had been given to her by Te Otene Te Whare but Rhodes submitted that this person had been a Hautau and the Commission held that Keita Waere’s claim could thus have no legality. Rhodes received a Crown Grant for the block but an area of thirty acres (including Pakirkiri) was cut out and awarded to Rahuruhi Rukupo.\textsuperscript{17}

The Reverend W. Williams received a Crown Grant for the land at Poupara which Thomas Halbert had purchased in 1839 although at first W. Pere opposed this claim. A claim by R. Palmer to about 5,000 acres was rejected. This was the only claim of purchase that was rejected in the district. (Fig. 17.)

In all, these purchases only totalled 3,686 acres but by 1869 considerable areas had been leased from the natives, under the terms of the Native Land Acts of 1865 and 1867.

The Kaiti block of 4,350 acres was leased as early as 1856 by Harris and Read and was, in 1870, in the hands of Read. Pouawa was leased by G. S. Cooper in 1865. Whangara, of 21,450 acres, was first leased by H. R. C. Wallace and J. Broadbent in 1867. The terms of the lease were £280 for the first year, £300 for five years, £354 for five years and then £372 per annum. Another lease was drawn up in 1872. The lessors (the Maoris) were permitted to fence and cultivate any portion of the block provided the fences were kept in good condition and did not interfere with any areas laid down in pasture grasses. Pigs were to be kept styed in the lambing season and the natives were permitted to have no more than three dogs at their settlement. Wallace was empowered to kill any

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. p.140.
\textsuperscript{17} Lands and Deeds Department, Gisborne, Crown Grant, 9 January 1871.
Fig. 17: European and Maori Crown Grants, 1871.
stray dogs or pigs without compensation. He was also allowed
to cut down and make use of timber and bush to build houses and
fences. 18

Whataupoko was leased in 1864 to W. H. Parker. Some of
the Poverty Bay Maoris had awakened to the fact that far too
much of the land in the district was lying idle and three of
them representing most of the principal owners of Whataupoko,
went to Napier to search for Europeans inclined to take up land
in Poverty Bay. Consequently, W. H. Parker was induced to
occupy Whataupoko on a twenty-one year lease for £200 per
annum. 19

Maraetaha, of 13,832 acres, was first leased to Captain
Wilson and T. Lawry of Napier in 1866 but in 1867 this lease
was acquired by George Randall and James Woodbine Johnson. A
lease in 1869 by Meta Hamera and many others (under the 1867
Act which listed all owners on the certificate of title) to the
Johnson brothers stated that they had to pay £250 for two years,
£300 for five years and £400 for five years. 20 The Johnsons
also leased Pakowai No.1, in 1869.

Te Arai, of about 10,000 acres, was first leased to
Charles Westrup in 1867 and Repongaere was leased to S. W. Dodd
and R. Peppard in the same year. 21 In 1869 Tamihana te Ruatapu
leased the block to J. W. Johnson. 22 The Ngakaroa block of
12,360 acres was occupied by J. B. Poyster and C. Evans in 1869
and G. Scott took up Ruangaretu in the same year. 23 Pukepapa
was taken up in 1867.

18 Lands and Deeds Department, Gisborne, Deed of Lease, 27 August,
1872.
19 J. A. Mackay (editor): "Life in Early Poverty Bay", Gisborne
1927, p. 97.
20 Lands and Deeds Department, Gisborne, Deed of Lease, 1 September
1869.
21 Mackay, (editor), p. 315.
22 Land and Deeds Department, Gisborne, Deed of Lease, 30 November
1869.
23 Mackay, (editor), p. 315.
Besides the work of confirming the areas of European owned land and defining the land to be confiscated, the Commission issued certificates of title and Crown Grants to the Maori owners of about thirty blocks. This was not without difficulty at first, as many of the owners listed had been Hauhaus. At an early stage of the proceedings the Repongaere block came under investigation and none of the people on the list of owners were objected to as having been Hauhaus. However, Mr W. A. Graham, acting for the loyal Maoris of the district claimed that Haera Kapuaora, listed as one of the owners, had been one of the first Hauhaus. Evidence showed that he had not supported Te Kooti and Atkinson, regarding him highly, would not hear of him being disqualified even though the parliamentary Act had no reference to Te Kooti. After this it was considered useless to object to the names of those who had taken an active part against the government in 1865 and the titles to the rest of the blocks were settled without any question as to whether any of the claimants had been Hauhaus.

Most of the original owners of the blocks taken by the government had been Hauhaus but some of the owners were loyal and yet these were not compensated in any way. This was contrary to the Act of 1867 which stated that the Hauhaus were to be deprived of all their land, except certain reserves. The government, however, took blocks of land agreed upon in a compromise and left the Hauhaus in possession of all lands they owned outside of the confiscated blocks. The loyal Maoris and their descendants begrudged this situation for many years.

Although thirty blocks received Crown Grants it did not mean that they would never again come before the Native Land Court. Many of them appear time and time again throughout the period.

(e) The Pattern of Land Ownership, 1869.25 (Fig. 18.)

In 1869 very little land belonged to Europeans on a

---

24 Atkinson, the Resident Magistrate, acting for the Crown.
25 The first Crown Grants were issued in 1871 and these represent essentially the land situation in 1869 when the Poverty Bay Crown Grants Commission began its work.
Fig. 18:
Land ownership, 1869. Note the nucleus of European owned land on the floodplain.
freehold title basis. The few small blocks that had been purchased were all clustered together on the central and south-western portion of the floodplain. Together the Matawhero, Pouparae, Wainui, Tutae-o-rewhanga, Mangamoteo, Tahuniorangi and Tutoko blocks only totalled about 1,200 acres. This land appears as the nucleus around which later land purchases clustered. Such a situation is readily understood when the flat and fertile nature of the land is considered. Land, belonging to Europeans, was also found around the mouths of the Waipaoa River and Te Arai stream.

Three areas of land belonged to the Crown. These were the township site at Turanga and the two confiscated blocks, Patutahi and Muhunga. The township site, bounded by rivers on two sides and covered with scrub, was possibly the best choice of a site for a town in Poverty Bay. The Patutahi block consisted of a considerable area of fertile, flat land and a much larger area of rolling to steep hill country. Muhunga was also a mixture of flat and hill country.

The lands leased from the Maoris were located along the coast to the north of Poverty Bay and on the rolling hill country adjoining the floodplain. Large areas of flat land were included in these leased blocks.

Scattered over the floodplain and making up the bulk of the hill country was land still belonging to the Maoris. Much of this area, especially in the remote hill country, had not been considered by the Commission and most of it had not yet been surveyed.

(f) Developments in Land Ownership 1869-1876.

By 1870 the danger from Te Kooti and his followers had practically vanished and there began an influx of men wanting to take up the land. Similarly, by this date much of the better and more easily accessible land in other parts of New Zealand was settled. Thus the fertile country in the Poverty Bay district beckoned to pastoralists and agriculturalists.

Although many people expressed the wish to take up land in the district there was the difficulty of where this land was to come from. The only Crown Lands were the Town block
and the two confiscated blocks and most of the rest was in the hands of the Maoris.

The policy of individualization of Maori title to land was carried to its limits in the Native Land Act of 1873 and thus after 1873 the problems of buying and leasing land were multiplied.26

The difficulties of purchasing land under such a system were immense. It was almost impossible to get the signatures of all the owners of a block and shrewd purchasers did not even try. Instead they bought a few shares and simply squatted on the land. Alternatively the block was leased and shares bought whenever possible. A speculator could buy a few shares in several blocks and could apply to the courts for a subdivision to cut out his shares. Often several speculators bought shares in the same block and considerable confusion could arise. The small man who was hoping to purchase land fairly was adversely affected and certainty of title was difficult to secure. Long litigation was often necessary and this benefited the "land-sharks" and big men. The upsetting of titles gave a lucrative trade to lawyers. In 1876 for Gisborne's population of 554 there were four solicitors compared with Christchurch which only had ten for a population of 10,294.27

Maori owners had no protection against "congested titles" and it was part of the lawyer's trade to persuade one section of a hapu that they had a claim to land which the rest of the hapu had sold, fight an action for them to upset the purchaser's title, and thus get a handsome fee. In this respect the 1867 Act was far better than the 1873 Act.

A buyer was faced with a series of problems when trying to obtain land. There was the question of who were the rightful owners and who, among the crowds of Maori claimants in the Court, was really entitled to deal with the land. Under the

26 See page 22.
27 The Poverty Bay Standard, 14 July 1876.
1867 Act there was a doubt whether land could be bought and sold at all and the only certainty was that it could be leased for twenty-one years. Then there were the other European claimants to consider. Were they landsharks who could only be turned out by an expensive lawsuit and what of the squatter who had paid for his land with a few blankets and could be turned out by the 1870 Frauds Prevention Act? Therefore to secure a title a settler had to buy the signatures of the Maori owners, pay the Native Land Court charges for seeking a subdivision, pay the survey fees, Stamp Duties, the Trust Commissioner's fees, rates and costs and to meet caveats and petitions lodged against his title.28

These great difficulties in purchasing land were probably the cause of most of the alienated land being in the form of leaseholds. This prevented the Maori owners from being stripped of their land as they often lacked firm leadership and were susceptible to the tricks of dishonest lawyers or speculators. There are many tales of drunken or ill-fed Maoris swarming to the towns for Native Land Court sittings, fighting the shadow of a land claim or protesting against its sale and living on credit from shrewd storekeepers who were willing to lend on security of the land.29

The Poverty Bay district clearly illustrates the confusion, fraud, graft and corruption characterising the Maori land dealings in the 1870s. The Native Land Court sat in various places on the East Coast until November 1877 and during this period most of the blocks in the district came before it, for one reason or another. After 1873 the relatively large Maori population complicated matters because the name of every owner had to be placed on the memorial of ownership, meaning that there were in some cases several hundred owners listed. Most of the small blocks of the Poverty Bay Flats and many of the adjoining larger ones were defined and the

29 Sorensen; J. P. S., Vol.65, p.186.
ownership determined by the Poverty Bay Crown Grants Commission. Under the Native Land Act of 1867 the names of all the owners of a block appeared on the back of the certificate of title and for a European to purchase land the signature of all the owners were necessary.

Land dealings for many of the smaller blocks on the Poverty Bay Flats date back to 1869 when official records of the land transactions in the district first began to be kept. In many of the smaller blocks the problems were not as intense but in a few cases size made no difference.

Under the 1867 Act land could not be sold or mortgaged until it was subdivided. However, after the limits of the small blocks on the Poverty Bay Flats were defined it was possible for any one man to buy up most of the individual interests in that block. Many of these small blocks had but few owners and after 1869 several Europeans began buying considerable areas of land in small lots.

George Edward Read was probably the most prominent of these men, who can be called "landsharks" or speculators. Read was one of the founders of the town of Gisborne and one of the important men of his era. Nevertheless he was one of the greatest speculators in the district in the early 1870s. Read's land dealings between 1869 and 1876 illustrate the difficulties arising from the native land policy of the time. However, speculation arose and several men could purchase interests from the different Maori owners of the same block. European purchasers did not always act illegally. Rather it was the nature of the land laws.

Read had purchased or leased interests, by 1876, in twenty-nine separate blocks.30 (Fig. 19.) He bought Taro o Paea from Hore Rarotonga in 1869 and in 1870 leased it from Hoami Ruru. At first he only leased the To Ahimanawa block, but in 1872 he bought Rutene Ahunuku's share. This left four other shares

30 All the following information is from Lands and Deeds Department, Gisborne. Deeds of conveyance and leases.
Fig. 19:

READ'S LAND PURCHASES

1. Whataupoko
2. Kaiti
3. Makaure
4. Tahuniorangi
5. Whenuakura
6. Huiataa
7. Te Koru
8. Wainui
9. Matawhero No. 1
10. Ohinekura
11. Waiari
12. Taumata O Te Rangi
13. Te Awhimomowa
14. Kaiparua
15. Te Kite
16. Te Apeka
17. Wharaorangi
18. Taero Pea
19. Te Ahipipi
20. Wairau
21. Rapanui
22. Waikanae
unsold as the block belonged to five Maoris. The Te Ahipihipi block was, in 1869, mortgaged by its owners to Read and was eventually sold to him. Kaiparo was leased by Epirita and the other owners to Read in 1870 and by 1875 he was in possession of several interests in the block. However, another European, J. C. Harrison, had also bought an interest in this block.

The Te Karaka block was first leased to Read by Matenga Toti and several other of the owners in 1870 after a mortgage. However, Read transferred their lease to Scott, the lessee of the adjoining Pukenupa block, in 1872. Read also purchased interests in the Kaiti block and bought the Te Koru block from Maraia Te Ao in 1869. This was confirmed in 1872. The Waimui block was purchased in 1869 and Huiata was bought from G. Lawrence and R. Goldsmith. (Goldsmith had received a Crown Grant for this block in 1871). Read purchased individual interests in the Waiari block from 1870 to 1873 and he leased Apoka from Hoeru Ruru and the other owners in 1870. In 1871 Tepora Waikato sold Read his interest in the block.

Pokiongawaka was bought from Mere Karaka and several other of the owners in 1869 but a lease was also obtained from Hoami Ruru in 1871.

Te Kati was leased by Read in 1871 but he managed to purchase an interest in 1872. He also had three shares in the Whenuakura block but he sold these in 1875. A single interest in Taumata a Te Rangi was purchased in 1870 and the Wairau block was bought from Tamihana Ruatahuna and the remaining seventeen owners in the same year. Te Upoko o te Ika was purchased in 1869. Maraia Te Kani sold his share in Wharaurenki to Read in 1871 but the other eight grantees did not. Read also purchased Mfswhero No. 7, obtained a lease for the Waikanae block and purchased the Rahau block in 1869.

But the Whataupoko block epitomises Read's land dealings. This large block of 19,200 acres was first leased by W. H. Parke in 1864. By 1869 Rahirahi Rakipo and several other owners owed Read £1,817 10s. Od. and they mortgaged their land to him as a security. (A perfect example of a shrewd storekeeper selling goods and lending money on the security of the land.)
Read then proceeded to buy up certain interests in the block and a deed registered 1 May 1871 states that he had bought the block for £734, plus the mortgage. He continued to buy shares in 1871 and 1872, in 1871 paying thirty-five Maoris £50 each for their shares. But he was not alone in buying shares in the block. In 1872 R. R. Curtis purchased two. Parker renewed his lease in 1870 and in 1872 Read granted him another. However in 1874 Read sold to Curtis for £6,000 all his right to the title and purchase of twenty-eight equal and undivided shares, the deed of mortgage, Parker's assigned rights and 1,000 sheep. (Parker assigned his rights of lease to Read in 1874.)

Curtis immediately sold all his interests to Barker and McDonald who now held 14,000 acres freehold and 2,000 acres leasehold. They commenced to purchase some of the remaining shares (originally forty-six) but the titles to the block were not finally settled until 1885.

Read received Matawhero No.4. in a Crown Grant in 1871 and he purchased Matawhero No.1. in separate lots in 1870 and 1871. After 1871 he sold and leased portions of the Matawhero block to other Europeans. Tahmioreangi was purchased from his brother in 1872 and he also obtained a single share in the Ohinekura block and several in the Te Pakske-o-Whirikoko block.

The Makaui block was granted to Riperata Kahutia and fifty-six other owners in 1871. Although R. R. Curtis had obtained a lease prior to this Read started buying shares in the block in 1872 and had by 1875 purchased about ten at £50 apiece. However, many other Europeans were purchasing interests. Among them were W. H. Tucker, J. Breinger, C. Westrup, W. F. Hardy, J. Hammon, J. C. Harrison, Mathewson, J. Saunders, P. Barker and A. McDonald. By 1875 the various transactions had so confused matters that Riperata Kahutia applied for a subdivision.

On 17 January 1875 at a Native Land Court sitting at

Makaraka Riperata Katutia and fourteen others received 1,116 acres (Makauri No. 14). Read received 700 acres (No.9,11 and 12) and Wi Pere and twenty-nine others 732 acres (No.7). Pimia Aeta received Makauri No.1 and No.6, Mere Hari, No.5, Keita Waere, No.3, Omira Titchki, No.2. (Fig. 20.) Although this appeared to settle the question of the block it appeared before the Native Land Court time and time again in the next fourteen years.

Thus although Read purchased shares in many blocks, only in a few did he obtain complete and satisfactory ownership. But Read was not the only man purchasing individual shares in blocks of land. By 1875 the Johnson brothers and Westrup had purchased interests in many blocks, including Pukewhenua, Ahipakura, Te Kuri, Pakowai No.1, Tangotete, Repongaere and Maraetaha. Their prime purpose seemed to be the acquisition of land for pastoral purposes. Similarly, H. Harris and J. Ferguson were acquiring shares in the blocks of land adjoining their sheep run at Opou. Other men obtaining interests in blocks elsewhere in the district, or were the actual lessee of the block they were endeavouring to buy.

Despite MacKay's claim that settlement made great strides in Poverty Bay between 1871 and 1875, very little new land was purchased and none at all that had a really secure title. This type of situation was not conducive to settlement, especially by small men who desired to hold their land securely.

However, several large new areas were taken up under leasehold. In 1873 W. S. Greene leased Okahuatui and Barker and McDonald took over the lease of Kaiti Wainui, part of the Kaiti block, was leased by W. Cooper in 1874 and S. Locke took over the Waikahu block from W. P. Hargreaves. 32 C. J. and A. C. Harrison took up Rangitira in 1875 and A. C. Arthur Whatatutu. In February 1874 Messrs Touchen and R. Cooper leased 18,000 acres at Mangataikapua. Te Karaka was first leased by Read in 1870 and G. Scott took this over in 1872.

---

32 It is not known when Hargreaves first leased this block.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF SUBDIVISION</th>
<th>OWNER</th>
<th>ACREAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pimia Aata</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Amira Tipoki</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Henri Te Aoraki</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kate Wyllie</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mary Hardy</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pimia Aata</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wi Pene's Hapu</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Karaitiana Ruru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Capt. Read</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Capt. Read</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Capt. Read</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Riperato Kahutia's Hapu</td>
<td>1,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Hinaki</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Panaipa</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Hamon</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All the older leased blocks continued to be held under leasehold. Many of the leases may have been illegal but they conferred a prescriptive right to the land.

It was also possible for several men to obtain leases in the same block just as it was possible to purchase shares. In 1874 the Whata tutu block was disputed, as four other Europeans besides A. C. Arthur had obtained leases.

The Maoris themselves realised the problems arising from the Native Land Acts. At a meeting at Pakirikiri in 1874 it was stated that there was no clear understanding of the land sales or of the system of mortgages. As many leases needed legalising it was proposed to submit the Whata tutu block to a Maori committee to end the dispute. All the lessees, except Read were prepared to do this. Read refused to negotiate with the "Hauhaus", as he called the Maoris proposing the committee scheme, but finally a court of arbitrators was appointed and A. C. Arthur received a secure lease in 1875.

A Government Land Purchase Commissioner, J. A. Wilson, commenced operations in 1874. By 1877 the Native Land Court had determined the ownership of most of the land blocks in the district and under the 1873 Act the names of all the owners appeared on the memorial of ownership. (Fig.21) Most of these blocks were extremely large and interested many local speculators. However they also were of interest to the Government. In the rush to purchase these new lands a conflict arose between the local Land Purchase Commissioner and two of the other Government officers on the East Coast - Judge Rogan of the Native Land Court and Mr Locke, the local District Officer.

In a report in 1877 Wilson said that he had negotiated for

33 "The Poverty Bay Herald", 2 February 1874.
34 P.B.H., 19 February 1874.
35 P.B.H., 12 March 1874.
Fig. 21:

CROWN GRANTS 1871-77

1. Motu
2. Waikohu Matawai
3. Mangatakapua
4. Puhatikotiko
5. Waitangi
6. Waingaromia
7. Arakihi
8. Whatastutu
9. Rangitira
10. Waihora
11. Ahirau
12. Mangaone
13. Tangihanga
14. Waimata North
15. Waimata East
16. Waimata West
17. Waimata South
18. Taumatarata and Mangapapa
19. Rangikohua
20. Whangara
21. Pouawa
22. Waihirere
23. Okahuatiu
24. Hangaroa Matawai
25. Tauwharetoi
26. Whakaongaonga
27. Papatu
lands, paid deposits, signed agreements, had begun surveys and had made application to the Native Land Court to have the claims heard. He wanted the court to take cases that the Land Purchase Department was interested in, as his plans would then be ripe for pushing twenty-three blocks through the Court. However, he regretted that private parties had interfered with his operations and that the unprecedented proceedings of a Judge and a District Officer had mitigated seriously against them. Consequently not a single block had passed the Court.

Wilson claimed that Judge Rogan and Mr Locke were favouring the interests of other Europeans in land purchases when they knew he was negotiating for the land. He cited the activities of Read and Cooper concerning the Waingaromia block.

Rogen and Locke presented memorandums on Wilson's report and some illuminating facts emerged. Waingaromia, divided into three blocks, was situated on the boundaries of the T'Aitanga-a-Hauti and Ngatiporou tribal lands. Consequently both tribes claimed it. Wilson had never seen the land and he was trying to purchase it from one party whilst Read and Cooper were trying to purchase it from the other. Nobody really knew who owned the land and thus authority had been given to both parties to survey their respective boundaries. Then the case would be brought before the Native Land Court. Although Wilson thought the court should be used as an instrument for acquiring lands for the government Locke was of the opinion that it should be an independent tribunal.

Wilson's claim that twenty-three blocks were ripe for the court was also erroneous, the evidence showed, and it was proved that he had been advancing money to Maoris who did not

36 "Report of Mr J. A. Wilson, Land Purchase Commissioner, Poverty Bay, and Correspondence", A.J.H.R., (G - 5 ), 1877.
37 Ibid, (G - 5).
38 The government now also dealt with individual Maoris and not with the tribe as formerly.
39 Appendix 1.
really own the land.

These were the findings of a Royal Commission appointed in 1876 to investigate the CASUS BELLi of Rogan V. Wilson. The Commission concluded its report by saying that if Mr Wilson had made any mistake, it was that of showing too much zeal in his land purchase transactions and of insisting too strongly on some prerogative right of the Crown to which rival purchasers were supposed to give way. Judge Rogan was cleared of all charges against his good faith and integrity and Mr Wilson was dismissed from the Government service.40

This decision was popular in the district but the evidence which came out during the proceedings of the Commission placed Poverty Bay in a somewhat more notorious position than ever before. Large sums of money were necessary to obtain freehold or leasehold of any block of land. This of course led to land speculation. If land was not leased from Europeans who already held it securely no title could be obtained from the Maoris. Speculators could obtain lands, just as R. Cooper and Captain Read had at Waingaromia, at reasonable prices and could occupy this land in the belief that their title would be secure. Sometimes, however, the lessors were tempted by other offers, as in the case of the Whatstutu Block.

Although Mr Wilson was dismissed in 1876, in the two years he was in the district he had initiated negotiations for several blocks of land. In all by the end of 1876 there were fifty blocks totalling 483,000 acres under negotiation, of which thirty-eight were for sale and twelve for lease.41 However, none of these transactions were completed as the majority of the blocks had not been gazetted for hearing by the Native Land Court.

The twelve blocks under negotiation for lease totalled 287,000 acres but the title to only one block (the Motu), was completed, although only two signatures were necessary to

40 A.J.H.R. (G - 5) 1877
41 "Purchase of Maori Lands", A.J.H.R., (G - 7), 1877
complete another, (the Waikohu-Matawai).

There were still 175,000 acres of this land to pass through the court. A number of signatures for each of these blocks had been obtained but under the Native Land Act of 1873 it was necessary for all parties to sign before a purchase or a lease could be completed. The last few signatures were the hardest to obtain and could cause great expense and delay.

The Wilson v. Rogan case caused much comment. The "Auckland Weekly Herald" considered the Waingaromia proceedings typical of East Coast land dealings. It appears that, at first, only Wilson's side of the story was heard outside the district. Although Wilson was found to be in the wrong and Judge Rogan and Mr Locke innocent the fact remains that Cooper and Read were land speculators and were not above trickery. As the two newspapers in Gisborne, "The Poverty Bay Herald" and "The Poverty Bay Standard" took different sides over the question a heated correspondence can be found in them in 1876 and 1877. (g). The Pattern of Land Ownership 1876 (Fig. 22.)

By the end of 1876 the amount of land held securely by Europeans on freehold title had increased but little. In many blocks a few individual Maoris had sold their shares but this often led to several Europeans gaining one or two shares each in the same block. The consequent expense and delay of a Native Land Court sitting to subdivide the land is epitomised by the Makauri block. But it was just not possible to bring every block that had a multitude of purchasers before the court and consequently by 1876 many blocks had Maori and European owners or lessees. Without subdivision the best a European purchaser could do was to squat on the land and hope eventually for a secure title.

The solid nucleus of securely purchased land, therefore, did not expand between 1869 and 1876. But by 1876 a military settlement had been placed on the Nuhunga block, although the Patutahi block was untouched.

However the area held under lease had increased enormously. The lands taken up by this form of tenure followed a rational pattern. They were located along the valley of the Waipapa and
Fig. 22:
Land ownership 1875. Note the nucleus of European owned land had expanded only slightly.
LAND OWNERSHIP 1876

- Maori Land
- Crown Land
- European Freehold
- European Freehold

Blocks In Dispute And Multiple Ownership

0 10
MILES
its tributaries and thus consisted of much excellent flat land and much of the choice rolling hill country adjoining the floodplain. By 1876 land over thirty miles up the river had been leased and many of the lessees were buying individual Maori shares.

In 1876 the Crown held only one block, the Patutahi block. However, negotiations had begun for the majority of the large inland hill country blocks.

(h) Developments in Land Ownership, 1876-1881.

By 1876 few of the immigrants arriving in New Zealand were going to Poverty Bay although the district possessed some of the finest land in the country. The barrier to settlement was not the geographical isolation of the area but rather the confusion arising from the Maori land laws operating to their fullest extent. Despite the intense desire of the Europeans living on the East Coast to see the area developed and the willingness of many Maoris to sell their land progress was slow. However, after 1876 there was a slight movement of people towards this new district, as by now the more accessible areas of New Zealand were settled. But until after 1880 the land remained locked to settlement and the bad reputation of the East Coast continued to grow.

During these years local feeling about the government's attitude to Maori lands demonstrates the sense of frustration that was developing in the district. Statements, such as "The course pursued by the government during the first few years regarding native matters, more especially native land matters, might not inaptly be christened the 'dog in the manger' policy" were common.42

Thus the land situation changed very little until about 1880 although purchase both by the Crown and by individuals continued. The crux of the problem in these years was that the Native Land Court, after having continuous sessions on the East

---

42 P.B.H.; 6 February 1877.
Coast from 1869, was closed down in November 1877 and Judge Rogan withdrawn. This occurred at a vital time because many of the blocks were still in dispute and many more were awaiting subdivision.

Even in 1877 the subdivision of the Nukauri block had reached no definite conclusion because of the rivalry of two sections of the owners led by Wi Haronga and Wi Pere respectively. The history of the Awapuni block illustrates the delays that could occur in the land dealings. It had first appeared before the court in 1870, and had been contested by Riperata Kahutia, Henare Turangi and Hope Korita. In 1873 Judge Munro dismissed an absurd claim of Wi Haronga's but in 1875 awarded the block to Riperata Kahutia and several other owners on condition that there was a rehearing. This came up in 1877. Hirini Hareone, Wi Pere and several others claimed on an alleged oath of 1875, that the block in question had been returned by the late Sir Donald McLean to Paora Matsuakore.

In reply Riperata Kahutia and her party alleged on oath that the block had not been returned to Paora Matsuakore by Sir Donald McLean but to Paratene and Katahana. The evidence was in favour of Riperata Kahutia but the case was adjourned before a decision was reached.

By 1877 there were few blocks not being disputed by several different parties. Most of these had European purchases dating back to 1869 and when the complexities of the sales, 1869–1876, are recalled, the resulting confusion can well be imagined.

Under the existing system of native land purchase, the purchase of single shares by individual Europeans continued. (Fig. 23.) Some were trying to gain the freehold of land they had leased and improved but many were buying shares in the hope of getting early subdivisions. The Native Land Court did not sit in the district for about two years though, and thus without subdivisions much land continued to be locked to settlement. Many blocks remained like this until after 1885. However, before the Court was removed in November 1877, several large hill country blocks came before it. As these were under
EUROPEAN SINGLE INTERESTS
1877-31

1. Waipapa
2. Mangatakapua
3. Pakake o Whirikoko
4. Manukawhitikitiki
5. Rangitira
6. Mangoa
7. Puhatikotiko
8. Te Karaka
9. Ngakarua
10. Waikohu
11. Pukepapa
12. Whataupoko
13. Tangihanga
14. Okahuati
15. Repangaere
16. Makauri
17. Taruheru
18. Tahoka
19. Waikone
20. Matawhero No. 1
21. Whenuakura
22. Faria
23. Oblockura
24. Taumata o Te Rangi
25. Okaunga
26. Pouuriuri
27. Opou
28. Te Ahipihipi
29. Awapuni
30. Aohangakaresrea
31. Te Rua-o-Taua
32. Pakirikiri
33. Te Aral
34. Pakowai
35. Tangotete
36. Te Kuri
37. Maraetaha
BLOCKS—EUROPEAN SINGLE INTERESTS
1877-81

MILES

BLOCKS EUROPEAN SINGLE INTERESTS
negotiation for sale to the government orders to issue memorials of ownership were withheld on the application of the District Officer, Mr Locke, and the natives interested. The negotiations were entrusted to J. P. Hamlin who had several long and tedious "koreoe" with the owners and eventually purchased Tauwharetoi, Whakaongaonga, Tuahu and Hangaroa Mataiwai. The blocks still had to come before the Native Land Court and have their Native Reserves determined. As much needed to be done by the Court in ascertaining titles, in drawing up subdivisions and in delimiting Native Reserves the local settlers considered that "the native policy adopted by our rulers now-a-days is marvellous exceedingly". 43

In 1878, the Native Minister, Mr Sheenan, formulated a new policy on land purchase. The government was finding it costly to purchase land themselves and believed "that it would be very much better under proper conditions, to leave private individuals and the Maoris to deal with the land for themselves". 44 Therefore the government was going to withdraw from land purchase and allow Europeans to purchase land from Maoris under certain conditions.

Sheenan said that in 1877–1878 the acreage that had passed through the Native Land Court was three times as great as in 1876–77 but that there were still heavy arrears of work to overcome. 45 This may have been the case in other parts of New Zealand, but on the East Coast no Native Land Court was sitting and even in the six months before he was withdrawn Judge Rogan had refused to complete subdivisions and individualisations of titles. Consequently, the native land situation in the district was probably the most confused in New Zealand.

Such was the situation when W. L. Rees arrived in the district in 1878. 46 Rees belonged to the school of thought

43 P.B.H., 9 November 1877.
44 P.B.H., 11 January 1878.
45 P.B.H., 20 September 1873.
46 Appendix 2.
which believed that the Maori tribal system should be upheld and the land dealt with by the tribe as a whole. The tribe would be a quasi corporate body putting a common seal of authority on its transactions. Chiefs or elected committees could deal with the land for the tribe and therefore settlers would only have to apply to the acknowledged elected heads of the tribe instead of dealing with a multitude of owners. This would abolish the need for lengthy suits against illicit sales to be fought in the Native Land Court. 47

A convincing argument against this system was that by the end of the Maori Wars the tribes had lost their old cohesion and the rank and file no longer followed the man of great mana. Europeans wishing to individualise native land titles wanted to avoid communal ownership as it would have perpetuated Maori landlordism, which would deter settlers from improving land. It was claimed that the individualisation of a Maori's share in a block would enable him to stand up for himself and either farm or sell his land.

Rees was philanthropic enough to see that this method of "making a man out of the Maori" would expose him leaderless to the acquisitive European. 48 The tribe would be a safeguard against this and if tribal authority had broken down, a responsible agency such as a tribal committee could deal with the land on behalf of the tribe. They would have authority to farm the land, lease it, sell it and pay the profits to the native owners.

Such a method depended on finding some competent, responsible and incorruptible agency to handle the land on behalf of the tribe or hapu and sell it expediently, at a fair price to bona fide settlers. In Poverty Bay Rees found a partner in Wi Pere, a leading chief of the Rongowhakaata and T'Achanga-a-Mahaki peoples. 49

48 Ibid., p.12.
49 Appendix 2.
In 1878-79 Rees called meetings of land owning Maoris in Gisborne and persuaded Maoris to vest their blocks of land in himself and Wi Pere as trustees. The trustees were to handle the land in accordance with the wishes of the tribe as a whole which would be expressed by an elected committee of owners. Rees and Wi Pere would always have to consult the committee before selling, leasing or mortgaging the land. Thus the tribe as a whole through their elected committee would still be in control of the land but the prospective settler would only have to deal with the two trustees. 

In a series of public addresses and in the local press Rees expounded the advantages of the plan. Once the Maoris had received a Crown Grant for the land from the Native Land Court and the Court recognised the vesting of the land in the trustees the transfer of the land to the settlers would easily be effected. The East Coast would speedily be opened up to settlers and the Maori owners would secure a fair price with a minimum of litigation and fraud.50 

However, he met with opposition from many people in the district, especially those who had been engaged in land speculation. They doubted whether his scheme would work but Rees did receive the support of a section of the community. It was said of him that he had "taken upon himself an enormous responsibility; and instead of meeting with faction opposition, he ought to calculate on the support of every true settler.51 

In 1879 he began to deal with the Marastsha, Pakowai and Wātaupoko blocks, the later having caused much trouble in the early 1870s. In 1878 Barker held this block of 19,200 acres from the Maoris on a comparatively valueless and unsatisfactory title. Rees, on behalf of the Maoris bought the estate and had a subdivision pushed through the Native Land Court.52 

50 P.B.S., 15 February 1879. 
51 Ibid. 
52 P.B.S., 15 March 1879. The Court recommenced its work in 1880.
Barker received 2,000 acres on a guaranteed title and 12,000 acres were found to belong to the Maoris. This was to be held in trust for them and was to be divided into small sections to be sold with guaranteed titles on a deferred payment scheme.

The titles of the Maraetaha, Pakowai, Te Kuri and Tangotete blocks, occupied by J. W. Johnson were settled by Rees. Johnson reached an agreement with Rees in 1879 and sold his shares in these blocks to Rees who purchased the remaining Maori shares in trust. Under the terms of agreement the natives received valuable reserves and Johnson gained the freehold and indefeasible title to the greater part of the blocks, totalling about 20,000 acres.53

The split in local opinion on the value of Rees' work is seen in the attitudes of each of the newspapers. "The Poverty Bay Standard" supported him and his policy. It was considered that he was a man who would do the Maoris justice without inflicting injustice on Europeans and his scheme would benefit the district as a whole. However, "The Poverty Bay Herald" appeared to support that section of the population who were interested in the individualisation of the Maori and the break-down of the tribal system. The whole issue revolved around the question of individual or communal title and the editor of "The Poverty Bay Herald" can be criticised for supporting the system of joint tenancy and individualisation which had done so much to give the district a bad name.

In 1880 Rees sought to have his dealings as a trustee ratified and the methods standardised in a private bill, "The East Coast settlement Bill". He published a pamphlet and held a huge meeting of Maoris on the banks of the Taranaki River in March to explain the bill.54 Besides ratifying trusts and empowering Maori block committees with full control of land the bill provided for the partitioning off of any portions of the

53 P.B.S., 23 April 1879.
54 P.B.H., 10 March 1880.
block the Maoris did not wish to sell. The bill would also have removed the restriction of the 1867 Act that land could only be alienated by a lease of up to twenty-one years.

In promoting his bill Rees assured his audiences that the Maoris were signing over their land in abundance. He said that the Crown owned about 500,000 acres on the East Coast but this was inaccessible. In 1860 only about 150,000 acres were held in fee simple by Europeans and the remaining 1,300,000 acres belonged to the Maoris. He suggested that this area could be settled without public expenditure or the granting of any monopoly if the bill became law. It would enable each native owner to sign a deed of trust for his block, vesting his land in a trustee chosen by himself. 55

To the Maoris, who resented the operating native land laws, the trusteeship scheme seemed to offer an efficient and profitable method of handling their land. Rees also claimed that the European lessees of large blocks, who had already purchased substantial numbers of individual interests, were willing to surrender their leases in order that a solution to the land problem could be reached. The actions of J. W. Johnson and P. Barker illustrate this.

But the bill had no chance of passing. Great suspicion had arisen in Gisborne over the control of Maori land that Rees and Wi Pere were gaining. 56 Similarly, the bill had no chance of passing through a parliament controlled by a conservative government whose policy was to keep the government out of land dealings and let the big man have a free hand. But in two years Rees had done much to solve the problems of many of the Maori blocks. When Captain Read died in 1878 his lands were all involved in disputes but by September 1880 these were almost all settled owing to the efforts of Rees in getting subdivisions through the Native Land Court. The Maoris were returned

55 P.B.H., 26 April 1879.
56 P.B.H., 20 August 1880.
Matawhoro No. 1. and Matawhoro B. besides all the portions of the
Makauri and Taruberu blocks that they owned. In the Whataupoko
block Riperate Kahutia and her people's share was cut out along
with Wi Pere's, Wi Haronga's and the other owners. The mortgage
and lease to the Kaiparo block was extinguished and Haraeia
was successfully settled. There were prospects of the Kaiti and
Pouawa blocks being satisfactorily settled and by the end of
1860 Rees hoped to hold 100,000 acres in trust. (Fig. 24.)

However, by 1880 Rees' ability as a businessman was
seriously doubted by many, and his scheme to cut up the Pouawa
block for settlers from Northern Ireland openly ridiculed. 57
The blow to the trusteeship scheme fell in February 1881. Until
then Rees and Wi Pere experienced no difficulties as trustees.
But when Rees applied to have Pouawa subdivided for his settle-
ment scheme, the Native Land Court decided that a block could
not be vested in any persons other than the Maori owners.

An appeal to the Supreme Court was unsuccessful. Both
courts held that the 1873 Act provided for the vesting of land
in Maori owners only and that further alienation must be either
a true sale or lease. As Rees' trust deeds were not deeds of
sale they were invalid. 58

The courts were thus upholding the system of direct
dealings between Europeans and individual Maori owners which
had proved so chaotic. However, they were not acting unadvi-
sedly, because if Rees' system had been ratified it would have
been too easy for Maoris to put their land in the hands of
trustees for less honest than Rees and Wi Pere.

Other Europeans were active in purchasing land in 1880-81.
Early in 1880 a special sitting of the Native Land Court was
held to investigate an appeal against the title of the
Waingaromia block. After a lengthy hearing the original list
of owners (from the 1876 grant) was confirmed by the court.
The counter claimant, Henare Potae, of Tokomaru Bay, claimed the

57 P.B.H., 4 September 1880.
58 P.B.H., 9 February 1881.
Fig. 24:

LAND HELD BY REES AND N.Z. NATIVE
LAND SETTLEMENT COMPANY

1. Mangatu
2. Motu No. 1
3. Okahustiu
4. Tangihanga
5. Repongaere
6. Waimata North
7. Waimata South
8. Waimata East
9. Waimata West
10. Pouawa
11. Whataupoko
12. Matawhero
13. Wainui
14. Pouparae
15. Makauri
16. Taruheru
17. Kaiparo
18. Te Apeka, Te Kate
19. Pakowai
20. Te Kuri and Tangotete
21. Marae Taha
22. Kaiti
land through the ancestry of the Ngati-Ira tribe. However, his last ancestor to have lived on the land was Te Ahakura, about 235 years before 1880. It was shown by the 1876 grantees, (Hone Kewa and fifty others), that Ira had once lived on the land but was defeated in battle by Tutepuaki of the Ngautanes. Thus the descendants of Tutepuaki claimed the land by conquest, followed by residence. As Henare Potae’s claim was very remote it was dismissed. However, he petitioned the Governor for another rehearing.

The court also heard several other appeals. The Pipiwakao block was investigated for three weeks and the claimants were awarded 122 acres and the counter claimants 180 acres. However, this did not satisfy the claimants who appealed against the decision. Matawhero No.1., B. and C., Te Kuri, Whataupoko, Marastaha, Pakake-o-Whirikoko and Okahuati were also subdivided. (Fig.25.)

Over 350,000 acres of land that had been under negotiation to the government since 1875 was also dealt with in 1880. About 200,000 acres were purchased and the Crown, for the first time since 1875, held large areas of land in the district. (Fig.25.) Altogether, in the 1880 session of the Native Land Court the titles to ten native blocks were decided and subdivisions for eleven Crown and nine private purchases passed. Thus by the end of 1880 the land question had improved immeasurably.

In a further session in 1881 Mangatu, Awapuni, Kowhai and Ohirau were successfully subdivided.

(1) The Pattern of Land Ownership in 1881. (Fig.26.)

1881 is an excellent year to review the pattern of land ownership as several notable events had occurred. Rees’ trusteeship scheme had failed. Until 1881 valuable work was done through this scheme. However, the Native Land Court had recommenced its work on the East Coast with excellent results and the government had purchased large areas of land. Only roads and bridges were needed to make these accessible to settlers.

In 1881 it seemed that the worst of the native land difficulties were over, but considerable problems remained and
SUBDIVISIONS
1. Maraetaha
2. Pakowai
3. Te Kuri
4. Whataupoko
5. Matawhero B.
7. Pakeke-O-Whirikoko
8. Okahuatiu

NATIVE TITLES
A  Paritu
B  Pipiwhakao
C  Paokahu
D  Poututu

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES
a  Waimata North
b  Waimata East
c  Waimata South
d  Waimata West
e  Wharekopae
f  Waihora No. 2
g  Motu
h  Waikohu Matai
i  Hangaroa Matai
j  Whakaongaonga
k  Tauwharetoi
l  Rangikopua
m  Mangapapa
n  Te Pohue
o  Arakihi
Fig. 26:

Land ownership 1981. Note: the nucleus had expanded.
new ones were to be created by an entirely new set of circumstances. The area of European freehold land had increased greatly. The Maoris still held considerable areas on the floodplain but this was now in scattered blocks and the rest of the land was securely held by European. The initial nucleus had expanded greatly.

By 1881 several areas of the hill country immediately adjoining the floodplain had been purchased, but further inland the blocks were still held mainly on leasehold. The three blocks on the coast north of Poverty Bay were also held only by lease although Pouawa had been purchased in trust by Rees.

The recently purchased Crown Lands were situated in the back hill country and were, in 1881, in no position to be opened for settlement as they could be reached only on horseback or foot. Roads and bridges were required if these large areas were to be quickly settled.

The remaining areas of Maori land were scattered except in the northwest where the natives still held the huge Hangatai block. About 60,000 acres had been set aside as Native Reserves in the blocks the Crown had purchased and the Maoris still owned many small blocks or portions of subdivided blocks on the Poverty Bay Flats.

In five years the pattern of land ownership had changed radically and on the East Coast, as a whole, the Crown now owned 720,000 acres out of a total area of 1,900,000 acres. Europeans held 530,750 acres and lands still belonging to the Maoris only totalled 576,630 acres.

(j) Developments in Land Ownership, 1882-1889.

In this period Rees formed a company to buy and sell Maori land. The work of subdividing Maori blocks continued and by 1887 most of the blocks in the district had been successfully settled and owners and boundaries established.

(I) The New Zealand Land Settlement Company.

The work of this company is significant enough to treat it separately. As soon as his trusteeship scheme had been declared illegal Rees set about forming a company which would realise his aim of providing an efficient intermediary
between Maori land owners and prospective settlers and yet which would operate within the laws governing the alienation of Maori land.

The memorandum of association of the East Coast Native Land settlement Company was registered in July 1881. The object of the company was "The acquisition of Native Land on the East Coast by the voluntary association of owners of Native Land, who shall contribute land, with Europeans who shall contribute funds, for the purpose of effecting settlement of the lands by farmers, settlers and others." The founders of this high principled scheme include several different groups of men. There were local citizens of standing including Messrs Tucker, Foynter, de Latour and G. M. Read, local chiefs including Wi Pere, Henare Potea and Major Ropata but the principal strength of the company and the bulk of the capital came from Rees' friends in parliament and in Auckland. These included Russell of Hawkes Bay, Reynolds of Dunedin, Barraclough, D. H. McKenzie, Moss and Pollen of Auckland. By October 1881 the company had changed its name to the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company as the Auckland men planned a wider field of operations. Rees intended himself and Wi Pere to be the agency between the Maori vendors and the ultimate European purchasers of the land. Maoris were to assign their land to the company as a body corporate and were to receive payment partly in cash but mainly in shares in the company. The courts, Rees felt, would not object to Maoris putting lands under the control of an organization in which they were shareholders. Land was to be surveyed and subdivided through the capital subscribed by European shareholders and then sold or leased to immigrant settlers. The Maori shareholders would then surrender their certificates or scrip for two-thirds of the net profits from the sales or leases while the Europeans were to receive one-third.
Rees planned for a capital of £500,000, one-third of which was to be subscribed by Europeans in cash. The company was to help the Maoris secure a Crown Grant for their land prior to assigning it to the company and would put the necessary subdivisions through the Native Land Court. The land was then to be developed by the company, thus increasing its saleable value and parts of settlers were to be brought out from England.61

Operations commenced in a storm of speculation on the chances of the company's success. The critics declared that it was Utopian and they would not believe that this "happy family" compact between Maoris and Pakeha could undertake the business of winning indefeasible titles, making subdivisions and improving the land. These were the problems taxing the ingenuity and capital resources of competing landsharks on the East Coast.

Those who believed the company was an organised attempt to swindle the Maoris of their land for worthless scrip were set-back by a much publicised statement by Wi Pare. The idea of the company, he said, was no new thing and the Maoris fully understood its purpose and were anxious to subscribe land to an organisation which promised to deal with it efficiently and fairly.62

However, three other criticisms proved somewhat prophetic. Rees' business ability was doubted and many persons considered that the company, in planning to subdivide and transfer Maori land to settlers had no idea of the expense and difficulty involved.63 It was also asked what would happen when the Crown placed on the market some of the 700,000 acres it had acquired on the East Coast.64 The anxiety of Gisborne people was natural enough as every failure in a scheme such as

61 Ibid.
62 P.B.H., 6 August 1881.
64 P.B.H., 18 July 1881.
this meant a retarding of settlement and development in the district.

But the company started with a swing and by the end of 1882 125,000 acres were in its possession. Court orders granting freehold tenures in ten or eleven blocks had been received and subdivision of thirteen areas made. These were blocks on the East Coast as a whole but nevertheless considerable areas in the Poverty Bay district were in the company's possession by the end of 1882. (Fig. 24.) The annual directors' report in November 1883 revealed that the area of land subscribed to the Company had doubled and that Maori subscribers of land had been paid over £250,000 and scrip. Thus the prospects of the company were rosy. It enjoyed public confidence and since it could spend more money settling disputes over titles and in compensating men claiming to hold mortgages of leaseholds of Maori land than could private individuals it appeared capable of settling the Gisborne district as no other organisation could.

However, in 1883 the Company was reorganised to include more Auckland shareholders. The purpose of the company was modified and high finance and speculation seemed to be infringing on the homelier aims of promoting settlement and caring for Maori interests on the East Coast. By July 1883 the directorate included only one East Coaster.

After the relatively successful operation in the first two years it was decided to introduce a private bill, the "New Zealand Land Settlement Empowering Bill", by which the directors planned to extend operations to the Waikato. Of more interest to the East Coast was a clause seeking to empower native block committees to give valid title when alienating their block, thus disqualifying individual owners from making sales or leases. Then the company would not have to face expensive

65 N.Z. Herald, 31 August 1882.
actions defending its purchases. But this simple method of
dealing was overshadowed by the well-known fact that the
committees were very much open to the influence of Europeans.

Another clause would have removed the restriction against
alienation save by lease of certain lands meaning that the
164,000 acre Mangatu block claimed by the company would have been
saleable. A more ominous clause threatening the original spirit
behind Rees' "agency" company and attempting to turn it into a
speculative body was that seeking to empower the company to
buy land directly from the Maoris, improve it and sell it.

But when the bill was under debate in Parliament it was
said that it would establish a monopoly in Maori land for the
company in the North Island. Bryce, the Native Minister, read
a petition from East Coast Maoris alleging fraudulent dealings
by the Company, and although it was proved to have been framed
and signed under the auspices of European speculators it
aroused doubts of the wisdom of entrenching the Company's
influence by an Act of Parliament.67

Finally, the government indicated that several clauses in
the bill touched on public policy and thus the bill had to be
withdrawn. There was genuine regret on the East Coast at its
failure, as it was felt by many that there was such merit in a
system of land dealing from tribal committees through a trustee
or an agency company.

But the suspicion in New Zealand of "all matters of land
dealing by private parties" and the prospect of a huge monopoly
in native land led to the stifling of this attempt to establish
brisk and fair dealings in Maori land.68 Thus the attempt by
the Auckland men lost the Company much prestige.

A further blow to Rees' conception of the Company came
from the Supreme Court. Justice Richmond held, in 1884, that
the transfer of land from the Maoris to the Settlement Company
was truly a sale and that the rights of the natives after the

68 N.Z.H., 18 July 1883.
sale were totally different from those previously enjoyed as owners. This opinion changed the theory of the company as only an agency between the Maori subscribers of land and the ultimate settler purchases. The company thus became a more speculating body in the eyes of the law. Justice Richmond had not agreed that in giving scrip instead of cash to Maoris they became shareholders in the Company. Rather the Company had truly purchased the land.69

This further damaged the confidence in Rees' activities, and after 1884 the theoretical basis of the Company collapsed and it no longer existed as an attempt to solve the problem created by confusing and restrictive land laws. It was now just another group of speculating Europeans.

After 1883 the Company found the work in the Courts so expensive that it was necessary to mortgage its lands to the Bank of New Zealand. Sales of land to the value of £43,952 did not meet the overdraft of £56,050.

Then the demand for the company's land fell away as several occurrences made its assets of doubtful value in the eyes of the settlers. There was the failure of the private bill and the fact that several Maoris had accused the company of fraudulent practices. Even if this was untrue it did not do the company's reputation any good. Finally there was the decision of the Supreme Court that the Maoris in handing over their land to the company had truly sold it. From the settlers' viewpoint nobody wanted to buy a prospective lawsuit.

Some of the land held by the company was in very steep and inaccessible country and the cost of surveying and improving it was prohibitive. But another factor of importance was the depression of the 1880s, which made it very difficult for men to find enough money to pay for land.

Subdivisions of the company's land continued although they were in the face of a mounting overdraft. However, even subdivision was checked by Ballance, the Native Minister, who

---

like Rees claimed that it was wrong that the Maoris should lose land so rapidly for money which they soon squandered. He encouraged Native Land Court Judges to hinder partitioning prior to alienation, stifling the last efforts of the Settlement Company to subdivide lands for sale.70

Ballance’s 1886 Native Land Administration Act closed all direct dealings between Maori owners and European purchasers. Government pre-emption was resumed until Atkinson’s group regained power in 1888.

In July 1888, it was announced that the company was to be closed down.71 There was nothing else that could be done as the quarter of a million acres of land that were its sole assets were all unsaleable and were bearing an accumulating burden of debt from rates, taxes and the interest charges levied on the company’s mortgages by the Bank of New Zealand. A settlement was made by arrangement between the Bank, the Maoris and the directors of the company. The debt to the Bank was consolidated at £130,000 and this was accepted by the Maoris whose land was made the security for the whole sum. The Bank agreed not to foreclose for three years, giving the Maoris a chance to pay off the debt and redeem their land.

About £30,000, which was owed to the Maoris, had been spent by the Company and this debt was written off. The Europeans in the Company extricated themselves as best as they could by reserving to themselves what little cash was available. They suffered a loss of only £50,000 which was not as heavy as might have been expected in a company with assets of £250,000. But the Maoris were faced with the prospect of losing their mortgaged lands.72

Therefore in the light of this outline of the Company's operations it may be decided whether they indeed formed "one of

70 N.Z.H., 11 November 1886.
71 P.B.H., 7 July 1888.
72 P.B.H., 7 July 1888.
the blackest pages in the history of New Zealand" and whether indeed the natives were victims of blatant financial juggles.73

Although the company's failure left the Maoris an almost impossible task of raising £250,000, and made prospects of quick settlement more remote than ever there was no suggestion of a cold blooded swindle in its actions.74 There is evidence to suggest that the Maoris' opinions were lightly regarded by the company but at the time all Europeans regarded the Maori as a declining race. Several Maoris claimed that they had heard nothing of the company after they had transferred their land to it but this claim could hardly be true.

The swing away from the humble, but important work of bringing settlement to the East Coast, towards mere speculation also tended to put the company outside the comprehension and support of the Gisborne people.

The impression arises that the whole conception upon which the company was based produced undue optimism. If it had been able to operate as planned, that is, as an agency speedily buying land and selling it to settlers before buying any more land it may have been successful. But once large areas were acquired the cost of subdivision and surveying became prohibitive and the land had to be mortgaged. Rees and the Auckland men were not sufficiently acquainted with the difficulties of farming in the Poverty Bay hinterland which is certainly not country for small farms. However there is no denying the fundamentally good intentions behind Rees' scheme. If the agency had been a public and responsible one, as the settlement company was not, Rees' solution to the "chaotic conditions relating to native land settlement" was quite practical.

How successful was the work of the company in obtaining land from the Maoris? Rees' initial work in clearing the titles to several blocks of land was excellent but by 1882 the Crown had absolute title to large blocks of land and all that was required to speedily settle the East Coast was for this land to be opened up. Similarly, after 1884 many import-

74 Ibid., p. 50.
ant subdivisions passed through the Native Land Court and many blocks that had been in dispute for years were finally satisfactorily settled.

(II) Private Land Dealings and Native Land Court Proceedings.

The Native Land Court sat every year from 1882 to 1887 doing valuable work. The first case to come before the Court in 1882 was the subdivision of the Papatu block. A judgement was quickly given in which both claimants and counter claimants received portions.\(^{75}\) Then the Pouawa block was investigated and it was found that the New Zealand Native Land Company's claim was perfectly legal.\(^{76}\) Soon after this the claims of the company to Waimata South and East, and Lotu No. 1 were investigated and were also found to be perfect.\(^{77}\) In May the Crown received just over 2,000 acres from a subdivision of the Poututu block.\(^{78}\) The leases of A. C. Arthur and the Glasgow Banking Company to Whataweta and Hanukawhititi were also found to be satisfactory.\(^{79}\) Much other work was done relating to subdivision, succession, boundary and ownership claims.

Over 500 succession claims, twenty new cases and 460 subdivisions were gazetted for the 1883 session. But by April little had materialised and a meeting was held to convince the government of the necessity for a sitting of the Native Land Court to pass subdivisions. Many subdivisions were carried through and by 1885 many blocks that had been continual sources of trouble in the past were subdivided (Fig. 27).

Maori portions of many blocks purchased by the Crown in 1880 were further subdivided in 1882 and 1883. The New

---

75 P.B.H., 9 February 1882.
76 P.B.H., 6 April 1882.
78 P.B.H., 20 May 1882.
79 Ibid.
Fig. 27:
SUBDIVISIONS AND CROWN GRANTS
1931-32

SUBDIVISIONS
1. Mangatakapu
2. Manukawhitikiti
3. Waimata South
4. Waimata North
5. Waimata East
6. Waimata West
7. Motu No. 1
8. Waikohu Watawai
9. Wharekopae
10. Okahuatiu
11. Tangihanga
12. Repoangaere
13. Makauri
14. Pouuriuri, Whenuakura, Okaanga, Opou
15. Tauwharetoi
16. Whareongaonga
17. Paokahu

CROWN GRANTS
a. Waipaoa
b. Whatatatu
c. Pukepapa
d. Repoangaere
e. Whataupoko
Zealand Native Land Settlement Company purchased portions of several of these blocks but private individuals also managed to buy up large areas. The titles to several of the small blocks in the south western area of the floodplain were finally settled and J. Clark gained secure titles to portions of several blocks. Besides this, Maori ownership of several blocks was determined and subdivisions authorised. Those of importance were Whatatutu, Hamakawhitikitiki, Okahutia, Tangihanga, Repongaere and Puakepa where Europeans at last received secure titles to land purchased long before.

In 1885, one of the most troublesome blocks, Hati, at last came before the Native Land Court for subdivision. The block was divided up among Riperata Kahutia and Mirini Te Kani's Hapus and thus a large block of land adjacent to the town of Gisborne was opened up.

The court then struggled with a series of succession cases and several subdivision cases (Fig. 28). Several large blocks had their titles settled and many others underwent further subdivision.

During 1885-86 the Lakaeri block underwent a seven months hearing in the Supreme Court. The block, which epitomised the land dealings in the district, was partitioned in 1875 by agreement. Dissatisfaction over this partition arose mainly through Read failing to fulfil his portion of the agreement with regard to a lease by Riperata Kahutia to R. R. Curtis.

Local opinion remained very hostile to the government and the native land laws, which were regarded by most as the deterrent to settlement on the East Coast. In 1882 an East Coast Association wanting many changes in the land laws, made a brief appearance but by April this organisation had disappeared. Of the Maoris it was said that in old times

80 P.B.H., 29 April 1882.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S U B D I V I S I O N S</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pakake o Whirikoko</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Waitangi</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rangitira</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Waibora</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Te Karaka</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Waikohu Matawai</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Okahuatiu</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Matawhero</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Poututu</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pohatikotiko</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Papatu</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Kuiparo</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mangatu No. 1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Waingaromia</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Papakorokoro</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Ahirau</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Ngakaroa</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Repongaere</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Kaiti</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Whakaengaonga</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C R O W N   G R A N T S</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a Te Whakatere</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Te Arai</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c Te Karaka</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Ahipakura</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Ngakaroa</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Poria</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g Ruangarehu</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h Kohangakarearea</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i Chinakura</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"the European in his land dealings with the native always succeeded in getting to the windward of him. But now he would be a very clever and astute European who would get the better of a Maori in a land transfer."\textsuperscript{61}

In 1885 Ballance, the Native Minister, visited the district for discussions with both Europeans and Maoris. Perhaps these meetings influenced him when he was drafting his Native Land Acts of 1886.

But in Poverty Bay most Europeans were against this legislation. It was thought that it would operate against Maoris and Europeans alike. There was much land in the district either leased or purchased by Europeans without secure title and it was on this land that the legislation would act disastrously. A critical attitude towards the southern members of the House of Representatives emerged, as it was considered that they knew nothing of natives and their customs and that such "renders them an easy prey to clever politicians of the Ballance-Stout order, who but for this ignorance could never have passed that most monstrous piece of retrogressive and mischievous legislation, the Native Land Administration Act."\textsuperscript{62} The Maoris had, it was pointed out, about ten million acres of land left in the North Island so it was stupid to say "poor landless Maoris."\textsuperscript{63} But much of this land was extremely poor.

A continuous theme throughout this later period is "unlock the lands for settlement ..... the lands must be freed from the absurd legal technicalities and almost insuperable obstacles that present their acquisition by those who will turn them to profitable account and increase the wealth of

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} P.E.H., 5 April 1887.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
The Maoris were thought to be purposely holding large areas of land and it was felt that the sooner they parted with this the better as the settlers "would not tolerate a system of Maori landlordism." 85

When the 1886 Act was repealed in 1888 and a new one introduced it was considered that progress at last might be made. The new bill allowed natives to lease and sell land of no use to them. This was not a policy of robbery but recognition of the fact that the Maori race had passed the age of childhood. 86 Once this bill became law it was thought that the native difficulties were ended but one clause made the act unworkable.

Another series of acts were introduced in 1889 to prevent people suffering under the 1886 Act. The native land problem in New Zealand and especially in the Poverty Bay district did not end in 1889 but the date is a most suitable one to review the position.

(R) The Pattern of Land Ownership, 1888. (Fig. 29)

By 1888 the pattern of land ownership was very different from that of 1881 as large areas on both the floodplain and hill country were now held securely by Europeans although many blocks were still leased. There was a concentration of these around Wharatutu. The Crown still held the blocks purchased in 1880.

But there was little land still belonging to the Maoris. Apart from several small blocks on the floodplain and many scattered subdivided portions in the hill country only two large areas were held, the Mangatu block and in the south various Native Reserves and the Kauapoike block.

When the amount of land owned by individual Europeans

86 P.B.H., 12 July 1888.
Fig. 29: Land ownership 1886. Note: the large area of European land and the small area of Maori land. This rapid change in land ownership occurred in less than 20 years.
or the Crown is considered, it is strange that the Europeans in the district kept crying out that settlement was being hindered by the lack of land. Between 1861 and 1888 a huge area of land gained a secure title and a considerable area of Crown Land was sold. Perhaps the continuous outcry for more land was just a reflection of the hunger for land and a carry over from the difficulties of the 1870s. In this light, the work of the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company although full of merit appears to have been wasted as enough land was available, or could have been available, from the Crown, to satisfy the needs of settlers.
CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM AND DEVELOPMENT
OF COMMUNICATIONS

The development of communications is approached from the viewpoint of the problems which the isolation and physical nature of the district gave rise to. The slow development of roads within the district did little to hasten the spread of settlement and it is suggested that it is this, rather than insecure land titles, which prevented much land from being taken up after 1881.

Slippery soft rock, innumerable streams and gullies and heavy bush and scrub all posed problems and there was a lack of good shingle for road building. Furthermore, and perhaps of equal importance was the fact that very little Public Works money was granted to the Cook County. Thus most construction had to be paid out of local rates or from small loans.

Throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century the chief means of contact between the district and the rest of New Zealand was by sea and the problem of building a good harbour was of the first magnitude. Thus both land and sea communications were of equal importance.

(a) COMMUNICATIONS BY SEA:

(1) DEVELOPMENT OF THE PORT.

The first Europeans in the district set up their trading stations near either the Turanganui or Waipaoa Rivers. The township of Turanga (later Gisborne) grew up around the original port nucleus on the Turanganui.

But until 1874 Gisborne was not officially recognised as a port and one of the district's grievances against the Auckland provincial government was that no money had been available to build a wharf on the river. The only wharves were those of Captain Read. (Fig. 30)
Fig. 30:

Two Photographs:

(a) Gisborne wharves 1871.

(b) Mud flats 1867.
Gisborne was a river port on the Turanganui, which run out to sea over a bar and several large rocks so that the river was only navigable at high tide and then only to relatively small vessels. At low tide large areas of mudflats were exposed and often vessels lay aground in the river. (Fig. 30.)

As the rivers joining to form the Turanganui were subject to heavy flooding and silting by 1874 Read's wharf was in a state of disrepair and the river was extremely shallow. In this year, the Governor defined the seaward limits of the "Port of Poverty Bay" as "a straight line from Young Nick's Head to Tuahine Point".

But few improvements were made to the port although an attempt was made to clear the rocks from the river mouth and a new wharf, the "Stockyard Wharf", was erected. The big flood of 1876 caused much silting in the river and the mouth became un navigable for even small schooners. 2

A lightering company was started in 1877. In the same year a bill to promote a harbour scheme failed to get through the upper house in parliament. A petition to the government in 1878 stated that the port, such as it was, ranked fourteenth out of twenty-eight in New Zealand.

The settlers, as in all pioneer regions requiring capital works, claimed that the government had done nothing in the district.

Nothing came of this attempt to get harbour improvements and by 1880 most shipping had to anchor in the bay and goods and passengers had to be lightered in and out. This was not without its perils as the bay is exposed to the south and gales often caused vessels to drag their


2. P.B.H., 28 April 1876.
Thus until 1882 the port was primitive, consisting of several wooden wharves in a shallow river, and a roadstead, exposed to the south, where large vessels could anchor and unload their goods into lighters. (Fig. 31.)

In 1882 the "Gisborne Harbour Board Act" was passed by the government and the Gisborne Borough Council was constituted as a harbour board empowered to borrow a sum of up to £100,000 for improvements to the port.

Sir John Coode had reported on the Gisborne Harbour in 1880 when even small vessels had difficulty in getting over the bar. He recommended the construction of an island harbour costing about £246,000, connected with the mainland by an open viaduct. (Fig. 31.)

Nothing was done on this scheme and "The Gisborne Harbour Act, 1884", which came into force in February 1885 removed the control of the port from the hands of the Borough Council and made provision for the establishment of a separate board. Before the next stage of the harbour development a poll was held to get the ratepayers' approval to borrow £200,000 in London. The poll was overwhelmingly in favour of the loan with only five persons of the 985 voting against it.

The money was borrowed and work began on the construction of a scheme to overcome the siltion. A tramway to carry rock was constructed from the river to Tuamotu Island. By now there were great hopes in the district that the harbour scheme would solve the problem of inadequate communications between Gisborne and the rest of New Zealand.

3. For example, the woolship, the "Lochnagar" was washed up on the beach on 27 October 1880.


5. F.B.H., 8 December 1885.
Fig. 21:

Port of Poverty Bay 1882 and proposed Harbour Schemes, 1880-89.
PORT OF POVERTY BAY 1882.
PROPOSED HARBOUR SCHEMES
1880-1889.

1. READS FIRST WHARF
2. READS KAITI WHARF
3. STOCKYARD WHARF
☑ SAND
☑ ROCKS
Construction of a breakwater was started in 1886 and by 1888 £58,000 had been spent on it. By the end of July the breakwater was almost beyond the bar. However, in July the Union Steamship Company announced that it was going to stop its interprovincial vessels calling at Gisborne as there were no proper port facilities.

This led to an argument in the district over the future of the harbour. A sandspit covered by about three feet of water had developed, making the river more unnavigable than ever.

A parliamentary committee reported on the harbour works in 1888 and a full report was published in 1891. By 1888 1,580 feet of wharf and breakwater were constructed but the author of the report thought that because of the sandbar that had formed, they were detrimental rather than beneficial. He also thought that the principles indicated in Sir John Coode's plan should have been adhered to.

The arguments against this plan appear very superficial. The site, it was claimed, was too far from the town and would have been inconvenient, an almost unbelievable statement because it was only half a mile east of the Turanganui River. A harbour that could be utilised in stages was wanted and Sir John Coode's design would not have permitted this. It was also hoped that the scouring action of the river would deepen the channel, but this did not occur. Perhaps the most important reason for not adhering to Sir John Coode's design was the cost, although as the scheme constructed cost £200,000 there was very little difference.

When the harbour construction ran into difficulties local sectional differences arose over the disposal of

---

the remaining £65,000 of the £200,000 borrowed. The government, worried over the possible future of the scheme, then began to interfere.

Because of its fears of further liabilities parliament seized the money borrowed by the ratepayers of Poverty Bay. Sir George Whitmore and Mr. Ormond, both large landholders on the northern East Coast, were thought to be at the bottom of the affair as in the "Gisborne Harbour Board Act, 1884", there had been a radius clause limiting the effective working of the Act. This had led to arguments between the settlers in Gisborne and those in more distant parts of the East Coast, over the expenditure of the money.

An amendment in 1888 cleared this matter up but it aroused local feeling against parliament and especially against Sir George Whitmore and Mr. Ormond. Now the limit of further expenditure was placed at £40,000.

The government said that as it had been proved that the Tolaga and Waiapu Ridings would not benefit to any great extent by the proposed works, they should not be asked to contribute more to the rates than the amount already expended. These ridings would be rated at 65 instead of 105 over the rest of the county. Thus less than one quarter of the rateable property in the county was released from over one third of the liability.

However, the harbour board's biggest bogey was the fear that the ratepayers would vote against the expenditure of the £40,000. The poll was successful and work was started again on the breakwater extending it to 1,100 feet. In addition 200 feet of groyne was built on the

---

8. At the time artificial harbour schemes were looked on in great disfavour in parliament, as those at Camaru and New Plymouth had been beset with difficulties. The legislature was fearful that the colony might have to take over the liability for loans already expended.

western side of the river mouth. But during the years 1886 to 1889 the river was never navigable. (Fig. 31.) Thus the scheme was a total failure and although costly work had been carried out Gisborne had no better port in 1889 than in 1870. Various schemes were proposed in 1889 for further harbour works. W.L. Rees favoured a scheme along the lines of Sir John Coode’s plan but on a different site. Other persons favoured a huge sheltered harbour but perhaps more practical was a scheme to prevent further sand drift which entailed building a wall from the beach on the western side of the river to the end of the constructed breakwater. (Fig. 31.) None of these eventuated and in 1889 a good harbour remained a dream.

(ii) SHIPPING.

The early traders in the district had direct communication with their Sydney employers by many different types of sailing vessels. Later, when settlement in New Zealand had advanced considerably, large amounts of food and produce was shipped from Turanga to Auckland.

By the early 1870s, with the population increase, several steamers, as well as schooners and ketches, were engaged on the East Coast run between Auckland and Napier. These included the paddle steamers "Patterson", "Comerang" and "Manawatu", and the screw steamers "Taranaki", "Star of the South", "Rangitira" and "Pretty Jane". Among the smaller sailing vessels the better known were the "Clematis", the "Julius Vogel", the "Tawera", the "Opotiki" and the "Start".

Passengers and a wide variety of goods were carried.

---

11. In 1857 46,000 bushels of wheat were exported to Auckland.
Wool, sheep, grass seed, cattle, fruit and timber were all shipped out in these coastal vessels. In 1874, for example, the "Tawera" on one trip to Auckland carried 173 bags of grass seed, 105 bales of wool, eleven casks of tallow, twelve hides and thirty-five sheep.

All goods entering the district arrived by sea, including household, trading, farming and general goods besides sheep, cattle and horses. Large quantities of kauri timber were also imported as was all the machinery for the oilrigs at Pakake-O-Whirikoka and Waitangi. In the early days the smaller vessels, besides loading at Turanga, also entered the Waipaoa River and on occasions the lagoon at Wherowhero.

Regular services were run by the steamship and timetables were published. The "Pretty Jane" took four days between Auckland and Napier and made two complete round trips a month. Until 1876 most of the smaller steamers could enter the river but after this goods and passengers were loaded and unloaded in the bay.

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s the main portion of the wool clip was shipped directly to England. The first vessel engaged in this trade, the "Lochnagar", first called in 1878. The vessel generally arrived in October and anchored in the bay until its departure in early January. In 1882 it carried to England 1,980 bales of wool worth £27,629. By 1885 the vessel was taking well over 2,000 bales each year and in 1886 the "Waipa" joined the "Lochnagar" on the wool run. The former carried away 2,703 and the latter 2,044 bales in that year. A further 1,000 bales were shipped on smaller boats giving the district

---

15. P.B.H., 23 October 1878.
a total wool export of 5,747 bales worth £30,544 for the year. These two vessels were supplemented in 1887 by the barque "Deva" which was capable of carrying about 17,000 bales. Besides these large wool ships the district had a monthly service from Australia by the S.S. "Australia" and the S.S. "Southern Cross", in the early 1880s.

Thus, until the late 1880s, all persons wishing to enter and leave and all exports and imports travelled by sea. A journey on one of the coastal vessels was quite an experience as the following extract illustrates:

"We had a good trip of forty-eight hours; sometimes it took five days. There were four or five bunks in the men's quarters, but except for one which was commandeered by a Maori who was returning to Gisborne after serving a sentence in Mount Eden Gaol, these were all filled with various commodities. One was full of smoked fish. We had to sleep among the cargo up on deck. One man crawled under an upturned pleasure boat, and another squeezed through the manhole of a 400 gallon tank." 18

From 1877 to 1887 the net tonnage of vessels entering the port of Gisborne increased from 28,504 tons to 161,929 tons. (Fig. 32.) Exports and imports also increased substantially in the same period reaching a peak in 1885. A decline, which can be attributed to the economic depression, lasted from 1885 to 1887 but then followed a remarkable recovery, especially in the amount of wool exported. (Fig. 33.)

(b) COMMUNICATIONS BY LAND:

(i) ROADS.

Before 1870 Maori tracks were the only means of land communication and these generally followed either the river valleys or the ridge tops. In 1868, apart from these few native tracks there were no overland routes out of the district. The first bridle track to Opotiki was not cut

---


Fig. 32:

Tonnages & Vessels.
VESELS & TONNAGES

- 1 1877
- 3 1884
- 5 1886
- 7 1888
- 2 1878
- 4 1885
- 6 1887
- 8 1889
Fig. 33:
Exports and Imports.
Fig. 34:

External Roads and Tracks.
until 1874. It followed the valley of the Waikohu and the tributaries of the Motu to Te Whitikare, where it was to join up eventually with a track being cut from the 19 Opotiki end.

A track to Wairoa was also begun in the same year, 20 by the Maoris who owned the land over which it passed. This "road" was not finished until 1876 when it was said to be in excellent order for horses and stock except for the last ten miles across the Patutahi flat which was 21 impassable in muddy weather. (Fig. 35.)

Conditions like this appeared to be general on all the early bridle tracks. After heavy rain in 1876 the Gisborne-Opotiki "road" was "extremely dangerous" and the East Coast "road" was blocked by a slip a quarter of a mile across. A journey from Wairoa in 1877 was described as "a very arduous one in consequence of the heavy state of the roads." In the same year a party of thirty native constabulary arrived to carry out repairs 24 and to complete the road to Motu.

By 1879 it was realised that good overland communications to the south were necessary and it was considered that for a small sum the bridle track to Wairoa could be converted into a dray road. A road from Mangatu to Waiapu was surveyed in the same year. It was hoped that this road would open up the Tauwhareparae block for settlement.

In 1880 a buggy and pair was driven from Wairoa to Gisborne, quite a feat as "at the bottoms of the hills were

22. P.B.H., 1 August 1876.
24. P.B.H., 10 March 1877.
Fig. 35:

Two Photographs:

(a) Bridle track.

(b) Dray road.

These illustrate the two main methods of carrying goods and produce.
boggy mantraps .......... and the top of the track was fit only for an experienced billygoat, winding along at the top of giddy precipices and hardly wide enough for the horses to walk without putting their feet over the edge." It was estimated that it would only take £3,000 to convert the track into a dray road, however.

The road was to be twelve feet wide and cleared of bush for up to three quarters of a chain on either side of it. Twelve bridges of over twenty-five feet and about fifty culverts were to be needed but the cost was estimated at £6,000. Although work was commenced in 1881 the first coach service using the road did not begin until 1887. The journey took a day and a half and was the predecessor of a regular run started by the McKinley brothers in the early 1890s. However the road was open for dray traffic long before this and helped to open up land for settlement in the Hangaroa Valley. (Fig. 35.)

The Motu road was in poor condition in 1881 and a party of forty men were put to work on it in 1882. Bush was cleared for three quarters of a chain on either side of the road and in March twelve "Germans" arrived from Puhoi to help with this construction. By 1886 this "road" was in a comparatively good state as the track was clear of undergrowth and the culverts were in good repair.

The "Coast Road" to Tolaga Bay literally ran along the coast, for in many places the beach was used at both low and high tides. By 1887 the route was in a good enough condition to enable a coach to run once a week to Tolaga Bay. (Fig. 36.)

27. P.B.H., 9 December 1880.
29. P.B.H., 2 December 1887.
Fig. 36:

Two Photographs of coaches on the East Coast Road.
(ii) LOCAL ROADS. (Fig. 36.)

Roads between the various settlements and runs in the district were likewise difficult to construct and were a continual source of worry to the local bodies.

(a) THE PATTERN OF ROADS IN 1871. (Fig. 37.)

In 1871 only the floodplain was served by "roads". A twelve mile dray road was being constructed from Gisborne to Ormond but only the five miles from Makaraka to Waerenga-a-hika was completed. From Makaraka a horse-track branched off in a southwesterly direction from the dray road, crossed the Waipaoa at Mendlesham (Matawhero) and joined the inland road to Wairoa at the Te Arai Stream. Another track along the sandhills had been surveyed and a ferry started at the mouth of the Waipaoa. Besides these roads and tracks in use lines of other roads had been surveyed and a ferry was to be established at Wharaurangi on the Waipaoa.

(b) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROAD PATTERN, 1871-1889.

In 1874 the Middle Road (now the Bushmere Road) was formed but the previously constructed dray roads and horsetracks had deteriorated, a common situation during the period. Roads were formed and metalled, and culverts and bridges erected but because of poor roading materials and possibly poor workmanship and maintenance they soon became impassable morasses in winter and sand tracks in summer.

(1) THE METAL QUESTION.

Shingle was at first brought from an island in the Waimata River. As it was found to be unsuitable it led to a search for suitable road metal.

By 1880 the Borough Council had laid a four mile tramway from Keiti to the town to cart metal for Gladstone Road and in the same year the Cook County Council decided, after much indecision, to lay a tramway to Ormond. As this system was to be independent of that of the borough it
Fig. 37:
Road pattern on floodplain 1871.
can be cited as an early example of the lack of co-
operation among the various local bodies.

The Ormond to Gisborne tramway was opened in November
1880 and used the main road as a permanent way. These
tramways were used primarily to carry metal for road
construction.

However, neither scheme was particularly successful.
As the quarries at Ormond and Waihiriere yielded a soft
type of rock the search for good road metal continued.
In 1882 a better type of metal was found at Patutahi
and plans for a tramway were debated for the next few
years. The project was abandoned in 1888. Thus, the
metal question was not satisfactorily solved prior to
1889. In 1887 the editor of the local paper wrote that
"the roading and metal question is ever with us" and
condemned the local bodies for their "lack of foresight,
backbone and prudence."

(ii) THE FINANCE QUESTION.

The construction of most of the roads in the district
was paid out of county rates as little Public Works money
was granted to the district. Poverty Bay was numerically
weak in voting power in parliament and thus was cold-
shouldered by successive governments. The people felt
that they were being ignored on many vital questions just
as they had formerly been ignored by the Auckland provincial
government. And as it did not support the government of
the day, the district was left out of the spoils from the
"porkbarrel". Native land affairs, harbour development
and road construction were all vital to the successful
settlement of the district and the people felt they were


32. P.J. Coleman, "The New Zealand Frontier and the Turner
Thesis", Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 27, August
1958, p. 227. Note his discussion of this aspect of
the frontier in New Zealand.
being neglected, a common feature in pioneer districts in New Zealand and elsewhere in the world.

(iii) THE LOCAL BODIES.

Road construction was the most important work of the Cook County Council after its formation in 1876 and in February 1877 the existing Poverty Bay Highway Board was absorbed into the county council. Other highway boards formed up to 1889 were Waikohu (1877), Turanganui (1877), Ormond (1877), Te Arai (1877), Patutahi (1883), Waimata (1884), Whataupoko (1887), and Kaiti (1887).

(iv) ROAD DEVELOPMENT.

As early as 1874 it was realised that if the Patutahi block was to be successfully settled a bridge across the Waipaoa was necessary, but a bridge was not built until 1878. It was a wooden structure, 328 feet long and sixteen feet wide, standing forty feet above the river bed. A bridge was built across the Waikohu in 1879 and one across the Te Arai in the early 1880s.

In Gisborne the first bridge was erected by private enterprise in 1881. W.L. Rees wished to open the Whataupoko block for settlement but bickering over the question of tolls kept the bridge closed until the government acquired and opened it in 1882. The Turanganui River was bridged at Gladstone Road and the Waikanae Stream at Grey Street in the same year. By 1885 the areas which were to become the suburbs of Gisborne were all connected to the central business district by bridges.

The road from Ormond to Whatautu and Motu crossed the Waipaoa via fords. Often the Kaiteratahi ford was washed out and difficulties would arise in crossing. In 1888, for example, Devery’s upcountry coach became entangled in driftwood when crossing, and bullock wagons were frequently bogged down.
Another road giving direct access to the Patutahi block crossed the Waipaoa at Hardy's ford behind Waerenga-a-hika. A ford on the Whatatutu track crossed the Waipaoa at Rangitira.

After the initial surveying of roads in 1870 few new roads were laid out until the 1880s. Rather, attempts were made to improve those already in existence and throughout the period work was concentrated on the roads surveyed in 1870.

The Middle Road from Mendleston to Waerenga-a-hika was formed in 1874 and a road from Ormond to Mangatu was surveyed in the same year. After the Patutahi block was opened for settlement a road to the township site was constructed. The old route to the southern end of the bay and hence to Wairoa via Mahia became disused after 1878 as travellers now used the inland road.

In 1882 the road to the Waimata Valley over Gray's Hill was formed to open up the Crown Land in that area, and when the bridge over the Taruheru River at Peel Street was opened a road was built across the Whataupoko block to join with this. Thus roads began penetrating the hill country, opening up considerable areas of land although larger areas were still inaccessible.

(v) METHODS OF ROAD CONSTRUCTION.

Road construction was carried out by several different methods during the period. At first, before the formation of the Cook County, Maori labour paid at fixed rates was used in the construction of the bridle tracks leading out of the district. On the Poverty Bay flats the settlers themselves worked on the roads, occasionally assisted by the military. In 1876, for example, twenty of the Armed Constabulary helped the settlers to form the dray road from Scott's Crossing to the Rangitira ford.

33. P.B.H., 24 March 1876.
After the formation of the Cook County, the subsequent formation of several more highway districts and the levying of rates, road construction was carried out by tender. In 1879, three contractors each put in bids for the forming of the Pipiwhakao Road, ranging from £2 15s. to £5 5s. per chain. Lowest tenders were normally accepted and this can in part be explained by the lack of funds available to the county for the construction of roads. A perusal of the Cook County Council Minute Books is illuminating in this respect. Little government Public Works money was voted to the district and consequently most road improvements were financed from local rates or loans.

Very rarely were large sums ever spent on one particular road at one time and the usual procedure appeared to be the spending of small sums to repair culverts or drains. The quality of the material used usually led to a rapid deterioration in all the roads constructed and throughout the period most of the roads were impassable every winter. Such a state of affairs can be attributed to the lack of good road metal and the lack of finance.

(c) THE PATTERN OF ROADS IN 1889. (Fig. 38.)

Thus, even by 1889 after twenty years of fairly intensive settlement, the state of the roads was poor. There was a vague network on the floodplain and roads were beginning to penetrate the hill country. However, most of these were in poor condition and much excellent pastoral country lay unused.

(II) COACHING.

During the period several coach lines served the district. (Fig. 39) All centred on Gisborne although most were run from the outlying settlements. In 1872 G. Davis and J. Bidgood began a twice weekly summer passenger service between Gisborne and Ormond. A hooded
Fig. 38:

Road pattern of floodplain 1889.
express drawn by three horses was used for the twelve mile journey, which in fine weather took six hours. Fares were five shillings return or three shillings one way.

Early in 1874 Sam Climo took over the passenger service but during that winter the express became bogged and had to be left until the summer. Bidgood revived the service in 1875. From 1874 the service ran on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The coach left Ormond at 8 a.m. and arrived at Gisborne at 10.30 a.m. The time for departure was 2.30 p.m. Fares were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Fare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return Ormond to Gisborne</td>
<td>£ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Ormond to Gisborne</td>
<td>3 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Ormond to Waerenga-u-hika</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Ormond to Makauri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Ormond to Makaraka</td>
<td>2 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Makauri to Gisborne</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Makaraka to Gisborne</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parcels</td>
<td>each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By 1880 the return fare had increased to seven and sixpence.

In 1875 Sam Stevenson ran a twice weekly coach to Makauri. As the number of roads extended and improved so did the number of coach services. In 1882 W.F. Hatten started a daily service between Ormond and Gisborne and a rival service was started by S.M. Wilson in 1884. From 1885 onwards a coach run was started from Patutahi to Gisborne. This service ran on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and left Patutahi at 8.30 a.m., arriving in Gisborne at 10 a.m. A spring cart from Te Arai met the coach at the Waipaoa River bridge.

By 1887 enough people lived up country from Ormond, and the roads were sufficiently good, to enable a coach service to be run to Puha and Whatatutu. The service, run by H. Devery, connected daily with the Ormond to Gisborne coach. Therefore by 1889 the settlers on the floodplain

36. P.B.H., 10 April 1880.
Fig. 39:
Coach, Rail and Telegraph Routes.
COACH ROUTES, PROPOSED RAILWAY 1886, TELEGRAPH LINE

1. Napier-Gisborne
2. Gisborne-Hicks Bay
3. Gisborne-Opotiki
4. Ormond-Gisborne
5. Patutahi-Gisborne
6. Mangatu-Ormond
7. Gisborne-Wairoa

--- Coach Routes  ---- Railway  ---- Telegraph
and in the interior were being served by a daily coach. Where roads were formed bullock drays were used to carry supplies and wool. (Fig. 40.) However, many of the back country stations were only accessible by horse track. Thus the pack horse played an extremely important role in the life of the station, supplies being packed in and wool packed out. (Fig. 40.)

(III) RAILWAY EXPLORATION.

No railways, if tramways be excepted, were constructed in the district during the period. It was recognised that the country would be difficult to build a railway line through but nevertheless the East Coast was explored in 1885 by a Mr. Knorpp, who detailed a route between Napier and Gisborne, Gisborne and Opotiki and Gisborne and the Kawakawa Roadstead at Hick's Bay. (Fig. 39.)

Nothing came of this survey and later rail routes did not follow those recommended by Knorpp in 1885. But such a survey had its value in making the settlers feel that they were not being neglected by the government. The country the proposed rail routes passed through was not heavily settled in 1885, and if railway building had commenced large areas of land, not settled until after 1889, would have been opened up much earlier.

(IV) MAIL ROUTES, TELEGRAPH SERVICES AND NEWSPAPERS.

(a) MAIL ROUTES.

The earliest Europeans in the district had to arrange with the captains of visiting vessels to carry mail. Mr. Wardell, who was appointed Resident Magistrate in 1855, also became the first official postmaster. He resided at Makara and Read acted for him at Turanga.

In 1871 the Post Office was shifted to the Argyll Hotel and in 1872 J.H. Stubbs became postmaster. When fortnightly mail services to and from Auckland using the "Pretty Jane" were arranged in 1874 a Postal Department
Fig. 40:

Two Photographs:

(a) Bullock dray.

(b) Pack horses.
official was appointed. In 1876 the first Post Office, "a single room, ten feet square, with the postmaster's bunk behind the counter," was built.

A postman was appointed in 1879 to serve the borough and the Royal Mail Coach services carried the mails to Ormond, and later to Wairua and up the East Coast. Before these services the mails were carried on horseback, often by Maoris.

By 1886 the following local services were being offered. Mails left for Puhatikotiko every Tuesday at 10 a.m., for the East Coast every Tuesday at 3 p.m. and for Tiniroto and Wairoa every Monday at 9.30 a.m. The mail for Matawhero, Patutahi, and Te Arai Bridge went every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 2.30 p.m. and that for Makaraka, Waerenga-a-hike and Ormond daily at 10 p.m.

Mail left the district for Napier, Auckland, the rest of the colony and overseas by the numerous vessels on the regular services.

(b) TELEGRAPH SERVICES.

Until Gisborne was linked with Napier by telegraph in May 1875, all news came by sea and consequently even New Zealand news was out of date by the time it arrived in Gisborne. After 1875 New Zealand news arrived promptly but along with the rest of the country overseas news was still two to four months behind the times.

The telegraph followed the line of the coastal track to Wairoa and was often out of operation owing to storm damage. (Fig. 39.) Repair men followed the line on foot and once a year a linesman walked from Napier to Gisborne testing each pole.

(c) NEWSPAPERS.

The press has always played an important role in airing

37. Hatten, "When Gisborne Was Young", p. 2.
38. P.B.H., 20 August 1879.
the views of the settlers in the district and as such is a valuable source of information for a reconstruction of the early days of settlement. Numerous newspapers have been in existence at one time or another, many of them before 1889. "The Poverty Bay Standard", established in October 1872, was the first newspaper published. At first it was a weekly selling for sixpence, but in 1873 it was issued twice a week at threepence and in 1874 three times at twopence. It had a chequered history but was revived as "The Gisborne Standard" in 1880. In 1883 its name was changed to the "Telephone" but reappeared as "The Gisborne Standard" in 1886.

The district's most successful newspaper, "The Poverty Bay Herald" (now "The Gisborne Herald") was established in January 1874 as a biweekly morning paper by a group of men from Napier. In 1877 it was taken over by the "Poverty Bay Printing and Publishing Company" and was changed to an evening journal. From June 1878 it was published three times a week and became a daily in October of that year. F. Dufour and Captain Chriap became the proprietors in 1879 and in 1883 W. MacIntosh Muir bought the former's interest for his brother A.R. Muir, who became the sole proprietor in July 1887.

Other papers published in Gisborne were "Te Waka Maori O Nui Tirani" (1878), "Facts" (1883), "Takitimu" (the 1880s), "Te Waka Maori O Aotearoa" (1884), and "The Poverty Bay Independent" (1885-86).

The two main papers, the "Standard" and the "Herald", maintained an intense rivalry and often took different sides in many of the important local issues of the time. Maori land affairs aptly illustrate this situation.

During the period, the local newspapers were extremely important in the life of the settlers. In the papers were foreign news, parliamentary reports, local views on
local and national events and policies, advertisements and commercial notices. Without newspapers people in such an isolated community would have known little of the outside world.
CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

(a) PASTORALISM:

(i) DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ACTIVITY TO 1877.

Apart from about 50,000 acres the topography of the district varies from gently rolling to quite precipitous. Cut by innumerable streams into a system of gullies, ridges, spurs and valleys, the terrain is quite suitable for pastoral activities, a fact that was recognised in the early days of European settlement. Although the first sheep were pastured on the flats, the value of the hill country was soon realised.

It is said that the first sheep were introduced in 1850 by Anaru Matete. However, another account has it that the sheep were brought into the district by Bishop Williams.

Sheep raising in the early days of settlement had its problems as there were no fences, the initial flocks wandering at will, many falling victims to wild dogs or hungry Maoris. Sheep diseases of almost every type were also prevalent.

Thus for a number of years sheep raising was a precarious form of gaining a livelihood. The early flocks were so small that some years passed before lamb and mutton became a regular item of food. According to H.G. Wardell (the first magistrate, 1855-60) "mutton was, then, too scarce to be eaten, and as cattle were too valuable for ordinary food, the settlers' choice of meat was limited to goat flesh and pork, with a little beef on gala days."

A boost was given to sheep farming in 1856 when Captains

1. Mackay, (editor) p. 52.
2. Ibid. p. 52.
3. Ibid. p. 320.
4. Ibid. p. 320.
Harris and Read placed a flock of 200 merinos on the Kaiti block. Shortly afterwards Captain Fernandez shipped sheep from Auckland for the Waerenga-a-hika Mission Station.

Until the mid 1860s there was no large scale sheep farming in the district. But, in 1864 "some of the Poverty Bay Maoris awakened to the fact that far too much of the land in their district was lying idle. Three of them representing most of the principal owners of Whataupoko," went to Napier "in search of Europeans inclined to take up land in Poverty Bay." A client was found in H. Parker who arrived by sea with a flock of sheep in late 1864. The sheep "had a very rough time within twenty-four hours after being put ashore, many being worried to death by Maori dogs." Parker poisoned several of the dogs but when the Maoris threatened him he returned to Napier, his brother William taking his place in 1867. Such were the trials of sheep farming in a Maori district in the 1860s.

Other runs taken up in the late 1860s were Pouawa (1865), Whangara (1867), Maraetaha (1866 and 1867), Te Arai (1867), Repongaere (1867), Ngakaroa (1867), Ruangarehu (1867), Pupepapa (1867) and Opou (1868). By 1870 over 120,000 acres were held by Europeans but much of the land in these large blocks was unimproved, the sheep being pastured on the flatter and cleared positions.

The sheep to stock the runs were brought in mainly by ship and this practice continued throughout the period. However, W.H. Tucker brought a flock overland from Hawkes Bay in 1866 and during the 1870s, owing to a dearth of shipping, several large flocks entered the district in this manner. In 1873, for example, 6,000 sheep were driven from Napier to Gisborne, about 300 being lost on the

---

5. Ibid. p. 97.
6. Ibid. p. 97.
7. Ibid. p. 100.
8. Ibid. p. 321.
way.

The situation eased in 1874 when the s.s. "Pretty Jane" joined the s.s. "Comerang" on the East Coast run. Freight charges were fifty shillings per head for cattle and three shillings for sheep.

The first sheep introduced were the readily available Merino. In 1870 Harris and Ferguson introduced Cotswold rams to Opou but the Merino-Cotswold cross was not persevered with after 1874 when Lincoln's began to oust the Merino. In this year M. Smith visited England to purchase pure bred stock and returned in 1876 with seventy 10 Lincoln's.

Many sheep changed hands locally in the years before 1877 and sheep farming became the most important activity in the district. Most of the land on the flats and the immediate hill country became devoted to it.

While the industry was being established it had to face several problems, the most important of which was the scab menace. Scab broke out in Hawkes Bay, the main source of Poverty Bay sheep, in the early 1860s. A scab inspector was appointed in 1866 in Poverty Bay, but it was claimed that it was "through no fault of our settlers that their flocks are infected. The natives brought diseased sheep here from Waiapu." Native sheep roamed at will on unfenced blocks, spreading the disease, and hence stringent measures were taken, most of the native owned sheep on the East Coast being purchased by the government and boiled down.

However, this did not prevent the disease reaching epidemic proportions in Poverty Bay. As early as 1874 there was a scare and a £100 fine imposed on anyone landing sheep without reporting to the inspector. In 1877 a scab

and lice epidemic broke out and for the next three years severely restricted the growth of the district's sheep population.

Footrot, lungworm, and facial eczema were also prevalent in the early years. Lungworm was especially serious after the big flood of 1876 and at A.F. Hardy's Toroa Station 3,000 sheep were destroyed and buried.

Variegated thistle was also a problem in the 1860s and early 1870s and Bathurst Burr, introduced in 1876, was becoming a real nuisance in 1877. In this year the Loan and Mercantile Company warned farmers that burr in the wool made it useless.

By 1876 the Sheep Inspector reported just under 200,000 sheep in the whole Cook County. Thus in a very short period sheep farming became the major activity in the district with the sheep numbers increasing from a mere handful in 1864 to over 150,000 ten years later.

(ii) THE DISTRIBUTION OF SHEEP IN 1877. (Fig. 41.)

The distribution of sheep in 1877 has been explained in part in the development and growth of the sheep farming industry. There were about sixty flock owners with flocks ranging between twenty-four and 30,470. (Fig. 42.) The majority had between 500 and 3,000 sheep.

When the sizes of some of the blocks are compared with the numbers of sheep run it is obvious that much of the land was unimproved. The Ngakaroa block, for example, consisted of about 12,360 acres, much of it flat and rolling, yet it carried only 5,242 sheep. Similarly, Barker and McDonald ran over 30,000 sheep on three blocks, the total acreage of which was 43,700 acres. It is assumed that most of these sheep were pastured on the flatter portions of the blocks.

Fig. 41:
Distribution of sheep, 1877.
Note: the pattern is confined largely to the floodplain.
Fig. 42:
Numbers of owners and numbers of sheep 1877-86.
Many of the smaller sheep owners had land on the Poverty Bay Flats and consequently their carrying capacity was quite high by contemporary standards. Probably the 10,000 sheep pastured on the Mission Estate were being held there temporarily.

Although, by 1877, sheep were being run as far inland as Whatatutu, the greatest concentrations were on and around the margins of the flats. Several of the valleys in the southwest also carried large numbers of sheep, over 3,800 being on the Okahuati block. Large numbers were concentrated in the Te Arai and Maraetaha valleys.

The farms of the flats were smaller and individual owners had fewer sheep. But already a controversy was raging concerning the best use of the Poverty Bay Flats. The rivalry between agricultural and pastoral interests had become so intense in 1876 that a Farmers' Association, separate from the Poverty Bay Agricultural and Pastoral Society, was formed. A debate was used to present the views of both sides, the subject being "will the cultivation of cereals and root crops on the flat lands of Poverty Bay pay better than pastoral pursuits?"

(iii) THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHEEP FARMING 1877 TO 1882.

During these years the sheep farming industry suffered perhaps its greatest setback ever - the scab epidemic. The epidemic broke out in 1877 and the years 1878 to 1880 saw its worst ravages. From 175,000 in 1877 the sheep population increased to 186,000 in 1879 and then decreased to 159,000 in 1880. By 1882 the total barely reached the 1879 figure. (Fig. 43.) The Sheep Inspector insisted on stringent measures being taken, with all flocks being kept within fenced areas and dipping, with hot lime and sulphur, rigidly enforced.

Many runholders were fined threepence per sheep for
Fig. 42:
Sheep Totals 1877-89.
not carrying out orders under the "East Coast District Sheep Act, 1874." Lists of infected flocks appeared periodically in the local papers. (Fig. 44.) In January 1880 there were fourteen infected flocks totalling about 63,000 sheep. The number increased to 93,470 in April but by October had decreased to 55,000 and in February 1882 all flocks were declared scab free.

By 1882 the Lincoln-Merino cross was firmly established and most of the flocks were of this type. Of the fourteen flocks infected with scab in January 1880 thirteen were mixed Merino cross or mixed half-bred cross. There were no pure Lincoln flocks listed and only one pure merino.

The general depression hit the sheep farming industry severely. But although prices for wool dropped large quantities were still shipped out. However, poor wool prices plus the scab epidemic caused a grave economic situation locally.

(iv) THE DISTRIBUTION OF SHEEP IN 1882. (Fig. 45.)

In 1882 there were only 188,288 sheep in the Poverty Bay district and their distribution had not changed greatly since 1877. There were now over 100 flock owners with sheep numbers ranging between forty-one and 17,793. (Fig. 42.) There was a group of small flock owners with between fifty and 300 sheep and another group with between 1,000 and 5,000 sheep. The average number of sheep per owner was about 1,800.

Many of the larger flocks on the large runs had decreased in number. For instance I. Seymour, in 1877, had 8,800 sheep on Whangara, whereas in 1882 he had only 7,500. The general decrease in the sheep belonging to the large owners was compensated for by an increase in sheep belonging to small and medium sized flockowners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Breed</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whakaupoko</td>
<td>Mixed half-breed</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whangara</td>
<td>Mixed Merino</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wainui</td>
<td>Mixed half-breed</td>
<td>16,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaari</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Arai</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opou</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patutahi</td>
<td></td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballinamu, Patutahi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupore, Patutahi</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>1,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencoe</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapungaere</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangihanga</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavernham</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ormond</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.E.H., 9 January 1880.
Fig. 43:

Distribution of sheep 1882.
The pattern is practically the same as in 1877.
In 1877 there had been about twenty-six owners with under 1,000 sheep but by 1882 there were forty-four.

The most obvious decreases in sheep numbers were on the Pouawa and Whatuapokio blocks where there were particular Maori land difficulties. Large numbers of sheep were still pastured in the southwestern valleys and densities were greater here in 1882 than in 1877. Around Whatatutu and on the terrace lands of the Waikou River there was little change in the distribution pattern.

In 1882 the pattern of sheep distribution was similar to that of 1877, with a few differences in detail. Sheep were still mainly pastured on the more easily cleared flat and rolling country. As yet the interstitial areas between the valleys had not been cleared.

(v) THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHEEP FARMING 1882 to 1886.

In this period the sheep population increased by over 100,000, from 188,000 to about 286,000. (Fig. 43.) Before 1882 the increases were confined to the areas first taken up in the late 1860s and early 1870s. However, after 1882 more land was available for settlement. Crown land in the Waimata Valley was opened up for the first time as was much of the hill country in the Patutahi block. Similarly, many land disputes were cleared up and men could take up land without fear of expensive court cases. Therefore in every sense, sheep farming rapidly became the dominant activity.

The scab epidemic had been quelled by 1882 and there was no further outbreaks. There was still a climatic hazard, however. In 1886 a serious drought caused a shortage of stock food and water. Adequate water supplies became a necessity and many flock owners began to search for them.

The period was also one of great hardship for the wool industry. New Zealand was in the middle of the depression and low prices for primary produce resulted in much
unemployment. However, by 1886 wool prices were rising and flock owners once again became optimistic about the district's future.

(vi) THE DISTRIBUTION OF SHEEP IN 1886. (Fig. 46.)

The large scale increase in the numbers of sheep after 1882 caused a change in the distribution pattern. By 1886 there were about 140 flock owners. By far the largest proportion had less than 500 sheep while almost half had less than 1,000. (Fig. 42.) The largest flock owned by G.R. Johnson, numbered 21,881, while the smallest consisted of only twenty-three sheep. The average per owner was 2,099.

New areas had been brought in for sheep farming since 1882. Sheep were now found in the Waimata Valley country and on the hilly portions of the Patutahi block. Increasing numbers were also found on the Rangitira, Pakske-O-Whirikoko, Waitangi and Waipaoa blocks. Much of this land was now being cleared for grazing. Large flocks were also grazing on the Waikohu and Poututu blocks. On the large inland blocks of Tangihanga, Okahustlu, Te Arai and Maraetaha the increases in numbers were quite phenomenal. On Te Arai and Maraetaha together the Johnson brothers had over 38,000 sheep.

However, by 1886 few men had the grazing rights to whole Maori blocks which now usually had several runs, all carrying many sheep. It is suggested that the clearing of titles to many of the Maori blocks on the Poverty Bay Flats led to great increases in sheep numbers. The flat land on the Patutahi block was also first put to an economic use in these years.

(vii) THE ADVENT AND IMPORTANCE OF REFRIGERATION.

When news of the first successful attempts at freezing meat and transporting it to England were received in the district sheep farmers became very enthusiastic about
Fig. 46:
Distribution of sheep 1886.
Sheep were now found on a much larger area.
establishing a freezing works. But it was not until 1889 that the first freezing works was established.

In New Zealand there were 15,155,626 sheep in 1886-87. A decline of 18,637 was experienced from 1885-86 owing to the establishment of the freezing industry as in this year 931,526 carcasses were shipped overseas whilst a further 378,339 were boiled down. In the Cook County sheep numbers increased from 396,387 in 1886 to 452,394 in 1887. There was great potential for the establishment of a freezing works.

In 1885 the Bennett patent process of preserving meat (a mode of embalming) was tried out in the district by R. Thelwell and C. Westrup. It cost only threepence to treat a sheep and some of the meat processed was sold in Auckland. The New Zealand Land and Labour Company (promoted by W.L. Rees in 1885) decided to adopt this process and planned to make Poverty Bay's surplus stock available to the Auckland public through retail shops. But the success of the freezing industry ended the use of this process.

By 1886 several companies were interested in establishing a freezing works in Poverty Bay. In August a meeting of sheep farmers considered proposals from Nelson Brothers of Napier who said they would start a works in Gisborne if sufficient sheep were guaranteed and a suitable site found. However, the number of sheep, 50,000, was considered to be absurdly high by the local sheep farmers. Nelson wanted three and a quarter pence per pound for freezing whereas the farmers wanted threepence halfpenny per pound and when a tentative list of senders was drawn up it was found that forty-six men were prepared to send 40,095 wethers.

15. Mackay, (editor) p. 325.
After 1886 the establishment of a freezing industry was foremost in the minds of the Poverty Bay farmers. But Nelson Brothers announced that they were unable to start a works.

In March 1887 Nelson visited the district and met the sheep farmers. He said that his firm was prepared to pay the farmers threepence per pound for their sheep and freeze them in Napier, or if the farmers guaranteed 30,000 sheep per annum and put £6,000 into the company a works would be established in Poverty Bay.

These proposals were unanimously accepted. The money and the sheep had to be guaranteed in three days but by then only 24,450 sheep and £4,100 had been so. The local newspaper put it aptly: "It is a great pity that local apathy has prevented works being erected here."

No more was heard of establishing a meat freezing industry until 1888 when A. McKenzie, the principal buyer for the Great West Company visited the district. Deeply impressed with the flats, he claimed they could carry ten sheep to the acre and he wanted stock shipped to Wellington for killing and freezing. Once again local enthusiasm for a meat freezing industry was aroused and many letters to the paper resulted, all containing the estimated costs and profits likely if a works was established. One correspondent estimated it would cost only £6,000 to build a works capable of handling 250 sheep per day. Others thought that the establishment of a freezing works capable of handling 100,000 carcasses a year would place the district on a thoroughly good footing. "If our sheep farmers were in a position to share in the frozen meat trade, the value of stock would be increased at least fifty percent."

17. P.B.H., 18 March 1887.
18. P.B.H., 5 May 1887.
Late in 1888 Nelson Brothers made a favourable offer. A minimum of 16,000 sheep had to be guaranteed and they offered a minimum price of one penny halfpenny per pound for wethers and maiden ewes. Nelson came to Gisborne for the negotiations, the third between the Poverty Bay farmers and his firm. This time the negotiations were successful.

A hulk in which the carcasses would be frozen was to be purchased but once over 30,000 sheep were being killed annually a freezing chamber was to be built on shore. Land was purchased for the works, on the Taruheru River which was navigable by launches and barges in 1888. The location of the works therefore depended on firstly, the availability of the land, and secondly, the navigability of the river.

The works commenced operations on 8 November 1888, marking the start of a new era on the East Coast. It took a comparatively long time for its establishment. Apathy probably had much to do with this but the local sheep farmers also refused to rush into a new venture without a guarantee of success. They knew that all freezing works did not necessarily show a profit and they had already had experiences of speculation in dealing with Maori land and the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company. Perhaps it was also thought that the district did not have sufficient sheep for large numbers to be slaughtered each year. Certainly this was the reason for the refusal to guarantee 50,000 sheep to Nelson Brothers in 1886. However, when conditions were right a proposal was accepted. Another extremely important industry was thus added to the economic activities of the district and helped to further the return to prosperity.

(viii) GENERAL ASPECTS OF SHEEP FARMING, 1868-89.

(a) SHEEP NUMBERS.
The growth in the sheep population is particularly
illuminating when compared with the growth rate for the Cook County as a whole. (Fig. 43.) There was a steady growth in both areas until the scab epidemic of 1878 to 1881, when numbers fell off radically, reaching their lowest ebb in 1880 in the Poverty Bay district and in 1881 in the Cook County. After this the county figures show greater increases than Poverty Bay, due mainly to large areas of land being taken up on the northern East Coast after 1882.

(b) METHODS OF TAKING UP A SHEEP STATION, NECESSARY BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT.

Conditions were primitive when the pastoralist arrived to take up his land. Most men lived in tents at first but soon built a house. Many of these were only shacks. Clark and Dobbie, for example, lived in a single roomed whare when they first ran sheep on the Okahuatiu block.

But the work of breaking in the land would soon begin in earnest with bushfelling, postsplitting, fencing, burning off and sowing. The first sheep would be obtained and after several years of hard work grass would be available for several hundred sheep. By this time a wool shed was a necessity. Normally this would be erected by the runholder himself.

The common type of woolshed had a heavy frame made of tree stems one foot in diameter with lighter poles in between. The only sawn timber used was for the floor and weatherboards. (Fig. 47.)

All flock owners were legally bound to dip their sheep. At first this was often done using tubs full of dipping fluid but eventually a proper dip had to be constructed. Such a dip was usually a timber-lined trench in which the sheep could be completely immersed. (Fig. 47.)

Yards were constructed of split timber from the bush.

Fig. 47:

Three Photographs:

(a) Woolshed.
(b) Dip.
(c) Yards.
(Fig. 47.) At first they were only small but as the flocks increased, their size had to be increased too.

The usual tasks of a sheep farmer, docking, ear-marking of lambs, dagging and crutching were spring and summer tasks as was shearing which was generally done by Maori gangs. Each shearer could shear from eighty to one hundred sheep a day.

Fencing was a very important matter in the economy of a new sheep run. Kowhai and Totara were considered the best materials and the average fence consisted of seven or eight galvanised steel wires with the top one barbed and set three feet six inches from the ground. It was considered good practice to have fences strained at quarter-mile intervals.

It is interesting to compare the actual acreage fenced with the acreage occupied. Fenced acreages were the areas of cleared and sown land whereas the total acreage occupied would have included all unimproved land. (Fig. 46.) Throughout the period the proportion of fenced to occupied land remained constant indicating that it was the increase in the actual area of land occupied rather than an increase in the intensity of use, that was the trend between 1878 and 1886.

Thus from a chaos of bush and scrub the pastoralist gradually created a pasture for his sheep. Bush burn techniques will be discussed in the next chapter.

(b) AGRICULTURE:

(1) EARLY AGRICULTURE.

Although there were the beginnings of European agriculture in the 1840s and 1850s this was the period of Maori agriculture par excellence. When the demand for dressed flax dwindled in the mid-1830s the natives turned their attention seriously to the cultivation of maize and potatoes and the breeding of pigs for export. The export trade continued to grow until the late 1850s when a depression reduced the price of wheat and other products
Fig. 48:

Occupied - Fenced Acres
FENCED-OCCUPIED LAND

1878

1881

1886

0  100  200  300  400  500

1000's acres

□ FENCED

□ UNFENCED
and disillusioned Maori agriculturalists everywhere.

European agriculturalists could not compete with the Maoris in the early days but by 1860 native enthusiasm had waned. With over 40,000 acres of flat fertile land it is no wonder that agriculture soon became an integral part of the economy of the district.

(ii) GRASS SEED.

Before 1875 Poverty Bay was best known in the agricultural world for its ryegrass. The earliest record of the sowing of grasses in the district dates to 1840 and by the time Sir Donald McLean visited the district in 1851 the flats were "covered with rich grasses." In 1858 ryegrass appeared in the list of Poverty Bay's exports to Sydney. The grass, it appears, spread naturally over any area that had been cleared. Colonel St. John, in 1869, described the ryegrass on the Patutahi plain as being up to 24
horses' girth.

The harvesting of the ryegrass crop attracted large numbers of the Ngati Porou tribe from Waipu. In 1873 about 700 assisted in the harvest causing a far from peaceful time for residents and police. During the 1870s and 1880s the crop yielded between 15,000 and 20,000 bushels of seed a year and in the early 1890s, when the flats were settled and fenced, it provided a profitable sideline for the occupiers.

The seed, often the most important item carried, was shipped out by coastal vessels. On 19 January 1874 the "Julius Vogel" carried 378 bags of seed to Auckland. In this year grass seed brought six shillings a bushel but harvests varied in quality and quantity according to the weather. Heavy rain in December 1880 ruined the harvest and it was estimated that this meant a loss of between

24. From Lieutenant Colonel St. John, "Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Land".
£10,000 and £15,000 for the district. By 1830 a steam
threshing and dressing machine and a steam stripper were
available for hire.

(iii) EXPERIMENTS WITH CROPS.
The value of the Poverty Bay Flats for agriculture was
early recognised but no agreement was reached over the types
of crops best suited to the soil and climate until the 1880s.
Thus for several years farmers experimented in planting
many different kinds of crops. In 1874 a "type of
sorghum", which was regarded as being a valuable stock
food, was grown at Makaraka. A Mr. Goch, who visited the
district in 1877, was of the opinion that the district was
well suited to tobacco cultivation and consequently about
11 seven acres were planted at Ormond.

Poverty Bay wheat was considered by many to be superior
to South Island wheat and in 1874 374 acres were grown
although by 1886 the acreage had fallen to twenty-seven.
The early large acreages can be associated with the active
attempts to foster wheat growing and the establishment of
flourmills.

It is claimed that Captain Harris introduced the first
peach and apricot trees to the district in May 1831.
The Reverend W. Williams planted grape vines as well as fruit
trees at Kaupapa in 1840 and large groves of peach trees
were planted by the natives at Opou, Repongaere and on the
banks of the Waimata River, in the 1860s. Fruit from these
trees was exported.

An orchard was planted at Tutoko in 1876 and during
the 1880s J.W. Johnson had the finest orchard in the district.
The first citrus orchard was planted at Kaariiki in 1885
by Edward Murphy and in 1887 2,700 fruit trees were planted

27. P.B.H., 20 December 1880.
at Repongaere. Therefore the foundations of orcharding were laid down in the early years of European settlement. Although the growing of market garden and canning crops has not become important until quite recently it was recognised as early as 1876 that Poverty Bay was suited to the growing of "turnips, mangolds, potatoes, maize, wheat, oats, barley, peas, beans and a multitude of other garden crops."

All these crops were tried, but by 1888 it was realised that maize was best suited to the conditions. In this year there were over 1,000 acres planted, some farmers having as much as seventy acres under the crop. But all crop acreages fluctuated widely. (Fig. 49.)

During the 1870s great rivalry existed between pastoral and agricultural users of the flats. Large numbers of sheep were grazed, and the rivalry reached a peak in 1876 when some farmers of the district threatened to form an Agricultural Society separate from the Poverty Bay Agricultural and Pastoral Society. But by 1877 this clash of interests was reconciled as it was realised that both pastoralism and agriculture could develop together in a district so admirably suited to both.

Agriculture was not without its problems. Climatic hazards were the main source of worry in the early days although insect pests were common. Heavy unseasonal rains often inflicted serious damage on grain crops and droughts often had a similar effect.

Agriculture played a relatively minor role even on the Poverty Bay Flats in the period 1868 to 1889. However, the potential of the land was realised and by 1889 it was known which crops were most suited to the district.

31. F.B.S., 9 September 1876.
32. F.B.H., 30 January 1877.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1886</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Crop</td>
<td>1368</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas and Beans</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips and Rape</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangolds, Beets, Carrots,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsnips, Onions</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden or Orchard</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hops</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
description of the agricultural landscape will demonstrate the relationship between agriculture and pastoralism on the Poverty Bay Flats.

(iv) THE AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE 1880.

A visitor in 1880 left, in a letter to the paper, a description of a traverse over most of the farming areas. His journey commenced in Gisborne where he said there was as much scrub and fern in the township as on the whole of the flats. On leaving the town an area that "three years ago was drifting pumice sand, prickly brier, scraggy tietree, stunted fern and raupo swamps" was now good English pasture. However, he thought the country from Gisborne to Makaraka useless for agriculture.

From Makaraka to Makiuri the country was still covered with "unsweetened silt" from the "recent large and subsequent minor floods." As this was a dairying area the cattle had cut up the ground but there was no evidence of any agriculture although the soil was suited to it. To the north of the road our author commented that the "golden hoof" unaided, was fast changing the aboriginal dress into a clothing of cultivated grasses such as was worn by its more advanced neighbour on the south.

At Makiuri, he passed Cameron's thirty acre paddock which was cropped with wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, mangolds and carrots. From Makiuri to Waerenga-a-hika only sheep were seen but at this latter place the beauty of the old Mission Station was commented on as being what many homes in Poverty Bay would be like in twenty-five years from 1880. Spreading willows, high wide close thorn hedges and smooth turf made the Mission Station an attractive landmark.

Towards Hardy's Ford from Waerenga-a-hika the visitor
passed a forty acre Maori cultivation and an eighty acre
maize crop belonging to Hardy. From here he rode to
Paynter's farm which he described as having "well kept
grass, trim thorn hedges, clean level rich pastures,
first class flocks and herds." He then crossed the river
to the Patutahi block which he considered would, in the
future, supply all local agricultural products. On this
block were 100 acres of oats and twenty of maize. In King's
Valley there were about 200 acres of crops.

(c) THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY:

Although there was no lack of enterprise on the part
of the local inhabitants there was, as a result of the
depression, a marked shortage of capital and many companies
went into liquidation or found difficulty in obtaining their
raw material in sufficient quantity and of a standard
quality in order to run their factories economically. In
this section these problems are reviewed and the location
and structure of local industry discussed.

(1) BREWING. (Fig. 50.)

Quantities of ale and beer were imported but this did
not satisfy the local thirst and consequently several
breweries were established between 1872 and 1889. The
first, built in 1872, had a short career but in 1874 Whikun
and Company of Auckland erected a new one at the northern
end of Lowe Street. W.J. Crawford purchased this plant
in 1875 and in 1881 relocated it on the corner of Aberdeen
and Stanley Roads. In the late 1880s G. Flook established
the Star Brewery in upper Gladstone Road and another brewery
was reported in operation in 1878.

(ii) FLOUR MILLS. (Fig. 50.)

The first flour mills were erected in 1873 after much
discussion on the advisability of milling locally grown
wheat. It was claimed that the erection of a flour mill
would give an impetus to agriculture. But at least 200
Fig. 50:

Local Industries.
acres of wheat would have had to be grown to economically operate a mill.

In 1878 374 acres were grown and two mills were erected, one at Makaraka and one in Gisborne. Neither operated for long as sufficient quantities of wheat were not available and it was impossible to operate the mills economically on imported wheat. Although the settlers wanted a mill in the 1880s there was a lack of capital to establish a new one.

(iii) FELLMONGERIES AND BOILING-DOWN PLANTS. (Fig. 50.)

Between 1868 and 1889 there were several fellmongeries and boiling-down plants operating. In 1874 two fellmongeries were operating, one being located one mile past King's sawmill on the Ormond Road and the other on the banks of the Waipaia River half a mile upstream from Chamber's Repongaere Station. Although both were located on water supplies both had water problems in dry spells and by 1878 both had ceased operations.

In 1878 Thelwall and Company started a boiling-down establishment on the Taruheru River. There were three concrete sweating rooms, the boiling-down vats held 100 carcasses each and thirty men were employed. This plant, established primarily to deal with scabby sheep, continued operations until 1889. A smaller boiling-down plant was in existence in 1880.

A fellmongery established at Makaraka about 1880 was taken over by H.B. Williams in 1886. The plant was capable of an output of twenty bales of wool a week and in 1887 Williams obtained a licence to start a boiling-down works. Thus throughout the period there was always at least one boiling-down plant or fellmongery in operation.

(iv) DAIRY FACTORIES. (Fig. 50.)

Small scale dairying ventures date back to the 1860s but it was not until the advent of refrigeration and the successful operation of factories in other districts that a true dairy industry was established in Poverty Bay. In
January 1885 the Cook County cheese, butter and bacon factory situated at Matawero commenced operations. It was a co-operative enterprise but at first only small quantities of milk were received. However by 1886 thirty persons were supplying the factory with milk.

Another factory was started at Ormond, opposite the Mission Station at Waerenga-a-hika, late in 1885. Two factories were then in operation and both of them ran into difficulties. In early 1886 there was a drought which led to a reduction in the amount of milk sent to the factories.

The Cook County cheese factory shipped cheese to London and Australia but in the 1885-86 financial year over £400 was lost on these overseas sales. The directors of the company also accused some of the milk suppliers of adding water to the milk or of sending milk low in cream content. In February 1887 a meeting was called to discuss the position as the company was in debt to the sum of £1,737. It was decided in March to lease the factory but later an endeavour was made to canvass for milk.

The Ormond cheese factory also ran into difficulties and in March 1887 the directors called for tenders for a two year lease. This factory was forced to close for a period but was reopened in September 1888.

The Cook County cheese factory was closed in 1888 but was reopened later under the name of the Matawero Dairy Factory. Both factories were operating in 1889 but the settlers realised that there were more profitable enterprises than dairying. Difficulties in obtaining milk in sufficient quantity and of a standard quality, plus the low prices for cheese in Australia and England therefore resulted in the

34. P.B.H., 6 January 1886.
failure of the early attempts to establish a successful dairy industry.

(v) TIMBER MILLING. (Fig. 50.)

Much of the hill country and large areas of the Poverty Bay Flats were covered in bush in 1868. Primitive hand
sawing methods of cutting timber were employed in the
district until 1872 when W. King established a steam sawmill
to tap the valuable stands of Kahikitea and Matai in the
Makauri bush. By 1876 this mill was keeping pace with the
requirements of the district. Two horse tramways were used
to carry logs to the mill which was powered by a twenty
horsepower steam engine. Over forty men were employed.

Sawn timber was available at nine and sixpence per 100
feet at the tramway end and at eleven shillings per 100 feet
delivered in Gisborne or within a five mile radius of the
mill.

Until 1876 this mill was the only one operating in the
district, according to several reports, but other information
has it that King was operating a mill at Te Arai in 1875.
R. Climo started a mill at Ormond in 1876 to tap timber stands
on the river flats. In 1877 this mill was selling "first
class timber, shingles and Puriri houseblocks." C. O. Berry
opened another mill at Ormond in 1878.

Timber was exported after 1876, with vessels such as
the "Jane Douglas", "Arcadia", "Nelson", and "Opotiki"
carrying to Napier and Auckland about 40,000 feet each voyage.

Events in 1878 changed the timber milling pattern. On
21 and 22 December a huge fire in the Makauri Bush destroyed
King's mill and most of the remaining timber. This
catastrophe threw over sixty men out of work and stopped
milling operations at Makauri.

Climo's mill also ceased operations in 1878 and in 1879

38. Photograph in Gisborne Museum.
only Berry's mill was still operating. This mill, managed
by Mr. Screats, consisted of a shed thirty by twenty feet
housing a circular saw and a vertical saw driven by a
twelve horsepower engine. A tramway led half a mile into
the bush which contained, it was estimated, enough timber
to last four years. Seven men and one boy were employed.

In 1880 W. King took over Ormo's mill at Ormond and in
1881 J.R. Hurrey, King's former manager and partner,
resumed work at Makaui. A mill was started at Te Karaka
between 1882 and 1884 by a Mr. Hutton. W. King took over
this mill in 1884.

Timbermilling from 1868 to 1889, was controlled mainly
by W. King. None of the mills were very large except King's
Makaui mill which employed over sixty men at its peak of
production.

Some timber, mainly Kahikitea, was exported but much,
mainly Kauri, was imported so that the district was never
self-supporting in timber and timber products.

Only small blocks of bush were worked by the timber-
millers. Makaui Bush, for example, was only about one
square mile in extent. Most of the bush in the district
was cleared by bush burn techniques.

As there were no railways all timber was carried by
bullock dray and thus possible mill sites were limited by a
transportation factor. The Taruheru and Waipaoa Rivers
were used to float timber although for most of the year
the amount of water was too small. Therefore limitations
in transport placed a limitation on the development of the
timber industry. It is particularly noticeable that all
the mills lay on the route to Mangatu and Puhatikotiko.
This route, poor as it was, was probably the best in the
district and it passed close to reasonable timber stands.

40. P.B.H., 14 February 1880.

41. The exact date is unknown, but the mill is not rated
in 1881-82.
Hence the development of the early mills occurred along it. Likewise the early population centres lay on the north-eastern side of the Waipaoa but equally as important, however, is the fact that apart from patches of bush in the Te Arai Valley and the birch over bush at Pipiwhakao there was little timber in the southwestern portion of the Poverty Bay Flats.

(d) MINERAL EXPLORATION: (Fig. 50.)

Traces of oil were first discovered in 1866 by a forest ranger, Oscar Beyer, who found seepages north of Whatautu, but little was done to exploit the discovery until after the Maori Wars. However, the Maoris had known of the oil seepages and named the block Pakake-o-whirikoko which signifies a whale. Tradition has it that the whale was carried there by one of their ancestors. The adjoining block was named Te Ahi Ote Ahua, or "the fire of God".

After the war the settlers in Poverty Bay decided to exploit this possible source of wealth and in 1874 a company was formed. Messrs. R. Cooper and A.Y. Ross, who had had previous oil experience in Taranski, arrived at Gisborne, inspected the site and helped to establish the Poverty Bay Petroleum and Kerosene Company Ltd. A lease was obtained for the Pakake-o-whirikoko block and equipment purchased and a manager engaged in the United States.

Great speculation arose over the results that an oil discovery would have although the local press was careful to deny that the district was not living on the faith of oil. But a feeling of excitement and optimism was obvious in the editorials and correspondence columns.

In early 1874 a close boarded shaft, eight feet by four, was sunk on Waitangi Hill. From the bottom of this a bore was

---

42. J.D. Henry, "The Oilfields of New Zealand", London 1911, p. 186.

put down to 110 feet when "a heavy pressure of gas from the
bottom of the hole sent up showers of mud and water to the
surface whenever the rods were withdrawn for the purpose of
cleaning out the hole with the sandpump, so that this bore
had, ultimately, to be abandoned".

A second bore reached the depth of 150 feet by January
1876 when a slip damaged the boring plant. Little was
done until March when the directors of the company were in
favour of closing down. Nothing more was done until 1880.
At a meeting in Gisborne it was decided to test the oil
obtained from the oil springs and a Mr. Ross was sent to
Sydney with samples. W. Clark, a Melbourne broker,
acompanied by Mr. W. Fleming, a Canadian oil expert
visited the district and examined the oil springs. They
were both very impressed and a new company, the South Pacific
Petroleum Company, with a nominal capital of £58,916, was
formed.

Boring started on 5 October 1880 and the well was
sixty-seven feet down when gas was struck and oil began
entering the borehole. Gas and oil indications were
found in all of the eight wells drilled between 1881 and
1885. These bores ranged between 100 and 300 feet in depth
and were all situated close to the top of Waitangi Hill.

American drillers were in charge of these operations.
The first driller employed put down three or four small bores
but after complaining that the rig was too light he resigned.
The new driller changed the rig site and drilled to 600 feet
where "considerable quantities of oil" were found. But
heavier casings were needed if deeper wells were to be
drilled. While waiting for new casings a well was drilled
to 200 feet where oil was struck. It continued to flow
for several months.

44. Mackay, "Historic Poverty Bay", p. 337.
In Gisborne it was suggested that the gas could be used to light the town and that in all probability a small oil and parafin refinery could be started. In Australia the papers were bringing Poverty Bay oil and parafin to the public notice ....... "The vast oil treasures discovered to exist in Poverty Bay promise to make that part of the North Island a new el dorado."

A shipment of 400 gallons of crude petroleum and two tons of parafin was reported as being shipped to England by the Loan and Mercantile Company in 1881. No evidence to substantiate this report has been found in any other source, but neither has any to the contrary. Thus it was quite likely that crude oil bailed out of the well may have been exported.

When the South Pacific Petroleum Company obtained new machinery in 1884 several areas were tested and a bore was put down in the valley of the Waingaromia Stream, several miles from the Waitangi Hill bores. It reached a depth of 1,218 feet on 31 August 1887 when gas and oil flowed into the pipe. Oil was reported flowing at the rate of half a gallon an hour and in September "The Poverty Bay Herald" hopefully stated that "surely oil must have been struck this time." It was claimed that an oil industry would make the district one of the most prosperous in the colony, would double the population and would solve all the district's problems: i.e., the harbour question, the native land difficulties, the meat freezing question and the problem of unemployment and the economic depression.

Newspapers outside Gisborne reported the news. "The New Zealand Times" said that "the boring at last seems to

45. P.B.H., 19 May 1881.
46. P.B.H., 17 September 1881.
47. P.B.H., 21 September 1881.
have reached a good supply of excellent oil, and should the pending tests prove satisfactory, a most valuable addition will have been made to the colony's products."

However, in November 1887 a disaster occurred. The well was, by now, down to 1,321 feet and when the tool was pulled up to clean the well a stream of oil four and a half inches across shot up twenty-five feet, immediately ignited and burnt down the derrick and engine house. Eleven months later an attempt was made to recover the tools and rope lost in the fire. However, this was unsuccessful and although new equipment was purchased and the well bored a further fifteen feet no more gushers occurred.

The company then ran into financial difficulties and went into liquidation in 1889 after having spent £20,000. There was a dispute over whether or not this was a genuine flow of oil as it was claimed that a dray load of kerosene had been taken to the site the week before and had been used to fake the blow out and fire. However, Henry quotes a Mr. Hill as saying that a sample collected from the well was most certainly oil, although P.G. Morgan described the alleged blowout of oil and gas as doubtful.

From January 1885 the Minerva Petroleum Company worked in the vicinity of Whatatitu. The site of 200 acres was in the Waipaoa Valley and two bores, one of 1,000 feet and another of 950 feet were drilled. Although indications of oil were discovered the company ran into financial difficulties and the enterprise was abandoned in 1888.

Thus none of the attempts to discover payable quantities of oil came to fruition and the search was not taken up again until the early years of the twentieth century.

50. F.B.H., 12 November 1887.
(ii) OTHER MINERALS. (Fig. 50.)

(a) GOLD.

Although the rocks in the district are unauriferous, there were rumours in the 1870s and 1880s of gold strikes on various parts of the East Coast. In 1874, for example, gold bearing quartz was supposed to have been discovered inland from Tokomaru Bay.

In 1876 a party of prospectors was outfitted to search for gold inland from Poverty Bay. Two men set out with three months' provisions, a tent, tools and two horses. No gold was found but in 1888 there was a report that a quartz reef had been discovered at Mahia. The news aroused much interest in Gisborne as it was thought that goldmining would bring prosperity to the district.

None of these rumoured strikes were real but men continued to seek for gold. It has been said that traces of gold have been found in streams in the back country but no written evidence has been found to substantiate this.

(b) COAL.

The only other mineral of possible economic value discovered in the period 1860 to 1889 was lignite. As early as 1876 traces were found in the bed of the Rangariri River on the Toututu block. In 1881 Messrs. McLeod and Allen explored the Rangatira block for coal and discovered several well defined seams of lignite, one being four feet thick.

54. P.B.H., 26 March 1874.

55. P.B.H., 9 February 1876.

56. This information was given to me by my grandfather, (1880-1956) who lived on the East Coast all his life.
CHAPTER VI

THE GROWTH OF SETTLEMENT

(a) THE MOTIVES FOR SETTLEMENT:

In the preceding chapter motives for settling the Poverty Bay district can be seen. With over 40,000 acres
of flat land suitable for sheep rearing, sheep fattening and
various kinds of agriculture and with well over a million
acres of hill country varying in usefulness from first class
grazing land to steep rugged country best left in bush, the
types of economics which could be carried out were practically
predetermined. Although the search for oil continued
throughout the period and indications of other minerals were,
and were claimed to have been found, these activities did not
draw any great numbers of people. In the oil activities
local labour was mainly used apart from the American drillers.

Thus people coming to settle in the district were
either interested in taking up the land or in setting them-
selves up in business. Industry, during the period, drew
comparatively small numbers of people, because like the oil
exploration, it could draw on a local labour force which,
because of the economic depression had little else to do.
However, the timber milling industry, and in particular King's
mill at Makauri may have attracted men.

For the first ten years of the period, the taking up
of the land was a risky business because of unsecure titles.
Thus when the main motive for taking up land is considered
in relation to this problem it can be seen why the settle-
ment of the district did not proceed as rapidly as it might
have done during the 1870s. That is, the motive for
settlement was not sufficiently strong enough to overcome
the dangers and expenses of insecure titles. Sheep farming
on unimproved land did not give high enough returns to make
the risk worthwhile for all but the richest or the most
unsparing of men.

Perhaps if oil in payable quantities had been discovered
the situation may have been different. The returns would
have been greater and the expenses of clearing Maori land
titles would have been in a relatively different proportion.

Later, with the development of refrigeration and the
dual purpose sheep, the situation changed somewhat but the
fullest implications of this came after 1889.

Besides pastoral and agricultural pursuits, both of
which suffered severely from the economic depression, the
only other motive for settlement was business. Thus the
growth of Gisborne can be associated with the growth of
business which in turn can be related to the growth of
population in the tributary region. Besides business
premises in the town there were many small settlements on
the flats which in the period had one or two hotels and
several stores of various descriptions. Many of these
declined in importance as communications improved. (Fig. 51.)

(b) THE METHODS USED TO CLEAR THE LAND:

The nature of the terrain and the vegetation cover prior
to European settlement have been described in Chapter One.
The vegetation was mainly a mixture of scrub, fern and bush.
Dense bush formed a continuous cover over the steep hill
country in the interior and was found on the steep ranges to
the north and south of Poverty Bay. The rest of the district
was covered with a mixture of scrub, fern and bush. Bush
was found in patches, often several miles in extent surrounded
by scrub. (Fig. 52.)

Extensive swamps were found on the floodplain and Maori
and early European clearing had led to several large expanses
of grass in the southwest. Thus the vegetation of the
district varied greatly in type and composition.

Most of the early land taken up was partially grassed,
a result of Maori burning, but by 1880 scrub and bush land
Fig. 51:

Small Settlements on Poverty Bay
Flats and Hotels.
"It has often been said that it is
a sign of progress in a township
when hotels are on the increase . . ."

P.B.H., 9 April 1878.
Fig. 52:

Two photographs of bush covered hill country in the Waipata Valley.
was being cleared. As scrub covered most of the floodplain this was the first area to undergo extensive clearing and by 1876 most of the scrub and bush had been converted to pasture and fenced.

In the late 1870s the back country was covered with either inpenetrable high bracken and small trees or dense bush. The bracken fern varied in height from one foot on poor ground to shoulder height on good land. Fern was comparatively easy to clear on the better country in Poverty Bay, although on the steeper country the same difficulties that arose in Hawkes Bay were apparent.

The fern was left to grow and dry for about three seasons and then on a dry windy day fired. The young fern fronds were grazed two to three times in one year and the parent plant killed. Grass seed would then be sown and a satisfactory sward usually resulted. On the poorer and more broken country the same difficulties arose as at Tuhira and the land had to be "stamped, jammed, hauled, murdered into grass." But during the period 1868 to 1889 very little of the more difficult country was broken in.

Manuka scrub which covered much of the lighter soils required a different technique. It had to be cut or slashed down and then burnt. But it was much easier to clear than bush land and most of the floodplain was cleared of manuka by 1876.

Bush felling methods in Poverty Bay were much the same as in the rest of the colony. The first task was to get the land surveyed into sections of fifty to one hundred acres.

When the area was surveyed the felling was let by private or public contract. Notices of bush felling contracts were common in the newspapers and in 1886 1,200 acres were let in contracts on the Waiopoa block.

---
The contracting party with anything up to twenty-five to thirty bushmen usually bought its supplies at the station and set up its camp near the block to be cleared. First the section was gone through with slash hooks and the smaller growth, especially all vines and creepers was cut. Then the larger trees were felled in such a way as to crash down smaller trees. (Fig. 53.)

Felling had to be finished by the end of spring and the impenetrable chaos of leafy branches and trunks left to dry in the hot summer sun. (Fig. 53.) This was an anxious time for the owner because the dryness of the summer made all the difference between a good burn and a fiasco. When the time came to burn, usually in late February or early March, great care was necessary in the lighting of the fires. It was considered dangerous to venture too far into the bush and it was thought necessary to leave a good line of retreat in case the wind changed. (Fig. 53.) If a fire was started in a good westerly wind up to four square miles could be burnt in three hours.

In the late 1880s many newspaper reports exist of smoke hanging around the hills and over the town and in 1887 1,200 acres of fallen bush were burnt in a few hours on the Waipaoa block.

Fern and scrub country was the worst to sow. Clothing was soon torn to pieces and the sower was quickly covered in soot and with seed from his seed bag. Well burnt bush land was easier to sow than fern and scrub.

Maoris made excellent sowers.

The best bush land when well burnt made a "magnificent seedbed." Turnip seed, grasses and clovers were the popular mixture and this was broadcast onto the wood ash. (Fig. 53.)

By these methods the land was cleared of its surface cover and another planted. On the floodplain much of the
Fig. 53:

Four Photographs:

(a) Bush felling.
(b) Bush drying.
(c) Starting a bush burn.
(d) Sowing the burn.
land was ploughed and cropped before being put under grass, but the bush burn and surface sowing techniques were widely used in the hill country.

(c) SETTLEMENT BEFORE 1868 AND THE MAORI WARS:

Maori settlement will not be discussed but to put settlement after 1868 in perspective it is necessary to consider European settlement prior to this date.

The first European to settle in the district was Captain John W. Harris in 1831 (1830 according to W.L. Williams). Harris, a representative of Montefiore and Company of Sydney who were interested in the flax trade, brought with him two subordinates, Tom Ralph and George White. White was placed at Mahia, Ralph at Muriwai and Harris's first station was at Awapuni, although he soon moved to the western bank of the Turanganui River. Thus trade sparked off the settlement of the district.

Other traders and trading company representatives arrived in the early 1830s. None of these early traders suffered at the hands of the Maoris as they were protected by one of the various tribes.

After 1831 the flax trade declined and by 1837 had ceased. The local Maoris had satisfied their demand for muskets and the price of flax had declined on the Sydney market. Although trade in other articles became important most of the early traders and a few newcomers took up shore whaling and between 1837 and 1852 several stations were established on the coast.

In 1839 the first mission station was established at Kaupapa, near Orakeiapu, the large pa of the Rongowhakaata

---


7. George White, more commonly known as Barnet Burns through on account of his life on the East Coast. He was tattooed by the Maoris and lived amongst them for several years. According to his narrative he arrived before Harris and was an independent agent for Montefiore of Sydney.
tribe. Later the station was shifted to Whakata and then to Waerenga-a-hika.

Meanwhile agriculture and pastoralism slowly began to develop and it is impossible to separate the different phases of settlement.

In 1851, McLean, the Native Land Purchase Commissioner inquired about the possibility of the government purchasing land for a township, but no decision could be reached by the chiefs. Te Kani-a-Takirau of Uawa, a chief of high standing, told McLean the saying: "Turanga rite tangatu", (all the chiefs of Turanga are of equal standing). This absence of a paramount chief prevented any rapid decisions.

By 1851 the European population totalled seventy-nine, a small number for twenty years of settlement. Traders, missionaries, settlers, sawyers and tradesmen were included.

However, the next seventeen years saw a considerable development of the economy and consequently, settlement, despite the Maori Wars. The government first took formal notice of the district in 1857 when Wardell was appointed Resident Magistrate. A courthouse and residence were erected on fifty-seven acres of land purchased from the T' Aitanga-a-Mahaki tribe at Makaraka.

During the late 1850s and early 1860s times were difficult for the settlers, as rule by the Maori runanga obstructed European law and order. However, until 1864, nothing occurred on the East Coast leading to war. There was little land in the hands of the Europeans and the great majority of the Maoris wished to remain neutral, but in 1865 vague rumours reached the district of a new religion, Pai Marire. A party of Pai Marire "missionaries" visited Poverty Bay and many of the T' Aitanga-a-Mahaki tribe embraced the new religion. This led to several settlers and their families leaving on the schooner, "Tarewa".

It soon became apparent that the rebels would not be content until they had expelled the pakeha. Waerenga-a-hika
Fa and Pukeamonga Hill at Fatutahi were fortified by the rebels and the loyal natives under Tamihana Ruatapu erected a pa at Oweta. Hirini Te Kani and his hapu built defensive earthworks around their two wharepunui at Turanga and a redoubt was constructed by the Defence Force.

Terms were offered to the rebels but these were refused and after a short siege at Waerenga-a-hika, the Hauhaus, as they had become known, surrendered. The fortifications were dismantled, the Hauhaus were placed under the charge of the friendly natives at Oweta and now nothing prevented the European residents returning.

But in 1868 Te Kooti and the Hauhaus who had been exiled to the Chathams returned. A skirmish occurred at Paparatu on 20 July and the Hauhaus were chased back into the hill country. However, on the night of 10 November 1868 Te Kooti descended on the settlers and massacred twenty-nine Europeans and thirty friendly Maoris. This was a severe blow to the progress of settlement. Once again troops poured in and many actions were fought, most of them in the heavy bush of the Urewera Country. But the war was not an absolute impediment to the progress of settlement. The country was well explored by scouting parties and after the initial scare many residents returned to their land. Thus the year 1868 appears as a turning point in the settlement of Poverty Bay.

The district suffered a severe setback but immediately afterwards began to progress rapidly for several years.

(d) **THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT 1868-70:**

Apart from two maps which locate the residences of settlers on the Poverty Bay Flats there is little detailed information available on the numbers of persons in the district, 1868 to 1870. However, the two maps demonstrate the general pattern of settlement that had developed in the preceding thirty-seven years. Contrasts between settlement in 1868 and in 1870 can also be brought out and the effect of the massacre gauged. In 1868 settlement was concentrated
in five areas. (Fig. 54.) The townsite of Gisborne, recently purchased by the government, formed one nucleus of settlement but there were no more dwellings until Makarska where there were six. Nine settlers had established themselves on land on the Matawhero block and this formed another grouping. The Makauri block had few settlers but there was another group of houses on the Tutoko block. Several settlers had dwellings on the southwestern side of the Waipaoa River about the mouth of the Te Arai Stream. Other isolated houses were located between the Waipaoa River and the Awapuni Lagoon and on the Maraetaha, Repongare, Pukenapa, Ruangarehu, Ngakaroa, Pouawa and Whangara blocks where runholders had built homesteads.

However, by 1870 this pattern had changed somewhat as many of the settlers had been killed in 1868 (Fig. 55.) There were fewer dwellings at Makarska and Tutoko and about the same number at Matawhero and Te Arai. Most of the runs were still occupied. Thus at the beginning of the period Poverty Bay was sparsely settled.

The question arises of whether or not there was any particular reason for the location of early settlement. All the homesteads were on the Poverty Bay Flats and most of them were several miles inland. It is noticeable that many of them were found near the Waipaoa and Taruheru Rivers due perhaps to the fact that in the early days both were navigable to small vessels. The dwellings at Matawhero appear to be on slightly higher ground (a natural levee) above the flood level.

The distribution of the Maori population must also be taken into account. Large numbers of Maoris were found around the Te Arai Stream and it is here that several of the settlers had their homes. But apart from this, there is little outward correlation.

However, there is certainly a connection between the
Fig. 5h: Settlement, 1863.
Fig. 55:

Settlement and Soils, 1870.
Note the correlation between early settlement and the most fertile soils.
location of settlement and land belonging to Maoris willing to sell, to those who were debtors to one of the traders and to those Maori women who had married Europeans. The settlers had to live where land was available but it is surprising that even under such conditions the early settlers were located on some of the richest soils in the district.

Early settlement was located predominantly on the Matawhero and Waikirere soils. (Fig. 55.) Both of these are highly fertile for most crops and are the best all purpose soils on the floodplain. It was certainly a remarkable coincidence that this should have happened but it is even more remarkable that early settlement avoided the Yellow Brown Pumice soils and the Yellow Brown Sands which are of little use for agriculture and are today covered by Gisborne City. However, it was recognised even in 1876 that the soil types changed radically at Makarska and settlers were recommended to avoid the sandy soil areas. Thus it appears that settlers consciously settled on the best lands first. This conclusion will be examined again in the following sections.

(e) THE GROWTH OF SETTLEMENT, 1870 to 1877:

The Poverty Bay Crown Grants Commission which considered the claims of both Europeans and Maoris to land legalised previous European purchases and opened the way for further development. In the period 1871 to 1875 several important leases were obtained in the district and the frontier of settlement advanced further inland. The Okahuatiu block was taken up in 1873, the Hanganui block in 1875 and Tangihanga in 1876. Many of the other blocks previously occupied changed hands. Barker and McDonald took up Kaiti in 1873 and in 1875 they acquired Curtis's interests in the Whataupo block. Seymour took over the lease of Whangara from Wallace in 1876 and Locke bought Hargreave's interests.

-----
8. F.B.H., 19 May 1876.
in Waikohu in 1874.

Besides this expansion of settlement areally the inner zone of the Poverty Bay Flats continued to develop. Two areas of land had been confiscated from the Maoris and a military settlement was established on the Muhunga block. In 1871 the settlement, Ormond, was bigger than Gisborne. This block of 3,518 acres of excellent land was divided up amongst the officers and men who had fought in the district. Many of the troops sold their grants for low prices. An officer sold a seventy-four acre section covered in bush for £9, and another fifty acre section went for £5. Crown Grants were not issued for the sections in this settlement until 1876 and the settlers held this against the government. To get a freehold title to the land a soldier had to occupy it for two years. Many of the sections were sold and under the original agreement the government specified that the occupiers were to receive Crown Grants on the 31st March 1872. But this did not prevent the settlement growing. A school was erected and numerous houses were built between 1870 and 1877.

Thus by 1872 optimism prevailed over the progress of settlement. It was claimed that no other district in New Zealand had kept pace with Poverty Bay over the last two years, but that neither the general or the provincial governments had done anything to help the district. The Patutahi block illustrates this.

Nothing was done about this block until 1876 when it was rumoured that the government intended selling the block pending erection of the bridge across the Waipa River. But a sale was not wanted by the locals as they were scared of a further land monopoly. Evidently several men in Auckland coveted the land in the block and the proceeds

10. P.B.H., 6 April 1874.
11. P.B.S., 23 December 1876.
from the sale were to go into the Auckland Waste Lands Board fund. The local settlers had strong opinions on the matter and no land was sold in the Patutahi block until after 1877.

However, there were few settlers apart from those at Muhunga (Ormond) and those taking up the large leases. This is not surprising when the Maori land problem is remembered. By 1877 the Poverty Bay district had a reputation for the notoriety of its land-sharks and speculators. At this date practically none of the blocks had settled titles and it was almost impossible for a small man to settle as to get a secure title was an expensive process. Only "rich capitalists" could afford to take up land.

However, several settlers did lease land from some of the European land-sharks. Captain Read leased several parts of Matsawhoro No. 1 to various people. But generally small men could not afford to settle in a district where confusion, fraud, graft and corruption were prevalent.

Poverty Bay was thought to be fifty years behind the rest of the country and to be the "refuge of all the scoundrels of the colony, the resort of bankrupts, drunkards and loose-livers and the worst type of lawyer." Such a reputation coupled with the impossibility of buying land deterred a large scale movement of settlers into such a remote area. The Wilson-Rogan affair did much to publicise the state of affairs in Poverty Bay in 1877 and by this date the influx of true settlers and runholders had practically ceased.

(f) THE NUMBERS, DISTRIBUTION, COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF THE POPULATION, 1877-1878:

(1) NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION (Fig. 56.)

By 1877 there were 1,245 Europeans in the district.

(Fig. 57.)

The Waikato riding with 101 persons had the smallest


Fig. 56:
Distribution of People 1878.
number. Most of this area is hill country and most of it was still in Maori hands in 1877-78. The large group at Mangatu can probably be explained by the oil wells at the Oil Springs and the existence of several runs around Whatatutu. The rest of the people in this riding appear to have been living on scattered runs and farms.

The Gisborne Riding covered the land between the Waipaoa and Taruheru Rivers and went as far inland as Kaitaratahi. Most of the population lived here, 871 or sixty-nine percent, and in several areas the number of people was relatively high. The Ormond or Mahunga block had the greatest number of persons, 283. After Ormond came the Waihora and Katikati districts and considerable numbers were found at Awapuni, Kaitaratahi, Makaraka, Roseland, Waianae, and Waerenga-a-hika.

The Te Arai Riding extended westwards from the Waipaoa River. Its population was 273 and was found in clusters around run homesteads and small settlements from Waikohu, twenty miles inland, to Young Nick's Head. Several of the runs had large populations. Ninety-six persons lived at Waikohu and thirty-six at Johnson's Station.

Thus by 1877 the distribution and numbers of people had changed from 1870. That there were many more people is obvious because the number of dwellings shown on the 1870 map could not have housed any more than 200 to 300 people. Certain features, however, remained the same. Although the population had increased it was still concentrated mainly on the rich Matawhero and Waihirere soils of the floodplain. Even the new settlement at Ormond was mainly on the Waihirere soils.

But by 1877 the frontier of settlement had advanced inland and relatively large numbers of persons were living over twenty miles up the tributary valleys of the Waipaoa River. Some of these large increases so far inland may have been due to temporary activities. Many of the persons
Fig. 57:
Population growth 1874-1886.
POPULATION 1878-86

no. persons

3750
3000
2250
1500
750
0
1878 1881 1886
listed for Mangatu may have been employed in drilling the oil wells and many of those at Waikohu may have been either road building or bush falling.

Not all of the people dwell on farms. Many lived in suburban sections in the small settlements that had sprung up all over the Flats. Hotels, blacksmiths, shops and stores of various kinds were found in these.

It is also noticeable that the densest populations were found on blocks of land which had reasonably secure title. Such is the case of the Muhanga, Roseland and Waerenga-s-hike blocks. However, 191 persons were living on the Makauri block. Most of the settlers here had legitimate claims to the land but the problem was the correct subdivision.

The existing communication lines may have also played a part in determining the settlement pattern as the most densely populated areas in 1877 were those which had the best roads. However, the extent of road building may have been a result of settlement.

Therefore by 1877 the settlement pattern was beginning to become more concentrated on the floodplain but it is noticeable that it had not extended out of the Waipaoa River Valley.

(ii) COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION.

The age-sex structure of the country districts of Poverty Bay shows many characteristics of a community still in the pioneering phase of settlement. (Fig. 58.) There was, in 1877-78, a surplus of males, 810 compared with 435 females. The numbers in the age group under fourteen were almost equal but in those groups over fourteen a large disparity existed. This was particularly marked in the forty to fifty-nine age group. The most productive age group, the twenty-one to thirty-nine age group, had over twice as many men as women.

It is interesting to note the proportions of males to females in the different areas. (Fig. 59.) In the Waimata
Fig. 53:

Age-Sex Ratio 1878, 1881, 1896.
Fig. 59:
Male-Female Ratio by Ridings,
1878, 1881, 1886.
MALE- FEMALE RATIO BY RIDINGS

Waimata
1
2
3

Gisborne
1
2
3

Te Arai
1
2
3

Waikohu
1886 only

0
250
500
750
1000
1500

Males
Females
1 1878
2 1881
3 1886
Riding where the population resided mainly on large runs the proportion of males to females often rose as high as nine to one, though the average was just over three to one. In the more densely and longer settled Gisborne Riding the average proportion was only one point seven to one, although at Kaiapoi it was four to one.

The Te Arai Riding was between the two extremes having been settled in places for a considerable time. Here the average ratio was about two to one, although in one place it rose to twenty-eight to one.

These figures clearly illustrate the fact that the area between the Waipaoa and Taruheru Rivers was the oldest and the most densely settled. By 1877 it had been considerably developed, enough for settlers to have wives and families in relative security. This area was also the one most suited for agriculture on a family farm basis. The big runs rarely appear to have had many European women on them.

(iii) ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE.

In 1877-78 the number of New Zealand born persons residing in the district was outnumbered by those born elsewhere by 221. (Fig. 60.) However, New Zealand born persons constituted the largest single group (660), followed by English born (439), Irish born (190) and Scottish born (124) persons. Besides these there were persons in the district who had been born in Australia, France, Germany and other European countries and the United States.

Although British stock predominated there was some diversity in the population. The population figures also included half castes living with a European parent, and as many men had Maori wives, considerable numbers of half caste children were found. Fifty-four male and forty-three female half caste children are reported for 1877-78.
Fig. 60:

Origins of the people 1878, 1881, 1886.
(g) **THE GROWTH OF SETTLEMENT, 1877-78 TO 1881:**

In this period the Maori land trouble and the onset of the economic depression caused very little new land to be taken up and the population increased very slowly. In fact this was the period of the least increase from 1869 to 1889, with an addition of only 208 persons. This can be attributed to the reputation the district had gained over its Maori Land troubles and to the fact that the Native Land Court did not sit in these years. The economic depression which hit the district in 1878 was at its height in 1879 and 1880 and trade and commerce were at a standstill. It was during these years that W.L. Rees began his work in the district and much of the progress of settlement after 1881 can be directly attributed to him.

Settlement did progress in these years because some new land was opened up. The most important newly settled area was the Fatutahi block. At first it was feared that the land here would be sold in Auckland and would thus fall into the hands of a few "captialists". It was finally announced that the first sections would be sold at Gisborne in May, 1878. The public were notified that 20,162 acres of town, suburban and rural land would be sold. (Fig. 61.)

The rural land varied from first class flat agricultural land with a little bush and some English grasses, to broken, fern and bush covered pastoral land. These latter sections were all over 192 acres in area and some were as large as 2,632 acres with most being between 200 and 500 acres.

The prices were thought to be too high before the sales, but over 6,653 acres were sold at an average of $5 13 6d.

---

Fig. 61:  

PRICES OF SECTIONS

TOWN
Sections  2-16  
          51-64  
          88-101  
          114-134  
    } all under 3 roods -  
    } price about £15 per rood.

SUBURBS
Section  11-29  
    } none over 10 acres, at
    } £10 per acre.
    42-47

RURAL - Turanganui Survey District.
Sections  1-12  
          24-41  
          43,45,47  
          70,73  
    } all under 70 acres,  
    } highest price £998 for 49 acres.

PATUTAHU SURVEY DISTRICT
Section  1-10  
        13-23  
        48-52,54,56-61  
        66-68  
    } all under 100 acres, closest
    } 56 acres for £228.

TAPATCHO
Section  1- flat, partially grassed, low fern.
        2- most broken, fern, clump of bush.
        3- most broken, fern, clump of bush.
        4- half broken, fern, clump of bush.
        front flat, light fern, partially grassed.
        5- flat, partially grassed.
        6- flat, partially grassed.

At present carrying a great number of sheep and cattle Summer day
Summer gray road.
SECOND and third class RURAL LAND:
Sections  91-117 and 120-124: all over 192 acres, generally
and up to 2,632 acres, although most in the 200-500 acre range,
most of flat, mostly broken, with fern, tutu, light bush, good soil.
Sections are usually; a small portion
Some are suitable only for pastoral purposes, - broken with high fern.

F.B.H., 12 April 1878.
per acre. Most of the purchasers were local settlers, many of them of long standing. Settlement of the township began at once and it was announced in June that a store was to be started.

Further sections were sold in 1879 but before this sale a warning circulated that it was useless to buy land unless money was available for improvements to it. A further fifteen sections totalling 4,430 acres were gazetted for sale, but it was thought that with the low prices for cereals, the decline in wool prices, the heavy cost of getting produce to market and the high cost of labour, the prices listed were too high. Only one section was sold at the sale. This demonstrates the lack of money and willing settlers. The land was available, but there were no takers.

In 1880 further sections were gazetted for sale, but applicants for them had to go to Auckland. Later in the year a small section was sold and in July several larger hill country sections were gazetted for sale. Only one appears to have been sold. More sections were listed for sale in August and September. Once again only a few buyers were interested. Further areas of the block were put up for sale in 1881 and by this year there were 143 persons living on the block compared to the fifteen in 1878. This was the largest single increase in population in the district (128 out of a total increase of 288).

In a previous Chapter W.L. Rees's work has been reviewed. As already demonstrated, he met stiff opposition to his schemes and even when the practicability of his ideas had been illustrated, many people still doubted his approach.

Although his schemes for settlement were never fully put into operation his work did clear the titles to many blocks on the Poverty Bay Flats and in the surrounding hill country. However, much of this came after 1880.

In 1880 people were leaving the district to find employment. The local press claimed this was because there had been no sittings of the Native Land Court for several years and that too many titles were doubtful. However, the economic depression probably played a big part in holding up settlement in the years 1879 to 1880. Together, these two were a potent force.

Rees, in 1880, promoted his private "East Coast Settlement Bill", published a pamphlet of the same name and held huge meetings in the district to get his methods officially ratified. It suffices to say that the Bill failed, but Rees continued to work to promote settlement against strong local opposition. His scheme to cut up the Pouawa block for settlers from Northern Ireland was openly ridiculed.

In 1881 two judges were appointed to the Native Land Court and it was hoped that the titles to many blocks would be cleared up so that settlement could proceed. It was in this year that Rees's work first began to pay dividends. He had held a large portion of the Whataupoko block in trust and now sections on the block were offered for sale. However, the sale was postponed until February 1882 because of the trouble over the Taruheru bridge and the failure of the trusteeship system. None of the lands held in trust were sold until after the East Coast Land and Settlement Company (soon to become the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company) was established.

In 1880 the government at last acquired large areas of land in the district. This was an important event because much valuable pastoral land was now available for settlement.

23. See Chapter II for details.
Local settlers hoped that the Waste Lands Board in Auckland would not be allowed to "play the fool" with the land.

Therefore by 1881 the district was in a most satisfactory position with regard to land for settlement. The Maori land problem continued but it was no longer the prime reason for the slow progress of settlement, even though contemporary opinion thought otherwise.

Although most of the Crown Land purchased was close to Gisborne it was mainly inaccessible because of the lack of roads and bridges. After 1881 the reason for the lack of development was the poor communications system.

It was announced in October that nevertheless the more accessible land at Waihau and Whakaongaonga was to be subdivided for settlement. Before this the Waste Lands Board had set apart 5,000 acres of the Whakaongaonga block for development under the Homestead System. This system which gave settlers 200 acres was not suited to this very steep and rugged country with "six inches of vegetable mould over a pumice substratum".

Although settlement did not progress rapidly between 1878 and 1881 the basis was laid for relatively rapid development after 1881.

(b) THE NUMBERS, DISTRIBUTION, COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF POPULATION, 1881:

(i) THE NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION. (Fig. 62.)

By 1881 the rural population of Poverty Bay was 1,533, an increase of only 283 in three years. (Fig. 57.) The reasons for this small increase have already been discussed, but in some areas the population did increase. The population of the Waimata Riding increased from 101 to 200 and that of the Te Arai from 273 to 465. But that of the

25. P.B.H., 6 October 1881.
Fig. 62:

Distribution of people 1881.
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
1881

MILES

1 5 10 20 30 50 100 200 PERSONS

GISBORNE
Gisborne Riding remained stagnant at about 870.

The increase in population in the Te Arai Riding can be explained by the opening up of the Patutahi block and that of the Waimata Riding by the fact that several large runs were taken up in this area. But the frontier of settlement remained much the same as in 1877-78 and apart from the increases in two of the Ridings the distribution pattern remained much the same as in 1877-78.

III) COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION.

The age-sex structure changed very little in the three years. (Fig. 58.) However, certain minor details are of interest.

In 1881 there were 308 children under four years of age compared with 267 in 1878. However where there had been a surplus of male babies over females in 1878 the situation was now reversed. Male and female children from the age of five to nine were found in just about equal numbers as they had been in 1878.

Perhaps the most striking comparison between 1878 and 1881 was in the numbers of males in the twenty-one to thirty-nine age group. The numbers had decreased from 476 to 443. The age group, forty to fifty-nine had increased by sixty from 142 to 202. This demonstrates extremely well the fact that in the period 1878 to 1881 very few new settlers arrived and it appears that men in the most productive age group may have left the district. Thus the increase in population of 283 can be accounted for largely in terms of a natural increase, and immigration was strictly limited.

The proportion of males to females in the different areas of the district showed several changes. (Fig. 59.) In the Waimata Riding the proportion had dropped from three to one to about two point three to one, although in places the proportion was still over ten to one. However, several places had more females than males.
The Gisborne Riding, in 1881, appears to have fewer males and more females than in 1878 and the ratio had dropped from one point seven to one, to one point three to one. In several long settled areas the numbers were almost equal.

The Te Arai Riding showed the greatest change in the ratio. In 1878 it had been about two to one - now it was one point four to one. The area with the greatest equality of sexes was the newly settled Patutahi block.

It is misleading in many ways to rely on these figures for an accurate account of the distribution of males and females of a marriageable age. The age-sex pyramid demonstrates that males outnumbered females by two to one in this age group, but females outnumbered males, 409 to 382 up to the age of twenty-one. Over one third of the population was under fourteen in 1881.

(iii) ORIGINS OF THE POPULATION.

By 1881 persons born outside of New Zealand outnumbered New Zealand born by only forty-six. (Fig. 60.) There were now 947 New Zealand born persons which was double the number of English born (407). Therefore, even though there was comparatively little change in the population total there was a major change in the national composition. New Zealand born persons almost outnumbered all other groups.

(1) THE GROWTH OF SETTLEMENT 1881 to 1889:

In this period there was a relatively large scale increase in population as new areas were settled and the density of settlement in older settled areas increased. The work of Rees continued and was of major importance until 1889. But by now many of the difficulties evident in Maori land dealings in the 1870s had disappeared as the titles to blocks were clarified by the Native Land Court. Settlement also continued on the land purchased by the Crown.

The organisation and land purchases of the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company have been discussed fully.
in a previous chapter. It was the work of this Company which opened several areas to settlement.

In early February 1882 sections on the Whataupoko block were sold. The sections were auctioned with one quarter of the cash to be paid on the fall of the hammer, and the balance on the execution of the deed of conveyance. Barker, who already owned 2,000 acres of Whataupoko, purchased two 1,000 acre blocks. By 1886 over 150 persons had purchased sections on the block and the settled area had become known as the North Gisborne township. The bridge across the Taruheru, which had originally been built by Rees to facilitate settlement, made the area easily accessible to the town of Gisborne. The bulk of the Pouswa block was also sold for £43,512. After 1883 the character of the Company began to change. Until then the value of the Company seemed to lie in the theories and purposes behind its founding and organisation, but after 1884 these appear to have collapsed. No longer was the Company primarily interested in bringing settlers to the East Coast and paying the Maoris fairly for their land. The meetings of the Company were now held at Auckland and it was reorganised to include Auckland men. Thus high finance and speculation infringed on the homelier aims of promoting settlement and caring for Maori interests on the East Coast.

Had the Company been able to sell land to settlers it would not have failed. But it was unable to do this as the costs of surveys and court work forced it to mortgage its lands to the Bank of New Zealand. As the assets of the Company were not realised because of the falling demand for its land the situation deteriorated rapidly. The falling off in demand for land can be attributed to uncertain titles which made all such assets of doubtful value in the

27. Cook County Rate Book, 1886-87.
eyes of bone fide settlers. No-one wanted to purchase a law suit. The intensification of depression conditions in New Zealand in the late 1880s also assisted in this lack of demand for land.

As a mounting burden of debt arose attempts to sell land continued and in 1886 Rees tried to interest the government in financing the settlement of the Gisborne district. He formed a "Colonisation Committee" and joined with public bodies in petitioning for government aid. But such a novel use of public money was not likely to be taken up in depression years when retrenchment was the order of the day.

Although bankrupt himself by now, Rees continued to fight for land titles and he brought to light a new scheme for utilising the lands of the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company.

The scheme, labelled "Co-operative Colonisation" was part of his wider vision on a system of colonisation. In 1886 he published a book, "The Co-operation of Land, Labour and Capital". Rees planned to associate capital with labour by bringing to New Zealand poor crofter families from the British Isles and forming them into co-operatives with the help of men with capital. The land would be gradually paid for with money from the co-operative general fund. These producing co-operatives in New Zealand would be linked with the English and Scottish Co-operative movement and primary produce would be exchanged for English manufactured goods at cheap rates.

By 1887 the Company's situation was critical and Rees decided to go to England at his own expense and offer the Settlement Company's land for sale to his mooted Co-operative Associations. In England he had some initial success and

a committee of influential men including two Scottish peers was formed and the owner of the Island of Lewes offered to supply several hundred crofter families. But when the British Government was asked to support Rees's plan they asked the New Zealand Government for further information. Prime Minister Atkinson replied that the scheme did not have official backing and that the titles to the Settlement Company's land were insecure. It was also said that Rees's estimate of the number of men who could be settled on the East Coast, which was mostly covered in bush and suitable only for expensive farming, was extravagant. Any chance Rees had of support from the British Government was crushed.

Meanwhile in 1888 the Settlement Company was wound up. Nothing else could have been done as the sole asset, 250,000 acres of land, was unsaleable and bore an accumulating burden of debt from rates, taxes and above all, the interest charges levied on the Company's mortgages by the Bank of New Zealand. The European shareholders lost about £40,000 but the Maoris lost all the land which had been mortgaged.

Thus although the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company and Rees's "Co-operative Colonisation" schemes came to nothing and did little to promote settlement, they form an important episode in the settlement of the Poverty Bay district, even if from a negative viewpoint. Rees's settlement schemes can be criticised as being impractical. The hill country was certainly not suitable for small farms and by 1888 the flat land was all settled so his scheme to settle families on small farms would not have worked. However, the settlement of Whataupoko, and to a certain extent the Keiti and Pouawa blocks, can be attributed to the Company, and Rees work cleared the titles to many other blocks thus promoting settlement on land not

belonging to the Company. Land was also offered for sale in the Waikato Valley.

The Crown Lands in the district were not opened on a large scale before 1889. This was attributed to the high prices and small sizes of the blocks. The completion of the Waikato to Otorohanga road opened up the land in the Waikato Valley and a few people began to purchase land and settle there. But prior to 1889 there was little movement to open up other areas, if the Waikato Valley is excluded. Here, a road was constructed in 1882 and the Crown Lands were thus accessible.

In the period 1881 to 1889, although the numbers of settlers increased, only a small area of new land was opened up. The speculations and dealings of the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company were foremost in men’s thoughts during the period, but despite the continued bad reputation of the district in land dealings, settlement increased at a more rapid rate than in the previous periods.

(i) THE NUMBERS, DISTRIBUTION, COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF POPULATION, 1886:

In the five years, 1881 to 1886, the population increased from 1,533 to 2,588. Such an increase demonstrates that the opening up of even small areas by the Crown and the sale of land by the Settlement Company had some results. Locally, however, this increase was considered small when the fine quality and extent of land available for settlement was taken into account. The government’s native land policy was the root of the trouble, but the lack of communications, isolation and depression conditions played an important part in hindering settlement.

The distribution of population aptly demonstrates that settlement increased markedly on the flat and easily accessible land where titles were secure. A new Riding, Waikohu, had been formed, which in 1886 had a population of
Fig. 63:

Distribution of people 1886.
Most of the people here lived on large runs, but there were two small settlements, Te Karaka and Waipaoa.

The population of the Gisborne Riding had increased from 868 to 1,284 and still accounted for about half the district's population. The dominance of this area is explained by its flatness, fertility and secure titles. In the southwest the boundaries of the Te Arai Riding had been altered to include the settled areas in the Hangaroa Valley and to exclude land north of the Waikakariki Stream. Patutahi township now had a population of 218 and over fifty persons resided at various places in the Hangaroa Valley. The total population was 570.

Because of the alterations in boundaries, the Waimata Riding only had six areas of settlement in 1886. However, with a population of 424, of whom 279 resided in North Gisborne township, the Riding ranked third of the four Ridings in the district. The Kaiti, Waimata and Fouawa blocks also had considerable populations mainly because of the New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company's work.

Thus though there were detailed changes in the distribution of population the general pattern remained the same. Notable differences are apparent, however, in the Te Arai and Waimata Ridings where settlement was beginning to occupy the valleys of the Hangaroa and Waimata Rivers. The majority of the settlers were still located on the fertile Matawhero and Waikirere soils of the floodplain. Many of the rural population still lived in the small townships of Ormond, Rosaland and Wendlesham.

(ii) COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION.

Apart from the increase in population the age-sex structure in 1886 was little different to that of 1881 and still showed the characteristics of a pioneer population. Males still predominated by two to one in the twenty-one
to fifty-nine age group and about forty percent of the population was under fourteen years.

For the whole district the male to female ratio was one point four to one. However this varied from area to area. (Fig. 59.) The Te Arai and Waimata Ridings had exactly this figure. In the case of Te Arai this was the same as in 1881, but in the Waimata Riding the ratio had decreased. Nowhere, now, did the proportion exceed three to one.

In the Gisborne Riding the proportion of males to females was almost equal, being one point one to one. The Waikohu Riding had two point one males per female, the highest general figure in the district. This can be explained by the existence of large runs requiring unmarried shepherds.

Males outnumbered females by two to one in the marriageable age groups, but under the age of twenty the proportions were nearly equal.

(iii) ORIGINS OF THE POPULATION.

By 1886 persons born in New Zealand outnumbered foreign born persons by 1,607 to 1,351. (Fig. 60.) English, Irish and Scottish in that order formed the next largest groups and there were over fifty residents who had been born in non-British possessions.

(x) THE ROLE AND EXPANSION OF THE TOWN OF GISBORNE, 1868 to 1876:

Prior to the purchase of the townsite by Sir Donald McLean in 1867 the settlement on the banks of the Turanganui River was known as Turanga. After this date the official name for the town, Gisborne, was used.

Under "The Municipal Corporations Act, 1876" the ratepayers of Gisborne petitioned the government for the proclamation of the town as a borough. This was successful and the town officially became the Borough of
Gisborne in May 1877. The town expanded rapidly in the period. In 1868 the buildings only extended about 300 yards inland from the Turanganui River and were scattered in the scrub between the Taruheru River and the Waikanae Stream. Continuous building had not reached Lowe Street in 1871, but by 1875 had spread to Grey Street. In 1883 houses were scattered as far west as Roebuck Road and the business district had reached almost to Peel Street. With the construction of the Peel Street and Gladstone Road bridges, settlement had spread to the Whataupoko and Kaiti blocks by 1889.

The population expanded fourfold between 1874 and 1886. (Fig. 64.) The proportion of males to females was more equal in the town than it was in the country districts. (Fig. 64.)

The town's original nucleus grew up around the early trading stations, and the site was probably on the best harbour available in mid-nineteenth century Poverty Bay. From its origins Gisborne had a commercial and port function. It was the main market, trading centre and port for the district and all the roads centred on it. As the town grew the number of retail and commercial establishments increased and by the end of the period, with a population of over 2,000, the town was a flourishing market centre. This can be demonstrated by comparing the number and variety of businesses in 1874 and 1887. In 1874 there were four hotels in the town and several large and small general stores selling a wide range of goods, as well as a Court House and Post Office. There was also a butcher and a baker. By 1887 there were well over forty business establishments in Gisborne. Many of these were shops specialising in one type of merchandise. There were jewellers, painters, paperhangers
Fig. 64:
Population of Gisborne 1874-86.
POPULATION INCREASE & MALE FEMALE RATIO
GISBORNE

no. persons
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0

FEMALES

MALES

years
1874
1878
1881
1886
and drapers as well as general stores, butchers, and bakers. There were also nine hotels.

By 1889 Gisborne was the centre of a rich sheep farming and agricultural district which had been settled for just over twenty years. The town still had a pioneer appearance with its wooden false fronted buildings and its wide streets, muddy in winter and dusty in summer. During the period areas of the business district were devastated by disastrous fires. In 1882 the Argyll Hotel was razed to the ground, but the worst fire occurred in 1887 when the whole block bounded by Lowe Street, Gladstone Road, Customhouse Street and Callans Road was destroyed.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated the human geography of a pioneer district and has shown why the settlement of the East Coast lagged behind the remainder of New Zealand. The period studied is a critical one in the settlement of New Zealand. In 1863 the Maori Wars entered their final phase. Then followed an era of reconstruction and rapid settlement, but the economic depression ended this until the development of refrigeration revived the country's prosperity. All of these features were present in Poverty Bay along with several other major problems.

The most important was the Maori land problem. On the East Coast the large Maori population led to great difficulties in purchasing land under the existing Native Land Laws. Therefore in the 1870s settlers found it impossible to gain secure titles to land and consequently settlement was retarded.

After 1880 more land was available for settlement. Maori land difficulties continued but the isolation of the district and the inaccessible nature of much of the land were now the prime factors discouraging settlement. From 1881 the population increased rapidly as secure titles were gained for the easier country.

The foundations of today's economic activities were laid in the period. Sheep farming and cropping quickly became the most important activities. Local industry suffered several setbacks as lack of capital and insufficient quantities of raw materials led to the failure of many of the attempts to establish processing industries. The search for oil continues today, almost 100 years after it began and the primitive early attempts are interesting when compared with the highly technical exploration of the mid-twentieth century.
A study such as this can attempt to answer the question of the "frontier" in New Zealand. On the East Coast there was no advancing frontier line but rather a series of nuclei expanding as land became available. However, certain traits are evident. The settlers were extremely critical of the government of the day and at the least provocation would decry some real or imagined neglect. The Maori land and finance questions aptly illustrate this.

However, the frontier on the East Coast was essentially a New Zealand frontier. The people brought the customs of their homeland with them and the environment only modified these to a limited extent. The presence of a large native population did have an effect on the settlers. Many settlers married Maori women and thus many of the prominent families today have Maori blood. This study has not emphasised the Maori, apart from the land problem. The problems which confronted the East Coast Maoris would perhaps be better treated in a separate paper.

Unlike the colonisation of many other parts of New Zealand, Poverty Bay settlement was not organised. The one attempt at organised settlement failed. The New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company was an idealistic venture unsuitable for New Zealand conditions.
APPENDIX I

THE WAIAROMOA BLOCK

This block, which lies on an intertribal boundary came before the Native Land Court in 1875 when a memorial of ownership was given to Hone Kewa and fifty three others. The block had been gazetted for a hearing at Waiapu on 10 March 1875. One party of claimants travelled to Waiapu, but Judge Rogan sent an agent to adjourn the court. Then on 14 March the Judge advertised that the sitting would be held at Makaraka on 16 March. Therefore the natives at Waiapu were unable to return in time and the other party who were selling to Cooper and Read, was able to put forward its claim unopposed. Judge Rogan had not been influenced by the European landsharks (as Wilson claimed), as the Waiapu sitting had been adjourned at Major Ropata's request. A flood had destroyed the food supplies, making it impossible for the Waiapu Maoris to sustain a prolonged sitting.

Several Maoris applied for a rehearing but one of the unsuccessful claimants, Henare Potae of Tokomaru Bay said in a letter in May 1877 that he wanted it disallowed as being a waste of time. However, the rehearing took place in March 1880.

Henare Potae claimed that the evidence on which the land claims were based was incorrect, meaning that Hone Kewa had no claim to the block and that the sale to Cooper was invalid.

At the rehearing the details of the block's history emerged. Henare Potae claimed the block through ancestry of the Ngati-Ira tribe. Ira and his descendant Tanekōtio had lived on the land but had been defeated in battle by Tutepuake about 1641 and had been forced to flee. The descendants of Tutepuake claimed the land by right of conquest followed by occupation. Therefore, Henare Potae's claim was very remote and had become "mataotao" (cold).

A petition for a further rehearing was presented to the
governor but this brief account aptly illustrates the difficulties involved in finding the correct owners of a block.
governor but this brief account aptly illustrates the difficulties involved in finding the correct owners of a block.
APPENDIX II

A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON
W. L. REES AND T. PERE

W. L. Rees

W. L. Rees was born in Bristol in 1836 and migrated to Victoria in 1850 where, after a series of jobs, he attended Melbourne University and gained a law degree. Whilst in Victoria he played for the colony at cricket against New South Wales in the first intercolonial match.

Briefed for a New Zealand case he went to Hokitika where he spent three years. He was elected to the Westland County Council but in 1869 decided to move to Auckland. In 1875 he became an Auckland Provincial Councillor and was later-appointed Provincial Solicitor. He became a close friend of Sir George Grey's and became a disciple of his attitude to the Maoris and the problem of utilising their land. On the abolition of the provinces he was elected to parliament as the Member for Auckland City East and became well known throughout New Zealand.

Influenced by Sir George Grey's desire that he should guard the rights of the natives in disputed titles to land he moved to Napier in 1878 and thence to Gisborne. He had no official position but he soon became one of the more prominent men of the East Coast. His work between 1878 and 1889 has been discussed.

In 1889 he left Gisborne and once again entered parliament. He was Chairman of Committees in 1891 and he published "Life and Times of Sir George Grey" in 1892. He returned to Gisborne in 1894 and remained there until his death in 1912.

T. Pere

T. Pere was born in 1837, the son of Kiria Nauaranui and Thomas Halbert, one of the early traders. His father proposed sending him to Auckland for his schooling but his mother refused to let him go. Upon his arrival, W. L. Rees
he was taken to Makaretu by Te Kooti after the Massacre.
Later he was accused of being a Hauhau although he had escaped
as soon as he could. He was held in ill favour by many of
the Europeans because he favoured the repurchase of all pro-
perities in the hands of Europeans at the prices which had
been given for them.

However, as a chief of the Rongowhakaatu and T'Aitanga-
a-Mahaki tribes he had considerable mana in the district and
Rees found him a useful partner in his trusteeship scheme.
He was the Eastern Maori member in the House of Represen-
tatives between 1884 and 1887 where he was a pioneer in the
drive to win government and public support for Maori farming.
In 1886 he visited England with Rees and between 1907 and
1912 he was a member of the Legislative Council.
APPENDIX III

SOURCES AND CONSTRUCTION OF MAPS

Apart from: Landforms of the Floodplain
Geology
Drainage
Soils
Soils of the Floodplain
Maori Tribal Areas and Confiscated Land
The Hakaui Subdivision
Proposed Harbour Schemes
Settlement 1868
Settlement 1870

all the maps in the paper have been constructed from data collected. The maps on Landforms of the Floodplain and Soils of the Floodplain were constructed by W. A. Pullar. The map on Soils was taken from the four miles to one inch soil survey and from this the maps on slope categories and primitive vegetation were derived. The Geology map is from the N.Z. Geological Survey Bulletin, No. 21 and the Drainage map is copied from the N.Z. Cadastral Series, No. 5. The map on Maori Tribal Areas and Confiscated Land is a reproduction of a map in the Lands and Survey Department, Gisborne, as is the Hakaui Subdivision map. The map demonstrating the Proposed Harbour Scheme is from the A.J.H.P., 1894, the map on Settlement 1868 is from Historic Poverty Bay and the Settlement 1870 map is reduced from Crown Plan No. 1221 Red lodged in the Lands and Survey Department Gisborne.

The base for the rest of the maps are the 850 Maori block plans 1867-69 lodged in the Lands and Survey Department, Gisborne. Vegetation is shown on many of these and thus it is possible to construct a vegetation map for the district. The Maori block map was constructed using the block plans and the N.Z. Cadastral Series, Sheet No. 5, and the land ownership series were compiled from several sources, the most
important of which are the Lands and Deeds records, Native Land Court files and Cook County Rate books. Lands and Deeds records and Native Land Court files were also used in the construction of the series of maps demonstrating subdivisions, Crown Grants and government purchases.

The communication maps are constructed from written accounts and the sheep distribution maps from the annual Sheep Returns, using knowledge of where runs were located to accurately plot the dots. Data for maps on the distribution of population is from the Census of the Colony of New Zealand, 1878, 1881 and 1886. It is given by locality and thus it is possible to plot the distribution of population reasonably accurately.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. General

Ackerman, E. A., "Geography as a Fundamental Research Discipline", University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper, No. 37, 1936.


Firth, The Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori.


von Hochsetter, F., New Zealand, its Physical Geography, Geology and Natural History, 1866.


Smith, M., *The Maori Land Court*.


" " (editor) *The Maori People Today*, 1940.


Williams, P. M., *Through Ninety Years*.

B. Theses


C. Specific

1. Official Government Publications

Appendices to Journals, *House of Representatives*: 1860, 1862, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1877, 1878, 1882, 1886, 1891, 1892.

A Census of the Colony of New Zealand: 1878, 1881, 1886.

New Zealand Statutes: 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1876.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.

The *New Zealand Gazette*, 1877-89.

The *Official Handbook of New Zealand*, 1874-75.

2. Local Government Publications
Cook County Council Minute Books, 1877-89.
Cook County Rate Books, 1879-89.
Gisborne Harbour Board, Chairman's Address, Treasurer's Statement of Accounts and other Statistics, 1935.
Gisborne Harbour Board, Short Account of the Development of the Port of Gisborne, 1937.

3. Periodicals
The Poverty Bay Herald, 1874-89.
The Poverty Bay Standard, 1874, 1876, 1879.
The New Zealand Herald - various odd numbers in the 1880s.

4. Unpublished Material
Land and Deeds Books, Lands and Deeds Department, Gisborne.
Maori Land Court Block and Case Files, Maori Affairs Department, Gisborne.
Maori Land Court Minute Books, Maori Affairs Department, Gisborne.
Hans, 1867-88, in Lands and Survey Department, Gisborne.

5. Secondary Sources
" (editor) Life in Early Poverty Bay, 1927.
Henway, F. T., Pioneering in Poverty Bay, 1902.
Henry, J. D., The Gilfields of New Zealand, 1911.
Katten, H. W., Then Gisborne Was Young, 1952.