

THE PASSAGE OF MAORI LAND INTO PAKEHA OWNERSHIP

A Maori View



Betty Whaitiri Williams

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Introductory Note

Information in this document attempts to show some of the methods used to alienate Maori land rather than actual alienations, although some actual cases are briefly mentioned by way of illustration.

In an endeavour to be brief not all methods legislative or otherwise are documented.

THE PASSAGE OF MAORI LAND INTO PAKEHA OWNERSHIP*

MAORI LAND TENURE BEFORE THE COMING OF THE PAKEHA

Maori land was communally owned, that is without any individual having an individual title. Tribal consent was given to individuals to occupy given areas for the sustenance of their families, and groups of families were given rights to cultivate, hunt, and fish within the tribal territory.

The rights of use and occupation were covered by the custom of 'ahi ka', the 'lighted fire', which required individuals and groups to keep their rights to their areas either by living permanently on the land or frequently returning to it.

Land was acquired by occupation, conquest or gift, and used within the framework of the Maori conservation and resource management system of tapu, a highly sacred institution which evolved from their spiritual beliefs. (See Appendix I.)

THE PLOT, THE GANG, THE TOOL

The Plot: The beginnings of colonisation

The course for Maori land alienation and subsequent colonisation followed an extensive, cleverly contrived plan aimed at Pakeha supremacy and British control.

The plan involved varying approaches that were implemented at well-timed stages and carried out by people thoroughly entrenched in the profit-logic, capitalist ideology.

The Gang: Missionary involvement in Maori land alienation.

Early missionaries first set about severing the links between the Maori, their gods, the environment, the land. Customs and beliefs that were essential to cementing the links between the Maori and the natural and spiritual worlds were ridiculed and denigrated as perversions. Belittled and dispirited, many Maoris accepted the missionaries as their only salvation.

*This paper deals with the alienation of Maori land into Pakeha ownership, consequently Maori attempts to halt this process (including Sir Apirana Ngata's consolidation schemes) are not covered. Editor's note.

The Biblical view of one god was preached, and eventually erased and supplanted the many gods concept of Maori spiritual beliefs. The Bible was presented as a subtle substitute for the direct link between the Maori and the new Pakeha god.

Whereas the Maori spiritual belief had been that man and all things were offspring of the gods, this concept was replaced by the Biblical concept that man predominated over all else. Such a premise rationalised the Pakeha capitalist ideology and thoroughly adulterated the Maori psyche.

Traditional restraints in Maori society became considerably weakened and the Maori, no longer accountable to the gods, succumbed to Pakeha modes and proceeded to fish, hunt, fell trees, cultivate and clear the land without discrimination or care.

Thus, the first stage was accomplished and set the scene for the rapid decline in Maori society, with the loss of mana, morale, and the eventual loss of land.

It is interesting to note that in later years missionaries accompanied government land purchasing agents on their land purchasing deals with the Maori.

It is also interesting that the missionary Henry Williams translated the Treaty of Waitangi into Maori, and with government officials and other missionaries journeyed through-out the country persuading Maori chiefs to sign. The continuing upheavals concerning the treaty have exposed not only the treachery and hypocrisy of the early missionaries, * but also the true nature of missionary involvement in the colonisation of Aotearoa.

The Reverend Samuel Marsden recorded the first sale of land in Aotearoa in 1814 when 200 acres were 'conveyed' to the Church Missionary Society in return for 12 axes.

*Henry Williams was dismissed from the service of the Church Missionary Society in 1850 on account of his land dealings. He was reinstated 5 years later. Editor's note.

The Tool: The Treaty of Waitangi - Empty Promises

When British government was established in Aotearoa in 1840, Captain Hobson was instructed to treat with the Maoris for their recognition of the Queen's sovereignty in exchange for the rights and privileges of British nationality, and for the right of pre-emption over their lands. The Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed the signatories and their tribes full and exclusive rights to their lands, fisheries, and forests.

Thus, direct purchase of land by Pakehas from the Maori owners was stopped. The government became the intermediary and negotiations for land purchases took place between the Maori owners and a government land purchasing officer, accompanied by a missionary.

Despite the pre-emptive clause, there were times when the government allowed direct sales of land to Pakehas so that by 1865 nearly the whole of the South Island and large areas of the North Island were in colonists' hands.

The subsequent effects of the Treaty give testimony to the claim that it was an empty promise which the Pakeha had no intention of honouring. The Pakeha had deliberately used the Treaty as a stop gap measure to give them time to build up their numbers. At the time of the signing of the Treaty the Pakeha population was only 2,000 and greatly exceeded by the Maori population. They saw that it would be more expedient to use the Treaty than to take the land by force. (Significant land-grab dates after the signing of the Treaty - see Appendix II.)

Piracy through legislation

The Crown's administration in Aotearoa gave an early and clear indication of its determination to put the interests of the colonial pirates a long way ahead of those of the Maori.

The missionaries had initiated, and to a large extent completed their assigned tasks of severing Maori spiritual relationships with their lands and disintegrating Maori society.

The Treaty had lulled the Maoris into peacefully relinquishing the major part of their lands for sundry and material trivia.

The way had been cleared for immigration which intensified during the early 1860's (See Appendix III.) Land hungry colonists not only took by force what land they couldn't get by other means but also put pressure on the Crown to speed up the disintegration process by imposing English laws that would deliberately shatter Maori tribal unity and thus fragment tribal ownership of land. .

The resultant confusion of land laws was reinforced by '...the restrictive and piratical activities of their courts and land purchase officers, suppression of the right to vote or participate in the legislature, and the overt desire to take by force to vote what was not available, by a system loaded with self-interest and indecently clothed with specious piety'*

Fragmentation of communally owned land began in 1862 with the Crown attempting to establish the Maori Land Court to investigate, determine and record titles of Maori customary land, but it wasn't until 1865, after Pakeha land wars and the confiscation of Maori lands that the court was finally constituted.

Among other things detrimental to Maori ownership, the Court forced Maori to choose ten or fewer from their number to be named on the certificate of title. Each title was expressed in the form of a 'share' a paper formality that was translated into a reality when the 'share' holder wanted to survey the share-out of the parent block.

In choosing the shareholders Maoris were led to believe that the persons chosen were to be the trustees for the tribe. However, the certificate of title and Crown grants showed them as absolute owners.

This meant that whereas in the past Maori land could not be sold without the consent of the full tribal group it could now be alienated simply by the individual shareholder relinquishing his 'share'.

*Sinclair, Douglas: Land Since the Treaty: The Nibble, The Bite, The Swallow

Te Ao Hurihuri, p 155.

As soon as the titles were registered, land sharks picked off individuals and pirated their shares. Large holdings were alienated against or without the wishes of the greater tribal group. Conveniently, the Court had not been vested with the power of jurisdiction to intervene. Many injustices were perpetrated, and Maori communities left landless and torn with bitterness.

The intent of the 1865 Native Lands Act is unashamedly expressed in the words of the Minister for Justice, Henry Sewell, who in 1870 said:

"The object of the Native Lands Act is twofold... to bring the great bulk of the lands in the northern island which belong to the Maori people within the reach of colonisation...

The detribalisation of the Maoris, to destroy... the principle of communism... upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Maori race into our social and political system." (1)

The effects of translating communal ownership into individual title

"If we look in retrospect, we can see that the breakdown of the Maori social system could not have been achieved in a short time by the individualisation of title alone, but time has proved nevertheless that it has been an important influence in the gradual adulteration of the communal idea of ownership..." (2)

Judge Norman Smith.

The effects of giving individual title to Maori land not only accelerated the passage of Maori land into Pakeha ownership but also destroyed tribal and family cohesion that was to be further intensified in later years by the urbanisation of Maori people.

Furthermore, Maori people, without any knowledge of the legal system, were exposed to alien forms of land administration and legal requirements which had more subtle but certain effects in the furtherance of Maori land alienation.

(1) Parliamentary Debates, 1870, Vol 9:361

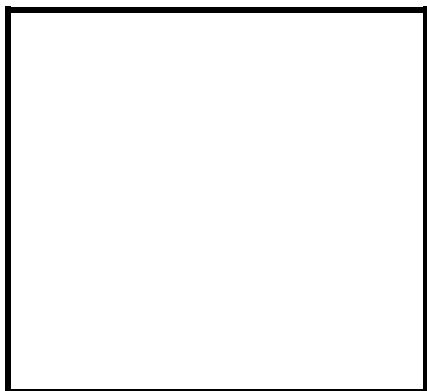
(2) Smith, Norman, *Maori Land Law*, p 12.

Maori land was acquired because Maoris were unable to pay the cost of survey and later when Maori land was rated it was also acquired because Maoris could not pay the rates which were charged to one of the shareholders in the parent block and not all the individual 'share' holders.

The tragedy of Pakeha greed on Maori land: Effects of the 1865 Native Lands Act

To illustrate the principle of fragmentation:

Pre 1865



1. Block of Maori land in communal ownership
Block owned by all the tribe.
Block could not be alienated without the consent of the whole tribe.

1865

1865

A	

2. Block legally owned by ten shareholders.
Majority of tribe automatically dispossessed
Speculator given advantage to:
(a) 'pick-off' individuals to relinquish his 'share'
(b) deal with only 10 'share' holders instead of whole Tribe.

a	b	c	1/10
1/10		1/10	
1/10		1/10	
1/10		1/10	
1/10		1/10	

a.

3. Fragmentation of Maori land;

owns 1 share of 10 original shares in parent block

b. On A's death, his successors a, b, & c inherit 1/3 of his original 'share' (i.e. 1/x of 1/3 of 1/10 of original shares in block.)

(See Appendix IV for tables showing: Effects of Fragmentation 1965)

(See Appendix V for tables showing: Acreage of Maori Land in Land Court districts.)

The Land Grab Continues: The Tragedy Worsens.

By 1890 Maoris were left with 11,000,000 acres of the original 66,500,000 acres and of this, 2,500,000 acres were leased to the Crown.

By 1900 only 7,000,000 acres were left in Maori ownership.

By the end of the 19th century the greater part of Aotearoa had transferred to Pakeha land (general land.) A report placed before parliament in 1919 gave: *

Papatipu (land without individual title)	16,162 acres
Maori land leased to Pakeha	3,140,240 acres
Land held by Maori owners	1,910,350 acres
	<hr/>
	5,066,762 acres

*Native Land Courts, Maori Lands Boards and Native Land Purchase Board Report. Appendix to the Journals, 1919 vol 2, G9.

Maori land of high potential had been alienated and what was left was mainly isolated, rugged and of low fertility.

(See Appendix VI -To show Maori land in relation to other land tenures 1892-1950.)

THE TRAGEDY TODAY

At 31 March 1979 the area of Maori land was 3,060,260 acres of the original 66,500,000 acres.

The 'Europeanisation' of Maori land

Between 1920 and 1980 approximately 2,010,000 acres changed its designation from Maori land to 'European land' The most significant movement resulted from the Maori Affairs Amendment Act, 1967, which declared that Maori land owned by four or fewer owners would automatically become European land, that is any lands falling in the 'Europeanised' category would lose the protection of the Maori Land Court and would be more readily accessible for alienation.

The Conversion of Maori Land

As well as 'Europeanising' Maori land the obnoxious '1967' Act gave powers to a government appointee (Maori Trustee) to compulsorily acquire any share in Maori land that was valued at less than \$50.00 without the owner being given any prior notification and without the owner having any right of redress. As a result of this pernicious clause thousands of Maoris lost their 'shares' with many being completely divested of their rights of turangawaewae, the author for one, who lost her turangawaewae rights in Tauranga. To this day the bitterness and a deep sense of loss remains with those affected and with those who have inherited the results of the Pakeha's greed and land grabbing policies that were initiated over a hundred years ago.

The conversion policy was an attempt by the government to get rid of all fragmented Maori land and consolidating them under one title by declaring small shares 'uneconomic' that is by putting a \$50.00 (or less) value on them. Under this policy it was possible to lower the value of the block to render most shares in it 'uneconomic'.

NOTICE OF 'CONVERSION'

This notice was received in the mail without any information except what is stated. It is still not known who actually owns my 'share' now. I was forced to accept the money otherwise it would have gone into some obscure state account. I had no right of redress nor was I notified beforehand that my 'share' was uneconomic or what the block's current valuation was.

MAORI TRUST OFFICE

78

Private Bag HAMILTON

TIRI WILLIAMS (MRS)
18 COMPTON STREET
NORTHCOTE
AUCKLAND, 10

08007

Account No. 8/27712

Name of
 Account:

Post-Office
 Poutapeta

Ma te Poutapeta e mau ake nei e utu mai te moni nei, me haere koe ki te tango mai i roto o te kotahi marama. Me whakaatu atu tenei pukapuka, a mehemea koe kaore i te mohiuria e Te Poutapeta me rapa tetahi tangata hei ki pono ko koe taua tangata mana tenei moni.

28 JUL 1968

Kua tangohia te wahanga o te moni ma Te Tari Penihana.

NORTHCOTE

E tukua atu ana te katoa o nga moni mau kei Te Kaitiaki Maori ia wa. Kua noa e tono mai. Me whakaatu mai tou kainga noho pumau mehemea ka neke koe a me tuku mai hoki te nama e mau ake nei o tau kaute.

Period Ending	Rent, Purchase-money, etc., as Hereunder	Amount
CONVERSION FUND	Ngapeke 5B2B1	\$45-30
		\$45-30

Payment of the above amount can be obtained at the Post Office shown above and should be collected within one month. It will be necessary for you to show this form and to prove your identity to the satisfaction of the Post Office.

Social Security charge payable on any income included in this payment has been paid.

All money owing to you by the Maori Trustee will be sent to you at regular intervals. You will not need to write and ask for it. Please notify any change of address and quote your account number shown above.

WHITE RACISM IN LAND USE POLICIES

Land use policies in the 1953 Town & Country Planning Act recognised only the Pakeha form of land ownership where land was held under a single or clear title. Nowhere in the Act were provisions made for Maori land held in multiple shares, that is multiple title. This situation was compounded by the policies of finance companies that loaned money for land development only to those with a clear title.

Maoris were forced to sell their individual shares to a family member to enable that person to qualify for a loan, but if that person did not have sufficient to buy or develop the land on his own, the entire share holding group became exposed to speculators who often bought out the shares lock, stock and barrel.

Many Maoris who, because they were afraid of losing their turangawaewae, preferred not to sell their shares and, because they felt thoroughly frustrated with the entire system, left their ancestral lands, and moved to the cities to seek employment.

URBANISATION: THE DELIBERATE DISLOCATION OF MAORI PEOPLE

Urbanisation increased in the 1950's and large areas of Maori land were left in the care of individual family members who were given the freedom to use the land to the best of their ability and to keep the home warm under the Maori principle of 'ahi ka.' Many left in this situation were unable to borrow the finance and had to seek employment nearby while occupying the family lands. Because the individual wasn't able to show any sign of development according to the Pakeha view, the land was again exposed to land sharks.

Urban concentration of population

	Urban		Rural	
Census	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Population				
1926	941 102	67.1	460 572	32.9
1936	1 054 102	67.2	514 338	32.8
1945	1 217 142	71.6	482 003	28.4
1956	1 610 152	74.2	559 462	25.8
1966	2 126 764	79.6	545 344	20.4
1971	2 341 510	81.9	515 975	18.1
1976	2 592 680	83.0	532 443	17.0
Maori Population				
1926	9 906	15.6	53 714	84.4
1936	14 212	17.3	68 087	82.7
1945	25 414	25.7	73 310	74.3
1956	47 926	35.0	89 156	65.0
1966	123 774	61.6	77 321	38.4
1971	160 624	70.7	66 674	29.3
1976	205 688	76.2	64 263	23.8

(New Zealand Yearbook -1980)

THE CONTRIVED LABELLING - IDLE MAORI LAND

Maori land that was left unoccupied or in the care of a family member as a result of urbanisation became the focus for the land shark speculator, both state and private and large scale developers, who used all sorts of ploys to wrest Maori land from the owners.

One ploy used was propaganda. The derogatory label 'idle Maori land' was used to refer to Maori land that was unoccupied and undeveloped and it was deliberately contrived to gain a psychological victory over Maoris already demoralised and frustrated by the numerous restrictive land use policies.

This label had various negative spin-offs. Many Maoris became ashamed of the label and ashamed that their lands weren't producing according to Pakeha priorities. Others came to believe that their shares were worthless in monetary terms and transferred this negative value to their lands. Many others developed a negative self-image as a result of the 'idle Maori land' stereotyping and as a result of the indoctrination by Pakehas and state agencies who not only elevated Pakeha methods as models of land use and management, but who also directed the blame at Maoris for hindering the country's progress.

Many Maoris, seriously depressed by being dislocated from their people and their lands, gave in to the propaganda and pressures from the state and private land sharks. As a result, many Maoris living in the cities have been deprived of their turangawaewae.

ALIENATION THROUGH FORCED UTILISATION AND CROWN DESIGNATION OF MAORI LAND

Pines for the multinationals

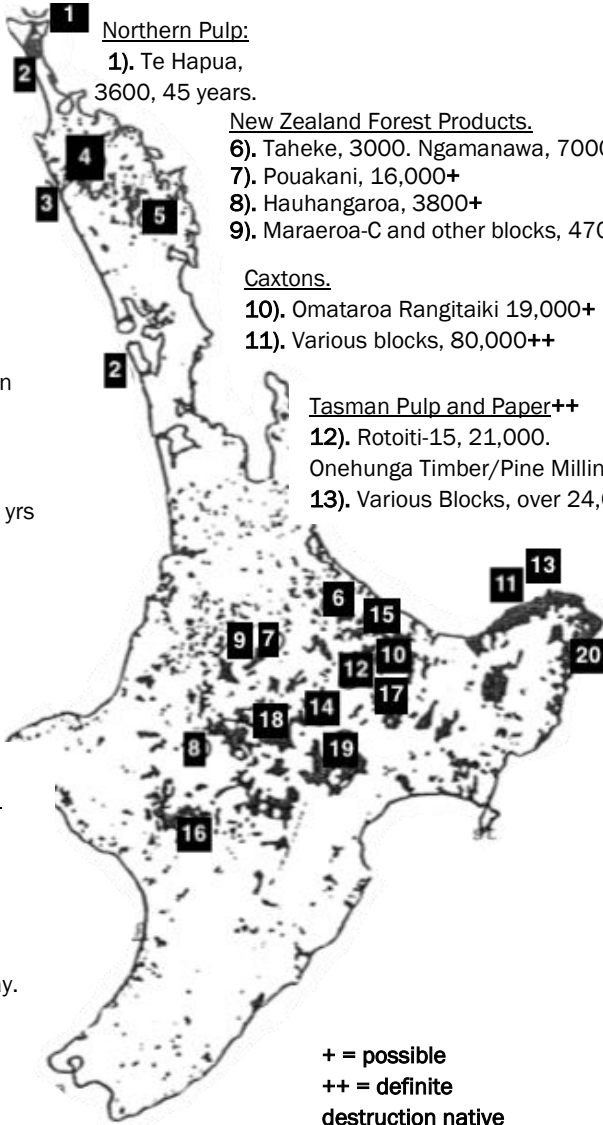
By 1965, 1,175,000 acres, that is 1/3 of all Maori land, was unoccupied. 925,000 acres of this was defined as being suitable for forestry companies and the Forest Service for terms of 45-99 years. Today more than 500,000 acres of Maori land is in forestry on long term leases with control in the hands of the companies. (See Map Forestry on Maori Lands as in 1978).

COASTAL MAORI LANDS DESIGNATED AS RESERVES

In 1975 vast areas of coastal Maori land were designated by the Crown as being suitable for reserves under the Town and Country Planning Act. The group most strongly supporting this move were the wealthy Pakeha yachties. Maoris objected to the designations and became involved in complicated and costly legal battles.

In one instance where this occurred, a small Maori community at Manaia on the Coromandel peninsula, with minimal financial or people resources, fought five years before the reserve designation was lifted. While this may seem a victory it gives the Maori people little comfort or room for complacency for they are well aware that the Crown is likely to re-impose the designation once the country's economy picks up.

Forestry on Maori Land as is 1978



NZ Forest

- Service:
2). Parengarenga
 16,700
Otakanini -Topu
 1650

Northern Pulp +
3). Mitimiti, 3300,
 45yrs
 Also seeking land in
 Waima Valley.

Whitecliffs: **4).**
 Utakura, 3600, 66 yrs
Carter Holt. ++ 5).
 Fighting Maori
 shareholders for

Various
Companies: N.Z.
Forest Service
20). As yet
 undisclosed
 Afforestation
 planned esp.
 around Hicks Bay.

Northern Pulp:
1). Te Hapua,
 3600, 45 years.

New Zealand Forest Products.
6). Taheke, 3000. Ngamanawa, 7000++
7). Pouakani, 16,000+
8). Hauhangaroa, 3800+
9). Maraeroa-C and other blocks, 4700+

Caxtons.
10). Omataroa Rangitaiki 19,000+
11). Various blocks, 80,000++

Tasman Pulp and Paper ++
12). Rotoiti-15, 21,000.
 Onehunga Timber/Pine Milling.
13). Various Blocks, over 24,000

■ =Maori land

Fletchers.
14). Tauhara, 2700
Winstons.
15). Paihinahina-mourea,
 2000.
16). Atihau-Morikaunui,
 20,000++
NZ Forest Service.
17). Te Whaiti-nui-a-Toi,
 5000.+
18). East &
 South Taupo,
 127,000 ++
19). Awahohonu,
 21,000 +

+ = possible
 ++ = definite
 destruction native
 forest and bush
 involved in these blocks

CASH CROPPING TO FEED THE RICH IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Current Maori land use programmes being promoted by the Ministry of Agriculture and Maori Affairs Department not only force Maoris to grow cash crops for the luxury export market, e.g., garlic, but also threaten the alienation of land that is mortgaged to get financial assistance.

Once Maoris adopt this programme they become dependent upon the export conglomerate for seed, fertiliser, insecticides and sprays, transport and storage, which all underlie the control that is exerted over them and the dangers involved in competing on the export market. What is worse is that Maoris with scant land resources are forced to neglect traditional crops like kumara to produce alien crops which only the rich can afford to buy on the overseas market.

MAORI ANGER

The Maori Land March 1975

The Maori Land march in 1975 arose out of Maori frustration and bitterness with the loss of Maori land. The march drew together thousands of Maoris who were embittered and angry not only with the loss of land, but also with past and existing laws and policies that threatened further land losses despite the years of unending appeals and submissions to the Crown for the recognition of Maori feelings and attitudes to their land. Over 100,000 Maoris took part in the march on parliament with a Memorial of Rights demanding ‘...not one more acre of Maori land to be alienated.’

MAORI SELF-DETERMINATION

The 1960's witnessed the emergence of young Maori radicals determined to get political, economic cultural and moral justice for Maori people. The independent nature of radical and activist organisations demonstrated the anger and contempt young Maoris had for a Pakeha dominated system that oppressed the Maori people and that manipulated the effectiveness of Maori leaders. Notable among the many radical groups was the political activist organisation Nga Tamatoa, who despite media attempts to destroy their credibility, successfully initiated and effected programmes that raised the Maori political conscience and that encouraged Maori determination to gain social, economic, moral and legal justice.

MAORI DETERMINATION TO REGAIN LANDS ALIENATED BY THE CROWN

Maoris on the Coromandel peninsula ceded a major part of the peninsula to the Crown for gold mining purposes in 1867. Although most of the lands were given back once gold mining operations ceased, a number of blocks were retained by the Crown and leased to the individual Pakehas at five shillings (fifty cents) and ten shillings (one dollar) per year rental. The original rentals have never been adjusted and this together with the fact that Maoris are seeking the return of these blocks, or compensation for them, has engaged the Maori people in years of repetitive legal wrangling's. In a recent high court ruling, the occupier of one such site, won the case on the grounds that the motel complex he is building today complies with the mining legislation of the last century, which made provision for the erection of accommodation for the mining fraternity!

MAORI DEMONSTRATION AND CONFRONTATION

The Tainui-Awhiro tribes of Raglan, and the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Auckland attempted to get back their tribal lands that were compulsorily acquired for defence and sundry purposes during World War II. The lands were subsequently retained by the Crown under irregular and obscure circumstances.

At Raglan seventeen Maoris were arrested while taking part in a ceremony to rededicate an area of the land that is a Maori burial ground. The burial ground is part of the area at present being used as a golf course. Attempts by the Maori people to have the burial grounds fenced off have failed...

At Bastion Point over two hundred people were arrested during massive military and police operations. Those arrested had taken part in over a year's occupation of the Point to demonstrate Ngati-Whatua's determination to regain ownership and control of their tribal land.

LAND LOSS AND THE SOCIAL TRAGEDY

The present social tragedy has its roots in white racism with policies that focus solely on monetary and material wealth without any regard for humanitarian principle. The victims of a white racist state are identified in the health and social statistics of the indigenous Maori people.

THE IDEAL FOR THE FUTURE

With such a dismal and tragic past the ideal for the future is to return the sovereignty of Aotearoa to the Maori people and to restore autonomy to the people who have innate concern for land, people and nature.

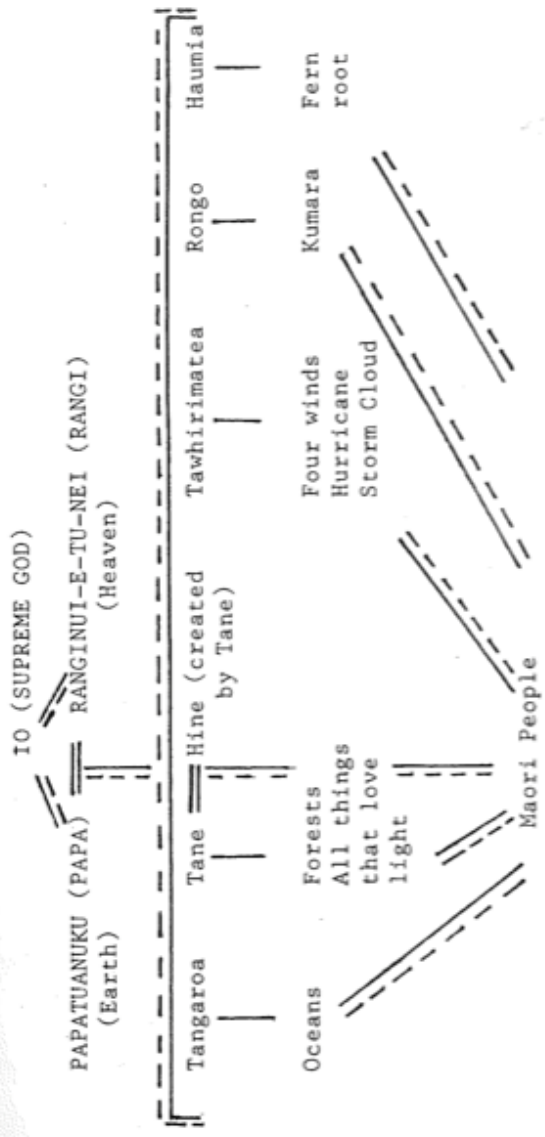
Maori sovereignty is valid in the light of white racist policies and operations which have brought about the prevailing tragic situation where Maori people are socially, culturally, economically and politically disadvantaged, and where the environment is under threat of being irreversibly damaged and ultimately destroyed.

The operations of giant corporations, both foreign and New Zealand owned conflict dramatically with traditional Maori values and attitudes in that these giant corporations operate solely to maximise their profits in developing 'Think Big,' capital intensive programmes, and in so doing deliberately manipulate situations that will absolve them from any responsibility for the environment and for humanity.

Maori sovereignty is seen as a positive step towards survival and is consciously weighed against the effects of the prevailing white racist conservation and political systems that have failed to ensure the continuity of Aotearoa's natural resources and the survival of its peoples.

APPENDIX I

TRADITIONAL MAORI RESOURCE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM AND ITS BASES WITH SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH GODS, NATURAL WORLD AND MAN



— interdependence for continuity (land, man, nature)

- - - Maori: life and energy source, spiritual force

APPENDIX I (continued)

There is a Maori saying, translated to mean *"I descend from the gods"*

1. The Maori of old accepted the responsibilities of their ancestry.
2. Maori people knew that the fishes, birds, animals, plants, insects, minerals, reptiles, air and water were offspring of the gods as much as they were and as such accepted that everything in the universe was imbued with the mauri (life-energy-spiritual force) which rendered all things ageless.
3. Maori people knew that without the gods they were nothing.
4. Maori descent from the gods committed them to the role of guardian of the deities that control the balance between the human, vegetable, mineral, animal and spiritual worlds.
5. Maori spiritual relationships committed them to maintaining the continuity of all the resources.
6. Collective responsibility for maintaining the sensitive balance between man's needs and nature's resources was applied through the highly sacred institution of rahui tapu (day of meeting to impose the prohibition).
7. Rahui tapu was systematically imposed at specific stages in the life cycle of certain species, and on resource locations at certain times, simply to give species and locations the chance to regenerate or to regain the sanctity of the area. The latter is always imposed in the case of drowning. Rahui tapu was imposed on people when required.
8. From the custom of rahui tapu evolved customary practices where the Maori hunted, fished and cultivated only to the degree necessary to secure his wellbeing.
9. While rahui tapu was a conservation practice it also maintained the cohesiveness of the people and it underlaid the regulation and preservation of Maori society.
10. To disregard or deliberately defy the rahui tapu was to 'cut off' the mauri (energy-life-spiritual force). The individual, without the protection of the gods or the support of the collective group, thus exposed himself to all danger. In this instance the individual was aware that he was doomed to die. Observation will reveal that, '...a Maori can die whenever he wants to.' *'Mauri tu, Mauri ora'... 'Spirit stand, Spirit strong'*

APPENDIX I (Cont'd)

RAHUI ————— TAPU

Meeting day to
summon the mauri
for the purposes

CONSERVATION

Any area considered
in need of preservation

Food Resources
Other resources
(e.g. timber)

Burial sites and waahi tapu
(sacred sites)

People

PROHIBITION

Against trespass

Against use of food
resource area after
death by drowning

Against desecration

Against abuse of
human resources e.g.
drug and alcohol abuse

Against the taking of
resources during the
period of tapu

APPENDIX II

SIGNIFICANT LAND GRAB DATES AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY

1840 February 6	Treaty signed by some Northland tribes at Waitangi. Other copies were signed by other tribes on different dates at other places.
1840 June	Government purchased 8000 acres at Manganui.
1840 October	Total government purchases in three years amounted to 22,200 acres for £4000.
1847	Government purchased the Wairau block plus 10,000 acres in Taranaki.
1848	Government purchased the Waitohi Block plus the remainder of the South Island, a total of 30,000,000 acres.
1853	Government purchased 500,000 acres in the Wairarapa.
1858	The Waikato tribes selected a king (land protector) to stop all land sales. Chiefs in this area had refused to sign the treaty and therefore did not consider themselves the Queen' s subjects.
1860	Government purchased the Waitara Block from a minor chief against the head chief's wishes. War broke out between the government and the Maoris.
1862	Government abolished the sole right the Crown to purchase land from Maoris and settlers given freedom to purchase direct from the Maoris (Note peak immigration in this period).

1863	Government confiscated 3,000,000 acres because of Maori resistance during the Pakeha land war. 1,341,362 acres of this were later sold to settlers and to 'friendly' Maoris. Land retained by the government for militia settlements and pakeha farms.
1865	Maori Land Court established to give individual title to Maori people. The court recognised ten owners or less from the land holding group and registered them as the owners thereby dispossessing the majority of the tribe of any legal rights and ancestral rights. The ownership of each block was expressed in terms of 'shares' held by those named on the certificate. Land sharks acquired shares by picking off individuals willing to sell.
1890	Maoris left with 11,000,000 acres and of these 2,500,000 acres were leased to farmers and the crown.
1900	Maoris left with 7,000,000 acres of the original 66,400,000.

APPENDIX III

Table 1: Population of Aotearoa from 1854-1926

Year	Maori	Pakeha
1854 (estimate only)	40 000	32 000
1857-58	56 409*	59 413
1874	47 330	297 654
1896	42 113	701 094
1901	45 549	770 340
1906	50 309	885 995
1911	52 723	1 005 585
1921	56 987	1 214 667
1926	63 670	1 344 469

*Date of first Maori census

(Compiled from information in An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Vol 2, pp 824/5.)

Table 2: Immigration to Aotearoa 1840-1904

Year	Excess arrivals over departures
1840-1850	12 000
1850-1860	75 000
1861-1864	86 924*
1865-1869	29 268
1870-1874	60 253
1875-1879	72 826
1880-1884	31 686
1885-1889	- 2416
1890-1894	12 643
1895-1899	9 702
1900-1904	37 975

*Peak immigration and period of land wars. Government abolished sole right of Crown to purchase Maori land by way of the pre-emptive clause of the Treaty of Waitangi

(An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Vol 2, p 132.)

APPENDIX IV.

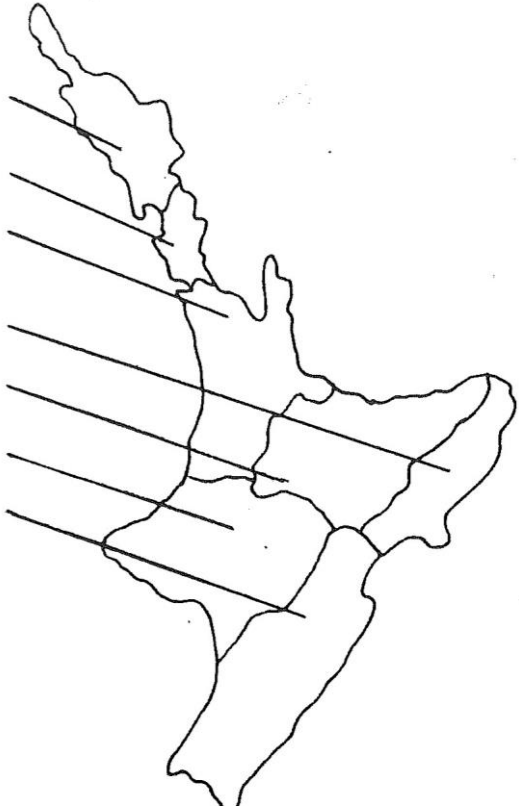
Table 3: The tragic effects of fragmentation in 1965

Category	Solely or jointly owned	2-10 owners	11-100 owners	101-1000 owners	1000 owners	Total number of blocks in category
(Number of blocks)						
Under 2 acres	8853	4368	1494	226	-	14941
Under 5 acres	1537	1722	953	71	-	4283
Under 10 acres	995	1359	1008	65	1	3428
Under 100 acres	2024	3118	3014	222	4	8382
Under 250 acres	525	912	1333	175	4	2949
Under 1000 acres	183	358	1072	349	5	1967
Over 1000 acres	23	45	172	251	40	531
Total number of blocks						40161

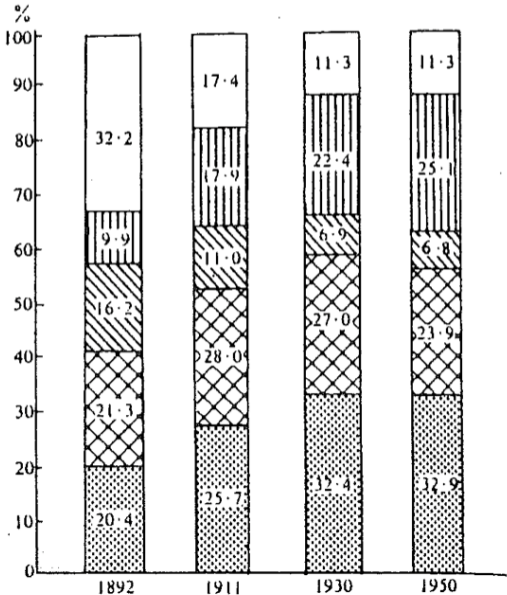
APPENDIX V

Map: To show Acreages of Maori land in Maori Land Court districts

District	Acreage
Tokerau	400,478
Auckland	25,285
Waikato —Maniapoto	416,092
Tairāwhiti	818,375
Waiariki	786,941
Aotea	957,243
Ikaroa	276,151
South Island	226,000
Total area of Maori land (1965)	3,906,565



APPENDIX VI



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Hicks, Smith and Sons Ltd for an extract from *Te Ao Hurihuri -The World Moves on, Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed Michael King, 1975.

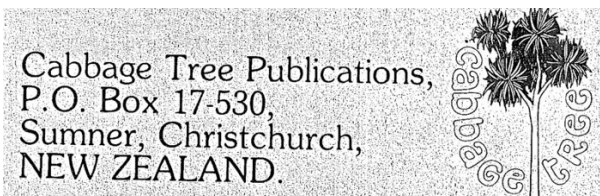
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Government Printer for: Tables on Population 1854–1926. Excess Arrivals Over Departure 1840–1904, Graph showing Maori Land in Relation to other Land Tenures 1892–1960, all compiled from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Vol 2*

Graph showing Fragmentation of Maori Land in 1965 and Acreage of Maori Land in Maori Land Court Districts 1965 from *Report of Committee of Inquiry into Laws Affecting Maori Land and Powers of Maori Land Courts*, Pritchard and Waetford, 1965. (The two diagrams on land use 1965 have also been compiled from this source.)

Betty Williams who has links with the Ngati Pukenga and the Ngati Kahungunu has been actively involved with the Maori Land Movement for a number of years. A trained primary school teacher she resigned her position in 1975 and has become increasingly committed to the struggle to retain Maori land particularly in the Coromandel.



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COVER PHOTOGRAPH: DAME WHINA COOPER AND GRANDDAUGHTER AT THE START OF THE 1975 LAND MARCH – N.Z. HERALD