

**Whakatōhea:
Twentieth-century land administration
and socio-economic issues**

DRAFT OUTLINE

6 October 2017

**Tony Walzl
WALGHAN PARTNERS
PO Box 28039
Kelburn, Wellington**

Contents

INTRODUCTION	4
A. PROBLEMS AROUND COMMUNITIES AND LAND: 1900-1925	5
1. <i>The Stout Ngata Commission 1907-1908</i>	6
2. <i>Land Utilisation Difficulties</i>	12
i. Opape Reserve.....	12
ii. The Leasing of Whakapaupakihi.....	15
iii. Hiwarau	19
iv. Tahora	20
3. <i>Crown Land Purchasing: 1910-1920</i>	22
i. Sale of Whiti kau blocks 1910-15.....	23
ii. Oamaru blocks 1913-17	24
4. <i>Health Snapshots</i>	26
5. <i>Whakatōhea as at 1927</i>	30
B. ATTEMPTED DEVELOPMENT: 1925-1950.....	33
1. <i>Situations at the Kainga</i>	34
i. Omarumutu	34
ii. Waioeka	35
iii. Ōpōtiki Town Sections	41
2. <i>Ōhiwa Fishing Rights 1944-49</i>	42
3. <i>State-Assisted Development</i>	46
i. Consolidation Scheme.....	48
ii. Hinahinanui	49
iii. Opape Units.....	51
iv. Opape Base Farm	58
v. Wainui	61
vi. Land Development during the 1940s.....	65
vii. Land as Compensation	68
viii. Opape 3 Maize Production 1944 - 1953	70

C.	DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE: 1950-1975	75
1.	<i>Socio-Economic Issues</i>	76
i.	Tribal Committees.....	76
ii.	Employment	78
iii.	Education.....	81
iv.	Law and Order	83
v.	Race Relations	85
2.	<i>Communities and Housing.....</i>	87
i.	Waioeka	87
ii.	Waiotahi 1955	89
iii.	Kutarere 1958-1974	90
iv.	Ōpōtiki Housing	91
3.	<i>Land Use.....</i>	94
i.	Whakataupakihi Development Proposal 1951-56.....	96
ii.	Attempts to Consolidate Opape 1956-1967	100
iii.	Opape Development Attempt 1967-1974.....	106
iv.	Attempts at Timber Use of Opape 1963 - 74.....	113
v.	Hiwarau Amalgamation 1969.....	117
D.	SEEKING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: 1975-1990	119
1.	<i>Whakatōhea Land Concerns 1979</i>	119
2.	<i>Health and Welfare 1980s.....</i>	121

Introduction

This document presents a very initial draft outline of the Whakatōhea 20th Century Land Administration and Socio-Economic report. Essentially, it consists of an initial write up of written research material located within the timeframe available for this project. The material has been ordered chronologically ordered and gathered together into various themes but there is no analysis or interpretation at this point. The draft is being produced to provide Whakatōhea with some idea of the issues revealed by the research of written sources as a way to focus further investigation through the use of local and oral sources. This next stage of investigation will be organised for mid-November.

A. Problems around Communities and Land: 1900-1925

The Government Census for 1901, recorded 599 persons as being Whakatōhea. This first Part of the report covers the period through to 1925 and primarily deals with land issues. (A section on education will be added to subsequent drafts.)

The first Section begins with the Stout-Ngata Commission which presents a snapshot of the land still held by Whakatōhea at the beginning of the 20th century. It shows that subdivisions into which the land had partitioned, records areas and numbers of owners. In addition, the evidence given by Whakatōhea landholders before the Commission about their future aspirations is also recorded.

The second Section looks at four cases studies in relation to Whakatōhea land. The problems being experienced at Opape Reserve, both in relation to the quality of land and the partitioning of that land, are noted. Next, a short subsection identifies the difficulties experienced by the Whakapaupakihi owners who had leased their lands in receiving their first payments. The third subsection reflects a complaint made in 1912 about several land issues relating to the Hiwarau block. The final subsection records the reluctance of officials to provide a road for those Whakatōhea who held interests in the Tahora 2A blocks and who were trying to settle the land.

The third Section looks at the Crown purchasing of the inland blocks of Whitiākau and Oamaru after 1910. This is followed by a brief Section recording several health snapshots which include several requests by Whakatōhea for medical services. The final Section of this Part of the report relies on evidence presented before the Simm Commission to provide an overview of where Whakatōhea were living, their land use and their need to acquire waged employment.

1. The Stout Ngata Commission 1907-1908

In 1907, a Commission of Inquiry was established to tour the country and make an inventory of all Māori land in New Zealand with recommendations on future utilisation. The appointed Commissioners were Sir Robert Stout and Apirana Ngata. On 24 January 1908, Ngata arrived in Ōpōtiki where he received the following evidence from Whakatōhea in relation to their land blocks.¹

Block	Area (acres)	Witness	Testimony
Hiwarau A & B		Te Warana Mokomoko	"One portion we have negotiated for lease for Ball. Has not yet seen returns. Been approved by Board. Owners have executed lease".
Hokianga Island		Te Warana Mokomoko	"Reserve for Maori Occupation. It is occupied now. Reserve as papakainga".
Oamaru 2 & 7		Waiapu	"I have interests there and want own interests to work".
Oamaru No.2	4,000	Paera Patuhi	"Reserve for Maori Occupation for lease to our young people. They wanted it leased to them or for them to work it".
Oamaru No.3B	744	Te Warana Mokomoko	"Reserve for Maori Occupation Our young people want to farm this land".
Oamaru No.4B	1,857	Paera Taia	"About 9 miles from Opotiki. The bulk of the owners are absentees. This seems a suitable block to lease to general public, but not to sell".
Oamaru No.5B	3,063	Matiu Ngaohonga	"To be incorporated for the purpose of leasing. We do not know the position of this land yet".
Oamaru No.7B	1,645	Heremia Hoera	"Wish this reserved for Maori Occupation to be leased to the younger Maoris if they choose".
Opape No.1	2,432	Rewita Nita	"Further subdivided. Reserve Maori Occupation"
Opape No.1	2,432	Matiu Ranapia	"Has been further divided into family holdings for Maori occupation".
Opape No.2		Te Paki	"I want my people to grant me a lease of No.2, Belongs to N'Ngahere. I want to lease a portion of No.2 excluding area now occupied by some of the owners. Wi Akuranga and others are owners".
Opape No.2	1,187	Matiu Ngaohonga	"Has been subdivided into family groups".
Opape No.2		Taka Totara	"Wants a road at our kainga"
Opape No.3	2,268	Heremai Hoera	"To be reserved for Maori Occupation Further subdivided. Papakainga has been reserved."
Opape No.4		Wiremu Rangihaerepo	"Further subdivided into family holdings. It is being occupied. 6 acres reserved as papakainga. Portions not required for actual cultivations we should have power

¹ 24 Jan 1908, MA 78/3, No.4, Minute Book of Evidence by A. T. Ngata

			to lease to some of the younger people”
Opape No.5		Te Warana Mokomoko	(N’Patu) “Has been further subdivided. We wish this reserved for Maori occupation. This is a papakainga block partly. We are occupying and cultivating the land. A papakainga has been allocated by the Court”.
Opape 6 & 8	1,088	Paera Pahihi	“We want No.6 reserved for Maori Occupation We want Board to lease and deal with No.8.”
Opape No.7	425	Wiremu Rangihaerepo	“It is not occupied. We want it reserved. We want to lease to one of the younger men of the hapu owning same or to others of the Whakatohea”.
Opape No.9	1,164	Te Warana Mokomoko	“Belongs to the same people. Has not been further subdivided”. Maori Occupation “We want our young people to go on to it and work it”.
Opape No.10	1,680	Matiu Ngaohonga	“Has not been subdivided. We want these lands reserved for Maori Occupation with power to lease to the young people amongst ourselves. The Committee could do this. No.10 is unoccupied but No.2 is and also cultivated in parts”. “The hapu that owns this land is called N’Ngahere and have little or no other lands”.
Opape No.11	3,270	Rewita Nita	“We want this block incorporated with power to lease to Maoris or Europeans”.
Opape No.11	3,270	Matiu Ranapia	“Ngaitama holds as one block. We want to incorporate, and then lease to Maoris or Europeans as we may choose. No one occupying”.
Opape No.12	4,391	Heremai Hoera	“Further subdivided into family holdings. Wants surveys expedited. Reserve for M.O”
Opape No.12		Waiapu	“Subdivided. My family has commenced work on this land. Most urgently want surveys. We can work our own lands.
Tahora 2A part		Te Warana Mokomoko	“Interests of myself and party to be reserved for Maori Occupation” [witness to supply list of his people] “Original area 13,000 acres. Belongs to Urewera and Whakatohea respectively”.
Tahora 2B		Paera Patuhi	“We have leased most of this and await approval of Board”
Whakapaupakihi No.1		Matiu Ngaohonga	“Many of the owners reside at Gisborne. But the mana went from here. Should be included in No.2 incorporation”.
Whakapaupakihi No.2	2,000	Rewita Nita	“There has been a subdivision of this asked for. Court attempted to do so but without result. Land being incorporated”. “We want to cut out our interests, because part of Opape Reserve is not very suitable. Indeed we have asked the Govt for a further grant of land. This Whakapaupakihi is some of the best land”. “There is only about 400 acres of Opape 1 & 11 suitable for ploughing”.
Whakapaupakihi No.2		Paera Patuhi	“Being incorporated. There is timber on it. This will have to be first disposed of on satisfactory terms”.
Whakapaupakihi No.3	200	Paora Taia	“This belongs to minors. I think it should be included in the No.2 incorporation to be dealt with on the same lines”.

On 17 June 1907, the Commissioners reported on lands in the County of Ōpōtiki. Regarding Whakatōhea, the Commissioners reported the iwi had “little land left in their hands” due to the Government’s confiscation of land in the area. At that time of the report the title of Whakatōhea's principal reserve at Opape (containing 20,290 acres) had just been settled by the Native Land Court. The land within the Opape reserve was described by the Commissioners as not being high quality and in fact was described as second-class. At that time the owners wanted to reserve all but a small area of this reserve for their own use. Whakatōhea also had ancestral interests within Whakapaupakihi. These portions were areas remaining in relation to earlier Crown purchasing near Motu and also related to a remnant of the Oamaru block. In regards to the Oamaru block, the Crown through a series of purchases had ultimately acquired 87,897 acres. The residue, owned by Whakatōhea amounted to 16,773 acres including 4,814 acres which was recorded as being owned by their “Tuhoe kin”. Whakatōhea were prepared to offer 3,063 acres for lease to the general public but stipulated to the Native Land Commission that no part of the land should be sold.²

The Native Land Commission gave the view that the Whakatōhea Tribe had no surplus land for sale. The total area they held was 35,449 acres. In 1908, Whakatōhea were offering a total of 6,733 acres for lease to the general public and wanted to retain 28,676 acres. The Commission commented that “two of their sub-tribes are industrious, and have already started sheep-farming on a small-scale.”

It was further noted that the subdivision of the Opape Reserve had just been completed and was requiring surveys to complete the process. Various families were have said to have turned their attention to farming in small holdings on these subdivisions.³

In 1907 the Whakatōhea tribe had been negatively affected by their longer-term contact with Europeans when compared to other tribes to the north who had not had contact to the same degree. The Native Land Commission describe the relative differences as follows:

² Native Lands and Native-Land Tenure: Interim Report of the Native Land Commission, on Native Land in the County of Opotiki, AJHR 1908, G-1M, p.1.

³ Ibid, pp.1-2

There is, however, a great difference between the average holding per head of the Whakatohea Tribe and that of the tribes to the north of them. The former have been in contact with the European settlement for a longer period, and lost most of their ancestral lands through confiscation and sales to the Crown...⁴

An analysis of land utilisation in Ōpōtiki in 1907 shows that most of Opape was being utilised as family holdings.

Lands Leased or Under Negotiations for Lease			
Name of Block	Owners	Area a. r. p.	Remarks
Awaawakino B	195	2,011.0.0	Incorporated. Lease pending
Takaputahi (part)	365	11,718.0.0	Incorporated. Divided into 7 blocks of from 840 to 2,000 acres and leased. Leases consented to
Takaputahi (balance)	Same	21,139.0.0	Part same incorporation. Under negotiation for lease
Whakapaupakihi No.2	547	2,000.0.0	Incorporated. Under negotiation
Whitikau No.3A1	43	1,881.0.0	Incorporated. Lease consented to.
Whitikau No.3A2	10	367.0.0	Under negotiation.
Lands Recommended to be Reserved for Maori Occupation Under Part II of "The Native Land Settlement Act, 1907"			
Name of Block	Owners	Area a. r. p.	Remarks
Awaawakino	195	400.0.0	Cut out by Court for papakainga
Opape 1A	190	215.2.14	Papakainga
Opape 1B and 1O	20	316.0.32	Family Farm
Opape 1C and 1P	23	346.2.8	Family Farm
Opape 1D and 1N	32	298.0.38	Family Farm
Opape 1E and 1S	28	165.1.6	Family Farm
Opape 1F and 1M	19	247.3.28	Family Farm
Opape 1G and 1T	29	440.1.18	Family Farm
Opape 1H and 1R	22	247.3.28	Family Farm
Opape 1K and 1L	18	154.2.2	Family Farm
Opape 2	121	1,187.1.0	Has been divided into family holdings and used as family farms.
Opape 10	121	1,680.2.0	To be leased to Maori. Same owners as in No.2 and have no other lands. Owners want land incorporated under section 61 of "The Native Land Settlement Act, 1907".
Opape 3	146	73.0.35	Papakainga
Opape 3A1	10	210.0.0	Family holding
Opape 3A (balance)	14	450.0.0	Family holding
Opape 3B	13	178.1.30	Family holding
Opape 3C	14	220.0.10	Family holding

⁴ Native Lands and Native-Land Tenure: Interim Report of the Native Land Commission, on Native Land in the County of Opotiki, AJHR 1908, G-1M, p.4

Opape 3D	10	150.0.20	Family holding
Opape 3E	3	35.3.35	Family holding
Opape 3F	7	129.0.0	Family holding
Opape 3G	7	116.2.35	Family holding
Opape 3H	2	42.1.0	Family holding
Opape 3J	6	74.2.20	Family holding
Opape 3K	6	224.0.25	Family holding
Opape 3L	1	25.1.20	Family holding
Opape 3M	1	12.2.30	Family holding
Opape 3N	2	30.0.10	Family holding
Opape 3O	4	63.1.30	Family holding
Opape 3P	11	196.2.30	Family holding
Opape 3Q	14	107.2.5	Family holding
Opape 3R	3	63.1.30	Family holding
Opape 3S	4	61.1.10	Family holding
Opape 3T	3	25.1.20	Family holding
Opape 3W	22	187.1.25	Family holding
Opape 3X	9	152.1.10	Family holding
Opape 3Y	4	78.1.0	Family holding
Opape 4A	17	0.1.10	Family holding
Opape 4B	3	28.2.27	Family holding
Opape 4C	4	12.0.28	Family holding
Opape 4D1	2	2.1.29	Family holding
Opape 4D2	10	12.0.27	Family holding
Opape 4D3	12	43.0.0	Family holding
Opape 4E	13	115.0.35	Family holding
Opape 4F	27	172.0.0	Family holding
Opape 4 (Urupa)	2	1.2.0	Burial reserve
Opape 5A	24	218.3.20	Family holding
Opape 5B	18	189.3.0	Family holding
Opape 5C	10	73.0.0	Family holding
Opape 5D	11	96.3.0	Family holding
Opape 5E	12	93.0.0	Family holding
Opape 5F	3	45.2.20	Family holding
Opape 5G	1	11.0.0	Family holding
Opape 5 (Kainga)	79	5.3.12	Papakainga
Opape 6A	11	23.1.0	Family holding
Opape 6B	8	28.0.0	Family holding
Opape 6C	3	9.0.0	Family holding
Opape 6D	9	33.0.0	Family holding
Opape 6E	11	36.0.0	Family holding
Opape 6F	3	12.0.0	Family holding
Opape 6G	3	12.0.0	Family holding
Opape 6H	7	18.0.0	Family holding

Opape 6J	14	48.0.0	Family holding
Opape 6K	1	12.1.12	Family holding
Opape 7	45	425.1.0	To be incorporated under section 61 for lease to Maori. Unoccupied.
Opape 9	100	1,164.3.0	To be incorporated under section 61 for lease to Maori. Unoccupied.
Opape 12D, Y, E	17	528.3.0	Family holding
Opape 12F	5	181.3.26	Family holding
Opape 12H, J, B, M	2	668.3.25	Family holding
Opape 12K, C	20	875.2.25	Family holding
Opape 12O, G	11	360.2.30	Family holding
Opape 12P	11	393.1.15	Family holding
Opape 12Q, R, J, N	24	574.1.10	Family holding
Opape 12W	20	349.2.0	Family holding
Opape 12X, T	14	456.3.25	Family holding
Whitikau 3A3	34	1,652.0.0	Incorporated. Proposed to be lease to one of the owners. Over 400 acres improved.
Whitikau 3A1	11	530.0.0	Being incorporated for family farm
Lands Recommended to be Incorporated under Section 28 of "The Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act. 1907", with power to lease to Maori or European			
Name of Block	Owners	Area a. r. p.	Remarks
Oamaru 5B	25	3,063.0.0	
Opape 11	200	3,270.0.0	
Whakapaupakihi 1	35	200.0.0	No.2 already incorporated; owners of Nos 1 & 3 wish to join same
Whakapaupakihi 3	82	200.0.0	

These lands were not the only post-confiscation lands held by the Whakatōhea. In addition, to the land reported on by the Commission, there were 44 sections held in the town and suburbs of Ōpōtiki and 60 sections in the Ōhiwa Harbour area. It is not clear how many of these remained in Maori ownership as at 1900.

2. Land Utilisation Difficulties

Research conducted to date has located information of difficulties that Whakatōhea encountered when seeking to occupy or utilise their land in the period between 1900 and 1910.

i. Opape Reserve

As indicated in the report by the Stout-Ngata Commission, the Opape Reserve was a large block of land intended for occupation of various Whakatōhea hapu in the aftermath of the confiscation. In the years after 1900, there is information available on how the land in the reserve was viewed, as well as evidence relating to difficulties experienced by owners in having their block partitioned and surveyed. Before considering this information, however, the following paragraphs present other snippets of information in relation to the Opape Reserve.

- In May 1903, Maori at Opape formed a Labour Union.⁵ The Maori Committee at Opape decided that the charge for harvesting maize should be £1 per acre, and the rate for day labour would be 6 shillings. A decision was made that any Maori taking contracts at a lower rate was to be fined £2 10s except in the case of light crops.⁶
- Over 1905 and 1906 the Government had to assist in supplying potatoes to Whakatōhea on the Opape reserve who were suffering from a lack of food.⁷
- In August 1910, the Ōpōtiki-Omarumutu section of the East Coast telephone line, which was being constructed under Maori supervision reached completion. This was part of one big scheme to connect Ōpōtiki with Gisborne by telephone. The total distance to be covered by the so-called 'Maori line' was from Ōpōtiki to Port Awanui,

⁵ 28 May 1903, 'Local and General', *Star*, Issue 7717, p.3.

⁶ 26 May 1903, News and Notes', *Waikato Argus*, Vol XIV, Issue 1566, p.4

⁷ 14 Nov 1906, Pene Kora, Ngāti Ira, Waioweka to Governor, MA1 907, 1906?1390, ANZ-A

where connection had already been made with the Government line, which extended to Gisborne. The erection of the various sections was supervised by Maori committees. The committee at the Ōpōtiki end had charge of the erection of the section between Ōpōtiki and Opape. The cost of the line from Ōpōtiki to Omarumutu was about £80. The completion of the line was marked by a ceremony and a “great Maori feast”. The continuation of the line to Opape was expected to take place in September 1910.⁸

As noted above, after 1900 the owners of Opape Reserve took steps to have their lands partitioned and surveyed. The details of the partition and surveying will probably be presented in the Block Narratives report. Nevertheless, there is some general information on how they surveying was viewed as various time before 1920.

When Te Warana Mokomoko appeared before the Stout-Ngata Commission, he recorded his understanding regarding surveys was that the main subdivisions of 12 blocks would be paid for by the Government as this had been promised. Further subdivisions were to be paid for by each family. Mokomoko explained: “They want to have their partitions surveyed as soon as possible so as to get proper titles”.⁹

By 1910, difficulties had arisen in relation to subdivisions on the Opape reserve. During June, Apirana Ngata had inspected the land as the view of the Native Department was that the subdivisions made by the Court had spoilt the block. The Native Minister needed to decide whether the proposed subdivisions should proceed. Ngata considered that the partition of one third of the block could go ahead and by June this partition was being progressed.¹⁰

During 1913, Whakatōhea raised concerns regarding the costs involved in the surveying of their land at Opape. On 17 September 1913, Wiremu A.Paikea, wrote to the Native Minister on behalf of the owners regarding the amount to be paid for the surveys related to the subdivision of Opape No.3. In 1912, the block owners had been advised by Ngata that the cost for surveying Opape No.3 Section 1A, comprising over 200 acres, would amount to £16 and some shillings. The Chief Surveyor, however, had informed them that the cost was £25

⁸ 17 August 1910, *Poverty Bay Herald*, Vol XXXVII, Issue 12227, p.4.

⁹ 24 Jan 1908, Te Warana Mokomoko, MA 78/3, No.4, Minute Book of Evidence by A.T. Ngata, p.39

¹⁰ 21 June 1910, ‘Hon. A.T. Ngata at Gisborne’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, Vol XXXVII, Issue 12178, p.5.

and some shillings. This “serious difference” in the amount caused the owners some concern. Additional concerns were raised in relation to their papakainga land which comprised 73 acres, three roods and 15 perches with the owners questioning why the surveying of this block cost more than the surveying of the 200 acres already referred to.¹¹

On 6 October 1913, the Under Secretary for the Native Department provided the Native Minister with further information on issues raised in relation to the survey costs for Opape. He indicated that Ngata had assisted the Maori owners of Opape Reserve in bringing the matter before the Department with the suggestion that Wilson, who was surveying the Native Land Court subdivisions of Opape No.3, should be asked to consult with the Maori owners and submit a scheme for the subdivision of the papakainga reserve.¹²

On 29 October 1913, Paku Eruera and two others wrote to Apirana Ngata regarding Opape 3 s.1A. They informed him that the owners of this block had been sent an account by the Chief Surveyor to pay £54.18.3:

Now we object. We did not apply for a survey recently. This block has long since been surveyed. The cost of such survey was paid nearly thirty years ago...¹³

The two instances of complaint are only indications of difficulties being experienced over the partition and surveying of Opape. This whole process, which seems to have been a source of concern for owners, will probably be further explored by the Block Narratives project.

Aside from survey difficulties, there is also evidence that the Opape block was not particularly well suited for occupation purposes. As a result, over the years Whakatōhea petitioned various governments about the confiscation of their lands and the poor quality of the Opape Reserve which was returned to them following the confiscations. In 1914, Whakatōhea described Opape as being sterile land that was “broken with numerous cliffs and gullies”. Only about 200 acres of the Opape Reserve was considered ploughable.¹⁴

¹¹ 17 Sept 1913, Wiremu A Paikea, Secretary for Whakatohea to Native Minister, MA1 1032, 1910/4766, ANZ-A

¹² 6 Oct 1913, Under Secretary, Native Dept to Native Minister, MA1 1032, 1910/4766, ANZ-A

¹³ 29 Oct 1913, Paku Eruera & 2 others to Apirana Ngata, MA1 1032, 1910/4766, ANZ-A

¹⁴ 14 Sept 1914, Whakatohea Petition to Parliament, ABWN, W5021, 6095, Box 598, 22/3122, pt.1, ANZ-A

During the 1920s, Whakatōhea elders asked the government for land for their young people. In 1920, Rewi Wiwa petitioned the government to give some land for the landless tamariki of Ngāti Tama. This was supported by Paura Nikora who directed his son to write to the Native Minister on this issue. At that time Ngāti Tama, a large hapu of Whakatōhea, were living on Opape No.1. Sir James Carroll was said to have knowledge of the difficulties they faced and the poor quality of the land. It was said that there were only around 20 acres on the whole block that were suitable for growing potatoes and kumara.¹⁵

ii. *The Leasing of Whakapaupakihi*

As noted above, the situation of the Whakapaupakihi blocks was reported on by the Stout-Ngata Commission. Between 1910 and 1912, four Whakapaupakihi blocks were leased. On 31 July 1911, a lease was entered in relation to Whakapaupakihi No.4 containing 800 acres. This land was leased by the Whakatōhea owners to Wiremu Haeata of Motu for a term of 42 years dating from 22 February 1910. On the same day (31 July 1911), the lease with Wiremu Haeata was transferred to Kathleen Bridgett Quirk, the wife of Thomas Quirk.¹⁶ On 22 January 1912, an Order was made vesting the Whakapaupakihi No.2 block (containing 2000 acres) in the Proprietors of Whakapaupakihi No.2, a body corporate constituted pursuant to Section 122 of the Native Land Court Act 1904. On the same date, a lease was entered into by the incorporation with Ann Quirk, a widow, for a term of 50 years dating from 1 August 1912.¹⁷ On 18 September 1913, Whakapaupakihi No.3 containing 201 acres was leased by the owners to Thomas Quirk for a term of 25 years from 1 August 1912.¹⁸ On the same day, the Tairāwhiti District Maori Land Board, as agents for the Maori owners under Part XVIII of the Native Land Act 1909, leased Whakapaupakihi No.1 (containing 200 acres) to Thomas Quirk for a term of 25 years from 1 August 1912.¹⁹

It appears that soon after the owners of the leased Whakapaupakihi blocks experienced difficulty in receiving rental payments in relation to these leases. On 10 April 1912, Thomas

¹⁵ 9 Jan 1920, W. Nikora on behalf of his father P. Nikora to Sir William Herries, Native Minister ABWN, W5021, 6095, Box 598, 22/3122, pt.1, ANZ-A

¹⁶ 1956 Particulars of Title, Whakapaupakihi No.4, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

¹⁷ 1956 Particulars of Title, Whakapaupakihi No.2, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

¹⁸ 1956 Particulars of Title, Whakapaupakihi No.3, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

¹⁹ 1956 Particulars of Title Whakapaupakihi, No.1, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

Quirk wrote to McDonald, the Native Minister, complaining of the “great delay” by the Tairawhiti District Native Land Board in paying over rents to the Maori owners. He was specifically referring to Whakapaupakihi Nos.2 and 4. He advised that the previous August, his agent had paid the Board about £120 of rent which was in arrears. During March another instalment was paid to the Board. In addition, Thomas Quirk noted that at the beginning of November 1911, he had forwarded £500 to the Tairawhiti Board in connection with the lease of Whakapaupakihi No.2. Thomas Quirk noted that the “great bulk if not all this money was still held by the Board a fortnight ago”. He pointed out that the failure of the Maori owners to get their rent had been detrimental to his interests in making further deals with them.²⁰

Judge Jones, the President of the Tairawhiti Native Land Board was asked to clarify the situation in relation to the Whakapaupakihi blocks and on 20 April, his clerk responded to the Under Secretary of the Native Department on his behalf. The President had directed him to explain that as the Board had been shorthanded it had been impossible to get the lists and necessary adjustments prepared. He advised that the lists had been prepared by that time and some of the rents had been paid. The clerk noted there were 549 names in the title for the Whakapaupakihi blocks and an additional 225 had been included by succession to deceased owners. This had been explained to Mr Hei who was acting for the parties. It appears that the Maori owners wanted the rent paid to one of the members of the block Committee on behalf of the whole but the President had stated that this could not be allowed.²¹

On 6 May 1912, the Native Minister replied to Thomas Quirk regarding the issues raised in relation to Whakapaupakihi Nos. 2 and 4. He stated that owing to the large number of names in the title and the unavoidable absence of the President of the Tairawhiti District Native Land Board, some delay could not be avoided. He indicated that some payments had been made by that time.²²

On 8 June 1912, Te Warana Mokomoko wrote to Native Minister McDonald, on behalf of Whakatōhea in relation to a number of issues. One of these related to the Whakapaupakihi leases with the owners wanting the Minister to cancel the Whakapaupakihi No.2 lease on the

²⁰ 10 April 1912, Thomas Quirk to McDonald, Native Minister, MA1 1073, 1912/1199, ANZ-A

²¹ 20 April 1912, Williams, Clerk, Tairawhiti District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Dept, MA1 1073, 1912/1199, ANZ-A

²² 6 May 1912, McDonald, Native Minister to Thomas Quirk, MA1 1073, 1912/1199, ANZ-A

grounds that the tribe had not received the £500 due to them despite the fact that it should have been paid two years before.²³

On 4 November 1914, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs provided the following information regarding disbursements in various Whakapaupakihi subdivisions.

- On 31 March 1912, £262.15.0 was disbursed in relation to No.2 and £105.3.6 in relation to No.4.
- On 31 March 1913, £216.18.0 was disbursed in regards to No.2 and £54.15.8 for No.4.
- The balance in hand at 31 March 1914 was Whakapaupakihi No.1 - £170.5.9; No.2 - £17.12.0; No.3 - £168.19.11 and No.4 - £108.4.7. In relation, to Whakapaupakihi Nos.1 and 3, it was noted that the amounts of £161.4.6 and £160.2.0 had only come to hand at the end of 1913 and involved royalties rather than rents.²⁴

On 14 January 1915, a further letter was sent to the Native Minister in relation to the Whakapaupakihi blocks by a Mr Elliot. The ownership of the blocks by Whakatōhea was referred to and it was noted that 95 percent of the owners were resident at Ōpōtiki. It was expressed that “steps should be taken to enable the Ōpōtiki owners to obtain the moneys due to them regularly”. At this time, Elliot pointed out that the majority of the owners had not received any of the rent:

The bulk of the owners have never received any money at all; although the rents have been in hand nearly three years. A sum of £500 was paid in by the Lessees over 2½ years ago and subsequently the Clerk of the Tairawhiti Board paid a flying visit to Opotiki in August 1912, but without the Natives having been given any adequate notice of his intended visit. This Clerk was here for one day only – so Mr Oakes [an owner and an agent for most of the other owners] tells me – and on that occasion he paid out about one half of the money to some of the larger shareholders; but since then no serious attempt had been made to pay out and as I have previously stated the bulk of the Natives have never received anything at all.²⁵

²³ 8 June 1912, Te Warana Mokomoko on behalf of Whakatohea to McDonald, Native Minister, MA1 1078, 1912/2129, ANZ-A

²⁴ 4 Nov 1914, Under Secretary, Native Dept to Native Minister, MA1 1073, 1912/1199, ANZ-A

²⁵ 14 Jan 1915, Elliot to Native Minister, MA1 1073, 1912/1199, ANZ-A

It was noted that Judge Browne had held a sitting of the Native Land Court at Ōpōtiki during October 1914. At that time Browne had been asked by the Whakatōhea owners about the lease money due on the Whakapaupakihi blocks. His response was that he had no knowledge or instructions in reference to these moneys. Elliot contended that there must be well over £1000 belonging to the Maori owners that was in the hands of the Board. He pointed out that the Board would “charge a commission for paying out while as a matter of fact it is making no attempt to do so”. He concluded by questioning the Minister as to whether “a European in a similar case [would] quietly acquiesce?”²⁶

Once again the Native Department sought an explanation from the Tairāwhiti District Native Land Board on the issues raised. On 3 February 1915, the Tairāwhiti Board’s Registrar informed the Under Secretary of the Native Department that arrangements had been made with Judge Browne and lists had been compiled to enable the payment of the rents in relation to Whakapaupakihi Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 to be made by the Waiariki Land Board. He explained the £500 referred to by Elliot was for the rent on No.2 up to 30 November 1915 and stated that more than half of the money had been distributed. He also commented on the small sums involved in relation to these annual rentals and the number of owners involved:

- No.1 - £24 and 80 owners;
- No.2 - £150 and 670 owners;
- No.3 - £24 and 130 owners;
- No.4 - £78 and 90 owners.²⁷

²⁶ Ibid,

²⁷ 3 Feb 1915, Registrar, Tairāwhiti District Native Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Dept, MA1 1073, 1912/1199, ANZ-A

iii. Hiwarau

While in the east, the Opape Reserve was experiencing difficulties over partitioning and the Whakapaupakihi owners complained over their lack of rental payments, in the west the owners of Hiwarau Reserve also had several complaints.

On 8 June 1912, Te Warana Mokomoko wrote to Native Minister McDonald in relation to several Hiwarau issues. Firstly he noted that Hiwarau owners asked the Minister to cancel the Hiwarau lease on the grounds that the rentals were overdue and had not been paid for some months. Secondly, Whakatōhea wanted the Minister to relinquish a 40-acre section of Hiwarau that had been taken by the Crown for a scenic reserve. They wanted this land returned on the ground that Whakatōhea had insufficient land left. A further issue was related to certain Whakatōhea owners wanting information on whether the Government intended to pay for land taken for the railway line. It was noted that the land taken had included potato, kumara and corn cultivations.²⁸

In conclusion, Mokomoko on behalf of Whakatōhea, asked the Minister to “earnestly consider” the following proposition:

We hold that blood paid for blood; that the cost to the Government for paying its troops has been reimbursed by the fruit (proceeds) of the land, during the past 30 years or more. We therefore entreat of you to favorably [sic] consider this point.²⁹

The Native Department requested information on the points raised by Whakatōhea from the Waiariki Land Board. On 22 July 1912, the President of the Waiariki Land Board addressed these issues in correspondence to the Under Secretary of the Native Department. Regarding the lease rental for Hiwarau the President advised that this had been paid to the Board some time previously. It had not been paid out as the lease had not been executed owing to the land not being surveyed.³⁰

²⁸ 8 June 1912, Te Warana Mokomoko on behalf of Whakatohea to McDonald, Native Minister, MA1 1078, 1912/2129, ANZ-A

²⁹ Ibid,

³⁰ 22 July 1912, President of Waiariki Maori Land Board to Under Secretary Native Dept, MA1 1078, 1912/2129, ANZ-A

In regards to the second point raised by Whakatōhea, the President said this 40 acre section of Hiwarauhad been taken for a scenic reserve. He commented that the Maori owners had “sufficient other land”.³¹

The President also contended that he knew nothing about the railway line running through Whakatōhea’s former cultivations. In relation to Whakatōhea’s reference to their confiscated lands he merely commented, “Whakatohea were in rebellion at the time of the war and had the best part of their lands confiscated”.³²

iv. Tahora

Inland from Hiwaru lay the Tahora blocks. In 1914, a series of correspondence has been located that shows the presumably Whakatōhea owners of these blocks were beginning to occupy these blocks and sought a road to provide access.

On 12 February 1914, Judge Browne, President of the Waiariki District Land Board, responded to an inquiry from the Chief Surveyor in Auckland regarding Tahora No.2A Section 3. He indicated that he did not know anything of the intention of the Maori owners in relation to the partitioning of this land and that he was not sure if this would be an expedient action. Browne could not see any way to requisition for the survey of a road through the block as this would add very considerably to the costs of surveying the Block. He was not sure this road would be of any benefit to the Maori owners.³³

Later in the year, on 20 November 1914, the Chief Surveyor again wrote to Judge Browne in relation to the establishment of a road through Tahora No.2A Section 3. He advised Browne that many of the Maori owners had informed him that they wanted this road to be laid out up the Waiotahi Valley to facilitate the partitioning of the block. He indicated that the Maori owners were about to apply for the partition of the block and were cultivating and clearing

³¹ Ibid

³² Ibid

³³, 12 Feb 1914, Judge Browne, Waiariki District Maori Land Board to Chief Surveyor Auckland, BAAZ A25 1108 Box 211, e, 8525, ANZ-A

land in the valley. The surveyor considered that this work as well as the partitioning would be benefited by the establishment of a road.³⁴

On 8 December 1914, Peta Mokai and others wrote to the Chief Surveyor, regarding their previous application for a road through Tahora No.2A Section 3. They indicated that they were “anxious for this matter to be completed as soon as possible...”A copy of this letter was sent on to Judge Browne at the Waiariki District Maori Land Board.³⁵ The file does not indicate what occurred thereafter.

³⁴ 30 Nov 1914, Chief Surveyor Auckland to Judge Browne, Waiariki District Maori Land Board, BAAZ A25 1108 Box 211, e, 8525, ANZ-A

³⁵ 8 Dec 1914, Peta Mokai& others, to Chief Surveyor Auckland, BAAZ A25 1108 Box 211, e, 8525, ANZ-A

3. Crown Land Purchasing: 1910-1920

The snippets of information presented in the previous subsection indicate various difficulties experienced by Whakatōhea in the utilisation of their land: problems with partitioning of their large reserve; problems collecting rents for leased; problems with having small pieces taken for public works; and problems gaining access to their lands.

Aside from issues over the utilisation of lands close to their areas of occupation, Whakatōhea reached a position where they considered selling their inland estates. Although in 1908 the Stout-Ngata Commission had reported that Whakatōhea were against the sale of any of their lands, by 1910 this had changed and negotiations commenced in respect of the Whitiākau, Takaputahi and Oamaru blocks. A later commentator on the sales that took place explained that any land sold to Crown had been too hilly for owners to work especially since they had no money to work it. Therefore land had been sold by owners “for their maintenance.”³⁶

There certainly was a market to acquire land for European settlement. In March 1906, the Chairman of the Ōhiwa and District Progress Association, wrote to the Minister of Lands regarding Maori lands in the Ōhiwa District. He drew the attention of the Minister to the large blocks of Maori land at the back of the Ōhiwa Harbour that were allegedly “lying unused” and “retarding the settlement progress of the district”. The Chairman explained to the Minister that the Ōpōtiki County was “poor in rates on account of these blocks of land, which are never likely to be occupied or cultivated by the Natives”. He also commented on roading in the area indicating that the rates of a few Europeans maintained these roads while the seal on the roads was mainly used up “by Natives who pay no rates”. He gave the view that “with an influx of Europeans” this issue would not be so “keenly felt.” Therefore, the Association wanted the Minister to take measures to make these blocks available for settlement. It was noted that “land seekers” were continually coming to the Ōpōtiki area and leaving because there was no land open for selection.³⁷

³⁶ 24 Mar 1927, Te Mini Bishop, Evidence before Commission, BAPP A1721, 24617/357 Fldr 4,

³⁷ 8 March 1906, Fred Wriley, Ōhiwa and District Progress Association, to Minister of Lands, MA-MLP1 78, 1906/78, ANZ-A

i. *Sale of Whiti kau blocks 1910-15*

The Maori owners of Whiti kau Nos.2B2 and 3A4 had requested the Stout-Ngata Commission to recommend these blocks for sale and general settlement under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907. The blocks were therefore declared under the Act on 21 June 1909. In October 1910, the Maori owners were reported to be wanting the sale of the blocks expedited.³⁸ On 9 September 1911, the owners of Whiti kau Nos.2B2 and 3A4 held meetings at Ōpōtiki and it was resolved that No.2B2 be sold to the Crown for £398 and No.3A4 should be sold for £785. On 10 October 1911, the President of the Waiariki District Maori Land Board reported to the Under Secretary of the Native Department that the resolutions had been confirmed by the Board.³⁹

The Whiti kau Valley contained 13,000 acres of bush country and sections were sold by the Crown through the ballot system. By 1912, the majority of this land was still being utilised for sheep and cattle farming rather than dairying. However, by May 1912 there was at least one settler who was milking 20 cows and was hoping to install a milking machine the next year. There was considerable confidence among European settlers in relation to the quality of the land in the Whiti kau Valley and by 1912, there had been a rapid clearing of bush and grassing in relation to considerable area of land. The capacity of the land in regards to stock numbers was said to have exceeded expectations. A number of new houses had also been erected on sections in the area by this time.⁴⁰

With the Whiti kau area being viewed as suitable for European settlement, further purchases occurred. On 12 January 1914, a valuation on Whiti kau 3A Section 2 indicated the block contained 367 acres and had a capital value of £300 with the unimproved value being the same as there were no improvements on the block. This information was forwarded to the Under Secretary for the Native Department on 26 January.⁴¹ This land was acquired by the Crown on 21 January 1915 for £300.⁴²

³⁸ 28 Oct 1910, A.T. Tuton [sp? Signature difficult to read] to Native Minister, MA-MLP1 93, e, 1910/141, ANZ-A

³⁹ 10 Oct 1911, President of Waiariki District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department, MA-MLP1 93, e, 1910/141, ANZ-A

⁴⁰ 29 May 1912, 'Papamoa and Whiti kau', *Poverty Bay Herald*, Vol XXXIX, Issue 12775, p.8

⁴¹ 26 Jan 1914, Valuer General to Under Secretary, Native Dept, NA-MLP1 131, a, 1913/95, ANZ-A

⁴² 9 March 1915, Under Secretary, Native Dept to Under Secretary, Lands & Survey Dept, NA-MLP1 131, a, 1913/95, ANZ-A

Meanwhile, on 23 February 1914, Huriata Taiuru and eight others wrote to the Native Minister in relation to Whitiakau No.3A Section 3 (367 acres) indicating that they wanted to sell this land to the Government and desired that the arrangements in relation to this purchase be quickly completed.⁴³ It is not clear whether the land sold at this time. This will probably be revealed in the Block Histories report.

ii. Oamaru blocks 1913-17

After 1910, there was also Crown purchase activity among the Oamaru Blocks.

On 11 January 1913, a deputation of settlers met with William Herries, the Native Minister, to request Crown purchasing of Tahora 2A and 2B and Oamaru 2A, 5B and 7B to enable the expansion of European settlement in the area. Herries indicated that if the Maori owners were willing to sell, he would be glad to call a meeting of owners. If they agreed to the sale, he would purchase the land. He emphasised that all he was able to do was to call a meeting of owners - he could not force the Maori owners to sell.⁴⁴

On 7 July 1913, a representative of the Otago Settler Association wrote to Minister for Lands Massey regarding Oamaru 5B and 7B which were incorporated blocks with an area of around 4000 acres. The blocks lay between land already settled by Pakeha and Crown land that was in the process of being surveyed at that time. The representative commented that local information suggested that the owners were willing to sell. He had also been in touch with surveyors in the area who reported that as they had surveyed land all around these block, very little additional work would be necessary to include Oamaru 5B and 7B with other lands which were due to be balloted in the near future.⁴⁵

Native Department correspondence in September 1913 indicated that the Commissioner of Crown Lands in Auckland "strongly recommended" the Crown purchase of Oamaru 5B (around 3,063 acres) and 7B (around 1645 acres). The District Valuer had stated that the lands were not worth more than ten shillings per acre. The Commissioner reported that the

⁴³23 Feb 1914, Huriata Taiuru and 8 others to Native Minister, NA-MLP1 131, a, 1913/95, ANZ-A

⁴⁴5 Feb 1913, W. Herries, MA-MLP122d, 1913/35, ANZ-A

⁴⁵7 July 1913, Otago Settlers' Association to Massey, Minister for Lands, MA-MLP122d, 1913/35, ANZ-A

blocks were “retarding the effective settlement of the District”. By this time the land lying to the north of these blocks had already been settled and the Crown land to the west and south of them was to be opened for settlement within a short time.⁴⁶ A report from the Valuation Department in November 1913 indicated that the land within the blocks was “very rough and broken” with a large proportion consisting of poor birch spurs.⁴⁷

Although the Crown wanted to purchase Oamaru 5B and 7B at the Government Valuation of £1150, a major obstacle was faced as a meeting of owners could not be called to consider an offer as there were not sufficient owners alive to form a quorum. By November 1913, the Crown was anxious that the block be acquired and cut up in conjunction with other Crown land in the area and Bowler, the Native Land Purchase Officer, was requested to investigate the matter further.⁴⁸

It appears that after several years the Crown was eventually able to progress the purchase in relation to at least one of these blocks. On 1 November 1917, a meeting of the owners of Oamaru 5B resolved to sell it to the Crown for £2250.⁴⁹ Presumably the Block History report will record whether other Oamaru blocks were acquired at this time.

⁴⁶ 13 Sept 1913, Under Secretary of Dept of Lands & Survey to Under Secretary of Native Dept, MA-MLP122d, 1913/35, ANZ-A

⁴⁷ 3 Nov 1913, Valuer-General to Under Secretary of Native Dept, MA-MLP122d, 1913/35, ANZ-A

⁴⁸ 10 Nov 1913, Under Secretary of Native Dept to Native Land Purchase Officer, Rotorua, MA-MLP122d, 1913/35, ANZ-A

⁴⁹ 1 Nov 1917, Registrar, Waiariki District Land Board to Under Secretary of Native Dept, MA-MLP122d, 1913/35, ANZ-A

4. Health Snapshots

As noted in the Introduction to this report, within the timeframe available for this project, and considering the scope of subject matter to be covered, research has proceeded to access most readily available source material. This is very much the case in relation to evidence of health issues throughout this report. In the following subsection, a series of snapshots are presented in relation to Whakatōhea health in the two decades after 1900.

One of the earliest snapshots of health found by the research conducted for this report comes from 1901 when it was reported that there were of a number people in Ōpōtiki suffering from measles. One of the teachers in the district sent a telegraph to the Secretary for Education notifying him of “measles of the bad type” in the area. There had been one death in the area and 14 children were said to be suffering badly from the measles at that time. Two families were said to be “all down” and in once case the parent was also suffering badly.⁵⁰

While this example very much represents a single snapshot, a broader impression of the existence of health problems and the corresponding health needs within the Whakatōhea community is evidence from an April 1905 petition from Paorate Pakihi and 82 others sent to the Minister of Native Affairs on behalf of Whakatōhea asking that he authorise a doctor to take charge of Maori health in the Ōpōtiki district to assist with the treatment and prevention of disease in the area.⁵¹ Maui Pomare, the Maori Health Officer was asked by the Native Department for his views in relation to the need for a medical officer in Ōpōtiki as he had recently visited the area. Pomare responded that the Maori in Ōpōtiki were “fairly poor” and added that “medical attendance would be a great acquisition”. Pomare recommended that Dr Hood would be an excellent choice if he could be persuaded to take the appointment.⁵²

On 27 July 1905, Dr Hood agreed to provide medical attendance and supply medicines to all local Maori who could attend his consulting rooms in Ōpōtiki in return for a salary of £150

⁵⁰ 23 June 1901, H. Broderick, teacher Opotiki District to Secretary for Education, Wellington, BAAA, A440, 1001, Box 396, a, 44/4, pt.2, ANZ-A

⁵¹ 13 April 1905, PaoraTePakihi & 84 others to Minister of Native Affairs, J1 733, k, 1905/808, ANZ-A

⁵² 26 May 1905, Justice File, J1 733, k, 1905/808, ANZ-A

per annum. In the event that a patient was not able to come to Ōpōtiki, and required the doctor to visit one of the Pa, a mileage fee of five shillings per mile would apply.⁵³ Despite this offer, the Native Department advised Dr Hood that his charges were higher than they were prepared to pay.⁵⁴ There is no further evidence of the matter being pursued any further by officials.

Presumably Dr. Hood was identified by Pomare because he was already working within the Maori community although without government funding he was charging patients a fee. Despite not getting the government appointment, there is evidence that Dr Hood continued treating Maori in the Ōpōtiki district as this is referred to in letter from Pene Kora of Ngāti Ira to the Governor in November 1906. On this occasion, however, the limitations of medicine were noted, as despite Hood's treatment, there had been seven deaths at Waioeka although the cause of these is not recorded.⁵⁵

In the absence of a government-subsidised health practitioner, the role of assisting with community health needs often fell on teachers of the Native schools. For example, in October 1906, the teacher of the Waioeka Native School wrote to the Native Department wanting medicine to treat illness among those living in the Waioeka community. In response, the teacher was authorised to spend £3 on suitable medicines and he was provided with instructions on how these should be used.⁵⁶

The role of schools in providing medical care is also shown in a series of letters from 1908 and 1909 sent from Omarumutu. In February 1908, Charles Abbett arrived at Omarumutu to commence his role as head teacher at the Native school. Soon after his arrival he wrote to the Education Department that he had found three children in the settlement were suffering from consumption and further children were ill with other diseases that were not being treated. As there were no medicines at the school, the teacher requested that the Native Department authorise a pharmacist to send supplies directly to the school. This was done.⁵⁷

⁵³ 27 July 1905, Hood to Colonel Roberts, Stipendiary Magistrate, J1 733, k, 1905/808, ANZ-A

⁵⁴ 21 Aug 1905, Under Secretary for Native Dept to Colonel Roberts, Stipendiary Magistrate, J1 733, k, 1905/808, ANZ-A

⁵⁵ 14 Nov 1906, Pene Kora, Ngāti Ira, Waioeka to Governor, MA1 907, 1906/1390, ANZ-A

⁵⁶ 31 Oct 1906, Under Secretary, Native Dept to Teacher, Waioeka Native School, MA 1 1012, 1910/4107, ANZ-A

⁵⁷ 8 Feb 1908, Head Teacher Native School, Omarumutu to Native Health Board, MA1 1007, 1910/4012, ANZ-A

Further correspondence from Omarumutu Native School in July 1909 indicated that 70 children and a number of adults in Omarumutu were suffering from skin diseases and the head teacher again requested to be sent medical supplies.⁵⁸ Several months later, on 6 September 1909, the head-teacher at Omarumutu School wrote to the Secretary for Education regarding an eleven year old girl at the school who was suffering from consumption. Another family member had died of this disease the previous year. Abbett passed on a conversation he had with the Chairman of the school committee who had alleged that in the past the government had paid half the fee for any Maori from Omarumutu who had attended a doctor. The Chairman requested that Abbett write to officials to have this practice reinstated. Abbett suspected that the Chairman may have been misinformed although he acknowledged that he was aware that in the past there had been a general policy whereby the government paid a given sum to a doctor to assist Maori in a specific district. As noted above, however, an attempt to introduce this into Ōpōtiki district in 1905 had not come to fruition. Abbett did not think it necessary and expressed the view that it was easy enough for Maori at Omarumutu to see a doctor. He noted that at the time there was no “special sickness” in the area and that the prevailing “hakihaki” skin diseases would be got rid of if Maori used soap and water.⁵⁹

Towards the end 1918, the flu epidemic was spreading up the Bay of Plenty Coast. By 12 December, this had resulted in the deaths of 57 Maori between Opape and Raukokore.⁶⁰

Within the time available for this project, further evidence on poor health has not been located by research conducted to date. That health problems remained within the community is reflected by a report in October 1925 from the Director of School Hygiene to the Health Department that catarrhal conjunctivitis (an eye disease) had been widespread from time to time among Maori in the Ōpōtiki District and for a number of years. The disease was said to be more prevalent among adults than children. Scabies was also reported to be common among Maori children. A number of Maori children in Omarumutu were suffering from the eye disease and were being treated for this at the Native School.⁶¹

⁵⁸ 5 July 1909, Teacher Native School, Omarumutu to Secretary Dept of Health, MA1 1007, 1910/4012, ANZ-A

⁵⁹ 6 Sept 1909, Teacher Native School, Omarumutu to Secretary for Education, MA1 1007, 1910/4012, ANZ-A

⁶⁰ 13 December 1918, ‘Influenza Epidemic’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, Vol XLV, Issue 14786, p.7.

⁶¹ 18 Oct 1925, Dr Paterson, Director for School Hygiene to Dept of Health; see also 13 Oct 1925, Dept of Education to Mr Mackay, Omarumutu Native School BAAA A440 1001 Box 398 a, 44/4, pt.7, ANZ-A

Despite Native schools being centres that provided some measure of health care, they also could be the source of the problem as indicated in another letter of October 1925, when the Department of Education had received a complaint that cold, damp conditions at the Omarumutu Native School were contributing to ill-health of some of the children.⁶²

⁶²13 Oct 1925, Dept of Education to Mr Mackay, Omarumutu Native School, BAAA A440 1001 Box 398 a, 44/4, pt.7, ANZ-A

5. Whakatōhea as at 1927

Whakatōhea petitioned Parliament for relief on account of the undue hardship that had been caused by the confiscation of their lands and the poor quality of the lands that were returned to them. In March 1927, the Native Lands Commission heard evidence regarding the confiscations and the serious negative consequences for Whakatōhea including the ongoing impact on them in the twentieth century. The greater part of the land that was held by Whakatōhea after the raupatu was sandy, swampy, or rugged, and inaccessible country. By 1927, the population of Whakatōhea had increased to more than a thousand. The poor quality of the reserve land meant that it was difficult to make a living and Whakatōhea had found it necessary to resort to leasing land from Europeans to grow kumara, maize, and other foods for their maintenance.⁶³

Evidence was given to the Commission demonstrating that the 20,000 acre Opape reserve returned by the Government was of such poor quality that most of the Maori whose settlements were on the reserve were forced to seek work elsewhere. Whakatōhea requested a grant of from 1000 to 1500 acres of good land in the Bay of Plenty district to settle their claim. It was noted that this would “remove their condition of want” but “would not restore the tribe to the state of prosperity formerly enjoyed”.⁶⁴

The counsel for the Crown pointed out to the Commissioners that Whakatōhea had voluntarily sold large areas of land which prior to their sale had been used to provide food. It was elicited in re-examination that Whakatōhea were obliged to sell those lands, as they had begun to adopt a more European mode and living and had therefore found it necessary to obtain money to purchase European clothing and food.⁶⁵

Counsel for Whakatōhea contended that the land within the 20,000 acre Opape Reserve was “practically worthless”. In response, J. Birkmyer, licensed surveyor provided evidence for the Crown that there was over 600 acres that was first-class land and at that time was under

⁶³ 24 March 1927, ‘Native Lands’, *Evening Post*, Vol. CXIII, Issue 70, p.12; see also ‘Confiscated Lands’, *NZ Herald*, Vol LXIV, Issue 19595, p.14.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

⁶⁵ *Ibid*

cultivation or in grass. He considered that other portions of the block could also be brought into cultivation.⁶⁶

Others disagreed. George Shalfoon was a Pakeha who had lived 39 years in Ōpōtiki and had married a Ngāti Tama women.⁶⁷ In his opinion, if one farmer was given all of the Ngāti Tama section of Opape reserve, he would not be able to make a living off it or even to pay rates. Ngāti Tama were living on 20-30 acres only. At various times they had attempted to lease the rest of reserve to Pakeha but lessees had walked off. They had tried sheep farming but the land was too rough. As Shalfoon had noted: "The Natives are landless as far as farming is concerned."⁶⁸

George Shalfoon and William Oates provided an overview of Whakatōhea population which they both estimated was around 1,000 persons. They also commented on residence, land use and employment.⁶⁹

- Opape: 150 persons reside there. A further 90 persons away working. Total of 50-60 acres under occupation. Not enough to support residents. Some earned a living by fishing.
- Omarumutu: 70 to 80 persons live there. A little milking occurs, a little cropping also. Some go out working.
- Waiaua: 50 to 60 persons live there. Again, a little milking occurs, a little maize cropping also. Those who get work outside earn living on road works, at bush felling, cutting firewood, sheep droving, labouring and maize shelling.
- Te Waititi (Rahui): 50 to 60 persons live there. Persons last year started milking for Ōpōtiki factory. Also some maize cropping. Others bush felling or on road works.
- Tirohanga: 12 or so live there. A little cropping but no milking as land not suitable. Rest go out working.

⁶⁶ 26 March 1927, 'Maori Land Claims', *NZ Herald*, Vol LXIV, Issue 19596, p.14.

⁶⁷ George Shalfoon, BAPP A1721, 24617/357 Fldr 4, pp28-31

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ 24 Mar 1927, William Oates, Evidence before Commission, BAPP A1721, 24617/357 Fldr 4, pp27,31-32. Also George Shalfoon, BAPP A1721, 24617/357 Fldr 4, pp28-31

- Waioeka: 120-150 Ngāti Ira persons live there, 30-40 acres under occupation - cropping. Remaining lands are leased out. Others go out to work bush felling or shearing.
- Te Rere: 50 to 60 persons live there. About 12 acres occupied but land is poor. All go out to work as labourers.
- Other settlements: 40 or 50 persons on returned reserves doing little cropping.
- Ōpōtiki township: Close on 100 live here and work for Europeans. Some live on ¼-acre reserves granted after raupatu. Majority pay rent, some bought. Those at Ōpōtiki who have interests in Opape allow relatives to use the land. Some came to Ōpōtiki to lease land to plant potatoes and kumaras.

Oates was asked whether any Whakatōhea were living outside of the Ōpōtiki district and where.

At Cook County Gisborne, Thames, Mercury Bay, Rotorua, a few all over the Bay of Plenty - fully 100 to 150 – through marriage and looking for work. Mostly looking for work. They want to come back to this district a good proportion more than three quarters.⁷⁰

Oates noted that a meeting of Whakatōhea chiefs was held to consider compensation for raupatu. They estimated the iwi needed around 1,500 acres of first class land which would cost £60 to £70 per acre.

If they can't get money want Govt put money into Board which would purchase as land came on market. If land is given, propose to divide proportionately among their number [with] actual control to be in hands of Board – a Reserve.

Always crying out for good land to grow potatoes watermelons – not to farm but to use for food supplies for old people. Save money to be devoted to support of old people.

⁷⁰ 24 Mar 1927, William Oates, Evidence before Commission, BAPP A1721, 24617/357 Fldr 4, pp27,31-32

B. Attempted Development: 1925-1950

The second Part of the report covers a period of twenty five years during which state-assisted land development comes into effect within Whakatōhea's rohe although it primarily was concentrated on Opape Reserve.

The first Section of the report records snapshots of life in several Whakatōhea kainga where various health and housing issues were being considered.. Section 2 presents evidence located in relation to the Whakatōhea petition to gain a significant fishing reserve within Ohiwa harbour. The third Section provides an overview of the state-assisted land development that was brought into effect.

Aside from the main themes presented in this Part of the report, research has uncovered several interesting snippets of information have been found from the early 1930s:

- In 1930, a small fishing industry was said to be operating at Opape. The Maori living there would use rowing boats to set out to sea with lines and crayfish pots. They were said to get some good results.⁷¹
- Whakatōhea Maori at Opape were among those who donated goods in the wake of earthquake affecting Napier in February 1931. Whakatōhea provided 100 sacks of potatoes which were carried free to Auckland the Northern Steamship Company and then sent free via the railway to where they were needed for those affected.⁷²
- In December 1934, four definite cases of typhoid fever and three suspected cases were discovered among Maori at the Opape settlement. The patients were treated in an isolation ward at Ōpōtiki Hospital. The cases were investigated by Mr. M. Fogarty, of Whakatane, an inspector of the Department of Health.⁷³

⁷¹ 8 December 1930, 'Omarumutu', *Auckland Star*, Vol LXI, Issue 290, p.3.

⁷² 11 February 1931, "Disturbing Incidents", *NZ Herald*, Vol LXVIII, Issue 20795, p.14.

⁷³ 21 December 1934, 'Typhoid Fever', *NZ Herald*, Vol LXXI, Issue 21989, p.10.

1. Situations at the Kainga

During the 1920s and 1930s, officials began to report on Whakatōhea kainga primarily in relation to water supply or housing issues. These reports provide a snapshot of the state of land and life in the various kainga at this time on the eve of the state-assisted land development that came into effect in the 1930s. There is information on three living areas: Omarumutu, Waioeka and Ōpōtiki township.

i. Omarumutu

In 1930, Omarumutu kainga was described as being located in a fertile valley which at that time was supporting a large Maori population as well as a considerable number of Europeans. The area was producing wool and butterfat and, in addition, a fair amount of maize was being grown. A cream lorry took the cream produced for processing at the Ōpōtiki factory. According to the local newspaper, there were a number of “very good dairy herds” in the area. Several of these were owned by Maori farmers who were said to be “making good progress”. Maori in the area were described as “very industrious and prosperous”. It appears that families were living on small holdings with each holding having a small cultivation of potatoes, kumara and maize, as well as a vegetable garden. There was a native school at Omarumutu with over 100 Maori children enrolled.⁷⁴

In 1936, there were reported to be 135 children attending Omarumutu Native School despite the school being built originally to accommodate 80 children.⁷⁵ By 1943, there were reported to be 166 students attending Omarumutu Native School.

Little else has specifically found by research conducted for this project in relation to Omarumutu kainga in the 1930s other than a record of August 1938 of there being a measles

⁷⁴ 8 December 1930, ‘Omarumutu’, *Auckland Star*, Vol LXI, Issue 290, p.3.

⁷⁵ 10 Aug 1936, A. Gordon Blietquist [? Signature difficult to read] to Minister of Education, BAAA A440 1001 Box 398, a, 44/4, pt.7, ANZ-A

epidemic at Omarumutu and pneumonia was also reported to be prevalent in the community.⁷⁶

Research from the early 1940s has produced some information regarding community efforts to secure a school dental service. From the latter part of 1941 onwards there were efforts to establish a dental clinic at Omarumutu Native School but in April 1943 it was reported that up until that point, these efforts had been unsuccessful. The Omarumutu community had raised £51 to contribute towards the clinic which the teacher at the Native School considered to be the limit on what they could offer. In addition, the Waiariki Land Board had promised a loan of £100 to be paid back at the rate of £25 per annum. The teacher considered, however, that such a loan would place “quite a heavy burden” on the local people.⁷⁷ Thorby, the teacher at the Native School, contended: “Until a clinic is established at Omarumutu, dental treatment will continue to be very haphazard”. He noted that so far in 1943, no child in Omarumutu had received any treatment at the Ōpōtiki centre. There were 166 children at the school and the teacher maintained that the people of Omarumutu felt very strongly about the lack of dental treatment for their children.⁷⁸ The outcome of this correspondence does not indicate whether or when a dental clinic was established.

ii. *Waioeka*

The Waioeka Pa Settlement is located around six miles from Ōpōtiki on the Ōpōtiki-Gisborne main highway. The land in the area was held by the Ngāti Ira hapu of Whakatōhea.⁷⁹

On 2 July 1925, Kora Rangiihu, on behalf of Ngāti Ira, wrote to the Native Minister requesting that their papakainga be exempted from rates as it was a “home for pilgrims and visitors”. Ngāti Ira had previously applied to the Native Land Court for this exemption but had been advised that they needed to apply to the Native Minister.⁸⁰ The Waioeka

⁷⁶ 19 Aug 1938, McLaughlin, Omarumutu Native School to Director of Education, BAAA A440 1001 Box 980, c, a, 44/6, ANZ-A

⁷⁷ 4 April 1943, George Thorby, Omarumutu Native School to Director, Division of Dental Hygiene, Health Depr, BAAA A440 1001 Box 399, a, 44/4, pt.8, ANZ-A

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ 19 Oct 1936, Rangi Royal, Housing Officer, Maori Affairs, Native Housing, Housing Survey – Waioeka Pa, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1480, a, MH 0/1 1, ANZ-A

⁸⁰ 2 July 1925, Kora Rangiihu, on behalf of Ngāti Ira to Native Minister, MA1 1365, 1925/283, ANZ-A

papakāinga was located on Waioeka Lot 337A2B and contained just over 14 acres. When the Under Secretary for the Native Department commented on Rangihu's request he explained that Waioeka Pa was a very old settlement.⁸¹ Some months later, on 3 February 1926, the Under Secretary advised the Native Minister that he recommended the block be exempted from rating thereby saving the local people around £2 per annum.⁸² This recommendation was approved and on the 30 March 1926 the necessary Order in Council papers were accordingly presented to the Minister for signing.⁸³

There is little further recorded in files about Waioeka until a decade later when the housing conditions at the pa were considered by Crown officials. In 1936 the Waioeka Pa settlement was recorded as comprising a total of just over 20 acres which were contained in the following four Maori titles:

- Waioeka Lot 337A No.1A - Area: 0a.2r.24p with one owner
- Waioeka Lot 337A No.1B - Area: 4a.1r.26p with twelve original owners
- Waioeka Lot 337A No.2A - Area: 0a.2r.24p with ten original owners
- Waioeka Lot 337A No.2B - Area: 14a.2r.26p with 41 original owners.⁸⁴

The settlement was often visited by tribes and individuals travelling between the Bay of Plenty and Gisborne Districts. As such Ngāti Ira were well-known for their hospitality. In October 1936, Maori Affairs Housing Officer, Rangi Royal, described the population of the settlement as “cosmopolitan...comprising members of the Arawa, Tuhoe, Whanau Apanui and Tuwharetoa Tribes...” Royal suggested that many of those living there had no interest in the land upon which they were living and further commented: “Most of the original owners are deceased and many of their successors are living away from the district.”⁸⁵

In 1936, the total population of the settlement was recorded at 118 including 29 male adults, 34 female adults, 32 male minors and 33 female minors. In relation to this population there were 13 sleeping places, three detached kitchens and the meeting house. In addition there

⁸¹ 16 Sept 1925, Rotorua Registrar to Under Secretary, Native Dept, MA1 1365, 1925/283, ANZ-A

⁸² 3 Feb 1926, Under Secretary, Native Dept to Native Minister, MA1 1365, 1925/283, ANZ-A

⁸³ 10 March 1926, Under Secretary, Native Dept to Native Minister, MA1 1365, 1925/283, ANZ-A

⁸⁴ 19 Oct 1936, Rangi Royal, Housing Officer, Maori Affairs, Native Housing, Housing Survey – Waioeka Pa, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1480, a, MH 0/1 1, ANZ-A

⁸⁵ Ibid

were 16 other persons who were living away from the Pa and four who were temporarily absent.⁸⁶

Occupation in the Waioeka Pa settlement was concentrated in two places, firstly on a low terrace rising off the river flats and secondly on a higher terrace which inclined to steep hills at the back. Some of the houses had small gardens around them but the main cultivations were located on the river flats across the road from the Pa. Food was stored in pits grouped within the pa area. Only around one third of the total 20-acre area was being occupied at that time. Houses were built close together near the marae which was the centre of tribal activities. The marae was located to the north of the block near an access road off the main road.⁸⁷

In the mid-1930s, Ngāti Ira were reported to be leading a “more or less communal life”. It was noted that many families cooked and ate in the one kitchen. During tangi and large gatherings the food was cooked and served from the various kitchens. A number of houses were overcrowded and it was observed that “...living conditions though wretched are nevertheless as clean as can be under the circumstances”. Houses were described as being of the “whare or shanty type” and were said to be built from all classes of timber which by the 1930s was reported to be in various stages of decay. It was considered that very little of the timber and iron in these buildings would be capable of being utilised again.⁸⁸

The Waioeka Pa community was governed by the Matatua Maori Council through a village committee. The Chairman of this Committee was Ngakohu Pera. Pianawiti Tawharau held the position of Secretary. Royal considered that the Committee exercised “good influence and control in the communal life of the Pa.”⁸⁹

In relation to water the Pa was supplied from a spring in the side of the hill with the water being reticulated to five communal taps. Over summer periods, this supply would dry up and water had to be carted from creeks and stored. Royal raised some doubts about the hygiene of the containers being used for this purpose. There were no water tanks in the settlement. Royal

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid

emphasised the need for a permanent water supply and proposed that a suggested source from around a mile away from the settlement should be investigated. In the settlement there were no bathrooms or washhouses with the creek being the only option for bathing and washing clothes. The poor quality of some of the toilet facilities was also remarked on and the report advised that two or three communal facilities should be constructed to meet the need of the settlement.⁹⁰

The people of Waioeka Pa were predominantly adherents of the Ringatu Faith which had considerable influence on their mode of living. Boiled water was not viewed as natural water and therefore Ringatu doctrine forbade its use for ablution, bathing and the washing of clothes. Thus, the creek was used for these activities. According to Ringatu beliefs, rain water because it fell on the roof over the heads of the occupant of the buildings was not for drinking and this was why there were no tanks in the Pa, with the water being drawn from the five taps.⁹¹

Regarding the health of the occupants of Waioeka Pa, Royal reported:

Notwithstanding the circumstances and conditions under which this community is living, the health of the people is surprisingly good, there being only one obvious case of tuberculosis. There is a growing consciousness among the rising generation, of the disadvantages of the old mode of living and thus the gradual acceptance of European standards of hygiene is possible only through the young people and more especially through the young generation of women...⁹²

The community was noted to be generally well-behaved, industrious and law-abiding with "sober habits". Some of the younger generation were described as being "just a little too fond of liquor" but it was considered that this issue could be safely left in the hands of the Marae Committee who had "agreed to apply disciplinary measures as far as it was in their power to do so".⁹³

An inspection of the buildings within the Waioeka Pa settlement led to six of the 14 sleeping places being condemned. A further six were described as being in fair order and were

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Ibid

recommended for renovation and painting. Only two of the buildings for sleeping were in good order. Overcrowding was viewed as an issue in five of the dwellings. As noted there were seven detached kitchens, three of these were also used as sleeping places by three families of 17 people. These buildings had earth floors and it was noted that the owners had requested that these be kept. Four of the seven kitchen buildings were condemned and the other three were recommended for flooring and painting. There were three family units totalling ten people living in the main meeting house Maori Affairs Department officials considered these people should be evacuated to new houses. In summary, that there was a requirement for 17 new houses and four new kitchens with renovations, painting and additions to 11 buildings.⁹⁴

The Report examined the issue of security in relation to the proposed buildings in the settlement. Personal security was considered good as long as constant work was available, however, most of the wage-earners were in casual employment. It was proposed that in these cases, it might be necessary to increase the amount of weekly contribution to provide against periods of unemployment.⁹⁵ There was some reluctance among those living in the Waioeka Pa settlement to have advances that were repayable over a certain period secured against the land. The Maori Affairs representative referred to “misleading propaganda” circulating in pa throughout Ōpōtiki that those who wanted advances would have to insure their lives for the amount of the advance and keep the premium payments up.⁹⁶

It was anticipated that much of the labour to carry out these improvements would come from those living in the settlement. There were around six to eight people in the settlement who had recently applied to be accepted as contributors to the unemployment fund. These people wanted as much of the work as possible and among them were three or four “amateur carpenters” who were likely to work quite competently under the supervision of a head carpenter.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Ibid

The Maori Affairs Department representative suggested that the Waioeka settlement was “deserving of special consideration in view of its history, circumstances and situation”. He reported on the lack of past governmental support for this community:

They have not, at any time received assistance from past Governments, and while other communities in the District have benefited and are benefiting directly or indirectly through the various land development schemes, this community has been left to its own slender resources, and has come through the slump without complaining of its treatment and without being a burden upon the financial resources of the country...⁹⁸

A further description of the occupants of the settlement noted that there were five pensioners, 14 indigent families and three families that were a little better off than the others. It was commented that the community was “more or less an indigent one” and the people in it were said to be “offering everything they have in order their living conditions may be improved.”⁹⁹

It was hoped that this settlement could be improved to become a “model village”. In line with this it was seen as possible to “re-plan the whole village, adjust the houses to practicable access and water, and to introduce health reforms compatible with the religion and customs of the people”.¹⁰⁰

In December 1937, Royal again visited the Waioeka Pa settlement to investigate the reported failure of the water supply and to explore a suggested source for new water supply. He found that the spring providing the water supply had completely dried up and the small amount of water that remained in the reservoir was not fit for human consumption.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ 14 Dec 1937, Rangi Royal, Housing Officer, Maori Affairs to Registrar < Native Land Court, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1480, a, MH 0/1 1, ANZ-A

iii. Ōpōtiki Town Sections

Within the time available for this project, there has not been time to fully consider the history of the town sections in Ōpōtiki that had been returned to Maori owners in the aftermath of confiscation. Presumably this story will be told as part of the Block History narratives. Nevertheless, one piece of evidence located during file research indicates that by the end of the 1920s, pressure was being placed on the Ōpōtiki township sections to be taken out of Maori hands due to outstanding rating arrears.

On 8 June 1926 a Charging Order was made by the Native Land Court at Ōpōtiki for rates in relation to Allotments 92, 93, 113 & 144, section 1, Town of Ōpōtiki. The rates due to 31 March amounted to £21.6.4. Over the next two years, further rates amounting to almost £10 each year added to the arrears against the land.¹⁰²

On 22 May 1928, Potts and Hodgson, solicitors for the Ōpōtiki Borough Council, wrote to the Native Minister providing information on the rates arrears and seeking his consent for an order to be made by the Native Land Court under Section 108 of the Rating Act 1925 to enable the Native Land Court to vest the land in the Native Trustee for the purpose of sale.¹⁰³

In October 1928, the solicitors wrote again to the Minister about the above blocks as well as Allotment 273 of Section 1.¹⁰⁴

The file does not indicate what became of these lands, but the extent that returned Ōpōtiki township sections were sold off to address rates arrears is something which should be looked into.

¹⁰² 22 May 1928, Potts and Hodgson, Solicitors for the Opotiki Borough Council to Native Minister, MA 1928.248, ANZ-A

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ 16 Oct 1928, Potts and Hodgson, Solicitors for Opotiki Borough Council to Native Minister, MA 1928.248, ANZ-A

2. Ōhiwa Fishing Rights 1944-49

During 1944, Te Whakawae Rimaha and 114 others from Ōhiwa Harbour petitioned the Government regarding fishing and shellfish gathering rights in the harbour. The petitioners were described as residing on their own lands on the shores of the Ōhiwa Harbour. The petitioners informed the Government:

...we are desirous of preserving and reserving unto ourselves and our projeny [sic] and future generations of our Race to come, all fishing rights and Pipi, Tuangi, Mussel bed rights ...within the boundary of the proposed reservation in the Ohiwa Harbour.¹⁰⁵

They asked the House of Representatives to immediately promote legislation “prohibiting any further taking of fish and shellfish from the reservation by unauthorised persons”. A map was said to have been provided showing the boundaries of their proposed reservation but this was not located on the file. The petitioners requested that legislation be enacted investing the requested reserve in a Committee of Trustees, of three to five persons to be appointed by the Native Land Court.¹⁰⁶

In response to the petition, in October 1944 a report was prepared by the Chief Inspector of Fishing. Although he had travelled to Ohiaw harbour, owing to a lack of time and transport limitations he did not go the Maori settlement at Kutarere and did not interview any of those involved with the petition.¹⁰⁷

The Inspector reported his view that the character of Ōhiwa Harbour had changed considerably over a relatively short time prior to the 1940s.

The east head of the entrance is about a quarter of a mile eastward of its former position and what was once the township of Ohiwa has disappeared by inundation. The originally extensive beds of mussels have been smothered by an accumulation of sand and have practically disappeared as a fishery asset.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Petition No.36/1944, TeWhakawaeRimaha and 114 others, ABJZ W4644 869 Box 171 43/1/17, pt.1, ANZ-A

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ 10 Oct 1944, Chief Inspector of Fisheries, ABJZ W4644 869 Box 171 43/1/17, pt.1, ANZ-A

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

According to the Inspector, the whole harbour was reported to have received considerable deposits of silt in “recent times”. There were still “considerable quantities of cockles and other pipis” However, the shellfish remaining were not present in the numbers they had been in the past. The fisheries officer had been informed that “a great deal of mortality occurred on one extensive pipi bed a few years ago”.¹⁰⁹

Although he did not have time to speak to the Maori petitioners, the fisheries officer did inspect the drag net of a visitor from Ōpōtiki and judging from his catch considered there was a good stock of flounders in the harbour. He noted that weekend and holiday visitors travelled from Ōpōtiki to Ōhiwa and were especially interested in flounder fishing. He commented that: “All these people would resent interference with their customary rights of fishing”. There were also reported to be three professional fishermen working in the area.¹¹⁰

The Chief Inspector had spoken to the local Fisheries Inspector who had expressed surprise at the Maori petition for exclusive rights and further remarked “...they could get all the pipis [sic] they required without difficulty, or all the fish they wanted if they would fish”. The local inspector commented that the local Maori showed “little disposition to engage in fishing themselves but nowadays buy smoked fish from a Pakeha professional fisherman.” It was suggested to the Chief Inspector that the primary objective of the petition was probably to get rid of one of the professional fishermen by the name of Olsen who was described as “very old and cantankerous” and was said to do “a certain amount of trade in pipis[sic] which are collected for him by Maori women”.¹¹¹

The Chief Inspector advised that if it was merely a question of preventing commercial exploitation of the pipi and flounders on the foreshore fronting the petitioners’ own lands then he did not see any objection to granting a reservation, providing this was “a compact area comprising one portion of the harbour”. He provided further details in relation to the upper portion of the Kutarere arm of the Harbour. Nevertheless, he concluded that the Department needed to know more about the details of what the petitioners were proposing to do before agreeing to “any extensive surrender of the fishing rights of the general public”.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ Ibid

The Chief Inspector then added pointed that there was a probability that the Pakeha residents on the shores of Ōhiwa harbour would substantially increase after the war.¹¹²

In March 1945, correspondence between government officials indicated that the Native Minister agreed with the Marine Department that the reserve proposed by the Ōhiwa Maori petitioners was too large to be “set aside for Native use only”. The Native Minister was also concerned about the danger associated with “creating a precedent”. Nonetheless, the Native Minister was also said to be anxious that sources of supply such as pipi, toheroa, paua and kina were preserved for Maori. It was suggested that the Marine Department consider reserving the headlands for the preservation of the shellfish beds.¹¹³

Some months later, on 4 October 1945, the Secretary for the Marine Department advised the Under Secretary of the Native Department that a shortage of fisheries staff had prevented a “thoroughgoing inquiry into the conditions prevailing in Ohiwa Harbour...” and therefore he was unable to “come to a just and satisfactory decision on this matter”.¹¹⁴

The Marine Department Secretary commented that the information they had obtained suggested the petition was “largely influenced by hostility towards one man, 79 years of age, who holds a fishing license and who sells cockles that are gathered by Maori girls employed by him”. He further remarked that there was no reason to believe that this man’s actions had “any appreciable effect on cockle supplies available for the Maori people of Kutarere and neighbourhood”.¹¹⁵

The Marine Department had been informed that the area of the harbour for which the petitioners wanted sole rights of fishing reserved for Maori was the best fishing ground in the harbour. The Secretary gave the opinion that Maori had been making little use of these fishing grounds but on the other hand these fishing grounds were viewed as “a much valued asset to pakeha settlers and visitors” and that they provided “a livelihood for at least one professional fisherman”.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ 2 March 1945, Under Secretary of Native Dept to Secretary, Marine Dept, ABJZ W4644 869 Box 171 43/1/17, pt.1, ANZ-A

¹¹⁴ 4 Oct 1945, Secretary, Marine Dept to Under Secretary Native Dept, ABJZ W4644 869 Box 171 43/1/17, pt.1, ANZ-A

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ Ibid

Therefore, the Marine Department Secretary advised the Native Department that: “The foreshore adjoining the Maori-owned land and the original waters of the harbour adjacent could be reserved without greatly affecting the fishing rights of other settlers”. However, he commented, that the shellfish and fishing in this area were already fully available for utilisation by Maori as were all the other resources of the harbour. He further remarked that it would be “very difficult in practice to prescribe geographical limits so that they could be recognised and, if necessary enforced without creating an undue amount of local dissension and friction”. He concluded by noting that given the substantial difficulties associated with making a decision that would meet the desires of the petitioners, he was still not satisfied he had all the relevant facts were before him.¹¹⁷

Several years later, on 2 April 1949, Te Whakawae Rimaha wrote to the Minister of Maori Affairs regarding the petition relating to Ōhiwa Harbour that they had sent to the House of Representatives in November 1944. He requested the Minister to “grant our request for a Government Surveyor to be sent to determine the boundary of our claim so that it could be made into a reserve exclusively for Maoris [sic]”.¹¹⁸

On 5 May 1949, the Minister of Maori Affairs advised Te Whakawae Rimaha to contact both the Maori Welfare Officer in Whakatane and the Ngāti Awa Tribal Executive with a view to arranging a fishing reserve under Section 33 of the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act.¹¹⁹ What occurred from this point is not recorded on file.

¹¹⁷Ibid

¹¹⁸ 4 April 1949, TeWhakawaeRimaha to Minister of Maori Affairs, Native Dept, ABJZ W4644 869 Box 171 43/1/17, pt.1, ANZ-A

¹¹⁹ 5 May 1949 [date the letter was given by the Minister to be translated into Maori], Minister of Maori Affairs to TeWhakawaeRimaha, Native Dept, ABJZ W4644 869 Box 171 43/1/17, pt.1, ANZ-A

3. State-Assisted Development

Over the early twentieth century, the Government considered various ways to facilitate the development of remaining Maori lands and to overcome the various obstacles associated with Maori title. By 1929, it was recognised that Maori had lost the greater part of their lands, and as their population was increasing, they were under increasing economic pressure.¹²⁰ A report by the Native Minister acknowledged that for Whakatōhea of Ōpōtiki and some other tribes in the Bay of Plenty area, land sales over the three generations following the confiscation had brought them to the “verge of landlessness.” The economic situation for Whakatōhea had been assisted over the previous decade by the fact that from 1920 onwards there had been considerable public works locally associated with the construction of roads and railways in the Bay of Plenty and this had provided an avenue for employment. By the end of the 1920s, however, the Native Minister described how the tailing off of public works, the failure of the bush farms in the Bay of Plenty and the loss of rent revenue meant that the “day of reckoning” had come for the Maori communities in the Bay of Plenty who were “thrown back on their depleted resources”.¹²¹

One of the ways the Government attempted to resolve these difficulties was through the implementation of consolidation and development schemes. During the 1929 session Parliament sanctioned a scheme for the development of unoccupied Maori lands. Any state-assisted development, however, meant that the government assumed complete control over the land in question:

Upon the notification of the fact the owners were prevented from interfering with the work of development, and private alienation of any land within the scheme was prohibited. The funds for development were provided by the Minister of Finance through the Native Land Settlement account.¹²²

The Native Minister was granted comprehensive powers in relation to these schemes which he could exercise directly through the Native Department or delegate to any Maori Land Board or to the Native Trustee. The decision to apply the development provisions of the

¹²⁰ Native Land Development: Statement by Hon Apirana Ngata, AJHR 1931, G-10., p.vi.

¹²¹ Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister. AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.22.

¹²² Native Land Development: Statement by Hon Apirana Ngata, AJHR 1931, G-10., p.vi.

legislation to any area or areas of land owned or occupied by Maori rested with the Native Minister. In most cases, Ngata, as Native Minister, made a personal inspection with officers and supervisors and spent time explaining the development policy to the Maori communities involved. By 31 August 1931, there were forty-one schemes in operation or authorised and work had begun on all but two.¹²³

The name Whakatōhea Development Scheme was given to a group of blocks comprising the Wainui Reserve, the Waiotahi Allotments and the Opape Block excluding the Opape Base Farm. No work was completed on the Waiotahi Allotments so for practical purposes the scheme was initially confined to the Wainui Reserve and the Opape Block although the Hinahinanui and Opape Base Farm were subsequently added.¹²⁴

The Whakatōhea scheme like a number of others involved Maori settlers providing their labour free of cost to the development fund which assisted them by providing implements, materials, seed, manure and stock.¹²⁵ By 1931, a depot for seed and manure as well as an implement shed had been erected as part of the Whakatōhea Scheme.¹²⁶ A summary of Development Schemes within the Wairiki District in 1932 included the following table referring to expenditure on the Whakatōhea Scheme between March 1931 and March 1932.¹²⁷

Whakatohea	Area ¹²⁸ a. r. p.	Area Developable in acres	Expenditure	
			To 31 st March 1931	To 31 st March 1932
Opape	16,374 0 0	6490		
Hinahinanui			186	2538
Waiotahi			...	164
Wainui			...	623
Opape Base Farm	1,070 0 0	810	589	1969
Opape purchases			1993	2000
Total	17,444 0 0		2786	7294

¹²³ Ibid, p.xv.

¹²⁴ Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister. 'AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.39.

¹²⁵ Native Land Development: Statement by Hon Apirana Ngata, AJHR 1931, G-10., p.xx.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p.xxii.

¹²⁷ Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister. 'AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.25.

¹²⁸ Area is given in acres, roods and purchases.

i. Consolidation Scheme

The Whakatōhea Consolidation Scheme involved an area of 22,804 acres of land and incorporated a major portion of the lands returned to Whakatōhea following the confiscations. It was part of the Gisborne Land District within the Waiariki Native Land Court District.¹²⁹

The Whakatōhea Scheme was among those where a chief characteristic of the lands remaining to the tribe were that they were of a scattered nature. This called for a much greater co-ordination between the Consolidation Officers and the Farm Supervisors and for closer and more constant supervision. Overheads were also higher than in schemes involving a compact connected area. On the other hand, labour costs were lower and the number of units assisted tended higher. Whakatōhea like many other schemes was operated under section 23 of the Native Land Act 1929.¹³⁰

One issue hampering the Maori lands within Whakatōhea Consolidation Scheme and many others around the country was the existence of survey liens over the land. In 1931, survey liens over the land within the Whakatōhea Scheme included £1776.7.10 in principal and £748.3.9 in interest amounting to a total of £2524.11.7.¹³¹ As part of a government initiative to overcome this obstacle to development it was recommended that the amount of £1679.11.7 be remitted leaving £845 to be paid. The amount to be remitted represented two thirds of the principal and interest.¹³²

The remission of the rates was seen necessary to facilitate the development and settlement of the Whakatōhea lands. During December 1930, Ngata arranged a settlement of Maori rates in the Ōpōtiki area by allowing a grant of £2803 to the Ōpōtiki County Council. This amounted to 20 percent of the £13,677 of native rates outstanding on lands within the Apanui consolidation scheme. At that time a further sum of £585 was due the council in regard to the Opape consolidation but Ngata asked the council to forego this amount in view of the fact

¹²⁹Survey Liens on Native Lands (Report and Recommendation of Conference of Departmental Officers with Regard to Extinguishment Of.) AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-07, pp5-6, 13.

¹³⁰Native Land Development: Statement by Hon Apirana Ngata, AJHR 1931, G-10., p.xvi.

¹³¹Survey Liens on Native Lands (Report and Recommendation of Conference of Departmental Officers with Regard to Extinguishment Of.) AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-07, pp.5-6.

¹³²Ibid.

that the government proposed to remit £2535 of survey costs to enable the land to be consolidated and developed.¹³³ The County decided it could not forego the whole amount and made a further request for 10 percent of the rates owed on the Opape block.¹³⁴

ii. *Hinahinanui*

Towards the end of 1931, a section of Whakatōhea, with the support of the local unemployment committee and local bodies in the Ōpōtiki area, made representations to the Native Board regarding development in an undeveloped portion of the Opape block located at Hinahinanui. This land consisted of a valley that ran across the interior of the block running parallel with the sea-coast. As a result development proceeded in the area with initial work involving forty five men who were involved in roading, scrub-cutting, clearing fern and draining and disking to prepare a surface for pasture. The expenditure on this section of the scheme to 31 March 1932 was £164.¹³⁵ An area of twenty acres was reported to provide good to fair pasture and a further 167 acres had been prepared for pasture by this time.¹³⁶

Over the 1932-1933 financial year, the Hinahinanui part of the Scheme had a gross expenditure of £2091 with receipts of £323 leaving a net expenditure of £1768.¹³⁷ It appears that £307 was received in relation to unemployment subsidies.¹³⁸

Over the year ending 31 March 1933, the Hinahinanui section of the Whakatōhea Scheme was authorised to complete contracts for work estimated to cost £949 16s and providing employment for 89 men and subsidies amounting to £361.1.4 were allotted. By 31 March 1933, payments on account totalled £829.1.0 and subsidies paid or payable amounted to £306.1.4. The number of men employed was 114. Initial work, involving scrub-cutting had begun at the beginning of 1932. By the end of May 1932 an area of 167 acres had been cleared, harrowed, sown and manured. The Whakatōhea Scheme only financed the scrub-cutting, all other labour was provided at no cost to the Scheme. The Hinahinanui section of

¹³³ 16 December 1930, 'Local and General', *Bay of Plenty Times*, Vol LIX, Issue 10558, p.2.

¹³⁴ 8 December 1930, 'Opotiki County Affairs', *NZ Herald*, Vol LXVII, Issue 20741, p.11.

¹³⁵ Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister. 'AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.40.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p.13.

¹³⁸ *ibid*, p.35.

the Scheme included the holding of Rawiri Mikaere, one of the units, who prior to the commencement of the development had already grassed 20 acres and was milking a few cows.¹³⁹ Rawiri Mikaere provided his labour free of charge in relation to work on 30 acres involving mixing, sowing, manuring and harrowing the land. He was also involved in fencing 44 chains.¹⁴⁰

During January 1933, a decision was made to extend the development of the Hinahinanui scheme to incorporate a further 220 acres of land to the south and by March 1933, scrub-cutting had taken place on 56½ acres of this land.¹⁴¹ By March 1934, payments to the Hinahinanui section including those outstanding and net interest totalled £2604.7.0. When revenue from collections and sales of produce were deducted this left a net expenditure of £2015.19.10.¹⁴²

Nevertheless, there were problems with the 1934 Commission noted that owing to a shortage of stock, the area developed on Hinahinanui was found to be reverting to fern.¹⁴³

By the end of March 1935, only 170 acres of the 410 acres included in the Hinahinanui section were in grass with the rest still unimproved. Cattle had been run on the block for the purpose of crushing and consolidating the area in grass. Top-dressing had also taken place over the 1934-35 financial year. It was planned that a unit would be established milking on the section over the following season.¹⁴⁴

The Hinahinanui section appears to be reported on as part of the Whakatōhea scheme from March 1936 onwards.

¹³⁹Waiariki Maori Land District, Bay of Plenty Group', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10c, p.5

¹⁴⁰Schedule showing 'Summary of Work done to 31 March 1933 and Relative Labour Cost', Waiariki Maori Land District, Bay of Plenty Group', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10c, p.5

¹⁴¹Waiariki Maori Land District, Bay of Plenty Group', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10c, p.5

¹⁴²Native Land Development, Statement by Hon.Sir Apirana T. Nagata, Native Minister.' AJHR, 1934, Session I, G-10, p.3

¹⁴³Native Affairs Commission. Report of the Commission on Native Affairs, AJHR, 1934 Session I, G-11, p.167.

¹⁴⁴Native Development Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1935 Session I, G-10, p.16

iii. Opape Units

In 1932 the Native Minister reported that unsurprisingly a section of the owners of the Opape Block were suspicious of both consolidation and development being carried out by a State Department. He observed that the “Whakatōhea Tribe has not forgotten the confiscation of the Ōpōtiki lands by the former Government and suspects some ulterior motive in the Government attempts to simplify land titles or in the Government offers of financial assistance”.¹⁴⁵ Preliminary surveys were undertaken in the Opape Block for the purposes of the consolidation scheme to demarcate areas suitable for settlement. These were also used to outline a plan for roading and subdivisions.

At Opape a few Maori settlers were milking large herds with financial support in the way of advances from the Native Trustee. Most of the Maori settlers (between 30 and 35), were in occupation of small dairy farms and were receiving some assistance from storekeepers and mercantile firms.¹⁴⁶ An initial report from Rutledge, the supervisor of Whakatōhea Development scheme, indicated that the majority of the holdings comprised areas between fifty and seventy acres made up of disconnected pieces. It was noted that in some cases the component parts of a dairy farm were so far distant from one another that the farm was inefficient. The dairy farmers were reported to be receiving low returns for their butterfat per cow due to the poor quality of the pastures, overstocking and a failure to provide winter feed. Farming was also seen to be hampered by a poor supply of farm implements.¹⁴⁷

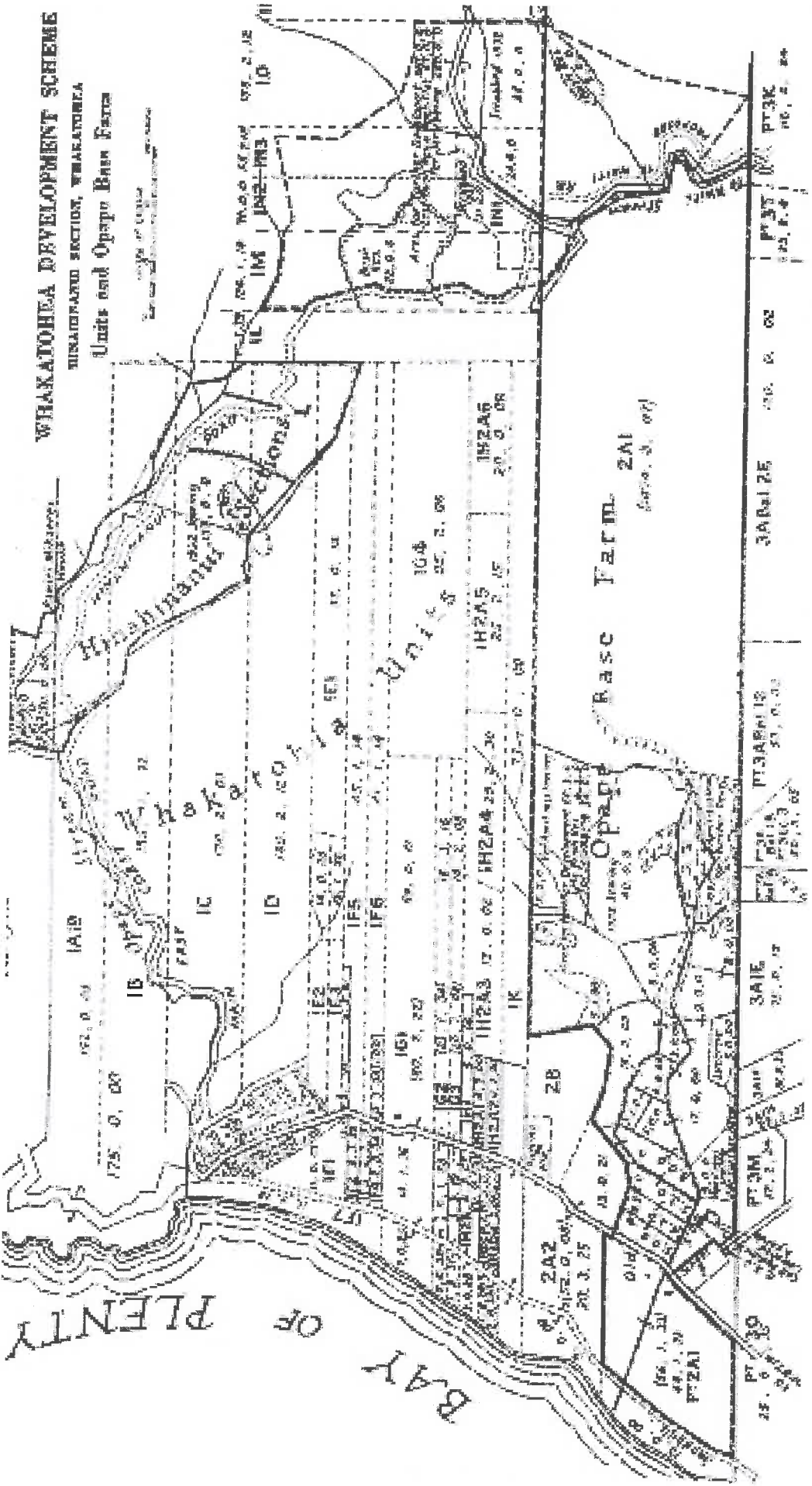
The following map was included in Ngata’s report to the House of Representatives in 1933 and shows the Hinahinanui section, the Opape units and the Opape base Farm parts of Whakatōhea Development plan.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister. AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.39.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid

¹⁴⁸Native Land Development, Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata. Native Minister. AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10, Plan 28, Sheet 1, p.100.



A considerable number of sections within Opape were leased to Europeans. Some were also leased to Maori who were owners within the block as a way of overcoming title difficulties. The largest leasehold was reported to be in the hands of a Mrs Ferguson and this land was said to be located in such a way that one half of Opape was separated from the other half.¹⁴⁹

The Whakatōhea Scheme was viewed as ready to launch in the winter of 1931. A comprehensive and detailed survey of the scheme revealed that before measures could be taken to recondition pastures and improve the quality of the lands, the existing liabilities of many of the settlers would have to be discharged. It was reported that ten accounts amounting to £1765 were selected for payment, however, a compromise was arranged with the creditors resulting in the payment being reduced to £1559.¹⁵⁰

The expenditure on the Opape part of the scheme to the end of March 1932, amounted to £2738. This amount included the payment of £1559 in relation to existing liabilities plus “£585 for grass-seed, manure and fencing materials, £205 for the purchase of dairy stock, £150 for a store-shed, £194 for surveys and £45 for equipment and sundries.”¹⁵¹ Repayment by the units amounted to £200.¹⁵² At this time it was reported that just over 289 acres was in good to fair pasture, a further 205 acres were in poor to rough pasture and an additional area of 273 acres had been prepared for pasture.¹⁵³ The assisted units on the Opape scheme possessed 275 milkers, 64 springers (cows about to give birth), 36 yearlings, 20 bulls, 32 working horses and 800 sheep. They also had dairy equipment and implements. The gross return for butterfat supplied by the Opape Units for the year ending 31 March 1932 was £2261.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister. 'AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.39.

¹⁵⁰Ibid, pp.39-40.

¹⁵¹Ibid p.40.

¹⁵²Ibid, p.63.

¹⁵³Ibid, p.40.

¹⁵⁴Ibid

Amoamo Te Rieki, a prominent member of Whakatōhea and a dairy farmer himself, was appointed as foreman for the Opape section of the Whakatōhea Scheme. He was in charge of the store-shed and responsible for issuing stores.¹⁵⁵

The Report by Ngata to the House of Representatives in 1933 reveals that up until 31 March 1933, the gross expenditure for the Whakatōhea units had been £3885 with £672 in receipts leaving a net expenditure of £2,901.¹⁵⁶

Over the financial year ending 31 March 1933, the Whakatōhea units were involved in ploughing sowing and manuring, fencing and top-dressing. It was estimated that as a result of this work a total area of 324 acres had been pastured by the Scheme. Existing poor pastures had also been improved and with the addition of the newly pastured land there was a total area of 902 acres of grass area. Further work entailed the erection of a storeshed and two race cowsheds. In addition around 560 chains of fencing had been completed. The scheme also supplied manure for top-dressing.¹⁵⁷

Records show that by 31 March 1934, total payments to the Whakatōhea units on Opape amounted to £5199. When revenue from various sources including those outstanding were deducted the net expenditure on Opape was £3785.¹⁵⁸

During February 1934, a Commission was appointed to report upon the administration of the development schemes.¹⁵⁹ At this time twenty four units were involved in the scheme at Opape. The number of Maori benefiting from the scheme at were said to include 70 adults and 80 minors. The Commission reported that the Whakatōhea Scheme exhibited the following characteristics:

- a) a certain amount of individualization;
- b) the impracticability of further subdivision of some sections in order to evolve individual Native freeholds;
- c) family holdings of a small size; and

¹⁵⁵Ibid

¹⁵⁶Native Land Development, Statement by the Hon.Sir Apirana T. Ngata. Native Minister., AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10, p.13.

¹⁵⁷Wairiki Maori Land District, Bay of Plenty Group', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10c, p.7

¹⁵⁸Native Land Development, AJHR, 1934, Session I, G-10, p.3

¹⁵⁹Native Affairs Commission. Report of the Commission on Native Affairs, AJHR, 1934 Session I, G-11, p.105.

d) family holdings which the owners will not tolerate giving up to any individual occupier.¹⁶⁰

The Commission concluded that detailed solutions to these problems must be left to the Native Land Court and the Native Land Settlement Board.¹⁶¹ The Commissioners considered that the Whakatōhea units were in a position where they were productive and thus were able to pay rates.

By March 1935, 949 acres of the total 2,036 acre Opape area under the Whakatōhea units remained unimproved. It was not anticipated that the remaining un-improved lands could be economically brought into production and it was planned that future work would focus on the land already developed. The water-supply from streams and springs in the area was considered satisfactory except in prolonged dry periods. The alluvial flats had the capacity to carry a cow an acre but on the higher lands three to four acres were required for each cow.¹⁶² A later report indicated that the river-flats covered an area of 450 acres, with a further area of lighter flats incorporating 300 acres. A further 800 acres were reported as comprising of terraces and undulating country and another 400 acres was described as ploughable hill country. The quality of the soil ranged from “good silty loam to light sandy loam on the hillsides.”¹⁶³

In January 1935, Sir Apirana Ngata spoke at a meeting with Whakatōhea at a pa near Ōpōtiki. Forbes, the Prime Minister was also present as they were inspecting the development of Maori lands. Ngata referred to the difficulties in administering land development in the Bay of Plenty due to the presence of nine separate and distinct tribes many of whom were still being affected by historic events. Whakatōhea who were the furthest tribe to the east to have lost their lands by confiscation were showing the effects of their landlessness. Ngata indicated that the population of Whakatōhea was around 450 to 500. The Opape scheme made provision for about 80 adults, and in all 4700 acres of the land could be developed, but only a fraction of these would be economic. Whakatōhea were described as a “strong and vigorous” tribe. The population was increasing annually but “it was absolutely at the end of

¹⁶⁰Ibid, p.177.

¹⁶¹Ibid

¹⁶²Native Development Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1935 Session I, G-10, p.16

¹⁶³Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on – By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1938, Session I, G-10, p.48.

the land capable of development". Whakatōhea were shut between the sea on the one side and the hills on the other. The hills were noted to be "the cemetery of many lost pakeha fortunes".¹⁶⁴

In 1935 there continued to be 27 units from Whakatōhea on the scheme and most were considered to be taking a "keen interest" in the development work. It appears that the living quarters associated with the scheme were of a rather poor quality but despite this an "average" state of health was maintained by the occupants. It was planned that the "existing shacks" would be replaced by small cottages in the future. At 31 March 1935, stock included: 31 bulls, 553 cows, 213 heifers, 43 horses and 5 working bullocks.¹⁶⁵

By end of March 1936 the Whakatōhea units and Hinahinanui were said to have a total area of 2,446 acres and it was anticipated that around 2000 acres would eventually be developed. A total of 1,188 acres were in pasture and 110 acres were in rough feed. There were 33 units on this land who were involved with milking and supplying the dairy factory. The scheme was maintaining 83 adults and 138 minors when dependants were taken into account.¹⁶⁶ Sixteen cottages were erected over the year. Nevertheless, some of the Maori settlers and their families were still living in huts and dilapidated whare. A further ten cottages were planned.¹⁶⁷ An additional 945 chains of fencing was carried out as well as 316 chains of draining, 105 acres of bushfelling and scrubbing, 51 acres of sowing, and 133 acres of ploughing and sowing down in pasture. Ragwort was present in some areas but was being kept under control by spraying.¹⁶⁸ The recorded number of cows milked had increased from 330 in the 1932-33 season to 487 in the 1935-36 season. Over the same time the total butterfat supplied increased from 61,869 pound to 80,079 pound. However, the average yield per cow decreased from 181 pounds to 165 pounds. The average value of the butterfat per cow likewise decreased from £8.1.0 to £6.8.6.¹⁶⁹

By the end of March 1937, there were 40 settlers within the scheme. Thirty four were milking and supplying the dairy factory and it was anticipated that a further settler would commence

¹⁶⁴ 30 Jan 1935, 'Maori Lands', *Auckland Star*, Vol LXVI, Issue 25, p.9.

¹⁶⁵ Native Development Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1935 Session I, G-10, p.16

¹⁶⁶ Native Development Report on - By Board of Native Affairs'. AJHR, 1936, Session I, G-10, p.24.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

the following season with the rest in a position to begin milking the next year. The total number of persons dependent on the settlers was 52 adults and 49 minors.¹⁷⁰ The area in pasture had increased to 1,442 acres with a further 100 acres in rough feed and another 234 acres sown down during March 1936. Stock recorded as at 31 March 1937 included 45 bulls, 730 cows, 160 heifers, 131 weaner heifers, and 48 working horses. The amount of butterfat supplied over the season increased considerably to 105,547 pound with a total value of £5163. The number of cows being milked increased to 571 and the average yield per cow was also up on the previous year at 185 lb or £9.¹⁷¹ A further ten cottages were erected as planned over the 1936 to 1937 year and nine cow-sheds were erected. Therefore, it was anticipated that the majority of settlers would soon have comfortable living quarters and adequate milking facilities.¹⁷² With regards to the settlers themselves it was commented that “the general standard of energy “was improving although increased effort is necessary”. A number were said to still be in need of “strict supervision and instruction” while a few were “becoming efficient farmers”.¹⁷³

Over the 1937-38 period, there continued to be forty settlers involved with the scheme with their dependents numbering 54 adults and 153 minors. The general health of these people was reported to be good over this period. There were 1,650 acres in permanent pasture and 100 acres in temporary pasture and rough feed. The remainder of the area for development was in manuka and light bush with the balance of the land too steep for development.¹⁷⁴ Stock as at 31 March 1938 included 46 bulls, 741 cows and heifers, a further 126 heifers¹⁷⁵, 175 heifer calves and 17 working horses. During the “flush” months the average number of cows being milked was 583. Housings conditions continued to improve.¹⁷⁶ The settlers were by this time considered to be on the way to being “good farmers” and some of them were in a “sound financial position”. It was anticipated that other than maintenance costs, little further would be required from the Native Department.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰Native Development Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1937, Session I, G-10, p.49.

¹⁷¹Ibid

¹⁷²Ibid

¹⁷³Ibid

¹⁷⁴Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1938, Session I, G-10, p.48.

¹⁷⁵ These were recorded as (i/c) heifers - possibly an abbreviation for in calf.

¹⁷⁶Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1938, Session I, G-10, p.48.

¹⁷⁷Ibid

Over the 1938 to 1939 financial year the Opape Base farm was merged with the Whakatōhea Scheme. Dry conditions over the season led to a decrease in butterfat production. In addition to the settlers on the scheme, a further twenty workmen were involved in the stumping and clearing of 280 acres, the fencing of 16 miles, drainage work over three and a half miles and the ploughing a 120 acres. The Scheme was supporting 305 people. Livestock as at 31 March 1939 included 1053 cows, 596 other dairy stock, 84 sheep and 49 working horses.¹⁷⁸

In February 1939, the Ōpōtiki County Council decided to instruct the county clerk to endeavour to have the properties on the Opape native block placed on the valuation roll. The Native Affairs Department advised that the block was not showing a profit. Councillors stated that other property owners had to pay rates whether they were making a profit or not.¹⁷⁹

iv. *Opape Base Farm*

As noted previously, a large amount of land (1,072 acres) within the Opape block was held under a lease by Mrs Ferguson. Supervisors and Consolidation Officers in the area contended that the acquisition of this lease was essential to the effective working of the Opape Block. The term of the lease was 42 years dating from 1 July 1920. In the end the lease was purchased in July 1931 and it was decided to make the land a stock-base farm for the purpose of breeding and supplying dairy stock of a superior quality to Maori settlers. To achieve this object the land was stocked with Jersey heifers from Taranaki and care was taken in selecting bulls.¹⁸⁰ This scheme, which became known as Opape Base Farm, had an area of 1,072 acres.¹⁸¹ Over the financial period 1932-33, the gross expenditure was £2634 plus a further £1892 spent on purchasing the lease. The net expenditure therefore amounted to £4526.¹⁸²

An old milking shed, yards and surrounds that had been on the farm when it was taken over from Mrs Ferguson were condemned by the Dairy Inspector as being the cause of the mammitis which had been affecting Mrs Ferguson's herd. These were replaced by a new

¹⁷⁸Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on – By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1939, Session I, G-10, p.37.

¹⁷⁹ 8 February 1939, 'Opotiki County, *NZ Herald*, Vol LXXVI, Issue 23266, p.10.

¹⁸⁰Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister.'AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.40.

¹⁸¹Native Development Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1935 Session I, G-10, p.16

¹⁸²'Native Land Development, Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10, p.13.

five-stand shed. There was also a four roomed cottage, wash-house on the land as well as an old whare which was added to and renovated over the year to accommodate farm-hands.¹⁸³

Over the first year of operations the farm continued to be managed by Mr Stewart who had been the manager for Mrs Ferguson for some years. Three young Whakatōhea men were chosen by the owners to be cadets and assist Stewart. In July 1932, Stewart resigned and the manager position was taken over by Ngawai Amoamo, an owner in the land and son of the Whakatōhea leader who was foreman of the Whakatōhea Scheme. Amoamo continued to be assisted by the three cadets and his appointment was seen to have led to improvements in all aspects of farm-management.¹⁸⁴

By 31 March 1934, the total cost in relation to Opape Farm including those outstanding at that time and the net interest amounted to £6872.12.7. When the revenue from various sources including outstanding amounts were deducted this showed a total net expenditure on the Opape Farm part of the Scheme of £4454.14.9.¹⁸⁵

In the report of the 1934 Commission in regards to Opape Base Farm it was noted that the original intention of this Farm was that it be utilised for the breeding and supplying of stock but this had not by that time been put into operation.¹⁸⁶ The Commission considered that the farm should be made to perform more adequately in relation to its role in breeding and supplying high quality dairy stock to the Maori farmers on the schemes in the surrounding area.¹⁸⁷

The total area of Opape Base farm was 1,072 acres with around 800 acres viewed as having the potential for development. By 31 March 1936, 275 acres were in permanent pasture and a further 50 acres were in rough feed. In addition, 23 acres were in turnips, three acres in maize and 12 acres in millet.¹⁸⁸ All pastures were top-dressed. An additional area of 74 acres

¹⁸³Waiariki Maori Land District, Bay of Plenty Group', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10c, p.7

¹⁸⁴Ibid

¹⁸⁵Native Land Development, AJHR, 1934, Session I, G-10, p.3

¹⁸⁶Native Affairs Commission. Report of the Commission on Native Affairs, AJHR, 1934 Session I, G-11, p.167.

¹⁸⁷Native Affairs Commission. Report of the Commission on Native Affairs, AJHR, 1934 Session I, G-11, p.178..

¹⁸⁸'NativeDevelopment Report on - By Board of Native Affairs'. AJHR, 1936, Session I, G-10, p.24.

was cleared and partially stumped with part of this area, ploughed and sown with millet in preparation to becoming permanent pasture.¹⁸⁹

As at 31 March 1936 stock included: 199 dairying cattle, 183 sheep, 15 pigs and three horses. The total supply of butterfat had decreased a little from the previous year to 22,030 lb which was an average of 202 lb per cow.¹⁹⁰ In 1936 it was reported that the farm had now reached the profit-earning stage and it was considered that the area developed could be subdivided into six holdings.¹⁹¹

By the end of March 1937, the area in permanent pasture had increased to 344 acres with a further 80 acres in swamp and rough feed and another five acres in lucerne. All livestock was reported to be in good condition. Stock recorded at the end of the 1936-37 financial year included: four bulls, 128 cows, 62 heifers, 27 heifer calves, three horses, 247 ewes and an unspecified number of pigs. Sheep were reported to have done well over the year with 120 fat lambs averaging 39.3 lb being sold.¹⁹² There was a slight increase in the total butterfat supply to 20,327 lb over the 1936-1937 period which resulted in returns of £1148. The average yield per cow had increased to 230 lb.¹⁹³

Over the 1937-38 year, a further 110 acres were cleared and grassed providing a total of 539 acres. Other improvements included 100 chains of new fencing and 90 chains of internal roading as well as repairs to existing fences and the cleaning of drains. There were five workers engaged on the farm and a total of ten adults and 14 children received support from the scheme. A further house and cow-shed was erected as it was anticipated that a further milker would be established in the near future. As at 31 March 1938, stock included 103 cows, 91 other dairy stock and 197 breeding ewes.¹⁹⁴

As noted previously, in 1939, the Opape Base Farm which had three settlers and fifteen dependents had merged the Whakatōhea Scheme. By this time of the settlers on Opape Base

¹⁸⁹Ibid

¹⁹⁰Ibid

¹⁹¹Ibid

¹⁹²Native Development Report on - By Board of Native Affairs'. AJHR, 1937, Session I, G-10, p.43.

¹⁹³Ibid

¹⁹⁴Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1938, Session I, G-10, p.48.

Farm were milking large herds with the remaining settler due to start milking the following season..¹⁹⁵

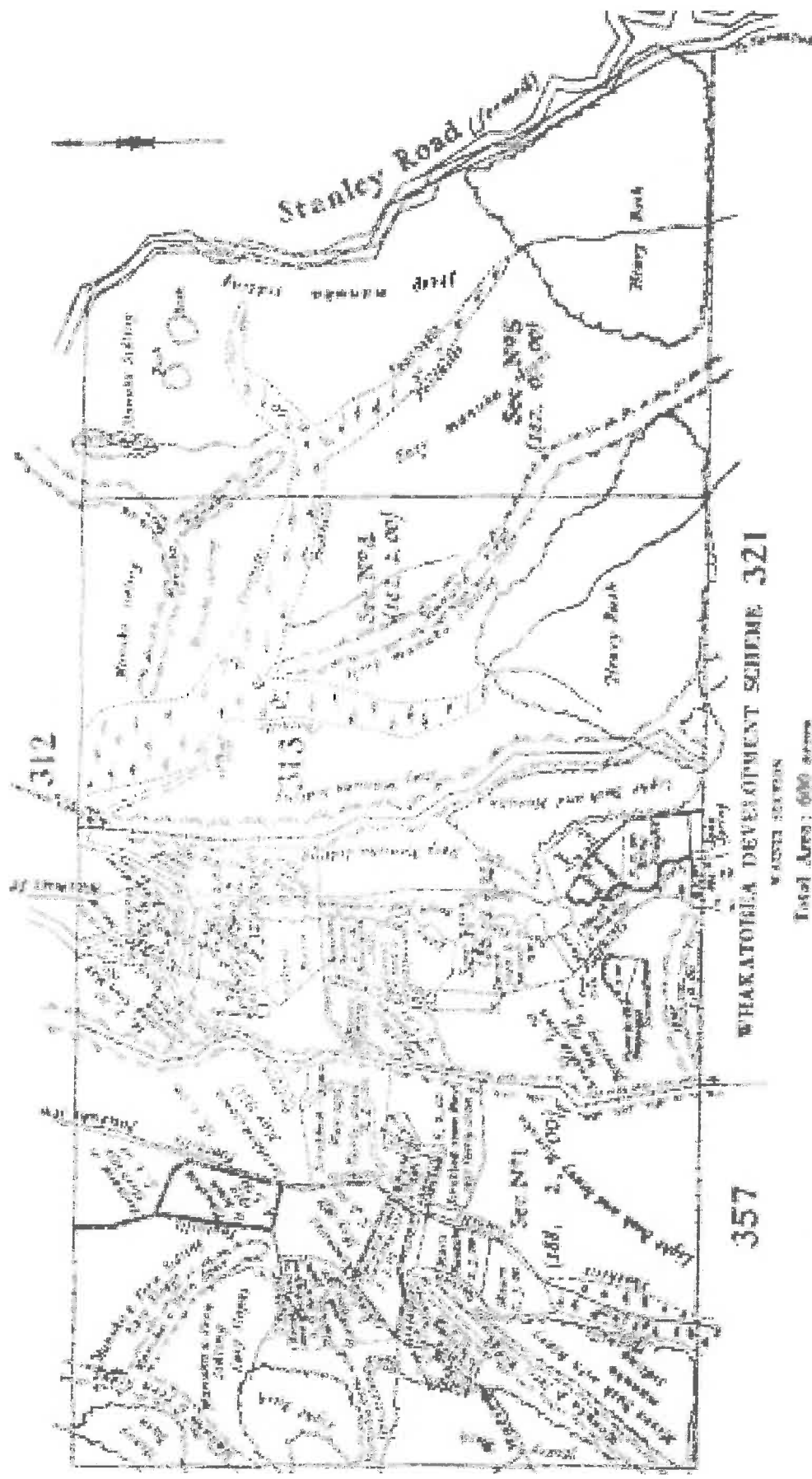
v. *Wainui*

Regarding the Wainui Reserve, at some time the Native Land Court had appointed twelve Trustees to administer the reserve for the Ringatu Church. These Trustees were given the same powers as a management Committee of an incorporated block which included the power to farm and develop the estate. This block also was included under the Whakatōhea lands identified for state assisted development.

The following map shows the location and area of the Wainui section of the Whakatōhea Development Scheme.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on – By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1939, Session I, G-10, p.37.

¹⁹⁶Native Land Development, Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata. Native Minister', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10, Plan 28, Sheet 2, p.101.



WHAKATOPIA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME 321

MADE BY SECTION
 Total Area: 600 acres

Up until the end of March 1931, there was no expenditure from the Native Land Settlement Account on this reserve, but some clearing was carried out which involved seed and fencing. By June 1931, the reserve owed the Waiariki Board £215. Over the 1931-1932 financial year an expenditure of £623 was recorded in relation to the Wainui Reserve associated with grass-seed and sowing at £234, clearing at £222, fencing material £80 and fertilizers £39.¹⁹⁷ By March 1932, it was reported that 47 acres within Wainui was already in poor to rough pasture and a further 106 acres and three roods had been pastured in relation to the development scheme.¹⁹⁸ Stock possessed by the Wainui settlers included 38 milkers, 12 springers, 16 yearlings, four bulls and four working horses. The Wainui settlers did not possess any implements. The gross return on butterfat supplied by the Wainui settlers was £259.¹⁹⁹

Over the 1932-1933 financial period the Wainui part of the scheme had a gross expenditure of £784 with no receipts at that time so the net expenditure was the same.²⁰⁰ In regards to the Wainui section of the Whakatōhea Scheme, contracts for work estimated to cost £174.10.0 and providing work for 9 men were authorised and subsidies totalling £58.3.4 were allotted. By the 31 March 1933, the work completed under these contracts included the ploughing and sowing of five acres as well as the erection of 66.9 chains of fencing and the splitting and delivery of 504 posts and 20 strainers. The total cost for the work amounted to £64.15.9 and gave employment to fifteen men-individuals 12. A number of contracts were still underway at the end of the financial year and expected to be completed in April 1933.²⁰¹

A financial statement for the year ending 31 March 1934 recorded that total payments to the Wainui section including outstanding payments and net interest totalled £1085.5.10. When revenue from various sources including that outstanding was deducted this left a net expenditure of £1003.14.7.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷Native-Land Development. Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata, Native Minister. 'AJHR, 1932 Session I-II, G-10, p.39.

¹⁹⁸Ibid, p.40.

¹⁹⁹Ibid

²⁰⁰Native Land Development, Statement by the Hon. Sir Apirana T. Ngata. Native Minister.', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10, p.13.

²⁰¹Waiariki Maori Land District, Bay of Plenty Group', AJHR, 1933 Session I, G-10c, p.7

²⁰²Native Land Development, AJHR, 1934, Session I, G-10, p.3

The 1934 Commission referred to the complicated position of the Wainui reserve where the existing liabilities of the settlers were being discharged by the Native Department.²⁰³ The Commission considered that if prosperity should return, the adherents of the Ringatu Church should be requested to repay the debt to the Native Land Settlement Account on an instalment system.²⁰⁴ Three units had been established on this area. By 31 March 1935, an area of 250 acres of the total 600 acres had been grassed with the remainder unimproved. Livestock on the land included 72 cows, 35 heifers, 3 bull and 7 horses. Over the 1934-35 financial year butter-fat production from this area amounted to 9,225 lb.²⁰⁵

By 31 March 1937, the three Maori units within the land development scheme were farming an area of 307 acres and milking 95 cows. Two of these units were reported to be progressing satisfactorily. In 1937 it was reported that arrangement were being made in regards to these units being given a lease.²⁰⁶

By the end of March 1938 it appeared an equitable leasing arrangement had still not been finalised. At that time the three units on the scheme were described as being associated with slightly larger area of 320 acres which incorporated around 70 acres of flats and 250 acres of easy hill country most of this being ploughable. In regards to the further 280 acres making up Wainui, it was noted that one half would be suitable for development in connection with the farms of the three already established settlers but it was considered that this land would not be suitable for an individual holding. Soil quality in Wainui ranged from heavy silted loam in the flats to lighter loam soil in the hills.²⁰⁷

Over 1937-1938 period an area of 242 acres was reported to be in pasture and this had produced abundant feed and sufficient hay for the winter. Stock on the property included 110 cows, 49 heifers and calves and five working horses. Two houses had been erected in line with a desire to provide good housing accommodation. Two cowsheds had also been provided with a third in the process of being erected.²⁰⁸

²⁰³Native Affairs Commission. Report of the Commission on Native Affairs, AJHR, 1934 Session I, G-11, p.167.

²⁰⁴Ibid, p.178..

²⁰⁵NativeDevelopment Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1935 Session I, G-10, p.16

²⁰⁶'NativeDevelopment Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1937, Session I, G-10, p.49.

²⁰⁷Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on - By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1938, Session I, G-10, p.48.

²⁰⁸Ibid

In June 1938, a hui held at Wainui resolved that the Board of Native Affairs would lease a portion of Part Section 313 Waimana Parish containing 188 acres and two roods to Rapata Peene (also known as Robert Biddle) for a term of 21 years commencing from 1 January 1938 with a right of renewal for a further term of 21 years. The rental for the first term was set at 3/6 per acre per annum. It was noted that there would be no compensation payable to the Lessee at the end of the second term of 21 years. In the event of the lessee not wanting to take a second term of 21 years, then he was to be paid compensation for his improvements not exceeding £500.²⁰⁹

By the following year a further house had been constructed. The three settlers were supporting nineteen dependents. On 31 March 1939, livestock recorded in relation to Wainui included 112 cows and 17 other dairy stock. A further 232 chains of fencing were completed over the 1938-1939 period.²¹⁰

vi. Land Development during the 1940s

In 1940, the Whakatōhea Scheme (which over the years came to include the Hinahinaui sections and the Opape Base Farm) incorporated a total area of 4057 acres. Conditions over the 1939-1940 period were good contributing to an increase in butterfat production and a plentiful amount of hay to supply the increased herds over the 1940 winter.²¹¹ During the year, two settlers occupied new holdings which were anticipated to become productive over 1940.

At the beginning of the 1940s, the Whakatōhea Scheme was supporting 42 settlers, 34 labourers and 256 dependents. There were 1123 dairy cows and 542 other dairy stock.²¹² In addition there were 75 breeding ewes, 18 dry sheep and 47 working horses.²¹³ A further seven cottages and thirteen cow sheds were erected over the 1939-1940 period.²¹⁴ Total butterfat production was 141,394 lbs amounting to £8789 in proceeds. Further revenue included £222

²⁰⁹ 1 Sept 1944, Haughey, Solicitor to Under Secretary, AAMK W3074 869 Box 870, c, 63/40/1, ANZ-A

²¹⁰ Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on – By Board of Native Affairs, AJHR, 1939, Session I, G-10, p.37.

²¹¹ Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on – By Board of Native Affairs, AJHR, 1940, Session I, G-10, p.27.

²¹² Ibid

²¹³ Ibid, p.39.

²¹⁴ Ibid, p.27.

from sale of livestock and £95 from crops and sundries. The proportion taken by the Native Department amounted to a total of £4099.²¹⁵

In addition, an area of 400 acres on the Wainui section of the Whakatōhea Scheme was being utilised by this time. Stock on the section included 120 dairy cows and 50 other dairy stock as well as five working horses. The output of butterfat continued to increase to 16,530 lbs amounting to proceeds of £1083 in proceeds. Sale of livestock led to another £74 in revenue with the proportion going to the Native Department amounting to £497. A further settler had been established on this section of the scheme and was expected to commence production over the following season. Thirty-one persons in total were being supported by this part of the Scheme at the beginning of the 1940s.²¹⁶

Total expenditure including interest up to 31 March 1941 on the Whakatōhea Development Scheme amounted to £69,111. Total receipts including Employment Grants were £38,373. Therefore the net liability by the Native Department in relation to the Whakatōhea Scheme was £30,738.²¹⁷

Over the 1942-1943 period extensive reviews were made in relation to the unit loan accounts. This highlighted the fact that compared to other areas the settlers at Whakatōhea were having some difficulty in meeting their liabilities. This was attributed to the numerous difficult bush sections within these areas.²¹⁸

On 18 May 1944, the Maori Affairs Department Field Supervisor provided a report to the Deputy Registrar of the Native Department in relation to Maori lands in the Ōpōtiki District. Previous to this, a Noxious Weed Inspector had been appointed by the Ōpōtiki County Council as noxious weeds were becoming a problem in the District with the potential of causing a serious decline in production.²¹⁹ The Field Supervisor had attended a meeting held by the County Council at which time he had pointed out the spread of ragwort on Maori lands

²¹⁵Ibid, p.39.

²¹⁶Ibid, pp.27,39

²¹⁷Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on – By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1941, Session I, G-10, p.24. There did not appear to be other records pertaining to the Wainui section of the Scheme so presumably it is included in these figures.

²¹⁸Native Land Development and the Provision of Houses for Maoris, including Employment Promotion. Report on – By Board of Native Affairs', AJHR, 1943, Session I, G-10, p.4.

²¹⁹18 May 1944, Bennet, Field Supervisor to Deputy Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

on blocks where the Native Department had no control was just as serious a problem to the Native Department as it was to other farmers in the District. He also explained that ragwort was one weed that could be farmed to profit with sheep and advised that the Native Department would be prepared to put ewes on some areas to assist control provided the risk of loss could be reduced to a minimum.²²⁰

At the meeting, the Field Supervisor outlined several measures that the County Council could assist with in the management of Maori land in the district:

- 1) That all stray horses on the river banks and roads be impounded as there are, in some cases, more horses than cows on some areas
- 2) That the Dog Tax Collector make a drive through all the areas and clean out all useless dogs to save the worrying of sheep.
- 3) That the Inspector co-operate with me to make Units realised the serious problem confronting them in the future.
- 4) That some of the subsidy monies be spent on clearing river banks and pah areas.
- 5) That in any way possible the position be brought to the notice of farmers.²²¹

The Field Supervisor contended there was a need for drastic action as follows:

I feel the Government, the Board of Native Affairs, the Native Land Courts or some authority should take drastic action in the best interests of production, the Native people, Returned Soldiers or the County in particular.²²²

He also referred to cases where the Native Department had developed the land and the owners had made no effort to assist them. He contended that in some of these cases the Maori owners were "receiving good family allowances and other benefits, or working outside their own properties while their land goes to noxious weeds, ragwort, gorse and blackberries". He maintained that European farmers were noticing this position and were looking to the County

²²⁰Ibid

²²¹18 May 1944, Bennet, Field Supervisor to Deputy Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

²²²Ibid

Council to take action to see that the Maori owners were paying rates and making their lands productive.²²³ The Field Supervisor further commented that, “We have good units on poor lands making a try while we have poor units farming good land and in some cases only half farming it”. In addition he felt those Maori not farming their lands should face some consequences as follows:

During this last few years the Maori People have been given equality of opportunity, wages and benefits, and I feel the time has come when they should farm their lands to the best advantage or make room for other owners or returned me and those who are not farming their lands should be made with to improve it or hand it over to this Department to clear and bring back into production.²²⁴

Further information regarding the unit farms at Whakatōhea in 1946 indicated that in a number of cases it had been necessary to run sheep to control ragwort to the extent that a number of farms had “practically gone out of dairy farming and into sheep-farming”. It was anticipated that this would be a remedial measure and that as soon as the lands were once more in a state suitable for dairying they would revert to this method of farming.²²⁵

vii. Land as Compensation

Information from the 1940s indicates that at this time the Government was still considering the possibility of compensating Whakatōhea for the land confiscation by granting them land. By this time the issue of Whakatōhea compensation had been considered under the Jones, Strauchon, Ormsby Commission and the Sims Commission. In March, 1944, the Native Minister gave the view that settlement for Whakatōhea should take the form of a grant of land (either developed or undeveloped) to the value of £15,000. It was therefore necessary to explore what land was available in the vicinity of Ōpōtiki to meet this need. Although it was considered that the nearer the land was to Ōpōtiki the more useful it would be for

²²³Ibid

²²⁴Ibid

²²⁵Native Department. The Development and Settlement of Native Lands and the Provision of Houses for Maoris [sic] (Statement upon the Progress of, by the Hon. H.G.R. Mason, Native Minister and Chairman of the Board of Native Affairs).’ AJHR, 1946 Session I, G-10, p.16.

Whakatōhea, this proximity was not seen to be essential and the possibility of some land between Rotoiti and Maketu was being considered.²²⁶

The following year, available correspondence indicates that the Native Minister was considering a block of land on the west of the Tarawera River across from the Onepu Development Scheme. It was felt that this land had the potential depending on its availability and area to settle the claims of Whakatōhea and/or those of Ngāti Rangihouhiri and Ngāti Hikakino.²²⁷ This possibility was not proceeded with, however.

When suitable Crown land could not be found to grant to the Whakatōhea Tribe to satisfy their claims arising from the confiscation of their lands, the Under Secretary of the Native Department suggested the possibility of obtaining a suitable area of private European land through Crown purchase. However, the Commissioner of Crown Lands disagreed with this suggestion and gave the view that any lands acquired by the Crown should be set aside for ex-servicemen.²²⁸

In March 1945, further investigations in relation to the Crown land west of the Tarawera River revealed that it was being developed by the Lands and Survey Department with a view to European settlement. This land was part of a subdivision of the Edgecumbe block which had been under development for some years, at a cost of around £11 an acre for grassing, fencing and other improvements. There was also 5000 acres of Maori land in the area that could possibly be included for development purposes. The Maori land was undeveloped, much of it was not ploughable and there was a ragwort problem. It was considered that it would take some years to develop this land. Ultimately, the Superintendent of Land Development recommended that the purchase of good land which would subdivide into small holdings would be more suitable for the purpose of compensating Whakatōhea.²²⁹

²²⁶ 14 Dec 1944, Under Secretary of Native Dept to Under Secretary for Lands, ABWN, W5021, 6095, Box 598, 22/3122, pt.1, ANZ-A

²²⁷ 21 Feb 1945, Under Secretary of Native Dept to Under Secretary for Lands, ABWN, W5021, 6095, Box 598, 22/3122, pt.1, ANZ-A

²²⁸ 22 Feb 1945, Commissioner of Crown Lands to Under Secretary for Lands, ABWN, W5021, 6095, Box 598, 22/3122, pt.1, ANZ-A

²²⁹ 6 March 1945, Superintendent of Land Development to Commission of Crown Lands Auckland, ABWN, W5021, 6095, Box 598, 22/3122, pt.1, ANZ-A

In the end, the investigations over early 1945 by the Commissioners of Crown Land for both Auckland and Gisborne failed to find any land that would be suitable to satisfy the claims of Whakatōhea.²³⁰

viii. Opape 3 Maize Production 1944 - 1953

On 30 November 1944, the Deputy Registrar wrote to the Under Secretary of the Native Department regarding eight Opape No.3 subdivisions that were said to be unoccupied and overgrown with gorse and ragwort which was causing the Ōpōtiki County Council and local farmers some concerns. The total area comprised within these subdivisions was 196 acres, one rood and 19.5 perches. Three of the subdivisions were in sole ownership and the other blocks ranged from three to 26 owners. Only two had more than 10 owners.²³¹

The area involved was deemed suitable for occupation and the Field Supervisor had recommended that it be vested in the Board under Section 355 of the 1931 Act with the object of leasing to some approved occupier.²³² Although legally the area could be proceeded with, the Deputy Registrar considered it advisable to bring the matter before the Court for enquiry so the owners could be fully advised of the position and their views on the matter ascertained. He noted the Court could then report on the matter and make recommendations as it saw fit.²³³ On 27 February 1945, the eight Opape No.3 subdivisions were the subject of application to the Native Land Court requesting that the lands be vested in the Maori Land Board, or for the Court to consider future occupation. At that time, the Judge ruled that these blocks were subject to part 1 of the 1936 Act, and the Department had all the power necessary to improve them with the assistance of the owners, who should be in a position to nominate an occupier.²³⁴

On 25 November 1945, the Field Supervisor completed a report on the eight Opape No.3 subdivisions for the Registrar of the Native Department in Rotorua. He noted that Te Oke

²³⁰ 26 March 1945, Memorandum to Under Secretary of the Native Dept, ABWN, W5021, 6095, Box 598, 22/3122, pt.1, ANZ-A

²³¹ 30 Nov 1944, Deputy Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua to Under Secretary, Native Dept, Wgtn, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

²³² Ibid

²³³ Ibid

²³⁴ 25 Nov 1945, Field Supervisor to Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

Waiapu was the sole owner of 36 acres, two roods and 36 perches and Te Wakaroa Waiapu (brother of the aforementioned Te Oke) owned 75 acres, and 19 perches along with two other members of the Waiapu family who were by this time deceased. A further 19 acres and two roods had a number of owners including the Waiapu family who held some shares. All the other sections were small and had numerous owners, who were reported to be taking little interest in the land.²³⁵

In regards to the Waiapu family, the Field Supervisor commented that they "...have no time for the Native Development and one could place no confidence in them as Units, even if they were to agree amongst themselves to appoint one of the Waiapus as the occupiers." The Field Supervisor considered that he could take no further action in developing these blocks:

As the Court could not see its way clear to have these sections vested, and the owners will in no way agree to a meeting of owners, with the idea of appointing an occupier, I feel I have done all I can in the matter, and that I am powerless to move further re development.²³⁶

He contended that the inaction was leading to criticism against the Native Department noting:

I would also point out that this area is being used by farmers and residents in this District to show what the Native Department is not doing re Development and production for Native lands, and it was due to this criticism that I was prompted to apply to the Court for some action in the first place.²³⁷

A further report by the Field Supervisor to the Rotorua Registrar on 17 April 1946 confirmed that the larger owners in the Opape No.3 subdivisions still seemed to be reluctant to give any definite opinion as to what should be done to bring the areas into production. A search of the titles showed that there were not many living owners to deal with and in a number of cases succession orders had not been applied for.²³⁸ At this time, the Field Supervisor described the eight subdivisions as comprising around 236 acres with most of the land having reverted to gorse, ragwort and scrub. The Supervisor estimated that an area of around 80 acres was partly cleared and as much as 40 to 50 acres was in fenced grass area although the grasses were

²³⁵ Ibid

²³⁶ Ibid

²³⁷ Ibid

²³⁸ 17 April 1946, Field Supervisor to Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

reported to have run out and it was considered that attention would be required to bring them back to order.²³⁹

It appears that no further action was taken in relation to the Opape No.3 subdivisions over the next few months. During August 1946, the Field Officer was made aware that there was a desire within the Native Department for a further 4000 acres of maize production and he immediately took the matter up with Units in the Ōpōtiki area. Some units agreed to grow a limited area. However, in the area of Opape that had been under discussion there was reported to be no action by the owners. By 20 August, the Field Supervisor had called a meeting of owners and they had agreed to plant maize with the Board's assistance but advised him that the area would have to be ploughed and worked up by contract as the time for planting was short. The Supervisor also advised the Registrar that as the area was badly infested with ragwort it had been necessary to put ewes on the land for control purposes. He further commented that "this area is limited to the amount of different sort[s] of farming that can take place at the same time".²⁴⁰

On 4 September, the Field Supervisor sent a further report on the possibility of maize growing on the section held by the Waiapu brothers. He attached a survey covering the intended area of around 40 to 50 acres that the brothers had agreed to plant with maize with the assistance of the Board of Native Affairs. Although the area had been out of production for some years, the Supervisor considered that with the assistance of some labour for about two weeks and the help of a contractor, he believed good profit could be shown. In addition, the Field Supervisor commented on an area adjacent to this and owned by the same family which he considered could be cleared of scrub, fern, ragwort and gorse at the same time if labour could be found. He raised the possibility of some assistance by way of subsidy noting that at the end of three years, the total area would make a "very nice dairy farm".²⁴¹ In response, on 5 September 1946, the Registrar at Rotorua advised the Under Secretary of the Native Department: "As the Waiapu family have always been rather antagonistic towards the

²³⁹ Ibid

²⁴⁰ 20 Aug 1946 [day in Aug was unclear], Field Supervisor to Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

²⁴¹ 2 Sept 1946, Field Supervisor to Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua,, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

Department and Development I propose leaving the question of further developing this area until it is seen how they succeed with the maize growing.”²⁴²

In December 1946, Opape 3A1E (75 acres and 19 perches) 3A1F (31 acres, two roods and 30 perches) and 3A1A (17 acres, two roods and 21 perches) were made subject to Section 523 of the 1931 Native Land Act for the purpose of maize production.²⁴³ Almost two years later on 3 November 1948, the Field Supervisor reported to the Registrar at Rotorua on the maize production associated with the Waiapu brothers’ land. He stated that 34 acres of maize had been planted and harvested over the previous season. He estimated that there would be a yield of 450 bags from this crop that he was intending to have shelled and marketed as soon as possible. He noted that the first crop from the 34 acres, harvested the season prior had only yielded 73 bags. He commented that this crop was extremely light, probably due to the presence of caterpillars and to wind conditions over the season.²⁴⁴

Several years later, on 5 January 1953, the Field Supervisor reported to the District Maori Affairs Officer at Rotorua on the Waiapu brothers’ land at Opape 3A section 1E. He commented that an area incorporating Opape 3A1E (75 acres and 19 perches) 3A1F (31 acres, two roods and 30 perches) and 3A1A (17 acres, two roods and 21 perches) had been cropped for three years but that a financial loss had resulted. On 1 January 1952, this debt amounted to £452.11.3. However, a write off of £387.11.1 was authorised leaving a debt of £65.0.2 plus interest and this debt was still in place in January 1953.²⁴⁵

The Supervisor reported that since cropping had ceased nothing had been done on the land except grazing dry stock and horses. As a result, it had rapidly reverted to scrub, gorse and ragwort which was seeding adjoining farms and causing concern to the Ōpōtiki County Council and the Noxious Weed Inspector. The owners of the largest area (75 acres) had agreed for it to be developed but the Supervisor contended that the contour of this land meant

²⁴² 5 Sept 1946, C.V. Fordham, Registrar Rotorua to Under Secretary, Native Dept, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

²⁴³ 5 Nov 1953, Field Supervisor to District Officer, Maori Affairs Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

²⁴⁴ 3 Nov 1948, Field Supervisor to Registrar, Native Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

²⁴⁵ 5 Jan 1953, Field Supervisor to District Officer, Maori Affairs Dept, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945, Box 1479, j, 20/19/11, ANZ-A

that Opape 3A1A (17 acres, two roods and 21 perches) needed to be included as this portion provided convenient access to the balance of the land.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶Ibid

C. Development and Welfare: 1950-1975

The third Part of this report examines the period of twenty five years after 1950. This is a period where state-assisted development, which had not really brought significant advancement for Whakatōhea, was gradually withdrawn from the district.

The first Section takes advantage of a source of reports, primarily from the 1950s, produced by Maori Welfare Officers on a range of socio-economic issues such as employment, education and law and order. The second Section of the report uses these same reports, as well as other sources, to examine housing issues in several Whakatōhea communities.

The third Section examines post-state development land issues from the 1950s through to the mid-1970s. The five case studies examined all represented efforts by various persons and groups within Whakatōhea to restart a programme of land based development. In Whakataupakihi, the matter being considered is how land that had been leased to Pakeha might be use by the owners when the leases expired. Other subsections look at Opape and attempts over two decades to get assistance from Crown agencies to either fix up the titles to land or assist in initiating a new round of land development. In both cases, Whakatōhea met with reticence from Crown officials to become fully engaged. A further subsection examines attempts by Whakatōhea to utilise timber resource on their Opape lands. Finally, the amalgamation of land at Hiwarau as a way of h=getting land development underway is considered.

1. Socio-Economic Issues

The Maori and Social Economic Advancement Act was passed in 1945. The legislation set up a structure of tribal committees and executives who were tasked with the role of proposing and implementing ideas that would benefit local Maori. In addition, Maori Welfare Officers were employed by the government in a liaison and reporting role. The reports of these officers provide snapshots into a range of socio-economic issues and therefore they have been utilised to meet the tight timeframes of this project.²⁴⁷

i. Tribal Committees

Although the Maori and Social Economic Advancement Act was intended to present a new beginning of government assisted action for Maori in the post-war era, as noted in this report, Whakatōhea had often been cautious in relation to any action in which government was involved. In 1949 the District Maori Welfare Officer reported that a section of people within Whakatōhea had not readily accepted the Act and had “allowed political and religious divisions to upset their thinking”. The Whakatōhea Tribal Executive was said to have hopes that these groups would join in during the following year.²⁴⁸

During the mid-1950s, the District Maori Welfare Officer, accompanied by the Chairman of the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive, Boris Black, travelled to a number of settlements in the Ōpōtiki area and attended a large Whakatōhea Tribal Executive Meeting at Te Rere. Discussion at the meeting focused on a wide range of topics including housing, alcohol, education, the need for more land for development, and the violation of fishing grounds at Ōhiwa. Following the tour the District Maori Welfare Officer reported on “the keenness and desire of the Whakatōhea people to have more land for development”. He observed that Whakatōhea had told him that “we have the young people who are keen and have had farming backgrounds but we have no land, give us more development so as to employ our

²⁴⁷ 4 Oct 1945, 2 April 1949, Maori Welfare Officer to Controller Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt1, ANZ-A

²⁴⁸ 2 April 1949, Maori Welfare Officer to Controller Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt1, ANZ-A

children.” The Welfare Officer also commented on the Whakatōhea Trust Farm as an “excellent indication of the agricultural trends in this district”. He also referred to the extremely health state of local marae and the rejuvenating of communal centres in the Whakatōhea district. He observed that this had only been possible through the operation of the marae subsidy scheme and he viewed it as imperative that the subsidy scheme continued. The Welfare Officer commented on the positive state of mind existing amongst the Whakatōhea people and the broad vision of iwi members, particularly in dealing with the education of their children.²⁴⁹

During the year ended 31 March 1957, the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive was reported to be very active, meeting on a monthly basis and dealing with “numerous problems affecting both races”.²⁵⁰ The Annual Maori Welfare Report for the 1957-58 period commented that the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive had a good Chairman who showed initiative and intelligence and “adopted a serious attitude when conducting a meeting”. The Committee was said to be dealing with every aspect of work within the framework of the Act and had shown good results. By this time the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive had representatives on the Ōpōtiki Hospital Board, County Council, Road Safety Council, and Ōpōtiki College Board of Governors. There were eight active tribal committees and two Women’s Welfare Leagues who had members on the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive.²⁵¹

In 1963, the Tribal Committees of Ōpōtiki and surrounding districts were described as “active” and taking “interest in tribal affairs to heart”. The Welfare Officer observed that unfortunately “the administrators in some of these committees lack experience and confidence in the management of committees resulting in a major set-back in so far as administration is concerned”. On the other hand, the Officer expressed admiration in relation to “the willingness of people who come forward to accept responsible positions”. He was optimistic that “with guidance and perseverance the difficulties will be overcome”. The Whakatōhea Executive Committee was recorded as holding regular monthly meetings.²⁵²

²⁴⁹May 1955, Notes from District Welfare Officer, Maori Affairs tour, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁵⁰29 March 1957, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki District, Annual Report, to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁵¹Annual Welfare Report, Opotiki District, y/e 31 March 1958, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

²⁵²Feb 1963, T.TeKaipi, Opotiki Maori Welfare Officer to Dept of Native Affairs, [Undated but received 14 Feb 1963] AAMK, ANZ-A

ii. *Employment*

A key part of the role of the Maori Welfare Officers was to assist in placing Maori, especially young men and women, into employment. There are a few reports available in relation to progress. During 1952 young Maori women were reported as being placed by the Ōpōtiki Maori Welfare Officer in employment involving hop and fruit picking. It appears that this had been facilitated by arranging transport out to the orchards. Maori men in the area were also assisted into employment within the cheese factory and in forestry.²⁵³

Over the 1952-53 period there was reported to be a growing demand for employment from both male and female Maori applicants for departmental placement. As noted, the Maori Welfare Officer assisted applicants with job placements and although at times this was easy in cases where he had knowledge of vacancies, at other times, he had to make active enquiries. By this time quite a number of young Maori men and women were working in Ōpōtiki township at the Post Office Exchange, and with other firms and factories. As these young people had come into town from the outlying kainga, the finding of accommodation could present a difficulty. The Maori Welfare Officer therefore raised the possibility of establishing a hostel as he considered there would be work for others in the township if accommodation was available.²⁵⁴

In April 1954, the Maori Welfare Officer reported that local employment in Ōpōtiki was limited and extra time had been taken in seeking employment outside the district. He further commented: "The offer to Maori girls and boys to work from some of the leading firms and office[s] in Ōpōtiki is an out and out example of the true racial relationship that exists, an indication the Maori of today is adapting to a new way of life and making use of that opportunity".²⁵⁵

²⁵³ 5 Aug 1952, Opotiki Maori Welfare Officer to District Maori Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, c, 18/1, pt.1, ANZ-A.

²⁵⁴ J.S. Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report y/e 31 March 1953 to District Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁵⁵ 12 April 1954, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

The following year it was noted that 18 school leavers had been assisted into various trades. Some of these placements were out of the Ōpōtiki area as the Welfare Officer reported transporting seven people to Rotorua. Over the year other Maori were assisted into various types of employment including Public Works and on farms as well as in timber mills, the freezing works and the cannery. Other job-seekers were assisted into domestic work, factories and nursing and some seasonal workers had been placed in the tobacco industry in Nelson.²⁵⁶

Employment figures for the Waiariki District around the 1950s show that at time in Ōpōtiki there were 87 people working for the Ministry of Works including 75 Maori and 12 Europeans. However, it was anticipated that there would be a decrease in the number of Maori employed at the Ministry of Works. The County Council was employing 27 - 18 Maori and nine Europeans. The Borough Council employed a further 14 people of which nine were Maori. The Dairy Factory was another significant employer in the area with a total of 49 employees comprising of 23 Maori and 26 Europeans. The other important source of employment was the Ōpōtiki Bacon Factory which had 38 employees including 16 Maori and 22 Europeans. Apart from the expected decrease in the number of those employed by the Ministry of Works there were no significant changes expected in the numbers employed. The total number employed across these organisations was 215 comprising of 141 Maori and 215 Europeans..²⁵⁷

Over the mid-1950s, the Maori Affairs District Welfare Officer commented on the inevitable drift away of young workers from the rural areas around Ōpōtiki. He referred to a very noticeable drop in the young population of the coast area in particular with the flow of people to the cities to seek employment. He noted that this applied particularly in the cases where fathers were still in control of their unit farms resulting in the younger generation needing to leave to seek employment elsewhere as farming operations were so limited.²⁵⁸

By 1956, there was noted to be limited demand for labour in Ōpōtiki,. As a result many families continued to leave the district for the bigger cities.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶13 April 1955, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁵⁷Undated Circa 1950s, Employment Figures, Waiariki, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1464, b, 18/5, pt.1, ANZ-A.

²⁵⁸May 1955, Notes from District Welfare Officer, Maori Affairs tour, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁵⁹26 March 1956, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

In 1957, Ōpōtiki district was reported as be more rural than other Maori Welfare zones in the Waiariki District. Main industries at that time were small farming, both sheep and dairy, as well as some kumara growing for the market. Other employment opportunities were provided through Ministry of Work's projects in the Waioeka Gorge and permanent road maintenance. There was also factory work available at the Ōpōtiki Bacon Factory, and the Farmers Clothing Factory at Ōpōtiki. In addition there was farm labour work available and bush work at Whakapaupakihi and in the Motu-Matawai District. Therefore, the Welfare Officer reported that over that year there was no labour or employment problem in the Ōpōtiki District.²⁶⁰

Over the year prior to 31 March 1958 it was reported that local employment opportunities increasingly were restricted, although the Maori Welfare Officer had managed to find employment for all applicants both locally and elsewhere.²⁶¹ However, by the end of 1958, the lack of employment in the rural area was described as "very critical" and this had resulted in the need for increased outside contacts. Some Maori school leavers were also faced with employment being offered to higher qualified school pupils and there was considerable competition for available jobs in the district.²⁶²

There continued to be a lack of employment opportunities in Ōpōtiki over the early 1960s. The Maori Welfare Officer reported that over the year before 31 March 1962 there were a total of 38 people receiving the Unemployment Benefit in the Ōpōtiki-TeKaha District. By 31 January 1963, only six beneficiaries from the original list were still receiving the benefit. The Welfare Officer reported that although efforts were made to find employment for people within Ōpōtiki, the fact was that this was a farming community and therefore outside sources of employment were also engaged. Seasonal work in other districts was relied on. At that time the Dairy Factory and the Bacon Factory were the only major industries in Ōpōtiki and the employment situation was very limited. It was noted that the close down of the Ministry

²⁶⁰Annual Maori Welfare Report, March 1957, Waiariki District, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁶¹Annual Welfare Report, Opotiki District, y/e 31 March 1958, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

²⁶²5 Jan 1959, S. Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

of Works in the Waioeka Gorge and the reduction of staff at the Bacon Factory caused severe concern.²⁶³

iii. Education

Snippets of information have also been found in Welfare Officers reports in relation to education.

In 1949 it was reported that vocational guidance was being provided to young Maori people in the Ōpōtiki district and that suggestions regarding higher education or apprenticeships had been met with a very encouraging response from both students and parents in the area.²⁶⁴ The headmaster of Ōpōtiki High School was said to be giving “every assistance and advice to further and improve the future of Maori students” in the district.²⁶⁵

By the mid-1950s, the Maori Welfare Officer reported that education issues had become the primary focus of his work in Ōpōtiki. The importance of higher education was recognised by Maori in Ōpōtiki. Two Maori students were assisted in seeking financial support to enable them to go to Maori colleges outside the district. Further financial assistance with educational resources for students was also provided local by Maori Trust Boards and Incorporated Bodies. The Welfare Officer had been involved in discussions with headmasters regarding the prospect of encouraging Maori students to sit the University Entrance exam. The Whakatōhea Tribal Executive were reported to be negotiating with the local Education authorities to purchase a hostel to board those children from outlying areas so they could attend Ōpōtiki High School which was reported to have up-to-date facilities and a higher standard of education.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Feb 1963, T.TeKaipi, Opotiki Maori Welfare Officer to Dept of Native Affairs, [Undated but received 14 Feb 1963] AAMK,36, ANZ-A

²⁶⁴ 2 April 1949, Maori Welfare Officer to Controller Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt1,ANZ-A

²⁶⁵ 5 Aug 1952, Opotiki Maori Welfare Officer to District Maori Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, c, 18/1, pt.1, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁶ 13 April 1955, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

In 1956, the Ōpōtiki Maori Welfare Officer commented on “a vast awakening amongst the Maori race to achieve higher education”. Maori parents were noted to have recognised that success depended on education and higher education.²⁶⁷

In the late 1950s, it was again reported that Maori parents were well aware of the importance of education for their children.²⁶⁸ The Annual Welfare Report for the year ending 31 March 1958 indicated that there was still a need for a hostel to cater for school children from the outlying districts who were seeking higher education. At that time Ōpōtiki College provided all the amenities for better and higher education locally and all the available homes in the vicinity of the college were filled with children who were relations that lived beyond the range of bus services into the town.²⁶⁹ Over 1958, financial assistance was granted to assist in education in a number of cases by the Maori Purposes Fund Boards.²⁷⁰

In 1963, the Welfare Officer indicated that he was continually advising Maori in Ōpōtiki of the need for education. He considered that although in general, Maori were conscious of the need for education, in a number of individual cases the parents of 16 or 17 year olds would persuade them to go out to work rather than spending an extra year at school to achieve their School Certificate.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷26 March 1956, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁸5 Jan 1959, Sonny. Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁹Annual Welfare Report, Opotiki District, y/e 31 March 1958, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁰5 Jan 1959, Sonny. Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

²⁷¹ Feb 1963, T.TeKaipi, Opotiki Maori Welfare Officer to Dept of Native Affairs, [Undated but received 14 Feb 1963] AAMK, 36,ANZ-A

iv. *Law and Order*

In the early 1950s, no serious crime involving Maori was reported as occurring in Ōpōtiki. It appears that by the 1950s, there were problems associated with consumption of alcohol among the Maori population. In some areas, Tribal Committees had been able to prevent liquor being taken onto marae. Nevertheless, the Ōpōtiki town area remained a problem and prohibition orders had been issued in some cases.²⁷²

Over 1952-53, the Tribal Committee and Executives were reported to have a role in dealing with potential criminals prior to the matter developing further in the justice system. This preventative approach had been positive for the community.²⁷³ By 1954 Police were reported to have been co-operative in advising the Tribal Committees to “deal with their own trouble rather than let the Police make a Court case of it”.²⁷⁴

By 1954, the Welfare Officer had accepted the duties as a probation officer to the Borstal Institution and was also advising the Child Welfare Division in relation to dealing with Maori State Wards. The Maori Welfare Officer reported that he was dealing with the excessive consumption of alcohol among some Maori by concentrating on those marae that required attention. Over the previous year, seven prohibition orders were taken, in which three had to be taken to Court with the remaining four accepting the orders voluntarily. It was indicated that the Tribal Executive were urgently focused on combating heavy drinking and the problem was more under control than in previous years.²⁷⁵

In the mid-1950s, there appears to have been a greater incidence of crime involving Maori in the Ōpōtiki district. These matters were still sometimes dealt with by the Tribal Committees and the findings and penalties imposed were generally accepted by the offender. Offending in town was more likely to be dealt with by the Police.²⁷⁶ In 1956, it was commented that some

²⁷² J.S. Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report y/e 31 March 1953 to District Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁷³ Ibid

²⁷⁴ 12 April 1954, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁵ Ibid

²⁷⁶ 13 April 1955, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

of the crime in the area could be prevented particularly in the case of “child delinquency”. The delinquent behaviour was seen to be a result of “neglect, lack of discipline and poor housing”. In regards to offending among adult Maori it was noted that some of those brought before the Magistrate Court had no knowledge of Court procedure and had pled guilty to avoid being questioned further in Court. The Welfare Officer considered that a recommendation should be lodged with the authorities concerned that Maori Welfare should be notified when any Maori was charged so that necessary legal assistance could be found to ensure a fair trial.²⁷⁷

In 1957, there was a high rate of minor child welfare cases in relation to Maori children involving “shop-lifting of a mischievous nature”. However, there had been no serious cases in relation to child welfare. In regards to the difficulties faced in relation to excessive alcohol consumption the Maori Welfare Officer commented that he had “managed to keep liquor off most of the maraes” but drinking by Maori in the hotels and at home was “worse than ever”. He recommended that the drinking hours for women be restricted.²⁷⁸

Maori Wardens were active in the Ōpōtiki area by the late 1950s and were said to be working to the best of their ability to resolve the problems relating to excessive alcohol consumption among some Maori. Over the 1957-58 period it was reported that alcohol use was still a problem particularly in open Public Bars”.²⁷⁹ By the end of 1958 the over consumption of alcohol in hotels was still causing difficulties.²⁸⁰ Crime among local Maori was said to have improved over the 1957-1958 period through the active role taken by Tribal Committees. It appears that some of the crime was associated with youth and a lack of co-operation from some parents was reported to be a difficulty.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷26 March 1956, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁸29 March 1957, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki District, Annual Report, to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁹Annual Welfare Report, Opotiki District, y/e 31 March 1958, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁰5 Jan 1959, Sonny Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

²⁸¹Annual Welfare Report, Opotiki District, y/e 31 March 1958, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

v. *Race Relations*

In 1953, race relationships in Ōpōtiki were reported to be very good with the “attitude of mutual working together” prominent in the community. The new College in Ōpōtiki had asked for a Maori member on the Board and the Head Prefect at the College was Maori. There were also two Maori members on the County Council. In regards to race relations impacting negatively on housing and employment the Maori Welfare Officer considered there was no real problem but there were some isolated cases.²⁸² The following year, race relations were again reported to be positive with the Welfare Officer reporting that “The Ōpōtiki area could well be cited as a place where the closer harmony and relationship between the two races exist.”²⁸³

In the mid-1950s the Welfare Officer commented on the vast improvement in the relationship between Maori children and school teachers. The Maori children were reported to be “treated on equal basis as the pakeha. In residential areas, Maori and Pakeha were seen to be working side by side with no indication of discrimination.”²⁸⁴

Over 1955, the Welfare Officer reported on a number of inquiries from employers, the hospital and factories regarding some Maori employees not facing up to their obligations and he observed that after some discussion a better understanding was usually able to be reached. The Welfare Officer commented on the occasional “bad Maori” who had the potential to offset the good will and good relationships that had been established. He noted that in most cases “our Pakeha friends never take notice of it - they would say he is not a local Maori”.²⁸⁵ In October 1955, although the attitude of pakeha employers to Maori employees was reported as being satisfactory in most cases, an exception to this was the Ōpōtiki Bacon Factory where complaints had been received that Maori employees were given the “dirty work”.²⁸⁶

²⁸² J.S. Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report y/e 31 March 1953 to District Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁸³ 12 April 1954, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, d, 181, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁴ 11 July 1955, Welfare Officer, Opotiki Quarterly Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁵ 13 April 1955, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁶ 31 Oct 1955, Secretary, Dept of Maori Affairs Rotorua, Recommendations from report of Maori Welfare Officers, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

In May 1955, the District Welfare Officer reported that the race relations situation had improved over the years with a “general mixing” in all the fields. He concluded “If there is any attempt at discrimination the evidence is so slight as to be practically negligible.”²⁸⁷

Over the late 1950s race relations continued to be seen as positive in Ōpōtiki with the Annual Maori Welfare Report for the year ending 31 March 1958 stating that “Ōpōtiki is noted for the good relationship between the Pakeha and Maori and there is no sign of discrimination between the two races”.²⁸⁸ A report completed early the following year also commented on the good relationship between Europeans and Maori in Ōpōtiki.

²⁸⁷ 3 May 1955, District Welfare Officer, Maori Affairs, Annual Report, y/e 31 March 1955, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁸ Annual Welfare Report, Opotiki District, y/e 31 March 1958, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

2. Communities and Housing

The same reports produced by Maori Welfare Officers on other socio-economic issues also dealt with housing matters. This subsection presents these reports and various other pieces of research on housing issues within Whakatōhea kianga through to the mid-1970s.

i. Waioeka

Up until the 1950s, those living at Waioeka Pa obtained water by carrying it into the Pa from a small stream where they washed their clothes. On 9 October 1948, this was reported to the Medical Officer of Health in Gisborne.²⁸⁹ The Medical Officer of Health sought further information on this matter from the local health inspector and was advised that a water supply to the Pa and houses had been considered for years but no final decision had been reached. The Inspector further noted that the stream being used by the Pa was not a sufficient water source in summer.²⁹⁰

By 1949 housing in the Pa was being improved. In April 1949, the Maori Welfare Officer reported that:

Waioeka Pa which has been an eyesore and bad spot is now on the way to becoming a village of distinction. After much negotiation and encouragement the people have accepted the plan for division. Three houses are now completed and other applications are coming in.²⁹¹

On 7 February 1950, the Waioeka Tribal Committee applied to Maori Affairs for a subsidy in relation to providing a water supply to the Pa. At that time Maori Affairs had commenced housing construction at Waioeka Pa and were hoping to create a “model village”. The Maori

²⁸⁹ Oct 1948, M..Dunmore to Medical Officer of Health, Gisborne, BABO, A464 11423 Box 6, 1, 16/16/4, ANZ-A; see also 15 March 1954, Certificate of Completion, Maori Affairs, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 105, 35/42/6 ANZ-A

²⁹⁰ Nov 1948, A.R. Knight, Health Inspector to Medical Officer of Health, Gisborne, BABO, A464 11423 Box 6, 1, 16/16/4, ANZ-A; see also 15 March 1954, Certificate of Completion, Maori Affairs, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 105, 35/42/6 ANZ-A

²⁹¹ 2 April 1949, Maori Welfare Officer to Controller Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt1, ANZ-A

Welfare Officer strongly recommended to the Controller of Maori and Social and Economic Development that this subsidy be granted.²⁹²

On 29 March, Dick Wehi, the Chairman of the Waioeka Tribal Committee, wrote to the Minister of Labour advising that there continued to be no water supply: “the whole village of approximately a hundred people, are commonly washing, bathing, and using the local stream for drinking water”. A further issue was that the Ōpōtiki Hunt Club was building kennels, a slaughter house and a cow-shed above this water supply which the Chairman considered would possibly endanger the health of the people. The Chairman informed the Minister that six months previously those at the Pa had started a scheme to pipe water from a site around half a mile further upstream. A sum of £200 had been raised for the purpose. He hoped the Government would subsidise this project as the water supply was urgently needed by those in the village.²⁹³

In July 1951, the health inspector reported to the Medical Officer of Health in Gisborne that reticulation had been completed at Waioeka Pa and 13 taps had been installed. There were taps at the tank stands of all the new homes at the site.²⁹⁴ Eventually, by 1954, the houses in Waioeka Pa had been connected to the new water source and this was said to have had a positive effect on the health of those living there.²⁹⁵

In October 1955, a report on depressed areas of Maori housing in Ōpōtiki district referred to the settlement at Waioeka Pa. At that time, the population at the settlement was 100 and there were 20 houses. These consisted of nine new State Houses, one privately build house and 10 substandard shacks. In addition there was a Meeting House that was in need on renovation and a dining hall and kitchen that were reported to be in an unsatisfactory condition. A lack of access to some of the housing sections was seen a factor retarding the progress of housing in the area. Employment available for those in the settlement included jobs with the Ministry of Works, the Ōpōtiki County Council and farm labouring work. Those in the settlement were dependent on wages and Social Security Benefits as it was reported that there was “no scope

²⁹² 7 Feb 1950, Maori Welfare Officer, Maori Affairs to Controller, Maori & Economic Advancement, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 105, 35/42/6 ANZ-A

²⁹³ 29 March 1950, Dick Wehi, Waioeka Tribal Committee to William Sullivan, Minister of Labour, BABO, A464 11423 Box 6, 1, 16/16/4, ANZ-A

²⁹⁴ 6 July 1951, A.R. Knight, Inspector to Medical Officer of Health, Gisborne, BABO, A464 11423 Box 6, 1, 16/16/4, ANZ-A

²⁹⁵ 15 March 1954, Certificate of Completion, Maori Affairs, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 105, 35/42/6, ANZ-A

for land development". The improvement of conditions at the settlement was viewed as an urgent priority.

With its large Maori population and the prospects of local employment good, this community with some houses erected, would be an asset to the district. The Ministry of Works and County Council are dependent on the residents of the Pa to carry out the work allotted to them.²⁹⁶

A further report during the 1950s indicated there were 19 families living in the Waioeka Pa settlement with a population of 145 consisting of 62 adults and 83 children. At this time there were reported to be 19 houses with 10 being satisfactory and the other nine being in an unsatisfactory condition. There were 18 adults and 30 children with urgent housing needs.²⁹⁷

In 1974, an issue arose in relation to the poor living conditions of certain families at Waioeka. It appears a report was completed by the Health Inspector in February and sent to Maori Affairs and the State Advances Corporation as the result of a case of cerebral meningitis being found in the area.²⁹⁸

ii. Waiotahi 1955

In October 1955, a report prepared by the Maori Affairs Department into depressed Maori housing in Ōpōtiki district referred to the settlement of Waiotahi. The population there at that time was 72. There were eight houses within the Pa settlement and another four houses nearby. Only two houses were reported as being in good condition with the remaining ten designated as substandard. The progress in relation to improving housing in the area was reported to be hampered by the nature of the land titles. The area was said to be made up of small uneconomic farms. Outside employment for those living in the Waiotahi settlement involved work as general farm hands or post splitting and fencing contracts. The report observed that there were three suitable farm units at the settlement and the rest of the people would be better to seek outside employment. In regards to steps being taken for alleviation of

²⁹⁶ 10 Oct 1955, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua., BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1484, m, MH 0/213, ANZ-A

²⁹⁷ Circa 1956, Waiariki District Report on Housing, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1484, m, MH 0/213, ANZ-A

²⁹⁸ 18 July 1974, Cater, Maori Affairs District Officer, to Maori Affairs Housing, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 139, c, 24/14/0, pt.1, ANZ-A

the conditions in the settlement, the Report commented “This clan of people or tribe is very backward with no initiative, foresight or concern for the future.” Two previous applications for housing had been cancelled and there were no further applications underway.²⁹⁹

iii. Kutarere 1958-1974

In July 1958, the Maori Welfare Officer completed a report on the settlement at Kutarere Pa. At that time the population was 46 and there were nine houses in the settlement. There was one new State House and another house in the course of construction. Six of the remaining houses were reported to be substandard. According to the report there were a number of obstacles hampering housing progress in the area including marital status, income and land title. Residents has applied for a dining hall subsidy. Employment opportunities in the area were limited to the Ministry of Works, bridge building and farm-labour. It was reported that there was “no scope for development” in this area and as residents relied on wage income there was “no scope for advancement”. In regards to alcohol use it was reported that this was moderate in the settlement, however, there was reported to be unsatisfactory amount of delinquency.³⁰⁰

During 1968, the Beacon newspaper reported on the poor housing situation in Kutarere village. One example given was of a widow with eight children who were living in substandard conditions.³⁰¹ In October 1968, the Ōpōtiki Maori Welfare Officer provided Maori Affairs with a report on housing conditions at Kutarere. Most of the housing appears to have been relatively old but some was still relatively satisfactory. Others were in poor condition. Two homes were reported to be overcrowded with one of these homes in such an unsatisfactory state that the woman and her children that had been moved to the Marae buildings. One elderly widow was reported to be living in a rental home that was in a poor state needing considerable repair. Another family was living in two separate detached units with the kitchen in one and the sleeping quarters in another. Although these units were described as “very well kept” by the occupants, the Welfare Officer, County Health

²⁹⁹ 10 Oct 1955, Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Opotiki to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1484, m, MH 0/213, ANZ-o

³⁰⁰ 10 July 1958, Welfare Officer Report on Kutarere, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1484, n, MH 0/234, ANZ-A

³⁰¹ 6 May 1968, *Beacon*, cited in 13 May 1968. John Rangihau for Maori Affairs District Officer, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 139, c, 24/14/0, pt.1, ANZ-A

Inspector, Public Health Nurses and Child Welfare Department were all in agreement that this family should apply for a new home. The home of another family was found to be structurally in poor condition although once again it was well kept and maintained. These people were dairy farmers and their herd was not big enough to afford the mortgage on a house as well as the necessary requirements for the farm. Another couple on the Old Age Pension were also reported to be living in a home of poor quality.³⁰²

iv. Ōpōtiki Housing

In 1949, the Maori Welfare Officer reported that Maori housing in the Ōpōtiki district was “a credit and continual source of wonder to the Pakeha community”.³⁰³ However, a few years later, in August 1952, the Ōpōtiki Maori Welfare Officer reported that the excessive rise in the cost of building material meant that most prospective Maori home builders found it difficult to pay the deposit required under the Maori Affairs Department’s housing policy in place at that time. Others could not complete all repayments over a period of 25 years.³⁰⁴

The year ending 31 March 1956 was reported to be one of the busiest years to date in relation to housing. It was noted that the localities where the housing was of a poor standard had “roused public opinion” and brought media attention. The details of this are not recorded further in the report.³⁰⁵ Over the 1957-58 period it was noted that there had been a slight improvement in the construction and erection of homes for Maori in the district. Nevertheless, it was noted that there were “still a lot of Maoris [sic] needing houses”.³⁰⁶ In January 1959, it was reported by the Ōpōtiki District Maori Welfare Officer that when applications for housing were received from persons in remote localities, the applicants were “to be encouraged to build in towns where employment is more permanent”.³⁰⁷

³⁰² 17 Oct 1968, T. TeMaipi, Welfare Officer, Opotiki to Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 139, c, 24/14/0, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁰³ 2 April 1949, Maori Welfare Officer to Controller Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt1, ANZ-A

³⁰⁴ 5 Aug 1952, Opotiki Maori Welfare Officer to District Maori Welfare Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAJJ A76 4945 Box 1463, c, 18/1, pt.1, ANZ-A. NB: the report actually had the 25 and 35 year periods around the other way but at some stage arrows had been drawn indicating to swap these around.

³⁰⁵ 26 March 1956, Maori Welfare Officer Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 140, 36/29/4, pt.2, ANZ-A.

³⁰⁶ Annual Welfare Report, Opotiki District, y/e 31 March 1958, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

³⁰⁷ 5 Jan 1959, S. Smith, Maori Welfare Officer, Opotiki, Annual Report to District Officer, Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 141, 36/29/4, pt.3, ANZ-A.

Over the year prior to 31 March 1962 there were eight houses built in the Ōpōtiki area through the Department of Maori Affairs. Sections for housing were reported to be readily available in Ōpōtiki and the Department was in the processing of purchasing five further sections.³⁰⁸ In February 1963, the Welfare Officer in Ōpōtiki reported on the urgent need for better housing in the area. Maori parents in the area were said to be “becoming aware of the responsibilities to their young families – the need for a good home and sound employment”. This increased awareness of their responsibilities was seen as contributing to a notable rise in the number of younger Maori parents who were approaching Maori Affairs or State Advances to lodge an application for housing. It was anticipated that the number of applications would continue to grow.³⁰⁹ Over the 1962-1963 period five further houses were built in Ōpōtiki with a target of ten for the next year.³¹⁰

In the end, eight of the ten new homes targeted for were completed by the year ending 31 March 1964 with an additional five houses planned for the next year.³¹¹ Only one new house was constructed by Maori Affairs in Ōpōtiki in the year ending 1 March 1965. Eight homes were planned for the following year.³¹² Once again over the 1965-66 period, the target were not met with only five houses being constructed and eight planned for the following year. It appears there was a shortage of contractors in the Ōpōtiki area over the year and therefore some difficulties were experienced in obtaining competitive tenders. There were still plenty of sections offering at reasonable figures, however. On 31 March 1966, Maori Affairs held a total of 10 housing applications in the Ōpōtiki area.³¹³ Over the 1966-67 period a total of ten houses were erected by the Department of Maori Affairs in Ōpōtiki. Once again there was a notable shortage of contractors in the area creating difficulties in obtaining competitive prices and in relation to work being commenced within a reasonable time of acceptance of tenders.

³⁰⁸ 19 April 1962, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, Housing a& Construction: Annual Report 1961/62 to Dept of Maori Affairs, Head Office, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³⁰⁹ Feb 1963, T.TeKaipi, Opotiki Maori Welfare Officer to Dept of Native Affairs, [Undated but received 14 Feb 1963] AAMK, 36 ,ANZ-A

³¹⁰ Waiariki District Housing Loans Committee, Annual Report on Building Construction, y/e 31 March 1963, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³¹¹ Waiariki District Housing Loans Committee, Annual Report on Building Construction, y/e 31 March 1964, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³¹² Waiariki District Housing Loans Committee, Annual Report on Building Construction, y/e 31 March 1965, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³¹³ Waiariki District Housing Loans Committee, Annual Report on Building Construction, y/e 31 March 1966, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

On 31 March 1967, Maori Affairs were in the possession of ten housing applications in the Ōpōtiki District.³¹⁴

Over the next year an additional four houses were constructed by Maori Affairs in Ōpōtiki³¹⁵ and over the 1968-69 period a further five houses were constructed. Although building progress was viewed as satisfactory with no unreasonable delay, only a limited number of builders were involved with feedback from some builders being that the Department's pricing was too low and that builders could do better outside the Department.³¹⁶

Over the year prior to 31 March 1971, Maori Affairs were involved in the construction of four houses in Ōpōtiki and seventeen other construction jobs. At that time there was reported to be little demand for new housing in Ōpōtiki despite sufficient sections at low prices being available if required.³¹⁷

On 30 January 1974, P.R. Deniston, the Ōpōtiki Health and Building Inspector, completed a report on housing issues. He pointed out that the people living rurally often found larger towns difficult to live in. He noted that in many cases they ran up debts and "generally ended up with more problems than they would have" if living in the semi-rural townships such as Kutarere and others. Nonetheless, he acknowledged that unemployment created its own problems in these areas. His view was that "Regardless of precisely where, it was obvious that the housing need in the area [Ōpōtiki] is critical." He pointed out that many of those living in inadequate housing were reluctant to pay high rental because this would eat into the small capital they hoped to put towards building. Others were under Budget Advisory and simply could not afford high rentals. His report highlighted that there were a large number of Maori families concerned in these poor housing cases. He also commented that those prepared to rent often found it difficult to find accommodation.³¹⁸

³¹⁴ Waiariki District Housing Loans Committee, Annual Report on Building Construction, y/e 31 March 1967, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³¹⁵ Waiariki District Housing Loans Committee, Annual Report on Building Construction, y/e 31 March 1968, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³¹⁶ Waiariki District Housing Loans Committee, Annual Report on Building Construction, y/e 31 March 1969, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³¹⁷ Building Report, Waiariki District Committee, y/e 31 March 1971, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 121, a, 24/4/8, pt.2, ANZ-A

³¹⁸ 30 Jan 1974, P.R. Denniston, Health & Building Inspector, Report on Housing in Opotiki, BBFZ A1184 4945 Box 139, c, 24/14/0, pt.1, ANZ-A

3. Land Use

The previous group of notes has recorded reports on a variety of socio-economic issues from the 1950s onwards. In the meantime, Whakatōhea continued to struggle to find effective ways that their remaining lands could be used.

In 1950, a Committee was appointed by the Department of Maori Affairs and the Waiariki District Land Board to investigate the greater utilisation of Maori lands in the coastal belt extending from Ōpōtiki to Cape Runaway. The Committee was established as the Department and the Boards considered there was a need to formulate proposals that could be submitted to Tribal Committees to guide them in effectively utilising their lands to reach their maximum potential. This Committee came up with a number of possibilities in relation to the “sound use” of land on the Coast as follows:

- a) Farming (Dairying and Mixed).
- b) Cropping, Maize, small fruit, vegetables (out of season).
- c) Camping facilities.
- d) Scenic resorts.³¹⁹

The potential of these various options was further reported on. In relation to farming it was felt that production could be stepped up by 20 to 25 percent on lands that were being farmed by Maori farmers in Ōpōtiki at that time.³²⁰

By 1950, the Ōpōtiki District was experiencing a growing influx of campers from adjoining provinces who were just camping anywhere they liked. It was considered that formal areas needed to be considered with the Maori owners vesting their land in a Tribal or Maori enterprises for this purpose. It was also noted that the question of camping areas and scenic reserves needed to be taken together with a view to reserving the area around the camping area to prevent unauthorised camping. It was proposed that there should be a maximum of six sites in favourable areas between Ōpōtiki and Cape Runaway.³²¹

³¹⁹ 12 Jan 1950, Minutes of Committee appointed by Dept of Maori Affairs & Waiariki District Maori Land Board meeting at Opotiki, MAW2490 Box 23, 21/1/19, ANZ-A

³²⁰ Ibid

³²¹ Ibid

In relation to land utilised for cropping purposes it was considered that an area of just eight to ten acres would be required for someone to make their living. At that time, there was considered to be ample scope to provide these areas without interfering with existing farming. The success of any large scale cropping operation in the area was said to depend on the constant presence of someone to provide supervision and guidance.³²²

Hopes for cropping were short-lived however. A subsequent report completed by the Horticulture Supervisor in December 1950 referred to potential difficulties in transporting produce from the Ōpōtiki district. The District was viewed as having the capacity to produce large quantities of food but it was considered that there would be distribution problems associated with any largescale production.³²³

In the meantime, Whakatōhea undertook its own initiative from settlement money received for their long-standing raupatu claim. Initially the Government offered Whakatōhea £1600 per annum in perpetuity as compensation for the 'excessive confiscation' of their lands in 1865. The Whakatōhea tribal elders, however, declined this offer and continued to decline it over the early 1950s. Eventually, in 1955, an agreement was reached for the Government to pay a lump sum of £40,000. This money was used in conjunction with a Maori Trust loan to purchase a dairy farm on the Ōpōtiki flats. Over subsequent years adjoining lands were also acquired.³²⁴

The following examples of land use attempts from the 1950s onwards record a range of difficulties that arise.

³²² Ibid

³²³ 6 Dec 1950, Horticultural Supervisor, Tauranga Office Maori Affairs to Registrar, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, MAW2490 Box 23, 21/1/19, ANZ-A

³²⁴ C.A. Edwards, Chairman of the Whakatohea Maori Trust Board to Secretary of the Board of Maori Affairs, ABJZ W4644 7020 Box 20, ME 6/19, pt 1, ANZ-A

i. Whakataupakihi Development Proposal 1951-56

During the mid-1950s, interest arose in developing the Whakataupakihi blocks:

- No.1: recorded to be 171 acres. On 4 April 1938, the Tairāwhiti District Māori Land Board, as agent for the owners, had leased the land to James Joseph Quirk for 25 years from 1 August 1937.³²⁵
- No.2: After various public works takings, the balance remaining of the original 2000 acres in the block was recorded as 1962 acres. This block also was under lease to Quirk.³²⁶
- No.3: The balance remaining from the original 201 acres was recorded as 173 acres. On 7 April 1938, a lease on Whakapautakihi No.3 was arranged through the Tairāwhiti District Māori Land Board for a term of 25 years³²⁷
- No.4: This block, which had been incorporated, also was under lease to Quirk.³²⁸

At the end of December 1951, Whakatōhea landowners asked the Whakatōhea Trust Board to inspect and make a report on the Whakataupakihi blocks Nos.1, 2, 3, and 4 which comprised a total of 3,115 acres. This land had been involved in a lease to a Mr Quirk for 42 years. The lease on No.4 was due to expire on 22 February 1952 while the lease on the other blocks had another ten years to run. The Board appointed a Special Committee to carry out an investigation. Ultimately, the Committee recommended that the Whakatōhea owners take over the land and work it themselves when the leases expired. As No.4 was the only one that was due to expire in the near future, the Special Committee paid particular attention to this block and stressed upon the owners, and the Incorporated Committee associated with the block, that they should farm it themselves. The Incorporated Committee agreed to adopt this recommendation on the provision that Whakatōhea farmers P. Baker and Boris Black would take full control and management of the farming and development of the land on their behalf.³²⁹

³²⁵1956 Particulars of Title, Whakapaupakihi No.1, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

³²⁶1956 Particulars of Title, Whakapaupakihi No.2, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

³²⁷1956 Particulars of Title, Whakapaupakihi No.3, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

³²⁸ 1956 Particulars of Title, Whakapaupakihi No.4, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

³²⁹ 28 April 1952, P. Baker to T. Ropiha, Under Secretary, Māori Affairs Dept, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

On 28 April 1952, P. Baker wrote to the Under Secretary of the Maori Affairs Department and explained the view of owners. On behalf of the Incorporated Committee for Whakapaupakihi No.4, he requested a loan of £9000 to farm and develop the block. He expressed the hope that the loan could be arranged in a way that they would only be debited the amounts as they were required.³³⁰

Nothing further seems to have occurred at this time. In early 1956, the Under Secretary for Maori Affairs visited Ōpōtiki and met with Boris Black. At this meeting, Black spoke of some 45 young Maori men in the Ōpōtiki area who were suitably equipped to work and control their own farms. On 16 February 1956, the District Officer from Rotorua, referring to this meeting, pointed out that there was no suitable farm land in Ōpōtiki on which to place these young men. Instead, he contended, "they should have the same rights as other New Zealanders to go in ballots elsewhere on a competitive basis"³³¹

In the meantime, the proposed scheme in relation to the Whakapaupakihi blocks Nos.1, 2, 3 and 4 was still being considered. It was noted that the Whakapaupakihi blocks were mostly in grass and with the road and rail access already available were ready for immediate settlement.

- No.1 had a woolshed and yards. This land was being leased for £34.12.0 per annum with the lease due to expire in 1962.
- No.2 had no buildings. This land was leased for two shillings per acre per annum. This lease was also to expire in 1962.
- No.3 had dwellings, stables and other out buildings. This land was leased for £38.18.0 per annum and the lease was due to expire in 1948.
- There were no buildings on No.4. Since the lease had expired the land was being grazed.³³²

Departmental officials reported that, subject to the selection of suitable farmers from the owners, it would be possible to settle three farms. Expenditure would be required for stock,

³³⁰ Ibid

³³¹ 16 Feb 1956, District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Gisborne, BAJJ A76 5015 Box 74, I, MA 636, ANZ-A

³³² Proposed Scheme in relation to Whakapaupakihi blocks, attached to 16 Feb 1956, District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua to District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Gisborne BAJJ A76 5015 Box 74, I, MA 636, ANZ-A

farm machinery, two houses and sheds. Nos.2 and 4 would each make a sheep and cattle farm while Nos.1 and 3, with the addition of a small area from No.4, would make a third farm.³³³

When, in April 1956, officials again visited Ōpōtiki, the Whakapaupakihi blocks were discussed. Two possible alternatives were raised. One was of the Department running the blocks as one station for the benefit of the Whakatōhea Tribe. The other was subdividing of the blocks into farmable areas for the settlement of some of the tribes trained personnel.³³⁴

On 24 April 1956, Maori Affairs District Field Officer prepared a report on the three possible farm blocks.

- Nos. 1 and 3 were approximately 170 acres in area each and were bisected by the Motuhora Railway Station and the roads leading to the Station and the Motuhora Quarry. The land was described as being “all flat to undulating, except for small banks between terraces.” It had all been grassed previously but the pasture was in need of improvement by this time.
- Block No.2 contained 1962 acres and the Field Officer estimated that around 600 – 700 acres had been cleared and grassed. The cleared area was also described as “mainly flat to undulating land” but the area remaining in bush was reported to be “very steep and rises rapidly to altitudes of over 3000 feet on the Western boundary”. The Field Officer was advised by the Manager that at that time the land was carrying 1800 ewes, 1200 hoggets and 400 cattle. The area had been cut into 15 paddocks and was equipped with house, woolshed and yards which were all reported to be in “usable order”. Fences had been constructed with good timber but these were said to be fairly old and in need of considerable maintenance.³³⁵
- The No.4 block was reported to contain 736 acres and consisted “entirely of flat and undulating land, with an area of some 50 acres in swamp.” No.4 was incorporated and the Body Corporate had let the grazing of the block to a D.A. Richardson as from 9 July 1953. The Field Officer advised that as the land was covered in rank grass it was difficult to assess the value of the pasture. He remarked, however, that “it was reasonable to assume that this area would respond to modern farming methods, similarly to adjacent areas which have been handled by local farmers and are now looking very attractive indeed”.³³⁶

The Field Officer recommended further action as follows:

³³³Ibid

³³⁴26 April 1956, District Officer, Maori Affairs, Rotorua to District Officer, Maori Affairs, Gisborne, BAJJ A76 5015 Box 74, I, MA 636, ANZ-A

³³⁵ 24 April 1956, District Field Supervisor to Maori Affairs District Officer, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

³³⁶ Ibid

[that a] close and thorough investigation be made of all these blocks with a view to placing them under development and improving them as one good farm. This could be used as a source of revenue for the Maori owners for all time unless at a later stage settlement in small farms become advisable. Present indications are that the best use of this land would be for sheep farming and the most economic method of doing this, would be in one block.³³⁷

Despite these efforts, ultimately the land in Whakapaupakihi No.4 was again put under lease. On 18 September 1956, the Rotorua District Field Supervisor and the Maori Affairs District Officer attended a meeting of owners of Whakapaupakihi No.4 at TeRere Pa. After considerable discussion, the owners passed a resolution to lease the land for 21 years to Colin Isabeth. There appears to have been considerable discussion in relation to this decision as the meeting was recorded as lasting around three hours. However, the District Officer reported: "A perusal of the proxies in favour for leasing to Mr. Isabeth showed he had sufficient interests to carry the day against those owners in favour of leasing the land to the Whakatōhea Trust Board or those wanting to have it settled." One issue that arose was that all the proxy forms in favour of the Whakatōhea Trust Board were declared invalid as they were not properly completed. The District Office further commented that, "It was clear at the meeting that the owners present had not given much thought to the future of this land and certainly had not canvassed the various possible ways of using it before they attended the meeting." Nearly 100 people attended the meeting but only a very few were owners in the block.³³⁸

When the lease came up on the other subdivisions of Whakapaupakihi, further efforts were made into having the land farmed to benefit the Maori owners. In January 1962, Pita Baker sent a telegram to the Minister of Maori Affairs: "[I] will make every endeavour to incorporate the three blocks and if successful to farm it as a whole for the present and future generations. We will need your help..."³³⁹

³³⁷ Ibid

³³⁸ 20 Sept 1956, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, file note, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

³³⁹ 26 May 1962, [as per date stamp] Pita Baker to Minister of Maori Affairs, MA1, Box 536, 26/18/5, ANZ-A

ii. *Attempts to Consolidate Opape 1956-1967*

On 25 October 1956, the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive wrote to the District Office of the Maori Affairs Department asking about the possibility of having the titles of their remaining lands consolidated. In response, they were assured that the Department would take some action on this matter. However, nearly three years later on 26 August 1959, Tua Hudson, the Secretary of the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive, wrote to Walter Nash, the Minister of Maori Affairs, to advise him that nothing had been done. Hudson explained to the Minister that the Maori owners in the area were experiencing the effects of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 on uneconomic holdings. The people considered that consolidation was the only remedy to deal with the problems they faced arising from multiple ownership. Hudson requested the Minister to arrange for his departmental officers to visit the area and to “get the Scheme of Consolidation on the way”.³⁴⁰

On 18 September 1959, Nash replied to Hudson suggesting that the best course for the Whakatōhea Tribal Executive was to approach Maori Land Court when it was sitting at Ōpōtiki in November so that the extent and value of the work involved could be determined and an approximate time for the undertaking could be estimated.³⁴¹

On 15 December 1959, W. Nikora wrote to Nash on behalf of the Whakatōhea tribe regarding the matter of consolidation. He informed the Minister that during the Te Torere consolidation around 30 years before, Whakatōhea had been promised consolidation of their interests by the Government of that time but “without warning development came instead and in order to pacify my angered people consolidation of interests in land covered by the Development Act, was again promised to meet the needs of development”. Nikora noted that his people were still waiting.³⁴²

³⁴⁰28 Aug 1959, Tua Hudson, Secretary, Whakatohea Tribal Executive to Walter Nash, Minister of Maori Affairs, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁴¹18 Sept 1959, Walter Nash, Minister of Maori Affairs to Tua Hudson, Secretary, Whakatohea Tribal Executive, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁴²15 December 1959, W. Nikora on behalf of Whakatohea to Walter Nash, Minister of Maori Affairs, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

On account of the necessity caused by changed circumstances, of which we have no control, we ask for the immediate fulfilment of the consolidation promises referred to above and the restoration of development.³⁴³

Nikora commented on the hopelessness felt in the wake of the withdrawal of the Maori Affairs development programmes from their district as follows:

While the department's development schemes were operating in the district the position was definitely hopeful but when the department withdrew development, sold the stock and other assets to pay off the department's mortgages and then released the lands from the operation of the development Act, the units or occupiers became stranded, their outlook hopeless and the lands abandoned to deterioration now settling in.

Some were lucky in arranging with the firms to finance them while others migrated into Wattie's canneries and elsewhere in the cities thus leaving the lands, homes and years of hard work almost a dead loss.³⁴⁴

Nikora described how his people were confronted by difficulties relating to "multiplicity of uneconomic and miniature titles, ever increasing number of owners, high valuations, improper tenure, high cost of obtaining legal tenure, high cost of farming and no money". Whakatōhea people considered that the only remedy to these difficulties was consolidation of their interests for "the purposes of development by competent Maori farmers or for farming by any other competent farmer Maori or Pakeha".³⁴⁵

Nash responded to Nikora noting that an approach had not yet been made by Whakatōhea to the Maori Land Court. Until that contact had been made it was difficult to gauge the amount of work involved. He assured Nikora that it was not the intention of the Department of Maori Affairs to by-pass Whakatōhea land in favour of other areast. He maintained it was, "simply a matter of coping with work with the staff available".³⁴⁶

On 22 January 1960, information from the Registrar at the Rotorua Maori Land Court to the Minister of Maori Affairs indicated that department was not "entirely out of Whakatohea" in that they still retained some 16 units at Opape. The Registrar acknowledged that "regrouping

³⁴³ Ibid

³⁴⁴ Ibid

³⁴⁵ Ibid

³⁴⁶ [undated circa late 1959- early 1960], Walter Nash, Minister of Maori Affairs to W. Nikora, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

of ownership is most helpful” and that it was “consistently under review...” He considered that individual cases needed to be investigated to determine the degree of deterioration and drift following from the withdrawal of development schemes and he was not in a position to comment on this. However, he indicated that this was not unforeseen in Waiariki. He further commented:

I am led to believe that the high level policy of the early fifties of wholesale releases was not greatly favoured in the districts. The erstwhile policy of retention under firm but benevolent control (with selective releases) evidently had much stronger appeal.³⁴⁷

On 29 April 1960, Chief Judge Ivor Prichard met with the Whakatōhea Committee at Ōpōtiki. He subsequently reported that Whakatōhea asked that a large scale consolidation scheme be undertaken. They claimed that this would remedy many ills faced by them and would provide farms “plus something in life for the 700 Maori children now attending Ōpōtiki and nearby schools”. Those at the meeting also complained about the uneconomic shares provisions of the 1953 Act and spoke of it as being confiscatory.³⁴⁸

Judge Prichard explained to the Committee that due to the Department’s experiences in Tai Tokerau, no further large consolidations would be undertaken anywhere in the country. He admitted that Maori titles were not in a good position “through successors demanding, in the past, to be in every block and through Judges agreeing to partitions and actually making them without anybody visiting the land”. Despite these difficulties he provided the view that what could be done was limited and “simply cannot be a whole recasting”. He also explained to Whakatōhea that the Department did not have the staff to do general consolidation work and the most that could be achieved by the Consolidation officers they had was in relation to special jobs relating to smaller areas.³⁴⁹

Nevertheless, he indicated that some title improvement could be done. He proposed that he would endeavour to have selected Whakatōhea blocks given priority in title reconstruction. Once lists and values had been worked out, the Whakatōhea Committee could work out

³⁴⁷ 22 Jan 1960, Registrar, Maori Land Court, Rotorua to Walter Nash, Minister of Maori Affairs, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁴⁸ 2 May 1960, Judge Ivor Prichard, Notes on Interview with Whakatohea Committee, 29 April 1960, Opotiki,, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁴⁹ Ibid

vestings and exchanges which would create a sole ownership for a person who they had selected as most suitable to occupy the block.³⁵⁰

In the general discussion between the Whakatōhea Committee and Judge Prichard, Boris Black complained that regroupings such as in Omaio had not proved satisfactory for all concerned. Prichard explained that any given area would only produce so many sole owned blocks. It was “hopeless for every person to think that by some series of title manipulations he can obtain a sole owned section”. Prichard advised that this could only arise through non-residents selling to the residents.³⁵¹

Prichard considered that the Whakatōhea Committee had understood his proposal and were pleased that there would be some progress. Concerns regarding the conversion of uneconomic interests were also raised at the meeting. Prichard told the Committee that conversion was not damaging the interests of the owners and in fact he considered that more conversion of interests should be taking place. He advised them that “in many cases where a section of low value should be owned by one person only, that person could reasonably use the Conversion Section of the Act to obtain sole ownership.”³⁵²

Prichard considered that his meeting with the Whakatōhea Committee would produce some benefits. He also thought it would have the added advantage in that:

...the leaders would see the many difficulties of Consolidation and instead of complaining at the Department’s lack of success would become apologists and say how difficult it is to complete a title and that sole ownership can, in nearly every case, only come through someone giving up something.³⁵³

On 14 August 1961, Judge Smith from the Rotorua Maori Land Court reported to the Chief Judge in relation to the consolidation of the Opape, Waioeka and Waiotahi blocks. He noted that while the Maori Land Court was sitting in the Ōpōtiki district he had been approached by Wiremu Nikora who expressed that he and the people of Ōpōtiki were anxious to have a consolidation of titles from Opape right through to Kutarere. Judge Smith, based on past experience with large consolidation schemes in Gisborne, told Nikora the tentative that this

³⁵⁰Ibid

³⁵¹Ibid

³⁵²Ibid

³⁵³ Ibid

stretch of country was far too big to handle as one consolidation scheme. He advised Nikora that it was more preferable to deal with any consolidation, amalgamation or repartition scheme in such a way that the end result could be seen before the scheme was started. He also tentatively suggested that if consolidation ever went ahead the commencement and finalisation of the Opape blocks as one unit might be the place to start.³⁵⁴

Nikora told Judge Smith that on the Opape lands there was great scope for market gardening, such as growing kumara and potatoes. He also commented that if there was any likelihood of the scheme beginning he would approach Watties to see if they would be prepared to open a canning factory to produce canned peas, beans, tomatoes and corn. Nikora expressed to the Judge that the Opape soil would be very suitable for such crops. Smith was concerned that such a proposal might be “a little on the ambitious side”. Smith also informed Nikora of the staffing issues that might prevent any consolidation or amalgamation scheme from progressing. In response Nikora offered to help by taking on the role of local Consolidation Officer. Smith reported some reluctance about this possibility based on his experience in other cases where a lack of administrative control had led to unsatisfactory results.³⁵⁵

On 17 August 1961, Judge Prichard replied to Judge Smith informing him that recently a decision had been made on the order of priority for Waiariki schemes and that schemes such as Ngapuna, Hairini, Matapihi and Maungatapu were at the forefront. As for Whakatōhea, Prichard commented that “I feel that these people could be educated in vestings, exchanges and meetings of owners and all they do will be educational to them”.³⁵⁶

Subsequently, on 5 September 1961, Judge Smith wrote to Nikora and informed him that Chief Judge Prichard had confirmed that large scale consolidation schemes were impracticable. Smith advised Nikora that at that time and for the future there did not appear to be much prospect of launching a scheme of consolidation over any of the areas Nikora proposed due to the fact that staff with the required training and competence in this specialised field were not available. Those that were available were engaged on title

³⁵⁴ 14 Aug 1961, Judge Smith, Rotorua Maori Land Court to Chief Judge Prichard, Wellington., MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁵⁵ 17 Aug 1961, Chief Judge Prichard, Wellington to Judge Smith, Rotorua Maori Land Court, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁵⁶ 14 Aug 1961, Judge Smith, Rotorua Maori Land Court to Chief Judge Prichard, Wellington., MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

improvement and subdivisional schemes of high priority and urgency in other parts of the Waiariki District and were likely to be engaged on those projects for some time.³⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Smith indicated that there were some other methods by which titles could be improved. He referred to the suggestions made by Judge Prichard in April 1960 whereby the people themselves could bring about some consolidation of titles by vestings, exchanges and purchases of small or uneconomic shares. Judge Smith commented that he considered the proposals of Judge Prichard were sound and some attempt “might well be made to put them into effect.”³⁵⁸

It does appear that some work along these lines then progressed, The only indication of this on file is in a report of 2 May 1963, from the Registrar of the Rotorua Maori Land Court to Head Office about a Consolidation scheme for Whakatōhea. The Registrar noted that the whole basis of the Whakatōhea Scheme was that the Rotorua Maori Land Court would facilitate the making of Succession Orders, Exchange Orders and family arrangements by the owners themselves under the leadership of the Consolidation Committee:

The titles to the blocks concerned were all re-constructed and copies of the lists of owners were handed to each member of the Consolidation Committee. Copies are also available in the Opotiki office for the perusal by the Committee and the owners. The fees on these applications have been, and are being, remitted by the Court in this district which also held a special sitting to hear applications affecting these blocks.³⁵⁹

He reported that Commissioner Williams and the Conversion Officer were going to Ōpōtiki to meet the Consolidation Committee to explain the situation fully to them, and to “impress upon them that the onus is on the people to move to effect their own arrangements. He noted that they would continue to facilitate this work and would maintain a close liaison with the Committee.”³⁶⁰ Research conducted to date does not record what happened next.

³⁵⁷5 September 1961, Judge Smith, Rotorua Maori Land Court to W. Nikora, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁵⁸Ibid

³⁵⁹2 June 1963, Registrar, Rotorua Maori Land Court to Maori Affairs Head Office, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁶⁰Ibid

iii. Opape Development Attempt 1967-1974

Although evidence has not been located on what occurred immediately after 1963, it is evident that Whakatōhea continued to work on land issues. It appears that a title improvement and development scheme was compiled centred on the Opape blocks.

On 3 August 1967, Wiremu Nikora, on behalf of Whakatōhea, wrote to William T. Ngata, the Private Secretary for the Minister of Maori Affairs in relation to the Whakatōhea Amalgamation Scheme. He attached a copy of the proposed Whakatōhea scheme for amalgamation of titles for better utilisation purposes with alienation particulars available from the County office duly noted as a commencing point. He explained to Ngata that it would cost £66 to call meetings of owners to discuss the scheme, but Whakatōhea had no money. Nikora therefore was asking for Ministerial assistance by directing the Rotorua Office to call a meeting or meetings of owners to ascertain their wishes regarding several matters such as incorporation, development under Board of Maori Affairs and leasing.³⁶¹

On 15 August 1967, Wiremu Nikora wrote again to Ngata regarding the Whakatōhea Amalgamation Scheme. He enclosed further information and commented that the first instalment of the scheme took in the whole of the unproductive lands of the Ngāti Tama hapu. The next hapu to be dealt with were Ngāti Ngahere. Nikora again noted that were now ready for meetings of owners.³⁶²

It appears that the Rotorua Office was initially asked to provide information in relation to Nikora's first letter. On 18 August 1967, K. Morrill, the Maori Affairs Assistant District Officer at Rotorua, sent a report on the Whakatōhea Amalgamation Scheme to Maori Affairs Head Office. It was noted that the land referred in Nikora's letter was all under Part XXIV with the exception of Opape 1K, 1L and Opape 1M, but very little of the land was being actively farmed at that time and some of the blocks were scheduled for release. At that time there was a Board Paper in Head Office that Opape 1N1, 1N2 and 1N3 blocks be advertised for lease by public tender. It was further noted that 1M was under lease to G. Hudson for 21

³⁶¹3 Aug 1967, Wiremu Nikora on behalf of Whakatōhea to William T. Ngata, Private Secretary for the Minister of Maori Affairs, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁶²15 Aug 1967, Wiremu Nikora on behalf of Whakatōhea to William T. Ngata, Private Secretary for the Minister of Maori Affairs, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

years from 1 October 1959. Hudson was no longer on the block so Maori Affairs were intending to obtain a surrender or re-enter at which time this block would probably also be advertised for lease by public tender.³⁶³

Morrill provided additional information from a preliminary report completed by the Land Utilisation Officer based on a study of aerial photographs and his own knowledge of the area. This report maintained that:

...the major bush area lying to the southeast would never be considered as agricultural land and any future use could only be possible afforestation and even this would be a doubtful project. The remaining portions would not make an economic development area unless further areas to the north could also be obtained. ...the only suitable utilisation of the portions already developed or capable of development would be by way of lease.³⁶⁴

Morrill advised that the Department would not call a general meeting to consider amalgamation. He noted, however, that the District Judge had indicated his willingness to consider applications without a formal meeting but with as wide a notice as possible for owners to attend a Court sitting. Morrill commented that Nikora appeared to have believed that there was a need for meetings for each separate block but that this was quite unnecessary when the intention was the amalgamation of titles.³⁶⁵

On 29 August 1967, J.H.W. Barber, the Maori Affairs District Officer at Rotorua sent a report to Head Office addressing the additional information sent by Nikora on 15 August. He noted that in the second correspondence, Nikora had added a number of blocks which lay to the north and north east of those previously mentioned. Much of the land was described as having had reverted in the last 10 to 15 years. The Officer commented that although the additional land had improved the overall farming economics, this did not "alter our opinion that the most suitable utilisation is by way of leasing the usable land".³⁶⁶

³⁶³18 August 1967, K. Morrill, Maori Affairs Assistant District Officer, Rotorua to Maori Affairs Head Office MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁶⁴Ibid

³⁶⁵Ibid

³⁶⁶29 August 1967, J.H.W. Barber, the Maori Affairs District Officer, Rotorua to Maori Affairs Head Office MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

The Officer further remarked that Nikora's proposals were by this time assuming "rather formidable proportions" and he gave the view that the Rotorua District Office was "inclined to doubt that the amount of work required would be justified by the end result". He noted they also doubted that "the degree of unanimity and support of the owners is as all-embracing as is claimed". The District Office still considered that a direct approach to the Court was the best procedure.³⁶⁷

On 8 September 1967, the Minister of Maori Affairs responded to Nikora's August letters. In accordance with the advice he had been given by the Rotorua District Office he provided Nikora with the following information:

It is doubtful at the present time whether the Titles Section of the Rotorua Office could undertake the work of calling a general Meeting of the Owners of the many Blocks involved owing to the pressure of other work. I see no reason, however, why an application to the Maori Land Court under section 435 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 could not be lodged by you. The Court had wide discretionary powers under this section and would no doubt direct what information it requires to deal with the matter.³⁶⁸

In addition, he advised Nikora that before taking any action he should consider the potential of the land involved. Much of the back country was in "heavy scrub and bush and the terrain was steep and broken". He acknowledged that some of the areas on the west and towards the north were grassed, but considered that much of this land had been worked out and would require considerable effort and expense for renewal. The Minister informed Nikora: "On this basis it is likely that any further developments would be considered by the Board of Maori Affairs as being either impractical or uneconomic." He also referred to the fact that most of the blocks were subject to Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 but he noted that this was effected by a 'blanket' proclamation in 1930 and steps were in the process of being taken to have the majority of the land released from Part XXIV. The Minister commented on the possibility of leasing:

It might be possible to find lessees who would take on some of the more suitable areas, but they would in all likelihood be faced with heavy expenditure for fencing, pasture maintenance and further development.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷Ibid

³⁶⁸8 Sept 1967, Minister of Maori Affairs to Wiremu Nikora, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁶⁹Ibid

The Minister concluded by telling Nikora that although he was very much in accord with any idea of the increased use and development of Maori land, especially in the Ōpōtiki-Cape Runaway area, he considered that Nikora and the other owners that he represented would be “well advised to carefully consider the farming economic and end usages involved”. He stated that much of the land was only suitable for afforestation.³⁷⁰

On 9 September 1967, Nikora replied to the Minister of Maori Affairs informing him that he was forwarding a copy of the Whakatōhea Amalgamation Scheme and the relative correspondence to the Chairman of the Whakatōhea Trust Board for inclusion in the agenda for their annual general meeting to be held on 17 September 1967. He gave the view that this was a scheme for incorporation purposes for the Whakatōhea Tribe to handle through its Trust Board and to take such action as might be considered necessary.³⁷¹

Although evidence has not been located of the September AGM, the matter of land development continued to be considered. On 22 June 1968, a meeting was held at Kutarere Marae to consider afforestation and other issues. Those at the meeting were informed that there was little chance of a mill or pulp plant being established in the vicinity of Ōpōtiki. The existence of such a mill or plant was seen as a prerequisite to the use of afforestation areas along the Coast.³⁷²

On 4 July 1968, the Assistant District Officer at Maori Affairs in Rotorua provided his Head Office with information regarding the position of the Opape blocks in and around Omarumutu. He referred to the “tremendous amount of title improvement” that was required. The area was all Maori land but had been partitioned and repartitioned over the years until there were very few economic areas left in single title. At that stage, Maori Affairs in Rotorua were dealing with “pockets of these Opape blocks” through amalgamation, primarily to improve the tenure of the Part XXIV settlers.³⁷³

³⁷⁰Ibid

³⁷¹19 Sept 1967, Nikora to the Minister of Maori Affairs, MA1 Box 567, 29/4/4, pt.1, ANZ-A

³⁷²24 June 1968, J.A. Dye, Special Titles Officer, Maori Affairs to District Officer, Maori Affairs, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁷³ 4 July 1968, G. McKellar, Assistant District Officer, Maori Affairs to Head Office Maori Affairs, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

Further Maori Affairs information from July 1968, indicates that most of the Whakatōhea land in the coastal strip was still being farmed under Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 by Maori settlers. Many of these settlers had leases and it was considered likely that they would owe money to the Board of Maori Affairs for improvements that had been carried out on their properties by the Department of Maori Affairs. Additional lands were probably being farmed or leased on an informal basis by their owners. At that time, P.Baker was proposing a large scale consolidation. Maori Affairs considered this would take many years to complete and would not solve existing problems or result in the best utilisation of the lands. The view of Maori Affairs was that economic utilisation of the lands would probably involve farming, cropping and possibly forestry, depending on soil, contour and rainfall. The Maori Affairs Deputy Secretary suggested that a land use survey be carried out in regards to the area, after which consideration could be given to amalgamating limited economic areas such as the Opape and Omarumutu lands as well as hill country blocks which could possibly be developed for forestry or farming purposes.³⁷⁴

On 17 May 1970, a meeting of the owners of Opape 1A1A2 and a number of other blocks was held at Opape in relation to a proposed Incorporation Scheme. Wiremu Nikora subsequently advised Duncan McIntyre, the Minister of Maori Affairs, that despite the meeting being advertised twice in the Ōpōtiki News, only some of the resident owners attended and in some cases only the spouse of a resident owner attended. By this time, it was considered as being near impossible to get a quorum of owners with sufficient shares to determine any proposed land resolutions. Many of the owners lived away or were deceased by this time. Nikora noted that Whakatōhea considered that “any attempts at successions could be difficult, expensive and doubtful if any good coming from them”.³⁷⁵

Nikora noted that when the elders were alive so that the matter of getting a quorum of owners and sufficient shares to determine a resolution required by law was quite easy and inexpensive. He stated that those at the meeting of owners supported the proposal of Incorporation with some owners speaking strongly in favour and also agreeing with a suggestion that the Ministers of Maori Affairs, Lands and Agriculture all be included in the Committee of Management of seven members subject to the approval of the Ministers

³⁷⁴ 12 July 1968, B.E. Souter, Deputy Secretary of Maori Affairs to P. Baker, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁷⁵ 17 May 1970, Wiremu Nikora to Duncan McIntyre, Minister of Maori Affairs, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

concerned. Nikora indicated that no one at the meeting spoke against Incorporation. Ultimately, the meeting unanimously passed a resolution that relevant information should be submitted to the Minister of Maori Affairs so that action could be taken in favour of establishing an Incorporation.³⁷⁶

A Schedule of nineteen Opape No.1 subdivisions involved in the meeting showed that most of these were small with at least nine comprising of less than an acre and probably only one containing more than ten acres. Three of the blocks were unoccupied with most of their owners said to live away from the land. Most of the other blocks were occupied by relatives of the owners.³⁷⁷

Later in the month, on 29 May, the Rotorua Registrar provided information on the matters raised by Nikora in his correspondence to the Minister of Maori Affairs. It was noted that Maori Affairs had long recognised the need for a land utilisation survey in the Opape area followed by title improvement as a measure to obtain effective use. He referred to a recent Part XXIII application in relation to Opape 1G1A where the Court had suggested that Maori Affairs should investigate the possibility of an amalgamation of titles in this vicinity with a vesting in trustees to lease. The Registrar considered that this was a “prudent way to proceed”.³⁷⁸

The Registrar did not agree with the ideas of “Nikora and other older members of the Whakatohea Tribe” in relation to “the ‘blanket’ of incorporation as the means of protecting their lands”. Officials in Rotorua considered that “utilisation could be obtained more readily and conveniently by way of amalgamation and vesting in trustees as opposed to amalgamation and incorporation”. Therefore the Registrar suggested that Nikora be advised that Maori Affairs would be investigating with the object of amalgamating titles and vesting suitable areas in trustees under the provisions of Section 438 to lease or otherwise utilise.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ Ibid

³⁷⁷ Schedule attached to 17 May 1970, Wiremu Nikora to Duncan McIntyre, Minister of Maori Affairs, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A NB there were some part blocks where the area was not identified.

³⁷⁸ 29 May 1970, J.W. Barber, Registrar & District Officer, Maori Affairs, Rotorua to Maori Affairs Head Office, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁷⁹ Ibid

Additional information within the Maori Affairs file confirmed that the departmental view was that there was no point in amalgamation followed by incorporation in view of the small areas involved in Opape. This type of proposal would only work if the owners had a definite object in view which would be facilitated by incorporation and if they had sufficient money to float this proposal. The obvious solution in the view of the Department was amalgamation followed by vesting the land in trustees under Section 438.³⁸⁰

On 8 June 1970, Duncan McIntyre, the Minister of Maori Affairs responded to Nikora's previous correspondence and informed him of the Department's proposal.³⁸¹

On 25 January 1971, the Rotorua Registrar met with Wiremu Nikora who subsequently wrote to the Registrar as follows:

...my people of the Ngati Tama hapu, being the incorporated owners of Opape No.11 Block are deeply interested in the use of all the divisions and subdivisions of Opape No.1 whether good, bad, or indifferent and we appeal to you to give the owners an opportunity to decide themselves in favour of amalgamation for leasing or incorporation. Anyone objecting to either amalgamation for leasing through the Maori Trustee or incorporation may then go before the Court and state why an order or orders should not be made either amalgamation wise or incorporation wise...³⁸²

He concluded by stating: "We have our own ideas and we will stand or fall by them but with God's help we will succeed".³⁸³

Several years later, on 16 December 1974, Wiremu Nikora wrote to Matiu Rata who was by this time the Minister of Maori Affairs, advising him that during the last Annual General Meeting of Opape No.11 owners, full support had been given to the incorporation of all the Ngāti Tama idle lands. Initial blocks put forward by Nikora at this time included nine Opape No.1 subdivisions as follows:

³⁸⁰ Undated circa early June 1970, Maori Affairs file – appears to be a draft letter to a Mr Williams, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁸¹ 8 June 1970, Duncan McIntyre, Minister of Maori Affairs to Wiremu Nikora, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁸² 25 Jan 1971, Wiremu Nikora to Registrar, Rotorua Office, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁸³ Ibid

- 1A19B (180 acres)
- 1G4 & 1T (300 acres combined total)
- 1K1L2 (150 acres)
- 1O (158 acres)
- 1P (173 acres)
- 1R1 (45 acres)
- R2 (74 acres)
- 1S (83 acres)³⁸⁴

On 25 January 1975, Rata responded to Nikora advising that the important step in moving forward would be a meeting of the interested and affected owners.³⁸⁵

iv. Attempts at Timber Use of Opape 1963 - 74

As Whakatōhea continued to explore options for title improvement and land development, the owners of Opape timber blocks were exploring ways to utilise their lands. In 1963, the owners in Opape No.11 planned to cut the timber on the block. On 7 October 1963, Wiremu Nikora, on behalf of the owners, wrote to the Forestry Department asking for an idea of the cost of valuing the millable timber on the block. It was noted that the owners of Opape Nos. 12DYE1, 12DYE2, 12KC1 and 12KC2 and other bush areas nearby also would want to have their timber valued.³⁸⁶

On 11 January 1965, the Registrar of the Waiariki District Maori Land Court wrote to D. Kennedy, Conservator of Forests notifying him of the intention to call meetings of owners in to Opape blocks Nos. 12DYE1, 12DYE2, 12F, 12J1 12J2, 12KC1, 12KC2 and 12OG for the purpose of timber utilisation. On 9 February 1965, Kennedy responded to the Registrar, advising him that the total area involved over all the blocks was around 2,637 acres. In

³⁸⁴ 16 December 1974, Wiremu Nikora to Matiu Rata, Minister of Maori Affairs, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁸⁵ 25 January 1975, Matiu Rata, Minister of Maori Affairs to Wiremu Nikora, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁸⁶ 7 Oct 1963, W. Nikora on behalf of the owners of Opape No.11 to Forestry Dept, BAFK 1466, Box 231, 1, 18/2/257, ANZ-A

addition, he noted that cutting rights were also being negotiated over Opape No.11 containing 3,270 acres:

These blocks have no developed access and the boundaries are arbitrarily drawn across extremely rugged terrain without any recognition of the topography. A careful study of even minor watersheds is necessary in planning any form of land use and can be vital in road location and timber extracts.³⁸⁷

Kennedy also remarked that it would be very unlikely that “any Company would accept responsibility for development work unless all the timber in the various watersheds was available, and some watersheds would undoubtedly prove uneconomic, or at least marginal, logging propositions”. Therefore he considered it essential that resolutions over all the various blocks be passed in favour of one Company. He also noted that the separation of timber values for each block was only necessary for the apportionment of revenue. He suggested that this process could be dispensed with if the owners agreed to some form of amalgamation or alternatively accepted new boundaries according to the topography.³⁸⁸

Kennedy advised the Registrar that there was no available information on timber quantities on the blocks but that at that point in time the appraisal of all the standing timber would be “beyond the capacity of Forest Service staff”. He suggested that appraisal in lots could be undertaken from time to time. He also pointed out that Pine Milling Company, which was the company the owners had lined up for the project, did not intend to start milling for at least five years.³⁸⁹

On 12 March 1965, the solicitors for the Pine Milling Company, wrote to the Registrar that their client would be having further discussions with the owners of the Opape blocks (other than Opape No.11) and that they might not proceed with its applications. The Company considered that there was sufficient timber of the Opape No.11 to make it worthwhile to deal with this block by itself. Therefore the Registrar was requested to ask the State Forest Service to appraise Opape No.11.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ 9 Feb 1965, D. Kennedy, Conservator of Forests to Registrar, Waiariki District Maori Land Court, BAFK 1466, Box 231, 1, 18/2/257, ANZ-A

³⁸⁸ Ibid

³⁸⁹ Ibid

³⁹⁰ 12 March 1965, Urquhart, Roe & Partners to Registrar of Maori Land Court, Rotorua, BAFK 1466, Box 231, 1, 18/2/257, ANZ-A

On 23 July 1965, a meeting of owners held at Ōpōtiki passed a resolution to grant timber cutting rights to the Pine Milling Company in relation to ten Opape subdivisions. On 10 August 1965, the Senior Forest Ranger noted that the owners of Opape Nos.7, 8, 9, and 10 were also negotiating to sell the timber on these blocks. The Forest Ranger considered it was “essential to have some indication of the timber stands in this locality which can be broken down into individual blocks following demarcation of the block boundaries and field inspection”.³⁹¹

On 30 March 1966, K. Morrill, the Assistant District Officer at the Department of Maori Affairs in Rotorua wrote to the Conservator of Forests in Rotorua referring to a letter from the solicitors of the Pine Milling Company in relation to Opape Nos.10, and 11 and nine of the subdivisions within Opape No.12. The solicitors wanted to know whether all or any part of the blocks were suitable for land development. The Maori Affairs Officer noted that the Pine Milling Company had applied for timber-cutting rights over these blocks and the Judge of the Maori Land Court was concerned as to the future utilisation of the lands if the timber was removed. It was noted that Maori Affairs had no development proposals in plan. He further observed that it was possible that the blocks would not be suitable for development as farm land as they were primarily made up of steep and rugged country apart from a few scattered areas of flats. The Officer put forward the possibility that some of the blocks might be suitable for planning as exotic forests and that others should be left with their natural cover.³⁹²

A few days later, on 7 April 1966, D. Kennedy, the Conservator of Forests, provided some information on the Opape blocks in response to the correspondence from Maori Affairs. He advised that the blocks totalled around 7000 acres in area, of which probably less than 1000 acres had any evidence that in the past farming had been attempted. He observed: “the balance or major portion of the area being too broken and covered with heavy non-exploitable bush.” Ultimately, he informed Maori Affairs that the Forest Service considered the area to have little attraction for the purpose of commercial tree planning and could not recommend it. The Forest Service indicated that they were unable to provide advice on

³⁹¹ 10 Aug 1965, Senior Forest Ranger (on behalf of Conservator of Forest) to Director of Research, Forests Research Institute, BAFK 1466, Box 231, 1, 18/2/257, ANZ-A

³⁹² 30 March 1966, K. Morrill, the Assistant District Officer at the Department of Maori Affairs in Rotorua to Conservator of Forests in Rotorua, BAFK 1466, Box 231, 1, 18/2/257, ANZ-A

development to farm land, but observed that it was “quite evident that development either to farming or commercial forests could be achieved only at a high cost per acre”. It was noted that additional difficulties were presented by the fragmentary nature of the ownership in the topographically unsuitable blocks.³⁹³

In the end, Opape No.11 (3,270 acres) was purchased by the Pine Mill Company for £3270 plus the value of the timber when appraised by the Forest Service Department. This transaction was duly confirmed by the Maori Land Court on 27 June 1966 and payments were made accordingly by the Pine Milling Company Ltd and distributed by the Committee of Management of the Opape No.11 Incorporation to the owners of the land. A further payment of £1226.34 for first lot of appraised timber was to be made by the Pine Milling Company on 27 June 1968.³⁹⁴

However, on 12 June 1967, W. Nikora, the Chairman of the Management Committee of the Opape No.11 block Incorporation, wrote to P.R. Allen MP at the Ōpōtiki Borough Council to advise him that the owners of the land were now faced with the position that the Pine Milling Company could not complete the payments within the two years from 27 June 1966 because the Forest Service Department in Rotorua “for reasons unknown” could not appraise the timber in time. Nikora noted the timber had been the main reason behind the owners’ decision to sell.³⁹⁵

On 10 August 1970, Nikora wrote to the Minister of Maori Affairs regarding Opape No.11. By this time the position was that only a small portion of the timber area had been appraised and paid for. Nikora advised the Minister that the Committee had previously signed an agreement to sell the block to the Pine Milling Company with a right to repurchase the block if the incorporated owners so desired. The Pine Milling Company had forwarded a deed of transfer for signature by the Committee of Management but Nikore noted that “the Committee had decided that the appraisal of the timber on the balance of the whole block

³⁹³ 7 April 1966, D. Kennedy, Conservator of Forests to K. Morrill, the Assistant District Officer, Dept of Maori Affairs, Rotorua, BAFK 1466, Box231, 1, 18/2/257, ANZ-A

³⁹⁴ 12 June 1967, W. Nikora, Chairman of the Management Committee, Opape No.11 block Incorporation, to P.R. Allen, MP c/o Opotiki Borough Council, BAFK 1466, Box 231, 1, 18/2/257, ANZ-A

³⁹⁵ Ibid

must be completed and payment made to the Committee before the transfer is signed". This appraisal had not yet been completed.³⁹⁶

On 21 January 1971, Nikora raised these issues again at a meeting attended by the Minister of Maori Affairs and other officials at Te Rere Pa. Maori Affairs correspondence in the wake of this meeting advised Head Office that Opape No.11 continued to be subject to a confirmed Agreement for Sale and Purchase with the Pine Milling Company. They noted that although Nikora believed that the Incorporation had the right to buy back the land, there was nothing in the Agreement to this effect.³⁹⁷ The Opape No.11 Body Corporate had, by way of dividends, paid out the whole of the purchase money payable under the Purchase Agreement as well as all the royalties that had been paid up until that time. In addition, the Committee of Management was in the process of seeking an advance of \$40,000 from the Pine Milling Company to make further distributions to shareholders.³⁹⁸

v. *Hiwarau Amalgamation 1969*

On 30 March 1969, a meeting of the owners of the Hiwarau blocks was held at Kutarere Mara. P. Baker chaired the meeting which was attended by around 20 of the owners. A representative from the Farm Advisory Office provided the meeting with information regarding the potential develop costs and capacity of the land. The block incorporated 1,200 acres and at that time was mostly covered in bush and scrub. The possibility of a forestry venture on the block was raised but those at the meeting favoured sheep and cattle farming over forestry. There was reported to be a fair amount of weed growth on the property but it was considered that an economic unit could probably be obtained from the farmable area. The main concern from the meeting was to "get the land producing something". The County Council was reported to be concerned that the block owed rates.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ 10 August 1970, Wiremu Nikora, to Minister of Maori Affairs, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁹⁷ 26 Jan 1971, Rotorua Office, Maori Affairs to Head Office, Maori Affairs, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*

³⁹⁹ 31 March 1969, S.R.Hewitt, Farm Advisory Officer to Field Superintendent, Hamilton, BBFE A966 17765, Box 6, a, 8/18/4, ANZ-A

In the end, after around three hours of discussion, a motion was carried unanimously that the Maori Land Court be asked to amalgamate the individual holdings, at which time the property would be placed in the hands of the Maori Trustee.⁴⁰⁰

On 4 August 1969, the Maori Land Court, in accordance with section 435 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953, cancelled the titles to eleven small Hiwarau blocks and substituted one new title in their stead known as Hiwarau C. The Court then made a further order under section 438 of the Act vesting the new Hiwarau C block in the Maori Trustee in trust for the purpose of alienating the land to the best advantage by public tender or by private treaty on behalf of the owners.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid

⁴⁰¹ 10 Oct 969, J.M. Melven, Secretary of Maori & Island Affairs to P. Baker, AJJZ W4644 896 Box 225, 68/1/13 ANZ-A

D. Seeking Sustainable Development: 1975-1990

[This Section is still under development. Two brief issues are presented, however.]

1. Whakatōhea Land Concerns 1979

In 1979, Whakatōhea were concerned that they had no representation on the District Maori Land Advisory Committee. They considered that for their area the Whakatōhea Maori Trust Board should carry out the functions of the Land Advisory Committee as the Trust Boards had the use and management of its tribal lands and the welfare of its people foremost in its activities. In their view if this power was extended to the Whakatōhea Trust Boards then the Whakatōhea people would be represented in the administration of their lands rather than having “some outsider or foreign body administering their lands for them”.⁴⁰²

By this time a lands trust called the Ngāti Ngahere Lands Trust had been mooted by the Court appointing the Whakatōhea Maori Trust Boards as Executory Trustees together with owners as Advisory Trustees. According to Whakatōhea representatives, the concept of this lands trust was to promote the utilisation and management of these lands and for this to be accomplished with as much owner involvement as possible.⁴⁰³

The Ngahere Lands Trust was considered by Whakatōhea representatives to be a direct result of constant liaison among Title Improvement Officers, the land owners, Maori Elders of Whakatōhea, and in particular the members of the Whakatōhea Trust Board.⁴⁰⁴

In 1979, it was noted that there were many blocks of Maori land in the Whakatōhea area and other areas nearby which were lying idle and unproductive but were nevertheless, accumulating land rates. Many of these lands were said to be informally occupied by an

⁴⁰² 1979, Royal Commission on the Maori Courts – Submission 63: on behalf of the Whakatōhea people by TaurongoTeWiremuAmoamo, Edward Joseph Hayes and Claude Edwards of Opotiki, p.3, BAJZ A1708 23642, Box 36, n, 63, ANZ-A

⁴⁰³ 1979, Royal Commission on the Maori Courts – Submission 63: on behalf of the Whakatōhea people by TaurongoTeWiremuAmoamo, Edward Joseph Hayes and Claude Edwards of Opotiki, p.3, BAJZ A1708 23642, Box 36, n, 63, ANZ-A

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid

adjoining farmer or squatter who was paying no rent, sometimes not even paying the rates and generally letting the land run down. Whakatōhea representatives considered that the Titles staff of the Department could in these cases implement title improvement schemes to have the land formally leased for activities such as farming and cropping. It was further considered by Whakatōhea representatives that Section 438/33 trusts could be brought into being to assist in the lands being utilised. In addition, it was maintained that meeting with owners would be arranged to discuss the course of action that should be taken against occupiers for their past use and occupation. Furthermore, Whakatōhea representatives gave the view that overall schemes of amalgamation of several uneconomic titles could be arranged resulting in larger blocks that would have the potential to support farming or forestry ventures.⁴⁰⁵

In relation to financing land use schemes, Whakatōhea representatives considered that money should be made available from a fund specifically established and used for title improvement schemes. Examples of the type of scheme that might be involved included Maori housing subdivisions, roading, farming, cropping and fruit growing.⁴⁰⁶

The issue of multiple ownership was also considered by Whakatōhea in 1979. It was noted that many multiply owned lands were in the hands of family groups or hapu and there were often concerns that one person within the whanau or hapu would sell their share, especially if the purchaser was the Maori Trustee through conversion. They pointed out that there was a popular misconception that only another owner could purchase the Maori Trustee's shares but this was not true. They had found that in relation to the conversion interests, the Maori Trustee was able to sell his shares to "any Maori or descendant of a Maori or to a Maori Incorporation or to the Crown or to a Maori Trust Board or to a Trustee of the land concerned". This information was said to have come from section 152 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 and its amendments.⁴⁰⁷

A further difficulty that occurred because of multiple ownership highlighted by the Whakatōhea representatives in 1979 were that quorums could not be obtained because owners were deceased, or no owners addresses were available, or there were absentee or

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid

missing owners or “simply because many owners just don’t want to bother to turn up to meetings because they know their shareholding by itself is so small it would not be worth the trouble”. They considered that this process could be facilitated by the establishment of some form of trust for whanau or hapu groups. This would counter the problems arising from the ongoing fragmentation of shares and enable business to be carried out with little expense and time.⁴⁰⁸

2. Health and Welfare 1980s

During the 1980s, Ōpōtiki County which incorporated the area from Ōhiwa Harbour to Cape Runaway had a total population of about 8000. The Whakatōhea Trust Board Access Committee at that time noted that Ōpōtiki was a small rural town which offered little in the way of employment. The businesses in the area were relatively few and largely made up of retail shops, professional services and some light industrial and production factories. It was hoped that some additional employment opportunities would arise when horticulture and forestry projects in the area were in full production, but, ultimately, Ōpōtiki was viewed as having few employment opportunities.⁴⁰⁹

Towards the end of the 1980s, figures from the Department of Labour reveal that 80 percent or 200 out of the 250 total unemployed in Ōpōtiki township were Maori.⁴¹⁰ Over the 1980s, long-term unemployment was becoming evident in Ōpōtiki town and the majority of the long-term unemployed were Maori. Unemployment figures for the eastern Bay of Plenty were at seven percent which was higher than the national average and this was reflected in the situation in Ōpōtiki. The difficulties facing Ōpōtiki were recognised by the Minister of Labour and the district had been designated as a special area whereby PEP schemes were to stay in place until 1988 to assist in alleviating the unemployment problem.⁴¹¹

Truancy among Maori students was also a problem at this time. A group of around 40 students, the majority being Maori appear to have been regular truants and some efforts were

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid

⁴⁰⁹ Circa 1980s, Whakatōhea Maori Trust Board Access Committee, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 180, 45/2/14 pt.1, ANZ-A

⁴¹⁰ Circa 1980s, Figures supplied by the Dept. of Labour, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 180, 45/2/14 pt.1, ANZ-A

⁴¹¹ Whakatōhea Maori Trust Board Access Committee, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 180, 45/2/14 pt.1, ANZ-A

made to try and get this group involved in a training programme under the Maori Access Training Scheme.⁴¹²

In July 1991, the Whakatōhea Trust Board was preparing to create a Whakatōhea Iwi Health Plan. The first objective of this plan was to “Reduce or remove barriers of equitable access to Health Services for our people.” Many health initiatives were planned and some of those included developing specially designed services for the elderly; providing day and overnight services for diabetics, chronic asthmatics and children with glue ear; and supporting counselling services associated with addiction and those providing nutritional and parenting skills. The aim was develop the necessary skills from within Whakatōhea and to take a holistic approach. It was also planned to introduce a Maori perspective in the training of health caregivers. A feature of the planned health services was to ensure that they were “accessible and affordable to Maori people and their children”.⁴¹³

⁴¹² Whakatohea Maori Trust Board to Chairman, Whakatohea Maori Access Committee, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 180, 45/2/14 pt.1, ANZ-A

⁴¹³ 28 July 1991, C.A. Edwards, Executive Chairman, Whakatohea Maori Trust Board, ABJZ, W4644 869, Box 265, 94/7 pt.1, ANZ-A

