

MR. BULLER'S

FINAL REPORT

ON THE

PARTITION AND INDIVIDUALIZATION

OF THE

KAIAPOI RESERVE.

PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY, BY COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY.

I N D E X.

	PAGE.
I. Introduction	3
II. The Kaiapoi Reserve	4
III. Preliminary Steps	4
IV. The Partition	5
V. The Sub-divisional Survey	5
VI. The Allotment	6
VII. Excluded Portions	9
VIII. The Moeraki Claim	10
IX. Conclusion	10
Remarks on the Individualization of Native Lands	11

A REPORT

BY WALTER L. BULLER, ESQ., R.M.,

ON THE

PARTITION AND INDIVIDUALIZATION OF THE KAIAPOI RESERVE, IN THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

In December, 1859, I proceeded to Canterbury, under instructions from the Government, to visit the various Native settlements, and to report generally upon the condition and requirements of the Natives in that Province. Nature of mission.

In the Report of that Mission (dated 27th December, 1859,) which I had the honor to submit to His Excellency the Governor, when at Christchurch, I took occasion to notice the unsatisfactory state of feeling among the Natives of Kaiapoi arising out of disputed claims to bush on their Reserve; and I urged the partition and individualization of the land and the issue of Crown Grants to the Natives, in severalty, as the only effectual remedy for the evils complained of. The following extract from my Report will show how it was proposed to effectuate this:— Report submitted to the Governor, 27th December, 1859.

“At a public meeting of the Kaiapoi Natives, when this subject was under discussion, I elicited their sentiments by putting forward the following suggestions; all of which met their approval. Extract from report relating to the proposed partition of the Reserve.

“1. That the primary subdivision and apportionment of the land should be arranged by them in *Runanga*.

“2. That as a fundamental condition of the proposed grants, the estates and interests created thereby should be entailed, so as to make them inalienable to persons of other than the Maori race.

“3. That the power of leasing, if allowed, should be modified by certain conditions or limitations.

“4. That the whole of the attendant expenses should be borne by the Natives themselves,—a sufficient portion of the land being set apart for that purpose.

“5. That suitable endowments should be made for the several objects of Churches, Schools, and Hospitals.

“6. That the arrangements contemplated in the two foregoing clauses should be carried out prior to the apportionment of the land (*i. e.* whilst it is common property). * * * *

“Without committing myself to the above, or in any way compromising the Government, I have obtained the general acquiescence of the Natives therein; and I believe that, if judiciously managed, the object in view may be safely accomplished.”

The subject was again brought before the Governor by the Natives themselves at the general meeting in Lyttelton on the 6th January following. The address presented to His Excellency on that occasion (see *Maori Messenger*, January, 1860,) thus earnestly expressed their desire:—“The voice of all the people is that our land reserves be subdivided so that each may have his own portion. Natives urge the matter before the Governor.

“* * * Our reason for urging the subdivision of our land is that our difficulties and quarrels may cease, and that Christianity and good works may thrive amongst us.” Extract from their address, January 6th, 1860.

His Excellency expressed entire concurrence in the recommendations of my Report, and promised the Natives that their wishes should be complied with. The Governor's reply.

The Native Secretary (then visiting Canterbury,) while extremely anxious to give effect to the proposed individualization, viewed the experiment as a somewhat uncertain one, and was unwilling that the Government should incur the expense of an actual survey while the issue remained doubtful. Accordingly I was instructed to proceed to the ground, and, aided by the Chiefs, simply to mark out and apportion the land among the respective claimants, with the clear understanding that should such provisional partition hold good for a period of twelve months, the Government would give it permanence by surveying the parcels and properly defining the boundaries; and that when every obstacle had been removed, His Excellency would secure to the Natives their respective holdings by Crown Grant. No expense to be incurred for survey.

In so far as concerned the open land, the task of carrying out these instructions promised to be a comparatively easy one; but in dense bush where both area and position would be (in the absence of a survey) purely conjectural; where the so-called individual claims were involved and conflicting; and where the bush to be apportioned differed widely in character from heavy timber to light wood; I plainly foresaw that to divide it to the satisfaction of all parties would be a matter of no little difficulty. I was therefore most anxious to have the services of a competent surveyor, to assist me in fixing approximately the area and determining the position of the bush parcels, as this would have considerably facilitated and shortened my work. As it was, however, I had simply to carry out my instructions, and, in the absence of professional aid, to rely entirely upon my own resources. Instructions.

Difficulties in regard to the bush.

Disadvantage of not having a surveyor.

Satisfactory issue.

Notwithstanding this disadvantage, circumstances so far favoured me, that two months afterwards I had the satisfaction of reporting to the Government, (25th May, 1860,) that "the attempt to place this valuable Reserve on the new footing of individual tenure had proved entirely successful."

Reason for entering fully into the subject.

As I have been led to regard the individualization of the Kaiapoi Reserve as an experiment, the success of which would go far to determine the Government in some general and comprehensive scheme for the partition of Native lands and the individualization of title, I consider it my duty to furnish a full and particular account of my proceedings, and of the results which attended them. I shall, therefore, as suggested by the Native Minister, lose sight of the interim reports sent in during the progress of the work, and take up the whole subject from the beginning, noticing each point in its proper order.

Interim Reports embodied.

It seems proper that I should give in the first place, a short and general description of the Reserve itself.

II.—KAIAPOI RESERVE.

Advantages of position, &c.

Distant only thirteen miles from Christchurch, lying midway between the townships of Rangiora and Kaiapoi, within a mile of a shipping port, having two miles frontage on the main north road, and water access by the Korotuaheka stream along its western boundary—the Tuahiwi or Kaiapoi Reserve has indeed a commanding position. It contains 2640 acres of land, perfectly level, and for the most part, of excellent quality. About one-fifth of the Reserve is densely wooded, the remainder consists of open grass, and flax land, well watered, and available either for pasture or agriculture: some parts of it are swampy, but the whole of it, (if we except a deep morass on the western side), might be thoroughly drained at a cost of £70 or £80. Owing to the general scarcity of wood in the Canterbury Province, the bush on this Reserve commands a ready sale and a high price, whether as sawn timber or firewood.

General description.

Value of the bush.

Mr. Mantell's estimate of the Reserve ten years ago.

More than ten years ago, (when the Canterbury settlement was in its infancy,) Mr. Commissioner Mantell, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, described this Reserve as a "fine and valuable estate." Since that time it has continued to rise in value in a corresponding ratio to the progress of European settlement in the neighbourhood.

Estimate of its present value.

If we take the bush land to represent an average value of £48 per acre, and the open land £10 per acre, (a very moderate estimate,) we have a result of £45,000 as the present market value of the Kaiapoi Reserve. Already it is a really valuable property, and, with proper management, it cannot fail to attain, ere long, a position of high commercial importance.

The proprietary.

The Kaiapoi Reserve well adapted for individualization.

This estate belongs to about two hundred Natives, about one-half of whom are absentee owners. Considering the real and prospective value of the Kaiapoi Reserve, its proximity to European settlements, its advantageous position as regards road and water communication, and its general suitability for a small farm settlement, I doubt if the Government could have found anywhere a more eligible place in which to try the experiment of individualization.

III.—PRELIMINARY STEPS.

Organization of Runanga.

In commencing my work at Kaiapoi, my first aim was to establish the *Runanga* upon a firm and satisfactory footing, and to make this the recognised medium of all my operations with the Natives.

Object of the Runanga.

I was desirous that the partition and apportionment of the Reserve should practically devolve upon the owners themselves. Herein lay my best hopes of success, while, at the same time, I felt that by making the *Runanga* a party to the arrangement, the Government would have some guarantee that the work rested upon a sure and permanent basis.

Constitution of the Runanga.

As all had a common interest in the land, I selected the open or democratic form of *Runanga*—that in which all the adult males take part, and where questions are decided only by a large majority of those present,—as that best calculated to give general satisfaction, and to promote the success of the undertaking.

Rules of procedure.

Rules for regulating the proceedings of the *Runanga*, and for preserving order, were framed by a Committee of the principal Chiefs, and an Officer (a young man of rank) was appointed to enforce their observance. The Kaiapoi *Runanga* was, in fact, a General Meeting of Shareholders, met for a common object, all enjoying the same privileges, and amenable alike to rules of discipline. The old Chiefs were (out of respect) always invited to speak first, but the younger and more intelligent men took the more active part in debate, and virtually ruled the decisions of the meeting.

Rules to regulate the division and apportionment.

The first step was to obtain the concurrence of the *Runanga* in some general principles that should regulate the division and apportionment. After long and earnest discussion, the following rules were unanimously agreed to:—

1.—Rules relating to the open Land.

As to the division.

(1). The land to be divided equally among the recognized owners without reference to rank.

As to women.

(2). The women not to have shares apart from the men, *i.e.*, the married woman to have a joint interest with her husband, and the spinster with her nearest unmarried relative, (several exceptions to this rule).

As to married men.

(3). No difference to be made in favour of the married man, or man with family.

As to children.

(4). Children (*i.e.*, under 14) not to be entitled to separate shares, except in the case of orphans.

As to foreigners.

(5). Only such of the foreign Maories (*i.e.*, immigrants from other Provinces) as have married Ngaitahu women and become permanent residents, to be entitled to a full share.

As to relatives.

(6). Natives not having an absolute claim, but related to shareholders, may be admitted at the discretion of the *Runanga*, the extent of the share in such cases to be determined by general consent.

2.—Rules relating to the Bush Land.

(1). The bush land to be allotted to individuals, or to associations of two or more, as the *Runanga* Allotment of bush land, may agree.

(2). The corners of the bush allotments to be fixed by marked trees; these boundaries to be Boundaries, considered inviolate, and no alteration afterwards made in them.

(3). A shareholder having either sold bush to the Pakehas, or cut it on his own account, to retain Denuded parcels, the land from which the timber has been removed.

(4). One person may retain two or more of such parcels, provided they do not, in the aggregate, Exceed what the *Runanga* may consider his fair share; such award to be reckoned against him in the apportionment of the remaining bush land.

(5). Small reserves of bush to be set apart for Church purposes.

Church reserves.

IV.—THE PARTITION.

Having thus obtained the unanimous consent of the shareholders to the primary rules that should govern the division and apportionment, I at once commenced the partition of the open land. Attended by nearly the whole of the resident Natives, and assisted by two Native Surveyors, I traversed the boundaries and made a rough survey of the Reserve. Following a dry shingle ridge, I laid down a central road (one chain wide) so as to connect the Church bush road with the Rangiora, and thus give road access to the Native Industrial School and to the Tuahini Bush. From this central road, lateral branches (half a chain wide) divided the open land into twelve blocks, varying in extent, and so planned that every farm in the subdivision would have sufficient road frontage, and easy access to the Government trunk line.

Having ascertained the acreage of these blocks respectively, I proceeded to allot them to the various *hapus*, in such a way as to allow to each individual a farm of fourteen acres. By thus associating the members of one *hapu* in the same block, and afterwards regulating the allotment of the particular farms according to the rule of family connection, a very important point was gained. From the willingness of near relatives to meet each other in a spirit of mutual accommodation, or preference, I had no difficulty in finding allottees for all the farms, although they differed very much both in quality and in position value.

Exceptions were made in the extent of some of the farms, but as I shall speak more fully of these in another part of this Report, I need not here explain the reasons.

The difficulties with the bush were such as I had anticipated. So clamorous and disputatious were the Natives about the better parts of it, so exaggerated their ideas of its extent, and so much at fault were they in estimating acreage, that, at the outset, there was much danger of the attempt to partition it proving an utter failure.

I would strongly recommend that for the future, in a work of this kind, the survey and the apportionment should go hand in hand, especially in cases where there is bush to be subdivided. In a dense forest even the most experienced eye is utterly at fault in computing areas, or indicating the proper direction of divisional lines; and consequently an apportionment made in this way is always sure to cause dissatisfaction when (as is likely to be the case,) the *actual* areas are afterwards found to be so much at variance with the *estimated* ones. I confess that I was myself not a little surprised to find that my apportionment of the Kaiapoi bush, made as it was entirely by guess-work, proved, upon survey, to be, upon the whole, so satisfactory; and I can only consider it a fortunate accident.

I may here explain that the partition of the bush was altogether a separate matter to that of the open land; and that it is not proposed that Crown Grants should be issued to holders of bush parcels under the present arrangement. Most of these parcels have been allotted to several Natives in common, and in such cases the real advantage of a Crown Grant, that of securing land to them in severalty, would be lost.

The subdivision of the bush land is, in fact, a provisional one. It has not been made so much with a view to individualization as to an adjustment of disputed claims. The Natives (who are, in the end, to be charged with the whole cost of the survey,) were unwilling to incur the unnecessary expense of cutting timbered land into small parcels, when a few family divisional lines would answer their purpose as well; and I fully concurred with them as I saw that there would be no permanent advantage in securing to a Native a parcel of two or three acres, detached from his farm, irregular in shape, and having no frontage upon a public road. Besides, had the strict individualization of the bush land been carried out, the admitted individual claims to the portions from which timber had been removed prior to the subdivision would have caused endless confusion. As it is, the matter stands thus: each Native as he removes his allotted share of the bush will quietly appropriate the land. In course of time (say 10 years) the whole of the bush will have been removed, and the land will then revert to the old tenure. It will be a Public Domain, at the disposal of the *Runanga*, and available for some object of general benefit.

A report of my proceedings, with full particulars of the partition, accompanied by a plan, was communicated through the Native Secretary, in May, 1860, and received the approval of the Government.

V.—THE SUBDIVISIONAL SURVEY.

In May, 1861, (pursuant to promise made to the Natives,) I received instructions to proceed

again to Canterbury, and to cause a general subdivisinal survey of the Reserve to be made in conformity with the arrangements of 1860.

Provincial Government
undertook the survey.

The Provincial Government readily undertook the survey and detached for this service Mr. John C. Boys, the District Surveyor, together with an assistant. Two Native Surveyors were engaged by the Runanga (at 5s. per diem) to assist in cutting lines, driving pegs, &c. For the partition of the bush it was found necessary to increase the staff.

Map in illustration of
Report.

For a full insight into the survey, I must refer the Government to the Map which accompanies this Report. I may briefly state that the bank of the river, the margin of the bush, and the boundaries of the Reserve, as shewn upon this Map, have all been re-surveyed by Mr. Boys; that every division line shewn upon the plan has been cut; and that all the lengths given are the results of actual measurements on the ground.

Particulars of parcels.

It will be seen that in the open land one hundred and twenty-two (122) parcels have been allotted. These contain fourteen (14) acres each, with the following exceptions:—Nos. 7, 12, 19, 44, 53, 57, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 84, 91, 97, 100, 101, 103, 105, 110, 112, 115, 120, and 122.

Reasons for exceptions.

In some cases it was found necessary to make the farm a little more or less than 14 acres, in order to preserve uniformity in the shape of the block; in some an acre was added in consideration of the land being swampy; while in others the farms were made of limited extent to meet a decision of the Runanga.

Drain Reserve.

With the consent of the Natives, I made the following reserves for public purposes:—

1. A drain reserve, having a uniform width of half a chain, from the angle of the main road, at section 95, to the Korotuaheka stream. The fall in this line is such that an outlay of about £60 would suffice to drain the whole land on the Eastern side of the Tuahiwi Road.

River Reserve.

2. A Reserve, one quarter of a chain wide, along the bank of the Korotuaheka, in order to secure to all in common the privileges of the river, (fishing, &c.)

Cemetery Reserve.

And 3. The site of the old Kaiapoi Pa, comprising five acres, which is intended to be set apart as a Native Cemetery.

VI.—THE ALLOTMENT.

As I have already furnished the Government with a description of each of the parcels, prepared expressly for the Crown Grant, I shall confine myself here to an abstract of them with the names of the respective allottees:—

An abstract of the par-
cels, with names of al-
lottees.

No. 1. Fourteen acres.	Manahi Iri of the Ngaitahu tribe.
No. 2. Fourteen acres.	Horomona Tahunu, (half-caste,) of Ngaitahu.
No. 3. Fourteen acres.	Rihari Paienui, of Ngatiraua.
No. 4. Fourteen acres.	Pita Mutu, of Ngaitahu.
No. 5. Fourteen acres.	Teoti Pita Hape, of Ngaitahu.
No. 6. Fourteen acres.	Te Wakena Kokorau, of Ngaitahu.
No. 7. Fifteen acres.	Te Wirihana Kirikau, of Ngaitahu.
No. 8. Fourteen acres.	Rewiti Te Akau, of Ngaitahu.
No. 9. Fourteen acres.	Arama Tahuna, of Ngaitahu.
No. 10. Fourteen acres.	Henare Ta Whakaawhi, of Ngatiapa.
No. 11. Fourteen acres.	Ruera Irikapua, of Ngaitahu.
No. 12. Fourteen acres.	Herewini Ira, of Ngaitahu.
No. 13. Fourteen acres.	Teoti Paipa, (half-caste,) of Ngaitahu.
No. 14. Fourteen acres.	Punuiotonga, of Ngaitahu.
No. 15. Fourteen acres.	Tiaki Parete, (half-caste,) of Ngaitahu.
No. 16. Fourteen acres.	Ilaati Toromi, of Ngatiawa.
No. 17. Fourteen acres.	Maika Poroteke, of Ngaitahu.
No. 18. Fourteen acres.	Te Koreke of Ngaitahu.
No. 19. Thirteen acres.	Teoti Herewini Te Whakatauka, of Ngaitahu.
No. 20. Fourteen acres.	Te Kahu, of Ngaitahu.
No. 21. Fourteen acres.	Petera Kahutuanui, of Ngaitahu.
No. 22. Fourteen acres.	Matenga Te Rapa, of Ngaititoa.
No. 23. Fourteen acres.	Te Haena Huri, of Ngaitahu.
No. 24. Fourteen acres.	Hakopa Te Ataotu, of Ngaitahu.
No. 25. Fourteen acres.	Himiona Pohata, of Ngaitahu.
No. 26. Fourteen acres.	Ruka Taipo, of Ngaitahu.
No. 27. Fourteen acres.	Tame Te Io, of Ngaitahu.
No. 28. Fourteen acres.	Horopapera Momo, of Ngaitahu.
No. 29. Fourteen acres.	Watene Whakauri, of Ngaitahu.
No. 30. Fourteen acres.	Hone Paratene Tamainuiarangi, of Ngaitahu.
No. 31. Fourteen acres.	Henare Korako, of Ngaitahu.
No. 32. Fourteen acres.	Te Teira Turakina, of Ngaitahu.
No. 33. Fourteen acres.	Hapimana Te Kawe, of Ngaitahu.
No. 34. Fourteen acres.	Hakura, of Ngatiawa.
No. 35. Fourteen acres.	Hemi Pukahu, of Ngaitahu.
No. 36. Fourteen acres.	Tukaruatoro, of Ngaitahu.

An abstract of the parcels, with names of allottees.

- No. 37. Fourteen acres. Hone Potoko, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 38. Fourteen acres. Matiu Hutoi, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 39. Fourteen acres. Tare Wiremu, Rangitira, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 40. Fourteen acres. Wiremu Naihira, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 41. Fourteen acres. Te Koro Maitai, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 42. Fourteen acres. Hapurona Taupata, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 43. Fourteen acres. Ihaia Taihewa, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 44. Ten acres. Kakahi and Heni Hinewahia, (widows,) jointly, (not proposed to issue a Crown Grant.)
- No. 45. Fourteen acres. Hopa Paura, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 46. Fourteen acres. Reupene Kuri, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 47. Fourteen acres. Reihana Tuohu, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 48. Fourteen acres. Te Wiremu Te Uki, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 49. Fourteen acres. Te Meihana Tawha, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 50. Fourteen acres. Harawira Tarakou, of Ngatikakungunu.
- No. 51. Fourteen acres. Te Muru, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 52. Fourteen acres. Matana Piki, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 53. Two acres. Ria Paiua, wife of Matana Piki, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 54. Fourteen acres. Riwai Kairakau, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 55. Fourteen acres. Apera Pukenui, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 56. Fourteen acres. Tuini Pihawai, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 57. Five acres and a half. Riua Te Waipunahau, (a widow) of Ngaitahu.
- No. 58. Fourteen acres. Arapata Koti, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 59. Fourteen acres. Arapera Te Motukatoa, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 60. Fourteen acres. Ihaka Pouhawaiki, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 61. Fourteen acres. Wiremu Poukuku, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 62. Fourteen acres. Poharama Ruru, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 63. Fourteen acres. Hori Te Maiwhakarea, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 64. Fourteen acres. Paora Taki, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 65. Fourteen acres. Hohaia Tautakehina, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 66. Fourteen acres. Teone Wetere Tahea, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 67. Fourteen acres. Arapata Poukaka, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 68. Fifteen acres and a half. Horomona Pa of Ngaitahu, (made of this size by consent of the Runanga, to include Horomona's cultivations.)
- No. 69. Fifteen acres. Ripene Te Waipapa, of Ngaitahu, (this and the five following parcels made of this size in consideration of the land being swampy.)
- No. 70. Fifteen acres. Ihaia Tainui, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 71. Fifteen acres. Wiremu Pukupuhia, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 72. Fifteen acres. Hoani Uru, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 73. Fifteen acres. Teoti Te Wahia, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 74. Fifteen acres. Erueti Tihema, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 75. Fourteen acres. Aperahama Te Aika, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 76. Fourteen acres. Teone Rehu, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 77. Fourteen acres. Wiremu Te Pa, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 78. Fourteen acres. Wiremu Koti, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 79. Fourteen acres. Matene Ruhu, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 80. Fourteen acres. Paora Tua, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 81. Fourteen acres. Irai Tihau, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 82. Fourteen acres. Tahana Hapaikete, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 83. Fourteen acres. Hoani Timaru, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 84. Ten acres. Pohau, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 85. Fourteen acres. Poihipi Te Orahui, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 86. Fourteen acres. Te Manihera Te Apehu, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 87. Fourteen acres. Peneamini Parekuku, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 88. Fourteen acres. Teoti Wiremu Te Hau, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 89. Fourteen acres. Moroati Pakapaka, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 90. Fourteen acres. Wereta Tainui, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 91. Twenty acres. Endowment to Church of England for Native Industrial School.
- No. 92. Fourteen acres. Te Wekipira Korotipa, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 93. Fourteen acres. Te Weiti Te Wahine, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 94. Fourteen acres. Te Korihi, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 95. Fourteen acres. Paora Tau, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 96. Fourteen acres. Ihairaira Tukaha, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 97. Fourteen acres and a half. Reatara, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 98. Fourteen acres. Pita Te Hori, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 99. Fourteen acres. Teone Pere, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 100. Seven acres. Ihaka Te Apu, of Ngaitiraukawa.
- No. 101. Five acres. Reserved for Native Cemetery.
- No. 102. Fourteen acres. Pitama Karatiti, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 103. Fifteen acres. Hakopa Tohitama, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 104. Fourteen acres. Mikaera Turangatahi, of Ngaitahu.

An abstract of the parcels, with names of allottees.

- No. 105. Fifteen acres. Hapakuku Kairua, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 106. Fourteen acres. Ernera Hui, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 107. Fourteen acres. Hoani Maka Pohata, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 108. Fourteen acres. Horomona Pohio, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 109. Fourteen acres. Hohepa Huria, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 110. Eleven acres. Hohaia Te Kotuku, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 111. Fourteen acres. Tamati Te Ao, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 112. Twelve acres and a half. Teoti Tauteori, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 113. Fourteen acres. Horomona Haukeke, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 114. Fourteen acres. Teo Mati, (half caste) Ngaitahu.
- No. 115. Four acres and a half. Wesleyan Church Endowment.
- No. 116. Fourteen acres. Hoani Korako, (half caste) of Ngaitahu.
- No. 117. Fourteen acres. Tamati Tikao, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 118. Fourteen acres. Hamiora Tini, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 119. Fourteen acres. Taituha Hape, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 120. Seventeen acres. Henare Tawhiri,* of Ngaitahu.
- No. 121. Fourteen acres. Te Watarauhi Koeti, of Ngaitahu.
- No. 122. Three acres. Kotihotiho, (a widow,) of Ngaitahu.

Allotment of bush parcels.

The Bush Parcels were allotted as follows:—

- No. 1. Four acres. Hakuira Tamaranga and Tukaruatoro, jointly.
- No. 2. Three acres. Turi Te Wera, Henare Korako and Te Teira Turakina, jointly.
- No. 3. Three acres and a half. Tamati Tikao and Haata Toromi, jointly.
- No. 4. Three acres and three quarters. Teoti Te Wahia and Leone Pere, jointly.
- No. 5. Five acres and a quarter. Te Koro Maiti, one half of the bush being reserved for Church purposes.
- No. 6. Three acres and three quarters. Te Hapimana, Te Kawe and Watarauhi Koeti, jointly.
- No. 7. One acre. Pohoareare and Patoromu Te Ao, jointly.
- No. 8. Six acres and three quarters. Tihema, Paora Tua and Moroati, jointly.
- No. 9. Four acres and a quarter. Haimona Pita Mutu, Te Watene Kokorau, and Hapurona Taupata, jointly.
- No. 10. Two acres and a half. Te Meihana, Tawha, and Tuini Pihawai, jointly.
- No. 11. Two acres. Reihana Tuohu and Rupene Kuri, jointly.
- No. 12. Seven acres and three quarters. Hoani Korako, Teoti Te Korihi, and Hoani Hape, jointly.
- No. 13. Twelve acres and a quarter. Horomona Tiakitahuna (half-caste), Reneti Te Akau, Manahi Iri, Poihipi Te Orahui, Pene Parekuku, Henare Mahuika, Manihere Te Apehu, and Teoti Hape, jointly.
- No. 14. Five acres and a quarter. Hakopa Te Ataotu, Aperahama Te Aika, and Ruera, jointly.
- No. 15. Three acres and a quarter. Ihaia Tainui and Te Mutu, jointly.
- No. 16. Four acres and a half. Wiremu Te Pa, Irai Tihau, Koreke, and Horopapere Hape, jointly.
- No. 17. Eight acres and a half. Wereta Tainui, Matene Rehu, Ernera Hui (half-caste), and Te Ha (a woman), jointly.
- No. 18. Two acres and a half. Hoani Timaru.
- No. 19. Ten acres. Ihaia Taihewa, Maika Poroteke, and Hoani Hape, jointly.
- No. 20. Five acres and a half. Tame Te Ao, Haata Toromi, and Karauria Kapiti, jointly.
- No. 21. Twelve acres and a quarter. Wiremu Naihira, Tare Rangatira, Matiu Hutoi, Te Wirihana Kirikau, and Tiaki Parete (half-caste), jointly.
- No. 22. Seven acres and three-quarters. Arapata Koti, Wiremu Koti, Taituha Hape and Rupene Waipapa, jointly.
- No. 23. Five acres and three-quarters. Horomona Pa and Herewina Ira, jointly.
- No. 24. Nine acres and a half. Tame Te Io, Ruka Taipo, and Himiona Pohata, jointly.
- No. 25. Thirteen acres. Horomona Haukeke, Teoti Paipa (half-caste), Tamati Wiremu Te Hau, Hamiora Tini, and Teoti Herewini, jointly.
- No. 26. One acre and a half. Matana Piki.
- No. 27. Two acres. Hoani Paratene Tamainuiarangi.
- No. 28. Two acres. Pita Te Hori.
- No. 29. Three-quarters of an acre. Rina Te Waipunahau (a widow).
- No. 30. Three acres. Te Haeana Huri.
- No. 31. Two acres. Te Watene Wakauira.
- No. 32. Two acres and three-quarters. Pitama Karatiti.
- No. 33. Three acres and a quarter. Ihaka Pouhawaiki.
- No. 34. Two acres. Hapakuku Kairua.

* Made of this extent to include a family burial ground.

- No. 35. Three acres and a quarter. Mikaera Turangatahu.
 No. 36. Seven acres and a quarter. Hoani Uru, Arapata Poukaka, and Kupere, jointly.
 No. 37. Twenty-two acres and a quarter. Hoani Mahaka Pohata, Te Kotuku, Horomona Pohio, and Paora Tau, jointly.
 No. 38. Four acres and a quarter. Hohepa Huria and Eruera Puhiohia, jointly.
 No. 39. Four acres and a half. Hone Potoko and Teoti Tauteori, jointly.
 No. 40. Three acres and a quarter. Paora Taki and Te Maiwhakarea, jointly.
 No. 41. Four acres. Hera Mohura (a woman), Punuotonga, Te Kahu, Hone Wetere Tahea, and Hohaia Tautakehina, jointly.

Allotment of bush parcels.

The detached clumps of bush (chiefly dead trees) were allotted as follows:—

Allotment of detached clumps.

Te Waimango to Hakopa Hutai; *Te Parikoau* to Hemi Pukahu; *Hekanui* to Hopa Paura; *Te Waituere* to Wiremu Te Pukupuhia; *Pukuharuru* to Herewini Kairakau; *Tarekahautuku* to Mohi Patu; *Te Kotuku* to Te Wiremu Te Uki, Te Weiti Wahine, Mohi Puhorakai, Te Harawira Tarakau, and Kingita Tarewa, jointly; *Oteaoparaki-iti* to Enoka Kaurehe; and *Oteaoparaki-nui* to Te Wirihana Piro.

The clump of bush on the Western side of the Karangatahi Stream, and known as Oruatamatea, was allotted to Hakopa Tohitama and Teone Rehu, jointly; half an acre being reserved for Church purposes.

The division of the bush land was regulated very much by the quality of the timber; and the Rule of apportionment. quantity already sold by private individuals was considered in determining their respective shares.

Before leaving Canterbury I prepared and gave to each Native a plan of his allotment with a Separate plans. certificate of ownership.

VII.—EXCLUDED PORTIONS.

The triangular block at the North-eastern extremity of the Reserve was, by common consent, excluded from the individualization. It contains fifty acres of excellent land, and from its position value, would probably command a price of from £15 to £20 per acre. I was anxious to keep this block open for the present, as it is yet uncertain whether the Natives may not have to raise funds, by the sale of land, for re-payment to the Government of the cost of the sub-divisional survey. They are relying on the road compensation money due from the Provincial Government as a means of meeting this charge. I thought it right, however, to guard the interests of the Government by having a reserve upon which to fall back should these funds prove insufficient.

A block of fifty acres reserved.

The deep swamp on the Western and the sandy strip on the Eastern side of the Reserve, together with the long arm forming the entrance to the Reserve on the South, were also excluded, and for the following reasons:—

Other portions excluded.

I. The Natives were decidedly averse to the individualization of the deep swamp as a part of the general partition, for the simple reason that it is at present, and is likely long to remain, wholly unavailable for the purposes of husbandry.

Reasons for not including the swamp.

The expense of effectually draining this swamp would be considerable, and, in the present circumstances of the Natives, the undertaking could be carried out only by joint enterprise. The main Rangiora water course (now in contemplation by the Provincial Government) will, when constructed, carry off much of the surface water from this swamp, but no substantial advantage can be gained without tributary cuttings, and these must be made by the people collectively.

I have no doubt that *ultimately* what is now swamp will become the most valuable property in the Reserve, but this must be a matter of time—probably many years. The scheme of partition aims at a fair and equitable division of the land with a view to immediate occupation and industrial improvement. It is obvious that to have included the swamp in the individualization would have been, on the one hand, to place a number of the proprietors at a great disadvantage as compared with the rest; while on the other hand, it would have practically shut them out for a considerable while from the profitable occupation of their land, and consequently from the development of those industrial energies which it was the chief aim of this undertaking to promote and stimulate.

II. The strip of land on the Eastern side of the Reserve is a sandy belt, about 60 chains in length, and varying in width from a few feet to three chains.

Being detached from the rest of the Reserve it is, from its limited extent, practically useless to the Natives; and they have therefore asked the approval of the Government to its immediate sale. It would be valuable as frontage to the private property lying at the back of it, and would probably command a price of about £15 per acre.

Reason for not including the sandy strip.

III. The Southern arm of the Reserve was excluded from this survey for several reasons:—

Reasons for not including the southern arm.

1st. It is in actual occupation by Kaiapoi residents who have erected dividing fences and built houses upon their respective parcels. Undisturbed possession during a period of years, and acts of ownership long exercised, were admitted by the Runanga to establish, in each case, a prior individual right to the piece of land so occupied.

2nd. The resident Natives objected to its being included in the present survey, and the absentee claimants acquiesced in the objection.

3rd. This land is so situated as regards position and frontage value, that the rules which have regulated the division of the open land could not be made applicable here; and consequently its partition, if determined on, must be the subject of a separate arrangement.

4th. There is a very general desire to have this strip of land regularly laid out as a Native Township, and for this purpose the present occupants are willing to waive their individual claims. The

project of a township at Waituere Point (see my letter, 23rd October, 1861) was abandoned on account of the difficulty of approach to the proposed site during the winter months.

Having road frontage on the one side, and water access on the other, this arm would certainly form a very eligible site, but I was unwilling while the larger undertaking was unfinished to entertain the proposal of the Natives in reference to the survey of a Township.

VIII.—THE MOERAKI CLAIM.

Reservation of 230 acres. Besides the portions already mentioned a flat of rich alluvial land lying between the Wheki Swamp and the Waituere Point, and comprising about 230 acres has (by the order of the late Native Minister) been excepted from the subdivision.

Not previously intended. This exclusion was not contemplated in the provisional partition of 1860 and has been made against the strong protest of the Kaiapoi Natives.

I may briefly state the circumstances.

Claim asserted by Mr. Mantell. When the Hon. Mr. Mantell (as Native Minister) visited Canterbury in December last, I submitted to him a plan of the survey as far as it had proceeded; and explained to him the proposed system of apportionment. He expressed full approval of my proceedings, but objected that no adequate provision had been made to meet the claims of the Moeraki Natives (Otago) to whom a share in this Reserve had been guaranteed by himself (as Crown Commissioner), in 1848-49, when engaged in setting out the Native Reserves in the Middle Island.

Native Minister's instructions. As he considered their claim as extending to about 500 acres, he requested me to reserve the Waituere flat out of the proposed subdivision, and to intimate to the Kaiapoi Natives that this, together with the Wheki Swamp and the unallotted block at the North Eastern extremity of the Reserve, would be awarded by the Government to the Moeraki claimants.

The announcement of this message produced considerable dissatisfaction among the Kaiapoi Natives, who contended that the non-occupation by the Moeraki people during this long interval amounted to a virtual surrender of any claim they may have had under the arrangements of 1848-49. They ultimately consented to leave the matter in my hands with the understanding that I should state their case to the Government.

I have carefully perused the printed reports of Mr. Mantell's mission, and the other papers relating thereto. The following are the only references to this subject I have been able to find.

Extracts from Mr. Commissioner Mantell's reports. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, dated 30th January, 1849, Mr. Mantell states:—"There are, including the Kaikainui Census, not more than 40 resident Natives between Kaiapoi and the Wai Kerikeri. Most of the Natives resident at Port Levy and other places on the Peninsula belong to, but do not occupy the district. These and (at their request) those living at Moeraki and Murihiku I considered in making the Tuahiwi Reserve." Again, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, dated 24th January, 1850, covering a tabular return, showing the proportion of population to Reserves at Kaiapoi and Moeraki he repeats that "it (the Kaiapoi Reserve) was made of its present extent in order to admit 'the Moeraki Natives,' and in a note it is added, 'average: nearly 11 acres to each individual.'"

Extent of the Moeraki claim. From the above it would appear that the Moeraki Natives have a fair claim to a share in this Reserve, but I confess that I cannot agree in opinion with Mr. Mantell as to how far this claim should be considered to extend. As it is, seven of the Moeraki claimants have been admitted to the Kaiapoi partition (by consent of the Runanga), and a farm of fourteen acres allotted to each of them.

Objections to award proposed by Mr. Mantell. Considering the paucity of population at Moeraki, and the size of their present Reserve (500 acres), I do most earnestly hope that the Government will not insist upon the award indicated by Mr. Mantell; especially because by so doing several *bonâ fide* Kaiapoi residents, whose names appeared in my Report of 1860 as recognized allottees, would be absolutely shut out from any share at all in the open land.

Fifteen farms should be reserved. I must urge, on behalf of the Kaiapoi people, that prior to any award, fifteen farms of 14 acres each be reserved from the Waituere flat and secured to the following Natives, in severalty, viz., Hoani Tukutuku, Mohi Patu, Hakopa Hutai, Turi Te Wera, Pohoareare, Patoromu Te Ao, Te Makarini Mokomoko, Kingita Tarewa, Te Wirihana Piro, Teoti Wira Huanoa, Henare Tawha, Enoka Kaurehe, Hoani Hape Te Ao, Pene Pukuhau, and Hamiora Tohuanuku.

Remainder may be given up. The rest of this land and the Wheki Swamp may then be given over to the Moeraki people, and also, should the Government so decide, the unallotted block of 50 acres of which mention has already been made.

IX.—CONCLUSION.

Immediate advantages. An unquestionable benefit has been conferred upon the Kaiapoi Natives by the partition of their reserve. The disputes about the bush have ceased, and now that the family claims are clearly defined, the timber trade with the Europeans, which was stopped by the Government in 1859, may be safely and advantageously re-opened. The individualization of the open land has given a fixity to population and an impetus to industrial pursuits prophetic of the most satisfactory results.

Natives thoroughly satisfied. I feel secure in stating that the partition has given universal satisfaction to the Natives themselves. In my Report of May, 1860, I observed that at the general meeting when the final memorandum was submitted for approval there was only one dissentient voice, and that "this proceeded from Teoti

Te Hau's conduct in 1860. Wiremu Te Hau—a man of notoriously bad character, and consequently of no influence,—who purposely absented himself from the previous meetings, and, though invited, declined to attend when the apportionment of the bush land took place. This man now contended for a larger share of the

bush than had been allotted him, and demurred to the place assigned him among the farms." It is interesting to note that this is the same man referred to by Mr. Commissioner Mantell in his letter to the Colonial Secretary (30th January, 1849,) in the following paragraph:—"On Monday the survey was continued, but closed early in consequence of the misconduct of a young man named Metehau, who afterwards returned to the camp, set fire to our hut, and was about to attack me with a tomahawk when he was stopped by the Natives."

Te Hau, finding that he could not reverse the decision of the Runanga, ultimately gave up his opposition and took the place assigned him. Te Hau's conduct in 1849.

I have mentioned this circumstance to shew the unanimity of feeling that prevailed, and to satisfy the Government that there is no danger of future disagreement.

I may sum up by saying that the whole work has been accomplished through the medium of the Runanga, that in every particular their approval has been obtained, and that therefore the owners themselves stand pledged to maintain the present division inviolate. Te Hau yields to the Runanga.

Remarks on the Individualization of Native Title.

From considering the success that has attended this experiment at Kaiapoi the mind naturally turns towards the general question of individualizing Native lands.

Communism in land is admitted to be the great obstacle to the social and material advancement of the Maori people. It is very certain that under the present system of tenure the Natives will never be induced to give up their low Maori habits, and to adapt themselves to the requirements of a superior civilization. So long as their lands are held in common they have, properly speaking, no individual interest in improvements, and consequently there is little or no encouragement to industry or incentive to ambition. On the other hand, it may be safely argued that nothing would tend more powerfully to call forth their industrial energies and to promote a desire for worldly improvement than the possession, in severalty, of an *exclusive title* to a piece of land, however small in extent. Communism in land.

Let a kind and paternal Government do what it may in establishing schools and eleemosynary institutions, and in other endeavours to promote their material welfare, there seems little hope of the Maories making any real progress in civilization, or any improvement in their worldly circumstances, without the previous individualization of their lands. No material progress without individualization.

Fixity of residence is one of the first requisites of civilization, and, in the case of the Maori, it is hardly possible to secure this without establishing exclusive individual interests in the soil. If, therefore, we would raise these Natives out of their present low social condition, and bring civilizing agencies to operate successfully upon them, we must commence by individualizing their lands, and conferring sole and undisputed titles. Let the present system continue, and we may safely predict that the Maories of two generations hence will be essentially *Maori* in their manners and habits, and that they will have made little, if any, progress in the arts and comforts of civilization. On the other hand, let a system of individualization (however limited) be adopted, let every Maori in the country have a portion of land of sufficient extent allotted him, and secured by Crown Grant or otherwise, and we may reasonably expect that even a few years would bring about a vast improvement in their condition. If we may argue from the results that have already attended the experiment at Kaiapoi, the immediate effect of such a measure would be to stir up and encourage the people in their efforts for individual improvement, and to give a stimulus to their industrial energies that nothing else could impart. Fixity of residence essential to civilization.

In short, we submit that a proper individualization of their lands must after all be the first appreciable step towards the introduction of the Native people to the benefits of a more advanced civilization, and that this should therefore form a prominent feature in any general scheme that may be devised for their future management. Individualization of land a first step in civilization.

As a necessary preliminary to individualization, and as involving in itself important considerations, the settlement of tribal boundaries is a subject well deserving the earnest attention of the Government. Nothing would more materially promote the peace and security of the country than the permanent adjustment of tribal claims, and the determination of their respective boundaries. Settlement of tribal boundaries.

It is notorious that upon no subject are the Maories more sensitive or more jealous of interference than in regard to the boundaries of their lands. For generations back this has been the great bone of contention between opposing tribes. A land dispute has been the proximate, if not the immediate, cause of almost every war among the New Zealanders. Nor, so long as the causes remain, can these land s rifes be said to have died out. Though, by mutual consent, they may have long lain dormant, a mere accident might prove sufficient to call them forth afresh. At the present day there lies between the possessions of almost every two large tribes in New Zealand a strip of neutral territory, known as *Whenua tautohe* or "disputed land"—as, for example, Te Wairoa between the possessions of the Parauhau and Uriohau tribes. So long as these debateable grounds remain so, there is a continual danger of land feuds being renewed. Any overt act of ownership exercised upon such land by either of the contending parties would be construed into a challenge, the tribal jealousy would be aroused, and the worst consequences might ensue. Jealousy of Natives in regard to land.

Looking therefore to the desirability of placing the inter-tribal relations upon a more secure and permanent footing, it is obviously of the utmost importance that some scheme should be devised for partitioning the Native lands in such a way as to secure to the various tribes and *hapus* their respective possessions clearly defined and fixed by mutually recognised bounds or metes. Debateable lands a source of danger.

Inter-tribal relations on a better footing.

Effect on land purchasing operations.

Besides the advantages that would accrue in a purely native point of view, it cannot be doubted that such a system, if carried out, would very much facilitate land purchasing operations, and by removing the present obstructions, would pave the way to a more general alienation by the Natives of their waste lands.

Willingness of the Natives to co-operate.

That such a scheme would meet the approval and co-operation of the Natives themselves—without which nothing could be done—may be safely inferred from the readiness and evident interest with which the Chiefs of the Kohimarama Conference received and discussed the Governor's Message on this subject, of the 18th July, 1860.

The following passages from speeches may suffice:—

Extracts from speeches in the Conference. (*Maori Messenger*, 1860.)
Te Ururangi.

Tohi Te Ururangi, (*Ngatiwhakaue*): "Now let us adopt the suggestions of the Governor respecting our lands, and get them all surveyed, lest perplexities should hereafter arise; that I and mine may avoid the chance of a dispute with my younger brother; that I may leave my piece of land unencumbered to my children in the event of my death. * * * The land is the source of all the troubles of this Island. When we return to our home let every man define the boundaries of his land and we shall thus prevent loss of life."

Hukiki.

Hukiki, (*Ngatiraukawa*): "This is the word that we have been in search of in years past: the Governor has now revealed that word to us about surveying our land. * * * Three years have we waited for it, but when will the lands be surveyed?"

Ihakara.

Ihakara, (*Ngatiraukawa*): "I will now remark upon the Governor's Message. It is good. I wish our lands to be defined. That is our desire in order that each may have his portion clearly defined. * * * According to my idea no time should be lost."

Wi Tamehana.

Wiremu Tamehana Te Neke, (*Ngatiawa*): "Now we know that the Governor is indeed a friend of the Maori, because he has consented that our lands shall be surveyed; for this reason I say let the plan be quickly carried out."

Te Rauparaha.

Tamihana Te Rauparaha, (*Ngatitao*): "We (*Ngatitao*) and *Ngatiraukawa* will carry this (the partition of tribal lands) into effect. Our tribes are quick in taking up European customs. * * * Let the head (*i.e.* Southern part of the Island) commence it."

Paora Tuhaere.

Paora Tuhaere, (*Ngatiwhatua*): "The Governor proposes subdividing the land. It is right that the land should be apportioned among the owners thereof. * * * The Governor's advice, that disputed lands should be settled by a Committee, is good. That just agrees with what I said in my speech the other day. * * * Should a difficulty arise let it be referred to a disinterested tribe."

Unanimity of opinion.

To shew the unanimity that prevailed on this subject, it is sufficient to observe that only one, (*Hori Te Whetuki*), out of more than a hundred who were present during the discussion, expressed an unfavourable opinion.

As to disaffected districts.

It would not be politic (even were it practicable) to attempt the introduction of such a measure into a disaffected district. The Natives are so extremely jealous in all matters relating to their lands that it is sometimes impossible to disabuse their minds of a suspicion that the Government have an ulterior object even in a measure that is proposed expressly for their benefit. It would therefore be necessary to commence any operations of this kind in a district where both the disposition of the Natives and the physical features of the country would most favor the experiment; and there is little doubt that as the advantages of a better defined tenure become apparent the desire for the new system would gradually spread; in the same way that at Canterbury, the partition of the Kaiapoi Reserve, when it had reached a successful issue, was followed by a general desire among the Natives of the other Settlements to have their Reserves treated in the same manner.

Objections.

It has been objected that the complication of tribal claims arising out of the obvious causes of inheritance, conquest, and intermarriage, would be such as to oppose an insuperable barrier to the proper partition of tribal lands.

Writer's opinion.

It appears to the writer that the question of tribal claims has been needlessly encumbered with difficulties. That there are some *very complicated* claims no one will deny, but it is submitted that these would prove the exception and not the rule, and when they did occur would be so limited in extent as not to occasion any serious embarrassment. On this point I may quote the authority of Sir William Martin, D.C.L.:—"The lands of a tribe do not form one unbroken district over which all the members of the tribe may wander. On the contrary they are divided into a number of districts appertaining to the several sub-tribes. * * * These small districts are in many cases numerous, and are for the most part sufficiently well defined." (Pamphlet, 1846.)

State of tribal boundaries

From physical difficulties of the country, and from the introduction into the tribal possessions of a set of claims arising out of inter-marriage, there are perhaps few cases in which a tribe or *hapu* has a clearly defined or complete boundary to its own lands as against neighbouring tribes or *hapus*; but as a rule it would, it is thought, be a comparatively easy matter to fix, by the mutual consent of adjoining tribes, a fair boundary as between each other, and to determine finally the extent of the imported inter-marriage claims.

A district Runanga for tribal partition.

The best machinery for carrying out the tribal partition would be a District *Runanga*, representing fully the tribes and *hapus* interested in the lands to be partitioned; but the details of any such plan must be ruled very much by circumstances.

Requisites.

I am of opinion that "length of time, publicity, and knowledge of the Maori language"—the same requisites that are given by Sir William Martin as essential to a sound purchase of land from the Natives,—would be found sufficient to ensure a satisfactory and permanent adjustment of tribal boundaries.

Proposal to undertake the experiment.

Indeed so sanguine am I upon this subject, that I should have great readiness in

attempting, with proper help, (should the Government desire it,) the tribal or *hapu* partition of the whole of the Native lands in the district to which His Excellency has been pleased recently to appoint me, (*i.e.* Wellington West Coast,) and I should be hopeful of a very successful result.

The subsequent individualization of these tribal or *hapu* estates, or portions of them, would be best accomplished by a General *Runanga*, as in the Kaiapoi case. Considerable difficulties would doubtless present themselves, but the exercise of a little skill and the necessary amount of patience and perseverance would generally overcome them.

A general Runanga for individualization.
Difficulties may be overcome.

The Rev. Mr. Hamlin observes (parl. pap., 1860), that "the absence of individualization seems rather attributable to the state of the country than to any defect in the line of descent. Circumstanced as the Natives have been, they say one individual cannot hold his land against the attacks of his enemies; therefore, for security, peace, and safety, it was necessary to give all the branches of a family a participation in the possession, though the individualization of the descent is clearly recognized."

Rev. Mr. Hamlin on individualization.

WALTER BULLER, R. M.

Native Office, Auckland,
March 1st, 1862.

