

"Protecting and Preserving": Mid-Nineteenth Century Māori Views on Forest Conservation in Wairarapa and Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua

JAMIE ASHWORTH

Abstract

During the early stages of European colonisation in Wairarapa and Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, the opinions of Māori individuals and groups on forest conservation, deforestation, and land ownership became increasingly relevant within iwi and hapū. This case study of Wairarapa examines the reasons behind these burgeoning ideologies, profiles these varying opinions, details the development and scope of these ideas, and investigates how they evolved during the mid-nineteenth century. The importance of whakapapa, economic factors, and socio-cultural interactions within these underlying ideas is examined, and the contributions of iwi and hapū to the ultimate development of Aotearoa New Zealand's forest land management policies are considered.

Introduction

In 1853, Ngāti Kahungunu landholder Ihaka Te Haterei confronted Native Land Purchase Commissioner Donald McLean regarding the rapid acquisition of land near his home of Te Manohawe in southern Wairarapa. Emphasising the particular value, character, and cultural standing of the forest among Wairarapa hapū, Te Haterei asserted his position regarding land sales: "never, never, never will I approve of the behaviour of the people of Wairarapa in giving up their lands. For where will they go? ... Where? Into the bush? Yes, it will be into the bush."¹ Within the wider context of forest land resource acquisition, and the awareness of McLean's intentions for clearance, these remarks hint at the numerous differing political currents that would define Wairarapa Māori at the interface of traditional occupation and colonial settlement throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Te Haterei's comments on the forest, marking it as both a place of refuge and a place of debated economic value, represented a broader discourse among the hapū of Wairarapa and its immediate environs, defining social lives, economic policies, the traditional use of land, and the maintenance of the environment itself.

Over the last four decades, forest history has advanced significantly as a field of research in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, substantial work remains to be done in ascertaining the opinions and attitudes of Māori regarding the environmental changes occurring during the initial period of concerted European colonisation, especially in more remote regions such as Wairarapa. The bi-cultural perspectives offered by Geoff Park in *Nga Uruora* and *Theatre Country* were instrumental in commencing dialogues surrounding Māori historical attitudes toward forests, outlining the processes by which such resources were valued and identified.² Likewise, Angela Ballara's *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation, 1769-1945*, combined with her extensive body of work regarding Ngāti Kahungunu tribal perspectives on history, provide a strong foundation for the broader study of Māori forest histories in Wairarapa.³ Collectively, the work produced by the Waitangi Tribunal in analysing the historical occupation of the region represents another valuable resource in describing and explaining Māori attitudes toward forest land management. The *Wairarapa ki Tararua Report* by Anderson et al., for instance, represents a broad overview of Māori activities within the entire survey district, a wide coverage including discussions on the effects of forest resource

management policies on Māori societies and groups from the eighteenth century to 1909.⁴ The *Rangitāne o Tamakinui a Rua Traditional History Report* by Parsons and Ropiha, meanwhile, is an important source of specific Māori opinions on environmental change throughout the area, though analysis within this source is limited regarding forests in particular.⁵ Overall, there is a wealth of literature regarding Māori popular opinions with respect to the alienation and retention of forest land resources. However, the region centred upon Wairarapa - a microcosm of colonial development throughout the mid-nineteenth century - has remained relatively unexamined in terms of specific case studies.

As such, this case study will examine discussions and debates within Māori groups from the earliest land purchases until the Forests Act of 1874, as well as the evolution and progression of different currents, attitudes, and discourses among them. It also seeks to contribute to a wider understanding of how policies regarding forests, development, and land sales influenced the operation and cohesion of iwi and hapū throughout the three earliest decades of colonial development in the region, reflecting the changes being experienced by contemporary Māori groups throughout the motu. This study displays that politics, social relations, and public opinions in Wairarapa remained as complex and intricate as they were elsewhere. This study also emphasises collective views on the importance of natural environments, connections to the land, and the effects of alienation on different groups, a series of subjects important to understanding social and political lives among Wairarapa Māori during the period.

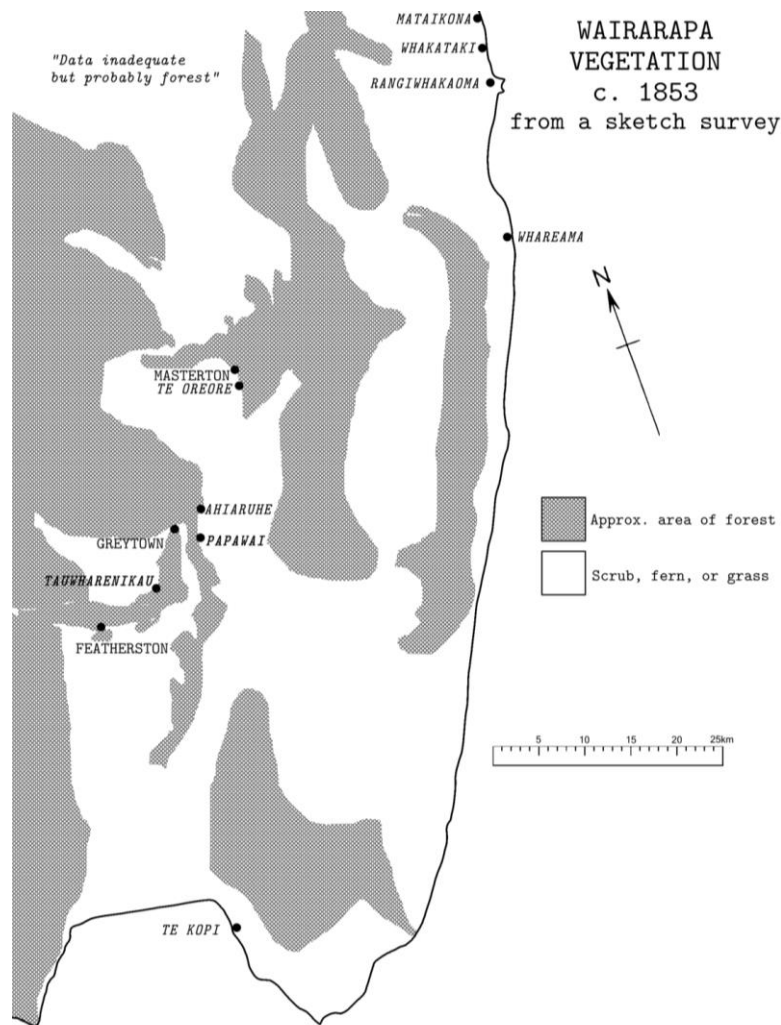


Figure 1: Forest cover of southern region of study, c. 1853, with names of settlements and blocks named in article.⁶

"A colonial climate": Background

The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, signalled the advent of a new era in European migration to Aotearoa New Zealand, and helped to further colonial land resource manipulation. The Treaty of Waitangi accorded the Crown apparent authority over land administration in New Zealand, as well as the near-exclusive right to purchase Māori land.⁷ The introduction of these policies had several immediate impacts on European colonisation. Most significantly, it allowed for the systematic development of new colonial settlements without the hindrance of land ownership disputes that had previously hampered progress in forested areas. Crown pre-emption spurred European development at unprecedented speeds, suggesting that land ownership could be more clearly defined through colonial mechanisms.⁸ The concerted efforts of the Crown and the New Zealand Company led to a significant rise in European civilian colonisation. This was primarily aimed at establishing "'concentrated' agricultural settlements" based on the "systematic colonisation" principles set out by Wakefield.⁹

In Wairarapa, this resulted in the creation of numerous large European settlements by 1874, such as Greytown, Carterton, Masterton, and Eketāhuna, many of which were planted "in the

midst of dense bush" for their European settler-colonist residents to clear "the ground for further occupation," as a *Dominion* retrospective recounted in 1927.¹⁰ European settlement in the region, during the earliest period of colonial incursion, was further spurred by an extralegal campaign wherein prospective farmers would, "without legal rights," establish "leasehold properties ... with the runholders paying miniscule rents" to Māori landholders, as Ian Pool describes.¹¹ Forest land would begin to be cleared as "sheep-farming took off in the Wairarapa in 1843," rapidly advancing to the point where "the number of sheep there had passed 100,000 by the late 1840s."¹² Brad Patterson indicates that these changes were "aggressive," relying on "locating the main natural features" of the land in the interest of expanding runs.¹³ These incursions had multiple effects. Firstly, "these developments opened the way for the penetration of settlers" and their spread across the southern provinces of the North Island. Second, "isolated Maori kainga" were swiftly "interlinked ... for the first time, on any scale" to the eco-cultural networks that defined Wakefield's strategy, highlighting to both Māori and colonists the differences between their prevailing world-views regarding natural resource consumption. Finally, "the complex environmental-economic effects" of such a linkage would gradually become apparent.¹⁴

Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne, the primary iwi in the region, possess rohe at Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua and in the southern area of the district, both of which were defined by extensive bands of valuable forest.¹⁵ In general, the hapū inhabiting Wairarapa retain strong ties to land as far north as the Tukituki river slightly beyond Waipukurau, and as far south as Cape Palliser; intra-tribal dialogues could take place over even greater distances.¹⁶ Prior to changes propelled by European colonial advance, this occupation involved a communal and highly intricate negotiation of land usage rights, including the clearing of land and the possession thereof, alongside careful management of resource consumption. As Ballara notes, "Maori horticulture ... required new clearings as land became exhausted," and hapū would collaborate on developing "contiguous crop-patches" on the edge of the forest based on careful observations of the type and amount of resources required at any given time.¹⁷ Across their rohe, groups would also gather resources directly from the forest when available, "taking birds in season" alongside wild plants such as pereī and aruhe.¹⁸ Following the arrival of European colonists, these groups would reckon with a series of highly interwoven reassessments regarding land resources, especially regarding forests. As Park describes, "the ecology of their sustenance" in the form of their woods and waters was transformed socially from "a primary Maori food resource" into an instrument of colonialism and settler capitalist enterprise.¹⁹ Traditional occupation - "one's habitation of a place as spiritually and materially nourishing terrain" - would be systematically weighed against "state policy in a colonial climate" as settler-Indigenous interactions continued.²⁰

"To fly up into the foliage": Forests as Places of Remembrance and Refuge

The land sales that occurred throughout these rohe reveal the extent to which forest resources were valued by iwi and hapū. Commencing in 1851, Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu began to sell many of their forested land possessions centred on Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, especially the wooded district of Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga. The first of these major sales was that of the Waipukurau block, which was sold by Ngāti Kahungunu to Land Purchase Commissioner Donald McLean in November of that year.²¹ Waipukurau remains a prime example of hapū leaders placing high valuations, both economic and cultural, on the presence and ownership of forest resources on Māori land blocks. Forest land reservations within the area sold in the Waipukurau purchase were evidently of utmost significance to the parties who signed the

agreement, a factor with which Ngāti Kahungunu signatory Te Harawira was highly concerned. In one letter to Donald McLean, Te Harawira expressed frustration over the Commissioner's refusal to outright state whether these sections of forested land could be reserved in the purchase, or at the very least surveyed:

'We leave it to you and the Governor to decide on the part for those who own the land.' I did this out of annoyance at him over the Queen's practice which you observe so that all is well settled, and according to God's will, and in order to put straight the ones who are stubborn over our setting the boundary. And that's why the discussion became difficult. If you write a letter, it will be in order to survey it.²²

Not all of the forested land, nor its resources, within this block were exclusively signed over to European groups; a number of reserves were provided for in the agreement, most notably a large island in the Ahuriri Estuary, "the right to snare birds" in five hundred acres of forest at Puketitiri, and the Pukemokemoke forest reserve were excluded from the purchase.²³ Te Harawira noted that, during negotiations, he had also requested the reservation of Puketotara Hill as well as an area of forest known to Harawira as Te Pua-a-Hine-mahanga, which constituted a bird hunting ground near Waipawa.²⁴ Such an attitude indicates that forested land – and the gathering of food, such as birds and the natural productions of trees – remained an important part of life within Ngāti Kahungunu, an aspect that Te Harawira and his compatriots sought to preserve during land sale negotiations with McLean. Forest land resources, in this manner, retained the extensive value that they had held in previous years at Waipukurau.

Te Harawira's assessment of forest land resources was mirrored in an 1853 letter from the Ngāti Kahungunu landholders at Ahiaruhe, a block situated in South Wairarapa:

The only place that will be given to you is Wairarapa, Te Ahiaruhe won't be given to you. That is my own land. And this is my intention, that the gardens will not be given away, never, never, never at all. Don't let someone come and be given your money for that, because that land belongs to many... moreover, it is a small part that we are retaining and after all I have descendants, it would not be right [for our descendants] to have to fly up into the foliage of a tree to live.²⁵

The aims of Wairarapa landholders are, here, more explicitly expressed. The acquisition of the surrounding grassland, described by surveyor Charles Pelichet as "generally poor, barren, and very broken," was not a direct priority for those resident at Ahiaruhe. Conversely, the prospect of European settlers acquiring land Pelichet asserted was "covered with fine timber," including valuable cultivations and gardens involved in the seasonal round of mahinga kai, was deeply undesirable.²⁶ The letter's authors elaborate that "the foliage" at Ahiaruhe could not be separated from the ancestral occupants of the land, linking the forest resources directly to systems of whakapapa in resisting its sale. Moreover, the invocation of the forest as a place of refuge that "belongs to many" reflects its status as a place of "common resources ... open to all comers," which Ballara identifies as a staple of diplomacy among hapū of the North Island.²⁷ These sentiments are also reflected in a letter of 1851, from Rangitāne landholders Ropata Te Waeriki and Te Wirihana Taerangi to McLean, which asks that the Crown allow local hapū to retain exclusive collective rights "to the good parts, that is, to the wooded parts" of a block under the influence of Te Hapuku.²⁸ As the period continued, tensions between such continued traditional occupation and the settler-colonial project would become prominent, especially in the negotiation of land sales.²⁹ Ahiaruhe stands as an example of how Te Harawira's attitudes were shared throughout rohe across Wairarapa and its environs, highlighting a current wherein landowners were, for deep-seated cultural reasons, reluctant to sell forested land to settlers.

These ideas of forested land as places of refuge and ancestral connection were common among Wairarapa Māori at the time, encompassing both Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne. In an 1892 hearing, Ngapaeruru-a-Matuahaka, a block of hilly forested land east of the Manawatu River, was also described as an ancestral place of refuge dating back to the time of Te Ruatōtara, a wāhine of mana who lived during the late eighteenth century.³⁰ Hanita Te Aweawe, representing Rangitāne for a part of the Māori Land Court hearing on the block, remarked that "this block was not lived on as it was mountainous, but it was a place of refuge."³¹ Hoani Meihana, similarly, remarked "my father and Turaki never spoke of their right to go on the block. No one disputed their right ... Rangitāne generally went there. Never heard of any permanent settlements of Rangitāne on this block. They simply hunted and returned to their kaingas."³² The prevalence of such remarks display a strong regard for certain forests as positive areas of unoccupied land, wherein the right to use the land was generally disregarded in favour of treating it as neutral ground. For at least some hapū in Wairarapa, following the beginning of land sales, the forest clearly represented a safe haven rather than carrying negative connotations.³³

Areas of refuge in other locations were, on at least one occasion, marked by pou whenua, and regarded as a reserved area of land by Rangitāne. At Mangatoro, for instance, a wooden pou whenua with "a curve like a bird's neck" represented a land use agreement between Rangitāne and the hapū Te Hika o Pāpāuma, in doing so creating an area of neutral ground using direct references to the resources of the forest it encompassed.³⁴ Further north, at Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, a large tōtara named Te Taupa ki Heretaunga represented a significant boundary between the rohe of Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, Ngāti Marau, Ngāi Toroiwaho, and Ngāi Tahu ki Otawhao i Whenuahou. The destruction of this tree during the 1850s apparently resulted in "the perpetrators being ordered off the area," displaying the imperative of local hapū to retain and maintain this ancestral boundary.³⁵ Displaying their continued importance, Māori groups throughout the region occasionally sought to make these customs clear to Crown officials. An 1851 letter authored by Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa landholder Wiremu Paraone Manini explained to McLean that "it is our role to set out the boundary so it is altogether correct," referring authoritatively to the placement of various historic boundary markers throughout the Rangiwhakaoma block.³⁶ A letter from Anaru Rongotua of Kaikōkīrīkī to Lieutenant Governor Edward Eyre mirrored this sentiment, clarifying Māori autonomy in that "the people of each place arrange their own [rights] to suit" during land boundary negotiations.³⁷ Such a practice was widespread and heavily based in tradition. As Anderson et al. concluded in their report of traditional occupation that boundary maintenance and trespassing "often resulted in conflict among groups" across the rohe, extending well into the period of European colonisation.³⁸

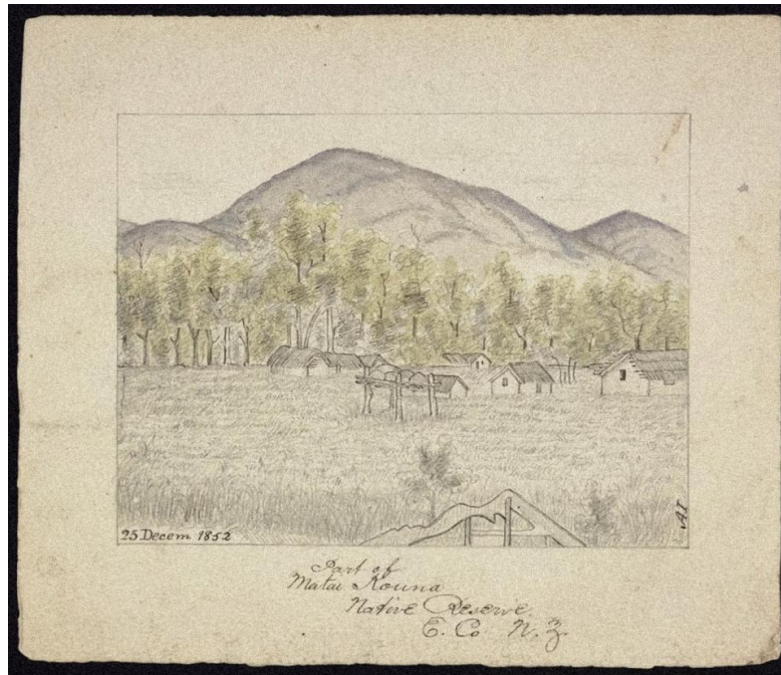


Figure 2: Alexander St. Clair Inglis's sketch of a forested "Native Reserve" near Mataikona on the East Coast of Wairarapa, 1852.³⁹

"To enrich our country": Boundaries, Reserves, and Land Valuation

Following land sales, these ideas of ancestral rights to land continued; moreover, increased emphasis began to be placed on the food and water resources present within forests. In order to counteract alienation from traditionally held land, a number of Māori forest landholders specifically demanded the right to continue mahinga kai and other land use practices even after land was sold. These rights to continued land usage under certain circumstances were significant; at Turakirae, for example, an 1853 land covenant created reserves "at the Patunga-a-Matangi, at the Wairongomai Bush, at Oahanga, at Hinakitaka for the Ngāti Tama residing there, [and] the right of eel-fishing in such places as are or may not be drained by the Europeans," wherein Māori who had traditionally used the land could continue cultivating, harvesting, and utilising forest resources.⁴⁰ Nearby, the 1854 sale of Kahutara Block sought to reserve "all lakes, streams, creeks, and lagoons" for Māori use, though the courts would later nullify this clause.⁴¹

More explicitly addressing the use of timber and plant resources, the agreement selling Whareama Block 2 stated that "the eel fishing is reserved to ourselves. Our cultivation is still to be reserved to us at Mangapiu as a cultivation. The firewood is to be used by Europeans as well as ourselves, a small piece at Waipupu Watahai and at Te Ruru to be reserved as cultivations for us, the firewood to be used by the Europeans and ourselves the firewood for us to be taken at such times as we are living on these cultivations."⁴² Similar provisions for the continued usage of timber existed at the Kaihoata, Whareama, Ruataniwha, and Eastern Lake blocks. Such concessions were also made during the "loose arrangements" surrounding "rental tenure" at "the entrance to the Wairarapa road" and "land on the Ruamahanga," among others, displaying a reluctance among Māori landholders to outright abandon the land and its resources following a single transaction, instead displaying a clear preference towards continued traditional use of forest cultivations and timber stocks.⁴³ From another perspective, these

provisions may also have aided tangata whenua who wished to engage in the European timber trade.⁴⁴ Forest resources were also important to kaihaukai-based diplomacy between hapū, further increasing the level of incentive to keep their stock. Te Wereta, for instance, exchanged a small harvest from peach trees for (among other resources) kūkū, pigs, and freshwater fish during this period, as a means of strengthening links with other hapū in the region.⁴⁵ The continued economic independence and self-sufficiency of Māori landholders during the early period of land sales, then, demonstrably constituted a heavy influence on public attitudes towards forest resource management by iwi, and provisions for reserves amounted partially to a method of preserving this.

The ubiquity of reserve provisions in Māori-written land transfer documents clearly displays the importance of retaining important forest land resources, as well as the fact that Māori subsistence agriculture continued to be a significant part of life across their rohe well after European settlement had begun. Furthermore, the absence of such provisions where these resources were either unavailable or exhausted illustrates the importance of forest flora and fauna throughout the period. While Frederick Weld had asserted "the woods are alive with kakas and pigeons" in the late 1840s, it is clear that this was not necessarily the case.⁴⁶ Indigenous flora and fauna were heavily affected by the introduction and spread of exotic biota, which altered forest resources to the point of severely reduced productivity. European mismanagement of forest resources, such as by indiscriminate burning and clear-cutting, also threatened Māori-stewarded land.⁴⁷ These effects were noticed by Europeans as early as 1843, according to James Beattie, and were the source of considerable anxiety as the colonial programme continued: "the extinction of certain species signalled questionable environmental management."⁴⁸

Māori groups especially noted the negative effects of these European introductions.⁴⁹ At Te Hāwera, in Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, rangatira Karepa Te Hiaro had apparently noticed the decline of bird resources prior to 1849, stating that "the descendants of these birds [were] scarce, gone, dead, hastening to utter extinction," though this did not compel him to sell the land under his administration.⁵⁰ In 1850, however, Kuini Hine-i-paketia, a Ngāti Kahungunu leader and wāhine of mana, announced her intent to sell a significant portion of land at Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua due to the bird life having been extinguished beyond usability by European development.⁵¹ Ani Matenga Te Patukaikino, sister of Te Hapūku, explained that, from Hine-i-paketia's perspective, "they were now waste [lands], the birds and usual food that rendered the land valuable have disappeared ... let us have Europeans to enrich our country and bring goods."⁵² Similarly, McLean wrote in a diary entry of the same year that "the birds of the forest, the native rat, the kiwi, and all the game that rendered this land of value to the natives, have disappeared," recalling Te Hapūku's opinion that a block of land at Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua was now "valueless".⁵³ In the absence of "what sustained them," as Geoff Park suggests, a "willingness to sell" could overrule, to some extent, the fact that local hapū "were clearly reluctant to let go" of historic sites of cultivation.⁵⁴

Even with the widespread disappearance of indigenous wildlife, though, forest land resource provisions continued to be included in deeds, sometimes in direct contempt of forest resource alienation. Te Hapūku, for example, argued that the establishment of reserves on land leased to Europeans "would fill the land and the belly," as opposed to outright sale "which starves both," indicating some optimism for the recovery of the "valueless" land to its previous state. This was despite McLean's claims that the land merely consisted of "rotten trees and decayed

vegetation".⁵⁵ Similarly, Wiremu Te Potangaroa of Rangiwahakaoma requested that McLean overlook his "poor and hilly country" in the interests of preserving a lease arrangement with runholder Thomas Guthrie, which included "a great portion" of land important to traditional horticultural practices.⁵⁶

The juxtaposition of these seemingly contradictory situations reveals the conflicting narratives that Māori were forced to navigate in their ownership and stewardship of forest land resources; reserves could prove valuable where resources were present, but their ability to be cultivated or harvested was contentious and sometimes unreliable. Nonetheless, the establishment of forest reserves and the reluctance to cheaply sell "waste land," as Te Hapūku advocated, remains broadly representative of a tendency towards preserving traditional cultivation and gathering practices during this period.

Even following the establishment of reserves, boundaries continued to act as a source of political conflict among local hapū, alongside the sufficiency of resources available upon reserved whenua and uncertainty regarding the permanence of these easements. At Tauwharenikau and Taratahi, for example, Māori former landholders continued to use the land without restrictions even following its final sale, objecting to their abandonment of the land until reserve boundaries were more clearly defined, and the terms of their use elucidated.⁵⁷ Demands for unambiguous definitions regarding reserves "erupted at every new settlement," as Park notes.⁵⁸ This was likely agitated by the Survey Office's policy of carrying out surveys at "the utmost economy," leaving many boundaries undefined, usually to the Crown's ultimate benefit.⁵⁹ On a personal level, McLean was known for his disregard for Māori methods of boundary marking, and had on more than one occasion neglected to mention important resources during land acquisition surveys.⁶⁰

In response to European exceptions to his people's continued use of traditionally-held forest resources, Ngātūere, who occupied land at Taratahi, asserted "the prices are not what I had asked for, so that is why I have said that the land surveying procedures of the land that was given to the Government are not yet clear to us ... but let these obstructive methods come to light until the problem is solved, then another method will be presented."⁶¹ Ngātūere, here, explained the reasoning behind the perceivably uncooperative attitude that many occupiers took towards ill-defined reserve borders; that is, to continue to use forest land as they normally would, until the reserves' borders were made sufficiently clear.⁶² Similarly, Ngāti Kahungunu landholders Raima Henare Te Rahui and Hamuera Pakaiahi at Kaikōkīrīkīrī would inform Crown surveyor Henry Tacy Kemp that "even though the boundary lines have been proclaimed to you, well, listen ... these lands will not be given over to you, never; we will continue to retain them all," directly responding to the poor quality of European survey boundaries and disputing their veracity.⁶³

Māori responses to the creation of reserves could also take more neutral forms; for example, prominent rangatira Wī Kingi Tutepakihirangi and Manihera negotiated a sale for three shillings an acre under the pretence that they would re-purchase the land at a later date to be turned into a reserve for Matiaha Mokai.⁶⁴ The boundaries of this forest reserve were also strictly defined using trees as survey markers – "from the Shady Tree ... to Opaiwi's Totara" – further reinforcing Matiaha's proposed usage for the land following the purchase.⁶⁵ Similarly, a block of land at Matau-a-Māui, consisting of "very good land ... it had large areas without any bush on it, and easy access," had a single small, wooded reserve bounded by a forested

ridgeline; while this would later be cleared, the practice of reserving forest land within a highly pastoral area remains significant.⁶⁶ The practice of selling land with a stipulation that it could be purchased back in the form of a reserve was not uncommon in Wairarapa. This may have been done in order to obtain Crown grants to certain blocks or sections; this was certainly the case at Wairarapa Moana, which Raniera sold "under an understanding that he should have a Crown Grant for a block of land bounded by the Lake and Turanganui River on the one side, and inland by the Te Kope road to the coast."⁶⁷ Regardless, the definition and maintenance of boundaries, specific terms for land use and retention, and financial negotiations were a source of debate and conflict among Māori landholders regarding the sale and reservation of forested land.

At Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, similar concerns about the reservation of the local forests were raised at a number of Rangitāne meetings throughout the decade, this time concerning maintenance of connections with whakapapa and tūpuna. The rohe contained most of Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga, the "Seventy Mile Bush" which covered land from Pāpāwai to Taniwaka. This forest was significant to Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu strategically, culturally, and economically due to its large reserves of timber, as well as birds and edible plants.⁶⁸ Moreover, the area's connections to Whātonga, "the grandfather of Rangitāne," made the region especially significant to local hapū as a site of "embedded tribal authority, sacredness, spirit and tribal knowledge," as Peter Meihana and Margaret Forster note.⁶⁹ The sale of this heavily forested land was a common source of contention among such opposing Māori groups. Hoani Meihana, a leader with "great influence" among hapū within western and central Rangitāne, had been negotiating with both Europeans and Māori for some time by the end of the 1850s, in an attempt to consolidate the opinions and connections of tangata whenua.⁷⁰ Meihana was generally known as an educated diplomat among Rangitāne hapū, and is mentioned in waiata as a figure steeped in "leadership, diplomacy, and humanitarianism".⁷¹ This is likely to have given him mana in the context of land resource sales and transfers, especially those as significant as that of Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga.⁷²

In 1852, Meihana assembled a number of kaumātua at Puketōtara to compile a "history of the land," an act that would solidify claims to Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga between hapū and within the iwi itself. At some unspecified date soon afterwards, Meihana called another meeting of kaumātua to "discuss the leasing of land," specifically those previously discussed by Harawira. At both of these meetings, whakapapa were extensively discussed and verified by members of the caucus. Aperahama Te Rautahi, a major landholder at Ākitio, verified that the tūpuna Rangitāne and Whātonga had held parts of the land in question, for example.⁷³ These proceedings display the high importance of forested land to Rangitāne leaders, who were greatly concerned with verifying ownership rights to land with high levels of timber resources such as this. While kaumātua present were, universally, reported by Meihana as "not being in opposition re the leases," it is clear that they nonetheless placed a great emphasis on the land tenure of Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga, displaying the unique spiritual and ancestral connections that they had with this forested land. In the words of Wī Matua, who attended a meeting at Porangahau, "natives know all the marks on their own lands ... thorough knowledge of the land implies long residence".⁷⁴

Concerns about the maintenance of these connections to the forest and its land evidently amounted to an important aspect of navigating land leases, and, with it, public opinions on forest land ownership. The hapū of Wairarapa, throughout the decade following 1850, were

heavily connected to forested land through long-held records of ancestry and inter-tribal relations, and information was generally available regarding this on an individual level.⁷⁵ Ancestral claims often defined Māori collective opinions on land sales and the marking of boundaries, especially on forested land.

"Kill right out this quarrel": Dialogue and Direct Action

As the British imperial project continued to aggressively expand into Wairarapa over the following decades, Māori opinions on forested land would continue to surround the ability to use resources in a traditional manner, as well as the preservation of historical boundaries and sites of ancestral importance. An 1890 Land Court hearing at Kaitoki Marae displays the great extent to which this applied to hapū throughout the rohe surrounding Wairarapa. Several residents and labourers gave evidence for the long-term use of Puketoi Block 6, a forested area on the edge of a small mountain range, concerning the period encompassing the 1850s to the early 1870s. Timber harvesting and its effects on the land were at the centre of this examination. One former resident, named as Tawhai, stated "I had a house there and cultivated there. I also leased the central portion of the land on the western boundary ... for tōtara timber. I ceased cultivating on this land in 1874 ... I have also shot birds on this land and wild cattle and pigs - and caught eels."⁷⁶ Traditional methods of cultivation and food gathering from the forest, including the trapping of kūkū and tuna, had evidently endured throughout this period. A European settler named Robert Smith, notably, described a form of traditional Māori forest land usage incorporating European tree crops; that there were "camping whares on this land. The peach trees are outside this land near the Mangatoro stream. I have cut timber near the Mangatoro stream ... They used to shoot pigeons on this land, and huias. There was a track on the northern boundary."⁷⁷ "The peach trees" continued to be used under the general scope of mahinga kai throughout the remainder of Māori occupation on the block, representing a continuation of resource gathering methods notably documented in the case of Te Wereta some decades earlier.⁷⁸ Traditional methods of land use clearly remained current within Māori opinions of forest resource management and transfer.

Other witnesses to the use of Puketoi Block 6 noted that ancestral, social, and spiritual connections to the forest continued to be observed. Hori Herehere recalled that there were several forest settlements on the Puketoi block: Whawhapo and Poho-o-niwaniwa were settlements dedicated to the seasonal round of forest resource gathering, which was universally managed by customarily observing rāhui. The area near Poho-o-Niwaniwa also housed several urupā, reinforcing the importance of whakapapa among these scattered centres of habitation.⁷⁹ Land claims related to the block reinforce that whakapapa remained important to ownership throughout the period. Paora Te Rangiwhakaewa, a claimant at Mangatoro, faced some competition from other signatories such as Te Hapuku and Niania during a sale in 1854; these claims continued to be complicated by the shared whakapapa of many of the hapū resident in the area, such as Te-Hika-o-Pāpāuma and Ngāti Hamua.⁸⁰ Such relations, according to Ballara, contributed to a sense of shared control over forest resources, "particularly in the Puketoi area," and led to a complex system of collective forest land management as a result; this evidently endured throughout the most intensive period of land sales.⁸¹ Moreover, timber gathering was apparently restricted to European-leased portions of land, indicating some level of concern regarding collectivised resource conservation, and the successful negotiation of forest resource reserves on the part of some of these Māori landholders.⁸² Clearly, traditional methods of forest land management were still paramount to the hapū at Puketoi, providing resources vital to subsistence farming and gathering; while European land use nonetheless affected the block, the

remaining Māori population at Mangatoro continued to observe historical environmentally-centred traditions.

The disruption of traditional forest land use practices eventually led to significant political and social unrest across the rohe. The settler-colonial development of roads and railways through Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga fomented considerable dissent among many Māori, some of whom objected to the perceived low rate of payment given for traditionally-held blocks used primarily for horticulture and seasonal gathering. Expository of a systemic problem within the European regime of land sales, Māori landholders would deny the "customary acceptance" of Crown purchases if the amount received for their "most productive resource environments" was less than agreed; often, the Crown would deliberately pay less, claiming, according to Ballara, that the agreed amount exceeded that allowed by law.⁸³ As anthropologist Wendy Pond notes, "actions by the Crown deprived hapū of their economic and social interests in flora and fauna resources" both by misrepresenting the amount of compensation offered for forest land and by aggressively ignoring requests for forest reserves if "the best cultivable land" was situated in such an area.⁸⁴

This resistance amounted to a form of civil disobedience among a people increasingly "inhibited from protesting" by the British imperial establishment, and a significant watershed in the political sphere for the "huge problem of land loss" among the Wairarapa iwi whānui.⁸⁵ For instance, Tamati Waka, a Ngāti Kahungunu landholder at Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, related to McLean in 1852 that he perceived the Crown's "proposal for the land" to be insultingly small in terms of compensation, as the deal "includ[ed] the bush" on the block: "the price for the land should be very large indeed ... [you should] give me a steamer and a man-o'-war ... you cannot know the advantage of the little finger on your hand until it drops to the ground and cannot be found in the undergrowth."⁸⁶ Ngātūere's remarks at an 1860 conference at Kohimarama mirror such a concern for the ability of Māori to continue traditional activities in the region of Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga. Responding to McLean's claims that Māori landholders in the area were "completely ignorant," Ngātūere commented that "Ministers were first to come to Wairarapa; they brought us Christianity; and they taught us to forsake the old customs; they pulled up by the roots the Māori customs, and they became quite dry ... this land has been the cause of all our troubles ... Kill right out this quarrel; let it be quite finished."⁸⁷ Significantly, these comments rhetorically unified "the old customs" of mahinga kai and forest land occupation in lending value to the whenua. This line of thinking was evident in contemporary land transfer discourses. A current of opposition to further purchases or development specifically on forest blocks making up Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga south of Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua had become clear to the Crown by 1857, when District Commissioner George Sisson Cooper wrote that "I am inclined to think that they will object to treat for the sale of the Bush lands ... [they] remain unsatisfied by the Government."⁸⁸ By 1863, the campaign had advanced to the point of direct action against forest clearance and pastoralism, including the dismantling of a plantation at Te Oreore.⁸⁹

Quickly, the alienation of forest land and its associated practices and connections was becoming an increasingly pertinent topic among Māori politicians and leaders. As this discourse continued over the next two decades, the significance of forest land preservation to the wider land-based protest movement across the rohe became increasingly clear. While economic factors remained central to the campaign, the maintenance of forest-based traditions,

including whakapapa connections to whenua and mahinga kai, evidently constituted some substantial part of efforts to halt land acquisition and clearance in the district.



Figure 3: A Rangitāne urupā in the vicinity of Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua.⁹⁰

A "chain reaction": Perceived Declines and Acquiescences in the Later Period

Nonetheless, some leaders appeared more neutral on the issue of Crown acquisitions of forest land, indicating that Ngātuere's dissent was far from universal. Indeed, some Māori workers were employed in European forest felling and milling during this period.⁹¹ However, even these more neutral parties faced questions regarding whakapapa, tūrangawaewae, and mana whenua. As the period continued, localised extinctions of forest and river fauna such as huia, upokororo, koaro, and kokopu would affect the value-form encompassed by Māori-owned forest land "apace with their loss of whenua," resulting in cultural shifts regarding the retention of forest land.⁹² The increasing influence of "the chain reaction of European colonisation" also necessitated a series of re-evaluations in an economic sense.⁹³

A prominent example of these changes can be found in the "heavily timbered" Mangatainoka block, the largest designated division of Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga, which was originally designated as a Rangitāne reserve throughout the Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua transaction until August 1871.⁹⁴ However, the land was arranged to be sold by March 1873, when Te Hiaro, Te Peeti te Aweawe, and Hoani Meihana of Rangitāne signed an agreement to be paid an advance fee for Crown development on the block.⁹⁵ This "lucrative" forested land was culturally significant to Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua. According to Meihana, "their dead were buried there; it was endeared to the people by old associations, and it would require time to remove their prejudices against parting with it."⁹⁶ An article of 1871 following the sale simply stated that "this discussion is not a discussion worthy of newspapers; it is not news that people across the motu are dying to hear."⁹⁷ However, environmental changes affecting the usability of forest resources at Mangatainoka, propelled by clear-cutting and burning by European settlers in other parts of the district, would motivate Meihana and his allies to acquiesce to Crown demands for

purchase.⁹⁸ Local hapū had been heavily affected by recent flooding, for instance, at the confluence of the Mangatainoka and Manawatū rivers, exacerbated by European forest clearance to the south and west.⁹⁹ As well as significantly reducing annual harvests, this ecological change was also detrimental to the continuation of political action, directly preventing, in September 1871, the rangatira Nireaha Tāmaki of Ngāti Hamua from attending a session of the Native Land Court at Pāpāwai.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, internal disagreements among Rangitāne leaders regarding the block's boundaries and stewardship made landholders especially susceptible to the Crown's aggressive expansion into the district.¹⁰¹ This complex of rapid economic and environmental change eventually resulted in a begrudging acquiescence on part of the landholders.¹⁰²

Public opinion on forest land resource use and preservation continued to be polarised and highly variable during this period, with advocacy for forest land reservation declining in later years among Māori. As Crown interpreter James Grindell noted in 1872, "the views ... on this subject have recently undergone a change ... the feeling amongst the people in favour of selling is increasing."¹⁰³ Due to the aforementioned British imperial expansionist methods, mahinga kai practices on forested land, while distinctly continuing in various forms throughout the later nineteenth century, began to decline from their previous widespread status. The testimonies of some inhabitants of Puketoi, for example, describe that, aside from occasional hunting activities, there were very few Māori using the forest to gather food, instead either choosing to abandon the land altogether, or supplant traditional cultivations with European pastoral agriculture on cleared land.¹⁰⁴ Many cleared forest land for use in farming wheat and cattle following the settlement of Europeans nearby; other Rangitāne tangata whenua found employment as forest guides and ferry operators at the nearby rivers, occupations that generally relied on a steady presence of European settlers in the area.¹⁰⁵ Another witness reported that his family had ceased mahinga kai practices at Mangatainoka prior to 1853, but occasionally ventured there to hunt poaka, kūkū, tuna, and kiore.¹⁰⁶ Land Court hearings put forward the idea that the forested part of the Puketoi Range was entirely unoccupied.¹⁰⁷ By 1874, a significant proportion of Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua at Puketoi were engaging in "settled cultivation" activities rather than traditional land resource use, occurring due to changes wrought by European settlement.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, it may have proved more economically viable for hapū to switch to a more sedentary food production model with the introduction and widespread adoption of European cereal crops.¹⁰⁹ Regardless, such a shift in public opinion among some Māori groups represents an important turning point in socio-political attitudes towards forest land use at this time.

However, claims of the complete abandonment of areas within Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga were likely embellished during Land Court processes, reflecting that opinions among Māori likely varied in nature. Occupation of Puketoi in a traditional manner certainly continued in some capacity. At Tutaekara, in 1885, an occupied pā was documented by surveyors, and settlers noted that Māori "did not wish to part with their best food producing area. They relied on water, eels, and pipis from the rivers and their kumara ... and birds from the bush."¹¹⁰ A well-maintained bridle path through the bush also existed at 1880, displaying that there was at least some continuous traditional occupation in the area.¹¹¹ Moreover, an 1880 survey of Mangatainoka noted a number of occupied pā sites and kāinga alongside mahinga and māra kai, indicating that the site remained a significant place of forest land resource use.¹¹² Concerted opposition to European expansion into traditional sites of gathering also prevailed, to some extent, in the region. During the 1870s, such opposition had influenced local rangatira

Wirihana Kaimokopuna to hesitate "for a considerable time before affixing his signature" to documents related to land transfer or Public Works initiatives in the forested blocks.¹¹³ While mahinga kai and traditional subsistence cultivation on the Puketoi forest land certainly experienced some form of decline, representing a trend throughout the entire Wairarapa, some occupation in this manner clearly endured up to and including 1874. Although the increasing popularity of pastoralism and ecological changes in the region displaced a significant amount of forest-based traditional occupation throughout the period, Māori continued to use forest land resources for hunting, food gathering, and settlement.



Figure 4: Crawford's sketch of Mangatainoka, displaying heavily forested land.¹¹⁴

"Our descendants will benefit": Māori and Crown Politics, 1874

Māori throughout the region also engaged with European governmental efforts towards forest land acquisition and conservation, including the New Zealand Forests Act, passed on 31 August 1874. This Act restricted development and exploitation of certain areas of forest, which were to be designated "as the General Assembly shall ... from time to time determine," and included areas under lease as well as reserves of forest land that had been previously marked.¹¹⁵ Across the motu, reception to the Act among Māori and Māori language newspapers was mostly positive, although considerable discussion existed on the matter. The "Hua o te Mohiotanga ma nga Tangata Maori" column in the *Hawke's Bay Times*, for example, reported on discourse surrounding the Act following Vogel's initial proposal. The column was administrated by editor Robert Coupland Harding, a printer who had trained under missionary William Colenso. As Jenifer Curnow notes, the column was likely written by translator John White and Wairarapa-based runholder Henry Russell, Repudiationist allies of Hēnare and Karaitiana Tomoana who had a vested - and partially financial - interest in publishing Māori points of view regarding land alienation.¹¹⁶ The paper published statements of support for the Act, promoting, to Ahuriri and Wairarapa tangata whenua, the idea that "[our] descendants will benefit greatly from the practice of this law."¹¹⁷ Opposition to the Act, as depicted in the *Times*' summary of discussion,

generally surrounded the idea that the law solely existed for the Crown to supersede lease agreements in the pursuit of profit at the expense of Māori lessees. White and Russell also noted Manawatū politician Walter Woods Johnston's position: "the practices of that law are a means of collecting funds for the Government."¹¹⁸ This view highlights one popular opinion held by Māori concerning the Act; that it would simply divert the earnings of tangata whenua within forested areas into Crown hands, a concern similar to that of Ngātuere at Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga.¹¹⁹

The presentation of multiple views on the Forests Act reflects, to an extent, the significance of the Act to Māori at the time. Te Haeru of Ngāti Porou asserted in a letter to the Provincial Superintendent of Auckland that "with [Māori] alone is the control of our land," placing tino rangatiratanga at the forefront of the issues presented by the Act.¹²⁰ Another writer submitted: "I would not depart from any arrangement, nor will I alter my previous thought until the termination of the period agreed upon," concerning previous timber-cutting agreements, showing a clear economic basis for opposing the Act.¹²¹ In spite of a divided opinion among Māori throughout the rohe, the Act had great significance as part of the ongoing debates over forest land conservation, exploitation, and alienation, and allowing dissenting and agreeing views alike to come to light.

Most significantly, however, other authors sought to highlight, as White and Russell had, the importance of whakapapa to forest land resource management. One letter, apparently instigated by Vogel's initial speech on the matter, stated that "this land ... belongs to our children," stressing the importance of retaining forest land resources either by rāhui or Crown proclamation for the sake of landholders' descendants and the continuation of traditional ways of life.¹²² A letter in *Te Waka Maori* echoed this sentiment, writing from Te Taperenui-a-Whātonga "I entirely approve of protecting and preserving forests ... In the present day the birds are but few, and the kaka and the kakariki have almost disappeared ... These pretty birds, harbingers of the year, where are they?"¹²³ The Forests Act of 1874, in this way, represented a conservation effort to which Māori could widely engage within the confines of Crown discourse. The diverse range of viewpoints and ideas associated with the Act display its significance in the eyes of Māori across the rohe, who related to it from economic, spiritual, and cultural standpoints. Moreover, debates surrounding the Act reveal the significance that preservation of forest land resources had to many in the region and beyond, both as a part of history and a potential part of the future.

Conclusion

Throughout the decades leading up to 1874, hapū throughout the Wairarapa and Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe continued to observe the spiritual and cultural practices that had previously defined their interactions with forest land resources. The furthering of European land sales, and the ultimate alienation of land resources from Māori, gave rise to discussions about reserving areas that held a level of cultural importance, including forest land. Moreover, the general reluctance among Māori to abandon forest land altogether often tied into concepts of whakapapa and mana whenua, wherein ancestral connections to landforms were given increased significance in the face of potential land loss. Dissent over Europeans' tendencies to offer inadequate compensation for acquired land also played a role in Māori interactions with the forest during this time. The decades following 1850 also marked a decline in the traditional food-gathering Māori had practiced in the region, although mahinga kai, subsistence farming, and the use of

boundary markers to govern land resource usage certainly continued throughout this time. Overall, Māori engaged significantly in efforts to protect traditional methods of forest living, ensuring the continuation of the "conservation ethic" observed in earlier periods.¹²⁴ Wairarapa Māori continued to define their interactions with forests and their resources through the observation of traditional practices of food gathering and cultivation, as well as the extensive systems of whakapapa and spiritual connection that had affected Māori societies since their arrival in the region. Debates and discourses over forests provided iwi and hapū opportunities to consolidate political and social movements encompassing conservation, forest land resource management, and early movements in preserving unique aspects of their cultural heritage. More broadly, these debates and discussions aided Māori involvement in Crown political causes alongside their own, allowing for new forms of dialogue between iwi and colonial governments surrounding environmental issues. The development of Māori public opinions on forestry and its associations, then, represent an integral part of socio-cultural history in Wairarapa and its environs.

¹ Ihaka Te Haterei to Donald McLean, 13 September 1853, MS-Papers-0032-0677B, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL).

² Geoff Park, *Nga Uruora = The Groves of Life: Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995); Geoff Park, *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape & Whenua* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006).

³ Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation, 1769-1945* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998); Angela Ballara, *Taua: 'Musket Wars,' 'Land Wars,' or Tikanga? Warfare in Māori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003); Angela Ballara, "The origins of Ngāti Kahungunu" (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1991).

⁴ Robyn Anderson, Steve Kerr, and Garth Cant, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

⁵ Patrick Parsons and Dorothy Ropiha, *Rangitāne o Tamakinui a Rua Traditional History Report* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, February 2003).

⁶ Adapted from R. D. Hill, "The Vegetation of Wairarapa in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Tuatara*, 11, no. 2 (1963), 85.

⁷ C. L. McBean, "Ranger: The Evolution of the Role of a Protected Resource Manager" (Master's thesis, University of Lincoln, 1992), 28.

⁸ M. McGlone, "Science, policy, and sustainable indigenous forestry in New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of Forestry Science* 52, no. 8 (2022): 5.

⁹ B. A. R. Card, P. C. Ensor, G. L. Holgate, B. H. Hutchinson, J. H. C. Morris, and J. M. Wardell, *Pastoral High Country: Proposed Tenure Changes and the Public Interest – A Case Study* (Christchurch: Centre for Resource Management, University of Canterbury and Lincoln College, 1983), 31-32.

¹⁰ *Dominion*, 25 October 1927, 23.

¹¹ Ian Pool, *Colonization and Development in New Zealand between 1769 and 1900: The Seeds of Rangiatea* (New York: Springer, 2015), 223.

¹² Pool, *Colonization*, 223.

¹³ Brad Patterson, "Laagers in the Wilderness: The Origins of Pastoralism in the Southern North Island Districts, 1840-55," *Stout Centre Review*, 1, no. 3 (1991), 8.

¹⁴ Pool, *Colonization*, 223.

¹⁵ Ballara, *Iwi*, 141.

¹⁶ Ballara, *Iwi*, 138-139.

¹⁷ Ballara, *Iwi*, 196-197.

¹⁸ Ballara, *Iwi*, 197-198.

-
- ¹⁹ Park, *Theatre Country*, 132.
- ²⁰ Park, *Theatre Country*, 142.
- ²¹ Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 56-58.
- ²² Harawira to Grey, July 16, 1851, ATL [in Te Reo Māori].
- ²³ J. Cowan, *Sir Donald Maclean* (Wellington: Reed, 1940), 63.
- ²⁴ Te Tatere Harawira Mahikai to George Grey, July 16, 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0675F, ATL.
- ²⁵ Wairarapa Māori to Donald McLean, September 19, 1853, MS-Papers-0032-0677B, ATL [in Te Reo Māori].
- ²⁶ Charles H. Louis Pelichet to Donald McLean, April 28 1852, MS-Papers-0032-0499, ATL.
- ²⁷ Ballara, *Iwi*, 197-198.
- ²⁸ Ropata Te Waeriki to Donald McLean, 2 May 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0675D, ATL [in Te Reo Māori].
- ²⁹ Wairarapa Māori to Donald McLean, September 19, 1853, MS-Papers-0032-0677B, ATL [in Te Reo Māori].
- ³⁰ Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 41.
- ³¹ Hanita Te Aweawe, "Ngapaeruru hearing," Native Land Court Minute Book 24, 266-267, March 1892, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 66-67.
- ³² Hoani Meihana, "Ngapaeruru hearing," Native Land Court Minute Book 24, 213, March 1892, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 66-67.
- ³³ William Colenso, journal, April 4, 1850, qMS-0487-0489, ATL.
- ³⁴ Hori Herehere, "Mangatoro partition hearing," Native Land Court Minute Book 23, 15, September 1891, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 71.
- ³⁵ Tiratu-Tipapakuku Reunion Committee, *Tiratu-Tipapakuku District Reunion 1994* (Dannevirke: Tiratu-Tipapakuku Reunion Committee, 1994), quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 51.
- ³⁶ Wi Paraone to Donald McLean, 29 April 1851, MS-Papers-0032-0676B, ATL [in Te Reo Māori].
- ³⁷ Anaru Rongotua to Edward Eyre, 5 November 1848, MS-Papers-0032-0672E, ATL [in Te Reo Māori].
- ³⁸ Anderson et al., *Wairarapa ki Tararua*, 7-8.
- ³⁹ Alexander St. Clair Inglis, "Part of Matai Kouna native reserve," 1852, A-458-017, ATL.
- ⁴⁰ A. MacKay, "Claims Of Natives to Wairarapa Lakes and Adjacent Lands," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1891, session II, G-04, 2-3.
- ⁴¹ MacKay, "Claims," 2-3.
- ⁴² H. H. Turton, *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand* (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1878), 2:279.
- ⁴³ R. H. Wynyard, "Message, no. 19," *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, 1854, session II, 1; Patterson, "Laagers," 10-11.
- ⁴⁴ Mike Roche, *History of New Zealand Forestry* (Wellington: New Zealand Forestry Corporation, Ltd., in association with GP Books, 1990), 61-62.
- ⁴⁵ G Mair, "Maori Occupation in the Wairarapa during the Protohistoric Period," in *Prehistoric Man in Palliser Bay*, ed. H Leach and B. F. Leach (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2020), 24.
- ⁴⁶ Anderson et al., *Wairarapa ki Tararua*, 9.
- ⁴⁷ Park, *Theatre Country*, 27; Ballara, *Iwi*, 239.
- ⁴⁸ James Beattie, "Climate Change, Forest Conservation and Science: A Case Study of New Zealand, 1860s-1920," *History of Meteorology*, 5, no. 1 (2009), 4.
- ⁴⁹ Park, *Theatre Country*, 230.
- ⁵⁰ J. B. Marsden and S. Marsden, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of the Reverend Samuel Marsden of Paramatta* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1858), 302.
- ⁵¹ Bryan Gilling, *Lands, Funds, and Resources: Aspects of the Economic History of Māori in Wairarapa ki Tararua since 1840* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, November 2004), 56.
- ⁵² Donald McLean, journal entry, 26 March 1851, MS-Papers-1232, ATL.
- ⁵³ Donald McLean, journal entry, 16-17 December 1850, MS-1231-1240, ATL.
- ⁵⁴ Park, *Nga Uruora*, 131.
- ⁵⁵ Donald McLean, journal entry, April 18, 1851, MS-Papers-1232, ATL.

-
- ⁵⁶ Donald McLean, journal entry, n. d., MS-1231-1240, ATL.
- ⁵⁷ Ngātūere Tawhirimatea Tawhao, letter to the editor, *Karere o Poneke*, 6 September 1858, 3.
- ⁵⁸ Park, *Nga Uruora*, 236.
- ⁵⁹ B. R. Patterson, *The Pre-1865 Wairarapa Land Purchase Surveys* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, September 1998), 9-10.
- ⁶⁰ Park, *Nga Uruora*, 133; Ballara, *Iwi*, 285.
- ⁶¹ Ngātūere Tawhirimatea Tawhao, letter to the editor, *Karere o Poneke*, September 6, 1858, 3 [in Te Reo Māori].
- ⁶² Park, *Nga Uruora*, 134; Park, *Theatre Country*, 127.
- ⁶³ Raima Henare Te Rahui and Hamuera Pakaiahi to Henry Tacy Kemp, 19 December 1848, MS-Papers-0032-0672F, ATL.
- ⁶⁴ Turton, *Deeds*, 2:202 [in Te Reo Māori].
- ⁶⁵ Turton, *Deeds*, 2:468 [in Te Reo Māori].
- ⁶⁶ Turton, *Deeds*, 2:503-504; Joy Hippolite, *Wairoa ki Wairarapa: The Hawkes Bay Purchases* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, February 12, 1992), 10.
- ⁶⁷ Donald McLean to Civil Secretary, September 7, 1853, *British Parliamentary Papers* 10:277-278, quoted in Barry Rigby and Andrew Francis, *Wairarapa Crown Purchases 1853-1854* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, December 2002), 35.
- ⁶⁸ Peter Meihana and Margaret Forster, "Pouwhenua: Marking and storying the ancestral landscape," *Ethical Space: International Journal of Communication Ethics*, 20, no. 3 (2023), 16-17.
- ⁶⁹ Meihana and Forster, "Pouwhenua," 4.
- ⁷⁰ Thomas M. Cook to Donald McLean, March 8, 1860, MS-Papers-0032-0225, ATL; *AJHR*, 1854, session I, F-19, 2-3.
- ⁷¹ Rawiri Tinirau and Debi Marshall-Lobb, "Pupuruhia Tō Manawaroa: Holding Steadfast to Our Enduring Covenants of Peace: Designing Rangitāne Waiata as Educative Tools in the Transmission of Knowledge and Understanding Across Generations," in *Te Tatau Pounamu: The Greenstone Door*, ed. J. S. Te Rito (Auckland: Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, 2008), 307-308.
- ⁷² Ministry of Education, *Kurahaupo patere* (Wellington: Ministry of Education, 2012); K. L. Jones, *Ngā Tohuwhenua Mai Te Rangi: A New Zealand Archeology in Aerial Photographs*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994), 167-181.
- ⁷³ Hoani Meihana, "Ngapaeruru hearing," Native Land Court Minute Book 24, 210, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 57-58.
- ⁷⁴ Wi Matua, "Porangahau re-hearing," Native Land Court Minute Book 13, 408, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 57-59.
- ⁷⁵ Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 60.
- ⁷⁶ Tawhai, "Puketoi no. 6 hearing," Otaki Native Land Court Minute Book 13, 404, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 59.
- ⁷⁷ Robert Smith, "Puketoi no. 6 hearing," Otaki Native Land Court Minute Book 13, 410, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 59.
- ⁷⁸ Robert Smith, "Puketoi no. 6 hearing," Otaki Native Land Court Minute Book 13, 410, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 59; Mair, "Maori Occupation," 24.
- ⁷⁹ Hori Herehere, "Mangatoro partition hearing," Native Land Court Minute Book 23, 14, quoted in Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 59.
- ⁸⁰ Anderson et al., *Wairarapa ki Tararua*, 159.
- ⁸¹ Anderson et al., *Wairarapa ki Tararua*, 6.
- ⁸² Parsons and Ropiha, *Tamakinui a Rua*, 59.
- ⁸³ Ballara, *Iwi*, 262; Geoff Park, "'Swamps which might doubtless Easily be drained': Swamp drainage and its impact on the Indigenous," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson & Tom Brooking (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 158.
- ⁸⁴ Park, *Nga Uruora*, 132-137; Wendy Pond, *The Land With All Woods And Waters* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1997), 21.

-
- ⁸⁵ Ballara, *Iwi*, 262.
- ⁸⁶ Tamati Waka to Donald McLean, 22 June 1852, MS-Papers-0032-0676C, ATL [in Te Reo Māori].
- ⁸⁷ *Lyttelton Times*, July 1860, 28, 3.
- ⁸⁸ George Sisson Cooper to Donald McLean, "Wairarapa," March 29, 1857, quoted in *AJHR*, 1862, session I, C-01, no. 29.
- ⁸⁹ Gilling, *Lands, Funds, and Resources*, 123-124.
- ⁹⁰ Leslie Adkin, "Pokapoka - an old native grave on the bank of Manawatu River at Tahitiki, believed to be the burial place of a personage of the Rangitane tribe," April 12, 1936, A.007026, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Collections.
- ⁹¹ *Te Waka Maori*, 21 October 1865, 39.
- ⁹² Pond, *Woods and Waters*, 123.
- ⁹³ Park, *Nga Uruora*, 133.
- ⁹⁴ James Grindell to Minister for Public Works, May 31, 1872, quoted in *AJHR*, 1873, Session I, G-08, no. 41.
- ⁹⁵ O'Leary, *Motuhake a Rangitāne*, 54-55.
- ⁹⁶ James Grindell to Minister for Public Works, May 31, 1872, quoted in *AJHR*, 1873, Session I, G-08, no. 41.
- ⁹⁷ *Te Waka Maori*, December 2, 1871, 11 [in Te Reo Māori].
- ⁹⁸ Peter McBurney, Sarah Bradley, and Violetta Manetto Quick, *Cultural Impact Assessment for the proposed wind farm by Pahiatua Wind Ltd, near Makomako Road, Pahiatua* (Auckland: Ardmore History Research, 2025), 44.
- ⁹⁹ O'Brien and McClean, *Environmental Issues*, 22.
- ¹⁰⁰ O'Brien and McClean, *Environmental Issues*, 22; O'Leary, *Motuhake a Rangitāne*, 54.
- ¹⁰¹ O'Leary, *Motuhake a Rangitāne*, 55.
- ¹⁰² James Grindell to Minister for Public Works, May 31, 1872, quoted in *AJHR*, 1873, Session I, G-08, no. 41.
- ¹⁰³ James Grindell to Minister for Public Works, May 31, 1872, quoted in *AJHR*, 1873, Session I, G-08, no. 41.
- ¹⁰⁴ Gilling, *Lands, Funds, and Resources*, 54.
- ¹⁰⁵ Rangitāne o Wairarapa, Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, Rangitāne Tu Mai Ra Trust, and New Zealand Government, *Deed of Settlement Schedule: Documents* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.), 4.
- ¹⁰⁶ Anderson et al., *Wairarapa ki Tararua*, 824.
- ¹⁰⁷ Gilling, *Lands, Funds, and Resources*, 54; S. Oliver, *Tararua District Environmental Issues Report* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2004), 29.
- ¹⁰⁸ Gilling, *Lands, Funds, and Resources*, 54-55; Oliver, *Environmental Issues Report*, 29.
- ¹⁰⁹ Anderson et al., *Wairarapa ki Tararua*, 824.
- ¹¹⁰ C. J. Carle, *Forty Mile Bush*, (Woodville: North Wairarapa News, 1980), 110.
- ¹¹¹ Carle, *Forty Mile Bush*, 110; ChanceryGreen, *Archaeological Assessment: Puketoi Wind Farm* (Auckland: ChanceryGreen, 2011), 14.
- ¹¹² R. O'Brien and R. McClean, *Environmental Issues Overview Report for the Tararua District Scoping Report* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2001), 20.
- ¹¹³ Angela Ballara and Gary Scott, *Claimants report to the Waitangi Tribunal. Crown Purchases of Maori Land in early Provincial Hawke's Bay* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1994), 53.
- ¹¹⁴ James Coutts Crawford, "Banks of Maunga Tai Noko, 40' Bush," March 24, 1860, E-172-023, ATL.
- ¹¹⁵ New Zealand Forests Act 1874, 38 Victoriae 1874, no. 24, articles 6-7 (1874).
- ¹¹⁶ Jenifer Curnow, "A Brief History of Māori-Language Newspapers," in *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language, and Politics in the Māori-Language Newspapers*, ed. Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Kaihine Hopa, and Jane McRae (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), 24; P. G. Parkinson, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900: An annotated bibliography* (Auckland: Reed, 2004), 383.

-
- ¹¹⁷ *The Hawke's Bay Times*, August 7, 1874, 315 [in Te Reo Māori].
- ¹¹⁸ *The Hawke's Bay Times*, August 7, 1874, 315 [in Te Reo Māori].
- ¹¹⁹ Pond, *Woods and Waters*, 41.
- ¹²⁰ Pond, *Woods and Waters*, 41.
- ¹²¹ Pond, *Woods and Waters*, 41.
- ¹²² Te Pokiha Taranui, "He whenua rahui," *Te Waka Maori*, July 28, 1874, 191, quoted in Hemi Whaanga and Priscilla Wehi, "Rāhui and Conservation? Māori voices in the nineteenth century niupepa Māori," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 47, no. 1 (2016): 4-5 [in Te Reo Māori].
- ¹²³ *Te Waka Maori*, September 22, 1874, 239.
- ¹²⁴ W. Hodges, *Maori Conservation Ethic: A Ngati Kahungunu Perspective* (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 1994), 3.