

Wai 2500

Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry

The economic rehabilitation of Maori military veterans

T.J. Hearn

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E Ti, e ngā mema, e ngā kaiwhakatikatika i ngā tamatiki nui, he kūare ana matou ki a koutou mā ngā pepa he tini e whai korero Pākehā, *can't you*, i ngā mea Māori ētahi? Kia mohio ai matou ngā Tribal Committee ā whenua koutou korero ki hea? Kaua e tuhituhi, *who knows how to fill those blessed papers?*

I say ... with regards to your various forms, application after application, all in English, I say, can't you type them in Maori? So, as we the Tribal Committee, will understand the wording of your applications and where it is going to and what it applies to ... who knows how to fill those blessed papers?

... *Whina Cooper, welcoming members of the Maori Battalion at Te Kotahitanga Marae, Kaikohe, February 1946 (courtesy Ngā Tonga Sound & Vision)*

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The author

The report was prepared by Terry Hearn. He holds a Master of Arts (1 Hons) in geography and a PhD in historical geography from the University of Otago. From 1990 to 1995 he was the head of the University Distance Teaching Unit, and from 1996 to 2000 the Historian of British Immigration for the Ministry of Culture and Heritage. He is co-author, with J.O.C. Phillips of *Settlers: New Zealand immigrants from England, Ireland, & Scotland, 1800-1945*. In 2001 he was invited to contribute to the Tribunal casebook research programme for the Central North Island Inquiry District and subsequently contributed reports to nine major casebook research programmes, including Te Paparahi o Te Raki, Te Rohe Potae, Whanganui, Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo, and Porirua ki Manawatu. Much of his research effort has focussed on land alienation, land title reform, and land development, but he has also examined a wide range of social and economic matters, including housing, health, and general Maori economic development. In the course of those investigations he located and examined a range of material dealing with Maori veterans of both world wars, while Chapter 13 of his 2009 report *Land titles, land development, and returned soldier settlement in Te Rohe Pōtae* (Wai 898 #A69) dealt with the post World-War II economic rehabilitation of Maori veterans in that Inquiry District.

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Definitions, spellings and abbreviations

The spelling of Maori proper and place names varies considerably throughout the sources consulted for this report. Where possible these were checked, but errors and inconsistencies may remain.

The following abbreviations are employed:

AJHR: *Appendices, Journals of the House of Representatives*

AJLC: *Appendices, Journals of the Legislative Council*

ANZ: Archives New Zealand

AT: Alexander Turnbull Library

DuHo: Hocken Collections, Dunedin

NZPD: *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*

n.d: no data

n.a: not available

No: number

p. and pp: page and pages

Pt: Part

Vol: Volume

Introduction

Of the various domestic and foreign conflicts in which New Zealand found itself embroiled or in which it elected to engage, World Wars I and II in particular presented the governments of the day with a series of major challenges that included preserving economic and political stability, fostering the reintegration of many thousands of demobilised service personnel, and re-orienting the economy away from its highly regulated war footing. By 1918, some 120,000 men had enlisted in the armed forces and over 103,000 served abroad, including 2,688 Maori, while 550 women served as nurses. Many other New Zealanders served in foreign forces, notably those of Australia and the United Kingdom. Early preparations for rehabilitation included the establishment, in 1915, of the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department, and the passage of War Pensions Act 1915 and the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. In 1916, the Minister in Charge of the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department (A.L. Herdman) recorded that

Amongst the problems created by the war none are of greater importance than those connected with the reabsorption of the soldiers in the industrial life of the community after their period of military duty is ended. The honour and the interests of the whole body of the citizens are alike involved in the successful solution of the question, and the more rapidly and efficiently the reabsorption takes place the speedier will be the recovery from the losses resulting from the war and from the partial arrest of development occasioned by the withdrawal of such large numbers of the most active members of the community from their normal avocations.¹

In short, in the successful rehabilitation of ex-service personnel the State had an interest that transcended that of the veterans individually. Rehabilitation was as much about redirecting and reinvigorating the nation's economic progress as it was recognising, and rewarding and compensating for service.

By the end of March 1950, almost 211,000 service personnel had been demobilised, that number growing to almost 215,000 following the end of the Korean War.² The Government moved early to prepare a comprehensive rehabilitation programme that

¹ AJHR 1916, H30, p.1.

² AJHR 1955, H18, p.5.

by the end of March 1972 had injected over £208m into the economy in the form of assistance for land settlement and development, loans for houses, businesses, furniture and tools of trade, educational assistance, with additional resources having been invested in trade and farm training. Rehabilitation explicitly formed part of the Government's larger plan for the post-war social and economic reconstruction. Further, the Government was determined to avoid the mistakes that in its judgment had bedevilled the rehabilitation programme implemented in the wake of WWI, including what was perceived to have been a lack of coordination among State agencies and the premature closure (in 1922) of the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department.

With respect to both rehabilitation programmes, the Government insisted that what it termed 'equality of opportunity' would prevail, that Maori ex-service personnel would enjoy the same access and same entitlements as all other veterans and could expect similar benefits and outcomes. But whereas in the case of the WWI rehabilitation programme, Maori ex-service personnel found themselves, to employ Ngata's term, 'flung into the maelstrom of Pakeha affairs,' as part of an explicit effort on the part of the Government and the Rehabilitation Board to try to ensure that the rehabilitation needs of Maori veterans were met, a separate and complementary application procedure was established while, with respect to land settlement in particular, separate provision was made. In brief, the Government, under the leadership of Peter Fraser, was anxious to try to ensure that what were widely regarded as the mistakes of the earlier rehabilitation programme were not repeated. How successful that effort would be is a major focus of that part of this inquiry.

The claims

The claims participating in the Maori Military Veterans Inquiry deal with a wide range of matters. Those dealing with economic rehabilitation in particular identify a number of issues relating especially to World Wars I and II, with fewer references to either the colonial wars or the South African War. With respect to World War I, many of the claims focus on land settlement, as set out in particular, in Wai 1968 #1.1.1 (b), 2055 #1.1.1(a), 2206 #1.1.1(a), and 2261 #1.1.1. Claims frequently cite or refer to the

Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and its administration through the Department of Lands and Survey, the protection of the land interests of Maori on active service, and the admission of Maori veterans to ballots for Crown sections: among them are Wai 1092 #1.1(c), 1196 #1.1(e), and 1314 #1.1.1(a). Only a small number cite housing, employment, and financial assistance generally. Others deal more generally with both the design and content of the economic rehabilitation programme; the adequacy of the assistance and support, including financial assistance, accorded veterans; and the distribution of rehabilitation benefits between Maori and Pakeha veterans. Among those statements of claims are Wai 745 #1.2(h), 974 #1.1(b), 1140 #1.1(c), 1307 #1.1(e), and 1354 #1.1.1(b). Some claims, notably Wai 1196 #1.1(e), record that the Crown failed to engage with iwi over rehabilitation. Through many of the statements of claim runs a suggestion that the Crown abdicated its responsibility for the economic rehabilitation of Maori veterans, passing it rather to iwi many of which were ill-equipped and inadequately endowed to deal with the complex issues and needs involved.

With respect to World War II and the Korean War, the claims are similar in nature, with an emphasis on the character and level of rehabilitation support. The concerns common to and informing them generally are the engagement with Maori over the measures best calculated to enable and support the economic rehabilitation of Maori veterans; the appropriateness and adequacy for Maori veterans of the economic rehabilitation programme that was finally adopted; the equality of access to the services that constituted that programme; the delivery of rehabilitation assistance in a timely and effective manner; and the distribution of the benefits between Maori and all other veterans. As in the case of World War I veterans, a number of statements of claim, including Wai 1092 #1.1.1(c), 1196 #1.1(e), and 1313 1.1.1(a), cite land settlement, in particular, the grading of Maori veterans and their admission to ballots for Crown sections.

The Waitangi Tribunal thus defined a number of themes for investigation, namely:

- What were the main forms of repatriation support provided for New Zealand military veterans?

- What legislative policy or practical barriers or restrictions, if any, have Maori military veterans faced with regard to various forms of repatriation support provided for New Zealand veterans;
- What was the statutory framework of returned soldier settlement and its administration and outcomes for returned Maori military veterans in the soldier settlement cases specified in claims to this inquiry; for example, allegations concerning soldier settlement on the Nuhaka Valley lands following the First World War?
- What was the nature of Crown engagement and consultation with Maori veterans and their communities over the provision of repatriation assistance and the repatriation requirements of Maori veterans?
- What conclusions, if any, can be drawn from statistical or other comparisons between Maori and non-Maori veterans?
- What were Maori veterans' experiences of the administration of repatriation support through the various agencies involved, in particular, in catering for the challenges some Maori veterans may have faced in accessing support from isolated rural areas or where language barriers existed?

Key concepts, key questions

Given the clear emphasis in the statements of claim on equality of access to economic rehabilitation services, equality of treatment, and equality of outcomes, the central question explored in this report is whether the various economic rehabilitation programmes that were devised to facilitate the economic rehabilitation of the men and women who had served in New Zealand's armed forces were fully available to Maori ex-service personnel and produced outcomes that were comparable with those achieved by all other ex-service personnel. At the heart of that question lies the complex – and contentious – concept of equality, its meaning and application, the methods by which it might be secured, and indeed whether as a societal or indeed policy goal it should be pursued at all. It is not intended to enter into that large debate, but rather to adopt some of the key concepts that it has generated and to utilise them in an exploration of that key question.

The first concept is that of *equality of opportunity*, also termed *equal opportunities* or *equal access*. It is a concept that does not admit of ready definition, and indeed some question whether it has any meaning at all, but it is generally held to mean a situation in which actors have a chance to secure the same goals without being impeded by some obstacle, or, more simply, the absence of discrimination whether on grounds of gender, race, religion or some other characteristic. The term ‘equality of opportunity’ was freely employed in the debates and discussions that took place over rehabilitation policy and its implementation. The Government and the Rehabilitation Council and Rehabilitation Board insisted that Maori ex-service personnel would enjoy the same access to all rehabilitation services and benefits. That raises a first set of questions. Did that insistence indicate some concern on the part of Government that Maori veterans might experience difficulties on securing access? If so, what was the nature of the obstacles or hindrances that it perceived? How did it propose to ensure that Maori veterans did in fact secure equal access? Was access limited or restricted by any failure to disseminate information in an appropriate, timely, and effective manner? Was access limited or restricted by complex application procedures? Was access limited or hindered by any lack of well-defined, firmly established, and efficient administrative arrangements, or by any imprecision in the apportionment of executive responsibilities among the various agencies involved in the implementation? Did the institution of a separate set of administrative arrangements for Maori veterans ensure that they enjoyed equal access to rehabilitation services or did it generate unintended consequences? Was it sufficient to conceive of equality of opportunity as the absence of discrimination or prejudices or preferences based on race? Was formal equality of opportunity confused with substantive equality of opportunity?

The second key concept is that of *equity of provision* or the *substantive or fair equality of opportunity*. This shifts the focus to the content of or the services offered by the rehabilitation programme. A series of questions arises. With respect to Maori ex-service personnel, was it sufficient to provide an unqualified or similarly qualified right to apply for rehabilitation assistance? What, if any, pre-conditions were specified for each rehabilitation service offered? To what extent, if any, did the rehabilitation programme recognise and take into account that it would have to deal with and accommodate two major ethnic and a range of differently equipped social

groups, that is, with their respective starting points? To what extent, if any, was the possibility of indirect discrimination recognised? What steps, if any, were taken to deal with that possibility and how effective were they?

The third key concept is that of *equality of process* and deals with the manner in which policy was implemented. For example, were mechanisms or requirements instituted that denied, limited, deferred, or otherwise qualified access to rehabilitation benefits? What form did any such mechanisms take, why were they instituted, and what practical effect did they have? The fourth key concept is *equality of outcomes* or *equality of results*. How were the benefits of the rehabilitation programme distributed among members of the armed forces? In particular, did Maori ex-service personnel secure rehabilitation benefits that were comparable proportionately in terms of number and value with those secured by all other ex-service personnel? Did the insistence by Government and the Rehabilitation Board on equality of opportunity produce equal outcomes and if not, why not? And how are outcomes best measured? One further concept merits a brief comment, namely, *equality of autonomy*: it has to do with the extent to which individuals were empowered through the rehabilitation programme to make the decisions that they considered would allow them to exercise control and to make choices. It is a concept that does not lend itself to ready analysis or measurement, but some reference will be made to it in this report.

Methods

The primary method employed in this investigation is source criticism or critical textual analysis. For the rehabilitation programme implemented in 1915 the archival record is sparse. The records of the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department, the Rehabilitation Department, the Pensions Department, and the Department of Land and Survey have been misplaced, damaged, or destroyed. Further, the published reports of those State agencies offer little assistance, usually not distinguishing between Maori and Pakeha. On the other hand, for the programme initiated in 1941, there is an abundance of archival material, generated by the Rehabilitation Council and the Rehabilitation Board and its various committees, and by those Government departments enlisted by the Boards as agencies responsible for the implementation of

the rehabilitation programme. That many agencies maintained their records dealing with rehabilitation allowed comprehensive cross-checking or corroboration, although the destruction in 1952 of the records of the Department of Lands and Survey again presented the well-established difficulties. Further, comparatively few records were located of the proceedings of district rehabilitation committees, farm grading committees, and the tribal executive committees established under the Maori War Effort Organisation. Their proceedings may well have offered some additional and useful insights into how the rehabilitation programme was implemented at iwi, regional, and district levels, in particular into the extent and character of consultation and into the flows, especially dissemination, of information.

The Rehabilitation Board and its various committees also generated a wealth of statistical information. While the data presents difficulties with respect to consistency, specifications, and coverage, extensive use has been made of them to identify trends, summarise achievements, and compare outcomes. Further, wherever possible data are presented in graph and map form.

One other matter merits comment, that is, that very little is known about those ex-service personnel, including Maori veterans, who elected not to seek rehabilitation assistance, or about those whose applications were declined. Further, little is known about those Maori ex-service personnel who chose to seek assistance through the standard rehabilitation channel. Had it been possible to identify such groups, it is possible that the analyses and interpretations presented in this report might require some modifications.

The structure of this report

Chapter 1 is a short chapter that deals with period up to 1897: it deals largely with land grants for military service and the pensions paid to those who sustained wounds or injuries while in the service of the Crown during this country's internal wars and to the widows of those men who were killed. Chapter 2 deals with the South African War and the protracted efforts of the veterans of that conflict to secure official recognition of and support for their resettlement needs. The sources available make

very little reference to Maori participation or rehabilitation. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 cover the efforts to assist the veterans of World War I to settle back into New Zealand society and economy. Chapter 3 deals with the scope of the rehabilitation programme and the administrative arrangements established for its delivery, while Chapters 4 and 5 examine the components of the programme and the extent to which Maori veterans benefitted. The major focus is on land settlement. Chapters 6 to 11 cover the rehabilitation of the Maori veterans of World War II and subsequent conflicts, Chapter 6 deals with rehabilitation policy and, especially, the debate over how rehabilitation assistance might be best be made available to Maori veterans; Chapter 7 discusses with the forms of rehabilitation assistance and compares the outcomes for Maori and all other ex-service personnel; Chapter 8 focuses on a key component of the rehabilitation programme, namely, settlement on the land; while the final three chapters examine specifically the settlement of Maori veterans. A final chapter offers a set of conclusions.

Economic rehabilitation after the Korean War

New Zealanders deployed on active service overseas after the conclusion of the Korean War have been regular military personnel for whom successive governments considered it unnecessary to offer economic rehabilitation services. Archives New Zealand holds a small number of files that deal with rehabilitation after 1970: a check disclosed that they did not contain any information or data of value for this investigation. Rather, they dealt with proposals to establish a Ministry of Disability and proceedings of the War Pensions Medical Trust Board. And the award of research grants.

Chapter 1: Maori military service in New Zealand to 1897

1.1 Introduction

It was not until the advent of World War I that the Crown in New Zealand assumed responsibility for the rehabilitation or economic re-establishment of those who had served, voluntarily or otherwise, in its armed forces. New Zealand's nineteenth-century colonial governments were interested primarily in enhancing the colony's internal security. To that end, they enlisted men in a range of military and paramilitary forces, rewarded service, established defensive settlements, pacified 'disturbed districts,' cultivated close relationships with supportive iwi, and punished 'rebellious' iwi. Nevertheless, four major developments with respect to the formation and composition of New Zealand's armed forces emerged, namely, the growing reliance on domestic rather than imperial forces, the gradual move from volunteer corps and militia to permanent military forces, the liberalising of participation by Maori in the colony's armed forces, and the shift from domestic security to responses to foreign threats and engagement in foreign conflicts. Chapter 1 will explore those developments briefly and examine the Crown's practice of rewarding service through grants of land and award of pensions. It will suggest that the former was less about rehabilitation than it was about extending and defending the frontier of settlement, but that in the latter may be discerned the beginnings of the comprehensive rehabilitation programmes implemented in the wake of both World Wars and subsequent conflicts.

1.2 Existing literature

There is an extensive literature dealing with the New Zealand wars of the nineteenth century. It is not proposed to do more here than note that a few of the authors touched on the matters of concern to this inquiry, namely, whether any efforts were made to rehabilitate those Maori who served the Crown, either formally as members of military units or more informally as 'kupapa' or 'loyalists' or 'Queenites.' More

generally, Ashley Gould noted that military or soldier settlements were established, beginning with the Fencibles around the southern approaches to Auckland in the 1840s, and those established during the 1860s, primarily in the Waikato and Taranaki. But he also recorded that some veterans of the New Zealand Wars obtained free grants of confiscated land on their discharge from imperial regiments, locally raised militia, and kupapa contingents; adding that ‘Many did not take up their sections, preferring instead to sell their land scrip.’³ In his *Kupapa: the bitter legacy of Maori alliances with the Crown*, Ron Crosby focused on the nature of the relationship between iwi and the Crown, the reasons some iwi elected to support the Colonial Government, and the outcomes for Maori, although he did record that the Crown awarded grants of land to members of both the Te Arawa Flying Column and the Whanganui Native Contingent. Such awards, he suggested, were intended to create ‘buffer’ communities, in turn part of wider programme of large-scale land confiscation, road building, and settlement intended to protect settler communities and to contain ‘rebellious’ iwi.

1.3 New Zealand’s wars: from imperial to colonial forces

After 1840, the security of New Zealand’s growing Pakeha population depended largely upon British imperial forces. Nevertheless, during the internal wars of the 1840s and from 1860 to 1872, some iwi and individual Maori supported or fought alongside the Crown. During the Northern War, Tamati Wake Nene and other rangatira of the Hokianga and Waimate districts joined with the Crown against Hone Heke, Kawiti and their allies.⁴ Imperial troops, together with colonial militia and volunteers, opposed Maori during the conflicts in Taranaki (the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers) and the Waikato (Auckland militia and volunteer units) between 1860 and 1864. The subsequent efforts of imperial troops to prohibit men and supplies from reaching the Kingitanga, together with the arrival in the Bay of Plenty of Pai Marire, led to the East Coast wars of 1865-1868. Generally characterised as a period of civil and inter-tribal warfare, for the colonial Government the burden of the fighting fell

³ Ashley Gould, ‘Soldier settlement,’ in Ian McGibbon, editor, *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. Auckland, Melbourne, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.498.

⁴ Ron Crosby, *Kupapa: the bitter legacy of Maori alliances with the Crown*. Auckland: Penguin Group New Zealand, 2015, pp.37-38.

upon the Armed Constabulary, described by Ryan and Parham as New Zealand's 'first national army in all but name.'⁵ Initially a military force, the Armed Constabulary was established in October 1867 as part of the Weld Ministry's policy of 'self-reliance' initiated in late 1864 and in response to the planned withdrawal of the bulk of the imperial forces by the close of 1867. It was that force, assisted by Ngati Porou, Te Arawa, and elements of Ngati Kahungunu, all of whom discerned in Pai Marire a threat to their autonomy, that confronted and defeated the Pai Marire forces drawn from a number of East Coast iwi.

The conclusion of the Waikato War allowed the Crown to redirect its attention to another major source of resistance, namely, south Taranaki and Whanganui where the followers of Pai Marire confronted both other Maori and settlers. The imperial army was deployed to the district in early 1865, moving north from Whanganui to the Waingongoro River, the last phase of the conflict being Chute's punitive expedition. Some 270 Maori, the Whanganui Native Contingent, formed a major component of Chute's 620-strong force that ravaged south Taranaki during the first months of 1866.⁶ They were promised land in recognition of their service. Two major conflicts followed, namely, Titokowaru's war in south Taranaki during 1868 and 1869, in which Titokowaru's forces confronted regular troops, Forest Rangers, colonial volunteers, and Maori troops under Te Rangihwinui. The second was Te Kooti's war of 1868 to 1872, in which Arikirangi Te Turuki Te Kooti and his followers were pursued by the Armed Constabulary and men drawn from Ngati Porou, Te Arawa, Ngati Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata, Ngati Tuwharetoa, and Whanganui.

1.4 Enlisting Maori

As the imperial forces were withdrawn from New Zealand, the colonial authorities relied on the Armed Constabulary, volunteers, and militia, and established alliances with receptive iwi, initially offering to the latter arms and supplies, and subsequently

⁵ T. Ryan and W.T. Parham, *The colonial New Zealand wars*. Wellington: Grantham House, 1986, p.165.

⁶ David Green, 'Chute, Trevor,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

establishing Maori military units, enlisting men, and deploying the forces where required.

1.4.1 Volunteers and militias

Unofficial volunteer units were established in New Zealand from an early date but were disbanded upon the passage of the Militia Ordinance of 1845. In that year a House of Commons select committee proposed the establishment in New Zealand of a ‘mixed’ militia of Pakeha and Maori and the creation of a ‘permanent Native force.’⁷ Under the Militia Ordinance 1845, short-lived militias were formed in Auckland, Wellington, and Nelson. The Auckland Militia supported imperial forces during ‘Hone Heke’s Rebellion,’ while the Wellington Militia participated in the actions against Te Rangihaeata. Also involved were the Te Aro Volunteers and ‘friendly natives’ of Te Aro.⁸

By section 7 the Militia Ordinance of 1845, Maori were excluded from participation in militia formations. A large number of units were formed under the Act. The Native Force Act 1847 did envisage the possibility of a Maori force, the Preamble recording if and when ‘a body of troops for the Queen’s service may be raised ... either wholly or partly from Her Majesty’s subjects of the Native race,’ that it would be subject to the Mutiny Act. The Colonial Defence Act 1862 authorised the formation of the first colonial regular force, of a maximum of 500 men, ‘whether of the Native race or Europeans.’ By July 1863, units had been established in Auckland, Hawke’s Bay, New Plymouth, Otago, Wairarapa, and Wellington. A total of 375 men had been enrolled by November 1863. The Auckland Division saw service during the conflicts in the Waikato and in the Bay of Plenty. Maori were eligible to enrol. Table 1.1 sets out the militia corps, both embodied and not embodied by 1863.

⁷ ‘Mounted police,’ *New Zealander* 18 July 1846, p.2.

⁸ ‘Port Nicholson news,’ *New Zealander* 27 June 1846, p.3.

Table 1.1: Militia and volunteers corps embodied and not embodied, New Zealand, 1863

Designation	Militia or volunteer	Date of formation	Total strength
<i>Embodied</i>			
Taranaki Militia	Militia	October 1855	80
Auckland Rifle	Volunteers	November 1858	233
Auckland Naval	Volunteers	April 1860	43
Taranaki Rifle	Volunteers	February 1859	193
Whanganui Rifle	Volunteers	June 1860	115
Wellington Rifle	Volunteers	June 1860	96
Nelson Rifle	Volunteers	June 1860	312
Marlborough Rifle	Volunteers	March 1861	98
Canterbury Rifle	Volunteers	October 1860	159
Otago Rifle	Volunteers	December 1860	33
Whanganui Cavalry	Volunteers	June 1860	22
<i>Not embodied</i>			
1 st Battalion, Auckland	Militia	April 1860	1297
2 nd Battalion Auckland	Militia	April 1860	390
3 rd Battalion Auckland	Militia	April 1860	732
Taranaki	Militia	October 1855	344
Whanganui	Militia	April 1860	296
Wellington	Militia	April 1859	1136
Nelson	Militia	-	1835
Napier	Militia	-	221
Marlborough	Militia	-	138
Canterbury	Militia	-	756
Otago	Militia	-	-

Source: AJHR 1863, A6, p.7

As tensions between Maori and settlers rose in Taranaki during the 1850s, Parliament enacted a new measure, the Militia Act 1858. It repealed the Militia Ordinance of 1845 (which had not provided for the establishment of volunteer units) and made fresh provision for the formation and regulation of militias and for the formation of volunteer units or corps. By section X, Maori were again excluded from participation. But the Militia Acts of 1865 (section VI) and 1870 (section VIII) defined as liable to serve ‘all male inhabitants of New Zealand between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five,’ although Maori were exempted unless specifically called. Similarly, the Volunteer Force Act 1865 empowered the Governor to ‘accept the services of any persons desiring to be formed under this Act into a Volunteer Corps ...’ while grants

of land were introduced to encourage enrolment.⁹ Over the period from about 1860 to 1872, the Volunteer Corps expanded from three infantry corps to 129 corps of artillery, cavalry, infantry, and engineers. By 1871, some 8.2 per cent of New Zealand's Pakeha males aged between 15 and 24 were volunteers, a proportion that slowly declined until 1906 by which time it had risen to about eight per cent.¹⁰

During the 1870s, Maori evinced growing interest in enlisting in the Volunteer Force. The first wholly Maori corps was the Thames Native Rifle Volunteers (established by Maori in 1874), although John Crawford noted that individual Maori also served in some units and that some corps included 'special Maori sections.'¹¹ The North Canterbury Mounted Rifles, for example, included a Maori section led by Maori officers.¹² The Corps was reorganised during the 1880s, largely in response to the Russian 'scares' of 1878 and 1885. Maori corps were formed, while Maori sections were formed in other units. As Governments sharply cut defence expenditure, most Maori Volunteer corps were quickly disbanded, the major exception being the Wairarapa Mounted Rifles.¹³ The latter was a company within the Wellington Mounted Rifles (1899 to 1907), and was based at Papawai near Greytown. The Volunteer Corps served in the South African War (1899-1902), and expanded rapidly during that time, however under the Defence Act 1909 it was transformed into the New Zealand Territorial Force. According to Crawford, some 1,200 Maori served as volunteers between 1864 and the abolition of the New Zealand Volunteer Force in 1910, although he noted that that number did not include those Maori with anglicised surnames.¹⁴

⁹ For the origins of citizen soldiering in New Zealand, see Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the land: a study of British policy and racial conflict in New Zealand, 1832-1852*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, Historical Publications Branch, 1968.

¹⁰ John Crawford, 'The Volunteer Force and its place in colonial society,' in Brad Patterson, Richard S. Hill, and Kathryn Patterson, *After the Treaty. The settler state, race relations and the exercise of power in colonial New Zealand. Essays in honour of Ian McLean Wards*. Wellington: Steele Roberts Publishers, 2016, pp.149 and 151.

¹¹ John Crawford, 'Volunteer Force,' in McGibbon, editor, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, p.568. See also John Crawford, 'New Zealand,' in Ian F.W. Beckett, editor, *Citizen soldiers and the British Empire, 1837-1902*. London and New York: Routledge, 2016, pp.121-138.

¹² Crawford, 'The Volunteer Force and its place in colonial society,' p.153.

¹³ 'Maori in the armed forces,' in McGibbon, editor, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, pp.301-302.

¹⁴ John Crawford, 'New Zealand,' in Ian F.W. Beckett, editor, *Citizen soldiers and the British Empire, 1837-1902*. London and New York: Routledge, 2016, p.133. The source was the Capitation Rolls of Volunteer Corps, 1860-1911 held by Archives New Zealand under AAYS 8790 ARM41.

1.4.2 'Special' forces

During the 1860s, 'special' or irregular forces were formed to support the regular troops. According to Burnett, in 1860, a small (and short-lived) 'native auxiliary force' was formed for service in Taranaki. He also noted that in March 1865, the Weld Government established a native corps, the Whanganui Native Contingent that, under the leadership of Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui played, as recorded above, a key role in Chute's south Taranaki campaign of 1865-1866. An 1866 report entitled the 'Effective state of the colonial forces' recorded that the 'Patea Native Contingent' had a roll of 72 men and that 92 men of all ranks were to receive land in the Patea district for services at Opotiki and during the West Coast campaign.¹⁵ Burnett noted the importance of distinguishing these organised and enrolled units from kupapa, that is, Maori who informally supported or lent assistance to the forces of the Crown.¹⁶ Dreaver went so far as to describe the units led by Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui and Rapata Wahawaha as 'the colonial government's greatest military assets ...'¹⁷

1.4.3 The New Zealand Armed Constabulary

An 1846 ordinance provided for the establishment and maintenance of an armed constabulary force open to 'fit and able men ... for preserving the peace, and preventing robberies and other felonies, and apprehending offenders against the peace.' Such a force was established, at least in Auckland: in May 1846 the *New Zealander* reported that a mounted police unit was to be established in the 'Waitemata district.' It was to comprise 60 men of whom 12 were to be Maori. 'The latter selection, we presume to be an experiment by the instructions from the Home Government, in consequence of the resolutions of the Committee of the House of Commons on New Zealand Affairs last year.'¹⁸ A few months later, the same journal

¹⁵ *AJHR* 1866, A5.

¹⁶ R.I.M. Burnett, 'Kupapas,' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 74, 2 1965, pp.227-230. See also, Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata whenua: an illustrated history*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015, pp.269-270, and 281. A return of the arms and ammunition issued to 'friendly Natives' between the end of June 1869 and the end of March 1870 distinguished between 'kupapa' and formal military units, the latter including the Whanganui Native Cavalry, the Arawa Native Contingent, and the 'Field Force Natives' of Hawke's Bay. See *AJHR* 1870, D13.

¹⁷ Anthony Dreaver, 'Te Rangihwinui, Te Keepa,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

¹⁸ 'Bay of Islands. Mounted police,' *New Zealander* 16 May 1846, p.2.

recorded unease among settlers over the inclusion of Maori and opposition to the apparent propensity on the part of the 'Home Authorities' to 'make experiments ... even though they relieve us from the pecuniary liabilities which such experiments may involve.'¹⁹

A review of New Zealand's defence requirements was conducted in March 1865. It proposed the establishment of an armed constabulary force. Given what F.A. Weld termed 'the futility of any expectation on the part of the Colony that Imperial troops will be retained in New Zealand unless upon terms which it is impossible for the Colony to accept,' the Government adopted that recommendation and established 'an armed Constabulary Force' comprising 1,350 Pakeha and 150 Maori and divided into 30 companies each of 50 men. Weld went on to record that there were in addition ordinary militia and volunteer forces numbering 6,165 men in the North Island, and some 4,000 military settlers some of whom would remain liable for service over the following 18 months.²⁰

The Armed Constabulary Act 1867 thus created a body, comprising 'fit and able men whether Europeans or of the Native race,' intended to serve as the core around which militia, volunteers, 'loyalist' Maori, and provincial police forces could respond to threats to internal security and stability. The 1867 Act repealed both the Colonial Defence Force Act 1862 and its 1863 amendment, and the Colonial Defence Force was subsequently disbanded, so that the Armed Constabulary was New Zealand's sole permanent force until the passage of the Defence Act 1886. But it also provided that, under section 10, all the provisions of the Military Pensions Act 1866 – but not the Acts governing land grants to naval and military settlers – applied to the Armed Constabulary. It was during the last phase of the conflicts with 'rebel Maori' and in support of the Armed Constabulary that Maori played a prominent role, especially in the final effort to track and capture Te Kooti. Men of Te Arawa and Ngati Porou confronted Te Kooti at Ngatapa in January 1869, while Ngata Porou, Kahungunu, and Whanganui confronted him at Te Porere in October 1869. Hill recorded that until

¹⁹ 'Mounted police,' *New Zealander* 18 July 1846, p.2.

²⁰ *AJHR* 1865, A1, pp.6-7.

1874-1875 the Native Contingents worked alongside the Armed Constabulary rather than being formally part of it.²¹

It was early in 1868, as 'rebel' Maori threatened Opotiki, that the Government decided to raise a force of up to 150 men of Te Arawa. An 1869 return showing the strength of the Armed Constabulary, Militia, and Volunteers 'on active service and pay' listed Henare Potae's Native Contingent of 42 men, and at Patea 184 men of the Ngati Porou and Whanganui Mounted Natives. Another 120 Maori were listed as serving in Taranaki, while 75 men of Te Arawa served in the Armed Constabulary.²² The Te Arawa Flying Column, with Gilbert Mair commanding No 1 Company and George Preece, No.2 Company, was formed in March 1870.²³ In 1873, Gilbert Mair recorded that until end of 1872 the Column had been 'constantly employed on expeditions after Te Kooti ...' Preece, who similarly described himself as 'Captain Commanding Native Contingent,' gave the average strength of his unit as 93 men of all ranks, including four mounted and 42 foot privates.²⁴

After 1870, and especially following the abolition of provincial councils and governments in 1876, the central government moved to establish a national force, the New Zealand Constabulary, with two operationally separate units, a police branch and 'field force.' Most Maori remained in the latter. By 1886, all remaining Field Force troops had been withdrawn from the 'Native districts,' and the Government, under the Defence Act 1886, established two independent bodies. The Field Force of the Constabulary Force was transformed into the Permanent Militia, while the Police Force Act 1886 established the New Zealand Police Force.²⁵

²¹ Richard Hill, 'Armed Constabulary,' in McGibbon, *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, p.34.

²² *AJHR* 1869, D12. Henare Potae, a determined opponent of Pai Marire, joined with Rapata Wahawaha: armed by the Government, they collected a force and enjoined battle with the Hauhau during 1865 and subsequently participated in the pursuit of Te Kooti. See Steven Oliver, 'Potae, Henare,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

²³ For Mair, see Paula Savage, 'Mair, Gilbert,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Preece was a captain in the New Zealand Militia and a sub-inspector in the Armed Constabulary.

²⁴ *AJHR* 1873, H14A, pp.1 and 5.

²⁵ Richard Hill, 'Armed Constabulary,' in McGibbon, *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, p.34.

1.4.4 The Militia Act 1870 and the Defence Act 1886

The Militia Act 1870 (section 6) provided that the militia would consist of all the male inhabitants of the colony aged between 17 and 55 years who had resided in the colony for at least six calendar months. Section 8 provided that ‘the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand and every person descended from an Aboriginal Native and living as a member of a Native tribe or community shall ... be exempt from training and service in the New Zealand Militia,’ although such exemption could be suspended. The Defence Act 1886 consolidated and amended the law relating to the militia, volunteers, and the permanent militia. Section 16 provided the militia ‘shall consist’ of all males, ‘including Natives,’ aged between 17 and 55 and who had been resident in New Zealand for six months. By section 20, the Governor in Council could exempt ‘all or any Maoris living in any district or part of a district ...’ Section 38 provided all existing volunteer corps were deemed to have been formed and enrolled under Act: the matter of eligibility was left undefined. Section 73 empowered the Crown to ‘cause a sufficient number of fit and able men, whether Europeans or Natives, to be embodied from time to time to serve as a permanent Militia Force in and throughout the colony or beyond the limits thereof, for resisting the common enemy, putting down rebellion, quelling disturbances, and preserving the peace.’ By section 80, all officers and constables of the Armed Constabulary were deemed to have been appointed to the permanent militia.

1.4.5 Auckland Libraries database

In 2006, Auckland Libraries launched a database, the Armed Constabulary of New Zealand 1867-1871 on its website.²⁶ It included the names of 3,281 men who served in that force between 1867 and 1871. Subsequently, the names of 12,710 men who served in the Militia and Volunteers over the period from 1863 to 1871 were added. The expanded database, the New Zealand Militia, Volunteers and Armed Constabulary 1863-1871 database, contains some 16,000 names, although it should be noted that some men served in both the militia or volunteers and the Armed Constabulary. The militia included those established in Auckland, Hawke’s Bay and

²⁶ www.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz These notes are taken from that site.

Taranaki, while corps included those of local artillery volunteers, cavalry volunteers, engineer volunteers, naval volunteers, rifle volunteers, light horse, forest or bush rangers, and military settlers.

The database is searchable. The term ‘Maori’ yielded the names of 1,260 men who served in the Militia and Volunteers, and 440 who served in the Armed Constabulary. It is clear that both totals include a number of Pakeha and thus require adjusting. The *raw* data suggest that Maori made up 9.9 per cent of those who served in the militia and volunteers over the period from 1863 to 1871, and 13.4 per cent of those who served in the Armed Constabulary over the period from 1867 to 1871. Maori constituted about 14 per cent of New Zealand’s total 1874 population. Most of those who served in the Armed Constabulary were drawn from Te Arawa and Ngati Porou (and enrolled in Divisions 8 and 9), although some of Nga Puhi also served. Those who served in the Militia appear to have been drawn from a wider group of iwi that included Ngati Kahungunu and Whanganui.

1.5 Military settlers

The establishment of military settlements was a long-established approach to containment, the maintenance of security, and pacification. As noted above, the first such settlements in New Zealand were founded by the Fencibles around Auckland in the late 1840s. In 1863 it was proposed to establish some 100 military settlements in the Waikato, Taranaki, Hawke’s Bay, Whanganui, and Manawatu districts by awarding grants of land to those who had served in the campaigns against Maori. In the House of Representatives on 3 November 1863, Fox confirmed the Government’s intention to establish villages ‘held upon a certain description of military tenure by men armed and prepared to defend themselves, in various parts of the colony, in such positions as the government may think it most advisable to locate them.’ The Government planned to introduce up to 6,000 men, and to supplement them with 15,000 mainly agricultural labourers recruited in the United Kingdom, and ‘to be located in a similar manner in other parts of the rebellious districts.’ In all, some

20,000 men and their families would be settled in the Auckland and Taranaki districts.²⁷

Prominent among the military settlers were the four Waikato militia regiments: they established settlements at Tauranga, Pirongia (Alexandra), Kihikihi, Cambridge, Bay of Plenty, and Kirikiriroa. Other units established settlements in Taranaki, Whanganui, and Hawke's Bay. As noted above, the Te Arawa Flying Column and the Whanganui Native Contingent were rewarded with (or more accurately, perhaps, paid) with free grants of land, their settlement also envisaged as fulfilling the same function as the Pakeha military settlements.

1.6 Encouraging and rewarding service with land

Free grants of land were thus a common method in New Zealand of rewarding and paying for military service. Initially, under regulations issued in 1851 by the Imperial Government, grants of land were made available to those persons who retired from the Imperial Army. Under Governor Grey's Land Regulations (section VII) of March 1853, grants of land were made 'for the purpose of settling in the disturbed portions of New Zealand; and also to those who had been engaged in actual warfare in New Zealand against the Crown's enemies.'²⁸ Clauses 37 and 38 of the land regulations issued by the Auckland Provincial Government in March 1855 provided for grants of 400 acres to commissioned officers; 80 acres to non-commissioned officers above the rank of corporal or the naval equivalent; 60 acres to other non-commissioned officers or their naval equivalent; 40 acres to private soldiers, marines, and seamen. Further provisions were contained in the Auckland Provincial Council's Naval and Military Scrip Act 1856 and the Auckland Waste Lands Act 1858 and, in turn, they were extended to the Provinces of New Plymouth and Wellington (including Hawke's Bay) by the Waste Lands Act 1858. Under the Nelson Waste Lands Regulations of 1856, lands could be granted to those who had retired from the army or navy and who desired to settle in the province.²⁹ Section XV of the Waste Lands Act 1858, in order

²⁷ 'House of Representatives,' *Daily Southern Cross* 4 November 1863, p.4.

²⁸ *AJHR* 1911, H21, p.1.

²⁹ See W.R. Jourdain, *Land legislation and settlement in New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1925, pp.22-23.

to encourage the settlement of naval and military settlers throughout the North Island provided for free grants of land to Naval and Military Officers ... and every non-commissioned officer and private, Marine, and Seaman ...’

Between 1860 and 1877, Parliament passed a large number of Acts that dealt with the granting of lands to those who participated in New Zealand’s internal wars. Thus the Volunteers’ Land Act 1865 was intended to ‘encourage Volunteering and to reward Volunteers and Militiamen for service in the field’ by granting ‘remission certificates’ for use in the purchase of land, £30 for officers ‘or efficient volunteers’ after five years’ service and £5 for those ‘after six months’ service in which time he shall have been actually engaged against the Queen’s enemies’ and up to £5 for every subsequent six months of such active service.

Table 1.2: Acts dealing with land grants to veterans of the New Zealand wars, 1860 to 1877

Title	Year
Naval and Military Settlers Act	1860
Taranaki Settlers Relief Act	1860
Hawke’s Bay Naval and Military Settlers Act	1861
Naval and Military Settlers (Marlborough) Act	1861
Auckland Waste Lands Act Amendment Act	1862
Colonial Defence Force Act	1862
Colonial Defence Force Act Amendment Act	1863
Wellington and Hawke’s Bay Naval and Military Settlers Act	1863
Taranaki Naval and Military Settlers Act	1865
Volunteers Land Act	1865
Volunteers Land Act Amendment Act	1867
Taranaki Naval and Military Settlers Act	1867
Naval and Military Settlers Act	1869
Volunteers Land Act Amendment Act	1873
Volunteers and Others Land Act	1877

Source: AJHR 1911, H21, p.4

Table 1.3 sets out the details of the land grants issued. In the Auckland (especially) and Taranaki Provinces, land grants issued to naval and military settlers made a useful contribution to settlement.

Table 1.3: Land grants issued to naval and military settlers by provinces as at 1911

	Auckland	Taranaki	Hawke's Bay	Wellington
No. of persons	4272	1190	108	466
No. of rural sections	5963	1227	121	475
Area of rural sections	217105	84597	7489	36871 ²
No. of town sections	3451	116	100	116
Area of town sections	2911	114	25	

¹ In addition in Nelson Province, money certificates were issued to 38 persons for a total of £5,370 and Crown grants issued for those certificates.

² Includes town sections.

Source: AJHR 1911, H21, p.4

1.6.1 Investigating claims

Several investigations were conducted into claims for scrip or land lodged by naval and military personnel. They offer some limited insight into the efforts of some Maori to secure such grants. Table 1.4 sets out the investigations, the claims admitted, and the amounts awarded.

Table 1.4: Naval and military settlers: claimants admitted and sums awarded, 1872 to 1896

Investigations	Claimants admitted	Amount awarded (£)
1872	700	13645
1882	119	3630
1886	234	7440
1889-1892	921	42567
1896	110	3485
Totals	2084	70767

Source: AJHR 1911, H21, p.4

The first investigation was that conducted in 1872 by the Taranaki Provincial Government. In 1882 the Naval and Military and Local Forces Land Claims Commission was charged with examining all applications. It investigated 1,582 claims: Maori did not feature among those whose claims were recommended, but the

claim lodged by W.H. Taipari of the Thames Native Volunteers was rejected.³⁰ The 1882 investigation was conducted by Haultain, Fulton, and Bunny, while in 1886 Gudgeon and Crowe conducted another investigation. In 1889 a select committee was appointed to consider and report upon all petitions relating to claims for grants of land by naval and military settlers and by volunteers. The petitions had emanated from claimants under the Naval and Military Scrip Act 1856 (Auckland), under various statutes relating to those who had retired from the army and navy to settle in New Zealand, from the Forest Rangers, members of the Colonial Defence Force, and volunteers claiming under the Volunteers' Land Act 1865. The committee took evidence from, among others, T.W. Gudgeon as chairman of the Naval and Military and Local Forces Land-claims Commission of 1886.³¹

In 1890, claims lodged under the Naval and Military Settlers' and Volunteers Act 1889 were investigated. Section 2 of the Act defined those to whom the Act applied and appears to have included those Maori who served with the forces of the Crown. In 1891 the Naval and Military Claims Committee considered some 1,000 claims of both former soldiers and volunteers. A return of all those who had claimed under the Naval and Military Settlers' and Volunteers' Acts of 1889 and 1891 did not contain the names of any Maori.³²

1.6.2 Maori petition

In 1894 several petitions were presented by Maori seeking grants of land in connection with military service. Paranihi Tukoko and four others sought a grant 'in reward for military services rendered during the Waitara War of 1860.'³³ Rangitane similarly sought a grant of land as a reward for their services during the period 1866-1868. The submission recorded that 'Some of the Native contingents who fought at the same time have had land awarded to them for their services,' but acknowledged that Rangitane had failed to submit their claim by the date specified by the Naval and Military Settlers' Act 1860.' The Native Affairs Committee recommended that the

³⁰ *AJHR* 1882, H17, p.19.

³¹ *AJHR* 1889, I7.

³² *AJHR* 1891, Session II, I6 and I6B; and 1892, H36, H36A, and H36B.

³³ *AJHR* 1895, I3, p.3.

petition be deemed a claim and that it should be dealt with together with all other claims for military service.³⁴ Hohepa Te Poki and 206 others also sought a grant of land in recognition of ‘their loyalty during the Taranaki War.’ It, too, was referred to the Government for consideration.³⁵ These three claims were referred to the Government ‘for consideration with other military claims.’ The McKerrow Commission, appointed in 1897, considered 2,095 claims, but the published returns made no reference to the claims of the Maori petitioners. The result of these various investigations was that 7,692 persons received £70,767, scrip for £5,730 was employed to purchase land, and Crown grants totalling 349,112 acres were issued.³⁶

1.6.3 The 1910-1911 inquiry

The last investigation into claims for scrip or land grants was that conducted in 1910-1911. In November 1909, the New Zealand Veterans’ Association, on behalf of 183 veterans of the wars of the 1860s, petitioned Parliament for military pensions of 10s per week in lieu of the old-age pension. A report prepared by the Chief of the General Staff noted that some 4,200 members of the colonial forces received the New Zealand War Medal.³⁷ Ngata took a particular interest in the membership (including the Pakeha officers) of the Native Contingent, but, it was discovered, most of the records had been destroyed some 12 years earlier, some in the sinking of the *White Swan* in June 1862. The Maori officers were, however, named as Captain Te Wheoro and Lieutenants Kukuta and Whakaeti.³⁸ Te Wheoro (later known as Wiremu Te Morehu) had been appointed a captain in the colonial militia by General Cameron in 1863. In 1873, as a major, Te Wheoro and 60 Ngati Maho served as armed constabulary in response to Te Kooti’s decision to settle in Tokangamutu.³⁹

³⁴ *AJHR* 1895, I3, p.4.

³⁵ *AJHR* 1895, I3, p.6.

³⁶ *AJHR* 1911, H21, p.4. For the Naval and Military Land Claims Commission, see ANZ Wellington ACGT 18536 Record Group LS65; for the McKerrow Commission, see *AJHR* 1898, H13.

³⁷ Chief of the General Staff to the Minister, Defence 22 December 1909, in ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1/602/aj D1910/3088. The file contains a copy of the petition.

³⁸ ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1/602/aj D1910/3088.

³⁹ See Gary Scott, ‘Te Wheoro, Wiremu Te Morehu Maipapa,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

In March 1911, Cabinet decided against taking any action, but a second petition was referred to the Public Petitions Committee.⁴⁰ Included was one Maori veteran of the Native Contingent, Noi Kau Napoi.⁴¹ A second petition also included the name of Takarangi Mete Kingi of the Native Contingent. As a result of the second petition, magistrates in 23 centres throughout the country were directed to inquire into claims preferred for naval, military or volunteer service. Among the centres were Russell, Rotorua, Whangarei, and Whanganui. A total of 629 claims was received, chiefly from Auckland, Gisborne, Napier, and New Plymouth: 568 were rejected, 39 were recommended for consideration, and 22 were sent to ‘other courts.’⁴² The definitions of those considered eligible to make claims included those who had enlisted under the Colonial Defence Force Act 1862 and thus included Maori. But no Maori were among those whose claims were admitted, while the claims of nine, namely, Piriaka Hohepa, Perepe Tapiana, and Te Matahaere of the ‘Arawa Friendlies,’ Haenga Hone, Haare Mokena, Riwai Tamarauaruhe, and Rewi Tamihana of the Native Regiment, Paerau Ngarori of the Native Constabulary, and Mate Ngahie of the ‘Special Corps’ were rejected. The service undertaken by those men was described as ‘not within’ or ‘not provided for in Acts,’ the same note being appended to claims lodged by some Pakeha members of the Armed Constabulary.⁴³ It is worthwhile noting here that the first ‘Native Contingents’ were disbanded upon members refusing to serve under the bounty system of payment (that is, by results): their replacements, the contingents under Mair and Preece ‘operated as and with the Armed Constabulary, but were not formally embodied under it.’⁴⁴ Further, once Te Kooti had found refuge in Te Rohe Potae, the two contingents were engaged in road-making (and paid lower rates than their Pakeha counterparts), rather than in ‘active service.’ It was not until 1874-1875 that the 92 remaining members of the Native Contingents were incorporated into the Armed Constabulary (in which they were termed the Native Armed Constabulary).⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *AJHR* 1910, I2, p.3; 1911, I1, p.3; and 1911, I2, p.7.

⁴¹ A copy of the petition can be found in ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1/602/aj D1910/3088.

⁴² *AJHR* 1911, H21, p.5.

⁴³ *AJHR* 1911, H21. The eligibility criteria are set out on pp.5-6.

⁴⁴ Richard S. Hill, *The colonial frontier tamed. New Zealand policing in transition, 1867-1886*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, GP Books, 1989, p.63.

⁴⁵ Hill, *The colonial frontier tamed*, pp.78-79.

1.7 Granting land to Maori

It was noted above that the men of Te Arawa and Whanganui were awarded land in recognition of their service to the Crown. The following section deals in some detail with the Ohiwa block, but rather less is known about the allocation to Maori on Ngati Ruanui's land on the West Coast.

1.7.1 *The Ohiwa block*

The Ohiwa block formed part of the Bay of Plenty confiscation area. In June 1868, the Minister of Defence instructed Tauranga's Civil Commissioner (H.T. Clarke) 'to engage a party of the Arawa to occupy a post at Ohiwa,' that is, some 60 men for a term of two years. The consideration would be a grant of land not exceeding 25 acres per man on completion of term. All the so-called 'surplus land' at Ohiwa would be made available for the purpose.⁴⁶ The garrison was expected to afford protection from 'Uriwera' Maori. The 'Acquittance Sheet' for the period from 1 October 1870 to 28 February 1871 listed a total of 63 men. The estimated cost of the garrison for 12 months of almost £1,410 reinforced the Government's desire to recompense the men by way of grants of land. In that same month, February 1871, Tauranga surveyor H.L. Skeet was directed to subdivide Ohiwa into suburban and rural allotments (Map 1.1).⁴⁷

Almost six years later, in November 1876 and as the men of Te Arawa were about to be 'struck off pay,' Tauranga's Civil Commissioner (H.W. Brabant), under pressure from Taupo Te Hura, pressed the Native Department's Under Secretary to arrange for an allotment of the sections. No explanation for what appears to have been an inordinate delay following subdivision was located in the files consulted. In May 1877, Opotiki's Resident Magistrate, George Preece, was directed to 'superintend' the allocation, each man to receive a five-acre and a 20-acre section, apart, that is, from a 100-acre section for Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke, and a 40-acre section for each of

⁴⁶ J.C. Richmond, Colonial Defence Office to H.T. Clarke, Civil Commissioner, Tauranga 29 June 1868, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/91/55b. See also *AJHR* 1868, A8A, p.20.

⁴⁷ Civil Commissioner, Tauranga to H.L. Skeet, Tauranga, 21 February 1871, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/91/55d.

Taupo Te Hura and Hoani Ngamu.⁴⁸ The sections were to be grouped according to the four hapu involved, namely, Ngati Kereru, Ngati Riko, Uenuku Kopako, and Rangiteaorere.

In October 1877, Preece, after consulting Wi Maihi, Hoani Ngamu, Hori Taupo, and Hoani Karaka, allotted the sections, although incurring some objections in the process.⁴⁹ It was quickly apparent that a good many of those who were allocated sections wished to sell, largely it seems to meet the costs of proceedings in the Native Land Court sitting at Ohinemutu, not to the Crown for its 'usual insignificant price' of £1 per acre but privately for prices expected to range between £1 and £11 per acre.⁵⁰ Almost a year later, in August 1878, Preece urged the Under Secretary of the Native Department to issue the scrip so that those who wished to sell might do so. He noted that about 12 of 60 men were expected to settle on their allotments.⁵¹ The veterans themselves continued to press for their 'certificates,' at the same time wondering if the fate that had befallen Ngati Toa awaited them, namely their deaths before any promise was fulfilled. Perhaps, Tamati Hapimana suggested, 'we are to be treated in the same manner.'⁵² In December 1879, grants were issued, but Pollen (Native Minister for a short time in 1877) and John Sheehan (Native Minister 1877 to 1879) decided to impose restrictions on alienation, largely to facilitate the Crown's effort to acquire the allotments. In July 1879, Under Secretary Lewis had suggested to Sheehan that the grantees should have the right to alienate without having to secure the approval of the Governor. The matter appears to have been considered by the Cabinet but a decision fell victim to the fall of the Grey Ministry in October 1879.⁵³

⁴⁸ Under Secretary, Native Department to Resident Magistrate, Opotiki 3 May 1877, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/92/55d. For Te Rangikaheke, see Jennifer Curnow, 'Te Rangikaheke, Wiremu Maihi,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

⁴⁹ For a lengthy report on the process followed, see Resident Magistrate, Opotiki to Under Secretary, Native Department 10 October 1877, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/92/55d.

⁵⁰ Committee of the Military Force under the command of Captain Wiremu Maihi Rangikaheke to Native Minister 9 October 1877, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/92/55d.

⁵¹ Resident Magistrate, Opotiki to Under Secretary, Native Department 27 August 1878, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/92/55d.

⁵² The reference was to a 5,000-acre block that the Government had apparently promised Ngati Toa. The promise had not been fulfilled and many of those concerned had died. See Tamati Hapimana and others, Tauranga to Under Secretary, Native Department 14 November 1878, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/92/55d.

⁵³ For a list of those to whom the Crown grants were issued, see ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/91/55b.

As a result of the evident dissatisfaction on the part of those who had served as members of the Ohiwa garrison, Brabant was asked to report. H.W. Brabant was Tauranga's Resident Magistrate and Native Officer for the Bay of Plenty. He recorded that Wi Maihi and 60 other men of Te Arawa had agreed to establish a garrison at Ohiwa 'to keep the Uriwera [*sic*] tribe in check.' The men had served two terms for the second of which they had been paid in cash. For the first term they had been offered grants of land without any restrictions on alienation. In his view, 'they are as much entitled to ... [the land] as the European militia, who served under a similar condition.' The land, he suggested, was poor and most of the men had returned to their homes, so that 'tying it up really means depriving them of the reward promised them for their services.'⁵⁴ Under Secretary T.W. Lewis conveyed those views to Native Minister Bryce, noting the Government's intention to purchase the land and had thus maintained the restrictions to preclude piecemeal alienation. He concluded by indicating that 'I have no doubt the Natives feel that they are treated differently from the Pakeha mily [military] settlers & it is difficult to make them see that it is for their good.'⁵⁵ Why he considered that the Crown was better placed to assess their 'good,' he did not explain.

In August 1882, Native Minister Bryce reversed his predecessor's decision and, as applications were received, routinely recommended that the Governor lift the restrictions. By March 1885, 45 of the original 124 owners had sold their allotments privately. At that stage the Crown was considering the purchase of the remainder at 10s per acre.⁵⁶ Some of the owners pressed to have the restrictions on alienation lifted. Thus Tamati Ngaheke petitioned Parliament seeking permission to sell his 25 acres, in the process challenging the imposition of restrictions on alienation that had not been applied to Pakeha military settlers. The Native Affairs Committee proposed that the Crown purchase the allotments although, it suggested, that 'the simple plan seems to be to remove the restrictions to [*sic*] alienation and let the owners sell in the

⁵⁴ Resident Magistrate, Tauranga to Native Minister 4 July 1882, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/91/55b.

⁵⁵ Under Secretary, Land Purchase Department to Native Minister 13 July 1882, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/91/55b.

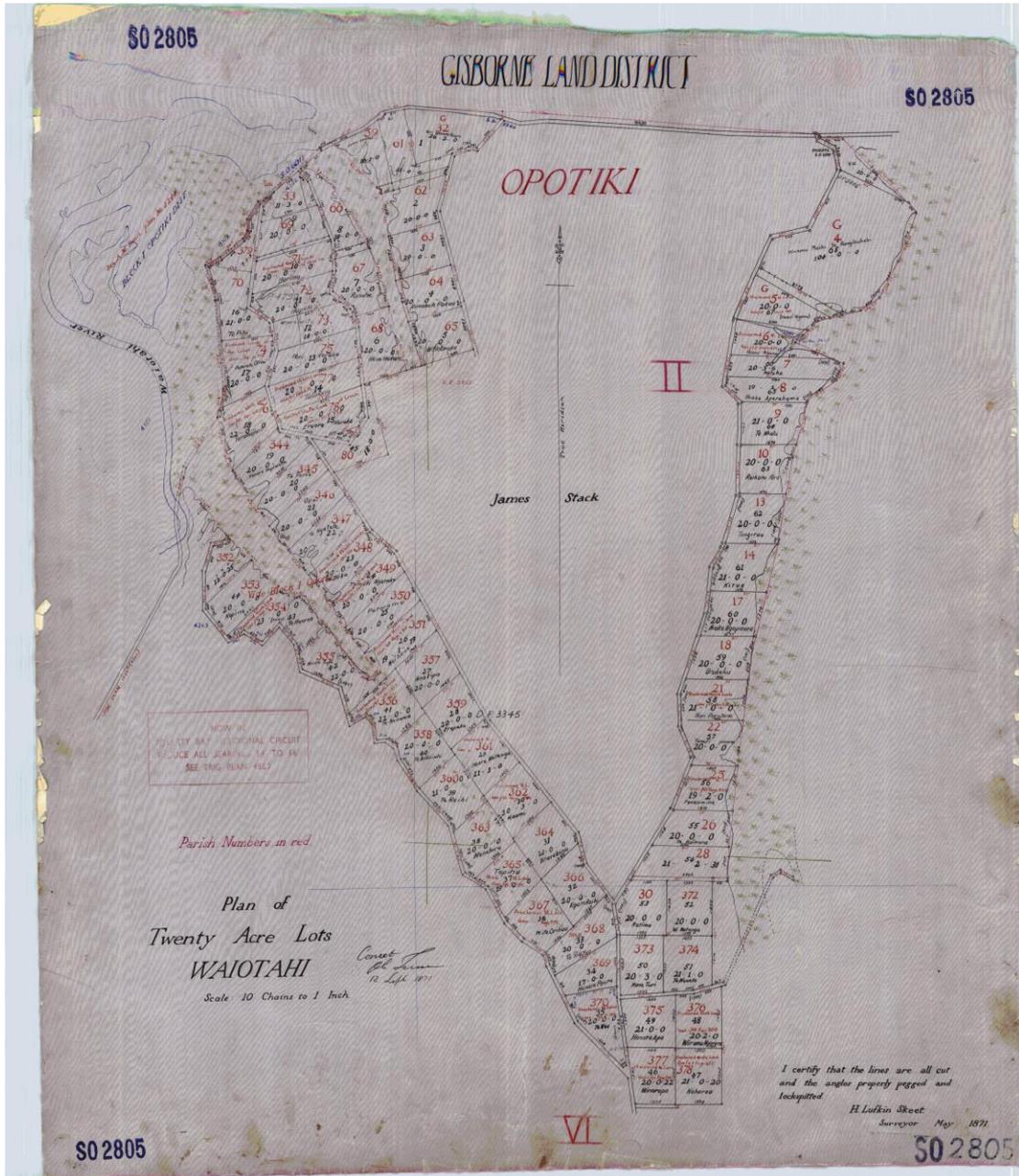
⁵⁶ Under Secretary, Land Purchase Department to Native Minister 2 April 1885, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/91/55a.

open market.⁵⁷ The petition was referred to the Government, but it remained more concerned to acquire allotments. As Minister of Native Affairs from 1884 to 1887, John Ballance refused to lift the restrictions, the Crown seeking rather to purchase the allotments. In July 1886, for example, it declared 27 allotments to be lands of the Crown, in August 1888 a further eight allotments, and in July 1889 another two.⁵⁸

In short, after an unexplained delay of years, the men of Te Arawa who had established a garrison at Ohiwa, finally secured their Crown grants, only then to learn that restrictions on alienation had been imposed, contrary to the terms under which the original agreement had been made. Although the Crown claimed that such restrictions were in the interests of the grantees, it is more likely that they better served the Crown's interests, allowing it to secure the allotments without private competition. The granting of the Ohiwa allotments constituted part of the effort of the colonial authorities to facilitate and protect Pakeha settlement while containing and pacifying those iwi suspected of 'rebellious' intent. Importantly, the grants imposed the cost of the garrison on those Maori whose lands had been confiscated and thus allowed the Government to conserve its cash resources at a time when its revenues were under growing pressure.

⁵⁷ AJHR 1885, I2, p.17. A copy of the petition can be found in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16046 MA13/91/55a.

⁵⁸ 'Native lands acquired by Her Majesty to be Crown lands,' *New Zealand Gazette* 36, 1 July 1886, pp.778-781; 46, 23 August 1888, pp.900-901; and 45, 18 July 18889, pp.787-788.



Map 1.1: The Ohiwa Block, Parish of Waiotahi, May 1871 (SO 2805)

1.7.2 The Patea lands

The lands apparently awarded to the Whanganui (or Patea?) Native Contingent proved more difficult to identify and to establish whether any grant was made. What is known is that in 1869 the Minister of Defence thanked Te Keepa for his services and assured him that the Government would give them the land of the ‘rebels’

provided that they occupied it.⁵⁹ One map was located (Map 1.2): the words Native Contingent appear on that area of Ngati Ruanui's lands stretching inland from the coast between the Waingongoro River and the Waihi Stream west of Hawera, that is, on part of the confiscated lands that lay between the Waitotara River and New Plymouth. The 57th Regiment, proceeding along the coast from Whanganui, reached the Waingongoro River in 1865 and constructed redoubts on each side of the river's mouth. According to an 1867 return, land had been allotted to 200 of the Native Contingent 'on certain conditions of military service, and about fifty of these are in actual occupation of their land.'⁶⁰ The lands to the south of Hawera and the Tangahoe River appear to have been allocated three units, namely, the Whanganui Yeomanry Cavalry, the Forest Rangers, and the Taranaki Militia Volunteers & Mounted Corps. Crosby recorded that the Whanganui Native Contingent assisted in the effort to displace Ngati Ruanui from its coastal settlements in the full knowledge that the Crown proposed to reward them with land. 'And for once,' he observed, 'the Colonial Government adhered to its promises of rewards – which is probably no great surprise as it had not had to buy the land it used to reward the Native Contingent.'⁶¹ He went on to note that the Native Contingent soldier-settlers provided a military buffer.

In 1916, Pomare claimed that Maori in Taranaki who fought 'their own kith and kin' were rewarded by the Crown with four-acre grants. The sections being insufficient to live on, the Maori veterans did not occupy the sections and hence adjoining Pakeha farmers used the land for depasturing stock. He went on to claim that those farmers subsequently claimed prescriptive rights over the sections in question. But he also added that the veterans concerned appear to have received cash, although the monies had been entrusted to 'a certain major to dispense,' a matter on which Pomare declined to enlarge.⁶²

There are indications in the archival record of other Maori having been awarded grants of land. In 1925, for example, Maui Pomare inquired whether a grant of land located within the Waikato confiscation area had been made to Te Katipa Awarahi for services rendered during the 'Maori Wars.' In that instance, a search of the Deeds

⁵⁹ ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1/81/ao CD1869/2471.

⁶⁰ AJHR 1867, A16.

⁶¹ Crosby, *Kupapa*, p.298.

⁶² See also 'Land for Maori soldiers. Scheme by Native members,' *Auckland Star* 14 July 1916, p.7.

Office and of Crown grant records failed to disclose any record.⁶³ The matter, nevertheless, suggests that grants of land as a reward for service were not limited to the Ohiwa block or to the West Coast confiscation area.

1.8 Supporting veterans: pensions

Provision for payment to Maori for services rendered to the Crown appears to have been made first in the Thomas Walker Nene's Annuity Act 1847, otherwise known as Tamati Waka Nene's Ordinance.⁶⁴ The Ordinance provided for the payment of an annual *annuity* of £100 to Thomas Walker Nene 'for the term of his natural life.' Section 4 empowered the Governor 'to pay to and amongst such other chiefs who aided in suppressing the late rebellion in the North, and in such proportions as to him seem meet, any sum not exceeding one hundred pounds per annum.' An 1868 return recorded that Nene was paid not £100 but £200, Governor Grey having increased the annuity for 'Services rendered during the war with Heki in 1845.' The same return listed 11 others among whom £268 was distributed in varying amounts.⁶⁵ By the time of Nene's death in August 1871, a total of £4,933 had been paid.⁶⁶ Whether such payments can properly be described as pensions or whether they were intended to secure continued loyalty is at least debateable.

The first provision for the payment of *pensions* to veterans appears to have been made in 1849 in 'An ordinance to authorize the payment of pensions to certain persons in consideration of the injuries received by them while acting with or in aid of Her Majesty's forces.' The provision applied to 'every such person who may have been so wounded' during the 'late rebellion in the northern part of this Province ...' Subsequently, section 9 of the Militia Act 1858 provided for the payment of pensions to a militiaman 'so seriously wounded or otherwise injured, when on Actual Service, as to afterwards impede his obtaining a livelihood ... so long as he shall be so

⁶³ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1357 1925/81.

⁶⁴ For Tamati Waka Nene, see Angela Ballara, 'Nene, Tamati Waka,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

⁶⁵ *AJHR* 1868, D19, p.5.

⁶⁶ Details of payments (amounts and recipients) can be found in *AJHR* B1 and B2.

disabled.’ By section VII of the Militia Acts Amendment Act 1862, pensions were payable to widows of men killed in action. It is possible to discern in section 9 a foreshadowing of one of the major principles upon which the post-1939 rehabilitation programme would be based. What the 1849 and 1858 measures did acknowledge was that the State had a duty to assist or support those injured or incapacitated whilst undertaking military service on its behalf. Between 1861 and the end of March 1887, some £23,569 had been paid to those who qualified. Neither Maori widows nor Maori veterans were included among the lists of those to whom pensions were paid. The Militia Act 1858 referred to training ‘the European population’ in the use of arms. The Militia Act 1865 provided that the militia comprised all the male inhabitants of New Zealand between the ages of 18 and 55, although by section VIII Maori were exempted unless specially summoned. Pensions were still being paid after 1900: in the year to the end of March 1914, one veteran received a pension for wounds sustained.⁶⁷

1.8.1 The Military Pensions Act 1866

The Military Pensions Act 1866 offered more comprehensive provisions for the payment of pensions in respect of service in the ‘colonial forces,’ where ‘colonial forces’ included both Pakeha and Maori who had served under the Crown.⁶⁸ Section VI of the Act set out the pensions and allowances payable: the rates of payment varied according to the degree of disablement sustained and as between Pakeha officers and Maori chiefs, and between Pakeha and Maori non-commissioned officers and privates. The rates for Maori were set at appreciably lower levels. Section VII to XV

⁶⁷ *AJHR* 1914, B1 Part 2.

⁶⁸ There is some evidence that suggests that the Government was familiar with the pension system instituted by the United States Federal Government during the Civil War. Introduced in 1862, the scheme provided for the award of pensions to disabled soldiers, the amount payable varying according to rank and injury. Disability was defined as arising from an injury ‘incurred as a direct consequence of ... military duty,’ or developed subsequently ‘from causes which can be directly traced to injuries received or diseases contracted while in military service.’ Dependents (widows and children) of soldiers killed on active service were also included. Benefits were payable only from the date on which application was made, at least until the passage of the Arrears Act 1879. African-American veterans were eligible from the outset, but some recent studies indicate that they were disadvantaged by the application process, often unable to afford the cost of compliance with all requirements (including supplying the requisite documentation), while all decisions were made by white bureaucrats. The 1862 statutes remained the basis for federal military pensions until the 1890s. See Theda Skocpol, *Protecting soldiers and mothers*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992; and Donald Shaffer, *After the glory: the struggles of black Civil War veterans*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

dealt with widows, children, and dependent relatives. The widows of Maori chiefs were entitled to pensions, but at a lower rate than those payable to the widows of Pakeha officers. On the other hand, the same rate was payable to the widows of both Pakeha and Maori non-commissioned officers and privates. Such pensions were payable where the soldier concerned had been killed in action or had died as the result of a wound within six months of having sustained such wound, or had died of illness 'brought on by the fatigue privation and exposure incident to active operations in the field before an enemy within six months after his being first certified to be ill ...' With respect to gratuities and allowances, section IX of the Act provided for payment to the widows of 'an officer non-commissioned officer or private of the European race,' but the scale specified made provision for such payments to the widows, children, and dependent relatives of Maori killed in action or who died from illness contracted in the field.'

Up to the end of March 1887, almost £58,686 had been paid to veterans and the widows of veterans. Applications for pensions were heard by specially convened three-member 'medical boards.' The proceedings of one such board, convened in 1867 to consider the application of Ropata Korakai of Ngati Whakaue was located: he had sustained a wound on 7 March 1864. The board considered four key questions: first, the probable effects of the wound, described in this case as 'Slight lameness;' second, whether the wound or injury 'received in action' was fully equal to the loss of a limb, in this instance the answer being 'No;' third, whether the wound would preclude the applicant permanently from obtaining a livelihood 'by his own exertions,' the answer again being 'No;' and, fourth, if the injury were temporary, what length of time 'must probably elapse before the applicant can resume his ordinary avocations.' The answer to that last question was recorded as 'Permanent.' The form employed appears to have been that used for all applications. Whether the board's assessment was based on a formal medical examination was not stated.⁶⁹ Ropata Korakai's application was approved, an 1868 return recording that he had been awarded an annual pension of £18 5s for a 'gunshot wound.'⁷⁰ That same 1868 return, recording pensions granted under the Military Pensions Act 1866, recorded that in the year to 30 June 1867 nine widows had been paid pensions: of that number,

⁶⁹ ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1 59 at CD1867/4144.

⁷⁰ *AJHR* 1868, D19, p.4.

seven were Maori. For wounds and injuries, pensions had been paid to 32 recipients of whom 22 were Maori. The amount paid to those 32 averaged just under £21 per person. The ten Pakeha recipients were paid an average of just over £10 per person, while the 22 Maori recipients were paid an average of almost £26 each.⁷¹ An 1871 return, on the other hand, indicated that in the year to 30 June 1879, pensions were paid to 24 widows, of whom ten were Maori, while compassionate allowances were paid to 13, of whom two were Maori. The amount paid to the 24 Pakeha widows averaged just over £29, but that paid to the Maori widows averaged just under £11. For wounds and injuries, pensions were paid to 49 men of whom 13 were Maori: the average paid to the latter was £17.7 compared with the overall average of £23.6.⁷² In short, the 1871 return revealed the expected significant gap between the pensions paid to Maori and those paid to Pakeha.

There is some evidence to suggest that during periods when various governments embarked on retrenchment, pensions paid to Maori veterans were terminated. One such example appears to have been Te Hareti Te Whanarere of Ngati Makino and a member of the Arawa Flying Column. According to Neich, he was badly wounded in both hips during the battle of Te Irihanga Pa in 1867.⁷³ Gilbert Mair recorded that he was awarded a pension at the rate of 1s per day, but subsequently lost it during a period of retrenchment on the part of the Government: he cited the 1870s, when the 1880s seem more likely. Te Whanarere was awarded an old age pension, but was unable to retain it once the Crown expropriated his land at Okere Falls for hydroelectric purposes, once the Native Land Court had awarded him compensation of £60, and once he had withdrawn the funds from the Public Trustee. Mair urged the Government to award him the New Zealand War Medal and a military pension.⁷⁴ The former was granted.

⁷¹ *AJHR* 1868, B1, p.88.

⁷² *AJHR* 1871, B1. It is worthwhile noting that a number of annuities were also granted under special acts, among them the Nixon Pensions Act 1865, the Whitely Pension Act 1869, the Walsh and Others Pension Act 1869, and the Schafer, McGuire and Others Pension Act 1872. Under the New Zealand Cross Endowment Act 1869 (section 8), recipients of the New Zealand Cross were entitled to a pension.

⁷³ Roger Neich, *Carved histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai woodcarving*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001, p.381. For an extended account of the battle, see 'Attack on Irihanga and Whakamarama,' *Daily Southern Cross* 20 February 1867, p.3.

⁷⁴ Gilbert Mair to Adjutant General, Wellington 2 May 1913, in ANZ Wellington AAYS 8661 AD32/15 702.



Map 1.2: Map of the west coast, from the Waingongoro River to the Patea River

What is known is that, under the Military Pensions Act 1866, pensions were paid over a period of many years to comparatively small numbers of Maori and Pakeha widows and veterans. An 1888 return listed 12 widows, including five Maori, and 45 men, including 14 Maori veterans, who were in receipt of pensions. Among the 23 recipients of pensions under the New Zealand Cross Endowment Act 1869 were Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui, for gallantry at Motutoa and Otauto, and Ropata Wahawaha for ‘personal gallantry and devotion at Ngatapa.’⁷⁵

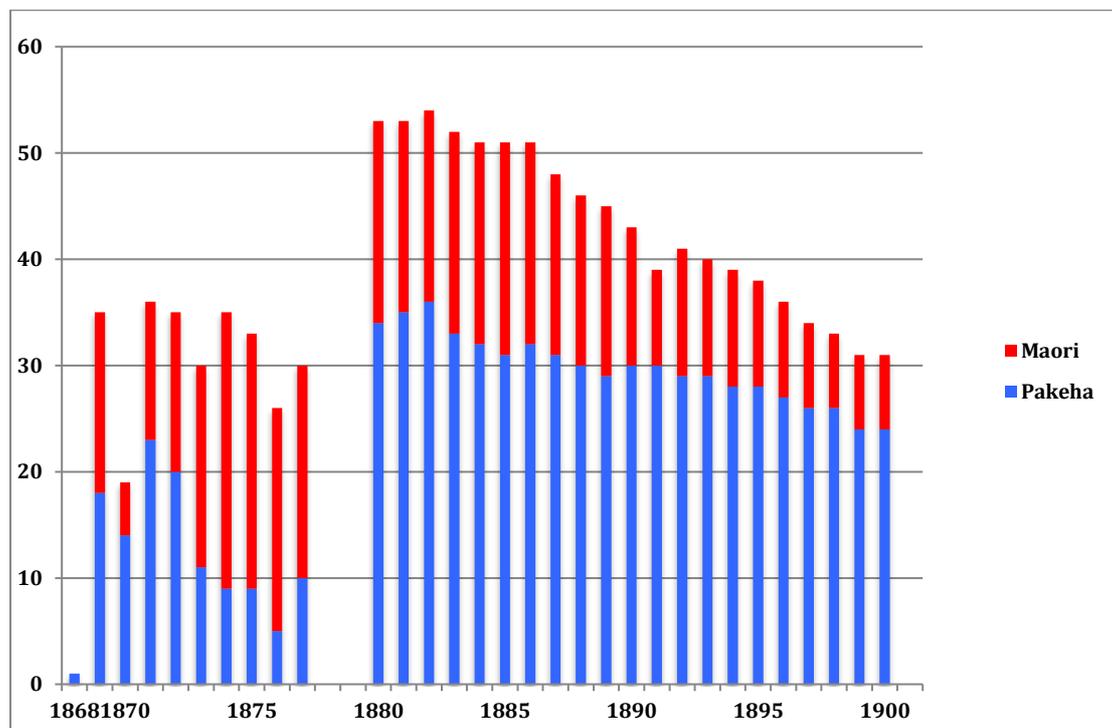
There is some evidence that suggests that Maori who served the Crown as non-commissioned officers and privates did not secure the pensions to which they were entitled under the Military Pensions Act 1866. During the debate on the Military Pensions Bill in 1903, Hone Heke Ngapua took the opportunity to raise matter of payment to Maori veterans of ‘the wars of New Zealand.’ If it were fair, he suggested, that Pakeha who were either injured in action or fell ill while on campaign should receive recognition, ‘why should it not be proper that the Maoris who also took part in those wars should be considered?’ Many Maori, he noted, had supported the Crown but only the chiefs and the prominent men of the iwi involved had secured recognition, ‘but what about the ordinary men ...? Have their services been recognised?’ He noted that many of those Maori who had supported and accompanied the Imperial troops engaged in the assault on Ruapekapeka had been severely wounded but had never received any consideration, that Te Arawa had repeatedly and unsuccessfully petitioned Parliament, not for monetary consideration but for land grants in recognition of the iwi’s services, and that the East Coast Maori who served under Ropata Wahawaha and other rangatira and those who served under Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui had not been accorded any recognition. He thus concluded that ‘if it is right that recognition should be given to the Europeans who took part in the early wars in New Zealand, it was also right for the services of the Maoris to be recognised and provision made for them.’⁷⁶

Graph 1.1 sets out the number of veterans, Maori and Pakeha, who were paid pensions for wounds or injuries. The data for 1880 cover the period from 1 July 1879 to 31 March 1880. The sharp increase in the number of Maori paid pensions between

⁷⁵ *AJHR* 1888, B18, p.6.

⁷⁶ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.126, pp.203-204.

1872 and 1878 was consistent with the increasingly important role that Maori played in the pursuit of Te Kooti, in particular. The sharper contraction in the number after 1880 may well have reflected the generally shorter life expectancy experienced by Maori during the nineteenth century (and beyond).

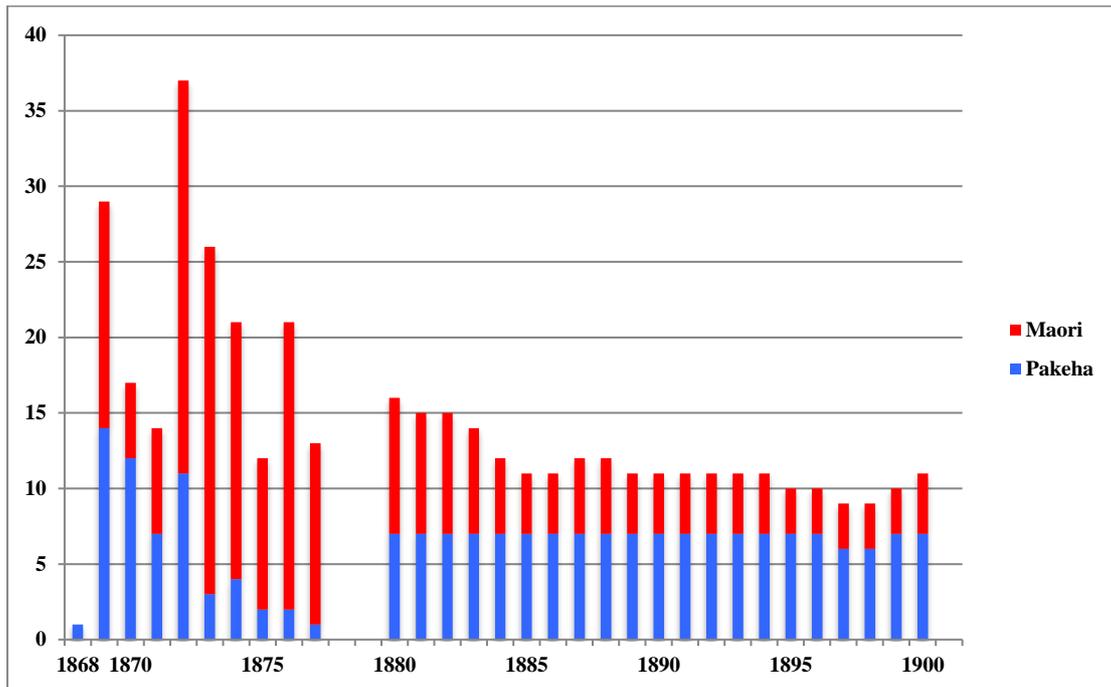


Source: AJHR 1869 to 1900, B Papers

Graph 1.1: Number of pensions paid to wounded and injured men, 1868 to 1900

Graph 1.2 sets out the number of pensions paid to the widows of men killed while on active service. The very sharp increase in the number of Maori widows in receipt of a pension between 1872 and 1878 is apparent and coincides with the equally sharp increase over the same period in the number of wounded or injured Maori soldiers also in receipt of a pension. In addition to pensions, the Crown made available to Maori and Pakeha alike compassionate grants to the widows and to the children of deceased soldiers. In short, the available data, in respect of the number of pensions paid to wounded veterans and to widows and of compassionate allowances, *might* suggest that Maori were treated fairly. The numbers of Maori men and women in

receipt of pensions certainly rose in accordance with what is known about the changes that took place in the distribution of the burden of the fighting, while the apparently faster contraction after about 1880 may, as noted, have reflected their generally shorter life expectancy. What the research failed to disclose is the numbers of Maori and Pakeha soldiers and widows respectively who applied but failed to secure pensions: it is not clear whether it would be possible to do so.



Source: AJHR 1869-1900, B Papers

Graph 1.2: Number of pensions paid to widows of men killed in action, 1868-1900

1.8.2 *The Military Pensions Act 1912*

The Military Pensions Act 1912 provided for the payment of pensions to those veterans of the nineteenth century conflicts who had been awarded the New Zealand War Medal. The Act thus represented a major step towards the award of a military pension as of right, while no distinction was drawn between Maori and Pakeha: section 5 referred to ‘any person who served under the Crown in any of the Maori wars, and has been awarded a medal for active service in any such war ...’ Section 6 specified certain qualifying criteria. An applicant had to have been continuously

resident in New Zealand for ten years prior to submitting an application; during that period not to have been imprisoned for any offence punishable by a term of imprisonment of two years and upwards; and have not deserted or failed to provide for his wife or children. He had to be ‘of good moral character and sober habits,’ while his income for the year immediately preceding date of application for a pension could not exceed £70. Finally, an applicant must ‘not at any time, directly or indirectly, deprive himself of income or property in order to qualify’ for a military pension. Section 8 set the annual pension at a maximum of £36, £10 more than paid as the maximum old-age pension.⁷⁷

Applications had to be lodged with the Commissioner of Pensions. By June 1913, 893 applications had been lodged, including 33 by former members of the ‘Native Contingent.’⁷⁸ A year later, with respect to the Native Contingents, the number of military pensioners on the pension roll stood at 118.⁷⁹ Towards the end of 1913 the Government decided not to recognise further claims beyond the end of March 1914, although – in respect of Maori veterans – that date was extended to 30 June 1914. That was also the last date by which applications for the New Zealand War Medal were accepted. By June 1915, 542 new medals had been issued, including 272 to Maori veterans. By that date, too, 544 old-age pensioners had applied to have their pensions converted to military pensions.⁸⁰ It was clear, by 1915, that the cost of providing the military pensions had been under-estimated: whereas the annual cost had been estimated at £35,000, it approached £45,000. Under section 81 of the Finance Act 1917, military pensioners were granted an additional £13 per annum, provided that a pensioner’s income from all sources did not exceed £200 per annum: that allowance took the total pension to £49 per annum. Under section 9 of the Finance Act 1920, military pensions were increased from £36 to £49 per annum, and then to £58 10s under section 15 of the Pensions Amendment Act 1936.

⁷⁷ Holders of a military pension were entitled to hold also an old age pension.

⁷⁸ Table XIV in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Pensions Department sets out the regiments of the applicants: 248 were from former members of the Imperial forces, and the balance from colonial forces, notably the Armed Constabulary and the New Zealand Militia. See *AJHR* 1913, H18, p.18.

⁷⁹ *AJHR* 1914, H18, p.16. It should be noted that the number of pensions granted to Maori veterans exceeded the number granted to members of the Native Contingents, an indication that Maori also served in other colonial forces.

⁸⁰ *AJHR* 1915, H18, p.4.

Regulations were promulgated under the Act. Regulation 3 provided that

Where a pension claim is signed by a Maori applicant, or by any applicant who is the owner of Native land, there shall be annexed [to the application form] a statement setting forth particulars of any customary rights or interests held in any block of land, whether under defined legal title or Native custom, and such statement shall be deemed to be part of the pension claim to which it is expressed to refer ...

That requirement had been introduced in the Old Age Pensions Act 1898. Section 66 of that Act set out specific rules to guide the assessment of undetermined interests in customary land. Thus, when establishing the ‘income’ of an applicant, a magistrate was required to take into account ‘any customary rights used or capable of being used in respect of land the title to which has not been ascertained, but which is enjoyed or capable of enjoyment ...’ Some evidence indicates that, partly as a result, Maori old age pensioners were paid considerably less than their Pakeha counterparts. The average in 1905 for the former was just over £16 per annum and for the latter £26 per annum.⁸¹ Five years earlier and confronting a much larger number of applications from Maori than had been expected, Treasury proposed that magistrates (responsible for assessing eligibility) pay ‘special attention’ to the matters of age and the property qualification, presumably with an eye to reducing payments.⁸² In 1903, the Government issued instructions to the effect that applications lodged by Maori who owned land and were, ‘from all appearances, not in want,’ were to be vigorously opposed.⁸³ Establishing the value of interests in papatupu land proved to be very difficult, not least since the court was required to establish ‘the net capital value’ of such interests, not, it should be noted, the income such lands may have generated. That remained the position until the passage of the Pensions Amendment Act 1936.⁸⁴ It appears that the courts adopted a rough rule of thumb by which the sum generally granted to a Maori applicant for an old age pension was set at £18, a sum held to be

⁸¹ ANZ Wellington SS7W2756 9/9/1 Part 3, quoted in T.J. Hearn, ‘Maori economic development in Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District c.1885 to c.2006,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.510.

⁸² The registration of Maori births and deaths was not made compulsory until 1913. Under-registration persisted well into the 20th century.

⁸³ This section is based on T.J. Hearn, ‘Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori and the Crown,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2008, pp.461-467.

⁸⁴ On the difficulties encountered, see, for example, Commissioner of Pensions to Minister, Pensions 13 September 1924, in ANZ Wellington SS7W2756 9/9/1 Part 2, quoted in Hearn, ‘Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori,’ p.463.

equivalent to the £26 normally granted to Pakeha applicants. How that equivalence was established and measured is not known. As late as 1937, the Commissioner of Pensions claimed that Maori had ‘a lower living standard than the European and his needs are fewer,’ that in some areas Maori continued to live in ‘communal style, and there can be no guarantee that the pensioner alone benefits from his income,’ and that ‘The fact of a Maori having an income from Government sources is known to lead not infrequently to needy or lazy relatives making their home with him, whether he is living in a Maori community or not.’⁸⁵

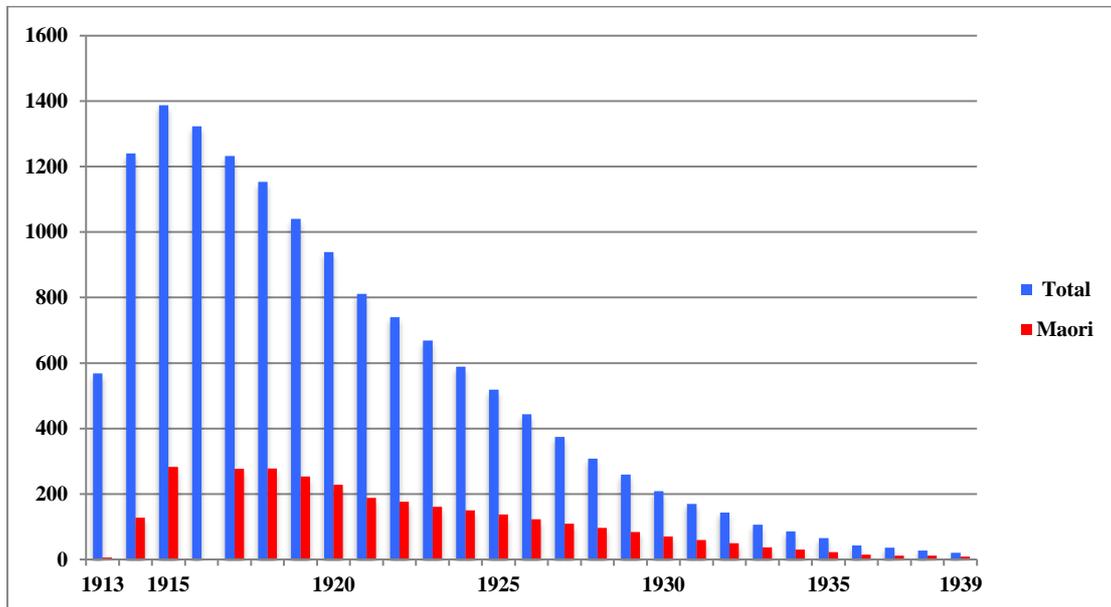
What is not presently known is how the requirements of Regulation 3 of the Military Pensions Act 1912 were implemented and what the implications may have been for Maori veterans. The application forms directed applicants (and their wives) to submit details of all sources of income during the preceding 12 months, including salary and wages, annuities and other pensions, money left by will or legacy, insurance and compensation, interest, rent, royalties, and the value of free board and lodging. Each applicant and his wife were also required to submit details of interests in land and houses, the value of furniture and personal effects, cash held, and all other property, including money lent, and stocks and debentures.⁸⁶ Archives New Zealand holds some 5,100 ‘Maori War’ series files, although it is not clear whether they are of applicants or of those who were awarded pensions. The time available for this inquiry did not allow their examination, but a useful approach might be to take a statistically random sample of 400 files and on that basis prepare a summary analysis. The published data, it should be noted, did not allow any calculation to be made of the average pension paid to Pakeha and Maori veterans respectively.

Graph 1.3 sets out for the period from 1913 to 1939 the total number of ‘Maori War’ pensions in force and the number held by Maori veterans of those conflicts. It is not clear whether the pensions paid to widows were included. Graph 1.3 makes clear that Maori formed a small proportion of the pensions paid. Whether the proportion was consistent with the contribution made by Maori was not established. Hone Heke

⁸⁵ Commissioner of Pensions to Minister, Pensions 18 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington SS7W2756 9/9/21Part 3, quoted in Hearn, ‘Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori,’ p.466.

⁸⁶ ‘Regulations under the Military Pensions Act, 1912,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 9, 6 February 1913, pp.489-491.

Ngapuha’s observations were noted above: no evidence was located to suggest that they were other than firmly grounded.



Source: AJHR 1914-1939, H18

Graph 1.3: Total ‘Maori War’ pensions in force as at 31 March, and number held by Maori, 1913-1939

1.9 Conclusions

Four trends of relevance to the overall purpose of this investigation were identified, namely, a shift away from reliance on imperial to domestic forces; a shift from reliance on volunteer forces to a permanent military force; the liberalisation of participation by Maori in both the volunteer and permanent forces; and a shift from an emphasis on internal security to responses to foreign threats and engagement in foreign conflicts. Concurrently, measures intended to assist those who served the Crown did not advance beyond free grants of land to a substantial group and the award of pensions and allowances to a very small number of veterans and widows of men killed in action. Free grants of land or of scrip that could be sold or employed to purchase land were intended to encourage enlistment or to reward service, with a view, in part, of establishing military settlements and associated communication networks in an effort to contain ‘rebellious’ Maori. The two major grants to Maori, in

the Opotiki and Patea districts, were clearly intended to constitute payment in kind and to serve a military purpose, the sections involved soon passing into settler ownership and amalgamated to form commercial farming units. Only in the award of pensions to men who sustained debilitating wounds and injuries while on active service and to the widows of men killed in action was there some evidence that the Crown accepted a responsibility for the welfare of those who had served.

The evidence suggests that, in terms of the number of pensions awarded, the Crown dealt in a reasonably even-handed manner with those Maori veterans who had sustained wounds and injuries and with the widows of Maori combatants. The number of both types of pension certainly rose as Maori carried an increasingly large share of the burden of fighting during the closing stages of the wars. On the other hand, the pension rates discriminated between Pakeha and Maori, while the widows of Maori did not qualify for the payment of gratuities. Further, the children and dependent relative of those Maori who served the Crown were not eligible for allowances. The fact that the number of pensions paid each year to Maori contracted more rapidly than the number paid to Pakeha may have reflected the generally shorter life expectancy on the part of the former rather than any effort on the part of Government to deny entitlements. Otherwise, in nineteenth century New Zealand, the Crown did not assume any responsibility for economic rehabilitation, whether for Pakeha or for Maori. A comprehensive rehabilitation programme intended to assist the return of veterans to civilian life and to secure economic independence awaited the major conflicts of the twentieth century.

Chapter 2: New Zealand and the South African War: ‘The nation will not be grudging’

2.1 Introduction

Just over 6,500 New Zealanders served in the ten contingents that made up New Zealand’s contribution to the South African War.⁸⁷ In 1900, Seddon declared that those who had volunteered to serve in South Africa ‘were the nation’s care.’⁸⁸ In 1902, W.W. Collins (MHR City of Christchurch) claimed that ‘at every meeting when our contingents were sent away they were invariably promised that the country would remember them, and that they would be well looked after – as well as those dependent upon them ...’⁸⁹ That declaration had specific reference to the welfare of those maimed or permanently injured and to that of widows, orphans, and dependants. Speeches marking the departure of the various contingents dwelt largely on matters of imperial pride and duty, rarely on what support veterans might expect on their return. Attempts would be made to broaden the scope of Seddon’s declaration, but there is little evidence to suggest that the Government considered much less devised a rehabilitation programme beyond the payment of pensions. The terms on which volunteers were engaged dealt with the obligations placed upon them rather than those of the Governments in whose cause they had enlisted. This short chapter explores the efforts made by South African veterans to secure assistance upon their return from South Africa and to secure the same rehabilitation facilities extended to those who served in New Zealand’s forces in World War I.

⁸⁷ Stowers suggested that upwards of another 1,500 New Zealanders served with the Australian, British, and other British colonial forces. See Richard Stowers, *Rough Riders: history of New Zealand’s involvement in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 and information on all members of the ten New Zealand contingents*. Hamilton: R. Stowers, 2002.

⁸⁸ *NZPD* 1900, Vol.111, p.323.

⁸⁹ *NZPD* 1902, Vol.122, p.410. See also ‘Otago ex-contingenters’ club,’ *Otago Witness* 7 October 1903, p.29.

2.2 Maori in the South African War, 1899-1902

Historian Michael King recorded that a large assembly of Maori in Wellington pressed for the formation of a Native contingent to serve in South Africa.⁹⁰ But Maori were formally excluded from this ‘white man’s war,’ although a small number did serve. Iwi traditionally loyal to the Crown, among them Te Arawa, Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Porou, were anxious to participate and many more may have served had Seddon had his way. Gould recorded that in 1900 Seddon proposed sending 299 men, including 100 Maori drawn from the Volunteer Force, an offer that the Imperial Government rejected. In February 1902, Seddon again proposed that 1000 Maori volunteers could be employed so as to free up British troops for service in South Africa, an offer that was similarly rejected.⁹¹ Brooking recorded that at a meeting at Papawai in April 1902, Seddon agreed with Wi Pere that 5,000 Maori would soon end the fighting in South Africa. *The Times* evidently interpreted the speech as suggesting that Seddon would have 6,000 mounted Maori soldiers ready for action within six months.⁹² The notion was at least consistent with Seddon’s imperial bombast. Cowan suggested that ‘numerous men of part Maori and part English blood served in the New Zealand Contingents.’⁹³ Gould identified 18 with a possible further three, while John McLellan extended the number to 35. All but one of the 35 were described as ‘half-caste,’ all carried Pakeha names, and practically all were drawn from the rural districts of the North Island, notably from the East Coast iwi of Ngati Porou, Te Whanau a Apanui, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, and Te Whakatohea.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Michael King, ‘Between two worlds,’ in G.W. Rice, editor, *The Oxford history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, second edition, 1992, p.303.

⁹¹ Ashley Gould, ‘“Different race, same queen:” Maori and the war,’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon, *One flag, one queen, one tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War, 1899-1902*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, pp.121-122.

⁹² T.W.H. *Richard Seddon, king of god’s own. The life and times of New Zealand’s longest-serving Prime Minister*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2014, pp.332-333.

⁹³ James Cowan, *Maori in the Great War: a history of the New Zealand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion: Gallipoli 1915, France and Flanders 1916-1918*. Auckland: Maori Regimental Committee, 1926, p.7.

⁹⁴ John McLellan, ‘Maori and the South African War, 1899-1902: an overlooked presence in a “White man’s war,”’ research essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 2015. An embarkation database can be found on www.nzhistory.govt.nz. The *1945 Census* included a section entitled ‘War service.’ It recorded that ten Maori had served in the South African War, while a further five had served in the South African War and World War I, and one in the South African War and World War II.

2.3 Rehabilitating the troopers

As noted, the Government made few preparations for the return of the troopers from South Africa or for their re-establishment in civil life. Indeed, the evidence suggests that it was not even well prepared to deal with outstanding payments to troopers, that it was not disposed to advise them of their entitlement to a small imperial gratuity (of £5), that it had made no particular preparations to deal with the wounded, sick, and injured, and that it had not anticipated the likely demand for pensions.⁹⁵ Such efforts as it did make, notably in the area of land settlement, were made only after considerable public pressure and then with considerable reluctance.

2.3.1 Land settlement

Whereas colonial governments of the nineteenth century had employed land grants both to encourage and reward military service, no particular arrangements appear to have been made for the veterans of the South African War. Assisting those veterans was a matter regularly raised in the House of Representatives by Joseph Witheford.⁹⁶ In September 1902, he claimed that he and other members were regularly being approached by returned troopers seeking work. ‘The men,’ he claimed, ‘had been induced to come back to the colony on the understanding that they would be the first care of the Government.’⁹⁷ Instead, they were walking the streets while, on the one hand, large areas of Crown and Maori-owned land in the North Island lay idle and, on the other, the Government pursued its ‘questionable policy’ of purchasing high-priced land in the South Island for subdivision and settlement. The Minister of Lands (T.Y. Duncan) insisted that the Government had made no promises to settle troopers on the land ‘or anywhere else.’⁹⁸ Of concern to Witheford were the efforts being made by the Rhodesian and Transvaal Governments to encourage New Zealand troopers to take up land in those states.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ On the matter of the imperial gratuity, see NZPD 1903, Vol.124, p.192.

⁹⁶ Liberal Member of Parliament for Auckland City, 1900-1905.

⁹⁷ NZPD 1902, Vol.122, pp.412-413.

⁹⁸ NZPD 1902, Vol.122, pp.410-411.

⁹⁹ NZPD 1902, Vol.122, pp.544-546.

In October 1902, reports indicated that veterans were experiencing considerable difficulty in finding work, and that some employers at least had failed to honour an undertaking to hold jobs open to employees who had enlisted.¹⁰⁰ Witheford claimed that he had received 130 applications from troopers throughout New Zealand seeking land and insisted that prompt action was required to discourage young men from leaving the country.¹⁰¹ Acting Premier Ward then announced that the Government had had the matter under consideration for some time. 'We recognise it is important,' he claimed, 'both to the colony and the returned troopers to have some of them located on the land.' A scheme already in the hands of the Minister of Lands, would involve 'a very large expenditure ...'¹⁰² The block in question, some 54,000 acres, appears to have been located in the Whanganui district: on the grounds that it was not suitable for a special settlement, the proposal was abandoned.¹⁰³ Witheford thus placed an advertisement in newspapers throughout New Zealand inviting those returned troopers interested in settling in the land to contact him and that he 'will endeavour to facilitate their desires.'¹⁰⁴ He later claimed to have received some 500 responses from veterans.¹⁰⁵

As a trial, the Government did in fact set aside a block of 8,000 acres deemed suitable for a 'special settlement,' although it remained adamant that the best course, and one in the interests of all New Zealanders, was simply to get as much land into the market as possible. In January 1902, a supplement to the *New Zealand Gazette* set out the terms and conditions under which land could be selected in the 'Otanake Special Settlement for Returned Troopers.'¹⁰⁶ Acting under section 163 of the Land Act 1892, the Government had subdivided the block into sections of up to 320 acres each, while not fewer than 36 persons were required to settle on it. Reports suggested that almost 300 veterans applied for the lease-in-perpetuity sections, a ballot being held in

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, 'Advertisements,' *Evening Post* 21 October 1902, p.4; and 'Our boys will be their country's care,' *Otago Daily Times* 31 August 1903, p.3.

¹⁰¹ *NZPD* 1902, Vol.122, pp.936-937.

¹⁰² *NZPD* 1902, Vol.122, pp.941-942.

¹⁰³ For special settlement associations, see the Land Act 1892, sections 163-167.

¹⁰⁴ See for example, 'Land settlement in the North Island,' *New Zealand Times* 26 September 1902, p.4.

¹⁰⁵ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.123, p.377.

¹⁰⁶ 'Regulations for the Otanake Special Settlement Association,' *New Zealand Gazette* 3, 12 January 1903, Supplement, pp.89-90.

Auckland on 12 December 1902.¹⁰⁷ Witheford, who attended, was unhappy over the proceedings: in a telegram addressed to the Minister of Lands, he restated his criticism of the ballot system and went on to remark that:

I felt ... indignant at being identified with so unbusiness-like a policy as offering 36 sections for competition among 500 applicants. If a baker had orders for 500 loaves and baked 36 only for the lot he would be counted a fool; yet this is what the Government are doing ... I trust you will justify the expectations the Premier has raised and that you will yet pull the Government through with flying colours by making waste lands settlement the Alpha and Omega of Ministerial existence. Remember the words uttered by the head of the Government in Parliament on the subject of returned troopers, as follows: – ‘I repeat, sir, that those who have gone to South Africa are the nation’s care. So far as the Government are concerned the nation will not be grudging.’¹⁰⁸

Witheford was not alone in his criticisms, some sections of the press describing the outcome as ‘most regrettable and unsatisfactory ... the more so, because the hopes of the men had been raised by the promises that were made by Ministers, not only when the New Zealand Contingents were starting for the front ... but quite recently, after their return.’¹⁰⁹ Some troopers were also less than happy with the outcome, one insisting that he had ‘no desire to become a Government tenant for “the terms of natural life”... Better facilities for land settlement,’ he added, ‘are offered in South Africa, Argentine, and Canada to strangers and aliens than are offered by the New Zealand Government to its own colonists.’¹¹⁰ The *Manawatu Standard*, noting that Seddon had ‘kicked up a great fuss about setting aside 8000 acres of land as a special settlement,’ claimed that the land in question was almost worthless for the purpose intended.¹¹¹ Trooper A.E. Wylde of Palmerston North secured a section in the block: insisting that ‘it is nothing but starvation to take up such poor land and small sections,’ he unsuccessfully sought the return of half year’s rent and licence fee (in all

¹⁰⁷ ANZ Wellington ADXS 19483 LS-W1/427 22472 contains a number of letters of inquiry.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Land for returned troopers,’ *New Zealand Herald* 13 December 1902, p.6; and *Timaru Herald* 3 January 1903, Supplement, p.1.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, ‘A cruel disappointment,’ *Ashburton Guardian* 22 December 1902, p.2.

¹¹⁰ ‘Conditions of land settlement,’ *New Zealand Herald* 7 January 1903, p.7.

¹¹¹ ‘Fooling the troopers,’ *Manawatu Standard* 10 February 1903, p.4. It is worthwhile noting here that Seddon was under considerable pressure over delays in payments to returned troopers and claims that under his administration the Department of Defence ‘has got into a hopeless muddle ...’ See, for example, ‘Numerous, unscrupulous troopers,’ *Manawatu Evening Standard* 17 January 1903, p.4; and ‘Going upon the land,’ *Evening Post* 10 October 1903, p.15.

£4 11s).¹¹² By 1904, 11 sections were occupied and carrying some improvements, 21 allotted sections remained unimproved, while three had not been taken up at all: ‘At present,’ reported a ranger of the Department of Lands and Survey, ‘the outlook is far from satisfactory.’¹¹³



Source: ANZ Wellington ACGT 18803 LS MISC/89 1398

Map 2.1: Plan of the Otanake Special Settlement

¹¹² ‘The land settlement question,’ *Auckland Star* 11 February 1903, p.2 (Supplement). Witheford was sufficiently unhappy over what he regarded as the Government’s lack of ‘practical action,’ that he pressed to have Duncan removed as Minister of Lands. See *NZPD* 1903, Vol.124, p.496.

¹¹³ *AJHR* 1904, C1, p.9.

On the opening of Parliament in June 1903, the Government claimed that ‘special efforts’ were being made ‘to settle cooperative men and returned troopers on the land.’¹¹⁴ That claim elicited some robust criticism, the *New Zealand Times* suggesting that

some curiosity may pardonably be expressed as to the nature and success of these efforts. So far as returned troopers are concerned, the facts point to a dismal failure, and the efforts appear to have been confined to certain praiseworthy, but ineffectual, endeavours on the part of Mr J.H. Witheford ... to galvanise the Lands Department into action. Scores of returned troopers, sick with hope deferred for twelve months and more, have left our shores for the South African colonies – not because they preferred the latter countries, but solely because they had some assurance of land being made promptly available for selection there, on terms more enticing than those offered in New Zealand.¹¹⁵

For his part, Witheford demanded to know why just 36 sections had been offered to 500 returned troopers seeking land.¹¹⁶ The Government appeared uncertain and certainly unwilling to establish any sort of precedent. Should one trooper be settled, it suggested, some 7,000 more would claim a similar entitlement, while many others throughout the colony would insist that they had a claim as strong as that of the returned troopers.¹¹⁷ The latter claim had some substance.¹¹⁸ The Government thus asserted that it had worked hard to open up land throughout New Zealand and indeed some 3.488 million acres were available for selection.¹¹⁹ Seddon, in fact, claimed that in setting aside the 8,000-acre block, the Government ‘strained the law ...’¹²⁰ What Witheford sought were blocks on which groups of comrade veterans – ten, 20, 30 – could form ‘special settlements.’ He was especially critical of the ballot system on which land was offered, insisting that it precluded the formation of such settlements.¹²¹ The Government insisted that special provision could not be made for returned troopers ‘except by them applying to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland and Taranaki, to join one or other of the improved farm settlements,

¹¹⁴ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.123, p.8.

¹¹⁵ ‘The land policy,’ *New Zealand Times* 21 July 1903, p.4. See also ‘Settlement of the land,’ *Taranaki Herald* 23 July 1903, p.4.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, *NZPD* 1903, Vol.124, pp.493-496.

¹¹⁷ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.123, p.532.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, *NZPD* 1903, Vol.123, p.454.

¹¹⁹ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.123, pp.34-35.

¹²⁰ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.124, p.498.

¹²¹ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.123, p.378.

otherwise they must take their chances with other settlers.’¹²² Witheford continued to press his case, complaining vigorously that the Government was endeavouring to attract immigrants from the United Kingdom by emphasising the availability of two million acres but at the same time insisting that it had not the land available to settle troopers.¹²³ The Government’s answer remained the same, namely, that it had moved to have sufficient land opened ‘to meet all wants.’¹²⁴

2.3.2 Veterans organise

Veterans of the South African War were excluded from the provisions of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915, limited as they were for veterans of the ‘Present War.’ That exclusion appears to have been a major factor in the establishment of local South African war veterans’ associations and the subsequent emergence of a national organisation. Those associations made it clear that they intended to advocate vigorously for the interests of their members. Thus, meeting in Christchurch, in June 1919, the local branch ‘unanimously resolved that the New Zealand men who volunteered and served in the South African War be recognised and have the same privileges as the soldiers returning from the late war.’¹²⁵ Towards the end of September 1919, a petition called for the introduction of legislation that would allow veterans of the South African War resident in New Zealand to participate in the benefits offered by the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915. The Under Secretary of Lands and Survey noted that the request appeared to include veterans who had not enlisted in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force: to extend the provisions of the Act to include all veterans residing in New Zealand seemed inadvisable, he advised, and especially so given the pending extension of the Act to other groups of veterans who had served in World War I.¹²⁶ The Minister decided to postpone consideration of the matter, and the Lands Select Committee declined to make any recommendation on the petition.¹²⁷ The South African War Veterans’

¹²² ‘The land settlement question,’ *Auckland Star* 11 February 1903, p.2 (Supplement).

¹²³ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.126, p.265.

¹²⁴ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.126, p.341.

¹²⁵ ‘Veterans’ Association,’ *Sun* 26 June 1919, p.3.

¹²⁶ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Minister, Lands and Survey 15 September 1919, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹²⁷ *AJHR* 1919, 15, p.2.

Association, various 'ex-contingenters' associations,' and individual veterans continued to press their case.¹²⁸

In Parliament, the claims of the South African veterans were advanced during a 1919 debate on soldier settlement, when it was suggested that both the past and the present Governments had been 'negligent in considering the claims of the South African war veterans,' and that 'even at this late hour,' a clause should be added to the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 'a clause wide enough that men who had served the Empire overseas included the South African veterans.' To that latter suggestion, an unnamed member added 'and the Maori veterans,' by which he meant those who had served in the 'Maori Wars.'¹²⁹ The matter was considered by the Lands Committee, but it decided not to offer any recommendation on a petition that sought legislation 'so that South African veterans resident in New Zealand will be entitled to participate in the benefits of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915.'¹³⁰

On that basis Cabinet elected not to include an appropriate clause in the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Bill of 1919, but supporters pressed the matter during that measure's second reading. It emerged that Cabinet had discussed the issue but decided that the Government's first task was to deal with the veterans of World War I. Only then might 'consideration' be given to veterans of the South African War. Writing to the South African War Veterans' Association of Gisborne, Prime Minister Massey made it clear that veterans would be permitted to participate 'when the bulk of the soldiers from New Zealand who took part in the recent war have been provided with land ...'¹³¹ The Government was clearly of the view that the South African veterans had had ample opportunity during the period since their return to

¹²⁸ See, for example, 'South African veterans. Request for privileges,' *Evening Post* 22 October 1919, p.5; and Secretary, South Canterbury Ex-Contingenters' Association to Prime Minister 1 November 1919, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹²⁹ *NZPD* 1919, Vol.184, pp.146 and 151.

¹³⁰ *AJHR* 1919, I5, p.2. See also *NZPD* 1919, Vol.184, p.1159.

¹³¹ Prime Minister to Secretary, South African War Veterans' Association, Gisborne 6 November 1919, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4. See also 'Political notes,' *Star* 28 October 1919, p.5.

acquire land.¹³² The Government steadily maintained that position in the face of sustained questioning in the House.¹³³

More veterans' associations were formed. Early in 1920, in Dunedin, steps were taken to form an 'Ex-Contingenters' Association,' to include all those who had served the empire prior to World War I, with a view to 'acquiring for themselves some of the benefits that had accrued to soldiers who had served in the late war, particularly under the Land for Soldiers' Settlement Act [*sic*].'¹³⁴ In Auckland, in May 1920, the newly-formed South African War Veterans' Association similarly indicated that it would seek concessions 'as regards land purchase similar to those granted to soldiers who fought in the great war.'¹³⁵ The matter was again raised in the House but the Government's response remained unchanged.¹³⁶ In September 1920, a deputation from the South African War Veterans' Association indicated to Massey that veterans sought 'justice after eighteen years,' specifically the right to participate in the land settlement scheme. The Prime Minister conceded that 'not very much been done' for the veterans, but that 'they had not been forgotten.' Nevertheless, the Government's position remained, suggesting again that once outstanding settlement needs had been met, estimated to involve some 3,000 men, 'Then would be the time to deal with the other claims.'¹³⁷ An effort was made by the Opposition to introduce a clause into the Land Laws Amendment Bill of 1920 with the object of placing South African veterans, with respect to preference at ballots, on the same footing as veterans of World War I. The effort was easily defeated.¹³⁸

¹³² Minister, Lands and Survey to G. Witty MHR 16 October 1919, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹³³ See, for example, NZPD 1919, Vol.184, p.606, 1919, Vol.185, p.920; and 1920, Vol.187, pp.104. and 866.

¹³⁴ 'Ex-Contingenters,' *Evening Star* 16 January 1920, p.7.

¹³⁵ 'South African Veterans,' *New Zealand Herald* 20 May 1920, p.4. See also 'South African veterans. Plea for land benefits,' *New Zealand Herald* 22 May 1920, p.8.

¹³⁶ NZPD 1920, Vol.186, pp.397 and 406.

¹³⁷ 'South African War veterans and land settlement,' *Dominion* 24 September 1920, p.3. See also 'South African veterans and their claims against the Dominion,' *Timaru Herald* 13 October 1920, p.3; and AJHR 1920, I12, p.4.

¹³⁸ See NZPD 1920, Vol.188, p.816; and 'Land Bill passed. Amendments defeated,' *Sun* 23 October 1920, p.3.

A national South African War Veterans' Association was established in 1920 'to give weight' to veterans' claims.¹³⁹ Subsequently, efforts were made to form branches throughout New Zealand, veterans evidently having 'realised that until this was done they had no hope of securing for South African veterans the rights and privileges they were entitled to as returned soldiers.' Once such branches had been formed, the Association 'could go to the Government with the backing of practically every South African veteran in New Zealand ...'¹⁴⁰

2.3.3 A qualified concession

In 1921, a clause was included in the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Bill for what the Minister of Lands described as 'the redemption of a promise ... that when times improved and money became easier we would make provision for the South African veterans.'¹⁴¹ What became section 17 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1921 did extend the provisions of the principal Act 'to any person who, while domiciled in New Zealand, has served beyond New Zealand as a member of any of His Majesty's forces in connection with any war other than the war with Germany.' The wording of the provision attracted some criticism, for any such extension required the issue of a 'Proclamation approved in Executive Council ...'¹⁴² Moreover, by March 1922, 'owing to the financial stringency,' the Government had begun to restrict lending to discharged soldiers, in particular, for the purchase of existing farms.¹⁴³

In the Financial Statement issued in August 1922, the Government noted that section 17 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1921 would be 'given effect to as opportunity arises.'¹⁴⁴ When asked, a few days later, whether any proclamation had been issued, the Minister of Lands insisted that 'The limited amount of money that had been available since last year had all been required for urgent cases

¹³⁹ 'Boer War veterans,' *Evening Post* 18 May 1921, p.10. The Association was formally wound up in 1980, while the last veteran appears to have died in 1982.

¹⁴⁰ 'South African veterans. Branch formed in Hawera,' *Hawera & Normanby Star* 28 May 1921, p.4.

¹⁴¹ *NZPD* 1921-1922, Vol.193, p.818.

¹⁴² *NZPD* 1921-1922, Vol.193, p.835.

¹⁴³ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to S.A. Campbell, Inglewood 16 March 1922, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁴⁴ *NZPD* 1922, Vol.196, p.311. See also *AJHR* 1922, B6, p.xiv.

among the men discharged from the expeditionary forces ...' Given the financial position, he added, 'he could not state any definite time when they would be able to do so.'¹⁴⁵ The same reason was cited for a refusal to grant veterans the right to apply for loans for the purchases of houses.¹⁴⁶ The North Auckland Branch of the South African War Veterans' Association proposed that Crown rural sections that had not been taken up and those that had reverted to the Government should be opened to selection by association members.¹⁴⁷ The Government gave ground slightly, indicating that with the 'special approval' of the Minister of Lands, an abandoned section could be allotted to a South African veteran.¹⁴⁸

It became the practice of the South African War Veterans' Association, following its annual conference, to despatch a deputation to wait on the Government, normally the Prime Minister, and/or the Ministers of Lands and Pensions. In May 1923, Massey complained, to one such deputation, that whereas the Government had hoped to be free of its responsibilities to the soldiers of the Great War, it seemed as if it 'would never get to the end ...'¹⁴⁹ Supporters of the veterans in Parliament tried another tack, proposing the inclusion of a clause in the State Advances Amendment Bill of 1923 that would allow veterans 'the special privilege of borrowing' at 4.5 per cent for houses, stock, farming purposes, and discharging mortgages.¹⁵⁰ The Act made no such provision. On the other hand, section 23 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1923 provided that where any land to which the principal Act applied was disposed of to any person not being a discharged soldier

who while domiciled in New Zealand has served beyond New Zealand as a member of any of His Majesty's Forces in connection with any war other than the war with Germany, or who has served in connection with the war with Germany as a member of any of His Majesty's Imperial Forces, the rate of interest payable in respect of such land by that person in respect of unpaid

¹⁴⁵ *NZPD* 1922, Vol.196, p.692.

¹⁴⁶ *NZPD* 1922, Vol.197, p.361.

¹⁴⁷ 'S.A. War Veterans' Association,' *Northern Luminary* 9 October 1922, copy in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁴⁸ Minister, Lands and Survey to V.H. Reed, MHR, 30 October 1922, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁴⁹ Deputation, South African War Veterans' Association to Prime Minister 25 May 1923, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4. See also 'South African War Veterans. Privileges under the D.S.S. Act,' *Press* 28 May 1923, p.10.

¹⁵⁰ *NZPD* 1923, Vol.201, pp.72 and 384.

purchase-money or of principal shall be the same rate as if he were a discharged soldier within the meaning of the principal Act.

In May 1923, having been informed that the £20 million raised to finance rehabilitation measures had been practically exhausted, Cabinet issued directions to the effect that advances under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 were to be strictly limited to improvements and the purchase of stock. Advances for the purchase of existing farms and for the construction of houses had also been discontinued, responsibility for housing being taken over by the State Advances Office. Nevertheless, in August 1924, the Association again pressed the Government, claiming that financial conditions had improved to the stage at which the Government could fulfil the promise it had made three years earlier.¹⁵¹ In particular, it pressed for the implementation of section 17 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1921. Beyond a vague promise 'to do the best in the circumstances,' Massey had no comfort to offer.¹⁵² It is of interest to note here that the Government rejected an effort by the South African War Veterans' Association to secure rail travel concessions for disabled veterans: that effort followed the introduction of concessions for disabled veterans of World War I. It cited the 'considerable extra expense' involved, although in fact the number likely to have been involved was estimated at fewer than ten.¹⁵³ In 1924, concessions were in fact granted to five veterans of the South African War.

In 1924, the Waipukurau South African Veterans' Association petitioned for 'the right to ballot for land under the same conditions as apply to those who served in the Great War.' The petition was referred to the Government 'for consideration,' but section 113 of the Land Act 1924, dealing with preference at ballots for Crown section, included among those who qualified 'Applicants who have served beyond New Zealand as members of a New Zealand Expeditionary Force raised for military service in connection with the war with Germany.'¹⁵⁴ By that stage, applications for

¹⁵¹ Deputation, South African War Veterans' Association to Prime Minister 31 July 1924, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁵² 'War veterans. South Africans' conference,' *Stratford Evening Post* 31 July 1924, p.8; 'South African war veterans. Request for pensions,' *Otago Daily Times* 1 August 1924, p.8; and 'S. African veterans. Equal benefits wanted,' *New Zealand Herald* 1 August 1924, p.11.

¹⁵³ Minister, Railways to J.A. Colledge, Pukekohe 7 September 1923, in ANZ Wellington ADQD 17422 W2476 1919/1176/3.

¹⁵⁴ *AJHR* 1924, I12, p.4.

sections under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 were no longer being considered except in very exceptional cases, blocks of land otherwise being open for general selection. Moreover, it was clear that the Government was not prepared to consider re-opening applications so long as the commitments that would arise out of the work of the Dominion Revaluation Board had still to be established.¹⁵⁵ Massey advised the Association that any proclamation issued under section 17 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1921-1922 would necessitate further borrowing, a step, given the 'liberalised provisions' of the State Advances Act 1923 (section 2), it was not prepared to take. In any case, the Government was not disposed to make facilities available to veterans of the South African War that were no longer available to the veterans of World War I.¹⁵⁶

The matter was raised again during the Association's 1925 conference, and in 1926 the Minister of Lands undertook to have an amendment to section 113 of the Land Act 1924 drafted: section 113 dealt with the matter of preferences at ballots for Crown sections. The intention of the amendment was to grant South African veterans 'a preference equal to that enjoyed by discharged soldiers under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act.'¹⁵⁷ The amendment was enacted as section 18 of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1926. Beyond that concession the Government was not prepared to go, least of all setting apart blocks exclusively for selection by South African veterans at a time when many young men too young for service during World War I were waiting to secure a section. The Government's unwillingness to offer any further concessions also reflected a desire not to repeat the mistakes it discerned in the land settlement programme initiated in 1915. Still, in 1928, the Association decided to ask the Government to 're-open' the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act or, in the alternative, to set aside a sum of money under the Advances to Workers' and Settlers' Act for the benefit of veterans 'on the same conditions as the D.S.S. Act.'¹⁵⁸ For

¹⁵⁵ Minister, Lands to Prime Minister 12 November 1924, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁵⁶ Prime Minister to President, South African War Veterans' Association 18 November 1924, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁵⁷ Minister, Lands to President, South African War Veterans' Association 30 June 1926, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁵⁸ 'South African War. Conference of veterans,' *Evening Post* 30 August 1928, p.19. See also 'Ex-servicemen. Problems of employment. Plea for South African veterans,' *Press* 10 December 1929, p.16. A remit seeking 're-opening' was again considered by Association's conference in 1931. See 'African veterans. Opening of conference,' *Auckland Star* 23 September 1931, p.9.

reasons not explained, the Association does not appear to have set great store by section 18 of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1926. In 1930, the Association concluded that, with respect to land settlement, representations over 20 years had failed to yield a result.¹⁵⁹ ‘The South African veteran,’ complained the Association’s president, ‘seems to be nobody’s child.’¹⁶⁰ The 1929-1930 Ex-Soldiers’ Rehabilitation Commission recommended that those veterans fitted by training, knowledge, aptitude, and the possession of some capital should be assisted to take up land.¹⁶¹ The Government appears to have elected not to act on that recommendation. A search of the *New Zealand Gazette* for the period from 1920 to 1940 indicates that no relevant proclamations were issued.

2.4 Pensions for South African War veterans

The arrangements entered into between the Imperial and Colonial Governments dealing with the commitment of New Zealand troops to the South African War did specify that the former would pay ‘wound pensions and compassionate allowances at Imperial rates.’¹⁶² The available records indicate that those pensions, modest as they were, were awarded. For its part, the Liberal Government appeared reluctant to make provision for wounded veterans, although it was prepared to retain in full pay until they had recovered the wounded, sick, and injured and to consider the award of a lump sum to those permanently maimed. Under growing pressure, the Government subsequently moved to extend the Military Pensions Act 1866 to South African veterans. By the Military Pensions Extension to Contingents Act 1900, veterans were entitled to pensions for wounds or injuries received whilst on active service, while widows, widowed mothers were also entitled, in defined circumstances, to an annual pension, and dependant children to an allowance.¹⁶³ By section 4 of the Act, such

¹⁵⁹ ‘War pensions desired. South African veterans,’ *Auckland Star* 9 June 1930, p.10. See also ‘Land settlement. South African Veteran’s request. Minister sympathetic,’ *Dominion* 30 August 1929, copy in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Veterans’ pensions. South Africa War,’ *New Zealand Herald* 25 September 1930, p.14.

¹⁶¹ *AJHR* 1930, H39, p.17.

¹⁶² *AJHR* 1900, H6K, p.1.

¹⁶³ It should be noted that volunteers had been required to be single and had signed declarations to the effect. The Act listed all those who (1) had enrolled in New Zealand; (2) those who had been sent to South Africa ‘in connection with the contingents’ and subsequently enrolled in the contingents or in any imperial force, and (3) New Zealanders enrolled in the New Zealand contingents in South Africa.

pensions and allowances were payable irrespective of any awards made by the Imperial Government. Graph 2.1 sets out the number of veterans who, year by year, were awarded pensions on account of wounds. The maximum number was 77, reached in 1905: that was a small proportion (1.1 per cent) of the estimated 7,000 New Zealanders who served in the South African War. Graph 2.2 sets out the number of pensions awarded each year to the widows and relatives of South African veterans over the period from 1901 to 1914: rather more were granted to relatives than to widows.

In 1903, the Government acknowledged that those South African veterans whose health had been impaired and those who had been permanently injured otherwise than in action could receive neither pensions nor gratuities. The outcome was the Military Pensions Amendment Act 1903: it extended the rights to pensions and allowances to all persons named in the schedules to the Military Pensions Extension to Contingents Act 1900 and the Military Pensions Acts of 1901 and 1902. That it took three years to amend the Act of 1900 elicited considerable criticism.¹⁶⁴

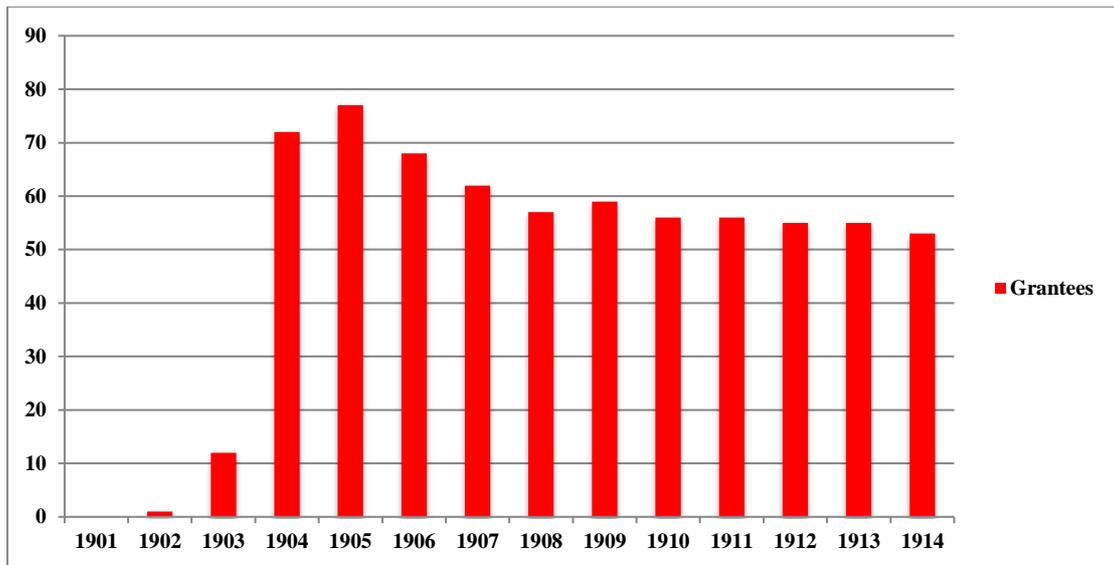
The New Zealand contingents sustained 234 deaths, mostly from disease (chiefly typhoid, pneumonia, and dysentery). Fifty-nine men were killed in action, 11 died of wounds, and 25 were accidentally killed.¹⁶⁵ McLellan recorded the deaths of three Maori who served in the South African War. Thomas Withers died of enteric fever in South Africa; Robert Parker died two years after the war from tuberculosis contracted while in the field; and Walter Callaway died in 1926 from problems arising from an injury (and subsequent illness) sustained at the Battle of Witkop in July 1901.¹⁶⁶ A fourth was Trooper A Waata Kendall.¹⁶⁷

The Act of 1900 covered the first five contingents. The Military Pensions Act 1901 extended the provisions to the Sixth and Seventh Contingents, while the Military Pensions Act 1902 extended them to the Eight, Ninth, and Tenth Contingents. In each case, the names of the volunteers were specified.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, *NZPD* 1903, Vol.124, p.156; and 'Otago ex-contingenters' club,' *Otago Witness* 7 October 1903, p.29.

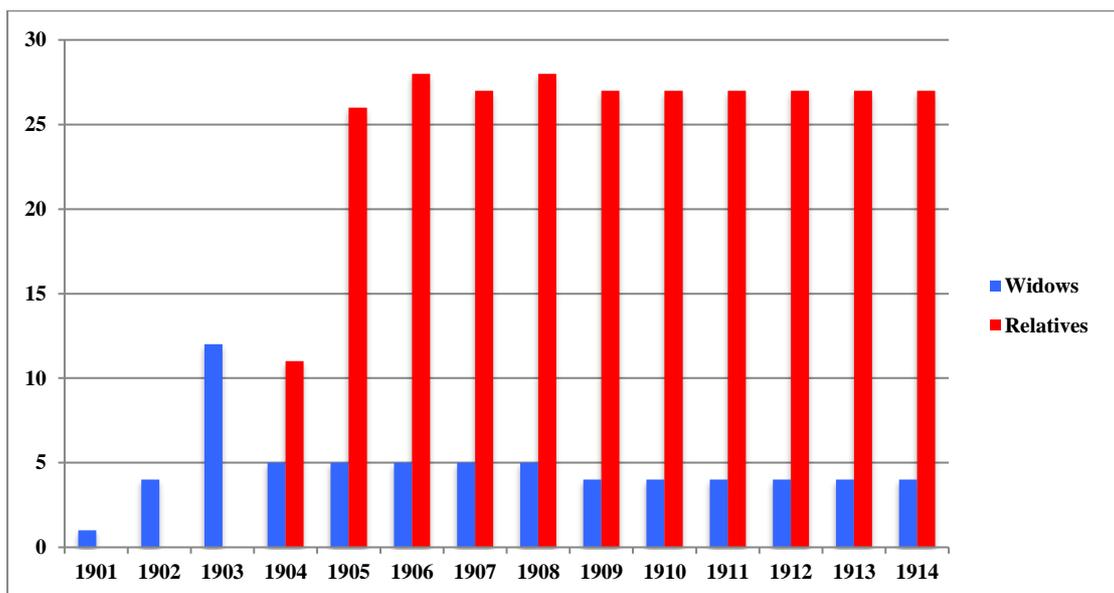
¹⁶⁵ Pugsley *et al.*, *Kiwis in conflict*, p.62.

¹⁶⁶ McLellan, 'Maori and the South African War,' p.30. For a list of those who contracted enteric fever in South Africa in the early stages of the war, see *AJHR* 1900, H6L. It recorded that 23 men had contracted the disease of whom 11 had died and four had been invalided to New Zealand. A later return indicated that both dysentery and pneumonia also took a toll. See *AJHR* 1901, H6E. Wata te Wahahuia, the son of John Callaway and Huihana Te Arawaere of Te Ngare hapu of Ngai Te Rangi, is credited with being the first Maori to serve in the South African War. He was also a member of the Coromandel Volunteer Rifles. See 'Walter Callaway,' <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/walter->



Source: AJHR 1901-1914, B1

Graph 2.1: Pensions awarded to South African veterans on account of wounds received, under the Military Pensions Extension to Contingents Act 1900



Source: AJHR 1910-1914, B1

Graph 2.2: Pensions granted to widows and relatives of South African veterans, 1901-1914, under the Military Pensions Extension to Contingents Act 1900

callaway. See also Mike Dwight, *Walter Callaway: Maori warrior of the Boer War*. Thames, NZ: Mike Dwight, 2010.

¹⁶⁷ A.W. Kendall (Fifth Contingent) died on the troopship *Tagus*. A brief note recorded that his coffin was escorted by 30 troopers as it left Auckland for the Hokianga. The troopers were followed by ‘a large number of boys of St Stephen’s Maori School.’ See ‘The late Gunner Kendall,’ *Ashburton Guardian* 22 July 1901, p.2.

A comparison between McLellan's list of Maori volunteers and those who were paid pensions indicates that some of the Maori veterans received pensions for wounds, among them J.W. Callaway and R.H. Porter. The Military Pensions Act 1866 specified pension rates for Maori veterans and dependants at levels lower than those paid to other veterans and dependants, but there was nothing to suggest that those lower rates were applied to Maori veterans of the South African War.¹⁶⁸ It is entirely possible that they were not, for the purposes of the Act at least, recognised as Maori. A 1917 schedule of pensions paid to South African War veterans included the name of J.W. Callaway: suffering from the consequences of a gunshot wound to the chest, Callaway was in fact in receipt of a colonial pension at the rate of 2s 8d per day for life and of an imperial pension at the rate of 3s per day for life, giving him an annual pension of just over £100.¹⁶⁹ He died in September 1926, in Auckland, at the age of 52, his obituary noting his 'dash of Maori blood.'¹⁷⁰ Dwight recorded that Callaway had to travel each year, at his expense, from Auckland to Wellington for a check-up to prove that he remained eligible to receive the pension.¹⁷¹ R.H. Porter died in November 1904.¹⁷²

The matter of pensions payable to South African veterans, specifically placing them on the same basis as those provided in the War Pensions Act 1914, was discussed by Cabinet in May 1916 as the War Pensions Amendment Bill was before the House. Massey appeared unsympathetic, observing that

We should be very pleased if we were able to make better provision for the South African veterans; but it is more than a dozen years since those pensions were granted, and we have never heard until now that those pensions ought to be increased. I will not suggest the reason for that: I will simply mention the fact and leave it there. Our first duty at this time is to make provision for the men who are fighting for us now, and if after the war we can increase this

¹⁶⁸ The names of those in receipt of pensions were published in the *Public accounts of the Government of New Zealand* published annually as AJHR, B1. Details for Callaway can be found in AJHR 1904, B1, p.39 and for Porter in AJHR 1905, p.41. A check of B1 for 1906 onwards was not conducted. For a photograph of Callaway, see Pugsley *et al.*, *Kiwis in conflict*, p.51.

¹⁶⁹ Archives New Zealand, Wellington SSW1844 13 W127.

¹⁷⁰ 'Obituary,' *New Zealand Herald* 18 September 1926, p.12.

¹⁷¹ See Mike Dwight, *Walter Callaway: a Maori warrior of the Boer War*. Thames: M. Dwight, 2010, pp.84-86. Dwight gives the pension rates as 3s6d (Imperial) and 1s6d (New Zealand). In 1907, Callaway was granted a life pension. He settled on an 80-acre block along the Wairoa River that he inherited from his mother while he and his brother leased the 704-acre Waimanu 4C.

¹⁷² *Star* 10 November 1904, p.3.

provision and make it to apply to the South African veterans as well I shall be very pleased.¹⁷³

A few weeks later the Government made it very clear that it would not amend the law relating to the pensions payable to South African War veterans.¹⁷⁴

In 1919, suggestions were made that the Government should appoint a commission to inquire into ‘the claims of the old S.A. Brigade and accord them such relief as may be found necessary.’¹⁷⁵ Some inquiries were conducted. Thus the Commissioner of Pensions calculated that the sum required to bring the rates payable to South African veterans up to that prescribed by the War Pensions Act 1915 was just £1,500 per annum (£500 for dependants and £1,000 for disabled soldiers).¹⁷⁶ Section 13 of Finance Act 1919 thus provided that *any* person permanently resident in New Zealand and in receipt of a pension or allowance under Part IX of the Defence Act 1909 was entitled to a pension under War Pensions Act 1915. Section 3 of the latter Act provided for the award of pensions upon death or disablement arising out of military service. Insofar as veterans of the South African War were concerned, section 13 applied only to those in receipt of a pension at the time of the Act’s passage, and not to those veterans who might in the future suffer from disabilities potentially attributable to their service in South Africa. ‘Ex-contingenters’ continued to complain about ‘great disparity between pensions granted to ex-South African and ex-European soldiers,’ a complaint that featured prominently in the establishment of the South African War Veterans’ Association.¹⁷⁷

In its 1920 Financial Statement, the Government noted that provision had been made to bring pensions payable to South African War veterans up to the rates payable to World War I veterans, but conceded that ‘the limited number of applications lodged has shown that the dual pensions paid by the Imperial Government and New Zealand for injuries in the Boer War did not permit of any great increase.’¹⁷⁸ In September 1920, the Association reminded the Prime Minister and the Minister of Lands that the

¹⁷³ *NZPD* 1916, Vol.175, p.423.

¹⁷⁴ *NZPD* 1916, Vol.177, p.480.

¹⁷⁵ ‘South African war services,’ *Free Lance* 10 September 1919, p.10.

¹⁷⁶ Commissioner of Pensions to Minister of Defence 16 September 1919, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SSW1844/13 W127.

¹⁷⁷ See, for example, ‘Ex-contingenters. An association formed,’ *Evening Star* 16 January 1920, p.7.

¹⁷⁸ *NZPD* 1920, Vol.186, p.729.

only assistance that the Government had provided had been a gratuity of £5. What the Association sought was the same entitlement available to veterans of the New Zealand Wars, namely, a pension by right of military service in lieu of the old-age pension.¹⁷⁹ In 1921 the Association again pressed for the same as of right pension and for a qualifying age of 60. Massey ‘could not commit himself, on account of the financial trouble ...’ He could not, he complained, ‘increase taxation,’ he was certainly not prepared to consider a qualifying age of 60 years, and he was sceptical of claims that only a small number of veterans would seek assistance.¹⁸⁰ In 1922, the Commissioner of Pensions suggested that the number of veterans likely to reach 65 years was 4,000: the immediate cost of a pension of £1 per week would thus reach about £20,000 per annum; the immediate cost of a pension at £49 per annum about £19,000; and the immediate cost of a pension of £39 (the current old age pension) about £15,000 per annum. The annual cost would increase steadily as veterans reached retirement age.¹⁸¹

In July 1924 the South African War Veterans’ Association again met Prime Minister Massey to urge that with respect to pensions veterans should be placed on the same basis as those who had fought in the ‘Maori Wars.’ On that occasion, the Association argued that by 1930 practically all the veterans of the nineteenth century conflicts would be ‘extinct ... off the books.’ It calculated that of the 7,000 troopers who served in South Africa, by 1938 when most would have reached the age of 65 years just 2,700 would remain alive. At the rate paid to ‘Maori War veterans,’ that is, £49 per annum, the annual cost to the country would reach £132,300. But an estimated 900 of those 2,700 would claim the old age pension, so that the annual net cost would fall to £97,200. The deputation suggested to Massey that ‘Your promises in the past

¹⁷⁹ Record of meeting, deputation from the South African War Veterans’ Association, to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Lands, 23 September 1920, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SSW1844/13 W127. See also ‘South African war veterans,’ *Dominion* 24 September 1920, p.3

¹⁸⁰ Deputation, South African War Veterans’ Association, to Prime Minister and Minister of Pensions 27 October 1921, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4. See also ‘Boer War veterans. New Association’s “social.” A demand for pensions,’ *Evening Post* 18 May 1921, p.10; and ‘South African veterans. Conference of delegates,’ *Evening Post* 26 October 1921, p.10.

¹⁸¹ Commissioner of Pensions to Minister of Pensions 10 July 1922, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SSW1844/13 W127.

although made in good faith may rightly be characterised as the tender of an I.O.U. for an account owing for over twenty years. We are here to collect the cash today.’¹⁸²

Massey’s response was to cite the existing high cost of pensions and superannuation. He rejected the parallel that the Association endeavoured to draw with the veterans of the ‘Maori Wars,’ the latter having been awarded the pension at a time when ‘they were practically all old decrepit men,’ and the bulk of whom ‘were practically living in [*sic*] charity.’ The South African veterans, he suggested, would not reach that stage for many years. He declined to do anything more than investigate and to consult his colleagues.¹⁸³ The outcome was section 10 of the Pensions Amendment Act 1924. It provided for special pensions for those who, ‘while domiciled in New Zealand,’ served in the South African War as a member of a New Zealand contingent, and who were qualified to receive an old age pension under the Pensions Act 1913: the rate was not to exceed £13 per annum, thus taking the total pension payable from £39 to £52 per annum – but provided that for any veteran ‘his aggregate receipts from all sources shall not exceed the sum of ninety-one pounds in any year.’ The new pension was known as the South African War pension.¹⁸⁴ ‘We are not,’ observed the Minister of Pensions (G.J. Anderson), ‘giving a pension as was done after the Maori War [*sic*], because that was given to everybody, irrespective of their circumstances, and it was not at all satisfactory. In this case there are many people who do not require the pension, and so long as we have non-contributory pensions so long must we make this discrimination.’¹⁸⁵

Undaunted, in 1925 the Association despatched another deputation: on that occasion, it suggested that by granting an additional £13 on top of the old age pension, the Government ‘had not quite done what was expected of it.’ That additional payment it characterised as ‘charitable aid,’ and suggested that veterans should not have to suffer the humiliation of appearing in the Magistrate’s Court to justify a claim for the old

¹⁸² Deputation, South African War Veterans’ Association to Prime Minister 31 July 1924, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁸³ Deputation, South African War Veterans’ Association to Prime Minister 31 July 1924, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4. See also ‘South African War veterans. Request for pensions. Deputation to Prime Minister,’ *Otago Daily Times* 1 August 1924, p.8.; and ‘S. African veterans. Equal benefits wanted. Mr Massey sympathetic,’ *New Zealand Herald* 1 August 1924, p.11.

¹⁸⁴ *NZPD* 1924, Vol. 205, pp.277 and 644.

¹⁸⁵ *NZPD* 1924, Vol.205, p.277.

age pension. It continued to seek a pension by right of service in lieu of the old age pension, that is, £52 per annum at the age of 60 or earlier in the case of disablement. Interestingly, it claimed that those veterans who did not require the pension would pay it into a benevolent fund for those in greater need, a proposition to which the Government responded with considerable scepticism.¹⁸⁶ The Minister of Pensions (G.J. Anderson) made it clear that on the matter of the qualifying age the Government would not budge lest a precedent should be set that an estimated 50,000 World War I veterans would later invoke. Prime Minister Coates did invite the Association to submit details of the financial position of those veterans deemed to be in need and the number likely to seek housing loans. Whether it did so remains unclear.¹⁸⁷

In August 1926, the association reiterated its demands while also proposing that the right to the pension should be extended to veterans who 'were not attested' in New Zealand, that is, an estimated 200 'imperial men.' The Association also pressed the Government to extend to South African veterans the same right to appear before the Pensions Appeal Board as enjoyed by World War I veterans.¹⁸⁸ The Minister of pensions was adamant: he would not recommend that the Government grant veterans a pension as of right, nor would he recommend a reduction in the qualifying age to 60 years, nor would he recommend an extension either to 'imperial veterans' who had settled in New Zealand or to New Zealand residents who had enlisted in other than New Zealand's forces. All that the Government would concede was that a mistake had been made in granting a pension as of right to 'Maori War' veterans, an error that it was determined not to repeat.¹⁸⁹ Section 45 of the Pensions Act 1926 raised the limit of £91 set by section 10 of the Pensions Amendment Act 1920 to £97 10s per annum.

As at the end of March 1929, 62 veterans of the South African War were in receipt of a pension. Their Association continued to press to have the qualifying age reduced to

¹⁸⁶ Deputation to the Prime Minister 10 September 1925, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4. See also 'S.A.W.V. conference,' *Stratford Evening Post* 9 September 1925, p.6.

¹⁸⁷ Deputation to the Prime Minister 10 September 1925, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4.

¹⁸⁸ ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3531/13 13/25/4. See also 'War pensions. South African veterans' requests,' *Press* 26 August 1926, p.11.

¹⁸⁹ 'War service pensions. South African veterans,' *New Zealand Herald* 27 August 1926, p.12; and 'South African veterans. Requests for pensions,' *Otago Daily Times* 27 August 1926, p.12.

60 years in the event of disability arising.¹⁹⁰ The position was examined briefly by the Ex-Soldiers' Rehabilitation Commission of 1929. Noting the more liberal provision made by section 13 of the Finance Act 1919, it suggested that it was 'not at all widely known amongst South African War ex-service men, and the lapse of ten years since the provision was made will make it difficult if not impossible for an applicant now to prove the necessary attributability.' What steps, if any, had been taken to inform veterans of the 1924 entitlement, are not known. In its submission to the Commission, the South African Veterans' Association pressed for a service pension of £50 per annum payable to all veterans irrespective of health or financial standing 'and purely as a reward for services rendered in South Africa,' or the award of a service pension of £50 per annum on veterans attaining the age of 65 years or earlier should a disability become manifest, and a reduction in the qualifying age for the old-age pension from 65 to 60 years where veterans were concerned. While not prepared to support the first two proposals, the Commission did describe 'a loading of five years ... [as] not unreasonable on the life of one who served in such a campaign as the South African War, and may be viewed as a species of disability.' While it recommended accordingly, the Government chose not to act.¹⁹¹

In 1930, the South African War Veterans' Association acknowledged that representations made over a period of some 20 years had achieved little. Pensions as of right were still not available, although the age at which veterans might receive the old-age pension had been reduced from 65 to 60 years.¹⁹² Other amendments to the war pensions legislation as they related to South African veterans followed, but these are not explored here.

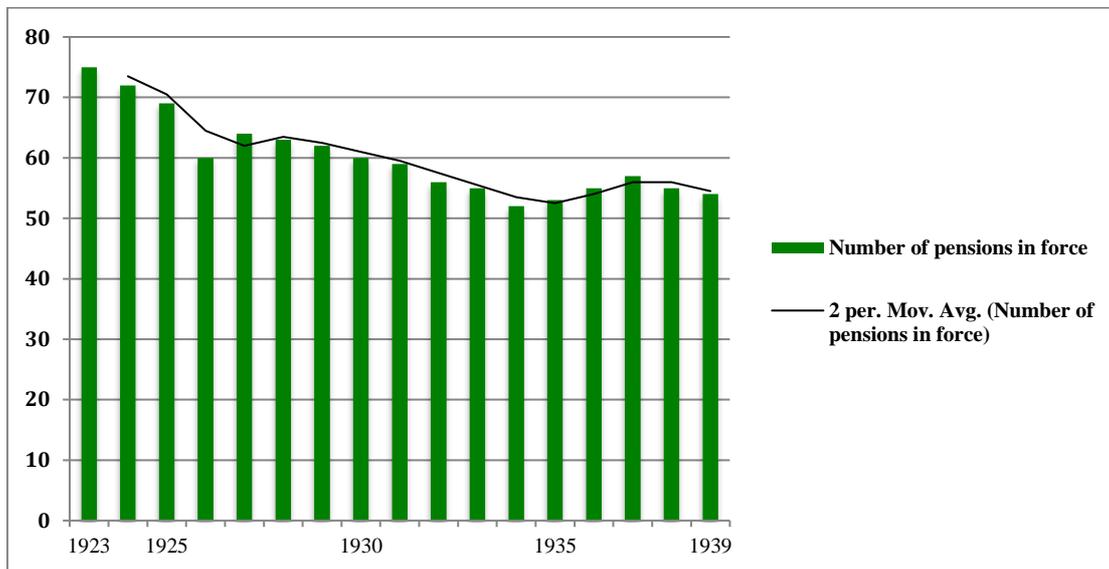
As from 1 April 1923, South African War pensions were administered by the Pensions Department. Graph 2.3 sets out the number of pensions in force over the period from 1923 to 1939: the number, always modest, exhibited a slow decline, as did the total cost, the latter declining from £3,173 in 1923 to £1,947 in 1939. It is worthwhile noting that depending on the distribution of ages at recruitment and

¹⁹⁰ 'South African veterans. Remits for conference,' *New Zealand Herald* 25 May 1928, p.12.

¹⁹¹ *AJHR* 1930, H39, p.7.

¹⁹² 'War pension desired,' *Auckland Star* 9 June 1930, p.10. The Association held its last conference in 1974 and disbanded in 1980.

subsequent survival rates, many veterans would have been approaching retirement between about 1935 and 1945.



Source: AJHR 1923-1939, H18

Graph 2.3: South African War pensions in force, 1923 to 1939

2.4.1 Employment

In the House in October 1915 the Government was asked whether it would extend to South African veterans the services of the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department. The Government simply claimed that the procedure by which every soldier who returned from World War I was registered and, as necessary, assisted to secure employment, was 'manifestly impossible in the case of the South African veterans.' The Minister in Charge of the 'Returned Soldiers' Department' added that it was 'unfortunate that men who returned to civil employment more than ten years ago have not by now settled down in permanent employment.'¹⁹³

The post-war careers of those men who enlisted in the New Zealand contingents have not been explored in any systematic fashion. McLellan suggested that 'many' of the Maori volunteers who returned secured employment within the civil service, although his Appendix A also suggests that a good many others returned to their pre-service or

¹⁹³ NZPD 1905, Vol,174, p.674.

allied occupations.¹⁹⁴ In 1903, Seddon indicated that Cabinet had decided that ‘in respect to suitable employment preference should be given to returned troopers,’ that is, within the public service.¹⁹⁵ Other than that, the Government does not appear to have felt any need to act further. From the late 1890s employment in New Zealand generally remained buoyant, although seasonal unemployment did present some difficulties. In 1900, the Department of Labour recorded that it had received ‘comparatively few applications ... from men in absolute distress from want of work ...’¹⁹⁶ A rapid growth in overtime worked suggested, in fact, a labour market under some pressure, and hence in 1901 the Department claimed that ‘The “unemployed” difficulty has almost disappeared as a practical factor’ in its work.¹⁹⁷

A year later, in October 1902, James Cannon, a returned trooper living in Cheviot, suggested that ‘Our prospects are not very bright, as somehow there seems to be a slump all through the country: employment is scarce, single men are barred on the railways, and things seem not up to the mark.’¹⁹⁸ That same month, in Dunedin, some 50 unemployed returned troopers gathered to present their case to the city’s mayor. Employment in local foundries and engineering plants had contracted upon the collapse of the gold dredging boom, while the discharge of a large number of men from the Otago Central railway had led to a sizeable influx of men into Dunedin in search of employment. The problem was not confined to Dunedin, 28 troopers pressing Christchurch’s mayor over their difficulties in securing work.¹⁹⁹ Practically all that Dunedin’s mayor could do was to hold out the possibility of work on other railways, a long-established remedy for unemployment. Of interest was the remark of one trooper who reported that ‘We were under the impression when we went away that we would get the first chance when we returned home.’ He was assured that the Government was according preference to veterans in accordance with Seddon’s promise that ‘the men should be their country’s care.’ In response, Acting Premier

¹⁹⁴ Pressure was applied to the Government to appoint as doorkeepers at Parliament Buildings disabled troopers in lieu of able-bodied soldiers. See *NZPD* 1903, Vol.125, p.695.

¹⁹⁵ *NZPD* 1903, Vol.125, p.695.

¹⁹⁶ *AJHR* 1900, H11, p.i.

¹⁹⁷ *AJHR* 1901, H11, p.i.

¹⁹⁸ James Cannon, Cheviot to Witheford 12 October 1902, in *NZPD* 1903, Vol.123, pp.377-378.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Returned troopers,’ *Otago Daily Times* 21 October 1902, p.6.

Ward indicated that he had asked the Minister of Public Works ‘to endeavour to meet the position on some of the works authorised during last session.’²⁰⁰

Unemployment among returned troopers prompted such considerable debate that Dunedin’s *Evening Star* opened by quoting from Robert Browning’s ‘The Patriot.’ The first verse of that poem read ‘It was roses, roses, all the way/With myrtle mixed in my path like mad/The house-roofs seemed to heave and sway/The church spires flamed, such flags they had/A year ago on this very day.’ The journal acknowledged that the position in which some South African veterans found themselves were not as dire as those Browning’s hero confronted. Nevertheless, they had set sail for South Africa ‘amid fervent promises of practical gratitude,’ many to find ‘that a forgetful country is unable, or unwilling, even to find any decent sort of employment.’ Calling on the Government to honour the ‘implied promises’ it made to the volunteers, it went on to add that

During the enthusiastic period of contingent-raising, Ministers, politicians, and people would alike have ridiculed the notion that any well-behaved troopers would go begging piteously for work – work of any kind – after their return to the Colony. Mr Seddon as good as told the men that they might be easy about the future, provided that they did their duty and kept a good name ...²⁰¹

In the event 30 troopers registered with the Dunedin Labour Bureau: nine gained employment on the Otago Central and seven on the Heriot railway works, while the Dunedin City Council took on three men to work on the city’s reservoir and encouraged employers to make positions available. The Christchurch Labour Bureau found work for nine troopers on the Waipara-Cheviot line and three on the Midland railway works at Springfield.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ ‘The unemployed troopers. Interview with the city members,’ *Otago Daily Times* 16 October 1902, p.7.

²⁰¹ ‘Unemployed troopers,’ *Evening Star* 15 October 1902, p.4. See also ‘Dunedin items,’ *Star* 16 October 1902, p.3; ‘Work for returned troopers,’ *Otago Daily Times* 18 October 1902, p.7; ‘Returned soldiers,’ *Press* 18 October 1902, p.6; Editorial, *Ashburton Guardian* 18 October 1902, p.2; ‘When enthusiasm cools,’ *Hastings Standard* 18 October 1902, p.2; and ‘The unemployed soldier,’ *Press* 6 December 1902, p.6.

²⁰² ‘Work for returned troopers,’ *Otago Daily Times* 23 October 1902, p.5.

2.5 Conclusions

‘Those who returned,’ noted Barber, ‘received the colony’s thanks, two campaign medals ... and the challenge of finding jobs.’²⁰³ In large part, the evidence supports that conclusion. Charges of official indifference to unemployment among troopers, alleged delays in the payment of arrears of pay, resistance to settling troopers on the land, and reported difficulties that some veterans experienced in securing appropriate medical treatment were all employed by the press to excoriate the Liberal Government in the weeks leading to the general election on 25 November 1902. Collectively the difficulties that emerged were a clear indication that Seddon’s Government had done little to prepare for the return of the troopers and their re-absorption into civil life.²⁰⁴ Moreover, veterans of the South African War were excluded from the rehabilitation programmes offered under Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915 and the Repatriation Act 1918.²⁰⁵ It was not until the passage of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Amendment Act 1921 that a move was made to accommodate veterans, although without practical outcome. Similarly, it was not until the investigation conducted by the Ex-Soldiers’ Rehabilitation Commission of 1929 and the subsequent passage of the Disabled Soldiers’ Civil Re-establishment Act 1930 that disabled veterans could look forward to assistance with respect to training and placement in suitable employment. Much of the assistance, including finding employment, that had been extended to veterans of the South African War, disabled or able-bodied, was left to service organisations and public and voluntary patriotic societies and committees.²⁰⁶

In brief, the Liberal Government failed, grand promises – implicit or explicit – notwithstanding, to develop and implement a programme intended to assist veterans of the South African War to settle back into civilian employment and civilian life. With the exception of pensions, its responses to evident needs were ad hoc, limited, and transitory. If veterans of that conflict were disadvantaged relative to those who

²⁰³ Laurie Barber, ‘Fighting the Empire’s war,’ in Christopher Pugsley, Laurie Barber, Buddy Mikaere, Nigel Prickett and Rose Young, editors, *Kiwis in conflict: 200 years of New Zealanders at war*. Auckland, Bateman, p.62.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, *NZPD* 1903, Vol.126, p.193.

²⁰⁵ Including veterans of the South African War was considered but not acted upon by Cabinet. See *NZPD* 1918, Vol.183, p.664.

²⁰⁶ See, for example, ‘Otago ex-contingenters’ club,’ *Otago Witness* 7 October 1903, p.29.

assisted under the World War I rehabilitation programme, then Maori and Pakeha veterans suffered alike.

Chapter 3: The post World War I rehabilitation programme: scope and delivery

3.1 Introduction

Once the likely scale and duration of World War I became apparent, the New Zealand Government moved to formulate a set of measures that would facilitate and support the swift re-introduction of many thousands of ex-service personnel into civil society. The Government was subsequently accused of having acted tardily, but the two major Acts upon which the rehabilitation programme rested, namely, the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and the War Pensions Act 1915 were both passed within about 12 months of the declaration of war. On the other hand, the Government does appear to have underestimated the likely scale and complexity of the rehabilitation task. In addition, the Government established the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department to act as a national labour exchange. The three major components of the programme – land settlement, war pensions, and employment – that had emerged in tentative form following the conclusion of the South African War – were thus re-cast, broadened in scope, and justified both as recognition of service and as an important means by which a smooth transition to a post-war economy could be encouraged and supported. While both the land settlement and war pensions legislation remained in place, albeit in amended form, the Discharged Soldiers Information Department was succeeded by a Department of Repatriation and a Ministerial Repatriation Board, while the range of rehabilitation services was broadened to encompass housing, education and training, and assistance to purchase or establish businesses, existing farms, and land development.

Commonly the making of public policy proceeds through several stages that usually include the recognition and definition of a problem, the formulation of proposals intended to meet or resolve the problem, the adoption of specific policy measures, implementation, and policy monitoring and evaluation. Chapter 3 focuses primarily on the implementation of rehabilitation policy, that is, on the arrangements and processes by which it was intended that service personnel would be reached and encouraged and assisted to take up the benefits that the rehabilitation programme

offered. The key question is whether the arrangements devised and instituted embraced Maori veterans.

3.2 New Zealand's involvement in World War I

It will be helpful, first, to set out briefly the scale of New Zealand's involvement in World War I and, second, to review the literature dealing with post-conflict rehabilitation. According to Sleeman (Director of Military Training), 124,211 New Zealanders had by Armistice Day 'been called to serve with the expeditionary force,' although the total number embarked was 100,444. Of that total of 124,211 personnel, 91,941 were volunteers and 32,270 were conscripts (under the Military Service Act 1916).²⁰⁷ He also noted that New Zealand contributed Imperial reservists, naval ranks and ratings, 159 personnel to HMS *Philomel*, 190 to the Royal Naval Auxiliary Patrol, 192 to the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Air Force, two postal and audit officials, and 550 to the New Zealand Nursing Service, that is, a total of 1,494.²⁰⁸ The number of personnel serving in New Zealand on Armistice Day is also not included. Sleeman gave the total number of casualties, by which he meant killed or died of wounds or sickness, as 16,554, although a 1921 *AJHR* return gave the number as 16,781.²⁰⁹ Montgomery gave the number of wounded as 41,315, although it is not entirely clear whether that was a gross or net figure.²¹⁰

A very useful discussion and summary of the numbers involved is offered by *New Zealand history online*. It recorded that 98,950 served in New Zealand units overseas: that number included 2227 Maori and 461 Pacific Islanders, and 550 nurses, while 7,036 served in New Zealand. The number of deaths totalled 18,058, including 12 nurses, 964 men who died while still enlisted in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force between 1918 and 1923, and 505 who died while training in New Zealand). A total of 41,317 sustained wounds or suffered from illness although that figure needs to

²⁰⁷ J.L. Sleeman, 'The supply of reinforcements during the war,' in H.T.B. Drew, editor, *The war effort of New Zealand: a popular (a) history of minor campaigns in which New Zealanders took part (b) services not dealt with in the campaign volumes (c) the work at the bases*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1923, Chapter 1, pp.11 and 13.

²⁰⁸ Sleeman, 'The supply of reinforcements,' p.17.

²⁰⁹ Sleeman, 'The supply of reinforcements,' p.21; and *AJHR* 1921, Session II, C9, p.2.

²¹⁰ W.H. Montgomery, 'Repatriation,' in H.T.B. Drew, editor, *The war effort of New Zealand*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1923, p.164.

be treated with some caution. What is known is that between January 1915 and November 1918, 25,570 injured or ill men were returned to New Zealand of whom 1,555 subsequently returned to active service. What the net total of 24,015 does not appear to include are those who remained in French and British hospitals after November 1918 and returned to New Zealand between 1919 and 1920.²¹¹

The contribution of Maori to the war effort during 1914-1918 and in particular of those who served in the armed forces has been the subject of a number of investigations, from James Cowan's *The Maoris in the Great War* to Christopher Pugsley's *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: the Maori Battalion in the First World War*, while Gould offers a succinct summary in Ian McGibbon's *Oxford Companion to New Zealand military history*.²¹² For present purposes, it is sufficient to record that the first unit, the 518-strong Native Contingent was despatched to Egypt in February 1915 and served in the Dardanelles Campaign (notably at Sari Bair) in both a support and an active capacity.²¹³ The Contingent subsequently formed part of the Pioneer Battalion: the new unit arrived in France in April 1916 and served in particular in the Battle of the Somme and in the Third Battle of Ypres, again in both support and offensive roles.

There appears to be some uncertainty over the number of Maori who served in New Zealand's armed forces. Cowan and Pugsley both recorded that 2,227 Maori – drawn from all but the Waikato, Taranaki, and Urewera districts – served in the Battalion, together with 458 Pacific Islanders and several hundred Pakeha. Of the combined total of 2,685 Maori and Pacific Islanders, Pugsley gave as 336 the number who died on active service (that is, excluding those who died subsequent to discharge but as a result of war service), and the number of wounded as 734.²¹⁴ The figure of 2,227 Maori soldiers appears in an Army Department file in which it was recorded that the

²¹¹ See 'First World War by the numbers,' New Zealand history <https://nzhistory.govt.nz>.

²¹² J. Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1926; C. Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: the Maori Battalion in the First World War*. Auckland: Reed, 1995; and Ashley Gould 'Maori and the First World War,' in McGibbon, Ian, editor, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.296-299. It was Alan Mulgan who portrayed the period from 1918 to 1939 as one of 'betrayal.' See John Mulgan, *Man alone*. London: Selwyn & Blount, 1939.

²¹³ For a recent account of the formation of the Native Contingent, see Monty Soutar, 'E te Iwi, Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Call to arms: the formation of the Maori Contingent in the First World War,' *Turnbull Library Record* 46, 2014, pp.8-23.

²¹⁴ Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War*, pp.20-21; Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu*, p.81.

First Maori Contingent included 518 men, the second draft 312, the third draft 110, and subsequent reinforcements 1,287. Fifteen officers and 381 other ranks died in action, or of wounds, sickness, and other causes, thus taking the total number of casualties to 396. The file did record that a further 734 members had been wounded.²¹⁵ As noted above, Cowan gave the number of Maori who served in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion as 2,227, but recorded that of that total 336 were killed and 734 were wounded.²¹⁶ It should be noted that the number of 336 killed includes a small number of Pacific Islanders.

Sleeman, on the other hand, gave the number of Maori and Pacific Islanders ‘in the expeditionary force during the war’ as 3,034, suggesting that his total included Maori who served in units other than the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion.²¹⁷ He did not specify how he arrived at that number. It is worthwhile noting that in 1916, the Minister of Defence acknowledged that many Maori had left with other contingents other than Te Hokowhitu a Tu and, further that ‘many Maori had enlisted under European names.’²¹⁸ Uncertainty over the actual number of Maori, or those who regarded themselves as Maori, creates obvious difficulties when estimating the comparative distribution of rehabilitation benefits and services.

3.2.1 The geographical origins of New Zealand’s Maori soldiers

Map 3.1 maps the geographical origins of those Maori who fought with the Maori Contingent and the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion. Several difficulties were encountered in the preparation of the data upon which this map is based.²¹⁹ First, for a number of individuals addresses were given for widely separated areas; second, assignment of some localities to counties was rendered difficult by uncertainties over precise county

²¹⁵ See O/C NZEF Records to *The Bulletin*, Sydney 31 October 1931, in ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1 9-32-1E. In October 1919, a return detailing the services of the ‘Maori Contingent’ during the war was laid on the table of the House of Representatives. It named all those killed, wounded, decorated, and mentioned in despatches: 110 were killed in action, 172 died of wounds or sickness. The return appears to list 677 men. See ‘The Maori Contingent. Fine record of service,’ *New Zealand Herald* 30 October 1919, p.8. The paper was not located in Archives New Zealand.

²¹⁶ Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War*, p.7.

²¹⁷ Sleeman, ‘The supply of reinforcements,’ p.16.

²¹⁸ ‘Loyal response of Maoris. Over 1500 at the front and training,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 2 August 1916, p.5.

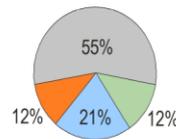
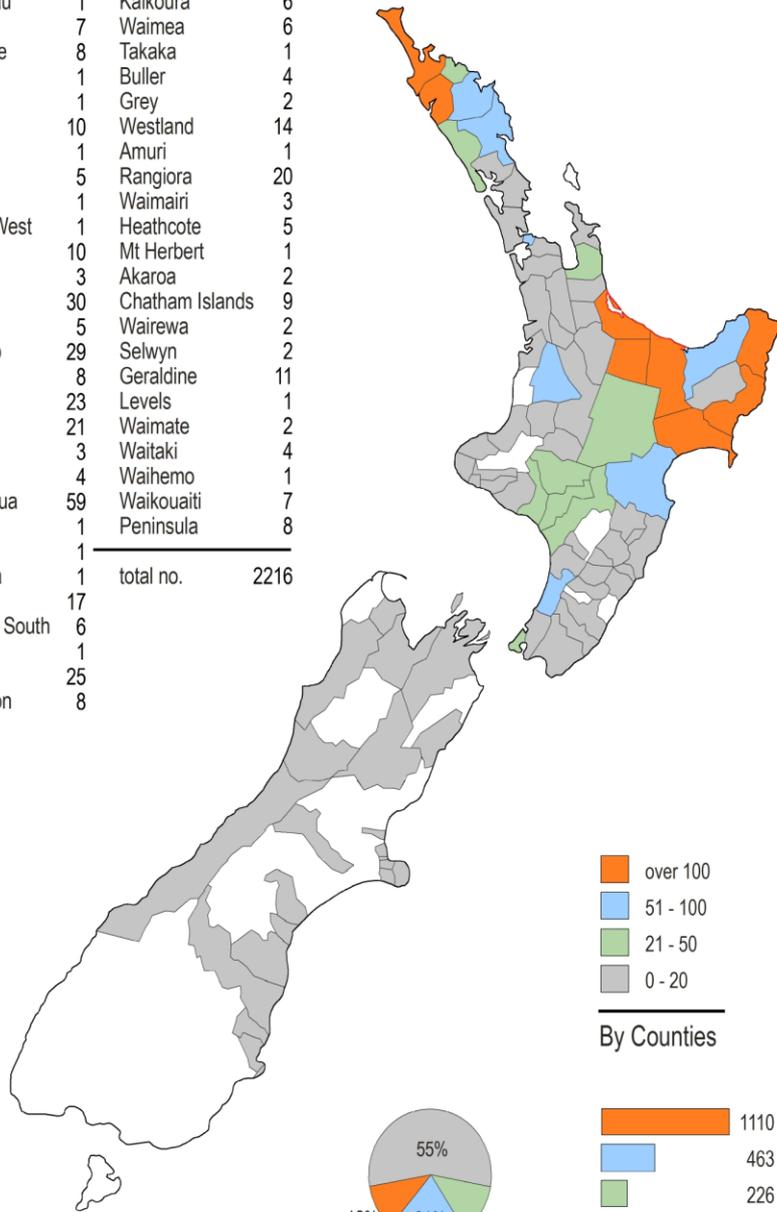
²¹⁹ The dataset was constructed by Craig Innes of the Waitangi Tribunal. It includes the names of 2,259 Maori service personnel. For his comments, see Appendix 1.

boundaries; third, the addresses cited did not always coincide with the *New Zealand Gazette* which was used as the base reference; fourth, some Pakeha soldiers were included, notably in the case of Battalion members from Otago; and, fifth, it appears that a good number of young men were not living at the nominated address on enlistment, suggesting perhaps that beginnings of the step-wise movement of Maori towards the country's main urban centres stretched back into the pre-1914 period. Such difficulties notwithstanding, Map 3.1 does make clear those areas of New Zealand from which the bulk of those who served in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion were drawn.

The only published statistical data relating to Maori military service in World War I appear in an appendix (Appendix B: War service) included in the censuses of 1936, 1945, and 1951. According to the census of 1936, the number who served then stood at 1,533 males (three of whom served in the Australian Forces and one in the Imperial Forces), and four females. No other details, such as location or pension status, were offered. By the time of the 1945 census, the number of Maori males who had served in World War I stood at 1,140 and the number of females at eight.²²⁰ Map 3.2 is based upon the census results. Of the males, 878 (77 per cent) resided in the counties, predominantly those in Northland, Bay of Plenty, East Coast, and central North Island. A further 241 (21.1) per cent resided in the cities and towns: Map 3.3 indicates that most resided in Auckland, Rotorua, Gisborne, and Wellington, with a further 19 in town districts and two on 'adjacent islands.' By 1951 the number of Maori veterans who had served in World War I had declined to 954, including seven females. No other details, apart from ages, were published. The data for 1945 suggest that most Maori veterans settled back into the communities and districts from which they had been drawn originally.

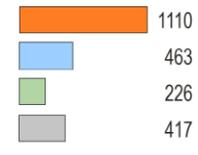
²²⁰ A further 40 had served in both world wars.

Mangonui	158	Hawkes Bay	73	Marlborough	4
Whangaroa	15	Waipawa	14	Sounds	8
Hokianga	118	Waipukurau	1	Kaikoura	6
Bay of Islands	89	Patangata	7	Waimea	6
Whangarei	55	Dannevirke	8	Takaka	1
Hobson	34	Woodville	1	Buller	4
Otamatea	11	Weber	1	Grey	2
Rodney	4	Clifton	10	Westland	14
Waitemata	7	Taranaki	1	Amuri	1
Eden	61	Egmont	5	Rangiora	20
Manukau	1	Eltham	1	Waimairi	3
Franklin	4	Waimate West	1	Heathcote	5
Raglan	3	Hawera	10	Mt Herbert	1
Waikato	13	Patea	3	Akaroa	2
Waipa	13	Waitotara	30	Chatham Islands	9
Kawhia	13	Kaitieke	5	Wairewa	2
Otorohanga	-	Waimarino	29	Selwyn	2
Waitomo	56	Oroua	8	Geraldine	11
Ohura	4	Wanganui	23	Levels	1
West Taupo	16	Rangitikei	21	Waimate	2
Taumarunui	-	Manawatu	3	Waitaki	4
Coromandel	15	Kairanga	4	Waihemo	1
Thames	30	Horowhenua	59	Waikouaiti	7
Ohinemuri	13	Pahiatua	1	Peninsula	8
Matamata	13	Akitio	1		
Piako	12	Eketahuna	1	total no.	2216
Tauranga	113	Masterton	17		
East Taupo	34	Wairarapa South	6		
Rotorua	154	Hutt	1		
Taupo	-	Makara	25		
Whakatane	104	Featherston	8		
Opotiki	70				
Matakaoa	-				
Waiapu	183				
Uawa	-				
Waikohu	18				
Cook	125				
Wairoa	155				



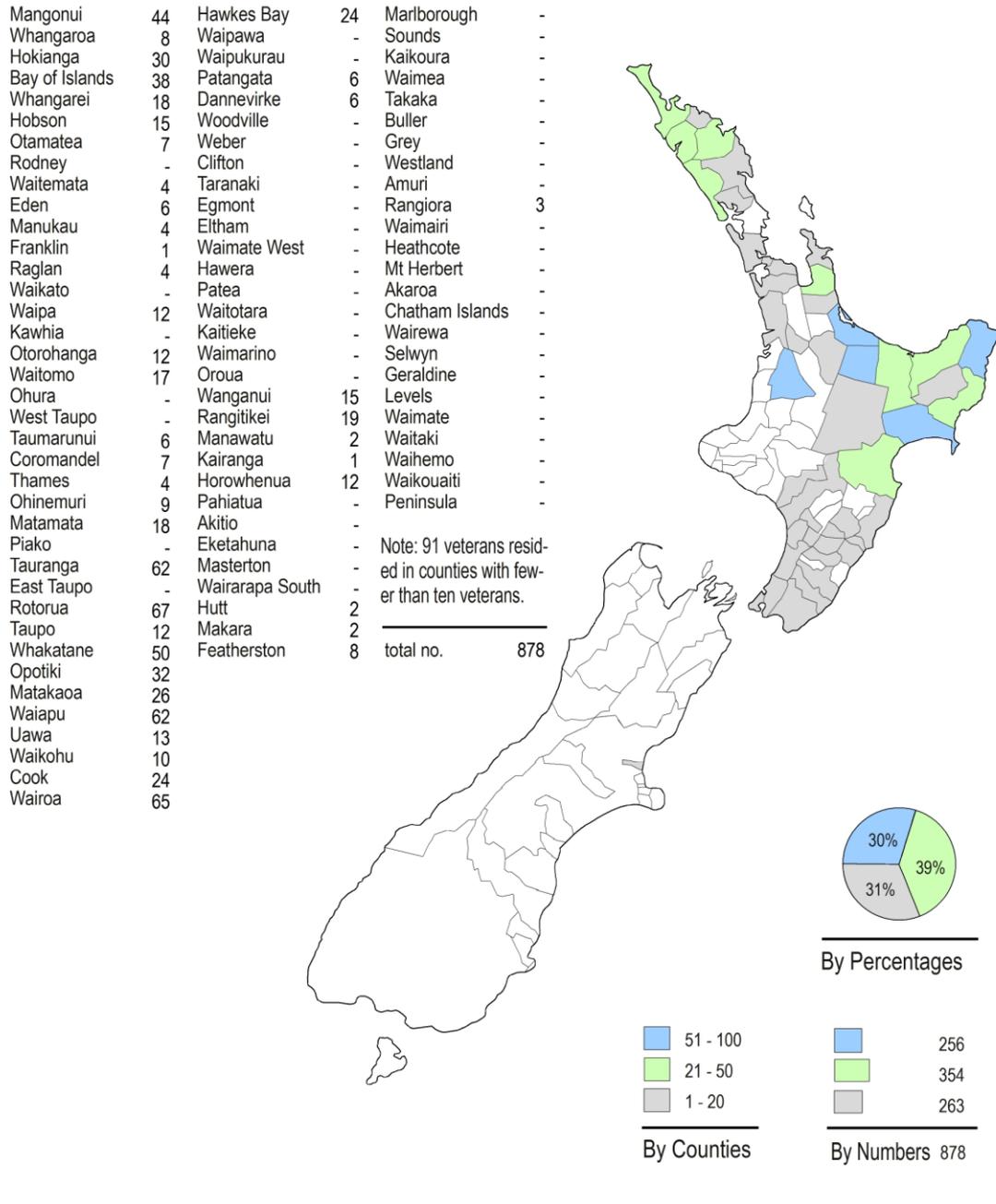
By Percentages

By Counties



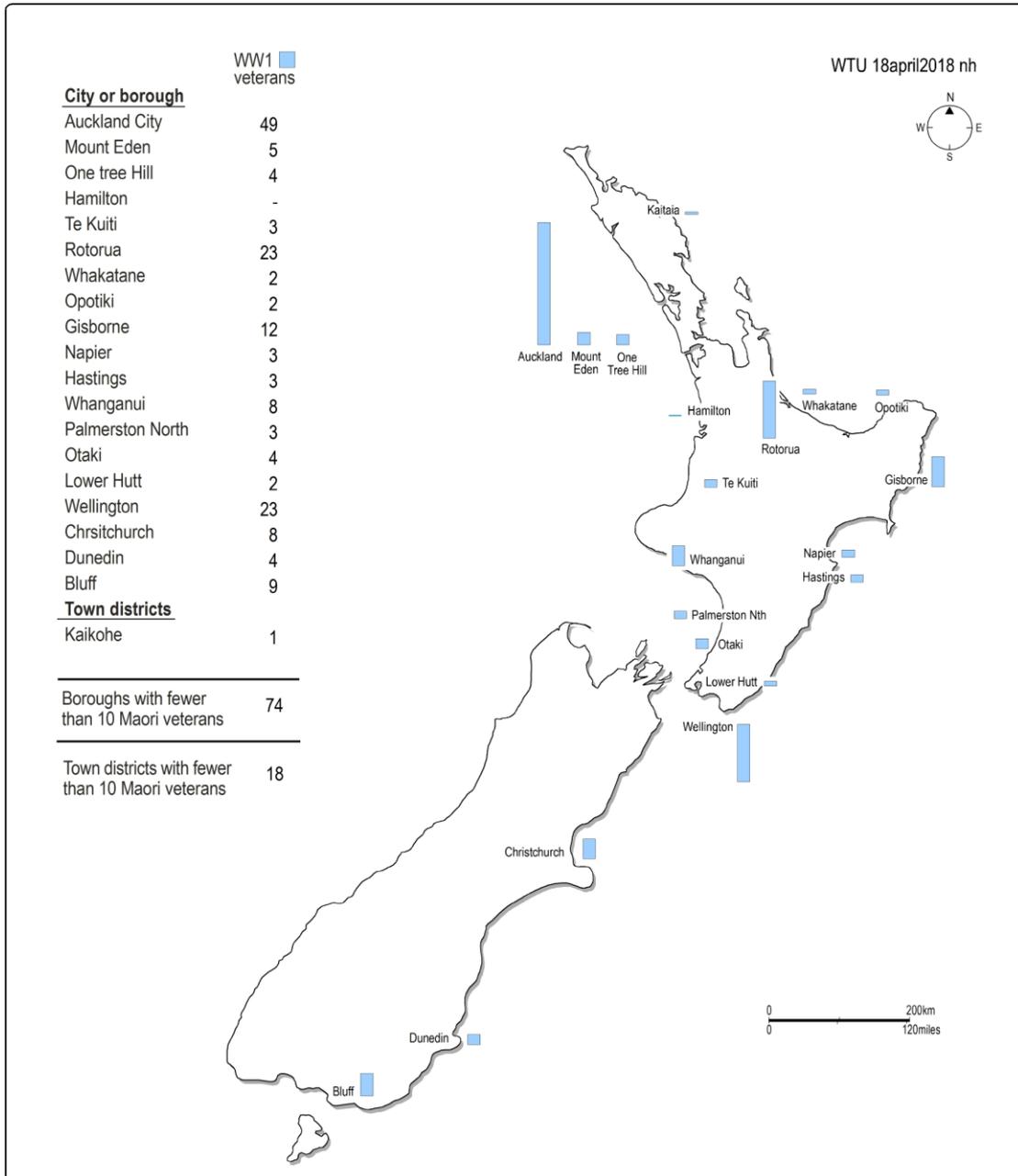
By Numbers 2216

Map 3.1: The geographical (county) origins of the members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1945*

Map 3.2: Residence of World War I Maori veterans by county, 1945



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1945*

Map 3.3: Residence of World War I Maori veterans by urban centres, 1945

Little appears to have been established about the socio-economic composition of the Maori forces. It is known that the First Maori Contingent included many men drawn from those who had attended St Stephen's College, Te Aute College, Hikurangi Maori College at Clareville (Carterton), Otaki Mission School, and other Maori boys'

schools.²²¹ Whether or not the presumed good standards of literacy and numeracy applied to the Pioneer Maori Battalion as a whole or, in particular, to those Maori veterans who returned to New Zealand is not known. The issue is an important one: for those of modest reading and comprehension skills in English, navigating the bureaucratic process, whether for Crown sections, jobs, pensions or loans, could and often did prove challenging.

3.2.2 *Toia mai te whaka*

Contrary to the suggestion of at least one historian, the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion received a public and enthusiastic welcome back to New Zealand. The bulk (1,042 men) of the Battalion returned to Auckland, as a unit, in April 1919, on board the *Westmoreland*.²²² The Auckland Patriotic Association organised a public welcome, and invited some 300 Maori to spend three days in Auckland, while the Auckland City Council erected a camp, complete with catering and other facilities, on what was described as ‘the old exhibition site in the Outer Domain.’ Maori from Northland, Te Rohe Potae, Rotorua, Thames, Northland, and other districts did attend.²²³ The newspapers of the day carried detailed accounts of the welcomes afforded the Battalion in Auckland, Gisborne, Rotorua, and Whanganui.²²⁴ Thus the *Auckland Star* reported that the arrival was ‘the occasion of one of the most enthusiastic welcomes that has yet been extended at Auckland to returning soldiers.’ Leading the welcome were the Acting Prime Minister (James Allen), the Minister of Native Affairs

²²¹ Minister of Defence to Prime Minister 27 October 1914, in ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1 9-32-1E. See also Steven Loveridge and Basil Keane, ‘Turangawaewae: Maori relationships with the Great War,’ in Steven Loveridge, editor, *New Zealand society at war 1914-1918*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016, p.285. Most of the members of the Native Contingent were well educated and it is worthwhile noting that, in 1915, letters home written by a number of Maori soldiers were published in the press. See, for example, ‘A Maori soldier’s letter,’ *Colonist* 17 February 1915, p.3; and ‘A Maori soldier’s letter,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 9 April 1915, p.8.

²²² Almost 400 remained in England and France, mostly in hospital.

²²³ ‘Maoris from the war. Reception at Auckland,’ *New Zealand Herald* 1 April 1919, p.8.

²²⁴ The *Auckland Weekly News* of 10 and 17 April 1919 carried photographs of the welcome accorded the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion in Auckland, Gisborne, Rotorua, and Whanganui. See Auckland Council Libraries website at www.aucklandcity.govt.nz For Gisborne’s welcome to the arrival of 262 members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion, see ‘Welcome Home. Arrival of Maori Pioneers,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 8 April 1919, p.3. The welcome was led by the Acting Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, James Allen, while Gisborne declared a public holiday. The Citizens’ Defence Committee greeted the veterans with the words ‘Welcome, Maori brothers, soldiers of the King,’ a welcome that would sit uncomfortably with its later decision to exclude them from the assistance available from its wounded soldiers’ fund.

(William Herries), Dr Pomare, the Mayor and Mayoress of Auckland, Sir James Carroll and others. The main speech of welcome was offered, in Maori, by Sir James Carroll, as was the response offered by Te Rangi Hiroa.²²⁵ Similar welcomes were extended in other centres as detachments arrived home.²²⁶ It is also worthwhile noting that, during the early years of the war in particular, individual Maori soldiers were accorded civic welcomes on their return to New Zealand.²²⁷

3.4 Rehabilitating veterans: existing literature

The post World War I rehabilitation programme has attracted comparatively little investigation, with the exception, that is, of its centrepiece, namely, land settlement.²²⁸ Burdon suggested that the Government was ill-prepared to meet the challenges that rehabilitation posed. Armistice Day had passed, he recorded, and the Government had still to announce ‘a practical scheme for repatriation ...’ He did note the efforts made with respect to education and training, and described the Repatriation Board’s role ‘as a labour exchange on a national scale ... was the function it performed with greater success than any other.’ But he also noted the controversy over the payment of gratuities and described the land settlement scheme as ‘well-intentioned but ill-fated ...’²²⁹ Prichard, on the other hand, did little more than set out the forms of rehabilitation made available, but she did record that only about a quarter of those discharged required assistance to find employment, that 1,186 men secured training with private employers under a subsidised wage scheme, and that loans were made available for the purchase or establishment of businesses, furniture, tools of trade, and

²²⁵ See ‘Maori warriors return. A traditional welcome,’ *Auckland Star* 7 April 1919, p.5.

²²⁶ See, for example, ‘Return of the Pioneers,’ *Wanganui Herald* 8 April 1919, p.9; and ‘Progress of the hui,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 9 April 1919, p.3.

²²⁷ See, for example, ‘Home again. Welcome to Private H. Paipeta,’ *Press* 11 January 1916, p.2. Henry Paipeta had been twice wounded in the attack on Hill 971 at Gallipoli. He was the first Maori soldier to have been admitted to Fresham [Heights Military?] Hospital in Surrey, England.

²²⁸ The term ‘repatriation’ rather than ‘rehabilitation’ was employed at the time and subsequently by many historians. ‘Repatriation’ is the act of returning or of being returned to one’s country, ‘rehabilitation’ that of restoring to normal life, in this instance, of discharged military service personnel. The latter term is employed in this report.

²²⁹ R.M. Burdon, *The new dominion: a social and political history of New Zealand 1918-1939*. Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1965, pp.18-19, 27, and 40.

equipment.²³⁰ She did not offer any critical assessment of the rehabilitation programme. Belich did not examine the post-World War I rehabilitation programme, while King offered no more than a passing comment on the temporary economic stimulus that it imparted.²³¹

Thomson offered a brief survey. She noted, in contradistinction to Burdon, that serious preparations began early, marked by the passage of the War Pensions and the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Acts 1915, by the establishment of a Discharged Soldiers' Information Department with a primary focus on employment and training, and by a general acceptance on the part of the public that the State had an obligation to assist those who served in its cause. As demands grew for a rehabilitation programme that included more than pensions and land settlement, the 'traditional solutions to an old problem,' Parliament passed the Repatriation Act 1918 that provided for the appointment of a Repatriation Board and in 1919 established the Repatriation Department to work with other State agencies to implement a wider rehabilitation programme.²³² Thomson recorded that by 1922, almost 28,000 men had been assisted to find employment, almost 7,500 had received subsidised on-the-job training or helped to complete apprenticeships, 6,288 had secured cheap business loans of up to £300, and almost 15,000 secured loans for tools or trade and for furniture.²³³ Further, over 10,500 men were settled on the land and provided with cheap loans of up to £2,500. Nevertheless, Thomson concluded that the Government failed to grasp the scale, complexity, and pressing character of the challenges involved.²³⁴

Clarke, in 2007, offered a brief review of 'repatriation.' He noted that most returned soldiers 'found jobs themselves and navigated the transition back into civilian life

²³⁰ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An economic history of New Zealand to 1939*. Auckland and London: Collins, 1970, pp.268-269.

²³¹ James Belich, *Paradise reforged. A history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001; and Michael King, *The Penguin history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003, pp.216-217. See also Giselle Byrnes, editor, *The new Oxford history of New Zealand*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

²³² Jane R.M. Thomson, 'The rehabilitation of servicemen of World War Two in New Zealand, 1940-1954,' PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983. See also Tim Shoebridge, 'Repatriation of returned servicemen,' <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/public-service-at-war/repatriation-of-returned-servicemen>. Updated 3 May 2016.

²³³ See *AJHR* 1922, H30, pp.2 and 4.

²³⁴ Thomson, 'The rehabilitation of servicemen,' p.20.

under their own steam.’ He described the scope of the rehabilitation scheme, the arrangements devised for its implementation and management, and the role played by the Returned Soldiers’ Association, including the relationship that developed between that organisation and the Repatriation Department.²³⁵

3.5 Rehabilitating Maori veterans: existing literature

Pomare and Ngata (in particular) discerned in World War I an opportunity for Maori to claim ‘equality’ with Pakeha.²³⁶ According to Michael King, Whina Cooper recalled that in his recruitment address to Te Rarawa ki Hokianga at Waipuna marae, Pomare suggested that ‘Maori should take their share of the fighting to preserve the tradition of their ancestors and help us get a better deal from the Pakeha.’²³⁷ He also recorded that the Maori Recruitment Committee (that included Ngata, Pomare, Te Rangi Hiroa, and Taare Parata) wanted Maori to conduct themselves on the battlefields so that the Government would be obliged to treat all Maori as full citizens and encourage and allow them to participate fully in the nation’s economic life.²³⁸ The expectation, certainly the hope, was that Maori veterans would have made available to them the same rehabilitation facilities and services as Pakeha veterans. But in 1946, Eruera Tirikatene, himself a veteran of World War I (and MHR for Southern Maori from 1932 to 1967), claimed that under ‘previous Governments Maori returned servicemen got not an inch of land or a house, or tools of trade ... There were no rehabilitation facilities for Maoris after World War I.’²³⁹

Few of the standard accounts of New Zealand’s inter-war history offer anything more than passing reference to the economic rehabilitation of the Maori military veterans of World War I. In 1972, Butterworth claimed that

²³⁵ Stephen Clarke, ‘Return, repatriation, remembrance and the Returned Soldiers’ Association 1916-1922,’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon, editors, *New Zealand’s Great War. New Zealand, the Allies, and the First World War*. Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007, pp.157-180.

²³⁶ See Wira Gardiner, *Te mura o te ahi: the story of the Maori Battalion*. Auckland: Reed, 1992, p.13.

²³⁷ Michael King, *Whina: a biography of Whina Cooper*. Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983, p.72.

²³⁸ Michael King, *Apirana Ngata: e tipu e rea*. Wellington: Department of Education, 1988, p.35.

²³⁹ *NZPD* 1946, Vol.275, p.22. See also *NZPD* 1962, Vol.332, p.2763. See also Angela Ballara, ‘Tirikatene, Eruera Tihema Te Aika,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

The achievements of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion ... restored Maori self-confidence and, most notably among the soldiers, there was a bright expectation that Maori conditions would improve. But, in fact, Maoris did not even obtain rehabilitation assistance, and land purchasing was stepped up to meet the demands for land for soldier settlement schemes for Pakehas ... They wanted to enjoy the same opportunities and have the same standard of living as the pakeha. The failure of the Government to make adequate provision for them in the repatriation schemes had infuriated but not completely disheartened them.²⁴⁰

No evidence was cited to support those claims and indeed it is not clear whether, in Butterworth's assessment, Maori veterans were excluded from the rehabilitation programme or whether the Government failed to make 'adequate provision.'

Thomson dealt briefly with the rehabilitation of Maori veterans. No special effort, she noted, was made.

They returned to rural communities where economic and social conditions were inferior to Pakeha living standards. The soldier settlement scheme was exclusively Pakeha, and returned Maoris received no assistance to develop farms. Yet the experience of war service alongside the Pakeha had unsettled many Maoris, and stimulated aspirations to greater equality. The part played by Maoris in the First World War and the treatment received after it accurately reflected their position in New Zealand as a separate and disadvantaged group moving only slowly towards full citizenship and equality with the Pakeha.²⁴¹

King, following Butterworth's argument, suggested that 'the hopes of returning [Maori] Battalion members that conditions of war-time equality with Pakeha soldiers would continue were not fulfilled. There was not even rehabilitation assistance for Maori servicemen.'²⁴² In his biography of Ngata, King claimed that the Government of the day 'refused to help Maori soldiers back into civilian life ...'²⁴³ Subsequently, he suggested that Maori participation in World War I

made it more difficult for the country's Pakeha leaders to argue in favour of excluding Maori from full participation in the national life. It also raised hopes among Maori ex-servicemen that conditions of wartime equality with Pakeha

²⁴⁰ G.V. Butterworth, 'A rural Maori renaissance? Maori society and politics 1920 to 1951,' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81, 2, 1972, pp.165-166.

²⁴¹ Thomson, 'The rehabilitation of servicemen,' p.137.

²⁴² Michael King, 'Between two worlds,' in W.H. Oliver with Bridget Williams, editors, *The Oxford history of New Zealand*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Wellington, Oxford University Press, 1981, p.297.

²⁴³ Michael King, *Apirana Ngata: e tipu e rea*. Wellington: Department of Education, 1988, p.40.

soldiers would continue into peacetime. They did not. Legislation forbidding the sale of alcohol to Maori and excluding them from housing and farm development finance persisted after the war. Few Maori soldiers were eligible for rehabilitation assistance. These were among the conditions that drove many ex-servicemen into the ranks of the Ratana movement.²⁴⁴

King did not cite the evidence on which he based those conclusions. It is worthwhile recording that Maori were not excluded from farm development assistance, although Maori freehold land did not qualify, under the Government Advances to Settlers' Act 1894, as acceptable security.

In 1988, Butterworth offered an extended comment on the rehabilitation of Maori veterans of World War I. He suggested that

The application of rehabilitation schemes to Maori soldiers proved to be ... [an] unhappy issue. The Government considered the Maori had enough land. It was not prepared to do anything substantial to assist Maori. A section in the 1917 Native Land Amendment Act made it possible for Maori land owners to give land to the Crown for Maori soldier settlements. Otherwise, the Government remained indifferent to general Maori needs ... By 1917, the Maori leaders were in fact starting to doubt whether substantial Government assistance would be offered to Maori returned soldiers. They therefore launched their own scheme of self-help. A Maori Patriotic Committee was formed to raise funds for Maori returned soldiers. The initial aim had been to actually settle Maori soldiers on their own farms but by September 1917 it was agreed that the limited resources of the Maori people made this impossible. The object came down to raising sufficient funds to enable the trustees to obtain farms in working order, and use the income from these farms for the relief of Maori soldiers and their dependants.²⁴⁵

Butterworth added that the refusal of the Government to admit that there were any special Maori problems that required different policies 'was ... the subtlest form of discrimination.' Certainly, the Maori MPs were unable to break through the complacent viewpoint that every soldier would be treated equally.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Michael King, *The Penguin history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003, p.333. Henderson had earlier suggested that a large number of returned Maori soldiers turned to Ratana in part out of a desire to confront what was perceived to be Government indifference to their needs. See J. McLeod Henderson, 'Ratana: the history of the origins, growth, and nature of the Ratana Movement, with reference to the adjustment of the Maori people to their changing social environment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some effects of the Movement, and the character of T.W. Ratana the leader,' MA Thesis, University of New Zealand [Otago], 1955, p.53.

²⁴⁵ G.V. Butterworth, *Aotearoa 1788-1989: towards a tribal perspective*. Wellington: Department of Maori Affairs, 1988. p.55.

²⁴⁶ Butterworth, *Aotearoa*, p.55.

Claudia Orange described Prime Minister Massey's 1922 promise 'to grant any measure that would put the Maori people "on a footing of equality" with Pakeha' as 'a promise made too late in the day for many Maori: the government had not included Maori returned servicemen in rehabilitation schemes after World War I.'²⁴⁷ Baker claimed that, upon their return, Maori veterans 'were neither fêted nor financially assisted as Pakeha soldiers were,' while Locke claimed that

there was really no room for Maori in these [rehabilitation] schemes. Few of them spoke English well enough to present a case, or could quote any pre-war experience. Nobody gave them any encouragement. The authorities expected their own hapu to look after their own returned soldiers, and so they did.²⁴⁸

Puckey claimed that in the Far North, most of the returning Maori veterans 'reverted to the gum industry, which enjoyed a brief recovery following the war.'²⁴⁹ Bennett claimed that Maori veterans returned to New Zealand

only to find their heightened expectations frustrated by the political establishment ... The promise of genuine equality was also exposed as a falsehood when Maori returned servicemen were denied access to components of the social policy infrastructure in the form of war pensions and rehabilitation assistance.²⁵⁰

Finally, in 2016 Loveridge and Keane simply noted that 'repatriation initiatives for Maori veterans, which included efforts to offer practical educational lectures and land

²⁴⁷ Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin, Port Nicholson Press, Department of Internal Affairs, 1987, p.231. See also Claudia Orange, *An illustrated history of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin in association with the Port Nicholson Press, 1990, pp.83-84 in which she claimed that while the Government assisted Pakeha soldiers to re-establish themselves in civilian life, 'it did not do the same for Maori.' In Northland, in March 1922, Massey reportedly declared that 'Under the Soldiers' Settlement Act Maori soldiers were treated exactly the same as European soldiers, and from his own observation he could say that many of them were going to be successful.' See 'Wants of the Maori,' *New Zealand Herald* 30 March 1922, p.6. Other journals reported Massey as having assured Maori that 'It there was any direction in which it was necessary to put Maoris on a footing of equality with the pakeha it would be granted.' See, for example, 'Treaty of Waitangi,' *Hawera & Normanby Star* 30 March 1922, p.5; and 'Historic gathering,' *Press* 30 March 1922, p.6.

²⁴⁸ P.J. Baker, *King and country call: New Zealanders, conscription and the Great War*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, p.221; and Elsie Locke, *Two people, one land: a history of Aotearoa /New Zealand*. Wellington: GP Books, 1988, second edition 1990, pp.64-65.

²⁴⁹ Adrienne M.A. Puckey, 'The substance of the shadow. Maori and Pakeha political relationships 1860 -1940,' PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2006, p.326.

²⁵⁰ James Bennett, 'Maori as honorary members of the white tribe,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth history* 29, 3, September 2001, p.45.

settlement, achieved limited results ...'²⁵¹ In short, many historians have concluded that Maori veterans were, at worst, deliberately excluded from or, at best, inadequately provided for under the rehabilitation scheme. Other historians do not refer to the rehabilitation of Maori veterans at all.²⁵²

3.6 The lost record

It is important to recognise that the primary and, especially, the archival record relating to the rehabilitation of discharged servicemen and women, whether Maori or Pakeha, is largely lacking. Fire has destroyed many departmental records, others exhibit fire and water damage, others were deliberately destroyed or lost, and still others disappeared in what Strachan described as 'unknown circumstances.'²⁵³ The Hope Gibbons fire of 1952 alone destroyed records of the Departments of Native Affairs, Lands and Survey (yearly numbered files to 1891), Public Works, Agriculture, and Labour and Employment, while those of the Pensions Department (1896-1938) and the State Advances Corporation (prior to 1930) are among those to have 'disappeared.' Among the missing records are those of the Discharged Soldiers' Information and Repatriation Departments. Adding to the obvious difficulties are the very few references to the rehabilitation of Maori service personnel offered by the annual reports of those Government departments involved. Some Lands and Survey records offer limited insights into the settlement of discharged Maori soldiers on the land, but on matters of pensions, loans, and employment the record is largely silent.

3.7 Preparing for the return of the armed forces

By December 1918, over 28,000 personnel had returned to New Zealand, while almost 56,700 would return during 1919. By the end of 1919 just 792 remained

²⁵¹ Loveridge and Keane, 'Turangawaewae,' p.295.

²⁵² See, for example, Monty Soutar, 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu: what did they come home to?' *Turnbull Library Record* 42, 2009, pp.34-46; and Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata whenua: an illustrated history*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015.

²⁵³ S.R. Strachan, 'Archives for New Zealand social history,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 13,1, 1979, p.90.

overseas.²⁵⁴ In preparation, the Government had, comparatively early in the conflict, begun to prepare a programme for the economic rehabilitation of veterans that focussed on land settlement, employment, and pensions. The Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act and the War Pensions Act were both enacted in 1915 while that same year saw the establishment of the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department. The Acts are outlined below, respectively in Chapters 4 and 5. The immediate focus is on the administrative arrangements that were devised to implement the rehabilitation programme: it should be noted that the long-established Department of Lands and Survey was charged with the implementation of the discharged soldier land settlement programme, while pensions were the responsibility of the Pensions Department.²⁵⁵ Significantly, perhaps, the Department of Native Affairs was not associated in any way with the rehabilitation programme.

3.7.1 The Discharged Soldiers' Information Department

The Discharged Soldiers' Information Department (which commenced operations in August 1915) was established to 'deal specially with the problem of obtaining employment for returned soldiers discharged from further military service,' that is, to function principally as a labour exchange.²⁵⁶ The Department was instructed by Cabinet to ensure that 'no man was to be missed.'²⁵⁷ According to the Minister responsible for the department (A.L. Herdman), officers of the agency were required to interview all soldiers immediately upon their return, and present each one with a card informing them of the Department's existence and of its readiness to provide assistance as needed. 'If a soldier does not want the assistance of the Department he signs a statement to the effect. If he wants the assistance of the Department it becomes its duty to endeavour to find him appropriate employment.' Herdman was confident that the Department would see 'that no returned soldier shall come back to New Zealand whose interests will not be carefully looked after.'²⁵⁸ He went on to note

²⁵⁴ Montgomery, 'Repatriation,' in H.T.B. Drew, editor, *The war effort of New Zealand*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1923, p.164.

²⁵⁵ The Department of Lands and Survey, in 1915, comprised six branches, namely, the Lands, Survey, Land-drainage, Forestry, Scenery-preservation, and Kauri-gum Industry Branches.

²⁵⁶ *AJHR* 1916, H30, p.1.

²⁵⁷ *AJHR* 1918 Session II, H30, p.1.

²⁵⁸ *NZPD* 1915, Vol.174, p.219. For Herdman, see Susan Butterworth, 'Herdman, Alexander Lawrence,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

that ‘We have compiled a register of the men who have returned to New Zealand, and we have done our best to get in touch with every man.’ His Department would compile registers of all who served, all who returned, and of those ‘out of the Department’s hands.’²⁵⁹

Those discharged soldiers who did not require assistance were entered into a separate register, while details of those who did were forwarded to local committees. The registers so constructed (and, it is presumed, transferred to its successor, the Repatriation Department) do not appear to have survived. Whether and, if so, how many returning Maori veterans registered with and sought the assistance of the department could not be established. It should be borne in mind that for many Maori service personnel, enlistment and service represented their first, certainly their first sustained, contact with Pakeha and engagement with the Crown and its agencies other than the Native Land Court and the Maori land boards. In such circumstances and given the level of distrust that persisted between many iwi and the Crown, it is entirely possible that many Maori veterans chose not to register. Alternatively, many may have felt that the rehabilitation programme was intended to meet the needs of Pakeha soldiers. This theme is explored in later chapters.

The Discharged Soldiers’ Information Department worked through the local committees (usually sub-committees of local patriotic societies). Map 3.4 sets out the location of the committees representing the Department as at 1918. A very large number of what were termed ‘patriotic funds’ was established, while in some districts regional associations were established.²⁶⁰ Maori were active fund-raisers for and contributors to these funds.²⁶¹ Although these voluntary funds were widely distributed throughout the country, the relationships between them and the local committees with which the Department of Discharged Soldiers’ Information Department worked is not clear. Certainly, the geographical reach of the latter is not known, a matter of

²⁵⁹ *NZPD* 1915, Vol. 174, p.220.

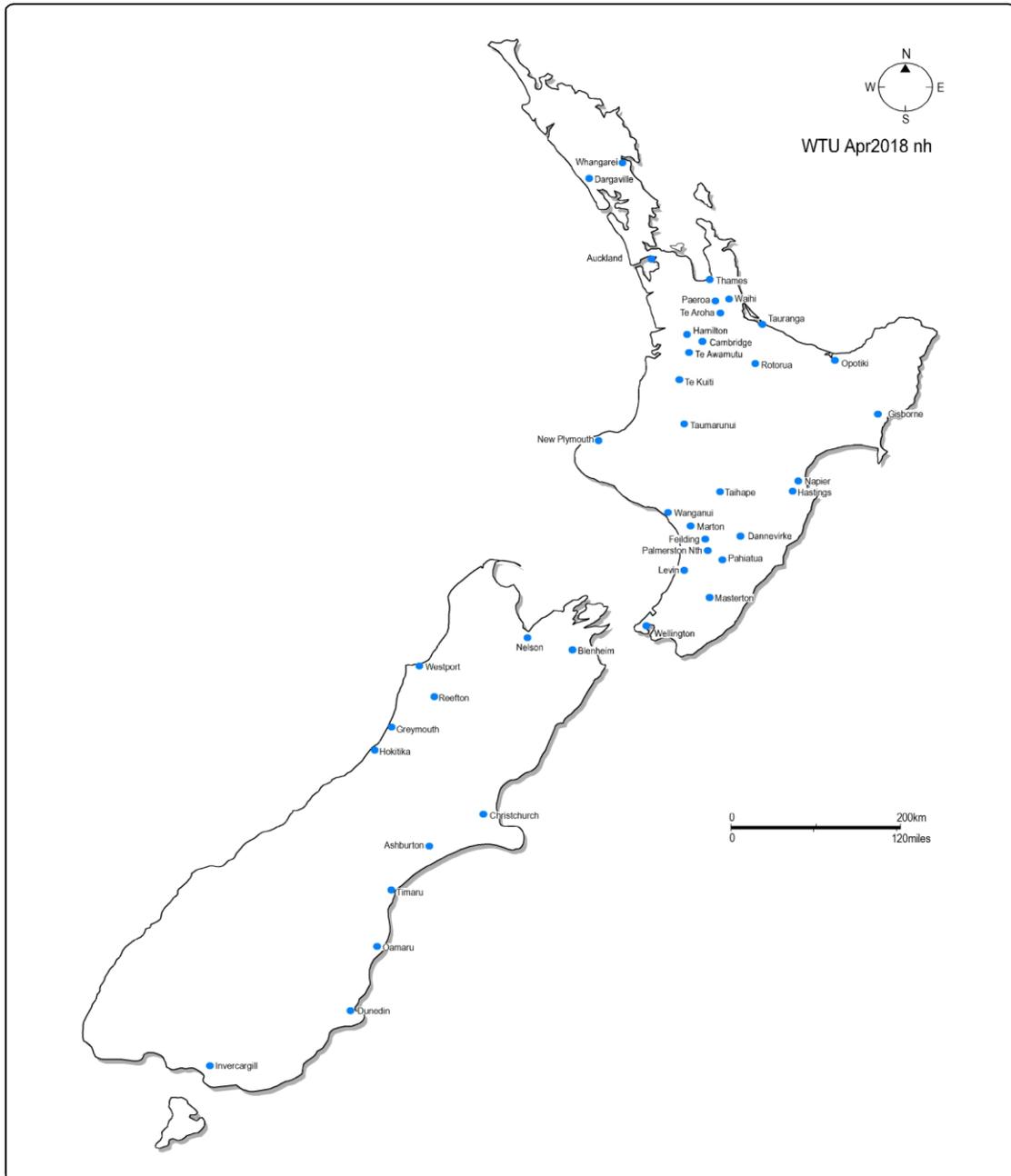
²⁶⁰ A list of those in operation prior to and as at 31 March 1920 can be found in *AJHR* 1920, H46. For a useful account, see L.O.H. Tripp, ‘War relief and patriotic societies,’ Chapter XI in *The war effort of New Zealand*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1923, pp.176-196.

²⁶¹ See, for example, ‘Patriotic movement. Organising the funds. Committees formed,’ *King Country Chronicle* 26 May 1915, p.5; ‘Patriotism of Oparure. Funds for the Wounded Soldiers’ Relief,’ *King Country Chronicle* 16 October 1915, p.5; and ‘Wounded Soldiers’ Fund,’ *King Country Chronicle* 8 December 1915, p.5.

considerable importance given that most Maori veterans appear to have returned to their (usually) isolated rural communities. It is important to bear in mind that roads in many rural districts, notably Te Tai Tokerau, Te Rohe Potae, and Te Tai Rawhiti, the very districts from which the bulk of the Maori service personnel were drawn, were often rudimentary. Those roads serving districts with predominantly Maori residents and communities were of a singularly poor standard and in fact often were impassable. Motor transport was still in its infancy, so that mail and other service relied on the horse. Telephone networks did expand steadily from about 1900, so that by 1914, 238 telephone exchanges had 49,415 connections (compared with 42,934 a year earlier).²⁶² The ‘party-line’ system operated by the Post and Telegraph Department and the passage of the Country Telephone-lines Act 1912 (empowering country councils and road boards to construct lines and link ratepayers with government exchanges) served to encourage growing numbers of rural communities and residents to link into the state network or to construct local networks. Nevertheless, at the end of March 1914, there were just 1,472 party-line circuits with 4,642 subscribers.²⁶³ Rural communities relied for much longer on the 2,306 country postmasters and postmistresses then employed.

²⁶² *AJHR* 1914, F1, p.12.

²⁶³ *AJHR* 1914, F1, p.12.



Source: AJHR 1918, Session II, H30, p.8

Map 3.4: Locations of the committees representing the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department, 1918

Up to the end of 1918, the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department dealt largely if not almost solely with disabled men and their placement into employment. With the pending return of veterans in their thousands, most expected to be fit and able-bodied, the Department of Discharged Soldiers' Information, by mid-1917, decided to discontinue its practice of interviewing each man in favour of issuing a printed notice that essentially invited veterans to approach the Department if assistance were required. It was fully expected that the post-war demand for labour would absorb the returning men. Nevertheless, the Government also secured authority to raise loans for the construction of public works. The Finance Act 1919 (section 5) for example authorised it to borrow £750,000 for 'buildings required for purpose of public education' (£250,000) and for 'other public works' (£500,000). Local authorities were empowered to undertake similar works with funding made available through State Advances. Further, the Departments of Lands and Survey, Railways, and Public Works had prepared schemes that would absorb some 15,000 men.²⁶⁴

In none of its three reports did the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department refer to Maori veterans. Table 3.1 summarises its efforts at four dates. By the end of October 1918 and its absorption into the Repatriation Department, the Department had registered 24,556 discharged soldiers. Of that number 30.4 per cent had re-enlisted or had jobs to which they could return, 22.0 per cent did not require the Department's assistance, and 10.8 per cent had not responded to the Department's efforts to contact them. Fewer than one in seven had required the Department's assistance to find employment. It is not known how many Maori discharged soldiers featured in those statistics, although it should be noted that the bulk of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion would not return until April 1919.

²⁶⁴ *AJHR* 1917, H30, p.6; and 1918, Session II, H30, pp.4-5.

Table 3.1: Disabled soldiers dealt with by the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department, 1916 to 1918

	2 May 1916	13 February 1917	21 June 1917	31 October 1918
<i>Total on register</i>				
Disposed of	2083	6786	7298	19362
Under action	1265	584	1080	2178
Not ready for action	1028	374	692	3016
Totals	4376	6786	9070	24556
<i>How cases dealt with</i>				
Left NZ, or address unknown	91	153	157	188
Re-enlisted, returned to military duties, have work to return to	1017	2488	3223	7466
No assistance required	537	1298	1659	5405
Men placed	400	1352	1573	3643
Number not responding	38	537	686	2660
<i>Cases under action</i>				
Reports awaited	439	147	294	824
Under further inquiry	311	336	587	1072
Awaiting notice of discharge	249			
On Employment Wanted register	266	101	199	282
<i>Cases not ready for action</i>				
Men not ready for employment and not yet discharged	1028	374	692	3016

Source: *AJHR* 1916, H30, p.6; 1917, H30, p.8; and 1918 Session II, H30, p.9; and ANZ Wellington ADRE 17315 NEB1/6 141

3.7.2 The Repatriation Act 1918 and the Repatriation Board

Public criticism of the limited assistance offered through the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department mounted, and, indeed, a later (1940) Treasury paper labelled it as 'an experiment.' It was not until late December 1918 that Parliament passed the Repatriation Act: it established a Repatriation Department administered by a Repatriation Board and a Director of Repatriation responsible to the Board. The *Otago Daily Times* was swift to describe the Government's measure as 'belated' and

the Repatriation Board as ‘a clumsy expedient,’ while insisting that successful rehabilitation depended upon an effective decentralisation of decision-making.²⁶⁵ D.M. Greig (the author of the Treasury paper and later Director-General of Lands) later described the passage of the Act, a month after the signing of the Armistice, as having exhibited ‘a lamentable lack of imagination.’ Indeed, he went on to suggest that the ‘belated arrival’ of the Repatriation Department ‘may have been a realisation of the possibilities of huge losses under the Land Settlement Scheme.’²⁶⁶ In other words, the additional rehabilitation measures introduced in the Repatriation Act 1918 were intended to encourage veterans into other avenues of employment.

The Repatriation Board’s constitution – two Liberal and two Reform ministers – immediately attracted strong criticism, on the grounds, first, that it did not include any representative of the Returned Soldiers’ Association (established in 1915) and, second, that as a ‘political’ four-headed body it would prove unwieldy, ‘a concession to miserable party suspicions and jealousies.’²⁶⁷ The Board comprised the Ministers of Repatriation, Railways, Agriculture, Education, and Lands and Survey, that is, those departments on which responsibility for the implementation of the rehabilitation programme would largely fall. So far as could be established, the Department of Native Affairs was neither consulted nor otherwise involved in the discussions that led to the Repatriation Act 1918. It is at least possible that its absence, together with the lack of coordination among the State agencies involved, helped to account for the fact that the particular needs of Maori veterans were not taken into account as the rehabilitation ‘programme’ was being formulated. On the other hand, it is worth bearing in mind that at that stage the Department functioned chiefly as a Maori land-purchasing agency.

Criticism continued to mount. In January 1919, the *New Zealand Herald* claimed that ‘The Dominion has a Repatriation Act and a Repatriation Board but no repatriation policy.’²⁶⁸ The *Otago Witness* went so far as to suggest that the Board’s ‘silence’ in the face of the pending return of service personnel suggested that ‘The scheme seems

²⁶⁵ No title, *Otago Daily Times* 7 December 1918, p.6.

²⁶⁶ ‘Report by Treasury Department regarding rehabilitation of returned members of the armed forces,’ in ANZ Wellington ADRK17408 T25 18/146.

²⁶⁷ ‘Repatriation policy,’ *New Zealand Herald* 3 March 1919, p.8.

²⁶⁸ ‘Repatriation plans,’ *New Zealand Herald* 13 January 1919, p.4.

almost to be breaking down.’²⁶⁹ In March 1919, the *New Zealand Herald*, in a particularly scathing editorial, recorded that while the organisation of district boards and committees had been practically completed ‘no one with any authority has yet defined a repatriation policy.’ Successful rehabilitation required, it suggested, the cooperation of all State agencies, the community at large, and the returning soldiers themselves. Much of the criticism was levelled at the exclusion of land settlement – to which most veterans were expected to turn – from the control of the Repatriation Board. In June 1919, the *Sun* criticised what it regarded as the haste with which the Repatriation Act 1918 had been prepared and pushed through Parliament. Massey and Ward were accused of being more interested in boarding a ship bound for the Peace Conference in Paris than in what was described as ‘the most momentous problem of the day ...’ The result, complained the *Sun*, is that the country ‘was left with a Repatriation Board, grotesquely unwieldy and obviously only a stop-gap, but no repatriation policy.’ It called for the establishment of a Department of Reconstruction and Repatriation headed by a single minister.²⁷⁰

3.8 Devolving responsibility for rehabilitation

The Repatriation Department established an administrative structure that included four district boards and a large number of local repatriation committees.

3.8.1 District repatriation boards

Section 10(1) of the Repatriation Act 1918 empowered the Repatriation Board to ‘establish such district or local Boards and Committees as it thinks fit and appoint the members thereof.’ Section 10(2) empowered such bodies to ‘possess and exercise such advisory and consultative functions under this Act as the Repatriation Board thinks fit to confer upon them, and also such of the administrative powers and functions of the Rehabilitation Board as that Board thinks fit to delegate to them.’

²⁶⁹ *Otago Witness* 15 January 1919, p.23.

²⁷⁰ ‘Soldiers’ reconstruction policy,’ *Sun* 2 June 1919, p.4.

Four repatriation boards were established, in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.²⁷¹ The constitution, membership, organisation, policies, and activities of these boards have not been investigated in any systematic fashion: formal records for this report were not located. Members were drawn from local employer, trade union, and related groups, with the exception of iwi. Press reports indicate that they fashioned their own policies, the Wellington Repatriation Board, for example, deciding that its policy was ‘to encourage able-bodied men to engage in productive industries, by which the community as a whole receives a benefit as well as the individual.’²⁷² They dealt with all facets of rehabilitation, including training and placement in employment. Land settlement was the preserve of the Department of Lands and Survey.

The boards appear to have established a range of ‘sectional committees,’ the Canterbury District Repatriation Board, for example, appointing six, namely, Information; Industrial; Sustenance; Trades, Tools, and Equipment; Educational and Vocational; and Employment, and carefully defined the duties of each.²⁷³ The Auckland District Repatriation Committee appears to have been supported by county-based repatriation committees.²⁷⁴ The Auckland newspapers carried reports, usually brief, of the Auckland District Repatriation Board’s activities, that is, the number and value of grants and the purposes for which they had been made, but they offered no indication as to whether Maori soldiers were assisted. The membership of the Auckland District Repatriation Board on its establishment did not include any Maori representation.²⁷⁵ In February 1921, in response to a suggestion from the Ministerial Repatriation Board, the boards reduced their membership to five: the casualties – for reasons that were not disclosed – included the Maori representatives. The five would represent ‘business interests,’ the Federation of Labour, the Returned Soldiers’ Association, and patriotic and friendly societies.²⁷⁶ Maori were thus not represented from February 1921, while the district boards focussed increasingly on the aftercare of veterans recovering or in poor health. The lack of records renders it impossible to

²⁷¹ *NZPD* 1919, Vol., pp.526-527.

²⁷² ‘Repatriation. Wellington Board busy. Some policy points,’ *Evening Post* 27 February 1919, p.8.

²⁷³ ‘To help the soldiers,’ *Sun* 20 February 1919, p.3.

²⁷⁴ See ‘Repatriating soldiers. Local board’s activities,’ *Auckland Star* 31 March 1920, p.7.

²⁷⁵ ‘Repatriation Board,’ *Auckland Star* 6 February 1919.

²⁷⁶ ‘Repatriation Board. Reduction of membership,’ *New Zealand Herald* 11 February 1921, p.6; and ‘Repatriation Board. Good work acknowledged,’ *New Zealand Herald* 25 February 1921, p.6.

assess the contribution that the Maori representatives may have made, in particular whether their advocacy was effective.

3.8.2 Local repatriation committees

In January 1919, the Repatriation Board moved to set up local repatriation committees under section 10 of the Repatriation Act 1918, such committees to ‘be representative of all interests in the community ...’ Each local committee would be expected to elect from its members a committee of five, including a representative of the Returned Soldiers’ Association, and employers’ and employees’ associations.²⁷⁷ Thus the repatriation committee established in Gisborne included representatives of the Gisborne Citizens’ Defence Committee, the Farmers’ Union, YMCA, Chamber of Commerce, National Efficiency Board, Employers’ Association, Labour Union, Friendly Societies, and two appointed by the Repatriation Board. The committee’s secretary was a staff-sergeant-major. There was no explicit provision for iwi representation.²⁷⁸ In effect, a great deal of the work being undertaken by the Gisborne Citizen’s Defence Committee was shifted to the Gisborne Repatriation Committee. The former thus looked to assist veterans ‘who could not secure financial advances from the Government owing to the regulations.’²⁷⁹ The Auckland Patriotic Association decided not to seek representation on the Auckland Repatriation Board, ‘considering it preferable to continue its activities along the present lines on account of the difficulties and delay experienced by returned soldiers in obtaining assistance from the Government.’²⁸⁰

It should be recognised that some patriotic societies offered financial assistance to veterans. The Hawke’s Bay Relief Association, for example, assisted veterans with respect to land settlement.²⁸¹ The Whanganui-Waitotara Patriotic Association offered cash advances of £100 to soldiers who had resided in the district prior to enlisting and ‘subject to the applicants having a thorough knowledge of the class of farming they

²⁷⁷ ‘Board discussed by Defence Committee,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 21 January 1919, p.3.

²⁷⁸ ‘Repatriation Committee. Appointments for Gisborne,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 19 February 1919, p.3.

²⁷⁹ ‘Repatriation work. Discussion by Defence Committee,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 1 April 1919, p.2.

²⁸⁰ ‘Assisting soldiers. An Auckland body’s attitude,’ *Dominion* 14 February 1919, p.4.

²⁸¹ ‘Soldier settlers,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 3 October 1917, p.9.

proposed to enter into ...' The Wairarapa Patriotic Association assisted veterans to set up businesses, while the Taranaki Provincial War Relief Association offered loans up to £500 for the purchase of dwellings, and for farming and business purposes.²⁸² The loans made to soldier settlers were intended to carry them over the period during which their transactions with the land boards were completed: loans advanced by the latter were often delayed, and not always adequate. Whether Maori veterans were assisted in these substantive ways was not established (but see below).

3.8.3 *Special repatriation boards*

In February 1919 the Department of Defence claimed that 'special consideration' was being given to the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, that Maori representatives had met in Wellington and 'conferred with the Repatriation Department on the subject,' and that full particulars as to the action to be taken would be 'made known through the several Maori districts' in 'due course.'²⁸³ Just a few weeks later, in May 1919, the *Dominion* recorded that, on the return of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion in April 1919, a suggestion had been made – by whom it did not say – that 'special repatriation boards should deal with Native soldiers. Representatives of the Maoris have stated that they do not think the needs of the Maori soldiers will be understood by the ordinary boards.'²⁸⁴ That same month, the matter was taken up by the Ministerial Repatriation Board when it discussed

the best method of advancing the interests of the Maori members of the N.Z.E.F. Considering all the circumstances, it has been felt that the best plan was not to set up any special body to deal with soldiers of the Pioneer Battalion, but to have their cases considered by the same repatriation Boards and Committees that have been established for Pakeha soldiers. These boards and committees will apply exactly the same principles to the cases of the Maori soldiers as to those of other members of the N.Z.E.F., but in order that the interests of the Maoris may be properly safeguarded it has been decided to appoint a Maori, and preferably a returned Maori soldier, as a member of each District Repatriation Board or local committee. It is felt that the appointment of such representatives will enable the boards and committees to do full justice to Native applicants, and will give the latter confidence, as they will know that

²⁸² See 'Loans to soldiers,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 15 October 1918, p.6.

²⁸³ Captain for Adjutant General, Defence to C.D. Wright, Nuhaka 24 March 1919, in ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AS1/707 9/32/1.

²⁸⁴ 'Repatriation of Maori soldiers,' *Dominion* 16 May 1919, p.8.

there is a member of the board who is thoroughly familiar with their special circumstances.²⁸⁵

The ‘circumstances’ to which the Ministerial Repatriation Board referred were not defined, while the ‘special circumstances’ of Maori veterans were left unstated. Subsequently, the Director of Repatriation advised the Canterbury (and Otago?) Repatriation Board that ‘special arrangements were being made in respect of North Island Maori.’ Since there were so few Maori soldiers in the South Island, no special steps would be taken: rather they would be dealt with ‘in exactly the same manner as the pakehas.’ It was proposed, nevertheless, to appoint a Maori member to each of the boards in centres where a number of Maori veterans resided. The Canterbury Repatriation Board decided to establish the number of Maori soldiers who had proceeded from its district: so far as could be ascertained no Maori member was appointed to that Board.²⁸⁶ It will be noted that, in the list that follows, three of the appointments were made to the district repatriation boards, and the remainder to local repatriation committees. The appointment of Maori members attracted little comment. Te Rangi Hiroa was appointed to the Auckland District Repatriation Board, it was recorded, ‘specially to assist the board in cases affecting Maori soldiers.’²⁸⁷ The Board’s chairperson subsequently recorded that Dr Buck has been ‘of great assistance in handling cases of Maori soldiers applying for assistance.’²⁸⁸ William Pitt, the *Poverty Bay Herald* noted, was ‘well acquainted with native matters and should be of great assistance in dealing with the applications of native soldiers.’²⁸⁹

Those appointed included:

Auckland District Repatriation Board: Major P.H. Buck

Wellington District Repatriation Board: Captain Tahiwī, Otaki

Levin Honorary Committee: Lieutenant Horo Karauti, Ohau

Palmerston North Local Committee: Lieutenant Carkeek, Levin

²⁸⁵ ‘Maori warriors. Repatriation arrangements. Native members on boards,’ *Evening Post* 15 May 1919, p.8;

²⁸⁶ ‘Repatriation. Canterbury Board,’ *Sun* 27 March 1919, p.8.

²⁸⁷ ‘Work of repatriation. District Board’s activities,’ *New Zealand Herald* 13 June 1919, p.8.

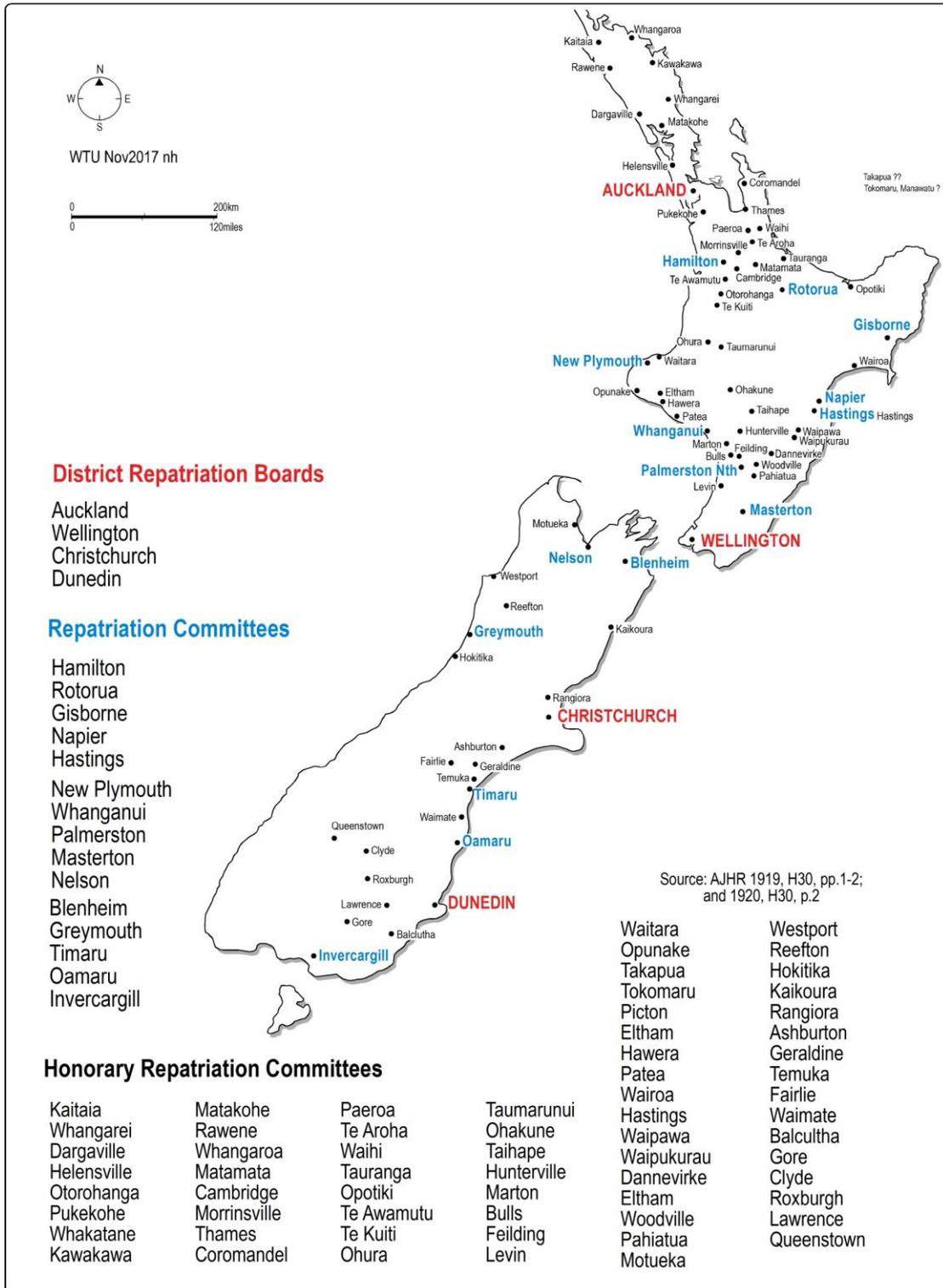
²⁸⁸ ‘Protection of soldiers,’ *Auckland Star* 13 June 1919, p.6.

²⁸⁹ No title, *Poverty Bay Herald* 11 June 1919, p.2. For a photograph of Pitt, together with Princess Te Puea Herangi, see Jane Tolerton, *Make her praises heard afar: New Zealand overseas in World War One*. Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017, p.105.

Marion Honorary Committee: Corporal Rangi Marumaru, Bulls
Whanganui Local Committee: Lieutenant Mete Kingi, Whanganui
Te Kuiti Honorary Committee: Lieutenant T. Hetet, Te Kuiti
Te Awamutu Honorary Committee: Lieutenant M.F. Jones, Te Kuiti
Hamilton Local Committee: Mr T. Ormsby, Te Kuiti
Thames Honorary Committee: Mr H. Roera, Thames
Gisborne Committee: Captain W. Pitt
Nelson Repatriation Committee: Mr T. Hippolite, Croixelles
Blenheim Repatriation Committee: Mr A. Rore, Spring Creek
Oamaru Repatriation Committee: Mr Thomas Wetere, Glenavy
Otago District Repatriation Board: Timi Hipe, Puketeraki
Southland: G. Skerrett, Awarua Plains²⁹⁰

Map 3.5 sets out the location of the Department's four district repatriation offices, district repatriation committees, and honorary repatriation committees as at 1919-1920.

²⁹⁰ 'Maori warriors. Repatriation arrangements. Native members on boards,' *Evening Post* 15 May 1919, p.8; 'Repatriation of Maori soldiers,' *Dominion* 16 May 1919, p.8; 'Local and general news,' *Marlborough Express* 22 May 1919, p.4; 'Repatriation committee,' *Oamaru Mail* 23 May 1919, p.5; 'Personal,' *Colonist* 2 June 1919, p.4; No title, *Poverty Bay Herald* 11 June 1919, p.2; 'Otago Repatriation Board,' *Otago Daily Times* 20 June 1919, p.8; and 'Personal,' *Otago Daily Times* 16 July 1919, p.8.



Sources: AJHR 1919, H30, pp.1-2 and 1920, H30, p.2

Map 3.5: The Rehabilitation Department's district and regional offices and honorary repatriation committees, 1919-1920

3.9 ‘Furnished with his sheaf of papers’

A major task that confronted those charged with assisting returning veterans to settle back into civilian life was to acquaint them with the rehabilitation services available and to establish individual needs and preferences. Several steps were taken. A leaflet showing in a comprehensive manner the provisions of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act, and its amendments, and regulations issued thereunder, was compiled, and widely distributed by the High Commissioner for New Zealand to members of the Expeditionary Force in London, and to officers of the Force. In turn, they were expected to familiarise those on the transports with the provisions made by the New Zealand Government. The leaflet was also handed to each soldier as he arrived in New Zealand, whilst copies were sent to all branches of the Returned Soldiers’ Associations, and to other institutions and individuals as requested. The bulk of the information was also incorporated into the *Soldiers’ Guide* issued by the Defence Department: a copy was handed to each soldier on his return to New Zealand.²⁹¹ Neither leaflets nor *Guide* were printed in te reo Maori.

The distribution of leaflets and copies of the *Soldiers’ Guide* notwithstanding, both Maori and Pakeha veterans complained that they were not advised of the services available or that the Government failed to take a sufficiently proactive approach. Still others found navigating their way through the application procedures a challenge, notably for those for whom English was a second language, whose education was limited, and who lived distant from district repatriation board and committee offices. As noted above, the fact that most Maori veterans returned to and settled in their often isolated home communities probably did not facilitate the dissemination of information, but there is no evidence to suggest that rehabilitation information was deliberately withheld.²⁹² Further, it should be borne in mind that, in 1918, with a

²⁹¹ *AJHR* 1917, H30, p.2; and *AJHR* 1919, C9, p.4.

²⁹² A little insight into some of the difficulties that Maori experienced in securing official information, in particular, from the Department of Lands and Survey was offered by the Puheke Settlement (for fruit and poultry farming): it fronted Karikari and Rangaunu Bays on the eastern shores of Mangonui County. As preparations were made for surveying the Crown-owned former gum lands, R.D. McCully, in charge of the Rangiawhia Native School, advised North Auckland’s Commissioner of Crown Lands that local Maori, formerly gum diggers, were endeavouring to establish dairying, but owned little land and that collectively. ‘The Natives,’ he claimed, on July 1922, ‘have no means of getting information [about the proposed settlement] except through me.’ No response to his request for information about

quarter of its male permanent staff serving in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, the Postal and Telegraph Department curtailed services sharply and only gradually restored them during 1919 and 1920 as service personnel were demobilised and as the post-war influenza pandemic eased.²⁹³ Details of the land settlement scheme were published in the newspapers of the day but they are unlikely to have reached many Maori veterans.

While Maori were appointed to three repatriation boards and some to local committees, the Government of the day did not consider appointing field officers whose task it would have been to contact every Maori veteran, ascertain their needs, familiarise them with the rehabilitation benefits available to them, assist them to navigate the procedure involved in completing application forms, and support them through any hearings process. No evidence was located that would indicate that Maori veterans, especially those residing in isolated communities or eking out a living on the gum-fields, were ever contacted formally by an officer of the Government. Rather, the evidence suggests that where Maori approached State agencies for guidance and assistance, they were actively discouraged from lodging applications. This matter is explored in the following chapter dealing with settlement on the land.

In April 1919, a letter over the name of Lieutenant Te Waawata Gannon of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion appeared in the *Dominion*.

Conventionally [he wrote] ... the Maori is treated as other men are; actually he is at a manifest disadvantage. He is furnished with his sheaf of papers, and the 'Department' has done with him. Let him go to Base Records; they have done all they can for him. He goes to the Adjutant-General, and here he is cold-shouldered. The G.O.C. to him is a figurehead. The Minister is no friend of the 'returned soldier,' as instanced by his action regarding the closing of the hotels to returned soldiers in defiance of the votes of the men who did their duty to the country ... My scheme is this. An office should be established, in Wellington to deal with the grievances of and all matters relating to members of the Pioneer Battalion, free from all political influence. Political influence and military red tape are the curse of the returned soldier, and we, as Maoris,

the settlement was located on the file and no Maori resident was numbered among the applicants. See ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1109 A557/14/1/a 3/546.

²⁹³ See *AJHR* 1919 and 1920, F1.

claim as a representative body who bore our part in the war, and claim to have such an office established ...²⁹⁴

Gannon's appeal went unheeded.

3.10 Locating the voice of Maori veterans

Locating the voice of Maori veterans with respect to registration with State agencies and the manner in which they were treated by officials of the Crown proved particularly difficult to locate.²⁹⁵ There were some indications, nevertheless, that some veterans and iwi were less than certain that equal access under the law would translate into equal treatment.

In Elsie Locke's *The kauri and the willow: how we lived and grew from 1801-1942*, one Kaitoa recorded that, after returning to New Zealand

... I went back home and settled among the canoes and the corn and the eels. Did we have help from the Government; could we learn new trades or open a shop like the Pakeha soldiers? Perhaps, but we knew nothing of these things. The pakehas didn't come to tell us. They said the Maoris will look after their own. This was true. Thousands of pounds were raised for the returned soldiers and no one was left in poverty if he had an arm or a leg missing ... No, things were not the same. We had seen how the pakeha lived better than us, and we had proved to everyone we could march and fight as well as the pakeha. We could work as well too, if we had the chance. We thought about these matters. Some of us went to the town and lived like pakehas. Most of us stayed in our villages, but in the night we lay awake and thought many things. Yes, we had seen great changes, and more changes were sure to come.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ 'Maori returned soldiers. A special office suggested,' *Dominion* 28 April 1919, p.8. Gannon enlisted in the Gisborne section of the Fourth Contingent and later in the 13th Reinforcements of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion. Some of his letters from South Africa and other information can be found on the Auckland Museum website <https://api.aucklandmuseum.com>.

²⁹⁵ Some letters written by Maori soldiers whilst in Europe were located, but none made any reference to post-war expectations, hopes, or plans. In one, Tuheka Taonui Hetet offered an account of his experiences on Gallipoli, recording that 'Every trench the Maoris captured they gave a haka and the pakehas joined in. You wouldn't think they were on the battlefield the way they were carrying on.' See 'Letter from the front,' *King Country Chronicle* 27 October 1917, p.5.' In another, Thomas Matengaro Hetet recorded that from a group of 80 New Zealanders and 12 Australians, he selected a rugby team – all New Zealanders. At the time of writing, Christmas 1916, the team had won eight of nine matches and drawn the other. See 'Soldiers' letters,' *King Country Chronicle* 10 January 1917, p.5.

²⁹⁶ Elsie Locke, *The kauri and the willow: how we lived and grew from 1801-1942*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1984, pp.155-156. No one with the surname of Kaitoa was located on the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion roll.

There is evidence, too, that indicates that some veterans, although members of the Returned Soldiers' Association, nevertheless considered it necessary to establish an organisation or body to 'promote the well-being of the returned Maori soldiers.' Rangi Marumaru (26th Reinforcements) took the initiative in a successful effort to transform the 'Reunion Association' formed while the Pioneer Battalion was in transit from Europe, into the Whanganui Returned Maori Soldiers' Union.²⁹⁷ The Union had been formed primarily to celebrate the return of the Pioneer Battalion to New Zealand, but what Marumaru termed the 'the ebb and flow of the tide in the commercial and social world of the country, and the trends of its political environments,' had encouraged a reappraisal. Addressing a large gathering of veterans in Whanganui, in June 1919, a few weeks after arriving back in the country, he suggested that

... you have been abroad. You have come in contact with all classes of the human race. In your travels you have seen wonders and you are now able to compare things. You have learnt the ideals of the French people, the temperament of the Belgians, the spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, and the nature of the American race. By practical experience you have learnt much, for that reason much is expected of you. Our elders and people are looking forward for a move from us, and they are anxious to see what we are going to do. Now, gentlemen, our opportunity is at hand. At this very moment the world is passing through a process of reconstruction ... Because much is expected of us, and because the opportune moment has arrived, and because we have the advantage over those we left at home, then let us jump into the breach [*sic*] ... and help to build the future of the returned men and that of the civil community and the Maoris as a whole. My scheme is to put every able-bodied returned soldier upon all surplus of unused Maori lands. But this end cannot be attained unless proper steps are taken to enable the soldier to obtain the necessary monetary assistance, advice as to the nature of the land he is getting and as to the best methods of farming that particular country, so that the soldier may effect a satisfactory return for his labours. I say the same to all other pursuits in which the soldier may be inclined to follow. Therefore, by extending the work of our Union useful and great deeds to further the interests of the soldier and the people can be accomplished. The creation of some kind of organisation would give us a foundation to work upon, and it would act as an intermediate between the soldier, the Government and the

²⁹⁷ The intention was to register the organisation under the Incorporated Societies Act 1908, but no trace was found in Archives New Zealand. It was subsequently referred to as the Wanganui Maori Soldiers' Memorial Committee. See 'Local and general news,' *New Zealand Herald* 31 October 1925, p.12. Rangi Marumaru was editor of *Reo o te Hokowhitu a Tu*, involved in the formation of the New Zealand Maori Rugby Union, a foundational member of the west coast branch of the Young Maori Party (1927), and a keen advocate of the teaching of te reo in schools to Maori children. See 'Young Maori Party,' *New Zealand Herald* 4 May 1927, p.12; and 'News of the day,' *Auckland Star* 27 September 1938, p.8.

Repatriation Board ... If we don't make a move soon we will miss our chances. It won't be the Government's fault if the Maori soldier gains nothing.²⁹⁸

On a variety of levels, Marumaru's remarks are of considerable interest. They suggest that participation in the war had broadened the outlook of Maori veterans, allowed them to acquire new skills, generated rising expectations, fostered new confidence, and encouraged independent action. They clearly indicated that some veterans at least were keen to employ the Government's rehabilitation services but that it was essential to establish an independent organisation charged with articulating and presenting Maori veteran needs. It is worthwhile recording here that some sections of the press decided to 'warn' Pakeha veterans desirous of settling on the land that they could face 'competition' from eligible Maori veterans.²⁹⁹ It was a 'warning' that suggested some disquiet over the prospect of Maori veterans asserting a right to participate in the rehabilitation programme. Marumaru's proposals do not appear to have garnered much support. It seems likely that the relatively small number of Maori veterans and their geographical dispersion prevented the formation of a larger and more vigorous Maori veteran advocacy body.

3.11 Rehabilitation, the State, and patriotic societies

In 1917, the Minister in Charge of Discharged Soldiers' Information Department (A.L. Herdman) asked returning soldiers

not to be too exigent as to the material rewards they expect to receive on their return. While the State will help to the utmost of its ability, it is impossible to supply every one with a Government billet – that way lie disappointment and disaster. Those who have returned in health and strength will best complete their service to their country by resuming as soon as quietly and quickly as possible the duties they have temporarily laid down, and displaying in civil

²⁹⁸ 'Returned Maori soldiers. Protection of their interests. Local union formed,' *Wanganui Chronicle* 12 June 1919, p.2. How long this body was active is not known, nor whether similar organisations were established elsewhere in the country. There are scattered references to a Maori Returned Soldiers' Association active in Auckland during the 1930s. See 'Town hall,' *Auckland Star* 7 June 1935, p.9; "'Bring and buy:' Maori returned soldiers,' *New Zealand Herald* 18 November 1936, p.23; and 'Table talk,' *Auckland Star* 1 February 1939, p.1. A reference was also found to the Arawa Maori Returned Soldiers' Association. See 'Ready for service,' *Auckland Star* 29 April 1939, p.14.

²⁹⁹ 'Purchase of Maori land. Position in the Waiapu. Sections available for soldier settlers this year,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 23 May 1919, p.4.

life the same qualities of courage, perseverance, and devotion to duty which have won them such a great reputation on the field of battle.³⁰⁰

Clearly, veterans as a whole were being advised not to rely solely or wholly on the State for assistance to resume their civilian lives. Responding perhaps to signals of that character, many of the numerous patriotic societies formed throughout the country to raise funds (among other things) to support service personnel serving overseas turned to assisting soldiers once returned. Some of those patriotic societies had been established by Maori, among them the Upokongaro Maori Patriotic Society, the Aotea Maori Patriotic Committee, the Levin West Coast Maori Patriotic Society, and the Wairarapa Maori Patriotic Society.³⁰¹ Curiously, the various lists of patriotic societies published in the *AJHR* included few societies that included 'Maori' in their title.³⁰² It is entirely possible that many of those listed and that did not include the word 'Maori' were in fact Maori initiatives. On the other hand, it is known that the Department of Internal Affairs discouraged at least some hapu and iwi from establishing their own patriotic societies. When Ngati Maru, for example, decided to establish a patriotic society, the iwi was advised by the Department that, rather than establish an independent body, it should negotiate an arrangement with the Gisborne Citizens' Defence Committee by which it could collect monies and pay them into that Committee's account in the expectation that they would be allocated to meet the needs of wounded Maori soldiers. It was William Pitt who noted that there were three local 'native committees' – Ngati Maru, Lady Carroll's, and F.W. Chatterton's – and suggested that they should be represented on the Gisborne Citizens' Defence Committee.³⁰³ So far as could be established by this report, that suggestion was ignored.

Maori certainly were involved in and contributed to many patriotic societies, in turn suggesting that they had some confidence that all soldiers in need would be assisted. That confidence was not entirely misplaced. The Auckland Provincial Patriotic Association, for example, did assist some Maori veterans. In one instance, a veteran, with a wife and two children, had secured, after returning to New Zealand ill and

³⁰⁰ *AJHR* 1917, H30, p.7.

³⁰¹ 'Local and general,' *Wanganui Herald* 16 February 1916, p.4; 'War work,' *Wanganui Herald* 13 November 1917, p.4; and 'Local and general,' *Wairarapa Daily Times* 13 February 1919, p.4.

³⁰² See *AJHR* 1918, H47; 1919, H46; and 1920, H46.

³⁰³ 'Citizens' Defence Committee,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 7 February 1917, p.8.

unable to work, a pension of just £1 per week for six months. The Association's Relief Committee was asked to investigate and to grant assistance if the soldier's statements were found to be accurate.³⁰⁴ On the other hand, relationships between some local patriotic societies and their Maori communities were tense. Thus, in May 1917, a complaint was voiced that while the Gisborne Citizens' Committee was 'attending to the Maori soldiers just the same as the pakehas,' it was not receiving any of 'the Maori funds.' The establishment of the East Coast Soldiers' Fund (see Chapter 4) appears to have been at the centre of the complaint, and the Committee decided to seek from Maori an allowance to cover the relief granted to Maori soldiers.³⁰⁵

The Gisborne Citizens' Defence Committee was in fact one of the better-endowed patriotic societies. It was formed in August 1914. There were no Maori members among its first committee, although by 1917 William Pitt had been appointed.³⁰⁶ By the end of July 1916, the Committee had raised a total of £65,107.³⁰⁷ Its original purpose had been to encourage enlistment, but once conscription had been introduced it acted as an agent of the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department, and it planned to invest its funds and to employ the interest generated to augment State war pensions, assist veterans to learn trades or professions, assist veterans to acquire tools and implements, supplement the Government's plain clothes grant, and to make 'a free gift of £2 and over to every returned soldier immediately on his arrival at Gisborne.'³⁰⁸ As at the end of March 1920, the Gisborne Citizens' Defence Committee had secured £90,387 (mostly in the form of donations) and still retained £26,137.

3.12 The Gisborne Maori Soldiers' Fund Council

The 'Maori funds' to which the Gisborne Citizens' Defence Committee referred were those raised for the Gisborne Maori Soldiers' Fund Council (Inc).³⁰⁹ The establishment of the Fund under the War Funds Act 1915, arose out of a suggestion made by Ngata, and constituted part of his efforts (as a later observer remarked) to

³⁰⁴ 'Help for ex-soldiers,' *New Zealand Herald* 21 February 1917, p.8.

³⁰⁵ 'Defence Committee,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 30 May 1917, p.8.

³⁰⁶ 'Citizens' Defence Committee,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 10 August 1914, p.9.

³⁰⁷ 'Citizens' Defence Fund,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 8 August 1916, p.6.

³⁰⁸ 'Patriotic funds. Help for wounded soldiers,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 7 March 1917, p.7.

³⁰⁹ Later the East Coast Soldiers' Fund.

devise institutional arrangements that Maori could employ and enable them to compete or at least hold their own with Pakeha settlers and in so doing resist the Pakeha clamour for land.³¹⁰ In January 1917, Waiapu Maori formed a Maori patriotic committee to raise funds for the benefit of returning Maori soldiers. Support was sufficiently strong that it was decided to explore the potential for a wider effort and to that end a hui was convened at Waiomatatini on 15 February, when a carved room in Ngata's residence would also be formally opened.³¹¹ Almost 1,300 attended the event, Maori arriving from many parts of the North Island, although a waterfront strike prevented as many more from doing so. In the course of the proceedings, the very large sum of £5,891 was collected, mainly from East Coast Maori and from Pakeha attending the hui. A good deal of the money had been raised through dances, concerts, and bazaars, while individual donors (who included many Pakeha) made substantial donations.³¹² By that stage the Waiapu Maori Patriotic Committee had acquired grazing rights over a farm in Waipiro Bay, the property being worked for the benefit of returning soldiers. A committee of seven was elected to administer the monies collected. The scheme, it was noted, was open to all Maori 'provided other districts come in and subscribe their quota.'³¹³ Subsequently, at Pukepuke, at a function to welcome Sir James Carroll home from Europe, the scheme was placed before Ngati Kahungunu, with the result that a further £2,000 was subscribed. That took the total funds to £13,000.³¹⁴

Unfortunately, the reasons that informed the decision to establish what became known as the Eastern Maori Patriotic Committee were not apparently reported or widely discussed. While consistent with Ngata's desire to promote Maori self-reliance, its establishment appears to have had a great deal to do with a growing conviction among Maori that the rehabilitation scheme then being prepared by the Government would neither serve the interests of nor offer any benefits to returning Maori soldiers.

³¹⁰ 'The Maori at home,' *Evening Post* 24 February 1926, p.7. The article entitled 'Rebirth of the Maori' recorded that the men of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion sang 'Au, e ihi tirohia' before and after each battle. It was also known as 'The Pioneers' hymn.'

³¹¹ Untitled, *Poverty Bay Herald* 1 February 1917, p.2. See also 'Local and general,' *Hastings Standard* 23 January 1917, p.4. The opening was performed by Heni Materoa, a dedicated supporter of Ngata and of Maori soldiers.

³¹² See, for example, 'Maoris' patriotism. Wounded Soldiers' Fund,' *Hastings Standard* 4 November 1918, p.2.

³¹³ 'Waiomatatini hui. A successful gathering,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 28 February 1917, p.4. The *Auckland Weekly News* of 21 March 1917 published three illustrations of the hui.

³¹⁴ 'For Maori soldiers., Extension of the East Coast scheme,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 10 April 1917, p.3.

On 27 March 1917, a deputation presented its case to the Government: it indicated that on the East Coast a board of trustees had been established, that it held between £10,000 and £11,000 and proposed to invest those funds in farming operations, and that it wished to extend its operations to cover the whole country, with an initial extension to the Wairarapa. In response to a request that the fund should be incorporated under the War Funds Act 1915, the Government promised to make inquiries and generally to assist, if necessary by introducing legislation that would enable the establishment of a national scheme.³¹⁵ For the purposes of the scheme, the deputation noted that the term ‘Maori soldier’ would ‘include any soldier with Maori blood in his veins, whether in the Maori Contingent or the Expeditionary Force.’³¹⁶

Under section 13(1) of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916, the trust – incorporated in April 1917 as the ‘Maori Soldiers’ Fund Trustees’ – acquired the power to purchase or lease land (whether Maori freehold land or other), and to occupy and manage such land as a farm for the benefit of the fund.³¹⁷ Under section 13 (2), the trustees acquired the powers of a committee of management as set out in Part XVII of the Native Land Act 1909. With the precedent consent of the Native Minister, the trustees, on the security of a mortgage or other charge of the land under their control, borrow from any person, body corporate, or State loan department. The Trust’s first chairperson was Heni Materoa (Lady Carroll): Sheila Robinson recorded that Materoa travelled the length and breadth of the East Coast, including Hawke’s Bay and Wairarapa, generating support and raising funds for the Eastern Maori Patriotic Association.³¹⁸

The trustees set out to raise funds, in part through the efforts of the Hawke’s Bay Maori Entertainers. At one concert, in Wellington in September 1917, the Minister of

³¹⁵ ‘For Maori soldiers. Special patriotic funds. Proposed National scheme,’ *Dominion* 28 March 1917, p.6; and ‘For Maori soldiers. Extension of the East Coast Scheme,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 10 April 1917, p.3. A national fund was not established, although Orr-Nimmo located references to a ‘central Maori fund’ and a West Coast Maori fund.’ See Katherine Orr-Nimmo, ‘The land and the blackberry: aspects of the history of the Hereheretau and Kahaatureia blocks with special reference to Hereheretau Station and the Maori Soldiers’ Fund,’ Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p.114.

³¹⁶ ‘Aid for Maori soldiers. Large contributions to fund,’ *Evening Post* 12 April 1917, p.7.

³¹⁷ See ‘Maori Soldiers’ Fund Trustees incorporated under the War Funds Act, 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 60, 5 April 1917, p.1187.

³¹⁸ See Sheila Robinson ‘Carroll, Heni Materoa,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

Defence [James Allen] announced that ‘The Maoris ... were determined that when the boys came back they should be well looked after. They were going to look after them themselves – which was a very good thing.’ Ngata noted that ‘When the war was over they would have returned soldiers managing the farms, with soldiers working under them.’³¹⁹ On the other hand, Ngata’s initiative elicited some bitter criticism. Wi Repa of Te Araroa offered some scathing comments over the hui held at Waiomatatini, Pakaipaki, and Wairoa, claiming that ‘vast’ sums had been squandered under the pretence of raising monies for the Fund, and accusing Ngata of ‘abetting’ the hui for [unspecified] ‘political reasons.’ The veterans, he suggested, were ‘a mere bait.’ Indeed, he went so far as to claim that the Fund was ‘merely an attempt on the part of some schemer to raise funds to benefit himself.’³²⁰

A concert or concerts were also held in Auckland in an effort to raise monies for the Fund when Ngata made it clear that the Fund was intended to ‘supplement the State scheme of relief and those of the larger patriotic societies.’ The aim, he indicated, was to generate a revenue of some £8,000 per annum from its farming ventures ‘and this should enable them to take over from the patriotic societies the majority, if not all, of the necessitous cases arising among the Maori soldiers and their dependants.’ The trustees also applied to the Auckland Patriotic and War Relief Association for £1,000: whether it succeeded was not established.³²¹ In January 1918, as the Maori Entertainers brought their season of performances to a close in Auckland, it was recorded that gross proceeds amounted to £1,580, while subscriptions had been promised by a number of Auckland firms and citizens. It was also recorded that Rotoiti Maori had decided to set aside rentals on their lands amounting to £1,660 in aid of the Fund – and that ‘The Northern Maoris are holding a meeting shortly to decide what contribution they shall make ...’³²² Almost a year later, in November 1918, Pomare noted that ‘the Maoris wanted to relieve the burden of the pakeha and look after their own soldiers as well as they could.’ He evidently went on to observe

³¹⁹ ‘The Maoris share. Farms for Ex-soldiers. Entertainment in aid,’ *Evening Post* 4 September 1917, p.3.

³²⁰ Wi Repa, Te Araroa to District Commissioner, Wellington 8 July and 2 August 1917, in ANZ Wellington ADRF 17316 NEB-W1/3 702.

³²¹ ‘Aid to Maori soldiers. Separate fund established,’ *New Zealand Herald* 17 December 1917, p.4.

³²² ‘Maori Soldiers’ Fund. Result of Auckland effort,’ *New Zealand Herald* 2 January 1918, p.6.

that 900 returned soldiers had been placed on the land, but that not one Maori soldier had applied for land, 'thus leaving more opportunity for the pakeha.'³²³

In a booklet prepared by Heni Materoa and entitled *Te Tahua Moni Ma Nga Hoia Maori (The Maori Soldiers' Fund)* it was made clear that the Fund was intended to embrace all Maori veterans. 'The hope,' she wrote, '... is that there be a unified fund for the Maori people, with one aim, assisting the livelihood of soldiers after the war ...' As funds were raised in districts other than the East Coast, so the membership of the committee responsible for the Fund's administration would be broadened. The booklet recorded that on the west coast 'Ngati Raukawa are pursuing their scheme ... Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Whiti and Ngati Tama have given land at Owhaoko,' but that 'It is not yet clear what the West Coast tribes think and where their efforts are directed.' It added that 'The Maori Battalion that travelled away to the war was a unified battalion, from the Maori people as a unit; the right scheme for the Maori people to enter for the soldiers is a joint one.' Whanganui, Taranaki, and Ngati Maniapoto, it was hoped, would all support the Fund. From Tamaki and Te Tai Tokerau enlisted many of those who made up the first Native Contingent that had left New Zealand in February 1915. The committee was anxious that northern iwi would join 'so the paddles may beat together.' Finally, the committee looked to Ngai Tahu to support its efforts.³²⁴

In fact, the Fund did not gather the wider support that it sought. By 1918, it had raised £16,094 and still retained all but £1,426; as at 31 March 1920, it had secured £41,385.³²⁵ The monies were to be invested in farming properties and the revenues arising from farming operations were to be divided equally among all members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion resident on the East Coast. The promoters of the scheme, foremost among whom was Ngata,

³²³ 'Our Maori soldiers. Town Hall entertainment,' *Evening Post* 8 November 1918, p.2.

³²⁴ See *Te Tahua Moni Ma Nga Hoia Maori*, in Orr-Nimmo, 'The land and the blackberry,' pp.A41-A59.

³²⁵ AJHR 1918, H46, p.4; and 1920, H46, p.4. For details of other donations that a number of iwi and hapu made to the Maori Soldiers' Fund, see ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1175 1917/430; 1183/1918/111; 1186 1918/154; 1189 1918/247; 1189 1918/248; 1189 1918/249; 1189 1918/250; 1189 1918/259; 1189/261; 1191 1918/317; and 1191 1918/319.

hold that it is the duty of the Government to provide adequately for the disabled and partially disabled men. They claim that each Maori soldier answered the call on his loyalty, and went out prepared for all the chances of war – for sickness, privation, wounds, and death. ... all served with equal will and devotion, and so all must participate equally in the subscribed fund, the men who are wholly or partially disabled receiving their full share, in addition to their military pensions.³²⁶

3.12.1 Excluding Maori

As the Gisborne Maori Soldiers' Fund Council sought to implement a scheme intended to supplement the State assistance afforded returned service personnel, the Gisborne Citizens' Defence Committee, having decided that the Government was 'lax in the matter of repatriation,' affirmed a decision to set aside £10,000 as a 'wounded soldier fund.' The monies would be employed to assist wounded veterans or men invalided on account of sickness establish themselves in business or to acquire land 'but only in such cases where the evidence submitted by the applicant is such to warrant a reasonable amount of success and the security or guarantee given is satisfactory.' The amount granted was not to exceed £200 and would be limited 'to men who have enlisted from this district.' William Pitt expressed the hope that 'no line of distinction would be introduced between the races.'³²⁷ When it met in April 1919, the Committee considered a scheme to supplement the pensions paid to incapacitated veterans and 'went into committee on the question of Maori soldiers participating in the benefits of the fund.'³²⁸ The regulations adopted by the Committee specified that 'The expression "wounded soldiers, sailors, and auxiliaries" shall include those (who not being a member of native race of New Zealand) are or in any way have been (a) Members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces or Naval Forces; (b) members of any New Zealand ambulance auxiliary or cognate service ...'

The exclusion of Maori clearly discomfited some members of the Committee, but by 10 votes to eight it was retained, largely, it seems, on the grounds that 'the Maori Council' would shortly have some £50,000, in excess of the Committee's fund, and a

³²⁶ 'Maori Soldiers' Fund. Meeting at Te Hauke,' *Hastings Standard* 4 October 1920, p.4.

³²⁷ 'Helping returned soldiers,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 17 September 1918, p.7. See also 'Defence Committee,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 30 September 1919, p.8.

³²⁸ 'Defence Committee,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 15 April 1919, p.5.

smaller number of men among whom the monies would be distributed.³²⁹ The funds were not to be distributed but invested and the returns utilised to assist wounded and sick Maori soldiers. The hope was that Maori in other districts would participate so that support could be offered to Maori soldiers throughout the country. Pitt endeavoured to have the offending regulation amended, noting that Maori had contributed to the Committee's funds. After what appears to have been a tense discussion in which Pitt made clear the offence Maori had taken, the regulation was allowed to stand.³³⁰ Pitt raised the matter again, in May 1919, when he indicated that the Maori Soldiers' Fund had raised monies for the Defence Committee and made it clear that the Fund was 'not a local effort, nor are the benefits to accrue for the use or sole benefit of local Maori soldiers.' The Gisborne Citizens' Defence Committee affirmed its practice of directing Maori applicants to the Maori Soldiers' Fund Council despite knowing that the latter was limited in the kinds of assistance it could make available.³³¹

3.13 Closing the programme and dismantling the administrative structure

The Repatriation Department had a very short life. In response to the onset of the severe recession of 1921-1922 and in an effort to 'balance the budget,' the Government moved to wind down the rehabilitation programme. In January 1922, the Cabinet Economy Committee recommended the closure of the Repatriation Department. Accordingly, no applications for assistance would be accepted after 30 June 1922. The *Evening Post* reported that the committee 'considered that the majority of the men who returned from the war have had ample time to settle down, and that it is expedient that a halt should be called in advancing moneys for the assistance of ex-soldiers.'³³² District boards and local repatriation committees were disbanded accordingly. The Repatriation Department's staff continued to dwindle accordingly, from 111 in June 1921 to 63 in June 1922, and its work concentrated in

³²⁹ 'Loans to soldiers,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 1 October 1918, p.3. The article sets out full details of the fund and its proposed operation.

³³⁰ 'Patriotic funds and the Maori race,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 29 October 1918, p.3.

³³¹ 'Relief to Maori soldiers,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 27 May 1919, p.5.

³³² 'Nearing the end. Privileges to soldiers,' *Evening Post* 12 January 1922, p.8.

the four main centres.³³³ It was only under public pressure that the Government subsequently decided to extend the life of the Repatriation Department to 31 December 1922 and to accept further applications for furniture and business loans.³³⁴ The decision incurred a great deal of criticism, contemporary and later. Greig, for example, was highly critical, insisting that the Government had been ill-prepared for the task of rehabilitating thousands of returned service personnel, that it had underestimated the size of the task and had failed to appreciate the complexities involved in successful rehabilitation, and that it had failed to understand the ongoing medical and psychiatric difficulties that many veterans experienced.³³⁵ It was also the case that the very limited and *ad hoc* approach it took to the rehabilitation of South African veterans hardly offered any experience upon which it might have profitably drawn. It should be noted that while the Repatriation Department was disestablished at the end of 1922, the State continued to assume responsibility for disabled veterans and for the dependants of those who had been killed while on active service. The Ex-Soldiers' Commission of 1929 would conclude that the assistance rendered had been less than adequate.³³⁶

The benefits available under the Act were thus discontinued. On 1 April 1923, the State Advances Corporation took over responsibility for collecting loan repayments, while in 1925 all the powers of the Repatriation Department formally passed to that agency. Beginning in September 1936, the Department of Lands and Survey handed over control of all farm, stock, and chattel and residential mortgages granted under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 to the State Advances Corporation, a process completed in March 1937. The Department of Lands and Survey retained control of the leases held by discharged soldiers. The closure of the Repatriation Department at the close of 1922 evoked considerable criticism such that in 1930, following an investigation conducted by the Ex-Soldiers' Rehabilitation Commission, the Government established the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment League to carry out some of the former Repatriation Department's functions.

³³³ *AJHR* 1922, H30, p.3.

³³⁴ *AJHR* 1922, H30, p.1.

³³⁵ 'Report by Treasury Department regarding rehabilitation of returned members of the armed forces,' in ADRK17408 T25 18/146.

³³⁶ See *AJHR* 1930, H39.

3.14 Conclusions

The question posed in the Introduction was whether the measures and arrangements adopted for the delivery of the rehabilitation programme embraced Maori veterans. The evidence indicates, first, that at the level of central government the interests of Maori ex-service personnel were not represented. The Ministerial Repatriation Board was an effort to meet a political problem rather than to ensure effective and efficient delivery. Herries was certainly a member, but as Minister in Charge of the Repatriation and Pensions Departments and not as Minister of Native Affairs. The desirability (or otherwise) of Maori representation – in the person of, for example, Ngata or Pomare – does not even appear to have been discussed. The suggestion that a special board should be established to deal with Maori veterans was quickly dismissed. At the next level, the district rehabilitation boards, Maori served on at least one of the four but for a short period only and with unknown effect.

At the level of local repatriation committees, Maori representatives were appointed: it should be noted that these committees had limited powers. Quite why Maori representation was considered desirable at the district and local but not at the central government or ministerial level was not established. At the important district and upper levels of the administrative structures, Maori were largely without an effective voice. Moreover, the key department involved in the rehabilitation effort was the Department of Lands and Survey, controlling as it did both the land settlement and the financial assistance services. The nature of the relationship between that Department and the Ministerial Repatriation Board and the Repatriation Department was not defined. Far greater care would be taken during the 1940s not only to establish a body solely responsible for the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen but to define the powers of the Rehabilitation Council, the Rehabilitation Board, and the Rehabilitation Department and the relationships between those bodies and the various other agencies of the State involved in making rehabilitation services available.

Chapter 4: ‘Colonies of ... returned soldiers, planted as the ancient Romans did’

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 focuses on the matter of land settlement. Essentially, it seeks to explore claims made during the debates over the shape that a post-World War II rehabilitation programme should take, and subsequently by many historians, that Maori veterans did not benefit from its World War I predecessor. Exploration and analysis of that and similar claims are again limited by the dearth of primary source materials, including the archives of key State agencies. Moreover, the published annual reports of those agencies offered only a limited range of reliable statistical data. Further, they drew no distinction between Maori and Pakeha veterans. Various registers, for example, of applicants for Crown land and for financial assistance, were employed, but identifying Maori service personnel through surnames is a not wholly reliable procedure. An alternative procedure may have been to employ service numbers, but the time allowed for this investigation did not allow for what would have proved a time-consuming exercise. Nevertheless, a range of archival and other material was identified, sufficient on which to base some reasonably firm conclusions over the extent to which Maori veterans were able, or not, to utilise the provisions of the discharged soldier settlement programme.

4.2 Settling discharged soldiers on the land

In Parliament, in 1915, speaking during the debate on the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Bill, Massey suggested that

... one can picture in the future all over our country colonies of these returned soldiers, planted as the ancient Romans did, in different parts of their great Empire after their victories. These soldier settlements in ancient Rome lasted for hundreds of years, holding the soldier tradition, possessing the patriot traditions of Rome, just as we hold that Britain shall ever be imperial, free, and mighty ... Here will be nurtured the patriot soldier settlement combined with out democratic and citizen ideals; and all over New Zealand we shall have these men settled down as the finest citizens in the land, because they

were not afraid in that great hour of stress and trial to go forth and do their duty like men.³³⁷

As noted in Chapter 1, the promise of land traditionally had been employed as a means of encouraging enlistment, establishing defences, and recognising and rewarding service personnel. For the New Zealand Government, settling returned service personnel on the land was also a means of forestalling potential unrest as many thousands of young men returned from Europe, of continuing its long-term commitment to closer settlement, and of encouraging the growth of the country's primary sector and thus its export trade. For local communities, Maori and Pakeha, settlement of veterans on the land was widely regarded as an important means of retaining young men in the face of a steadily growing drift to the country's towns and cities and northwards to the North Island.

A number of historians have examined the soldier settlement programme. Condliffe described the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 as an 'important development of the [land] repurchase policy,' and concluded that 'the repatriation policy, while very costly owing to the purchase of land by voluntary negotiation at the peak of land values in the post-war boom, was more important as an agency of closer settlement in the post-war period than was the older policy under the Lands for Settlements Acts.' He went on to note that through the voluntary land purchase programme, the Government 'turned loose in the real estate market 22,792 new purchasers armed with £23,570,491 of borrowed money.' Little effort, he noted, was made to control the advance in land values: that lack of control combined with what he claimed to be the speculative disposition of the country's farmer generating heavy losses when the boom collapsed in 1921.³³⁸

Williams, following Condliffe, also suggested that the soldier settlement scheme continued and extended the intensification of land settlement initiated by the Lands

³³⁷ NZPD 1915, Vol.174, p.218.

³³⁸ J.B. Condliffe, *New Zealand in the making: a survey of economic and social development*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1936, pp.264 and 276. See also J.B. Condliffe and Willis T.G. Airey, *A short history of New Zealand*. New edition, Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1960; and David Greasley and Les Oxley, 'The pastoral boom: the rural land market, and long swings in New Zealand economic growth, 1873-1939,' *Economic History Review* 62, 2, May 2009, pp.3240-349.

for Settlement Acts.³³⁹ Lucas went further, recording that World War I ‘marked the end of an era of general land settlement. From then until 1961,’ he continued, ‘Government land settlement was designed primarily to place restricted classes of settlers on the land – the ex-servicemen of two world wars and the unemployed of the depression which intervened.’³⁴⁰ Beaglehole, McIntosh and Sutch attributed the difficulties that befell the scheme to the Government’s intervention in the land market, the speculative boom and collapse that followed, and the extension of small-farm settlement into areas of marginal agricultural and pastoral value.³⁴¹

In his examination of the role played by the Returned Services’ Association in advancing the interests of its members, Mayhew dealt briefly with the land settlement programme. He concluded that ‘no country in the world made greater efforts to settle returned soldiers on the land; in addition the loans to them were larger per head than those granted by the Government of any other country.’ The Association, he recorded, was critical not of the Act but of the land boards, labelling the latter as slow and inefficient. Indeed, it sought to have responsibility removed from the Department of Lands and Survey but the Government adhered to its original decision to rest the administration of the scheme in that Department.³⁴² The land boards did incur some severe criticism. In May 1919, complaints were aired over the alleged slow pace of settlement. The Canterbury Repatriation Board went so far as to describe the conduct of land ballots as ‘public scandal ...’³⁴³ Much of the criticism centred on the examination of applicants, an often protracted process. In response, the Government decided to appoint representatives of the discharged soldiers to the land board, such representatives where possible to be veterans themselves.³⁴⁴ So far as could be

³³⁹ D.O. Williams, ‘Land tenure and land transfer,’ in H. Belshaw et al eds, *Agricultural organisation in New Zealand: a survey of land utilisation, farm organisation, finance, and marketing*. Melbourne: New Zealand Institute of Pacific Relations, 1936, pp.123-149.

³⁴⁰ P.H.C. Lucas, ‘Land settlement,’ in A.H. McLintock, editor, *An encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Wellington Government Printer, 1966, Volume 2, pp.260-267. For similar views, see R.J. Maclachlan, ‘Land administration in New Zealand,’ in J.B. Brown, editor, *Rural land administration in New Zealand*. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1966, pp.15-36.

³⁴¹ J.C. Beaglehole, *New Zealand: a short history*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1936, p.81; A.D. McIntosh, A.D. and W.B. Sutch, ‘Opening up the country,’ New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, *Contemporary New Zealand*. Auckland: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1938, p.38.

³⁴² W.R. Mayhew, ‘The New Zealand Returned Services’ Association 1916-1943,’ MA Thesis, Dunedin, 1943, pp.137-138.

³⁴³ ‘Conduct of ballots,’ *Sun* 16 September 1919, p.8.

³⁴⁴ ‘Soldiers and the land,’ *Sun* 28 May 1919, p.11.

determined, the appointment of a representative of Maori veterans was never contemplated.³⁴⁵

Later historians have generally followed the line of argument defined by Condliffe. Burdon cited the over-valuation of land, the creation of uneconomic farm units, and falling commodity prices as key contributors to the difficulties that many soldier settlers encountered.³⁴⁶ Oliver focussed on the land settlement programme, again attributing those difficulties to the post-war collapse of commodity prices, the speculation generated by the Government's intervention in the land market, and to the extension of settlement on to land of marginal value.³⁴⁷ Sinclair and Brooking reached similar conclusions.³⁴⁸ Boyack and Tolerton described the soldier settlement scheme as the government's 'most famous rehabilitation measure – and certainly the most disastrous,' citing the marginal character of much of the land settled, the uneconomic size of units, and lack of physical fitness and farming experience on the part of

³⁴⁵ It is worthwhile recording here activities of the returned soldiers' land bureaux and their relationship with the Department of Lands and Survey appear have not been explored, least of all whether they assisted Maori veterans. Bureaux appear to have been established throughout the country. See, for example, 'Returned soldiers' land bureau,' *Evening Post* 5 February 1919, p.7; No title, *Poverty Bay Herald* 30 August 1919, p.2; and 'The reds and the soldiers,' *Press* 6 December 1922, p.10. The Hawera Returned Soldiers' Association, for example, 'Believing that, as no practical move had been made by the Minister of Repatriation, the question of securing land for returned men would not be prosecuted with the vigor [*sic*] and enthusiasm necessary for success,' established (in February 1919) its own Hawera Returned Soldiers' Land Bureau Department to cover the whole of Taranaki. It is of interest to note that the Association also believed that the Government was taking 'little interest' in rehabilitation and that the Ministerial Repatriation Board was 'only a makeshift until after the general election.' See 'Returned Soldiers' Association,' *Hawera & Normanby Star* 5 February 1919, p.7. The various bureau appear to have worked with local branches of the Farmers' Union. The Auckland bureau certainly worked closely with the Auckland office of the Department of Lands and Survey. Thus, rather than purchase sub-divisible land on behalf of veterans, it suggested to willing vendors that they place their properties in the hands of the Bureau, the Department then financing any transactions. The Bureau also appears to have cooperated with the Department in other ways, by accepting, for example, deposits on property purchases. See ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1109 17557/480/a 4/12. See also AJHR 1919, C9, pp.3-4. The founder was recorded as one Forbes Eadie, a farmer and returned soldier. He was described as 'a recognised authority on the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act,' and in 1921 was appointed national organiser of the National Progressive and Moderate Labour Party. See 'Local and general,' *Evening Post* 1 December 1921, p.6. See also NZPD 1920, Vol.186, p.1038; and Barry Gustafson, *Labour's path to political independence: origins and establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party 1900-1919*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, c.1980.

³⁴⁶ R.M. Burdon, *The new dominion: a social and political history of New Zealand 1918-1939*. Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1965.

³⁴⁷ W.H. Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand*. London: Faber and Faber, 1960.

³⁴⁸ Keith Sinclair, *A history of New Zealand*. London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1961, p.244; and T.W.H. Brooking, 'Economic transformation,' in W.H. Oliver with B.R. Williams, editors, *The Oxford history of New Zealand*. Oxford: Clarendon Press and Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.226-249.

settlers. They claimed that 29 percent of the soldier farms had failed by 1935.³⁴⁹ Thomson referred to ‘The failure of the [World War I] soldier settlement scheme ...’³⁵⁰ Fairburn, in 1990, employed harsher language, describing the discharged soldiers’ settlement scheme as ‘one of the greatest disasters in social planning New Zealand has ever known.’³⁵¹ Neal, relying on Tolerton and Boyack (see above), extended Burdon’s description of the land settlement programme as ‘well-intentioned but ill-fated’ to the rehabilitation programme as a whole.³⁵² In 2010, Eldred-Grigg claimed that ‘The state offered not quite nothing,’ but much less than had been intimated by the Government. ‘Tens of thousands of men,’ he concluded, ‘were given no meaningful assistance by the state.’ He ignored the other side of that particular equation, namely, how many men sought assistance. He also claimed that ‘only a minority of men ... won farms,’ and noted that by 1919 ‘fewer than seventeen hundred were on settlement land.’³⁵³ It is worthwhile noting that although some 30,000 men had returned to New Zealand by the time of the Armistice, most were wounded, injured, disabled, or ill. The bulk of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force arrived during 1919, although small drafts continued to return through to September 1920. Eldred-Grigg’s choice of 1919 is odd, to say the least.

In general, then, historians, while citing different or placing varying emphasis on the contributing factors, have described the soldier settlement scheme as a ‘failure,’ with the so-called ‘bridge to nowhere’ evidently best expressing the hopelessness of the discharged soldier settlement scheme.³⁵⁴ The dominant narrative has been one of difficulty, despair, disillusion, and betrayal by the State. Over recent years, Gould and Roche, in particular, have offered more comprehensive and evidence-based assessments. Using the archives and annual reports of the Department of Lands and Survey, Gould estimated that by the end of March 1924, 10,552 men had been settled

³⁴⁹ Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton, *In the shadow of war: New Zealand soldiers talk about World War One and their lives*. Auckland: Penguin, 1990, pp.245 and 247.

³⁵⁰ Thomson, ‘The rehabilitation of servicemen,’ p.27.

³⁵¹ Miles Fairbairn, ‘The farmers take over (1912-1930),’ in Keith Sinclair, editor, *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford, 1990, p.205.

³⁵² Sarah Neal, “‘Well-intentioned but ill-fated:’ the New Zealand Government’s repatriation scheme for World War One returned soldiers, 1915-1930,’ BA Hons Long Essay, University of Otago, 2001. See Burdon, *The new dominion*, p.40.

³⁵³ Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The great wrong war: New Zealand society in WWI*. Auckland: Random House New Zealand, 2010, pp.430-431.

³⁵⁴ See A.P. Bates, *The bridge to nowhere: the ill-fated Mangapurua settlement*. Whanganui: Whanganui Newspapers, 1982. See also Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The great wrong war: New Zealand society in World War I*. Auckland: Random House New Zealand, 2010.

on 9,635 farms and that, as at that date, 9,351 men were holding 8,484 units. He further concluded that as at that date 3,077 men (3,009 farms) held Crown leases under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915; that 442 men held 430 units as Crown leases under the Land Act 1908 and the Land for Settlements Acts; and that 5,832 men had acquired 5,045 farms as freeholds and Crown leases purchased under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917. It is worthwhile noting here that the 10,552 assisted to settle was double the 5,000 Massey, in 1916, had predicted would seek settlement.³⁵⁵

Ten years later, as at the end of March 1934, soldier settlers held 2,711 Crown leases under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, 1,720 held Crown leases under other Acts and section 2, and 2,270 held section 2 freehold titles, a grand total of 6,701 units.³⁵⁶ Such estimates, Gould suggested, hardly supported the claim that the discharged soldier settlement scheme was a social planning disaster. Moreover, the regional pattern of failure and farm abandonment varied considerably.³⁵⁷ The 'failure' lay not in the number of men who abandoned their holdings, but rather in the fact that the majority remained and endured conditions far less favourable than they believed that they had been led to expect.³⁵⁸ By examining two soldier settlements in an effort 'to challenge balder regional scale generalisations,' Roche offered what he termed 'a

³⁵⁵ NZPD 1916, Vol.175, p.845. See also Ashley Gould, 'Soldier settlement in New Zealand after World War I: a reappraisal,' in Judith Smart, and Tony Woods, editors, *An Anzac muster: war and society in Australia and New Zealand 1914-1918 and 1939-1945*. Clayton: Monash Publications in History, 1992, p.117. It is worthwhile noting here that section 8 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 authorised the Government to raise £50,000 for the purposes of the Act; section 7 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1916 increased that authorisation to £100,000, while section 6 of the same Act authorised the Government, for the purposes of soldier settlement, to raise up to £500,000 for the acquisition of land under the Land for Settlements Act 1908, such monies to be addition to those authorised by section 62 of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1913. Section 31 of the Finance Act (No.2) 1918 authorised the Crown to borrow up to £1.5 million for the purposes of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. By 1919, the whole of that £1.5 million had been expended. With commitments that then exceeded £2.5 million, section 3 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Loans Act 1919 empowered the Crown to borrow up to £12.5 million for the purposes of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, while section authorised the raising of £2 million in both 1920 and 1921 for the acquisition of land under Land for Settlements Act 1908 for soldier settlement and £1 million annually thereafter. Section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Loans Act 1920 allowed the Government to borrow up to an additional £6 million.

³⁵⁶ Ashley Gould, 'Soldier settlement in New Zealand after World War I: a reappraisal,' pp.124-125.

³⁵⁷ A.N. Gould, "'Proof of gratitude?'" Soldier land settlement in New Zealand after World War I,' PhD Thesis, Massey University, 1992, p.295.

³⁵⁸ Gould, "'Proof of gratitude?'" p.305. See also Michael Roche, 'Empire, duty, and land: soldier settlement in New Zealand 1915-1924,' in L.J. Proudfoot and M.M. Roche, editors, *(Dis)Placing empire: renegotiating British colonial geographies*. Aldersot: Ashgate, 2005, pp.135-153.

more nuanced discussion of success and failure.³⁵⁹ He has since offered a general summary that traverses mostly familiar ground.³⁶⁰

Finally, Parsons dealt briefly with what she termed ‘the myth of the neglected soldiers’ of World War I, that is, the alleged marked loss of interest in the returned veterans and their ‘betrayal’ by the Government. That ‘betrayal’ was characterised by its inefficiency, lack of preparedness, and (in an effort to save money) its ‘pushing veterans into employment and onto farms.’³⁶¹ Parsons effectively challenged the allegations of betrayal and neglect. ‘Returned soldiers,’ she concluded, ‘were a privileged section of the community for whom long-held ideals of self-reliance and avoidance of charity were pushed and overturned in significant government assistance.’ The myth of the neglected veteran, she suggested, had its origins in the slump of 1920-1921 and the depression of the 1930s, both of which resulted in many veterans losing jobs, homes, businesses, and farms. Such outcomes have tended to overshadow the fact that a large number of discharged soldiers, through the rehabilitation programme, were assisted to resume their civilian lives.³⁶²

4.3 Settling Maori discharged soldiers on the land

Few historians have commented on the settlement of Maori veterans. McClean suggested that Ngata advanced the sole rehabilitation scheme proposed for Maori veterans, that he had ‘wanted blocks earmarked for the settlement of Maori soldiers, but he had decided that this was too much to ask. He had, therefore, decided that the Maoris would set their own land aside to sell to the Crown for re-sale to Maori soldiers.’³⁶³ Sorrenson suggested that Ngata’s declaration that iwi would provide land

³⁵⁹ Michael Roche, ‘Soldier settlement in New Zealand after World War I: two case studies,’ *New Zealand geographer* 58, 1, 2002, pp.23-32.

³⁶⁰ Michael Roche, ‘“A duty of the country.” Soldier settlement, 1915-1941,’ in Rachael Bell, editor, *New Zealand between the wars*. Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017, pp.56-81.

³⁶¹ ‘Challenging enduring home front myths: jingoistic civilians and neglected soldiers,’ in David Monger, Sarah Murray, and Katie Pickles, editors, *Endurance and the First World War: experiences and legacies in New Zealand and Australia*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, p. 74.

³⁶² Parsons, ‘Challenging enduring home front myths,’ p.83.

³⁶³ Sheila McClean, ‘Maori representation 1905 to 1948,’ MA Thesis, Auckland University College, 1950, pp.41-42, quoted in Puckey, ‘The substance of the shadow,’ p.324.

‘meant that Maori servicemen were not provided equally with Pakeha returned men who were granted land that had been purchased from Maoris ... and from European land owners.’ He went on to record that three small blocks of Maori land on the East Coast and in Hawke’s Bay and another at Tokaanu were made available to veterans from those districts, ‘but the rest got nothing.’³⁶⁴ More recently, Mein Smith asserted that Ratana ‘attracted a large following among the sick and the poor, especially ex-servicemen ... The men of the Pioneer Battalion, who fought for equality, found themselves excluded from soldier settlement schemes to assist men to purchase farms and homes. To add to the offence, Maori had provided land for soldier settlers.’³⁶⁵ The dominant narrative is thus one of exclusion, the only question being whether or not such exclusion was a deliberate policy choice.

Gould, with particular reference to settlement on the land, has challenged that narrative. The evidence, he suggested, also indicated that efforts were made, on the both the returning troop transports and on arrival in New Zealand, to familiarise Maori veterans with the rehabilitation services available to them. At the same time, he acknowledged that claims were made that those efforts were perfunctory and unsatisfactory.³⁶⁶ With respect to land settlement, he found that of the estimated 1,800 Maori servicemen who returned from overseas service, 30 acquired farms ‘under various settlement schemes,’ including 20 who received assistance to settle on Crown land.³⁶⁷ Gould subsequently revised his estimates. In 2009, he recorded that 61 Maori veterans had been identified as participating actively in the land settlement programme by acquiring sections or securing development assistance. Of that total of 61, 41 Maori veterans ‘obtained farms,’ while a further six gained approval for State–provided mortgage finance under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Amendment Act 1917, a total of 47. It is not clear under which part of section 2 those loans were granted, that is, whether for the acquisition of land or for the purposes specified in sections 2(c), 2(d) and 2(e). The 41 represented 2.17 per cent of the

³⁶⁴ M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha = From your dear friend, the correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, 1925-1950*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, Volume 1, pp.28-29.

³⁶⁵ Phillipa Mein Smith, *A concise history of New Zealand*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.147. Sinclair similarly claimed that Maori soldiers were excluded. See Karen Sinclair, *Maori times, Maori places: prophetic histories*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield. 2003, p.3.

³⁶⁶ Gould cited a letter that appeared in the *Dominion* 28 April 1919, p.8.

³⁶⁷ Gould, “‘Proof of gratitude’?” p.311.

1,891 of those members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion who returned, a proportion that compared with the 10 per cent of all Pakeha returned veterans (including nurses, home service personnel, and nurses and soldiers of other allied armed forces).³⁶⁸ ‘The reasons for this disparity,’ he suggested, ‘are more complex than merely asserting, as have a number of historians, that Maori were not included in the official scheme. More significant than their presumed exclusion was their inclusion on equal terms with Pakeha soldiers.’³⁶⁹ While he did not explore the reasons for that disparity, his general conclusion was important, namely, that Maori veterans were not excluded from the rehabilitation programme and that, ‘at times, Maori soldiers were given a level of assistance beyond that available to the generality of returned soldiers.’³⁷⁰ The evidence on which that second claim was based was not specified.

4.4 Settling soldiers: the statutory framework

The statutory basis for the land settlement programme was the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915 (and its amendments). Under that Act, the settlement of discharged soldiers would take place on ‘ordinary Crown land,’ land purchased by the Crown under the Land for Settlements Acts, and on National-endowment lands. ‘Ordinary Crown land’ included land acquired by the Crown from Maori. Land was made available on both ‘ordinary’ and ‘special’ tenures. Under section 3 of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915, any area of Crown or settlement land could be set apart for section only by discharged soldiers under the Land Act 1908 or the Land for Settlements Act 1908. Under section 4, any area of Crown land could be set apart and disposed of to discharged soldiers under special conditions, the provisions of neither the Land Act 1908 nor the Land for Settlements Act 1908 applying to such land. Those taking up land under section 4 could (per section 6) secure financial assistance to bring it into production. By section 5 of the Discharged

³⁶⁸ Ashley Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko: repatriation and land settlement for Maori soldiers in New Zealand after the First World War,’ *War & Society* 28, 2, 2009, p.54. Elsewhere in his paper (p.67) Gould recorded that ‘26 soldiers with Maori names received assistance to settle Crown land,’ while ‘Fourteen more Maori soldiers who used European names were assisted.’ See also Ashley Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko: repatriation and land settlement for Maori soldiers in New Zealand after World War I,’ in James Watson and Lachy Paterson, editors, *A great New Zealand Prime Minister? Reappraising William Massey Ferguson*. Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2011, pp.97-119.

³⁶⁹ Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko,’ p.54.

³⁷⁰ Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko,’ p.51.

Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1916, the Crown could take land for the purpose of the principal Act under the Public Works Act 1908, compensation being calculated according to that Act and not according to the Land for Settlements Act 1908.

The Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917 dealt with the provision of financial assistance for settlement by discharged soldiers other than under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. It empowered the Minister of Lands, on the recommendation of the Land Board, to make advances to discharged soldiers for the purchase of 'the fee-simple of any private land or Native land;' the acquisition of any lease of Crown land, settlement land, or other land administered by a land board; the clearing, fencing, draining and general improvement of land owned in fee-simple by a discharged soldier; the discharge of any mortgage affecting any land owned by a discharged soldier, and land administered by a land board and held by a discharged soldier under lease or licence; and the purchase of plant, implements, stock, seeds, plants and trees. Section 2 of the Act would prove to constitute the most important avenue to settlement. Even by 1 October 1919, while 749 veterans had been settled under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and 676 on Crown and National Endowment land, 1,865 had been assisted to purchase private farms.

The land settlement scheme as a whole was implemented through and administered by the land boards: the ten existing land districts (into which New Zealand had been divided under section 21 of the Land Act 1908) were declared to be land districts for the purposes of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. One more was added, namely, the Poverty Bay Land District. Each was headed by a Commissioner of Crown Lands, while section 41 of the Land Act 1908 provided for the establishment of land boards: such boards were chaired by the local commissioner and had four other members, two appointed and two elected. The names of the members of the boards were published in the official *New Zealand Yearbooks*: they did not, at least until 1916, include any obvious Maori names. By section 48(h) of the Land Act 1908 'All business connected with the sale, letting, disposal, and occupation of Crown lands shall be transacted by the [land] Board,' and by section 48(i) 'All the routine business relating to the sale, letting, disposal, and occupation of Crown lands shall be transacted by the Commissioner.'

To qualify for consideration under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, applicants had to fulfil four conditions, namely, to have been a member of the New Zealand Naval Force or of any Expeditionary Force, to have served beyond New Zealand 'in connection with the present war,' had returned to New Zealand, and had secured his discharge either before or following his return. By section 3 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917, the provisions of the Act were extended to those resident of New Zealand who had served with other Forces 'in the present war.' By section 18 of the Repatriation Act 1918, the application of the Act 1915 was extended to those who had served 'in a camp of military training and remained attached to that camp' on 12 November 1918, 'being the date of the cessation of hostilities with Germany.' No distinction was drawn between Maori and Pakeha veterans, enabling the Government of the day to claim that under the law both had equal access to the benefits of the rehabilitation programme. Pamphlets setting out the opportunities available under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 were first distributed, towards the end of 1915, by the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department.³⁷¹ No version of that pamphlet in te reo Maori was located. It is worthwhile noting here that in 1917 the Government had thousands of posters setting out the provisions of Military Service Act 1916 printed in te reo Maori and distributed throughout the six military districts into which it had divided the North Island.³⁷²

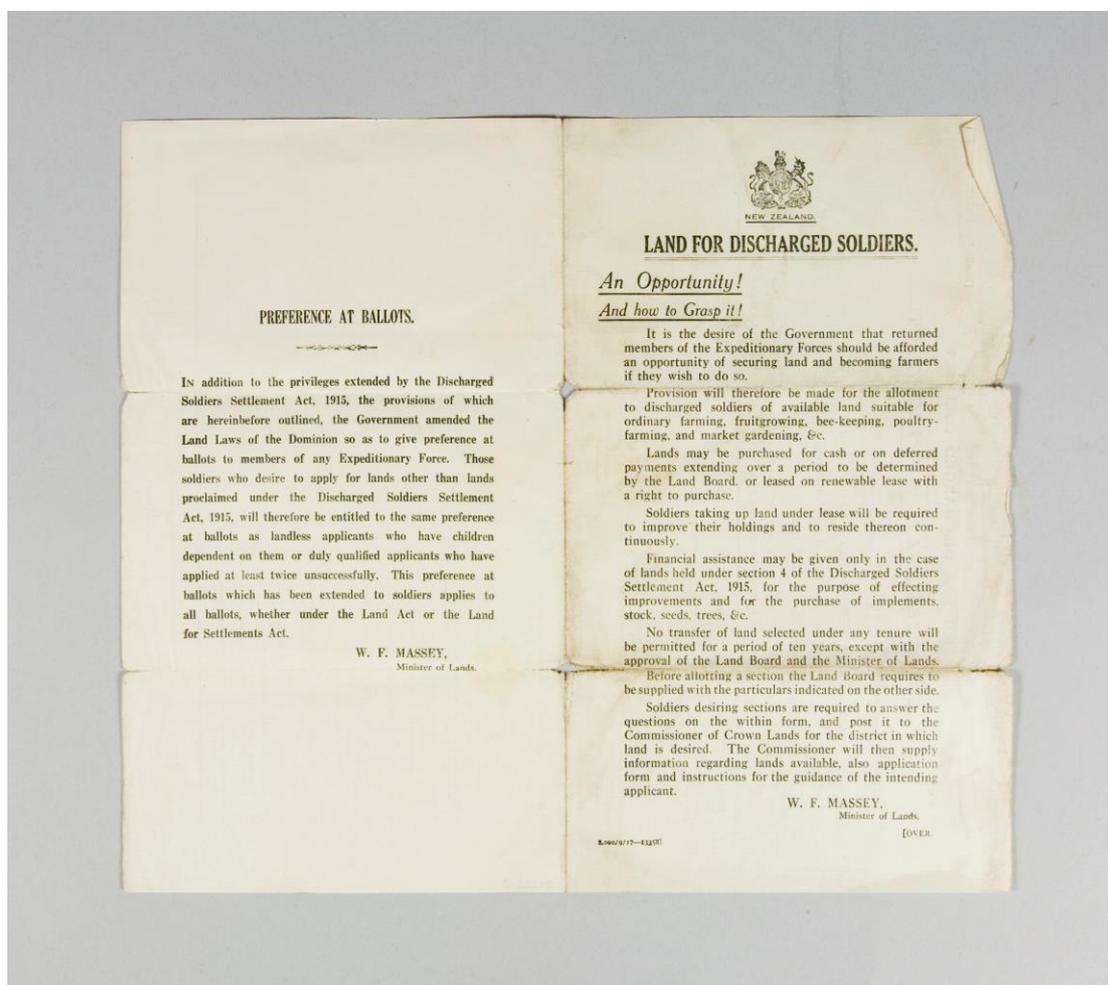
4.5 Providing land

A significant proportion of the lands employed for the purpose of settling discharged soldiers were acquired from Maori, either by the Crown or by soldiers with advances made under section 2(1)(a) of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917. The predicted demand by returned soldiers for land was employed by the Crown to initiate what would become the last major effort to secure Maori freehold land and transfer it into the settler ownership. The National Efficiency Board was

³⁷¹ 'Land for soldiers,' *New Zealand Herald* 1 January 1916, p.9.

³⁷² Loveridge and Keane, 'Turangawaewae,' p.292.

among the bodies that insisted, with respect to soldier settlement, ‘That the opening up of Crown and native lands should be accelerated and carried through on a large scale,’ at the same time suggesting ‘That the cutting up of private estates and runs should be continued but not specially accelerated.’³⁷³ The *New Zealand Herald* made plain its conviction that no soldier settlement policy ‘can be acceptable which does not provide for the rapid and continuous development of the Dominion’s idle lands.’³⁷⁴ In other words, the rehabilitation of returned soldiers, or at least their settlement on the land, was a new phase of the State’s ‘colonising mission.’ It is of interest to note that concurrently a great deal of criticism was directed at the Government’s efforts to acquire costly private estates for subdivision and settlement by veterans.



Source: Te Papa Tongarewa: the Museum of New Zealand

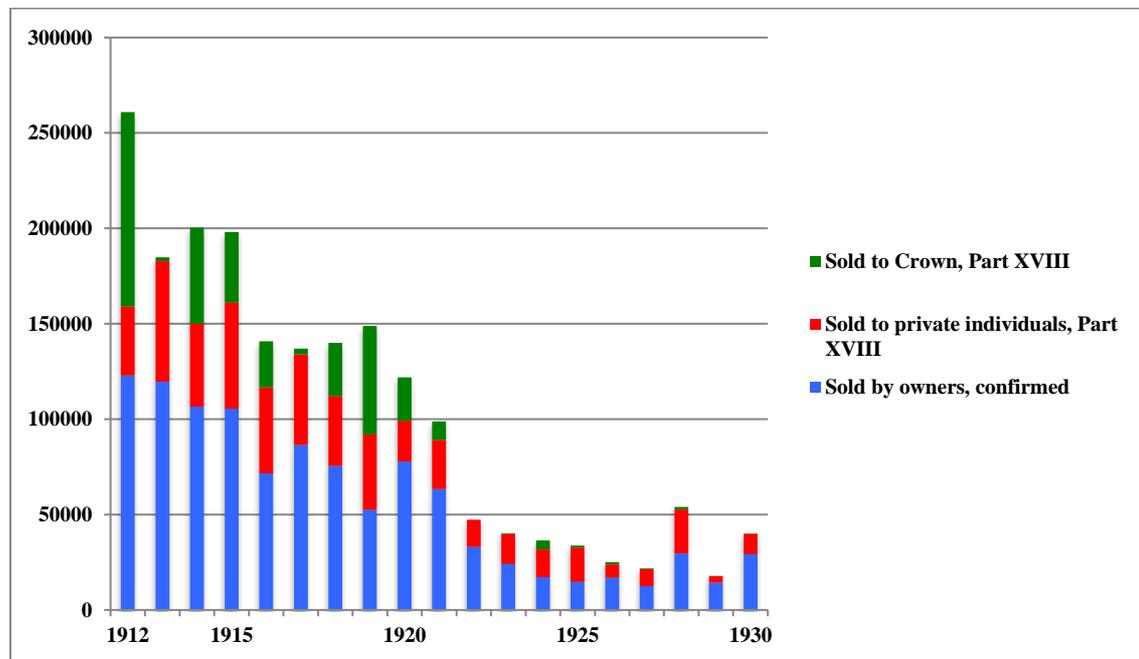
Plate 4.1: Massey’s invitation

³⁷³ ‘Land for soldiers. Efficiency Board’s views,’ *New Zealand Herald* 2 July 1918, p.6.

³⁷⁴ ‘Land for soldiers. Purchases by the State,’ *New Zealand Herald* 20 January 1919, p.4; and ‘Land settlement,’ *New Zealand Herald* 20 January 1919, p.4.

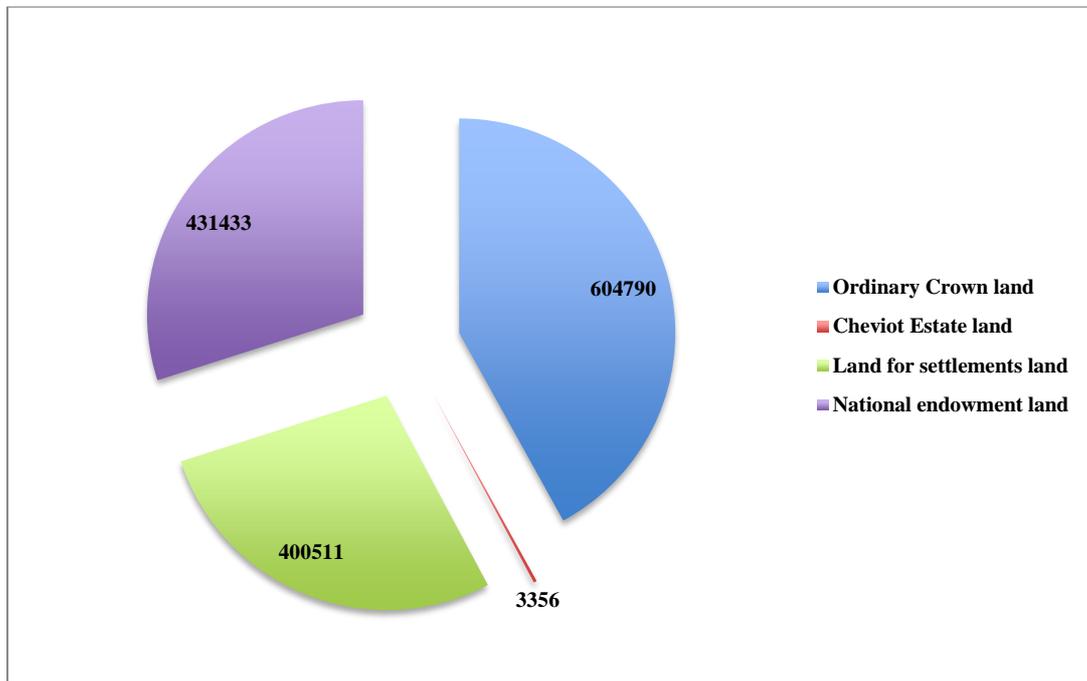
Graph 4.1 shows, for the period from 1 April 1911 to 31 March 1930, the area sold by Maori and confirmed by the Maori land boards, and the areas sold to both private individuals and to the Crown under Part XVIII of the Native Land Act 1909. The area sold by owners and confirmed by the boards included lands also sold to the Crown. The sharp contraction in sales after 1921 is apparent.

By the end of March 1930, the Crown had proclaimed under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 a total of just over 1.44m acres. Graph 4.2 sets out the components of that area. The 'ordinary' Crown lands included land that had been acquired from Maori.



Source: AJHR 1912-1930, G9

Graph 4.1: Maori freehold land sales, 1911 to 1930



Source: AJHR 1930, C9, p.6

Graph 4.2: New Zealand: lands (acres) proclaimed under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, as at 31 March 1930

4.6 Allocating land

Discharged soldiers could apply for Crown land under the Land Act 1908. Section 97(1) specified that no person could acquire Crown land under Part III (Land on the optional system) and Part IV (Special settlement areas) if s/he owned more than 5,000 acres where every acre of first-class land was reckoned as 7.5 acres and every acre of second-class land at 2.5 acres. Section 97(2) provided that 'the interest of a Maori in any land that has not been partitioned shall not be deemed to be land owned, held, or occupied by such Maori.' Section 103 provided that, where a ballot was required, landless applicants should have preference over those who were not 'and the decision of the Board as to which of the applicants are landless shall be final and conclusive.' An applicants was deemed landless where s/he did not hold land 'sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his family.'

Discharged soldiers could also apply for 'land for settlements land' under the Land for Settlements Act 1908. Section 51(c) provided for the balloting of allotments in

accordance with the Land Act 1908, while section 51(f) provided that where there was only one applicant 'he shall be entitled to the allotment ...' Where there were several applications for the same allotment, preference was, by section 51(i), accorded those deemed to be landless 'and the decision of the Land Board by which the land is being disposed of as to who of the applicants are landless and who are not shall be final and conclusive.' Under section 51(k) an applicant for rural land was deemed to be landless if he did not hold land that, in the opinion of the Land Board, was 'sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his family.' By section 51(n)(ii), a land board could call on any applicant to appear and offer evidence as to his compliance with all the requirements of the Act 'and also as to his general ability to properly cultivate the land and fulfil the conditions of the lease.' By section 51(p), where an applicant failed to satisfy a board on any material point, the board could, by resolution, reject the application, such rejection being final.

Under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, section 4 empowered the Crown to set apart for the purposes of soldier settlement any area or areas of Crown or settlement land. It also set out the requirements every applicant was required to meet. Section 4(3)(e) required him to specify his experience 'in the business for which he proposes to use the land, or in any other class of farming;' section 4(3)(f) required him to specify the amount of capital the applicant had available to invest 'in connection with the land;' and section 4(3)(g) required him to detail 'The nature and estimated amount of assistance, if any, that the applicant will require to enable him to work the land successfully.' Section 4(4) specified that 'All applications 'shall be dealt with by the Land Board ...' while section 4(5) provided that the provisions of the Land Act 1908 and the Land for Settlements Act 1908 or any other Act relating to the administration of Crown or settlement land did not apply to land disposed of under section 4.

The Regulations relating to the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 were published in November 1915. Regulation 3(1) specified that where two or more applicants applied for one allotment, it was up to the Land Board to decide 'which of the applicants ... is the most suitable to occupy the land, or is most in need of the land, and shall dispose of the land so as to comply with the direction of the said Act that the Board shall as far as practicable assist applicants in acquiring suitable allotments.'

Where a Board could not decide, then Regulation 3(2) provided for a ballot. Regulation 7 dealt with leases and empowered land boards to determine whether any lease carried a right of renewal. The term was not to exceed 33 years in the case of lands acquired under the Land for Settlements Act 1908 or 66 years in the case of other lands, with a perpetual right of renewal for further terms of 33 or 66 years. Residence was made compulsory, rent not to exceed 4.5 per cent of capital value of the land, and in the event of non-renewal a lessee was entitled to compensation for ‘the value of all existing improvements of a permanent character effected by him or by a processor in title and to which has acquired a title either by purchase or otherwise.’³⁷⁵ These regulations were periodically amended. Those issued in November 1916, for example, provided that two or more discharged soldiers could apply for an allotment as tenants in common.³⁷⁶

Applicants seeking to purchase or lease land under section 4 were required to complete a form that required details with respect to service, discharge, disabilities, pension status, marital status, and dependants (children), but which also included the following questions:

- What was your occupation prior to your becoming a member of the Forces? State period.
- For what business or purpose do you intend to use the land for which you are applying?
- What experience (if any) have you had in such business?
- What experience have you had (if any) in any kindred business?
- What is the amount of capital at your disposal for use of the land? Amount of cash? Value of stock (if any)? Implements or other property?

³⁷⁵ ‘Regulations under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 128, 11 November 1915, pp.3764-3767.

³⁷⁶ ‘Amending regulations under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 128, 16 November 1916, p.3563. See also ‘Amending regulations under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 65, 12 April 1917, p.1223; and ‘Amending regulations under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 81, 10 May 1917, pp.1981-1982. A consolidated set of regulations was issued in August 1918. See ‘Regulations under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 112, 22 August 1918, pp.3021-3034.

- What financial assistance will you require to enable you to work the land successfully? State particulars.³⁷⁷
- What land (if any) do you at present own or have an interest in? Give particulars.
- If married, what land (if any) does your wife own or have an interest in? Give particulars.

A copy of the application form is reproduced below: it will be noted that it was headed *Provisional application*. So far as could be established, this and related application forms were not printed in te reo Maori. Certainly, none was located in the many volumes of application forms consulted for this inquiry.

³⁷⁷ Applicants were reminded that under section 6 of the Act, assistance was available for clearing, fencing, draining, and general improvements; for erection of buildings; and for the purchase of implements, stock, seeds, plants, trees.

LAND FOR DISCHARGED SOLDIERS.

PROVISIONAL APPLICATION.

The Commissioner of Crown Lands, _____

I am a discharged soldier desirous of taking up land in _____

Land District. I would like to obtain a Section near _____; or, if there is none available in that locality, near _____

The answers to the following questions are furnished for the information of the Land Board, and I am prepared to make a statutory declaration that they are correct:—

1. What is your full name?	_____
2. Of what Naval or Expeditionary Force were you a member? Give Regimental No.	_____
3. What was— (a.) Your length of service in such Force? .. (b.) The date of your discharge? (c.) The reason of your discharge?	_____
4. What physical disabilities (if any) do you suffer from by reason of wounds or disease resulting from your naval or military service? State particulars as to loss of limb or faculty or as to condition of health.	_____
5. (1.) Have you applied for a pension under the War Pensions Act, 1915? (2.) If so, has your application been (a) granted, or (b) refused, or (c) not finally dealt with? (3.) If granted, to what rate of pension are you entitled? (4.) If refused, what were the grounds of refusal? (5.) <i>In the case of an applicant who is married,—</i> (a.) To what rate of pension under the War Pensions Act, 1915, is your wife entitled? (b.) To what rates of pension are you entitled under the said Act in respect of your children (if any)?	_____
6. What was your occupation prior to your becoming a member of the Forces? State period.	_____
7. For what business or purpose do you intend to use the land for which you are applying?	_____
8. What experience (if any) have you had in such business?	_____
9. What experience have you had (if any) in any kindred business?	_____
10. What is the amount of capital at your disposal for use on the land?— (a.) Amount of cash (b.) Value of stock (if any) (c.) Implements or other property	_____
11. What financial assistance will you require to enable you to work the land successfully? State particulars.	_____
12. Are you single, married, or a widower? If married or a widower, state number of children (if any) dependent on you.	_____
13. What land (if any) do you at present own or have an interest in? Give particulars.	_____
14. If married, what land (if any) does your wife own or have an interest in? Give particulars.	_____

Signature: _____

Address: _____

Source: Te Papa Tongarewa: the Museum of New Zealand

Plate 4.2: Land for discharged soldiers: provisional application form

All applications for land were to be made to the local Commissioner of Crown Lands in the first instance. It is assumed that at that stage applications were checked for compliance with the specified requirements. What is not entirely clear is the role that land boards themselves played in the screening process. The Hawke's Bay Land Board, for example, classified applicants into three groups, namely, those who knew 'the game' and were prepared 'to see it through;' those who had not the experience but were determined to seize the opportunity offered to them; and those 'who had no experience, not much determination, and the belief that the land is a loving stepmother to all her children.' The first would 'go straight ahead,' the second would require 'nursing for some time,' and the third would 'gradually drop out and make room for others.'³⁷⁸ The criteria employed by the Board were not specified, nor is it known whether that classification was utilised to govern entry into ballots. What does seem reasonably clear is that the boards based their conclusions over suitability on considerations additional to those specified in the Act and the Regulations. How rigorously the commissioners and the land boards applied such considerations and how rigorously and consistently they applied the statutory criteria are other questions the answers to which remain uncertain. Further, how Maori applicants, in particular those with limited command of English, fared in such circumstances is a matter for conjecture, although Ngata clearly had some misgivings (see below).

The Department of Lands and Survey did record that where discharged soldiers of limited means competed with others for large sections, the land boards 'may deem it desirable to accord preference to those men who are best qualified to work the land to advantage owing to their farming experience and capital at their disposal.' Nevertheless, it claimed that all classes of applicants were catered for, citing the Wellington Land District as an example. Of 317 settlers, it recorded in 1919, 79 had no capital when they applied, 46 had under £50, 82 had between £50 and £100, 96 between £100 and £500, and 14 had £500 and over. In the Hawke's Bay Land District, of 127 applicants the corresponding numbers were 7, 32, 58, and 30 respectively. Those figures did not include operations under section 2 of the

³⁷⁸ *AJHR* 1917, C9, p.8.

Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1917.³⁷⁹ What is not clear from those statistics is the capital commanded not by those who applied but by those who secured sections.

These matters were of considerable import. At the very least, the wording employed by the Act and the Regulations gave the commissioners and the land boards considerable latitude to define what was meant by 'experience' and its adequacy or otherwise, and to define capital requirements. In 1916, the Department of Lands and Survey recorded that 'If two or more applications are received in respect of one allotment of land, the Land Board shall determine which of the applicants, in its opinion, is the most suitable to occupy the land, or is most in need of the land ... If the Board is unable to determine between the claims of two or more applicants it shall cause a ballot to be taken' as specified by the Land Act 1908.³⁸⁰ In short, both the Commissioner of Crown Lands and the land boards exercised complete control over determining who qualified for consideration, over the allocation of sections where only one applicant was involved, and over admission to a ballot.

Discharged soldiers directed considerable criticism at the land boards. The fact that they met (mostly) only monthly and met mostly in a small number of centres was especially irksome given that applicants were required to appear in person for examination. The costs of such appearances and of inspecting the sections on offer were not inconsiderable. That the boards lacked representatives of the soldiers was of particular concern to the Returned Soldiers' Association. Claims that the boards appeared to favour soldiers with capital over those with minor or modest means also featured among the criticisms.³⁸¹ To such claims the Government insisted that it 'had never made any distinction between the men without means and those with limited means or with large sums of money. The only qualification required by the Land Boards before approving an application for land of financial assistance was that the men should have some farming experience, and be in a position to make use of the land allotted to him.'³⁸²

³⁷⁹ *AJHR* 1919, C9, p.4.

³⁸⁰ *AJHR* 1916, C9, p.2.

³⁸¹ See, for example, 'Soldiers and land. Returned men's grievances,' *New Zealand Herald* 27 March 1919, p.9.

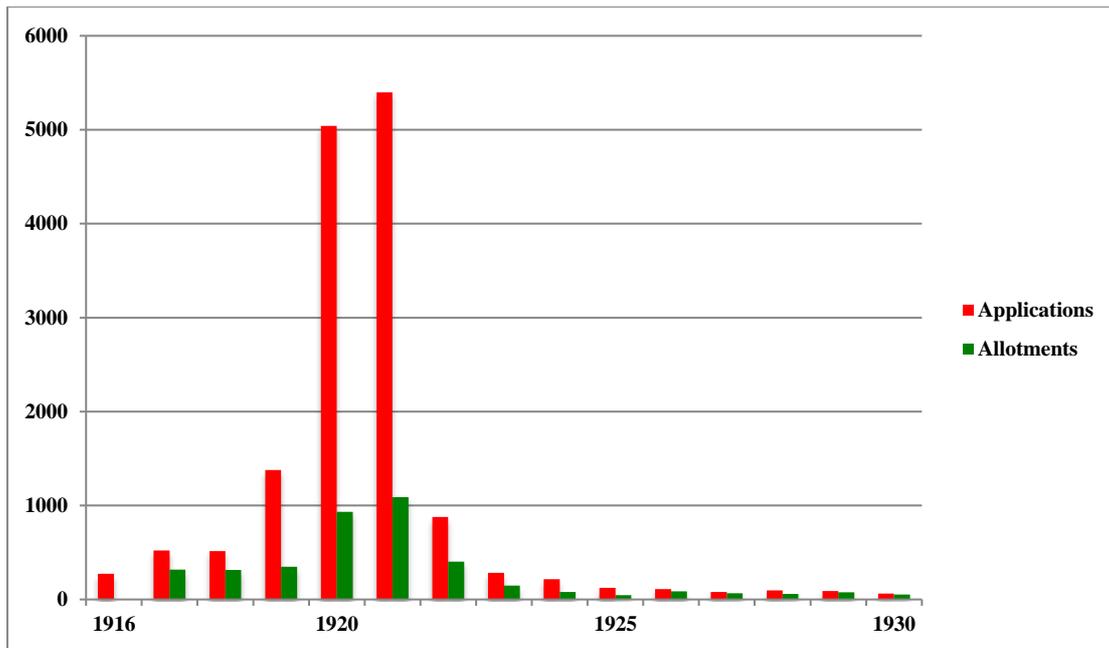
³⁸² 'Land for soldiers. No distinction made,' *New Zealand Herald* 7 May 1919, p.7.

4.7 Settling land, 1916 to 1930

Graph 4.3 sets out the number of applications made under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 for Crown sections and the number of allotments made for the period from 1916 to the end of March 1930. Separate data for Maori and Pakeha were not published. A small number (115) of applications was lodged over the following nine years, that is, to 31 March 1930, while an additional 88 allotments were made in this time. Settlement prior to the return of the bulk of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in 1919 represented largely the placement of men discharged on account of wounds, injury, or sickness. Clearly, the bulk of settlement took place in just two years, 1920 and 1921. Thereafter both the number of applications and the number of allotments contracted sharply, sufficiently so that by 1925 the Department of Lands and Survey could record that 'the settlement of discharged soldiers on the land has been completed, and lands are now once again being opened for general application, although discharged soldiers still receive a certain amount of preference at the ballots.'³⁸³ Accordingly, proclamations issued under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 were steadily revoked. By the end of March 1930, such revocations embraced 223,397 acres of Crown lands and 96,986 acres of land for settlements land, a total of 320,383 acres or 22.2 per cent of the total area that had been proclaimed by the same date.³⁸⁴ Those figures suggest that the availability of land, at least in a global sense, was not a factor in the apparently small number of Crown sections allotted to Maori veterans, while also suggesting that the acquisition of land from Maori was significantly in excess of the needs of the discharged soldier settlement programme.

³⁸³ *AJHR* 1925, C9, p.11.

³⁸⁴ *AJHR* 1930, C9, p.6.



Source: AJHR 1939, C1, p.2.

Graph 4.3: Applications lodged and granted under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915, 1916 to 1939

4.8 Maori and the settlement of Maori veterans

The Maori Members of Parliament did not contribute to the debate on the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915.³⁸⁵ Roche suggested that during the several debates that took place over that Act and its various amendments, Maori veterans and Maori generally were one of the groups marginalised.³⁸⁶ In fact, in 1916 Maori did initiate a discussion and subsequently, over a period of three years, pressed the Government to adopt measures that had as their essential objective the retention of as much land in Maori ownership and control as possible, the settlement of that land by Maori veterans, and the provision by the State of financial and advisory assistance and support to develop and manage the farms created. Underlying and informing the strategy developed was a belief that, irrespective of the spirit and the letter of the law, the manner in which that law would be administered would disadvantage those Maori veterans who would seek their rehabilitation through settlement on the land.

³⁸⁵ Why they did not contribute on a matter of considerable importance to Maori is now known. No evidence was located that would suggest they were in any way discouraged from doing so.

³⁸⁶ See Michael Roche, ‘Empire, duty, and land:’ soldier settlement in New Zealand 1915-1924,’ in L. Proudfoot and M. Roche (eds) *(Dis)placing empire*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005, pp.135-153.

4.8.1 A warning?

It was Sir James Carroll who opened the debate. In March 1916, in a speech to the Soldiers' Club in Gisborne, he insisted that Maori soldiers 'were entitled to the same consideration as Europeans in regard to placing returned men on the land.' The question in his mind was whether the Government should continue carrying on a vigorous policy of denuding the Maoris of their land.' Reports of the discussion that followed are sketchy, but the Minister of Internal Affairs (G.W. Russell) suggested that some 'special consideration' should be given to Maori soldiers, while the Minister of Agriculture (W.D.S. Macdonald) indicated that he 'would treat the Maori soldier the same as the pakeha,' but that the Government would consider any scheme that Carroll advanced.³⁸⁷ The *Evening Post* interpreted Carroll's observations as constituting 'Something in the nature of a warning ...' Macdonald and Russell jointly sent a telegram to the Minister of Native Affairs 'to the effect that they were of opinion that in Maori land purchases special consideration should be given to Maori soldiers on their return.'³⁸⁸ That decision earned the support of those gathered. In a letter addressed to the Prime Minister, Russell and Macdonald reported that it had been proposed that the settlement of Maori veterans

should be considered in connection with Native land purchases by the Crown, and that provision should be made so that Native blocks which may be required for Maori soldiers should not be purchased so as to leave the Natives without a prospect of obtaining land for settlement in their own districts and amongst their own people.³⁸⁹

Such proposals appear to have constituted the suggested 'special consideration' and, had they been adopted, would have required the Government to establish the likely demand among Maori veterans for sections, the districts in which they wished to settle, the area required, the formal reservation of the land involved, and survey and subdivision. When Cabinet discussed the matter, on 28 March 1916, it resolved that, with respect to rehabilitation assistance, Maori veterans would be treated on the same basis as Pakeha veterans, thus disposing of any notion of 'special consideration'

³⁸⁷ 'Land for soldiers. Pleas for the Maoris,' *New Zealand Herald* 11 March 1916, p.9.

³⁸⁸ 'Returned Maori soldiers. Question of land grants,' *Evening Post* 11 March 1916, p.9.

³⁸⁹ Ministers, Internal Affairs and Agriculture to Prime Minister 11 March 1916, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1851 26/1/3.

before a searching debate had commenced.³⁹⁰ Curiously, perhaps, the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey, commenting on Russell and Macdonald's submission to Massey, set out what would become the Department's stock response, namely, that the provisions of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 applied alike to Maori and Pakeha veterans. For that reason, he concluded, there was no need for any action. On the other hand, he also suggested, with respect to the suggestion that Maori veterans should be settled in their own districts and among their own people, that the Native Land Purchase Board could be instructed to purchase blocks of Maori freehold land for that purpose.³⁹¹ Massey, on 27 April 1916, appended a note on that letter 'Dealt with.' Quite what that meant is not clear. It is not clear either whether any such instruction was ever issued or implemented, although so far as could be established the State did not purchase blocks of Maori freehold land specifically for the purpose of settling Maori veterans.

4.8.2 Ngata enters the debate

Several months later, in Parliament, in mid-July 1916, upon the tabling of the Department of Native Affairs' annual report, Ngata initiated a lengthy debate on the rehabilitation of Maori veterans. He identified and explored several key points. First, he noted that while the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 made provision for Maori and Pakeha alike, 'owing to the ignorance that prevails in the Maori districts as regards the procedure in regard to the land ballot, in practice the Maori soldiers will not be able to take advantage of the provision which is made for all soldiers.'³⁹² The flow of information, ensuring that Maori ex-service personnel were aware of both the opportunities and their entitlements, and enabling veterans to navigate successfully through the procedures that would be instituted were matters of prime concern to Ngata. They were also issues that would feature prominently 25 years later as the shape of the post-World War II rehabilitation programme was debated and defined.

³⁹⁰ Prime Minister to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 29 March 1916, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

³⁹¹ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Minister, Lands 17 April 1916, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

³⁹² *NZPD* 1916, Vol 177, p.70. It is of interest to record here that in 1908 the *New Zealand Herald*, in a report on the Native school system, recorded that many Maori communities produced school-aged children who lacked command of English. See 'Educating the Maori,' *New Zealand Herald* 29 January 1908, p.4.

Second, and embodying what would become a long-term drive for Maori self-reliance, Ngata raised the difficulties he foresaw with respect to what he termed

the centralization of the patriotic funds either in Wellington or in the large cities ... The applicants that are near to the committees that are administering these funds will, in practice, have an advantage over the applicants from the outlying districts, whose needs may not be so comprehensively urged upon the central controlling body ... The man in the backblocks will suffer every time as compared with the man who lives nearer to the administrative centres.³⁹³

Many New Zealanders, and especially Maori (as noted above), still resided, by 1920, in rural districts with only tenuous links with the country's urban centres. Thus, Ngata noted, some Maori communities had decided to retain and control their patriotic funds with a view to purchasing local farms for the benefit of veterans and to supplementing the pension provided by the State. Such efforts, he insisted, merited the Government's formal recognition and encouragement.³⁹⁴ Clearly, Ngata believed that the small, rural, and often isolated communities in which most Maori resided would be overlooked and that iwi, wherever possible should therefore look to implement their own rehabilitation efforts. More generally, the cultivation of iwi self-reliance and the preservation of traditional power arrangements were matters of great importance to Ngata.

Ngata's third major point was that Maori were not inclined to ask the Government to set aside Crown lands specifically for Maori veterans. It was, he suggested, perhaps with a hint of irony, 'rather too much to ask the Government, out of the rapidly dwindling Crown estate, to set aside land from it specially for Maori soldiers. It seemed to be an almost improper thing to ask the Crown, when it was popularly supposed that the Maoris had sufficient land for the purpose.' He added that during the past month 'the truth' had been forced home to Maori Members 'that we should ask our own people to make that provision as far as possible,' that is, that they should be asked to sell land to the Crown land earmarked for Maori veterans, with the result that 'the general fund of land would be relieved.' Applicants would have to meet the same criteria and conditions required of Pakeha veterans. In his sights, in particular,

³⁹³ *NZPD* 1916, Vol 177, pp.71-72.

³⁹⁴ *NZPD* 1916, Vol 177, pp.71-72.

were the Maori freehold lands that had been vested in the Maori land boards following the investigations and recommendations of the Native Land Commission of 1907 and the passage of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907: those still unoccupied and unencumbered, he suggested, should be earmarked for Maori veterans.³⁹⁵ It is worthwhile noting here that the extensive areas vested under the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 were those recommended by the Stout-Ngata [Native Land] Commission of 1907.

Ngata's fourth major point was that Maori veterans should be given 'greater facilities than exist now in the case of ordinary applicants for approaching the owners of Native land in order to buy or lease land.' Specifically, he proposed that a veteran's undivided interests in land should be discounted. 'Life,' he observed, 'is too short for most of us to be eternally approaching the Native Land Court for the purpose of individualizing our titles.' He also proposed that Maori land boards accord preference to applications for land lodged by Maori veterans over all other applicants.³⁹⁶ He made it clear that Maori veterans would require financial assistance to settle, develop, and manage their farms. The lack of suitable provision for such assistance he regarded as 'a weakness' in the discharged soldier settlement scheme. It would not be sufficient, he argued, merely to place men on the land. Rather, they would require both financial assistance and the advice and support of the Department of Agriculture.³⁹⁷ Ngata also proposed that assembled owners should be empowered to gift land to the Crown for the express purpose of settling Maori veterans.³⁹⁸

Finally, Ngata outlined his own people's plan to supplement the pensions payable to veterans by purchasing a farm with, he added, 'the assistance of the Legislature and the Hon the Native Minister ...' The revenue generated by the farm would be employed to support veterans and their dependants. But there was a difficulty, namely, that the Native Minister did not trust Maori trustees to run such an operation but would rather entrust that task to the Crown Lands Board. 'I am as suspicious of the Crown Lands Board as the ... [Minister] is suspicious of Native trustees.' What he

³⁹⁵ *NZPD* 1916, Vol 177, p.70.

³⁹⁶ *NZPD* 1916, Vol.177, p.71.

³⁹⁷ *NZPD* 1916, Vol.177, p.72.

³⁹⁸ *NZPD* 1916, Vol 177, p.72.

sought was an appropriate change in the law.³⁹⁹ Ngata concluded his address by insisting that ‘We do not want to sponge upon the Government from the Crown lands for our Maori soldiers. We want, as far as possible, to make provision for them out of their own tribal lands.’⁴⁰⁰

A protracted debate followed in which Ngata secured considerable support, although the debate broadened to encompass Maori land policy as a whole, the Crown’s approach to the purchase of Maori freehold land, the activities of Pakeha land speculators, and the competency and integrity of the Department of Native Affairs. Hornsby (MHR Wairarapa) commented upon what he regarded as the strange spectacle of a Maori member ‘pleading for his countrymen – that those of them who have gone to fight the battles of our Empire may be enabled to get a small piece of land on which to settle when they come back from the battle-front.’⁴⁰¹ He did not elaborate on what he appears to have sensed as the profound irony involved.

For the Government, Native Minister Herries, clearly convinced that Maori as a people would, within 50 years, have practically ceased to exist, did not respond to Ngata’s proposals. On the other hand, Ngata did secure considerable public support. The *Evening Post*, for example, was confident that Ngata’s plea that Maori soldiers should have ‘an effective place’ in the soldier-settlement scheme would ‘appeal to the public sense of justice.’ It accepted Ngata’s contention that the existing equality of access was ‘more nominal than real, because the Maori is not sufficiently versed in pakeha ways to be alive to the opportunity presented to him.’ Thus Ngata’s proposal that certain lands should be ear-marked for Maori veterans ‘seems to be not only a just proposal, but perhaps the only means of giving effect to the spirit of the existing law, which contemplates provisions for the Native soldier along with the white one.’ Further justification was found in the fact that had it not been for Maori land, the entire soldier settlement programme would have faltered. Indeed, the journal went on to express concern at the rate of Crown and private purchase.

Even assuming [it remarked] that the alienations ... are all surplus lands (which is the theory of the law) it is still the barest justice that some effort should be made

³⁹⁹ NZPD 1916, Vol.177, p.72.

⁴⁰⁰ NZPD 1916, Vol.177, p.73.

⁴⁰¹ NZPD 1916, Vol.177, p.74.

to preserve for the Maori soldier some of the alienated soil of his race. Among the returned men will be many Maoris who are landless, or whose land interests are bound up in some paralysing collective title. If such men have any farmer-stuff in them, it should not be neglected for lack of appreciation of the opportunity.⁴⁰²

4.9 The Government responds

The Government did include some of Ngata's proposals in the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916, to his apparent satisfaction.⁴⁰³ Sections 10 of the Act empowered assembled owners to accept an offer by the Crown to purchase or lease land expressly for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen: such land would be proclaimed under sections 3 or 4 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. But section 10 required the Crown to exercise the initiative. Section 11 empowered the Crown, on the recommendation of a Maori land board, to set apart any land vested in such board under Parts XIV and XV of the Native Land Act 1909 for the purpose of settling thereon Maori veterans. Any vested lands so set apart were to be administered under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. Under section 11, the initiative lay with Maori land boards. Moreover, they were not required, under that section, to consult the beneficial owners. Section 12 provided that where a Maori veteran sought to acquire land set apart under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, any undivided interest, whether legal or equitable, that he held, was not to be taken into account in computing the area owned, held, or occupied by him. As noted above, a similar provision had appeared in the Land Act 1908 (section 97(2)).

Section 13 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916 conferred additional powers on the trustees incorporated under the War Funds Act 1915 of any war fund raised for the relief, assistance or support of Maori soldiers or of their dependants, specifically to expend any monies belonging to that fund on the purchase or lease of land, Maori or general, and to carry on any agricultural or

⁴⁰² 'Maori and Pakeha,' *Evening Post* 14 July 1916, p.6. See also 'Native lands department,' *New Zealand Times* 14 July 1916, p.6.; and 'The Native land question,' *Marlborough Express* 17 July 1916, p.4.

⁴⁰³ *NZPD* 1916, Vol.177, p.742.

pastoral business on such land. Section 13(2) empowered the trustees, as a committee of management, with the precedent consent of the Minister of Native Affairs, to borrow money on the security of the land. Under section 4 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1917, assembled owners were empowered to dispose of land to the Crown by way of gift for the settlement thereon of Maori veterans. The land would be proclaimed Crown land and set apart under section 3 or section 4 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915.

4.9.1 Reserving land for Maori veterans

In October 1916, Acting Prime Minister Francis Bell issued 'a public and general request to all owners of estates of considerable area to set apart portions of their properties ... for settlement by returned soldiers, and offer to the Government for purchase at fair prices for that purpose the lands so set apart.' Compulsory purchase was not an option that appealed to the Government.⁴⁰⁴ Clearly, the pressure was already apparent and would intensify, encouraging the Government to try to accelerate its acquisition of Maori freehold land, partly by having its undivided interests partitioned out, and partly by effecting new purchases. An analysis of the Crown's large-scale land purchasing in 'that great atrophied heart of the North Island' – where by 1918 it had identified some 268,000 acres that it wished to acquire explicitly for the purposes of soldier settlement – indicated that it fashioned and implemented a purchasing strategy intended to acquire as much land as quickly as possible and at the least possible cost.⁴⁰⁵ That strategy included a number of key components, namely, the imposition (usually without notice or consultation) of orders prohibiting private alienation, the cancellation of family-negotiated partitions where they were deemed to interfere with the Crown's plans, purchase wherever possible through meetings of assembled owners, prices based on Government valuations, and, where necessary, the more expensive and protracted option of purchasing individual interests where owners collectively resisted sale. Such was the vigour with which the Crown pursued its purchasing ambitions that in October 1918 representatives of North Island iwi gathered in Wellington primarily

⁴⁰⁴ 'Local and general,' *Evening Post* 4 October 1916, p.6.

⁴⁰⁵ See 'Will pumice land suit soldiers,' *Evening Post* 18 February 1919, p.6.

to protest against the power vested in the Native Minister to acquire Native lands by proclamation for settlement by returned soldiers of certain blocks in the Taupo district, principally on the southern side of the lake which have been proclaimed by the Government, and of which the Maoris are refusing to give up possession ... The conference decided to approach the Government ... with a protest against this acquisition by proclamation, and to ask that Government assistance be given to the natives in order that they may make their lands reproductive.⁴⁰⁶

4.9.2 'They make far less noise'

Ngata took up the protest. In 1919, during the debate on the Discharged Soldier's Settlement Loans Bill, Ngata observed that 'Whenever there is any discussion about the unoccupied lands of the Dominion ... the thoughts of a majority of the members of this house fly most naturally and easily to Maori land. They do not pursue the question any further.'⁴⁰⁷ He went on to claim that 'The purchase of Native lands by the Crown is the sole safety-valve for the operations of the Minister of Lands in placing discharged soldiers on the land cheaply.'⁴⁰⁸ He also suggested that

Our returned Maori soldiers have given the Government very little trouble. They are not rushing the ballots after high-priced land. They recognize that their own people have the land, and very few of them are bothering the Government for either money or land. They do apply to their local repatriation committees for assistance in starting them in small businesses; but, taking them as a whole, and in proportion to their numbers – something over two thousand Maori soldiers have returned from active service – it will be found that they make far less noise than the pakeha soldiers in respect to claims upon the country.⁴⁰⁹

Almost as an afterthought, Ngata advised the Government against any attempt to take Maori land compulsorily, for 'you would be cutting against the grain; there would be the greatest possible friction, and you might not do as well as you are doing now.'⁴¹⁰ That did not deter some politicians. C.J. Parr (MHR Eden) was one who held that the land was 'the leaping point for reconstruction and greater productivity,' that 'Every

⁴⁰⁶ 'Acquisition of land,' *Auckland Star* 23 October 1918, p.4.

⁴⁰⁷ *NZPD* 1919, Vol 184, p.142.

⁴⁰⁸ *NZPD* 1919, Vol.184, p.142.

⁴⁰⁹ *NZPD* 1919, Vol 184, p.145.

⁴¹⁰ *NZPD* 1919, Vol 184, p.145.

acre in New Zealand that could be tilled must be put to use,' and that 'Notwithstanding the Maori's rights under the Treaty of Waitangi and subsequent legislation, he had no more right than any pakeha to hold hundreds of thousands of acres of good land, untilled and paying nothing to the revenue, for, after all, the public interest was paramount.' He proposed a familiar solution, namely that the State acquire 'all Maori lands by paying a fair price to the Public Trustee who would disburse the income therefrom for the benefit of the natives ... The native lands should be taken so that 20,000 new settlers could be placed on the land forthwith.'⁴¹¹

Parr's solution evoked a response from a Maori veteran. Aperahama Rupene (or Reupena), born at Waimamakau in the Hokianga in 1881, served as a member of the Third Maori Contingent until invalided back to New Zealand in 1916.⁴¹²

I am a soldier [he recorded] returned from the front: there are many hundreds of Maori soldiers similar to myself who desire a bit of land, and also the financial assistance for improvements. Until we are satisfied we think that the residue of native lands should not be interfered with. Why should our communal lands be taken whilst we are clamouring for? It is not fair that we should be cast in competition with European settlers in obtaining such areas as we may be awarded of what is actually our own to begin with ... [Parr's] idea is unjust to the Maori race, and perpetuates the past policy of confiscation and legalised plunder ... At present the Maori does not ask for a return of his plundered land, he asks that the plunder cease.⁴¹³

Subsequently, Ngata introduced into the House a Bill intended to empower the State to develop an estimated 700,000 acres of pumice and gum lands. In his view the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 would not serve to develop the country's resources so much as it would effect the substitution of one group of settlers for another, an argument that would be regularly aired as the post-World War II rehabilitation land settlement effort gained momentum. The inspiration for his Bill, Ngata explained, lay in the State's land drainage schemes, notably that of the Hauraki Plains.⁴¹⁴ He proposed that in his scheme 'The native interest should not be neglected, and in the settlement of lands assistance should be given to the Maoris of Taupo and

⁴¹¹ 'Mr Parr's policy. Get the Native lands,' *Auckland Star* 13 August 1919, p.7.

⁴¹² Reupena (or Rupena) died at Waiotemarama in 1955 at the age of 76.

⁴¹³ 'Maori lands,' *Auckland Star* 30 August 1919, p.13. See also the letter by Rina Te Oranga 'Native lands,' *Auckland Star* 16 August 1919, p.13.

⁴¹⁴ *NZPD* 1919, Vol 185, pp.544-554.

to returned Maori soldiers to farm some of the land.’⁴¹⁵ The Bill did not proceed beyond a first reading.

4.10 Settling veterans: Maori harden their position

Between 1914 and 1918 the Crown acquired almost 555,000 acres of Maori freehold land and by January 1919 had an additional 700,000 acres ‘under negotiation.’⁴¹⁶ Some sections of the press insisted that, by 1919, Maori retained over five million acres, the transfer of land out of Maori ownership serving to lift ‘the incubus of Maori landlordism ... from New Zealand.’ The *New Zealand Herald* claimed that Maori still retained ‘far too much land,’ while suggesting that ‘If the Legislature aimed at making the Maoris a people of farmers its failure is written over the length and breadth of the North Island.’⁴¹⁷ Eighteen months later, the *Northern Advocate* arrived at a diametrically opposed position, suggesting that the 4.8 million acres that Maori retained ‘cannot be regarded as an excessive areas for the use of the 47,000 Maoris, comprising the Native population of North Island and their descendants.’ Maori thus retained ‘barely sufficient’ land for their requirements.⁴¹⁸

The Crown was not swayed by that more cautious appraisal, but as it continued to acquire land, Maori opposition hardened. Some of the criticism centred, as noted above, on the liberal use of orders prohibiting private alienations, some of it centred on the use of dated valuation certificates at a time of rapidly appreciating land values. With respect to the latter, Ngata was especially critical, claiming that parts of the Urewera district had been acquired at prices ruling five years before the war.⁴¹⁹ Between 1 April 1912 and the close of 1919, the Crown acquired outright in the Urewera 515,490 acres at a cost of £995,067 and partially acquired a further 476,604 acres at a cost of £535,649.⁴²⁰ A major concern was the scale of the Crown’s purchases and thus what were perceived to be the diminishing prospect for settling

⁴¹⁵ *NZPD* 1919, Vol 185, pp.548 and 549.

⁴¹⁶ The acreage was given by the Minister of Lands in January 1919. See ‘Native land,’ *Otago Witness* 29 January 1919, p.43.

⁴¹⁷ ‘The Native land question,’ *New Zealand Herald* 10 April 1920, p.6.

⁴¹⁸ ‘Maori lands,’ *Northern Advocate* 17 August 1920, p.4.

⁴¹⁹ ‘Maori lands. Reference to prices paid,’ *Evening Post* 16 September 1920, p.7.

⁴²⁰ ‘Land for Maori soldiers,’ *Sun* 17 February 1920, p.7.

Maori veterans on the land. Thus, in October 1919, in the Legislative Council, Tukino Te Heu Heu proposed that land – by which it is presumed that he meant Crown land – should be set apart specifically for settlement by Maori veterans. He went on to observe that

I do not think it would be right, when we are settling the returned soldier on the land, to class the Maori soldier with the white returned soldier, because ... in comparison with the white soldiers who left this country the Maoris are very much in a minority; and I really do not think that the Maori would have the same opportunity, and he would not have the same chance of getting a section along with the hundreds of his pakeha comrades. Therefore I would suggest ... that in each district throughout the country there should be portions of land set aside for the Maori soldiers only.⁴²¹

A few days later, in the House, Ngata offered the same suggestion, asking the Minister of Lands whether the Government would set aside areas of Crown land specifically for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, ‘the soldier settlers to be carefully selected and to receive, in addition to the financial assistance already provided by statute, special assistance in the form of advice and supervision by Government officers or experienced farmers in the localities concerned.’ Informing the proposal was a conviction that the Act was being administered and implemented in a manner that disadvantaged Maori. ‘Under the present system of examination by Land Boards,’ Ngata claimed, ‘Maori applicants, whether returned soldiers or not, are placed at the bottom of the list, and there is certainly a prejudice against Maori applicants for Crown lands.’⁴²² To that serious charge, the Minister of Lands claimed that Maori and Pakeha veterans were entitled to equal consideration under the Act, that reservation of land would ‘discriminate between sections of the Expeditionary Force,’ and that the land boards were required to consider only an applicant’s suitability as a settler, his experience in farming, and his eligibility under the Act.⁴²³ The burden of Ngata’s complaint, namely, that equality of access under the law was not being matched by equality of treatment under the law, went unanswered. Essentially, it appears that Ngata believed that Maori veteran applicants were not progressing beyond the initial vetting or screening process.

⁴²¹ NZPD 1919, Vol.185, p.480-481. For Ngata’s bitter criticism of the Government’s approach to Maori land purchasing, see NZPD 1919, Vol.184, pp.142-143.

⁴²² NZPD 1919, Vol.185, pp.684-685.

⁴²³ NZPD 1919, Vol.185, p.685.

4.10.1 Testing Ngata's claims

Testing Ngata's claims would require a range of data, including:

- The number of Maori and Pakeha veterans who applied for land and/or financial assistance;
- The number of applicants, Maori and Pakeha, who passed the screening process;
- The number of sections allocated by the land boards, that is, without ballot, to Maori and Pakeha applicants;
- The number of Maori and Pakeha veterans admitted to ballots; and
- The number of Maori and Pakeha veterans who secured sections through ballots.

The minute books of the waste land boards offer little of value. The applications that veterans submitted for land appear not to have survived, and indeed the minute books appear to record only those who survived the vetting process and the outcome of their applications. It was therefore not possible to establish whether the qualifying criteria were applied more rigorously in the case of Maori than of all other veterans. Some details of the experience and the resources of successful applicants for land (including Maori) were included in the applications they subsequently made for financial assistance. The latter suggest that experience ranged from minimal to substantial and that their resources (in terms of cash, stock, implements, and other backing) ranged similarly. Without a random sample of all application files, a definitive assessment cannot be offered. Even then, difficulties are apparent, for there is evidence (discussed below) that Maori veterans were advised not to or dissuaded from lodging applications, for financial assistance in particular.

4.11 Maori proposals, Crown's responses

Several key ideas thus underpinned the approach of Maori to the settlement of Maori veterans on the land. It was Ngata who was chiefly responsible for articulating the

views of iwi and pressing for tangible and effective responses to the issues that he raised. Essentially, he claimed that while the law might not discriminate against Maori, the manner of its implementation did so; access to rehabilitation assistance should be made as straightforward as possible; rehabilitation decision-making should be decentralised; Maori should be engaged in the decision-making structure and process; Maori veterans would require special assistance, including training, lest rehabilitation efforts should fail; and, finally, that Maori should, as far as possible, make their own lands available for the settlement of their veterans.

Over the period from 1916 to 1919, Ngata and others developed a multi-faceted strategy in an effort to encourage the Government to adopt measures intended specifically to assist Maori veterans. First, they made clear their opposition to any proposal that the State should compulsorily acquire Maori freehold land for the purposes of soldier settlement. Second, and very possibly as a *quid pro quo*, Maori would settle wherever possible their veterans on tribal lands, but that the Government should set aside for Maori veterans portions of the lands that it acquired for soldier settlement. Third, the State should assist Maori to develop tracts of Maori freehold land for subdivision and settlement, and offer financial assistance and advisory support for those returned Maori soldiers who owned land and wished to bring it into production. Fourth, Ngata in particular was keen to see the substantial areas of Maori freehold land vested in the Maori land boards but remaining unoccupied and idle released for the purpose of settling Maori veterans. Fifth, Maori sought the assistance and cooperation of the Crown to establish district soldiers' funds that would invest in land development and management for the benefits of veterans. Finally, reposing little confidence in the country's land boards, they sought alternative administrative arrangements with respect to the implementation of the general settlement programme. The Government responded to some of these proposals, although not always in a full-hearted manner.

4.12 The East Coast Soldiers' Fund

The establishment of the Fund was set out briefly above.⁴²⁴ Walker recorded that contributions from the iwi of Te Tai Rawhiti reached £42,000 and that most was invested in three farming properties.⁴²⁵ According to an *AJHR* return, the Fund had raised, by the end of March 1920, a total of £41,385 of which £33,452 had come from donations and £6,996 from 'other societies,' presumably other patriotic societies.⁴²⁶ The Fund first acquired a short term lease of 4,000 acres at Torere near Opotiki, and then acquired grazing rights to 2,000 acres of Hoata Station at Tikitiki. The latter venture failed to yield a profit and by 1921 the Trust had relinquished those rights.⁴²⁷ For the sum of £10,580 the Trust purchased the goodwill of five leases of the Wharekahika blocks with an aggregate area of 5,122 acres, being Hoia Station at Hick's Bay.

The third property was Hereheretau Station. In September 1917, Carroll and Ngata approached the Native Minister over reserving the Hereheretau 2 and 2A for Maori veterans or leasing the blocks to the Maori Soldiers' Fund. The disposal of the land, they were informed, rested with the Minister of Lands.⁴²⁸ On 23 October 1917, Ngata, Pomare and Carroll proposed to Massey that the two blocks, the purchase of which the Crown was completing, should be leased to the Maori Soldiers' Fund 'as an investment ...' Ngata noted that 'The Maoris of the Wairoa District where these lands are situated were the first to offer their services at the commencement of the war, and have in money and men splendidly contributed to the resources of the country. It was their wish ... that this application should be made to the Government.' Alternatively, Ngata suggested, the lands could be set aside for Maori veterans.⁴²⁹ Two months later, Massey, having assured Ngata that the proposal had 'been carefully considered,'

⁴²⁴ It is not proposed to examine fully the history of the East Coast Soldiers' Fund, but rather to highlight some of the issues relating to the settlement of Maori veterans to which its establishment gave rise.

⁴²⁵ The figure of £42,000 appears to have originated with Reweti Tuhorouta Kohere, a vocal critic of the Fund. See also *AJHR* 1934, G11, p.117. The Commission on Native Affairs indicated that it had been unable to establish satisfactorily details of the Trust's funds. See *AJHR* 1934, G11, p.119.

⁴²⁶ *AJHR* 1920, H46, p.4.

⁴²⁷ For some details, see *AJHR* 1934, G11, pp.119-122.

⁴²⁸ Native Minister to James Carroll and A.T. Ngata 17 September 1917, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

⁴²⁹ A.T. Ngata to Prime Minister 23 October 1917, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

indicated that he could ‘not see his way to dispose of Native lands purchased by the Native Land Purchase Board in the manner indicated.’ Maori veterans, he continued,

are in a position of equality with soldiers of British descent and it appears inadvisable to utilise Crown land for their benefit only. When land is proclaimed under the [Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement] Act [1915], it is the function of the Land Board of the district to allot amongst those discharged soldiers who put in applications and I have no doubt that in the case of the Hereheretau land the Hawke’s Bay Land Board will allot it to those soldiers who, in their opinion, are best qualified and entitled to obtain holdings in that locality.⁴³⁰

Three months later, in March 1918, Massey appended a note to that letter in which he recorded that the letter had been written ‘under a misapprehension. A promise was made to the Native member [Ngata] that the blocks ... would be reserved for Native soldiers ...’⁴³¹ The letter had almost certainly been drafted by the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey, containing as it did that Department’s stock response to suggestions that certain blocks should be set aside for settlement by Maori veterans. Herries claimed, in June 1918, that he knew nothing of any promise.⁴³² The Minister of Lands decided to await Massey’s return from overseas and instructed the Department of Lands and Survey accordingly.⁴³³ Subsequently, the Minister insisted that Ngata’s proposal that legislation should be passed during 1918 to allow the leasing of the lands to the Maori Soldiers’ Fund was ‘impracticable ...’⁴³⁴ Almost certainly the reason lay in the opposition to the whole proposal on the part of the Department of Lands and Survey. In January 1919, Hawke’s Bay’s Commissioner of Crown Lands (W.F. Marsh) wrote to the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey.

⁴³⁰ Prime Minister to A.T. Ngata 21 December 1917, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

⁴³¹ Note dated 6 March 1918 on Prime Minister to A.T. Ngata 21 December 1917, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

⁴³² Native Minister to Minister, Lands 19 June 1918, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

⁴³³ Minister, Lands and Survey to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 19 June 1918, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1]. The Minister of Lands was D.H. Guthrie. Born in County Laois (Queen’s) Ireland in 1855, Guthrie arrived in New Zealand in 1876, entered Parliament in 1908 (MHR Oroua), and served as Chief Whip of the Reform Party, as Minister of Lands 1917-1924 and, for a short period, as Minister of Railways. He was chiefly responsible for the implementation and administration of the discharged soldier settlement scheme, and appears to have enjoyed Massey’s confidence. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1925 and died 1927. ‘Obituary. The Hon. D.H. Guthrie,’ *Northern Advocate* 31 March 1927, p.4; and ‘Obituary. The Hon. D.H. Guthrie,’ *Otago Daily Times* 1 April 1927, p.10.

⁴³⁴ Minister, Lands to James Carroll 8 December 1918, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

It is very easy [he began] to be somewhat indiscreet in replying to your memo [not located] ... but the chance must be taken.

Hereheretau No 2 contains roughly about 8,700 acres, and the last advice dated 25th January 1918 from the Native Department was that 4,291 acres had been acquired. Since then, of course, additional interests may have been acquired, but from idle gossip I have had an idea that that some unseen hand [Ngata's?] has been placing difficulties in the way of further purchases, and progress has been very slow.

On the 23rd August I was advised by you that Sir James Carroll had been negotiating with Mr Massey to set apart Hereheretau for Maori discharged soldiers, and inferred that any settlement would be under the present Acts with preference only to Maoris. Mr Ngata's letter however suggests the vesting of Hereheretau No 2 in Trustees as an investment for the Maori Soldiers' Fund, Gisborne etc and anticipates legislation to that effect by requesting that the Trustees be allowed to enter into possession on 1st March.

It seems curious that the Crown should spend large sums of money in buying land from certain Natives for the benefit of other Natives to be worked by the latter apparently on the communal system. I am unkind enough to think it is an admission that the average Maori is a failure as an individual farmer, but as a shareholder may receive dividends – after the management expenses have been met.

What the Dominion requires in the vicinity of Wairoa is a good white farmer on every section that will support one, and as Commissioner of Crown Lands I should be very sorry if Hereheretau is not wholly or nearly wholly acquired and opened for settlement by suitable men.

However if it be decided to act as desired by Mr Ngata, I beg to suggest that the Trustees be charged 5% on all monies expended by the Crown, plus interest up to the time of entry, plus 5% for contingencies, and less any sums received by us for grazing. Considering that we purchased at £2 13 9 [per acre] and the non-sellers are clamouring for £4, I think this would be quite a fair thing.⁴³⁵

Commissioner Marsh provided no evidence for the assorted claims he advanced. Moreover, his aversion to 'communal farming' by Maori and the payment of dividends to shareholders sits uneasily alongside the continued presence of corporate farming entities in New Zealand looking to reward both foreign and domestic foreign

⁴³⁵ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Napier to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 24 January 1919, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1]. Hereheretau 2D of 6,145 acres was proclaimed Crown land in 1921, Hereheretau HB2K of 256 acres in 1922, and Hereheretau 2A1 of 75 acres in 1924. The total cost to the Crown was £18,378.

shareholders.⁴³⁶ In the event, Marsh was simply informed that the Government intended to comply with Ngata's request.⁴³⁷ Massey evidently took pride in redeeming explicit promises. In May 1919, the Gisborne Returned Soldiers' Association took the matter up with the Minister of Lands, expressing surprise given the assurance that he had offered that the Government 'would not tolerate any distinction or preference to Maori soldiers.'⁴³⁸ Guthrie affirmed that assurance but noted that 'special circumstances surround the action taken in regard to Hereheretau.' The arrangement, he insisted, 'does not constitute differentiation,' but had been reached 'solely with a view to enabling the War Funds Council to use its funds in assisting in the repatriation of the Maori soldiers.'⁴³⁹ Whether the Association was convinced by that response is unknown.

The Fund thus acquired a Crown lease of the 6,373-acre Hereheretau Station. Section 35 of the Reserves and Other Lands Disposal and Public Bodies Empowering Act 1919 empowered the Crown, 'For the purpose of assisting in the repatriation of Maori soldiers,' to lease to the 'Maori Soldiers' Fund Council Incorporated Trustees' Hereheretau 2A and 'such portion of Hereheretau No 2 block as may hereafter be proclaimed Crown land.' In 1920, it was suggested that 'A lot of money will have to be sunk into working these farms before the returns provided will be sufficient to permit of disbursement among the Maori soldiers, who number approximately 1,000.'⁴⁴⁰ In 1925, following an investigation, the three properties were transferred to and vested in the Native Trustee.⁴⁴¹ Walker recorded that no individual soldier

⁴³⁶ Land companies made an important contribution to New Zealand's agricultural development and export trade during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Foremost among them was the Australian and New Zealand Land Company with its head office in Edinburgh. A number of returns published in the *AJHR* offer some insights, among them, 1889, H25; 1890, H22A; 1901, H25A; 1906, Session II, H30A and H30B; and 1912, Session II, B17A.

⁴³⁷ Note by Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 3 February 1919, on Commissioner of Crown Lands, Napier to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 24 January 1919, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

⁴³⁸ Secretary, Gisborne Returned Soldiers' Association to Minister, Lands and Survey 15 May 1919, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

⁴³⁹ Minister, Lands and Survey to Secretary, Gisborne Returned Soldiers' Association 22 May 1919, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 [Part 1].

⁴⁴⁰ 'Assisting Maori soldiers. Money invested in farms,' *New Zealand Herald* 9 February 1920, p.4.

⁴⁴¹ See section 23 of the Appropriation Act 1925.

received any assistance from the Fund apart from £500 spent on patriotic purposes during the war.⁴⁴²

The subsequent history of these stations is not explored further in this report, although it is worthwhile noting that at a major hui in 1932, attended by Holland (Labour Party), Wiremu Ratana raised among many other issues the question of ‘The funds set aside for the Maori returned servicemen of the 1914-1918 war.’ He was recorded as noting that ‘we all know this money was raised by the Maori people of Tairāwhiti and other areas. After our “sons” came home they were asked about this money. They replied that they knew nothing about it, or about what had happened to that money.’ The people, he informed Holland, wanted the matter investigated thoroughly.⁴⁴³

Hereheretau Station will appear briefly below as efforts were made to settle thereon Maori veterans of World War II. Some details are set out in the report of the 1934 Commission on Native Affairs and in Chapter 6 of Orr-Nimmo’s report.

4.13 Assisting Maori veterans with undivided interests

Gould recorded that in 1919, the Minister of Lands outlined a policy intended to enable Maori veterans who possessed undivided interests in land to obtain financial assistance for farm development under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Amendment Act 1917.⁴⁴⁴ He went on to note that the Department of Lands and Survey expressed concerns that section 230 of the Native Land Act 1909 imposed restrictions on the use of Maori freehold land as security for mortgages, but that eventually it decided that it could alienate such land to recover any advances made.⁴⁴⁵ Whether in fact any financial assistance was extended to those Maori veterans who, being owners of undivided interests, were assisted to bring the land involved into

⁴⁴² Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: the life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001, pp.190-191, 199, and 396. The figure of £500 was cited by the 1934 Commission on Native Affairs. See *AJHR* 1934, G11, pp.117 and 119.

⁴⁴³ Keith Newman, *Ratana revisited: an unfinished legacy*. Auckland: Reed, 2006, p.295.

⁴⁴⁴ Minister of Lands to Topi Patuki, MLC, ? May 1919, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3268/6 LS1 13/25 Part 10. Cited in Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko,’ p.58.

⁴⁴⁵ Department of Lands and Survey, General Circular 16, 21 February 1922, in ANZ Wellington LS-HK 5/1. Cited in Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko,’ p.58.

production was not established. On the other hand, there is evidence that makes it plain that Maori veterans who sought financial assistance were advised first to have their interests excised (see below). Under section 17 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, the Board of Native Affairs could assist Maori landowners to buy out the interests of their co-owners, but that power lay almost two decades in the future when the Crown, under Ngata's leadership, began finally to financially support the development of Maori-owned land.

4.14 Reserving portions of proclaimed lands

If the proposal to lease the Hereheretau blocks to the East Coast Soldiers' Settlement Fund attracted some adverse comment, the proposal to set aside what was subsequently called the Otaramakau Settlement aroused a storm of protest. Otaramakau, or the 560-acre Hosking's Estate located near Matata, was purchased (at the rate of £16 10s per acre) for soldier settlement in 1919 under the Land for Settlements Act 1908. Henry Vercoe, then Maori Interpreter in the Legislative Council, and acting on behalf of a number of Maori veterans, lodged an application for the block.⁴⁴⁶ He had evidently made it clear to the Minister of Lands that the land was 'particularly suited for Maori settlement' and that the ex-servicemen in question wished to take the land up 'as their parents and relatives lived in the same district.' Without specifying any reasons, Minister of Lands Guthrie made clear to the Under Secretary for Lands his support for the proposal.⁴⁴⁷

The proposal was forwarded to Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands with a request by the Under Secretary of Lands that the matter be placed before the Auckland Land Board 'with a view to favourable consideration of the Minister's

⁴⁴⁶ Henry Te Reiwhati Vercoe, of Ngati Pikiāo and Ngati Tuara of Te Arawa, served in the South African War (Seventh Contingent), and enlisted in the Maori Contingent in 1914: he wounded in action on both Gallipoli and the Western Front. On his return to New Zealand in 1918, he returned to farming and sought to assist Maori veterans to settle into civilian life. For Vercoe, settling Maori on their ancestral lands became a major objective. See Whakahuihui Vercoe, 'Vercoe, Henry Te Reiwhati,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

⁴⁴⁷ Minister of Lands to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 12 September 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

request.’⁴⁴⁸ Commissioner Skeet was less than enthusiastic, suggesting that reservation of the block as sought would ‘break faith’ with the many veterans who had already inquired and spent money on inspection. ‘I quite recognise,’ he noted, ‘that the Maori soldiers should have some special consideration, but in this case I think it has gone too far.’ Should the Minister insist, the Commissioner indicated that he would recommend that the block should be divided into 12 sections as ‘general experience in this district is that the natives manage small areas better.’⁴⁴⁹ Skeet did not elaborate on why he thought Maori veterans required ‘special consideration,’ or on what form such consideration might take. The Minister of Lands then made clear his wish that the block should be divided into ‘small sections’ for Maori veterans.⁴⁵⁰ Vercoe was advised accordingly.⁴⁵¹ As a mark of appreciation, Vercoe advised Guthrie, every effort would be made to ensure that the settlement succeeded, at the same time asking that the sections be maintained at six rather than the proposed 12.⁴⁵² Skeet maintained his ground, advising the Under Secretary that ‘from a very long experience and observation of natives as farmers in different parts of the Dominion, he was convinced that there would be better chances of success by them on areas averaging 50 acres than on holdings of 100 acres.’ On the other hand, he was prepared to support the allocation of a larger section to Vercoe himself.⁴⁵³ Guthrie was not prepared to act without a recommendation from the Land Board ‘with whom the matter primarily rests.’⁴⁵⁴

Bitter criticism was soon forthcoming from other quarters. The Bay of Plenty Returned Soldiers’ Association claimed that the block was surrounded by ‘thousands of acres of unimproved Native property.’⁴⁵⁵ The Te Puke Branch of the Farmers’

⁴⁴⁸ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland 24 September 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁴⁹ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 29 September 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁵⁰ Note dated 2 October 1919 on Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 29 September 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁵¹ Minister of Lands to Maori Interpreter, Legislative Council 22 October 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁵² Maori Interpreter, Legislative Council to Minister of Lands 23 October 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁵³ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 4 November 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁵⁴ Minister of Lands to Maori Interpreter, Legislative Council 20 November 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁵⁵ In Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 22 November 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153. Even a rumour that an area of Crown land

Union claimed that the Bay of Plenty was ‘already suffering from an excess of Native land,’ but Guthrie made it clear that in his view ‘it is absolutely necessary to provide special settlements in localities favoured by natives and under conditions acceptable to them.’⁴⁵⁶ The branch pressed Native Minister Herries over the matter and he undertook to raise the matter with the Minister of Lands and to ‘urge that the original idea of open selection should be adhered to.’⁴⁵⁷ The protests were endorsed by the *Bay of Plenty Times*. It was ‘impossible,’ the latter claimed, ‘to ignore the fact that there is more than sufficient native land in the Bay of Plenty to settle every returned Maori soldier in the Dominion.’ In any case, it added, with the rare exception, Maori made poor farmers.⁴⁵⁸

When Prime Minister Massey took the matter up with his Minister of Lands, the latter again stood his ground.

From my experience as Minister of Lands [he advised Massey] it has become quite obvious to me that the conditions of settlement along with the pakeha are not generally acceptable to the native, which is borne out by the fact that very few of them have been settled under our scheme. As the Maoris fought side by side with the pakeha and are deserving of the same consideration in the matter of land settlement, I have come to the conclusion that special blocks should be offered to them in approved localities where the conditions can be made acceptable. I have therefore decided to have this block cut up into smaller sections, to be offered to selected Maori returned soldiers ... I may say that on representations made to me by Dr Pomare it is also my intention to set aside for the same purpose a portion of the Wanganui [River] Trust lands which are to be opened for settlement in [the] near future.⁴⁵⁹

Guthrie’s view that the likelihood of dispersion and settlement in districts beyond their rohe or takiwa had dissuaded Maori veterans from seeking settlement left him in a position diametrically opposed to that adopted by several commissioners of Crown

was to set apart for Maori soldiers was sufficient to evoke opposition, on the usual grounds that much land in Maori ownership lay idle. See, for example, Charles Bayley and others, Apata Settlement to Minister, Native Affairs ? December 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1697 21/176.

⁴⁵⁶ Secretary, Te Puke Farmers’ Union to Minister of Lands 17 November 1919; and Minister of Lands to Secretary, Te Puke Farmers’ Union, n.d., in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁵⁷ ‘Returned Soldiers’ Association. Deputation waits on Hon.W.H. Herries,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 21 November 1919, p.5; “For Maoris only.” Area for returned men,’ *New Zealand Herald* 5 December 1919, p.8. See also ‘Minister of Lands to visit East Coast,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 10 February 1920, p.3; and ‘Hosking Estate. Protest from soldiers’ association,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 14 July 1920, p.3.

⁴⁵⁸ ‘Settling Maori soldiers,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 1 December 1919, p.4.

⁴⁵⁹ Minister, Lands and Survey to Prime Minister 21 November 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

lands who insisted that distribution among Pakeha settlers was the key to raising the standards of Maori farming. It is at least possible that Guthrie had taken note of the suggestion advanced a few weeks earlier by Te Heu Heu Tukino (MLC) that Maori soldiers should be settled in existing ‘native districts.’ Drawing attention to the large tracts of Maori freehold land recently acquired in the Urewera district and in North Auckland, the latter suggested that ‘With all these big blocks at the disposition of the Department which administers the discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Scheme, no Maori soldier should be asked to settle on blocks where the vast majority of his fellow farmers would be Europeans.’ It was a suggestion that had found some public support. The *Free Lance*, for example, suggested that Maori soldier farmers might find ‘purely European districts ... so unsympathetic that they might fail to settle down as we all wish them to do.’⁴⁶⁰

With respect to Otaramakau, Guthrie remained under pressure, from, among others, the Tauranga County Council.⁴⁶¹ In mid-December 1919 he advised the Auckland Returned Soldiers’ Association that he had decided to delay action until he had visited the district.⁴⁶² A meeting was duly held, ‘on the roadside, at Ohinepanea,’ on 20 February 1920. Various representatives re-stated their positions, although F.F. Hockley [MHR Rotorua] suggested that the Minister consider whether ‘it was wise, in the interests of the returned Maori soldiers, that they should be placed on a piece of land where the settlers were hostile.’⁴⁶³ By way of response, Vercoe firmly rejected the argument that Maori and Pakeha veterans should be treated alike. In his estimate, some 3,000 Pakeha veterans had been settled on the land, but only about half a dozen Maori. ‘The reason,’ he suggested, ‘was obvious. For every Maori that went into a ballot there were a hundred Pakehas, and the Maori could not get a fair spin.’ It was for that reason that he had proposed to the Minister of Lands that small blocks, where Maori veterans could be certain of securing sections, should be set apart, including Hosking’s estate and another block ‘on the Rangitaiki.’ Vercoe went on to remind the

⁴⁶⁰ ‘Maori soldiers. Settle them near their own people,’ *Free Lance* 22 October 1919, p.10.

⁴⁶¹ County Clerk, Tauranga County Council to Minister, Lands and Survey 8 December 1919, and Minister, Lands and Survey to County Clerk, Tauranga County Council 7 January 1920, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁶² Minister of Lands to Secretary, Auckland Returned Soldiers’ Association 16 December 1919. See also Minister of Lands to Branch President, New Zealand Farmers’ Union, Pongakawa, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁶³ ‘Protest against setting apart Hosking estate for Maori soldiers,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 24 February 1920, p.3. The report summarises the views of local organisations.

meeting that Maori were unable to secure development finance, at the same time suggesting that he could name blocks of land held by Pakeha on which no improvements had taken place. The *Bay of Plenty Times* weighed into the debate, insisting that the Minister of Lands had ‘nullified’ the purchase of some of the best land in the district by setting the block apart for Maori veterans ‘and this too in a district where Maori occupation is a blight seriously retarding development.’ Maori, it concluded, could not be relied upon to maintain the land in production. If the Minister were committed to his ‘experiment,’ then let him carry it out on undeveloped Maori land.⁴⁶⁴

Guthrie’s response to the various representations was to remind those opposed to his plan that

His duty was to administer the lands of the Dominion according to the law. The Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act made no difference between returned soldiers. Pakeha soldiers had been settled on various blocks. Had he then any right to deny to Maori soldiers the same right? If he did so he would probably lay himself open to a charge of favouritism.⁴⁶⁵

Was Guthrie suggesting that blocks had been set apart exclusively for Pakeha veterans? But he had discovered the basis for a possible compromise. He had been reminded, he claimed, of the gain to be had by mixing Pakeha and Maori soldier settlers, ‘an advantage that he had probably not assessed at its true value.’⁴⁶⁶ Subsequently, he advised Auckland’s Commissioner of Crown Lands that the block would be opened to Maori and Pakeha soldiers ‘on equal terms.’ The Maori veterans would be offered four small sections on the seaward side of the railway route and Pakeha five larger units between the railway route and the main road. Even that decision elicited strong objections from those who believed that the sections should have been open to selection by all veterans.⁴⁶⁷ The small size of the sections reserved

⁴⁶⁴ ‘Soldier settlement,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 24 February 1920 p.2.

⁴⁶⁵ ‘Protest against setting apart Hosking estate for Maori soldiers,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 24 February 1920, p.3. For an official summary of the meeting, see ‘Hosking’s Estate,’ in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁶⁶ ‘Protest against setting apart Hosking estate for Maori soldiers,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 24 February 1920, p.3.

⁴⁶⁷ Hockley and the Bay of Plenty Returned Soldiers’ Association both complained about the division of the block and the reservation of part for Maori veterans. See Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Minister, Lands and Survey 10 June 1920; and Secretary, Bay of Plenty Returned Soldiers’ Association to Minister of Lands 8 July 1920. Guthrie defended his decision in a letter to Massey. See Minister of

for Maori appears to have deterred applications: all four were eventually secured by two brothers, Augustus and Winiata Rogers, including the two originally allotted to Vercoe. In August 1925, Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands conceded that sections 3S (44 acres) and 4S (44 acres) were 'much too small for individual holdings.'⁴⁶⁸ Guthrie's 'experiment' had failed for the very reason that Vercoe had predicted.⁴⁶⁹

At Whakatane, on the same day as his roadside meeting over Otamarakau (20 February 1920), Guthrie met a deputation from Ngatiwai, Ngati Pukeko, and Putawai. Merito Hetaraka, on behalf of the deputation, reminded the Minister of the past confiscations of land and asked that the Government provide land for their returned soldiers 'for the reason that they themselves had no suitable land to give them. If the Government could not find land for their returned soldiers from the native lands, they wanted the Government to supply the necessary land in that district. They would like the land to be given to their returned soldiers separately from the European soldiers.' He was supported by Herewini Te Waaka and Henry Vercoe.⁴⁷⁰ It is worthwhile observing that comparatively dense kinship networks had developed in many Pakeha rural communities with ties of reciprocal obligations and that the desire of many veterans to secure land in or near their home communities was well recognised. Indeed, Guthrie claimed that 'The policy of the Government was to make provision for soldiers in their own localities as far as possible. Sufficient land, however, could not always be found in the respective districts.' With respect to the suggestion that Maori veterans should be placed on blocks themselves, he noted that representations

Lands to Prime Minister 17 July 1920. All in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153. Some of the objections received were evidently couched in terms deemed to be 'offensive' and not meriting a response.

⁴⁶⁸ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 13 August 1925, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18714 LS1 1695 21/153.

⁴⁶⁹ There is other evidence to indicate that Maori veterans were steered towards small sections. The Apata Settlement was established on 987 acres at Omokoroa (near Tauranga). Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands H.M. Skeet advised the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey that he proposed to allot section 7S to Tame Tutaki, a married man with two children, two years' service abroad, ten years of farming experience, £150 in cash, stock and implements. The settlement had been subdivided into eight sections ranging in area from 100 to 204 acres, the exception being 7S. That section had an area of just 75 acres. In Skeet's view, Tutaki should 'prove a satisfactory settler on a small area.' See ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1697 21/176. Tame Tutaki does not appear on the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion's roll. The latter lists two brothers, of Whakatane, who bore the name Tutaki, namely, Pakipaki and Tiaki.

⁴⁷⁰ Notes of a deputation to Minister of Land, Whakatane 20 February 1920, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1851 26/1/3.

had been made to him that ‘that natives should be mixed with Europeans.’ The whole matter, he assured the deputation, ‘would have his careful consideration.’⁴⁷¹ In this particular instance, Guthrie indicated that in his view Whakatane Maori were well able to supply land themselves without calling upon the Government. ‘I do not see my way,’ he noted, ‘to ask Parliament to give them concessions in this respect.’⁴⁷²

In March 1920, at Whakarewarewa, Guthrie met another deputation from Maori regarding the settlement of Maori veterans. He recorded that members had asked him

to show every consideration to the young Maori soldiers who have returned from the war by assisting them in every way possible to settle on the land, and it is the wish of those young men to work the lands which belong to their people. We would like you also to consider the native lands which have been leased from the Native Land Boards and if it is possible to have these lands returned to the Maoris – that is, to the young Maori soldiers.⁴⁷³

One member of the deputation hoped that the Minister would ‘show consideration and justice to the Maori as well as the pakeha... I know,’ he added, ‘that the Arawa people are very enthusiastic in the matter of young Maoris settling on the land, and their people will do their utmost to assist them to make a success. Another made it clear that the settlement of Maori veterans on the land was a matter ‘on which we all feel very deeply ... and we want you to give every consideration you can to our young men.’ He reminded Guthrie that ‘We [the Tuhourangi] gave land to you, and today I am asking you to consent to give to the returned soldiers of those people a block of land known as the Matakana Block, to be settled by these Maori soldiers.’ The Tumunui block, between Rotorua and Waiotapu, was another possibility. Finally, Vercoe was recorded as having observed that

The Minister would see from the enthusiasm shown by the deputation how keenly interested the Maori people were in the matter. The life led by the young Maori in the past had greatly handicapped in the matter of settlement, but now he wanted to take advantage of the opportunity given them and to ask the Minister to assist them to become producers ... So far as he could see it was only the more favoured of the Maori race that was able to stand shoulder

⁴⁷¹ Notes of deputation to Minister of Lands at Whakatane, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

⁴⁷² ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1851 26/1/3.

⁴⁷³ Minister, Lands to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 23 March 1920, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

to shoulder with the pakeha in New Zealand, but he thought that given an opportunity 50 per cent of the young Maoris would prove good settlers.⁴⁷⁴

Commissioner of Crown Lands Skeet described the Tumunui and Matakana blocks as ‘totally unsuitable for settlement by returned soldiers either Native or European.’ As for the representations of the Whakatane deputation, he did ‘not altogether agree ...’ He suggested that

The Natives appear to me to ask for more land than their requirements justify – they have lands of their own which they are continually selling to Europeans. If they were really anxious to see their returned soldiers settled, I feel sure they could provide land themselves without calling upon the Government. Generally speaking, I am averse to special Maori settlement as I am convinced it would not prove a success. Returned Maori soldiers have as individuals equal rights with the Europeans and this in my opinion should be quite sufficient without asking the Government to provide special blocks for Maori Soldiers. Many of these requests of the Natives, if carefully analysed, would I think prove to be requests for assistance to develop communal holdings.⁴⁷⁵

Skeet’s assertion that Maori veterans, with respect to land settlement, required ‘special consideration’ appears to have lacked conviction. On 9 March 1922, a ‘Maori deputation’ waited on Prime Minister Massey and raised, among other matters, the settlement of Maori veterans. George Powell claimed that ‘The boys from his district had not been put on the land. Applications had been made by them repeatedly, but they were told to wait.’ In response to a question from Massey, Powell made it clear that ‘Maoris do not like going away from their birthplace.’ It is of interest to note here that in May 1919, the Minister of Public Works (W. Fraser) was advised by a deputation that ‘Men [soldiers] who had been born and bred in the district [Poverty Bay] were waiting for land, and it was very hard on them if they had to go to other districts to take up land.’⁴⁷⁶ A desire to settle in home districts was not confined to Maori veterans. The Prime Minister indicated that Maori soldiers were ‘entitled to the same treatment as the Europeans. I shall be very glad to see that something is done for

⁴⁷⁴ Minister, Lands to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 23 March 1920, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

⁴⁷⁵ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 12 June 1920, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

⁴⁷⁶ ‘District’s requirements,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 17 May 1919, p.2.

them. I do not quite understand why any delay has taken place.’⁴⁷⁷ Asked to comment on the deputation’s representations, Auckland’s Commissioner of Crown Lands drew the Under Secretary’s attention to his June 1920 comments and noted that he had ‘seen no reason for altering views then expressed,’ and insisted that ‘it is generally recognised that a Native is more likely to succeed if he is removed from his own district, and from the association of members of his family, as the Native customs appear to place an unfair handicap upon an individual settler who desires to make his own way.’⁴⁷⁸ Massey may have been puzzled, but no evidence was located that would suggest that he pursued the matter.

The meaning and implications of the claim that Maori applicants for Crown sections had been told to wait are not entirely clear. Was Powell claiming that applications lodged by Maori veterans did not proceed beyond initial submission? Did he claim that applications, although they might meet the qualifying criteria, as a matter of course were not included in ballots? Did the direction to wait imply an ordering of settlement priorities based on ethnicity? Did it imply that some sort of racial profiling and discrimination underlay the approach of the Department of Lands and Survey to settling discharged soldiers? Did the direction to wait constitute an implied promise, for example, that some alternative settlement options would be presented to Maori veterans? And was Powell’s claim consistent with Ngata’s insistence that Maori applicants were placed at the bottom of the list’ and that there was ‘certainly a prejudice against Maori applicants for Crown lands.’

4.15 Settling the vested lands

The annual Native Land Courts and Maori Land Boards reports contained a great deal of data dealing with Maori-owned lands that had been vested in the boards, although, as Donald Loveridge recorded, they are often inconsistent or contradictory. He

⁴⁷⁷ Maori deputation to Prime Minister 9 March 1922, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3. The identity of George Powell was not conclusively established, but it appears that he was a farmer of Te Teko. He was involved in the contested 1924 sale of Matahina A3B to saw millers, and became embroiled in a number of costly lawsuits. See, for example, ‘Natives sell land. Large block at Te Teko,’ *New Zealand Herald* 14 July 1924, p.8.

⁴⁷⁸ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 3 May 1922, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

estimated that as at 31 March 1910, 332,954 acres had been vested under Part XIV of the Native Land Act 1909, that is, those lands that had been vested originally under Part 1 of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 following the recommendations of the Native Land Commission of 1907. At that same date, a further 396,122 acres had been vested under Part XV of the Native Land Act 1909, and thus included all lands vested under the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 and its amendments, including the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.⁴⁷⁹ A third category of vested lands, described as ‘special,’ included 46,244 acres. Loveridge’s estimates are not too far removed from two official returns published in 1911. Table 4.1 sets out the lands vested under the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900 and under Part 1 of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907. It was these two categories of vested lands in which Ngata appears to have been especially interested in having opened up for Maori soldier settlement. It will be recalled that, under section 11 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916, the Crown was empowered, on the recommendation of a Maori land board, to set apart for the purpose of settling Maori veterans any land vested under Parts XIV and XV of the Native Land Act 1909.

Table 4.1: Maori freehold lands (acres) vested in the Maori land boards, 31 March 1911

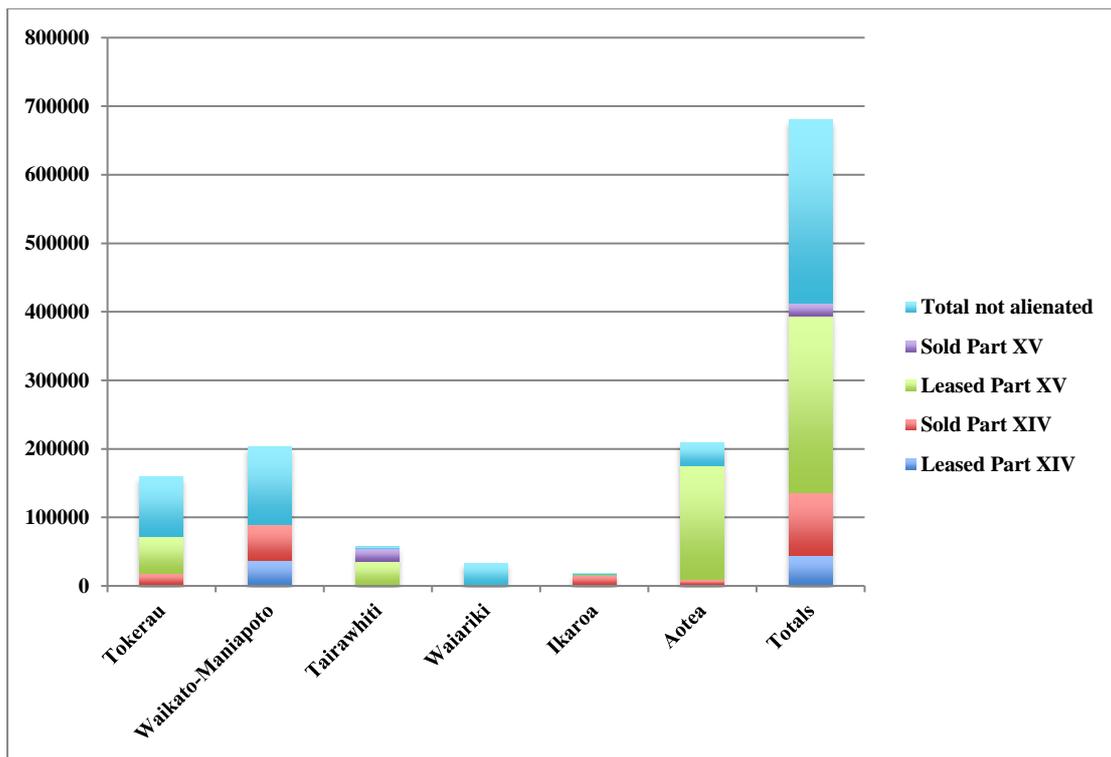
Maori land boards	Under the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900	Under the Native Land Settlement Act 1907
Tokerau	142340	74949
Waikato-Maniapoto	693	203530
Tairāwhiti	54338	2815
Waiariki	3577	30683
Ikaroa	1730	16210
Aotea	193762	-
Totals	396440	328187

Source: AJHR 1911, G10 and G10A

Graph 4.4 summarises the disposition of those lands as at 31 March 1916. Not included are the lands set aside under Part II of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 (Part XIV of the Native Land Act 1909), that is, lands reserved for Maori occupation. Substantial areas of the vested lands in the Tokerau and Waikato-Maniapoto Maori

⁴⁷⁹ Donald M. Loveridge, *Maori land councils and Maori land boards: a historical overview, 1900 to 1952*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1996, p.98.

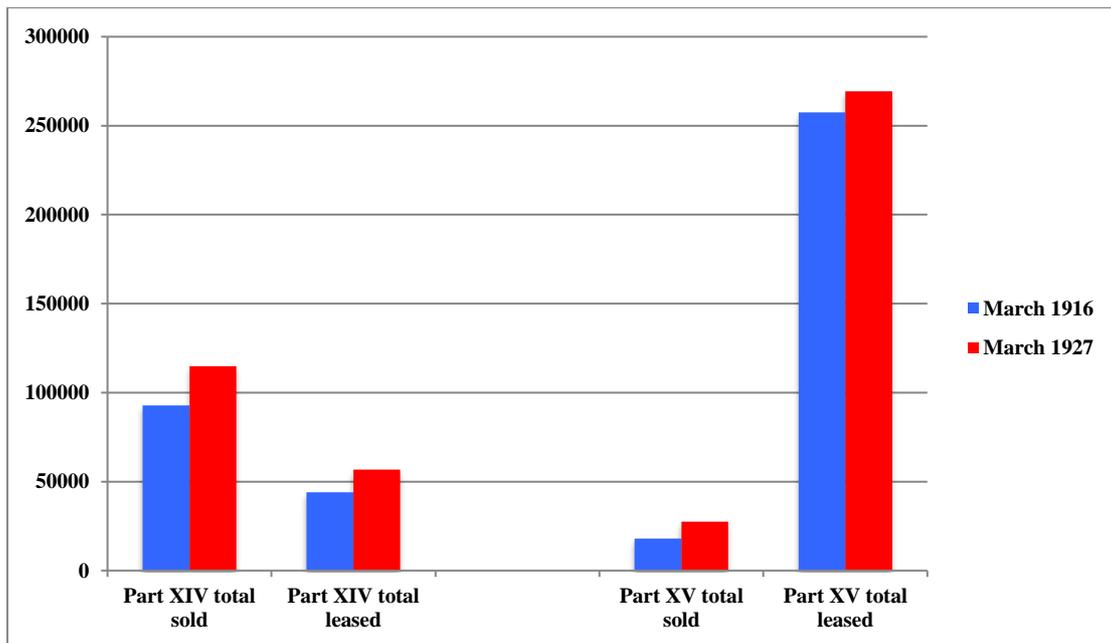
Land Districts had been neither sold nor leased. Ngata’s challenge to the Maori district land boards was to make those lands available for the settlement of Maori veterans. In September 1916, the several district Maori land boards were directed to furnish, in the first instance, ‘a complete list’ of all blocks in their respective districts vested under Part XV of the Native Land Act 1909 (originally under the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905). As at the end of March 1916, the total area so vested stood at 350,095 acres: of that area 18,031 acres had been sold (almost all in the Tairawhiti Maori Land District) and 257,518 acres had been leased (largely in the Aotea, Tairawhiti, and Tokerau Maori Land Districts). That left a balance of 74,542 acres of which, it should be noted, 45,892 acres were located in the Waiariki and Tokerau Maori Land Districts, that is, two of the three main areas from which the members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion had been recruited.



Source: AJHR 1916, G9, pp.3-5

Graph 4.4: The disposition of the lands (acres) vested under Parts XIV and XV of the Native Land Act 1909 as at 31 March 1916

Graph 4.5 shows the movement, with respect to the lands vested under Parts XIV and XV, the movement in the area leased and sold between 1 April 1916 and 31 March 1927 (the last date for which data were published). It suggests that most of the best of vested land had either been leased or sold before 1916. With respect to lands vested under Part XIV, the area sold did increase by 23.8 per cent and the area leased by 29.2 per cent. The corresponding figures for lands vested under Part XV were 52.9 and 4.6 per cent, although the area sold increased from just 18,035 to 27568 acres. In short, some modest movement had taken place. Less easily established is whether any of that movement represented settlement by Maori veterans. It is, on the other hand, worth recording here that in September 1919, Massey produced figures that indicated that, during the previous seven years, the Maori freehold lands vested in the Maori land boards had been subdivided into 375 units with an aggregate area of 152,618 acres.⁴⁸⁰



Source: AJHR 1916 and 1927, G9

Graph 4.5: Movement in the area sold and leased of land vested under Parts XIV and XV of the Native Land Act 1909 between 1916 and 1927

⁴⁸⁰ 'Land subdivided,' *Auckland Star* 12 September 1919, p.7. The data appear to have been supplied by the Valuation Department. Massey noted that Subdivisions of privately owned rural freehold lands numbered 13,419 and involved 1.2 million acres.

4.15.1 Morikau Station

Morikau 1 of 7,200 acres was vested in the Aotea District Maori Land Board under section 4 of the Maori Land Settlement Amendment Act 1906 (later Part XV of the Native Land Act 1909). Section 4 empowered the Native Minister, on the recommendation of a Maori land board to vest land ‘not properly occupied by the Maori owners but ... suitable for Maori settlement ...’ The 1907 Native Land Commission offered a brief discussion of the block in its report on the Whanganui district. It recorded that the Board’s president considered the settlement of Maori on their own lands ‘an experiment,’ proposing rather that it be farmed as a whole under the management of a Pakeha, ‘the owners having preference in all work on the place.’ The Commission proposed its subdivision into papakainga, a 200-acre bush reserve, a 3,000-acre ‘communal farm,’ and the subdivision and leasing of the balance to Maori.⁴⁸¹ In 1910, the Aotea District Maori Land Board decided not to lease the land to Maori but to farm the property under Part XV of the Native Land Act 1909.⁴⁸² It should be noted that two adjoining blocks, Ranana (3,100 acres) and Ngarakauwhakarara (4,995 acres) were, in April 1907, also vested in the Aotea District Maori Land Board.⁴⁸³ The Board set out to develop, farm, and manage the blocks as the 14,180-acre Morikau Station with the assistance of some £12,000 advanced by the Public Trustee and £14,000 drawn from the Board’s own funds.⁴⁸⁴ The Public Trustee advanced a further £20,000 in 1915.

The station made some progress, generating modest profits in 1915-1916 and again in the following year. Nevertheless, Judge J.W. Browne, who took over as president of the Aotea District Maori Land Board in 1917, was unimpressed with the purpose, management, and performance of the station, and suggested that the Crown acquire the land and subdivide it for the purpose of soldier settlement.⁴⁸⁵ In 1919, Maui Pomare advised Native Minister Herries that he had met the principal owners: the

⁴⁸¹ *AJHR* 1907, G1A, pp.12-13.

⁴⁸² *AJHR* 1934, G11, p.23.

⁴⁸³ See ‘Vesting land in the Aotea District Maori Land Board under “The Maori Land Settlement Act, 1905,” and “The Maori Land Settlement Act Amendment Act, 1906,”’; and ‘Vesting land in the Aotea District Maori Land Board under “The Maori Land Settlement Act 1905,” and its Amendments,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 35 18 April 1907, pp.1234-1235. The 197-acre Ranana Reserve was similarly vested in January 1912.

⁴⁸⁴ An area of 2,028 acres had been reserved for the issue of occupation licences to owners.

⁴⁸⁵ For a brief account of the station, see Tony Walzl, ‘Whanganui land 1900-1970,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, pp.285-322.

latter had decided to lease the land 'to their own boys [soldiers] provided that the Government will assist.'⁴⁸⁶ Browne reiterated his view that the Crown should acquire the land but now felt that it should not be reserved for Maori settlement alone. 'The conclusion I have come to after considerable experience of Maori farming,' he reported, 'is that with very few exceptions Maories [*sic*] are not and never will, under their present conditions, be successful farmers.' Maori and Pakeha soldiers, he suggested, should be settled on alternate sections on exactly the same terms, concluding that 'Maories are good imitators and are always influenced to a considerable extent by their environment and the force of good example.'⁴⁸⁷ Such views notwithstanding, in July 1920, Native Minister Herries decided that 7,000 acres should be offered to the Crown for settlement by Maori veterans, those from the district having first preference.⁴⁸⁸ Although the Board had the power to sell without consulting owners, the president (now F.O.V. Acheson) decided to place the matter before them.⁴⁸⁹ In the interim, a detailed report was prepared by Crown Lands Ranger J.B. Smith. In the course of that report, he observed that

Regarding the settling of Returned Maori Soldiers on country of this nature, in my opinion the proposal should not be entertained. There is abundance of evidence along the Wanganui River of the inability of the Maoris to handle country in a satisfactory manner. Areas of good land now held by the Maoris are generally very much neglected. ... The Maori is too indolent to successfully work land ... Possibly if part of the developed area on the Morikau Farm was allotted to the local Returned Maori Soldiers, they might make an effort to succeed. The allotting of this land the Maori Land Board of course do not entertain ... The whole farm as a subdividing proposition would make a very fine settlement for European settlers ... To utilise the whole of the easier and more accessible country as one holding and to road and subdivide the back area ... into reasonably small holdings, does not appear a very reasonable proposition for the Aotea Maori Land Board to advocate. The settling of the Returned Maori Soldiers on this land is in theory very well but in practice would ... be a decided failure. This proposal ... is simply a means to an end. Disposing of the bush back area to obtain funds to more fully develop the balance of the farm area.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ M. Pomare, Wellington to Native Minister 2 September 1919, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

⁴⁸⁷ Judge Browne to Under Secretary, Native Department 14 October 1919, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

⁴⁸⁸ Native Minister to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 25 July 1920, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

⁴⁸⁹ President, Aotea District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 23 September 1920, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

⁴⁹⁰ Crown Lands Ranger, Whanganui to Commissioner of Crown Lands, Wellington 6 November 1920, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

The response of Wellington's Commissioner of Crown Lands is also worthy of extended quotation. Writing to the Under Secretary for Lands and Survey, he suggested that

There is only one course to adopt if the proposal to settle Maori soldiers is to be tried. From my personal knowledge and experience of the natives, it would be quite hopeless to settle them individually in different sections, and rely upon them to manage their own affairs ... The result would be a disaster. At the same time I recognise that it would be a difficult and very delicate matters to turn the Maori soldiers down, in view of the assistance given to our own returned men.

Although not too sanguine, I think there is a reasonable chance of success if the block as a whole were out in charge of an experienced European manager and worked by the Maoris under the Manager for the common benefit, profits to be equally divided after interest and sinking fund were deducted ... Later on if all went well the area could be individualised.

Even under the above conditions I should not feel too sure of success, but it is either that or nothing.⁴⁹¹

The Under Secretary of Native Affairs (C.B. Jordan) suggested that the opposition of the Department of Lands and Survey was 'by the way,' adding that 'it is the Native's [*sic*] land, and they should be given a chance to make good.'⁴⁹² That view was not exactly consistent with the terms of section 11 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916: the power of disposal lay with the land boards. But there the proposal appears to have lapsed for in August 1921 the owners of the three blocks sought their re-vestment. Noting that as an effort to train Maori as farmers, the station had been a failure, and that it carried a mortgage debt of £32,000, Jordan simply advised his Minister that 'It is one of those questions of settlement of Native lands that requires to be dealt with in some way.'⁴⁹³ The subsequent history of the station is not explored further in this report.

⁴⁹¹ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Wellington to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 9 November 1920, ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

⁴⁹² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs n.d. ? July 1921, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

⁴⁹³ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs and Dr Pomare 6 August 1921, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57.

4.15.2 The Wharepuhunga Native Reserve

A much larger area of Maori freehold land was vested under Part 1 of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 (later Part XIV of the Native Land Act 1909). Among the many blocks vested was the 3,777-acre Wharepuhunga Native Reserve. The block was established in 1894 when the Native Land Court set aside ten per cent of the interests, aggregating 37,768 acres, that the Crown had acquired in Wharepuhunga. Despite its status as a reserve, in 1907 the Native Land Commission recommended that it should be vested in its entirety.⁴⁹⁴ It was, accordingly, vested in the Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907. In June 1916 the owners indicated that they desired to sell the block to the Crown for the settlement of ‘our returned soldier[s] from the front.’⁴⁹⁵ That appears to have been interpreted as an unconditional offer to sell to the Crown: certainly, no further reference to the settlement of Maori soldiers was located. At the direction of Native Minister Herries, the Board convened a meeting of assembled owners: seven owners opposed any sale and were proposing to seek the excision of their interests. That plainly irritated Native Land Purchase Officer William Bowler who suggested that it was ‘rather a pity, seeing that the block is a vested one, that the Board, as owner, and in view that it had the resolution of the owners to support it, sell direct the whole area.’ At the same time, he noted that ‘A few of the owners informed me today that it is the idea of some of them to give the block for settlement for returned soldiers.’ I doubt, he added, ‘whether this suggestion would find favour with the bulk of the owners.’⁴⁹⁶

By section 53 of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 a Maori land board was empowered to sell any vested land to the Crown ‘at a price to be agreed upon between the said Board and the Governor in Council ...’ That provision had the merit of obviating any need for confirmation and thus potential complications over ‘landlessness.’ It was Herries who insisted that in such instances boards convene meetings of assembled owners, a directive that some boards only reluctantly

⁴⁹⁴ AJHR 1907, G1D, p.2.

⁴⁹⁵ Raureti te Huia, Kihikihi to Premier 20 June 1916, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1/167/f 1916/44.

⁴⁹⁶ Native Land Purchase Officer to Under Secretary, Native Department 7 December 1916, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1/167/f 1916/44.

observed.⁴⁹⁷ By February 1917, Bowler had acquired the interests of six of the seven ‘dissentients.’ The Wharepuhunga Native Reserve as the Wharepuhunga Reserve 2 was proclaimed Crown land in October 1917.⁴⁹⁸ Between 1916 and 1931, the Crown acquired 52,172 acres in Wharepuhunga to add to the 58,572 acres it had acquired prior to 1900. Of the 52,172 acres acquired between 1916 and 1931, 41,649 acres were from subdivisions that had been vested in the Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board.⁴⁹⁹ The purchasing was driven by the discharged soldier settlement programme, but no evidence was located that would indicate that any Maori veterans were settled on any of the Wharepuhunga blocks. In short, rather than opening up vested lands for the purposes of settling Maori veterans, the Maori land boards in fact sold some of the blocks to the Crown for soldier settlement generally.

4.15.3 Kaurinui 3B1 and 3B2

One other example merits examination, namely, Kaurinui 3B1 and 3B2: the blocks had been vested in the Tokerau District Maori Land Board under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907. Up to about 1918, the Native Land Purchase Board focussed its land purchasing efforts on lands lying to the south of Auckland, believing them to be more easily acquired in areas that were substantial and capable of expeditious settlement. As pressure grew for the Crown to open up land in North Auckland, the Board turned its attention back to the blocks vested in the Tokerau District Maori Land Board, blocks that the Native Land Purchase Officer conceded had lain idle since their vesting a decade or more earlier.⁵⁰⁰ Details of the blocks were assembled and, in September 1918, the Tokerau District Maori Land Board advised the Native Department that it was ‘desirous of dealing, so far as is practicable,’ with its idle vested lands. Before placing the blocks on the market, the Board’s Registrar decided to offer them for sale to the Crown ‘as it is possible that some of the land may

⁴⁹⁷ See, for example, Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown,’ pp.333-338, and 450-451.

⁴⁹⁸ ‘Proclaiming Native land to be Crown land under section 374 of the Native Land Act 1909,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 160, 18 October 1917, p.3930.

⁴⁹⁹ See Map 11.2 in Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown,’ p.453. For a list of all the Wharepuhunga blocks vested in the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board, see T.J. Hearn, ‘Raukawa, land and the Crown: a review and assessment of land purchasing in the Raukawa Rohe, 1865 to 1971,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2008, p.477.

⁵⁰⁰ Native Land Purchase Officer, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 27 June 1918, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 211d 1918/24.

be found suitable for settlement by returned soldiers.⁵⁰¹ The Board offered a total of 14,102 acres, mostly small blocks.

Table 4.2 sets out the Board's position as at 31 March 1918. On the basis of those data, it retained 58,015 acres. Some of the blocks had already been inspected by the Department of Lands and Survey: it discovered that Maori were residing on some of them although they were apparently willing to dispose of those parts of little value. The Department did nominate five vested blocks with a total area of just 609 acres that it considered the Crown should acquire.⁵⁰² Table 4.2 suggests that the Board managed to dispose of a modest area that had been vested under Part XIV of the Native Land Act 1909.

Table 4.2: Disposition of lands vested in the Tokerau District Maori Land Board as at 31 March 1918 and 1927

		Area: acres	Leased: acres	Sold: acres
Lands subject to Part XIV	1918	54042 ¹	2315	15788
	1927	42444	4596	19444
Lands subject to Part XV	1918	85040 ²	63345	5
	1927	75025	63345	-
Lands subject to Part XVI	1918	381	-	-
	1927	235	210	-
Lands under special enactment	1918	57313	57306	2
	1927	57313	57306	2
Totals	1918	196776	122966	15795
	1927	175017	125457	19466

¹ 20,907 acres had been re-vested in their owners; ² Motatau 2, Otakanini, Te Karae, Punaruku 2, Paremata Mokau, Waihaha, and Pouto 2E1 & 2

Source: AJHR 1918 and 1927, G9

Among the blocks offered to the Crown was Kaurinui 3B and 3B2 (a total of 1,033 acres).⁵⁰³ When the Native Land Commission of 1907 recommended their vesting,

⁵⁰¹ Registrar, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 4 September 1918, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 211d 1918/24.

⁵⁰² Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 15 October 1918; and Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Native Land Purchase Officer, Auckland 23 December 1920, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 211d 1918/24.

⁵⁰³ This paragraph summarises the material in T.J. Hearn, 'Social and economic change in Northland c.1900 to c.1945: the role of the Crown and the place of Maori,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2006, pp.327-329 and the archives upon which that account was based.

they had 20 and 87 owners respectively.⁵⁰⁴ In 1918, one W.B. Morris, a discharged soldier, applied for financial assistance to purchase the two blocks: they had a Government capital valuation of £500.⁵⁰⁵ North Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands – without, it seems, establishing the ownership of the blocks and whether Maori veterans might have been among their number – thus sought to acquire the land. Tokerau District Maori Land Board noted that it had no power to sell as proposed, but suggested – again with investigating matters relating to ownership – that the desired end could be achieved by Native Land Purchase Board purchasing the land on behalf of the Crown.⁵⁰⁶ The land could then be set apart for selection by discharged soldiers. The Native Land Purchase Board agreed to acquire the land – again, so far as could be established, without establishing the block's ownership – but the Tokerau District Maori Land Board, claiming that the Department of Lands and Survey had turned down an earlier opportunity to acquire the block, decided to offer it for disposal by way of public tender. The Government declined to consent to that course of action, Herries noting that 'it would be better for Mr Morris for the Crown to purchase & then the Land Board can give him a lease with purchasing clause.'⁵⁰⁷ There was nothing in Herries's comment that suggested that he was aware of the blocks' ownership.

Early in August 1919, Tau Henare advised Native Minister Herries that 'It hurts me very considerably' that the Board was preparing to sell the lands to the Crown 'without the consent of the owners.'⁵⁰⁸ The Tokerau District Maori Land Board thus called a meeting of owners to consider the sale of the blocks to the Crown. Two months later, in October 1919, Tau Henare made it plain to Herries that

some of the owners of these lands are Returned Maori Soldiers who are desirous of obtaining leases (with a purchasing clause) of these lands under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Acts. I have written to the Hon. Mr Guthrie, Minister of Lands, asking that these lands, when purchased, should be

⁵⁰⁴ *AJHR* 1908, G1J, p.35.

⁵⁰⁵ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 4 September 1918, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 211d 1918/24.

⁵⁰⁶ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 4 September 1918, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/215/f 1918/56

⁵⁰⁷ Note by Minister, Native Affairs 4 June 1919, on Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Native Minister 30 May 1919, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/215/f 1918/56.

⁵⁰⁸ Telegram, Henare to Herries 1 August 1919, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/215/f 1918/56

ear-marked for settlement by such Returned Maori Soldiers. I would be glad of an assurance by yourself before any attempt is made to purchase these blocks, that they will be purchased for settlement by Returned Maori Soldiers of the Bay of Islands.⁵⁰⁹

North Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands changed tack: while he recommended that purchase proceed, he also indicated that 'I think it is an area which might be set aside exclusively for returned Maori Soldiers.'⁵¹⁰ On the other hand, North Auckland's Chief Surveyor reported that excising the 60 acres that owners were cultivating would render the balance of the land of little value and that 'it does not appear worth while continuing negotiations especially as should any returned Maori soldier wish to buy the balance he could deal directly with the Maori Land Board.'⁵¹¹ Owners at their meeting on 4 January 1920 rejected the Crown's offer to purchase the blocks but agreed that the Tokerau District Maori Land Board could sell both after their residences and cultivations had been excised and provided that the land was sold to the returned men of Te Kapotai hapu. Six years later, the Board advised the owners to seek re-vestment of the land. 'I am satisfied,' declared President Acheson, 'that the Board is not in a position properly to administer these lands.'⁵¹²

So far as could be established no Maori land board proposed the sale of any vested land to the Crown for the settlement of Maori veterans as Ngata had hoped and as the law had provided under section 11 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916. It is possible that some Maori veterans were settled on those vested lands that were opened by the Crown to selection by discharged soldiers, although, as noted with respect to Wharepuhunga, no supporting evidence was located. The negotiations involving Kaurinui 3B1 and 3B2 are of interest to the extent that they appear to indicate a preparedness to acquire the land for the purpose of settling discharged soldiers but not to ear-mark the land for the settlement of Maori discharged soldiers, even those numbered among the owners.

⁵⁰⁹ Tau Henare, Wellington to Native Minister 2 October 1919, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/215/f 1918/56.

⁵¹⁰ Commissioner of Crown Lands, North Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey, n.d., in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/215/f 1918/56.

⁵¹¹ Chief Surveyor, North Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 31 March 1920, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/215/f 1918/56.

⁵¹² President, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Registrar, Auckland 27 October 1926, in Archives New Zealand, Auckland BAAI 11466 168c.

4.15.4 Te Karae

While no evidence was located that would indicate that the Maori land boards explored the possibility of opening the vested lands to settlement by Maori veterans, the Crown was quite prepared to purchase such lands in order to satisfy the demand by Pakeha lessees for titles in fee simple. Perhaps nowhere was that better illustrated than in Te Tai Tokerau where, from 1915 it sought to purchase Te Karae 1, 2, and 3. The 19,536-acre Te Karae had been vested in the Tokerau District Maori Land Board under section 8 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 and thus could be leased but not sold. Through the Northern Land League, established in 1909, lessees pressed the Crown to purchase the four blocks into which Te Karae had been partitioned so that they might in turn purchase from the Crown.⁵¹³ In 1915, the Crown thus offered to purchase the entire 4,879-acre Te Karae 1 rather than just the sections that the Tokerau Maori Land Board had managed to lease. It also secured, through the acquisition of individual interests, Te Karae 2A of 1,179 acres, and, by 1921, 6,074 acres of the 6,860-acre Te Karae 2E. The Crown then offered the lessees the opportunity to purchase their sections and opened the balance to selection.⁵¹⁴ That the Crown could afford to meet the demands of pre-war settlers for the freehold but not take any specific measures to settle Maori veterans revealed a good deal about the Crown's land settlement priorities.

4.15.5 Otamakapua 1A and the McGregor block

An interesting example of the Crown's disposition to assist discharged soldiers to acquire land in Maori ownership was Otamakapua 1A. Matilda McGregor leased the block for 50 years from 30 June 1906.⁵¹⁵ The annual rental was set at just over £482 (until 1941). The lease did not contain neither any right of renewal nor any right to compensation for improvements. Nine Pakeha veterans (including seven residing in Taihape) applied to the Wellington Land Board, per section 3 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917, with a view to the Crown acquiring on their behalf a large part of the block. The Aotea District Maori Land Board declined

⁵¹³ For a fuller account, see Hearn, 'Social and economic change in Northland,' pp.210-224.

⁵¹⁴ See ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1109 A557/1471/a 20/694.

⁵¹⁵ ANZ Wellington holds the Memorandum of Lease in AAAM 23806 W5779/1 3328.

to consent to the surrender of McGregor's lease and the issue of new leases without reviewing the terms and increasing the rentals. To preserve the original terms and rent, the sale of McGregor's leasehold interest was effected by way of sub-lease for the residue of the term of the head lease. In July 1920, Wellington's Commissioner of Crown Lands was authorised, under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917, to advance the sum of £22,500 to the soldier settlers who took up the sub-leases. The *Rangitikei Advocate* reported that reported that the Crown paid £21 10s per acre.⁵¹⁶ The original mortgage was discharged, and new mortgages were given as security over each of the sub-leases.

McGregor's Otamakapua lease was divided into 16 sub-leases, of which 12 with a total area of 1,230 acres were subject to advances under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917, while four with a total area of 499 acres had been secured by private interests. The rents were paid to McGregor who in turn transmitted them to the four Maori owners. By 1927, the 'McGregor block' – being part of McGregor's original leased area – was occupied by ten farms of which seven were occupied. As and when settlers defaulted on their rentals, McGregor, to keep the head lease intact, sought – and secured – payment from the Department of Lands and Survey. In turn, the latter endeavoured, with modest success, to recover the monies involved from the settlers. In an effort to simplify the title of the land, to resolve difficulties associated with the payment of rent, and to protect the Crown's interest, the Department of Lands and Survey considered several options, including purchase of the whole of Otamakapua 1A. The smaller McGregor block had an August 1926 Government capital valuation of £23,001, the owners' interest being assessed at £12,723.⁵¹⁷ The price demanded by those who had acquired sub-leases privately would have resulted in a total purchase price of some £38,000. As an alternative, the Crown considered purchasing such proportion of the owners' interests as would enable it to excise the McGregor block from the Otamakapua 1A.

The subsequent history of Otamakapua 1A and the McGregor block in particular was not investigated. What is of interest is that in a district from which an appreciable

⁵¹⁶ 'Taihape notes,' *Rangitikei Advocate* 4 August 1920, p.5. See also 'Land for soldiers. Block at Ohingaiti acquired,' *Taihape Daily Times* 31 July 1920, p.5.

⁵¹⁷ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Wellington to Chairman, Dominion Revaluation Board 16 September 1927, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/37 26/5/18 Part 1.

number of Maori enlisted in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion (21 from Rangitikei County), land owned by Maori but held under lease passed into the occupation of Pakeha soldiers solely and did so with financial assistance afforded by the Crown.⁵¹⁸

4.16 Settling the reserved lands: the case of the Nuhaka block

The settlement of Pakeha veterans in the Omana Valley was raised in Wai 2500, A#61, while the questions defined for investigation by the Waitangi Tribunal referred specifically to the Nuhaka Valley lands and their use for soldier settlement purposes.

While Ngata proposed that lands vested in the Maori land boards under Part XIV of the Native Land Act 1909 should be used to settle Maori veterans, so far as could be ascertained, he did not draw attention to those lands set apart under Part XVI of the Act for occupation and use by Maori. It will be recalled that the Native Land Commission of 1907 recommended that extensive areas should be so reserved as a step towards assisting Maori to turn their lands to commercial account. But it is also important to record that those recommendations were not universally implemented: thus, although the Native Land Commission recommended that 174,000 acres should be so reserved in Te Rohe Potae, not a single acre was set aside, the Board and the Department of Native Affairs deciding to deal with the lands nominated ‘administratively.’ On the other hand, the Crown did vest almost 201,000 acres of Maori-owned in the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 (later Part XVI of the Native Land Act 1909).⁵¹⁹

Substantial areas for Maori occupation and use were formally reserved in both the Tairāwhiti and Waiariki Maori Land Districts. Of the 209,341 acres that had been made subject to Part XVI by the end of March 1912, 113,944 acres (54.4 per cent) were located in the former and 86,604 acres (41.4 per cent) in the latter.⁵²⁰ It was also

⁵¹⁸ Laurenson claimed that the Government entered into this settlement ‘with enthusiasm,’ but that ‘Unfortunately the McGregor Estate was held under a long-term Native land lease ...’ See S.G. Laurenson, *Rangitikei: the day of striding out*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1979, p.110.

⁵¹⁹ T. J. Hearn, ‘Maori economic development in Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District c.1185 to c.2006,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, pp.310-314.

⁵²⁰ The Native Land Commission in fact recommended the reservation of a very much larger area, but the Crown chose to act almost solely in respect of the Tairāwhiti and Waiariki Maori Land Districts.

in 1912 that the Government announced that ‘In order that the area reserved for the use and occupation of the Maori owners [under Part II of the Native Land Settlement Act 1908] shall be effectively occupied by them, special provision will be made under proper safeguards to assist them financially, and with advice and instruction in modern methods of farming.’⁵²¹

Among the blocks in the Tairāwhiti Maori Land District that the Native Land Commission investigated was Nuhaka, specifically Nuhaka 2. In its report dated 21 January 1907, the Commission recommended that a number of subdivisions should be reserved for Maori occupation. That recommendation was given effect to in an proclamation dated 18 February 1908 under which the lands concerned were brought under Part II of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 (subsequently Part XVI of the Native Land Act 1909). Of the 15,501-acre Nuhaka 2, it recommended that 745 acres should be reserved as papakainga; 4,400 acres for farming by individual owners, families, and under ‘the incorporated system;’ 7,461 acres for leasing to Maori; and 1,742 acres for leasing to ‘the highest bidder.’ The balance of 1,152 acres was not considered fit for settlement. The Commission recorded that of the 7,461 acres proposed for lease to Maori, the ‘specified tenants’ owned some 1,500 acres, while included in the area for farming by individual owners, families, and Maori lessees were over 2,000 acres suitable for dairy farms.⁵²²

Among the Nuhaka blocks ‘reserved’ was Nuhaka 2F2, a block in which the Crown, following the passage of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915 took interest. Under section 296 of the Native Land Act 1909, the Governor could revoke an Order in Council reserving land for Maori ‘either wholly or as to any part or parts of the land included therein ...’ Section 298 provided that the land subject to Part XVI should be inalienable, whether to the Crown or any other person, or unless leased through a Maori land board, or with the consent of the Minister of Native Affairs acting upon a recommendation of the board, or in pursuance of a resolution of assembled owners. There was nothing in section 298 that required a board to consult with the owners, on whose behalf, presumably, the land had been originally reserved.

⁵²¹ NZPD 1912, Vol 157, p.6.

⁵²² AJHR 1907, G1, pp.12-13.

The Native Land Purchase Board, in November 1916, decided that Nuhaka 2F2A of 560 acres should be purchased. The block was partitioned in May 1918, although an appeal by the remaining owners resulted in a revised partition in January 1920. As a result of that partition, the Crown secured 478 acres.⁵²³ According to Native Land Purchase Officer Goffe, he met ‘most of the principal owners’ and that they indicated their wish to sell either to the Crown or to private persons, ‘it only being a matter of price.’ Private interests had offered £25 per acre for the flat land and £4 for the hilly country, or an average across the block of £5 per acre. The comparable government valuation was £2 15s per acre and at that price, Goffe reported, the owners would not sell.⁵²⁴ By 1919 the Crown had acquired Nuhaka 2F2A1 and subsequently acquired the 2.5 acre Nuhaka 2F2A2. By 1920, it had also completed the purchase of the 478-acre Nuhaka 2F2A4. The files examined contained no reference to the land being used to settle any of the 155 Maori veterans of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion whose next of kin resided in Wairoa County.

While the Crown was endeavouring to acquire land in the Nuhaka block, owners of a number of subdivisions subject to Part XVI of the Native Land Act 1909 were applying to have the Order in Council revoked. Goffe suspected that there was ‘a big scheme to have most of the Nuhaka lands pass in to large estates later on.’⁵²⁵ The Government declined to revoke the Order in Council over several Nuhaka 2 blocks, but it took the opportunity to assess the prospects of acquisition by the Crown.⁵²⁶ In the event, it did not acquire further Nuhaka subdivisions, but the involved proceedings indicated, first, that the Crown was prepared to purchase lands ‘reserved’ for Maori occupation, to use its power of revocation to exclude rival purchasers until it had assessed the prospects for purchase, and that owners (and those who had secured long leases of the reserved lands from the Tairāwhiti Maori Land Board) were disposed to seek revocation so that they might realise the full value of the lands concerned on the open market through sale or lease or to use the land concerned as

⁵²³ See ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/168/f 1916/55.

⁵²⁴ Native Land Purchase Officer to Under Secretary, Native Department 25 August 1916, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/168/f 1916/55.

⁵²⁵ Goffe’s letter can be found in Under Secretary, Native Department to Native Minister 29 April 1919, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/246/l 1923/16. See also Native Land Purchase Officer to Under Secretary, Native Department 11 October 1917, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714/180/a 1917/95.

⁵²⁶ Under Secretary, Native Department to Native Minister 29 April 1919, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/246/l 1923/16. ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/246/l 1923/16.

security for mortgage advances. Where owners applied for revocation, the Tairāwhiti Māori Land Board, after ‘investigation and enquiry’ had established that they did ‘not require it for their own use and occupation,’ usually recommended accordingly. The only veteran of the Battalion who appeared to have secured land as a result of these transactions was Eru Turakitai Cooper. The time available did not allow a more searching investigation of the fate of Part XVI lands, either in the Nuhaka district or more generally, and specifically whether any effort was made to assess their potential and availability for the settlement of Māori veterans.

It is convenient to record here that the Crown’s interest in the Nuhaka block was not restricted to Part XVI lands but extended to general land. In September 1919, it purchased from Hannah Ormond the 918 acres (Nuhaka 2G and part Section 2, Block VIII, Nuhaka) that would comprise the Omana Settlement.⁵²⁷ Early in May 1920, the block was opened for selection: 193 returned soldiers applied for what the Minister of Lands later described as ‘one of the best situated dairy propositions in the Hawke’s Bay Land District.’⁵²⁸ Of those 193 applicants, 141, having evidently satisfied the Hawke’s Bay Land Board that they had the necessary capital and ability to work the land, were admitted to the ballot.⁵²⁹ Whether Māori veterans were among the applicants, or among those rejected, or among those accepted into the ballot could not be established. What is known that the nine successful applicants for sections that ranged in size from 61 to 233 acres, were all Pakeha or at least that they were not included in the Māori (Pioneer) Battalion roll.⁵³⁰ In 1925, the Dominion Revaluation Board reported the settlement was ‘yet another instance of over-subdivision,’ and suggested that not more than five farms should have been created.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ The transfers were dated 2 July 1920. See Certificates of Title H.B.49/224 and H.B.49/236.

⁵²⁸ Minister of Lands to F.H. Young, Nuhaka 27 June 1925, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1698 21/205. The number of applications – as distinct from the number of applicants – totalled 820. See ‘Soldier settlement,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 14 June 1920, p.2.

⁵²⁹ In the case of Ardkeen Settlement (near Wairoa), the Hawke’s Bay Land Board required that applicants each had at least £1,000 to gain entry to the ballot. See ‘Soldier settlement,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 14 June 1920, p.2.

⁵³⁰ For details of the settlement, see ANZ Wellington ABWN 8109 W5280/107 377. It is of interest to note that the successful applicants for two other settlements in the Hawke’s Bay Land District also offered in 1920 for selection, that is, Ardkeen and Okahu, did not include men with Māori surnames.

⁵³¹ Dominion Revaluation Board, ‘Omana Settlement: general report,’ 12 October 1925, in ANZ Wellington AALZ W3108 839/40/c 4/158 Part 1. The subsequent history of the Omana Settlement was not investigated.

4.17 Gifting land

As noted above, section 4(1) of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1917 empowered assembled owners to gift land to the Crown ‘for the purpose of settling thereon discharged Maori soldiers ...’ Once proclaimed Crown land, any such gifted land could then be proclaimed under section 4 of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915. Several iwi did set aside large blocks for the purposes of soldier settlement, gestures that appeared to please Massey.⁵³² The decision of Ngati Tuwharetoa, in October 1916, to set aside subdivisions of the Owhaoko block for the settlement of soldiers ‘irrespective of the tribe or tribes to which they may belong,’ attracted favourable comment.⁵³³ It is not proposed to traverse the history of this land other than to note that the five blocks were involved with an aggregate area of over 35,500 acres. The gift was accepted by the Government, according to Native Minister Herries, ‘in the spirit in which it was made.’⁵³⁴ No Maori veteran was ever settled on the block.⁵³⁵ Section 25 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1930 empowered the Crown to dispose of land set aside for the settlement of Maori veterans. The land involved, described as being of ‘poor quality’ and on which it had been ‘found impracticable to settle discharged Maori soldiers,’ had been re-classified as Crown land and would be disposed of, with proceeds being paid into a fund ‘for some purpose having for its object the assistance of Natives being discharged soldiers ... or their dependants or successors.’ The land concerned comprised Owhaoko A East, B East, and A1B, part Owhaoko D1, and Owhaoko D7, in all 35,583 acres.

Ngai Tuhoe took a different tack, in April 1919 announcing their intention to grant to the Maori Soldiers’ Fund Council (incorporated under the War Funds Act 1915) the lease of 3,000 acres in Ruatoki 2A and 3C for 21 years free of rent, with the right of renewal for a further 21 years at five per cent per annum of the unimproved value, for ‘the benefit of Maori soldiers.’ Under section 24 of the Native Land Amendment and

⁵³² *NZPD* 1917, Vol.178, p.399.

⁵³³ ‘Maori generosity. Land for returned Native soldiers,’ *Evening Post* 5 October 1916, p.4. See also ‘Soldiers & settlement,’ *Evening Post* 9 October 1916, p.6

⁵³⁴ ‘A generous gift. Maori owners to Maori soldiers,’ *Evening Post* 11 November 1916, p.6.

⁵³⁵ For a detailed history of this gift, see Martin Fisher & Bruce Stirling, ‘Sub-district block study – northern aspect,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2012, pp.116-134.

Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1919, the Council was authorised to hold and farm the land for the purposes of the fund. It was left to the Waiariki District Maori Land Board to decide whether to convene a meeting of owners to ‘consider’ the proposal. No evidence was located to indicate that it did so. The owners of Tuararangaia 1B adopted another approach, in 1915 selling the 1,169-acre block (near Ruatoki) to the Crown for £809 10s and then donating the proceeds to the War Fund.⁵³⁶

4.18 Assisting Maori veterans

There is some evidence that suggests that many of those Maori who enlisted, especially prior to 1917, were landowners although usually of undivided interests. In July 1917, for example, Tau Henare claimed that all those from his district who had enlisted were landowners and, in the light of their absence overseas, required protection from ‘land agents and speculators’ seeking to induce co-owners to sell the blocks concerned. Massey appears to have done little more than share Henare’s concern.⁵³⁷ It is possible that the Maori land boards could have declined to confirm alienations in such cases: whether they did so has not been established. At a hui for Maori veterans, held in Auckland late in May 1919, Aperahama Rupene, referring to the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion, announced that ‘the association’ – unnamed – ‘was prepared to receive all as members.’ According to those present, ‘The greatest problem of the Government at the present time was (1) Repatriation (2) settlement of soldiers on the land. What the meeting wanted to know was whether these two schemes were going to benefit returned Maori soldiers.’ It was noted that while veterans had their own holdings of land, they required capital to work them. On the motion of Neri Te Paa, it was decided to place the views of the meeting before the Minister for Lands.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ See ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/278 22/284; and ‘Proclaiming Native land to be Crown land under Section 368 of the Native Land Act 1909,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 118, 14 October 1915.

⁵³⁷ ‘Land for soldiers. Big scheme in contemplation,’ *Evening Post* 14 July 1917, p.7.

⁵³⁸ ‘Returned Maori soldiers want capital to work land,’ *Auckland Star* 26 May 1919, p.5. Neri Te Paa, a bushman of Ripia, Te Kopuru, embarked with the 1st Maori Contingent, Maori Reinforcements (A Company, 8th Reinforcements). Wounded on Gallipoli, he was invalided back to New Zealand in October 1915.

Section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917, as noted, dealt with financial assistance: advances could be secured for a range of purposes that included the purchase of the fee simple of any private or Maori land, plus improvements thereon; the acquisition by assignment or transfer of any lease of Crown land, settlement land or other land administered by a land board; clearing, fencing, draining, and general improvement (including erection of buildings) of any land *owned in fee-simple* by a discharged soldier; the discharge of any mortgage affecting any land *owned in fee-simple* by a discharged soldier, or affecting any land administered by a land board and held by a discharged soldier under lease or licence; and the purchase of plant, implements, stock, seeds, plants, trees and other such things as may be deemed necessary for the successful occupation of any land *owned in fee-simple* by a discharged soldier.

All applications for advances under section 2 were handled by the Department of Lands and Survey. Maori veterans holding Maori freehold land were effectively excluded from the operation of section 2. In 1920, Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands advised the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey that he had 'discussed this matter with Maori Soldiers and have advised them that if they will get the Native Land Court to define their individual interests in their Blocks we should then be in a position to discuss their requests for assistance.'⁵³⁹

It thus appears that while Maori veterans did approach the Department of Lands and Survey over loans under section 2, formal applications were never completed. The Department's stance, together with the protracted and always uncertain process of having individual interests defined may well account for the very few applications that Maori veterans made for financial assistance for land development, stocking, and farming operations. But it was also the case that State-lending agencies had little confidence in Maori farmers.⁵⁴⁰ In October 1915, Native Minister Herries announced that he would introduce a Bill that would provide for the establishment of a Native Trustee and that the office would be empowered to lend money to assist Maori land

⁵³⁹ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 12 June 1920, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1 1851 26/1/3.

⁵⁴⁰ In June 1907, Ngata observed that he 'had a suspicion that, given the best possible title, there would still to be considerable hesitation on the part of the State-lending Department in making advances to Maoris. The hesitation would be due to want of faith in the capacity of the Maori farmer,' *Northern Luminary* 29 June 1907, quoted in Hearn, 'Social and economic change in Northland,' p.707.

owners and the tenants of Maori lands to develop their lands, people ‘who at the present moment are unable through defects ... in our law to borrow money from the Advances to Settlers and other lending Departments.’⁵⁴¹

Consideration was deferred and it was 1920 before a Bill was introduced into Parliament. The Native Trustee, announced Native Minister Herries, would establish a common fund comprising largely the monies held by the Maori land boards on behalf of beneficiaries (and thus being largely undistributed land purchase monies, rents, royalties). Loans would be made available to those who held their land in severalty. Herries observed that ‘We owe a debt to the natives, to try to provide some means by which they may finance themselves [for agriculture is] really what their vocation in life will be ...’⁵⁴² The Native Trustee was also empowered to advance monies by way of mortgage to Pakeha lessees of lands owned by Maori, a provision to the inclusion of which Ngata unsuccessfully objected. It is worthwhile noting that it was hoped that the measure would encourage partition and thus the disintegration of the ‘communal system.’ The Native Trustee was empowered to advance loans to Maori farmers who held titles in severalty and most advances were thus made under section 47(c) of the Native Trustee Act 1920. By the end of 1928, the Native Trustee had advanced £547,000 to Maori on mortgage, a measure in part of the reluctance of other lending agencies, including Government departments, to lend to Maori on account of ‘title difficulties.’⁵⁴³ The total advanced by way of mortgage stood at almost £669,000 by the end of March 1934: of that total, a mere £10,805 had been advanced to mortgagees within the Tokerau Maori Land District, the bulk of the funds having been invested in the Tairāwhiti, Aotea, and Ikaroa Maori Land District. The 1934 Commission on Native Affairs recorded that the Native Trustee had made advances to just 21 owners of Maori freehold land in the Tokerau district, 46 in the Waikato-Maniapoto, 15 in the Waiariki, 56 in the Tairāwhiti, 135 in the Aotea, 120 in the Ikaroa, and 38 in the South Island Maori Land Districts.⁵⁴⁴ Whether all had been made to Maori and whether any Maori veterans benefited are matters that remain unclear. The small number of loans made in the Tokerau and Waiariki Maori Land

⁵⁴¹ *NZPD* 1915, Vol.174, p.621.

⁵⁴² *NZPD* 1920, Vol.187, pp.956-957.

⁵⁴³ Deputy Native Trustee to Native Trustee 7 September 1926, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1 1928/576.

⁵⁴⁴ *AJHR* 1934, G11, p.136.

Districts from which a significant proportion of those who enlisted in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion had been drawn, suggest that few did.

It was during the debate over the measure that Ngata observed that

Whether rightly or wrongly, the Maori is not regarded as an industrious person; rightly or wrongly, the Scotsman is; and given land of equal value the Scotsman will score with the banker every time over the Maori ... a stigma also attached to the Maori that he is not always wise in the use of money – he is regarded as a spendthrift ... Unfortunately a colour line is introduced ... the Scotsman happens to be white and the Maori to be brown, so that the line of division does run along colour, although the banker, in considering whether he should make an advance or not, is not affected by that so much as by the racial characteristics of the Scotsman and the Maori respectively. When you come, therefore, to deal with managers of boards of directors of financial institutions, advances boards – whether they be the Advances Boards of the Government Insurance Department, or of the Public Trust Office, or the Government Advances to Settlers – the Maori meets this difficulty: that so far his race has not ‘made good.’⁵⁴⁵

As an alternative to requiring the district Maori land boards to lodge funds with the Native Trustee so that they might be returned to the various districts as advances to individual Maori, the powers of the boards were enlarged so as to enable them to make advances directly within their districts.⁵⁴⁶ Section 19 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Lands Claims Adjustment Act 1922 empowered the boards, with the consent of the Native Minister, to ‘advance moneys upon mortgage either for itself or on behalf of Natives.’ Section 8 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1926 was more explicit, section 8(d) allowing boards, again with the approval of the Native Minister, to make advances out of their own resources ‘For the farming, improvement, or settlement of any Native freehold land.’ Such advances were to be a charge against the land, thus binding all owners without the necessity for a mortgage or a personal covenant. The Maori land boards were instructed ‘to proceed cautiously and not hastily, in giving effect to the spirit of the recent legislation until its effect becomes more apparent.’⁵⁴⁷ The objective, they were reminded, was not to displace private lenders already assisting Maori at a reasonable

⁵⁴⁵ *NZPD* 1920, Vol.187, p.971.

⁵⁴⁶ See Under Secretary, Native Department to Minister, Native Affairs 8 March 1929, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1 1928/576.

⁵⁴⁷ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Waiariki Native Land Court 5 October 1926, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1 1928/576.

cost, but to relieve Maori of some of the heavy legal costs usually involved in the preparation and execution of mortgages. The Tokerau District Maori Land Board under Acheson's leadership had made to Maori landowners, by the end of March 1929, 80 advances of which 45 were connected with the Te Kao Dairy Scheme.⁵⁴⁸ A preliminary check of those who secured those loans indicated that just three veterans had benefited. By 1931, the Tokerau District Maori Land Board had made 120 advances (out of national total of 399): of those, seven appear to have been veterans, including three engaged in the Te Kao scheme.⁵⁴⁹

The evidence suggests, then, that only a few Maori veterans secured financial assistance whether from the Department of Lands and Survey under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917, or from either the Native Trustee or the Maori district land boards. There is some evidence that indicates that Maori veterans did secure financial support from other sources. Ahere Te Koari Hohepa, for example, in 1916 secured a 1,205-acre section in the Kaiwaka Soldier Settlement: a farmer, with 27 years of experience, Hohepa had 'Backing from G.P. Donnelly [*sic*].'⁵⁵⁰ He also secured a section 2 advance of £750. Hohepa in fact held interests in the Tarawera, Puketitiri, and Wharerangi blocks.⁵⁵¹ He ran into financial difficulties such that forfeiture was proposed. He thus proposed selling his interest in Tarawera 2, paying his rent arrears and purchasing sufficient stock to render working of the section profitable.⁵⁵² The Hawke's Bay Commissioner of Commissioner of Crown Lands' view is of interest. Hohepa, he reported to the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey, is 'a Maori, and it is scarcely fair to expect him to as fully realise his obligations to the Crown as a White man, although his arrears have not greatly exceeded those of the other settlers on this Block.'⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁸ See ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1.

⁵⁴⁹ AAMK 869 W3074/1332/b 61/1 Part 1; and ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1.

⁵⁵⁰ George Prior Donnelly and his wife Airini Karauria (Ngati Kahungunu) were prominent land owners in Hawke's Bay. Airini died in 1909, and Donnelly in 1917. It is of interest to note here that in 1915 Donnelly had forwarded to the Prime Minister his own scheme for the settlement of discharged soldiers. See 'Land for soldiers. Farms ready stocked. Mr Donnelly's scheme,' *New Zealand Herald* 28 October 1915, p.9.

⁵⁵¹ ANZ Wellington ABWN 6095 W5021/742 26/1131.

⁵⁵² Ahere Hohepa, Wellington to Commissioner of Crown Lands, Napier 25 May 1922, in ANZ Wellington ABWN 6095 W5021/742 26/1131.

⁵⁵³ Commissioner of Crown Lands, Napier to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 4 June 1926, in ABWN 6095 W5021/742 26/1131.

4.19 Last efforts

In February 1926, at ‘The great hui at Tikitiki,’ attended by the Governor-General and the Prime Minister and several thousand, Maori and Pakeha, a memorial service was held to honour the 87 soldiers of Ngati Porou who fell during the Great War. It was at that hui that Ngata proclaimed the ‘re-birth’ of the Maori people and the consequent introduction of ‘a new economic and social factor into the life of New Zealand,’ and at which he demanded ‘equal treatment’ for Maori. Prime Minister Gordon Coates, while suggesting that ‘it was fortunate they [Maori veterans] did not take up land at the time of the boom,’

agreed that in his legitimate rights the Maori soldier could not be separated from the pakeha soldier, and they would have to go into the whole question to see how far they could give satisfaction to the Maori people, and give their soldiers an opportunity of getting on the land.⁵⁵⁴

The close and enduring partnership between Ngata and Coates would find its expression in the land consolidation and Maori land development programmes of the later 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁵⁵ The last function at Tikitiki was the opening of the Maori congress, comprising elders of the assembled iwi, and at which ‘The speakers stressed the need for land and finance for Maori soldiers, increased support for native secondary schools, the urgent need for a revision of the present attitude towards Maori lands development ...’ Coates was reported as having indicated that ‘Native soldiers would be put on the same footing as pakehas in regard to the selection and financing of land.’⁵⁵⁶ Another report recorded him as reiterating ‘the pledge of his party’s interest in the ex-servicemen and promis[ing] further help in consolidating their lives in civil life.’⁵⁵⁷ But by that stage the rehabilitation programme had largely ceased to operate.

⁵⁵⁴ The hui was covered extensively by the press. See for example, ‘Two thousand under canvas,’ *Auckland Star* 16 February 1926, p.5; ‘Great Native hui,’ *New Zealand Herald* 17 February 1926, p.12; ‘Needs of the Maoris,’ *New Zealand Herald* 18 February 1926, p.13; ‘Plea for the Maori,’ *New Zealand Herald* 19 February 1926, p.10; and ‘End of the hui,’ *Evening Post* 18 February 1926, p.9.

⁵⁵⁵ Some Maori veterans did secure assistance under Ngata’s Native land development programme, at least a decade after the practical closure of the rehabilitation programme. See, for example, T.J. Hearn, ‘Local study: Tuparehuia, Otago, Oteaka, and Whangaruru-Whakaturia,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2016, especially pp.104-105.

⁵⁵⁶ ‘Needs of the Maoris,’ *New Zealand Herald* 18 February 1926, p.13.

⁵⁵⁷ ‘The Silent Division. Governor-General’s tribute,’ *Otago Daily Times* 18 February 1926, p.7. The *Evening Post* carried a series of articles on the East Coast. See, for example, ‘The Maori at home. Life

In 1935, as President of the Tokerau District Maori Land Board, Acheson claimed that in the North Auckland district, Pakeha had 'so far received almost the whole of the benefits of Government assistance under (1) The Returned Soldier Settlement Scheme [and] (2) The Small Farms Scheme.' He went on to add that

It must be assumed that parliament did not pass legislation for these Schemes for the benefit of the white population only, yet it seems that, speaking generally, the Maori Returned Soldiers and the Maoris in need of Small Farms in the Tokerau District have in fact so far received no assistance worth mentioning. I am frequently asked why it is that no benefits reach them from the above two Schemes. It is not a sufficient reply for Lands Department representatives to contend that the Maoris have equal rights but do not attempt to exercise them. Maori are accustomed to dealing only with the Native Land Court, the Maori Land Board, the Native Department, and parliament in respect of land. Any other sources of help as regards land are foreign to them, and their mentality almost forbids them to seek land rights or benefits from such outside sources.⁵⁵⁸

As a matter of interest, Acheson went on to suggest that the Government should set aside 'a sum for the settlement of Returned Maori soldiers based on the proportion of Maori Soldiers to Pakeha Soldiers and allowing for Maori benefits already received under the Soldier Settlement Scheme ...' That step, combined with the setting aside of 'a reasonable proportion of the available Small Farm Funds for Maori Small Farm purposes,' would, if such assistance were delivered through the Native rather than the Lands Department 'go a long way towards solving the present acute shortage of land for North Auckland Maoris.'⁵⁵⁹ Some settlement of discharged soldiers did take place during the 1930s: over the period from 1930 to 1940, 180 applications for land under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 were lodged and 142 allotments with a total area of over 44,000 acres were made.⁵⁶⁰ As late as 1937, the Departments of Native Affairs and Lands and Survey were still discussing the settlement of 'landless Maori returned soldiers' of World War I. The latter agency insisted that no authority

on the far East Coast,' *Evening Post* 24 February 1926, p.7; 'Rebirth of the Maori,' *Evening Post* 25 February 1926, p.9; and 'The Maori and his land,' *Evening Post* 9 March 1926, p.7.

⁵⁵⁸ President, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 22 July 1935, in ANZ, Auckland BBDL 1030 10/1/6. Quoted in T.J. Hearn, 'Social and economic change in Northland c.1900-c.1945: the role of the Crown and the place of Maori,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2006, p.692.

⁵⁵⁹ President, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 22 July 1935, in ANZ, Auckland BBDL 1030 10/1/6.

⁵⁶⁰ *AJHR* 1940, G9, p.2.

existed whereby land could be opened exclusively for Maori veterans. Section 113(c) of the Land Act 1924 accorded preference at ballots for Crown sections to discharged soldiers, but, in the view of the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey ‘having regard to the time that has elapsed since the conclusion of the War, the offering of land exclusively for discharged soldiers is not warranted.’⁵⁶¹ The issue arose following efforts by Rewi Perea of Ruatahuna to have the Turuarangaia block opened for Maori veterans.

4.20 A regional case study: Northland

In an effort to gain some further insight into the settlement of Maori returned service personnel on the land, a range of sources dealing with land settlement in the North Auckland Land District was examined. Indeed, the district was widely considered eminently suitable for soldier settlement. The National Efficiency Board, for example, was pressed to urge the Government to acquire undeveloped land, both Maori freehold and general, for the purposes of soldier settlement. There was, North Auckland interests claimed, a strong feeling that local men who had enlisted should be able to settle on farms, that the Government should ‘facilitate the settlement of these men among their friends, and in localities where they are familiar with climatic and working conditions.’⁵⁶² The Board itself, when dealing, in 1918, with the rating of lands owned by Maori, claimed ‘The native,’ claimed the National Efficiency Board, ‘is not as a rule a good settler, especially the native in the Auckland district ...’⁵⁶³

The minute books generated by the North Auckland Land Board (14 volumes) were, for the period from April 1919 to December 1923, examined as a check of the various registers consulted. Usually the only clues to identity were surnames and often but not invariably forenames, although occasionally very brief service summaries (but not service numbers) were included. The land boards were responsible for dealing with a very wide range of matters, from applications for land and for financial assistance to

⁵⁶¹ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 7 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/278 22/284 [Part 2].

⁵⁶² ‘Statement made before the Efficiency Board, Whangarei 16 April 1917,’ in ANZ Wellington ADRE 17315 NEB1/12 465.

⁵⁶³ National Efficiency Board, memorandum for Acting Prime Minister 4 July 1918, in ANZ Wellington ADRE 17315 NEB1/20 1007.

transfers, sub-leases, postponement of interest payments, and remissions of rent to applications for gum-washing areas. For the purposes of this inquiry, only applications for land and financial assistance (land development, stocking, working capital, and homes) were considered. It is useful to note here that a distinct change in the matters considered by the Board occurred towards the end of 1921 as it dealt increasingly with arrears of rent, failure to comply with conditions, postponements, forfeitures and surrenders.

The North Auckland Land District was one greatly favoured for the settlement of discharged soldiers and, indeed, in 1920 it was recorded that ‘large areas of virgin Crown land, particularly in the Auckland and North Auckland districts, are being surveyed and roaded preparatory to being placed on the market.’⁵⁶⁴ Such was the desire of the Department of Lands and Survey to acquire as much land as possible in the region that it expressed considerable frustration over Parliament’s exclusion of Maori freehold lands from the discharged soldiers’ scheme. Section 5(1) of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1916 empowered the Crown to acquire land under the Public Works Act for discharged soldier settlement, but section 5(2) provided that ‘Nothing in this section shall authorise the taking of any land that could not be compulsorily taken pursuant to the provisions of the Land for Settlements Act, 1908.’ Maori freehold land was not subject to expropriation under the latter Act: section 6 defined the land that could be taken as ‘private land,’ defined as ‘any land alienated from the Crown.’ Having to negotiate for Maori freehold land was clearly viewed by the Department as unnecessarily irksome.⁵⁶⁵

4.20.1 Lands proclaimed under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915

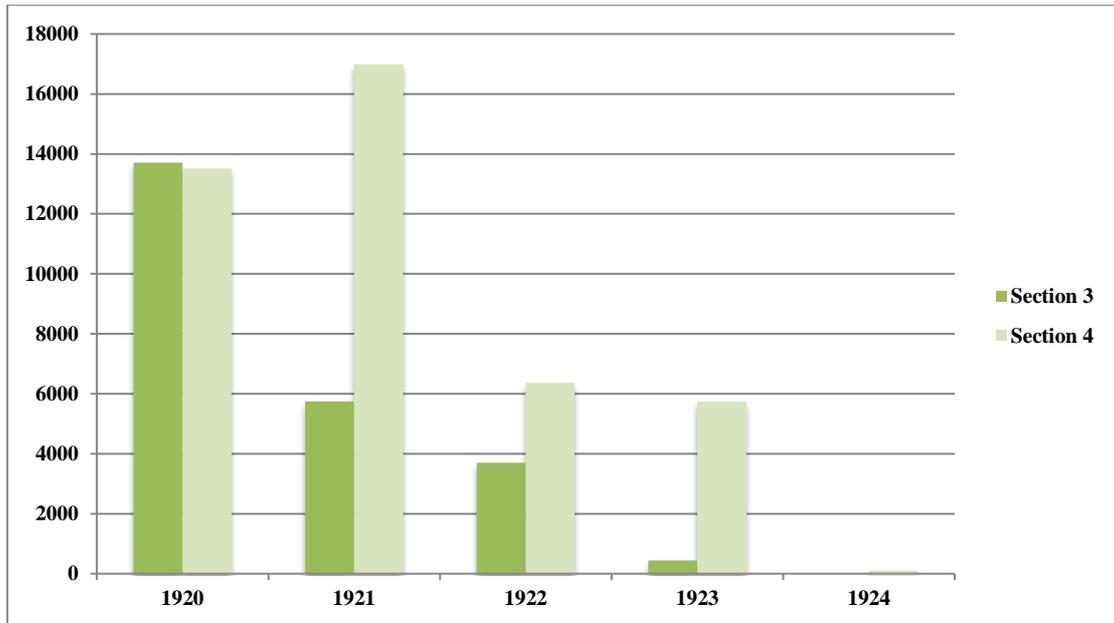
A 1920 return recorded that 35,733 acres of Crown land in the North Auckland land district was available for soldier settlement, that 42,563 acres had been withheld from settlement on account of the presence of kauri (82m feet), while 26,529 acres of other Crown land had also been withheld for a range of reasons ranging from re-survey and subdivision to drainage difficulties.⁵⁶⁶ Graph 4.6 sets out the area in the North

⁵⁶⁴ *AJHR* 1920, C9, p.3.

⁵⁶⁵ ‘Land for soldiers in North Auckland. Native areas unobtainable,’ *Northern Advocate* 21 August 1919, p.1.

⁵⁶⁶ ANZ Wellington AEBE 18507 LE1/732 1920/176.

Auckland Land District proclaimed by the Crown under sections 3 and 4 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. By the end of March 1924, the total area set apart under section 3 reached 23,595 acres and 42,704 acres under section 4, a total area of 66,299 acres.

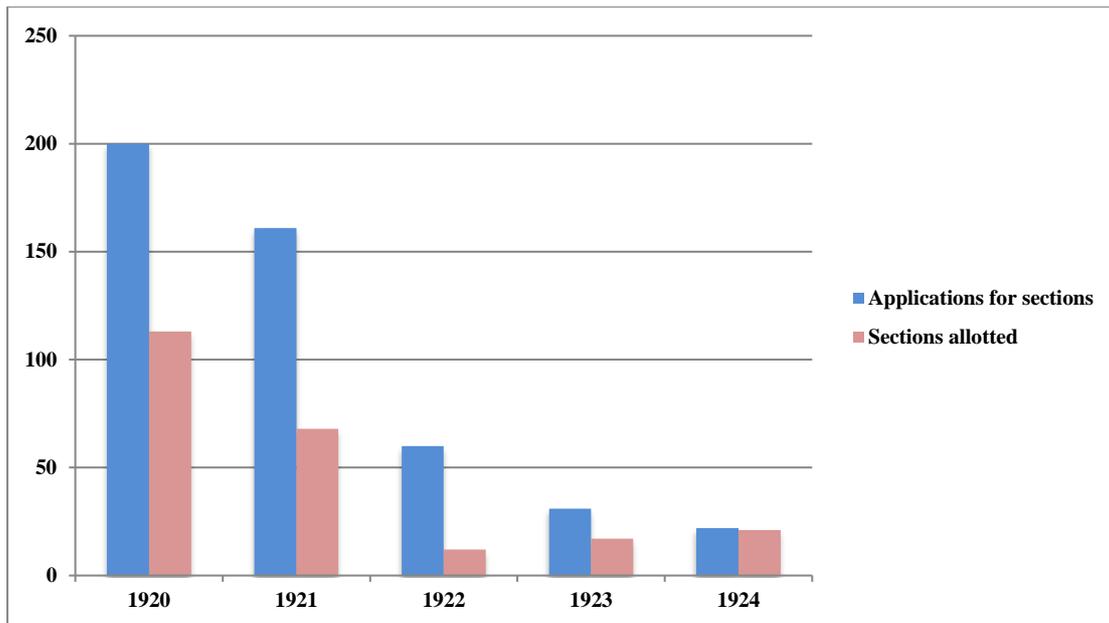


Source: AJHR 1920-1924, C9

Graph 4.6: North Auckland Land District: lands proclaimed under sections 3 and 4 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, as at 31 March, 1920-1924

4.20.2 Applications for and Crown sections allotted under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915

Graph 4.7 sets out the number of applications for and the number of sections allotted over the period from 1920 to 1924, the only five years for which separate published data are available. Clearly, both applications and allotments contracted sharply after 1921, but the data also suggests a significant level of unmet demand.



Source: AJHR 1920-1924, C9

Graph 4.7: North Auckland Land District: applications for and Crown sections allotted under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, 1920-1924

4.20.3 Maori veterans apply for Crown sections

Archives New Zealand (Auckland) holds, for the North Auckland Land District, several volumes of applications for land: those covering the period from 1 April 1919 to 1940 were examined for an earlier study completed by the author. Table 4.3 summarises the applications lodged by Maori for Crown lands by type. The count was based on surnames. As noted, discharged soldiers were not limited to applying under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, although the data for North Auckland indicates that few did so.

According to an official return prepared in September 1920, 11 Maori veterans in the North Auckland Land District had by that date applied for land under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and six had acquired farms.⁵⁶⁷ The volumes of application forms for the period from 1 April 1919 to the end of 1923 were searched accordingly. The forms, all in English, varied in format according to the Act, Part, and/or section under which the applications had been lodged, although officials were prone, when they ran out of particular forms, to employing those intended for one Act

⁵⁶⁷ ANZ Wellington AEBE 18507 LE1/732 1920/174 Alt No 347.

for another. Under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, different forms were employed for applications made under section 3 and section 4 respectively, while others were employed for applications lodged under section 2 and 3 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917.

Table 4.3: Applications by Maori for Crown lands by type, North Auckland land District, 1919-1941

Type	Number
Renewable lease under Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915	6
Renewable lease under Land Act 1908	2
Occupation with right of purchase under Land Act 1908	3
Occupation with right of purchase – licence to occupy lands in kauri gum districts	22
Deferred payment under Land Act 1924	5
Renewable lease under Land Act 1924	14
Purchase under Land Act 1924	11

Source: ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1349, and Hearn, 'Social and economic change in Northland,' p.695.

Although the application forms are numbered sequentially, the volumes appear to include only those applications that were approved and subsequently dealt with by the Board itself. Over the five-year period from 1919 to 1923, discharged soldiers lodged 108 such applications under section 3 of the Act of 1915 (most during 1920) and 188 under section 3 of the same Act (most in 1919, 1920, and 1921). Very few applications appear to have been made under section 2 of the 1917 Amendment Act. The application forms lodged by just four Maori veterans were located, strengthening the comment offered above that the volumes of application forms contained only those applications that were successful. While it is possible that a larger number lodged applications that did not proceed to the Board for consideration, the very small number who succeeded in securing Crown sections contrasts sharply with the estimated 557 men from the North Auckland Land District who served in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion. Palters 4.3 and 4.4 are copies of the front pages of the applications lodged by Wati Hohepa (2nd Maori Contingent) and Henare Pawhau (Maori Reinforcements). It should be noted that Hohepa's application is stamped 'Admitted to ballot,' a clear indication of the preliminary screening that was conducted. Henare Pawhau, on the other hand, appears not to have secured his section through a ballot. In both instances, the veterans had some experience as farm labourers and could bring

some modest capital resources to bear. Of interest, too, is that Hohepa owned 24 acres at Pukepoto that he had leased on enlistment: ownership of that small area did not disqualify him from admission to the ballot.

[Lands Form A. 24.]

Application for Land for Renewable Lease. Application No. 120

National Endowment

To the Commissioner of Crown Lands, North Auckland Land District

I hereby apply, under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act, 1915, and the Land Act, 1908, for the following sections, which have been set apart under section 3 of the first-mentioned Act for selection by discharged soldiers; and I make the following replies to the undermentioned questions:—

Section.	Block.	Survey District.	Area.			Capital Value.			Amount of Deposit.			Remarks.
			a.	b.	c.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
36 X		<u>Lakawai St</u>	141			300			6			<u>National Endowment</u>
33 X			141			360			7	4		
33 X			139			350			7			
33 X			141			320			6	8		
35 <u>Box X</u>			141			320			6	80		

ALLOTTED IN BALLOT.

Question.

1. What is your full name and regimental No.? ... Wati Hohepa

2. What Naval or Expeditionary Force were you a member of? ... New Zealand Expeditionary Force

3. What was—
 (a.) Your length of service in such Force? ... 2 yrs 35 days
 (b.) The date of your discharge? ... 27 June 1919
 (c.) The reason of your discharge? ... Demobilization

4. What physical disabilities (if any) do you suffer from by reason of wounds or disease resulting from your naval or military service? State particulars as to loss of limb or faculty or as to condition of health. Health very good

5. Have you applied for a pension under the War Pensions Act, 1915?
 (a) If so, has your application been (a) granted, or (b) refused, or (c) not finally dealt with?
 (b) If granted, to what rate of pension are you entitled?
 (c) If refused, what were the grounds of refusal? ... Reg. 146(5)
Service 2yrs 35 days
27th June 1919.

6. In the case of an applicant who is married—
 (a.) To what rate of pension under the War Pensions Act, 1915, is your wife entitled?
 (b.) To what rates of pension are you entitled under the said Act in respect of your children (if any)?

7. What was your occupation prior to your becoming a member of the Forces? State period. Cushman Farm worker.

8. For what business or purpose do you intend to use the land for which you are applying? Admitted

9. What experience (if any) have you had in such business? Raised on a farm

10. What experience have you had (if any) in any kindred business? same as in (8)

11. What is the amount of capital at your disposal for use on the land?—
 (a.) Amount of cash ... £150
 (b.) Value of stock (if any) ... nil
 (c.) Implements or other property ... nil

12. What financial assistance will you require to enable you to work the land successfully? State particulars. £150 grant, cash selling, farming, purchase of dwelling

13. Are you single, married, or a widower? If married or a widower, state number of children (if any) dependent on you. Married 6 children

14. What land (if any) do you at present own, or have an interest in? Give particulars. About 24 acres which cleared on settlement for 2 yrs. (at Pukepoto)
About 3 acres Pukepoto settlement

15. If married, what land (if any) does your wife own or have an interest in? Give particulars.

16. Do you at any time hold land, or received an advance under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act? If so, state particulars.

Dated at Kaitiaki this 14th day of January, 1920

Signature of Applicant: Wati Hohepa

The applicant must make the declaration on this form relating to the tenure under which he is applying for the land.

[S. 600/3/19-4953]

Source: ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1349 A41/1/b

Plate 4.3: Front page of Wati Hohepa's application for Crown land, 1920

4.20.4 Maori veterans and the farm settlements

An October 1921 return listed, by land district, the lands purchased for soldier settlement, including the area purchased, the name of the settlements established, and the names of the settlers (it is presumed) who first secured sections in each settlement. The names were checked against the Battalion Roll. In the North Auckland Land District, 15 settlements with an aggregate area of 21,994 acres had been established and on which 128 soldier settlers had been placed. No Maori surnames were among the 128, while a check of all names against the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion Roll suggested that just one, R.F. Neilson, had secured a section (in this instance, in the Remuera Settlement).⁵⁶⁸ It is worthwhile noting here that the interest of the Department of Native Affairs was confined to purchasing a number of small blocks of Maori freehold land deemed essential for the settlement, that is, Maungakawakawa 1H2, 1E, 1B1, 1B2, and 2A, Te Karewa 2, Poukai B1 and B2, and Harimu, a total of 148 acres.⁵⁶⁹

4.20.5 Holdings acquired from the Crown by discharged soldiers and held at 31 March, 1920 to 1930

Graph 4.8 sets out the number of holdings acquired by discharged soldiers from the Crown and held as at the end of March over the decade from 1920 to 1930. The graph includes those units abandoned but subsequently re-selected: nevertheless, it is clear that a substantial number of units was abandoned or forfeited, the number held falling by almost 16 per cent between the peak year of 1923 and 1927. In 1924, it was recorded that during the twelve months to the end of March 1924, 105 ‘freehold farms’ with an aggregate area of 17,430 acres had been abandoned, while the North Auckland Land Board had recommended for approval 282 transfers of farms (29) and houses (253), reflecting what was termed ‘considerable movement among returned soldiers...’⁵⁷⁰ By the end of March 1927, a total of 222 farms had been returned to the Department of Lands and Survey: of that number 184 disposed of to other settlers.⁵⁷¹

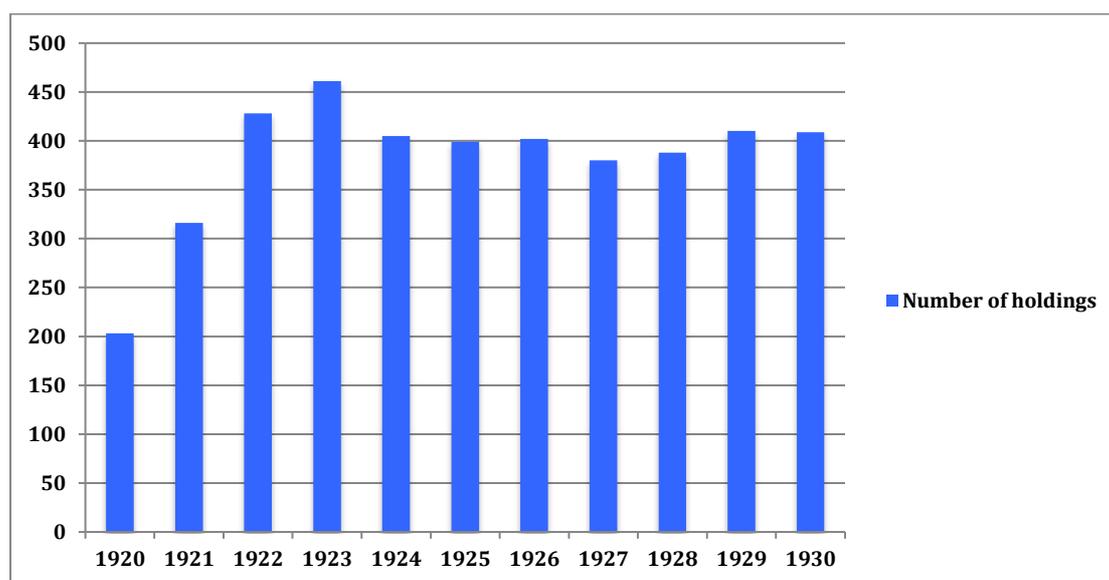
⁵⁶⁸ *AJHR* 1921, C9B. It is not clear whether Robert Fergusson Neilson was Maori or whether, as a Pakeha, he had chosen to enlist in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion. His wife was Irihapeti Hone Neilson. Neilson died in 1964.

⁵⁶⁹ ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/224 21/148 [Part I].

⁵⁷⁰ *AJHR* 1924, C9, p.7.

⁵⁷¹ *AJHR* 1927, C9, p.11.

The number of units held showed a modest recovery towards the end of the decade. A register listing all farms in the North Auckland District that were abandoned over the period from 1921 to 1928. Two hundred and fifty properties were recorded as having been abandoned: that number did not include the names of any Maori veterans. Of the 250 properties, 169 or two-thirds were located in four of the 11 counties included within the land district (Franklin, Hobson, Waitemata, and Whangarei).⁵⁷²



Source: AJHR 1920-1930, C9

Graph 4.8: North Auckland Land District: holdings acquired from the Crown by discharged soldiers and held at 31 March, 1920 to 1930

4.20.6 Discharged soldier settlement on Crown sections, North Auckland Land District, 1939

Table 4.4 sets out for the North Auckland Land District the lands acquired by discharged soldiers from the Crown under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and other Acts and held as at the end of March 1939. All but a small number of the properties were held under lease or licence and largely under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. The financial difficulties of the 1920s and early 1930s notwithstanding, 395 discharged soldiers remained settled on Crown (or former Crown) sections. The number of Maori veterans who remained at that stage is not

⁵⁷² ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1132 A350/1.

known but the evidence presented above makes it clear that they were, at most, very few in number.

Table 4.4: North Auckland Land District: lands acquired by discharged soldiers and held as at 31 March 1939

	Under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915	Under other Acts¹
<i>Sale (including deferred payments)</i>		
Number of purchasers	11	12
Number of holdings	10	12
<i>Leases and licences</i>		
Number of tenants	265	107
Number of holdings	265	104
<i>Totals</i>		
Number of purchasers	276	119
Number of holdings	275	116
Total area held: acres	47310	25276

¹ Lands selected at ordinary ballots, leases and licences purchased at auction, and holdings acquired by transfer or otherwise

Source: AJHR 1939, C1, p.2.

4.20.7 Advances under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915

Under section 6 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 financial assistance was made available to soldier settlers, that is, to those who secured sections under section 4, namely, sections set apart specifically for sale or lease to discharged soldiers. Advances, to be secured by mortgage over the lands in question or the settlers' interest in such land, were available for the clearing, fencing, draining and general improvement of land; for the erection of buildings; and for the purchase of implements, stock, seed, plants, trees 'and such other things as may be deemed necessary for the successful occupation of the land.' Section 4 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1916 extended the provisions of section 6 to include any discharged soldier who was or who might become the lessee or licensee of any Crown land, settlement land, or other land administered by a land board and acquired other than under section 4. By section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917, financial assistance was extended to assist discharged soldiers to purchase

the fee-simple of private land or 'Native land;' the acquisition of any lease of Crown land, settlement land, or other land administered by a land board; clearing, fencing, draining and general improvement, including the erection of buildings, of land owned in fee-simple by a discharged soldier; the discharge of any mortgage affecting any land owned or leased from the Crown; and the purchase of plant, implements, stock, seeds, plants, trees 'and such other things as may be deemed necessary for the successful occupation of any land owned in fee-simple by a discharged soldier.' In May 1923, having been informed that the £20 million raised to finance rehabilitation measures had been practically exhausted, Cabinet issued directions to the effect that advances under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 were to be strictly limited to improvements and the purchase of stock.

In 1920, North Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands reported that applications under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1917 had 'exceeded all expectations,' 1,288 having been lodged. The few published data sources relating to section 2 farm purchase mortgages in the North Auckland Land District indicate that the number rose from 788 in the period up to 1920 and subsequently rose to 1,065 by 1923, or 19.3 per cent of the total.⁵⁷³ Section 2 purchases were thus an important component of the soldier settlement programme in that district. After September 1920 no further applications were accepted under section 2 for one-man farm propositions unless the holding concerned was considered capable of subdivision.

The published statistical summaries do not differentiate among the advances made under those three Acts. Table 4.5, based on the reports of North Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands, offers some insight: the sharp contraction in advances recommended for the purchase of farms, the purchase of houses, and the construction of houses, is apparent. Advances continued to be made on a substantial if reduced scale well into the 1920s.

⁵⁷³ *AJHR* 1922, C9, p.8.

Table 4.5: North Auckland Land District: applications for financial assistance, number recommended, 1921 to 1925

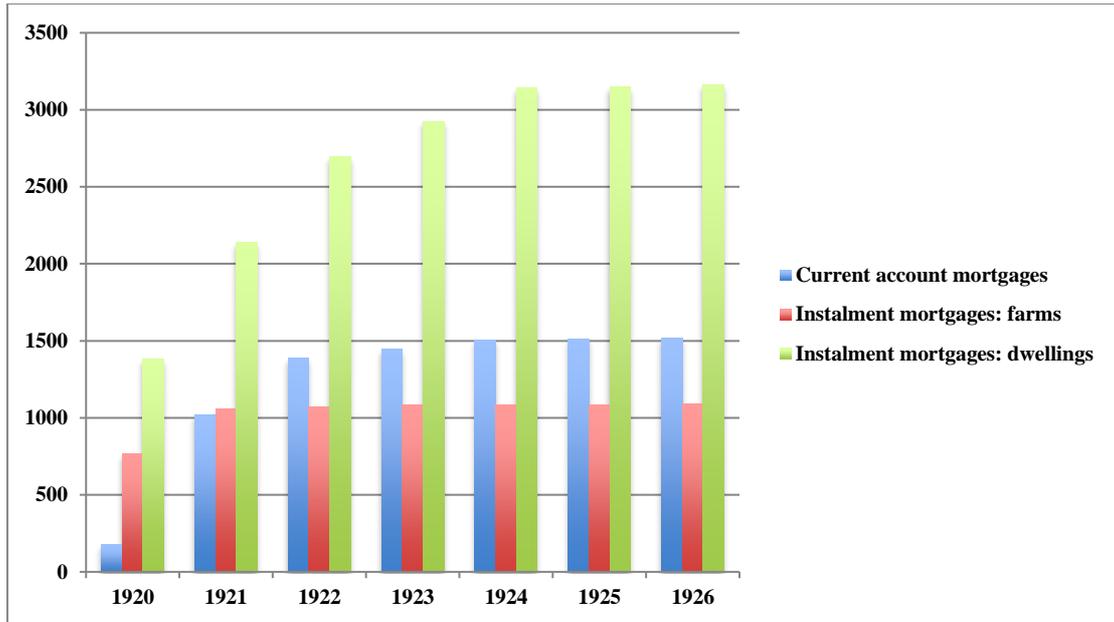
	1921	1922	1923	1924 ¹	1925 ¹
Total applications	2224	2117	1037	1042	1220
Recommended for purchase of farms	282	118	12	4	6
Recommended for purchase of houses	474	231	2	1	2
Recommended for erection of houses	361	674	397	67	20
Recommended for purchase of stock and implements, & for improvements	704	454	350	417	383
Total recommended	1821	1477	761	688	1103

¹ Total applications lodged and total applications recommended for approval including those for transfers of farms and houses

Source: *AJHR* 1920-1925, C9

Graph 4.9 thus sets out the advances made in respect of current account and farm mortgages, and of dwellings. In each case, the number granted had levelled off by 1924, but of interest is the relative importance of mortgages granted for the construction or purchase of dwellings. ‘Current account’ mortgages, as noted, included advances for all purposes other than the purchase of farms and the purchase or construction of dwellings. The North Auckland Land District included Auckland City: advances for dwellings are discussed further in Chapter 5.

The North Auckland Land District secured a substantial proportion of the monies advanced under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915. As at the end of March 1926, advances on the current account totalled £740,495 or 15.2 per cent of the national total; for farms, £1,700,133 or 19 per cent; for the purchase of dwellings £1,254,922 or 25.4 per cent; and for the construction of dwellings £1,244,488 or 33.4 percent. Of the total advances authorised up to the end of March 1926, the North Auckland Land District secured 22 per cent, the £4.94m representing a major investment by the State in the development of region’s lands and the housing of its residents.



Source: AJHR 1920-1926, C9

Graph 4.9: North Auckland Land District: number of advances under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915: cumulative totals as at 31 March, 1920-1926

By the end of January 1937, mortgages held by discharged soldiers were transferred to the State Advances Corporation (Table 4.6). Those for the North Auckland Land District numbered 546 for current account mortgages, 2,291 for dwellings, and 1,081 for farms, a total of 3,918 mortgages advances or 22.8 per cent of the New Zealand total and 22.5 of the total value.

Table 4.6: North Auckland: discharged soldier settlement mortgages transferred to the State Advances Corporation 31 January 1937

	Number	Amount secured: £
Current account	546	304765
Dwellings	2291	1130503
Farms	1081	1161158
Total ¹	3918	2597042
New Zealand totals	17226	11526050
Proportion of New Zealand totals	22.74	22.53

¹ Includes a small number of miscellaneous mortgages

Source: AJHR 1937, C9, p.3

4.20.8 Advances to Maori veterans

Table 4.7 summarises the applications lodged by Maori veterans for financial assistance (rural properties) and considered by the North Auckland Board over the period from 1919 to 1923. In the cases of Te Tuhi and Haira, the registers of applications recorded that both men were seeking to purchase Maori freehold land. Whether the vendors included co-owners was not stated. Refusals to recommend were based upon unfavourable reports furnished by valuers: no evidence was cited that would suggest that a different procedure was followed in respect of applications lodged by Maori veterans.

Table 4.7: Applications by Maori veterans for financial assistance (rural properties), North Auckland Land District, 1919-1923

Applicants	Amount sought: £	Purpose	Outcome
H. Katene	760	Purchase of land	Recommended
M. Henare	935	Purchase of land	Refused
T. Haku ¹	1608	Purchase of land	Refused
E. Te Tuhi	300	Purchase of land	Recommended at £210
K.T. Hemana ²	1128	Purchase of land	Refused
R. Haira	832	Purchase of land	Recommended at £600

¹And £300 for stock ²And £250 for stock

Source: ANZ Auckland BAAZ 4698 1/a and 1/b

In addition to the registers, the minute books of the North Auckland Land Board were also examined: further applications lodged by Maori veterans were identified, as set out in Table 4.8. Several of these applications involved purchase from Maori, others involved purchase from Pakeha farmers. Excessive price or unfavourable valuers' reports were the usual reasons for refusal.

Table 4.8: Applications for financial assistance lodged by Maori veterans and considered by the North Auckland Land Board 1919 to 1923

Applicants	Purpose	Outcome
Louis Nathan	Purchase of farm or land	Recommended
William Pera	Purchase of farm or land	Recommended
J.T. Nathan & Pare Rahui	Purchase of farm or land	Recommended
D. Taylor & Rape Makara	Purchase of farm or land	Refused
Rima Haira	Purchase of farm or land	Refused
Rima Haira	Purchase of farm or land	Recommended
Ruru Nathan	Purchase of farm or land	Refused
Kohi Te Hemana	Purchase of farm or land	Refused
Mikaera & Thomas Nathan Miru	Purchase of farm or land	Refused
Tame Haku	Purchase of farm or land	Refused
Edward Te Tuhi	Purchase of farm or land	Recommended
Harding Waipuke Leaf	Purchase of farm or land	Recommended
H. Cook & Rameka Greaves	Purchase of land or farm	Refused
Henare Kanara		Refused
William Kaio		Refused
Pita Tahitahi		Approved

Source: ANZ Auckland BAAZ 4021/1 to 13

It is of interest to record here that some Maori veterans leased farms from Pakeha. Thus, John Haora secured employment with Ellen O'Callaghan, in 1922 the largest supplier to the Parua Bay butter factory. She leased 200 acres of her property to Haora for £200 per annum for ten years, Haora to have the right to purchase at any time. He would be assisted by his two brothers – Hilford and Walter – both discharged soldiers.⁵⁷⁴ The North Auckland Land Board approved the arrangement.⁵⁷⁵

With respect to advances for improving, working, and stocking properties, the minute books covering 1920 and 1921 contained extensive lists of those who applied and were recommended for advances. Thus, for the 11 months from February 1921 to December 1921, 573 applications were lodged: they did not appear to have included any Maori veterans. For the period from 1919 to 1923, were such granted to four Maori veterans, namely, J.T. Nathan and Pare Rahui, R.F. Neilson, Henare Pawhau, and Wati Hohepa. In other words, few Maori veterans were able to take advantage of

⁵⁷⁴ According to the Battalion Roll and the On-line Cenotaph, Walter Haora died in 1919 at the age of 21.

⁵⁷⁵ ANZ Auckland BAAZ 4021 10, pp.158-159.

financial assistance made available under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and its amendments, almost certainly reflecting their inability to offer the required mortgage security.⁵⁷⁶

4.21 Conclusions

Gould concluded that the evidence available suggests that 'there was no overt discrimination in land settlement between Maori and Pakeha soldiers in terms of the law ... although the mainstream opportunity was taken up by smaller proportion of Maori soldiers than for the generality of Pakeha soldiers.' He did note the public opposition to the Crown setting apart land for Maori veteran settlement, and acknowledged that Maori possessing undivided interests encountered difficulties securing development advances. Nevertheless, the small numbers of Maori who did secure sections and/or advances notwithstanding, he was satisfied that the evidence made it clear that 'government policy was to include Maori soldiers in the land settlement programme on the same terms and to the same extent as Pakeha soldiers.'⁵⁷⁷

To the extent that he focussed on equality of opportunity, Gould's conclusion was sound enough. There was nothing in the law, in the form of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and its various amendments, the War Pensions Act 1915 and its amendments, and the Repatriation Act 1918, nor in the regulations that were issued under those enactments, that explicitly limited, restricted, or otherwise hindered the access, on the part of Maori veterans, to the benefits of the rehabilitation programme initiated in 1915. But Gould's own evidence and that presented above clearly indicates that comparatively few Maori veterans secured either Crown sections or financial assistance for farm purchase and land development. It was possible that relatively fewer Maori than Pakeha discharged soldiers wished to settle on the land as independent farmers, although it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the predominantly rural backgrounds from which they had been drawn would have

⁵⁷⁶ ANZ Auckland BAAZ 4021 5, 6, 7 and 8.

⁵⁷⁷ Gould, 'From taiaha to ko,' pp.77-78.

disposed them to seek such settlement. As late as 1926, some 84 per cent of the Maori population continued to reside in their traditional rohe and communities.⁵⁷⁸ Further, Keenan found that some 83 per cent of those Maori who served in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion had been engaged in farm-based work, labouring, and construction.⁵⁷⁹

Therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the proportion of Maori veterans who acquired land, estimated at two per cent, should have approximated the ten per cent of what Gould described as ‘the more than 100,000 possible Pakeha candidates.’⁵⁸⁰ At the same time, it is possible that a comparatively higher proportion of Maori veterans already owned land or interests in land. The key questions remain: why did so few (absolutely and comparatively) Maori veterans apparently seek settlement and financial assistance, and why (of those who did) were so few successful? In other words, why did the equality of access promised by the law (and upon which the Reform Government consistently placed great emphasis) not generate an approximate equality of outcomes?

Three conclusions seem reasonably clear. First, the Government assumed that Maori veterans would return to the rural communities from which most had been drawn and that iwi, insofar as rehabilitation was concerned, would provide all that those veterans required, including land for settlement. Second, the Government designed and implemented its rehabilitation programme with the needs of Pakeha veterans to the fore: it discerned no obligation to devise measures to accommodate the needs of any other group. No evidence was located which would indicate that the Government responded in a considered and constructive manner to Ngata’s representations, or that it consulted iwi with a view to defining, with respect to land settlement, the particular needs of Maori veterans. The Government was well aware of the difficulties posed by title fragmentation, of the need for a more considered approach to partitioning, and of the potential for collective farming. Under the Maori Land Laws Amendment Act 1908 and the Native Land Act 1909, it had acquired at least some of the powers that it

⁵⁷⁸ Ian Pool, *Te iwi Maori: a New Zealand population, past, present & projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p.123.

⁵⁷⁹ Erin Keenan, ‘A Maori Battalion: the Pioneer Battalion, leisure and identity, 1914-1919,’ BA Hons research essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007, p.13. See also her appendix on pp.41-42 in which she noted that she had established the occupations of 1,884 men of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion, including those Pakeha who enlisted and/or served in it.

⁵⁸⁰ Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko,’ p.54.

needed in order to encourage and assist Maori to reform the ownership of their lands. It was also well aware of the difficulties that Maori experienced in securing development finance.⁵⁸¹ It chose to take no action on such matters, preferring rather to re-state its belief that Maori veterans were assured of equal access to the benefits and services offered under the rehabilitation programme and to assume that equal access would produce equal outcomes. Chapter 5 will indicate that few Maori veterans were able to secure other forms of assistance under the rehabilitation programme, notably for housing and offer some general comments and conclusions on the implementation of that programme as a whole.

⁵⁸¹ The Government had before it all of the reports of the Native Land Commission 1907 and its recommendations. See Hearn, 'Maori economic development in Te Rohe Potae,' pp.358-365, and 395-402.

Chapter 5: Pensions and payments, houses and jobs: Maori veterans in the inter-war world

5.1 Introduction

As already noted, when preparing proposals for the rehabilitation of returning service personnel, the Government initially followed if not established lines then approaches that previous Governments had employed. The clear focus of rehabilitation policy was on land settlement, war pensions, and employment. Under the Repatriation Act 1918, the scope of the programme was broadened to include education and training, business and furniture loans, loans for the purchase of tools and equipment, finance for land development, and finance for house construction or purchase. Those services represented a marked departure from the limited and piecemeal efforts made on behalf of the veterans of the South African War.

Any effort to establish whether Maori discharged soldiers benefited from that wider programme, much less whether they benefited to the same extent as Pakeha soldiers, is again hampered by the absence of any useful statistical data, published or unpublished. As already noted, the records of the various agencies involved appear either to have been lost or to have been destroyed, while the published reports of both Departments are not particularly helpful: they make no reference at all to the rehabilitation of Maori veterans. The annual reports of other State agencies were examined, notably Lands and Survey, Education, Public Health, and Labour, but they, too, rarely discuss rehabilitation matters relating specifically to Maori veterans. The following sections thus offer brief accounts of those components of the rehabilitation programme other than land settlement: wherever possible, the experience of Maori veterans is explored.

5.2 Soldiers' gratuities

Payment of a gratuity to ex-service personnel was authorised under section 7 of the Expeditionary Forces Act 1918: the Act described the payment as 'a free gift by the

State in recognition of the honourable service of soldiers of the Expeditionary Forces.⁵⁸² Burdon noted that war gratuities were not a payment that could be claimed as a legal entitlement but a payment made at the discretion of the Government.⁵⁸³ The cost of paying members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force from embarkation to the signing of peace (28 June 1919) was estimated at £5,552,000 (including New Zealanders in Imperial naval and military forces). When other retrospective and various allowances were added, the total estimated cost rose to just over £6m. Soldiers claiming the gratuity were required to apply, the relevant forms being distributed to post-offices throughout the country. In the case of deceased members of the forces, applications were to be lodged by their legal representatives. The same was true for wives and the guardians of motherless children: they were required to apply to the Officer in Charge of War Expenses.⁵⁸⁴ In Parliament, the Minister of Defence assured Ngata that the 'War Service Overseas Gratuity' form would be printed in Maori and distributed to post-offices.⁵⁸⁵ Whether the form for separation allowances was also translated and similarly distributed was not established. In neither case were returns located that might have offered some insight into the comparative rates of uptake among Maori and Pakeha soldiers, wives, and guardians. It is worthwhile noting that payment was by of a credit made to a Post Office Savings-bank account or to any bank or private savings banks in which the applicant held a current account. The implications for Maori veterans and their dependants are unknown.

⁵⁸² *New Zealand Official Year-book 1919*, p.819.

⁵⁸³ Burdon, *The new dominion*, pp.18-19. For a summary of the debate over the payment of gratuities, see 'Gifts to soldiers,' *Auckland Star* 25 September 1919, p.8. The Labour Party pressed for a rate of 4s per day, 2s in cash and 2s in five per cent war bonds repayable in five years: a motion to that effect was defeated.

⁵⁸⁴ AJHR 1919, H19D.

⁵⁸⁵ NZPD 1919, Vol.184, pp.754-755.



SOLDIERS' SEPARATION ALLOWANCES

INCREASED RATES from MARCH 1, 1915

Increased Separation Allowances for the War are now given to the wives and children of married soldiers and to the dependants of unmarried men and widowers.

WIVES AND CHILDREN OF MARRIED MEN.

The New Weekly Rates are as follows :

	Private and Corporal.	Sergeant.	Col.-Sergeant.	Quarter-Master Sergeant.	Wt. Officer (1st class).
Wife - - - - -	12s. 6d.	15s. 0d.	16s. 6d.	22s. 0d.	23s. 0d.
Wife and child - -	17s. 6d.	20s. 0d.	21s. 6d.	27s. 0d.	28s. 0d.
Wife and 2 children	21s. 0d.	23s. 6d.	25s. 0d.	30s. 6d.	31s. 6d.

With 2s. extra for each additional child.

These rates include the usual allotment of 3s. 6d. a week for privates and corporals, and 5s. 10d. for other ranks.

Adopted children are admitted. The ordinary limit of age for children is now 16, and the allowance is continued up to 21 in certain cases (for higher education, apprenticeship on a nominal wage, or physical or mental infirmity). Soldiers marrying AFTER enlistment are now eligible.

An extra 3s. 6d. a week is paid in the case of soldiers living in the London postal area at the time of enlistment if the families continue to live there.

MOTHERLESS CHILDREN.

5s. a week clear for each child.

OTHER DEPENDANTS OF UNMARRIED SOLDIERS AND WIDOWERS.

If a soldier who is unmarried or a widower (or one whose wife is not drawing separation allowance because she was living apart from him before the war) had any person or persons (whether related or not), including children, actually dependent upon him before he enlisted, the Government will pay that dependant a weekly sum provided the soldier contributes a share (one third or less) of the amount. The intention is to allow to the dependant, within certain limits (see below), the same amount weekly that the soldier paid him or her before enlistment, less any portion that went to pay for his own keep.

As an example, if the soldier had paid 17s. 6d. a week in peace to his mother, and 7s. 6d. of this was needed for his own keep, the allowance admissible will be the remaining 10s. Towards this the soldier will contribute 5d. a day from his pay.

The amount the Government will pay to any one dependant of a soldier will not exceed the amount of separation allowance for a wife (see table above), but that limit will be raised if more persons than one were dependent on the same soldier.

NOTE.—As it is impossible to explain all the classes of cases on a poster, intending recruits can obtain fuller information from the two pamphlets for married and unmarried men, revised to 1st March, 1915, which they can get at any Post Office.

Forms of Application for Separation Allowance can be filled in at the Recruiting Office.

Source: Te Papa Tongarewa: the Museum of New Zealand

Plate 5.1: Separation allowances

5.3 War pensions

The history of war pensions (and welfare, including pensions, more generally) in New Zealand has attracted considerable attention from historians and an extensive literature has emerged from their efforts.⁵⁸⁶ In a 1940 report prepared for Treasury, Greig described the War Pensions Act 1915 as ‘the first attempt to provide war pensions on a grand scale [and] was necessarily experimental in many aspects ...’ He went on to note that the greatest difficulty that applicants confronted was proving that a disability had arisen as a result of war service. ‘This was often impossible,’ he recorded, ‘as the physiological, mental and nervous effects of war experience or injuries can be displayed in forms which have at first sight no relation to the man’s [sic] services.’ He noted the steps taken to deal with that matter, namely, the abolition, in 1930, of the seven year limit after discharge during which a disability could be attributed to war service, and the passage of the War Veterans’ Allowances Act 1935 which covered many borderline cases of attributability. Greig concluded that war pensions were not an adequate substitute for employment, including part-time employment.⁵⁸⁷

Mayhew traced the course of war pensions legislation and the part played by the Returned Soldiers’ Association in seeking wider coverage and increased pension rates or at least rates adjusted to changes in the cost of living index.⁵⁸⁸ With a clear focus on the role played by the Association, he did not deal with the administration of the various Acts or whether Maori veterans and their families were treated any more or less favourably than their Pakeha counterparts. Chief among its achievements were the establishment of a war pensions appeal board, the appointment of the War Pensions (Bartholomew) Commission in 1922; the inclusion in the War Pensions Amendment Act 1923 of the ‘economic pension;’ the appointment of Ex-Soldiers’

⁵⁸⁶ The war pensions scheme initiated in 1915 gave rise to many issues that are not investigated here, among them, the adequacy of the awards, whether the war pensions granted prior to the passage of the War Pensions Amendment Act 1917 should qualify for the increased rates and whether this rates and should be apply to children; increases in rates to match rises in the cost of living; and regular reviews of pension rates.

⁵⁸⁷ ‘Report by Treasury Department regarding rehabilitation of returned members of the armed forces,’ in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25 18/146, pp.10-12.

⁵⁸⁸ W.R. Mayhew, ‘The New Zealand Returned Services’ Association 1916-1943,’ MA Thesis, Dunedin, 1943. It should be noted that food prices rose by 68 percent during the war years. See *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1922*, p.545.

Rehabilitation Commission in 1929 to consider (in part) the case of the ‘burnt-out soldiers’ or ‘prematurely aged men,’ that is, those whose health had given way some years after their return to New Zealand; exemptions from the pension reductions in respect of physically disabled veterans, children of deceased soldiers, war widows, and widowed mothers as urged on the Government by the National Expenditure Commission; the retention of the economic pension; and the restoration, in 1935, of the 1932 pension cuts. One other matter on which the Association lobbied successfully related to the granting of pensions to soldiers’ widows in cases where marriages had been contracted not within two but within seven years of their husbands’ discharges.⁵⁸⁹ The War Pensions Amendment Act 1936 removed the seven year limit and granted pensions to widows of ex-soldiers who had married at any time up to August 1936, restored all economic pensions payable to war widows and widowed mothers, and increased the economic pension payable to disabled soldiers.⁵⁹⁰

Thomson suggested that the War Pensions Act 1915 ‘broke with previous war pensions legislation in several ways,’ identified as establishing entitlements to benefits, creating machinery for determining eligibility, setting schedules of payment according to rank, injury, and number of dependants, and, in particular, specifying that a range of dependants would be compensated when a man was killed, that is, beyond a widow and children. He suggested that the last was ‘a powerful indicator of the persisting supposition that aged persons should be and would be supported by

⁵⁸⁹ For the National Expenditure Commission’s recommendations concerning war pensions, see AJHR 1932, B4, pp.11-12. For the restoration of the 1932 7.5 per cent reductions, see section 17 of the Finance Act 1935. For provisions dealing with ‘burnt-out’ soldiers, see the War Veterans’ Allowances Act 1935: it dealt expressly with those veterans, including those of the South African War, deemed to be ‘unfit for permanent employment by reason of mental or physical infirmity.’ The returned Soldiers’ Association described the Act as ‘a complete failure.’ The allowance, it claimed in 1937, was insufficient ‘and many hopelessly burnt out soldiers and their families are practically starving and compelled to seek assistance from ... [the] Association and charitable aid board organisations.’ See President, Auckland returned Soldiers’ Association to Prime Minister 28 January 1937, in ANZ Wellington AADK W4075/16 11/1/10 Part 1. The matter of marriages was dealt with in the War Pensions Amendment Act 1935.

⁵⁹⁰ Under the National Expenditure Adjustment Act 1932, the maximum rates of old age, widows’, and miners’ pensions were reduced by ten per cent and income exemptions for the latter two were reduced sharply. War pensions to former soldiers for disablement and war pensions payable to widow, child, or widowed mother of a deceased member of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force were not reduced, but under section 25 the rate of pension (other than the economic pension) payable to other dependants ‘not being the widow or a child or the widowed mother of a deceased member of the Forces’ were reduced by 17.5 per cent. Economic pensions payable to former soldiers and to widowed mothers, widows and dependants were also reduced.

sons.’ Throughout the 1920s, he recorded, some 6,000 dependants other than wives and children – most of them widowed mothers – received these pensions.⁵⁹¹ McClure provided a detailed account of the pensions system in New Zealand. The pensions granted following the enactment of the War Pensions Act 1915 were of a ‘special nature’ and therefore more generous than civil pensions. She noted that by 1920 concerns were being expressed over the rising cost of war pensions, the difficulties involved in establishing and assessing eligibility, and the likely scale of spending in the ensuing decades.⁵⁹² Tennant described the Government’s role in the rehabilitation of disabled servicemen as ‘incomplete, reflecting a lack of understanding of war injuries.’ The difficulties those veterans experienced were compounded by the premature closure of the Repatriation Department in 1922 and the transfer of many Defence Department responsibilities to the Pensions Department or to hospital boards. That closure, she claimed, ‘undercut any ideas about a long term compact to care for disabled and financially disadvantaged servicemen.’⁵⁹³ Walker examined the Government’s response to disabled servicemen, paying particular attention to the tension between the need to make adequate provision for veterans and the aversion to creating dependence upon the Government, but made only passing reference to the Pioneer Maori Battalion.⁵⁹⁴ How disabled Maori veterans in particular fared after their return to New Zealand remains an area for investigation. More recently, Parsons claimed that New Zealand’s ‘ethos of self-reliance and independence ... had a powerful influence on the provision of war pensions ...’ Pensions were ‘intended to compensate for lost earning power,’ with the rate paid being adjusted according to the degree of disability sustained. A high proportion of veterans was assessed as having suffered a low percentage of disability and hence received relatively low pension payments.⁵⁹⁵ Parsons also dealt briefly with the administration of war pensions,

⁵⁹¹ David Thomson, *A world without welfare: New Zealand’s colonial experiment*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998 p.164.

⁵⁹² Margaret McClure, *A civilised community: a history of social security in New Zealand, 1898 to 1998*. Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1998, pp.33-38.

⁵⁹³ Margaret Tennant, *The fabric of welfare: voluntary organisations, government and welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007, pp.87 and 99.

⁵⁹⁴ Elizabeth Walker, ‘“The Living Death.” The Repatriation Experience of New Zealand’s Disabled Great War Servicemen’, MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2013, p.81.

⁵⁹⁵ Parsons, ‘Challenging enduring home front myths,’ pp.78-79.

None of these studies made any reference to Maori veterans, least of all whether they might have been advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. The apparent lack of evidence relating to this matter may suggest that they were treated as all other veterans were treated. On the other hand, it is possible that the issue may not be one of treatment so much as the extent to which Maori veterans felt able to apply.

5.4 War pensions: purpose, policies, and provisions

The policy upon which New Zealand's war pensions legislation was based has also attracted some investigation, notably by Uttley. He noted that the long debate in New Zealand over war pensions centred on their purpose: were they to be granted in recognition of service, as a payment for actual economic loss, as a payment in recognition of economic need, or as a payment for physical or mental disability arising out of war service.⁵⁹⁶ Payment in recognition of service (service pension) was the principle upon which the Military Pensions Act 1912 was based, although applicants still had to satisfy certain criteria. The War Pensions Act 1915 made no such provision, rather limiting pensions to those who had been disabled and to the widows and dependents of those who had died: the economic circumstances of the veterans and his dependents were not taken into account. Uttley described the war pension as 'basically a compensatory payment.'⁵⁹⁷ Compensation for economic loss was provided for in the War Pensions Amendment Act 1917 in the form of an award of a sum to compensate for death or disability independent of financial circumstances and a sum to compensate for economic loss in a household's position before and after the war. While the payment was small, nevertheless it embodied an important principle, namely, that the State accepted some responsibility to compensate war veterans for economic as well as physical loss.

The Bartholomew Commission 1922 examined the purpose of war pensions, concluding that they should provide compensation for physical injury suffered as a result of war service, and provide economic maintenance for those veterans and their

⁵⁹⁶ Stephen Uttley, 'The development of war pensions policy,' *British review of New Zealand studies* 7, December 1994, p.42.

⁵⁹⁷ Uttley, 'the development of war pensions policy,' p.34.

families in financial need. It proposed the replacement of the small supplementary pension introduced in 1917 with an income-tested economic pension.⁵⁹⁸ An economic pension was introduced in 1923. War pensions were again considered by the Barton Commission of 1929-1930: it argued for an easing of the eligibility criteria for access to disablement pensions and war widows' pensions. Most of its recommendations were not enacted.

5.5 Separation allowances, war pensions, and Maori marriages

One matter of importance to Maori was the position of the wives and children, dependants of Maori soldiers. While the War Pensions Bill partly met the position of ex-nuptial children (clause 20), but not that of women married according to Maori custom. European law, with the exception of the Native Land Act 1909 (section 140(5)) and then for the purposes of property transmission, did not recognise such marriages. Ngata pressed not only for new provisions intended to meet such cases but also for the Native Land Court to establish the children entitled to the benefits of the proposed pension scheme.⁵⁹⁹ The Minister of Defence assured Ngata that wives of Maori soldiers married according to Maori custom would not 'be left out in the cold.'⁶⁰⁰ That did not satisfy Ngata, citing a decision of a court under the Workers' Compensation Act 1908 in which the Court of Arbitration refused to award redress to the father of a young Maori man killed in the collapse of the Whakatane bridge: he had claimed compensation as the young man's next of kin, but the Court rejected his claim on the grounds that he had not been 'married' to the deceased's mother. Ngata's fear was that the wives of Maori soldiers could find themselves in a similar position. 'Our law-courts,' he insisted, 'will define the word "widow" to be the wife, legally married according to the civil law of the country, of the soldier.' He made his position very clear.

... the Government may have some hesitation in acknowledging the status of these Maori women who, according to Maori custom, are the wives of these Maori soldiers, and are respected in Maori society as such. Because they are

⁵⁹⁸ Uttley, 'the development of war pensions policy,' p.35.

⁵⁹⁹ NZPD 1915, Vol.172, pp.398-399.

⁶⁰⁰ NZPD 1915, Vol. 172, p.447.

not married according to English law, the Government may have some hesitation in extending to them the benefits of this [War Pensions] Act; and if this is the position the Government takes up, then they are making a very serious mistake as far as the members of the Maori Contingent are concerned.⁶⁰¹

There was one other matter in connection with war pensions that Ngata pressed the Government over, namely, that it should it should prepare ‘a memorandum’ for the guidance of the dependants or relatives of Maori soldiers so that they could follow the application procedure. The Government assured him that a set of instructions had been prepared, but whether in te reo Maori or English was not made clear. Also left unclear was how widows and dependants, most residing in small, isolated, and rural settlements, would be informed.⁶⁰²

In response to Ngata’s representations, the Government inserted a new clause into the War Pensions Bill. Section 8 of the War Pensions Act 1915 thus provided that:

Where an application is made for a pension under this Act in respect of the death or disablement of a Native member of the Forces, a Native woman who has been married to such member in accordance with Native custom and whose marriage is subsisting at the time of his death or disablement shall be deemed to be his wife within the meaning of this Act, and the children of such marriage shall be deemed to be his legitimate children.

It is of interest to note here that the matter of common law wives and children also arose in connection with Pakeha when it was suggested that concerns that their dependants might not receive a pension in the event of their death was discouraging a number of from enlisting. The outcome was section 13 of the War Pensions Amendment Act 1916, a provision considered sufficiently wide to encompass common law wives. It provided that the War Pensions Board ‘may grant a pension to any person not being a dependant within the meaning of [the War Pensions] Act if such person satisfies the Board that he has suffered material loss of income or property by reason of the death or disablement of the member of the Forces and that he has not adequate means of support.’ How section 13 operated in practice was not investigated.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰¹ NZPD 1915, Vol.172, p.447.

⁶⁰² NZPD 1915, Vol.174, p.738.

⁶⁰³ See ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/60 11/2/26.

In November 1916, the attention of the Government was drawn to another matter, namely, the non-registration of Maori children. Registration was introduced in 1913, but compliance was incomplete and remained so for some years. Children who had been born after 1913 and who had not been registered were not recognised by law. The Minister of Defence promised to give the matter 'his favourable consideration.'⁶⁰⁴ How that matter was resolved was not established.

In 1929, the Crown Solicitor expressed the view that a Maori woman married in accordance with Maori custom to a Maori veteran after the latter's disablement was not eligible for a pension similarly to a Pakeha woman married two or more years after her husband's discharge as provided by section 15 of the War Pensions Amendment Act 1917 (and as amended by section 12 of the Finance Act 1919). The key words in section 8 of the War Pensions Act 1915 were 'subsisting at the time ...'⁶⁰⁵

The matter appears to have rested there until 1938 when the Returned Soldiers' Association discovered, 'for the first time,' the case of a Maori veteran whose marriage (Maori custom) did not take place until after his return to New Zealand. His wife and five children were thus ineligible for either a war pension or a war veteran's allowance. In its view, section 8 of the War Pensions Act 1915 created a hardship for all those affected. In this particular case, the veteran was unable to work, and his claim for a war pension had been rejected. He had, though, secured a war veteran's allowance, but as a single man. The Association pressed the Government to rectify 'this ... injustice to our comrades of the Maori race.'⁶⁰⁶ The Association was informed that Maori customary marriage was recognised legally only in respect of succession to land. Its response submitted 'that to provide for recognition of the marriages and the children of the Maori ex-servicemen we are supporting would be a very graceful gesture to the Maori race and also greatly appreciated.'⁶⁰⁷ In August 1939 the

⁶⁰⁴ 'Maori soldiers' children,' *Auckland Star* 24 November 1916, p.3.

⁶⁰⁵ Crown Solicitor to Commissioner of Pensions 15 July 1929, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 63 11/2/39.

⁶⁰⁶ General Secretary, Returned Soldiers' Association to Minister, Defence 29 September 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 63 11/2/39.

⁶⁰⁷ General Secretary, Returned Soldiers' Association to Minister, Defence 18 October 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 63 11/2/39.

Association's dominion conference resolved 'That Maori marriages according to Native custom be recognised as legal marriages in order to allow pensions to be payable to wives and children of such marriages.'⁶⁰⁸

5.6 Awarding war pensions

Parsons noted that war pensions provided for 'a moderate income.' Fully disabled veterans received between £104 and £169, depending on rank, and when allowances for wives and dependants were added, those veterans received (prior to 1924) an annual pension of £234. That sum approached the annual incomes of skilled tradesmen.⁶⁰⁹ Those seeking the award of a war pension were required to complete an application form, and all applications were considered by a three-person War Pensions Board. Walker recorded that interviews with applicants indicated that the experience was 'fairly subjective and dependent on the temperament and sympathy of the doctor.' Views of the interview process varied somewhat, some describing the Board as 'sympathetic,' but others as 'hostile.'⁶¹⁰ Walker noted that some historians have described the medical profession as the gatekeepers before whom applicants had to prove that their wounds or injuries were directly attributable to their war service.⁶¹¹ She went on to record that the power of medical practitioners was especially apparent where a soldier chose to appeal a decision of the War Pensions Board: since the onus of proof was upon the applicant, he could expect to provide detailed and authoritative medical evidence gathered at his cost.

Whether any particular efforts were made to disseminate the relevant information regarding war pensions and the application process among Maori communities, whether application forms were printed in te reo Maori, and whether assistance was made available to Maori applicants to complete the necessary forms are matters that were not established. As noted, the Board itself confronted a range of difficulties, among them identifying clearly the links between military service and disability, a

⁶⁰⁸ '27,000 pension applications,' *Auckland Star* 26 August 1930, p.12 (Supplement).

⁶⁰⁹ Parsons, 'Challenging enduring home front myths,' pp.80-81.

⁶¹⁰ Walker, "'The living death,'" pp.48-49.

⁶¹¹ Walker, "'The living death,'" p.50.

difficulty exacerbated by the still rudimentary state of medical knowledge. Whether Maori veterans suffered from particular forms of disability is not known, although there are suggestions that they endured relatively high rates of tuberculosis and typhoid, much less whether the Board's assessment made any allowance for that possibility. Further, how Maori applicants fared given the added burden of language barriers and the ever-present possibility of misunderstanding and miscommunication is a matter that did not attract any comment. No evidence was located to indicate that the Board sought the assistance of interpreters and iwi. Whether such difficulties deterred Maori veterans and dependants from applying for war pensions is not known. In short, how and with what outcomes Maori veterans navigated the war pension application process was not established.

5.7 Number and value of war pensions

Graph 5.1 sets out by year the number of soldiers' permanent and temporary pensions over the period from 1918 to 1939. Where veterans had sustained permanent disabilities, permanent pensions (payable for life) were awarded: disabilities were ranked in terms of severity and pension rates adjusted accordingly, while they also varied according to rank. Temporary pensions had a term of three to 12 months.

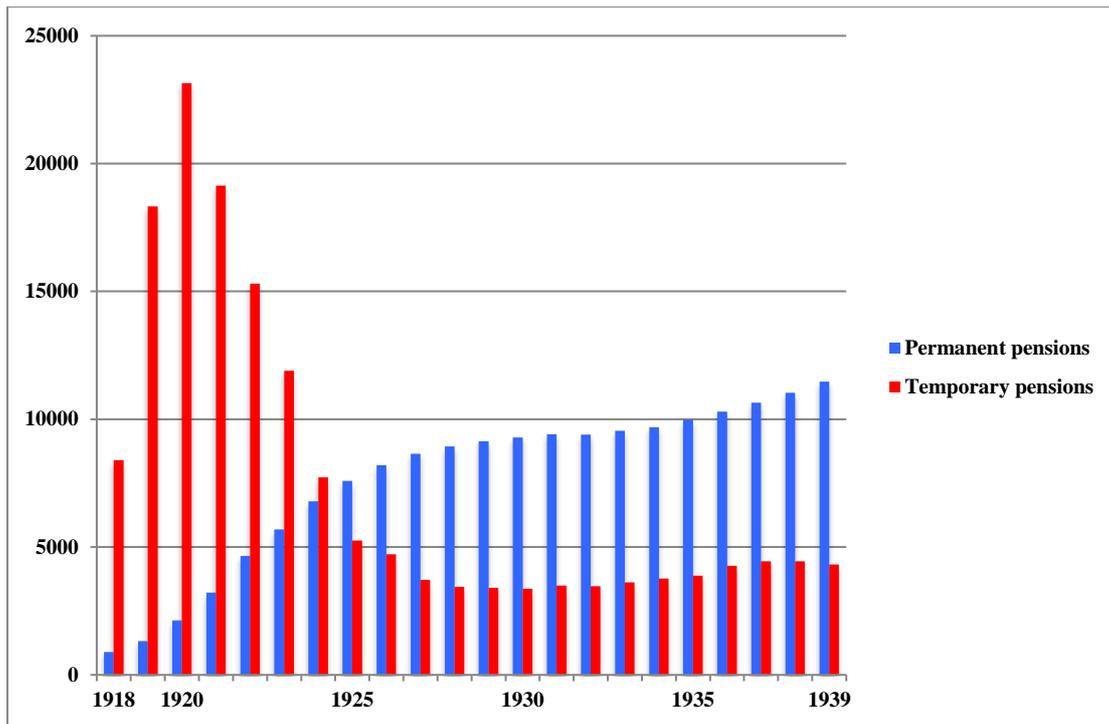
The sharp rise in the number of permanent pensions granted following the return of the bulk of the service personnel in 1919 and 1920 is clear (Table 5.1 and Graph 5.1). The number granted continued to rise steadily through to the end of the period considered. The annual value rose accordingly. Conversely, the number of soldiers' temporary pensions reached a peak in 1920 and then declined through to 1930 before increasing steadily through to 1939. The decline reflected the movement of veterans, as they recovered, into employment and as temporary pensions were transmuted into permanent pensions.

Table 5.1: Number of pensioners and annual value of war pensions, 1916-1939

As at 31 March	Soldiers: permanent	Annual total value: £	Soldiers: temporary	Annual total value: £
1918	900	43703	8405	572023
1919	1316	69669	18329	1097303
1920	2130	126510	23144	1223342
1921	3215	183032	19133	1044821
1922	4650	243463	15302	765690
1923	5686	279760	11892	586923
1924	6784	333946	7731	407847
1925	7583	367871	5251	309441
1926	8194	395692	4714	269270
1927	8646	418333	3717	252024
1928	8941	437549	3439	240094
1929	9138	454388	3400	245110
1930	9285	472864	3368	248811
1931	9405	489191	3486	265185
1932	9504	498387	3472	258802
1933	9548	495511	3615	253517
1934	9686	512671	3762	261620
1935	9986	535055	3875	272935
1936	10301	572517	4263	301584
1937	10647	621630	4444	318423
1938	11036	659136	4439	318737
1939	11475	705181	4318	316528

Note: Not included are pensions paid to dependents of disabled soldiers, widows and children, and other dependants

Source: AJHR 1916-1939, H18



Source: AJHR 1918-1939, H18

Graph 5.1: Temporary and permanent war pensions awarded, 1918 to 1939

5.8 Economic pensions

Economic pensions were introduced, as noted above, following the recommendation of the War Pensions Commission of 1922-1923.⁶¹² The number awarded to those holding both permanent and temporary pensions rose appreciably during the 1930s as the long-term health consequences of war service became steadily more apparent. The Ex-Soldiers' Rehabilitation Commission of 1929-1930 estimated that some 5,000 partially disabled ex-servicemen were suffering from a wide variety of health difficulties arising out of their service.⁶¹³ As late as the end of March 1950, 3,394 veterans of World War I remained on permanent economic and a further 43 on temporary economic pensions.⁶¹⁴ Decisions on the award of economic pensions were made by the War Pensions Board, each case being considered on its merits. Even the Secretary for War Pensions could not specify the criteria that the Board employed,

⁶¹² AJHR 1923, Session II, H28.

⁶¹³ AJHR 1930, H39, pp.5-6.

⁶¹⁴ ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/60 11/2/21 Part 1.

although the relevant legislation allowed it to take into consideration the ability of an applicant to obtain and retain suitable employment and his personal earnings and other income.⁶¹⁵ Whether any Maori veterans secured economic pensions could not be established.

Table 5.2: Economic pensions as at 31 March of each year

As at 31 March	Soldiers with permanent pensions	Annual value: £	Soldiers with temporary pensions	Annual value: £
1926	270	18511	811	55688
1927	342	23890	805	54456
1928	423	29163	828	57101
1929	517	36412	898	62086
1930	649	45492	964	67974
1931	820	59145	1029	78985
1932	938	61693	1157	77597
1933	1071	55680	1242	65490
1934	1231	63864	1274	67002
1935	1370	71202	1357	71010
1936	1633	90696	1467	82051
1937	1883	115851	1474	90834
1938	1965	119663	1481	91547
1939	2328	143129	1500	94181

Source: AJHR 1926 -1939, H18

5.9 War pensions appeals

Section 2 of the Finance Act 1920, provided for the appointment of a War Pensions Medical Appeals Board: its constitution attracted such fierce criticism, as did the fact that it was restricted to dealing with medical appeals rather than to appeals in general. The manner in which disabilities had been classified and thus pension awards calculated also engendered considerable discontent. Section 2 was repealed in 1923, while section 10 of the War Pensions Amendment Act 1923 constituted a new appeals board. The new board consisted of two registered medical practitioners and a

⁶¹⁵ Secretary for War Pensions to Secretary, Southland War Funds Association 23 September 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/60 11/2/21 Part 1.

‘representative of members of the Forces, on the nomination of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers’ Association ...’ Table 5.3 sets out some details of the appeals considered over the period from 1925 to 1939. Clearly apparent is a rise in the number lodged over the period from 1928 to 1936. Equally apparent is the appreciable proportion that was upheld. As noted above, the appeal process appears to have been particularly demanding, appellants having to submit detailed medical evidence and documentation in support of their claims.

Table 5.3: Appeals considered by the War Pensions Appeal Board, 1925 - 1939

Year to 31 March	Outstanding¹	Lodged	Dismissed	Upheld	Struck out
1925	368	585	504	249	26
1926	171	345	227	167	29
1927	93	383	150	177	16
1928	129	392	147	232	12
1929	129	467	167	266	16
1930	145	507	194	277	26
1931	155	603	279	308	24
1932	147	599	231	252	34
1933	229	608	306	324	27
1934	180	741	303	326	27
1935	265	947	417	434	36
1936	325	1088	520	540	25
1937	328	971	465	424	27
1938	383	717	464	442	24
1939	170	657	321	385	24

¹ As at 31 March of previous year

Source: AJHR 1925-1939, H18

Archives New Zealand holds a number of restricted files dealing with appeals dealt with by the War Pensions Appeals Board. Eight volumes covering the period from 1925 to 1937 were examined. The appeals considered had been lodged by veterans or their widows from across New Zealand. Many applicants submitted detailed medical reports prepared by their general practitioners or by specialists. Those who did not or could not afford to do so were examined by the Board itself: whether they were disadvantaged in some way as a result is not clear. What is clear is that the appeal process appears to have been rigorous and demanding, and that ‘attributability’ was a

constant problem. Among the many hundreds of appeals considered by the Board during the period from 1925 to 1937. For the years from 1925 to 1935, just two appeals appear to have been lodged by Maori veterans. The first was by Soldier 'A' of Onehunga: he was examined by the medical members of the Board who attributed his medical difficulties to an accident in civil life. His appeal was dismissed, although the Board recorded that he was 'in dire need of institutional treatment.' Efforts to follow this man's subsequent career proved unavailing. The second was Soldier 'B,' a former school-teacher of Newmarket: he presented extensive supporting documentation and won at least an interim increase in his pension. Both men were resident in Auckland and it appears that the War Pensions Appeals Board held its hearings only in the country's main urban centres. That may have disadvantaged those residing in remote rural communities for whom travel and accommodation costs would have added significantly to those of securing medical analysis and documentation.

For the years from 1935 to 1937, appeals lodged by a further 18 Maori veterans were located: of that number, 13 were upheld in full or in part, and the remaining five were dismissed. There was nothing in the minutes of the War Pensions Appeal Board to suggest that either it or Maori applicants were assisted by someone fluent in te reo Maori. On the other, there was nothing to suggest that Maori veterans were treated any differently. Nevertheless, that just 20 Maori veterans (based on surnames) lodged appeals seems to have been a remarkably small number.⁶¹⁶

5.10 War veterans' allowances

In 1935 Parliament enacted the War Veterans' Allowances Act 1935. Its long title was 'An Act to make provisions for the grant of allowances to unemployable veterans who served in the Great War or in the South African War.' The Act was deemed to be part of the War Pensions Act 1915. The Act authorised payment of an allowance to any veteran deemed by the War Pensions Board to be 'unfit for permanent employment by reason of physical or mental disability ...' In the case of an unmarried veteran, section five set the allowance at £52 per annum less £1 for every complete

⁶¹⁶ ANZ Wellington ADBO 16137 W5888/1 1a.

pound of his annual income in excess of £26. For a married veteran, the allowance was set at £52 for the veteran himself, at £39 for his wife, and at £13 for each dependant child, provided that the total allowance did not exceed £143 per annum.

By the end of March 1939, 3,426 cases had been granted of which 2,223 with an annual value of £159,031 were in force as at 31 March 1939. The number included 917 single veterans, 1,245 married veterans, 60 widows, and one grant on account of an orphaned child. The total number of dependent children stood at 1,833.⁶¹⁷

5.11 Maori veterans and war pensions

An effort was made to examine files of the War Pensions Board (ANZ series AADK W3451) but water damage had rendered the text largely illegible. Instead, in an effort to establish how many Maori soldiers were granted pensions, the data contained in two rolls compiled by the Director-General of Medical Services were examined.⁶¹⁸ The first roll carried the title of ‘List of the names of all ex-members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, suffering permanent disability from 20% to 100%, compiled from returns supplied by the Commissioner of Pensions, in respect to: a) Permanent War pensions, and from returns supplied by the Director-General of Medical Services, regarding: b) Discharged and undischarged hospital patients, assessed as suffering permanent disability, but not yet in receipt of a pension at date (28-4-1920).’ The second was entitled ‘A further list of names of ex-members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force suffering permanent disability from 20% to 100%: compiled from returns supplied by the Commissioner of Pensions, in respect to: a) permanent war pensions; and from returns supplied by the Director-General of Medical Services, regarding: b) discharged hospital patients, assessed as suffering permanent disability, and who are whilst in hospital receiving full pensions.’ Both were prepared by the Director-General of Medical Services.

⁶¹⁷ AJHR 1939, H18, p.3.

⁶¹⁸ The rolls were printed by the New Zealand Times Company, the first in 1920 and the second about 1920. Both are available on the Auckland War Memorial Museum/Tamaki Paenga Hira website <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/collections-research>. The assistance of Victoria Passau, Collection Manager, Online Cenotaph and Pou Maumahara, Auckland War Memorial Museum is gratefully acknowledged.

Using the entries on He Tau Taumata Rau, the Online Cenotaph, Innes identified 2,760 members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion and those entries with those in the pension rolls. That comparison yielded 56 Maori veterans in receipt of war pensions. According to Pugsley, 734 (although that figure may include Pacific Island veterans) of the Battalion were wounded, so that the 56 – despite some uncertainty that attaches to the data – seems to be an extraordinarily low number.⁶¹⁹

5.12 ‘Homes fit for heroes’

The literature dealing with the history of housing in New Zealand offers little comment on the facilities offered discharged soldiers under the post-World War I rehabilitation programme. Wilkes and Wood suggested that State housing policy during the period from 1890 to 1935 was essentially redistributive in character. They went on to claim that the Discharged Soldiers’ Act 1915 was ‘one of the most crucial Acts of this period ... Its effect was real and considerable,’ with over 4,000 houses being built under the scheme between 1919 and 1924.⁶²⁰ Fairbairn recorded that ‘Thousands of ex-servicemen who had been without property before the war, obtained cheap urban housing finance through the government’s open handed administration of the 1915 Discharged Soldier Settlement Act ...’⁶²¹ Ferguson recorded that, anxious to try to ensure that returning soldiers were not compelled to accept poor housing conditions, the Government approved 11,363 loans for town or suburban houses and that Massey’s scheme was ‘a solution that satisfied property interests while rewarding soldiers for their sacrifices.’⁶²² Roche offered a brief account, partly to counter the general perception that post-World War I rehabilitation was all about land settlement. He examined the operation of the scheme in Palmerston North where loans

⁶¹⁹ Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhita A Tu: the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion in the First World War*. Auckland: Reed Publishing, 1995, p.81.

⁶²⁰ Chris Wilkes and Brennon Wood, ‘The social relations of housing in early New Zealand,’ in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, editors, *In the public interest: health, work, and housing in New Zealand*. Auckland: Benton Ross, 1984, p.199.

⁶²¹ Miles Fairbairn, ‘The farmers take over (1912-1930),’ in Keith Sinclair, editor, *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990, p.205.

⁶²² Gail Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, p.86.

aggregating £37,000 were made to 56 veterans to purchase and construct homes during 1918-1919.⁶²³ It is not apparent from any of these studies that Maori ex-servicemen benefitted under the rehabilitation housing scheme.

5.12.1 The post World War I housing deficit

During World War I the construction of new dwellings, in particular under the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905, contracted sharply, from 1,508 in 1911 to 685 in 1916.⁶²⁴ The number of empty dwellings declined accordingly, especially in the four main urban centres of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, while rents rose sharply between 1911 and 1921. A report on the cost of living in New Zealand between 1891 and 1914 estimated that rents rose nationally by 64 per cent but with higher rises in Auckland and Wellington and in the expanding secondary urban centres of the North Island.⁶²⁵ Rent controls were instituted during the war, but landlords devised various means of circumventing the regulations to pass on higher Government charges and the increased taxes imposed.

Growing overcrowding was one manifestation of the housing shortage, the Board of Health in 1919 concluding that there was 'serious overcrowding dangerous to the health of the community in all the towns and suburban districts of New Zealand.'⁶²⁶ Housing standards for large sections of the population also declined: the Influenza Epidemic Commission noted that 'considerable improvements are required in respect to the conditions in which large number of people in our cities are required to live.' Those conditions were attributed, in part, to 'the economic factors of short supply of decent houses and excessively high rents.'⁶²⁷ The Commission made no reference to the state of Maori or rural housing generally. The magnitude of the housing shortage induced the 1919 Industries Select Committee, in the course of a major report on the

⁶²³ Michael Roche, 'Houses not farms: housing loans for soldier settlement in Palmerston North, New Zealand 1918-1931: inverting the rural mythology,' in Guenter Lehmann and David Nichols, editors, *The 21st century: past/present/future: proceedings from the 7th Australasian urban history/planning history conference 2004*, pp.334-349.

⁶²⁴ This paragraph is taken from R.P. Hargreaves, T.J. Hearn, and S. Little, 'The State and housing in New Zealand to 1919,' *New Zealand geographer* 41, 2, 1985, pp.46-55.

⁶²⁵ *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1915*, pp.765-815.

⁶²⁶ Census of New Zealand 1921, *Dwellings*, p.16.

⁶²⁷ AJHR 1919, H31A, p.31.

prospects for industrial expansion, to note that ‘The unprecedented shortage of suitable houses throughout the Dominion is a pressing difficulty in town and country alike,’ and hence recommended the State undertake a ‘comprehensive building scheme ...’ Among the several reasons it cited in support of that recommendation was the ‘Rapid return of soldiers, many of whom have recently married or desire to marry.’⁶²⁸ In 1919, the Government’s Housing Superintendent estimated the existing national net shortage of houses at 7,400 dwellings.⁶²⁹

The Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915 and its amendments thus provided for the assistance for the construction or purchase of dwellings. Several sets of regulations were issued, changes reflecting, in large part, rising housing costs.⁶³⁰ Those gazetted in May 1918 specified that applications for allotments on land set apart for the purposes of section 4 of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Amendment Act 1917 were to be made to Land Boards with a deposit of five per cent of the capital value in the case of an allotment on which a residence had been erected or five per cent of ‘the estimated prospective capital value’ in the case of a residence to be erected. Regulation 5 required every applicant ‘to appear personally before the Land Board, or before such person or persons as the Land Board may appoint.’ The capital value was not to exceed £1,000. Application forms for the purchase of a dwelling and for the purchase of land and erection of a dwelling were similar to those employed in respect of applications for rural allotments: they included questions as to amount of capital at the disposal of applicant, details of marital status and number of dependants (children), and property owned by applicant and wife or property in which either had an interest.⁶³¹ The regulations were issued in consolidated form in August 1918: Regulation 22(d) limited to £1,000 the amount that could be borrowed by any person for the purchase of ‘a dwelling and appurtenances on other than rural land,’ and to £750 for the erection of a dwelling house on other than rural land.⁶³²

⁶²⁸ AJHR 1919, I12, p.xxxi.

⁶²⁹ AJHR 1920, H11A, p.3.

⁶³⁰ ‘Regulations regarding advances under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 32, 16 March 1916, pp.787-788; and ‘Amending regulations under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 160, 18 October 1917, pp.3935-3937;

⁶³¹ ‘Regulations regarding dwellings for discharged soldiers under section 4 of the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Amendment Act, 1917,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 64, 2 May 1918, pp.1702-1705.

⁶³² ‘Regulations under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 112, 22 August 1918, pp.3021-3034.

5.12.2 Applications for housing assistance

During the first eight months of 1920, applications for assistance under section 2 totalled 6,770 of which 2,515 (of which, in turn, 1,526 were approved) were for the purchase of land; 3,708 (of which 2,463 were approved); and 547 (of which 526 were approved) for the construction of homes. At the same time, 1,825 applications were rejected and 292 applicants declined to accept loans that had been approved.⁶³³ From October 1920, no further applications under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917 for the purchase of houses (except in exceptional cases of hardship) were accepted.⁶³⁴ The discontinuance of loans for the purchase of houses was counterbalanced by an increase in applications for loans to construct houses. By the end of March 1926, 4,856 loans had been made for the erection of dwellings on farms, 4,420 for the erection of dwellings in urban and suburban areas, and 7,535 for the purchase of homes in urban and suburban areas.⁶³⁵ That gave a grand total of 16,811 of which 28.9 per cent were for rural dwellings and the balance of 71.1 per cent for urban and suburban areas.

5.13 Maori veterans and housing

No published data relating to advances to Maori ex-servicemen were located, but it is likely that few benefitted: almost certainly few met the requirements of section 2 (notably the ownership of land in fee-simple), while most Maori ex-service personnel appear to have returned to their rural homes. Moreover, section 2 was directed in part towards those who secured undeveloped Crown sections: comparatively few Maori were among that group. In short, the assumptions upon sections 2 and 4 were based did not recognise the particular needs of Maori veterans. Thus in the minute books of the Wellington Land Board, Gould identified the names of just three Maori veterans

⁶³³ ANZ Wellington AEBE 18507 LE1/753 1921/206 Alt No 206.

⁶³⁴ Responsibility for housing was taken over by the State Advances Office.

⁶³⁵ AJHR 1926, C9, p.9.

who applied for advances to purchase existing or to construct new homes.⁶³⁶ Although Gould did not say so, it is possible that others, using Anglicised names, also applied.

Table 5.4: Number of advances made under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915: cumulative totals

As at 31 March	Current account mortgages	Instalment mortgages, rural land	Instalment mortgages, dwellings	Total advances
1919	900	263	529	1692
1920	1945	4107	6363	12415
1921	5766	5331	9196	20293
1922	9308	5443	10789	25540
1923	9869	5489	11363	26721
1924	10239	5498	11870	27607
1925	10312	5507	11901	27720
1926	10411	5511	11955	27877

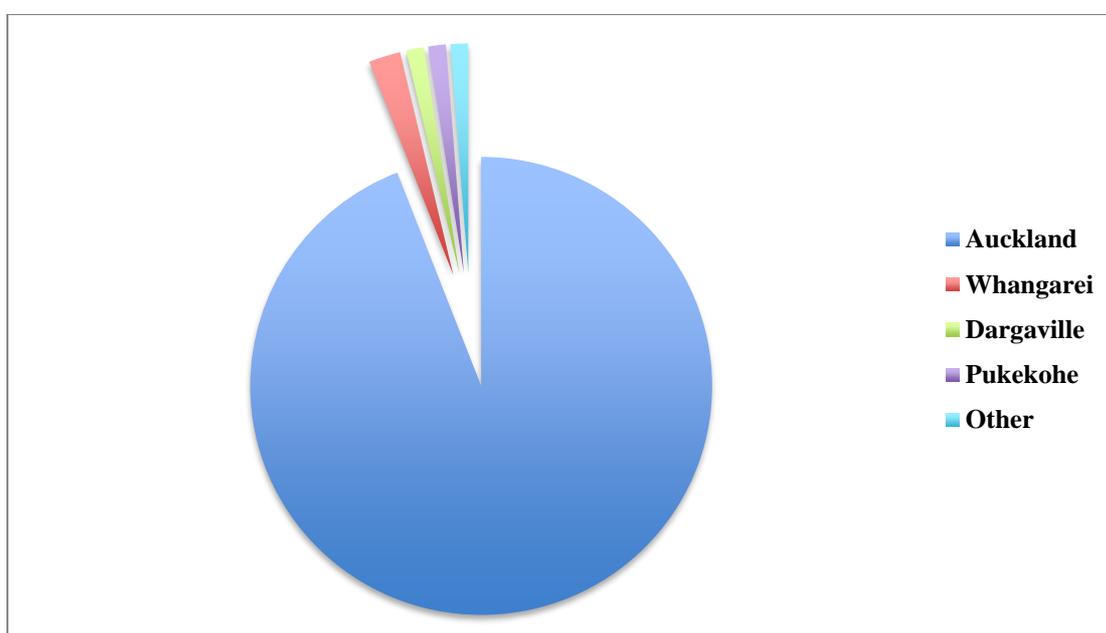
Source: AJHR 1919-1926, C9

5.13.1 North Auckland Land District

The minute books of the North Auckland Land Board included various lists of applicants (whose applications had reached the Board) for, among other matters, advances to purchase, construct, or alter dwellings. The names of all applicants were included, but not service numbers, and hence reliance was again placed on surnames. Most applications were lodged during the period from December 1920 to November 1921, declining sharply thereafter as the economic conditions deteriorated and as the Government moved to close down the rehabilitation programme. Over that period, the Board considered 894 applications. Just one had been submitted by a Maori discharged soldier, namely, Aperahama Rupene and that application was refused. Graph 5.2 makes clear the pronounced concentrations of applications for advances to erect dwellings in Auckland City. The category 'Other' included Kaitaia (2), Kororareka (1), Waiuku (2), and 'uncertain.' On the other hand, four Maori discharged soldiers lodged applications to purchase existing homes, all in Auckland:

⁶³⁶ Ashley Gould, 'From taiaha to ko: repatriation and land settlement for Maori soldiers in New Zealand after the First World War,' *War & Society* 28, 2, 2009, p.69.

they included Haire Wi Katene (in Ponsonby); Tame Ngatai (in Devonport); Harold Dansey (in Greenlane); and Tikao Ahuriri (Point Chevalier).⁶³⁷ Those four applications were submitted to the Minister of Lands for approval. The conclusion seems clear, namely, that just a very small number of Maori veterans secured financial assistance for housing purposes under the rehabilitation programme. No evidence was located that would indicate that Maori veterans, having returned to their communities, secured any assistance.



Source: ANZ Auckland BAAZ 4021 5, 6, and 7

Graph 5.2: Applications to erect dwellings by location considered by the North Auckland Land Board, February to November 1921

⁶³⁷ Harry Delamere Dansey biographers record that he was born at Taupo in 1874, his mother being Wikitoria Ngamihi Kahua of Ngati Rauhoto hapu of Ngati Tuwharetoa. He qualified as a civil engineer, was employed by New Zealand railways, supervised the construction of Dunedin's railway station, and subsequently worked on underground railway projects in the United Kingdom. Although 40 in 1914, Dansey enlisted in the Maori Contingent and subsequently served with the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion. After the war he ran an engineering consultancy firm in Auckland. See Jane Baxter, Juliet Robinson, and Kath Boswell, 'Dansey, Harry Delamere,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

5.14 Education and training

On 21 March 1916 regulations were issued for free tuition of ‘accredited discharged soldiers,’ that is, for men certified as (a) unfitted to re-enter their former occupations and (b) likely to benefit from the proposed instruction.⁶³⁸ Gould noted that classes in arithmetic, for Maori soldiers and conducted by a Maori instructor, had been offered, together with a special agricultural class while the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion was in England.⁶³⁹ Classes were continued on the *Westmoreland*, although with uncertain results.⁶⁴⁰ Montgomery observed that ‘the bulk of the men considered that they were returning soldiers, and not students, and took little interest in the various classes conducted on the troop transports.’⁶⁴¹ The response on the part of those who had already returned to New Zealand appears to have been unenthusiastic. During the debate on the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Amendment Act 1917, the Minister in Charge of the Discharged Soldiers’ Information Department claimed that ‘the bulk’ of the wounded men who had returned to New Zealand

do not want to learn trades; they do not wish to go to a technical school, or to an accountants’ institute, or to a farm training establishment. They are anxious to as soon as possible augment their pensions and to get some occupation that will enable them to do so; and they do not, except in isolated cases, favour learning a trade in a technical college.⁶⁴²

Such unpromising signs notwithstanding, section 12 of the Repatriation Act 1918 charged the Repatriation Board with making ‘all such provisions as it may deem necessary for the restoration of discharged soldiers to civil life, and for the establishment of discharged soldiers or soldiers’ widows in civil employment or occupation.’ Section 13 empowered the Board ‘to establish and carry on schemes or institutions for the educational, industrial, and vocational training of discharged

⁶³⁸ AJHR 1916, H30, p.4.

⁶³⁹ Gould, “Proof of gratitude?” p.313. Gould has expanded on this matter in ‘Preparation for a rural future: agricultural training of New Zealand’s First World War soldiers,’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon, editors, *New Zealand’s Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*. Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007, pp.378-393. The first formal classes began in early 1917 at the No.2 New Zealand General Hospital at Walton-on-Thames.

⁶⁴⁰ Gould, ‘Preparation for a rural future,’ p.388. See also Gould, ‘Maori and the First World War,’ p.299.

⁶⁴¹ Montgomery, ‘Repatriation,’ in H.T.B. Drew, editor, *The war effort of New Zealand*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1923, pp.164 and 166.

⁶⁴² NZPD 1917, Vol 181, p.45.

soldiers, and for the care and maintenance of discharged soldiers who by reason of wounds or disease incurred in military service are wholly or partially disabled.’ By section 14, the Board could also ‘grant financial assistance to discharged soldiers or soldiers’ widows by way of loans, secured or unsecured, not exceeding in any case the sum of three hundred pounds, for the purpose of enabling such soldiers or soldiers’ widows to establish themselves in civil employment or occupation.’

Those for whom training opportunities were offered were now defined as those partially disabled soldiers unable to continue their pre-war occupations, those discharged soldiers who had yet to acquire a trade or calling, apprentices whose indentures had been interrupted by the war, and soldiers’ widows.⁶⁴³ By the middle of 1919, 1,013 men, their wages subsidised by the State, were training in workshops and factories; for 557 men, supported by sustenance allowances, were attending classes in the technical schools ‘in the main centres,’ the Repatriation Board funding, if necessary, additional instructors and equipment; and a small number (188) was attending university courses with assistance for fees, textbook grants, and sustenance allowances. ‘Preference,’ it was noted, ‘is given to men whose course of study was interrupted by their military service, or men who show special aptitude and ability, particularly if they are disabled.’⁶⁴⁴ Further, in March 1919, the National War Funds Council (established under the War Funds Act 1915) announced the establishment of a small bursary scheme (50 bursaries of £50 each annually) for returning soldiers desirous of embarking upon a university education. The bursaries were intended primarily for those seeking to enter the professions.⁶⁴⁵ According to one return, 64 bursaries were granted for 1919-1920 and 50 for 1920-1921.⁶⁴⁶

Several training institutions were established, among them (in Auckland), an ‘instructional boot-factory and a sheet-metal facility.’⁶⁴⁷ State farm training facilities were established at Motuihi, Ruakura, Weraroa, Masterton, Tauherenikau, Avonhead (Christchurch), and Etrick (Moa Seed Farm), while subsidised farm training with

⁶⁴³ AJHR 1919, H30, p.4.

⁶⁴⁴ AJHR 1919, H30, p.4.

⁶⁴⁵ ‘Soldiers’ education. System of bursaries,’ *Sun* 7 March 1919, p.5.

⁶⁴⁶ AJHR 1920, E11.

⁶⁴⁷ AJHR 1919, H30, pp.5-6.

farmers was also offered.⁶⁴⁸ By September 1921, some 600 men had undertaken farm training, but the number applying declined so that by the end of 1921 just Tauherenikau and Ruakura remained in operation.⁶⁴⁹ Some attempt was made to reach discharged soldiers outside the main centres by means of correspondence courses, notably by the New Zealand Society of Accountants.⁶⁵⁰ In that instance, effort was short-lived.⁶⁵¹

The public service employed many veterans. Departments were advised in August 1919 that the Public Service Commissioner was ‘in a position to provide suitable tuition for returned soldiers at present in temporary employment, and who desire to pass the Public Service Entrance Examination with a view to receiving permanent appointment.’⁶⁵² The Repatriation Board arranged for appropriate tuition through technical colleges. In 1918 the Discharged Soldiers’ Information Department recorded that Government departments had been instructed to award employment preference to returned soldiers and that some 3,000 had been appointed to vacancies in the Departments under the control of the Public Service Commissioner, the Railway Department, and the Defence Department employed by late 1918. Those 3,000 were in addition to those who had resumed their pre-war employment in the public service.⁶⁵³ By 1921, some 8,000 former soldiers were employed by various agencies of the State, including Railways, Post and Telegraph, ‘the general branches of the Public Service, as well as teachers in State Schools.’⁶⁵⁴

No evidence was located to indicate that Maori benefited from these arrangements.

Table 5.5 sets out the number of discharged soldiers ‘enrolled in classes other than classes at technical high schools.’ When veterans encountered difficulties in existing technical high schools (cited as the slow course of instruction and lack of individual

⁶⁴⁸ AJHR 1919, H30, pp.5-6.

⁶⁴⁹ AJHR 1921, Session II, p.4.

⁶⁵⁰ AJHR 1916, H30, p.4.

⁶⁵¹ AJHR 1918 Session II, H30, p.3.

⁶⁵² AJHR 1920, H30, p.5.

⁶⁵³ AJHR 1918, Session II, H30, p.2. Shoebridge, on the other hand, calculated that between 1917 and 1920, almost 50 per cent of those employed by the public service were returned soldiers, that is, 447 of a total of 908. It is unclear how these estimates might be reconciled. Tim Shoebridge, ‘Repatriation of returned servicemen,’ <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/public-service-at-war/repatriation-of-returned-servicemen>, Updated 3 May 2016. See also AJHR 1920, H30A.

⁶⁵⁴ AJHR Session II, 1921, C9, p.2.

tuition), the Repatriation Department established ‘special classes’ and leased alternative premises, initially in Auckland, Wellington, and Dunedin and subsequently in Christchurch and Invercargill. Training offered was for short terms (up to six months) and was intensive (up to six hours per day), those succeeding then moved to factories and workshops to complete their training. By April 1919 the Department had concluded that the demand would be modest, probably not exceeding 2,000 men. ‘The great majority,’ it was noted, ‘prefer to resume their old occupations.’ Trainees were paid sustenance allowances and where necessary wages were subsidised. Those who wished to attend technical high school classes could do so.⁶⁵⁵ Training opportunities were thus offered in electrical, motor and mechanical engineering, carpentry and joinery and allied building trades; ‘commercial subjects;’ and sheep shearing and wool classing. In practice, the courses offered by the technical colleges or directly by the Repatriation Department assumed a good level of general education. It was soon found that the education of many Pakeha veterans had been so ‘meagre’ as to leave them unprepared for the courses offered.⁶⁵⁶

Table 5.5: Number of discharged soldiers enrolled in classes other than classes at technical high schools

Year ended 31 December	Number of discharged soldiers
1917	167
1918	353
1919	1021
1920	943
1921	674
1922	366
1923	150
1924	104
1925	87

Source: AJHR 1918-1926, E5

⁶⁵⁵ ‘Repatriation scheme,’ *New Zealand Herald* 14 April 1919, p.9.

⁶⁵⁶ ‘Work for soldiers,’ *Sun* 12 April 1919, p.11.

In all likelihood, the same observations applied to Maori discharged soldiers. No data, published or unpublished, were located with respect to their participation in any of the educational or training programmes offered. It is worth noting that, whilst in England, a number of Maori soldiers sought further military training: Lieutenant Te Hau and Sergeant Baker both successfully undertook training in the 'Pioneering School of Instruction' in Reading, Corporal Karauria Kingi trained at the Second Anzac Signalling School, and Lieutenant Gannon passed out of the 4th Army School of Musketry as a first-class instructor. In Broughton's view, Gannon would have gone further had he not been handicapped by 'lack of education.'⁶⁵⁷ That suggests that Maori personnel were open to new educational and training opportunities. It also suggests that the apparent lack of participation in the educational and training programmes organised by the Repatriation Department may have reflected low levels of educational attainment and difficulties of physical access. Table 5.6 sets out the institutions that, in the peak year for enrolments of 1919, offered classes:

According to its last report, dated 21 July 1922, the Department of Repatriation had arranged for the training of 7,483 partially disabled soldiers, apprentices, and others, of whom 7,062 had completed their training. The subsidised wages scheme proved to be especially successful, not least since it often proved to be the pathway to permanent employment.⁶⁵⁸ Special classes were discontinued during 1922.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁷ 'Work of the Pioneer Battalion,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 12 April 1919, p.5.

⁶⁵⁸ *AJHR* 1922, H30, p.2.

⁶⁵⁹ *AJHR* 1922, H30, p.3.

Table 5.6: Discharged soldiers enrolled in classes other than classes at technical high schools during the year ended 31 December 1919

	Number
Auckland Technical School	170
Other classes, Auckland district	8
Elam School of Art	23
New Plymouth Technical School	16
Hawera Technical School	2
Whanganui Technical School	30
Feilding Technical School	6
Other classes, Whanganui district	11
Palmerston North Technical School	13
Napier Technical School	38
Waipawa Technical School	6
Other classes, Hawke's Bay district	32
Wellington Technical School	142
Petone Technical School and sub-centres	26
Masterton Technical School	14
Nelson Technical School	22
Westport and sub-centres	2
Canterbury School of Art	7
Christchurch Technical School	168
Ashburton Technical School and sub-centres	30
Greymouth and sub-centres	1
Timaru Technical School	42
Kaiapoi technical classes	2
Waimate and Morven technical classes	5
Other classes, Canterbury district	1
Dunedin Technical School	85
Dunedin School of Art	13
Oamaru Technical School	8
Invercargill Technical School	96
Gore Technical School	2

Source: AJHR 1920, E5, p.32

5.15 Employment

Parsons noted that the Repatriation Department emphasised the placement of men in employment through vocational and employment assistance and training and settlement on the land, thereby responding to the Government's desire to avoid mass unemployment (and the political instability that might follow). She also suggested that the emphasis on employment reflected the country's 'well-ingrained ideal of independence and self-reliance.'⁶⁶⁰ In 1915, as Parliament was preparing to pass the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, the Government embarked on two major initiatives intended to ensure that discharged soldiers were reabsorbed as quickly as possible into the civil workforce. The first was to establish the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department, essentially a national labour exchange, and the second to employ, at least on a temporary basis, discharged soldiers in the public service.

In September 1915, the Public Service Commissioners decided that preferential consideration would be given to returned soldiers for any vacancies in the public service for which they were considered suitable.⁶⁶¹ In October 1915, the Public Service Commissioner advised Government agencies that 'as far as practicable, applicants for temporary work who are returned soldiers, and who are otherwise suitable, are to be given preference over ordinary applicants.'⁶⁶² Early in February 1916, a Cabinet decision such preference extended to all positions. As at the end of March 1917, 398 were employed and a year later 562, although several hundreds had left the service, presumably for alternative positions in the private sector.⁶⁶³ Whether any Maori veterans were among those who secured either temporary or permanent positions in the civil service is not known, with the partial exception of the State Forest Service. At the request of the Economic Pensions Committee of the Pensions Department, the Service, during the 1920s, prepared returns of the number of returned service personnel it employed. The number varied considerably from one month to the next although after 1926 largely ranged between 10 and 32. The number of Maori ex-servicemen employed never exceeded three in any month. For January 1930,

⁶⁶⁰ Parsons, 'Challenging enduring home front myths,' p.77.

⁶⁶¹ *AJHR* 1918 Session II, H14, p.8. See also 1920, H14, p.10 and 1921, H14, p.12.

⁶⁶² ANZ Wellington ADSQ 17639 F1/179 3/1 Part 1.

⁶⁶³ *AJHR* 1917, H14, pp.7-8 and 1918, Session II, H14, p.8.

December 1933, and May 1936 full lists of returned soldiers employed on the Kaingaroa Plantation were located. The only Maori veteran employed on all three dates was C. Kereopa (Maori Reinforcements). Interestingly, among those employed were former members of the Australian, Canadian, Italian, and British armed forces (including one former member of the 46th Squadron of the Royal Air Force).⁶⁶⁴

The State Forest Service was among the first of the State agencies to employ discharged soldiers. Indeed, by early 1918, the Service was dealing with a marked shortage of labour, so much so that consideration was given to employing ‘the so-called Austrian gumdiggers ...’⁶⁶⁵ Between January 1920 and June 1922, a small number of Maori veterans, usually between one and five, were employed on the Waiotapu Plantation. With the closure of the Repatriation Department at the end of 1922, the lists were no longer required.

The only other records located that dealt with employment were several ‘weekly statements’ prepared, in March 1917, by the Department of Discharged Soldiers’ Information for the Chairman of the National Efficiency Board. In its statement dated 14 March 1917, it noted that that 117 men were on its ‘Employment Wanted Register.’ These were wounded, sick, and disabled men who had returned to New Zealand and registered with the Department but who still had to find employment. The list contained 117 names, addresses, occupations, service numbers, and nature of disability. Of those 117, eight were Maori (based on surnames): six were described as farmers, one as a gum-digger, and one as an interpreter. Three of the eight resided in Northland (Te Kao and Waihopo). That suggests that at least some Maori veterans enrolled with the Department. There is some other evidence that indicates that the Department did endeavour, by working through or with local discharged soldiers’ employment committees, to secure employment for discharged Maori soldiers.⁶⁶⁶

Practically the sole initiative intended specifically for the employment of Maori veterans originated (it appears) with Ngata. Walker recorded that Ngata ‘expected ... that soldiers who served their country would be given employment somewhere in

⁶⁶⁴ ANZ Auckland BANS 1863 A794/4/d 3/1/1.

⁶⁶⁵ Inspector, Lands and Survey to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 25 February 1918, in ANZ Wellington ADSQ 17639 F1/179 3/1 Part 1.

⁶⁶⁶ ‘Returned soldiers,’ *New Zealand Herald* 1 June 1916, p.8.

public service or on public works.⁶⁶⁷ Anxious to foster the further development of Maori farming along the East Coast, Ngata thus proposed to the Repatriation Board the construction of road and rail links between Napier, Gisborne, and Tauranga. He urged the Government to employ a large number of members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion on the construction, in the first instance, of a line from Napier to Whakatane. He secured the support of the Repatriation Board, the Minister of Public Works, and the Engineer-in-Chief.

During the autumn of 1919, Captains Vercoe and Broughton met the Engineer-in-Chief and arrangements were made for the two officers to organise parties of soldiers to work on the railway, one party for the Bay and Plenty and the other for the Wairoa end. It was 'generally understood' that Broughton would draw together East Coast members of the Battalion, although he also contacted members throughout New Zealand and, according to Ngata, received replies from over 100.⁶⁶⁸ In July 1919, it was reported that they would be employed 'on a system of contract,' and that preparations were under way for commencement.⁶⁶⁹ Vercoe evidently assembled 150 men to work on Whakatane section, while Broughton assembled over 50 at Wairoa.

Just two months later, in September 1919, the scheme was reported to have failed, *its* collapse of the scheme engendering considerable disappointment among members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion.⁶⁷⁰ In Parliament, Ngata delivered some robust criticism of the Department of Native Affairs.

One would have imagined [he suggested] that a Native Minister keen for the welfare of the Maori people would have seen to it that the young natives when they came back from the war were given employment rather than left to drift back into indolence. A live Minister would have jumped the chance of utilising the Pioneers as was proposed, and would have used his influence with his colleague the Minister for Public Works to get the innovation established but we fear the policy of 'taihoa' still holds as strongly in the Native Department as ever it did and that the promotion of industrious and thrifty habits is hardly regarded as within the scope of Ministerial responsibility.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁷ Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: the life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001, p.191.

⁶⁶⁸ NZPD 1919, Vol. 184, p.525.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Local and general news,' *Marlborough Express* 31 July 1919, p.4.

⁶⁷⁰ No title, *Poverty Bay Herald* 21 October 1919, p.2.

⁶⁷¹ 'Pioneers and the railway,' *Poverty Bay Herald* 30 September 1919, p.2.

Ngata claimed that Vercoe and Broughton, far from being hired by the Department of Public Works as supervisors and paid accordingly, had been insulted with an offer of payment of 12s 6d per day as ‘timekeepers, and had sought other employment.’⁶⁷² A scheme that could have employed up to 400 Maori veterans ... by a Department that ‘cannot keep up with the repatriation problem or the problem of reconstruction.’ Ngata directed some of his ire at the Department of Public Works and its Minister, claiming that the parties drawn from the Battalion could move more earth in 12 months than the Department of Public Works had done in ten years.⁶⁷³ Construction of the line did commence, but the annual Public Works Statements are practically silent over workforce matters. Research to date has not disclosed the reasons that the services of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion, given especially the skills and experience the men had acquired on the Western Front, were not employed. Bellamy, on the other hand, noted that from 1920 Maori veterans were employed on the construction of the Waikokopu branch line to provide access to the Port of Waikokopu.⁶⁷⁴

In 1920, Harry Dansey appears to have taken a leading role in another effort to reform the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion, with a board of control consisting of officers and non-commissioned officers. The Battalion would undertake the construction of public works, notably railways, in particular a light railway to run from Raglan and Kawhia to Hamilton. ‘It is worthy of note,’ observed the *Dominion*, ‘that the returned men of the Pioneer Battalion are now experts in the work of railway construction, and Captain Dansey expects they can build a line with a speed that has not hitherto been obtained.’ The veterans themselves and the rangatira of the various iwi involved were ‘enthusiastic’ and the support of the Returned Soldiers’ Association was expected.⁶⁷⁵ Nothing came of his efforts.

There was in fact little unemployment in the immediate post-war period. As Burdon observed, ‘a large number of returned soldiers, well skilled and capable of resuming their former occupations, merely required placing in one or other of the many jobs waiting to be filled.’ In that area of rehabilitation, the Department of Repatriation, he

⁶⁷² Broughton moved to Melbourne. See Klaus Loewald, ‘Broughton, Edward Renata (Tip) (1884-1955)’ in *Australian dictionary of biography*.

⁶⁷³ NZPD 1919, Vol.184, pp.145 and 525.

⁶⁷⁴ A.C. Bellamy, *The Napier-Gisborne railway: the story of its construction and development*. New Zealand Railway and Locomotive Society, 1969, p.7.

⁶⁷⁵ ‘Local and general,’ *Dominion* 7 June 1920, p.4.

suggested, performed its function as a labour exchange ‘with greater success than any other.’⁶⁷⁶ According to Lloyd Prichard, only 25 percent of the discharged soldiers needed the assistance of the Repatriation Department to find employment, the remainder taking up their pre-war jobs, or finding no difficulty in securing new ones. Some 9,000 men were placed in industries ranging from wood, furniture, timber; engineering and quarrying; rail and tram services; shipping and wharf labour; pastoral, agricultural; domestic, hotels; clerical; government; general labour.⁶⁷⁷

Such conclusions notwithstanding, their relevance to the employment of Maori veterans is unclear. How many Maori veterans registered with or sought the assistance of the Discharged Soldiers’ Information Department and the Repatriation Department has not been established. The apparently ready response on the part of an appreciable number to Ngata’s proposal suggests that many did experience difficulties in securing full-time employment. It is not at all clear that the administrative arrangements established by either department served the interests of Maori veterans. The Discharged Soldiers’ Information Department, for example, devised a system in which the names of all returning servicemen were entered into a register: that register comprised a series of cards that were assembled by districts. Schedules of those who required assistance with respect to employment were then sent to the local repatriation committees.⁶⁷⁸ Those committees were then responsible for assisting veterans to find employment, although they could in turn seek assistance from the Department of Labour and its local offices. An instruction was issued to all committees to the effect that ‘action is not abandoned until employment has been obtained or we are definitely advised that assistance is not required.’⁶⁷⁹ The Repatriation Department operated through a network of boards and repatriation committees with what appears to have been a wider geographical reach, but no evidence was located to indicate that that reach encompassed Maori communities. It will be recalled that the Repatriation Department had a short life.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁶ R.M. Burdon, *The new dominion: a social and political history of New Zealand 1918-39*. Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed; London: Allen & Unwin, 1965, p.19.

⁶⁷⁷ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An economic history of New Zealand to 1939*. Auckland and London: Collins, 1970, p.267.

⁶⁷⁸ AJHR 1916, H30, pp.1-2.

⁶⁷⁹ AJHR 1917, H30, p.3.

⁶⁸⁰ The annual reports of the Department of Labour (H11) offer little assistance.

5.16 Other forms of assistance

The rehabilitation programme also provided for loans for the purchase of furniture, tools of trade and equipment, and for the establishment of businesses. Up to £75 (free of interest) could be borrowed for the purchase of ‘essential household furniture,’ but only by married men (or men with dependants requiring a home) who were in employment, or established in business, or were subsidised workers, and by soldiers’ widows. By 20 August 1921, 11,756 furniture loans with a total value of £583,722 had been made. Loans of up to £50 were available for the purchase of tools of trade and equipment: 1,034 such loans had been made by August 1921. The number of applications for assistance began to decline in September 1919 and contracted sharply from March 1920 onwards.⁶⁸¹

Business loans of up to £300 (£50 free of interest, balance at five per cent per annum) were also made available. Interestingly, in September 1917, the Federation of New Zealand Patriotic War Relief Societies, concerned that soldier settlers were being accorded ‘preferential treatment’ with respect to financial assistance, suggested to the Government that the ‘principle of equality’ should apply. Discharged soldiers other than those keen to settle on the land, it observed, were being offered little more than assistance to find employment. The Federation’s proposal that financial assistance should be made available to those who desired to establish or to purchase a business did not secure the backing of the National Efficiency Board. The later claimed that any such assistance would set a ‘dangerous precedent.’⁶⁸² Up to 20 August 1921 a total of 5,842 business loans with a total value of £1.18m had been approved. ‘Each applicant,’ the Repatriation Department noted, ‘is carefully examined, the suitability and prospects of the business are fully gone into, and the loan is not granted unless the Board is convinced that by approving it they are serving the soldier’s best interests.’⁶⁸³

⁶⁸¹ AJHR 1921, Session II, H30, p.7.

⁶⁸² See Hon. Secretary, Federation of New Zealand Patriotic War Relief Societies to Minister of Defence 3 September 1917, and Chairman, National Efficiency Board to Prime Minister 4 October 1917, in ANZ Wellington ADRF 17136 NEB-W1/4 1063.

⁶⁸³ AJHR Session II 1921, H30 p.6.

Whether Maori veterans secured furniture, tools of trade, or business loans was not established. It is of interest to note that of the 5,842 business loans granted, 621 had been made to farmers, the applications in question described as having been ‘outside the scope of the Lands Department, and in such cases the Repatriation Department considers applications for assistance up to £300 for the purchase of stock &c.’⁶⁸⁴

5.17 Rehabilitation assistance: a summary

Table 5.7 summarises the financial assistance made available to World War I veterans up to 20 June 1922: by that stage the assistance granted had contracted from the peak reached in August 1919. Table 5.7 does not include financial assistance granted for the purchase, development and stocking of farms or for the purchase or construction of houses.

Table 5.7: A summary of the financial assistance granted, as at 20 June 1922

Nature of assistance	Number assisted	Amount granted: £
Loans		
Business	6288	1134587
Furniture, tools &c	14865	704956
Grants		
Training, sustenance &c	7483	388348
Transportation	3252	7530
Unemployment sustenance	1123	5577
Placed in employment	27658	

Source: AJHR 1922, H30, p.4

Survey recorded that by the end of March 1920 just £1.39 million remained for further advances out of a total loan authority of £14 million. By the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Loan Act 1920, the Government was empowered to raise a

⁶⁸⁴ AJHR 1921, Session II, H30, p.6.

further £6 million, while under the Appropriation Act 1920 a further £1 million was provided. By the end of March 1921, almost £5.332 million had been advanced, leaving the Department (taking into account existing commitments) with just under £1.3 million for further financial assistance. The advances made up to the end of March 1921 had benefited 18,962 discharged soldiers: Table 5.8 offers a summary.

Table 5.8: Discharged soldiers assisted by the Department of Lands and Survey, to 31 May 1921

	Number	Acres
Settled on Crown properties	3638	1946475
Private lands acquired by soldiers with Government advances	5403	1227092
Total number settled on rural land	9041	3173567
Assisted to purchase or erect town dwellings	9921	

Source: AJHR Session II, 1921, C9, p.2.

Taking all forms and sources of assistance into account, the Department of Lands and Survey calculated that, by the end of March 1921, at least 43,000 soldiers had been assisted, while the Repatriation Department had assisted an additional 31,000 to obtain employment. New Zealand provided over 110,000 troops and nurses, while a further 9,924 were in training at the time of the Armistice. In addition, 3,370 were known to have left to serve in the British and Australian forces. That made a grand total of about 124,000. Given the number killed or who had died (16,781) and the number remaining in hospital (3,000), the Department estimated that 100,000 had been eligible to apply for rehabilitation assistance. It thus calculated that some 43 per cent of the Expeditionary Force had been assisted to start in business or to establish farms, or were employed by the State, while the Repatriation Department had assisted a further 31 per cent ‘in a minor degree.’⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁵ AJHR Session II 1921, C9, p.2.

5.18 The rehabilitation of Maori veterans of World War I: discussion and conclusions

Those estimates indicate that a large proportion of those discharged from New Zealand's armed forces at the conclusion of World War I secured benefits under the rehabilitation programme that was put into place between 1915 and 1918. The evidence presented above, on the other hand, suggests that very few Maori veterans were among the 43,000. Neither the legislation on which the programme was based nor the regulations issued to govern its implementation overtly discriminated between Maori and Pakeha veterans. At the same time, the evidence clearly demonstrates that few Maori veterans secured any of the benefits that that programme offered, at least in respect of Crown sections or financial assistance to develop and stock land and purchase or erect homes. The same was probably true of the other benefits offered, that is, furniture loans, loans for tools and equipment, trade training and educational support, and business loans.

The Government insisted that under the law Maori veterans had equal access to all rehabilitation benefits and services. But equal access did not translate into even approximately equal outcomes. Insofar as settlement on the land was concerned, it was possible that relatively fewer Maori than Pakeha discharged soldiers wished to settle on the land as independent farmers, although it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the predominantly rural backgrounds from which they had been drawn would have disposed them to seek such settlement. Further, Keenan found that some 83 per cent of those Maori who served in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion had been engaged in farm-based work, labouring, and construction.⁶⁸⁶ In that case, therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the proportion of Maori veterans who acquired land, estimated by Gould at two per cent, would have approximated the much higher proportion of all discharged service personnel who did so.⁶⁸⁷ It is also entirely possible that a comparatively higher proportion of Maori veterans already owned land or interests in land. The key questions remain: why did so few –

⁶⁸⁶ Erin Keenan, 'A Maori Battalion: the Pioneer Battalion, leisure and identity, 1914-1919,' BA Hons research essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007, p.13. See also her appendix on pp.41-42 in which she noted that she had established the occupations of 1,884 men of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion, including those Pakeha who enlisted and/or served in it.

⁶⁸⁷ Gould, 'From taiaha to ko,' p.54.

absolutely and comparatively – Maori veterans apparently seek settlement and financial assistance, and why of those who did was an even smaller number successful? The same observations apply in the case of loans for the purchase or construction of dwellings and, in all likelihood, to the other forms of rehabilitation assistance, although no data that would support that conclusion were located.

An argument might be made that the minor involvement of Maori veterans in the discharged soldier settlement programme reflected a deliberate choice on the part of the hapu involved to limit their engagement with Pakeha society and economy, to remain ‘disengaged.’⁶⁸⁸ Pool recorded that by the end of the first decade of the 20th century, an estimated 90 per cent of Maori resided in small and isolated rural settlements, mostly in the rural north and northeast of the North island with other isolated pockets such as the Whanganui River valley, while Pakeha were concentrated in the urban centres and throughout the more favoured farming districts. New Zealand, he concluded, was ‘dichotomised demographically into two principal ethnic groups, a function of social and cultural separation.’⁶⁸⁹ The proportion of Maori residing in rural districts remained at a high 84 per cent in 1926 and 74 per cent in 1945. In 1926 just ten percent of Maori resided in the 24 main urban centres and the balance of eight per cent in small towns.⁶⁹⁰

Maori engagement in the Pakeha economy remained sporadic and tentative, largely confined to casual and seasonal employment. The continuing strength of Maori identity, authority, language, social organisation – all commonly labelled (pejoratively) as ‘Maori communalism’ – and comparative isolation encouraged and supported among many hapu a strong sense of and desire for autonomy or a large measure of control over their individual affairs. For its part, the Crown’s interest in

⁶⁸⁸ On the theory of ‘engagement-disengagement,’ see James Belich, *Paradise reforged: a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*. Auckland: Penguin Press, 2001, especially Chapter 6. Belich argued that ‘Major centres of disengagement included parts of Northland, Parihaka in South Taranaki, and the Urewera mountains,’ and that ‘The most important new “disengager” of the twentieth century was the Ratana movement ...’ See pp.194-197. There are suggestions that the Movement appealed in particular to Maori veterans: support appears to have been strong in Northland, while Henderson suggested that in the mid-1930s it was supported by almost half of the Maori people. See J.McL. Henderson, *Ratana: the man, the church, the political movement*. Wellington: Reed, 1972, and Keith Newman, *Ratana revisited: an unfinished legacy*. Auckland: Reed, 2006.

⁶⁸⁹ Ian Pool, *Te iwi Maori: a New Zealand population, past, present & projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, pp.104.

⁶⁹⁰ Pool, *Te iwi Maori*, p.123.

Maori remained focussed on security, on imposing a new system of land ownership, and on transferring the lands and forests remaining in Maori ownership into the hands of settlers as prized sources of productive output. Such transfer reflected in part a broad consensus, official and public, that Maori numbers would continue to dwindle, that they had failed to turn their natural resources to productive account, and that they were destined to remain of minor economic importance. Some members of the Liberal Government claimed that Maori had largely failed to fulfil their responsibilities as citizens. Sir James Carroll, for example, suggested that Maori had still to share with Pakeha what he termed ‘the responsibilities of the State ...’ and that ‘They stood in their own road, and he wanted them to realize the utter uselessness of their present life. They lacked ideals, and they had marked down no broad objectives.’ Reflecting the widely shared conviction that Maori retained land far in excess of their requirements, Carroll also claimed that the State had a duty and an obligation to ensure that all the lands of the colony were fully utilised, and that Maori must either lease their ‘surplus’ lands to transfer them to the Crown for disposal.⁶⁹¹ It is not difficult to discern in Carroll’s line of reasoning a conviction that Maori should assume greater responsibility for their own social and economic welfare, while releasing to the Crown the resources deemed surplus to their requirements.

Some iwi were reluctant to engage with the Crown. Scholefield certainly offered a gloomy analysis and description of Maori society, of a people living in a demoralised and disorganised state.⁶⁹² For many Maori, especially in Northland, Waikato, Taranaki, and the Bay of Plenty, the pronounced loss of land had generated a sense of bitterness against the Crown, the Government, the schools and churches, a bitterness that had encouraged a lapse into apathy.⁶⁹³ But the response, in particular, of the men of Ngapuhi, Ngati Porou, and Te Arawa to the call to arms hardly suggested that the iwi concerned were ‘disengaged.’⁶⁹⁴ On the declaration of war, Te Arawa immediately conveyed to the Government its desire to serve ‘in whatever clime and

⁶⁹¹ ‘Settling Maori lands,’ *New Zealand Herald* 7 June 1906, p.5.

⁶⁹² See G.H. Scholefield, *New Zealand in evolution, industrial, economic, and political*. London: Unwin, 1909, Chapter XXIV, ‘The Maori as an economic factor,’ pp.330-343. See also Felix Keesing, *The changing Maori*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons, 1928, pp.103-106 and 194-195.

⁶⁹³ See, for example, A.T. Ngata, ‘Maori land settlement,’ in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, pp.96-154.

⁶⁹⁴ For a useful survey of Maori responses to the outbreak of the war, see Steven Loveridge and Basil Keane, ‘Turangawaewae: Maori relationships with the Great War,’ in Steven Loveridge, editor, *New Zealand society at war 1914-1918*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016, pp.281-296.

whenever you see fit to call us.’⁶⁹⁵ Ngapuhi also advised Prime Minister Massey ‘that we are ever ready and willing in any way to assist in the defence of this Dominion against his [the King’s] enemies.’⁶⁹⁶ Waikato, Ngati Maniapoto, and Ngati Haua were among those iwi that were less disposed to cooperate or engage with the Crown, while Rua Kenana inspired sections of Tuhoe, Ngati Awa, and Whakatoea to gather at Maungapohatu deep in the Urewera.⁶⁹⁷ As Loveridge and Keane observed, the practical failure of the Government’s effort to force conscription upon Maori pointed to a major gulf between State and subjects.⁶⁹⁸ ‘Disengagement’ hardly constitutes a satisfying explanation for the failure of Maori veterans to benefit from the rehabilitation programme and, in any case, would scarcely have absolved the Government of an obligation to establish the needs of, reach out to and provide for Maori veterans irrespective of iwi inclinations and preferences. It was, perhaps, all too easy, when faced with the challenge of re-establishing some 100,000 Pakeha veterans, to shift responsibility to iwi.

Second, majority public opinion held that Maori were ‘a dying race.’ The Native Land Commission recorded, in 1907, that Maori were ‘in a most difficult and critical position.’ That many of the hapu and iwi were in ‘a decadent state.’ ‘Is the race,’ it asked, ‘to pass away entirely?’⁶⁹⁹ In that same year, Archdeacon Walsh made clear his conviction that ‘The Maori has lost heart and abandoned hope ... and is already potentially dead.’⁷⁰⁰ Proposals that the Government assist Maori to settle on and develop their own land were routinely ignored.⁷⁰¹ That conviction underpinned a belief that the dwindling numbers of Maori would remain a largely economically and geographically marginalised people. Few seemed to recognise that the Maori population was beginning to exhibit signs of a demographic recovery, just as few seemed to understand that Maori were looking towards fuller participation in New Zealand’s wider economic, social and political life. The notion that the State might

⁶⁹⁵ ‘European war,’ *Otago Daily Times* 4 August 1914, p.5.

⁶⁹⁶ ‘Maori offer services,’ *Northern Advocate* 21 August 1914, p.5.

⁶⁹⁷ See Judith Binney, Gillian Chapman, and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: the prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapohatu*. Wellington: Oxford University Press, c1979.

⁶⁹⁸ Loveridge and Keane, ‘Turangawaewae,’ p.292.

⁶⁹⁹ AJHR 1907, G1C, p.14.

⁷⁰⁰ Archdeacon Walsh, ‘The passing of the Maori,’ *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 40, 1907, p.174.

⁷⁰¹ See, for example, ‘Note by Mr Carroll,’ in AJHR Session II, 1891, G1, pp.xxvii-xxx. This issue was discussed at length by the Native Land Commission. See AJHR 1907, G1C, p.15.

have a role to play in assisting that nascent transition appears not to have formed part of the public discourse. Insofar as land was concerned, it was claimed, often vehemently, that Maori retained a large area of productive land that lay idle, that Maori made poor farmers, and that they preferred immediate and wasteful consumption over accumulation and investment. Indeed, as the demand by discharged soldiers for holdings intensified upon the return of the Main Body from March 1919 onwards, the Government was pressed to expropriate all ‘unused’ Maori land and lodge the compensation with the Public Trustee for investment and controlled distribution among Maori as permanent beneficiaries. Expropriation and compensation, it was claimed, would protect ‘the natives from ruin and they becoming a burden to the State, likewise releasing a large area of thousands of acres for returned soldiers and bona-fide farmers.’⁷⁰²

Third, the belief that Maori retained ample unused or under-utilised land supported the general belief that iwi should and expectation that they would assume responsibility for rehabilitating their discharged soldiers rather than look to the State. Some Maori leaders, notably Ngata and Pomare, agreed, at least until Crown’s desire to acquire Maori freehold land for soldier settlement purposes began to press heavily. The growing scale of the Crown’s land purchasing programme, and its willingness to employ coercive purchasing tactics, including ‘purchasing by proclamation’ and ‘purchasing by attrition,’ encouraged iwi to propose that the Crown ‘ear-mark’ for Maori soldiers part of the land (Maori or other private) that it acquired, or that it purchase land from Maori explicitly for the purpose of settling Maori veterans. Both options would have offered a relatively simple, practical, and effective solution to the difficulties posed by Maori freehold land titles, allowed Maori settlers to secure development assistance, and allowed them to remain among their people, much as

⁷⁰² See, for example, No title, *Poverty Bay Herald* 2 September 1919, p.4; and ‘Native lands – protection for owners,’ *Hawke’s Bay Herald* 4 October 1919, copy in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/321 22/1984 Part 1. The Under Secretary of the Native Department was well aware that Maori did not retain large areas of idle land. In 1920, he recorded that Maori had available to them just 1.657m acres. Of that area, 550,000 were located within the pumice area, while another 200,000 acres comprised mountain-tops, springs, sand dunes, and land unfit for settlement. That left just over 907,000 acres for the use of the North Island’s 47,000 Maori or about 19 acres per capita. Instead, therefore, of there being a large area of Native land available for general settlement, it would seem that there is barely sufficient for the requirements of the Natives themselves.’ He went on to observe that given that Pakeha has acquired some 62m acres once owned by Maori, ‘it might not be thought unreasonable to allow the Native owners to retain the small area remaining to them, for it may safely be said that the lands leased to Europeans will never return to the occupation of the Native owners. The great problem is to get them settled upon their individual holdings ...’ See AJHR 1920, G9, pp.2-3.

many Pakeha veterans made clear their desire to take up land within the districts and communities from which they had been drawn.

The Government did take some steps in the direction proposed by Maori leaders, setting aside four (small) sections in the Otamarakau Settlement and allowing the Gisborne Maori Soldiers' Fund to take over Hereheretau Station. The scale and intensity of the criticism levelled at the Government over the former were such that it did not, so far as could be established, repeat the effort. Nor did it act upon Ngata's proposal that the substantial area of Maori freehold land that remained vested in the Maori land boards should be released for the purpose of settling Maori soldiers, just as it ignored proposals that it assist iwi to consolidate their land titles as a step towards facilitating the settlement of veterans.⁷⁰³ But it was prepared to and did purchase vested land for soldier settlement generally. Tau Henare's plea for protection for Maori soldiers overseas against the predations of land agents and speculators appears not to have elicited any effective action, while section 2(1) of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917 was intended to facilitate the acquisition of Maori freehold land by discharged soldiers. Finally, that the Crown sought to acquire land without apparently investigating whether the owners included returned Maori veterans or whether the hapu had sufficient land also served to dismay some Maori leaders.

The controversy that erupted over Otamarakau revealed, on the one hand, the intensity of the opposition to any suggestion of separate provision for Maori veterans, and a reluctance to recognise that a rehabilitation programme designed with the needs of the dominant group in mind was unlikely to serve those of a much smaller and significantly less advantaged group. The controversy did make it plain that the Government recognised that Maori veterans were not securing, proportionately, the benefits offered by the rehabilitation programme, but that recognition was not enough to persuade it to conduct any investigation into the issues, let alone formulate potential remedies. It also made plain the fact that the Government lacked any settled policy relating with the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, that it was content to seek

⁷⁰³ Ruatoki Maori, for example, suggested to the Crown that it take over scattered interests, in return awarding Maori consolidated blocks for returned soldiers. See 'Urewera Country. 300,000 acres of land. For Native and European soldiers,' *New Zealand Times* 25 February 1920, p.8.

refuge in its claim of equal access under the law. That assertion appealed to those who were keen to foster the assimilation of Maori and thus obviate, as Herries suggested, the need for any ‘separate laws for the Maori,’ an observation he offered during a debate that traversed, among other matters, the settlement on the land of Maori veterans.⁷⁰⁴

In such circumstances, it was perhaps not too surprising given the clear aversion on the part of the Government to make separate – rather than special or preferential – provision for Maori veterans, that Ngata and Pomare formulated a scheme intended to support the efforts of iwi to settle their returned veterans. Although domiciled in and ultimately confined to the East Coast, the scheme was originally intended to have been national in scope and application. It attracted very substantial Maori and appreciable Pakeha support (through donations by individuals and patriotic societies). There was a clear expectation on the part of the State that local communities would play an important role in the rehabilitation efforts and as was noted some patriotic and allied societies assisted veterans to settle on the land, to finance start-up farming operations, and to assist them into businesses. The scale and range of such assistance have still to be established, but contemporary newspaper reports suggest that it was substantial. But the scheme envisaged by Ngata and Pomare was of a different order, a bold proposal that the Crown was at least prepared to facilitate. Early in March 1919, just a few weeks before the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion returned to New Zealand, the Army’s Adjutant-General indicated that ‘special consideration’ was being given to the rehabilitation of Maori soldiers and that full details would shortly be made known ‘throughout the several Maori districts.’⁷⁰⁵ It seems at least possible that the predicted establishment of a scheme tailored to meet the particular needs of Maori veterans was sufficient to persuade some not to seek the benefits available under the State scheme. On the other hand, the scheme devised by Ngata and Pomare was not intended to replace but to supplement those benefits, war pensions in particular.

Although the evidence indicates that few Maori veterans applied for rehabilitation benefits, it also suggests that many more were keen to do so but failed to submit

⁷⁰⁴ ‘Native lands department,’ *New Zealand Times* 14 July 1916, p.6.

⁷⁰⁵ Adjutant-General to C.D. Wright, Nuhaka 4 March 1919, in ANZ Wellington AAYS 8638 AD1 9-32-1E.

applications. What dissuaded them or, alternatively, why did their applications fail? The evidence, admittedly fragmentary, suggests that key officials in the Department of Lands and Survey actively dissuaded Maori veterans from lodging applications for Crown sections, advising them to wait, presumably until all other demands had been met. That appears to have been what Ngata meant by Maori veterans being relegated to the rear of the queue. In turn, that raises a question over whether the agency of the State charged with implementing the land settlement and financial assistance components of the rehabilitation programme, the Department of Lands and Survey, entertained assumptions and prejudices that shaped the manner in which it chose to interpret and administer the law. Here the evidence is more substantial: it is clear that senior officials in both the Department of Lands and Survey and the Maori Land boards believed that Maori generally were incapable of farming their lands, at least according to European principles and practices, and were similarly incapable of managing their finances and of deferring consumption in favour of savings and investment. The question is then whether such assumptions and prejudices shaped the manner in which applications by Maori applicants were assessed, initially by the Commissioners of Crown Lands and subsequently by the land boards: it is on that point that the evidence is elusive. All that can be said is that there is some evidence that those Maori veterans whose applications for Crown sections were accepted were steered towards small sections, sections that proved difficult to manage financially during the volatile economic conditions of the 1920s. Failures served merely to reinforce the pre-existing prejudice. Institutional racism was usefully defined by the Lawrence Inquiry as ‘The collective failure by an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.’⁷⁰⁶ While the concept has its critics, it is difficult not to discern at least distinct elements such racism in the disposition of the Department of Lands and Survey towards Maori veterans.

⁷⁰⁶ See *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*. Report of an inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny. CM 4262-I, 1999, paragraph 6.34.

It is an open question whether those advising Maori veterans to wait were aware that the Government's commitment to the rehabilitation programme was likely to be short-lived, especially in the wake of the sharp recession of 1921 and the Government's desire to 'balance the books.' Further, with respect to financial assistance, again especially in respect of farms, Maori veterans found themselves unable to meet the key qualification, notably ownership of land in fee simple. Again, those officials who advised veterans to have their interests partitioned out first would have known that they were proposing a course of action likely to prove protracted and of uncertain outcome. It is of interest to note here that Regulation 13 issued under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 required the land boards and the staff of the Department of Lands and Survey to assist applicants for allotments and for financial assistance 'as far as practicable,' that is, to prepare applications, to facilitate subsequent dealings with such applications, and to furnish all relevant information 'and generally to render to applicants such assistance as may be necessary for the disposal of applications as expeditiously as possible.'⁷⁰⁷ No evidence was located to indicate that assistance of that character was ever extended to Maori veterans while, as noted, the Department of Maori Affairs was not involved in either the design or the delivery of the rehabilitation programme. On the other hand, the default position of a number of State agencies, including the State Advances Corporation, was to refer Maori to the Native Land Court, the Maori land boards, or the Department of Native Affairs.

In short, the evidence indicates that Maori veterans keen to settle on the land confronted two major sets of difficulties. On the one hand, while many possessed land, they usually did so in the form of undivided interests, thus denying them access to financial assistance. While the law did not discriminate between Maori and Pakeha, the fact was that only Maori veterans were disqualified on the grounds of 'title difficulties' from securing financial assistance. On the other hand, they confronted an agency of the State that entertained a series of prejudices and prejudgments that centred on the capacity of Maori to engage in European-style farming, the willingness of Maori settlers to invest time and effort into their enterprises, and the ability and willingness of Maori settlers to meet their financial obligations. Their difficulties did

⁷⁰⁷ 'Regulations under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915,' *New Zealand Gazette* 128, 11 November 1915, pp.3764-3767. These regulations were amended.

not end there: the provision of the appropriate advice and assistance, facilitating navigation through a complex bureaucratic structure and process, and dealing with protracted examination by unfamiliar State agencies were all identified, certainly with respect to Maori, as central issues in the implementation of the post-World War II rehabilitation programme. Their importance twenty years earlier would have been at least as great.

It seems reasonably clear that the State, through its various agencies, was not geared towards reaching out to and engaging Maori. Most Maori soldiers were drawn from small and isolated rural communities, poorly served with roads and relying on occasionally fragile postal services for their interaction with the wider world. Moreover, many of those communities, especially in Te Tai Tokerau and Te Rohe Potae, were badly affected and demoralised by the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919, and especially by the heavy toll it took on adult males. Pool suggested that the high mortality rate reflected in part the isolation of Maori and thus their effective exclusion from the country's health-care system.⁷⁰⁸ Whether the pandemic affected postal services is not known. No evidence was located to indicate that the agencies directly involved in delivering rehabilitation services made any other effort to contact Maori veterans. Certainly, the post World War II practice of appointing senior Maori veterans as field officers whose sole responsibility was to contact all Maori veterans and to assist them to navigate their way through the application process was never raised as a possibility.⁷⁰⁹ Interaction between the Crown and Maori generally remained largely limited to the Native Land Court, the Maori land boards, and the Department of Native Affairs. The land boards by the outbreak of the war had been reduced to one-man boards whose chief functions were to manage and supervise the alienation of Maori freehold land, to dispose of the vested lands, and to distribute rents and purchase monies. Apart from planning, organising and conducting the Maori

⁷⁰⁸ Pool, *Te iwi Maori*, pp.117-118. See Geoffrey Rice, *Black November: the 1918 influenza epidemic*. Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 2005. The death rate among Maori in Te Tai Tokerau reached 44.6 per 1,000, in Te Rohe Potae 34.8 per 1,000, and on the East Coast/Hawke's Bay an appreciably lower 13.6 per 1,000. The rates are based on the 1916 population census and *registered* Maori deaths. On the exclusion of Maori from the health-care system, Pool cited Turbott to the effect that during the 1930s, two-thirds of East Coast Maori afflicted with tuberculosis had been unable to secure medical attention. See Pool, *Te iwi Maori*, p.120, and H.B. Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori, East Coast, New Zealand*. Wellington: Department of Health in conjunction with the Medical Research Council of Great Britain, 1935.

land purchasing programme, the Department of Native Affairs played no visible role in the implementation of the rehabilitation programme.

From the outset, Government decided that all returned soldiers, Maori and Pakeha, would have equal access to the benefits of the rehabilitation programme. Clearly that policy did not, with respect to land settlement and financial assistance for farming purposes, generate the outcome assumed or expected, namely an approximately proportionate distribution of the benefits. While some Ministers of the Crown, notably the Prime Minister and the Minister of Lands, were aware that the apparently desired outcome, in respect of land settlement at least, was not being secured, the policy itself remained unchanged, its adequacy and relevance were not questioned, and its implementation, while criticised, remained as first devised. The core policy, equality of opportunity, did not recognise the fact the military personnel returning to New Zealand contained two broad groups that differed widely in terms of their backgrounds, values, skills, life experiences, circumstances, and aspirations. A key question is whether the failure to recognise such and to adjust rehabilitation policy and its delivery accordingly constituted a form of discrimination. The policies, administrative arrangements and processes adopted in 1941 and the responsibility assumed by the rehabilitation authorities for active and effective outreach strongly suggested a keen desire to avoid a repetition of what were widely regarded as the many failings of the post World War I rehabilitation policy and programme. It proved possible to devise, admittedly after protracted debate, to offer separate and, to an appreciable extent, tailored provision without evoking charges of ‘preferential treatment’ or ‘separatism.’ To that extent, the post-World War II approach to the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel might be regarded as a measure of the inadequacies of its predecessor, reflecting a belated recognition of the limitations of a of a ‘one size fits all’ approach to rehabilitation policy and practice.

The rehabilitation programme initiated in the wake of World War I had an almost exclusive focus on settling returned service personnel into the New Zealand economy. Lack of engagement with iw and hapu meant that neither the Government nor the agencies through which the rehabilitation was implemented recognised or understood that Maori viewed rehabilitation not solely as a means of establishing or re-establishing veterans in terms of livelihood but also as a means of healing the souls of

men who had seen and endured the privations and dangers of both Gallipoli and the Western Front. Rehabilitation meant the settlement of veterans back into the communities from which they had been drawn, whereas the averred policy of the Department of Lands and Survey, the agency primarily responsible for the implementation of the rehabilitation programme, was to settle Maori veterans in other than their home communities to ensure that they were not influenced by values, practices, and expectations deemed antithetical to successful (economic) rehabilitation. Maori did endeavour to draw the Government's attention to the matter. Thus Ngata's proposal that the Crown set apart a portion of the lands it acquired from Maori for settlement by Maori veterans or that it purchase land from Maori explicitly for that purpose reflected that wider view of the purpose of rehabilitation. In short, the State failed to recognise the kaupapa of Maori veteran rehabilitation. That failure helps to account for the fact that, according to the evidence available, only a very small number of Maori veterans sought rehabilitation assistance.

Chapter 6: ‘A matter of trust:’ the post-1939 economic rehabilitation of Maori veterans

6.1. Introduction

In January 1940, as the First Echelon prepared to depart from New Zealand, Prime Minister Savage announced his Government’s determination to ensure that those who returned would not participate in what he termed ‘an unseemly struggle for the right to live.’⁷¹⁰ Determined to avoid the speculative boom that had followed the end of World War I, the difficulties that beset a significant proportion of those veterans settled on the land, and the costs that such difficulties had imposed upon the State, the Government moved with some promptitude to craft a rehabilitation policy, design an administrative structure, and formulate an array of controls and regulations intended to ensure the success of its plans not only for post-war rehabilitation but also for its wider goal of social and economic reconstruction.

The debate that followed centred less on the shape of the rehabilitation programme than on its delivery: as in the case of the rehabilitation programme fashioned as World War I unfolded, the key question was whether that programme should be delivered through existing State departments and agencies or whether successful delivery required a new State agency. That debate was one in which Maori took a keen interest, one that arose out of three major convictions: first, that Maori veterans of World War I scarcely benefitted from the rehabilitation measures then adopted and indeed had been discriminated against by agencies of the State; second, that the successful rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel thus required a dedicated agency and one moreover that would endure beyond the life of any rehabilitation agency that the Government elected to establish; and, third, that iwi both individually and through the Maori War Effort Organisation had a major contribution to make to rehabilitation.⁷¹¹

⁷¹⁰ “‘Only one course,’” *Evening Post* 8 January 1940, p.5.

⁷¹¹ In 1952, Tiaki Omana (MHR Eastern Maori) claimed that ‘I do not think one Maori returned soldier was rehabilitated after World War I.’ The response of the Minister of Rehabilitation (T.L. Macdonald) was to add ‘Not if it was known that he was a Maori.’ See NZPD 1952, Vol 297, p.241. In 1954, Eruera Tirikatene (MHR Southern Maori) similarly claimed that ‘... at the end of the 1914-1918 war

Chapter 1 thus offers an account of the rehabilitation policies developed and adopted by the Government, the legislation enacted, and of the administrative structure through which the rehabilitation programme would be implemented. The central question is whether the rehabilitation programme and the structures through which it was delivered facilitated and supported the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel as intended.

6.2 Developing rehabilitation policy

Savage's reference to 'an unseemly struggle' was a clear reference to the struggles that many ex-servicemen of World War I endured following the recession of 1921, the economic fluctuations that followed, and the collapse of land values that left indebted many of those who had settled on the land. The scope of the rehabilitation programme instituted in New Zealand in the wake of World War I was thus examined in some detail and certain 'lessons' extracted chief among which were the need for one overall controlling and policy-making body; the need to use existing departments as far as possible; the need for local and ex-servicemen representation in connection with all activities; that subject to Government policy and control there should be no rigid limits set for loans or other assistance; that ex-servicemen should possess the qualifications and capabilities in line with the assistance sought, and the necessity for instituting general eligibility tests; and, finally, the need for the organisation to continue beyond the initial assistance stage.⁷¹²

That list was notable for the absence of any reference to the lessons that might have been extracted from the efforts such as they were to assist Maori veterans of World War I to settle back into their communities. So far as could be determined, the rehabilitation experience of those veterans was not separately examined despite the many claims made by Maori leaders that Maori ex-service personnel has suffered disadvantage, discrimination, and exclusion. In April 1941, Finance Minister Walter

there was no rehabilitation for Maori soldiers. When we applied we were told it was only for pakeha soldiers.' See NZPD 1954, Vol 304, p.1208.

⁷¹² *War history of Rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965*, p.6.

Nash, addressing the Labour Party's Easter Conference, indicated that 'Detailed plans for repatriating particular types and groups of returned men will be necessary.'⁷¹³ Whether he explored or elaborated upon that notion is not clear. On the other hand, the problems that confronted both the United Kingdom's and Australia's Governments in the aftermath of World War I, especially mass unemployment in the former, and their efforts to re-establish in civil life many thousands of men, both fit and disabled, were canvassed and relevant lessons extracted.⁷¹⁴

6.2.1 Defining the problem

During 1940, the Government, amid predictions of serious post-war economic difficulties, began to consider the shape that a rehabilitation programme might take as part of a larger process of national social and economic reconstruction. The first step, according to Treasury, was to define 'the rehabilitation problem.' In a report prepared early in the war, it recorded that

The restoration to civil life of many thousands, perhaps scores of thousands, of ex-members of the Forces involves administrative, economic and social problems of the first order. Many of the men will have enlisted before receiving a complete training in their then occupation; many were 'rolling stones' with little or no schooling; some will be disabled in a variety of ways which will prevent or handicap them from following a profession, [or] occupation, particularly if it were manual. All will have lost contact with their professions for a period; and most will be more or less weary, disillusioned and unsettled and to that extent unfitted for effective civil work.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ 'How New Zealand soldiers become civilians,' *Press* 20 May 1941, p.5.

⁷¹⁴ Among the sources examined were R.C. Davison, *The unemployed, old policies and new*. London: Longman, Green & Co, 1929; and *The official history of Australia in the war of 1914-1918*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1921-1942 (especially Volume XI). Particular interest was taken in the 'failure' of the British Government's three main schemes, namely, land settlement, civil liabilities grants (small business loans), and overseas settlement.

⁷¹⁵ 'Report by Treasury Department regarding rehabilitation of returned members of the Forces,' in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/150. See also ADRK 17408 T25/3/21. Belshaw noted, with respect to rehabilitation, that 'The special problem is the sort of economic pattern into which they [veterans] are to be rehabilitated. This involves some consideration of the factors likely to influence world economic trends as they will affect New Zealand, and some reference to the Dominion's international economic interests.' See Horace Belshaw, 'New Zealand in the post-war world: reconstruction problems of a vulnerable economy,' *Canadian journal of economics and political science* 11, 3, August 1945, p.396.

Given that the aim of rehabilitation was to reinstate ‘men as effective citizens and productive workers,’ the report directed attention to the ‘methods,’ discussing in turn pensions, restoration to previous occupations, training for both the fit and the disabled, financial assistance for businesses and homes, and land settlement. The report offered a brief account of the efforts to rehabilitate the servicemen of World War I, noting that the challenge had been to settle many thousands of men within a very short period. Throughout, the emphasis was on employment and thus the policies and measures necessary, once hostilities had concluded, to diversify the New Zealand economy and reduce its exposure to overseas shocks, promote and maintain full employment, re-direct industries to peace-time needs, encourage the establishment and expansion of new industries, especially those that utilised locally produced raw materials, foster further land settlement and development, revivify the construction sector, and expand various public utilities. The challenge was how to secure those goals in the face of what was expected to be a protracted period of trade disruption, pronounced shortages of overseas funds, of the raw materials and semi-finished products upon which manufacturing industry depended, and of skilled labour. The Government expected rehabilitation to make a key contribution to meeting the major challenges that such economic and social reconstruction involved.

6.2.2 ‘Equality of treatment’

In these early discussions about the shape that a rehabilitation policy and programme should take, the Maori voice was not often heard. There were perhaps three major reasons. First, the Government offered an unequivocal assurance that Maori and Pakeha would, with respect to rehabilitation, have ‘equal opportunities.’⁷¹⁶ That insistence, repeated many times, reflected what appears to have been a general acceptance of the view proffered by Maori leaders that Maori ex-servicemen had been excluded or at least did not benefit from the post-World War I rehabilitation programme. It also built upon the earlier efforts of the First Labour Government to ensure that Maori received the same welfare entitlements as all other citizens, to improve Maori housing, and to improve and extend health services to Maori

⁷¹⁶ See, for example, Minister of Lands and Native Affairs, in NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.314.

communities.⁷¹⁷ That the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel might require additional resources and effort elicited no serious objections. Rather, there was a great deal of discussion about the ‘Maori problem:’ the renewed growth of the Maori population, the growing movement of young Maori to the country’s urban centres, and what was regarded by some as an increasingly unhealthy reliance by many Maori on the State, were all regarded as presenting major challenges for racial harmony, political stability, and economic prosperity. There were those who suggested that the rehabilitation programme should form the core of a comprehensive effort to assist those Maori who wished to participate more fully into the economic, social, and political life of the country as whole.⁷¹⁸ It was thus readily assumed that the rehabilitation programme would meet the needs of Maori as it did those of Pakeha. Whether ‘equality of treatment’ would ensure similar outcomes respectively for Pakeha and Maori veterans was a question that Maori themselves would raise. It is worthwhile noting that the Government did recognise that particular rehabilitation measures would have to be devised to meet the needs of the several thousand women who had enlisted in the WAAC, WAAF, and the WRNS, especially those who had joined up at 18 or 19 without any prior training.⁷¹⁹ In other words, the need to tailor rehabilitation assistance to meet the needs of particular groups of ex-service personnel was, as Nash had indicated, recognised.

Second, it was assumed that the various organisations established to represent and promote the interests of ex-service personnel would advocate for all veterans. Those organisations, principally the New Zealand Returned Services’ Association (originally the New Zealand Returned Soldiers’ Association) would prove determined in their advocacy and did from time to time draw attention to the particular needs of Maori ex-service personnel.⁷²⁰ But it was also clear that some Maori ex-servicemen did not

⁷¹⁷ There was a perception, indeed, that Maori were being unduly favoured. See, for example, ‘The Maoris. Bounty from the State,’ *New Zealand Herald* 7 January 1943, p.4.

⁷¹⁸ See, for example, ‘The Maori problem,’ *New Zealand Herald* 9 January 1943, p.6. Some offered more outlandish solutions, notably, the ‘absorption’ of Maori into the Pakeha by paying a bonus of £100 to every Pakeha who married a Maori woman, and £100 to every Maori woman who produced a child of mixed blood. See, for example, ‘Startling suggestion. Absorbing Maori race,’ *Bay of Plenty Beacon* 29 January 1943, p.5.

⁷¹⁹ See ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/213/f 35/18. The needs of the Maori women who enlisted, notably in the home defence forces, do not appear to have been separately considered.

⁷²⁰ ‘Returned Services’ Association,’ in A.H. McLintock, editor, *An encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1966, Volume 3, pp.67-69. Other service organisations included the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force Association, the New Zealand Homeservicemen’s

always feel that the Association was sufficiently supportive. In 1944, a hui at Pukepoto supported a proposal for the establishment of a 'Tai Tokerau Returned Servicemen's League' to assist local veterans then not receiving, it was claimed, 'full attention.'⁷²¹ In Auckland in October 1945, Maori veterans formed the Maori Returned Services' Club, Major K.T. Harawira being elected president. The latter observed that

Soon after his return the Maori soldier is more or less left to his own resources and to work out his own salvation without the many facilities available through rehabilitation and other organisations. The assistance of the RSA in this connection is not generally known among them. His claims are few, because of his reluctance to appear in the role of one asking for charity. Through such an organisation as that now formed, his rightful claims to assistance (not charity) can be presented to the RSA for support and acceleration.⁷²²

The Government closely and carefully consulted the Association as it prepared its first major rehabilitation measure, the Rehabilitation Act 1941. That the Act would place considerable emphasis upon education and training, loans for businesses, housing, tools of trade, and assistance for disabled men owed much to its representations.

Finally, it was assumed that iwi, particularly through the Maori War Effort Organisation, would play an important role in the rehabilitation of Maori veterans. As Thomson noted, 'There was never any idea of leaving everything to Government ... and when the *New Zealand Herald* commented in October 1941 that the country should do nothing less than the very best to re-establish servicemen it was not thinking only of officialdom.'⁷²³ As will become apparent, some iwi at least, were similarly determined and had very firm ideas about their role and the contribution that

Association, the New Zealand War Amputees' Association, and the New Zealand Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League.

⁷²¹ 'Report on Rehabilitation Conference Pukepoto - 1944,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/0.

⁷²² 'Maori ex-servicemen. New club formed. Promising send-off,' *Auckland Star* 31 October 1945, p.8. Kahi Takimoana Harawira served during the Dardanelles Campaign, worked as a Maori missionary in various districts of the North Island, served as a chaplain to the 28 Maori Battalion, and worked as a vocational guidance officer in Auckland until 1955. A short obituary can be found in *Te Ao Hou* No.45, December 1963, p.63.

⁷²³ Jane R.M. Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen of World War Two in New Zealand, 1940-1954*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, p.46. See 'Rehabilitation Bill,' *New Zealand Herald* 11 October 1941, p.10.

they could make. But so, too, did the Department of Native Affairs, one agency of the State in which many Maori had little confidence. The political struggle for the control of the effort to rehabilitate Maori veterans is explored below.

6.3 Articulating Maori interest in rehabilitation

In 1944, in a letter that appeared in the *New Zealand Herald*, W.B. Kawiti of Kawakawa suggested that Maori veterans, having won ‘freedom in the battlefield,’ would not ‘march back into some economic or social concentration camps ...’ A first step, he added, was ‘an overhaul of the administration of the Native Affairs,’ and he indicated that Maori were anxious ‘to know when and how we can help to bring about a successful rehabilitation of our soldiers and ourselves.’⁷²⁴ Sentiments of that nature were initially articulated by Ngata and his views, fashioned by his experience of the post-World War I rehabilitation effort would have a major bearing on both the shape and the implementation of the rehabilitation programme as it related to Maori ex-service personnel.

In 1916, during the parliamentary debate on the report of the Department of Native Affairs, Ngata dwelt at some length on the settlement of returning Maori soldiers and made several key points that would clearly inform his later views. First, he suggested that while the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915 made provision for Maori and Pakeha alike, ‘owing to the ignorance that prevails in the Maori districts as regards the procedure in regard to the land ballot, in practice the Maori soldiers will not be able to take advantage of the provision which is made for all soldiers.’⁷²⁵ The flow of information, ensuring that Maori ex-service personnel were aware of both the opportunities and their entitlements, and enabling veterans to navigate successfully through the procedures that would be instituted were all matters of prime concern.

Second, Ngata raised the difficulties he foresaw with respect to what he termed

⁷²⁴ ‘Maori rehabilitation,’ letter by W.B. Kawiti of Kawakawa, in ‘Letters to the Editor,’ *New Zealand Herald* 30 September 1944, p.6.

⁷²⁵ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.70.

the centralization of the patriotic funds either in Wellington or in the large cities ... The applicants that are near to the committees that are administering these funds will, in practice, have an advantage over the applicants from the outlying districts, whose needs may not be so comprehensively urged upon the central controlling body ... The man in the backblocks will suffer every time as compared with the man who lives nearer to the administrative centres.⁷²⁶

Many New Zealanders, and especially Maori, still resided, by 1920, in rural districts with only tenuous links – whether by road, telegraph, telephone, or post – with the country's urban centres. Thus, he noted, some Maori communities had decided to retain and control their patriotic funds with a view to purchasing local farms for the benefit of veterans and to supplement the pension provided by the State. Such efforts, he insisted, merited the Government's formal recognition and encouragement.⁷²⁷ Clearly, Ngata believed that the small, rural, and often isolated communities in which most Maori resided would be overlooked and that iwi should therefore look to implement their own rehabilitation efforts.

Ngata's third major point was that Maori were not inclined to ask the Government to set aside blocks of lands for Maori veterans. It was, he suggested, with more than a hint of irony, 'rather too much to ask the Government, out of the rapidly dwindling Crown estate, to set aside land from it specially for Maori soldiers. It seemed to be an almost improper thing to ask the Crown, when it was popularly supposed that the Maoris had sufficient land for the purpose.' Maori should be asked to supply the land themselves 'as far as possible,' that is, to sell land to the Crown land earmarked for Maori veterans, with the result that 'the general fund of land would be relieved.' In his sights were the Maori freehold lands that had been vested in the Maori land boards following the investigations and recommendations of the Native Land Commission of 1907 and the passage of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907: those still unoccupied and unencumbered, he suggested, should be earmarked for Maori veterans.⁷²⁸

Ngata, in 1916, made three other proposals: first, that undivided interests in land that a Maori veteran might own should not be taken into account when computing the area

⁷²⁶ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, pp.71-72.

⁷²⁷ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, pp.71-72.

⁷²⁸ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.70.

of land owned, held, or occupied by him.⁷²⁹ He would have been acutely aware of the extent of title fragmentation, of the manner in which the Maori land boards calculated the sufficiency of ‘other lands’ when considering applications for confirmations of alienations, of the large areas of Maori freehold land that remained vested in those same boards, and of the manner in which interests in land were employed to reduce the old age pension payable to Maori. The second was that assembled owners should be empowered to gift land to the Crown for the express purpose of settling Maori veterans.⁷³⁰ Finally, Ngata emphasised the importance of ensuring that soldier settlers had appropriate experience and the necessary financial resources, otherwise predicting, at least in the case of Maori settlers, ‘failure.’ He concluded by noting that ‘We do not want to sponge upon the Government from the Crown lands for our Maori soldiers. We want, as far as possible, to make provision out of our own tribal lands.’⁷³¹

Ngata repeated those sentiments during the debate, in 1919, on the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Loans Bill, when he observed that

Our returned Maori soldiers have given the Government very little trouble. They are not rushing the ballots after high-priced land. They recognize that their own people have the land, and very few of them are bothering the Government for either money or land. They do apply to their local repatriation committees for assistance in starting them in small businesses; but, taking them as a whole, and in proportion to their numbers – something over two thousand Maori soldiers have returned from active service – it will be found that they make far less noise than the pakeha soldiers in respect to claims upon the country.⁷³²

Almost as an afterthought, Ngata advised the Government against any attempt to take Maori land compulsorily, for ‘you would be cutting against the grain; there would be the greatest possible friction, and you might not do as well as you are doing now.’⁷³³ That same year, 1919, Ngata introduced into the House a Bill intended to empower the State to develop an estimated 700,000 acres of pumice and gum lands. In his view the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915 would not serve to develop the

⁷²⁹ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.71.

⁷³⁰ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.72.

⁷³¹ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.73.

⁷³² NZPD 1919, Vol 184, p.145.

⁷³³ NZPD 1919, Vol 184, p.145.

country's resources so much as it would effect the substitution of one group of settlers for another, an argument that would be regularly aired as the post-World War II rehabilitation land settlement effort gained momentum. The inspiration for his Bill, Ngata explained, lay in the State's land drainage schemes, notably that of the Hauraki Plains.⁷³⁴ He proposed that in his scheme 'The native interest should not be neglected, and in the settlement of lands assistance should be given to the Maoris of Taupo and to returned Maori soldiers to farm some of the land.'⁷³⁵

In October 1919, Ngata asked the Minister of Lands whether the Government would set aside areas of Crown land specifically for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, 'the soldier settlers to be carefully selected and to receive, in addition to the financial assistance already provided by statute, special assistance in the form of advice and supervision by Government officers or experienced farmers in the localities concerned.' He noted that 'Under the present system of examination by Land Boards Maori applicants, whether returned soldiers or not, are placed at the bottom of the list, and there is certainly a prejudice against Maori applicants for Crown lands.' The Minister suggested that it was 'not considered advisable to discriminate in the manner suggested between sections of the Expeditionary Force,' and insisted that the only criteria the board were required to consider were an applicant's suitability as a settler, his experience in farming, and his eligibility under the Act.' He reminded Ngata of sections 2 and 3 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1917. Essentially, Ngata's charge went unanswered.⁷³⁶

In short, several key ideas underpinned Ngata's observations and would inform his later views on how the post World War II rehabilitation programme should be implemented. They were that while the law might not discriminate against Maori, the manner of its implementation did so; that access to rehabilitation assistance should be made as straightforward as possible; that rehabilitation decision-making should be decentralised; that Maori should be engaged in the decision-making structure and process; that Maori veterans would require special assistance, including training, lest rehabilitation efforts should fail; and, finally, that Maori should, as far as possible,

⁷³⁴ NZPD 1919, Vol 185, pp.544-554.

⁷³⁵ NZPD 1919, Vol 185, pp.548 and 549.

⁷³⁶ NZPD 1919, Vol 185, p.685. In 1943, Paikea offered a similar assessment. See NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.354.

make their own lands available for the settlement of their veterans. Self-reliance on the part of Maori was a key element of Ngata's political philosophy and approach.⁷³⁷

It is worthwhile noting here that some of his proposals were enacted into law. Thus, sections 10 to 14 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916 dealt with land for discharged Maori soldiers, providing essentially that assembled owners could accept an offer by the Crown to purchase or lease land expressly for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, and that the Government could, on the recommendation of a Maori land board, set apart any land vested in that board under Parts XIV and XV of the Native Land Act 1909 for the settlement of discharged Maori soldiers. Further, section 4 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1917 empowered assembled owners to gift land to the Crown for the settlement of discharged Maori soldiers. The Statutes Amendment Act 1945 would embody some of the same ideas.

6.4 'The Pakeha will always be a Pakeha'

Ngata restated many of these arguments as the first moves were made to develop a new rehabilitation programme. Among the first legislative steps taken by the Government to implement a rehabilitation programme was the Small Farms Amendment Act 1940. Essentially, the Act empowered the Crown to take 'freehold land,' defined as land 'that is not set aside as an endowment or a reserve' and, when prepared for settlement, to accord applications lodged by ex-service personnel for sections priority over all other applications. Ngata contributed to the debate, first noting that the measure would 'not affect Maoris to any great extent.' Pressed by Native Minister Langstone to explain, Ngata noted that the 1939 amendment to the Small Farms (Relief of Unemployment) Act 1932, now incorporated into the proposed amendment, provided for the issue of renewable leases to 'persons who, in the opinion of the [Small Farms] Board, are suitable for engagement in rural occupations and in respect of whom the Board is satisfied that they are not in regular

⁷³⁷ Self-reliance inspired Ngata's land development programme. See Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: the life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Viking, 2001, p.371.

employment ...'⁷³⁸ The addition of the words 'discharged soldier' applied to Maori, 'but for the Maori the first, highest, and stiffest hurdle is implied in the words 'persons who ... are suitable for engagement in rural occupations.'

In Ngata's view, 'The standard implied is not that which the present Minister would apply to the Maoris. No. It will be the standard that land boards apply to European applicants; and if that is to be the standard, one will find few Maori soldiers who will make the grade.' Ngata was clearly sceptical of Langstone's insistence that 'We will see that they do make the grade.' In all likelihood expressing views widely shared among Maori – while expressly challenging the Government – Ngata simply observed that Pakeha would remind Maori that they had land of their own and that 'The pakeha will always be a pakeha. He will always look after himself first.' Returned servicemen, he claimed – presciently, it would transpire – would tell Maori that 'You have your own land, put your boys on your own land first, and when the supply is exhausted, you may have the right to come along with the other returned soldiers and take your chance in the ballot.' That was the experience of Maori in the wake of World War I, the outcome being that very few Maori ex-service personnel were placed on Crown land. Further, he predicted that the Act would be administered through the local land boards and they were 'not sympathetic to the ambitious young Maori, whether he is a returned soldier or not. That is a straight-out fact ...'⁷³⁹

Ngata went on to ask whether 'some special provision, whereby either Native lands, Native-owned lands, or lands owned by the Crown' should be made available for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. He also raised the matter of administrative control. He was quite clear in his view that

The proper place to make provision for the Maori soldier is on land to be administered under the Native-land-development schemes. Our people, whether returned soldiers or otherwise, are better off under the control of the Native Department ... than as units on Crown land under the control of the Small Farms Board.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁸ Section 5(2) of the Small Farms Amendment Act 1939.

⁷³⁹ See NZPD 1940, Vol 258, pp.373-375.

⁷⁴⁰ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.374.

That claim was a first indication of what would develop into a protracted struggle for control. Finally, Ngata suggested that there was a great deal of land on existing land development schemes not yet subdivided and occupied and that 'nothing would be easier than approaching the owners with the suggestion that areas might be submitted to the Native Department out of the blocks, for settlement by Maoris on their return from the war.'⁷⁴¹ The initiative, he added, should come from the Department, although he warned that many Maori would not hear of any such proposal. That warning would prove to have been well founded.

Ngata remained passionate over the potential of the pumice country for large-scale small-farm settlement, at the same time noting that some districts, notably North Auckland, had not sufficient land to settle their soldiers. Some two-fifths of Maori enlistments had come from North Auckland, he noted, but there was not sufficient land for ordinary Maori let alone Maori returned serviceman settlement. The Department had already taken the 'drastic' step of moving Te Hapua on to Crown land at Ngataki.⁷⁴² In North Auckland, he suggested, land would have to be acquired from Pakeha, lands that were not being adequately farmed, notably around Ohaeawai and in the Hokianga. The problem, he suggested, was one of 'reacquiring lands which the Maoris have lost, for the rehabilitation of North Auckland Maoris, and particularly of Maori soldiers from that district.' Large areas of Maori owned land in Te Rohe Potae were possibly suitable for settlement purposes, including by Waikato. The latter, he recorded, had provided about a quarter of Maori enlistments, that is, between 450 and 500 compared with the eight - and 'some of them under compulsion' - who had enlisted for service during World War I. Hawke's Bay, too, deserved consideration, Ngata noting 'that even before the war there was a distinct problem of landlessness' in that district, while the Manawatu 'badly requires a policy of Maori rehabilitation.' The problem again was one of re-purchase. Ngata concluded by observing that 'We have had one hundred years of ... buying Native land for the pakeha. In view of the increase in the Maori population, it is time there was a little reversal of that process.'⁷⁴³

⁷⁴¹ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.373.

⁷⁴² NZPD 1940, Vol 258, pp.375-376.

⁷⁴³ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.376.

Ngata had thus made a number of key points: first, that the rehabilitation programme being formulated would not recognise the particular needs of Maori veterans; second, that the manner in which the rehabilitation programme would be administered would disadvantage Maori veterans; third, that in some districts a shortage of land would impede efforts to settle veterans on the land; and, finally, that Maori owners in the various development schemes could not be expected to make their lands available for rehabilitation purposes, at least without careful consultation. Langstone's only response was to reiterate the assurance that Maori service personnel 'will be treated in exactly the same way as the pakeha returned soldiers ... They will have equal rights with others when it comes to land settlement.'⁷⁴⁴ The Minister appears not to have appreciated the import of Ngata's observations. Towards the end of July 1940, during a debate on the Public Works Statement, Ngata proposed that the Department of Native Affairs 'take on a much larger area [of land] and press forward with the development of that during the war period,' pointing in particular to the 'Taupo country' and to Te Rohe Potae. It, too, fell upon deaf ears. Ngata's hope had been that the Department would take up 50,000 to 60,000 acres distributed through the country and 'get it ready for the Maoris after they come back from the war.' It was, he suggested, less a matter of the cost than a proper ordering of priorities.⁷⁴⁵

6.5 A 'centralised and skeletonised organisation'

Clearly many Maori were convinced that Maori ex-servicemen could not expect 'fair and equal' treatment at the hands of the State. Gaining the trust and confidence of Maori was thus one of the major issues confronting the Government and would lie at the heart of what would prove to be a protracted and involved debate over how the rehabilitation needs of Maori veterans could best be met.

In fact that debate was one part of a much larger discussion over how generally the rehabilitation programme might best be managed and implemented, a discussion that arose out of what was perceived to have been the inadequacy of the arrangements

⁷⁴⁴ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.393.

⁷⁴⁵ NZPD 1940, Vol 257, p.797.

devised for the implementation of the World War I rehabilitation programme. Thus, in a 1940 report, Treasury criticised the division of responsibility among four ministries, inadequate coordination among the various agencies of the State that were involved, and poor liaison with local voluntary organisations. From the outset, it favoured the appointment of ‘a small committee to direct, supervise, and coordinate rehabilitation ...’⁷⁴⁶ When the Returned Soldiers’ Association proposed the establishment of a central representative board with full powers but subject to ministerial control over policy, together with district boards and local committees on which it would have strong representation, Treasury made it very clear that it was not enamoured of any proposal for ‘numerous boards and committees,’ apart, that is, from a ‘principal body.’ All that was necessary, it suggested, was a body comprising a small number of members to make recommendations to Government on major matters of policy and to issue directions on what it termed ‘subsidiary questions.’ The essential requirement was for ‘coordination of existing facilities,’ not new state agencies or the proliferation of boards and committees.⁷⁴⁷

It would not prove easy to reconcile Treasury’s preference for highly centralised control with a desire on the part of the Government to draw upon local expertise or, indeed, with the wish on the part of various organisations and communities, including iwi, to play an active part in rehabilitation. One early proposal envisaged a simple administrative structure that comprised a Cabinet committee and an advisory council, with implementation being coordinated by the National Service Department working through 11 State departments. There was no place for the Department of Native Affairs in that scheme. A revised proposal envisaged a Cabinet committee and an advisory council, but a ‘Ministry of National Service,’ a Director of National Service, and a Controller of Repatriation liaising with the Ministry’s Employment Division and a range of Government departments. District offices would be located in centres throughout the country. The proposal also envisaged the establishment of seven standing committees, their membership including representatives of Government departments. Again, there was no place in that proposed structure for the Department

⁷⁴⁶ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 29 April 1941, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/1/a 1/0.

⁷⁴⁷ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 2 July 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/153.

of Native Affairs.⁷⁴⁸ That suggested that those leading the discussions did not envisage that agency having any role in the implementation of the proposed rehabilitation programme.

6.5.1 National Rehabilitation Council

The proposal for the establishment of an advisory council found considerable support. Such a body would consider the principles and procedure necessary for successful rehabilitation, report to the Government on such proposals as would give effect to those principles, and organise and control such schemes as the Government might refer to it. On the matter of membership, the Government consulted widely, although it does not appear to have consulted Maori. Nor did the original proposals for membership include Maori. Section 3(1) of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 (as drafted, the Repatriation Bill) thus provided for the appointment of a National Rehabilitation Council. Section 3(2) provided that the chairman should be the Minister 'for the time being charged with the administration of this part of this Act,' while section 3(4) empowered the Minister to invite nominations from bodies comprising or representing discharged service personnel and from employers and employees in the primary and secondary industries. It was left to Paraire Paikea (MHR Northern Maori) to propose the inclusion of a representative of Maori in the membership of the National Rehabilitation Council, a suggestion accepted by Minister of Finance Walter Nash. Tai Mitchell and Eruera Tirikatene were nominated.⁷⁴⁹ Tai Mitchell thanked Fraser for 'this special gesture of confidence and goodwill in the appointment of two members of Maori Race to this important Council ...'⁷⁵⁰ The National Rehabilitation Council was established in January 1942 and charged with making inquiry and

⁷⁴⁸ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/1/a 1/0.

⁷⁴⁹ Minister of Finance to Prime Minister 21 October 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/153. Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-o-te-rangi Mitchell, of Ngati Te Takinga of Ngati Pikiāo, was born in Ohinemutu in 1877. He trained as a surveyor and took an active role in community affairs, serving (among others) on the Rotorua County and Borough Councils and on the Waiariki District Maori Land Board, and as chairman of the Te Arawa Maori Council. He was a close associate of Ngata and assisted the latter to devise and implement the Maori land development scheme. He died in 1944. See 'Mitchell, Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-o-te-rangi,' in *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

⁷⁵⁰ Tai Mitchell, Rotorua to Prime Minister 27 January 1942, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/153. See also 'Council set up. Rehabilitation of returned men,' *Evening Post* 23 January 1942, p.6.

investigation into the re-establishment of discharged servicemen in civil life and with making recommendations to the Government accordingly.

6.5.2 Rehabilitation Board and rehabilitation assistance

Section 4(1) of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 provided for the appointment of a Rehabilitation Board, its members to comprise the deputy chairman and up to five other members of the National Rehabilitation Council. Treasury had expressed some misgivings over the establishment of such a body.⁷⁵¹ It secured the support of the Department of National Service: it prepared a measure that included provision for an administrative structure that comprised a small ‘advisory council’ and an existing department, ‘presumably,’ observed Treasury, ‘National Service, in view of probable decline of its present activities.’⁷⁵² Such counter-proposals notwithstanding, the Rehabilitation Board was established in February 1942 with a membership of six. Among them was H. Tai Mitchell (replaced upon his death in 1944 by Hone Heke Rankin), while one other member, E.L. Cullen MP, took a strong interest in Maori affairs.

Section 8 of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 specified the matters that would define both the objectives and the core provisions of the rehabilitation programme.

- The reinstatement of discharged servicemen in civil employment or occupation;
- The training of discharged servicemen to qualify them for entry into civil employment or occupation;
- The granting of financial assistance to discharged servicemen during any period of training;
- The making of special arrangements for discharged servicemen concerning the passing of examinations, the completion of apprenticeships, or the obtaining of practical experience necessary or desirable for the purpose of qualifying any persons for entrance into any employment or occupation; and

⁷⁵¹ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 2 July 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/153.

⁷⁵² Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 11 July 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/153.

- The granting of financial assistance to discharged servicemen and to servicemen's widows to enable them to acquire homes and furniture or to acquire land, stock, implements, tools of trade, or other things necessary to enable them to commence any employment or occupation.

Section 9 of the Act charged the Board with promoting and organising

the making of, and if necessary to make, every such provision as it may deem necessary for the establishment in civil life of discharged servicemen and servicemen's widows and for the purpose of enabling those persons to establish themselves in civil employment or occupation, and the Board shall coordinate and use the services available in Departments of State and elsewhere for the carrying-out of its functions.

Thus the Board was empowered to acquire property for disposal to ex-servicemen (section 10); grant financial assistance (section 11); establish and run schemes or institutions for educational, industrial, and vocational training, and for the care and maintenance of disabled veterans (section 12); and authorise any body corporate or other agency to exercise any of the Board's powers (section 13). Section 14 empowered the Governor-General to modify the requirements for entry into any employment or occupation, and section 19 empowered him to issue regulations deemed necessary for the implementation of the provisions of Part 1.

6.5.3 Rehabilitation and national reconstruction

Part II of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 dealt with 'Industrial reconstruction.' Its purpose (set out in section 20) was 'to ensure that primary and secondary industries are converted to a peace-time basis with the least possible interference with the welfare of the persons engaged or employed therein.' Essentially, it empowered the Minister of Finance to terminate war contracts for the supply of goods and to compensate those affected; it empowered the Minister, on the recommendation of the Minister of Industries and Commerce, to assist wartime industries financially to convert their businesses to other work, and similarly to assist in the establishment of

any new industry or in the expansion of any existing industry. As J.V.T. Baker noted, the Act conferred ‘quite wide powers’ on the Rehabilitation Board.⁷⁵³

In its first annual report, for the year ending 31 March 1943, the Rehabilitation Board dealt at length with post-war reconstruction, noting in particular that it saw ‘the plans of the Government for the conversion of industry from a war-time to a peace-time and its expansion as the framework within which measures for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen are to be devised and administered.’⁷⁵⁴ The Board set out the five premises on which it proposed to base its programme. First, it insisted that primary and secondary industrial activity and thus economic prosperity ‘to be necessarily limited only by physical resources – namely, materials and manpower ... This view,’ it added, ‘destroys the doctrine of inevitable depression, and promises to New Zealand the full fruit of its natural and human resources.’ Second, it recorded that it was necessary to ensure employment for all ex-service personnel ‘as well as for a proportion of the women at present employed in industry who would otherwise be displaced therefrom;’ third, that it was ‘necessary to expand quickly and considerably the supply of both capital and consumption goods ...;’ and, fourth, that ‘an appropriate monetary policy to serve these two ends and at the same time avoid inflation will require to be applied.’ Its final premise was that ‘an appropriate system of controls – industrial, financial, and distributive – will be necessary.’⁷⁵⁵

On the basis of those premises, the Board prepared what it termed ‘a schedule of necessary works, both State and local,’ and set out to devise such trade and occupational training as would allow it to deal with the first major task, that of facilitating the absorption of ex-service personnel into the workforce. Among the ‘State works’ nominated were railways, post and telegraph facilities, afforestation, roads, and the construction of hydroelectric works. Both State and local body works, the Board insisted, were ‘not to be regarded as unemployment relief measures. They are instead essential steps to the maintenance and utilization of the natural resources that will be required to support the industrial programme of reconstruction, and with it

⁷⁵³ J.V.T. Baker, *The New Zealand people at war: war economy*. Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1965, p.510.

⁷⁵⁴ AJHR 1943, H18, p.3.

⁷⁵⁵ AJHR 1943, H18, p.3.

the increased manufacture of consumption needs.’⁷⁵⁶ Finally, the Board identified those industries in which a substantial expansion of the workforce was required, notably construction, but it also listed a number of others, namely, ‘sugar-beet, industrial alcohol, wool tops, lucerne dehydration, linseed oil, electric motors, batteries, rubber tires [*sic*] . . .’ It also identified a number of existing industries that offered scope for expansion, among them, woollen textiles, leather-ware, paper and cardboard, tobacco growing and curing, linen and flax growing and spinning, clay products, vegetable and fish canning, gelatine and glue, and moulded plastics, while engineering would absorb ‘thousands of men ...’⁷⁵⁷ In short, the Rehabilitation Board saw itself at the centre of the economic and social reconstruction that would follow the cessation of hostilities. Accordingly, the rehabilitation programme was conceived and implemented as part of the Government’s larger plans for post-war social and economic reconstruction, including improved and more generally shared levels of material prosperity.

Subsequently, a decision was taken to establish a reconstruction and national planning organization for the explicit purpose of implementing Part II of the Rehabilitation Act.’ The Organisation for National Development was established on 6 April 1944, policy direction being given by a Cabinet sub-committee the membership of which included the Ministers of Finance, Industries and Commerce, Works, Agriculture, and Rehabilitation. The Organisation’s establishment was described as setting ‘in motion machinery to plan and coordinate the economic transition to peacetime conditions and the subsequent development of industrial activity. Full employment is thus the main reason for the Organisation’s development.’⁷⁵⁸ The outcome of that change, according to the Rehabilitation Board, was that ‘it can concentrate on its main task of re-establishing ex-servicemen and ex-servicewomen in circumstances made as favourable as possible by co-ordination with developments in the broader economic sphere.’⁷⁵⁹ In other words, the Board, although relieved of responsibility for ‘national development,’ would construct the rehabilitation programme with that wider goal to the fore. In 1945, the Rehabilitation Board recorded that the Organisation for National Development had appointed a ‘Personnel Committee’ (under the Minister of

⁷⁵⁶ AJHR 1943, H18, p.3.

⁷⁵⁷ AJHR 1943, H18, p.4.

⁷⁵⁸ AJHR 1945, H11A, p.16.

⁷⁵⁹ AJHR 1944, H18, pp.1 and 26.

Rehabilitation), its function being to ‘concentrate on working out detailed plans for demobilization of the Armed Forces, rehabilitation of servicemen and civilian workers, and their re-employment in peace-time work.’ The Department of Native Affairs had one representative among its 19 members. The Organisation was in fact disbanded towards the end of 1945, its proposed responsibilities passing to existing State departments and agencies, including the Rehabilitation Board.⁷⁶⁰

The Rehabilitation Board thus re-defined its ‘immediate and basic responsibility . . . [as] to give all ex-servicemen and ex-servicewomen the opportunity of returning to civil life on terms at least as favourable as those which would probably have applied as result of their own efforts, if they had not been required to serve in the Armed Forces.’ Further, it resolved that ‘If rehabilitation goes only thus far, none shall be placed at an economic disadvantage by his or her service . . .’ It acknowledged that some might view that as a restricted interpretation of rehabilitation, as offering little more than a return to the pre-war *status quo*, whereas some allied nations were ‘thinking in terms of a new order that will enable the mass of the people in all countries to attain to progressively higher economic and cultural levels.’⁷⁶¹ Whether veterans would accept a return to pre-war conditions was a matter on which the Board chose not to comment beyond observing that it was not the function of the Board ‘to control the general economic environment.’ In implementing the rehabilitation programme, the Board had one other objective, namely, to carry out the Government’s intention ‘to reward, to the fullest possible extent, the meritorious service of men and women members of the Force,’ that is, to correlate ‘merit with known or presumed hazard or with duration and zone of service.’⁷⁶²

⁷⁶⁰ See, among others, Leslie Lipson, *The politics of inequality: New Zealand’s adventures in democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, p.392; John Williams, *The New Zealand economy in war and reconstruction*. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948, p.62; and R.J. Polaschek, *Government administration in New Zealand*. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1958, p.48.

⁷⁶¹ AJHR 1944, H18, p.3.

⁷⁶² AJHR 1944, H18, p.3.

6.6 'It has been our bitter experience ...'

The establishment of the Rehabilitation Council and the Rehabilitation Board early in 1942 resolved one issue: the rehabilitation programme would be administered through a new and specialised agency. Whether that new agency and the administrative arrangements it planned to construct would reach and meet the needs of Maori ex-service personnel was a matter that was keenly debated through 1942 and 1943. At the heart of the debate lay at least two major issues, the first centring on issues of equality and the second on the matter of control. The latter involved, on the one hand, a complex political struggle among the advocates of greater Maori self-reliance and Maori control of the administration of all programmes, including rehabilitation, of importance to Maori, the Department of Native Affairs, anxious to preserve and if at all possible to secure a significantly expanded role in both rehabilitation and economic reconstruction, and the Rehabilitation Council and Rehabilitation Board, determined to retain full control of rehabilitation policy and its implementation.

Ngata was to the fore in that debate. He was displeased that the Rehabilitation Act 1941 contained no provisions intended to meet the particular needs of Maori ex-servicemen.⁷⁶³ In a 1942 memorandum, he suggested that neither the Department of Native Affairs nor the Department of Lands and Survey had 'satisfactory records of catering for Maori needs.' With respect to the Department of Public Works and its proposed involvement in the provision of housing for Maori veterans, Ngata claimed that 'It has been our bitter experience that our Maori housing and development work is dropped upon the slightest pretext of urgency in some other branch of state activity.'⁷⁶⁴ His misgivings about the Department of Native Affairs notwithstanding, Ngata argued that it should assume responsibility for housing and settling Maori ex-servicemen on the land. He also suggested that there was greater scope for settling veterans on land owned by Maori than on Crown lands administered by the Department of Lands and Survey. At that stage (1942) the Crown retained comparatively little land suitable for closer settlement. Walker recorded that

⁷⁶³ The following section is based largely on Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: the life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001, pp.370-372.

⁷⁶⁴ A.T. Ngata, Memorandum upon a scheme for the rehabilitation and repatriation of returned soldiers and civilians, undated, c.1942, Ngata Papers. Cited in Walker, *He Tipua*, p.370.

subsequently, in December 1942, Ngata made it clear to the tribal executive committees of Te Rawhiti that housing and land settlement under the rehabilitation programme would come at a cost and that the committees should look for ways in which that cost could be minimised. To that end, he suggested the establishment of a fund from tribal lands and resources, building perhaps upon the East Coast Maori Soldiers' Fund in the foundation of which in 1917 he had taken a leading role.⁷⁶⁵

Writing to the Acting Native Minister (H.G.R. Mason) in March 1942, Ngata made quite clear his preference that 'the provision of homes and of land for discharged Maori soldiers should be delegated to the Native Department, which is specially equipped for those purposes, has concentrated thereupon for twelve years and has had more experience than any other branch of the Administration.'⁷⁶⁶ Moreover, the Department would be able to secure the cooperation of Maori communities through committees 'such as that now functioning in the Waiariki Maori Land Board District.' The Department of Native Affairs working cooperatively with Maori communities, he suggested, was more likely to reach Maori veterans than any structure devised by the Rehabilitation Board. He did acknowledge that the Department, apart from work on the land, was not equipped to place Maori into employment, but that 'there should be opportunities in a well conceived housing scheme, which emphasised training of the Maori youth in building in its many branches.'⁷⁶⁷

Certainly, Ngata did not favour the proposal for a Maori 'council' consisting of judges of the Native Land Court, Maori Members of Parliament, and tribal representatives to advise the Rehabilitation Board, describing the proposed body as 'unwieldy and unnecessary' (see below). Rather, he proposed a conference involving those people and the Board: high on its agenda would be the matter of land, Ngata noting that 'In addition to native owned lands ... [each] representative should submit proposals for acquiring Crown or private lands that may be required for settling Maori

⁷⁶⁵ Walker, *He Tipua*, p.371.

⁷⁶⁶ Ngata, Ruatoria to Acting Native Minister 24 March 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0. Mason entered Parliament in 1919 as the Labour member for Manukau. He was Attorney-General and Minister of Justice in the First Labour Government, Minister of Education from 1940 to 1947 and Minister of Native Affairs from 1943 to 1946. See Jonathan Hunt, 'Mason, Henry Greathead Rex,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

⁷⁶⁷ Ngata, Ruatoria to Acting Minister, Native Affairs 24 March 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

soldiers.’ He went on to note the scale of the Maori land development programme, but took the opportunity to offer some trenchant criticisms, asking:

How many Maoris are there on the various schemes in responsible positions as supervisors, managers, foreman [*sic*], head shepherds and permanent hands? Is the Maori race after these many generations so lacking in ability or a sense of responsibility or so unresponsive to the influence of education and contacts with the Pakeha world that so few of its members are deemed worthy of taking more than a menial share in the management of its estate? The development of human resources has not proceeded *pari passu* with that of material resources. A scheme which aimed at the dual development is degenerating into one for the development and administration of native-owned lands for the Maori owners under conditions which engender a feeling of inferiority, frustration, and resentment in the minds of the people for whom this measure of rehabilitation was devised.⁷⁶⁸

6.7 The Native Department stakes a claim

Native Minister Mason offered no comment on Ngata’s submissions, merely passing the latter’s suggestion for a conference on the rehabilitation of Maori veterans to the Minister in Charge of Repatriation.⁷⁶⁹ On the other hand, the various Registrars to whom the letter was submitted did offer some observations. Auckland’s Registrar affirmed his belief that the Native Department did have machinery that could be utilised with respect to land settlement ‘and in certain cases in the provision of housing.’ But he went on to add that ‘The settlement of Native soldiers on tribal or other Native lands would ... require consideration of ways and means of giving the settlers a secure tenure, otherwise they would not be in as good a position to become successful settlers and eventually freeholders as would Pakeha soldiers established on Crown lands probably with the right to acquire the freehold.’ However obliquely, the Registrar had touched on an issue that would assume great importance in the settlement of Maori veterans. With respect to housing in rural areas, the Department, he added, was best placed to respond.⁷⁷⁰ Gisborne’s Registrar noted, with respect to

⁷⁶⁸ Ngata, Ruatoru to Acting Native Minister 24 March 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁷⁶⁹ Acting Native Minister to Ngata 21 April 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

⁷⁷⁰ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 5 April 1942 in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

land settlement, that ‘a limiting factor is the poor class of land remaining unsettled,’ although the re-forestation of deteriorated Maori-owned land was an option. He expressed a particular concern over the state of Maori education, particularly the small numbers proceeding to higher education and the implications for occupations and careers.⁷⁷¹ Rotorua’s Registrar noted Judge Harvey’s committees that had been formed throughout the district to deal with rehabilitation.⁷⁷²

The same month, April 1942, Native Department’s Under Secretary Campbell carried his department’s claim forward when he suggested to the ‘Repatriation Board’ that possibly a third of all Maori veterans would wish to settle on the land. It is worthwhile noting here that by the end of March 1948 a total of 4,995 Maori ex-service personnel had been discharged: of that number 3,706 had served overseas. Campbell went on to make the bold prediction that ‘Subject to the necessary finance being available this Department could, if it is desired to do so, find suitable land work for practically all these men without much delay.’ He went on to add that:

The land at our disposal is all Native owned and the prospective occupiers are selected by the owners. Occupiers for quite a considerable area of these lands have not yet been selected and I have no doubt but that, as the returned men come back, many of the owners will be anxious to assist by nominating them as occupiers of any of their surplus lands. The Maoris are already thinking along these lines. In this way I would think that we should be able to find holdings for possibly 300 returned men [emphasis added].⁷⁷³

In fact, section 16(1) of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 empowered the Board of Native Affairs to nominate occupiers, while section 16(2) provided that the Native Land Court could ‘at the request of the Board, recommend a person to be nominated.’ A concern among Maori that the Board would act without the consent of owners would soon become apparent. Campbell went on to note that those holdings, mostly leaseholds, were scattered through the North Island although with concentrations in the Upper Waikato, Taupo, and Rotorua districts. Without citing any evidence, he concluded that ‘It is unlikely that many Maoris will wish to be repatriated under any

⁷⁷¹ Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 22 April 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

⁷⁷² Registrar, Rotorua to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 27 April 1942, in ANZ Auckland ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

⁷⁷³ Under Secretary, Native Department to Chairman, Returned Soldiers’ Repatriation Board 9 April 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

general land settlement scheme, but provision should of course be made for those who wish to do so, to do so.' Finally, the Under Secretary suggested that 'it would be in the best interests of the men themselves and the Government, to see many of them given the opportunity to become artisans, tradesmen, etc. The Maori excels at all forms of hand-work ...'⁷⁷⁴ When the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen was discussed by the Rehabilitation Board in April 1942, Campbell again indicated that 'provision could be made for establishing Maoris on native owned or Crown land. A million acres were available, and possibly half was good farming land. A large area, possibly 100 to 150 holdings, was available near Rotorua.'⁷⁷⁵ Campbell is reported as having suggested that the Maori ex-serviceman settler could be offered 'a little more assistance ... mainly because he was not commercialised to the extent of the pakeha.'⁷⁷⁶ Ngata, at least, was clear in his mind where responsibility for that state of affairs lay.

At a time when the participation of the Department of Native Affairs in the rehabilitation programme remained unclear, Campbell's insistence that the Maori land development programme could accommodate all those Maori ex-servicemen seeking rehabilitation through land settlement appears as a carefully crafted stratagem devised primarily with his agency's interests to the fore. How much confidence the Rehabilitation Board reposed in Campbell's assurances is not entirely clear. What is clear is that on 2 April 1942, the Rehabilitation Board was advised by its chairman that 'there appeared to be a certain amount of antipathy towards the Native Department on the part of Maoris whom he had contacted. As a result he was inclined to suggest that a committee consisting of the Native Members of Parliament and Mr Mitchell as chairman be requested to report to the Board regarding [the] rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen.' The Board agreed.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁴ Under Secretary, Native Department to Chairman, Returned Soldiers' Repatriation Board 9 April 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁷⁷⁵ 'Army education. Rehabilitation problems,' *New Zealand Herald* 7 May 1942, p.8.

⁷⁷⁶ 'Maori ex-servicemen,' *Evening Post* 8 May 1942, p.6.

⁷⁷⁷ Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 2 April 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

6.8 ‘No more curtain lectures:’ a conference in Rotorua, 19 May 1942

Concurrently, Ngata’s efforts to promote a conference on the rehabilitation of Maori veterans proved successful, a decision being taken to hold the event in Rotorua (Whakarewarewa) on 19 May 1942. Under Secretary Campbell defined the main question as ‘What is the most suitable machinery for dealing with rehabilitation of Maori soldiers?’ With respect to land settlement in particular, the question was ‘how the existing schemes might be adapted – (a) under Small Farms Act; (b) under Native Land Development; (c) where lands controlled by special trusts; (d) purchase of private lands; (e) making available Crown lands; (f) a Maori Flock House scheme of training.’⁷⁷⁸

As the debate got under way, several major positions were advanced. First, the proposed rehabilitation programme was seen to constitute a means through which Maori ex-servicemen could be encouraged to move into new occupational and employment opportunities and thus contribute ‘fully’ to the post-war reconstruction and development of New Zealand.⁷⁷⁹ Second, rehabilitation would not involve the restoration of a past state of affairs so much as contribute to the development of a ‘new world order’ in which the economic cycle of boom and bust would be avoided, poverty and want would be eliminated, gainful employment and decent homes would be available for all, and wealth would be distributed fairly. Third, it was very clear that the Rehabilitation Board intended to control the entire rehabilitation process, that it proposed to exercise the very wide powers that it had been granted to the fullest extent necessary to secure the aims of the rehabilitation programme, and that it would make no distinction between Maori and Pakeha. Above all, the Board was determined to avoid the mistakes made in the wake of World War I, summed up as ‘an overcoat, a free railway pass, [and] a few pounds in our pockets to rehabilitate ourselves.’ The Rehabilitation Board was determined to resist what its chairman, M. Moohan, predicted would be a ‘hue and cry to reduce expenditure . . . and . . . the old economy

⁷⁷⁸ Under Secretary, Native Department to Chairman, Rehabilitation Board 11 May 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10.0.

⁷⁷⁹ It was also seen as a means of countering prejudice notably, according to Rotorua’s Mayor, in the civil service.

armies running throughout the country saying that money cannot be spent.’⁷⁸⁰ He concluded by saying that he was satisfied that ‘the Maoris will be able to show that they did not need any more “curtain lectures” [reprimands] from the pakeha, which I am sure they are sick and tired of after a hundred years of occupation.’⁷⁸¹

E.L. Cullen, then chairman of the Rehabilitation Board’s land settlement committee, dealt at length with land settlement and in particular with the Maori land development scheme.⁷⁸² He acknowledged the mistakes that had been made and the criticisms that had been levelled at it, but indicated that the Board would employ the Department of Native Affairs as its agent. A question mark, nevertheless, remained over the suitability of the Board of Native Affairs, certainly insofar as rehabilitation matters other than land were concerned. He also indicated that Maori veterans would be established on Crown lands and any lands adjacent to Maori land development schemes where it could be acquired, and that he would press the Native Land Court to ensure that consolidation measures, then practically stalled, were ‘expedited and put through as fast as possible when the Rehabilitation Board wants to get on developing and spending money on Native land.’⁷⁸³ Cullen’s remarks were of considerable significance, emphasising as he did that the Rehabilitation Board would settle Maori veterans on Crown lands rather than look to owners to allow the use of development land for rehabilitation purposes, and that he at least regarded title reform as a matter of key importance, at the same time expressing a lack of confidence in the Board of Native Affairs as the appropriate administrative agency.

⁷⁸⁰ ‘Notes of a conference held at meeting house, Whakarewarewa, Rotoru, on Tuesday, 19th May 1942,’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0. M. Moohan was employed in the Post and Telegraph Department before being elected, in 1937, as assistant secretary of the Labour Party and as secretary in 1940. He was appointed chairman of the Rehabilitation Board in February 1942, resigning from the position towards the end of 1943.

⁷⁸¹ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.12.

⁷⁸² E.L. Cullen was born in Havelock North in 1895, attended the Huhaka Native School and Napier Boys’ High School, farmed at Wairoa, served in the armed forces during World War I, and represented Hawke’s Bay from 1935 to 1946 and Hastings from 1946 to 1949.

⁷⁸³ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.15.

6.8.1 Ngata's address

Ngata delivered a long address in which he examined some of the major issues involved, at least as he saw them, in the rehabilitation of Maori veterans.⁷⁸⁴ His focus was not the specific rehabilitation measures so much as the organisation required for their delivery. His basic premise was that the stage of development Maori had reached necessitated administration through other than what he termed 'the normal operation of the public service.' Essentially, he argued, the Rehabilitation Board had to recognise that most Maori soldiers (he estimated 85 percent) came from the back-blocks and lacked experience. A key requirement was thus for an organisation that offered 'follow-up' to ensure their success as settlers.

He then turned to the matter of land settlement. He identified two main issues, the first relating to the quantity and quality of the land available, and the second to the qualifications and fitness to farm of those who would seek to settle on the land. With respect to the first, Ngata concluded that, having first deducted those lands gazetted under the Maori land development programme, those vested in or administered by the Maori Land Boards, the Native Trustee, and other trustees, and those administered by incorporations of owners, the land remaining in Maori ownership consisted of 'small holdings of very valuable land in well settled and closely occupied parts of the Dominion, some lands of considerable value leased to Europeans, [and] large areas of mountainous country or lands not at present readily accessible.' With respect to Crown lands, Ngata noted, Native land law already empowered the Crown to develop such lands for settlement by 'units' nominated by the Native Minister. The relevant provisions could be employed to meet the claims of Maori veterans. As for privately-owned lands, both the Small Farms Act 1932-33 and the Native Land Act 1931 could be employed to acquire land for development and settlement purposes. Adding Maori veterans to those eligible for settlement 'would not be too great an extension of those activities, provided that Native owners approve in the case of Native lands and the Legislature gave priority in the case of Crown lands or lands purchased for soldier settlement.'⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁴ The following account is based upon both his paper dated 16 May 1942 and his address delivered on 19 May 1942.

⁷⁸⁵ A.T. Ngata, 'Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

With respect to the matter of qualification and fitness, Ngata argued that the necessary data were already available on which ‘a close estimate’ of the numbers likely to require farms could be based. The Maori land boards, he proposed, should undertake an analysis of the nominal rolls, but predicted that it would be found that probably less than five per cent of those listed had been farming on their own account on the eve of enlistment; that about ten per cent had been employed on farms and stations in positions ‘which might be deemed as some preparation for a future on the land;’ and that an additional 30 to 35 per cent had been casual or seasonal workers, shearers, or shed-hands, scrub-cutters, fencers, milkers, or development scheme employees. The balance would be found to comprise a small number holding positions in the public service or private offices, ‘and a large percentage . . . employed on public works, in freezing-works, on the wharves or as lorry drivers,’ and some 20 percent ‘who had not become attached to any particular calling being for the most part under age.’ He also suggested Maori young people were ‘less land-minded than that of the preceding generation.’ Despite its mistakes and weaknesses, Ngata argued, the Native Department remained an ‘expert organisation, which on the whole achieves reasonably satisfactory assessments.’ At the same time, he adhered to an earlier view, namely, that the Department was not equipped to deal with industry and employment, although it was fully able to deal with the matter of housing.⁷⁸⁶

He turned to the alternative, namely, that the administration of the rehabilitation programme as it related to Maori veterans should be dispersed among the relevant departments and agencies of the State. ‘Shall,’ he asked, ‘the Maori people contemplate this as an instalment of the “new Order” for their benefit after the war?’ In his view, ‘the overwhelming majority ... [of the Maori soldiers] come from the real back-blocks of the North Island, have not gained the proficiency certificate in the Native Village Schools and have not seen much of that world for which the European Departments of State perform their service.’ Another alternative was a new organisation, but that raised the prospect of duplication. He acknowledged that some were pressing for the abolition of the Board of Native Affairs and the restoration of the powers of the Minister of Native Affairs, and that still others were pressing for

⁷⁸⁶ A.T. Ngata, ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers.’

greater decentralisation to ‘district organisations,’ including Maori land boards.⁷⁸⁷ Among the plethora of suggestions, one matter was reasonably clear, namely, that many Maori reposed little confidence in the capacity if not the willingness of key State agencies to ensure that Maori veterans received equality of opportunity and treatment.

Ngata returned to the matter of land settlement. The first question, he argued, had to do with ‘the notorious immobility of the Maori settler,’ and warned that those who conceived plans for settling Maori soldiers on the land could not afford to ignore the fact that tribal sentiment remained a ‘potent force.’ Maori communities ‘would reserve their resources for their own men.’ The Rehabilitation Board’s deputy chairman would, as an Irishman, ‘thoroughly understand’ that.⁷⁸⁸ It was a warning that may have been made in response to Campbell’s claim that the Department of Native Affairs ‘controlled’ a million acres of Native freehold land. Ngata made it abundantly clear that in his view Maori ‘should provide for their own soldiers.’⁷⁸⁹ There was another ‘powerful factor’ that would restrict the scope for settlement, namely, the refusal of private owners of land to sell to Maori ‘except for spot cash above values that could be obtained from more careful and thrifty purchasers.’ Lending institutions would not lend to Maori farmers without guarantees and supervision not demanded of Pakeha mortgagors, while land boards ‘do not readily accept Maori applicants for Crown lands, and the conditions are too difficult for the average Maori selector.’⁷⁹⁰ His appreciation of the difficulties that had confronted Maori veterans of World War I in securing access to land and his keen understanding of the difficulties that all Maori farmers experienced in trying to secure access to State lending departments were clearly apparent. Indeed, as will be explored in the following chapters, Ngata’s predictions would prove to have been soundly based.

Ngata acknowledged that a small proportion of those who had joined the Maori Battalion, other units of the 2nd NZEF, the Maori Home Defence Battalion, and the Territorial Force were young men who were

⁷⁸⁷ A.T. Ngata, ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers.’

⁷⁸⁸ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.22.

⁷⁸⁹ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.22.

⁷⁹⁰ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.22.

more European than Maori in blood, outlook, education, and experience. They would probably be happier in a Pakeha atmosphere than among their tribesmen or be sufficiently detribalised to move as freely as Pakehas after land or employment without the embarrassment [burden?] of tribal considerations.⁷⁹¹

Such men, he acknowledged, might prefer to seek rehabilitation assistance through the standard channels. The shape of the arrangements that would eventually emerge was becoming clearer.

On the purchase of private lands, Ngata noted that ‘tribal bias’ would insist that lands purchased in particular districts were employed for the settlement of local men, and, he added, ‘the time is fully ripe for Maori rehabilitation, apart from the rehabilitation of Maori soldiers, to seek good land handy to their present habitats.’ Such purchases should be conducted through the Native Department. As for Crown lands, Ngata insisted that ‘The pool of good quality accessible Crown lands was exhausted before the last war.’ The largest remaining areas were the pumice lands in the Rotorua and Taupo districts. Nearly a third of the Maori soldiers, he suggested, had been ‘born and bred on this type of country and in the climate which pervades it. Men from Waikato, the King Country, Upper Whanganui, or even from Hawke’s Bay, Wairoa, or the East Coast will not find it too inhospitable for them.’⁷⁹²

With respect to the lands owned by Maori, Ngata suggested that they constituted

a wide, congenial, appropriate field for the settlement of Maori soldiers. It should be less embarrassing [*sic*] to the Board and the Government. It is an extension of an existing State activity, which has justified itself. But emphatically it is the field where the patriotism of Maori communities can express itself, if that mood is taken at its zenith. That means now, not after the war, when the sentiment will cool down, and man, whether pakeha or Maori, reverts to the selfishness and self-seeking of peace-time. Maori communities should be consulted now as to the extent to which they are willing to give priority to Maori soldiers as units on land subject to the development schemes.⁷⁹³

Ngata clearly believed that the Department of Native Affairs had not to date consulted Maori. He went on to add that only a small proportion of the lands controlled by

⁷⁹¹ A.T. Ngata, ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers.’

⁷⁹² A.T. Ngata, ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers.’

⁷⁹³ A.T. Ngata, ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers.’

special trusts, including those administered by the Maori land boards, were suitable for ‘close individual settlement,’ although some might lend themselves to ‘group settlement.’ Settlement of that kind would capitalise upon the Maori ‘genius ... [for] working in a community, working in cooperation, that will be with us for some generations to come.’⁷⁹⁴ Among the other lands owned by Maori, that is, those not controlled by boards, trusts, or the Department of Native Affairs, were some of the best remaining to the Maori people: a small proportion of the military veterans would return to such lands. Thus Ngata concluded by urging that the rehabilitation of Maori soldiers should be regarded and conducted as ‘a very considerable instalment in the general rehabilitation of the Maori people,’ with the Native Department being made the agent of the Rehabilitation Board and the Maori land boards as district executives.⁷⁹⁵ It was to the existing Maori land development programme that Ngata looked to settle most of the returning veterans. In his view, ‘hundreds could be absorbed’ and ‘they would not be a load on the Government except in one respect, and that is finance.’⁷⁹⁶ In other words, Ngata proposed the application of the formula on which his land development programme had been based, essentially, that Maori supply the land and the labour, and the Government the finance and technical advice.

With respect to housing, Ngata suggested that the opportunity should be taken to train Maori in the building trades, that control should rest with the Native Department, and that the lay-out and standard of houses required reconsideration. ‘There is more than a suspicion that something is being imposed on the average Maori, which does not make for his comfort and happiness according to his cultural ideas.’⁷⁹⁷ Ngata, in fact, was distinctly averse to the provision of houses for Maori being entrusted to the Department of Public Works, claiming that it refused to give details of cost, in particular the loading for administrative expenses. He objected to what he termed ‘the ‘super-subdivision’ of houses, a practice that he described as ‘the first clash between the two cultures,’ and insisting that Maori should have some say as to layout and design rather than being burdened with costly but sub-standard or culturally inappropriate houses.’⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁴ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.23.

⁷⁹⁵ A.T. Ngata, ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers.’

⁷⁹⁶ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.23.

⁷⁹⁷ A.T. Ngata, ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers’

⁷⁹⁸ ‘Notes of a conference,’ pp.24-25.

In short, Ngata proposed that the rehabilitation of Maori veterans should constitute part of a larger effort aimed at the rehabilitation of Maori generally, that the delivery of rehabilitation should be through the Department of Native Affairs and the Maori land boards, that the specific needs and preferences of Maori should be recognised and met, and that with respect to both land settlement and housing, Maori customs should be taken into account. It is worthwhile noting here that helping to inform Ngata's championing of land settlement was a keenly felt aversion to 'the drift to the towns' with their rotten temptations ...⁷⁹⁹

6.8.2 Other contributors

Several speakers followed Ngata's carefully constructed address. Pairere Paikea, expressing concern over the treatment allegedly meted out to World War I veterans, was adamant that Maori should control the machinery that would deal with the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel. He expressed concern over the availability of land for settlement purposes, particularly in Northland where the Maori population was rapidly increasing against the background of a 'very restricted' land resource. His people, he suggested, 'on the whole might be termed landless,' so that Crown land would have to be provided for the settlement of veterans.⁸⁰⁰ Rangiputangatahi Mawhete expressed concern over what he discerned as a possible conflict between the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Native Affairs, at least in respect of land settlement, a concern that would prove not to have been misplaced. But he was also anxious that Maori veterans were not directed into settling on the land, suggesting rather that many veterans would probably prefer trade training, a prediction that events would demonstrate to have been soundly based. Of interest given the difficulties that would soon emerge over the issue of land tenure and entitlement to rehabilitation concessions, he was also anxious that those settled should

⁷⁹⁹ NZPD 1943, Vol 263, p.150.

⁸⁰⁰ Paraire Karaka Paikea was a prominent member of the Ratana movement. He entered Parliament in 1938 as the Labour member for Northern Maori, established the Maori War Effort Organisation in 1942 despite opposition from the Department of Native Affairs, but died in 1943 before he could convert the Organisation into a peacetime body that would allow Maori to control their own affairs. See Angela Ballara, 'Paikea, Paraire Karaka,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

have a secure tenure that included the right of purchase.⁸⁰¹ Wiremu Ratana expressed doubt that there would be sufficient land available and hence proposed that all the confiscated lands should be returned and employed to settle veterans. John Asher was another who criticised the ‘loading’ imposed by the Department of Public Works on houses constructed for Maori, suggesting that different approaches to and forms of housing should be explored: those under construction were deemed to be too small, too expensive, and not suited to Maori needs.⁸⁰²

A number of contributors supported the claim of the Department of Maori Affairs to the control of the rehabilitation programme as it related to Maori ex-service personnel. Judge Shepherd (who would take over as Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs in 1944) claimed that, from its establishment, the Native Land Court and the Native Department had always had the welfare of Maori to the fore: the responses, if any, of those Maori present, to that observation were not recorded. The Court in particular, he argued, had been ‘engaged in the rehabilitation of the Maori people for many years past.’⁸⁰³ Quite what he meant by ‘rehabilitation,’ he did not explain. Judge Acheson expressed some scepticism that the Rehabilitation Board would secure the cooperation of Government departments, skilled as the latter were, he suggested, in deflecting inquiries and failing to reveal what he termed ‘the whole truth.’ Above all, he suggested, Maori veterans should not be made subject to the oversight of the ‘uncontrollable’ public service. He also raised a question over ‘the drudgery of dairy farming,’ suggesting that many men would within a few years require other forms of employment as their emotional health deteriorated, a prediction that elicited support from Major Vercoe.⁸⁰⁴ In his district, Acheson added, it was proposed to initiate oyster farming, honey production, horticulture, and afforestation projects. He went on to note that there were large areas of land in Northland that the Crown had acquired for 4d per acre but had left lying idle ever since: he appealed to the Government to make them available for the settlement of Maori veterans. At that

⁸⁰¹ Rangiputangatahi Mawhete, of Ngati Hineaute of Rangitane, was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1936, and assisted in the establishment of the Maori War Effort Organisation. See Claudia Orange, Mawhete, Rangiputangatahi,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand.*

⁸⁰² ‘Notes of a conference,’ pp.50 and 57-58.

⁸⁰³ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.34. G.P. Shepherd had been appointed a Judge of the Native Land Court on 1 October 1938, and from 1 August 1940 served as Chief Judge.

⁸⁰⁴ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.47.

point, he departed from Ngata's view that Maori should first of all use their own lands, insisting rather that idle Crown and private land should first be employed.⁸⁰⁵

Judge Harvey complained that none of the many boards or councils established to further the war effort had bothered to approach or consult Maori. Accordingly, with Tai Mitchell, Rei Vercoe, and others, he had established a 'council for Primary Production, Rehabilitation, and Manpower.' With respect to rehabilitation, Maori in his district had identified several main issues, among them, the rehabilitation of the fully and partially disabled, the establishment of small tourism-related businesses for such veterans, the establishment of a trade training centre in Rotorua, and the construction of houses. With respect to land settlement, the various hapu consulted had indicated that they would meet the needs of their own people first.⁸⁰⁶

For the Department of Native Affairs, Under Secretary Campbell kept his remarks to a minimum, but did praise his staff, and made it clear that his department could and would assist the Rehabilitation Board, particularly in respect of land settlement. He did urge the establishment of an organisation that would deal with each veteran according to his needs and preferences.⁸⁰⁷ Major Vercoe emphasised the importance of land settlement, in particular group settlement, and trade training, especially carpentry and engineering.⁸⁰⁸ William Bird described the land settlement possibilities, pointing, in particular, to the Galatea Estate.⁸⁰⁹ Hoani Te Heu Heu reminded the conference that, in the wake of World War I, Ngati Tuwharetoa had gifted Owhaoko to the Crown for rehabilitation purposes, but that 'From that date to this no one knows what happened to that land.' He offered his iwi's support, although on the matter of settling men from other iwi on its lands, he noted that his people had insisted that that matter would have to be referred to a tribal meeting.⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁵ 'Notes of a conference,' pp.35-37.

⁸⁰⁶ 'Notes of a conference,' pp.38-42.

⁸⁰⁷ 'Notes of a conference,' pp.42-44.

⁸⁰⁸ 'Notes of a conference,' p.48.

⁸⁰⁹ Henry Te Reiwhati Vercoe, of Ngati Pikiao and Ngati Tuara, had a distinguished military record, serving in the Tauranga Mounted Rifle Volunteers, with the Seventh Contingent in South Africa, and with the Native Contingent on Gallipoli and in France. A farmer, he was involved in the rehabilitation of Maori veterans and subsequently in the Maori War Effort Organisation. See Whakahuihui Vercoe, 'Vercoe, Henry Te Reiwhati,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

⁸¹⁰ 'Notes of a conference', pp.54-55. On this matter, see also the comments by John Asher in 'Notes of a conference,' p.56.

John Asher complained that few constructive suggestions had been placed before the conference and that Maori had been listening to ‘Government officers’ for years past. The success of the proposed rehabilitation programme, he insisted, would depend upon the extent to which iwi were contacted, consulted, and drawn in: otherwise, the response would be a great deal less than hoped for or expected.⁸¹¹ Pei Jones suggested that rehabilitation, with respect to Te Arawa, Ngati Porou, Ngapuhi, and Waikato, given the shortage of land, would prove to be ‘a very serious problem.’⁸¹² For Taranaki, Maui Onekura also indicated that his people did not have the land resources that they thought they should have, that some had been confiscated, and that much was under State control.⁸¹³ For Whanganui, Hoera Marumaruru indicated that it could settle those of its own, provided that the vested lands were returned to the iwi.⁸¹⁴

The conference thus exposed some major concerns among Maori, not least whether the rehabilitation programme would in fact meet the needs of Maori ex-service personnel, and whether the Department of Native Affairs constituted the appropriate delivery agency. It also emerged that at least some Maori discerned in the rehabilitation programme an opportunity to press for a resolution of some major outstanding grievances, including the return of confiscated lands, the allocation of lands that the Crown had previously acquired to the settlement of Maori veterans, and the return of the lands that had been vested under the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 and the Native Land Settlement Act 1907. It was also clear that many discerned an opportunity to advance a claim for a greater measure of self-governance. But what was of particular moment was that those attending the conference had accurately predicted some of the key difficulties into which the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, especially through land settlement, would encounter.

⁸¹¹ ‘Notes of a conference,’ pp.55-58. For Asher, see Ringakapo Tirangaro Asher-Payne, ‘Asher, John Atirau,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

⁸¹² See Bruce Biggs, ‘Jones, Pei Te Hurunui,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

⁸¹³ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.61.

⁸¹⁴ ‘Notes of a conference,’ p.62.

6.8.3 Bringing the debate to a close

Some doubts and some scepticism notwithstanding, the general consensus was the Department of Native Affairs should play a central role in rehabilitation. It was left to Cullen, Moohan, and Ngata to draw the debate to a close. Cullen did so by insisting that the Rehabilitation Board would maintain a firm grip on rehabilitation policy, that it would not ‘lose the peace in rehabilitation,’ and that it was ‘desirous of helping the Native race as a whole.’ But he also indicated – in what would prove to have been a key decision – that all land settlement for Maori veterans would be controlled by the Native Department, although the Rehabilitation Board desired a board or a committee that was in closer contact with Maori than the Board of Native Affairs. With respect to land settlement, it was the Board’s intention that ‘the Maori soldier can go on to his farm, an individual purchase or otherwise, where he can make a good living with a low rate of interest, with a tenure that is permanent for his life, that is the best way of looking after our Maori soldier and the land he is on.’ He went on to acknowledge that not all iwi could make land available ‘and if this Board could set up a land settlement policy in line with the Treaty of Waitangi and in some way give assistance to the Maori people by acquiring Crown land for them then the Board will agree to that proposal.’ He rejected any suggestion that Maori veterans would face discrimination.⁸¹⁵

That last point was also emphasised by Moohan who insisted that the Board’s policy would be ‘carried out without fear or favour, without discrimination ...’⁸¹⁶ The latter made it clear that, with respect to land titles, the Board would not be ‘a party to any system that is going to provide a feast day for tricksters and shysters and glib-tongued agents.’ It was determined to prevent a repetition of the ‘spectacle’ that unfolded in the North Island after World War I. Moohan went on to describe the confiscations and the sales of land by Maori as a great mistake, while noting that

I was born in a country and belong to a race that had the land pinched off them seven hundred years ago and they have not got it back yet and the problem is not solved, and the problem of the Maori won’t be solved in any aspect until they get what they are entitled to in justice – not 95%, but the whole lot, and the longer it

⁸¹⁵ ‘Notes of a conference,’ pp.64-69.

⁸¹⁶ ‘Notes of a conference,’ pp.69-74.

is left the more expensive it is going to be for all concerned. As far as the Rehabilitation Board is concerned, we intend as far as possible to eliminate the evils of the past ...⁸¹⁷

Whether the Government discerned in the rehabilitation programme an opportunity and an instrument to resolve long-standing grievances on the part of Maori seems unlikely. Ngata, in his final comments, drew attention back to the issue at hand. Acknowledging all the criticisms levelled at the Department of Native Affairs, he nevertheless concluded that it was the clear wish of those Maori in attendance that it should handle the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, at least insofar as land settlement and housing were concerned. He applauded Moohan's commitment and enthusiasm, although through his remarks ran a defensive thread: he conceded that mistakes had been made and, in a comment that hearkened back to his tenure as Minister of Native Affairs, declaimed 'But that was the time for direct action and to hell with the regulations ... That is the only way to get these big jobs done ...' On the other hand, he reminded Mason that there were 65,000 acres of Crown land around the northern shores of Lake Taupo suitable for settlement, while the removal of 'his prisoners from Hautu and Rangipo' would free up additional land.⁸¹⁸

The conference concluded, with some reluctance, that the Native Department was the best organisation available. That reluctance was perhaps best expressed by Paikea when he suggested that if the committees and boards responsible for Maori rehabilitation were dominated by Pakehas, Maori servicemen might give up in despair and 'be deprived of some of the benefits that ... his Pakeha comrades in arms would persevere to obtain.' Acting Native Minister Mason described the conference as 'a most successful and indeed inspiring one ...' He acknowledged that the Department of Native Affairs had come in 'for some criticism, but nevertheless uniform opinion was expressed that rehabilitation of native soldiers should be administered through that Department.'⁸¹⁹ But Moohan also made it very clear that 'As a board we do not propose to give up to any State Department the board's powers in regard to rehabilitation. We have been set up to make rehabilitation a success and we are going to do it.' Moohan insisted that 'As regards housing and land settlement, there will be

⁸¹⁷ 'Notes of a conference,' p.71.

⁸¹⁸ 'Notes of a conference,' pp.75-81.

⁸¹⁹ 'Rehabilitation. Maori soldiers,' *Auckland Star* 23 May 1942, p.8. For another report on the conference, see *Dominion* (Wellington) 27 May 1942.

no distinction between the Maori and the pakeha. If Maoris are good enough to fight shoulder to shoulder with our people they are good enough to get a fair and equitable share when the war is over. And they will get it.’⁸²⁰

6.9 The Maori Rehabilitation Committee, June 1942

Following the conference, the Rehabilitation Board announced that it would operate through the Native Department ‘in respect of all Native Affairs,’ Moohan recording that Ngata had ‘expressed the satisfaction of the Maori people in that arrangement.’⁸²¹ But a few weeks later, towards the end of June 1942, the Board decided to appoint a committee to discuss the rehabilitation of Maori veterans ‘along general lines.’ Its membership included E.L. Cullen (chairman), Paraire Paikea, Apirana Ngata, Rangi Mawhete, H.T. Ratana, Eruera Tirikatene, H. Tai Mitchell, O.N. Campbell, Chief Judge G.P. Shepherd, and Judges F.O.V. Acheson, E.M Beechey, J. Harvey, H.H. Carr, and R.P. Dykes (with power to add).⁸²² The committee met towards the end of June when its discussions focussed on the role that Maori tribal executive committees could play with respect to rehabilitation, housing, craft schooling, the establishment of industries that were ‘eminently suitable for the employment of Maoris,’ afforestation, and pensions. With respect to land settlement, the committee noted that ‘As far as possible steps would be taken to settle soldiers on tribal lands while others could be assisted under the main scheme.’ With respect to housing, it suggested that the same standard would apply to both Maori and Pakeha except in rural areas where other types, ‘in keeping with the ability of applicants to meet their financial responsibilities’ might be necessary.⁸²³ The Rehabilitation Board appears to have been less than satisfied with the outcome, for it then asked board members Cullen and Mitchell, and the Under Secretary of the Native Affairs, to conduct further investigations.

⁸²⁰ ‘Rehabilitation. A better order. Future in New Zealand,’ *Evening Post* 6 June 1942, p.6. See also M. Moohan, ‘Rehabilitation,’ *Journal of public administration* 5, 2, 1943, pp.3-7.

⁸²¹ ‘Maori soldiers. Rehabilitation policy. Conference held,’ *Dominion* 27 May 1942, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

⁸²² Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 25 June 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

⁸²³ ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers,’ Notes of a meeting of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee held on 26 and 29 June 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

6.10 Engaging and empowering iwi

While the debate about the merits of the Department of Native Affairs as the channel through which Maori veterans should seek rehabilitation assistance continued, Chief Native Land Court Judge Shepherd contemplated the establishment of a series of regional executive committees and sub-committees through which the Department would operate. Although nowhere stated, it seems possible that such an organisation, controlled by the Department, would both recognise the doubts raised over the Board of Native Affairs and act as a counter-weight to the Maori War Effort Organisation. Full details of his proposed scheme were not located, but it appears that the Maori land boards were to have played a central role, while district or local committees would present local needs and requirements. The proposed organisation would also deal with the small number of Pakeha ex-service personnel likely to settle in ‘predominantly Maori’ districts.

Not all Maori land board presidents supported the concept.⁸²⁴ But Judge Acheson seized upon Shepherd’s proposals with some enthusiasm. In August 1942, he advised the Chief Judge that he had ‘conferred with the more essential groups of Maori opinion throughout the Tokerau District ...’ As a result he could furnish several schedules: the first listed the names of six men for appointment as an additional ‘advisory committee’ the task of which would be to assist ‘the Main or Central Committee and Judge Acheson in their administration of Tokerau Rehabilitation for Maori Soldiers.’ Those nominated would, he suggested, ‘constitute a body of mature opinion, available at all times to provide the necessary background of mana and steady support within the Tribes.’ Acheson noted that his proposal constituted a departure from Shepherd’s proposal of 2 July 1942. His second schedule set out the names of those whom he considered should form the ‘Main or Central Committee as the administrative authority for the whole of the Tokerau.’ The large number reflected, he suggested, the region’s ‘long distances, indifferent communications, separate Tribes, different conditions.’ It had a large and growing Maori population and it had a big representation in the First and Second Maori Battalions and would have in the Third then being formed. Table 6.1 sets out Acheson’s recommendations.

⁸²⁴ President, Tairāwhiti District Maori Land to Chief Judge, Native Land Court 10 July 1942, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

Acheson would chair the committee and the James Tono Waetford would act as secretary. The distribution of membership was calculated to ensure that Ngapuhi did not gain ‘any undue preponderance of ... influence ...’ William Cooper, for whom Acheson had the highest regard, would represent the ‘Miscellaneous groups’ and act as deputy chairman. His appointment, Acheson went on to suggest, ‘should also prove a satisfactory solution of a difficulty which will be known to you. It will enable the Registrar to devote his time to the Waikato-Maniapoto District ...’⁸²⁵

Table 6.1: Proposed membership of the Tokerau ‘Central Committee,’ August 1942

Iwi	Counties	Representatives
Aupouri	Mangonui	1
Ngati Kahu	Mangonui	1
Rarawa)	Mangonui	1
)	Hokianga (West)	1
Ngapuhi	Whangaroa	1
Ngapuhi	Hokianga (Central)	1
Ngapuhi	Hokianga (South)	1
Ngapuhi	Bay of Islands (East)	1
Ngapuhi	Bay of Islands (Central)	1
Ngapuhi	Bay of Islands (West)	1
Ngati Wai and allied iwi	Whangarei	1
Ngati Whatua	Kaipara and Otamatea	1
Miscellaneous groups		1

Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 w1666/124/a 10/0

Acheson’s third schedule set out some wishes and recommendations from iwi as a basis for discussion with the Rehabilitation Board once matters of policy and administration were considered.⁸²⁶ They included the establishment of a sanatorium at Ngawha for all northern Maori service personnel for which 100 acres of Crown land would be sought in exchange for an equivalent value of Native freehold land, and the use of ten acres at Te Tii as a temporary ‘place of recuperation,’ Maori being prepared to regard all expenditure ‘as an advance against their rights in “Surplus Lands” under Commission promised by Prime Minister in 1940 at Waitangi.’ Aupouri proposed that

⁸²⁵ President, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Chief Judge, Native Land Court, Wellington 11 August 1942, in ACIH 16036 MA1 640 32/3/1. The struggle between Acheson and Registrar Robertson has been well canvassed in other reports and is not further described here.

⁸²⁶ Judge Acheson, Auckland to Chief Judge, Native Land Court 11 August 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

the Crown hand over, for Maori soldier occupation, all the idle and unoccupied Crown land lying north of Ngataki and south of Te Kao, including the sand hills on both the east and west coasts, Aupouri being prepared to purchase it at 5s per acre and to settle it with Aupouri soldiers and relatives. Further, it proposed that the Crown purchase two small areas of general land at Wairahi and between Wairahi and Ngataki, the lands of the Parenga Gum Company for the Te Hapua section of Aupouri, the afforestation of some 30,000 acres, oyster cultivation in Parengarenga Harbour, the reclamation of mud flats, and the establishment of plants for vegetable and fruit canning, the manufacture of concrete products, and a lime works based on local shell deposits. Te Rarawa proposed the acquisition of several areas of land, both Crown and general, for settlement purposes, including Waireia D. It is of interest to note that while the Department of Native Affairs apparently possessed reports on these and other blocks, the iwi concerned sought separate investigations and assessments by the Rehabilitation Board. Other suggestions included a pottery industry, glass manufacture, furniture making, reclamation of sandhills and harbour mudflats, diversified farming, a range of educational and health facilities, and the rapid completion of title consolidation.’ In particular,’ Acheson concluded, ‘it is hoped that vision and imagination will be displayed in Maori Rehabilitation matters. The cold hands of officialdom should not be placed around the neck of the returned soldier.’⁸²⁷

In short, Shepherd’s proposal appeared to have envisaged the establishment of ‘regional’ or ‘main’ or ‘central’ committees in each Maori land district. Supported in turn by ‘district’ or ‘local’ committees, they would assist the Maori land boards, the latter in turn dealing directly with the Rehabilitation Board. Such proposals appear, at first blush, to have been intended to decentralise responsibility for rehabilitation, to

⁸²⁷ Judge Acheson, Auckland to Chief Judge, Native Land Court 11 August 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 w1666/124/a 10/0. In September 1944, Acheson, as a member of a deputation from Aupouri, again pressed upon Skinner the desire of the iwi to secure 88,000 acres of Crown land located between the Ngataki settlement (established by the Department of Native Affairs) and Te Kao, purchased for 3d per acre and idle and to re-settle thereon ‘the Parenga Aupouris’ and men returning from active service and to initiate a reforestation scheme. Skinner took the matter up with the Minister of Public Works, but without apparent result. See Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Public Works 1 November 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0. For the wider regional and historical context, see Waitangi Tribunal, *Muriwhenua land report*. Wellington: GP Publications, 1997. With respect to the reclamation of mud flats, at the time of writing Acheson was embroiled in the Ngakoro dispute. See T.J. Hearn, ‘Tidal mud flat reclamation in the Hokianga Harbour,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2016, Section 3, pp.101-134.

involve and empower Maori by drawing upon local leadership and expertise, and to advance the economic and social welfare of both Maori ex-service personnel and the wider community. It is worthwhile bearing in mind that, at this stage, under Part II of the Rehabilitation Act 1941, the rehabilitation authorities were expected to play a central role in the national social and economic reconstruction that would follow the termination of hostilities. What those proposals could not conceal was the anxiety with which the Department viewed the Maori War Effort Organisation and its efforts to gain statutory recognition as the primary agency for advancing and supporting Maori social and economic progress.

Shepherd's proposals lapsed. During 23 to 28 October 1942, Board members visited the Rotorua, Tokaanu, and Tauranga districts to discuss rehabilitation issues. The brief record indicates that Maori stressed the importance of land settlement and a desire to avoid what they termed the mistakes that followed World War I, while the Board, primarily through Moohan, set out the programme it proposed to implement. He insisted that 'Rehabilitation plans provided for equal rights for Maori and pakeha, and it would be the responsibility of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee to see that the Maori interests were not overlooked.' Cullen was again at pains to reassure Maori that their land would not be taken for settlement purposes, that any land gifted would be administered through the Native Department, that the Board would look to use Crown lands adjoining those owned by Maori, and that it would seek to place veterans on their respective tribal lands. On the other hand, he did note that some iwi were prepared to make land available for men of other tribes whose lands were insufficient for the purpose.⁸²⁸ That appears to have been a reference to Ngati Tuwharetoa's September 1942 decision, first, to provide all the land required for farms or other settlement from their own lands so far as its soldiers were concerned, and that the Crown (which it claimed owned about one-third of the lands within its rohe) should employ its lands for the settlement of soldiers of other iwi.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁸ 'Visit to Rotorua, Tokaanu and Tauranga Districts,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸²⁹ Visit to Rotorua, Tokaanu, and Tauranga districts.'

6.11 'Where is the Maori soldier?'

During 1942 it became clear that the Rehabilitation Division of the National Service Department, responsible for placing all veterans in employment, was encountering difficulties locating and approaching Maori veterans. In some instances, kaumatua had proved helpful, in other cases less so. In August 1942, the Department thus asked the Native Department to furnish a revised list of all of its Maori contacts, including their iwi and rohe.⁸³⁰ That same month, the State Advances Corporation advised the Rehabilitation Board that its Napier branch had received enquiries from members of the Maori Battalion as to whether they were eligible for farm loans. In the Corporation's view, the proper avenue for the granting of assistance was the Native Department.⁸³¹ On the one hand, it seemed, some agencies of the State were experiencing difficulties with respect to the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, while on the other hand, some agencies were keen to hand over all responsibility to the Department of Native Affairs. The rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel, it seemed, was in danger of being stranded between the Scylla of bureaucratic inadequacy and the Charybdis of bureaucratic buck passing.

In March 1943, the Rehabilitation Board announced that while the facilities offered to Pakeha ex-service personnel were also available to Maori, nevertheless, the need for 'special Maori rehabilitation measures' had been recognised.⁸³² It recorded that, by the end of March 1943, 291 Maori servicemen and women had been invalided home from overseas, while 310 had been demobilised from camps in New Zealand. The Board claimed that the comparatively small number involved to date meant that it had 'not yet put in hand any complete organizational measures for the administration of Maori rehabilitation,' but that it had conducted research into the issues involved, and that it had 'formulated, ready for implementation at the appropriate time, plans which are expected to facilitate the industrial reabsorption of all serving Maoris in such a way as to take full account of their social needs.'⁸³³ It did not at that juncture describe the research it had undertaken, or specify the plans that it had developed. It did though

⁸³⁰ Controller, Rehabilitation Division, National Service Department to Under Secretary, Native Department 5 August 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸³¹ Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 20 August 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

⁸³² AJHR 1943, H18, p.17. See also AJHR 1944, H18, p.23.

⁸³³ AJHR 1943, H18, p.17.

cite what portended a future difficulty, namely, that while by the end of March 1943, it had 'dealt with' 601 returned and demobilised Maori personnel and that only two were awaiting placement, nevertheless it had lost contact with 38.⁸³⁴

Ngata could thus complain, in March 1943, that no department of State had yet been designated to look after the interests of Maori ex-service personnel. He went on to press again his support for the Department of Native Affairs.

The policy of the Rehabilitation Board, so far as the Maori soldier is concerned, is that he should get the best. We all applaud that ... But is he? When that is worked out in practice, where is the Maori soldier? Very much out of step. What are his requirements? Something we cannot cater for, because we have not a Department, except one, equipped for the purpose of looking after his interests ... What we need in connection with the Maori soldier is a Department to look after his two main elements, as far as rehabilitation is concerned – the providing of land and the building of houses; and the executive of the Rehabilitation Board should be the Native Department.⁸³⁵

He went on to add that

The Maoris have plenty of land for a considerable number of their soldiers. They have not been asked, except in one instance of which I have heard, nor has the machinery been set up for inquiry, whether the tribes will provide suitable land for the settlement of soldiers ... the Native Department wants a direction that, in making provision for Maori soldiers on Native land, it is carrying out rehabilitation fully, and that it looks to the Government, or to the Rehabilitation Board, for the necessary finance. In the matter of housing ... the experience is that the best Department to handle the housing of Maoris – soldiers and others – is the Native Department. We have quarrels with that Department, but, on the whole, it provides a short-cut in the approach to Government.⁸³⁶

That the Department of Native Affairs evidently required a direction may have suggested that Ngata entertained a certain lack of confidence that it was fully committed to the rehabilitation programme, or that it remained uncertain over its role. It is worthwhile noting here that his comment to the effect that iwi had not been asked about the provision of land strongly suggests that Campbell's earlier assertions over

⁸³⁴ AJHR 1943, H18, p.18.

⁸³⁵ NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.236.

⁸³⁶ NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.236.

the capacity of the Maori land development programme to accommodate all those Maori veterans likely to seek settlement on the land had been made without any consultation at all. This matter is explored further below.

That same month, March 1943, Paikea informed the House that

... after the 1914-18 war the Maori soldier had to put his case before a pakeha tribunal [waste lands boards] and his case was adversely affected right away because of the environment of that tribunal. It is true that there are educated Maoris, but I know that the young men fighting overseas will pardon my saying that it is equally true to say that some of those who are away fighting and who will come back are of the semi-illiterate type. Would it be right to ask that those men should present their cases to a pakeha tribunal when, through no fault of their own, they will not be able to present their case confidently before such a tribunal? My view is that the interests of those young men could best be served if they were allowed, first, to present their cases before a Maori tribunal, which could then collect the facts and put them before the Rehabilitation Board. In that way, every Maori soldier would be assured of receiving his full share of the benefits provided under the Act. I am asking that the organization connected with the Maori war effort should be used for the conducting of rehabilitation business.⁸³⁷

Ngata was equally adamant that the Department of Lands and Survey would not 'adjust its system to meet the case of Maori soldiers.' Educated Maori, he suggested, could take their place in ordinary Crown land ballots if they chose, but 80 per cent of Maori soldiers came from 'the way-back villages of North Auckland, the Bay of Plenty, the Urewera country, the East Coast.' Most of them, he recorded, had no more than 'a Fourth Standard pass,' very few had attended secondary school and even fewer university.

It is for the rank and file that the scheme is being propounded. Very well, that is the same material that taken in hand in connection with the Native land-development schemes ... The system provided for the pakeha will do for the anglicized Maoris – that is, for about 5 per cent of the personnel of the Maori Battalion. For the other 95 per cent, the Government will have to take a leaf out of the book of the Native-land-development scheme.⁸³⁸

In the Legislative Council, Mawhete noted that within six months the Maori War Effort Organisation had established 381 branches, that 16,759 men were serving in

⁸³⁷ NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.354.

⁸³⁸ NZPD 1943, Vol 263, p.152.

the overseas forces, home service, and the territorial forces, and that some 11,000 men and women were engaged in essential industries. Other Maori, he added, had enlisted in the Emergency Precautions [civil defence] Scheme. Supporting Paikea, he proposed that the Government appoint a Maori War Effort Organisation committee to act under the control of the Rehabilitation Board. Among other things, such an arrangement ‘would prevent overlapping or interference with the settlement of pakehas.’⁸³⁹ It was clear that the establishment of the Maori War Effort Organisation and the vigour and success with which it pursued its goals had generated a great deal of confidence among Maori in their ability to manage collectively their own affairs and a belief and expectation that it should play a prominent role not only in the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel but in what was generally termed the post-war rehabilitation of all Maori. That neatly summarised the anxieties entertained by the Department of Native Affairs.

6.12 One agency or two?

As the political struggle for control of the rehabilitation of Maori veterans intensified, the Rehabilitation Board decided to appoint a committee to consider the matter: its membership comprised Cullen, T.N. Smallwood (State Advances Corporation), C.W. Batten, Campbell, and Mitchell.⁸⁴⁰ Campbell appears to have deemed the time opportune to present a new proposal, that is, for a single agency to deal with land settlement in its entirety. Towards the end of March 1943, in a letter to E.L Cullen, he thus proposed the appointment of a ‘strong but small representative committee’ to ‘control the whole of the [Rehabilitation] Board’s land settlement functions for both Pakeha and Maori ...’ Membership would comprise one representative from each of the State Advances Corporation, the Native Department, the Department of Lands and Survey, and the Returned Services Association, and – ‘possibly’ – a Treasury officer and a representative of the Maori people.

⁸³⁹ NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.380. Tirikatene also argued strongly in support of the Maori War Effort Organisation playing a prominent role in the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel. See NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.737.

⁸⁴⁰ Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 17 March 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

The Under Secretary offered no explanation for having shifted from his original claim, namely, that his Department could accommodate those Maori veterans who would seek to settle on the land. It is possible that he had had second thoughts about his agency's capacity to deliver on the assurance offered. He went on to claim that such a committee would 'give universal satisfaction and would ensure uniformity of treatment by each Department acting in this matter.' If that option were not favoured, then, he suggested, it would be necessary to set up a separate committee for Maori, with the same membership excepting the State Advances Corporation. The work, he added (in a phrase that would be employed several times), 'will be identical with that now being carried out under the land settlement provisions of the Native Land Act ...' The Department was 'properly organised and equipped to undertake this responsibility. No extra staff will be required at this stage.' He then added that it was hoped that the tribal committees (established as part of the Maori War Effort Organisation) would interest themselves in and cooperate with the Department in all matters connected with rehabilitation. If the Rehabilitation Board agreed, it should appoint such a committee as provided under section 13 of the Rehabilitation Act 1941.⁸⁴¹ Despite his claim to the contrary, Campbell would have known that his proposal was not likely to engender much support, but it clearly expressed his keen desire that the Department of Native Affairs should secure as much control as possible of the rehabilitation programme as it involved Maori ex-service personnel. It also appears to have been founded on the assumption that the assistance that would be made available to ex-service personnel through the Rehabilitation Board would also be made available on the same terms through the Department of Native Affairs. That assumption would soon be put to the test.

Neither of Campbell's proposals secured the support of the Rehabilitation Board's 'Native Committee' (Cullen, Campbell, and Mitchell). In April 1943, it recommended that the Board establish, under the Rehabilitation Board, a committee to 'control the whole of the functions of Maori Rehabilitation.'⁸⁴² The committee would have a membership of six that included H. Tai Mitchell and the Under Secretaries of both the Native and the Lands and Survey Departments. It was suggested that 'As the work

⁸⁴¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to E.L. Cullen MP 29 March 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1. See also ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

⁸⁴² Chairman, Native Committee, Rehabilitation Board to Secretary, Rehabilitation Board 1 April 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

will be identical with that now being carried out under the land settlement provisions of the Native Act [*sic*], the Native Department is properly organised and equipped to undertake the responsibility.’ To that end, the Department of Native Affairs should be authorised to operate against the War Expenses Account. All applications for rehabilitation assistance would be made to the Registrars of the Native Land Court for whom ‘local Field Officers,’ working with tribal committees in all matters connected with rehabilitation, would furnish reports.⁸⁴³ Quite clearly, in all rehabilitation matters the Department of Native Affairs would act at the direction of the Rehabilitation Board. Equally clearly, the Committee envisaged an active if undefined role for the Maori War Effort Organisation.

When considering that report at its meeting on 12 May 1943, the Rehabilitation Board appeared uncertain over the appropriate course of action. While it agreed that the Native Department ‘was well organised and equipped to undertake the responsibility of dealing with applications from Maoris,’ nevertheless ‘in many instances it would be undesirable to insist on Maoris making applications to the Native Department in preference to the State Advances ...’ It decided that ‘some thought would require to be given to this matter before any definite decision was made.’⁸⁴⁴ The Board did adopt the recommendation that Treasury make provision for the Department of Native Affairs to operate against the War Expenses Account under the direction of the Board, and subsequently advised Treasury that, in the light of ‘difficulties’ that had been experienced in dealing with applications for assistance from Maori ex-servicemen, it had decided to appoint the Department of Native Affairs as its agent, noting – again – that the work of land settlement would be ‘practically identical with that now being carried out under the settlement provisions of the Native Act ...’⁸⁴⁵

Treasury declined to support the Department of Native Affairs’s proposals, advising the Minister of Finance ‘that neither suggestion would be a desirable one to adopt,’ that is, for one committee to deal with land settlement generally or a special committee to deal with the rehabilitation of Maori veterans. There was, it noted, an

⁸⁴³ E.C. Cullen, Native Committee to Secretary, Rehabilitation Board 1 April 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁴⁴ Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 12 May 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

⁸⁴⁵ Secretary, Rehabilitation Board to Secretary, Treasury 27 May 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5. A copy of that letter was attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 2 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

existing Land Settlement Board to deal with European land settlement, and an existing Board of Native Affairs to deal with Maori land settlement and housing, while the State Advances Corporation would provide the necessary finance and supervision for individual (as against State) settlement, housing, and ‘other activities.’ In short, Treasury was not disposed to support the establishment of new bodies that would largely duplicate existing bodies. Nor was it prepared to support a proposal that the Department of Native Affairs should draw upon the War Expenses Account: rather, ‘normal development funds,’ that is the Land for Settlement Account, should be employed. Only special concessions, such as ‘abnormal reductions in interest,’ should be charged to the War Expenses Account.⁸⁴⁶ In short, in Treasury’s view, the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen would form part of the Department of Native Affairs’ existing work, with Maori civilian and servicemen settlers financed from one account.

Uncertainty persisted. In May 1943, officers of the National Service Department made clear their desire that the rehabilitation of Maori veterans should be placed under the control of the Department of Native Affairs, citing its ‘greater experience in dealing with Natives ...,’ its representation, in the form of field supervisors, in several townships throughout (in this case) the Tokerau district, and the fact that the contacts between its rehabilitation officers and Maori veterans were ‘protracted and difficult.’ Whangarei’s District Manpower Officer (National Service Department) also noted that most ex-servicemen were, on enlistment, ‘engaged in farming pursuits and in nearly every case would require to contact the Native Department from some cause or other when resuming their pre-enlistment occupation.’ While it was ‘probably undesirable’ that two different departments should handle rehabilitation, the advantages of implementation through the Department of Native Affairs outweighed any disadvantages.⁸⁴⁷ The Controller of Manpower, while acknowledging the arguments advanced, reminded Whangarei’s Manpower Officer, somewhat brusquely, that ‘the organisation responsible for rehabilitation of all ex-servicemen cannot

⁸⁴⁶ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 30 June 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5. See also Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary of Lands, Manager State Advances Corporation, Chief Judge of the Native Land Court, Under Secretary Native Affairs, and Secretary of the Treasury 5 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁴⁷ District Manpower Officer, Whangarei to Controller of Manpower, Wellington 13 May 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

abdicate its responsibility in connection with a section of them.’⁸⁴⁸ One of the major reasons for the determination on the part of the Rehabilitation Board to retain full control of the rehabilitation programme and, equally, to ensure that other agencies of the State would fully implement its decisions had been made abundantly clear.

As uncertainty persisted, frustration mounted. In July 1943, Gisborne’s Registrar complained that a procedure for dealing with the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel had still to be defined. He recorded that he and Judge Carr had approached the chairman and secretary of the Rehabilitation Board when in Gisborne in the hope of securing ‘some definite instructions.’ Instead, they discovered that they ‘had no idea of the problems involved and could give us no information.’ He recorded that the recent conference had recommended that the district Maori land boards should handle all applications for Maori ex-service personnel but that the recommendation had not been implemented. In his view, a ‘cul de sac ... has arisen.’⁸⁴⁹ Concurrently, Maori were beginning to express concern over the lack of local rehabilitation committees to assist ex-servicemen as they returned.⁸⁵⁰

6.13 ‘The cult of equality is a dangerous thing’

During the debate, in July 1943, on the Financial Statement, Ngata made plain his views on the apparently fruitless efforts to devise the administrative arrangements that would ensure that Maori ex-servicemen were able to take advantage of the facilities and services of the rehabilitation programme.

I, like many others [he said], have fretted for some months past – a year or more – over the fact that we do not know the set-up of machinery for taking in hand the rehabilitation of the boys we are directly interested in ... The time has come to develop the machine and see how it operates. It should be given every trial, particularly the cooperation of the tribal committees and tribal executives

⁸⁴⁸ Controller of Manpower, National Service Department to District Manpower Officer, Whangarei 30 June 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁴⁹ Registrar, Gisborne to R.T. Kohere, East Cape 23 July 1943, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

⁸⁵⁰ See, for example, Minister of Rehabilitation to Secretary, Ngati Tahu Rehabilitation Committee, Reporoa 13 August 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

in the various districts. It is true that the Maoris should look after their own soldiers, just as the pakeha committees are expected to look after their soldiers. However, a fact that has to be kept in mind is this: that, on the one case, we have the set-up, the administrative ability, and so on; whereas, on the other hand, there is a loose conglomeration of tribal representatives, with records all over the place, one might say, and therefore it is necessary to concentrate at a point.⁸⁵¹

In views that echoed Shepherd's earlier proposal, Ngata proposed that all applications lodged by Maori ex-servicemen for rehabilitation assistance should be made to the registrars of the Maori land boards and that they in turn consult with tribal committees (by which he appears to have meant the tribal executive committees established under the Maori War Effort Organisation). But there was another serious matter, what he termed the 'cult of equality.' That cult, he suggested, was 'a dangerous thing.' While Maori veterans would be able to secure the same housing loans as Pakeha veterans, he suggested, they would be unable to repay their mortgages and so stood to lose their homes. To Ngata, 'putting ... [Maori] on this pedestal of equality, and declaring that that solves the problem,' would do more harm than good.⁸⁵²

Ngata's comments revived a concern among many Maori that the rehabilitation programme was being tailored to meet the expected needs of Pakeha ex-servicemen and that the facilities proposed could draw Maori veterans into unsustainable debt. Behind that concern rested, for Ngata, two fundamental but familiar issues, those of control and self-reliance. And so he indicated that iwi were considering a scheme intended to subsidise the capital costs of houses, indeed, that some Maori communities had already set aside funds for that purpose.⁸⁵³ What he sought was Government approval for those iwi without land rents or dividends from farms to collect monies for the scheme: such approval was required since any effort to collect would elicit the opposition of the National Patriotic Fund Board. The latter opposed special appeals for special purposes and any earmarking of funds. In effect, Ngata sought the Board's approval of the efforts in self-help that Maori were prepared to undertake.

⁸⁵¹ NZPD 1943, Vol 263, p.150.

⁸⁵² NZPD 1943, Vol 263, p.151.

⁸⁵³ A hui held in Tikitiki on 3 December 1944 'agreed to establish an interest guarantee pool to assist with interest payments on housing loans for soldiers.' See Walker, *He Tipua*, p.372.

Ngata then dealt with ‘the preparation of land’ for settlement purposes, and did so in terms that recalled some of his earlier comments.

It was not possible [he recorded] to prepare the land under the scheme run by the Department of Lands and Survey until 1930, and the Department is not going to begin now to adjust its system to meet the case of Maori soldiers. We may have a number of Maori soldiers as well educated in every respect as pakehas. All right: they can take part in the Crown-land ballots. But where do the great majority of Maori soldiers come from? From the way-back villages of North Auckland, the Bay of Plenty, the Urewera country, the East Coast. Four-fifths of them come from there, and most of them have no more than a Fourth Standard pass ... It is for the rank and file that the scheme is being propounded. Very well: that is the same material that was taken in hand in connection with the Native-land-development schemes ... The system provided for the pakeha will do for the anglicised Maoris – that is, for about 5 per cent of the Maori Battalion. For the other 95 per cent, the Government will have to take a leaf out of the book of the Native-land-development scheme. There is a further aspect that has to be considered. We have Maori land – plenty of it – undeveloped. ... I should have judged that in the settlement of Maori soldiers on the land the challenge should have gone out first to the Maoris to provide the land, and they would have answered that challenge ...⁸⁵⁴

It should be noted too, that informing Ngata’s views was a distinct element of anti-urbanism, the country’s urban centres being perceived as the repository of ‘vile things.’ Indeed, he was strongly of the view that those Maori who had been drawn into urban-based war industries should return to their homes once hostilities had ceased.⁸⁵⁵

6.14 ‘Bringing the system into disrepute’

The continuing arrival of a considerable number of Maori sick and wounded men for whom no particular department of the State appeared to have any responsibility, and the arrival in July 1943 of a large number on furlough, and expected to remain in New Zealand, finally forced the issue. In September 1943, the Tairāwhiti Board’s Registrar suggested that conflicting instructions over how the many applications for assistance that had already been submitted by Maori veterans should be handled had ‘brought the whole scheme into disrepute.’ Not one of those applications appears to have been

⁸⁵⁴ NZPD 1943, Vol 263, pp.152-153.

⁸⁵⁵ NZPD 1943, Vol 263, p.150.

considered by any agency. The impasse, he suggested, was inflicting ‘injustice’ on the veterans concerned.⁸⁵⁶

That same month, under pressure from the State Advances Corporation, Treasury pressed the Government to authorise the Board of Native Affairs to finance the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen.⁸⁵⁷ In October 1943, Tamihana Akuhata (28th Maori Battalion) made clear his frustration. Invalided back to New Zealand in July 1942, he had set out to locate a farm of his own. He approached the Gisborne branch of the New Zealand Returned Services’ Association. It referred him to the Rehabilitation Office; in turn, it referred him to Charles Goldsmith of Waiapu Farmers in Tikitiki; and Goldsmith referred him to the Native Department. He made it clear to the Tairāwhiti District Maori Board’s Registrar that he was ‘getting sick and tired of this running around . . .’ He also noted that he had scattered interests in land that when consolidated would not be sufficient to constitute an economic holding.⁸⁵⁸ Others were experiencing the same difficulties, whereas, he added, ‘Our Pakeha returned friends do not get the same treatment . . .’⁸⁵⁹ Gisborne’s Registrar described his application as ‘typical of many others’ his office had received. He took the matter up with both the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court and the Under Secretary, complaining that

It seems to Judge Carr and myself that the long delay which has occurred in arriving at some procedure for dealing with Maori Returned Soldiers, is a grave dereliction of duty by someone or other and the Tairāwhiti Board again urges that urgent representations should be made to Cabinet to have the injustice removed . . . It is no credit to the country and to the Native Department in particular, that such a state of affairs should have been allowed to continue for over twelve months.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁶ Registrar, Gisborne to Chief Judge, Native Land Court 21 September 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

⁸⁵⁷ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 10 September 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

⁸⁵⁸ The concept and importance of an ‘economic holding’ are discussed below.

⁸⁵⁹ Tamihana Akuhata, Tikitiki to Registrar, Gisborne n.d. in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1. A copy can be found in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

⁸⁶⁰ Registrar, Gisborne to Chief Judge, Native Land Court 15 October 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4; and Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 18 October 1943, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

Prompt and, on this occasion, decisive action followed. On 27 October 1943, the Minister of Rehabilitation convened a ministerial conference: the Director of Rehabilitation, E.L. Cullen, H. Tai Mitchell, J.S. Reid (Treasury), Captain F. Taipa (formerly of the 28th Maori Battalion), and the Secretary of the Rehabilitation Board attended. The purpose was to ‘provide an efficient Maori Rehabilitation Scheme, using as far as possible the existing Native Department organisation.’ Oddly, neither the Minister of Native Affairs nor the Under-Secretary of Native Affairs was present.

According to Cullen, upon the establishment of the Rehabilitation Board, the decision was taken to make the same assistance available to both Maori and Pakeha veterans. The former had been making applications directly to the State Advances Corporation, through the National Service Department, and to the Department of Native Affairs. The practice of the former two was to run a ‘check’ through the last, ‘a round-about method that has not been in the best interests of the Maori soldier.’ Traversing well-trodden ground, he again proposed that ‘the bulk’ of Maori veteran rehabilitation should be handled by the Native Department given that it had records ‘regarding lands owned by the Maori people . . . administers Native estate . . . and controls land development for our Maori people and, in fact, every avenue of Maori civilian occupation.’ In short, the Rehabilitation Board should employ the machinery of the Native Department, and seek the assistance of the Maori tribal committees and tribal executive committees established by the Maori War Effort Organisation to assist Maori veterans in the same manner as the rehabilitation committees established throughout New Zealand were to assist Pakeha veterans. A Maori veteran would lodge an application to his local tribal executive committee. It would pass to the registrar of the local Maori land board, thence to the Native Department, and thence to a Maori Loan Committee. The last would comprise two members of the Rehabilitation Board, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, a member of the State Advances Corporation, and the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey. Such committee would report to the Rehabilitation Board. ‘The system,’ he suggested, ‘would give a direct link up for the Maori applicant through his own department to the Rehabilitation Board.’⁸⁶¹ That proposal secured the support of those present as it was felt that ‘the present Board of Native Affairs is not suitable for the purposes of

⁸⁶¹ Notes of conference held in office of the Hon Minister of Rehabilitation 27 October 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

handling rehabilitation applications.’ It was recognised that Treasury would ‘probably’ require representation on the proposed committee. In effect, the proposed arrangement would leave control in the hands of the Rehabilitation Board.

Also discussed was the need for ‘an effective system of direct contact with returned Maori servicemen ...’ It was thus agreed that ‘suitable’ Maori ex-servicemen from ‘the present war’ should be engaged by the Rehabilitation Department to visit all servicemen ‘and see that they were being encouraged to rehabilitate themselves, [or] the system would break down.’ These ‘Maori rehabilitation officers,’ while working closely with tribal executive committees, would be responsible not to the Department of Native Affairs but to the Rehabilitation Department and its Director. It was suggested that two officers be appointed in the Tokerau and one in each of the Waiariki and Tairāwhiti Maori Land Districts, while a further two would service the remainder of the North Island, and one the South Island. Their proposed appointment and control rather strongly suggested that the Rehabilitation Board continued to repose less than full confidence in the ability or at least the capacity of the Department of Native Affairs to implement the rehabilitation programme as it wished. Finally, the meeting agreed that Maori ex-servicemen should have the option of lodging applications through ‘the normal European channel ...’ It was also informed that the Minister in Charge of the Maori War Effort was prepared to place the Maori War Effort Organisation at the disposal of the Rehabilitation Board.⁸⁶²

It is convenient to note here that following Cabinet’s decisions of 26 November 1943 relating to the ‘machinery’ required for the delivery of rehabilitation assistance to Maori, steps were promptly taken to appoint Maori rehabilitation officers. The Minister of Rehabilitation greeted their appointment as ‘one of the first steps taken by the Government to ensure the successful rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen and women.’⁸⁶³ By the end of March 1944, the Rehabilitation Board had appointed six Maori rehabilitation officers. Former servicemen, they were attached to those Rehabilitation Offices established in the centres of Maori population. Reportedly, ‘They visit the villages in their district and contact every ex-serviceman.’ By the end

⁸⁶² A copy of the notes of the conference are attached to the Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 2 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1. Another copy can be found in AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁶³ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

of March 1945, an additional three officers had been appointed.⁸⁶⁴ Those appointed were required to help and guide Maori ex-servicemen seeking assistance; to ascertain the needs of Maori ex-servicemen ‘for reabsorption into civilian life;’ to explain to Maori ex-servicemen the forms of rehabilitation assistance available; to assist veterans to complete application forms; to ensure that application forms were directed through the appropriate channels; to attend all meetings at which applications were considered; and finally to work in close cooperation with the Department of Native Affairs. Those fortnightly reports submitted by such officers that have survived indicate that they travelled regularly throughout their districts, attended hui, made determined efforts to locate Maori ex-servicemen, handled applications for assistance, and generally sought to publicise the work of the Department of Rehabilitation and the rehabilitation facilities that had been made available.⁸⁶⁵ In a comment that touched upon the continuing struggle for control, one registrar was led to wonder whether their appointment ended the Department of Native Affairs’s responsibility for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel.⁸⁶⁶ The Department’s Under Secretary assured him that the Maori Rehabilitation officers’ task was to direct ex-service personnel to the relevant agencies. In the case of housing and settlement, that was the Department of Native Affairs.⁸⁶⁷

6.15 ‘On all fours with the Europeans’

In the wake of the ministerial conference, the Rehabilitation Board, meeting on 2 November 1943, rescinded its decision of 25 June 1942 to appoint a Maori Rehabilitation Committee in favour of a new committee comprising Cullen, Mitchell, and the Director of Rehabilitation, while invitations to join were extended to the Secretary to the Treasury, the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court, and a representative of the State Advances Corporation. This new committee was charged

⁸⁶⁴ AJHR 1944, H18, p.23; and AJHR 1945, H18, p.13.

⁸⁶⁵ See, for example, the reports submitted by the Maori Rehabilitation Officer, East Coast (Captain R. Taiapa), in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

⁸⁶⁶ Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 November 1943, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

⁸⁶⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Gisborne 30 November 1943, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

with defining the machinery necessary for the ‘complete rehabilitation’ of Maori veterans. A report was required by 30 November 1943.⁸⁶⁸

The Maori Rehabilitation Committee met on 9 November 1943. In attendance were Baker, Cullen, Mitchell, Campbell, Shepherd, T. Pound (Lands and Survey), Miller (State Advances Corporation), Greensmith (Treasury), and Brennan (National Service Department). Others appeared in connection with particular issues. Two (very similar) summaries of the proceedings were located. Baker opened proceedings by noting that, while the conference held in Rotorua in May 1943 had achieved a great deal of good, no ‘practical work’ had followed. The task before the committee, he announced, was ‘to get down to a good policy on all fours with the Europeans,’ and in particular to devise the machinery’ required in order that Maori ex-servicemen could benefit fully from the rehabilitation facilities that the Government had determined would be offered to Maori and Pakeha ex-servicemen alike.

Informing the discussions were a number of premises. First, it was supposed that up to 70 per cent of veterans would not return to their pre-war mode of living; second, it was assumed that many veterans, having acquired new skills and new status, would seek to ‘assert themselves’ on their return; third, it was recognised that most Maori ex-servicemen had been drawn from economically disadvantaged districts and backgrounds; fourth, it was believed that the Department of Native Affairs was neither fully alive to nor able to respond to the full range of needs of Maori ex-servicemen or was sufficiently attuned to the Government’s wider programme for social and economic reconstruction and the contribution that Maori could make; and fifth, it was accepted that while it was the Government’s stated intention to extend the same rehabilitation facilities to Maori and Pakeha returned personnel, ‘to achieve the same actual result with both races a greater effort and administrative expenditure will probably be required in the case of the Maori.’ Finally, it was assumed that, for administrative purposes, Maori ex-servicemen could be classified into groups, although there was some debate over whether those groups should be landless/not possessing land, urban/rural, or living as Maori/living as Pakeha and the necessary administrative arrangements and procedures designed accordingly.

⁸⁶⁸ See ‘The rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 2 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

Most of the discussion thus focussed again on the ‘machinery’ required for the delivery of rehabilitation. Treasury adhered to its preference for making use of existing agencies, notably the Department of Native Affairs. The latter, at least with respect to housing and land settlement, had the necessary machinery in place and functioning, and was keen to advance its case for the control of all rehabilitation lending to Maori ex-servicemen. As the discussions proceeded, it became abundantly clear that doubts existed over that Department’s housing programme, the design of the houses it constructed, the standard of construction, and its clear reluctance to initiate a rental housing scheme for Maori. Similar doubts with respect to the Department’s record in respect of Maori land development were not recorded, but, in any case, the Rehabilitation Board, while prepared to delegate specified functions and powers, that is, to support the establishment of a committee with executive powers, was clearly not prepared to relinquish either control of rehabilitation policy or overall responsibility for its implementation. Nor was the Board prepared to support the Department’s desire to exclude the Maori tribal executive committees, insisting rather that it proposed to employ such committees with respect to Maori veterans in the same manner as district rehabilitation committees acted for all other veterans. Moreover, Baker envisaged the establishment of a formal link, through membership, between the two sets of organisations, at the same time indicating that the Rehabilitation Board would appoint Maori ‘contact officers’ one of whose duties would be to act as the eyes and ears of the Rehabilitation Department.

One other important theme that ran through the discussions was whether Maori ex-service personnel would require what were termed ‘special measures’ or ‘quotas’ – presumably the ‘greater effort’ noted above – in order that they should benefit fully and fairly from the rehabilitation programme. That arose in respect of three matters, namely, rental housing, trade training, and education. With respect to the first, Tai Mitchell insisted that Maori had been excluded from the existing State rental housing scheme and that only if the Department of Native Affairs were to initiate a rental housing scheme for Maori (notably in Whangarei, Auckland, and Rotorua) would a ‘proper balance between pakeha and Maori’ be secured. Baker concurred, noting that unless the State constructed rental houses for Maori, then Maori would fail to secure the same privileges as Europeans. He proposed that Maori representatives should sit

on the committees allocating the 50 per cent of State rental housing stock reserved for ex-servicemen.

The second matter was education. In response to a question about the possible desire of Maori veterans to resume their formal education, Director-General Beeby offered no answer (or at least none was recorded), choosing to focus rather on his scheme for 'training Maori boys in industry' and Maori girls in the art of housewifery. Beeby did raise the issue of quotas, noting that a fixed number of places in training colleges had been set apart for Maori, and raising the possibility of extending that scheme to accommodate Maori veterans. On the other hand, establishing a quota in respect of entry to medical school would, he suggested, generate a 'fight.' The meeting seems generally to have been less than enthusiastic about instituting quotas. Finally, some discussion took place around the issue of trade training, especially trade training on a subsidised basis ('B' Class): evidently, the Rehabilitation Board proposed to offer a set number of traineeships, and educational qualifications were to be taken into account in the selection process, raising the prospect that Maori veterans would be disadvantaged. In that instance, Baker appears to have favoured a quota system. It is worthwhile noting here that training for entry into the trades raised the prospect of many Maori veterans shifting into urban centres, a possibility that had induced the Rehabilitation Board to investigate the possibilities of decentralising industries to such areas as Northland and the East Coast.

The discussions thus centred more on the administrative arrangements for the delivery of rehabilitation facilities to Maori ex-service personnel rather than upon the particular form that such facilities might take or the instruments that might be required to ensure that the desired outcomes were secured. The recommendations that emerged were based upon the belief that administrative arrangements formulated especially for Maori would suffice to secure the results desired. The expectation was that some 95 per cent of all applications for rehabilitation assistance would go to the Department of Native Affairs, and that most of those applications would relate to land, farms, and houses. Some of those who participated in the discussions did recognise that, for Maori, the war was continuing to work far-reaching changes, apparent in the willingness of Maori to enlist in the armed forces, in the willingness of thousands of men and women to comply with manpower directions, in their

movement into the country's urban areas and industries, and in their ability collectively to devise, sustain, and manage a national organisation. Nevertheless, the focus remained firmly fixed on solving what was perceived to be an administrative problem. Baker may have stressed, during a visit to Auckland late in 1943, the need for 'a separate rehabilitation programme for the Maoris.' What he meant was the same programme delivered through separate administrative channels.⁸⁶⁹

6.15.1 The Department of Native Affairs gains qualified support

The Committee reported that in its view the Department of Native Affairs was the appropriate agency through which rehabilitation assistance for Maori veterans should be made available. But that view was subject to certain qualifications. First, the Committee found that the Board of Native Affairs, given that the Rehabilitation Board was not represented on it and given that it met infrequently, 'was not a suitable lending authority;' second, that 'certain Maoris' would wish to apply for assistance through the channels open to Europeans, namely, the State Advances Corporation for financial assistance, State Housing, and the Department of Lands and Survey, 'and that in other cases it is desirable that applications of this type should be handled by other Departments' (for example, business loans, buying or building houses in urban areas); third, that the handling of trade training, education, employment generally and the care of disabled soldiers were matters best left to the existing specialist organisations; fourth, that benefits in the form of interest or other concessions granted to Europeans should be made available by the Department of Native Affairs to Maori veterans; and, finally, that given that the Department of Native Affairs had no presence in the South Island it should employ services of the State Advances Corporation and the Department of Lands and Survey.⁸⁷⁰

The Committee dealt with a wide range of other matters. With respect to rental housing, it noted that the Board of Native Affairs had not but should consider using its power to construct rental housing, and proposed that Maori 'in certain districts' should have representation on the committees responsible for the allocation of the 50

⁸⁶⁹ 'Maori Servicemen, Rehabilitation plans,' *New Zealand Herald* 22 February 1944, p.4.

⁸⁷⁰ Report of Maori Rehabilitation Committee on the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

per cent of State housing reserved for ex-servicemen. Alternatively, the Committee suggested, a survey should be made of Maori housing needs and provision made accordingly. The matter was referred to the Rehabilitation Board for further investigation. The Maori Rehabilitation Committee dealt at some length with trade training, noting the establishment of a carpentry school in Rotorua and the possibility that further such centres would be established in Kaikohe and Gisborne. While the Committee supported the idea that, once trained, the men concerned should be employed by the Department of Native Affairs for work on housing for Maori, that depended upon the Department initiating a rental housing scheme and upon the ability of Maori to meet the greater costs that would follow. The first group to graduate from the Rotorua centre, it proposed, should be deployed on a 'Native Department building scheme.' The Committee envisaged training being offered in a range of trades but that such training should remain under the control of the Department of Labour and the Rehabilitation Board. As for farm training, it should be made available to prospective Maori farmers on the same basis as Europeans.⁸⁷¹

On the matter of education, the Committee concluded that:

The general scheme at present being followed could be applied entirely to Maoris provided a suitable channel exists through which they can lodge their applications. The Education Department are [*sic*] considering appointing Maori Vocational Guidance Officers and these men, working in conjunction with the Rehabilitation authorities, could render valuable service in both the Educational and Trade Training fields.⁸⁷²

It also suggested that the possibility of cooperation with the Department of Education over the establishment of 'trade training technical schools in certain country schools' should not be overlooked and that 'should suitable trainees be available, the question of provision at the Medical and Dental schools for Maori ex-servicemen be investigated.'⁸⁷³ No suggestion was recorded that the Department of Education might work with Maori veterans to establish whether an educational programme designed with their particular needs in mind might have been a more appropriate or at least alternative course of action. On the matter of employment, the Committee reported

⁸⁷¹ Report of Maori Rehabilitation Committee on the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁷² Report of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁷³ Report of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

that, with the possible exception of the East Coast District, there was, quite apart from seasonal work, plenty of work available in all districts from which Maori servicemen had been drawn. It was confident that the rehabilitation authorities, in conjunction with the man-power authorities, could find suitable employment, employment that was 'desirable not only in the national interests but in the interests of the men themselves.'⁸⁷⁴

On the matter of land settlement, the Committee offered three recommendations, namely, that where necessary the [proposed] Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee purchase land, develop those areas, and allot them to Maori ex-servicemen; that where Native lands were available for development, endeavours be made to acquire these areas for development and settlement as required by Maori ex-servicemen; and that Maori veterans should be given the right to apply under the Small Farms Scheme for allotments of Crown lands. Finally, the Committee proposed that Maori tribal executive committees should be employed to act in the same way as district rehabilitation committees, and it supported the appointment of ex-officer servicemen as 'contact officers' to assist, advise, and encourage veterans to rehabilitate themselves. 'The mere provision of machinery,' it concluded, 'is not enough.'⁸⁷⁵

In summary form, the Maori Rehabilitation Committee recommended:

- The appointment of a sub-committee of the Board of Native Affairs;
- The use of the Native Department for administration generally;
- Recognition in principle of Maori having access to financial assistance through the State Advances Corporation and that they should be given the right to apply under the Small Farms Scheme for allotments of Crown land;
- Maori ex-servicemen in urban areas to be treated on the same basis as Europeans in the allocation of State houses;
- Facilities for the training of Maori ex-servicemen in trades being extended as necessary;
- The use of Maori tribal executive committees to assist in Maori rehabilitation.

⁸⁷⁴ Report of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁷⁵ Report of Maori Rehabilitation Committee on the Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-servicemen, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

- That the State Advances Corporation and the Department of Native Affairs ‘to be asked to finalise details of classes of Maori which will normally be handled by the respective Departments and submit to the Director of Rehabilitation;’
- That the Departments of Lands and Survey and Native Affairs ‘to be asked to decide in what circumstances Maoris should normally be included in ballots for Crown lands and submit their decision to the Rehabilitation Board;’
- That the Board of Native Affairs be approached regarding ‘the possibility of commencing a separate Maori Rental Housing Scheme;’ and
- That wherever Maori interests were affected a member of the Tribal executive Committee to be appointed to the District Rehabilitation Committee.⁸⁷⁶

6.16 The ‘machinery’

The Maori Rehabilitation Committee’s recommendations with respect to the necessary ‘machinery’ are summarised in Table 6.2. Finally, the Maori Rehabilitation Committee recommended that the Department of Native Affairs should be recognised as the appropriate agency to deal with Maori ex-servicemen, and that – despite its earlier reservations – the Board of Native Affairs should appoint a sub-committee comprising representatives of Treasury, and the Departments of Lands and Survey and Native Affairs, with the power to co-opt two members of the Rehabilitation Board. This new body would be known as the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and, where veterans were concerned, would have all the powers of the [Rehabilitation] Board in making loans available as specified in Table 6.2 but not for ‘expenditure on land.’ It would be charged ‘with the responsibility of administering the rehabilitation of all Maori ex-servicemen making application through the Native Department.’⁸⁷⁷

The outcome of some 18 months of discussion and debate would thus be a two-track system, each offering the same rehabilitation facilities, for dealing with the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel. With respect to financial assistance, the

⁸⁷⁶ Matter for consideration by Rehabilitation Board, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁷⁷ Report of Maori Rehabilitation Committee on the Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-servicemen, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1. See also AANK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

Rehabilitation Loans Committee would deal with those personnel looking to establish themselves in ‘European communities,’ while the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and the Department of Native Affairs would deal with those looking to re-establish themselves in ‘Native communities.’

Table 6.2: The Maori Rehabilitation Committee’s ‘machinery’ recommendations, November 1943

Facilities		
<i>Loans for</i>	<i>Native Affairs & Rehab. Bd.</i>	<i>State Advances & Rehab. Bd.</i>
Farms	In Native communities	In European communities
Houses	In Native communities	In European communities
Furniture	In Native communities	In European communities
Businesses	In Native communities	In European communities
Tools of trade	In Native communities	In European communities
<i>Housing allocation</i>	SAC, & District Rehabilitation Committees	SAC & District Rehab. Committees
<i>Trade training</i>	Labour Dept. and Rehab. B	Labour Dept. & Rehab. Bd.
<i>Education</i>	Education Dept. & Rehab. Board	Education Dept. & Rehab. Board
<i>Employment</i>	National Service Dept. & Rehabilitation Board	National Service Dept. & Rehabilitation Board
<i>Disabled veterans</i>	D.S.R. League ¹ and Rehabilitation Board	D.S.R. League and Rehabilitation Board
<i>Pensions</i>	Pension Department	Pension Department
<i>Farm training and grading</i>	Rehabilitation Department & Tribal Executive Committees	Rehabilitation Department & Tribal Executive Committees

¹ Disabled Servicemen’s Rehabilitation League

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1; and AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0

6.16.1 Cabinet decides, 26 November 1943

The recommendations formulated by the Maori Rehabilitation Committee were approved by the Rehabilitation Board on 24 November 1943.⁸⁷⁸ The next day, the Director of Rehabilitation advised his Minister that ‘The need for a complete organisation to handle Maori rehabilitation is urgent. A considerable number of men have been invalided home and have not yet become the responsibility of any particular Department ...’ Moreover, it was expected that a large proportion of those who had returned to New Zealand on furlough during July 1943 would elect to remain in the country. He recorded Treasury’s view that, given the existence of the Board of Native Affairs, a new lending authority was not required, but noted that Treasury’s view had not been acted upon.⁸⁷⁹ That it had not reflected a concern that, should the rehabilitation of Maori veterans be *controlled* rather than *administered* by the Department of Native Affairs, Maori might perceive that different provisions were being made and varying standards applied. That possibility was one that the Minister of Rehabilitation and Rehabilitation Board were at pains to prevent.⁸⁸⁰

Baker noted that some matters had still to be finalised, among them, an agreement among the State Advances Corporation, the Department of Native Affairs, and the Department of Rehabilitation over ‘the actual line of demarcation between the cases handled by the Corporation and ... the Native Department.’ Baker’s own view was that the State Advances Corporation, working through the District Rehabilitation Committees, should handle loans required for the purchase ‘in a general European community a farm, house, or business formerly owned by a European,’ furniture loans ‘in the above circumstances,’ loans for any business ‘dependent for success of European clientele,’ loans where the applicant had drawn a Crown section through the small farms scheme and desires assistance for furniture,’ and loans for the construction of houses ‘in cities on other than Native land.’ The Native Department, he suggested, operating through the tribal executive committees, would handle loans – whether for development, stock, housing, furniture, or ‘any subsidiary business in the

⁸⁷⁸ See ‘The Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-Servicemen,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 24 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

⁸⁷⁹ Director of Rehabilitation to Minister of Rehabilitation 25 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁸⁰ See, for example, Minister of Rehabilitation to Secretary Ngati Tahu Rehabilitation Committee, Reparoa 13 August 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

locality’ – where it was proposed to settle applicants on Maori-owned land, and where veterans were settled on land acquired by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. Baker made one other comment, namely, ‘the general spheres of interest of the two organisations should be dictated generally by the type of security offered rather than the past mode of life of the ex-soldier applicant.’⁸⁸¹

The other two outstanding matters involved an agreement among the Departments of Native Affairs, Lands and Survey, and Rehabilitation ‘as to the circumstances in which Maori ex-servicemen will be included in ballots for Crown land,’ and a decision had to be taken over the matter of a State rental housing scheme for Maori ‘in certain areas.’⁸⁸² The genesis of the first matter, that is, entry by Maori ex-servicemen into ballots for Crown land, is not entirely clear, but appears to have been based upon the expectation that most Maori veterans seeking rehabilitation through land settlement would be settled on tribal lands or on lands specially purchased for that purpose. At the same time, it was recognised that not all iwi could make land available and that most Maori ex-servicemen would choose to settle within their home communities: in those ‘circumstances,’ it seems, they might be considered for entry into ballots for Crown sections. It was perhaps not surprising that the State agencies concerned were directed to consider how the matter would be handled administratively. In short, limiting the right of Maori veterans from participating in ballots for Crown lands was, in the first place, closely connected with the effort to induce iwi to make land available for rehabilitation purposes. Later, other reasons would be found.

On 26 November 1943, Cabinet approved the recommendations formulated by the Maori Rehabilitation Committee and endorsed by the Rehabilitation Board, except that, in the case of land settlement, the proposed Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee would have the power not to purchase land for rehabilitation purposes but to make recommendations to the Minister of Lands for the acquisition of areas for development and to allot such areas after acquisition. As originally constituted, then,

⁸⁸¹ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 25 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0. Baker acted on those matters that same day. See Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 25 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

⁸⁸² Director of Rehabilitation to Minister of Rehabilitation 25 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee was a sub-committee of the Board of Native Affairs.⁸⁸³ Cabinet also decided that the Department of Native Affairs should be used for the reporting, valuing, development supervision, and accounting along the same lines as for Maori land development schemes, in effect delegating those responsibilities from the Rehabilitation Board to the Board of Native Affairs. In December 1943, the Board of Native Affairs appointed the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee to exercise those delegated responsibilities: its members included the Secretary to the Treasury, the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey, the Under Secretary of the Native Department, the Director of Rehabilitation, E.L. Cullen MP, and H. Tai Mitchell. Maori could also apply for rehabilitation assistance through what were termed the ‘ordinary channels.’

The State Advances Corporation and the Department of Native Affairs accepted Baker’s suggestions with respect to demarcation, although the former made it clear that, in its view, the district rehabilitation committees should be

satisfied as to the competency and experience of the applicants proposing to enter into business undertakings against the pakeha, or engage in individual farming under like conditions. A further aspect calling for careful consideration is the degree of the applicant’s determination to leave behind him his accustomed method of living, and to adopt the new mode when again subject to the influences of his own people. It is perhaps to be expected that some returning Maori ex-servicemen will have a general intention of adhering to the pakeha outlook after their more recent experiences, but will not persevere in this intention for any extended time.⁸⁸⁴

The Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs interpreted the Corporation’s statement as indicating a wish ‘to be satisfied (both as to farms and businesses) with the experience and general fitness of the applicants.’⁸⁸⁵ That seems to have been somewhat generous, for it appears that Corporation was in fact proposing that financial assistance should only be extended to those Maori ex-service personnel who had expressed a willingness to eschew their former communalism and to accept assimilation into Pakeha economy and society. For Maori ex-service

⁸⁸³ AJHR 1944, G10, p.4.

⁸⁸⁴ Manager, State Advances Corporation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 7 December 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

⁸⁸⁵ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director of Rehabilitation 7 December 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

personnel, 're-establishment in civil life,' as specified in the longer title of the Rehabilitation Act 1941,' meant, in the Corporation's judgement, a great deal more than economic re-introduction. Ngata might well have felt that his fears had been confirmed.

6.17 Allegations of discrimination

In February 1944, the Government thus announced that 'In order to meet the special needs of Maori ex-servicemen, special administrative machinery will be set up,' although veterans would be able to use the normal rehabilitation channels should they so desire. That machinery, devised in cooperation with the Maori tribal executive committees and the Department of Native Affairs, would be 'especially suitable for those ex-servicemen who wished to receive farm training with a view to settlement on existing tribal lands or on lands acquired for Maori ex-servicemen by a special national organisation known as the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.'⁸⁸⁶

Within days of that announcement, the Hon. E.T. Tirikatene led a delegation to the Minister of Rehabilitation, Skinner: it expressed concerns over what it discerned as signs of 'discrimination' between Maori and Pakeha ex-service personnel. Some months earlier, in June 1943, Tirikatene claimed in the House that on their return, Maori veterans confronted 'that dark line of demarcation and discrimination.'⁸⁸⁷ Tirikatene's new allegation of discrimination was vigorously refuted by the Minister. But while Skinner emphasised the dual channels open to Maori veterans, R.J. Taylor claimed that Maori disagreed with that arrangement, suggesting that 'the objection is to discrimination between Maoris living tribally and those living as Europeans.' It was, he insisted, 'absolutely contrary to and drives a wedge into the policy as laid down by the Government,' adding that what was good enough for one Maori was good enough for all, and that it removed from the control of the Tribal Executives and the Department of Native Affairs those Maori who had chosen to live as Europeans.

⁸⁸⁶ 'Rehabilitation. Special Maori provisions,' *Evening Post* 22 February 1944, p.7. See also NZPD 1944, Vol 264, p.8.

⁸⁸⁷ NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.738.

Taylor's primary concern seemed to be that the 'unity' Maori had achieved through the Maori War Effort Organisation was being imperilled. That view was echoed by Tirikatene. Skinner appeared to recognise the underlying anxiety.⁸⁸⁸ But, he noted, the fact that members of the Maori Battalion who had returned to New Zealand (notably to the East Coast), despite 'living deplorably,' had not sought rehabilitation assistance through the existing channel. That apparent reluctance had informed the decision to set up an additional channel. Moreover, that additional channel, he reminded the delegation, utilised the Maori War Effort Organisation. What the members of the deputation wanted was that all Maori ex-service personnel should seek assistance through that organisation so that 'all Maoris should be treated tribally, not given the option of going European-wise ...' He also understood that for Maori the war was fostering and facilitating social and economic changes of great potential magnitude. Skinner promised to do no more than consult Maori Members of Parliament, at the same time insisting that Maori ex-service personnel could apply through either channel and that the words 'Maori living tribally' and 'Maoris living European-wise' had been ill-chosen.⁸⁸⁹

The administrative arrangements for the rehabilitation programme generally were still not settled. Of particular concern was the fact that the Rehabilitation Board lacked the authority to carry out its statutory functions, in particular, to require all State agencies to comply with its decisions and directives. On 29 February 1944, Cabinet approved proposals to enlarge the Board's membership and to make resolutions of the Board binding on all agency departments. Subsequently, on 15 March 1944, the Rehabilitation Board resolved that the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee should stand as one its executive committees rather than as a sub-committee of the Board of Native Affairs. Its membership would now comprise three from the Rehabilitation Board (Baker, Cullen, and Mitchell), the Under-Secretary of the Native Department, and representatives from the State Advances Corporation, Treasury, the

⁸⁸⁸ Skinner, the son of a missionary, was born in Melbourne in 1900. A carpenter and trade union leader, he subsequently took up farming before entering Parliament in 1938. He served in the Middle East until 1943 and thereafter held a number of portfolios in the Labour Government, including rehabilitation.

⁸⁸⁹ 'Notes of deputation 23/2/1944,' in AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0. It was also clear that a suspicion existed among members of the delegation that the temporary housing scheme established for veterans, that is, the use of huts constructed from Army building materials (39 of which had been erected on the East Coast), was the start of 'a cheap Maori housing scheme.' That was a suspicion that Skinner was at pains to allay, insisting that it was a temporary response to an urgent situation.

Department of Lands and Survey, and the Department of National Service. It would exercise the powers given to the Rehabilitation Board under sections 10 and 11(i) of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 ...’ and report to that Board accordingly.⁸⁹⁰ This ‘special’ arrangement was clearly expected to operate to the advantage of Maori veterans. The new body thus represented a major shift from what had been proposed by the Maori Rehabilitation Committee. Control of rehabilitation policy would clearly rest with the Rehabilitation Board, while decisions over the provision of assistance would rest with its executive sub-committee, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, itself answerable to the Rehabilitation Board. The resolution of the uncertainties that had endured for some 18 months occasioned considerable satisfaction.⁸⁹¹

6.17.1 The Rehabilitation Amendment Act 1944

Further changes were embodied in the Rehabilitation Amendment Act 1944. Section 5 provided for the appointment of a director of rehabilitation and provided that ‘The person holding office as Director of Rehabilitation on the passing of this Act shall be deemed to have been appointed pursuant to this section.’ Baker was thus confirmed in his position.⁸⁹² Section 6 revamped and expanded the Board’s membership: the Minister of Rehabilitation was made chairman, while the Director of Rehabilitation, Secretary to the Treasury, the Under Secretaries of Lands and Survey and Native Affairs, and one of the joint managing directors of the State Advances Corporation were made members, while the Government could appoint up to five other members. Section 7 amended the constitution of the National Rehabilitation Council. Section 10 defined the Rehabilitation Board’s powers and functions, that is to determine the nature and extent of any rehabilitation assistance granted and to approve the granting of assistance. Section 11 made it clear that decisions of the Board were binding on all agencies acting for it.

⁸⁹⁰ See ‘Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.’ Paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 15 March 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

⁸⁹¹ See, for example, Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 3 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

⁸⁹² Baker was Director of Rehabilitation from 1943 to 1954 and remained a member of the Rehabilitation Board until his death on 1 June 1958. For Tirikatene’s view of Baker’s appointment, see NZPD 1944, Vol 264, p.367. For a brief biography, see Glyn Harper and Joel Hayward, *Born to lead? Portraits of New Zealand commanders*. Auckland: Exisle, 2003, p.200.

6.18 Establishing an administrative structure

While the protracted and at times convoluted debate over the exact extent of the Rehabilitation Board's membership, powers, and functions and over the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen continued, the Government and the Rehabilitation Board gave a great deal of consideration to the administrative structure through which the rehabilitation programme as a whole would be managed and delivered. It is not intended to offer a detailed account of those debates but rather, since many Maori veterans chose to seek rehabilitation through the 'standard channel,' to describe briefly the elaborate structure that was put into place.

6.18.1 *The Department of Rehabilitation*

Having secured overall control of the rehabilitation programme, the Rehabilitation Board, in its words, 'decided to entrust the various Departments concerned with the work that they were peculiarly suited to perform, but, at the same time, it sought an administrative machinery which would co-ordinate these activities in a well devised and integrated policy evolved, and in the last resort, administered, by the Board itself.'⁸⁹³ In a major step, it decided to appoint the Repatriation Division of the National Service Department as its administrative secretariat, re-naming it the Rehabilitation Division: that division had been constituted in December 1940, its placement officers in 22 centres becoming rehabilitation officers, while district agents of the Department of Social Security in 24 other smaller centres become sub-rehabilitation as well as sub-placement officers. The Rehabilitation Division concentrated upon the placement of ex-servicemen into employment.⁸⁹⁴

Subsequently, the Government decided to establish, as from 1 November 1943, a new agency, the Department of Rehabilitation, as the channel through which the rehabilitation-related functions and activities of other State agencies would be coordinated. The former Rehabilitation Division was transformed into a Rehabilitation Service and the structure that it had established for the delivery of its

⁸⁹³ AJHR 1943, H18, p.4.

⁸⁹⁴ For an account of the Division's procedures and its activities for the year ended 15 July 1942, see ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/1/b 1/0.

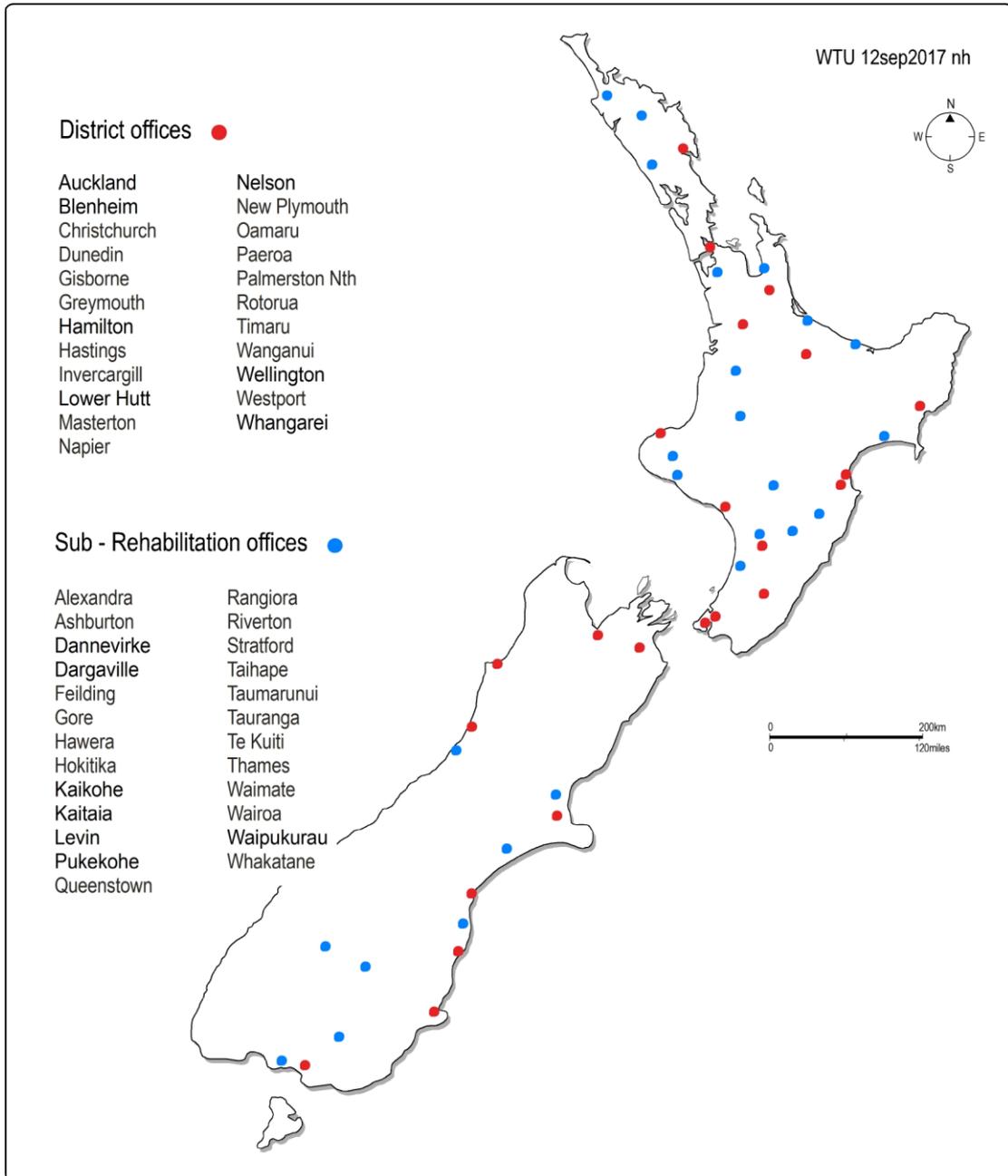
services was maintained (Map 6.1). By the end of March 1944, it comprised 30 district offices, each with a rehabilitation officer and other staff. Sub-rehabilitation offices for which the district agents of the Department of Social Security acted as sub-rehabilitation officers, operated in an additional 21 centres.

The Rehabilitation Board appointed a number of specialist committees to advise on policy matters, oversee implementation, and deal with particular problems as they arose. They included the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and the Farms Advisory Committee. As noted, the Rehabilitation Board proceeded to appoint various Government departments and organisations as its agents in particular fields. Thus the Department of Lands and Survey was appointed as its agent for land settlement and development; the State Advances Corporation for financial assistance; the War Pensions Branch of the Department of Social Security for rehabilitation allowances; the Department of Labour and Employment for occupational re-establishment; and the Department of Native Affairs ‘in connection with Maori Rehabilitation ...’⁸⁹⁵ The Board also decided that the National Service Department was the agency through which ex-service personnel would be placed into employment. The latter thus established a Servicemen’s Division and, from 1 June 1945, it acted as the Rehabilitation Board’s agent.⁸⁹⁶ The Rehabilitation Board itself retained responsibility for ‘all therapeutic placements, selection and placement of farm trainees, and establishment of the latter group.’⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁵ AJHR 1944, H18, p.5.

⁸⁹⁶ Until the establishment of the Rehabilitation Department in 1943, the National Service Department (formerly the Employment Division of the Department of Labour) was responsible for the placement of ex-service personnel. The Rehabilitation Department (to which the staff of the Rehabilitation Division of the National Service Department were transferred as from 1 April 1944) took over responsibility for the placement of all ex-service personnel not subject to direction. Towards the end of 1944, the two departments agreed that from 1 June 1945, the National Service Department would take over, as agent of the Rehabilitation Board, the industrial placement of all fit veterans requiring assistance to find suitable work. See AJHR 1945, H11A, pp.9-10. In April 1947, the National Service Department was merged with the Department of Labour to form the Department of Labour and Employment, the latter becoming the Department of Labour in 1954.

⁸⁹⁷ AJHR 1945, H18, p.5.



Source: AJHR 1943, H18, p.7.

Map 6.1: Offices of the Rehabilitation Service, March 1943

The Rehabilitation Board also set out to secure the engagement of voluntary organisations and interests throughout the country, to secure community support for rehabilitation, to advise ex-service personnel on rehabilitation facilities, and to gauge public opinion on rehabilitation issues. Accordingly, in September 1942, the Board decided to establish local rehabilitation committees with a membership that drew

upon a wide range of local interests. Such committees were to be established, initially in each of the centres in which a Rehabilitation Officer (of the former Repatriation Division of the National Service Department) was stationed.⁸⁹⁸ Each would consist of a member of the Rehabilitation Council (if resident there), the local Member of Parliament, together with representatives drawn from a local authority, the Returned Servicemen's Association, 'organised labour,' business or farming interests, Women's War Service Auxiliary, and 'any other persons whom the Board may consider necessary.' At that stage there was no explicit or dedicated provision for Maori representation.

The committees were to offer the Board advice with respect to employment, training and education, land settlement, housing, and financial assistance. Among other things, the committees were expected 'to render all possible assistance, guidance, and advice to all returned service men in their districts, to the Board and its officers, and to the officers of the National Service Department, State Advances Corporation, Lands Department, Native Department, Pensions Department, and the Vocational Guidance Officer . . .'⁸⁹⁹ The Board, it was recorded, supplied each committee with 'particulars of every returned and demobilized serviceman who resides in its district as soon as possible after his arrival in the district and the Committee maintains contact with each man in its district so long as its guidance or assistance is necessary.'⁹⁰⁰

Both Skinner and Baker attached considerable importance to the type of community involvement that the local rehabilitation committees represented, although not all government agencies shared their enthusiasm.⁹⁰¹ By 1945, 114 had been established and of that number 111 would remain constituted as at the end of March 1954. Map 6.2 sets out their location as at 31 March 1946 when 113 were in operation. Many of the rehabilitation committees formed sub-committees to deal with particular matters such as loans, trade training, and the care of disabled personnel. By March 1944, the rehabilitation committees were largely responsible for determining the level of all kinds of assistance granted.⁹⁰² The actual membership of those committees has still to

⁸⁹⁸ AJHR 1943, H18, p.5.

⁸⁹⁹ AJHR 1943, H18, p.5.

⁹⁰⁰ AJHR 1943, H18, pp.5-6.

⁹⁰¹ See, for example, NZPD 1944, Vol 265, p.727.

⁹⁰² AJHR 1944, H18, p.4.

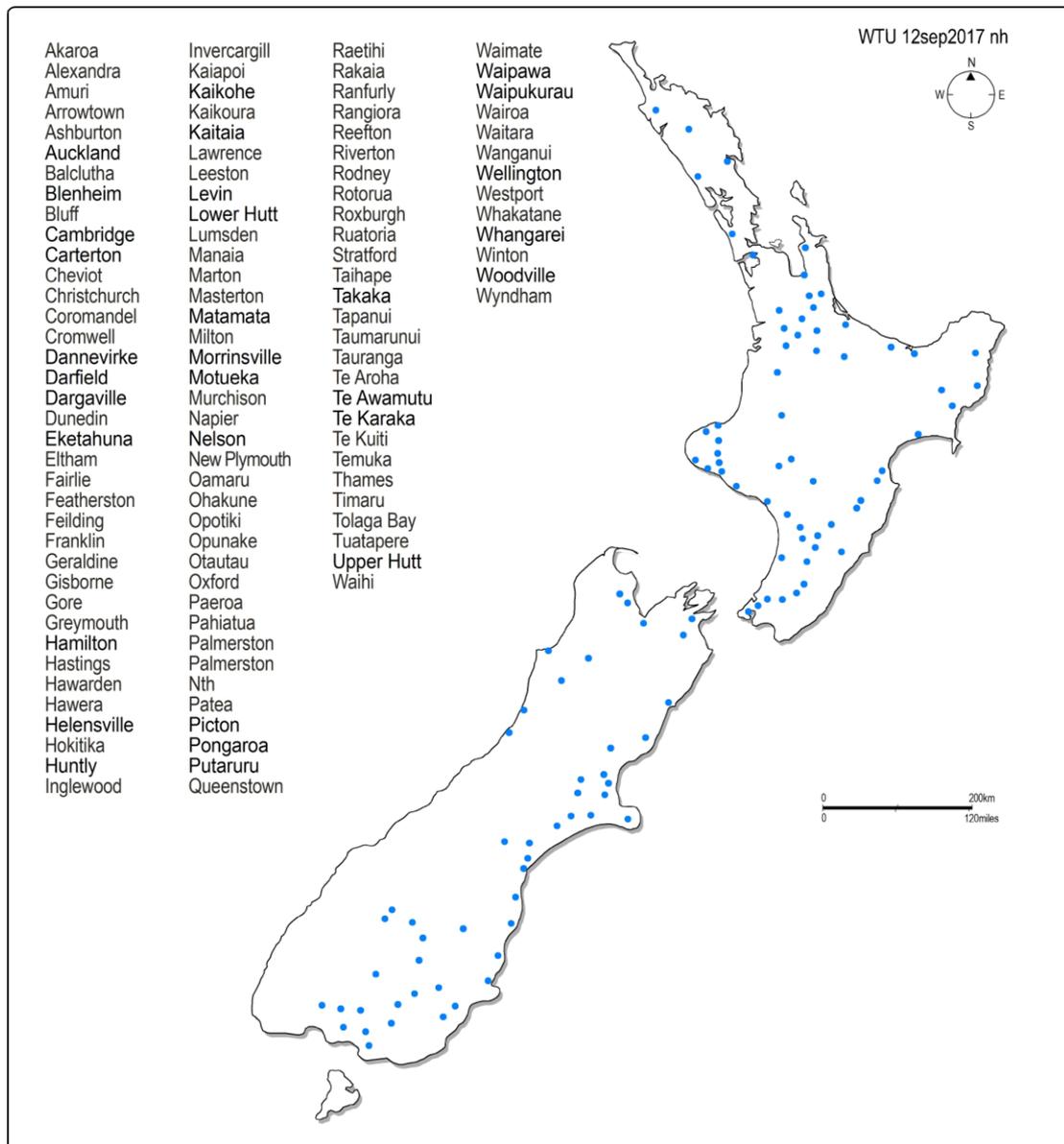
be established, but some decided that steps were required to ensure that Maori were heard. Thus, concerned about reports that the Maori of Arowhenua believed they were not receiving the same consideration as Pakeha, the Temuka Rehabilitation Committee invited the Arowhenua Runanga to appoint a representative.⁹⁰³

During 1944, keen to ‘decentralise’ control of the granting of rehabilitation loans for homes, farms, and businesses, the Government approved the appointment of ‘district executive committees.’ Membership of each comprised a local representative of the State Advances Corporation, a local nominee of the Minister of Rehabilitation, and a representative of the local rehabilitation committee. Such committees were empowered to authorise and grant all forms of financial assistance by way of loans ‘or in any other way in accordance with powers delegate by the Rehabilitation Board ...’ All decisions had to be unanimous or otherwise referred to the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, and any refusal to grant assistance required confirmation by that Committee. By the end of March 1945, New Zealand had been divided into nine major districts, with district executive committees located in Auckland, Hamilton, Napier, New Plymouth, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Invercargill. Nelson was added subsequently.⁹⁰⁴ The Rehabilitation Board hailed their appointment as ‘a major advance towards the ultimate aim of complete decentralization of administration of the Board’s policy to local managements . . .’⁹⁰⁵

⁹⁰³ See ‘Rehabilitation of Maoris. Special problems met. Representation on Committee,’ *Timaru Herald* 10 June 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

⁹⁰⁴ AJHR 1947, H18, p.5.

⁹⁰⁵ AJHR 1945, H18, pp.3-4.



Source: AJHR 1946, H18, p.22

Map 6.2: District rehabilitation committees, March 1946

It is, though, worthwhile noting that the elaborate administrative machinery thus created did not win universal public approval. By June 1944 both the Returned Services' Association and the Second NZEF Association were highly critical of the organisational structure. The Rehabilitation Board was described as 'a patchwork organisation, consisting substantially of State departmental officers acting on a part-time basis under the chairmanship of the Minister.' Serious concerns were expressed about the capacity of the Board and its ancillary organisations to meet the major

challenges that large-scale demobilisation would bring.⁹⁰⁶ Some pointed criticism was voiced over what some regarded as the ‘exceedingly top-heavy administration,’ while claims were advanced that ‘The whole lot, stock and barrel, is probably run by the State Advances Corporation – that Corporation “which has neither body to be kicked nor soul to be damned.”’⁹⁰⁷ Further, complaints abounded that ex-service personnel were being ‘being pushed about from pillar to post, being referred from one Department to another, and from one section of the Rehabilitation Board to another without reaching finality, and they are becoming “fed up.”’⁹⁰⁸ For its part, the Board recorded that it was through the district offices of the Rehabilitation Department and the local rehabilitation committees (and their sub-committees and advisory committees), that contact with ex-service personnel was maintained.⁹⁰⁹ Figure 6.1 sets out, as at 31 March 1945, the structure of the administrative machinery established to implement the rehabilitation programme.

6.19 The Maori tribal executive committees

The Maori tribal executive committees, as noted above, were part of the Maori War Effort Organisation, a body established in 1942, to encourage and support the recruitment of Maori into the armed forces and to manage other war-related activities.⁹¹⁰ New Zealand was divided into 21 zones and 315 tribal committees were formed together with 41 tribal executive committees (Map 6.3). A clear desire emerged on the part of many Maori that, having gained what they felt to be ‘a measure of self-government’ through the organisation, the body should be retained, allowed to participate in post-war reconstruction, and especially (in an interesting

⁹⁰⁶ See, for example, ‘Is rehabilitation being fumbled?’ *Dominion* 23 June 1944.

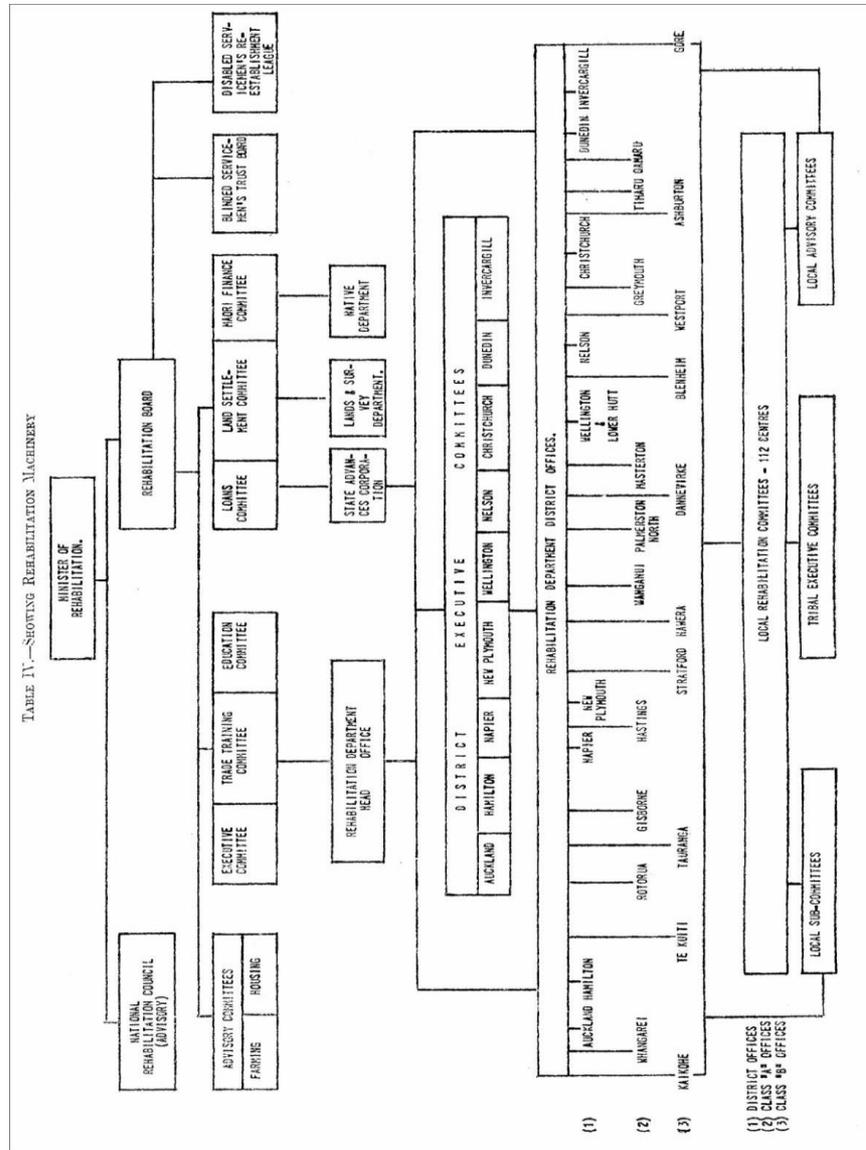
⁹⁰⁷ NZPD 1944, Vol 265, p.299. See also pp.437-438.

⁹⁰⁸ NZPD 1944, Vol 265, p.311.

⁹⁰⁹ AJHR 1945, H18, p.3.

⁹¹⁰ This section is based upon ‘Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945,’ URL:<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/maori-war-effort-organisation> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 5 August 2014. See also Claudia Orange, ‘An exercise in Maori autonomy: the rise and demise of the Maori War Effort Organisation,’ *New Zealand journal of history* 21, 1, April 1987, pp.156-172. For a revised version of that article, see Claudia Orange, ‘The price of citizenship? The Maori war effort,’ in John Crawford, editor, *Kia kaha: New Zealand in the Second World War*. Melbourne: Oxford, 2002, pp.236-251. See also Claudia Orange, ‘Maori War Effort Organisation,’ in Ian McGibbon, editor, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand military history*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.307-309.

selection of words) ‘to defend the interests of returned Maoris,’ and to that end should have statutory powers rather than powers conferred by means of war regulations.⁹¹¹



Source: AJHR 1945, H18, p.16

Figure 6.1: The rehabilitation organisational structure, March 1945

⁹¹¹ ‘Maori work. War Effort Organisation,’ *Taranaki Herald* 25 September 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2. See also ‘Maintenance of Maori organisation urged,’ *Hawera Star* 25 September 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

With the death of its prime mover, Paraire Paikea (MHR Western Maori) in April 1943, Treasury, with the support of the Department of Native Affairs, recommended that official support for the Maori War Effort Organisation should cease as from 31 January 1944. That the Department of Native Affairs supported Treasury's recommendation was hardly surprising: by late 1943, it was, as Butterworth and Young noted, 'increasingly resentful of the role of the Maori War Effort Organisation ...'⁹¹² In January 1945, the Director of Rehabilitation raised directly with its Under Secretary the objections held by the Department of Native Affairs to the involvement of the tribal executive committees. In his characteristically frank manner, he made it clear that 'From a purely official standpoint these committees [including 'European committees'] can possibly be regarded to some extent as a nuisance, but from the soldiers' angle and as a means of giving an indication of public opinion in respect of our treatment of individual ex-servicemen, their services are most valuable.' He added that Tribal Executive Committees would remain an integral part of the administrative structure that had been established, at the same time acknowledging that some of them had expressed their objections to the involvement of the Department of Native Affairs in rehabilitation matters. Maori in North Auckland, in particular, he noted, desired 'to break away entirely from the Native Department, an attitude on which your Department is probably more fully informed than I am myself.' He went to quote from a report prepared by the Rehabilitation Department's Senior Maori Rehabilitation Officer and dated 29 August 1943. That officer had concluded that:

... the Maori people as a whole were very antagonistic towards the Native Department, and it was pointed out to me by the Elders that the Rehabilitation Department should keep in contact with applications that are submitted to the Native Department concerning Maori ex-servicemen. They consider no matter how enthusiastic the Native Department may be at the present time in carrying out the work submitted to it on behalf of the Maori ex-servicemen, that sooner or later the Department is more than likely to fall back to that complacent attitude known as 'Taihoa' policy. A complaint also the Maoris make concerning the Native Department is that very little information is divulged to the people.

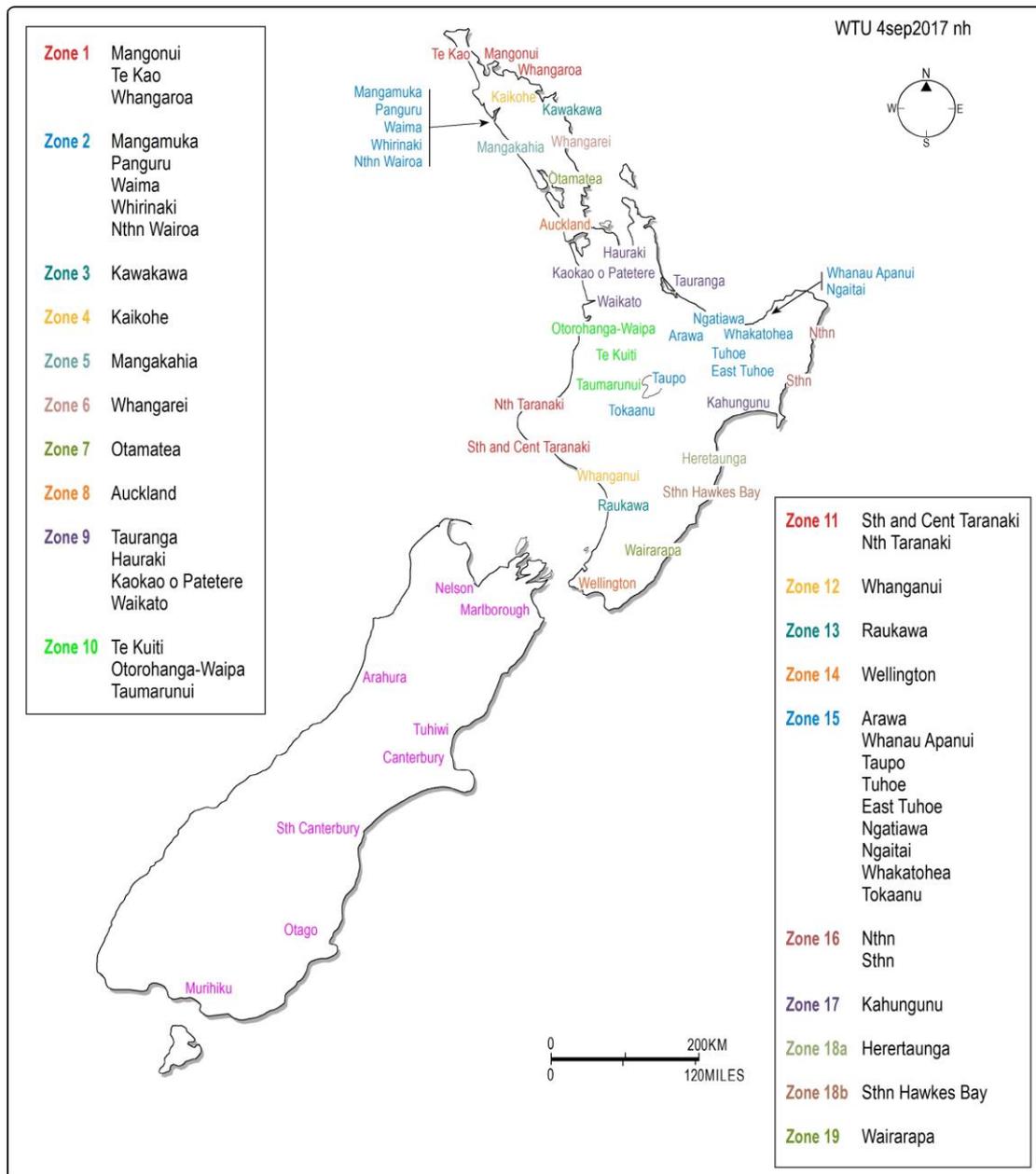
⁹¹² G.V. Butterworth and H.R. Young, *Maori Affairs*. Wellington: Iwi Transition Agency, GP Books, c1990, p.86.

Such diffidence, he concluded, was ‘the seed of discontent that the Maori ... holds against the Native Department ...’⁹¹³ Having expressed unease over the progress being made in the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, Baker found it necessary to remind the Under Secretary ‘that the Board was responsible for determining the extent of the assistance which would be granted ... and the manner in which agent departments of the Board would give effect to the Board’s policy. The policy of the Rehabilitation Board is now and always has been that equal assistance would be available to Maori and Pakeha ex-servicemen alike ...’⁹¹⁴ He proposed that the two agencies should discuss ‘the whole question’ of the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, establish ‘certain basic principles,’ and jointly prepare a rehabilitation scheme for submission to and adoption by the Rehabilitation Board.⁹¹⁵ Those discussions took place during February 1945, but a record was not located.

⁹¹³ Quoted in Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 30 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

⁹¹⁴ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

⁹¹⁵ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.



Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/c 10/10

Map 6.3: The Maori War Effort Organisation, 1945

Towards the end of February, Baker recorded that he and the Under Secretary of the Native Department had reached agreement over ‘the necessity for urgent improvement in the implementation of Maori rehabilitation policy ...’ To that extent, he was prepared to release one of his staff (C.J. Stace) to act as ‘Officer-in-Charge’ of the Maori Rehabilitation section’ within the Department of Native Affairs. That officer would ‘coordinate and expedite action on all matters pertaining to the

rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen through your Department ...'⁹¹⁶ The latter resisted, Shepherd recording that that was not quite what he had in mind. Rather, he viewed Stace as acting as a liaison officer between the Departments of Rehabilitation and Native Affairs, and to secure for Maori ex-servicemen such rehabilitation assistance as was made available. Interestingly, he observed that 'The rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen and women is closely related to the many of the normal activities of this Department and at a certain point will definitely merge into the ordinary Departmental practice and routine ...'⁹¹⁷ That was exactly what the Rehabilitation Board, and Director Baker, in particular, were determined to resist.

The political battle that Treasury's recommendation stoked afresh led to the passage of the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 under which the Maori War Effort Organisation was absorbed into the Department of Native Affairs. Under that Act, power was taken to declare 'tribal districts' and to appoint tribal executives. Section 12 set out the general functions of such executives, section 12(b) recording that they were 'To collaborate with and assist the Rehabilitation Board, the National Employment Service, organizations in the rehabilitation of Maori discharged servicemen and the placement of Maoris in industry and other forms of employment.' Under section 14, the Crown could define 'tribal committee areas' within tribal districts, while section 15 provided for the election of 'tribal committees.' Such committees were (section 19) to 'have the same general functions as a Tribal Executive ... save so far as those functions are functions which can be performed by a Tribal Executive only.' The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, meeting on 27 August 1945, thus resolved that district rehabilitation and tribal executive committees should cease to operate as separate bodies, that all applications for rehabilitation assistance should pass through one central committee on which Maori were represented, and the tribal executive committees should act as advisory committees.⁹¹⁸ The precise circumstances of that decision have still to be established, as do the

⁹¹⁶ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 February 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

⁹¹⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 19 March 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

⁹¹⁸ See Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 29 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0. See also Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Whanganui 13 September 1945, in ANZ Wellington ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50 Part 3; and 'Report on the visit to Maori localities ...' paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 27 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1. A copy can also be found in ARDK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

consequences for the scope, scale and strength of iwi participation in the rehabilitation effort.

Few copies of the proceedings of the tribal executive committees were located, but the reports furnished by Captain R. Taiapa, the Maori Rehabilitation Officer for the East Coast, indicated that, during 1944 at least, they played a key role in dealing with a range of rehabilitation matters and in the granting of assistance.⁹¹⁹ Thus he recorded that the Kahungunu Tribal Executive Committee, meeting at Opoutama on 8 October 1944, was ‘very thorough in its investigations and its recommendations were recorded with the spirit of fairness to the Rehabilitation Board and the ex-serviceman.’⁹²⁰ Subsequently, Tiaki Omana (MHR Eastern Maori) suggested that many Maori ex-servicemen preferred to work through the Maori tribal committees, such committees contacting each man and promptly taking up his case with alacrity.⁹²¹ It seems unlikely, therefore, that the practical severance of an effective and important link between iwi and the rehabilitation authorities served the interests of Maori ex-service personnel as they sought to regain entry into civil life.

6.20 Embedding the new arrangements

In January 1944, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs set out for his Registrars details of the new administrative arrangements. First, he noted that ‘it is obvious that every form of assistance cannot be handed out indiscriminately.’⁹²² The Rehabilitation Board in fact moved early to establish a priority order in which applications for assistance would be considered. The Rehabilitation Act 1941 defined ex-servicemen so as to include any person who had served with the Forces either in New Zealand or overseas or had served in the Mercantile Marine other than on purely coastal vessels. In 1944, the Board noted that neither in the Act nor in any subsequent Order in

⁹¹⁹ See, for example, ‘Minutes of meeting of Sub-committee dealing with farm training ...’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

⁹²⁰ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, East Coast to Director, Rehabilitation 9 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

⁹²¹ NZPD 1945, Vol 269, p.776.

⁹²² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrars 24 January 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

Council had it been 'instructed to have regard to defined principles in making assistance available...' ⁹²³ The Board itself thus devised some 'general principles in the light of which eligibility for assistance of various kinds, the extent of such assistance, and the priorities to be recognized as between different classes of ex-servicemen can be uniformly and . . . equitably determined.' Thus eligible for immediate assistance for house, farm, and business loans and allocation of State rental dwellings were all men 'who have actually seen front-line service or have served outside for New Zealand for six months or over, in European and Middle East "zones," East Asia, and the Pacific.' ⁹²⁴

Registrars were thus reminded of that priority order that the Rehabilitation Board had established. They were advised that disabled men, widows and children of men killed had a clear claim to the maximum assistance necessary for their rehabilitation and ranked first. Ranked second were the men who had borne the brunt of the fighting and those who had experienced arduous and dangerous service: they would receive 'their reward for that service in the form of any necessary assistance towards their rehabilitation.' Ranked third were home servicemen whose claims rested on hardship, financial loss or loss of opportunity. ⁹²⁵ No evidence was located that would suggest that this priority ordering disadvantaged Maori ex-service personnel. But, as implementation of the rehabilitation proceeded, the Rehabilitation Board, acting often on the basis of advice tendered by its specialist sub-committees, devised a range of rationing mechanisms in the shape of criteria that applicants for particular forms of assistance had to satisfy. These are examined more particularly in Chapter 7.

On the matter of the assistance that would be provided through the Department of Native Affairs, Under Secretary Campbell indicated that

It is anticipated [*sic*] that a large proportion of Maori ex-servicemen will be settled on tribal lands, preferably in which they are beneficially interested, and wherever satisfactory arrangements can be made with Native owners for occupation every encouragement should be given to proposals of this nature.

⁹²³ AJHR 1944, H18, p.27.

⁹²⁴ AJHR 1944, H18, p.27.

⁹²⁵ Applicants for rehabilitation assistance were required to provide details of mobilisation, dates of departure from and return to New Zealand, date of discharge, where served, any disability, and any pension received.

In such cases the question of purchase will not arise and the principal expenditure will be for development and purchase of stock and chattels.⁹²⁶

The implications of that statement are explored below. For the purposes of security, it was proposed to deal with Native lands set apart for rehabilitation purposes under Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. Where improvements and stock and chattels were being financed on a current account basis, the Minister of Finance approved an interest rate of 4.5 per cent with no additional charge for administration. That rate would operate until development was complete, and at that point 'European rates' would apply. The rationale for the higher rate whilst the lands involved were under development was not explained: it might have been expected that a lower rate would have applied during a farm's establishment period. For Native land development and settlement, therefore, the rate of interest on current account would be 4.5 per cent, except in the first year when it would be 2.25 per cent and 3.25 per cent for the second and third years, with discretionary power to extend those concessions.

Of particular importance was the apparent assumption that all those occupying land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 would secure the concessionary rates of interest once 'development' had been completed, a process not expected to exceed two to three years. That very short period appears to have been based upon another assumption, namely, that Maori ex-servicemen would take up partially developed or readily developed land within the existing Maori land development schemes. Whether the Department's assumption were soundly grounded was a matter that would soon be put to the test.

The Under Secretary went on to note that in each rehabilitation centre, a Maori Farm Training Committee would be established, each including representatives of the appropriate tribal executive committee, the Departments of Lands and Survey and Native Affairs, and the nearest general rehabilitation committee. Maori veterans could be trained on blocks or farms operated by Native Affairs; where no Native lands were available, on blocks controlled by the Department of Lands and Survey; at

⁹²⁶ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrars 24 January 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

agricultural colleges; on Rehabilitation Board training farms; and with private farmers under subsidy.⁹²⁷

Loans for housing would be granted under the Native Housing Act 1935 and would carry interest at the rate of 4.125 per cent per annum, but at two per cent for the first year. 'The Rehabilitation Board particularly desires,' Campbell noted, 'that housing loan proposals should be directly related to future prospects in that locality as far as gainful employment is concerned.' For those veterans residing in Native settlements and seeking furniture loans, free of interest loans up to £100 would be available to an ex-serviceman married or about to be married, a widower or a widow with one or more children, or the dependent widowed mothers of deceased ex-servicemen. For a totally disabled man 'in necessitous circumstances' or a widow with one or more children in a similar position, the first £30 of such a loan would be by way of grant and the balance by way of loan. With respect to tools of trade, Maori veterans residing in Maori communities could apply for an interest-free loan of up to £50. The terms of repayment would be at discretion of the Maori Finance Rehabilitation Committee.⁹²⁸

On the matter of loans to purchase or establish businesses in Native settlements or dependent on Native custom, the Under Secretary observed that 'It is not expected that many applications will be submitted for the purchase of stock-in-trade, plant etc., and the provision of working capital for the establishment of businesses ...' For those who did seek such assistance, interest bearing loans up to £500 would be made available, the terms of repayment being at the discretion of the Maori Finance Rehabilitation Committee. 'Loans,' he added, 'will only be made where the proposed businesses can reasonably be regarded as economically and socially necessary.' The rate of interest was set at 4.125 per cent but two per cent in the first year. Applicants would be required to provide details of qualification and experience and fitness to undertake business operations on own account; their physical fitness; local prospects; reasonableness of the price; trading returns if an existing business; whether living premises were available; whether the proposed loan would provide adequate working

⁹²⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrars 24 January 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

⁹²⁸ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrars 24 January 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

capital; security; and, finally, ability to pay interest and principal within a reasonable time.⁹²⁹

6.21 Advising the tribal executive committees

In April 1944, the Director of Rehabilitation distributed a lengthy memorandum among the Maori tribal executive committees in which he sought their full cooperation in the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen. He noted that until recently, Maori veterans (then numbering 1,286) were considered for rehabilitation assistance under the general scheme. Subsequently, a great deal of investigation had been conducted ‘into the questions of rehabilitation which concern Maori ex-servicemen in ways that do not arise in the cases of European ex-servicemen.’ From those investigations had emerged a procedure designed specifically to deal with Maori ex-servicemen.

In that memorandum, Baker set out the rehabilitation task, facilities, and machinery, and described the manner in which the machinery was intended to operate. His comments and observations offer some useful insights into the Rehabilitation Board’s approach to the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel and for that reason the memorandum merits extended consideration. Baker first defined *the task* as it involved Maori ex-service personnel, namely, re-establishing over 5,000 Maori service personnel in civilian life ‘in such a way as to offset as far as possible any disability, hardship, or loss of opportunity due to their war service. This implies equal opportunities with Europeans to work with hand and brain to win, and make secure, a high standard of living, and a high level of happiness.’ He grouped Maori veterans into six classes, namely, (1) those wishing to settle on the land; (2) those wishing to enter into business; (3) those wishing to take up trades; (4) those wishing to enter or re-enter professions or complete their education; (5) those who were disabled and who required special provision; and (6) those requiring houses, furniture and other forms of assistance.

⁹²⁹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrars 24 January 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

6.21.1 Settlement on the land

Those wishing to go on to the land were subdivided into three groups. The *first group* included those who had sufficiently large interests in Native land that had already been defined on partition. Few difficulties were expected in assisting this group. The *second group* included those who had sufficiently large interests in Native land but which had not been so defined, or having small interests in a number of blocks which if consolidated would provide the ex-serviceman concerned with a farm from which a reasonable living could be obtained. Here the Rehabilitation Board would look to the tribal executive committees to induce parties involved to ‘settle amicably and rapidly the ex-serviceman’s claim ...’ The *third group* included those who either had insufficient interests in Native land to derive a reasonable living therefrom or who had no interests in land at all. For such ex-service personnel, special provision would have to be made, first, by other Maori making available suitable areas of land in what Baker described as ‘a most practical form of help’ that would enable veterans ‘to become established on better terms than would apply where he has to pay both rent for the land and meet besides the cost of development and stock.’ Baker went on to suggest, in this context, that expiry of leases of Native land leased to Pakeha should not be overlooked. ‘In many places such lands may be considered by the Tribal Executive Committee suitable for setting aside for rehabilitation purposes.’ He also raised the possibility of purchasing the goodwill of current leases. The Rehabilitation Board, he added, would want to know whether the existing owners would wish to retain their interests in which case the lands would be dealt with under Part I/1936 – or to ‘surrender them in favour of ex-servicemen.’ The second option lay in the purchase of land suitable for development and settlement: where no Native-owned land was available, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee would consider purchasing blocks for development and settlement ‘as soon as information as to the exact requirements is forthcoming from Tribal Executive Committees.’ The last option involved direct financing whereby an ex-serviceman would be assisted to purchase the freehold of an existing property from either a Maori or a Pakeha.

An applicant for settlement on the land would have to satisfy certain questions. Was he capable of managing his own farm or would he become so after training? Was there a farm available? Was the farm sufficiently large to ensure a good living to the

applicant and his family? Was the price reasonable? Had his service been of a nature to warrant assistance to this extent? Did he sell a farm in order to enter the armed forces? What was the applicant's pre-service employment? Clearly, applicants for land, and indeed for other forms of rehabilitation assistance, would have to meet certain criteria. While defining such criteria reflected the Rehabilitation Board's determination to do all that was necessary to protect the interests of both returned servicemen and the State's investment in their rehabilitation, they also served as both screening devices and rationing mechanisms.

6.21.2 Entering business

For those wishing to enter business, Baker indicated, the process was straightforward where they had previous experience and where the business concerned was 'sound,' as it was also for those wishing to enter a business mainly dependent on custom from Maori (citing, as an example, a store in a Maori land development block). An applicant would be required to answer a number of questions, among them, whether he was capable of managing the business? Was the business sound and in the national interest? Would stocks be available? Had the applicant's service been of a nature to warrant assistance to this extent? Did he sell his business in order to enter the armed forces? Was the applicant free to take up the business? What was the applicant's pre-service occupation and what prospects were there in the selected field?

6.21.3 Trades and professions

Baker dealt more briefly with those wishing to take up trades or other forms of employment and those wishing to enter or re-enter professions or complete their education. With respect to the latter, an applicant would be required to demonstrate that he had the necessary preliminary education to take the course, whether the course would be of practical assistance in finding employment, whether his service merited assistance, especially for long-term courses, and whether he was sufficiently young to take advantage of the education.

6.21.4 The rehabilitation facilities

In Part II of his circular memorandum, the Director of Rehabilitation examined the rehabilitation facilities that would be made available. Farm training would be made available through private farms under subsidised engagement, blocks being developed by the Department of Lands and Survey, on Rehabilitation Board training farms, and through the agricultural colleges. Settlement involved establishment as freehold farmers through the State Advances Corporation, on properties acquired by the Crown under the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Control Act 1943 through the State Advances Corporation and the Department of Lands and Survey jointly, or as Crown tenants on holdings under the Small Farms Act 1932-33. Settlement would also be made available through what he termed 'special channels,' namely, settlement on native land defined by partition where the ex-serviceman's interest is sufficient to assure him of a reasonable standard of living, settlement on native lands where the serviceman's interest therein would be sufficient to assure him a reasonable standard of living provided the partitioning of his interest was first undertaken, settlement on native property leased to Europeans either on expiry of lease or upon buying out the lessee, settlement on Native freehold land under development, and, lastly, purchase of suitable other lands by the Maori Finance Rehabilitation Committee.

On the matter of education Baker announced that 'Unless it is found necessary to create special facilities for Maori ex-servicemen,' facilities would be made available through 'general channels,' that is, night classes at secondary and technical schools, day classes and part-time tuition at secondary and technical schools, ordinary university bursaries covering fees for part time study, and special university bursaries that covered fees and living costs, that is, full-time study. The Rehabilitation Board would also offer post-graduate university bursaries, correspondence courses with the Education Department's Correspondence School, grants for books, instruments, and financial assistance 'where embarkation upon a professional practice is contemplated.'

In Part II of his circular, Baker described 'The machinery of Maori Rehabilitation' and, in Part IV 'The machinery at work.' He set out in considerable detail both the general and special channels for all forms of rehabilitation assistance, and concluded

by observing ‘that a thorough attempt has been made to investigate the needs of Maori ex-servicemen and to provide machinery to fulfil those needs.’⁹³⁰

6.22 ‘Flung out into the maelstrom of Pakeha affairs ...’

By mid-1944, the Rehabilitation Board, working with the Department of Native Affairs, other State departments, and the Maori tribal executive committees, was confident that ‘the bulk of Maoris will prefer the specially created channels,’ at the same time noting that ‘Choice of one or other method of application does not affect the extent of assistance likely to be forthcoming.’⁹³¹ The Board stressed ‘Emphasis is laid ... on the necessity for uniformity in the consideration given applications for assistance, whether received through the general channels or those created for the specific use of Maori ex-servicemen.’⁹³²

Ngata remained unhappy. In May 1944, during a hui in Rotorua, he suggested to the Native Minister Mason that Maori preferred that returning Maori soldiers should be dealt with by a specially created section of the Native Department. Treating Maori and Pakeha returned soldiers alike, he predicted, would seriously disadvantage the former. ‘If the Rehabilitation Board were going to insist on handling Maori settlers, the men would simply be flung out into the maelstrom of Pakeha affairs and left to their own devices, unadvised and inexperienced.’⁹³³ The *Rotorua Morning Post* recorded Ngata as saying that dealing with the settlement of Maori veterans on the land on the same basis as Pakeha ‘would impose a definite hardship upon the majority of prospective Maori settlers.’ That policy, he suggested, was ‘totally unsuited to deal with the Maori outlook ...’ In his view, the Department of Native Affairs was the only government agency capable of handling the matter. His arguments evidently found what the *Rotorua Morning Post* described as ‘ready and sympathetic acquiescence ...’ on the part of the Minister of Native Affairs.⁹³⁴

⁹³⁰ Memorandum, Director of Rehabilitation to secretaries and members of Tribal Executive Committees and others 27 April 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6103 W1666/126/a 10/0.

⁹³¹ AJHR 1944, H18, p.23.

⁹³² AJHR 1944, H18, p.23. See also AJHR 1945, H18, p.12.

⁹³³ ‘Two-edged sword. Equality of treatment,’ *Bay of Plenty Beacon* 30 May 1944, p.5.

⁹³⁴ ‘Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers in district,’ *Rotorua Morning Post* 1 June 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

Ngata's criticisms found some support from officers with the Department of Native Affairs. In February 1945, Auckland's Registrar suggested that the rehabilitation of Maori veterans was being 'complicated by the number of hands through which the applications have to pass,' that is, through the Rehabilitation Department, Maori tribal committees, contact officers, Maori War Effort Organisation officers, and, at times, the Native Land Court. 'This multiplicity of organisations dealing with these matters hardly makes for simplicity and speed,' he suggested, and claimed that Maori were 'confused.' He also expressed concern that the Department of Native Affairs had never been asked to participate in the various meetings held in the North by the Rehabilitation Department and other organisations to discuss with Maori various issues relating to rehabilitation. Taranaki tribal leaders, meeting at Hawera in May 1945 expressed concern over what they discerned to be a lack of coordination among the various bodies involved in the welfare of Maori veterans. The result, they suggested, was that Maori veterans were not being entering occupations 'in which they would become proficient and useful units of the community . . .'⁹³⁵

6.23 'It has been found desirable'

In June 1945 the Minister of Rehabilitation (C.F. Skinner) advised the Minister of Finance that since Cabinet's decision of 26 November 1943, 'It has been found desirable that the financial and other administrative aspects of the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen through the agency of the Native Department, should be more clearly defined and correlated with the modus operandi of the other agent departments.' Thus the Rehabilitation Board had resolved to reappoint the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, and to delegate to that committee its powers under sections 10 and 11(1) of the Rehabilitation Act 1941, provided that Maori veterans could also apply to the Rehabilitation Loans Committee.⁹³⁶ The Board went on to

⁹³⁵ 'Maori servicemen, fears for the future,' *Taranaki Herald* 24 May 1945, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2. See also 'Plea for patience,' *Auckland Star* 32 March 1945, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

⁹³⁶ 'Matter for consideration by the Rehabilitation Board,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

recommend that land suitable for development and settlement by Maori veterans should be purchased through the Land Settlement Board in the case of European land and through the Native Department in the case of Maori land, that such blocks should be developed by the Native Department and ‘That Maori ex-servicemen be established on such blocks when developed and subdivided, at values determined on a productive basis in accordance with the announced Government policy ... and that in appropriate cases Maori ex-servicemen who hold “B” and “C” grading certificates be settled on such lands following subdivision on the same basis as it is proposed to settle them on lands subject to Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936.’ Settlement would be on a renewable leasehold basis, rental at £4 per cent per annum of the unimproved value with a reassessment of rental every 33 years, and the lessee to purchase improvements and stock (with rehabilitation loans).

The Rehabilitation Board further recommended that the same interest rates should be charged and upon the same terms as loans granted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee; that the difference between the Native Department’s ordinary lending rate of interest from time to time and the rate (if any) payable by a borrower under a rehabilitation loan be recouped to the Native Department’s funds from the War Expenses Account; that rents actually payable by Maori ex-servicemen lessees settled on developed lands be reduced to £3 per cent per annum of the unimproved value, and that the difference between £3 per cent per annum and £4 per cent per annum should be provided by subsidy from the War Expenses Account; that the provisions as to supplementary loans applicable to loans granted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee should apply equally to loans granted by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee; and that where a loan had been granted under the Native Housing Act 1935 to an eligible ex-serviceman and was later converted into a rehabilitation loan, all interest concessions should be applicable to that loan from the time it, or any part or parts of it respectively, commenced to bear interest. Finally, the Rehabilitation Board offered a series of recommendations with respect to the settlement of Maori veterans on the land: they are set out and explored in a later chapter.⁹³⁷ The

⁹³⁷ ‘Matter for consideration by the Rehabilitation Board,’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

Rehabilitation Board's recommendations had the support of Treasury.⁹³⁸ It had taken many months of debate, but some finality over how, in respect of Maori veterans, the rehabilitation programme would be implemented had been reached.

For all the clarity that had been secured, clear indications remained that many Maori veterans would prefer to deal with the Department of Rehabilitation. Part of the reason lay in the conviction held by some Maori tribal executive committees that where the Department of Native Affairs was involved, they were without an effective voice in the rehabilitation effort.⁹³⁹ At a hui held on Gisborne's Poho-o-Rawiri Marae, in August 1945, attention was drawn to an alleged lack of liaison between tribal executive committees and the Department of Native Affairs over rehabilitation. The Department, it was suggested, required the appointment of an officer whose task it would be to deal specifically with rehabilitation and so resolve the delays. Questions were also raised over housing, specifically why the government could find the materials for the state houses that were being constructed in Gisborne but not for Maori veterans. That was a matter to which Baker responded by suggesting that the difficulties were part of the wider building supplies shortage, noting that 'We ... have made suggestions to the Government to improve the allocation of materials for houses for Maori and Pakeha Soldiers.'⁹⁴⁰

The Rehabilitation Department did not escape criticism. It emerged that some of its officers had overstated the extent to and the ease with which rehabilitation assistance could be secured, generating some distrust and dissatisfaction among Maori communities when applications were declined. Moreover, even as late as 1947, it is clear that many such communities had a very imprecise understanding of the assistance available.⁹⁴¹ Dissatisfaction was especially pronounced in Northland. Early in 1946, Gaspar and Rankin of the Rehabilitation Board and Ridler (Controller Trade Training), and Whangarei's Maori Rehabilitation Officer, met Ngapuhi and Maori ex-

⁹³⁸ Minister of Rehabilitation to Minister of Finance 7 June 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part.

⁹³⁹ See, for example, 'Two methods open to Maori soldiers in rehabilitation,' *Taranaki Daily News* 7 July 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

⁹⁴⁰ Extracts from speeches at rehabilitation conference held at Poho-o-Rawiri Marae on 2 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

⁹⁴¹ See, for example, Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 24 July 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

servicemen. Notes taken of the meeting disclosed, in the judgement of the Assistant Director of Rehabilitation, 'a most disturbing position ...' Complaints were voiced over a lack of contact on the part of officers with Maori ex-servicemen to advise on rehabilitation matters; non-attendance by officers in their field work and failure to keep appointments with tribal executive committees and Maori ex-servicemen; dissatisfaction over delays in response to correspondence; and scarcity of information supplied to Maori ex-servicemen. The Department of Rehabilitation clearly considered the complaints to be well founded and hence the Rehabilitation Officer stationed in Kaikohe was instructed to furnish 'an immediate and comprehensive explanation' of the activities of his Maori Rehabilitation Officer.⁹⁴² The latter defended his Maori Rehabilitation Officer even while conceding that he had not regarded him as 'an entirely satisfactory officer ...' The complaints, he averred, had their genesis in the fact that some 500 Maori ex-servicemen were distributed throughout Northland and hence the Maori Rehabilitation Officer (now resigned to enter into business) had been directed to limit his work to urgent cases.⁹⁴³

6.24 Conclusions

At the heart of the protracted debate that took place over the administrative arrangements best calculated to meet the rehabilitation needs of Maori ex-service personnel lay a strongly entrenched (and rarely challenged) conviction held by many Maori that the State, or at least some of its agencies, actively discriminated against the

⁹⁴² Assistant Director, Rehabilitation to Rehabilitation Officer, Kaikohe 7 February 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

⁹⁴³ Rehabilitation Officer, Kaikohe to Director, Rehabilitation 18 February 1946, in AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0. It was also in 1946 that Ngapuhi passed a vote of no confidence in the Department of Native Affairs 'on account of the inaction displayed at the time of the return of the Maori Battalion from overseas.' A hui at Kaikohe included a speech by the Reverend Keina Poata. The Native Affairs' Department's Under Secretary advised the Director of Rehabilitation that 'This speech can hardly be described as a vote of no confidence in the Native Department . . . It is rather the self-seeking voice of an irresponsible member of the Northern Maori community who has been receiving assistance from this Department for sixteen years . . .' See Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 14 March 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 610 W1666/130/d 10/20. Prime Minister Fraser suggested that the response was 'not a wise one. I question the wisdom,' he remarked, 'of dismissing any matter in such a fashion.' Prime Minister 6 April 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/d 10/20. The matter was quietly allowed to lapse. It is of interest to record here that, in 1944, Under Secretary Shepherd had acknowledged that his department's administration in Northland 'had slipped over recent years ...' See Legal Officer, Rehabilitation Department to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

Maori veterans of World War I. It thus served to expose some serious fault-lines in the relationship between Maori and the Crown. Maori leaders, also acutely aware of the selective manner in which welfare entitlements had been administered until the election of the First Labour Government, were adamant that there should be no repetition of what they regarded as the discriminatory conduct of those agencies and of the alleged indifference of the Government itself. Repeated protestations on the part of the Government that the new rehabilitation programme would embody and express the principle of equal opportunity did not allay a deep-seated anxiety that Maori ex-servicemen would again face similar obstacles. Indeed, they served to support the original conviction. The key questions were how to ensure that the promise of equal treatment was translated into effective practice, how to ensure that Maori veterans were alerted to the forms of rehabilitation available, how to ensure that they were able to navigate their way through the complicated application processes, how to ensure that they received the same rehabilitation services, and how to ensure that they were treated by the various rehabilitation and related authorities in the same manner as all other veterans.

While a good deal of criticism was directed at the Department of Lands and Survey and the State Advances Corporation, it was soon apparent that few Maori reposed much trust in the Department of Native Affairs. Disappointment over the management of the Maori land development programme, the marked lack of progress over land consolidation and title reform, and the perceived failure to foster Maori leadership and self-reliance, were three clear sources of the mistrust and lack of confidence. There was a fourth, namely a conviction that the Department was wedded to its existing approaches to matters of moment to Maori and was unlikely to embrace the goals, policies, and values articulated and adopted by the Rehabilitation Council and the Rehabilitation Board. Doubts that the Department shared the Rehabilitation Board's commitment to establishing Maori ex-servicemen on economic farms, enabling them to construct homes of a standard equal to those for all other veterans, and encouraging Maori into fully gainful employment troubled many Maori. Suggestions by the Department that rehabilitation differed little from its existing land settlement and housing programmes hardly allayed such doubts or appealed to a people with a new-found confidence and a desire to participate fully in the country's economic, political, and social life.

For many Maori the preferred vehicle for the delivery of rehabilitation assistance to Maori ex-servicemen was the Maori War Effort Organisation. The management, reach, and achievements of that body were all the evidence required, it was claimed, that iwi should control or at the very least play a major role in the implementation of the post-World War II rehabilitation programme. For the Department of Native Affairs, concerned over its very limited participation in the early discussions over rehabilitation policy and implementation, an expanded role for the Maori War Effort Organisation was an anathema. While that debate was underway, the Rehabilitation Board itself sought to establish its full control of the rehabilitation programme, and while prepared to engage the Department of Native Affairs as partner agency, it was not prepared to relinquish any control. It took some considerable time before an arrangement was arrived at that vested full control of both policy and implementation in the Rehabilitation Board, saw the establishment of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee as an executive committee of the Rehabilitation Board, charged the Department of Native Affairs with responsibility for implementation, and allowed the tribal executive committees constituted under the Maori War Effort Organisation, for a short time at least, an advisory and decision-making role. Whether the structure thus devised was best calculated to advance the interests, serve the needs, and meet the aspirations of Maori veterans would soon be put to the test.

Throughout the debate the emphasis had been placed on equality of access, that is, on ensuring as far as possible that Maori veterans had the same access to rehabilitation assistance as all other veterans. The issue that attracted much less attention and generated considerable less debate was that of equity of provision, that is, whether the rehabilitation programme, conceived as a major part of effort to restructure post-war economy and society, and designed very largely with the needs and expectations of the Pakeha majority to the fore, would meet the needs of the Maori minority, given especially that most of the latter had been drawn from rural, isolated, and economically disadvantaged districts. Whether the forms of assistance devised offered should be standardised or whether differences should be recognised and provisions tailored to meet the needs Maori ex-servicemen, and whether some forms or forms of affirmative action (such as quotas) should be adopted, were matters that appear to have received, the representations of some Maori leaders notwithstanding, only passing and then reluctant consideration. Indeed, it appears to have been largely

assumed that equality of access would ensure equality of outcomes. The following chapters thus explore some major questions: did Maori ex-service personnel secure 'equal access' to all rehabilitation services and were the outcomes comparable with those secured by all other veterans? Chapter 7 will deal with the various forms of rehabilitation assistance, apart from land settlement. The latter and considerably more complex issue will be explored in succeeding chapters.

Chapter 7: ‘Towards national reconstruction:’ the economic rehabilitation programme

7.1 Introduction

The rehabilitation programme for military veterans was conceived, as noted above, as part of the Government’s wider programme for post-war social and economic reconstruction. The rehabilitation programme thus had several major components, namely, financial assistance for housing, education, and businesses, trade training, employment, land settlement, and the rehabilitation of the disabled. As noted above, most of the debate that took place over the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel centred on the issue of equality of access, the decision being taken to create a separate channel through which they could apply for the various forms of assistance available. For those Maori veterans who wished to apply through the standard channel, that option remained open. Whether the creation of that separate channel fostered a higher rate of participation in the rehabilitation programme or, contrariwise constrained that rate, is a question that defies a ready answer. On the other hand, there are sufficient data available to establish whether Maori ex-service personnel secured assistance on a scale comparable with that of all other veterans. Chapter 7 thus explores and compares the rates of uptake of the various forms of rehabilitation assistance – with the exception of settlement on the land – by both Maori and all other ex-service personnel.

7.2 Military mobilisation and demobilisation

It will be helpful first to consider briefly the progress of mobilisation and demobilisation. A useful summary of the former was prepared by the National Service Department. It recorded that mobilisation proceeded through three phases: the first was directed towards participation in the war against Germany so that by the end of November 1941, over 82,000 men and women were serving fulltime in the Armed Forces and an additional 35,000 in the Territorial Force. The entry of Japan into the war initiated the second phase: peak mobilisation for all Forces both overseas and at

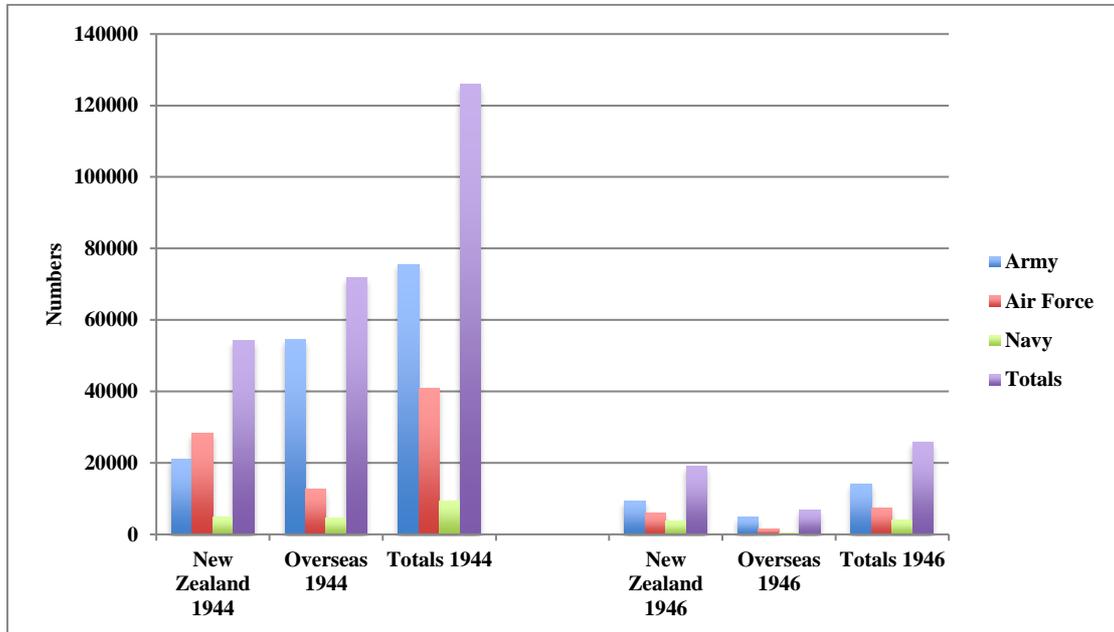
home, namely, 157,000 men and women, was reached in September 1942. A further 250,000 men and women were serving part time in the Home Guard, the Emergency Precautions [Civil Defence] Services, the Emergency Fire Service, and the Women's War Service Auxiliary. The third phase involved a reduction in the Army Home Defence Forces: by June 1943, the number involved had been reduced to 33,555. Personnel were re-deployed overseas: the Army reached its peak overseas strength of 56,992 men and women in May 1943, the Air Force of 14,675 men and women in October 1944, and the Navy of 5,635 in June 1945. The defeat of the Axis Forces in North Africa, the subsequent collapse of Italy in September 1943, and the surrender of Germany in May 1945 were followed by the progressive return of personnel to New Zealand, while rapid demobilisation followed in the wake of Japan's surrender in August 1945.⁹⁴⁴ From the peak mobilisation of 157,000 men and women reached in September 1942, the number had declined to 26,499 by February 1946.⁹⁴⁵

Graph 7.1 sets out the strength and general location of New Zealand's armed forces as at 31 March 1944 and 1946: their rapid and pronounced contraction and relocation to New Zealand are clearly apparent. Graph 7.2 sets out the cumulative numbers demobilised by years ending 31 March from 1941 to 1965. The numbers include those who served overseas, those from camps in New Zealand, and from 1951 those who served in the Emergency Forces. By the end of March 1965, 6,166 personnel who had served in the Emergency Forces had been demobilised: that number included those who had also served in World War II. Those demobilised up to 1942 were largely the sick and wounded. Of the total of 217,816 demobilised by the end of March 1965, 96.8 percent had been so by the end of March 1950. Graph 7.2 makes it clear that by 1948 demobilisation had been largely completed, the rate of discharge accelerating after VE Day and finally slowing after the withdrawal of J Force in 1948. The rate of discharge was especially marked during the second half of 1945. Graphs 7.1 and 7.2 make clear the scale of the task that confronted the Rehabilitation Board, although it must be noted that not all demobilised personnel elected to seek or accept rehabilitation assistance. It should be noted that, on demobilisation, all personnel returning from overseas were entitled to 28 days' leave with pay and allowances, a maximum mufti allowance of £25, free travel warrants to their home, free railway

⁹⁴⁴ AJHR 1946, H11A, p.15.

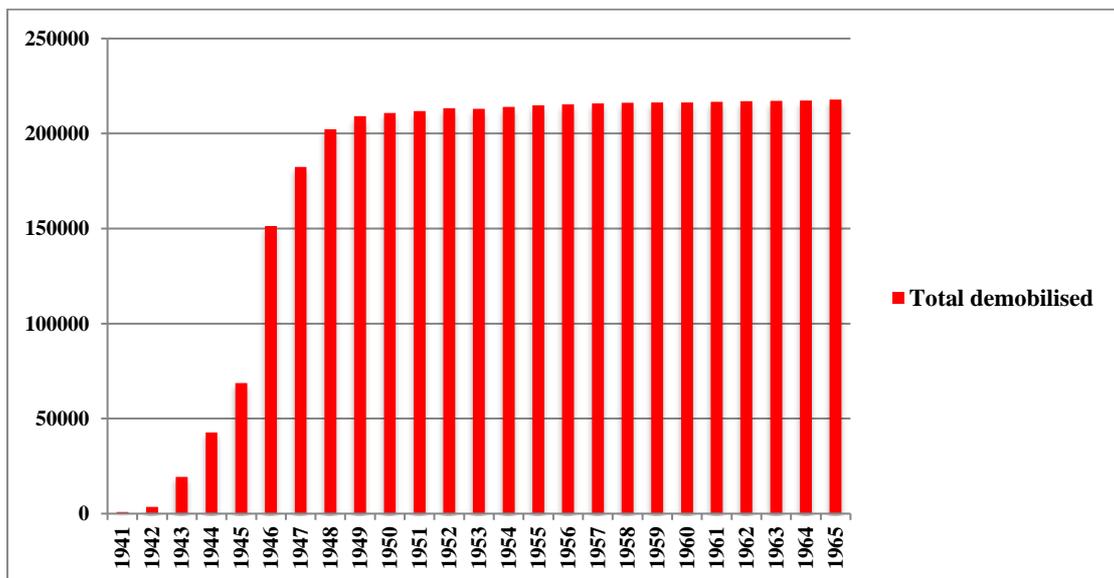
⁹⁴⁵ AJHR 1946, H11A, p.122.

pass valid for one month, and food and clothing coupons. The entitlements for those who had served in New Zealand were the same except that privilege leave was for 14 days and no free railway passes were issued.



Source: AJHR 1944 and 1946, H11A

Graph 7.1: Strength of New Zealand's Armed Forces, 31 March 1944 and 1946



Source: AJHR, H18

Graph 7.2: Total service personnel demobilised, 1941 to 1965

7.2.1 The demobilisation of Maori service personnel

Published data relating to the demobilisation of Maori service personnel are more difficult to locate. Table 7.1 sets out details for the period from 1942 to 1948 and thus includes most of those who served in New Zealand's armed forces during World War II. The data are very similar to the number of cases recorded with the Department of Rehabilitation as at 31 May 1948, namely, 3,725 who had served overseas and 1,292 who had served in New Zealand, a total of 5,017. The comparable figures for Pakeha ex-service personnel were, respectively, 136,214, 62,590, and 198,804.⁹⁴⁶

Table 7.1: Maori service personnel demobilised, cumulative totals, 1943 to 1948

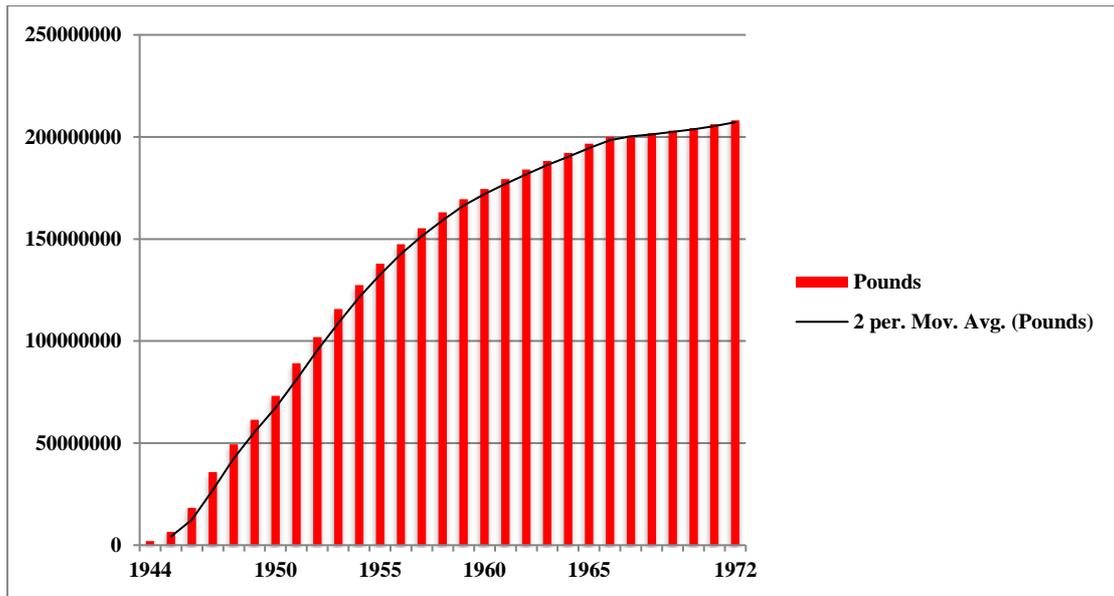
Total to	Ex-overseas	Ex Home Service	Total
31 March 1943	291	310	601
31 March 1944	765	509	1274
31 March 1945	1333	674	2007
31 March 1946	2942	1048	3990
31 March 1947	3421	1177	4598
31 March 1948	3706	1289	4995

Source: AJHR, 1946, H18, p.19; 1947, H18, p.14; and 1948, H18, p.16.

7.3 Providing financial assistance: rehabilitation loans to 1972

The provision of financial assistance to ex-service personnel for several specified purposes that included housing, furniture, farms, businesses, and tools-of-trade, was, as noted, one of the main components of the rehabilitation programme. Graph 7.3 sets out the cumulative value of loans granted for all purposes to all ex-service personnel by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee from 1943 to 1972. The total sum advanced annually rose sharply through to 1960, and more slowly thereafter. By the end of March 1972, the Committee had advanced to ex-servicemen loans exceeding £208m, that sum representing a major injection of capital into the post-war economy.

⁹⁴⁶ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3.



Years ending 31 March

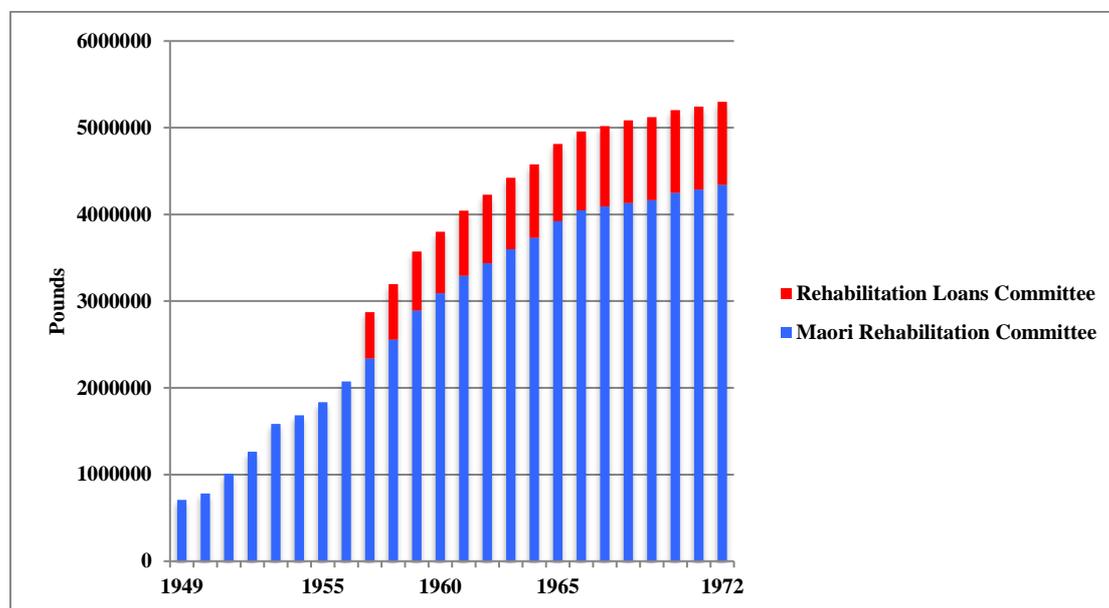
Source: AJHR 1945 to 1972, H18

Graph 7.3: Cumulative value of loans granted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, 1943 to 1972

7.3.1 Rehabilitation loans granted to Maori veterans to 1972

For the period from 1948 to 1972, details of the total loans advanced to Maori veterans through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, and for the period from 1956 to 1972 those advanced through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee were published. Graph 7.4 sets out the details. The total sum advanced annually rose steeply through to 1965 before slowing. Graph 7.4 also makes clear the fact that a substantial number of Maori veterans sought assistance through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee. Thus, by the end of March 1972, the value of loans advanced to Maori veterans by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee constituted 18 per cent of the total value of loans advanced by both committees. The data available do not offer any insights into the characteristics or circumstances of the two groups, but they do indicate that most Maori ex-service personnel elected to apply for assistance through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. Whether the same result would have been secured had all ex-service personnel been required to apply through the standard

channel is open to debate. That question is examined in the chapters dealing with rehabilitation through land settlement.



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1950-1972, H18

Graph 7.4: Cumulative value of loans granted to Maori ex-service personnel by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, 1948 to 1972, and the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, 1956 to 1972

Table 7.2 sets out the value of loans advanced to Maori veterans through the Maori Finance Rehabilitation Committee and the value of the loans advanced by both the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and the Rehabilitation Loans Committee as a proportion of the value of all rehabilitation loans. By the end of March 1972, loans granted through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee constituted 2.09 percent of the total value of all loans, the proportion rising to 2.55 percent when the loans granted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee are taken into account. Table 7.2 suggests that the rehabilitation of Maori veterans started slowly, almost certainly reflecting the slow start to house construction and the protracted period over which the settlement of veterans on the land took place. The number of Maori service

personnel demobilised by the end of March 1948 stood at 4,995 or 2.47 per cent of the total personnel demobilised by the same date (202,265).

Table 7.2: Loans granted to Maori veterans as a proportion of total rehabilitation loans, 1943 to 1972

To 31 March	Loans through MRFC	Loans through MRFC and RFC
Up to 1949	1.15	n.a.
1950	1.07	n.a.
1951	1.13	n.a.
1952	1.24	n.a.
1953	1.37	n.a.
1954	1.32	n.a.
1955	1.33	n.a.
1956	1.40	n.a.
1957	1.51	1.85
1958	1.57	1.96
1959	1.71	2.11
1960	1.77	2.18
1961	1.84	2.25
1962	1.87	2.30
1963	1.91	2.35
1964	1.94	2.38
1965	1.99	2.45
1966	2.02	2.48
1967	2.04	2.50
1968	2.05	2.52
1969	2.05	2.52
1970	2.08	2.55
1971	2.08	2.54
1972	2.09	2.55

Source: AJHR 1944 to 1972, H18

7.4 Rehabilitating the sick and wounded

The rehabilitation programme was initially focussed on the sick and disabled: demobilisation was always expected to take place in two phases, the first of sick and wounded personnel, and the second and much larger that of all other veterans.⁹⁴⁷ This

⁹⁴⁷ The following sections are based chiefly upon the Rehabilitation Board's reports for 1943 and 1944. See AJHR 1943 and 1944, H18.

section deals with the economic rehabilitation of sick and disabled veterans, and not with their treatment and support. The latter are the subjects of other inquiries.

The rehabilitation of sick and wounded veterans was conducted initially through the Rehabilitation Service which was, as noted above, formerly part of the National Service Department. The Service secured details of all sick and wounded personnel and it endeavoured to establish and maintain contact with those affected and to ensure that they received the assistance to which they were entitled.⁹⁴⁸ The first sick and wounded had arrived back in New Zealand by November 1940. By 31 March 1943, the men and women (of all services) invalided home numbered 7,847.⁹⁴⁹ Among them were 7,494 Pakeha men and 62 women, and 290 Maori men and one Maori woman. In addition, a further 11,447 (including 307 Maori men and three Maori women) were listed as having been demobilised 'ex camps, New Zealand.'⁹⁵⁰ The National Service Department's Rehabilitation Division was transformed into a Rehabilitation Service operating under the jurisdiction of the Rehabilitation Board. It was responsible for both the provision of employment (its original function) and the general welfare and re-establishment of all sick and wounded personnel. By the end of March 1943, it had offices in 23 centres, each staffed by a rehabilitation officer and other staff, while sub-rehabilitation offices operated in a further 25 centres where the District Agents of the Department of Social Security acted as sub-rehabilitation Officers.

The Rehabilitation Service handled discharges, service pay, leave, war pensions, and rehabilitation allowances. Prior to the appointment of local rehabilitation committees, the Rehabilitation Service supplied veterans with information concerning the forms of financial assistance available through the State Advances Corporation; it worked with

⁹⁴⁸ Initially the New Zealand Army began preparations for rehabilitation. The Army Education and Rehabilitation Liaison Service (known as the Rehabilitation and Education Service) was established, under the command of the Army Education Welfare Service, towards the end of 1943, its purpose being to organize a 'rehabilitation and education census of all Army personnel,' with a view to imparting trade, technical, and academic tuition during the service of the men in preparation for their ultimate demobilization.' See AJHR 1944, H18, pp.6 and 17. An extension of the service to embrace air force and naval personnel serving in the United Kingdom was planned. The service was concerned initially with the sick and wounded, but its work was also 'to constitute a first step towards planned repatriation at the point of mass demobilization.' See AJHR 1944, H18, p.6. Tables VI and VII in the report make clear the concentration on sick and wounded personnel.

⁹⁴⁹ AJHR 1943, H18, p.6.

⁹⁵⁰ AJHR 1943, H18, p.7.

the Department of Education (especially the vocational guidance officers) in respect of the provision of educational opportunities; with the Land Settlement and Farm Training Committee established by the Rehabilitation Board; and it advised veterans of their rights under the Occupational Re-establishment and the Suspension of Apprenticeship Order Emergency Regulations. With respect to the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel, the Rehabilitation Service worked with the Maori War Effort Organisation's Regional Native Recruiting Officers who, it was reported in 1943, 'have assisted the Service materially in the difficult matter of contact with men residing in outlying areas.'⁹⁵¹ Employment remained the main responsibility of the Rehabilitation Service, having taken that function over from the Employment Division of the National Service Department.

For the years ending March 1943 and 1944, the Rehabilitation Board published details relating to the rehabilitation of all personnel and all Maori personnel. Table 7.3 sets out the details. For some categories, the number of Maori involved is too small for the results to be considered reliable. But noticeable is the appreciably higher proportions of Maori veterans classified as 'self-placed with other private employer,' placed and self-placed without subsidy in State employment, and 'returned to own farm.' It is possible that the larger proportion of Maori veterans who of their own accord found employment with other than their pre-service employers suggested that changes, insofar as Maori ex-service personnel were concerned, were already appearing in the pre-service employment pattern.

⁹⁵¹ AJHR 1943, H18, p.8.

Table 7.3: The re-establishment of Maori and all ex-service personnel, as at 31 March 1944

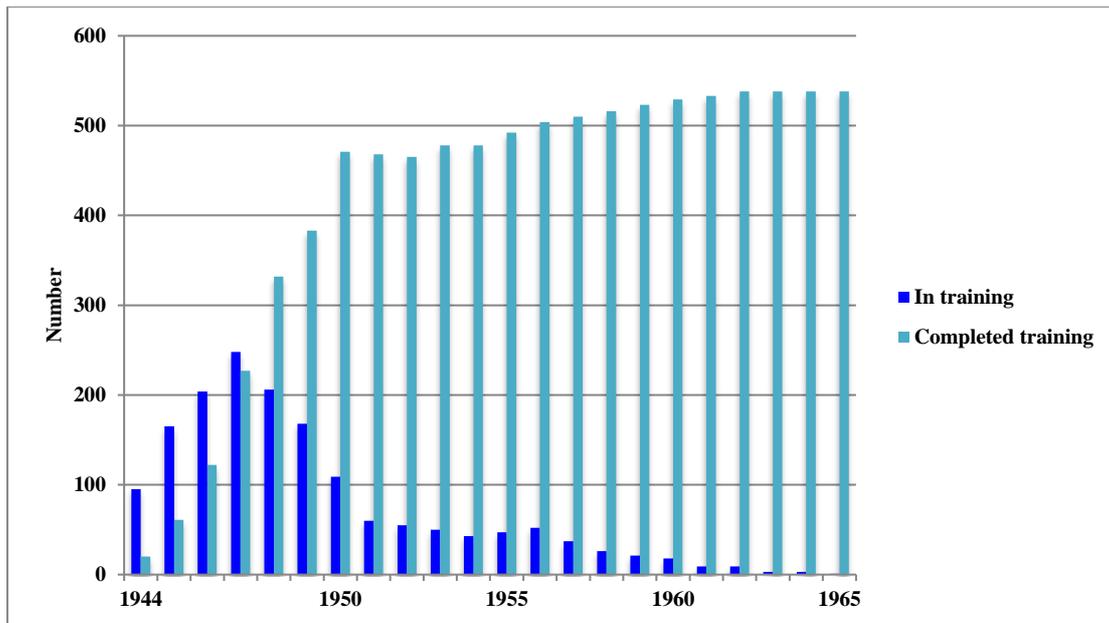
Category	Maori	Per cent	All Others ¹	Per cent
Undergoing fulltime training				
Carpentry	34	4.4	332	0.8
Engineering	-	-	44	0.1
Boot and shoe manufacturing	-	-	18	0.04
Transferred to Disabled Servicemen's League	2	0.2	93	0.2
Wool classing	-	-	-	-
Farming	5	0.6	53	0.1
Students (fulltime)	2	0.2	43	0.1
Architectural draughtsman	-	-	1	-
Placed with pre-service employer	1	0.1	415	1.0
Self-placed with pre-service employer	194	24.9	10384	24.8
Placed with subsidy with other private employer	1	0.1	89	0.2
Placed without subsidy with other private employer	80	10.3	4760	11.4
Self-placed with other private employer	278	35.6	7738	18.5
Placed with subsidy in State employment	-	-	20	0.05
Placed without subsidy in State employment	28	3.6	457	1.1
Self-placed without subsidy in State employment	22	2.8	461	1.1
Placed under State settlement schemes	-	-	-	-
Returned to own business	6	0.8	1071	2.6
Returned to own farm	48	6.2	665	1.6
Acquired own business	5	0.6	626	1.5
Acquired own farm	4	0.5	372	0.9
All others ¹	70	9.0	14234	34.0
Total	780		41876	

¹ After Maori deducted from totals

² All others included those not yet discharged, returned to military service, on privilege leave, serving civil sentences, in mental institutions, in hospitals, recuperating but not as institution inmates, undecided, depending on private means, refused all help, unable to trace, contact lost temporarily, and deceased.

Source: AJHR 1944, H18, pp.38 and 43. For the details for the year ending 31 March 1943, see AJHR 1943, H18, pp.19-20.

Graph 7.5 sets out details of the number of disabled veterans, including Maori, in training and who had completed training by 1965.



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1965, H18

Graph 7.5: Disabled ex-service personnel in training and completed training, 1943 to 1965

7.5 Rehabilitation allowances and war pensions

To meet instances of indigence or particular hardship, the Rehabilitation Board could make special grants ‘provided that there is no alternative method of repairing the situation.’⁹⁵² War disability and economic pensions were both the responsibility of the War Pensions Board and the War Pensions Branch of the Department of Social Security. The Branch also dealt with the payment of rehabilitation allowances payable to those no longer in receipt of service pay but unfit to undertake normal employment or unable to find a suitable placement, and payable to those whose application for a war pension had still to be processed.⁹⁵³ The Rehabilitation Service dealt with employment once those affected were deemed fit to work.

Following the outbreak of war in 1939, the existing War Pensions Act 1915 and the War Veterans’ Allowances Act 1935 were amended. Four measures were enacted in

⁹⁵² AJHR 1944, H18, p.22.

⁹⁵³ AJHR 1943, H18, p.9.

1940, namely, the War Pensions Extensions Act 1940, the War Pensions and Allowances (Mercantile Marine) Act 1940, the Finance Act (No.4) 1940, and the War Pensions Amendment Act 1940. The War Pensions Extensions Act 1940 extended to members of the New Zealand Army, New Zealand Naval Forces, Royal New Zealand Air Force, and the New Zealand Army Nursing Service serving in the new conflict the pensions payable under the War Pensions Act 1915. The Finance Act (No.4) 1940 (section 18) extended provision for the payment of pensions to members of the Emergency Reserve Corps (established under the Emergency Reserve Corps Regulations of 1940). Under the Finance Act 1941 (section 17) war veterans' allowances were increased, while a review of existing legislation led to the War Pensions Act 1943. All pensions and allowances were granted by the War Pensions Board of the Department of Social Security.

The War Pensions Extension Act 1940 was an amendment of the War Pensions Act 1915. Section 4(1) of the latter constituted a War Pensions Board, while section 4(3) defined its functions as to:

- (a) Determine whether the death or disablement of a member of the Forces in fact resulted from his employment as such member, and in the case of disablement, the nature and extent thereof;
- (b) Determine the extent to which persons alleged to be dependent upon a member of the Forces were in fact so dependent;
- (c) Determine the rates of pensions to be paid members of the Forces and their dependants.

Section 4(2) set the number of members of the board at three, all appointed by the Minister of Defence: one of those members had to be a 'registered medical practitioner.' Section 5 specified the maximum rates of pensions in case of the death or disablement of a member of the Forces. It is important to note that section 8(1) provided that:

Where application is made for a pension under this Act in respect of the death or disablement of a Native member of the Forces, a Native woman who has been married to such member in accordance with Native custom and whose marriage is subsisting at the time of death or disablement shall be deemed to

be his wife within the meaning of this Act, and the children of such marriage shall be deemed to be his legitimate children.

Section 15 specified the matters the War Pensions Board was required to take into account when setting pensions.

Published data relating to the distribution of war disability and economic pensions and medical treatment between Maori and all other veterans were not located. Whether the award of pensions was administered in an even-handed manner, and whether appeals against decisions of the War Pensions Board were dealt with similarly, are matters that were not established. Nothing was located in the archival or parliamentary record that would suggest that Maori ex-servicemen of World War II and subsequent conflicts or their dependants were disadvantaged in any way. Tirikatene took a particular interest in the pensions awarded Maori veterans, noting, in 1946, that in 1932, 1933, and 1934 he had made representations on the matter on a number of occasions to the Minister of Defence. Some Maori veterans of World War I, he claimed, did apply for pensions, some had been unaware that they could apply, still others had found it difficult to qualify. Apparently unable to satisfy the medical boards that their conditions were the result of war service, many veterans had been compelled to rely upon charity. It seems reasonable to assume that Tirikatene would have been alive to any disadvantage in respect of pensions to which Maori veterans may have been subjected. He certainly welcomed the action taken by the Government to inform all veterans, through the Aotea Soldiers' Clearing Hospital, of their entitlements.⁹⁵⁴

Tables 7.4 and 7.5 do no more than set out some global data: they serve to demonstrate the scale of any investigation, assuming that reliable and meaningful data exist, that would be required to establish whether all veterans were treated equitably. Economic pensions were awarded to those whose disabilities were such that their ability to undertake employment was seriously impaired.

⁹⁵⁴ NZPD 1946, Vol 275, p.177. The Aotea Soldiers' Clearing Hospital was established in Wellington in 1941. See T. Duncan M. Stout, *Medical services in New Zealand and the Pacific: in Royal New Zealand Navy, Royal New Zealand Air Force, and prisoners of war*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1958, p.384.

Table 7.4: Economic pensions paid to ex-service personnel of World War II (excluding dependants), 1944-1950

To 31 March	Number: permanent	Annual value: £	Number: temporary	Annual value: £
1944	92	8297	1443	129346
1945	45	4095	1298	115350
1946	85	7652	1572	138862
1947	177	15653	1765	153636
1948	257	29089	1375	155097
1949	293	32764	1096	122190
1950	384	42053	877	97632

Source: AJHR 1941 to 1950, H9

Table 7.5 sets out some details of the appeals lodged under War Pensions Extension Act 1940 and subsequent legislation.

Table 7.5: Appeals lodged by ex-service personnel of World War II, 1941 to 1950

To 31 March	Lodged	Upheld	Dismissed	Withdrawn and struck out	Outstanding
1941	41	8	10	2	21
1942	357	111	146	25	96
1943	1138	346	468	70	350
1944	1958	619	845	153	691
1945	2372	733	1155	349	826
1946	2135	893	1320	365	383
1947	1509	597	731	217	347
1948	824	412	534	104	121
1949	581	206	262	50	184
1950	374	155	212	41	150

Source: AJHR 1941 to 1950, H9

7.6 The forms of financial assistance

The provision of financial assistance formed the core of the rehabilitation programme. Making loans available at low rates of interest had long been adopted in New Zealand as an effective means of assisting specific groups.⁹⁵⁵ The following sections set out the forms of rehabilitation assistance with the exception of farm training and land settlement. The latter two are examined in the following chapters. As a first step, it will be helpful to set out some of the basic terms on which rehabilitation financial assistance was provided. A description of the course, scale, and character of the rehabilitation programme as a whole follows. The third step is to set out the assistance made available to Maori ex-servicemen, and the last is to offer some comparative assessment.

7.6.1 *The terms of rehabilitation financial assistance*

Table 7.6 sets out the details: the rates were confirmed in May 1943.⁹⁵⁶ The limits and rates were adjusted from time to time. The Board of Native Affairs proposed, with respect to land and stock loans advanced to Maori veterans, a single rate of 4.5 per cent to cover both types of security, reduced to 2.125 per cent in the first year, and 3.125 per cent in the second and third years, while it would have the discretion to vary the rate down to 2.125 per cent for a period of seven years. The outcome, the Under Secretary noted, would be that Maori veterans would be ‘in general, treated slightly better than Europeans.’ Such rates would apply until development was complete at which point ‘European rates’ would apply.⁹⁵⁷ How long the ‘completion of development’ would take was left unstated. In September 1945, the rate of interest on rehabilitation current accounts covering both land and chattels held by Maori ex-servicemen was reduced to 3.25 per cent in line with reductions made on

⁹⁵⁵ The Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894 and the Government Advances to Workers Act 1906 were major examples.

⁹⁵⁶ For the background to this section of rehabilitation policy, see Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, especially pp.114-119. For details of the financial assistance available to ex-servicemen settlers, see Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation*, pp.120-122.

⁹⁵⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister of Finance 16 August 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

rehabilitation loans to Pakeha veterans.⁹⁵⁸ Finance Minister Nash wondered why it was not possible to arrange the same rates of both Maori and Pakeha ex-servicemen.⁹⁵⁹ The reason evidently lay in the fact that the Department of Lands and Survey granted leases of developed units and took security for the value of improvements and a further security for stock and chattels, whereas for Maori ex-servicemen loans were in respect of land owned by the veterans and covered improvements deemed necessary and stock. Nash was assured that the outcomes for both groups of ex-servicemen were the same.⁹⁶⁰

Table 7.6: Rehabilitation loans: purposes, limits and interest rates, 1943

Purpose	Limits: £	Interest rate per annum
Purchase of tools of trade	Up to £50	Free of interest
Purchase of furniture	Up to £100	Free of interest
Purchase of businesses	Up to £500	4.125, reducible to 2 per cent in first year
Purchase of farms and stock	Land: up to £3000 ¹	4.125, reducible to 2 per cent in first year and 3 per cent for three subsequent years
	Stock: up to £1250 ²	5.0, reducible to 2.5 per cent in first year
Erection or purchase of houses	Up to £1500	4.125, reducible to 2 per cent in first year

¹ Right to increase to £3,500 in 'special cases.' For sheep farms up to £6,250 for land and stock 'in special circumstances'

² Right to increase to £1,500 in 'special cases'

Source: AJHR 1943, B13, p.4

7.7 Loans for houses and furniture

A serious housing shortage emerged during the late 1930s and persisted until well after World War II had concluded. That shortage was the outcome of a range of

⁹⁵⁸ See Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 19 September 1945, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

⁹⁵⁹ Minister of Finance, note dated 23 September 1945 on Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 19 September 1945, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

⁹⁶⁰ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 19 October 1945, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

factors that included a sharp contraction in the number of skilled tradesmen (see below), severe shortages of building materials (both domestically produced and imported), the deferral of construction both during the depression years of the 1930s and following the outbreak of war in 1939, and the return of veterans looking to marry and establish families. The surveys conducted under the Housing Survey Act 1935 also revealed that many dwellings were in a poor state of repair and overcrowded. As the housing shortage intensified, applications for State housing rose accordingly. According to the *New Zealand Official Yearbook* of 1946, the diversion of skilled labour, plant and machinery, and materials to the construction of urgent defence works, had seen the number of houses completed by the Housing Construction Branch (established in 1936) for the State Advances Corporation contract from 3,905 in the year ended 31 March 1941 to just 856 in the year ended 31 March 1944. Building permits issued for new private dwellings also fell sharply, from 8,086 for the year ended 31 March 1940 to a mere 856 for the year ended 31 March 1943.⁹⁶¹ Under the Native Housing Act 1935, the Department of Native Affairs had completed, by the end of March 1945, just 704 new dwellings as it responded to the state of Maori housing, a state widely recognised as deplorable. The difficulties that accompanied the Government's efforts to reinvigorate domestic housing construction, to expand the supply of both skilled labour and construction materials, to control rents, to discourage evasion of the law, and to control speculation are described elsewhere.⁹⁶²

7.7.1 Building and purchasing homes

The Government offered ex-servicemen no guarantee that houses would be provided, but through the Rehabilitation Board made available, to returned personnel, widows and (from 1946) home servicemen, loans for the both purchase of existing and construction of new homes. The *construction* of new houses formed a key part of the Rehabilitation Board's plans and indeed of the Government's wider post-war

⁹⁶¹ *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1946*, The shortage of State rental housing was such that temporary housing or transit camps were established to accommodate those on waiting lists.

⁹⁶² See, for example, Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*. Palmerston North: Dunmore, 1994; and Ben Schrader, *We call it home: a history of State housing in New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed, 2005.

reconstruction plans.⁹⁶³ Loans up to £1,500 were made available for the erection of new dwellings and up to 100 per cent of the ruling pre-war cost, plus supplementary loans to cover any wartime increase in building costs. The Government directed the Building Controller to give ‘special consideration’ to applications lodged by ex-service personnel for building permits, while they also received similar ‘special consideration’ with respect to the supply of timber.⁹⁶⁴ In fact, ex-servicemen building homes were awarded a preferential allocation of one-half of all timber becoming available for private building.⁹⁶⁵ In addition, they were accorded preference over 50 per cent of Crown building sections offered for disposal.⁹⁶⁶ On 1 September 1957, the rehabilitation loan limit for the construction of houses was raised from £2,200 to a range of from £2,200 to £2,600 depending upon the number of children.⁹⁶⁷ For the *purchase* of existing dwellings, similar loan assistance was made available. Graph 7.7 sets out the course of loans granted for both construction and purchase. By the end of March 1954, the Rehabilitation Board had assisted with housing 73,694 veterans, including the 10,134 who had settled on farms. Over 20,000 had had new homes built.⁹⁶⁸

Graph 7.6 shows the total number of housing loans granted to veterans over the period from 1942 to 1972. It should be noted that applications for initial housing loans closed on 31 March 1965, and that some of the post-1965 increase in erection and purchase of homes reflected the transfer of mortgages to new homes.⁹⁶⁹ Loans granted reached a peak in 1947 with a secondary peak in 1951 and subsequently declined steadily.

⁹⁶³ AJHR 1943, H18, p.15.

⁹⁶⁴ AJHR 1944, H18, p.22.

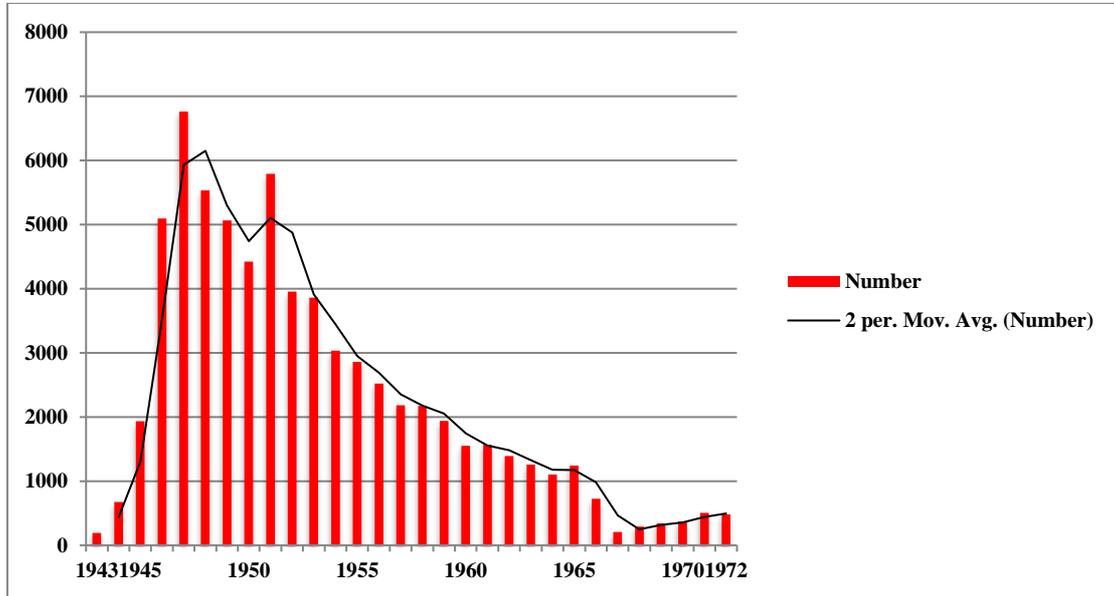
⁹⁶⁵ AJHR 1947, H18, p.8.

⁹⁶⁶ AJHR 1954, H18, p.25.

⁹⁶⁷ AJHR 1958, H18, p.9.

⁹⁶⁸ AJHR 1954, H18, p.29.

⁹⁶⁹ AJHR 1966, H18, p.8.

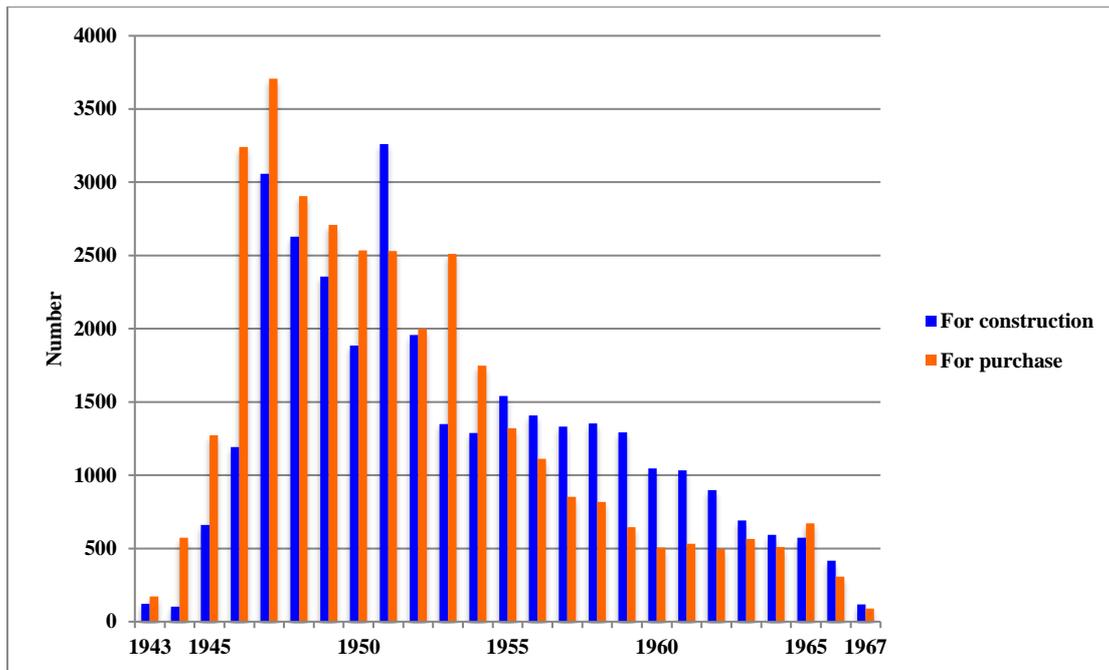


Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944 to 1972, H18

Graph 7.6: Total number of housing loans granted annually to ex-service personnel, 1943 to 1972

Graph 7.7 differentiates, for the period from 1943 to 1967, between rehabilitation loans granted for building and for existing properties. An initial emphasis on loans to purchase gave way as supplies of building materials increased and the construction workforce expanded.



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1967, H18

Graph 7.7: Number of loans granted to ex-service personnel for construction and purchase of homes, 1943-1967

7.7.2 Allocating State rental homes

With respect to the allocation of State houses, and flats, the Government moved early in the war to reserve for ex-service personnel at least 25 per cent of all houses built by the Department of Housing and transferred to the State Advances Corporation for letting. In September 1942 that reservation was increased to 50 per cent of all State rental houses as they became available. It was a policy that the Rehabilitation Board was especially vigorous in policing. It was also determined that Maori veterans should be treated on the same basis as all other veterans. Ex-service personnel returned from overseas were ranked first in priority order, followed by returned personnel not discharged, widows of servicemen killed overseas and who had died upon return to New Zealand, and wives of servicemen who were prisoners of war.⁹⁷⁰ The report of the Rehabilitation Board for the six months to 31 March 1943 indicated that 241 houses and flats had been let to ex-service personnel prior to 1 October 1942 and 332

⁹⁷⁰ AJHR 1943, H18, p.15.

in the six months to the end of March 1943, a gross total of 573. Still pending were applications from 619 ex-service personnel and 24,287 'others.'⁹⁷¹ By the end of March 1946, 2,085 State flats and houses had been let to ex-service personnel: still pending were applications from 12,995 returned servicemen and 34,109 'others.'⁹⁷² The number of 'others' was a useful measure of the backlog that had accumulated through the 1930s and the war years, at the same time illustrating the importance of the concession that ex-service personnel had secured.

By 1951 the Government had decided to confine allocations to applicants in 'the lower-income group,' that is, both civilian and ex-servicemen whose income did not exceed £680 per annum.⁹⁷³ Applications from ex-service personnel of World War II for State rental tenancies closed on 31 March 1954, that is, with the exception of those who continued in the Armed Forces after the end of the war (but within one year of their final discharge and provided that they were graded 'urgent'), members of the emergency forces, and certain other 'special groups.'⁹⁷⁴ By the end of March 1955, there were just 323 applicants whose needs had still to be met. By that stage, the allocations from the preferential quota numbered 17,905.⁹⁷⁵ From 1 October 1956, ex-service personnel of the Emergency Forces received the benefit of a 25 per cent preferential quota. The preference accorded World War II service personnel was abolished completely from 1 October 1956, although 'a measure of preference' was accorded widows of ex-service men, ex-servicemen with a 40 per cent war disability, and men whose discharge had been delayed until recently.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁷¹ AJHR 1943, H18, p.23.

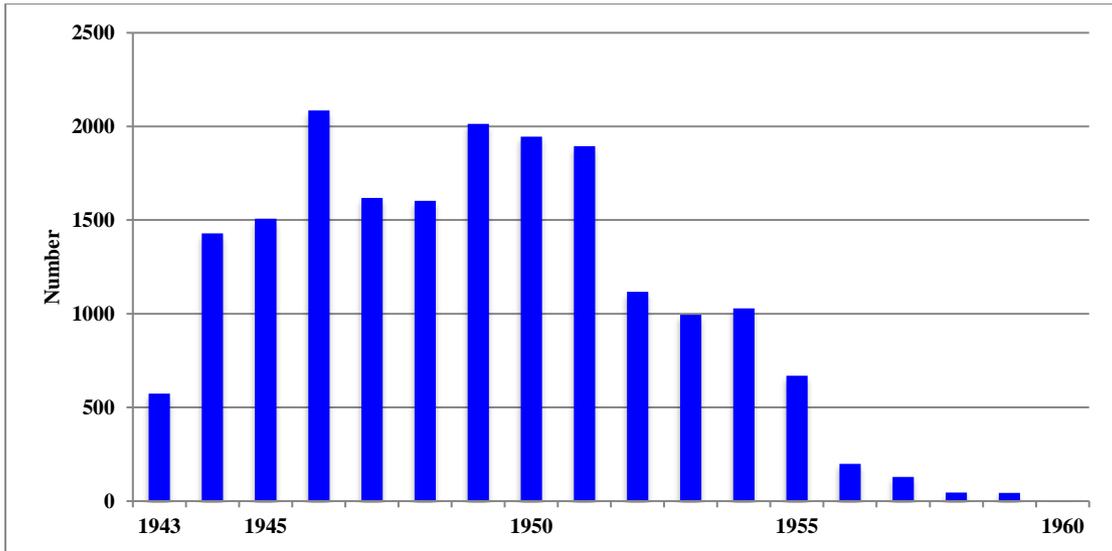
⁹⁷² AJHR 1946, H18, pp.18 and 30.

⁹⁷³ AJHR 1951, H18, p.12.

⁹⁷⁴ AJHR 1954, H18, p.26.

⁹⁷⁵ AJHR 1955, H18, p.11.

⁹⁷⁶ AJHR 1957, H18, p.9.



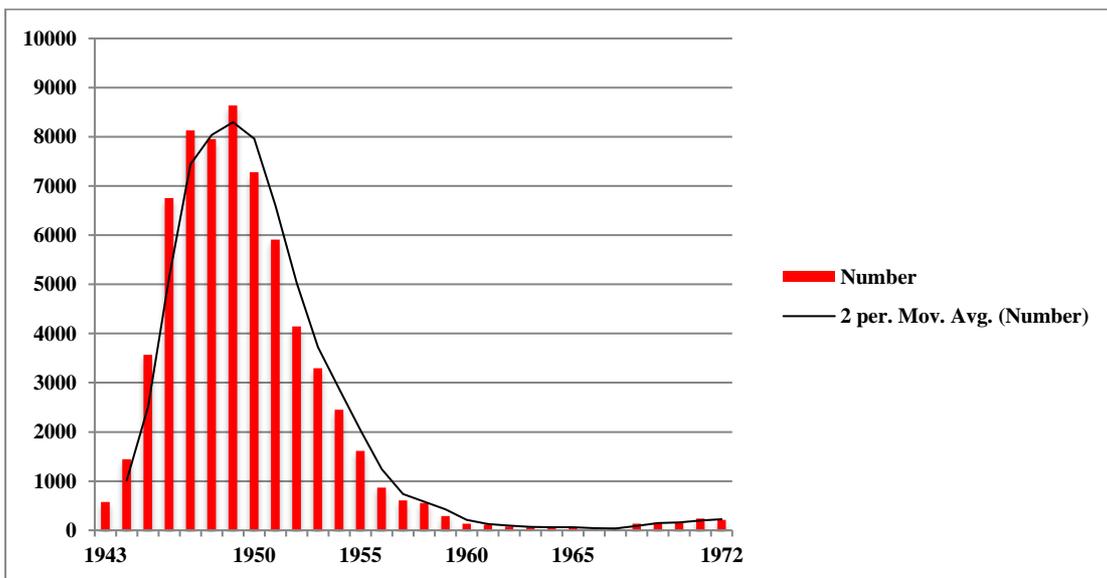
Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1960, H18

Graph 7.8: State houses and flats let to discharged service personnel, 1943 to 1960

7.7.3 Loans for furniture

Interest-free loans of up to £100 for the purchase of furniture were also made available to ex-service personnel. Graph 7.9 sets out the number of such loans granted in each year over the period from 1943 to 1972.



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1972, H18

Graph 7.9: Number of furniture loans granted annually to ex-service personnel, 1943 to 1972

7.7.4 Loans for businesses

Many ex-service personnel expressed an interest in owning and managing their own businesses, an ambition that, according to the Board, would have to be met largely through the purchase of existing operations. Apparently in deference to Finance Minister Nash's view, the Board's policy, with respect to business loans, was to encourage small-scale individual or cooperative enterprise.⁹⁷⁷ It required anyone interested to have 'the experience and training requisite to the successful conduct of the business he intends to enter and that the prospects in that particular field and of the business in question as a unit therein are sufficiently attractive to offer the medium for the permanent rehabilitation of the ex-serviceman.'⁹⁷⁸ Graph 7.10 sets out the number of business loans granted annually over the period from 1943 to 1972.

The assistance offered to those wishing to acquire an existing or to commence a new business went beyond granting loans. The Rehabilitation Department reached deeply into Acts and regulations that controlled New Zealand's wartime and immediate post-war economy. Under the Industrial Efficiency Act 1936, for example, 34 industries were registered with the Bureau of Industries. Entry into those industries required licensing, and the Board had a representative attend every meeting of the Bureau of Industry 'in an advisory capacity and watches the interests of ex-servicemen.'⁹⁷⁹ The Rehabilitation Board negotiated with various bodies involved with a view to sustaining the licences of those serving in the armed forces; to try to ensure that where existing licences were transferred, ex-service personnel were accorded preference; and to try to ensure that those who, not being in the armed forces and possessing 'surplus' licences, were required to transfer such licenses to ex-service personnel. The transport industry proved particularly attractive to veterans, sufficiently so that the Rehabilitation Board successfully pressed for regulations providing that all transport licences expired on 28 March 1945, the objective being to require all licence holders to apply for renewal and thus allow a review of the entire industry. During 1945 the Transport Licensing Authority reviewed licences, the Rehabilitation Board taking the opportunity to have made available to ex-service personnel licences considered to

⁹⁷⁷ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, p.114.

⁹⁷⁸ AJHR 1946, H18, p.6.

⁹⁷⁹ AJHR 1945, H18, p.5.

have been ‘aggregated as multiple licences during the war years when the ex-servicemen were not in a position to compete.’⁹⁸⁰

The taxi industry was of particular interest to the Board as an avenue suitable for those veterans unsuited by reason of war disabilities for alternative occupations. Officers of the Rehabilitation Department in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin were delegated to observe the proceedings of the respective transport licensing authorities ‘to watch the interests of discharged servicemen by ensuring the closet scrutiny of existing licences ... and licences not being used,’ and generally to promote the claims of ex-service personnel. Further, arrangements were reached among the Rehabilitation Board, the War Assets Realization Board, and the Transport Licensing Authorities whereby those authorities were to ‘allocate all new and ex-service trucks and vans in accordance with certain priorities necessary to keep essential transport moving and with due and full regard to the claims of ex-servicemen properly approved and recommended by the Rehabilitation Department.’ Used cars from the War Assets Realisation Board were also allocated by the Rehabilitation Department, those suitable as taxi or passenger transport services going to ex-servicemen applicants.⁹⁸¹

Veterans also secured licences in industries that ranged from ‘petrol-re-selling’ to fish-canning.⁹⁸² Ex-servicemen were granted preference under a number of Acts that included the Cinematograph Films Act 1928, the Industrial Efficiency Act 1936, and the Transport Acts of 1931 and 1949.⁹⁸³ Under several other Acts, among them, the Milk Act 1944, the Fisheries Amendment Act 1945, the Licensing Amendment Act 1948, and the National Airways Amendment Act 1948, the controlling authorities were required to take into account the rehabilitation of ex-service personnel.⁹⁸⁴ Similarly, the Department ensured that the claims of ex-service personnel to participate in the liquor industry were brought before the 1945 Royal Commission on Licensing.⁹⁸⁵ In 1945 new regulations under the Industrial Efficiency Act 1936 were

⁹⁸⁰ AJHR 1946, H18, p.6.

⁹⁸¹ AJHR 1945, H18, p.4.

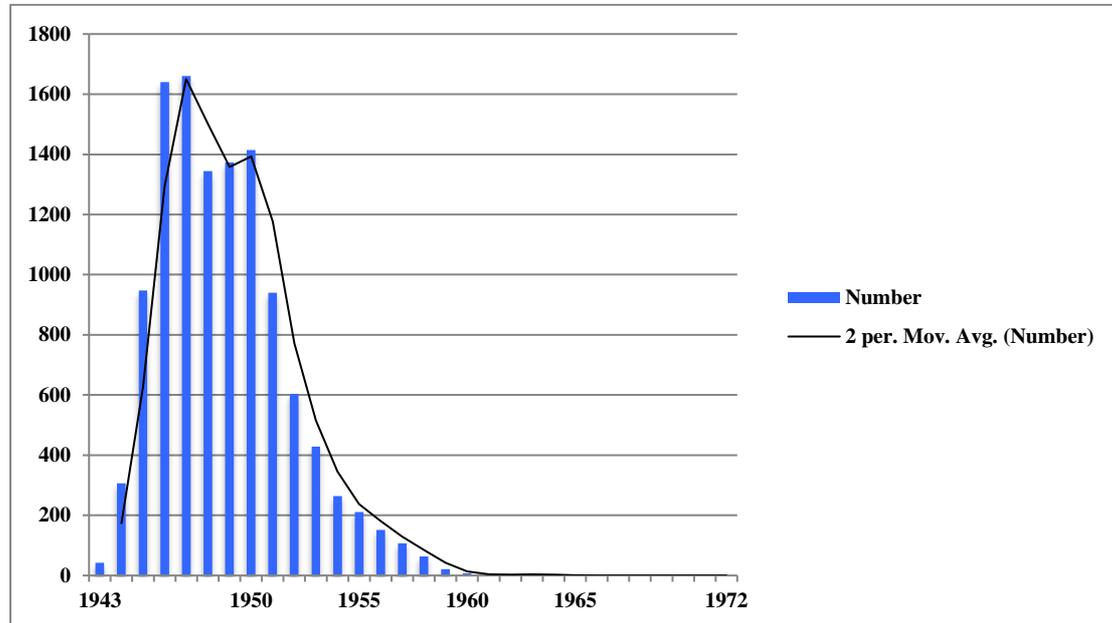
⁹⁸² AJHR 1947, H18, pp.5-6.

⁹⁸³ AJHR 1949, H18, p.12.

⁹⁸⁴ AJHR 1954, H18, p.19.

⁹⁸⁵ AJHR 1945, H18, p.5.

adopted in an effort to ensure that veterans obtained ‘their rightful opportunities in all controlled and licensed industries.’



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1972, H18

Graph 7.10: Number of business loans granted annually to ex-service personnel, 1943 to 1972

The Rehabilitation Board worked in other ways to assist those veterans it had financed into businesses. It sought to ensure, for example, that such veterans received preference from wholesalers and manufacturers with respect to the allocation of domestic and foreign business supplies. To that end, it worked closely with the Ministry of Supply and the Customs Department. The Board pressed the latter to grant import licences to veterans, especially during the difficult period from 1944 to 1948.⁹⁸⁶ It encouraged the War Assets Realisation Board to accord ex-service personnel ‘a measure of preference’ with respect to applications for tools and equipment; and it set out to ensure that those veterans requiring controlled or rationed goods necessary for their businesses received increased quotas. The Rehabilitation Department itself opened a ‘rehabilitation tool store’ in November 1945 and supplied

⁹⁸⁶ See, for example, AJHR 1947, H18, p.6, and 1948, H18, p.13. In 1951 many items were removed from import control.

tools and equipment for businesses, trades, and professions.⁹⁸⁷ It secured permission to import trucks for allocation to ex-service businessmen and farmers, and cars from the United Kingdom, together with a small number of light cars adapted for use by disabled veterans.⁹⁸⁸ By 1950, the Board had imported 1,059 vehicles.⁹⁸⁹ In 1951 the Government decided to sell shop sites in State housing areas, with preference being given to ex-servicemen.⁹⁹⁰

It is useful to note here, too, that the Board, assisted by the Ministry of Supply secured for ex-service personnel preference with respect to the personal and household goods required for the establishment of new homes. Finally, the Board secured preference in respect of employment opportunities, particularly for disabled veterans. Many private employers on their own initiative accorded preference to veterans, while the State Services Commission had adopted ‘a definite policy of absorbing as many semi-fit and partially disabled ex-servicemen as possible.’⁹⁹¹

Business loans, except in limited circumstances, ceased to be available after 31 March 1958. By that stage, 11,495 business loans had been granted to World War II veterans.⁹⁹² In addition, the Rehabilitation Board had assisted 5,817 veterans to secure certain preferences by regulation under various Acts, notably transport and petrol re-selling licences. More than 2,000 had been assisted to acquire adequate quotas of rationed goods, and 1,609 import licences had been granted on the recommendation of the Rehabilitation Board.⁹⁹³ The Board pronounced the business loan scheme a success, noting that ‘it has only been necessary to write off less than 1 per cent of the total amount approved.’⁹⁹⁴ That amount at the end of March 1958 stood at almost £7.5m.

⁹⁸⁷ The store was closed in June 1948 after having dealt with 12,093 applications. See AJHR 1949, H18, p.13.

⁹⁸⁸ AJHR 1949, H18, p.12. See also AJHR 1950, H18, p.13; and 1951, H18, p.9.

⁹⁸⁹ AJHR 1954, H18, pp.20-21.

⁹⁹⁰ AJHR 1951, H18, p.9.

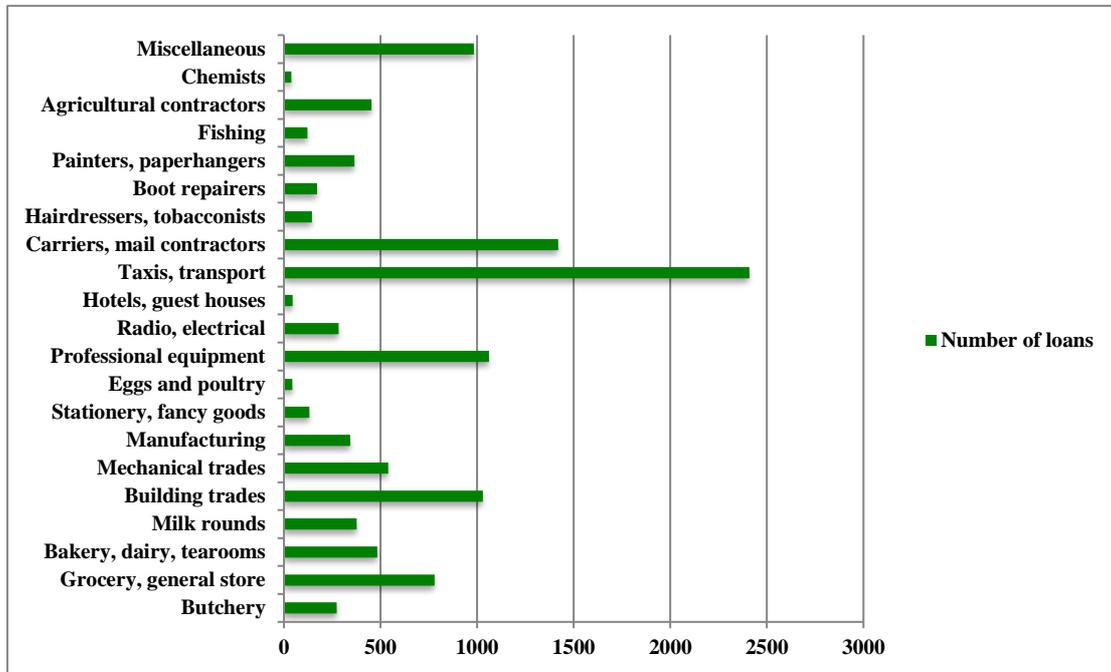
⁹⁹¹ AJHR 1944, H18, p.11.

⁹⁹² By the end of March 1972, the number stood at 11,533 and their total value at £7.536m.

⁹⁹³ AJHR 1958, H18, p.10.

⁹⁹⁴ AJHR 1958, H18, p.10.

Graph 7.11 sets out the distribution of business loans as at the end of March 1958. The importance of the transport, building and construction, and retail sectors is clearly apparent.



Source: AJHR 1958, H18

Graph 7.11: Distribution of business loans granted to ex-service personnel by 31 March 1958

7.8 Training for employment

Employment was another major pillar upon which the rehabilitation programme rested. The Rehabilitation Board thus placed considerable emphasis upon training, especially in the building and construction trades in which the demand was expected to be heavy and to continue over a protracted period. That emphasis also grew out of the major dislocation that had taken place in trade training during the period from 1930 to 1945. Apprentices in the skilled trades numbered 10, 227 in 1928, but just 3,329 in 1935, and it was not until 1940 that the number again exceeded 10,000. The building and construction trades suffered most. During the war years, a large proportion of the labour force was recruited into the Armed Forces, those untrained

losing the opportunity to train, those skilled losing some of their skills, while the loss of life and the physical injuries and emotional harm all took their toll.⁹⁹⁵

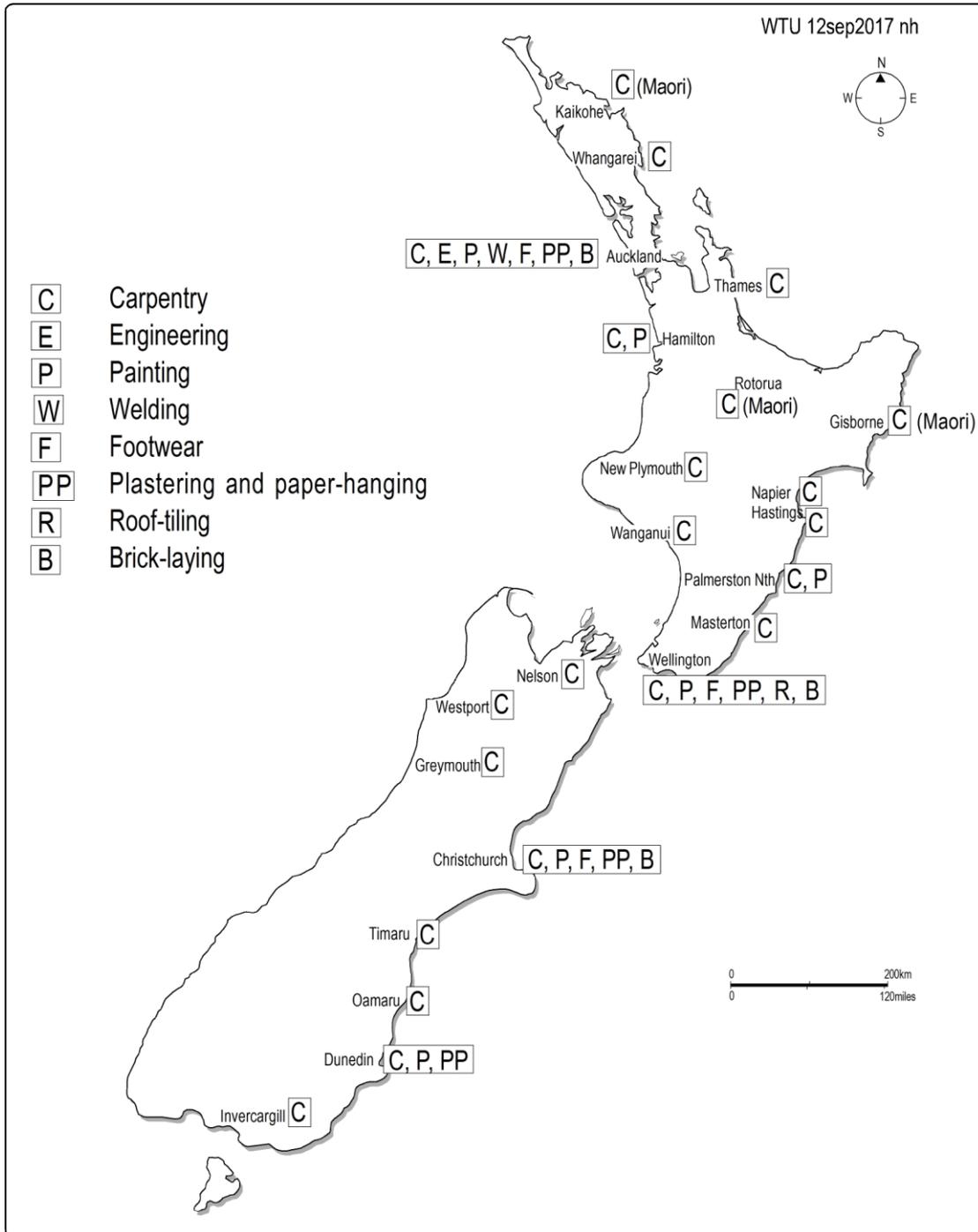
Under the Auxiliary Workers' Training Emergency Regulations of 1941, a Dominion Auxiliary Workers' Training Council was established in response to a growing and pressing shortage of skilled workers.⁹⁹⁶ Accordingly, it initiated a training programme for workers in the footwear and engineering industries and in the construction (carpentry) trades.⁹⁹⁷ In 1944, the Rehabilitation Board, in accord with its general decision to utilise existing agencies wherever possible, took over from the Department of Labour responsibility for the administration of the engineering and carpentry training centres that had been established. The short courses once offered were replaced with longer courses intended to equip ex-service personnel 'to hold their own in their particular trade during the rest of their working life.'⁹⁹⁸ The Board thus established full-time courses for what were classified as 'A' grade trainees.

⁹⁹⁵ AJHR 1946, H11A, p.116.

⁹⁹⁶ New Zealand's civilian workforce contracted after 1939 as recruitment into the armed forces accelerated. Between September 1939 and December 1943, for example, the civilian male labour force contracted from an estimated 520,000 to 406,000, and that despite an early 1943 decision by Cabinet to order a substantial reduction in the home defence forces and to direct a proportion of those released into industry. The civilian female workforce, on the other hand, increased from an estimated 180,000 to 228,000 over the same period. For women and Maori, the war opened up new opportunities in the country's economic life. See, for example, AJHR 1944, H11A, pp.2-6.

⁹⁹⁷ AJHR 1942, H11, p.13.

⁹⁹⁸ AJHR 1943, H18, p.10.



Source: AJHR 1947, 1948, H18

Map 7.1: Distribution of Rehabilitation Board's trade training centres, March 1947

By the end of March 1947, 41 training centres had been established in 21 towns.⁹⁹⁹ Map 7.1 shows their distribution, while Graph 7.12 shows the number of personnel engaged in training over the period from 1943 to 1954. A survey conducted in 1947-1948 indicated that, of the 2,450 trainees who had completed training, 1,649 had been hired by private employers, 252 by Government departments, 92 by local bodies, and 258 were in business on their own account in the trade in which they had trained. A further 199 were engaged in occupations other than the trades in which they had trained, most on account of poor health.¹⁰⁰⁰ By December 1951, ex-servicemen trained as carpenters under the 'A' Class scheme constituted 32.5 percent of the country's carpentry tradesmen.¹⁰⁰¹ From the outset, trade trainees were employed in the construction of houses for the State, to the extent that by 1946 the Department of Rehabilitation was the one of the biggest contractors for State houses in the country.¹⁰⁰² The Rehabilitation Board subsequently transferred its building construction activities to the Housing Construction Division of the Ministry of Works. By the end of March 1952, they had built 4,132 State homes.¹⁰⁰³ By the end of March 1954, 'A' grade trainees had constructed 4,474 new State houses and assisted other Government departments to meet their housing requirements.¹⁰⁰⁴

By 1949, applications for entry into 'A' grade training courses were slowing, although the number seeking entry into building trade courses was sustained by the return of J Force personnel.¹⁰⁰⁵ During the year ended 31 March 1950, the number of applications for all forms of rehabilitation trade training assistance contracted, and that decline was expected to continue. In 1950, the Government fixed 31 January 1951 as the last day upon which applications for training in the building trades in the Board's training centres would be accepted. The closure of trade training centres commenced during 1949.

⁹⁹⁹ AJHR 1947, H18, p.9.

¹⁰⁰⁰ AJHR 1948, H18, p.7.

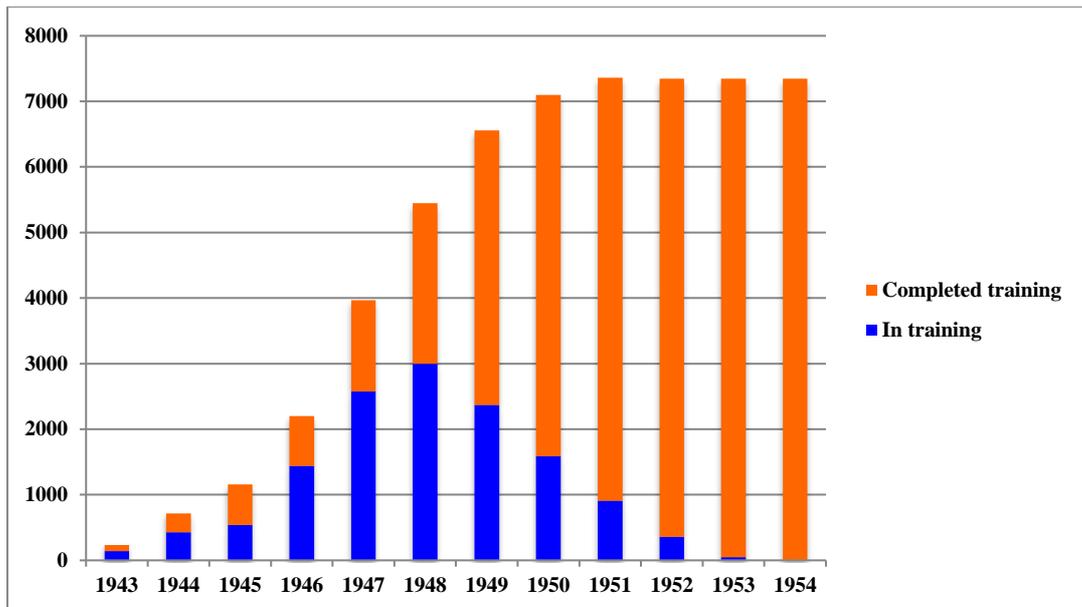
¹⁰⁰¹ AJHR 1954, H18, p.10.

¹⁰⁰² AJHR 1946, H18, p.10.

¹⁰⁰³ AJHR 1952, H18, p.5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ AJHR 1954, H18, p.10.

¹⁰⁰⁵ AJHR 1949, H18, p.6.



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944 to 1954, H18

Graph 7.12: Number of ex-service personnel in 'A' Class trade training, 1943 to 1954

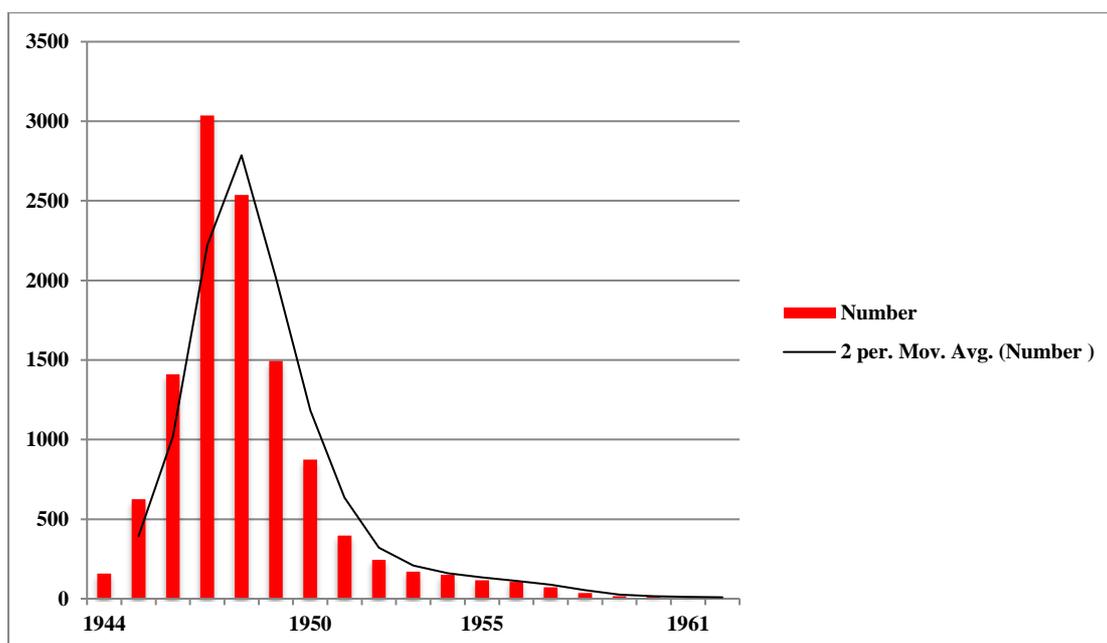
The 'B' class trade training programme, initiated in 1942, involved subsidised long-term training with selected private employers. In 1943, the Rehabilitation Board decided to establish local 'trade training supervisory committees:' their function was, with respect to 'B' class trainees to establish the suitability of trainees for continued training, to establish wage and subsidy rates, and to supervise training.¹⁰⁰⁶ By 1944, 'B' class training assistance, for both men and women, was available in a wide range of trades and occupations, a number expected to grow rapidly as demobilisation gathered pace (Graph 7.13).¹⁰⁰⁷ It would eventually provide training in over 150 fields.¹⁰⁰⁸ Those areas most favoured included the engineering and metal trades, motor trades, retail trades, clerical and professional, and building trades. The Rehabilitation Board successfully concluded arrangements with various agencies for the trade training. By the end of March 1945, agreement had been reached with the Railways Department for training in what were termed 'a number of skilled railway trade groups under conditions generally similar to those existing under standard 'B'

¹⁰⁰⁶ AJHR 1943, H18, p.11.

¹⁰⁰⁷ AJHR 1944, H18, pp.34-35.

¹⁰⁰⁸ AJHR 1954, H18, p.10.

Class contracts with private employers.’¹⁰⁰⁹ Both the Board and the National Service Department negotiated an arrangement with the State Forest Service and the Sawmillers’ Federation under which ‘B’ class subsidised assistance was made available in an effort to attract men into mill and bush operations. The Rehabilitation Board also negotiated arrangements with the Electrical Wiremen’s Registration Board and the New Zealand Motor Trades Certification Board under which the experience gained by veterans while in service was credited towards registration. By 1946, the Board had reached an agreement with the Public Works Department similar to that in place with the Railways Department. By 1946, too, it had reached agreement with the New Zealand Clerical Workers’ Union and other clerical unions to assist ex-service personnel with little or no experience to enter clerical occupations, and with the New Zealand Law Society and the Newspaper Proprietors’ Association on terms of training and general conditions for new employees and returning employees as law clerks and journalists.¹⁰¹⁰



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1961, H18

Graph 7.13: Number of ex-service personnel in ‘B’ Class training, 1943 to 1961

¹⁰⁰⁹ AJHR 1945, H18, p.7.

¹⁰¹⁰ AJHR 1946, H18, p.12.

Under the 'C' class training programme, the Rehabilitation Board sought to revive apprenticeship training interrupted by war service. Provision for such training expanded rapidly, reflecting the large number of apprentices recruited into the armed forces. The Suspension of Apprenticeship Order Emergency Regulations of 1939 (and subsequently of 1944) defined the responsibilities of masters to ex-servicemen apprentices wishing to resume their interrupted contracts: the Board provided additional financial support to ensure that trainees received 'a reasonable living wage.'¹⁰¹¹ Certain that the country's greatest need would be construction workers, it emphasised the training of workers both in the building and construction trades and in industries supplying construction materials. Priority was given to those with the longest overseas service, those who had suffered the most, and those who had suffered 'by loss of opportunity in other ways.' The last applied in particular to those (and they were many) who had entered the armed forces straight from school or who had had insufficient time to find 'their niche.'¹⁰¹² The number of 'C' class trainees declined during 1947-1948 (Graph 7.14), the bulk of those whose apprenticeships had been interrupted by the war having returned and resumed their previous occupations.¹⁰¹³ In 1948, by the Emergency Regulations Amendment Act 1948, the Suspension of Apprenticeship Emergency Regulations 1944 were revoked as from 31 December 1949.¹⁰¹⁴ Most of the applications from 1949 onwards emanated from members of the Occupation Forces, the claims of the majority of eligible ex-servicemen from other theatres having been met.¹⁰¹⁵

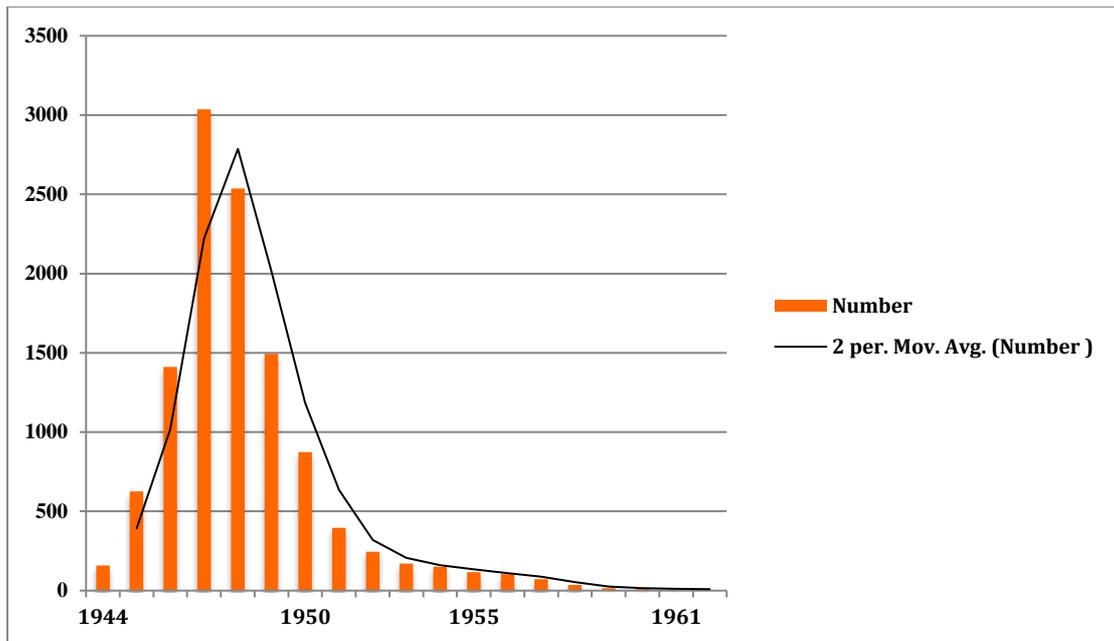
¹⁰¹¹ AJHR 1944, H18, p.13.

¹⁰¹² AJHR 1946, H18, p.9.

¹⁰¹³ AJHR 1948, H18, p.9.

¹⁰¹⁴ AJHR 1948, H18, p.8.

¹⁰¹⁵ AJHR 1950, H18, p.7.



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1961, H18

Graph 7.14: Number of ex-service personnel in 'C' Class trade training, 1943 to 1961

With respect to disabled ex-service personnel, the Rehabilitation Board moved promptly to try to meet their particular needs. Apart from treatment and occupational therapy, it introduced specialised training, provided light remedial work, and undertook to place those concerned in long term congenial employment. The scale of the challenge the Board confronted was not inconsiderable. By the end of March 1943, 1,886 returned servicemen and 1,682 who had served in New Zealand were recorded with the Rehabilitation Service as 'disability cases:' those figures excluded those who 'regained full employability after a normal convalescence ...'¹⁰¹⁶ Among the 3,568 cases dealt with by the end of March 1944, were 2,102 psychiatric cases (58.9 per cent), 493 cases of tuberculosis (13.8 per cent), 222 amputees (6.2 per cent), and 88 cases of multiple wounds (2.5 per cent). Those four categories accounted for 84.1 percent of the total dealt with to date.¹⁰¹⁷

¹⁰¹⁶ AJHR 1943, H18, p.15.

¹⁰¹⁷ AJHR 1943, H18, p.16.

Particular emphasis was placed upon the employment of disabled personnel, especially in what were termed ‘permanent worthwhile openings in industry itself, as the view is taken that, if the effort is made, industry can absorb large numbers of men suffering from various disabilities.’¹⁰¹⁸ In 1942, the Rehabilitation Board appointed the Disabled Servicemen’s Re-establishment League (prior to 1941, the Disabled Soldiers’ Civil Re-establishment League) as its agent for the training of the personnel affected.¹⁰¹⁹ By March 1947, vocational training centres had been established in Auckland, Napier, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Invercargill, while a training farm established at Milson, Palmerston North operated until early 1953.¹⁰²⁰ In an effort to ensure that it reached all those concerned, the League appointed field officers, again based in the main centres.

By the end of March 1955, 492 men had completed training with the League, while 47 were still under training, and 83 were employed in factories operated by the League. A small number worked under the Sheltered Employment Scheme (in operation since April 1950).¹⁰²¹ By the end of March 1960, a total of 529 veterans had completed a full term of training, while a further 483 had completed some training before securing alternative employment.¹⁰²² By the end of March 1964, just three remained in training, 538 had completed training, and 500 had completed some training before moving into alternative employment.¹⁰²³ As from 1 April 1969, the name of the league was changed to the Disabled Re-establishment League and the Rehabilitation Board ended its involvement.¹⁰²⁴

The training of blinded veterans (‘F’ Class) was handled by the Blinded Servicemen’s Trust. It was established in 1943, in November of that year opening a centre (New

¹⁰¹⁸ AJHR 1943, H18, p.16.

¹⁰¹⁹ Other organisations cooperated with the Rehabilitation Service, among them, the New Zealand War Amputees’ Association, the Jubilee Institute for the Blind, and the New Zealand League for the Hard of Hearing.

¹⁰²⁰ AJHR 1947, H18, p.12 and 1942, H18, p.6.

¹⁰²¹ AJHR 1955, H18, pp.6-7.

¹⁰²² AJHR 1960, H18, p.4.

¹⁰²³ AJHR 1964, H18, p.4.

¹⁰²⁴ AJHR 1968, H18, p.6.

Zealand's St Dunstan's) in Auckland.¹⁰²⁵ By the end of March 1955, the centre had no trainees but continued to attend to the welfare needs of 54 blind ex-servicemen.¹⁰²⁶

7.9 Placement in employment

Post-war unemployment fell to very low levels. In April 1946, just 402 males were enrolled with the National Employment Service as unemployed. By 1947 it was apparent that New Zealand was experiencing a major labour shortage, most notably in the four main centres. That shortage ensured that most veterans readily and independently secured employment or established themselves in business. Further, the majority of returned service personnel were not subject to direction from the manpower authorities. The Rehabilitation Department thus assisted into employment only a small proportion of those discharged from the armed services. As at the end of March 1945, of the 68,675 men and women who had been demobilised, just 339 awaited placement.¹⁰²⁷ The Rehabilitation Board did provide some limited employment through its 'E' Class training programme. By March 1944, the employment of recuperating and partially disabled (physically and mentally) men fit for light work was proving increasingly difficult. The position was expected to deteriorate as further drafts of sick and wounded personnel returned to New Zealand.¹⁰²⁸ In anticipation of the likely difficulties, the Rehabilitation Board established subsidised local 'Intermediate Employment Schemes,' usually in cooperation with local authorities, the latter providing 'congenial light employment ...' The schemes provided for transfer to selected employment in industry once recuperation was well advanced. The first such scheme was the 'Ocean Beach Intermediate Scheme.'¹⁰²⁹ By March 1946, intermediate employment schemes were in operation in Auckland, Napier, Blenheim, Christchurch, Temuka, Dunedin, and Invercargill.¹⁰³⁰ The scheme engaged only a small number of men, a total of 143 by the end of March 1949.¹⁰³¹

¹⁰²⁵ AJHR 1945, H18, p.4; and 1946, H18, p.5.

¹⁰²⁶ AJHR 1955, p.7.

¹⁰²⁷ AJHR 1945, H18, p.5.

¹⁰²⁸ AJHR 1944, G18, p.15.

¹⁰²⁹ AJHR 1944, H18, p.15.

¹⁰³⁰ AJHR 1946, H18, p.13.

¹⁰³¹ AJHR 1949, H18, p.8.

The Rehabilitation Board also dealt with the placement in industry of partially disabled and semi-fit men from the vocational centres managed by the Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League. Rather than follow the British precedent of the King's Roll, the Board decided 'on the compilation of a comprehensive industrial and occupational New Zealand monograph assembled with particular regard to those aspects bearing on the employment of the partially disabled or semi-fit.' On the basis of that monograph, the Board proposed initiating a campaign aimed at placing such veterans in appropriate employment. The Board expressed confidence that it would be able to rehabilitate most of the disabled 'without prejudicing the chances of employment of fit civilians and without important diminution of output as far as the disabled men themselves are concerned.'¹⁰³²

7.10 Education

The Rehabilitation Board, recognising that many service personnel had enlisted before completing their education or undertaking vocational training, undertook to promote schemes intended to assist those concerned. The inability of many to complete their schooling through the depression years of the 1930s led the Minister of Education in the First Labour Government to declare that every citizen possessed the right 'to a free education of the kind for which he is best suited, and to the fullest extent of his powers.'¹⁰³³ For the Rehabilitation Board, opening up educational and vocational training embodied both that principle and a desire to make good the educational 'deficit' arising out of the 1930s. It also expressed its determination to help create a workforce equipped to respond to the Government's plans for national reconstruction.

Thomson noted that, although slow off the mark, the New Zealand Army's Education and Welfare Service developed 'a wide-ranging, well run, intelligent, and effective

¹⁰³² AJHR 1944, H18, p.16. The King's National Roll Scheme was an employment programme established for disabled veterans of World War I. See Meaghan Kowalsky, "'This honourable obligation:': the King's National Roll Scheme for disabled servicemen 1915-1944," *European review of history* 4, 14, 2007, pp.567-584.

¹⁰³³ AJHR 1939, E1, p.3.

service.’¹⁰³⁴ The Education Rehabilitation Service operated in the Middle East, Thompson recording that it dealt with thousands of enrolments for study courses, including some 27,000 who enrolled for professional and university courses, and dealt with an extraordinary demand for non-academic and practical vocational courses.¹⁰³⁵ The Education Rehabilitation Service estimated that, of the estimated 45,000 who served with the 2nd NZEF, between 10,000 and 12,000 personnel studied by correspondence.¹⁰³⁶ Thomson noted that the Education Rehabilitation Service ‘melted imperceptibly into rehabilitation.’¹⁰³⁷

The Department of Education initially made some provision for ex-service personnel, notably by making available all existing technical and high school courses, including those offered through the Correspondence School, free of cost. The policy of the Rehabilitation Board was that assistance for educational purposes should be limited to those veterans who had ‘the basic education and ability necessary for the proposed course of study, and where the completion of the course itself . . . [was] of practical assistance in . . . rehabilitation.’¹⁰³⁸ The Board appointed a Rehabilitation Education Committee to formulate measures to provide educational facilities to ex-service personnel and to the dependants of those deceased. As a result of its deliberations, the facilities offered by the Department of Education were extended to those whose studies had been interrupted by war service or who wished, for the first time, to embark upon a course of study. Those facilities included free places in technical, secondary, and ‘combined’ schools; free tuition through the Correspondence School; both ordinary and special university bursaries; free correspondence tuition with private correspondence schools where adequate services were not otherwise available; free books, instruments, and materials to those receiving tuition through state institutions; and post-graduate scholarships for periods up to three years either in New Zealand or abroad. ‘Overseas bursaries’ generally were limited to veterans ‘who are

¹⁰³⁴ Jane R.M. Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen of World War Two in New Zealand, 1940-1954*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, p.103.

¹⁰³⁵ A.B. Thompson, *Adult education in New Zealand: a critical & historical survey*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1945, pp.224-225.

¹⁰³⁶ ‘Army education. Books for use in N.Z.E.F.’ *Evening Post* 18 October 1945, p.6. The original reference was in Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, p.104.

¹⁰³⁷ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, p.104.

¹⁰³⁸ AJHR 1954, H18, p.13.

sufficiently advanced in the line of study involved to pursue a course which would ordinarily be unavailable in New Zealand.’¹⁰³⁹

The Rehabilitation Board also established a system of district vocational guidance officers or honorary education advisers. Vocational Guidance Officers were stationed in the four main urban centres, while (by March 1944) part-time Honorary Education Advisers had been appointed in 35 additional centres.¹⁰⁴⁰ The Board offered post-graduate refresher courses for ex-servicemen, by means of correspondence, short-term full-time lecture courses, and special overseas post-graduate courses. Auckland University College instituted a special full-time pre-entry course to be run over three months prior to the commencement of the 1946 academic year. The course, offered at sixth-form standard, was intended to assist those taking up study after a long interruption owing to war service.¹⁰⁴¹ Victoria University College offered a course for barristers and solicitors, while others were offered in accountancy, dentistry, and taxation.¹⁰⁴² A list of the applications approved published in March 1946 indicated that courses in engineering, the humanities, the law, and, especially, accountancy were among the most favoured.¹⁰⁴³ The Rehabilitation Board also supported those ex-servicemen who attended refresher courses offered by various professional bodies.¹⁰⁴⁴ Condliffe described the financial assistance rendered those seeking further education as ‘generous.’¹⁰⁴⁵

In 1939 the number of full-time students attending the four affiliated colleges of the University of New Zealand stood at 5,647 of whom 4,252, or 75.3 per cent, were males. By 1949, 11,000 students were enrolled. Of that number 8,627, or 78.4 per cent, were males.¹⁰⁴⁶ The Rehabilitation Board assisted a substantial proportion of the greatly increased numbers of male students. Graph 7.15 sets out the number of new bursaries granted to all ex-service personnel wishing to study in New Zealand and

¹⁰³⁹ AJHR 1944, H18, p.16.

¹⁰⁴⁰ AJHR 1944, H18, p.16.

¹⁰⁴¹ See ‘Delegation of authority to District Rehabilitation Officer to deal with Applications to take Special Pre-Entry Course at Auckland University College ...’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 22 November 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

¹⁰⁴² AJHR 1944, H18, p.17; and 1945, H18, p.9.

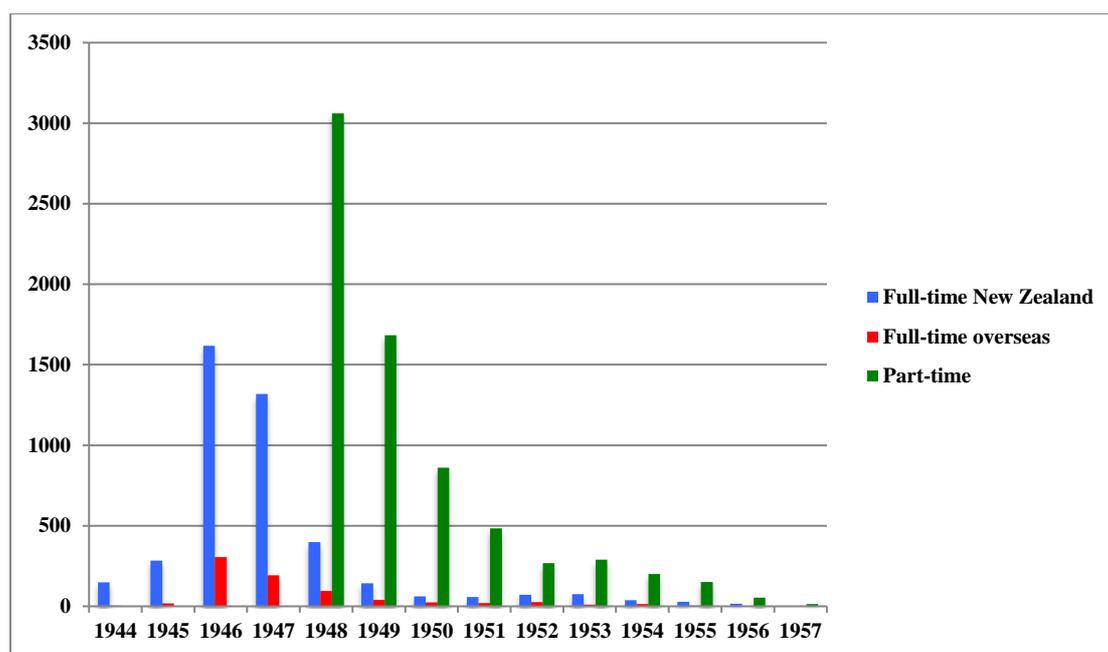
¹⁰⁴³ AJHR 1946, H18, p.27.

¹⁰⁴⁴ AJHR 1947, H18, p.14.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Condliffe, *The welfare state*, p.96.

¹⁰⁴⁶ AJHR 1940 and 1950, E7.

overseas, and the number of new awards for part-time study assistance.¹⁰⁴⁷ By 31 March 1954, a total of 746 ex-servicemen had been granted overseas bursaries for postgraduate study or specialised training.¹⁰⁴⁸ The importance of part-time study is clearly apparent: by that same date, 16,596 ex-service personnel had been so assisted.¹⁰⁴⁹ Further, the Rehabilitation Board, responding to representations from the university colleges, decided to make funds available for extra tutorial assistance for ex-service personnel. Such assistance was provided during the years from 1948 to 1951.¹⁰⁵⁰ At the same time, the Rehabilitation Board secured a range of concessions from the University of New Zealand in such matters as marks and subjects, provisional matriculation, and special examinations.¹⁰⁵¹ In 1954, as the educational assistance programme drew to a close, the Rehabilitation Board noted that its ‘scope ... has ranged from basic education at primary school level to the study of nuclear physics at overseas atomic research institutions.’¹⁰⁵²



Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1944-1957, H18

Graph 7.15: New fulltime bursaries granted to ex-service personnel for study in New Zealand and overseas, and number of new awards for part-time study assistance, 1943 to 1957

¹⁰⁴⁷ Some details regarding the full-time assistance granted can be found in AJHR 1954, H18, pp.14-15.

¹⁰⁴⁸ AJHR 1954, H18, p.15.

¹⁰⁴⁹ AJHR 1954, H18, p.37.

¹⁰⁵⁰ AJHR 1949, H18, p.10; 1950, H18, p.10; and 1952, H18, p.6.

¹⁰⁵¹ AJHR 1954, H18, p.15.

¹⁰⁵² AJHR 1954, H18, p.16.

The Rehabilitation Board also accepted responsibility for the education through primary and secondary school of the dependants of deceased and disabled servicemen totally incapacitated for work. Further, it assisted those who entered post-secondary education, and those who took up apprenticeships.¹⁰⁵³ The Board's intention was that 'no child's prospects in a trade or profession shall be affected by the absence of assistance which might have been available had it not been for the loss suffered through war casualty.'¹⁰⁵⁴ The Rehabilitation Board worked closely with Heritage Inc. to ensure that the appropriate assistance and guidance were provided. By March 1948, advisory committees involving Heritage Inc. and the Rehabilitation Department had been established in 17 'principal towns,' while the Rehabilitation Board predicted that over 2,500 (later revised to some 3,000) children would be eligible for assistance.¹⁰⁵⁵

The Rehabilitation Board was especially keen to encourage children to enter 'worth-while' trades or careers, in 1948 adjusting the type and scale of assistance accordingly.¹⁰⁵⁶ By the end of March 1951, 41 children had been granted full-time educational assistance towards obtaining a professional qualification, while 62 had been granted part-time assistance to improve their employment prospects.¹⁰⁵⁷ By the end of March 1952, the numbers stood at 55 and 80 respectively.¹⁰⁵⁸ Although assistance was extended to just nine and seven respectively in the year to 31 March 1953, the numbers were predicted to increase appreciably: by that date, only an estimated ten per cent of those children deemed eligible under the Rehabilitation Act 1941 had been assisted.¹⁰⁵⁹ To the end of March 1954, 85 children had been afforded full-time assistance and 103 part-time assistance, 53 had received supplementary wage grants and six had undertaken 'A' Class trade training. Of the estimated 2,800 children eligible for assistance, 1,993 were, at 31 March 1954, aged under 16 years, suggesting that post-secondary educational assistance would remain an important element of the Board's activities for some years.¹⁰⁶⁰ Up to the end of March 1955, 290 children had been assisted in various ways.¹⁰⁶¹ The Government subsequently

¹⁰⁵³ AJHR 1946, H18, pp.14-15.

¹⁰⁵⁴ AJHR 1947, H18, p.13.

¹⁰⁵⁵ AJHR 1948, H18, pp.11-12.

¹⁰⁵⁶ AJHR 1949, H18, p.11.

¹⁰⁵⁷ AJHR 1951, H18, p.7.

¹⁰⁵⁸ AJHR 1952, H18, p.7.

¹⁰⁵⁹ AJHR 1953, H18, p.7.

¹⁰⁶⁰ AJHR 1954, H18, p.17.

¹⁰⁶¹ AJHR 1955, H18, p.8.

decided that career training for children whom the Board could assist would continue indefinitely, although in general assistance would be limited to those under 21 years of age.¹⁰⁶² The peak year for this form of assistance was 1958.

7.11 Aftercare

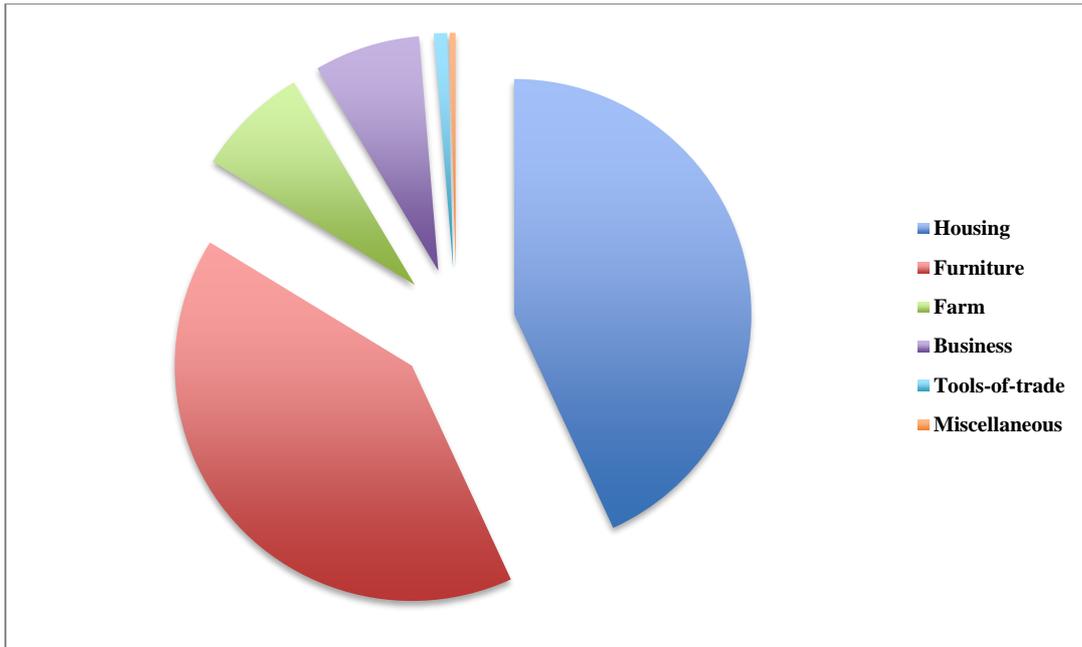
The Rehabilitation Board provided a degree of aftercare to ex-service personnel whom it had assisted with a view to ensuring that they were not disadvantaged by subsequent and unforeseen circumstances. Thus it afforded relief to settlers affected by flood or drought; transferred settlers from blocks that had failed to meet production expectations; provided additional trade training or training in a second field to disabled veterans; assisted those in business to obtain foreign exchange or renewed import licences; and assisted those having difficulty meeting loan repayments.¹⁰⁶³

7.12 Distribution of total rehabilitation loans by number and value, 1972

Graph 7.16 shows the distribution of the almost 160,000 rehabilitation loans granted by the end of March 1972. In terms of numbers, the importance of housing and furniture loans is clearly apparent.

¹⁰⁶² AJHR 1958, H18, p.13.

¹⁰⁶³ AJHR 1955, H18, p.12.

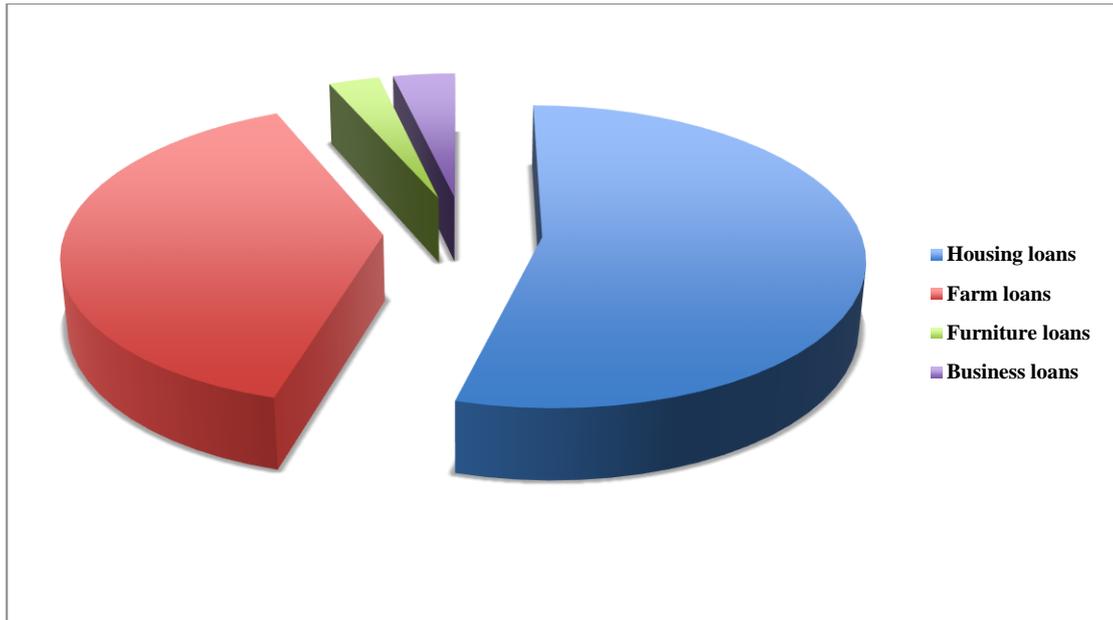


n=159,979

Source: AJHR 1972, H18

Graph 7.16: Distribution (per cent) of all rehabilitation loans granted, as at 31 March 1972

Graph 7.17 sets out the distribution of loans in terms of value as at the end of March 1972, by which date loans with an aggregate value of over £208m had been made. Not shown are tools-of-trade loans (0.02 percent) and miscellaneous loans (0.06 per cent). The importance of loans for housing and farms is clearly apparent. Although the number of business loans (11,533) approximated the number of farm loans (12,283), the value of the latter was substantially greater.



n=£208,192,183

Source: AJHR 1972, H18, p.9.

Graph 7.17: Distribution (per cent) of loans by value granted to ex-service personnel by 31 March 1972

7.12.1 Post-World War II ex-service personnel

Under the Emergency Force Act 1950, the Government was empowered (until the end of 1951) to ‘raise and maintain an emergency military force for fulfilling the obligations undertaken by New Zealand in the Charter of the United Nations.’ Part II of the Act provided for the issue of emergency regulations that included provisions for the occupational re-establishment of employees and apprentices and ‘generally for the rehabilitation and protection of servicemen and their dependants.’¹⁰⁶⁴ Kayforce originally comprised 1,044 volunteers who were later joined by regular units of the New Zealand Army, taking the number who served to 3,794. A further 1,300 were deployed with the Royal New Zealand Navy. Maori service personnel formed 7.5 per cent of the Korean main body in December 1950, 13.4 per cent of the Expansion Draft in August 1951, 20.6 per cent of the replacement drafts in 1952, and 28 per cent of the reinforcements in the last stages of the Korean War. Overall, one in seven of

¹⁰⁶⁴ Part II was re-enacted as the Emergency Forces Rehabilitation Act 1953.

those who served in Korea were of Maori descent. Of the 709-strong infantry battalion sent to Malaya in January 1958, 22.9 per cent were of Maori descent.¹⁰⁶⁵

In 1950, the Government decided that rehabilitation assistance would be offered to discharged servicemen who had served in the United Nations Forces in the 'Korean Emergency.' Responsibility was placed on the Rehabilitation Board. The Emergency Forces Rehabilitation Regulations were gazetted in 1951. Rehabilitation policy as it applied to World War II veterans was amended, notably in respect of land settlement assistance. Such was the large number of graded and eligible World War II veterans awaiting settlement and the very limited area of land available, that 'K' Force veterans were not eligible for farm ballots on the same basis as World War II veterans, nor was there any provision to acquire land compulsorily for their settlement. The assistance extended comprised loans to enable them to acquire farms by private negotiation.¹⁰⁶⁶

The Rehabilitation Board, from 1954, published details of the rehabilitation assistance afforded all those who served in those conflicts. Table 7.7 sets out the details of all assistance afforded by the end of March 1972.

¹⁰⁶⁵ 'Maori in the armed forces,' in Ian McGibbon, editor, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. Auckland, Melbourne, and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.301-303.

¹⁰⁶⁶ AJHR 1952, H18, p.12.

Table 7.7: Total assistance afforded Emergency Force (Korea and Malaya) ex-service personnel as at 31 March 1972

Type of assistance	Numbers assisted
Housing loans	4569
Furniture loans	1746
Farm loans	97
Business loans	15
Tools-of-trade loans	8
State rental houses allocated	239
Educational assistance	
Full-time bursaries	38
Part-time bursaries	103
Trade training: totals to date	
‘B’ Class ¹	158
‘C’ Class	4
‘D’ Class	10
‘F’ Class	1
Total applications approved	6988

¹And a small number of ‘A’ Class trainees

Source: AJHR, 1972, H18, p.12

7.13 Reducing rehabilitation assistance

By 1950 it was apparent that the demand for various forms of rehabilitation assistance was contracting. In 1953, following a 1952 review by the Rehabilitation Board of likely future rehabilitation needs, the Government decided to retain the position of Minister of Rehabilitation, the Rehabilitation Council (although subject to review in March 1954), the Rehabilitation Board, the Farming Sub-committee until 31 March 1954, and to replace the existing array of rehabilitation committees with nine district rehabilitation committees (in place on 1 April 1954). The dates by which applications for various forms of assistance had to be lodged were also reviewed and indeed thereafter reviewed periodically and adjusted.¹⁰⁶⁷ Thus, in 1955 the Rehabilitation Board completed a review of the rehabilitation programme and dates were set by

¹⁰⁶⁷ See, for example, AJHR 1953, H18, pp.12-13.

which new applications for loans would not be accepted. The end of March 1958 was set as the closing date for initial applications from ex-servicemen of World War II (but not for ex-members of the Emergency Forces) for grading for farm settlement, trade training, educational assistance, preferential allocation of State rental housing, tools of trade loans, and business loans and related assistance. Exceptions included disabled veterans, children of deceased or totally incapacitated veterans, and any other case considered to merit special consideration. The final date for the availability of initial rehabilitation housing loans and assistance and furniture loans, which had also been set at 31 March 1958, was then extended to 31 March 1959. The Government then rescinded that decision and announced that those two forms of assistance would remain available indefinitely.¹⁰⁶⁸ It was not until the end of March 1968 that all forms of assistance for veterans of World War II and 'K' Force were withdrawn, although even then assistance could still be made available to veterans receiving a war disability pension or where there were exceptional circumstances.

In 1953, the Government decided to retain the Department of Rehabilitation until the end of March 1954. The staff employed by that department declined steadily from the peak of 1,116 (administrative and trade training) reached by the end of March 1947 to just 89 by the end of March 1954. In 1947, the Department maintained 36 full-time offices and more than 20 part-time offices and 'established contact points,' while 41 trade schools operated in 21 towns.¹⁰⁶⁹ By March 1953, 21 of the smaller offices had been closed or placed on a part-time basis while the transfer, in November 1953, of certain functions, notably the processing of loan applications, to agency departments led to the closure of all offices except those located in Auckland, Hamilton, Napier, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.¹⁰⁷⁰ By the end of March 1956, the offices in both Hamilton and Napier had been closed: the once extensive and elaborate regional structure established for the delivery of rehabilitation assistance had been progressively dismantled as the demand for assistance had declined. The Department of Rehabilitation was abolished on 31 March 1954. From 1 April of that year, it operated as the Rehabilitation Division of the Department of Internal Affairs while

¹⁰⁶⁸ 'Housing loans and related assistance' included initial loans to purchase or erect houses, loans to purchase sections, supplementary interest free loans, mortgage repayment insurance, and rental and interest concessions.

¹⁰⁶⁹ AJHR 1954, H18, p.7.

¹⁰⁷⁰ AJHR 1954, H18, p.7.

maintaining its six district offices. From 1 April 1972 administrative responsibility for the Rehabilitation Division was transferred to the Department of Social Welfare.

7.14 The ‘Maori problem’ and rehabilitation

Discussions around the rehabilitation of Maori service personnel tended to merge into debates about the so-called ‘Maori problem.’ Quite what constituted the ‘Maori problem’ appears not to have been specified, but the term was so frequently employed that it would seem that its meaning was clearly and widely understood. Certain elements were plain enough, among them, the deplorable housing conditions that many Maori endured, the growing drift of young Maori to the country’s urban centres, the ‘idle’ state of much of the land remaining in Maori ownership, poor education, lack of trade training and post-primary education, and unemployment and under-employment and the waste of ‘manpower.’

In 1940, Belshaw, with respect to Maori, described what he termed as ‘an unambiguous picture of a people whose land resources are inadequate, so that a great and increasing majority must find other means of livelihood.’¹⁰⁷¹ In 1946 the newly established National Employment Service recorded that the renewed growth of the Maori population and the high proportion of that population aged under 15 years would make it difficult, within a few years, for Maori to secure employment in rural areas.¹⁰⁷² Similarly, a 1950 report noted that some ‘Maori districts’ were becoming over-populated, and that the accompaniments of over-population were under-employment and lower living standards. Of the three possible remedies, namely, relocation of the Maori population, decentralisation of industry, and closer settlement of the land, only the first offered any real promise.¹⁰⁷³

¹⁰⁷¹ Horace Belshaw, ‘Maori economic circumstances,’ in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *New Zealand Maori today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, p.192.

¹⁰⁷² See R.B. Nightingale, ‘Maori at work: the shaping of a Maori workforce within the New Zealand state,’ PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2007.

¹⁰⁷³ See ANZ Wellington ACGV 8814 L1/231 30/1/28 Parts 1 to 4.

A slow movement of Maori towards the country's urban centres had in fact emerged during the 1920s, but remained modest in scale, delayed partly by the depression of the early 1930s, by the labour-intensive Maori land development programme initiated in 1930, and by what Poulsen and Johnston described as a preference for guaranteed rural subsistence.¹⁰⁷⁴ The Government's assumption, on the outbreak of World War II, of wide-ranging manpower controls intended to minimise the threat that large-scale mobilisation posed to the economy, served to accelerate the movement of Maori into urban-based industries. By 1945, 18.3 per cent of the total Maori population was residing in urban centres ('cities, boroughs, and towns') or 18,050, double the number so resident in 1936.¹⁰⁷⁵ Concurrently, the proportion of the Maori workforce engaged in manufacturing rose from four per cent in 1936 to 18 per cent in 1945, a reflection in good part of the collective efforts of the National Service Department and the Maori War Effort Organisation to mobilise the Maori work force. Thus, by March 1945, 18 months after its establishment, the Maori Section of the Auckland Manpower Office had issued over 3,000 directions to Maori workers. In the Auckland district, by March 1945, some 2,400 male and 1,700 female Maori workers were employed in essential industries, most having come from the country's rural districts.¹⁰⁷⁶ In the country's rural districts, on the other hand, the employment difficulties confronting rural Maori were plainly evident. The National Employment Service recorded that in the Whangarei, Rotorua, and Gisborne districts, 'substantial numbers of Maori of working age and of both sexes, especially in the more isolated parts, who, though not enrolled as seeking employment, are nevertheless not gainfully employed or are engaged only intermittently in casual employment.'¹⁰⁷⁷ Such difficulties were expected to intensify as service personnel were demobilised and as they returned to the home communities.¹⁰⁷⁸

¹⁰⁷⁴ M.F. Poulsen and Johnston, R.J. 'Patterns of Maori migration,' in R.J. Johnston, editor, *Urbanisation in New Zealand: geographical essays*. Wellington: Reed Education, 1973, p.151.

¹⁰⁷⁵ G.V. Butterworth, 'A rural Maori renaissance? Maori society and politics 1920 to 1951,' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81, 2, 1972, pp.160-195.

¹⁰⁷⁶ AJHR 1945, H11A, p.40. Where necessary, 'temporary' camps were established to house those directed to the country's urban centres.

¹⁰⁷⁷ AJHR 1947, H11A, p.23. It cited a recent survey of the Kaikohe district that showed that within a 20 mile-radius of the town, 251 Maori, while fit for permanent employment, were engaged in causal work or were 'at leisure.'

¹⁰⁷⁸ See, for example, AJHR 1944, H18, p.24.

The debate over the nature and extent of the ‘Maori problem’ and over the most effective solutions to what were perceived to be a series of interlocking issues, formed part of the background to the Rehabilitation Board’s deliberations. Early in 1944, the Director of Rehabilitation distributed a circular memorandum to the Maori Tribal Executive Committees in April 1944 in which he discussed

the task ... in helping Maori exservicemen and women to settle down as civilians and to find permanent worthwhile places in the community. Today the public of New Zealand are conscious of the part that Maori servicemen have played in the war, and there is universal readiness to see that New Zealand in turn plays her part of behalf of these men ... Rehabilitation, if it is to have any meaning, implies assisting the ex-serviceman to overcome any service disabilities – physical, mental or economic – so that he can take his part in society and by his own efforts ensure a reasonable standard of living and contentment of mind for himself, while at the same time contribute his share to the welfare of the whole community ... The task of Maori Rehabilitation is that of re-establishing more than 5,000 Maori servicemen and servicewomen in civilian life in such a way as to offset as far as possible any disability, hardship, or loss of opportunity due to their war service. This implies equal opportunity with Europeans to work with hand and brain to win, and make secure, a high standard of living, and a high standard of happiness.¹⁰⁷⁹

When assessing the challenges and difficulties it expected to face as demobilisation proceeded apace, the Rehabilitation Board singled out for particular mention ‘The future as it affects Maori ex-servicemen ...’ and cited ‘the special difficulties of Native farm development and settlement, Native housing, Native education, and Native employment.’ But, it added, ‘The measures taken by the Board in conjunction with those operated by the Board of Maori Affairs are expected to achieve ultimate success in each of these matters.’¹⁰⁸⁰ That success, and indeed that of the rehabilitation programme as a whole, it observed, was ‘inextricably bound up with the success or otherwise with which national reconstruction and development are planned and put into operation.’¹⁰⁸¹

The following sections, employing data published in the annual reports prepared by the Rehabilitation Board and from archival sources, explore, with respect to Maori ex-

¹⁰⁷⁹ A copy of ‘Circular Memorandum Rehabilitation No.103’ dated 27 April 1944, can be found in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁰⁸⁰ AJHR 1944, H18, p.25.

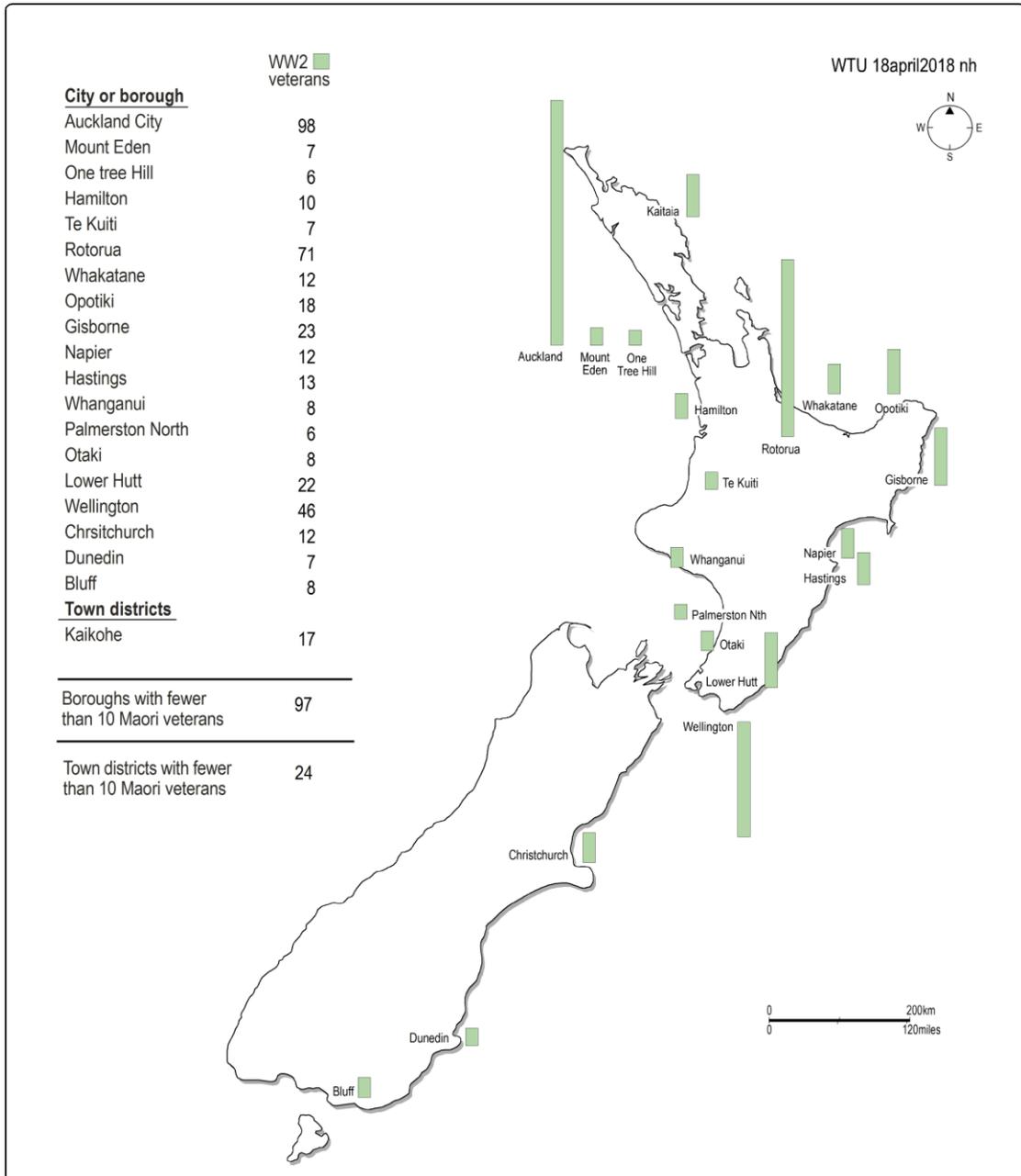
¹⁰⁸¹ AJHR 1944, H18, p.26.

service personnel, each of the main forms of rehabilitation assistance. Land settlement is dealt with in the chapters that follow. Two main questions are explored, namely to what extent did the Rehabilitation Board secure the objectives it set for itself, and to what extent was the take-up of assistance by Maori and other veterans respectively comparable.

7.14.1 Maori ex-service personnel in 1945

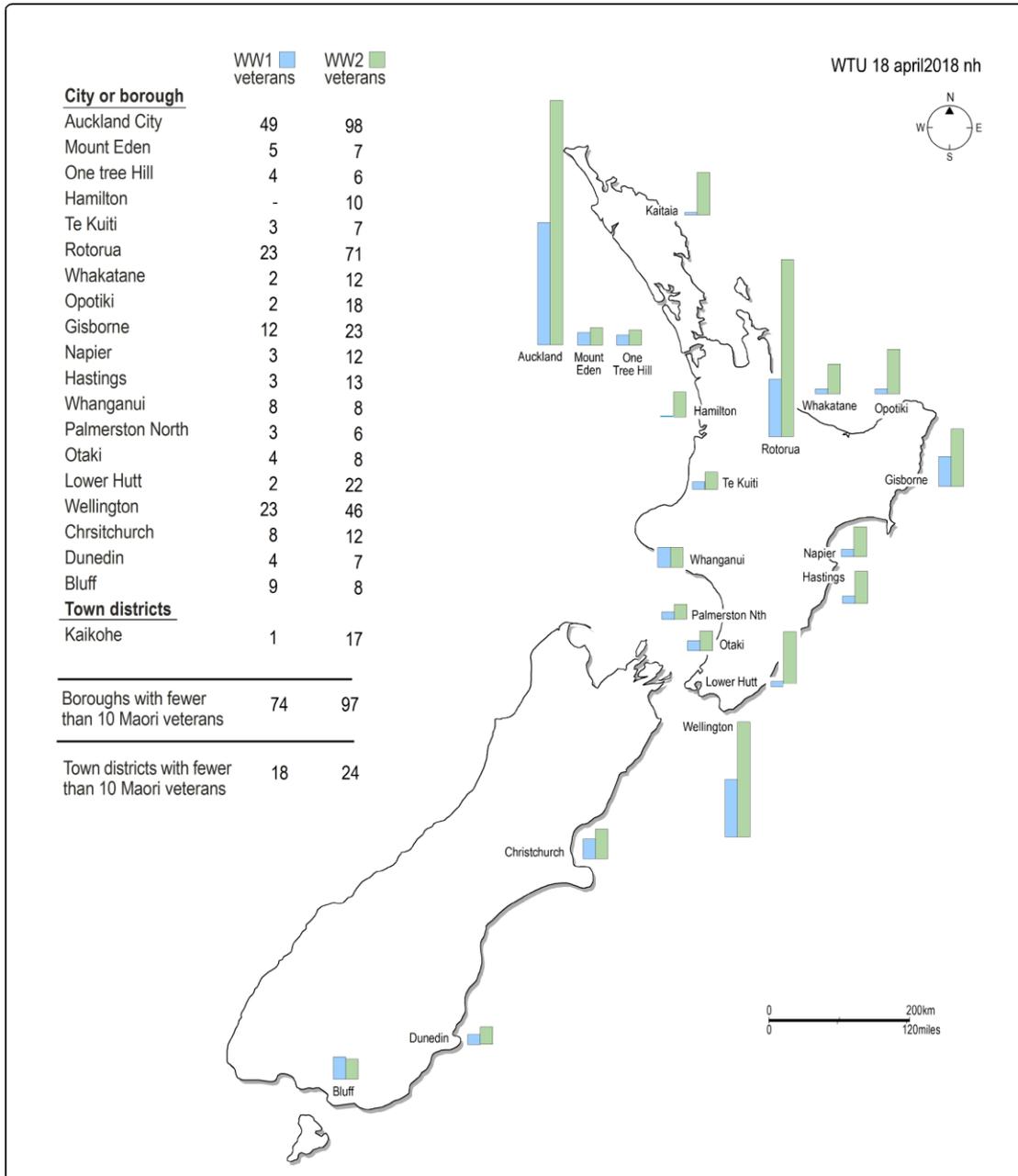
It will be useful to describe what is known of the demographic character of Maori ex-service personnel as recorded by the census of 1945. It contained a small report entitled *War service*. Clearly, it did not capture all of those Maori who had served, either in World War II or in previous conflicts, but the report offers some useful insights into matters such as place of residence and age structure. At the date of the census (25 September 1945), 1,148 Maori men and women were listed as having served in World War I, 1,842 in World War II, and 41 in both world wars. None was given as having served in the South African War. For 1,138 male veterans of World War I, 1,813 of World War II, and 39 of both conflicts, details were provided of (what is presumed to be) their place of residence, that is, by counties, cities and boroughs, and town districts, although in case those with fewer than ten veterans in total were not separately identified. Maps 7.2 and 7.3 set out the details of those male veterans who had served in World War II, while Map 7.4 compares, with respect to residence in urban area, veterans of both world wars.¹⁰⁸² Excluded are four listed as ‘on shipboard’ or on ‘adjacent islands.’ Of the total of 1,813, 70.7 per cent resided in counties, 2.3 per cent in town districts (including 17 in Kaikohe), and 27.1 per cent in the country’s towns and boroughs. With respect to age, just over 79 per cent were, as expected, in the prime working age groups of 25 to 40 years. Details of marital status were not recorded, but it is likely that many delayed marriage upon enlistment, just as it is likely that post-return marriage and family formation significantly augmented the demand for housing.

¹⁰⁸² Similar details of those females who had served in World War II were not provided.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1945*

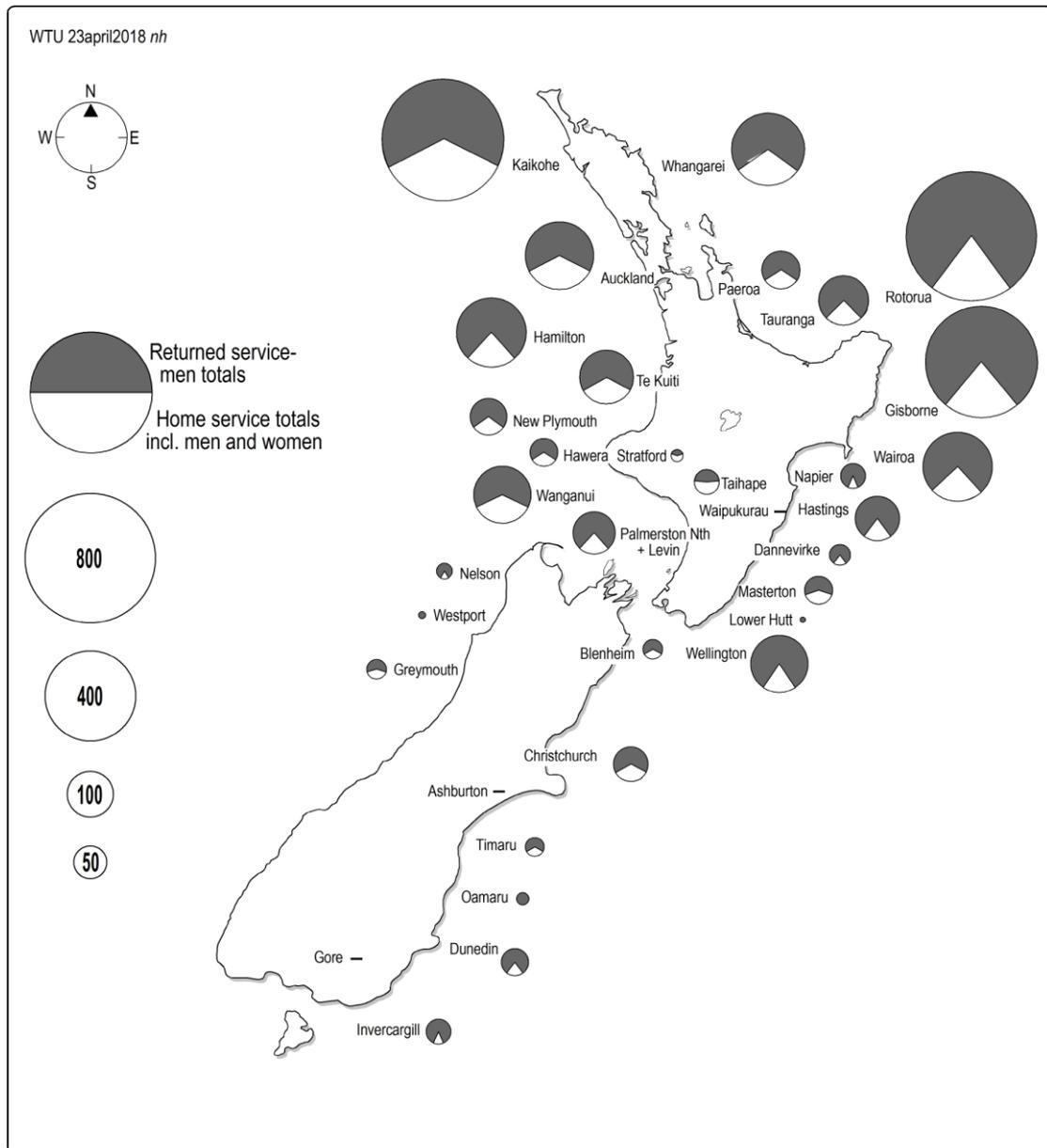
Map 7.3: Residence of World War II Maori veterans by urban areas, 1945



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1945*

Map 7.4: Residence of World I and World II Maori veterans by urban areas, 1945

Map 7.5 offers an alternative view of the distribution of Maori ex-service personnel. It includes both those who had returned from service overseas and those who had served in New Zealand.



Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0

Map 7.5: The distribution of Maori ex-service personnel, October 1946

Table 7.8 summarises Maori overseas military service as recorded by the census of 1951.

Table 7.8: Maori: overseas service according to the 1951 Census

Wars	Males	Females	Totals
Only in World War II	3161	15	3176
Only in World War I	947	7	954
Only in South African War	10	-	10
In World Wars I and II	58	-	58
In South African War and World War I	5	-	5
In South African War and World War II	1	-	1
Totals	4182	22	4204

Source: *Census of New Zealand 1951*

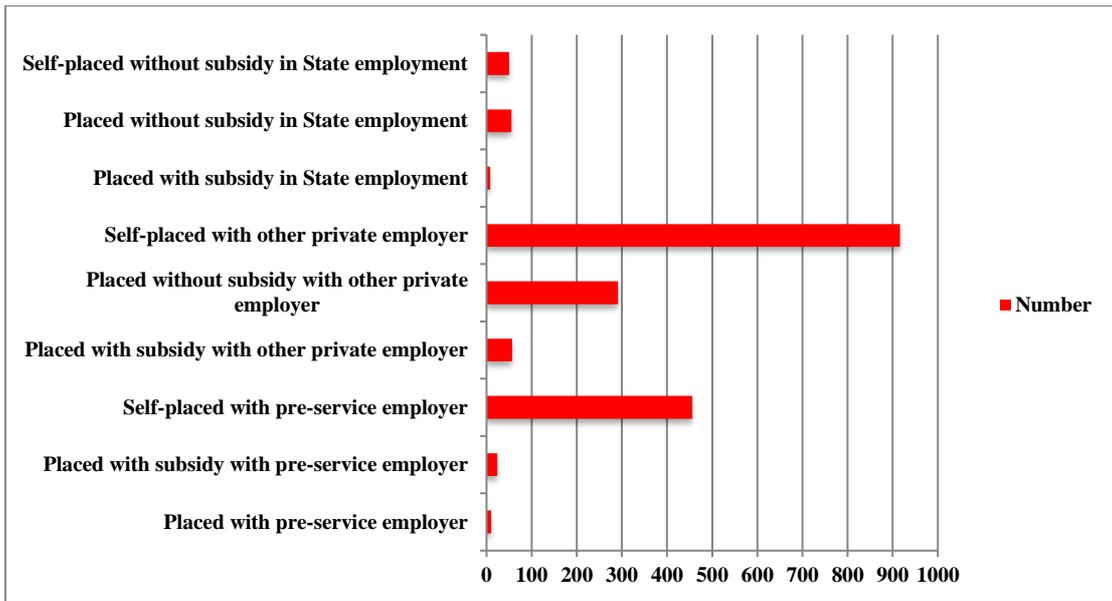
7.14.2 The course of rehabilitation to 31 January 1946

As at the end of January 1946, 3,309 Maori ex-service personnel (3,225 men and 84 women) were recorded with the Department of Rehabilitation. Of that total, 584 (including three women) had still to be discharged, had returned to military service, or were still on privilege leave, while 214 were in ‘mental institutions,’ hospitals and sanatoria, or recuperating but not as institutional inmates.¹⁰⁸³ Another group, numbering 185, included those yet to decide on a course of action (84), those depending on private means (24), those refusing all help (21), those who could not be traced (19), and those with whom contact had been ‘temporarily lost (29). Those who had died numbered 73, all returned men, while 25 women were listed as having established a home. Those various groups accounted for 1,086 men and women or 32.8 per cent of the total then recorded with the Department of Rehabilitation. There were three other categories. The first included those classified as ‘A’ trainees undergoing fulltime training: they numbered 115 of whom 96 had taken up carpentry and two plastering. None was engaged in farm training. Of the balance, 13 had been transferred to the Disabled Servicemen’s League, while four were listed as fulltime students.

¹⁰⁸³ Five were serving ‘civil sentences.’

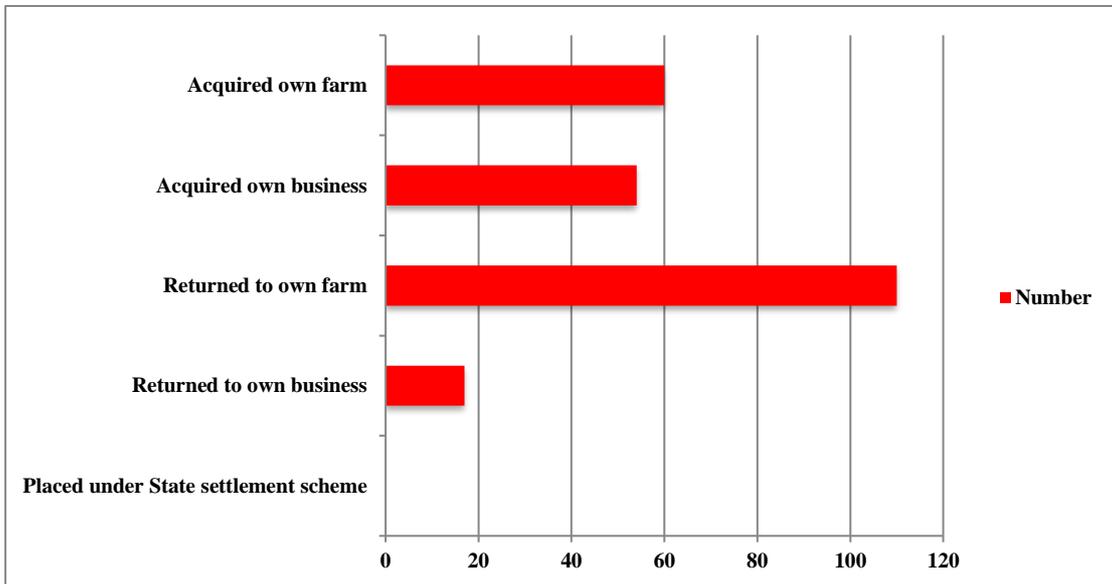
Graph 7.18 sets out details of those who had entered employment: the total, 1,867, represented 56.4 per cent of the total of 3,309. Of particular note is the large number (1,422) classified as 'self-placed' with either private employers or the State. Almost 27.7 per cent of the 3,309 veterans had themselves secured employment with private employers, while a mere 50 (1.5 per cent) had secured employment with the State. The data suggest that Maori returned service personnel, up to the end of 1945 at least, experienced few difficulties in returning to their pre-service employers or securing jobs with new employers.

Graph 7.19 sets out some details of those Maori ex-servicemen who were engaged in farming and business. No ex-service personnel, Maori or Pakeha, had been settled, by the end of January 1946, under any State land settlement scheme. Of the 170 engaged in farming, 110 (64.7 per cent) had evidently returned to their own farms, while the remaining 60 had acquired farms. Whether any of the farms met the threshold for rehabilitation assistance has not been established. The data, such as they are, strongly suggest that most Maori ex-servicemen were being absorbed back into the communities from which they had departed. If so, then they constitute a serious challenge to any claim that Maori were reluctant to make land available for veterans.



Source: ANZ Wellington ACIE 8798 EA1/20 34/1/4 Part 1

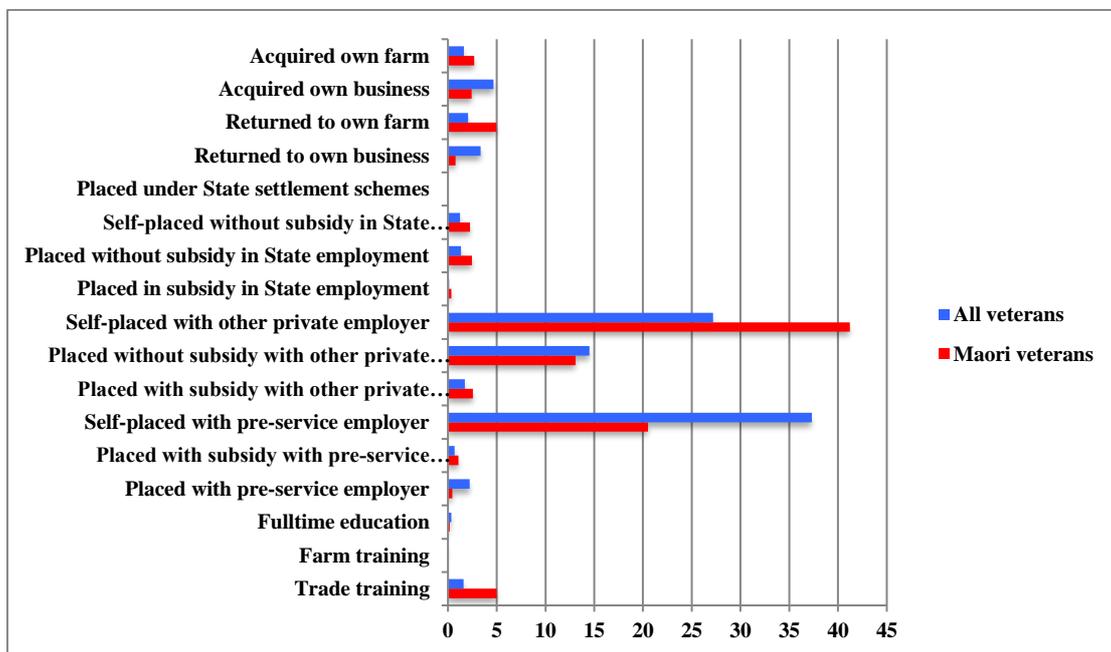
Graph 7.18: Status of Maori ex-service personnel who had entered employment, as at 31 January 1946



Source: ANZ Wellington ACIE 8798 EA1/20 34/1/4 Part 1

Graph 7.19: Maori ex-servicemen engaged in farming and in business as at 31 January 1946

Graph 7.20 compares, for selected categories, the distribution of Maori ex-service personnel with all ex-service personnel. Of particular interest are those classified as ‘self-placed with other private employer’ and those as ‘self-placed with pre-service employer.’ The data might well point to the contrasts in employment status between Maori and Pakeha veterans at the time of enlistment, and suggest that on demobilisation many Maori ex-service personnel embraced new employment opportunities, some at least no doubt utilising the skills acquired whilst in the Armed Forces.



Maori: n=2223 All: n=100622

Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0

Graph 7.20: Rehabilitation status of Maori and all ex-service personnel as at 31 January 1946

7.14.3 Assisting Maori veterans: loans for housing purposes

The state of Maori housing was by 1939 widely recognised as deplorable.¹⁰⁸⁴ According to the 1945 Census, of 16,028 Maori dwellings 69.4 per cent were classified as private dwellings, 26.3 per cent as huts, whares, and baches, and 4.6 percent as other and temporary dwellings. In the Auckland urban area, the proportions were 68.2, 13.6, and 18.2 per cent respectively. A survey conducted in 1934 indicated that 90 Maori families (including those at Orakei) or 402 individuals residing in Auckland lived in 64 dwellings and shacks, while another survey, in 1937, revealed much the same position.¹⁰⁸⁵ During July, August, and September 1946, the *New Zealand Herald* published a series of articles that revealed the conditions that many Maori who had moved to Auckland had been compelled to accept. A report prepared by the city's Chief Sanitary Inspector in 1947 recorded that the wartime call for labour, attractive wages, and the prospect of continuous employment encouraged many more Maori to move to the city, most from North Auckland where such work as was available was mostly seasonal in character and where insufficient land remained in Maori ownership to support a rapidly growing Maori population. Some, he recorded, had returned once hostilities had concluded, but the majority had remained. The 1947 survey revealed that some 2,500 Maori resident in Auckland lived in 286 premises of which 119 were occupied by single families and 167 were occupied by a total of 530 families or 1,513 persons. The result was serious overcrowding. Most Maori, having displaced the former Pakeha residents, lived in the inner city, 'decadent areas in substandard premises and dwellings that are in a structural state of deterioration ...'¹⁰⁸⁶ Other Maori, notably in the industrial area of Otahuhu, were accommodated in shacks erected by the firms that had engaged them. Such conditions persisted into the 1950s.¹⁰⁸⁷

¹⁰⁸⁴ See, for example, NZPD 1944, Vol 266, p.646.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Chief Sanitary Inspector, Auckland to Town Clerk, Auckland 31 October 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1020/a 30/3/25 Part 1.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Chief Sanitary Inspector, Auckland to Town Clerk, Auckland 31 October 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1020/a 30/3/25 Part 1.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See, for example, Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 24 July 1952, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1020/a 30/3/25 Part 1. See also Chief Sanitary Inspector, Auckland to Town Clerk, Auckland 8 November 1951, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1020/a 30/3/25 Part 1.

The Native Housing Act 1935 (section 3) empowered the Board of Native Affairs to make advances for the construction and repair of houses, although the maximum was limited to £750 (compared with the State Advances Corporation limit of £1,000).¹⁰⁸⁸ Under the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938 (sections 4 and 5), the Board was empowered to construct and sell or lease dwellings, but the Department of Native Affairs resisted efforts to initiate a rental housing scheme for Maori. However efforts made to merge the housing of Maori into mainstream housing policy were also resisted, Ferguson noting that the State Advances Corporation was ‘reluctant to open up Maori access to mainstream state housing ...’¹⁰⁸⁹ In June 1945, Auckland’s mayor described the city’s housing problem as ‘desperate and called for a desperate remedy.’ He indicated that 15,000 applicants were waiting for State rental accommodation, a fifth being described as ‘urgent.’ Some 2,200 of the 15,000 applications had been lodged by ex-servicemen through the Rehabilitation Department. The numbers were expected to rise sharply as both former prisoners of war and drafts of servicemen returned.¹⁰⁹⁰ Under pressure from Maori, provision became a joint responsibility of the State Advances Corporation and the Department of Maori Affairs. Ferguson thus concluded that ‘By 1949 Maori had gained limited access to mainstream housing schemes.’¹⁰⁹¹

Ferguson did not examine the contribution made by the Rehabilitation Board. It is worthwhile recording here that some Maori entertained misgivings over the provision of rehabilitation assistance for houses. In June 1942, the Maori Rehabilitation Committee resolved that Maori would require the same standard of housing as Pakeha, although it suggested that in rural and remote areas ‘other types [of housing] were considered more desirable and in keeping with the ability of applicants to meet their financial responsibilities.’¹⁰⁹² Ngata was keen to ensure that ‘Pakeha standards’ were not foisted on Maori, and that Maori veterans were not ‘misled, or influenced by a home-coming psychology, to rush for expensive houses’ and having subsequently to seek to have the debt written down. The matter of likely cost and the ability to repay

¹⁰⁸⁸ Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press with the assistance of the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, pp.163-175, has a useful section on housing for Maori between 1935 and 1949

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.166.

¹⁰⁹⁰ ‘Housing in city. Desperate position. Seeking a remedy,’ *New Zealand Herald* 21 June 1945, p.4.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.169.

¹⁰⁹² ANZ Wellington AATG 6171/1.

clearly weighed heavily on Ngata's mind: to that end, he recorded, some iwi had decided to raise the sum of £100 per soldier in an effort to reduce the capital cost of a house. With a State subsidy, Ngata estimated that the cost of a house could be reduced by 20 to 25 per cent. Some Maori communities, he recorded in 1943, had already initiated the scheme.¹⁰⁹³ Baker, too, was anxious to advise Maori veterans planning to reside in rural districts to limit their loans to two thirds of the rehabilitation maximum of £1,500 and so ensure that they could maintain their repayments.

In November 1943, the Minister of Rehabilitation took up with his colleague the Minister of Native Affairs a number of issues. He suggested, given that the Rehabilitation Board required a freehold title as security for a housing loan, that the Board of Native Affairs consider the position of those Maori ex-servicemen who did not own land. Noting that a number of veterans were living in army huts, the Minister thus asked that the Board of Native Affairs consider establishing a Maori housing rental scheme.¹⁰⁹⁴ The housing shortage among Maori was 'acute' in places such as Ruatoria, Rotorua, and Auckland. He went on to suggest that the State rental houses being constructed by the Department of Housing were 'not satisfactory as to type and suitable houses built to Housing Department standards would be too costly as rental propositions;' that some Maori veterans could change their occupations following trade training such that rental houses were 'really the only solution to cover what may prove to be only a temporary residence in a district;' and that complaints had been made that Maori were not receiving equal treatment with Pakeha in respect of the allocation of State rental properties. With respect to the last point, the State Advances Corporation denied that such was the case but, the Minister added, 'The Rehabilitation Board is now making arrangements to ensure that the interests of Maori ex-servicemen are being watched when any allocations of State Rental Houses are being made to soldiers.'¹⁰⁹⁵

In 1944, Native Minister Mason noted that 'It is certainly true that the present position in regard to Maori houses is a melancholy one and a subject that one cannot look

¹⁰⁹³ NZPD 1943, Vol 263, p.152.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Such was the shortage of houses on the East Coast that demobilised Maori service personnel returning home were housed in huts provided by the New Zealand Army.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Minister of Rehabilitation to Minister of Native Affairs 26 November 1943, in ANZ Auckland AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

upon with satisfaction.’¹⁰⁹⁶ The links between poor housing and disease, especially tuberculosis, were well recognised. The Rehabilitation Board had already announced that, in the light of the state of Maori housing, it would launch, in cooperation with the Departments of Public Works and Native Affairs, a Native housing scheme just as soon as labour and materials could be diverted from the war effort.¹⁰⁹⁷ Again, in 1944, the Board acknowledged that ‘The problem of Native housing is, if anything, more acute than the general housing problem.’ Maori ex-servicemen had ‘equal opportunity with pakeha ex-servicemen in the allocation of State rental dwellings and in the provision of financial assistance to purchase existing dwellings or erect new ones.’ The Board then added that ‘Where finance is provided for the erection of a dwelling, importance is attached to the continuous availability of employment in the locality in question.’¹⁰⁹⁸ The Board did not elaborate on how these various elements of its housing policy dovetailed, especially given the pending release of some 10,000 Maori from the direction orders issued by the National Service Department. Many of these people had been housed in temporary camps and were expected to return to their home districts, as, indeed, were many of those discharged from the armed forces.

Such expectations would prove to have been ill-founded. It soon became apparent that many ‘manpowered’ Maori had elected to remain in the urban centres, that Maori from impoverished rural communities had decided to join them, and that Maori ex-servicemen, having completed training in the various trades had elected to establish themselves and their families in the country’s cities, notably Auckland and Wellington. In 1950, the Maori Rehabilitation Officer stationed in the Rehabilitation Department’s Head Office noted the large-scale movement of Maori (including whole families) that had taken place to the country’s urban areas in response to the Government’s call for industrial workers. Many, he recorded, had had to endure poor accommodation. The Maori population of Auckland had thus increased from 1,850 in 1939 to 4,903 in 1945 and to 7,870 in 1950 (including 419 ex-servicemen). The

¹⁰⁹⁶“A disgrace.” Maori housing,’ *Evening Post* 30 September 1944, p.8.

¹⁰⁹⁷ AJHR 1943, H18, p.18.

¹⁰⁹⁸ AJHR 1944, H18, p.24. In 1945, as the demobilisation of Maori service personnel gathered pace, the Board insisted that the ‘backward’ state of much Maori housing demanded ‘urgent attention for its alleviation.’ See AJHR 1945, H18, p.13.

comparative figures for Wellington were 620, 1,200, and 1,850, the last figure including 245 ex-servicemen.¹⁰⁹⁹

By 1949, some progress was being made in housing Maori ex-service personnel. Table 7.9 sets out some details. Fully 78 per cent of the loans were granted through the Department of Maori Affairs, that is, by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.

Table 7.9: Housing loans granted to Maori ex-service personnel, by land districts, as at 31 August 1949

Land districts	Through SAC: No.	Through SAC: value	Through DMA: No.	Through DMA: value	Total number
North Auckland	12	10484	63	60912	75
South Auckland	20	23910	181	184275	201
Gisborne	2	2020	83	87987	85
Hawke's Bay	8	9575	19	23670	27
Taranaki	3	2660	5	6310	8
Wellington	28	31044	22	26515	50
Marlborough	2	1970	-	-	2
Nelson	3	2900	1	750	4
Westland	2	500	-	-	2
Canterbury	10	10700	7	7838	17
Otago	11	10020	2	1830	13
Southland	7	8245	-	-	7
Totals	108	113308	383	131486	491

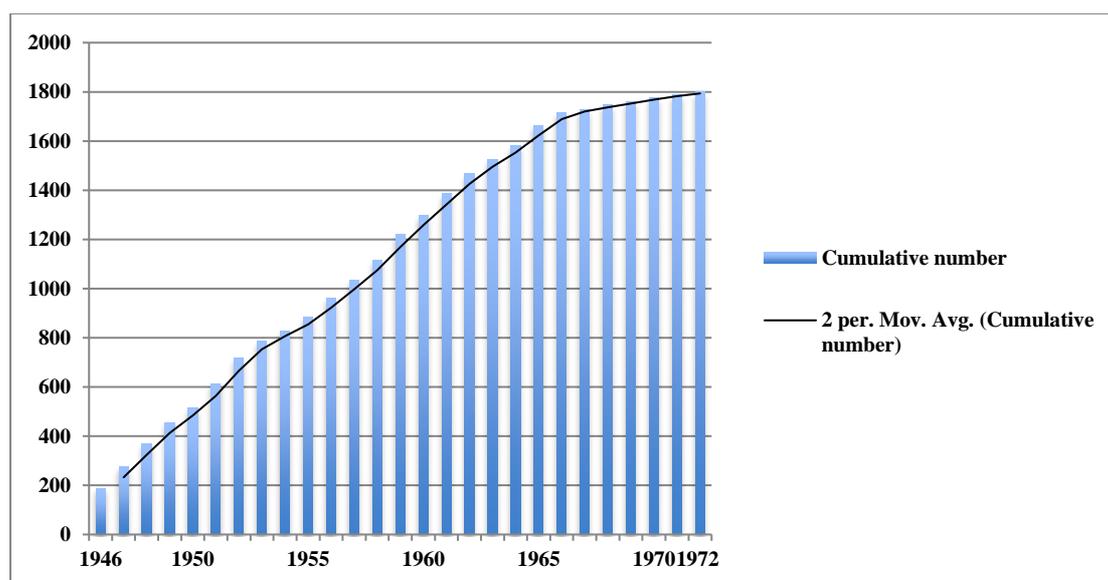
Source: ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5

The published data detailing the housing assistance granted to Maori ex-service personnel are not always entirely helpful. The annual reports of the Rehabilitation Board included three tables of relevance: the first offered a summary of all loans authorised by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, but excluding suspensory loans; the second detailed the 'assistance afforded from all sources' to Maori ex-service personnel, although a note suggests that this table summarises the assistance granted through the Rehabilitation Loans and Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committees;

¹⁰⁹⁹ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Note for file dated 1 November 1950, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

while the third summarised loans authorised by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee not included in the first table, but including suspensory loans. The third table appears to be a subset of the second, but that is not entirely clear. Further complicating matters were adjustments made from time to time to various totals. It seemed unwise, on the basis of the published information, to try to adjust the various totals.

Graph 7.21 thus sets out the number of housing loans granted through the Rehabilitation Loans and Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committees to Maori ex-servicemen and ex-servicewomen over the period from 1945 to 1972. After rising steadily and consistently for the entire period from 1945 to 1966, housing loan approvals began to taper off and plateau. Most of the assistance was granted through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.

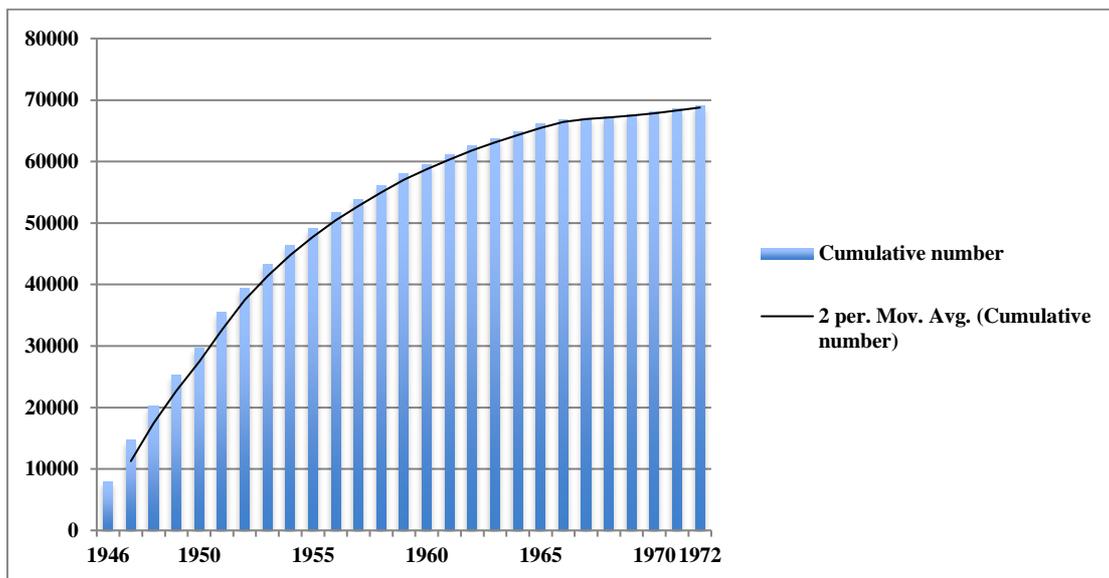


Source: AJHR 1945 to 1972, H18

Graph 7.21: Cumulative number of housing loans (including suspensory loans) afforded Maori ex-service personnel, 1945 to 1972

By way of a general comparison, Graph 7.22 sets out the cumulative number of housing loans authorised by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee (excluding suspensory loans) for the period from 1946 to 1972. The graphs indicate that the two series followed similar trajectories, although the number of loan authorisations began more slowly for Maori ex-service personnel. That was consistent with some of the

contemporary criticism levelled at the Department of Maori Affairs. In 1944, Auckland's Maori leaders were sufficiently concerned over the state of housing that they decided to establish a fund to try to provide accommodation for some of the many hundreds of Maori who had flocked into the city since 1940, most of whom had gravitated to its central and already overcrowded sections.¹¹⁰⁰ A hui involving Maori from Northland, Auckland, and Taranaki held on 27 August 1944 (sponsored by the United Movement of the Maoris of New Zealand, a committee working under the Maori War Effort Organisation), concerned that no action was apparently being taken to provide housing for returning Maori servicemen, decided to act independently of the Department of Native Affairs over whose performance considerable dissatisfaction was expressed.¹¹⁰¹ Criticism over the pace of new home construction continued for many years.



Source: AJHR 1945 to 1972, H18

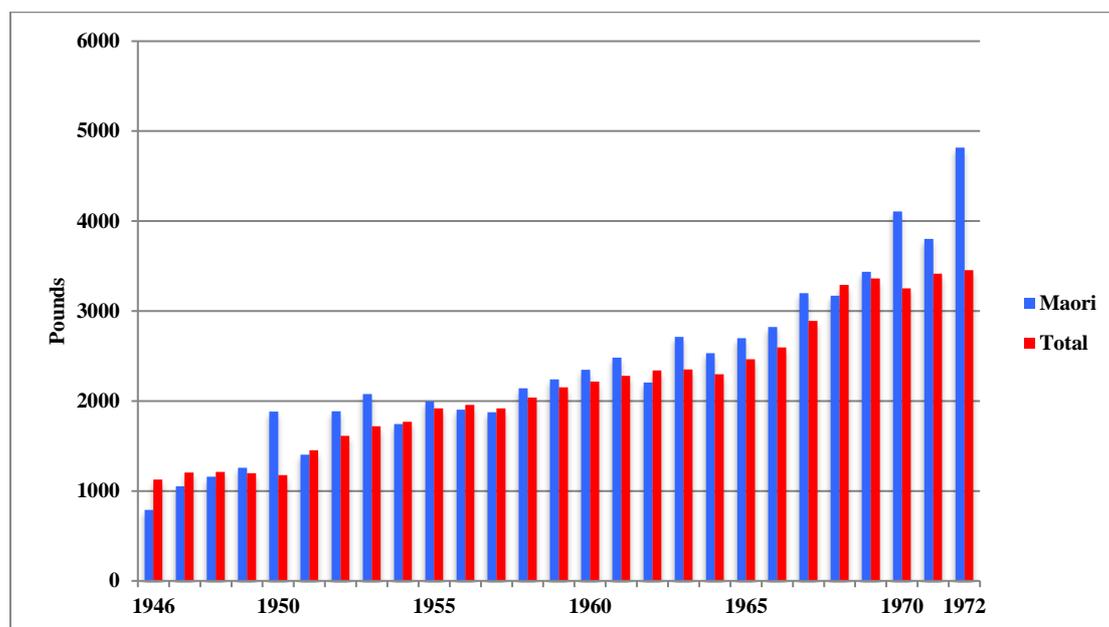
Graph 7.22: Cumulative number of housing loans (excluding suspensory loans) authorised by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, 1945 to 1972

Graph 7.23, employing the same data as in the previous two graphs, compares the average value of housing loans granted to Maori ex-service personnel through the Rehabilitation and Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committees with the average value

¹¹⁰⁰ 'Homes for Maoris,' *Auckland Star* 28 August 1944, p.4.

¹¹⁰¹ 'Independent action. Maori rehabilitation. Housing centre planned,' *New Zealand Herald* 28 August 1944, p.2.

of housing loans granted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee. It suggests that loans to the former generally exceeded in value those granted to the latter, although the comparatively small number of loans granted in any year to Maori ex-service personnel may account for at least some of the contrast between the two series.



To 31 March 1946 and thereafter years to 31 March

Source: AJHR 1943-1972, H18

Graph 7.23: Average value of housing loans granted to Maori ex-service personnel and to all ex-service personnel 1943 to 1971

7.14.4 Modifying the security requirements

In March 1946, the Department of Native Affairs raised with Treasury the matter of security for housing loans as required by the Rehabilitation Board.¹¹⁰² Treasury's advice was to the effect that the Department need not, in respect of applications lodged by Maori ex-servicemen for housing loans, insist on a mortgage on freehold

¹¹⁰² The matter had arisen in connection with the Wi Pere Trust Estate, the trustees having decided not to vest any of the trust lands in beneficiaries. See Under Secretary, Native Department to Secretary, Treasury 11 March 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/129/c 10/3.

property, adding that ‘The best available security should of course be taken.’¹¹⁰³ The effect was that those who could not offer freehold property as security nevertheless secured their loans at the rehabilitation rate of three per cent rather than at the Department’s ordinary rate of 4.25 per cent. In turn, the Department of Native Affairs advised the Rehabilitation Board that in some instances it could not implement housing loans approved by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee as the applicants could not offer the security of the freehold as required by the Board. The Department thus proposed that the Rehabilitation Board adopt a more flexible policy ‘as it seems unconscionable that an ex-servicemen should be denied the concessions to which his service has entitled him.’ The Rehabilitation Board agreed, at its meeting on 30 May 1946, that housing loans could be granted to ex-servicemen without insistence on a mortgage on freehold property as security. It further decided that in such cases, the adequacy of the security offered would be left to the discretion of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.¹¹⁰⁴ The Department of Rehabilitation advised its officers and the Maori tribal executive committees that the Rehabilitation Board would grant assistance ‘on leasehold security ... provided ... [it] is considered sufficient and the best available to secure adequate protection for the Board’s loan and for the ex-servicemen himself.’¹¹⁰⁵ It should be noted that, on account of unspecified title difficulties, rehabilitation assistance was not granted to some Maori ex-servicemen. In 1950 it was recorded that 36 veterans were affected but that they had been assisted in their housing needs by the Department of Maori Affairs under the Native Housing Act 1935.¹¹⁰⁶

7.14.5 Assisting widows and dependants of Maori ex-servicemen

Widows of Maori servicemen killed in action could apply for rehabilitation housing assistance. The evidence indicates that such applications were treated fairly and indeed sympathetically. Further, where an ex-serviceman died, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee honoured any arrangement entered into for

¹¹⁰³ Assistant Secretary, Treasury to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 27 March 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/129/c 10/3.

¹¹⁰⁴ ‘Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-Servicemen Security for Housing Loans,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 30 May 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/5/ 5.

¹¹⁰⁵ Rehabilitation Department, Circular Memorandum No.382, 19 June 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/129/c 10/3.

¹¹⁰⁶ AJHR 1950, H18, p.18.

financing housing, where necessary revising downwards the monthly repayments required.

One example serves to illustrate the Committee's approach. In August 1944, following the death of her husband in Italy towards the end of December 1943, a widow aged 23 and with three dependent children, applied under the Native Housing Act 1935 for an advance. The minimum basis for housing loans under the Native Housing Act 1935 were fixed by the Board of Native Affairs at an annual payment equivalent to an amount not less than 7.5 per cent on the amount granted, the interest rate being 4.5 per cent. She proposed making repayments of £7 per month from her war pension. A search of the Tokerau District Maori Land Board's records failed to disclose any monies or other assets held in her late husband's name. The estimated cost of a 'C/5 type' dwelling was set at £699, the house to be constructed on a section partitioned out of land owned by her mother. The war pension to which the widow was entitled was £23 per month, reducible to £17 in March 1945. Her late husband's estate was valued at £69 10s and that sum was employed as a deposit. The widow also received a gratuity of £200 and that sum was paid over to the Native Trustee for her three children's secondary education. An authority for the expenditure of £700 was issued in March 1945, although in April 1946 construction had still to commence. She asked to have the loan transferred 'from housing to Rehabilitation as I understand that I shall save more thereby.'¹¹⁰⁷ In September 1946 she sought to have a sitting-room, verandah, detached wash-house, hot water service and electric light added, bringing the total cost to £1,180. Subsequently she contracted a customary marriage, but it quickly failed. She applied for a furniture loan: the question was whether she could accept a further monthly deduction: in April 1948 she was in fact granted a £100 interest-free loan, subject to a bill of sale over the furniture and repayments of £1 12s 6d per month. As at the end of August 1950, the cost of the dwelling stood at £1,162; £645 owing, that sum excluding a £150 interest-free supplementary loan; from 1 October 1946 repayments from her widow's pension had been at the monthly rate of £8 5s per month; and furniture loan repayments stood at £1 12s 6d per month, £52 of that loan remaining. The widow subsequently remarried (and lost her pension) and

¹¹⁰⁷ ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/1031/c 27/5/67b Part 1. See also BAAI 1030/933/d 27/5/67 Part 1.

moved to Omanaia and, in 1954, to Auckland, the dwelling was let and the rents allocated to the repayment of the loan. In 1957 the property was sold for £1,750.¹¹⁰⁸

7.14.6 State rental houses allocated to Maori Affairs

As noted above, half of State rental properties were reserved for ex-service personnel and the evidence indicates that the Rehabilitation Board ensured that Maori ex-servicemen benefited from the scheme.¹¹⁰⁹ Despite the early pressure exerted on the Board of Native Affairs by both the Minister and Director of Rehabilitation to initiate a rental housing scheme, at least in what were termed ‘Maori areas,’ with the needs of Maori ex-servicemen to the fore, the Board declined to accede.¹¹¹⁰ The Department was focussed on organising its house construction scheme for Maori generally for which, it advised the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, in July 1944, it proposed employing trained Maori ex-servicemen carpenters.¹¹¹¹ Maori ex-servicemen simply joined all others seeking to secure a State rental dwelling, with the advantage that ex-servicemen were to have a 50:50 preference. Although allegations were made from time to time that Maori ex-servicemen were not being treated fairly in respect of the allocation of State rental houses, no evidence was located that would suggest or indicate any systematic discrimination. On the other hand, no systematic data were located showing the number of applications lodged by Maori ex-service personnel for State rental houses nor the proportion granted. There was one issue, on the other hand, that did occasion considerable debate, namely, the allocation of State rentals under the control of the Department of Maori Affairs. The issue would again expose tensions between the Rehabilitation Board and the Department over the latter’s approach to the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen.

¹¹⁰⁸ ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/1031/c 27/5/67b Part 1.

¹¹⁰⁹ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 2 December 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3. According to Schrader and Birkinshaw, ‘Until the late 1940s Maori were excluded from state houses because the government thought few could afford them.’ The Rehabilitation Board thought otherwise. See Ben Schrader and Victoria Birkinshaw, *We call it home. A history of state housing in New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2005, p.57.

¹¹¹⁰ See, for example, Minister of Native Affairs to Minister of Rehabilitation 6 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹¹¹¹ Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, Minutes 3 July 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

In August 1945, following a visit to 'Maori localities,' Baker recorded that in one district office of the Department of Native Affairs no preference was being given to the housing applications of returned service personnel. He went on to suggest that 'it is considered that a minimum of 50 per cent priority similar to that given to European ex-servicemen in the allocation of State rental houses should be extended to the Maori ex-servicemen in respect of buildings being erected by the Native Department building organisations.'¹¹¹² That same month, August 1945, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee resolved that the Rehabilitation Board 'subscribe to the view that in the treatment by the Native Department of applications for housing assistance the Maori returned serviceman be given at least 50 per cent preference to buildings being erected by the Native Department Building Organisation.'¹¹¹³ Baker promptly conveyed that decision to the Under Secretary of Native Affairs.¹¹¹⁴

The outcome of that exchange was not established, but the matter was raised again in 1948, on that occasion with respect to the State rental houses constructed by the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works and allocated to the Department of Maori Affairs. Baker was adamant that the 50 per cent preference should apply to this group of houses as it did to houses handed to the State Advances Corporation.¹¹¹⁵ Under Secretary Ropiha rejected the suggestion. He cited two grounds: first, that such a step might result in Maori ex-servicemen being excluded from the 'rehabilitation' allocation, and second, that he had 'no guarantee that there will be any continuity of supply of any definite proportion of houses in State Settlements made available to this Department.' The Department's building programme, he noted finally, was intended to benefit 'mainly workers in industrial areas who are not natives of those areas.'¹¹¹⁶ At that stage, that scheme was operating only in Auckland. Almost a year later, in July 1949, Auckland's Assistant District Rehabilitation Officer advised Baker that the Rehabilitation Housing Allocation Committee in Auckland had 'for long been

¹¹¹² See 'Report on the visit to Maori localities ...' paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 27 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

¹¹¹³ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 27 August 1945, in ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1. See also AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

¹¹¹⁴ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4 Part 2.

¹¹¹⁵ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 24 September 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

¹¹¹⁶ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 1 October 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/1147/a 25/3/3.

perturbed at the deplorable conditions under which a large number of Maori ex-servicemen and their families have lived for lengthy periods.’ Given the ‘continuing influx’ of Maori into Auckland, some urgent action was required, the officer concerned noting that ‘There is little doubt that Maori families of all classes in Auckland find more than usual difficulty in securing adequate accommodation.’¹¹¹⁷

In August 1949, Baker took the matter up with his Minister. He noted that the selection of tenants for State houses allocated to the Department of Maori Affairs was conducted by a committee that did not include a representative of the Rehabilitation Department and that ‘no proportion is maintained between civilians and ex-servicemen applicants’ as was otherwise the case in respect of State rental houses. Baker suggested that if the Department of Maori Affairs were not willing to allocate ‘a reasonable proportion’ of the houses it received to Maori ex-servicemen, it should be required to take over responsibility for all such men in Auckland.¹¹¹⁸ That the Department of Maori Affairs was willing to do, while recording that ‘wherever possible’ the 50 per cent preference for eligible ex-servicemen would be observed. Moreover, selection of tenants would be the responsibility of ‘established Maori Tribal Organisations ...’¹¹¹⁹ The proposals were broadly acceptable to Baker, although he considered that there was ‘little likelihood of an overall balance of the 50 per cent preference being maintained.’¹¹²⁰ In December 1949, the Rehabilitation Board approved the transfer of applications by Maori ex-servicemen to the Department of Maori Affairs in those districts in which non-quota houses had been and were to be erected for Maori generally.¹¹²¹ Baker, nevertheless, instructed Auckland’s District Rehabilitation Officer to monitor the position and to report where he felt that Maori

¹¹¹⁷ Assistant District Rehabilitation Officer, Auckland to Director, Rehabilitation 18 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

¹¹¹⁸ Director, Rehabilitation to Minister, Rehabilitation 17 August 1949, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

¹¹¹⁹ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 12 September 1949, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

¹¹²⁰ Director, Rehabilitation to Minister, Rehabilitation 23 November 1949, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

¹¹²¹ ‘Allocation of State rental houses to Maori ex-servicemen,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 13 December 1950, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/9 9. Copy in in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

ex-servicemen were not receiving ‘a reasonable proportion’ of the houses involved.¹¹²²

In a ‘Note for file’ prepared in November 1950, Maori Rehabilitation Officer Keiha recorded that by 1950 the 7,870 Maori resident in Auckland included 419 ex-servicemen, while the 1,850 Maori resident in Wellington included 245. Data held by the Department of Maori Affairs indicated that in Auckland 559 applications for State rental houses had been lodged by Maori civilians and 43 by Maori ex-servicemen. The comparable figures for Wellington were 75 and 14. But in addition large numbers of Pakeha civilians and veterans had also applied for such houses (Table 7.10). In such circumstances, Keiha concluded, few houses would be allocated to Maori ex-servicemen and hence he proposed that the Rehabilitation Department should maintain responsibility for dealing with applications lodged by Maori veterans for State rental houses.¹¹²³

Table 7.10: Applications for State rental houses, Auckland and Wellington, 1950

	Maori civilians	Maori ex-servicemen	Pakeha civilians	Pakeha ex-servicemen
Auckland	559	43	11344	1884
Wellington	75	14	5733	1788
Totals	634	57	17077	3672

Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3

The matter was considered by the Executive Committee of the Rehabilitation Board when it met on 15 January 1951: data presented to it indicated that (nationally) as at the end of September 1950, applications lodged by Maori ex-servicemen classified as ‘very urgent’ numbered 42, those classified as ‘urgent’ numbered 27, while those described of ‘No immediate urgency’ totalled 25. By that date, 118 houses had been allocated to Maori ex-servicemen out of the 50 per cent preference quota, but that of 66 applications transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs just five had been allocated houses. The Executive Committee decided that applications from Maori ex-

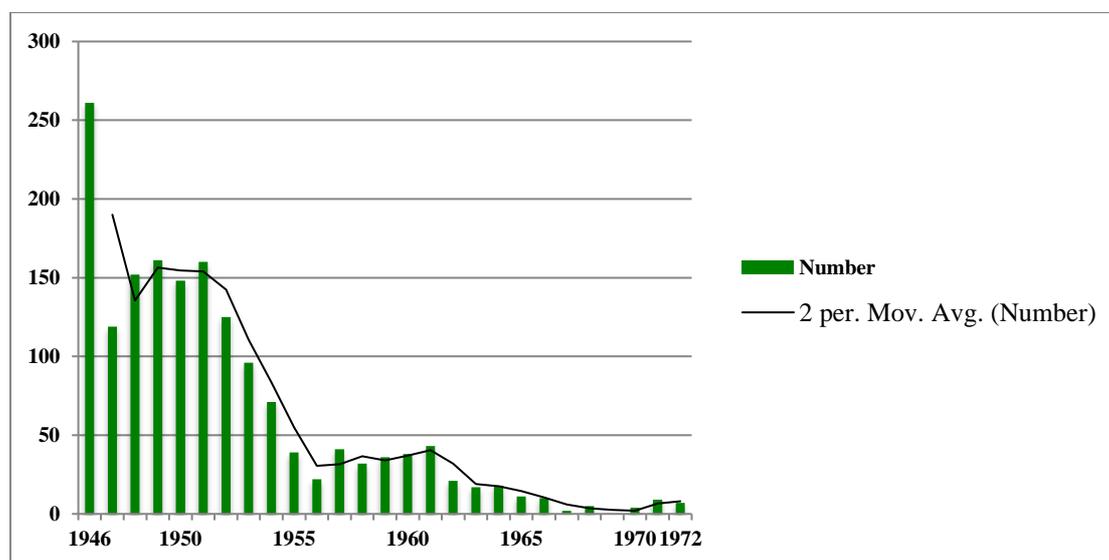
¹¹²² Director, Rehabilitation to District Rehabilitation Officer, Auckland 15 December 1949, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

¹¹²³ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, ‘Note for file’ dated 1 November 1950, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3. Kingi Areta Keiha was an original member of the 28th New Zealand (Maori) Battalion, commanding the Battalion from April to September 1943. In 1944 he was appointed a Maori Rehabilitation Officer. See Maata Rewanga Keiha, ‘Keiha, Kingi Areta,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

servicemen would be retained by the Rehabilitation Department for consideration within the 50 per cent preferential quota, and that applications transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs would be recalled.¹¹²⁴

7.14.7 Furniture loans

As noted above, the Rehabilitation Board made interest-free loans available for the purchase of furniture. In August 1945, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided to delegate responsibility for decisions over applications for furniture and tools of trade loans to a sub-committee comprising the District Rehabilitation Officer and the Registrar of the Native Land Court in each centre. Decisions had to be unanimous or otherwise referred to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.¹¹²⁵ By the end of March 1972, a grand total of 1,648 furniture loans had been made to Maori veterans. The average value in all but one year exceeded £90 and indeed usually reached just under the limit of £100.



To 31 March 1946 and thereafter years to 31 March

Source: AJHR 1943-1972, H18

Graph 7.24: Number of furniture loans granted to Maori ex-service personnel, 1943 to 1972

¹¹²⁴ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/147/a 25/3/3.

¹¹²⁵ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 27 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1. See also AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

7.14.8 Assisting Maori veterans: loans for businesses

By the end of March 1972, just 243 loans for businesses had been advanced to Maori veterans compared with the 11,533 made to all veterans. Based on 4,995 Maori and 197,270 Pakeha ex-service personnel demobilised by the end of March 1948, the former secured 2.1 per cent of all business loans. The rate of uptake was 4.86 per 100 in the case of the former and 5.73 per 100 in the case of the latter.

An inspection of the applications for business loans considered by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee indicates that many applicants sought to employ skills acquired or enhanced while serving in the Armed Forces (notably in transport and catering). The Committee's minute books contain a great deal of information about the applications, assessment of business propositions, and decisions reached. They indicate, in particular, that considerable effort was made to establish the past and likely future performance of existing businesses in which veterans expressed an interest, and to ensure that those who elected to acquire or establish businesses had a reasonable chance to earn a living and meet their commitments. The criteria applied and the standards expected appear to have been consistent with those applying to all other ex-servicemen and with rehabilitation policy generally.

One of the few statistical summaries of rehabilitation business loans advanced to Maori ex-servicemen was located in the papers of the Minister for Rehabilitation. As at the end of August 1949, a total of 164 business loans had been made, 96 (58.5 per cent) through the State Advances Corporation and 68 through the Department of Maori Affairs (presumably the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee). Of some interest is the fact that the average value of loans granted by the State Advances Corporation was £534, while that of loans granted through the Department of Maori Affairs stood at an appreciably lower £440.¹¹²⁶ Considerable effort would be required to establish the reasons for that difference, although the State Advances Corporation appears to have dealt with applications involving urban-based businesses.

The desirability of offering those Maori veterans who had taken out business loans some form of aftercare was before the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee in

¹¹²⁶ ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5.

1948. H.H. Rankin had proposed that the Department of Rehabilitation appoint an officer to watch and advise Maori ex-servicemen who had established or acquired businesses, and especially in respect of financial management.¹¹²⁷ At that stage Auckland's Registrar recorded that 'the Maori ex-servicemen established in business in this district have not been conspicuously successful and there have been many failures.' He acknowledged that his office was limited as to the extent of aftercare that it could provide, at the same time hastening to claim the failures had been, 'on the whole ... due more to the inherent unsuitability of the borrowers rather than to any lack of supervision given to them.'¹¹²⁸ That unhelpful response was not inconsistent with the attitude of at least some within the Department of Native Affairs to other matters involving the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, including the dispute involving the employment of those trained in the trade training centres and that over the allocation to ex-servicemen of State rental houses allocated to the Department. Thomson concluded that 'The percentage of Maoris receiving business loans was only a little lower than the Pakeha rate. But if statistics recorded business success, rather than loans granted, the gap would probably appear greater.'¹¹²⁹ No evidence was located that would support such a conclusion.

7.14.9 Trade training for Maori veterans

According to the 1936 census, the number of Maori males employed in the skilled trades stood at just 170, in commerce and finance 100, and clerical and professional occupations 285.¹¹³⁰ As early as November 1943 there were signs that many Maori ex-servicemen would elect to undertake trade training.¹¹³¹ In 1945, Cullen suggested that only about 25 per cent of Maori wanted to follow farming pursuits, and hence the importance of offering trade training opportunities and assistance to those who

¹¹²⁷ H.H. Rankin, Kaikohe to Minister, Rehabilitation 14 June 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹¹²⁸ Paper for Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/b 10/23.

¹¹²⁹ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, p. 327.

¹¹³⁰ Those in the skilled trades included 60 builders and contractors, 13 painters and paperhangers, 92 carpenters, and 5 plumbers and drain-layers. From the category 'Clerical and professional,' 102 students were deducted.

¹¹³¹ See, for example, Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 November 1943, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

desired to enter the professions. The context of his remarks indicates that he was referring to Maori ex-service personnel.¹¹³² In fact, a major effort was made to encourage Maori veterans to enter into trade training, in turn part of a larger effort to meet a serious skills shortage at a time when the Government was planning a major housing and public works construction programme. Some members at least of the Rehabilitation Board also discerned in trade training an opportunity to encourage and assist Maori to move out of their often impoverished communities. Trade training for Maori ex-servicemen in particular was thus less about compensation for losses sustained as a result of war service and rather more about setting them on what was considered to be a route to greater financial independence and security. Some iwi responded with considerable enthusiasm to the Board's efforts.¹¹³³ In the event, many Maori ex-servicemen, in country districts especially, preferred the relatively high wages offered by local bodies and the Department of Public Works and the opportunity to remain in their home districts. Certainly, in the years immediately after the ending of World War II, unemployment does not appear to have presented any difficulties in rural and small town New Zealand.¹¹³⁴ Nevertheless, it is important to note that the position in some districts appears to have been less favourable. A 1947 survey of Kaikohe, for example, revealed that within a radius of 20 miles, 57 Maori males and 29 Maori females under 21, and 153 males and 12 females over 21, all fit for employment, were engaged in casual work 'or at leisure.'¹¹³⁵ The return of veterans in large numbers also caused temporary employment difficulties in some districts.

It is likely that there were other factors that served to dissuade some veterans from engaging in trade training courses. Thus Gisborne's Rehabilitation Officer reported that the 'lamentable lack of even late primary education' deterred many Maori ex-servicemen from entering into trade training courses. 'The men,' he noted, 'are not prepared to undergo pre-selection courses, regarding this as "going back to school."' ¹¹³⁶ By way of response, Ngata and a training centre instructor conducted

¹¹³² NZPD 1945, Vol 270, pp.304 and 307.

¹¹³³ See, for example, ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

¹¹³⁴ From time to time some Maori ex-servicemen experienced difficulties in securing employment, usually when large groups first returned to their home districts.

¹¹³⁵ AJHR 1947, H11A, p.23.

¹¹³⁶ Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 24 July 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

evening classes during the first four months of trade training, the former teaching English and the latter arithmetic skills, the Rehabilitation Board undertaking to fund the classes. It is not clear how long or with what success the scheme operated, or whether similar schemes were conducted in other districts. In 1947 the Director of Rehabilitation was advised that Maori trainees had ‘a very low standard of education, many having reached Standard II only.’ The possibility of arranging pre-entry courses of about a fortnight to cover ‘general reading, writing, and arithmetic’ was raised.¹¹³⁷ The matter was discussed during the Rehabilitation Officers’ Conference in November 1945 when the argument was advanced that the existing provisions failed to recognise that many Maori veterans had not the necessary elementary education. In turn, that had implications for farming, trade training, and business. What was termed the ‘start off’ had been made too high. Baker noted that that had been dealt with insofar as entry to trade training was concerned: bursaries of up to four weeks had been instituted to enable men to get the necessary elementary education to carry on in the particular trade or occupation that they had chosen. The Rehabilitation Board was prepared, he indicated, to consider doing more, and indeed was prepared to grant full-time bursaries over ‘a limited period to enable these men to qualify in the 3 R’s type of education so that they can carry on with trade training afterwards.’¹¹³⁸ No further details of those pre-vocational courses or bursaries were located.

The Government clearly took considerable pride in the trade training offered Maori ex-service personnel, in the absorption of many of those who completed the training into house construction for Maori, and generally in the efforts made to ensure that trainees secured suitable jobs.¹¹³⁹ It was noted above that trade training included five classes, A to F. Very few Maori ex-service personnel participated in either ‘C’ or ‘F’ class training, a total of eight in the case of the former, and three in the case of the latter. Most Maori ex-service personnel who underwent training participated in Classes ‘A’ and ‘B.’ Graph 7.25 sets out the numbers. By 1960 the total trained through all classes reached 822, 82.3 per cent through Class A. The small proportion, 8.0 per cent, that participated in Class B probably reflected the rural origins of most

¹¹³⁷ ‘North Auckland tour by Board members: 17/11/47 – 26/11/47. Education of Maori trade trainees,’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6103 W1666/255/c 51/3.

¹¹³⁸ ‘Record of conference,’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹¹³⁹ See, for example, NZPD 1948, Vol 283, p.2513.

Maori veterans. The 71 disabled Maori veterans who completed training exceeded the 63 who trained through Class B.

Table 7.11 summarises the position as at 31 August 1949. The importance of the training centres in Kaikohe, Auckland, Rotorua, Gisborne, and Wellington is clearly apparent. Training in carpentry proved particularly attractive to Maori veterans, partly, it was believed, because they trained in centres in which their army associations were more or less preserved. 'Thus they are happy and contented and the percentage of failures is reduced. Training in other trades does not provide that atmosphere except in cases where two or more Maoris are training together among a number of Pakehas.'¹¹⁴⁰ Subsequently, Schwimmer suggested that 'A' class training in particular was acceptable to Maori 'because he could pursue inclusion in European economic life without abandoning group solidarity or Maori social values.'¹¹⁴¹ Almost certainly, another important incentive was the prospect of contributing to a much-needed improvement in Maori housing, and indeed, such improvement was often described as 'the ultimate object' of the carpentry-training programme.¹¹⁴² In the carpentry training centres established in Rotorua (1943) and in Kaikohe and Gisborne (1944), preferential entry was accorded Maori ex-servicemen, while in the Gisborne centre a quota system was instituted to ensure that all Maori ex-servicemen who wished to train were able to do so.

Many of those who graduated from the trade training courses were engaged by the Department of Maori Affairs: by 1947 the Department had Maori housing supervisors stationed in Kaikohe, Whangarei, Auckland, Hamilton, Rotorua, Paeroa, Gisborne, Napier, Hastings, New Plymouth, Whanganui, Palmerston, Masterton, and Wellington.¹¹⁴³ By mid-1948, for example, 39 Maori ex-servicemen had completed training through the Kaikohe centre since the commencement of the scheme on 19 March 1945: seven were with private employers, 18 were with State departments

¹¹⁴⁰ Controller, Maori Social and Economic Advancement, Native Affairs to Director of Rehabilitation 18 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/255/c 51/3.

¹¹⁴¹ See Erik Schwimmer, 'The aspirations of the contemporary Maori,' in Erik Schwimmer, editor, *The Maori people on the nineteen-sixties: a symposium*. Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul, 1968, pp.9-64.

¹¹⁴² Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director of Rehabilitation 7 May 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/255/c 51/3.

¹¹⁴³ See Director of Rehabilitation to District Rehabilitation Officers 17 December 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/255/c 51/3.

(including 15 with Maori Affairs), while six were in business on their own account. Six had left the trade and contact had been lost with two.¹¹⁴⁴

Applications for subsidised trade training for ex-service personnel of World War II closed on 31 March 1954. Graph 7.25 summarises Maori veteran participation in trade training up to the end of March 1960. By that stage, 15,100 veterans (excluding disabled men) had, according to the Rehabilitation Board, ‘satisfactorily completed trade training’ under its various trade training schemes.¹¹⁴⁵ The number of Maori ex-servicemen appears to have been 822.¹¹⁴⁶ A total of 6,393 Pakeha ex-servicemen completed ‘A’ class training, a rate of 3.2 per 100 of those demobilised by the end of March 1948. A total of 673 Maori ex-servicemen also completed ‘A’ class training, yielding a very much higher rate of 13.5 per 100 of the Maori veterans demobilised by the same date. A total of 4,253 Pakeha veterans completed ‘B’ class, or a rate of 2.2 per 100, while 66 Maori veterans did likewise, a significantly lower rate of 1.3 per 100. In total, 14,278 Pakeha and 822 Maori veterans completed trade training, yielding rates of 7.2 and 16.5 per 100 respectively.

¹¹⁴⁴ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 10 May 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/255/c 51/3. It is worthwhile noting here that the Department of Native Affairs and the Rehabilitation Board did not always see eye to eye over the employment of trained Maori ex-servicemen, not least over the terms and conditions on which they were employed.

¹¹⁴⁵ AJHR 1960, H18, p.5.

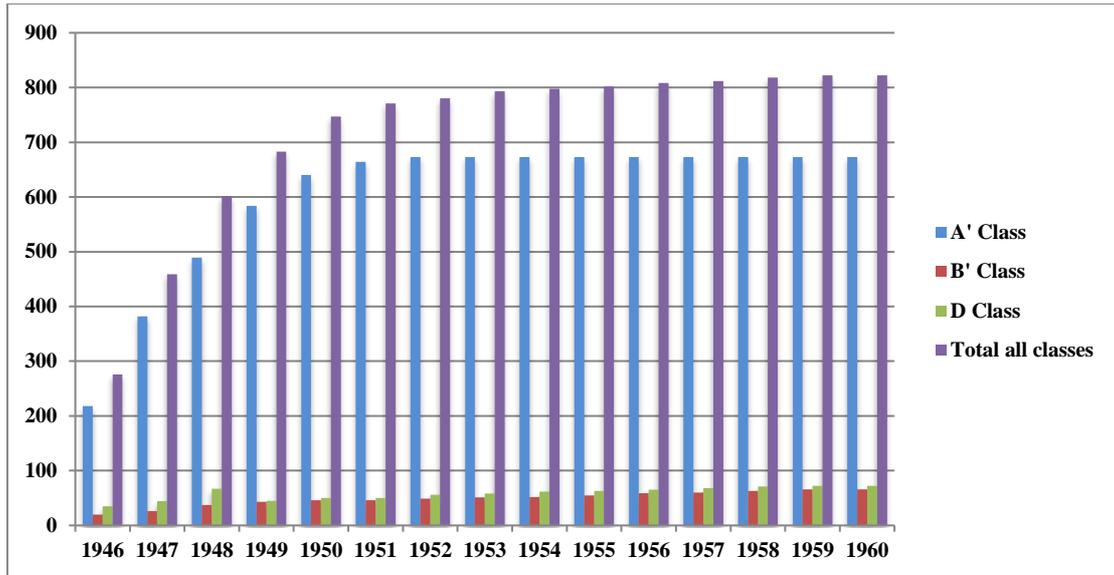
¹¹⁴⁶ AJHR 1960, H18, p.15. Table V in the Rehabilitation Board’s annual report gives the number of Maori ex-servicemen who had undertaken trade training. It is assumed that they completed training.

Table 7.11: Maori ex-service personnel engaged in education and trade training to 31 August 1949¹

Rehabilitation Districts	Education	A Trade	B Trade	C Trade	D Trade
Kaikohe	-	104	-	-	-
Whangarei	1	8	2	-	-
Auckland	10	71	1	-	18
Paeroa	5	13	-	-	1
Te Kuiti	10	1	3	-	-
Hamilton	2	14	-	-	-
Rotorua	9	167	8	2	-
Tauranga	1	-	2	-	-
Gisborne	10	103	-	-	-
Napier	-	6	1	-	13
Hastings	-	11	-	-	-
New Plymouth	2	5	4	-	2
Hawera	1	-	1	-	2
Whanganui	4	23	3	1	2
Palmerston North	3	11	2	-	-
Masterton	1	6	5	3	8
Wellington	31	54	-	-	-
Blenheim	-	1	-	-	-
Nelson	1	-	-	-	-
Westport	-	2	-	-	-
Greymouth	-	1	-	-	-
Christchurch	13	8	6	-	-
Timaru	-	2	-	-	-
Dunedin	5	6	1	1	1
Invercargill	1	3	1	1	1
Total	110	620	44	8	48

¹ A further three men had participated in Class 'F,' in Auckland.

Source: ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5



To 31 March 1946 and thereafter years to 31 March

Source: AJHR 1943-1972, H18

Graph 7.25: Maori ex-service personnel, trade training programme, 1943 to 1960

Table 7.12 sets out the numbers of Maori males employed in selected skilled occupations at each census from 1936 to 1956.

Table 7.12: Maori males: selected occupations, 1936, 1945, 1951, and 1956

Selected male occupations	1936	1945	1951	1956
Carpenters	92	456		
Painters, paperhangers	13	41		
Plumbers, drainlayers	5	22	57	
School teachers	23	25	119	
Clerical or professional officers in Government	56	110	297	

Source: *Censuses of New Zealand 1936, 1945, 1951, and 1956*

7.15 Maori veterans and education

An examination of the minutes of the Rehabilitation Board's Education Committee, at least for 1944 and 1945, and of some Department of Education files failed to disclose any discussion of the educational needs of Maori ex-service personnel.¹¹⁴⁷ Various educational bodies and colleges certainly recognised that many of the Pakeha men and women who had enlisted for active service had not completed their technical or university education and that many lacked experience of civilian employment. One proposal envisaged young service personnel being retained in camp and 'put through courses of a vocational character to enable them to be absorbed when they are discharged.' A second proposal involved the establishment of a 'youth rehabilitation board' in centres throughout the country to deal with the education and placement of younger men and women.¹¹⁴⁸ As noted above, the Rehabilitation Board's Education Committee proposed free places at technical schools, distance courses through the Correspondence School, bursaries for under- and post-graduate university study, and grants to cover the cost of books, instruments, and materials. Its proposals suggested that the educational needs of Maori ex-service personnel either were not recognised or were assumed to be covered by such measures.¹¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the particular educational needs of ex-servicewomen were recognised.¹¹⁵⁰

It was noted above that the difficulties posed by the poor educational standards attained by most Maori ex-servicemen were early recognised and brought to the attention of the Rehabilitation Board. In 1942, Ngata drew attention to the fact that most Maori soldiers came from the 'back blocks,' that most had attended the Native village schools, and that very few had secured their proficiency certificates. His concern was that, with respect to the provision of education assistance, Maori

¹¹⁴⁷ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/18/c 6/7, and, for example, ACIG E2/480 29/10/4a Part 1 Alternative Number 1945/6b.

¹¹⁴⁸ Principal and Secretary, Technical College, Christchurch to Director, Education 2 October 1942, in ANZ Wellington E2 480 29/10/4A Part 1, Alt. No.1945/66. See also 'From school to army,' *Hawera Star* 18 August 1942, copy in ANZ Wellington E2 480 29/10/4A Part 1, Alt. No.1945/66.

¹¹⁴⁹ Memorandum for Chairman, Rehabilitation Board 29 September 1942, in ANZ Wellington E2 480 29/10/4A Part 1, Alt. No.1945/66.

¹¹⁵⁰ See, for example, Director, Technical College, Wellington to Director, Education 3 February 1943, in ANZ Wellington E2 480 29/10/4A Part 1, Alt. No.1945/66.

veterans would be at a serious disadvantage.¹¹⁵¹ Such statistics as are available underscored Ngata's concern: in 1935, just 91 Maori pupils (in both public and Native schools) secured competency certificates and 382 proficiency certificates.¹¹⁵² At a hui held at Pukepoto in 1944, at which all iwi of Tai Tokerau were reportedly represented, the Maori Vocational Guidance Officer in Auckland (Major Hadfield) indicated that employment 'could be secured only in accordance with educational attainments, and, unfortunately, a large proportion of the applicants were very poorly educated ...'¹¹⁵³ Rehabilitation Board member S.W. Gaspar was certainly made aware of the issue when he toured the Gisborne-East Coast district in October 1945.¹¹⁵⁴

So far as could be established, only limited efforts were made, primarily in association with the trade and farm training schemes, to offer courses intended to improve literacy and numeracy among Maori veterans. What is clear is that only a very small number of Maori secured educational assistance under the rehabilitation programme, a mere 155 by the end of March 1960. In 1945 Under Secretary Shepherd announced that 'The Rehabilitation are paying one Maori returned man five guineas per week to get him started in life as a doctor. There are scholarships and bursaries for all professions available for the outstanding boys.'¹¹⁵⁵ Perhaps so, but few were in a position to take advantage of the opportunities, although a small number of Maori veterans attended Massey Agricultural College.

By the end of March 1967, 21,054 Pakeha ex-service personnel had been granted initial full- or part-time assistance to further their education, a rate of 10.7 per 100. By the same date, 155 Maori ex-service personnel had been similarly assisted, a rate of

¹¹⁵¹ *Notes of a conference*, p.21. For the period from 1899 to 1936, competency awards were made to Form I pupils who passed the year, while proficiency awards were made to those Form II pupils who passed in a certain number of subjects. Competency was required for entry into secondary schools. See Ian Cumming and Alan Cumming, *History of state education in New Zealand, 1840-1975*. Wellington: Pitman Publishing, 1978. Soutar recorded that most of the Tairāwhiti men who enlisted in the 28th (Maori) Battalion were labourers, including fencers, shearers, shepherds, and slaughtermen, that few had received any formal education beyond primary school, and that most had taken up seasonal or fulltime work before they had turned 15. See Monty Soutar, *Nga tama toa: the price of citizenship. C Company 28 (Maori) Battalion 1939-1945*. Auckland: David Bateman, 2014, pp.25-26.

¹¹⁵² AJHR 1936, E3, p.8.

¹¹⁵³ 'Maoris confer on rehabilitation problems,' *Northern Advocate* 3 August 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹¹⁵⁴ 'Tour of Gisborne-East Coast District,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

¹¹⁵⁵ 'Report of meeting at Mahia on 3 June 1945 between the Under Secretary and the Maori Owners,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/99/c 8/887.

3.1 per 100.¹¹⁵⁶ Thomson claimed that the ‘disappointingly small number of Maoris to receive educational assistance’ reflected the lack of strong official action. She suggested that ‘providing opportunities was not enough, yet a general pre-vocational scheme for the education of adult Maoris was beyond the scope of rehabilitation policy.’¹¹⁵⁷ The difficulty was not the lack of opportunity, but an inability to take advantage of the opportunities offered. While her arguments have some merit, it should be recognised that the Rehabilitation Board did establish a short pre-vocational scheme for those Maori ex-servicemen entering trade training programmes, and that the training programme, both trade and farming served to promote both literacy and numeracy. Section 8 of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 was sufficiently broad in scope to have allowed the Rehabilitation Council and the Rehabilitation Board to have at least considered a more comprehensive approach to the education of Maori veterans. But it would have taken a major effort to make good the serious educational deficit so plainly apparent.

7.16 The distribution of loans: some comparisons

Any attempt to compare the distribution of the number and value of rehabilitation loans between Maori and all other service personnel at once confronts several difficulties. The best data were those included by the Rehabilitation Board in its annual reports. Its final report, for the year ending 31 March 1972, included two relevant tables. Table II was entitled ‘Rehabilitation loans authorised by Rehabilitation Loans Committee for Men of World War II and subsequent Emergency Forces excluding suspensory loans.’ Table V, on the other hand, consisted of two parts. The first part was entitled ‘Showing Assistance afforded from all Sources to Maori Ex-servicemen and Ex-servicewomen.’ ‘All sources’ were defined as the Rehabilitation Loans and the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. That Table V included Maori ex-servicewomen whereas Table II referred to men only is not considered significant given the small number of the latter. What is unclear is whether that first part of Table V included or excluded suspensory loans. It is assumed for the

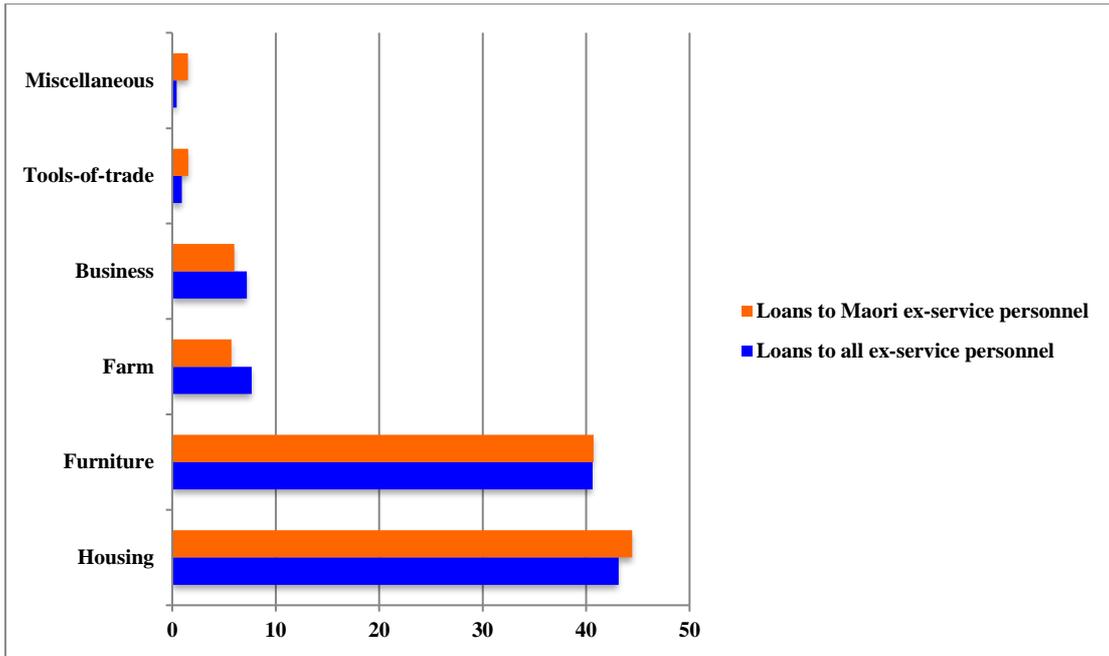
¹¹⁵⁶ Data taken from AJHR 1967, H18, pp.7 and 14.

¹¹⁵⁷ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, p.316.

purposes of the present exercise that the data in Tables II and V were, with the minor exception involving Maori ex-servicewomen, constructed on the same basis. The second part of Table V is entitled 'Loans authorised by Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee (not included in loan figures in Table II, including suspensory and supplementary loans.' It did not specify whether both ex-servicemen and ex-servicewomen were included: it is assumed that both were.

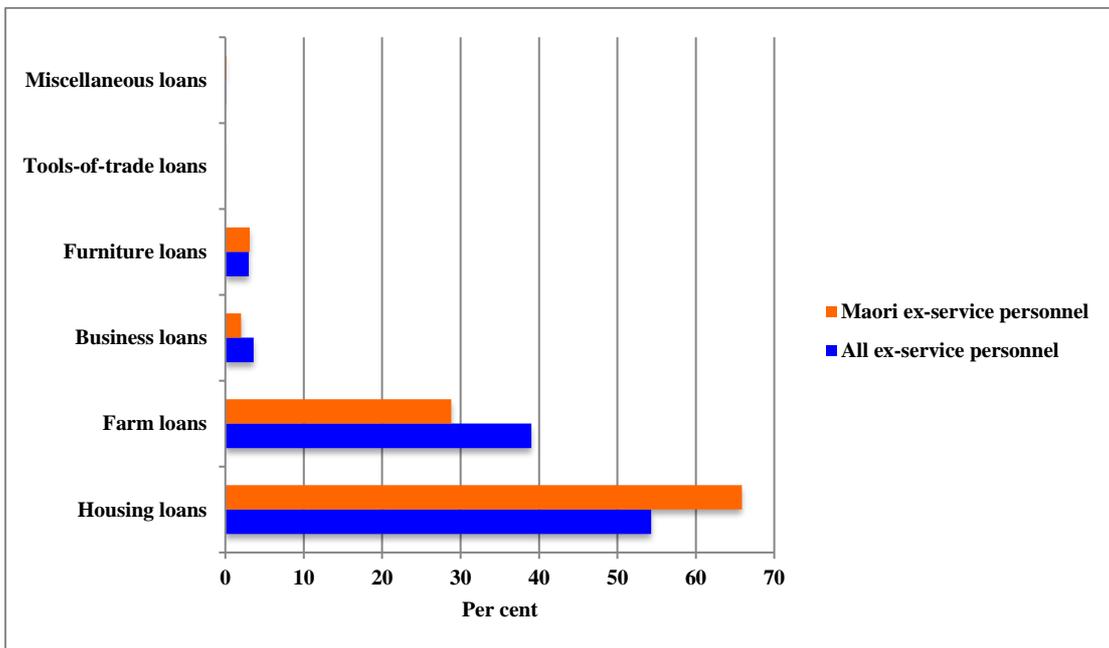
It is important to note that the data relate to loans authorised. No data were located summarising the number of applications made and the number granted. One – time-consuming, and thus not attempted – possibility might have been to count and classify all the applications considered by the Rehabilitation Loans and Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committees (as recorded in their respective minute books) and the decisions reached in each instance.

The data presented in Table II and V (first part) were employed for Graphs 7.26 and 7.27. The former shows the proportionate distribution of the number of loans granted to Maori and to all ex-service personnel as at 31 March 1972. It suggests a large measure of concordance, although it is apparent that loans to all ex-service personnel were weighted towards farms and businesses. Graph 7.27 compares the proportionate distribution of loans by value for Maori and all-service personnel. An appreciably higher proportion of the assistance granted to Maori ex-service personnel was devoted to housing, while in the case of all ex-service personnel, a higher proportion was absorbed by farming loans.



Source: AJHR 1972, H18

Graph 7.26: The proportionate distribution of loans by number, Maori and all ex-service personnel, as at 31 March 1972



Source: AJHR 1972, H18

Graph 7.27: The distribution of loans by value, Maori and all ex-service personnel, as at 31 March 1972

Again, employing the data in Tables II and Table V (first part), it is possible to calculate the number and value of loans per capita based on 4,995 Maori ex-service personnel and 197,270 all other ex-service personnel. The results are set out in Table 7.13 where it will be seen that proportionately more housing loans were granted to Maori veterans but proportionately fewer business and especially farm loans. With respect to the average value of loans, those granted to Maori veterans were appreciably higher, farming loans were equal in value, but the average value of business loans was significantly lower.¹¹⁵⁸ It is possible to calculate a distributional index by expressing the values for Maori ex-service personnel in each case as a percentage of the corresponding values for all other veterans. The results are set out in the last column of Table 7.14 and indicate that the average value of housing loans secured by Maori veterans was appreciably higher than was the case for Pakeha veterans, that the average value of farming loans was similar, but that average value of business loans was significantly weighted in favour of Pakeha veterans.

Table 7.13: Maori and all other veterans: number of rehabilitation loans granted per 100 personnel demobilised by 1948, and average value per loan, as at 31 March 1972

Loans for	Number	Index	Average value per loan: £	Index
<i>Housing</i>				
Maori veterans	36.01	102.91	1939.88	118.45
All other veterans	34.99		1637.60	
<i>Farming</i>				
Maori veterans	4.62	74.27	6606.75	99.87
All other veterans	6.22		6615.01	
<i>Business loans</i>				
Maori veterans	4.86	83.21	440.19	67.36
All other veterans	5.84		653.46	

Source: AJHR 1972, H18

Finally, by employing the data offered in Table II and in the second part of Table V, the value of rehabilitation loan authorisations issued respectively by the

¹¹⁵⁸ The indices in columns 3 and 5 were obtained by calculating the number and average value of loans granted Maori as a percentage of those granted for all other veterans.

Rehabilitation Loans and Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committees can be compared, always bearing in mind that Table II referred only to male ex-servicemen and excluded suspensory loans. Table V included both male and (it is assumed) female ex-service personnel and did include suspensory and supplementary loans.

Table 7.14: Average value (£) of loans authorised by the Rehabilitation Loans and Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committees, as at 31 March 1972

	Rehabilitation Loans Committee	Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee
Housing loans	1637.60	1995.58
Farming loans	6615.01	7200.14
Business loans	653.46	388.26

Source: AJHR 1972, H18

The total amount authorised by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee as suspensory loans to the end of March 1972 stood at £1,207,307 for houses and £4,297,420 for farms. Inclusion of those two totals increases the average value loans for houses authorised by that Committee to £1,655.09 and for farms to £6,964.88: both average values remained lower than the loans authorised by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.

7.17 Conclusions

The Government and the Rehabilitation Board were adamant that all ex-service personnel would be ‘treated alike,’ that they would have ‘equal access’ to rehabilitation facilities irrespective of ethnic origin. As recorded in Chapter 1, both went to considerable lengths, especially through the Maori rehabilitation officers (themselves veterans) to try to ensure that all Maori ex-servicemen were made aware of the assistance available under the rehabilitation programme. Nevertheless, it is clear that not all Maori communities and ex-service personnel were fully and

accurately apprised of the various forms of rehabilitation available or how to secure access to their entitlements.¹¹⁵⁹

On the other hand, the evidence indicates that the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee dealt with applications for assistance in an even-handed manner. Indeed, the latter body, with respect to house and farm loans, was more liberal in its approach. It is possible that the higher loan values reflected the very poor state of Maori housing and the fact that many of the farm units on which Maori ex-servicemen were settled required substantial developmental expenditure.¹¹⁶⁰ Higher average loan values also meant greater indebtedness and greater exposure to the risk of financial difficulties and losses.¹¹⁶¹ Whether and to what extent that exposed the Rehabilitation Board (and the Government) to financial loss is not clear, although the Rehabilitation Board took considerable pride in the overall low rate of failure and in the minimal losses apparently incurred. What significance can be attached to the appreciably lower average value of business loans awarded by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee is not clear. Comparatively few such loans were advanced to Maori veterans, and it is possible that the businesses for which loans were sought were of a particular type.

But 'equal access' was only one element of a complex equation. A second element was equity of provision, that is, whether the various components of the rehabilitation programme were designed in such a way that all ex-servicemen could participate and hope to benefit. That comparatively few Maori ex-servicemen took advantage of the various forms of education assistance made available through the rehabilitation programme is clear. But it is important to recognise that the objective of the rehabilitation programme was to restore to ex-service personnel the educational, training, and economic opportunities that war service had obliged them to forgo rather

¹¹⁵⁹ During a discussion of rehabilitation, a (Pakeha) teacher and colleague who had served in the Pacific theatre, insisted that on demobilisation he received no advice of his rehabilitation entitlements.

¹¹⁶⁰ The main criticism located of their performance was a tendency on the part of one or two to overstate the extent of the assistance available.

¹¹⁶¹ One area not explored in this report is the failure rate among ex-service personnel assisted by the Rehabilitation Board. The evidence cited indicated a very low overall rate of failure, while no evidence was located to suggest that Maori ex-service personnel were any more prone to failure than any other veterans.

than to rectify past deficiencies. It is also important to recognise that both the Government and the Rehabilitation Board were keen to encourage Maori veterans to take up trade and farm training and that some effort was made to improve both literacy and numeracy through those programmes. Indeed, the importance attached to trade training appears to have had as much to do with opening and widening the vocational and career options available to Maori as it had to do with creating the skilled workforce that a growing and increasingly diversified economy required. For those Maori ex-service personnel, drawn from rural, often impoverished, and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds, trade training may have been the best option for men of limited formal European education, but it may also have served as a valuable point of entry into those sectors of the economy that would require and offer the opportunity of gaining higher levels of educational achievement and technical skills.

By 1940, it was clear that a diminishing proportion of the Maori population would find and secure an economic future on the land.¹¹⁶² The loss of land during the past one hundred years, renewed demographic growth, and a burgeoning work force would combine to ensure that Maori would turn increasingly to the country's town and cities for their livelihoods. That many thousands of Maori had been 'man-powered' into industry had both demonstrated their collective potential and served to instil new aspirations. It thus seems reasonable to suggest that the rehabilitation programme as a whole, although not tailored to meet the particular needs of Maori ex-service personnel, served to support and advance those aspirations, that is, that it constituted an important step in a larger effort intended to redress the social and economic imbalances that had emerged between Maori and Pakeha. To the extent that it offered opportunities and forms of assistance not previously available to most Maori, in a general sense it represented an effort to institute greater equity of provision.

There was, nevertheless, one area of rehabilitation assistance in which a range of difficulties emerged that served to strain the relationships between the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Maori Affairs, and to try the patience of the Fraser Government. It is to the matter of rehabilitation through land settlement that the next

¹¹⁶² H. Belshaw, 'Economic circumstances,' in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, pp.182-228.

chapters turn. Chapter 8 offers a general assessment of rehabilitation land settlement, while succeeding chapters examine the efforts to settle Maori veterans on the land.

Chapter 8: ‘One of the most difficult forms of rehabilitation:’ settling military veterans on the land

8.1 Introduction

Settlement on the land had long been employed in New Zealand (as in other jurisdictions, notably Australia and Canada) to both encourage and reward military service. In the wake of the two world wars, New Zealand governments viewed land settlement as an important step towards completing the ‘colonial project,’ as reinforcing the foundation on which its economic and social life were believed to rest, and as an effective means of reintegrating able-bodied men into civil society. But in the case of the rehabilitation programme initiated in 1941, both the Government and the rehabilitation agencies were determined to avoid the failures, losses, and misery that in their assessment had accompanied the earlier programme. Thus, in 1940, Cullen expressed the hope that before the end of the war it would ‘be possible to bring legislation to assist in the rehabilitation of returned servicemen in a better fashion than was in evidence after the war of 1914-18.’ He suggested that the legislation was less at fault than the ‘disastrous’ manner in which it had been administered, pointing to the ‘poor quality’ of much of the land that was provided for settlement purposes and to the lack of farming experience on the part of many of those who had elected to take up farm holdings.¹¹⁶³

While, then, the overall objectives remained the same, the post-World War II programme employed both established and new legislative instruments. Further, by direction of the Government, the assistance made available was to apply equally to Maori and Pakeha. While initial estimates of the number of veterans who would seek farm units varied widely, meeting even a modest demand was expected to pose the rehabilitation authorities with a major challenge.¹¹⁶⁴ The Government thus pursued five major objectives, first, where possible to augment the supply of land by bringing new land into production; second, to effect a redistribution of land ownership through

¹¹⁶³ NZPD 1940, Vol 257, pp.263-264. For a recent reassessment of the post World War I soldier settlement scheme, see Michael Roche, ‘Failure deconstructed: histories and geographies of soldier settlement in New Zealand circa 1917-1939,’ *New Zealand geographer* 64, 1, April 2008, pp.46-56.

¹¹⁶⁴ For that estimate, see AJHR 1947, H18, p.7.

the compulsory acquisition and subdivision of existing private properties; third, to control the prices at which farm holdings could be transferred; fourth, to ensure that those settled on the land had the relevant experience and/or training and were appropriately supervised; and fifth, to try to ensure that those settled on the land secured their economic independence.

The tasks involved were several, among them, how and from whom to acquire land for rehabilitation purposes, how to ensure that ‘speculators’ did not imperil settlement plans, how to effect settlement at a time of pronounced shortages of key farm inputs, and, especially, how to ration what would quickly prove to be a scarce resource. The Government chose not to allow such rationing to take place through the ordinary operation of the market, but by means of elaborate statutory and bureaucratic controls. Chapter 8 thus examines the course of rehabilitation land settlement as a whole over the period from 1940 to 1972, including the policy discussions that took place, the statutory framework that was enacted, the magnitude of the land settlement task that confronted the Rehabilitation Board, and the policies that underpinned and guided its efforts. Against that background, the following chapters will offer a more detailed account of the course of the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, explore the extent to which ‘equality of access and treatment’ was realised in practice, and compare the land settlement outcomes for Maori and Pakeha veterans respectively.

8.2 Existing literature

Post-World War II rehabilitation through land settlement appears to have attracted only limited examination, while the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel in particular appears to have received scant attention. Condliffe noted the scope of rehabilitation ‘was very broadly conceived,’ and concluded that ‘New Zealand did well by its returned soldiers.’¹¹⁶⁵ Baker dealt briefly with returned soldier settlement, the Maori War Effort Organisation, and rehabilitation. He recorded that ‘The task of rehabilitation was tackled with determination and skill, but was made much easier by

¹¹⁶⁵ J.B. Condliffe, *The welfare state in New Zealand*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1959, pp.96 and 98. Condliffe also affirmed Jourdain’s earlier conclusion relating to World War I rehabilitation, namely, that New Zealand earned a reputation as the most generous country in the world for the rehabilitation of ex-service personnel as independent farmers.

the continuance of full employment right through into the 1960s.¹¹⁶⁶ Baker elected expressly not to comment on the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel.¹¹⁶⁷ He concluded that ‘Settlement of ex-servicemen on the land was usually successful. The care taken in selecting and, if necessary, training applicants, and the policy of developing land before handing it over, reduced the possibility of failure.’¹¹⁶⁸ Taylor also considered some aspects of rehabilitation, while Gardiner offers an account of the immediate post-war period when members of the 28th (Maori) Battalion were re-entering civilian life.¹¹⁶⁹ Among the more recent general histories of New Zealand, post-1939 military veteran rehabilitation barely rates a mention.¹¹⁷⁰

The Rehabilitation Board itself, in its *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand*, claimed that its land settlement scheme ‘has proved to be one of the most successful and at the same time one of the most difficult forms of assistance provided for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen.’ Those difficulties notwithstanding, 13,704 ex-servicemen had been settled by the end of March 1964.¹¹⁷¹ The Board dealt briefly with Maori ex-service personnel, but confined itself to offering a descriptive account of the provisions for land settlement rather than an assessment of the difficulties encountered or results secured.¹¹⁷²

The major study of the rehabilitation of returned service personnel at the conclusion of World War II was that undertaken by Jane Thomson. She suggested that ‘Land settlement played a more important part in rehabilitation in New Zealand than anywhere else in the world,’ an importance that she attributed to the role of farming in the economy, the prosperity that the agro-pastoral industries enjoyed through the later 1940s and into the 1950s, and the large number of veterans who came from farming

¹¹⁶⁶ J.V.T. Baker, *The New Zealand people at war: war economy*. Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1965, p.518.

¹¹⁶⁷ Baker, *War economy*, pp.453-454.

¹¹⁶⁸ Baker, *War economy*, p.515. Baker relied on AJHR 1963, H18, p.8.

¹¹⁶⁹ Nancy Taylor, *The Home Front: the New Zealand people at war*. Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1986; and Wira Gardiner, *Te Mura o Te Ahi: the story of the Maori Battalion*. Auckland: Reed, 1992.

¹¹⁷⁰ See, for example, Phillipa Mein Smith, *A concise history of New Zealand*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.177; and Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow, *Changing times: New Zealand since 1945*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013, pp.10-11.

¹¹⁷¹ Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965*. Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965, p.118.

¹¹⁷² Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965*, pp.179-182.

backgrounds.¹¹⁷³ She concluded that the programme of assisting farm purchases and developing new farms, aided by favourable economic conditions, proved to be ‘remarkably successful,’ over 13,000 men being settled on farms, 90 per cent of them by 1955. She also noted that the final number settled with rehabilitation assistance constituted 5.3 per cent of all enlistments for World War II.¹¹⁷⁴

8.3 ‘A clamour for land settlement’

There was, in fact, considerable debate over how much emphasis should be placed upon land settlement as a major form of rehabilitation assistance. Much of that debate centred upon the existing and what was expected to be the enduring disruption to international trading patterns, the course that post-war international economic reconstruction might take, and the expected efforts, on the part especially of the United Kingdom, to foster a greater degree of self-reliance in primary production. In such circumstances, the wisdom of facilitating land settlement and fostering primary production and exports rather than diversifying the economy to reduce the country’s vulnerability to external economic shocks and to provide for a rapidly growing population and workforce, was challenged. Any land settlement programme, it was proposed, in particular by Treasury, should be on an appreciably smaller scale than that implemented in the wake of World War I.

In October 1939, Treasury noted that the cost of rehabilitation land settlement was ‘bound to be high,’ and would therefore necessitate the reallocation of public funds from other areas of public works expenditure. It expressed concern over the likely subsidisation involved, citing cases under the small farms scheme in which up to 50 per cent of the cost was irrecoverable.¹¹⁷⁵ That, it suggested, rendered land purchase, development, and subdivision a prospect that was ‘by no means attractive.’ In its view

After the war there is likely to be repeated the popular, though perhaps misinformed, clamour for settlement of returned soldiers on the land. The

¹¹⁷³ Jane R.M. Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen of World War Two in New Zealand, 1940-1954*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, pp.213-214.

¹¹⁷⁴ Jane R.M.Thomson, ‘The policy of land sales control: sharing the sacrifice,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 25, 1, April 1991, p.9.

¹¹⁷⁵ The scheme instituted under the Small Farms (Relief of Unemployment) Act 1932.

acquisition and preparation of farms now may be more economical than under conditions of urgent action upon demobilization. The excessively large average sums paid in many cases for soldier settlement after the last war are, however, notorious, and if anything like that is going to result this time, it appears a matter for special investigation whether the moneys would not be better expended in some other way, such as introduction of new industries or expansion of present secondary industries.¹¹⁷⁶

Minister of Lands Langstone appeared to share some of those misgivings. He, too, expressed concern over the future of export markets, notably in the United Kingdom, noting that the policy of successive Governments in New Zealand had been ‘primary production, more production, and still more production,’ such that ‘the whole economic life of the Dominion was based on that policy.’ He complained that without reference to him, Nash and other ministers had decided upon ‘a land policy based on the purchase of estates’ and provided, through the Small Farms Amendment Act 1939, for the placement of men without capital on the land. Purchase and placement would both require capital. He went on to claim that ‘very little land has paid the original occupier for the work and capital expended in bringing it into production,’ that there had usually been losses, and that ‘only the last man in has been successful.’ Despite his misgivings he concluded that ‘The present Small Farms and Native development must proceed,’ and that estates had to be purchased and prepared for closer settlement.¹¹⁷⁷

Treasury thus set out to try to extract from the World War I programme of soldier settlement and its implementation all the lessons that could be employed to shape the new programme and to avert the difficulties into which its predecessor had fallen. It will be useful to record here that by the end of March 1939, 15,175 applications for land had been lodged under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915, 77.9 per cent during the three years from 1919 to 1921. By that same date, just 4,106 allotments had been made, involving a total area of 1,443,021 acres.¹¹⁷⁸ Generous loans were also made available, leading Condliffe to remark that, in effect, ‘the

¹¹⁷⁶ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 19 October 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/150.

¹¹⁷⁷ Minister, Lands and Survey to Minister, Finance 24 October 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/150.

¹¹⁷⁸ AJHR 1939, C9, p.2. Jourdain claimed that ‘no country in the world made greater efforts to settle the returned soldier on the land . . .’ See W.R. Jourdain, *Land legislation and settlement in New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1925, p.46.

Government turned loose in the real estate market 22,792 new purchasers armed with £23,570,491 of borrowed money.¹¹⁷⁹ The outcome was speculation, rapidly rising land prices, over-capitalisation, the collapse of the land boom in 1921, and significant reductions in rents and in capital and mortgage values as the Government endeavoured to support those soldier settlers struggling to meet repayments.¹¹⁸⁰ By the end of March 1939, and as a result of sale, forfeiture, amalgamation, and abandonment, the number of holdings had fallen to 2,574, and the total area involved to 899,231 acres, while the number of discharged soldiers holding land under that Act had contracted to 2,556.¹¹⁸¹

8.4 Parliament legislates, 1939-1940

Even while an inter-departmental debate on rehabilitation land settlement policy was gaining some momentum, Parliament moved to amend two Acts, namely the Land Laws Amendment Act 1929 and the Small Farms (Relief of Unemployment) Act 1932-1933. The former provided for the development of land prior to settlement, the Lands Development Board being charged with developing suitable unoccupied Crown lands and land purchased by the Crown under the Land for Settlements Act 1925. By 1942, just 113 individuals had been settled on 17,358 acres under the Land Laws Amendment Act 1929. Section 4 of the Land for Settlements Act 1925 Act had established a Dominion Land Purchase Board and provided for the voluntary (section 16) and compulsory (section 19) acquisition of private lands for settlement purposes.

Two amendments of the Small Farms Act 1932-1933 would have important implications for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. Section 5 of the Small Farms Amendment Act 1939 provided for the disposal of Crown land subject to the

¹¹⁷⁹ J.B. Condliffe, *New Zealand in the making: a study of social and economic development*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1936, second edition 1959, p.276.

¹¹⁸⁰ See Jourdain, *Land legislation*, p.49. See also G.R. Powles, editor, *Contemporary New Zealand: a survey of domestic and foreign policy*. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1939, and H.J. Plunkett, *Land development by Government 1945-1969*, Agricultural Economics Research Unit, Lincoln College, Technical paper 14, 1971, p.15.

¹¹⁸¹ AJHR 1930 C9, p.11. It should be noted that discharged soldiers also held land under other Acts: by the end of March 1939, 1,685 soldiers held 1,656 holdings covering 1,761,937 acres. For a defence of land purchasing programme undertaken to settle veterans of World War I, see AJHR 1925, C9, p.3.

principal Act by way of renewable leases. A renewable lease had a term of 33 years with a right of renewal, but did not confer any right to acquire the freehold. Section 5(2) specified that

The following classes of persons, and no others, shall be qualified to receive leases under this section – namely, persons who, in the opinion of the [Small Farms] Board, are suitable for engagement in rural occupations, and in respect of whom the Board is satisfied that they are not in regular employment, or that they have not sufficient capital to acquire land under the Land Act, 1924, or the Land for Settlements Act, 1925.

Under the Small Farms Amendment Act 1940, the 1939 enactment was amended by adding to section 5(2) the words ‘or that they are discharged soldiers,’ and by inserting a new subsection (2A) to the effect that ‘The applications of discharged soldiers for leases under this section shall have preference over the applications of all other persons.’ Section 4 of that Act empowered the Crown, subject to the payment of compensation, to take land compulsorily for the purposes of discharged soldier settlement where sufficient land could not be obtained by negotiation. Section 2 of the Small Farms Amendment Act 1940 was amended by section 33 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1942, so that the term ‘discharged soldier’ was replaced by ‘discharged serviceman.’ Both section 2 and section 33 were repealed by section 38 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1943 and a new definition of ‘discharged ex-servicemen’ instituted.

By 1942, the Small Farms Board had allotted 387 holdings covering 28,558 acres.¹¹⁸² Most of those holdings were located in the North Auckland and Auckland Land Districts and were described as ‘self-supporting dairy units.’¹¹⁸³ By 1943, some 175,000 acres were being developed under the Small Farms Act 1932-1933. By section 39 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1941, the functions of the Lands Development Board and the Small Farms Board were taken over by a new Land Settlement Board.

¹¹⁸² See AJHR 1930 to 1942, C1.

¹¹⁸³ AJHR 1943, C1, p.5.

8.5 Treasury's assessment of past experience

In March 1940, the Under-Secretary (D.G. Macmorran) of the Department of Lands and Survey made it plain that if the Government were to embark upon an 'extensive programme' of land settlement, 'it will be necessary to purchase suitable areas of privately owned land ... as the remaining lands in the hands of the Crown are ... limited and unsuitable for immediate subdivision and settlement.' Further, there were fewer estates than existed in 1918, so that the acquisition of private lands would not be an easy task. For any private lands acquired, full market prices would have to be paid, raising the possibility of losses on reallocation to soldier settlers. Lands owned by Maori did not rate a mention.¹¹⁸⁴ Treasury decided to convene a 'departmental committee' that involved the permanent heads of a number of State agencies. Views among its members appear to have differed considerably. Some suggested that New Zealand faced a sharp post-war contraction in export income and a corresponding need to expand its secondary sector, utilising, wherever possible, 'native materials ... from the land.' Other departments were clearly of the view that export prospects would expand on the cessation of hostilities. One outcome was that the departments, some working in groups, undertook to prepare their own reports on reconstruction and rehabilitation. Thus the Departments of Lands, Agriculture, State Advances, and – on this occasion – Native Affairs prepared a report on land settlement, while the Departments of Agriculture and Native Affairs undertook to prepare a report on 'Maori land settlement.'¹¹⁸⁵

Treasury appears to have prepared its own report in which it dwelt at some length on the post World War I discharged soldier settlement programme. It noted that, in the light of the limited area of Crown land immediately available for selection, the Government embarked upon an extensive programme for the purchase of private estates: between 1918 and 1937, it acquired 304 estates at a cost of £5.714m.¹¹⁸⁶ Of those 304 estates, some 90 per cent were acquired for the purposes of soldier

¹¹⁸⁴ Under-Secretary, Lands and Survey to Minister, Lands and Survey 1 March 1940, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/28/b 8/0 Part 1.

¹¹⁸⁵ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 29 April 1941, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/1/a 1/0.

¹¹⁸⁶ Land could be taken compulsorily for the settlement of discharged servicemen under both the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 and the Public Works Act, 1908.

settlement. In financial terms, it described the policy as ‘little short of disastrous.’ Estates, it claimed, were purchased for prices far in excess of their productive value, judgement having been clouded by the abnormally high prices for primary commodity exports that ruled until the end of the commandeer. By its purchases and loans, the State thus ‘fostered a land boom which was without parallel in the country.’ Of £5.714m expended on the purchase of estates, £1.952m represented a capital loss sustained as lands were re-valued. The most disastrous purchases were made in Taranaki and Nelson where the value of lands acquired had had to be written down by 54 and 60 per cent respectively.¹¹⁸⁷ Further, the report noted that by the end of June 1935, about a third of soldier settlers had been dispossessed and their mortgages taken over by civilians, ‘a state of affairs which certainly was never anticipated when the scheme was launched.’ Lack of experience and training were cited as major causes of such ‘expropriation.’ The total losses incurred under the land settlement programme were put at £6.810m over the period 1 April 1918 to 31 March 1927. ‘In short, the scheme frittered away large sums of State money and settled permanently only a very small proportion of returned soldiers. Those who gained most benefit were land owners who made land available to the Government.’¹¹⁸⁸

Among the major causes of the difficulties and losses that emerged, the report identified poor judgement on the part of the land purchasing authorities and inadequate control and supervision of settlers, combined with ‘abnormal and misleading economic circumstances’ and ‘a general lack of caution.’ It cited the lack of a survey to establish the extent of land in private ownership that was suitable for subdivision; the cost of purchasing and subdividing existing farms; a shortage of good and accessible land in the Crown’s possession; the cost of breaking in, subdividing, and roading new land; poor selection, lack of training, and inadequate supervision of settlers; and devotion by settlers of the whole of their capital resources to the purchase of land. Some of the land that was opened up for soldier settlement, it concluded, ‘should never have been touched; money was spent on improvements that on abandonment quickly disappeared and left no corresponding asset ...’ Any new

¹¹⁸⁷ The Matakītaki Estate in Nelson cost £32,970 in 1920 and by 1937 had one holding on it valued at £17,050. The Piu Estate in Taranaki cost £25,737 in 1920 and was worth £4,562 in 1937 had just two units.

¹¹⁸⁸ ‘Report by Treasury Department regarding rehabilitation of returned members of the Forces,’ in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/150.

scheme for the settlement of ex-service personnel on the land would have to be thought through and carefully planned well in advance of requirements if congestion, waste, and frustration were to be avoided.

Treasury thus proposed the establishment of a single committee, under the control of the organisation responsible for rehabilitation, to handle land settlement. It recommended that emphasis should be placed upon the purchase of existing farms of proved capacity and capable of subdivision into economic units, and that the prices paid for such farms should neither make 'a present to vending land owners' nor 'saddle the returned men with hopeless mortgages or rents ...'¹¹⁸⁹ Minister of Public Works Bob Semple employed more colourful terms. The Government, he claimed, had had to write off some £11m on account of the post-World War I land settlement programme, money that had passed into 'the pockets of the usurers, and into the pockets of the land-aggregators and land-speculators,' adding that 'the same gang today is after the same form of blood-money.' Given that experience, in which men were placed on land of 'fictitious' inflated value and 'chained' with mortgages, the Government, he announced, was determined to make a stand.¹¹⁹⁰

Treasury's assessment would contribute greatly to the shaping of the post-World War II rehabilitation land settlement programme. In August 1941, Treasury, the State Advances Corporation, and the Department of Lands and Survey conferred and agreed that 'lack of training and of supervision and the assumption of an impossible financial handicap were the main factors in wrecking the establishment of many men on the land after the last war.' The plan now was to select men carefully, train those without sufficient experience, place men on Crown leaseholds on probation for at least one farming season, ensure that by the end of the probationary period, if not at the beginning, the farm was sufficiently developed to be an economic unit which could provide a capable man with a living, and, before a lease was granted and advances made, to revalue the holding on a productive value basis and write off any excess.¹¹⁹¹ Minister of Rehabilitation Skinner made it clear that the Government was

¹¹⁸⁹ 'Report by Treasury Department regarding rehabilitation of returned members of the Forces,' in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/3/21.

¹¹⁹⁰ NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.943.

¹¹⁹¹ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 18 August 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/150. See also ADRK 17408 T25/18/154.

determined that ex-service personnel ‘will not spend the best part of their lives trying to hew an economic farm out of a wilderness. The aim is to ensure that when they walk onto their properties with their titles they will be able to make a go of it from scratch. This is what is meant by effective rehabilitation.’¹¹⁹²

8.5.1 ‘Maori should be settled before the Pakeha’

The one area that Treasury’s explorations and reports did not cover was the settlement of Maori World War I veterans and the alleged discriminatory conduct on the part of the responsible State agencies. But, in September 1941, Treasury again pressed upon the Government its view that until market prospects were clearer no new blocks of land should be purchased under the Small Farms Act and that the settlement of ex-service personnel should be confined, in the first instance at least, to the taking over of existing single farm units from those wishing to vacate, and the purchase and subdivision of large farms of proved capacity and good quality land. Production, it proposed, should come from existing developed land, land that had been developed at lower cost in relation to output than land then being developed for settlement. Moreover, by concentrating upon existing farms, significant savings would be made with respect to roads and bridges, at the same time encouraging the growth of social life in ‘consolidated rural districts ... [a] factor of no little importance in the successful settlement of returned men.’¹¹⁹³

The Secretary to the Treasury then offered another argument, namely, ‘the certainty that most of the returned Maoris will be better placed on the land than elsewhere and to that extent they should be settled (mainly through Native Land Development Schemes) before the pakeha, who is much more adaptable to modern life and can better fend for himself.’ It was a suggestion that was pragmatic rather than principled, reflecting his agency’s desire to limit the expansion of primary commodity production, at least until export market prospects were clearer and international trading and shipping arrangements had settled after the devastation and disruption of the war years. Finally, he expressed satisfaction that the forthcoming Statutes Amendment Act 1941 would replace the Dominion Land Purchase Board, the Lands

¹¹⁹² Press statements, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61.

¹¹⁹³ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 10 September 1941, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/28/b 8/0 Part 1.

Development Board, and the Small Farms Board with a single Land Settlement Board.¹¹⁹⁴ He made no reference to the Board of Native Affairs nor did he envisage the Under Secretary of Native Affairs among the membership of the proposed new board.¹¹⁹⁵ His suggestion that the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen should take precedence was not, so far as could be determined, further debated.

As a result, then, of the post-World War I experience, the new rehabilitation authorities developed a set of principles to inform and guide land settlement, namely, that land values must be controlled, that any land development must be undertaken by the State, that ex-servicemen should be settled on fully improved farms, that all settlers must be graded and supervised once settled, that training had to be provided for inexperienced men, the terms of settlement had to provide for security of tenure, and all farms would be required to be fully economic units. The last was of great importance, the Rehabilitation Board's Land Committee affirming, in 1942, that men would only be settled on units that were capable of covering working expenses and providing a decent standard of living for the occupier and his/her family.¹¹⁹⁶ The Rehabilitation Board subsequently defined an economic single unit as one that could produce annually 8,000 to 12,000lbs of butterfat, support 600 to 1,000 breeding ewes, or support 400 ewes and 40 acres of cash crops or equivalent. The State Advances Corporation also made it clear that it could and would lend only on 'economic farms.' Experience had shown, it recorded, 'the unfortunate results which follow the setting up of farmers on uneconomic holdings ...' The Corporation would lend in respect of existing economic holdings or holdings that could be brought up to 'full economic standard' within a defined period and at an economic cost.'¹¹⁹⁷ In practice, therefore,

¹¹⁹⁴ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 10 September 1941, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/28/b 8/0 Part 1. The Dominion Land Purchase Board had been established under section 4 of the Land for Settlements Act 1925, the Land Development Board under section 3 of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1929, and the Small Farms Board under section 3 of the Small Farms Act 1932-1933.

¹¹⁹⁵ Secretary to the Treasury to Minister of Finance 10 September 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/150.

¹¹⁹⁶ See Jane R.M. Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen of World War Two in New Zealand, 1940-1954*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, pp.233-234. Thomson noted that a closer definition of an 'economic unit' and a 'decent standard of living' was not attempted. She also noted that the Rehabilitation Loans Committee would consider loans only for farms which were economic or could be rendered so within three or four years. Each loan proposition, it is worthwhile noting here, was subject to a State Advances Corporation report based on a questionnaire of 133 questions aimed at defining the productive capacity of the property in question and its suitability for the applicant.

¹¹⁹⁷ Manager, State Advances Corporation, Wellington to Director, Rehabilitation 11 August 1944, in ANZ Wellington SAC1W1956/62 36/3 Part 1.

the concept of an 'economic unit' proved to be reasonably flexible. The implications for the Maori land development programme are explored in later chapters.

8.6 Setting settlement targets

In 1941, four State agencies, namely, Lands and Survey, Native Affairs, and Agriculture, and the State Advances Corporation, otherwise known as the 'Lands Group,' prepared another lengthy report on rehabilitation land settlement. It recorded that to date little land had been purchased for the settlement of ex-servicemen and it proposed that no new purchase arrangements should be concluded until such time as some clarity had emerged over future export prospects. Just 30,996 acres had been acquired at a cost of £168,493, sufficient to provide for 171 'prospective settlers.' Of that total, 2,857 acres were located in the North Auckland Land District and 14,977 acres in the Auckland Land District, sufficient to support 24 and 99 settlers respectively. In addition, the Department of Lands and Survey had under development 219,285 acres some of which, it was suggested, would be suitable for the settlement of discharged service personnel. In all, the Group reported that the lands acquired and the lands partially developed would support 691 settlers. It went on to predict that 3,000 veterans would seek their rehabilitation through land settlement. The estimated cost of acquiring and subdividing the 'large estates' necessary was put at £13m, including £6m for land purchase, £3m for development and housing, £2m for stock and chattels, and £1m to cover the wages of each settler for two years.

The report also traversed the causes of failure in previous soldier settlement, singling out as a prime contributor the 'inefficiency of settlers due to lack of ability, inexperience, and discouragement in the face of difficulties.' It thus proposed a grading system, a training scheme, and the payment of trainees, with the last very likely setting a precedent for those seeking others forms of training or placement in permanent employment. The grading scheme suggested comprised three categories, namely, 'Thoroughly experienced, 'Limited experience, in need of further training,' and 'No experience.' Training would be made available through placement with approved private farmers, on training farms run by the Rehabilitation Board, on blocks being developed by the Department of Lands and Survey for subdivision and

settlement, and through courses run by Massey and Lincoln Agricultural Colleges. The report envisaged settlement through the purchase of sub-divisible estates, the development of virgin land, and the conversion of existing holdings into Crown leaseholds. It dealt briefly with the availability of land, noting that inquiries were under way to identify areas that might be acquired.

Finally, the report dealt briefly with the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. It included a recommendation by the Under Secretary of Native Affairs to the effect ‘that the Native Land Development operations be extended so as to absorb about 750 prospective Maori farmers and farm labourers.’ The additional cost he estimated at £660,000 spread over three years. Campbell’s representations are explored more fully below.

8.6.1 ‘Problem of land settlement’

In an undated paper entitled ‘Problem of land settlement,’ (but located in a State Advances Corporation file covering the period from 1941 to 1944) an effort was made to estimate the likely scale of the land settlement task. It suggested that the settlement of 8,000 ex-service personnel would require up to 2.56m acres. If settlement were to take place on improved land, then about 12.5 per cent of the country’s improved land would be required. The difficulty, it suggested, was that large areas of improved land were quite unsuitable for settlement on account of low fertility or because of subdivision into units not considered economic by contemporary standards.’ In the North Auckland and Auckland Land Districts, it added, ‘if the uneconomic holdings and poor pasture land areas were discarded, it would probably mean that all the useful improved land in these two Land Districts would hardly be adequate for the settlement programme.’ Such a programme would disrupt production, generate stock inflation, and displace existing owners.¹¹⁹⁸

The Department of Lands and Survey suggested that a settlement target of 750 over four years, that is, a total of 3,000, was the most that could be achieved. The only way in which the remaining 5,000 could be settled was to develop up to 750,000 acres of ploughable scrubland in the North Auckland and Auckland Land Districts, although

¹¹⁹⁸ ‘Problem of land settlement,’ in ANZ Wellington SAC1W1956 63 36/3/4 1A.

only 150,000 to 200,000 acres were considered available and suitable for that purpose. The settlement of 8,000 veterans was expected to cost £52m and involve the purchase of 3,200 single unit farms through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and settlement of 4,800 on land owned or purchased by the Crown for subdivision. Given the pronounced shortages of fertiliser and fencing and building materials, and the time usually taken to break in virgin land, a very large proportion of the settlement, apart, that is, from the purchase of single unit farms, would have to take place through the purchase of large farms on improved land.¹¹⁹⁹ The Rehabilitation Board thus decided the settlement of ex-servicemen on the land would not take place through the displacement of farmers occupying single unit properties or the development of virgin land, but through the acquisition and subdivision of suitable properties held in private ownership. That decision served to shape some of key provisions of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, the major statutory basis for the rehabilitation land settlement programme.¹²⁰⁰

8.7 The Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 and Maori freehold land

Section 10 of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 empowered the Rehabilitation Board to 'make arrangements for the setting-aside of suitable areas of unoccupied lands of the Crown,' for the resumption of suitable areas of Crown lands held under lease or license, and for the acquisition by the Crown of suitable areas of private land for rehabilitation purposes. Section 10 did not empower the Crown to acquire private land compulsorily. Nor did it define the term 'private land.' It was the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 that would introduce a more rigorous and encompassing regime. Its longer title was 'An Act to provide for the Acquisition of Land for the Settlement of Discharged Servicemen; and to provide for the Control of Sales and Leases of Land in order to facilitate the Settlement of Discharged Servicemen and to prevent Undue Increases in the Price of Land, the Undue

¹¹⁹⁹ 'Problem of land settlement,' in ANZ Wellington SAC1W1956 63 36/3/4 1A.

¹²⁰⁰ Two short amending Acts were passed, in 1945 and 1946 respectively: both were intended, largely, to improve the machinery of the parent Act and are not further noted here.

Aggregation of Land, and its Use for Speculative or Uneconomic Purposes; and to provide for Matters incidental thereto.’

It will be helpful to set out briefly the immediate context within which the debates on this measure took place. Fundamental was the Government’s decision to fund the war effort out of current taxation, together with some internal borrowing, with a view to minimising the accumulation of debt, ensuring that the economic burden was shared as fairly as possible, and promoting economic stability through income and price controls.¹²⁰¹ Moreover, economic stability was regarded as an essential precondition for successful rehabilitation, and its preservation entailed preventing, if at all possible, the land speculation, land price inflation, and land boom collapse that followed World War I.¹²⁰² At first, land and houses were not covered by price controls but in 1943 the Returned Services’ Association called for measures to stabilise property values, prevent the aggregation of land, and empower the State to acquire land compulsorily for rehabilitation purposes.¹²⁰³

The Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Bill was introduced into Parliament in August 1943. Prime Minister Fraser affirmed that ‘This measure is an interpretation of the Government’s and the country’s pledge to the soldier.’¹²⁰⁴ Perhaps so, but in fact the Bill generated a chorus of criticism. Conservative sections of the press claimed that it represented ‘marked progress towards retracing Labour policy towards land nationalisation;’ the Associated Chambers of Commerce described it as ‘an attack on property;’ while the New Zealand Farmers’ Union insisted that it was intended to render farmers ‘State serfs.’¹²⁰⁵ The Law Society suggested that parts of the Bill were ‘entirely unworkable,’ while the Real Estate Institute predicted that the Bill would ‘create a feeling of insecurity, a definite prospect of grave injustice, and a

¹²⁰¹ See J.V.T. Baker, *The New Zealand people at war: war economy*. Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1965, pp.256-261 and 275.

¹²⁰² See Thomson, ‘The policy of land sales control,’ p.4.

¹²⁰³ See, for example, ‘Property values,’ *Evening Post* 28 May 1943, p.6.

¹²⁰⁴ ‘Solemn pledge. Land Bill motive. Mr Fraser speaks,’ *Auckland Star* 13 August 1943, p.2.

¹²⁰⁵ ‘A revolutionary Bill,’ *Evening Post* 5 August 1943, p.4; ‘Who wants the Bill?,’ *Evening Post* 7 August 1943, p.6; ‘“State serfs.” Future for farmers,’ *Evening Post* 7 August 1943, p.8. See also ‘More opposition. Effects of proposals. Sheepowners’ objections,’ *New Zealand Herald* 10 August 1943, p.4; ‘“An unworkable Bill,”’ *Evening Post* 10 August 1943, p.4; and ‘Land sales control,’ *Auckland Star* 10 August 1943, p.2.

loss of freedom of action to all property owners.’¹²⁰⁶ On the other hand, the *New Zealand Herald*, while critical of some of the measure’s provisions, conceded that ‘If all this is essential as a precaution against the mistakes, losses and heartbreaks of soldier settlement after the last war, what it costs will be cheap insurance.’¹²⁰⁷

In Parliament, the National Opposition attacked the Bill as amounting to ‘pure state control,’ but the Returned Services’ Association offered qualified approval.¹²⁰⁸ Especially contentious were the sections dealing with prices. The Government stood its ground, the Minister of Lands (J.G. Barclay) insisting that returning servicemen would ‘not be socked as I and thousands of others were socked last time.’¹²⁰⁹ As originally introduced, clause 23 of the Bill simply provided that the Crown, ‘In order to provide for the settlement of a discharged serviceman or of two or more discharged servicemen ... may take any land’ under Part II of the Act.

Any land clearly included Maori freehold land. It was Ngata who articulated concerns over that matter and it appears that his representations were sufficient to persuade the Government to amend the Bill. During the course of the debate, Fraser indicated that

he believed the Native Lands Department [*sic*] had claims in hand, and was so organising and negotiating with native landowners that it was thought there would be so much land offered voluntarily by native owners that there would be no necessity for compulsory acquisition. What the Government was concerned about was that native soldiers should have the same opportunity for rehabilitation and land settlement as every other soldier who went to war.¹²¹⁰

Campbell’s assurance, it seems extended to the ‘Lands Group’ in 1941. In the face of objections on the part of Maori, Fraser undertook to exclude Maori lands, a promise that, according to Ngata, ‘removed any possible objection to the Bill from the Maori people.’ But there remained several classes of Maori land that did not fall within the strict definition of Maori freehold, a matter, he suggested, that would have to be considered. Ngata went on to observe that ‘How big would be the problem of settling

¹²⁰⁶ “‘Unworkable.’ Land Sales Bill. Law Society’s criticism,’ *Evening Post* 9 August 1943, p.9; ‘Delay advised,’ *Evening Post* 9 August 1943, p.3.

¹²⁰⁷ ‘Property stabilisation,’ *New Zealand Herald* 6 August 1943, p.2.

¹²⁰⁸ ‘Policy attacked,’ *New Zealand Herald* 12 August 1943, p.4; and ‘Statement by R.S.A. Qualified approval,’ *Auckland Star* 12 August 1943, p.4.

¹²⁰⁹ ‘Boom started. Minister’s warning. Mainly in towns,’ *Auckland Star* 12 August 1943, p.4.

¹²¹⁰ ‘Solemn pledge. Land Bill motive. Mr Fraser speaks,’ *Auckland Star* 13 August 1943, p.2.

the Maori soldiers could be gauged from the fact that in 14 years the number of units settled under the Native Land Development scheme had been 2300 and there were probably 4000 Maori servicemen to be considered in connection with the present war.’¹²¹¹ Fraser’s claim that Maori would make ample land available for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen and Ngata’s estimate of the size of the task appeared to have been sufficient to deter any suggestion that ‘idle’ Maori lands should be as liable to compulsory acquisition as general land.

In the Bill as transmitted to the Legislative Council, section 23 had been significantly altered to provide that ‘no land shall be taken if it is – (a) Native land within the meaning of the Native Land Act, 1931; (b) Land owned by Natives within the meaning of that Act; (c) Land held or administered by any statutory trustee or statutory Board or body for and on behalf of Natives within the meaning of that Act.’ Nowhere in the course of the parliamentary or public debate was there any criticism of the Government’s decision to exempt certain classes of Maori-owned land from the operation of the Bill. It thus appears that the exclusion of Maori-owned land from the scope of the measure was a trade-off for an assurance that iwi would make tribal lands available for the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel. But even if it were not, the Government’s clear expectation, well grounded or not, that such lands would be made available, would have important ramifications for the success or efforts to rehabilitate those service personnel through land settlement.

Under the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, the Government secured practically complete control of the land market. The Act empowered the Crown to acquire (compulsorily, if need be) land and to control sales and leases of land in order to provide for and facilitate the settlement of discharged personnel. Owners were entitled to retain what was termed ‘an economic unit.’ The Act was, at the same time, intended to prevent ‘undue’ increases in land prices and ‘undue’ aggregation, as well as the use of land for speculative or uneconomic purposes. All sales and leases of land had to be authorised by district land sales committees, while the price at which any land was sold had to be at the ‘productive value’ based upon

¹²¹¹ ‘Maori viewpoint,’ *Evening Post* 13 August 1943, p.4.

1942 ‘basic values.’¹²¹² Further, by section 31(3)(b) of the Servicemen’s Settlement Act 1950, a land valuation committee (appointed under the Land Valuation Court Act 1948) could, where a sale or transfer of a freehold title to land or a lease was contemplated, substitute ex-service personnel for civilians. By the end of March 1960, substitutions covered 17,390 acres.

Part II of the Act: *Settlement of discharged servicemen* (section 23) empowered the Crown, ‘in order to provide for the settlement of a discharged serviceman or of any two or more discharged servicemen,’ to take any farm land but only where such land was or could be rendered capable of subdivision into two or more economic holdings. Section 51 was included in Part III: *Control of sales and leases of land*. It empowered the Crown, where an application had been made to sell or transfer any freehold estate or interest in land or to lease land for a term of not less than three years (reduced in 1945 to two years), to take the land in question or any part thereof where it was considered ‘suitable or adaptable for the settlement of a discharged serviceman or of two or more discharged servicemen ...’¹²¹³ Those powers appear to have encouraged private landowners to negotiate sales with the Crown.¹²¹⁴ Areas acquired under Parts II and III were rendered subject to the provisions of the Small Farms Act 1932-33. It is worthwhile noting here that such was the criticism of section 51 in particular that, by 1945, the Government decided to allow vendors of single-unit farms to withdraw from sale and purchase negotiations where they considered that prices had been set at unacceptably low levels.¹²¹⁵

Section 70(1) of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 provided for the expiration of the Act ‘five years from the termination of the present war ...’ Further legislative measures followed. The first was the Land Laws Amendment Act 1944. Part I included several important amendments to the Land Act 1924: section 4 accorded discharged servicemen preference at ballots for Crown lands conducted under the latter Act over all other applicants, while section 5 provided that leases

¹²¹² Section 53(3) of the Act stated that ‘For the purposes of this Act the productive value of any farm land shall be deemed to be an amount equal to the net annual income (as ascertained in the manner provided by this section) that can be derived from the land by the average efficient farmer, capitalised at the rate of four and one per centum.’

¹²¹³ AJHR 1960, C1, p.55.

¹²¹⁴ AJHR 1945, C1, p.2, and 1946, C1, p.3.

¹²¹⁵ NZPD 1945, Vol 268, p.136.

could be granted to discharged servicemen without competition. Part III dealt with the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 with respect to appeals, evidence, and offences, while Part IV amended the Small Farms Act 1932-33 so that any Crown land under that Act could be disposed of by way of sale and purchase to discharged servicemen. Section 44 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1946 provided that any land administered by a land board could be sold without competition, for cash or on deferred payments, to a discharged serviceman or the wife or widow of a serviceman or discharged serviceman. The Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Amendment Act 1948 extended Part II of the parent Act to allow the Crown to take Crown land held under lease or licence for the settlement of discharged ex-servicemen in the same way as privately-owned land. Lessees or licensees were entitled to compensation. Further, where consent was sought to the transfer of a Crown lease or licence, the land could be taken where it was considered suitable or adaptable for the settlement of a discharged serviceman.¹²¹⁶

8.8 Revising the estimates, re-defining the 'problem'

In January 1944, Cabinet decided that, for rehabilitation purposes, the Department of Lands and Survey would conduct all land purchases on behalf of the Crown, and that it would develop, subdivide, and offer those lands for settlement, apart, that is, from any lands that it transferred to the Department of Native Affairs for the settlement of Maori veterans. The basis had been established for a clear division of effort. Accordingly, during 1944, that Department of Lands and Survey prepared a schedule of properties that might prove suitable for subdivision and settlement. To settle 5,000 men, the department estimated that an additional 900,000 acres would be required, by far the greater proportion of which would have to come from privately owned land. In the Department's view, it was 'very doubtful whether the 5,000 mark could be

¹²¹⁶ Other amendments included the Statutes Amendment Act 1945: section 42 amended sections 4 and 5 of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1944 so that the widows of ex-servicemen were accorded the same preference at ballots for Crown and settlement land as afforded discharged servicemen. Section 43 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1946 further amended sections 4 and 5 so that the words 'or widows of servicemen or discharged servicemen' were replaced with the words 'or wives or widows of servicemen or discharged servicemen.'

reached even in the most favourable circumstances.’ Again it proposed that the settlement programme should be limited to 3,000 men.¹²¹⁷

Estimates of the number of veterans who would seek settlement on the land were regularly revised upwards. In 1944, the Rehabilitation Board put the number at 6,000. In January 1945, Baker expressed concern over the total number – then a comparatively modest 795 – awaiting settlement, describing it as ‘formidable’ and concluding that a ‘bottleneck’ was emerging where land settlement was concerned. Baker was clearly anxious to settle the growing tide of criticism and dissatisfaction.¹²¹⁸ The Department of Lands and Survey had in fact prepared lists of private properties considered suitable for subdivision and settlement and formulated a procedure by which purchase was to be secured. Where owners were not willing to sell voluntarily, the Department of Lands and Survey had, under Part II of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, the option of compulsory purchase. Commissioners of Crown Lands were advised that the Rehabilitation Board had decided that all purchases for the settlement of both Maori and Pakeha veterans were to be undertaken by the Land Settlement Board and that they ‘should consider areas in special localities as being suitable for Maori settlement.’ What might constitute a ‘special locality’ was left unstated.¹²¹⁹ By 1945, purchasing by the Crown was under way, but preparation of the land acquired for subdivision was impeded by serious shortages of fertiliser, and building and fencing materials. By the end of March 1945, the Government had expended £1,059,713 on the acquisition of land, most notably in Hawke’s Bay and North Auckland, and an additional £483,412 on development and associated costs.

¹²¹⁷ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Director, Rehabilitation 17 October 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61.

¹²¹⁸ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 18 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/29/a 8/0 Part 2.

¹²¹⁹ See Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Commissioners of Crown Lands 24 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/29/a 8/0 Part 2. For P.H.G. Bennett’s view, see ‘The land side of rehabilitation. Disturbing aspects,’ *Review*, February 1945, pp.2-4. Bennett was a member of the Lands Sub-committee of the Dominion Executive of the Returned Services’ Association, the Association’s representative on the Uneconomic Farms Committee and deputy representative on the Land Settlement Board. A copy of the article can be found in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/29/a 8/0 Part 2. Some of the conclusions at which Bennett arrived were contested by Baker. See Director, Rehabilitation to General Secretary, New Zealand Returned Services’ Association 12 March 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/29/a 8/0 Part 2.

In 1945, a subcommittee of the Board's Farms Advisory Committee prepared a report in which it endeavoured to assess the land settlement task. It noted that 481 veterans had already been settled on the land but that another 6,800 would have to be settled before the Rehabilitation Board 'can regard the policy of land settlement as having been satisfactorily concluded.' It estimated that 500 could be settled each year over a four-year period on single units farms through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, leaving 4,800 to be settled through the Land Settlement Board.¹²²⁰ The Department of Lands and Survey indicated, with respect to the period from 1946 to 1949, that on 'land acquired or likely to be acquired,' a total of 1,613 holdings (of all types) could be provided, plus 18 'farmlets.' In the North Auckland Land District, for example, it estimated that 24,960 acres acquired or likely to be acquired would support 152 holdings. In short, potential supply was projected to fall far short of projected demand.¹²²¹ In 1946 the same Committee concluded that the area of improved land required to implement settlement on the scale envisaged 'was so great that it was doubtful whether it was possible of achievement.' Inevitably, land development would be necessary, with the implication that settlement of many veterans would be long delayed.¹²²² In 1947, the estimate was revised again to a minimum of 10,000 – 7,000 on existing farms and 3,000 on Crown settlement blocks – and 1952/1953 set as the target date for completion of the work.¹²²³ These periodic revisions made clear that the initial estimates of the numbers who would seek their rehabilitation through land settlement had been markedly wide of the mark.

There was in these early reports and assessments no suggestion that 'idle' Maori land should be acquired for the purposes of rehabilitation land settlement.¹²²⁴ Even so

¹²²⁰ Report of Sub-committee of Farms Advisory Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/60 36/1422.

¹²²¹ Report of Sub-committee of Farms Advisory Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/60 36/1422. See also Meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee with Minister of Rehabilitation 14 November 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/60 36/1422.

¹²²² Minutes of a meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee, 14 November 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61.

¹²²³ AJHR 1950, H18, p.13. See also Meeting of Farms Advisory Committee 22 July 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/60 36/1422.

¹²²⁴ An examination of files containing representations made to the Government by returned services associations, chambers of commerce, local authorities, and other interest groups over the provision of land for veterans suggested that the taking or purchase of land from Maori was only intermittently proposed. Thus in November 1945, the Otorohanga Returned Services' Association, anxious to accelerate settlement, proposed that undeveloped or partially developed land should immediately be allocated to Grade 'A' veterans: most of the blocks specified were owned by Maori but 'far more than is required for the rehabilitation of Maori veterans.' The Crown, it was urged, should acquire such land

ardent a critic as Broadfoot (MHR Waitomo) pressed for an expansion of the Native land development programme.¹²²⁵ The reasons had partly to do with the quality and undeveloped state of much of the land remaining in Maori ownership, but mostly with the claim advanced by the Department of Native Affairs that such lands would be made available and employed for the settlement of Maori veterans. The estimated cost of £660,000 to settle permanently 300 Maori veterans, that is, £2,200 per settler, is likely to have appeared distinctly attractive compared with the estimated per capita cost of settling 8,000 ex-service personnel, that is, £6,500. The markedly lower cost suggests that the Department proposed to continue its established approach to land development in which Maori supplied the land and the labour and the Crown the capital and the technical and management expertise.

8.9 Acquiring land

The Rehabilitation Board envisaged that settlement on the land would take place through three channels. The first involved assisting veterans, through loans authorised by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and made available by the State Advances Corporation, to acquire existing freehold farms or to purchase a lessee's interest in a leasehold. While such purchases were expected to constitute the major channel through which ex-service personnel would secure their settlement on the land, they were not expected to meet the demand by all those qualified or who were likely to qualify. Meeting the projected demand would require the direct involvement of the State. Thus the second channel involved the establishment of veterans as Crown lessees on single unit farms acquired by the Crown under Part II and section 51 of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, while the third involved the establishment of veterans as Crown lessees on subdivisions of properties acquired by the Land Settlement Board under the provisions of the Small Farms Act 1932-33, a

as provided under section 445 of the Native Land Act 1931. See Secretary, Otorohanga Returned Services' Association to Minister, Rehabilitation 24 November 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/58 8/2/39. The Minister composed a lengthy letter in reply in which he acknowledged that such was the demand for land for settlement that the Crown would be 'required to acquire and develop virgin land.' He made no direct reference to the acquisition of Maori freehold land. See Minister, Rehabilitation to Secretary, Otorohanga Returned Services' Association, draft only, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/58 8/2/39. That letter was not despatched, Skinner taking the matter up with the association in person. Nothing more was recorded of the proposal.

¹²²⁵ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, pp.261-262.

piece of ready-made legislation of which the Board took full advantage. In addition, existing Crown land, where suitable, would be employed for rehabilitation purposes.

The periodic revision of estimates of the number of ex-service personnel expected to seek settlement on the land thus presented the Rehabilitation Board with a major challenge, namely, to supply the required land. At the outbreak of war in 1939, the Department of Lands and Survey had some 200,000 acres under development representing private land purchased and Crown land set apart for improvement, subdivision, and settlement under the Small Farms Act 1932-1933 and the Land Laws Amendment Act 1929. Maclachlan described that area as ‘only a valuable reserve on which to settle the first returned servicemen.’¹²²⁶ Post-war shortages of building and fencing materials and of fertilisers slowed plans for the acquisition and development of virgin land and encouraged the Crown rather to exercise its powers under Parts II and III of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943. The objective was to redistribute the land in private ownership considered suitable for subdivision and suitable for settlement by ex-service personnel. With respect to land owned by Maori, its efforts were limited to encouraging them either to sell land voluntarily to the Crown or otherwise to make land available for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. It should be noted that section 23 of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 did not affect the Crown’s ability to acquire Maori-owned land under any other Act, including the Small Farms (Relief of Unemployment) Act 1932-33.¹²²⁷

The Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 expired in 1950, that is (section 70) five years ‘from the termination of the present war.’ During the later 1940s criticism mounted of the controls that the Government had imposed on rural land sales. The Act was thus superseded by the Servicemen’s Settlement Act 1950. By section 46, the latter, intended to consolidate and amend the law relating to acquisition of land for rehabilitation purposes and controls over land sales, was to expire on 30 June 1952. From 1 November 1950, landowners were permitted to sell at the best available price rather than at the 1942 ‘basic value.’ To assist ex-servicemen, section 20 of the Land Amendment Act 1950 (section 20) introduced a system of

¹²²⁶ R.J. Maclachlan, ‘Land administration in New Zealand,’ in *Farm Management Papers*, Volume 1, Lincoln College, 1966, pp.37-55.

¹²²⁷ Section 7(1) of the Small Farms Act 1932-33 empowered the Crown acquire by purchase or lease with a right of purchase of ‘suitable areas of private land ...’ where ‘private’ was not defined.

suspensory loans whereby the difference between the 1942 and current values could be covered by a loan that would be discharged after ten years provided that the ex-servicemen concerned remained on and continued to work their properties. Only ‘A’ grade ex-servicemen could apply for suspensory loans. In other words, the cost of this component of the land settlement programme was shifted from landowners to the community as a whole.

Table 8.1 summarises for the period from October 1943 to the end of March 1953, Crown takings of land under section 51 and Part II of the Servicemen’s Land Settlement and Land Sales Control Act 1943 and under the corresponding sections of the Servicemen’s Settlement Act 1950. Under section 51 the Crown acquired a total of 163,516 acres and under Part II an additional 118,687 acres. Over the same period, the Crown acquired by voluntary negotiation 975,215 acres.

Table 8.1: Land (acres) taken by the Crown for settlement by ex-servicemen, 1943 to 1953

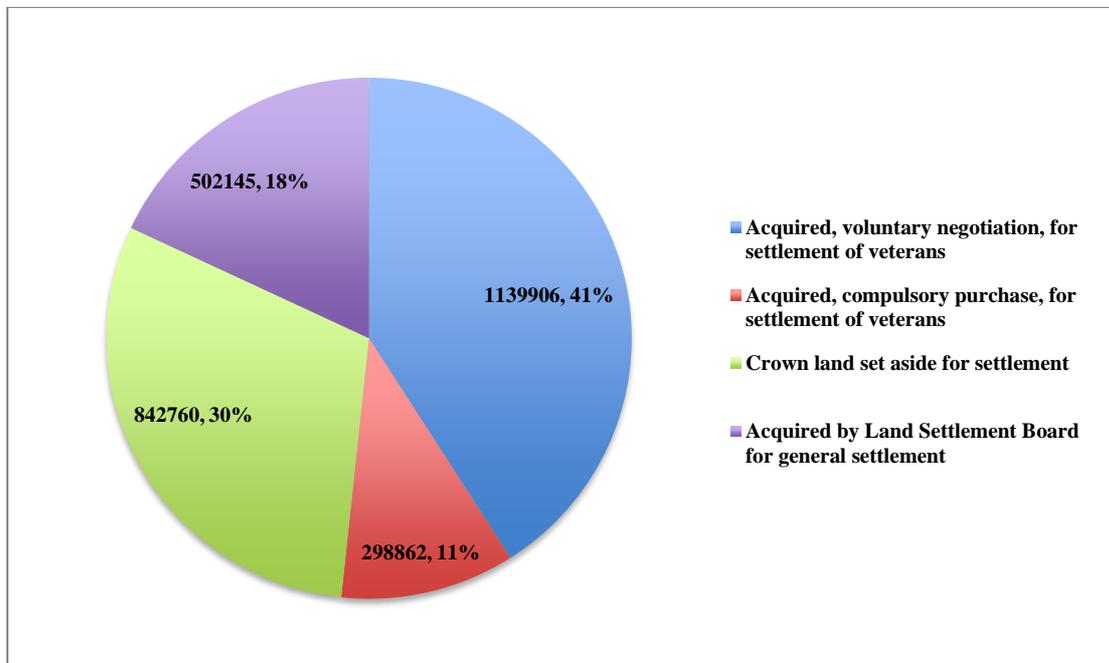
Year to 31 March	Acquired under Part II/1943 and Part I/1950	Acquired under s51/1943, capable of subdivision	Acquired under s51/1943 as single units
1944 ¹	1237	-	-
1945	2593	15796	18492
1946	6661	15766	7603
1947	26315	27419	3597
1948	38465	25428	5784
1949	32904	2580	4614
1950	7452	6098	5394
1951	3054	4829	6173
1952	5	9430	1995
1953	1	2518	-
Totals	118687	109864	53652

¹ From 18 October 1943

Source: AJHR 1944 to 1953, C1

The Crown continued to acquire land by voluntary negotiation after the expiry of the Servicemen’s Settlement Act 1950. Graph 8.1 summarises the land allocated for settlement purposes by the Crown up to the end of March 1965 and indicates that the Crown acquired 1,139,906 acres by voluntary negotiation and 298,862 acres by

compulsory purchases, that is, a total of 1,438,768 acres specifically for the settlement of ex-servicemen. In addition, the Crown allocated 842,760 acres of Crown lands while the Land Settlement Board acquired a further 502,145 acres, the Government having decided, in 1953, to introduce a general land settlement scheme under which Crown land and land acquired for general settlement in future would be offered on the basis of 50 percent to civilians only and 50 percent for general selection.¹²²⁸ Of the grand total of 2,783,673 acres, just over 49 percent (1,368,349 acres) had been allocated to 3,523 veterans.¹²²⁹



Source: AJHR 1965, H18, pp.6-7

Graph 8.1: Crown lands allocated for farm settlement purposes as at 31 March 1965

¹²²⁸ AJHR 1954, H18, pp.23-24. For ex-service personnel, preference was accorded 'A' grade ex-servicemen of World War II, followed by members of 'K' Force, and thence by other ex-service personnel.

¹²²⁹ AJHR 1965, H18, pp.6-7.

8.10 Controlling the rural land market

Part III of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 provided for the control of sales and leases of land.¹²³⁰ Section 53, in *Part IV: Basic Value and Basic Rent*, specified how the 'basic value of farm land' was to be determined, while also defining its 'productive value' as 'an amount equal to the net annual income ... that can be derived from the land by the average efficient farmer, capitalized at the rate of four and one-half per centum.' Section 55 defined the 'basic rent.' All transactions were subject to the approval of the land sales committees and the Land Sales Court constituted under the Act. Table 8.2 sets out the number of applications for the sale of farm holdings, the number of price reductions ordered, and the total value of those reductions for the period during which the relevant sections of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 remained in force. Reductions were ordered in the case of almost a quarter (24.9 per cent) of all applications for sales, while the average reduction was almost £395. As noted, in 1950, price controls on land were removed and a system of suspensory loans introduced. These changes are not explored further here.¹²³¹

The acquisition of land was one part of the settlement equation. The second was the rationing of that land. As noted above, a 1942 report declared that 'inexperience and general unsuitability for rural work' had been among the principal causes of the failure of many World War I soldier settlers.¹²³² The Rehabilitation Board thus decided that land settlement facilities would be made available only to men 'fully experienced on the land and that adequate training must be undertaken by those not fully experienced,' and that such facilities 'would be available only for farms capable of producing sufficient to provide a reasonable standard of living for the occupier, to maintain the property, and to meet all outgoings including mortgage charges.'¹²³³ By such means, the Board calculated, it could preclude what it regarded as the mistakes

¹²³⁰ Section 43 (2) contained a long list of exceptions, including any transaction in respect of which the confirmation of the Native Land Court was required, and any contract or agreement for sale or transfer or leasing of land by or by the direction of the Board of Native Affairs or any Maori Land Board or to any such board, and any transaction for which the approval or consent of the Board of Native Affairs was required.

¹²³¹ See AJHR 1951, H18, p.10.

¹²³² 'Report of the Lands Committee on Soldier Land Settlement,' c.May 1942, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/19/b 6/9.

¹²³³ AJHR 1954, H18, p.22.

that accompanied the efforts to settle the discharged personnel of World War I on the land. Further, it sought to ensure that the number of men graded for particular forms of farming was no greater than, in its judgment, each form could absorb.¹²³⁴

Table 8.2: Applications for sale of farm lands under the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act, 1943

Year to 31 March	Applications for sales	Number of reductions	Value of reductions: £
1944 ¹	953	44	9483
1945	4961	631	204300
1946	5637	966	348045
1947	6647	1316	590297
1948	5466	1645	739552
1949	4800	1518	652644
1950	4334	1357	544765
1951	3040	710	274765
Totals	35838	8914	3517121

¹ From 18 October 1943

Source: AJHR 1945 to 1952, C1. See also ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/42 8/2/2

8.11 Grading, training, and rationing

The mechanism devised and implemented was that of grading. In September 1943, the Rehabilitation Board recommended to Government the establishment of farming sub-committees to grade all applicants. The Board subsequently adopted a four-fold classification, namely, ‘A’ – fully experienced, ‘B’ – partially experienced, ‘C’ – totally inexperienced, and ‘D’ – unsuitable. Applications for assistance were first considered by the local rehabilitation committees: their task was to decide whether any applicant could ‘justify his establishment or re-establishment on his own account.’ Successful applicants were then referred to a farming subcommittee (32 were established throughout New Zealand) that recommended an appropriate grade.¹²³⁵ Where a Maori ex-servicemen applied for grading, representatives of the local tribal executive committee and the Department of Native Affairs were entitled to

¹²³⁴ AJHR 1947, H18, p.7.

¹²³⁵ AJHR 1944, H18, p.17. See also AJHR 1943, H18, p.14. For an account of the grading process, see Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation In New Zealand 1939 to 1965*. Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965, pp.130-131.

attend and vote. Every effort was made to ensure that consistently high grading standards were maintained and applied. In practice, grading operated as both a screening and a rationing mechanism.¹²³⁶ It also proved flexible in that grading requirements could be changed, standards tightened, currency altered, and certificates cancelled where the holders failed to meet the requirements. Ex-servicemen were required to maintain their grading by undertaking approved agro-pastoral work, thereby ensuring that a willingness to commit acted as such a mechanism. Further, those wishing to settle on the land were required to meet certain requirements relating to deposits. By such means, that is, grading, training, and approved experience, the Rehabilitation Board was able to ration the limited supply of land considered suitable for the successful rehabilitation of discharged service personnel.

In March 1944, a farm-training programme was initiated for those graded 'B' and 'C.' It included subsidised training with approved private farmer employers (a scheme in which the Returned Services' Association assisted by nominating suitable farmers), training on blocks being developed by the Department of Lands and Survey, training on Rehabilitation Board training farms (Homewood at Te Puke, Wairarapa near Masterton, and Huramua Farm Settlement for Maori at Wairoa), or training at Lincoln and Massey Agricultural Colleges.¹²³⁷

As at 31 March 1949, 615 ex-servicemen were undergoing farm training with rehabilitation assistance. Of those, 561 were training under subsidised engagement with private farmers, 24 were at agricultural colleges, 14 Maori ex-servicemen were at Huramua, and 16 veterans were at the special farm for the disabled at Milson.¹²³⁸ New applications for 'A' grade farm training closed on 31 March 1951 and by 1955 the Rehabilitation Board's subsidised farm training scheme had practically been completed.¹²³⁹ By the end of March 1954, 3,295 men had trained with private farmers,

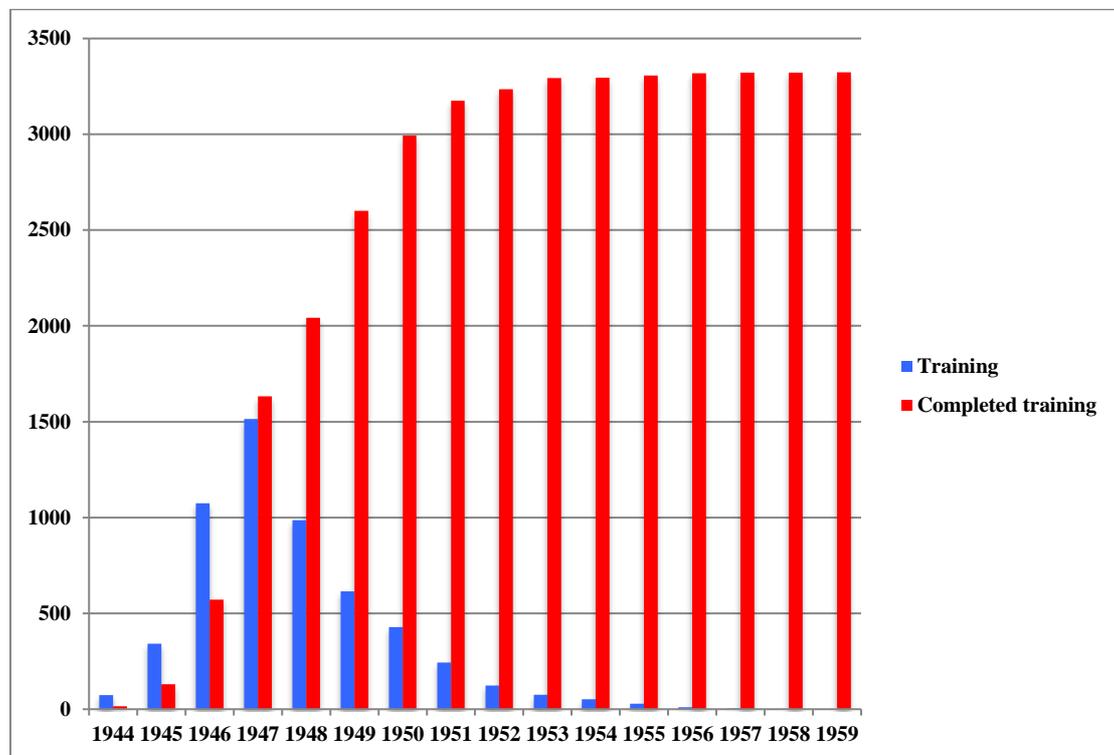
¹²³⁶ A 1944 review of land settlement concluded that it would not be possible to settle all those ex-servicemen wishing to take up poultry farms, market gardens, and apiaries: grading was employed to control demand. See Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation*, p.152.

¹²³⁷ See ANZ Wellington SAC1 W1956 60 36/3 Part 1; and AJHR 1944, H18, p.18. The Huramua Farm Settlement was established on 668 hectares of the Carroll (Kara) family station sold to the Crown by Sir Alfred (Turi) Carroll, a nephew of Sir James Carroll (Timi Kara). The former served in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force from 1917 to 1919. See Rorke, Jinty, 'Carroll, Turi,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

¹²³⁸ AJHR 1949, H18, p.14.

¹²³⁹ AJHR 1955, H18, p.11.

150 at the two training farms, and 48 at Milson, while some 2,000 had attended courses at Massey and Lincoln Agricultural Colleges.¹²⁴⁰ In short, some 5,500 ex-service personnel were trained in various forms of farming. Graph 8.2 offers a summary of the numbers engaged in training and the numbers who completed training during the period from 1943 to 1959. By the end of March 1964, the number of Pakeha ex-service personnel who had trained as farmers stood at 3,046, a rate of 1 in every 63 demobilised as of 1948, while the number of Maori veterans who had trained stood at 277, or one in every 18, a clear indication of its importance to those ex-service personnel.



As at 31 March of each year

Source: Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation*, p.129

Graph 8.2: Numbers of ex-servicemen engaged in farm training and the cumulative number who completed training, 1943 to 1959

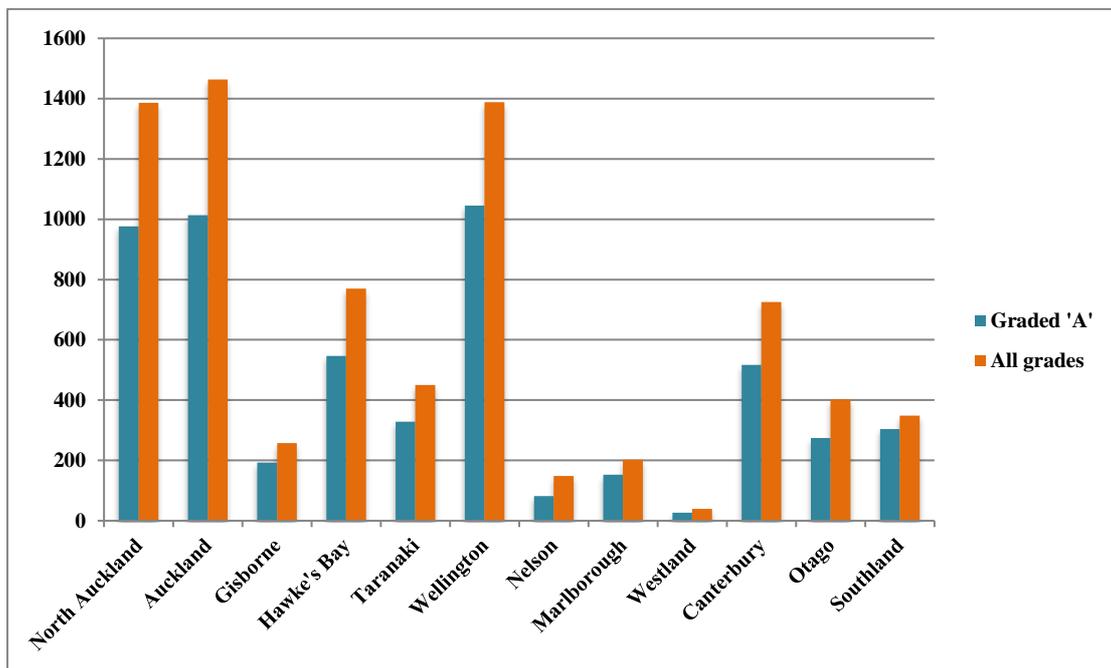
¹²⁴⁰ AJHR 1954, H18, p.23.

8.12 Assessing progress, limiting demand

In June 1946, the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey set out for his Minister the Department's programme for the period from 1946 to 1950. Most of its efforts would be directed towards completing the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen through, first, purchasing existing occupied lands capable of subdivision and early settlement; second, the subdivision of blocks on which development commenced prior to 1939 and had reached a stage at which early settlement could proceed; third, the completion of development on existing blocks and the development of suitable unoccupied Crown lands; and, fourth, the purchase and development of occupied lands that could be rendered suitable for subdivision and settlement through irrigation and drainage. Under the first head, the acquisition of land would be conducted through direct negotiation, compulsory acquisition under Part II of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, and action under section 51 of that Act. To date, he noted 277,000 acres had been acquired under those three heads: 100,000 acres had been alienated to leave a balance of 177,000 acres. Under the second head, the development blocks had an aggregate area of 214,290 acres but of which just 75,000 acres were available for early settlement. Under the third head, the main areas of Crown land capable of easy development lay within the Auckland Province and the hinterlands of the Taranaki and Wellington Provinces: in all, 100,000 acres could be developed. Not included were the 'large areas of Maori owned land which is capable of development or that has been developed ...' Under the final head, details depended upon the completion of the public works proposed. He concluded that the settlement policy envisaged the settlement of 8,000 ex-servicemen of whom 'approximately 5,000 will represent a real increase in the number of occupied holdings.' Of that number, he suggested, some 4,800 would have to be settled by the Department of Lands and Survey, the balance, presumably, by the Department of Native Affairs. Given the distribution of all gradings among farming types, he estimated that 1,191,360 acres would be required to settle those 4,800 men on economic units. To meet that target, therefore, the Crown would have to purchase or acquire compulsorily an additional 850,000 acres.¹²⁴¹

¹²⁴¹ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Minister, Lands 4 June 1946, in ANZ Wellington AECO 18674 PM22 7/2.

Graph 8.3 summarises the position as at 31 January 1947. A total of 5,458 veterans graded 'A' were awaiting settlement, while a further 2,122 held 'B' and 'C' grade certificates. If it is assumed that the number of graded men served as a useful indicator of potential demand, then the pressure on the land resource was greatest in North Auckland, Auckland, and Wellington Land Districts: collectively they accounted for 3,034 'A' grade veterans awaiting immediate settlement, that is, 55.6 per cent of the national total.

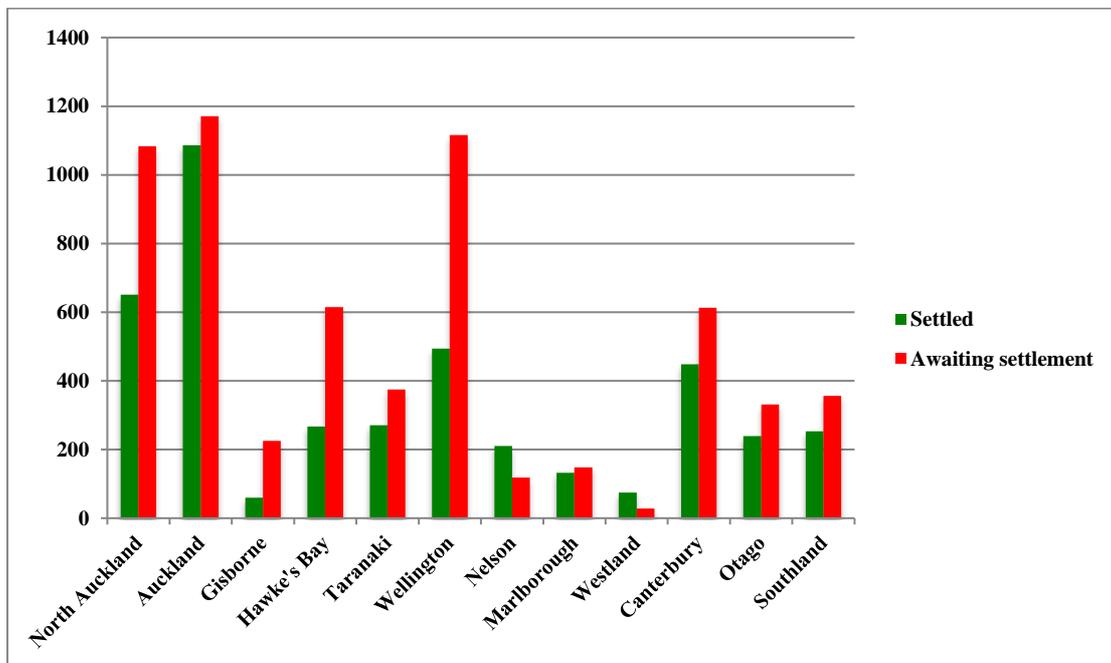


Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/6 6

Graph 8.3: Graded ex-service personnel seeking immediate settlement, by land districts, as at 31 January 1947

In October 1947, in the course of a lengthy address to a conference of commissioners of Crown lands and superintendents of land development, Baker traversed in detail rehabilitation land settlement. After allowing for what he termed 'wastage,' he estimated that some 10,000 graded ex-service personnel (including 'B' and 'C' grade) would seek settlement on the land. Settlement of that number would require an estimated three million acres. Graph 8.4 sets out the number of veterans settled by the end of August 1947 and the number of 'A' grade men awaiting settlement. Baker went on to observe that 'It is very questionable whether there are sufficient areas of

suitable land, either developed or undeveloped, in ...[North Auckland] to provide land ... it does appear that North Auckland Land District is going to constitute the biggest problem so far as disposing of the number of men who want to settle on the land is concerned.' Baker went on to deal briefly with the methods of settlement (lending for single unit purchases and purchase of improved land) and at greater length with possible solutions, principally the development of 'undeveloped' land, but also encouraging veterans to move from the North Auckland Land District southwards. His general conclusion was that if the 10,000 veterans were to be settled by 1952, then the Department of Lands and Survey would have to acquire or develop between 900,000 and one million acres, that is, in addition to that it had already acquired, 'and that,' he noted, 'is the problem.'¹²⁴²



Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/41/b 8/2 Part 1

Graph 8.4: Numbers of ex-service personnel settled and awaiting settlement, by land district, as at 31 August 1947

In fact, the Rehabilitation Board experienced some difficulty in defining the area that would be required. During 1946-1947, its Farms Advisory Committee undertook a review of farm gradings in an effort to define the scale of the task that, with respect to

¹²⁴² 'Address to the conference by the Director of Rehabilitation ... on the rehabilitation land settlement problem,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/41/b 8/2 Part 1.

land settlement, confronted the Rehabilitation Board, and to define where, in terms of land districts, the major areas of pressure lay. By the end of March 1947, the number of graded ex-servicemen had reached 13,539, of which a total of 6,407 had been graded 'A.' The review also disclosed that a large number of ex-servicemen graded 'A' had left farming and that many 'B' and 'C' graded men had declined to accept training engagements.¹²⁴³ In short, the Board had no clear assessment before it of the likely demand for land. In June 1947, the Rehabilitation Board thus decided to institute a system of continuing reviews as a means of establishing the number of men who possessed valid 'A' grade certificates. Further, in an effort to restrict demand for scarce sheep units, the standard for the relevant 'A' grade certificate was raised.¹²⁴⁴

In 1951 the Rehabilitation Board conducted an extensive review of its land settlement programme and revised the estimate of the total number requiring rehabilitation assistance to settle on the land to 12,000. As noted, no new applications for entry into subsidised farm training were accepted after 31 March 1951, but at that date 3,736 men were still awaiting settlement.¹²⁴⁵ The placement of those graded for dairy farming was predicted, by the end of the 1952 season, 'to have ceased to be a problem ...' On the other hand, the placement of those graded for sheep-farming posed greater difficulties.¹²⁴⁶ The buoyant prices for wool that accompanied the Korean War on the one hand reduced the number of sheep farms entering the market and, on the other, raised farm prices sharply.

As the expiry of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1941 loomed, a good deal of criticism, amid claims of 'grave dissatisfaction' among veterans, was levelled at the Government and the Rehabilitation Board for an initial decision to disregard, as the *Otago Daily Times* expressed it, 'the possibilities of long-range development' and for denying assistance to veterans to develop their own sections. The consequences were apparent, it was claimed, in the large number of 'A' grade men awaiting settlement and in the number (especially among those seeking sheep

¹²⁴³ Minutes of the meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee, 6 June 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/6 6.

¹²⁴⁴ Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation*, p.154.

¹²⁴⁵ AJHR 1951, H18, p.10.

¹²⁴⁶ AJHR 1950, H18, p.14.

farms) that had given up hope of settling on the land.¹²⁴⁷ Indeed, both the Government and the Rehabilitation Board were accused of instituting a ‘policy of termination,’ that is, a decision to terminate the provisions of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943.¹²⁴⁸ Further, in May 1951, reports appeared in the press to the effect that expiry of that Act would mean a ‘halving’ of the rehabilitation scheme, the result of allowing civilians to have equal rights to purchase land. Some suggested that the Act would not be renewed in any form, that the entire rehabilitation scheme would end, and that the Department of Rehabilitation would be abolished.¹²⁴⁹ Unsurprisingly, the Government was accused of preparing to renege on a pledge that it had freely given returned service personnel.¹²⁵⁰

Such was the pressure exerted that the Government made it clear that it had no intention of fixing a date by which the rehabilitation land settlement assistance would cease. ‘The furtherance of ex-soldier settlement and the fullest practicable application of rehabilitation in this respect was the earnest intention of the Government ...’ On the other hand, it acknowledged that the expiry of the Act would bring to an end the Crown’s power to acquire land compulsorily specifically for the settlement of veterans and its power to substitute ex-service for civilian purchasers. In effect, rehabilitation assistance would be limited to loans or to settlement on Crown land settlement blocks. What was not denied was the claim of ‘halving.’¹²⁵¹ The Government did make it plain that it proposed according ex-service personnel preference in land ballots, although should they not enter such ballots, the sections concerned would be re-offered for selection under the Land Act 1948.¹²⁵²

That same month, June 1951, the Minister of Rehabilitation informed the Returned Services’ Association that at the existing rate at which farm properties were coming

¹²⁴⁷ ‘Land settlement: policy of termination claimed,’ *Otago Daily Times* 4 February 1951; ‘Settlement problems,’ *Otago Daily Times* 15 February 1951, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/58 8/2/39. See also ‘Land for soldier settlement: protest against inaction,’ *Timaru Herald* 1 February 1951.

¹²⁴⁸ ‘Land settlement. Policy of termination claimed,’ *Otago Daily Times* 14 February 1951.

¹²⁴⁹ ‘Rehabilitation scheme will be halved next year,’ *Southland Times* 7 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/4/1/c 8/2 Part 2.

¹²⁵⁰ See, for example, ‘Land settlement,’ *Hawke’s Bay Herald-Tribune* April 1951, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/4/1/c 8/2 Part 2.

¹²⁵¹ Copy of press statement issued by Ministers of Rehabilitation and Lands and Survey, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/4/1/c 8/2 Part 2.

¹²⁵² Minister, Rehabilitation to President, New Zealand Returned Services’ Association 14 June 1951, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/4/1/c 8/2 Part 2.

on to the market, the Rehabilitation and Land Settlement Boards expected to settle, by June 1954, some 2,600 of the 3,736 graded men who at the end of March 1951 awaited settlement. The bulk of those graded for dairy farming would be settled, although the prospects for those graded for sheep farming were less favourable. Nor were the prospects of a large number of ex-servicemen with less than the minimum of overseas service necessary to qualify for immediate eligibility any more favourable. The possibility of settlement through the Department of Maori Affairs did not rate a mention.¹²⁵³

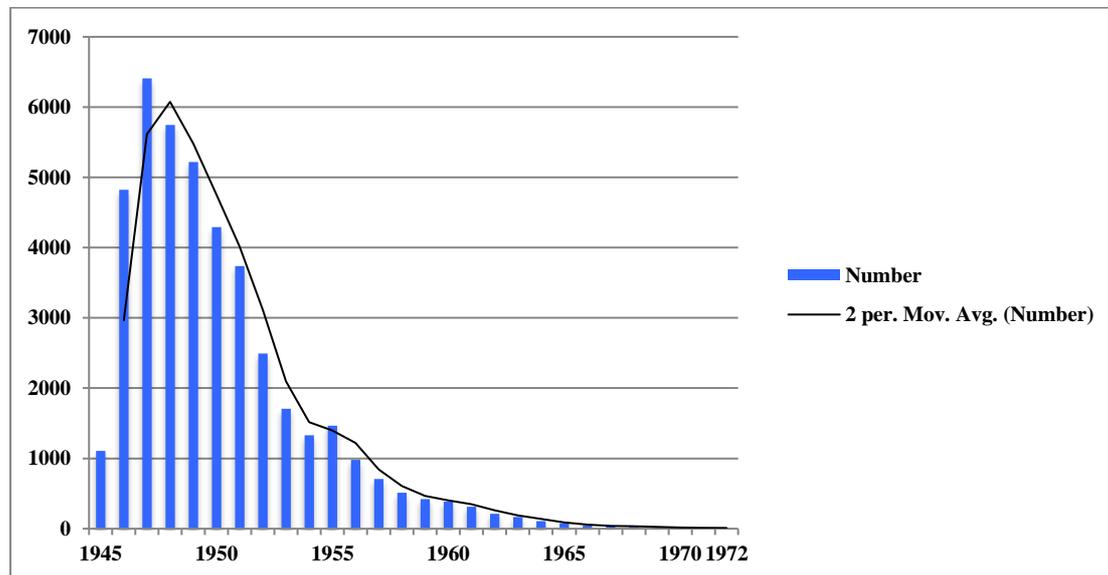
The Rehabilitation Board sought to reduce the 3,736 veterans awaiting settlement by reviewing gradings. Those 'A' grade men who had failed to apply for new certificates had their gradings cancelled; those whose grading certificates had been suspended for failure to engage in farm work were given until the end of 1951 to resume such work and re-apply or face cancellation of their certificates; and those graded 'B' and 'C' and who had not undertaken a period of farm training necessary for 'A' grade certificates had their gradings cancelled.¹²⁵⁴ All those not engaged in active farm work were also declared ineligible to participate in Crown land ballots, while existing loan limits were maintained despite rising farm and stock prices. The effect of the last was to require those seeking sections to make a greater financial contribution. Even those who had been granted new certificates were subject to another review, while those who wished to change gradings (especially from dairy to sheep farming) had to meet more stringent conditions. Further, those who held gradings for several types of farming were required to state a preference. Finally, grading by districts was also terminated, allowing ex-servicemen to enter into ballots for units anywhere in New Zealand. The Rehabilitation Board took other steps: in July 1953, it decided that to hold a current 'A' grade certificate, an ex-serviceman had to be employed full-time in active farm work, defined as work on farm related directly to stock, agriculture, farm maintenance, or development work. Failure to participate in land ballots could also result in forfeiture of any right to do so. Such changes were expected to see the settlement, by 1954, of most of those graded for dairying. For those graded for sheep farming, the prospect of settlement was considerably more distant.

¹²⁵³ Minister, Rehabilitation to President, Returned Services' Association of New Zealand 14 June 1951, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/4/1/c 8/2 Part 2.

¹²⁵⁴ New grading certificates were introduced in 1951: they had a currency of two years.

The expiry of the Servicemen's Settlement Act 1950 on 30 June 1952 also served to slow the rate of settlement. The Land Settlement Promotion Act 1952, a measure intended 'to provide for the closer settlement of farm land,' continued to make some provision for ex-servicemen, although the Rehabilitation Board suggested that the loss of the provisions concerning acquisition and substitution (sections 31 and 36 of the Servicemen's Settlement Act 1950) would slow the settlement of the remaining graded ex-servicemen. Indeed, the Board decided that, in the light of the Land Settlement Promotion Act 1950 and current world economic conditions, 'it would be difficult to frame any reliable forecast of future settlement prospects.'¹²⁵⁵ But public support for the rehabilitation land settlement programme was waning, and measures intended to assist ex-servicemen on to the land were progressively withdrawn.¹²⁵⁶

Graph 8.5 sets out the number of 'A' grade ex-servicemen awaiting settlement at the end of March in each year from 1943 to 1972. The number clearly declined rapidly from the peak of 6,407 reached in 1947, and especially after 1950.



To 31 March 1945 and thereafter annually to 31 March

Source: AJHR 1943-1972, H18

Graph 8.5: Number of 'A' grade ex-servicemen awaiting settlement as at 31 March of each year, 1943 to 1972

¹²⁵⁵ Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation*, p.160.

¹²⁵⁶ Thomson, 'The rehabilitation of servicemen,' p.228.

As the rate of settlement slowed, the Rehabilitation Board, in June 1954, completed another review and, as a result, from February 1955, increased the limits of loans it was prepared to make to ex-service personnel, up to £10,000 for a dairy farm and up to £15,000 for a sheep farm, with a contribution by individuals of just £1,000: interest would now be at ‘civilian rates.’ The Board also invited vendors to offer their properties directly to the State Advances Corporation as its agent.¹²⁵⁷ Those new measures largely failed, while the high prices ruling for farms and the apparent inability of many awaiting settlement to accumulate sufficient funds as a contribution also contributed to a further slowdown in the rate of settlement.¹²⁵⁸ During 1956 the Board launched a new drive to acquire existing properties, but a year later reported difficulty in inducing graded ex-servicemen to enter ballots for properties in some districts. As a result, a number of sections, notably in the Auckland area, were offered for general selection.¹²⁵⁹

During 1957, the Government decided to discontinue offering land for ballot solely by graded ex-servicemen. From the beginning of 1958, land was offered for general selection: first preference was accorded eligible and graded se-servicemen under the Rehabilitation Act; second preference to eligible and graded ex-servicemen under the Emergency Force Regulations, third preference to all other ex-servicemen under both the Act and the Regulations, and fourth preference to civilians.¹²⁶⁰ In March 1961, following a continuing lack of interest in the land ballots for Crown sections on the part of graded ex-servicemen, the Government instituted a modified system of preferences. The new preferences were thus, first, eligible and graded men of World War II; second, eligible and graded men of the Emergency Forces; and, third, all other applicants. The Rehabilitation Board was also directed to cancel the right of graded men to enter ballots ‘where good and sufficient reasons cannot be advanced for their failure to do so.’¹²⁶¹ As at 31 March 1962, 210 graded ex-servicemen were awaiting settlement, while a year later the number had been reduced to 166.¹²⁶² Cancellation of gradings accounted for some of the reduction.¹²⁶³

¹²⁵⁷ AJHR 1955, H18, p.10.

¹²⁵⁸ AJHR 1956, H18, p.10.

¹²⁵⁹ AJHR 1957, H18, p.7.

¹²⁶⁰ AJHR 1958, H18, p.7.

¹²⁶¹ AJHR 1961, H18, p.5.

¹²⁶² AJHR 1963, H18, p.5.

¹²⁶³ AJHR 1968, H18, p.6; and 1969, H18, p.6; 1970, H18, p.5.

8.13 Settling the Crown development blocks

Graph 8.6 summarises, by land districts, the area of Crown development blocks and the numbers of 'A' grade ex-service personnel settled.¹²⁶⁴ Crown sections were disposed of by way of ballot in which 'all' men holding 'A' grade certificates were invited to participate.¹²⁶⁵ Those successful could apply for a farm loan of up to about £5,000 (including finance for stock and chattels), although in the case of sheep farms the limit was extended to £6,250. The Rehabilitation Loans Committee could also grant seasonal finance to cover the period between taking up a farm and the inflow of revenue. In the case of holdings acquired under the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, the tenure would be as provided in the Small Farms Act 1932-33, that is, a lease for 33 years but perpetually renewable, with rent in the first year at two per cent on the unimproved value, three per cent for the second and third years, and four per cent per year thereafter. The State Advances Corporation could advance up to 100 per cent of the cost of stock and chattels. The Rehabilitation Board decided that farms and financial assistance would be available for up to ten years after the cessation of hostilities, 'thus placing all on an equitable basis and ensuring that the fullest benefits will accrue from the comprehensive farm training schemes in operation.'¹²⁶⁶

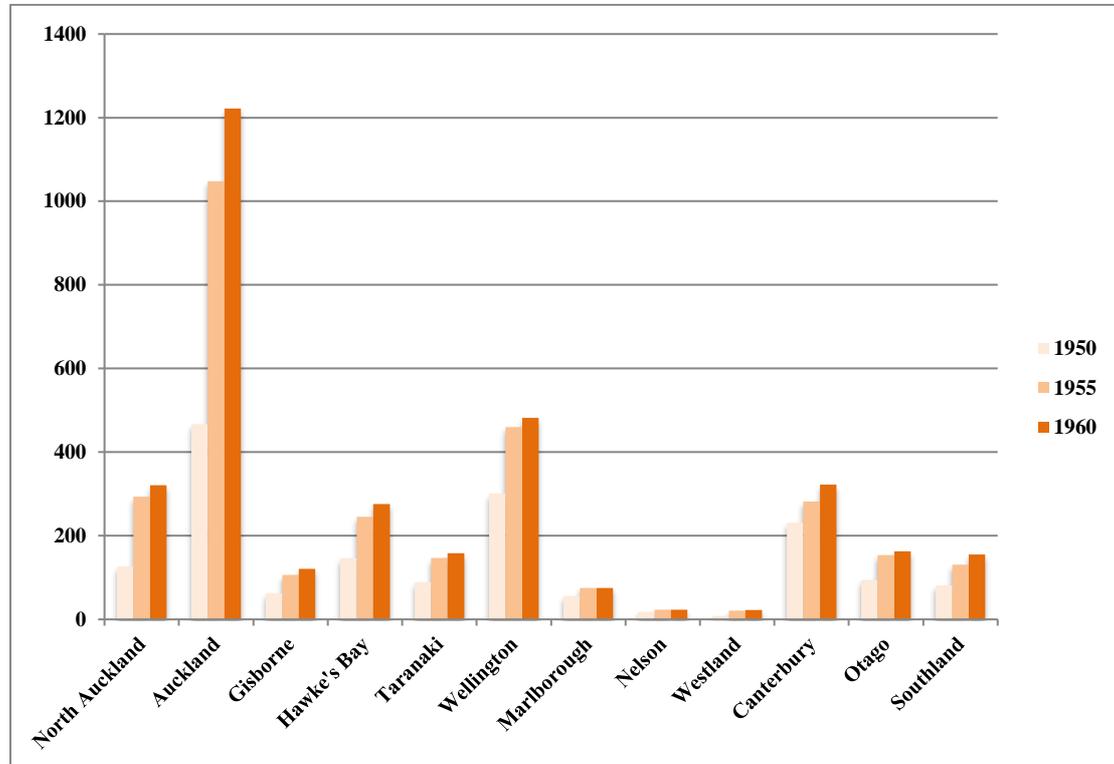
As at the end of March 1960, the bulk of the land involved (18.8 per cent) and the number of 'A' grade ex-servicemen settled (36.6 per cent) were in the Auckland land district. Of particular note was the North Auckland land district where, despite the acknowledged serious imbalance between a burgeoning Maori population and its remaining land resource, nevertheless 321 'units' (9.6 per cent of the total) were settled on 69,474 acres (5.3 per cent of the total) of Crown development blocks. That rendered North Auckland the fourth most important regional settlement district, practically equal in importance with Canterbury. By the end of March 1960, by which

¹²⁶⁴ Excludes ex-servicemen assisted by way of rehabilitation loans to purchase established farms, or ex-servicemen substituted for civilian purchasers under the Servicemen's Settlement Act 1950.

¹²⁶⁵ In ballots for Crown sections, preference was awarded initially to eligible and graded ex-servicemen of World War II, followed by other servicemen within the meaning of the Rehabilitation Act 1941, and thence by civilians. On 1 April 1953, Cabinet decided that second preference should go to those of K Force. By the March 1965 first preference was accorded eligible and graded ex-servicemen of World War II, second preference to eligible and graded ex-servicemen of the Emergency Forces, and third preference to all other applicants.

¹²⁶⁶ AJHR 1943, H18, p.14.

time the great bulk of veterans had been settled, the Crown had placed 3,340 ex-service personnel on 1,308,432 acres. For Maori ex-servicemen, the settlement of the Crown blocks raised an important issue that is explored in the following chapters.



Source: AJHR 1950, 1955, and 1960, C1

Graph 8.6: Ex-servicemen settled on Crown development blocks, by land district, cumulative totals 1950, 1955, and 1960

8.14 Settling post-World II ex-service personnel

It was recorded in Chapter 6 that Maori service personnel constituted one in seven of the New Zealand forces that served in the Korean War, and that 22.9 percent of the 709-strong infantry battalion sent to Malaya in January 1958 were of Maori descent.¹²⁶⁷ In 1950, the Government decided that rehabilitation assistance would be accorded discharged servicemen who had served in the United Nations Forces in the 'Korean Emergency.' Responsibility was placed on the Rehabilitation Board. Such was the large number of graded and eligible World War II veterans still awaiting

¹²⁶⁷ 'Maori in the armed forces,' in Ian McGibbon, editor, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. Auckland, Melbourne, and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.301-303.

settlement and the very limited area of land available, that 'K' Force veterans were deemed ineligible for farm ballots on the same basis as World War II veterans, and so any provision was instituted to acquire land compulsorily for their settlement. With respect to settlement on the land, the assistance extended comprised loans to enable them to acquire farms by private negotiation.¹²⁶⁸ For those who had served in Southeast Asia for a qualifying period, housing and furniture loans were made available but had to be taken up within five years of return to New Zealand.¹²⁶⁹ Subsidised trade training with private employers and educational assistance for university study were also made available to those who had served in Southeast Asia after 1 April 1965. Initially farm settlement assistance was not made available, but the position was reconsidered and during 1970 approval was given for the granting preference in farm ballots conducted by the Department of Lands and Survey to men who had enlisted as non-career servicemen for a period not in excess of five years and who had served a minimum period of six months' active service in South Vietnam after 31 March 1965.¹²⁷⁰ By the end of March 1967, the number of farm loans granted had reached its maximum of 97.¹²⁷¹

8.15 Settlement by the Crown to 1960: a summary

The direct settlement of ex-servicemen on the land was the responsibility of the Department of Lands and Survey.¹²⁷² Graph 8.7 summarises the lands acquired from the inception of the rehabilitation programme to the end of March 1960. The bulk of the land on which the Department of Lands and Survey settled veterans was purchased by voluntary negotiations with private owners (1,404,944 million acres or 57.7 per cent) and Crown land made available for the purpose (730,971 acres or 30.0 per cent), followed by private land acquired compulsorily (281,472 acres or 11.6 per cent). That total area of 2.435m acres was sufficient to support an estimated 5,268 units. Crown purchasing for the rehabilitation settlement purposes commenced in

¹²⁶⁸ AJHR 1952, H18, p.12.

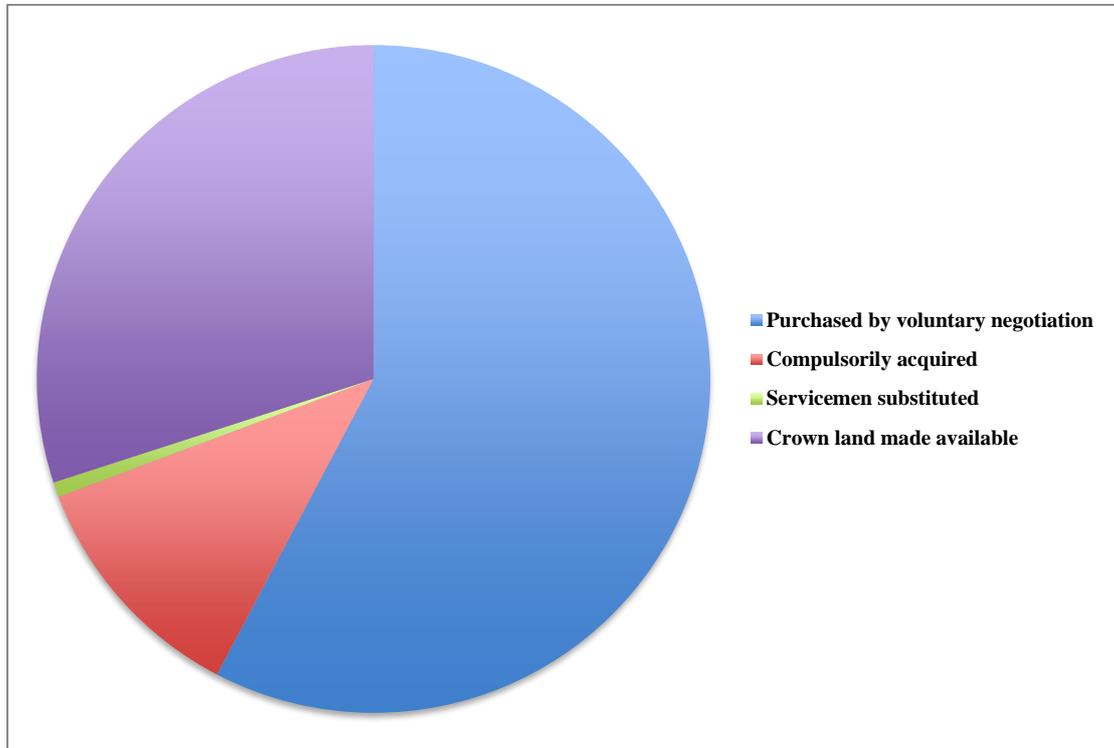
¹²⁶⁹ The details of 'qualifying service' since 1 April 1965 and from 1 April 1972 are set out in AJHR 1972, H18, pp.4-5.

¹²⁷⁰ AJHR 1968, H18, p.6; and AJHR 1971, H18, p.5.

¹²⁷¹ AJHR 1954 to 1972, H18.

¹²⁷² Direct settlement as opposed to the financing of privately negotiated farm purchases.

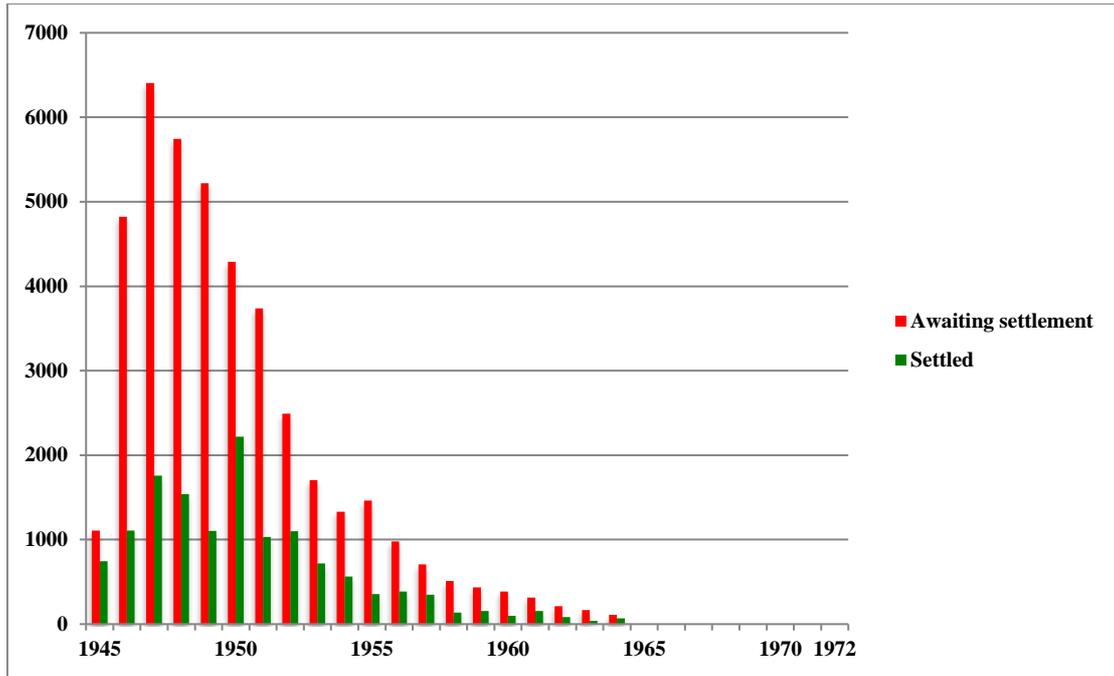
1940 under the Small Farms Amendment Act 1940, although it was 1943 before purchase was pursued with any vigour.



Source: AJHR 1960, C1, p.55

Graph 8.7: Lands acquired by the Crown for rehabilitation purposes from inception of scheme to 31 March 1960

Graph 8.8 shows the number of ex-servicemen awaiting settlement and the number actually settled from the inception of the programme to the end of March 1972. The number of graded men increased sharply as demobilisation proceeded, but contracted sharply from 1947 onwards. The numbers settled, on the other hand, were relatively modest. It is also clear that between 1947 and 1952 the disparity between the numbers of graded men and the numbers settled reached was especially marked.



Data up to 31 March 1945, thereafter as at 31 March of each year

Source: Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation*, p.167

Graph 8.8: Number of ex-servicemen awaiting settlement and number settled to 1972

Table 8.3 summarises the disposal of the land acquired by the Crown for the same period. On almost 1.326 million acres, a total of 3,419 ‘A’ grade veterans had been settled. The number of Maori veterans included in that total was not stated. On the other hand, the Department of Lands and Survey had transferred a mere 11,963 acres to the Department of Maori Affairs for the settlement of just 30 Maori ex-servicemen.

Table 8.3: Department of Lands and Survey, disposal of land from inception of the rehabilitation scheme to 31 March 1960

Disposals	Area: acres	Units: number
<i>To 'A' grade ex-servicemen</i>		
Developed units, including substitutions	1318026	3367
Partially developed units	4182	32
Unimproved units	1314	5
General land settlement scheme	2300	15
<i>To non-graded ex-servicemen and civilians</i>		
Developed units	32109	69
Partially developed units	6225	28
Unimproved units	33727	79
General land settlement scheme	9347	22
Miscellaneous	7870	58
<i>Sundry disposals</i>		
Transferred to Maori Affairs for settlement of Maori ex-servicemen	11963	30
Transferred to Department of Agriculture for experimental purposes	2447	8
Workers' homes, reserves, unsuitable for settlement	111120	5
Total disposals	1540630	3718
Land planned for development	894147	1550

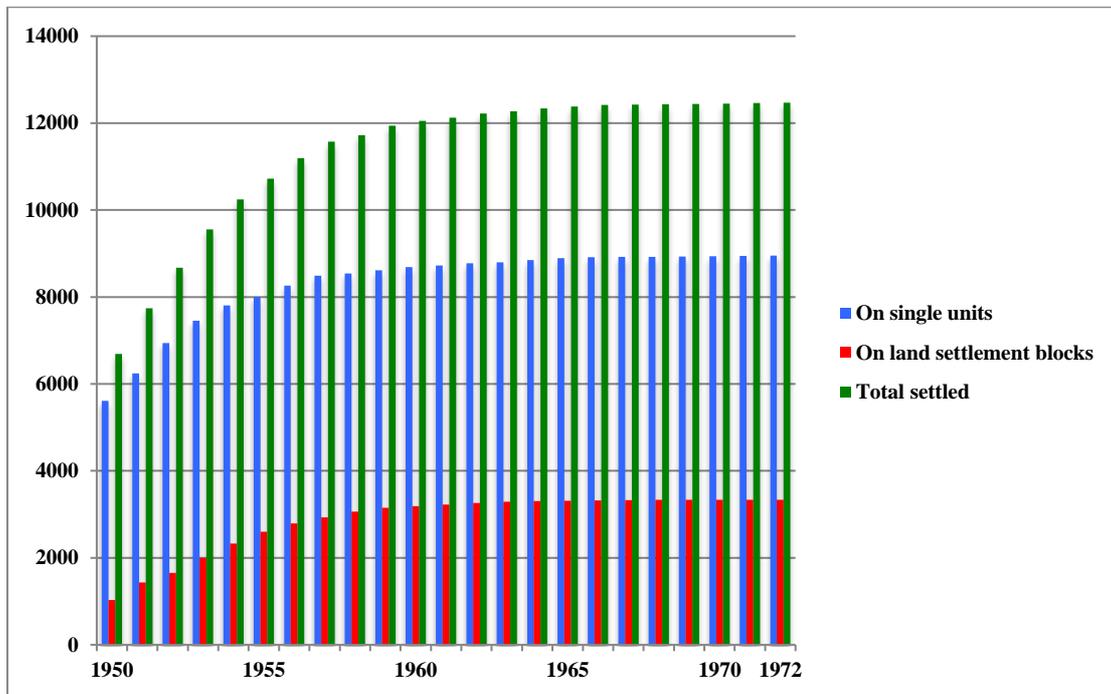
Source: AJHR 1960, C1, p.55

8.16 Measuring the results

The organisation and presentation of the data relating to the land settlement results secured under the rehabilitation programme changed between 1944 and 1950. The total number of ex-service personnel settled up to the end of March 1949 was 6,253.¹²⁷³ For the year ending 31 March 1950 and each year thereafter to the end of March 1972 a more elaborate set of statistics was published in the Rehabilitation Board's annual report. Graph 8.9 shows the cumulative number of ex-service personnel settled on single units and on land settlement blocks and the total settled by

¹²⁷³ AJHR 1944, H18, p.39; 1945, H18, p.20; 1946, H18, p.28; 1947, H18, p.22; 1948, H18, p.25; and 1949, H18, p.24.

the end of March 1972. Included are those who served in Korea and in the Emergency Forces. The ‘Total settled’ includes those Maori ex-servicemen settled, with rehabilitation assistance, on single units and blocks through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee: they numbered 179 by 31 March 1972. Clearly, the bulk of settlement, that is, 95.8 percent of the three groups, had been completed by 1960.

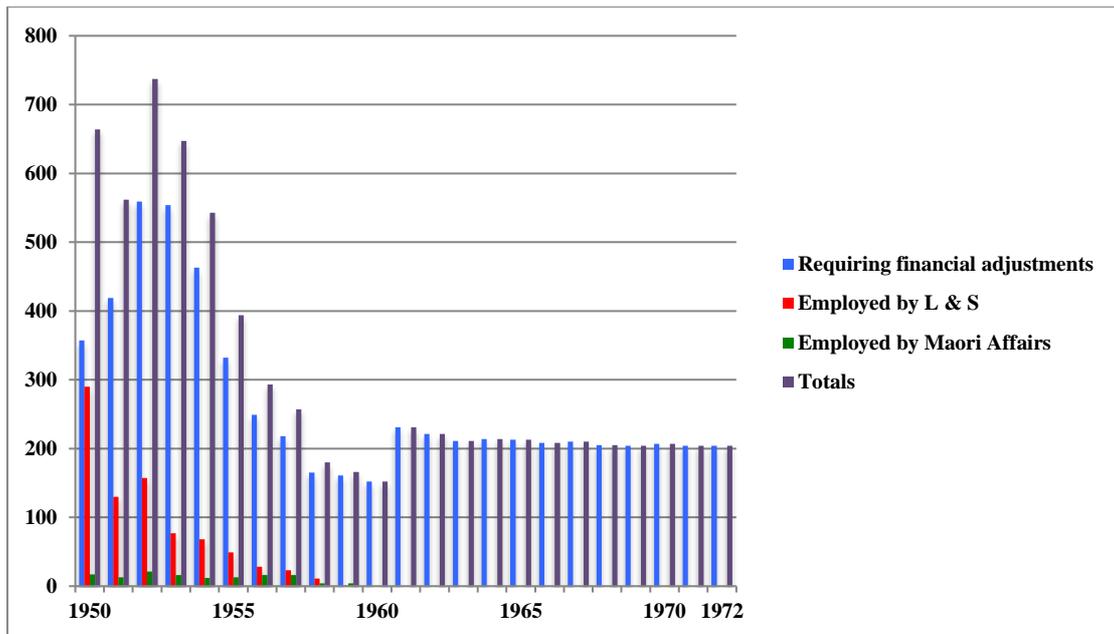


Years to end of March

Source: AJHR 1950 to 1972, H18

Graph 8.9: Cumulative number of ex-service personnel settled on single units and on land settlement blocks through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, 1950 to 1972

Graph 8.10 shows a smaller number of ex-service personnel also settled with rehabilitation assistance. Included are those settled on land settlement blocks but for whom ‘financial adjustments’ had still to be made, those employed by the Department of Lands and Survey with a promise of title, and those employed by the Department of Maori Affairs on single units and blocks, also with a promise of title. The total numbers involved were modest, ranging from 664 in the year ended 31 March 1950 to 204 in the year ended 31 March 1972.

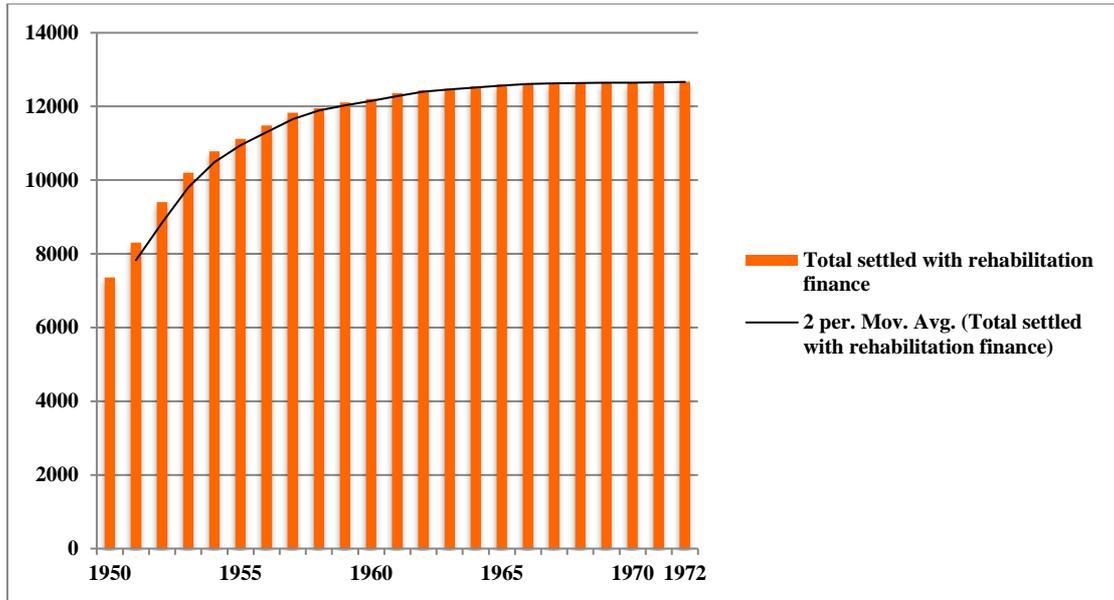


Years ending 31 March

Source: AJHR 1950 to 1972, H18

Graph 8.10: Cumulative number of ex-service servicemen settlers requiring financial adjustments, employed by the Department of Lands and Survey, and employed by the Department of Maori Affairs, 1950 to 1972

Graph 8.11 summarises the numbers of all those ex-service personnel who were settled with rehabilitation assistance. Not included are two categories, namely, those settled on Crown, freehold, and private leasehold properties without rehabilitation assistance, and Maori ex-servicemen assisted by the Department of Maori Affairs under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. The data relating to Maori will be examined in more detail in succeeding chapters.



Years to end of March

Source: AJHR 1950 to 1972, H18

Graph 8.11: Total ex-service personnel settled on the land with rehabilitation assistance, 1950 to 1972

8.17 Conclusions

It is generally acknowledged that the Rehabilitation Board's efforts to rehabilitate ex-servicemen through settlement on the land enjoyed a very large measure of success, not least since the number finally settled exceeded by a factor of four the original estimate of likely demand. The contrast with the Government's rehabilitation efforts for the servicemen of World War I was marked. From those earlier efforts, the Government, through its various agencies, drew what it considered to be the appropriate lessons and fashioned not only a set of comprehensive and robust policies but also an administrative structure through which they would be implemented in an orderly and controlled manner. The rehabilitation land settlement programme was not without its critics, not least from ex-servicemen themselves who found navigating through that administrative structure and meeting its expectations and requirements tasks that often proved daunting. Moreover, the efforts made by the Government and by the Rehabilitation Board were appreciably assisted by the favourable economic conditions that prevailed for the best part of two decades following the end of World

War II, a period that ranks among the most prosperous New Zealand had enjoyed. Again, the contrast with the economic conditions that prevailed during the two decades following the end of World War I could scarcely have been greater.

The major question that now arises is whether Maori veterans were able to secure settlement on the land, with rehabilitation assistance, at a rate comparable with Pakeha veterans. It is to that question that the next three chapters turn.

Chapter 9: ‘Are we to give our land also?’ Maori land and rehabilitation settlement

9.1 Introduction

In 1939, the Board of Native Affairs noted that the lands remaining in Maori ownership ‘will provide for only a proportion of the people – the remainder must necessarily be absorbed into other pursuits or avenues of employment.’¹²⁷⁴ Other contemporary estimates suggested that the proportion of the Maori population that could be supported by the land ranged from 25 per cent to 40 per cent, with most favouring the lower estimate.¹²⁷⁵ Such estimates notwithstanding, the general perception and belief endured, in official and public domains alike, that Maori retained large areas of idle or poorly utilised land that could and should be employed to settle Maori ex-service personnel. After all, even if 500 veterans sought farms, the total area required, given the prevailing assumption that most would seek dairy units, was unlikely to exceed 100,000 acres.

Although the task of settling those Maori veterans likely to seek rehabilitation through land settlement was thus regarded as readily manageable, protracted discussions took place that centred on several key issues. Among them was the question of who would supply the land, the Crown or Maori? How would land acquired by the Crown be allocated between Maori and Pakeha? Would Maori ex-servicemen be settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, and, if so, what were the implications? Would Maori ex-servicemen have ‘equal access,’ in this case to sections offered by the Crown for selection by ex-servicemen. Chapter 9 explores these and related matters during the period from about 1940 to 1945, concluding with a brief summary of the progress of Maori rehabilitation by January 1946. It will conclude that while ‘equal access’ to all rehabilitation facilities was extolled as the core principle upon which rehabilitation policy rested, in practice – where settlement on the land was concerned – that principle was shaped and managed in such a manner as to cast doubts over the commitment on the part of the agencies charged with the

¹²⁷⁴ AJHR 1939, G10, p.7.

¹²⁷⁵ H. Belshaw, ‘Maori economic circumstances,’ in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, p.184.

policy's implementation. Chapter 10 will focus on the closely related area, that is, the terms on which land would be made available to Maori ex-servicemen, and on the protracted dispute that involved the Departments of Rehabilitation and Maori Affairs over land settlement policy.

9.2 Existing literature

The post-1939 rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel, including settlement on the land, has attracted little investigation. Condliffe merely noted that 'about 200 Maoris ... [were] settled with rehabilitation aid.'¹²⁷⁶ In 1965, the Rehabilitation Board Secretariat published its *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand* in which it did little more than nominate the forms that such settlement could take, that is, on single unit farms located by servicemen themselves, on land owned by the servicemen concerned, land acquired from its Maori owners, land leased from Maori by Europeans but transferred to veterans, Crown land in Maori land development schemes, and land acquired from Europeans.¹²⁷⁷ It made no reference to settlement on Crown development blocks.

Orange dealt briefly with rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, noting that rehabilitation needs led to the Department of Maori Affairs to undertake 'some new expansion in land development, although the numbers of ex-servicemen being handled by the Department was [*sic*] disappointingly low – a matter which Fraser regretted.' The latter, she noted, admitted in 1948 that only 200 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled up to that time, most of them on land bought from Europeans.¹²⁷⁸ She accepted Fraser's explanation, namely, that Maori owners were unwilling to part with their land for rehabilitation purposes, and that the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Maori Affairs could not agree on the terms of leases. She concluded that that failure operated 'unfairly against a number of Maori ex-servicemen,' in turn serving to 'emphasise that the old problems of Maori land tenure had never been

¹²⁷⁶ J.B. Condliffe, *The welfare state in New Zealand*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1959, p.97.

¹²⁷⁷ *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965*. Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965, pp.179-181.

¹²⁷⁸ NZPD 1948, Vol 283, p.2520.

resolved by the Department [of Native Affairs].’ The latter ‘was still caught in the dilemma of having to act as trustee for the interests of the owner, as well as the occupier of the land.’¹²⁷⁹

Thomson, on the other hand, offered a more extended account of the rehabilitation of the servicemen of World War II. One chapter was devoted to ‘Maori rehabilitation,’ and part of that chapter dealt with land settlement. She concluded that the settlement of Maori veterans was ‘even slower’ than that of their Pakeha counterparts ‘because of problems related to land ownership and the history of Maori land development schemes, and because of Maori distrust of any state scheme to acquire land.’¹²⁸⁰ The difficulties associated with the land development schemes centred on the ill-defined rights of owners and occupiers and the incompatibility of the tenure provided for under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1936 and the minimum requirements set by the Rehabilitation Board. As a consequence, she noted, Maori ex-servicemen settled on land under Part I did not receive rehabilitation concessions.¹²⁸¹ Thomson concluded that the number of Maori veterans assisted to settle on the land was ‘disappointing,’ while evidence relating to the success of Maori ex-servicemen farmers was ‘patchy and contradictory.’¹²⁸² She noted that by the end of March 1954, 280 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled on farms or 5.6 per cent of the number (4,995) that had been demobilised by the end of March 1948.¹²⁸³ That figure included 154 settled with rehabilitation finance, 12 employed by the Department of Maori Affairs with promise of title, 25 settled with their own finance, and 89 settled under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. According to the annual report of the Rehabilitation Board (cited as one of the sources) for the year ending March 1954, the number of Maori veterans settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee stood at 107, while a further 12 were employed by the Department of Maori Affairs with promise of title, and 89 under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act. It seems likely that her figure of 154 included those Maori veterans

¹²⁷⁹ Claudia Orange, ‘A kind of equality: Labour and the Maori people 1935-1949,’ MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1977, pp.196-197.

¹²⁸⁰ Jane R.M. Thomson, ‘The rehabilitation of servicemen of World War II in New Zealand 1940 to 1954,’ PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, p.319. Hopner, relying largely on Thomson, offered a brief account of economic rehabilitation. See Veronica Hopner, ‘Home from war,’ PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2014, Chapter 2.

¹²⁸¹ Thomson, ‘The rehabilitation of servicemen,’ p.322.

¹²⁸² Thomson, ‘The rehabilitation of servicemen,’ p.325.

¹²⁸³ Thomson, ‘The rehabilitation of servicemen,’ pp.392-393.

who had been assisted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee. Whether the 12 employed and the 89 settled by the Department of Maori Affairs, at that stage certainly, remained to be seen. In short, Thomson's total of 280 refers to the number of veterans who had settled on the land by the end of March and not the number that had received rehabilitation assistance to do so.

Gould dealt briefly with the matter of settlement on the land in his 1996 report, noting that some 6,000 men served with the (28th) Maori Battalion and that 'Of these some 228 had, by 31 January 1953, been assisted either to acquire farms through cooperation between the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee ... and the State Advances Department, or had been assisted directly by the Department of Maori Affairs onto Maori development land under the 1936 Amendment Act.' Those settled on single units and blocks through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee numbered 100, those employed by the Department of Maori Affairs with promise of titles numbered 28, and those assisted by the Department of Maori Affairs under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 numbered 100.¹²⁸⁴ In his estimation, the 6,000 men who served in the Maori Battalion comprised 2.7 percent of the 220,000 New Zealanders who served in the armed forces during World War II, while the 228 assisted on to the land represented just over two per cent of the total of 11,268 ex-service personnel who had been settled on the land by 1 January 1953.¹²⁸⁵

Employing the number who served in the Maori Battalion as a base figure hardly seems satisfactory given that many Maori who served in other units, and given the casualty rates. Rather than the number who 'served,' more appropriate base figures might have been, for example, the number of Maori service personnel who were demobilised, and/or the number who sought rehabilitation settlement assistance, and/or the number who secured an unqualified 'A' Grade certificate that allowed them to apply for rehabilitation settlement assistance. Further, Gould appears not to have recognised that many if not most of those settled by the Department of Maori

¹²⁸⁴ Memorandum for Cabinet from the Office of Minister of Lands, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/26 26/1/186 Part 1, quoted in Ashley Gould, 'Maori land development 1929-1954. An introductory overview with representative case studies,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1996, p.63.

¹²⁸⁵ Gould, *Maori land development*, p.63. It is worthwhile noting that in 1945, the Minister of Defence gave the number of men who volunteered for and served with the Maori Battalion as 3,544, while many others joined up with 'pakeha battalions.' See NZPD 1945, Vol 271, p.206.

Affairs did not qualify for rehabilitation assistance, a matter discussed below. Effectively, settlement by the Board of Maori Affairs under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 did not form part of the rehabilitation programme. It is not at all clear, in any case, that such proportionate measurements constitute the most appropriate approach to establishing and assessing the comparative level of land settlement assistance rendered to Maori and Pakeha returned service personnel.

The senior author of this report examined the settlement of World War II returned Maori service personnel in Te Rohe Potae. He employed a range of sources that included the minute books of the Rehabilitation Board and the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. He concluded that the determination of the Crown, on the one hand, to treat all returning service personnel 'equally' and, on the other, to utilise lands owned by Maori, in particular those under development, meant that the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel through land settlement encountered serious difficulties. Ngati Maniapoto, he recorded, was distrustful of the Crown, disappointed with the progress of the land development programme, and increasingly convinced that land once taken under development would never be returned. Many viewed the policies adopted by the Rehabilitation Board as another effort by the Crown to 'individualise' Maori land ownership and to commodify Maori land. The imprecise terms under which the pre-1949 land development schemes had been established presented further difficulties. He cited a 1951 return that recorded, for the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land District, that 121 applications had been lodged by Maori veterans for farming since the inception of the rehabilitation programme but that just 28 had been settled, together with a further five occupying land under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1936 with secure tenure. That yielded, for that date, what might be termed a 'settlement rate' of just over 27 percent or about one in four who had sought settlement. Whether that modest rate characterised other land districts and whether the position improved through the 1950s were matters not explored in that report.¹²⁸⁶

¹²⁸⁶ T.J. Hearn, 'Land titles, land development, and returned soldier settlement in Te Rohe Potae,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2009, p.567. The source employed was ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 5.

Finally, *He Whiritaunoka* dealt briefly with rehabilitation. It noted that claimants believed that the rehabilitation scheme operated in such a way as to provide Maori ex-servicemen with fewer opportunities than non-Maori. The Waitangi Tribunal noted the practice of tagging the ‘A’ grade certificates issued to Maori veterans and the consequential restriction on participation in ballots for Crown units. It concluded that ‘The system of tagging the grades of financially inexperienced Maori ex-servicemen was potentially discriminatory and unfair, but we had too little evidence to say whether or not this was the case. Nor can we say whether Maori ex-servicemen were discriminated against in either the allocation or ballot of farms.’¹²⁸⁷

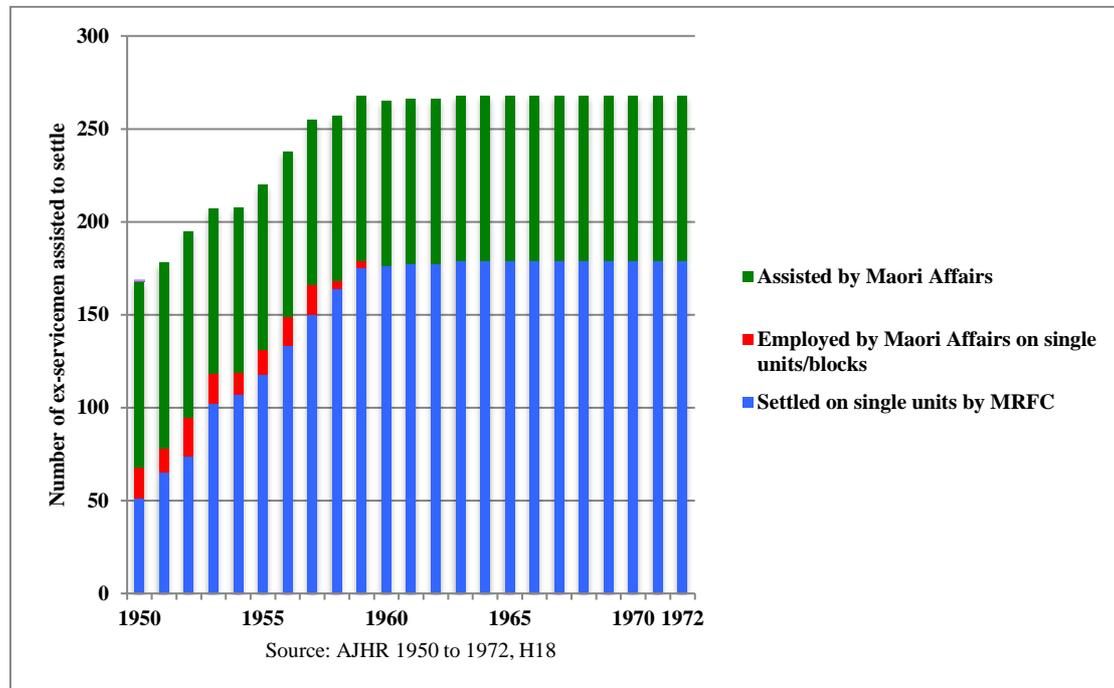
9.3 Maori veterans: the course of settlement

It will be helpful, first, to summarise briefly the scale and course of Maori ex-serviceman settlement under the rehabilitation programme set out in the Rehabilitation Act 1941. For the period from 1 April 1949 to 31 March 1972, the Rehabilitation Board published a summary of the results of its land settlement policies. Graph 9.1 sets out the data relating to Maori ex-servicemen. It is apparent that steady progress was made until 1959 when the numbers established slowed and indeed reached a peak of 268 in March 1962. Further, Graph 9.1 makes it clear that more Maori ex-servicemen were settled by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee than by the Department of Maori Affairs. Indeed, the number assisted by the latter stood at 100 by the end of March 1950: of those 100, 26 were located in the Tokerau Maori Land District, four in the Waikato-Maniapoto, 48 in the Waiariki, 15 in the Tairāwhiti, three in the Aotea, and four in the Ikaroa Maori Land Districts.¹²⁸⁸ By the end of March 1953, the total number settled through the Department had been revised to 89, that number subsequently remaining unchanged. From 1953 onwards, the Department of Maori Affairs’s annual reports no longer referred to ex-serviceman settlement or published any statistical data relating generally to the rehabilitation of

¹²⁸⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whiritaunoka: the Whanganui land report*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2015, p.1019.

¹²⁸⁸ AJHR 1950, G9, p.22. It should be noted that there was a category included in the data labelled ‘Settled without rehabilitation [financial] assistance on freehold, Crown, and private leasehold properties.’ That category, which numbered 1,067 as at 31 March 1972, appears to have included a small number of Maori veterans.

the Maori veterans, suggesting that such work had been folded into its normal operations.



Source: AJHR 1950 to 1972, H18

Graph 9.1: Cumulative numbers of Maori ex-service personnel assisted to settle on the land, 1949 to 1972

9.4 Providing land: Ngata shapes the debate

As the efficacy of settling ex-service personnel on the land was debated during the early years of the war, Maori Members of Parliament set out to remind the Government of what they had insisted had been the deliberate exclusion of Maori ex-servicemen from the post-World War I rehabilitation land settlement programme. Tiaki Paikea recorded that, at the end of World War I, he saw many of ‘the hardships suffered by men of my own race. So far as I know, no Maori soldier was ever settled on the land as a result of the legislation in those days.’ The few who did secure

sections did so on account of their European names.¹²⁸⁹ Similarly, Tirikatene claimed that ‘The Maori people have full knowledge of what happened after the 1914-18 war. That was the acid test of a Government’s sincerity in desiring to help the Maori people along the road of progress. In those days, no Government policy was formulated whereby rehabilitation assistance was offered to the Maori returned soldier in consideration of his war services.’¹²⁹⁰

Rehabilitation Board member Cullen was a little more cautious, but he did indicate that he was anxious ‘to see more soldier settlements for the Maori than were provided after the 1914-18 war. Very few returned Maori soldiers were put on the land.’ He went on to note – oddly, given that the scheme was not initiated until 1930 – that ‘their requirements were covered by the Native-land-development scheme,’ and he expressed the hope ‘that this time the returned Maori soldiers will not be excluded from the ordinary discharged soldier-settlement scheme, for a greater assistance will be given under this measure than is possible under the Native Land Act 1931, good as that is.’¹²⁹¹ Cullen was clearly in no doubt that settlement through the Rehabilitation Board’s scheme was for Maori ex-servicemen the advantageous and preferred option.

Cullen’s assumption appears to have been that responsibility for settling Maori ex-service personnel rested with the Crown and not with iwi or individual Maori landowners. Others were less certain. In the debates over the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel, Ngata again played a prominent role and his views, which helped shape the outcome, owed much to his experience of post-World I rehabilitation efforts. During a 1916 parliamentary debate, Ngata announced that ‘We do not want to sponge upon the Government from the Crown lands for our Maori soldiers. We want, as far as possible, to make provision for them out of our own lands.’¹²⁹² Ngata also claimed that despite Maori veterans having equal access to land under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1915, ‘owing to the ignorance that prevails in the Maori districts as regards the procedure in regard to land ballot, in practice Maori soldiers will not be able take advantage of the provision which is made for all

¹²⁸⁹ NZPD 1940, Vol.258, pp.313-314; 1941, Vol.259, pp.638-639; 1944, Vol 266, p.162; and NZPD 1945, Vol 268, p.432. On the last occasion, Paikea chose to ignore a counter-claim that 17 Maori veterans of World War I had been settled along the Whanganui River.

¹²⁹⁰ NZPD 1946, Vol 274, p.637.

¹²⁹¹ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.250.

¹²⁹² NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.73.

soldiers.¹²⁹³ He went on to propose that the Government should not set apart suitable scarce Crown land especially for Maori soldiers, but that Maori should be asked to sell land to the Crown which would then be set apart for settlement by Maori veterans. The assumption and expectation were that those so settled would then be entitled to the same assistance as rendered Pakeha veterans.

Ngata also recommended that under-utilised land then vested in the Maori land boards should be 'earmarked' for settlement by Maori soldiers.¹²⁹⁴ Where Maori ex-service personnel approached owners to buy or lease land owned by Maori, he suggested further, they could 'be given greater facilities than exist now in the case of ordinary applicants,' and, where Maori land was administered by a Maori land board, returned soldiers should be given first opportunity, ahead of men who had not served, to convince any meeting of assembled owners that they deserved and had earned their opportunity to farm.¹²⁹⁵ Ngata suggested, perhaps with more than a hint of irony, that 'it seemed to be almost an improper thing to ask the Crown, when it was popularly supposed that the Maoris had sufficient land for the purpose.'¹²⁹⁶ In 1917, Henare repeated Ngata's assertion that Maori soldiers would not ask the government for land.¹²⁹⁷

During the debate on the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Loans Bill 1919, Ngata disclosed another strand in his approach to rehabilitation when he suggested that in general soldier settlement did not assist the country to increase primary production and exports since soldier settlers merely replaced existing settlers. In what was perhaps an early indication of his later Maori land development programme, he sought to link soldier settlement with the development of virgin land, and hence his 1919 Bill intended to foster the State-funded development of the pumice lands of the central North Island and former gum lands in Northland expressly for soldier

¹²⁹³ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.70.

¹²⁹⁴ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.70.

¹²⁹⁵ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.71.

¹²⁹⁶ NZPD 1916, Vol 177, p.70.

¹²⁹⁷ NZPD 1917, Vol 178, p.392. Sorrenson described Ngata's gesture as 'magnanimous', but suggested that 'it meant that Maori servicemen were not provided for equally with Pakeha returned men who were granted land that had been purchased from Maoris (for less than £1 per acre) and from European land owners (for £10-18 per acre). Three small blocks of Maori land on the East Coast and in Hawke's Bay and another at Tokaanu were made available for Maori servicemen from those areas, but the rest got nothing.' M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, Volume 1, pp.28-29.

settlement.¹²⁹⁸ Finally, Ngata claimed that ‘under the present system of examination by Land Boards, Maori applicants, whether returned soldiers or not, are placed at the bottom of the list, and there is certainly a prejudice against Maori applicants for Crown lands.’¹²⁹⁹ In his view, land should be set aside exclusively for Maori soldiers and that special assistance beyond that already provided made available.

As the failures of the post-World War I land settlement programme were traversed during the debates of the shape of a new rehabilitation programme, Ngata made clear his desire that the Department of Native Affairs should ‘take on a much larger area and press forward with the development of that during the war period,’ again pointing to the ‘Taupo country’ and to Te Rohe Potae. His hope was that the Department would take up 50,000 to 60,000 acres distributed through the country and ‘get it ready for the Maoris after they come back from the war.’ It was, he suggested, less a matter of the cost than a proper ordering of priorities.¹³⁰⁰ Even Broadfoot (MHR Waitomo), ever concerned about ‘idle’ Maori land, pressed for an expansion of the Native land development scheme, and indeed argued that ‘all Maoris should be employed on the development of Native land.’ He was clearly averse to the Crown taking highly improved private land for soldier settlements when 3.5m acres of undeveloped land owned by Maori lay idle and, he added, suitable for ‘a joint settlement scheme’ for Maori and Pakeha.

9.5 The Small Farms Amendment Act 1940

During the debate on the Small Farms Amendment Bill 1940, Ngata claimed that the measure would ‘not affect Maoris to any great extent.’¹³⁰¹ Pressed by Langstone (Minister of Lands and Native Affairs) to explain, Ngata noted that the 1939 amendment, now incorporated into the proposed amendment, provided for renewable leases solely to ‘persons who, in the opinion of the [Small Farms] Board, are suitable for engagement in rural occupations and in respect of whom the Board is satisfied that they are not in regular employment or that they have not sufficient capital to acquire

¹²⁹⁸ NZPD 1919, Vol 185, pp.544-549.

¹²⁹⁹ NZPD 1919, Vol 185, p.685.

¹³⁰⁰ NZPD 1940, Vol 257, p.797.

¹³⁰¹ See NZPD 1940, Vol 258, pp.373-375.

land under the Land Act 1924 or the Land for Settlements Act 1925.’ The proposed addition of the words ‘discharged soldier’ applied to Maori, ‘but for the Maori the first, highest, and stiffest hurdle is implied in the words “persons who ... are suitable for engagement in rural occupations.”’ Ngata went on to observe that ‘The standard implied is not that which the present Minister would apply to the Maoris. No. It will be the standard that Land Boards apply to European applicants; and if that is to be the standard, one will find few Maori soldiers who will make the grade.’¹³⁰²

Ngata was clearly sceptical of Langstone’s insistence that ‘We will see that they do make the grade.’ In all likelihood expressing views widely shared among Maori – while expressly challenging the Government – Ngata claimed that Pakeha would remind Maori that they had land of their own and that ‘The pakeha will always be a pakeha. He will always look after himself first.’ Returned servicemen, he claimed, would tell Maori that ‘You have your own land, put your boys on your own land first, and when the supply is exhausted, you may have the right to come along with the other returned soldiers and take your chance in the ballot.’ That, he insisted, had been the experience of Maori in the wake of World War I, the outcome being that very few Maori ex-service personnel were placed on Crown land. Further, he predicted that the Act would be administered through the local land boards and they were ‘not sympathetic to the ambitious young Maori, whether he is a returned soldier or not. That is a straight-out fact ...’ Ngata went on to ask whether ‘some special provision, whereby either Native lands, Native-owned lands, or lands owned by the Crown’ should be made available for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. He also raised the matter of administrative control. He was quite clear in his view that:

The proper place to make provision for the Maori soldier is on land to be administered under the Native-land-development schemes. Our people, whether returned soldiers or otherwise, are better off under the control of the Native Department ... than as units on Crown land under the control of the Small Farms Board.¹³⁰³

Finally, Ngata suggested that there was a great deal of land on existing land development schemes not yet subdivided and occupied and that nothing would be

¹³⁰² NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.374.

¹³⁰³ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.374.

easier than approaching the owners with the suggestion that areas might be submitted to the Native Department out of the blocks, for settlement by Maoris on their return from the war.’ The initiative, he added, should come from the Department, although he suggested that a good many Maori would not hear of any such proposal. Ngata remained passionate over the potential of the pumice country for large-scale small farm settlement. He noted some two-fifths of Maori enlistments had come from North Auckland but that there was not sufficient land for ordinary Maori let alone Maori returned serviceman settlement, while recording that the Department had already taken the ‘drastic’ step of moving Te Hapua on to Crown land at Ngataki.¹³⁰⁴ In North Auckland, he suggested, land would have to be acquired from Pakeha, lands that were not being adequately farmed (notably around Ohaeawai), in the Hokianga, between Kaikohe and Waima. The problem, he suggested, was one of ‘reacquiring lands which the Maoris have lost, for the rehabilitation of North Auckland Maoris, and particularly of Maori soldiers from that district.’ Large areas of Maori owned land in Te Rohe Potae were possibly suitable for settlement purposes, including Waikato which had provided about a quarter of Maori enlistments, that is, between 450 and 500 compared with the eight (and ‘some of them under compulsion’) who enlisted for service during World War I. Hawke’s Bay, too, deserved consideration, Ngata noting ‘that even before the war there was a district problem of landlessness’ in that district, while the Manawatu ‘badly requires a policy of Maori rehabilitation.’ The problem again was one of re-purchase. Ngata concluded by observing that ‘We have had one hundred years of ... buying Native land for the pakeha. In view of the increase in the Maori population, it is time there was a little reversal of that process.’¹³⁰⁵ Langstone’s only response to the many points Ngata raised was to reiterate the assurance that Maori service personnel ‘will be treated in exactly the same way as the pakeha returned soldiers ... They will have equal rights with others when it comes to land settlement.’¹³⁰⁶

At an early stage, therefore, Ngata had drawn attention to several key issues, among them, how the settlement on the land of Maori ex-servicemen was to be handled administratively; the provision of sufficient suitable land, a problem of particular

¹³⁰⁴ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, pp.375-376.

¹³⁰⁵ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.376.

¹³⁰⁶ NZPD 1940, Vol 258, p.393.

importance in the districts from which the bulk of the Maori veterans had been drawn and in which iwi were poorer and more politically fragmented, and a concern that the Government's commitment to equality of opportunity might not result in equity of provision or equality of outcomes for Maori ex-servicemen. The desire of Maori, as set forth by Ngata in 1916, to rely on their own efforts and to settle Maori ex-servicemen on lands owned by Maori, had given way to what appears to have been an uncomfortable recognition that the self-reliance he so valued would have to give way to a temporary reliance on the Crown. His claims, concerns, and misgivings would all soon be put to the test.

9.6 First investigations, first predictions

While Ngata was making his views clear, the Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs decided to take the initiative. In June 1940, that is, before the passage of the Rehabilitation Act 1941 and before the establishment of the Rehabilitation Board and its associated machinery, O.N. Campbell advised the Maori land boards that he had informed the Native Minister that 'Provided we continued to get the same financial assistance we are now receiving we should be able to find work on the land for all the men who will be looking for it – also that we would no doubt be able to assist many of them in securing a farm of their own.' For that reason, he suggested, 'It would be wise to hold for soldier settlement purposes all lands over which we have full control and to discuss with the owners of other suitable lands the question of reserving for the same purpose.'¹³⁰⁷ He went on to qualify his apparent optimism by noting that the Department would only settle those who had the necessary 'knowledge, ability, and energy,' and that it would not settle veterans on 'lands difficult of development or on lands the future of which is uncertain.' It is not entirely clear what he meant by the term 'the future of which is uncertain,' but it seems likely that he had in mind the lands within development schemes that had been allocated to 'occupiers,' and to the Native freehold and vested land leased to Pakeha.

¹³⁰⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Presidents, Maori Land Boards 28 June 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1, Part 1.

Of key importance was Campbell's reference to 'all lands over which we have full control ...' It will be recalled that the Crown's early approach had been to declare very large tracts of land as development schemes under the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929. Thus, in Northland, in 1930, over 430,000 acres were proclaimed as the Kaipara, Mangonui, Bay of Islands, Northern Hokianga, and Southern Hokianga Development Schemes. Section 23(3)(f) was applied to such lands, that section specifying that 'no owner shall, except with the consent of the Native Minister, be entitled to exercise any rights of ownership in connection with the land so affected so as to interfere with or obstruct the carrying-out of any works undertaken to be undertaken under the said subsection (3).' Section 42(1) of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 contained no qualifications, stating simply that 'Except with the consent of the Board of Native Affairs, no person shall be entitled to exercise any rights of ownership in respect of any land that is subject to this Part of this Act.' Section 42(1) applied both retrospectively and prospectively. It should also be noted that by section 4(1) of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, the Board of Native Affairs was empowered to 'declare any Native land or any land owned or occupied by Natives or land vested in a Maori Land Board or in the Native Trustee to be subject to this Part of this Act [Part 1: Land development].' By section 5, assembled owners could pass a resolution agreeing to their land being declared subject to Part 1, but section 5(2) recorded that nothing in any such resolution 'shall be construed to bind the Board or to limit its powers' under section 4.

9.6.1 The Tokerau Maori Land District

The presidents of the Maori land boards were thus asked, in June 1940, to construct lists showing names of blocks of 'reasonably good Native lands which are not being used,' area of blocks, number of possible subdivisions, costs of development, building, and stocking, and the purposes for which the land was suitable. Subsequently, in September 1940, the Under Secretary noted that there were probably also many 'odd areas' already gazetted under Part I/1936 for which units had not been selected and which could be set aside for Maori veterans.¹³⁰⁸ As President of the

¹³⁰⁸ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to all presidents, Maori district land boards 26 September 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

Tokerau Maori Land Board, Acheson's response was pointed. He reported that while Maori families were keen to look after the interests of the men serving overseas, 'the demand for land is so great and the shortage in some localities so acute, that there will be no option but to purchase European land for Maori returned Soldiers.' All the Crown land fronting the sea from Ahipara northwards, he suggested, could be employed. He went on to note that 'Maori Returned Soldiers could live on comparatively small areas in that locality, because they could supplement their income by suitable sea foods easily available.' Acheson, it seems was thinking in terms of establishing an Antipodean version of Scotland's crofter settlements.¹³⁰⁹

A few weeks later, Acheson challenged the Under Secretary, insisting that he had commenced with 'the assumption that the tribes will be required to find Native Land for Maori Returned Soldiers, and that Maori Soldiers, as in the last War, will be allowed very little participation, if any, in suitable purchased or Crown land to be set aside by the Government for Soldier Settlement.' Maori would do all that they could to assist, he suggested, but 'the number [assisted] will largely depend on whether you speed up Consolidation of titles with adequate survey assistance. But the main problem is quite beyond their meagre land resources.' He went further, begging the Department to show 'vision and imagination,' insisting that he could suggest 'vast areas of European and Crown land available cheaply in Northern coastal areas admirably suited for Maori Soldiers who have borne the strain of War.' To suggest to the Government that Maori could provide all the land required would not only be misleading but would wrap 'the cold hand of officialdom around the neck of the Maori Soldier when the times call for something worthy of the Nation, something big and comprehensive and generous.'¹³¹⁰

Clearly irritated by what he perceived to be the Under Secretary's disposition to ignore his advice, Acheson referred the matter to Registrar Robertson.¹³¹¹ On this occasion, at least, the latter largely agreed with Acheson's assessment, noting that the position in Te Tai Tokerau differed materially from that in other districts. The best of

¹³⁰⁹ President, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 25 July 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

¹³¹⁰ President, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 2 October 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

¹³¹¹ President, Tokerau District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 2 October 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

the lands owned by Maori, he noted, were all ‘in occupation of some sort’ and likely to be brought into full production once titles had been ‘straightened out ...’ He concluded by noting that ‘It is appreciated that the Department does not desire to purchase private lands when Maori lands can be made available. There may be some difficulty in the North in getting suitable blocks set aside.’¹³¹²

Some months later, in March 1941, Registrar Robinson prepared a more detailed response. Thus, he suggested that the development of 2,500 acres of Nukuroa 2 would yield 20 farms, while that of an additional 2,500 acres within the existing Pouto development scheme would produce another 20 farms, dairy units each supporting 40 to 45 cows. It is worthwhile noting here that the average acreage of a commercial dairy farm in North Auckland in 1934 was 134 acres, the average herd size was 55 cows, and the average annual production of butterfat was 12,465 lbs.¹³¹³ Land at Otakanini was under lease to Pakeha, while the land at Araparera was ‘mainly gum of poor quality.’ He went on to note that ‘In the rest of the North as you are aware any available lands are in the main required for unit settlement, but there is in the Bay of Islands District an area of 3,382 acres of Native land. He went on to note that there were a number of units already established on the area but a very compact section of some 2,500 acres remained. That land ‘would be ideally suited for the establishment of a large scale scheme to give employment of [*sic*] some 20 soldier sons, of the Bay of Islands people, who are serving overseas ... The owners have expressed a wish that there be development and I think that they could be approached with a view to seeing whether they would be prepared for this area to be made available for the purpose now being reported upon.’¹³¹⁴ The fate of what would become the Ngaiotonga Development Scheme will be discussed briefly below.

9.6.2 The Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land District

In November 1940, the Board’s Registrar suggested, as a first option, an extension of the Waimiha development scheme by 2,000 acres at an estimated cost of £45,400 but

¹³¹² Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 13 December 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

¹³¹³ AJHR 1934, H30, p.191.

¹³¹⁴ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 28 March 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1 640 32/3/1.

providing sufficient land for 20 dairy farms. The second involved what he described as ‘a substantial area of vested lands in the vicinity of Te Kuiti’ apparently suitable for mixed farming.¹³¹⁵ Approval for the proposed Waimiha extension was quickly given, although the Under Secretary noted that ‘The work should be confined to limited areas in the meantime so that development can stop should the circumstances demand it.’¹³¹⁶ In 1941 the Native Department recorded that planning for 20 farms for Maori returned soldiers was ‘under consideration’ for the Waimiha Maori Land Development Scheme and that the matter would be discussed with owners.¹³¹⁷

In March 1941, the Board’s Registrar nominated a number of blocks considered suitable for rehabilitation purposes: they had an aggregate area of some 4,589 acres capable of supporting 38 dairy and grazing farms. Te Akau A, B, and C, said to ‘embrace many thousands of acres,’ were not considered suitable. He also expressed some concern over the matter of the tenure of any holdings and whether rent would be payable, issues in respect of which owners would require reassurance.¹³¹⁸ Subsequently, he nominated several other blocks. Among them was Mangakiri, part of the Ohinemuri block originally purchased and reserved by the Crown for Tuhourangi rendered landless by the Tarawera eruption of 1886 but (by section 27 of the Native Lands Amendment and Claims Adjustment Act 1921) vested in the Native Trustee, together with another block that Ngati Tamatera had awarded to Tuhourangi.¹³¹⁹ It is worthwhile noting here that there is some evidence that some officials made an effort to identify Maori owners or lessees unable to develop their holdings on account of lack of finance or poor health.¹³²⁰ In April 1941 a further list of blocks, located within Te Rohe Potae, was prepared: the total area involved was 6,442 acres while the number of farms was set at a minimum of 34.¹³²¹ The two lists overlapped in part, but it seemed reasonably clear that a good number of Maori

¹³¹⁵ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 11 November 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹³¹⁶ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 15 November 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹³¹⁷ AJHR 1941, G10, p.15.

¹³¹⁸ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 24 March 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹³¹⁹ Registrar, Auckland to Native Department 2 April 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹³²⁰ See, for example, Field Supervisor, Te Kuiti to Registrar, Auckland 10 April 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹³²¹ Field Supervisor, Te Kuiti to Registrar, Auckland 10 April 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

returned servicemen could be settled within the larger Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land District and, in particular, within Te Rohe Potae.

It is worthwhile noting here that the Raglan County Council was certain that there were some 50,000 acres in the county suitable for Maori rehabilitation purposes, a view which the Under Secretary did not entirely share.¹³²² The Raglan County Council was not alone among local authorities that discerned in the proposed rehabilitation settlement programme an opportunity to render Maori-owned lands rateable. In October 1945, for example, the Waipa County Clerk drew the attention of the Minister of Rehabilitation to Wharepuhunga 7A7B, 1 and 2, in all some 300 acres that he insisted were suitable for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen.¹³²³ The owners, it appeared, were making only occasional use of the land, otherwise infested with assorted noxious plants, while the titles were evidently ‘very involved.’

9.6.3 The Tairāwhiti Maori Land District

The Tairāwhiti Board’s Registrar consulted his local land development supervisors. In October 1940, the supervisor based in Ruatoria reported that he was unable to suggest any large area of suitable land in his district, apart, that is, from small or ‘odd’ areas, although, he added, rehabilitation ‘might provide a useful method of replacing some of the present units who are not making sufficient effort.’¹³²⁴ That would not be the last time that such a possibility would be raised. The supervisor based in Hick’s Bay reported similarly in respect of the Matakaoa district.¹³²⁵ The Supervisor based in Wairoa reported that there was no suitable land in the Mohaka district. The scheme at Mahia (Nukutaurua), he suggested, might be suitable, ‘but as there are practically no soldiers on active service or in camp from Mahia the present owners and prospective units are not at all keen that this land should be held for Return Soldiers [*sic*].’ Tikitiki’s supervisor reported that there were no suitable areas for closer settlement in

¹³²² Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 22 September 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹³²³ County Clerk, Waipa County Council to Minister of Rehabilitation 26 October 1945, in ANZ Wellington MAW2490/36 32/1/74.

¹³²⁴ Supervisor, Ruatoria to Registrar, Gisborne 17 October 1940, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

¹³²⁵ Supervisor, Hick’s Bay to Registrar, Gisborne 25 October 1940, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

the Waiapu district, although he suggested that the Tikitiki Station could be considered for sheep farming.¹³²⁶

It was not until late in April 1941 that the President of the Tairāwhiti District Māori Land Board finally reported to the Under Secretary. Reports covering the Wairoa, Matakaoa, and Waiapu districts, he indicated, suggested that there was ‘little or no land suitable for Māori soldiers,’ although that assessment was based on the assumption that only lands suitable for what was termed ‘closer settlement i.e. dairying’ were to be considered. With respect to dairying, he suggested the drainage of a lagoon. Conceding that an eel fishery would be sacrificed, he asked ‘what is an eel or two when we can now live on tinned tuna from Wairarapa and elsewhere.’¹³²⁷

9.6.4 The Aotea Māori Land District

According to Judge J.W. Browne, there were only two large areas in the Aotea Māori Land District, namely, the area around Parihaka (being reserves made for Taranaki Māori) and the area lying between Lake Taupo, Taumaranui, and the main trunk railway (being the Waimanu, Pukawa, Whangaipeke, Puketapu, Taurewa, and Hohotaka blocks). The last four were being milled. He suggested, ‘some form of compulsion may have to be brought into operation’ if the blocks were to be settled, the owners being more interested in renting them to Pakeha farmers.¹³²⁸ It was subsequently discovered that various blocks in the Parihaka area had been purchased by the Crown for ‘Pakeha Soldier Settlement’ following World War I: the results had proved ‘disastrous’ and the settlement was deserted. In any case, Māori were averse to allowing their lands to be employed for settling veterans. ‘The Blocks available are regarded as being required in the future for the settlement of the children of the various families either with the assistance of Dept. Dev. or otherwise.’¹³²⁹ The

¹³²⁶ Supervisor, to Registrar, Gisborne 18 April 1941, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

¹³²⁷ President, Tairāwhiti District Māori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 22 April 1941, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

¹³²⁸ Judge J.W. Browne, Whanganui to Under Secretary, Native Affairs, 1 October 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACOH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/5.

¹³²⁹ Supervisor, Native Affairs to Registrar [Whanganui] 17 November 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/5. See also ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1.

settlement of Maori veterans on those blocks was thus described as ‘out of the question.’¹³³⁰

It is of interest to note here that in June 1943, J.E. Asher submitted a list of 20 blocks totalling just over 67,000 acres that Ngati Tuwharetoa, meeting at Waihi on 31 January 1943, had decided should be made available for rehabilitation purposes. Asher envisaged that meetings of assembled owners would be called, although he noted that the basis on which the lands would be made available remained to be defined. Lands within development schemes that remain undeveloped would be considered, although he noted that ‘Many of the owners not subject to rehabilitation must also be provided for in addition to our soldiers and for that reason alone some safeguard of their interests must be respected. The areas that come within this category,’ he added, ‘are very considerable and possibly the largest section and incidentally much of the better class lands.’¹³³¹

9.7 Trust versus self-reliance

While Under Secretary Campbell appeared confident that all Maori ex-servicemen who desired settlement on the land could be accommodated within the Crown’s Native land development programme, others were less confident. On 12 March 1941, at Ohinemutu, a meeting of delegates of the Maori Primary Production and Rehabilitation Committees of the Waiariki Maori Land District took place. In attendance was the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs. Judge Harvey – in part echoing Acheson’s sentiments noted above – had a great deal to say on the matter of rehabilitation. First, noting the purchase of blocks of lands by the Crown, he claimed that ‘The Pakeha side of this rehabilitation for the repatriation of the Pakeha soldiers is being moved along now,’ and went on to add that while ‘There is no doubt that they know there are Maori soldiers away ... I do not suppose they have given much thought to fixing them up when they come back.’ He claimed that Maori veterans of World

¹³³⁰ Registrar, Whanganui to Head Office 1 December 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/5.

¹³³¹ J.E. Asher, Tokaanu to Judge Dykes, Whanganui 3 June 1942, in ANZ Wellington ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1.

War I were ‘thrown out of land ballots because they were Maoris.’ In his view, Maori should look to establish their own rehabilitation land settlement programme, both to assist veterans and to ensure that the Crown did not seek to acquire ‘idle’ land. Indeed, he discerned some ‘danger’ in drawing up lists of blocks considered suitable for rehabilitation purposes and entrusting them to some ‘development Board.’ Furthermore, he indicated, owners would want to see their own soldiers and young people settled first before any land was offered to ‘strangers.’ In Harvey’s view, the best approach was for each hapu to develop its own lands, with assistance from the State should it be prepared to act. His remarks were fully endorsed by Weihana Dolamore for Whanau Apanui, while Ray Vercoe, insisted that, with respect to rehabilitation ‘We do not wish to have the experiences of the last war.’¹³³²

Those remarks appear to have been offered as a direct challenge to Campbell. By way of response, the latter claimed that his department was giving a great deal of thought to the matter of rehabilitation, and that ‘we do not want to be caught napping when the war is over.’ Maori veterans, he announced, would rank alongside all other returned personnel. The Government, he indicated, might be able to assist with respect to land settlement. His assumption was clear enough and in fact he announced that he ‘would like to see the best of the remaining Maori lands earmarked for special soldier settlement. In most districts there is further land of good quality, and which without doing an injury to anybody, could be easily earmarked for soldier settlement.’ He went on to add that in any development scheme established, Maori ex-servicemen would be settled on them should owners so desire. He concluded by suggesting that ‘The best method of rehabilitation of course is for the parents to rehabilitate their own people,’ and added that ‘Probably the worst scheme of rehabilitation would be for the Government to take the whole responsibility. The best is for the Maoris to rehabilitate their own people on their own lands.’ The notes did not record the responses of those present, Campbell’s observations were not inconsistent with Harvey’s view that Maori should look to assume responsibility for rehabilitation.¹³³³ Neither offered any explanation of their apparent conviction that Maori, parents or others, should assume responsibility for settling Maori veterans, or how that expectation could be reconciled

¹³³² ‘Proceedings of a meeting of delegates from the Maori Primary Production and Rehabilitation Committees of the Waiariki District,’ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/3.

¹³³³ ‘Proceedings of a meeting of delegates from the Maori Primary Production and Rehabilitation Committees of the Waiariki District,’ in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/3.

with the commitment of the Government to equal access to all the facilities that would comprise the rehabilitation programme. It is of interest to record that following that meeting the Department inspected development schemes in the 'Rotorua Central' area and concluded that they could support 47 'separate farms,' although that would require the ejection of 'unsuitable' occupiers.¹³³⁴

9.8 'The balance of the men will remain labourers'

Despite the advice being tendered by the presidents of the Maori Land Boards, in particular from the three Boards from whose districts the bulk of Maori service personnel had been drawn, Campbell remained confident of his Department's ability to handle or meet the needs of those Maori veterans who would seek their rehabilitation through land settlement. In a May 1941 submission to the 'Lands Group,' noting the rehabilitation land settlement proposals advanced, he suggested that it was 'not thought likely that many [Maori ex-servicemen] would avail themselves of the opportunity.' In other words, few Maori veterans would seek to take advantage of the rehabilitation facilities that would be offered to ex-service personnel generally, including, it is presumed, settlement on the 'large estates' that the Crown would acquire. He offered no explanation for that conclusion, but went on to add that

It will be consequently necessary to make further [alternative] provisions for these people and it is recommended that the Native Land Development operations be extended so as to absorb about 750 prospective Maori farmers and farm labourers. The additional finance to enable this to be done is estimated to be £660,000 spread over three years ... It is hoped and expected that the Maori people will be able to find the land necessary for this programme and that in the course of the three years and without the necessity of any further finance some 300 of these men will be permanently established as self-supporting settlers. The balance of the men will remain labourers and should, at the end of the three years be all absorbed into the ordinary activities of the country ...¹³³⁵

¹³³⁴ Chief Supervisor, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 4 July 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/3. The schemes inspected were Tuhourangi, Parekarangi, Parekarangi Extension, Kapenga No.1, Kapenga No.2, Waikaukau, and Peka.

¹³³⁵ Under Secretary, Native Department to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 8 May 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA W2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

It will be recalled from Chapter 7 that the 'Lands Group' had estimated that 3,000 ex-service personnel would seek settlement on the land, and that the cost was put at £11m over four years, or an average of £3,667 per veteran settled.¹³³⁶ On the other, according to Campbell's figures, the average cost per Maori veteran finally settled would be £2,200 or 60 per cent of the cost of settling other veterans. Part of the difference reflected the fact that he had rated the cost of land at zero: the £660,000 represented the cost of development, housing, stock, and chattels, and public works.¹³³⁷ His approach, in short, was entirely consistent with the manner in which the Native land development programme had been implemented, Maori supplying the land and labour, and the Crown supplying capital and technical and managerial expertise.

Campbell's submission to the Lands Group clearly embodied some major assumptions, not least that the regional supply of land would match regional demand or that Maori land owners would allow settlement on their lands by ex-servicemen irrespective of iwi or hapu, that veterans would accept settlement beyond their rohe, and that a majority of the veterans would eventually seek and secure, by some form of osmosis, rehabilitation in the wider economy, albeit as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Above all, he appears to have assumed that Maori ex-service personnel would accept settlement on small holdings despite the fact that many in Northland and Te Rohe Potae (in particular) had proved incapable of supporting more than 'billy-can' dairying and on many of which operations had been scaled back as occupiers who responded to the opportunities generated by the expansion of war-time industries.¹³³⁸ Whether intended or not, Campbell's submission appears to have been designed to allay concerns already being expressed over the ability of the State to supply the land that would be required to accommodate the 3,000 veterans expected to seek settlement on the land. But it also seems to have been intended to cement into a place for his Department a key role in rehabilitation matters and to try to preclude

¹³³⁶ A copy of this report, 'Rehabilitation of discharged soldiers by land settlement,' can be found in ANZ Wellington SAC1W1956/62 36/3 Part 1. The Departments of Agriculture and Native Affairs were evidently to prepare a separate report dealing with 'Maori settlement, but no such report was located.

¹³³⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 8 May 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

¹³³⁸ See, for example, 'Maori farms. Falling off in North. Cows not being milked,' *New Zealand Herald* 18 September 1941, p.6.

its possible displacement either by a dedicated rehabilitation agency or by the Maori War Effort Organisation. All of his assumptions and all of his claims would soon be put to the test.

It should be noted here that at the end of March 1940, the Department of Native Affairs had established 140 Maori land development schemes covering 903,448 acres of which 268,921 acres were being farmed as individual holdings or were ‘in process of settlement.’ Those schemes supported 1,894 settlers and 3,125 farm workers (a ratio of 1.0 to 1.70), taking the total number of Maori supported to almost a quarter of the total Maori population.¹³³⁹ The Under Secretary’s claim that within three years the Department could absorb a further 750 men and settle 300 of them as settlers – representing an increase in the latter by some 16 per cent within three years – appeared to have bordered on the heroic.

9.9 ‘Not first class but quite fit for settlement’

Under Secretary Campbell remained confident. In response to inquiries from the ‘Returned Soldiers’ Repatriation Board’ over the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, he estimated that one third of returning veterans would wish to settle on the land and that ‘Subject to the necessary finance being made available this Department could, if it is desired to do so, find suitable land work for practically all these men without much delay.’ He went on to note that the land at the Department’s disposal was all owned by Maori and that prospective occupiers were nominated by them. Nevertheless, ‘quite a considerable area of these lands have not yet been selected and I have no doubt but that ... many of the owners will be anxious to assist by nominating them as occupiers of any of their surplus lands. The Maoris are already thinking along these lines. In this way I would think that we should be able to find holdings for possibly 300 returned men.’ Those holdings would be located mostly in the Upper Waikato, Taupo, and Rotorua districts. ‘It is unlikely that many Maoris will wish to be repatriated under any general land settlement scheme ...’ Finally, he added, ‘Even though you may consider making some special provisions with regard to Maori

¹³³⁹ AJHR 1940, G10, p.3.

soldiers, I would suggest that there be no distinction as between Maori and Pakeha in your general scheme of repatriation.¹³⁴⁰ Again it is important to note, on the one hand, Campbell's reference to finding 'land work' for an estimated one third of the returning veterans (on 1948 demobilisation totals some 1,700) and, on the other hand, his view that some 300 holdings would be found.

That same month, on 29 April 1942, Campbell informed the Lands Committee advising the Rehabilitation Board that

there was a large area held in Native ownership (not first-class land but quite fit for settlement) which was at present under development, and for which occupiers have not yet been selected. This would probably be available, for the settlement of returned Maoris, and he was of the opinion that the Maori people generally would lean towards the soldier, provided, of course, that the land was not specially required for the settlement of the owners' own families. Nevertheless the Maori should not be debarred from any general settlement scheme. The purchase of land for Maori could, if it were thought desirable, be undertaken by the Native Department which in the past had purchased land mainly to square up existing blocks. He would like to see the Maori led into other avenues of employment rather than make them farm labourers. They had the ability to adapt themselves in any other occupations. He knew the Maori very well, and ventured the opinion that the bulk of those returning would return in the first place to their own people and could gradually be absorbed on the development works already on hand. The Rehabilitation Board should feel its way with the Maori, rather than branch out on any wholesale settlement scheme. The same degree of supervision should be applied to Pakeha and Maori settlement.¹³⁴¹

Campbell's statement did not, apparently, elicit any response: perhaps it supported a widely held belief that Maori continued to hold large areas of potentially productive but idle land. It seems likely, too, that those present felt some relief that the settlement desires of Maori ex-servicemen could be largely met through the existing Maori land development programme, albeit on land that was 'not first-class ... but quite fit for settlement.' The Lands Committee agreed to appoint several subcommittees to deal with, among other matters, training and supervision, and the leasehold versus the freehold: the Department of Native Affairs would be represented on the relevant sub-

¹³⁴⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Chairman, Returned Soldiers' Repatriation Board 9 April 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

¹³⁴¹ 'Report of the Lands Committee advising Rehabilitation Board,' in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

committees. It should be noted that H. Tai Mitchell was present at this meeting, but the minutes did not record any comments that he may have proffered.¹³⁴²

In short, the Under Secretary clearly expected that Maori ex-servicemen would prefer to pursue their rehabilitation aspirations and plans through the Department rather than through the Rehabilitation Board, and that his Department would thus play a key if not pivotal role in the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel. It is also clear that he envisaged harnessing the Maori land development programme specifically for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. He appears to have been certain, or to have assumed, that Maori retained sufficient suitable land for the purpose, that owners would make it freely available for development, that owners would allow the Crown to assign priority to Maori ex-service personnel, and that the State would finance development and subdivision.¹³⁴³ Meeting towards the end of June 1942, the Maori Rehabilitation Committee, thus recorded that ‘As far as possible steps would be taken to settle soldiers on tribal lands while others would be assisted under the main scheme.’¹³⁴⁴

A draft version of a policy statement on rehabilitation included a section on Maori. It stated that:

All repatriation measures apply equally to Pakeha and Maori. It is anticipated [*sic*] that many Maoris [*sic*] will want to go on the land, and it is probable that most of these will prefer to be trained and settled on native land by the Native Department, under its land development scheme. In passing, it should be noted that as regards the probationary stage before a settler is placed on a farm of his own[,] similar practices are followed by both the Lands and Native Departments.

With the best will in the world, the Government cannot settle great numbers of Maoris on Native land, unless suitable land is offered for this purpose by the Maoris themselves. However, as there is still much Native land of reasonable quality lying idle we anticipate [*sic*] that there will be no hitch here and with good land thus provided by the Maori community and developed and settled by Maoris themselves with the assistance of the Native Department there

¹³⁴² ‘Report of the Lands Committee advising Rehabilitation Board,’ in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

¹³⁴³ A variant of this approach would materialise in the shape of section 72 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1945. It is discussed below, but it is worthwhile noting here that it failed to elicit any significant support from Maori.

¹³⁴⁴ ANZ Wellington AATG 6171/1.

should be no difficulty in satisfactorily repatriating all Maori ex-servicemen who wish to take up farming.¹³⁴⁵

Based, then, on the advice being tendered by the Department of Native Affairs, the Government appears to have had good reason for supposing that the wishes of all those Maori ex-service personnel who desired to settle on the land would be met, that they would be settled on lands owned by Maori, and that settlement would proceed with reasonable despatch. And yet, for all his apparent confidence that the Department of Native Affairs could accommodate all those Maori ex-servicemen who were expected to seek settlement on the land, the Under Secretary, in September 1942, reminded the Maori land boards that

The demand for land for Soldier Settlement will be heavy and there will be an intensive search for suitable idle lands before very long. Idle lands will not be permitted to lie idle and there is a danger that lands might be taken for European settlement unless it is earmarked for Native Settlement. The owners of good quality idle Native land in all districts should be contacted and the position discussed. Even though lands are not specially set aside for soldiers, owners should be encouraged to bring them into the development scheme leaving the occupiers to be selected by mutual consent later.¹³⁴⁶

Why the Under Secretary elected not to direct the boards to consult Maori is not clear. On the other hand, the Minister of Native Affairs and his department appeared determined to resist what the former termed any ‘diminution of the land available to Natives.’¹³⁴⁷

Certainly, the Department of Native Affairs appears to have been able to convince the Rehabilitation Board of its desire and capacity to settle Maori veterans. In its report for the year ended 31 March 1943, the Board ‘recognized that provision for the further development of Native lands, including tribal land offered to the Board for Maori settlement, as well as rationalization of farm management, will require to be made.’ It went on to note that it had ‘conferred with the Native Department, which administers Maori development measures, and it is anticipated [*sic*] that within the

¹³⁴⁵ ANZ Wellington ADRK 17408 T25/18/154.

¹³⁴⁶ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 22 September 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1 640 32/3/2.

¹³⁴⁷ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 11 August 1943, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA 1 640 32/3/2.

rehabilitation framework these measures, with appropriate modifications, will provide for the agricultural rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen.’¹³⁴⁸ What form the ‘appropriate modifications’ might take was not specified, but the reference to ‘the rationalization of farm management’ was a clear indication that the Board regarded the terms under which land within the development schemes was occupied required modification to bring them into line with its already established decision that veterans would only be settled on units that offered security of tenure and that could be deemed to be ‘economic units.’ The report suggested that the Board was confident that its requirements would be met: whether that confidence was soundly based would soon be put to the test.

9.10 ‘The Maori does not stand much chance of being settled’

If the Under Secretary were anxious, so, too, was Ngata. In comments that made clear the lack of confidence some Maori at least reposed in the State, in July 1942 Ngata asked whether the purchasing of land for rehabilitation purposes would be conducted by the Rehabilitation Board or by the Department of Lands and Survey. He made clear his view that if all those veterans seeking farms were to be settled, then at some stage land would have to be taken up ‘in the rough’ and developed. ‘Was the policy,’ he asked, ‘going to be to develop land before putting the returned soldiers on it, and, if so, was the development work to be done during or after the war period? If the policy was to provide approved land of good quality, he was afraid that the Maori returned soldiers would get very little.’¹³⁴⁹ As recorded above, Treasury was adamant that the initial focus, at least, should be on the acquisition and subdivision of improved land. Ngata appears to have believed that by linking placement on the land with land development, Maori veterans stood a better chance of securing farms. But it also reflected his conviction that the Department of Lands and Survey and the various waste lands boards had, with respect to the post-World War I soldier settlement

¹³⁴⁸ AJHR 1943, H18, p.18.

¹³⁴⁹ NZPD 1942, Vol 261, pp.446-447. Minister of Agriculture J.G. Barclay’s response was to claim ‘So far there had been no great problem in settling returned soldiers, and there was not likely to be, so long as it was necessary to keep a large standing Army in the Dominion.’ See NZPD 1942, Vol 261, p.447.

scheme, actively discriminated against Maori veterans. It seems likely that he was aware of that department's response to requests lodged by Maori veterans namely, that at least some of them constituted an effort to develop 'communal holdings.' The Department of Lands and Survey had also claimed that Maori had sufficient land from which to provide for their own, and hence advised veterans to have their individual interests partitioned out, while also offering the familiar response that Maori veterans could 'compete on an equal basis with Europeans.'¹³⁵⁰ Interestingly, when advised that in the face of repeated applications for land, Maori veterans had been told to wait, Prime Minister Massey could only say that he did 'not quite understand why any delay has taken place.'¹³⁵¹

Ngata was well aware, too, of the reluctance on the part of the State Advances Corporation to assist Maori with respect to land settlement and development. His State-funded land development programme was, in part, a direct response to that unwillingness. The Corporation was certainly reluctant to assist Maori veterans to acquire existing farms, an aversion reportedly informed by advice from some officers of the Department of Native Affairs to the effect that 'on average a Maori farmer is only about 60% as efficient as a European.' It was proving difficult, the Corporation, complained in September 1943, to obtain farms that show 'any margin over the productive value under efficient management.' In such circumstances 'the Maori does not stand much chance of being settled on the land.' The solution was 'some definite land settlement scheme' for Maori veterans.¹³⁵² It did not elaborate.

It was apparent that a large body of Maori opinion was averse to the idea that Maori veterans should be offered settlement on the land, at least on lands owned by Maori and on the same terms as those offered to Pakeha veterans in respect of Crown lands. Rather, that body favoured the creation of a special section of the Department of

¹³⁵⁰ See Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 12 June 1920; Minister, Lands and Survey to F.F. Hockley, MP 10 May 1922; and Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Minister, Lands and Survey 13 May 1922, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1851 26/1/3. See also Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 3 May 1922, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1851 26/1/3.

¹³⁵¹ Maori deputation to Prime Minister, Whakatane 9 March 1922, in ANZ Wellington ACGT 18190 LS1/1851 26/1/3.

¹³⁵² District Manpower Officer, Rehabilitation Division, Department of National Service, Hamilton to Controller, Rehabilitation Division 6 October 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

Native Affairs to finance, advise, and support veterans. It was Ngata who impressed those views on the Minister of Native Affairs (H.G.R. Mason) during the latter's visit to the Bay of Plenty during May 1944. In Ngata's view, placing Maori veterans on the land on the same basis as Pakeha veterans courted failure, such a policy constituting 'a double-edged sword.' Indeed, Ngata suggested that 90 percent of those returning could not hope to match the [farming] standard reached by Pakeha. 'The average Maori man who donned khaki to go away and fight was actually less prepared to take up an independent farming life than before he went away.' The existing policy was 'totally unsuited' to Maori needs and would lead to financial failure and the abandonment of farms. The only department capable of securing the desired results was the Department of Native Affairs. On the other hand, 'If the Rehabilitation Board were going to insist on handling Maori settlers, the men would simply be flung out into the maelstrom of Pakeha affairs and left to their own devices, unadvised and inexperienced.'¹³⁵³

Mason agreed, noting that 'Here was a case in which high-sounding and idealistic words [equality of treatment] were found to be not so fair to the Native race than had at first been supposed by the legislators ... He recognised that to place them [Maori veterans] on a uniformity of award with Pakeha soldiers would have unjust and possibly a drastic result.' The matter, he indicated, was being investigated.¹³⁵⁴ At the same time, Ngata was prepared to support 'individual settlement' where iwi so desired. Thus, at Whakatane, when introducing Mason to a delegation from Ngati Awa, he noted that the iwi wished to extend the development scheme at Ohope by settling thereon returning men. He went on to observe that 'He knew that the Department [of Native Affairs] had in the past looked askance at the idea of settling Maoris individually, but felt that if the Government were sincere in rehabilitating the young men on the land here was obviously the chance to do so.' He was supported by Keepa Tawhio.¹³⁵⁵ Mason did not, apparently, elaborate on what he had meant by

¹³⁵³ 'Two-edged sword. Equality of treatment. Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers,' *Bay of Plenty Beacon* 30 May 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁵⁴ 'Two-edged sword. Equality of treatment. Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers,' *Bay of Plenty Beacon* 30 May 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2. See also 'Rehabilitation of Maori soldiers in district,' *Rotorua Morning Post* 1 June 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/0.

¹³⁵⁵ 'Landlessness. Major Maori problem. Question of rehabilitation,' *Bay of Plenty Beacon* 30 May 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

‘settling Maoris individually,’ but the Department was certainly averse to any piecemeal excision of sections or farms from development schemes.

9.11 Seven categories of land

In March 1944, the Rehabilitation Board recorded that

Clarification of ownership of Native lands presents a difficulty in establishing Maori ex-servicemen, and already it is evident that two approaches to the question are possible. First, there is that which seeks to individualize land and after development place single ex-servicemen on it as freehold farmers or Crown lessees in much the same way as is done with European ex-servicemen settlers. The second approach is that which, recognising the joint title under which much Native land is held and the suitability of communal endeavour for Maori living in Maori communities, seeks to develop jointly held property on a co-operative basis and establish ex-servicemen within the framework of such co-operative endeavour. The latter approach involves an overlapping if the problems of Maori ex-serviceman settlement and Native settlement generally, but unless the joint owners of land are all ex-servicemen this overlapping is inevitable.¹³⁵⁶

The former approach was described as ‘the more orthodox ... and therefore the one more readily followed, but the Rehabilitation Board and the Board of Native Affairs were ‘directing research into the second approach.’¹³⁵⁷ That research was apparently conducted by C.J. Stace, the Rehabilitation Department’s Legal Officer. Certainly, in March 1944, Stace discussed the rehabilitation of Maori veterans at some length with the newly appointed Under Secretary of the Native Department, G.P. Shepherd.¹³⁵⁸ Among the matters traversed was cooperation with Tribal Executive Committees. It was quickly evident that Shepherd was a little wary of these bodies, describing them as ‘essentially political,’ proposing that they should be used primarily in ‘backblock’ areas, and suggesting that if too much reliance were placed upon them the Department would store up ‘trouble’ for itself. With respect to the proposal that the Maori land

¹³⁵⁶ AJHR 1944, H18, p.24.

¹³⁵⁷ AJHR 1944, H18, p.24.

¹³⁵⁸ O.N. Campbell served as Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs from 1935 to 1944. See ‘Native Affairs. Under-Secretary retires,’ *Evening Post* 2 March 1944, p.6. He was succeeded by Chief Judge G.P. Shepherd, known to Maori as Te Heparā, the good shepherd. See ‘Native Affairs. New Under Secretary,’ *Evening Post* 8 March 1944, p.4.

development programme should be utilised for rehabilitation purposes, Shepherd's response suggested that, where Campbell had been optimistic over the prospects, the Department of Native Affairs now entertained some misgivings. While the state of the programme would be examined, he indicated that of the approximately one million acres that had been gazetted, some 75 per cent was largely unsuitable for development. Moreover, he added, when the settlement stage was reached in respect of any scheme, owners would have preference. Indeed, the order of preference was owners, owners who were servicemen, other owners, other servicemen, and persons who were neither discharged servicemen nor owners.

As a result of his discussions with Shepherd, Stace identified seven categories of land that might be used for rehabilitation purposes: the underlying assumption remained, that Maori veterans would be settled largely on Maori-owned land. The first involved land owned by an applicant for rehabilitation assistance and fit for development and settlement. 'This,' he noted, 'will be available only in rare cases.' The second category involved land owned by an applicant and fit for development and settlement but which required either consolidation or partition. Interestingly, Shepherd was averse to any reference being made to consolidation, although in 1942 Native Minister Mason had reported, with respect to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, that 'instructions had been given that the consolidation of titles should be pushed ahead rapidly.'¹³⁵⁹ Baker appears separately to have taken up with Shepherd the matter of consolidation and to have been advised that staffing difficulties constituted a serious problem: pushing the matter further, he advised Rotorua's Maori Rehabilitation Officer, was unlikely to solve the problem.¹³⁶⁰ The remaining five categories included land gifted to an applicant; land purchased by the Crown for the settlement of a specific applicant; land acquired by the Crown for one or several applicants; land gazetted under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936; and, finally, land leased by Europeans.¹³⁶¹

¹³⁵⁹ NZPD 1942, Vol 261, p.485.

¹³⁶⁰ Director, Rehabilitation to Maori Rehabilitation Officer 12 March 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8.

¹³⁶¹ 'Notes of interview on Maori rehabilitation with Mr G.P. Shepherd, Under Secretary of the Native Department and Chief Judge of the Native Land Court,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

Stace and Shepherd explored two other possibilities for making land available for settlement by Maori veterans. The first would have involved the Department of Native Affairs, as the agent of the Rehabilitation Board, purchasing single unit properties under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 and leasing them to veterans. A second alternative was to employ the provisions of section 106 of the Native Land Act 1931. That section empowered Maori land boards, subject to the consent of the Minister of Native Affairs, to acquire an interest in land 'for and on behalf of any Native or body of Natives, including a body corporate' at such price and upon such terms as a board considered expedient. Ownership could then be transferred to an ex-serviceman.¹³⁶² Neither appears to have been pursued.

The reason for Shepherd's lack of interest in consolidation is not difficult to locate. By 1940, it was apparent that the very large consolidation schemes that had been instituted, in particular in the Tokerau and Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Districts, could not be completed, certainly not without many more trained and experienced staff. In March 1940, the Native Department's Chief Clerk advised his Under Secretary that consolidation in the Tokerau Maori Land District, in particular, had reached the stage at which a choice would have to be made, either to expedite or to abandon proceedings. 'If the work is continued on the present scale,' he noted, 'it may be years before it is finished ...'¹³⁶³ Many of the 60 series into which the four consolidation schemes in Tokerau Maori Land District had been divided had not proceeded beyond the stage of trial locations. The instability and uncertainty of the latter, often based on informal or verbal arrangements, lay at the heart of the considerable unrest evident in northern Maori communities by 1940. In October 1941, the Minister of Native Affairs directed the Department to 'push on the work of consolidation with speed in every district.'¹³⁶⁴ But with respect to the Tokerau schemes, Chief Native Land Court Judge Shepherd was advised, in that same month, that the general scheme embracing the district was too vast an undertaking as one

¹³⁶² Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 4 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁶³ Chief Clerk, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 27 March 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/552 29/2 Part 2. Cited in T.J Hearn, 'Social and economic change in Northland c1900 to c.1945: the role of the Crown and the place of Maori,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2006, p.660.

¹³⁶⁴ Native Minister to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 17 October 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/552 29/2 Part 2. Cited in Hearn, 'Social and economic change,' p.661.

job,’ and that progress could only be achieved by attacking the task piecemeal, and that the Native Land Court should turn its attention to facilitating consolidation through its ordinary jurisdiction ...’¹³⁶⁵ For his part, Acheson had already embarked upon such a course, concentrating on small districts and relying on multiple exchanges to effect ‘family consolidation.’ Shepherd may well have been aware that the all too frequent outcome was that while families were assisted to consolidate their collective interests, the resultant holdings were small and unlikely to constitute ‘economic units.’¹³⁶⁶

9.12 Intervening at the point of alienation

Of the options that Stace and Shepherd canvassed, only three possessed any real potential, namely, intervention at the point of alienation, expanding the Maori land development programme, and making available Crown and general lands. The first was an option that appealed to the Rehabilitation Board, offering as it did the opportunity to secure at least partially improved properties and to lease them on terms acceptable to it. After discussing the matter with Under Secretary Shepherd, Stace recorded that advising the Rehabilitation Department so that it might be represented at the relevant hearings of the Native Land Court would encounter several difficulties. Among other matters, it would delay the whole process of confirmation while reports were sought, the Department of Native Affairs being seriously under-staffed. Further, changes to the law would be required for as it stood lessees were entitled as of right to confirmation provided the terms of the lease complied with the Native Land Act 1931 and the lease was in the interests of the owners. There was, evidently, no enthusiasm for such a change. In any case, terminating the leases of Maori land vested in the Maori land boards, in particular, presented other difficulties, not least the payment of compensation for improvements. Under section 263(5) of the Native Land Act 1909, boards were required to establish sinking funds out of rents to meet compensation

¹³⁶⁵ See Commissioner, Senior Consolidation Officer, and Chief Clerk to Chief Judge, Native Land Court 31 October 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/552 29/2 Part 2. Cited in Hearn, ‘Social and economic change,’ pp.661-662.

¹³⁶⁶ For an example of Acheson’s efforts, see T.J. Hearn, ‘Local study: Tuparehuia, Otara, Oteaka, and Whangaruru-Whakaturia,’ commissioned research report, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2016, Chapter 2.

payments. The Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board was one distinguished by its failure to do so.¹³⁶⁷

Intervention at the point of alienation was revived when, in September 1944, the Director of Rehabilitation advised the Under Secretary of the Native Department that it was ‘becoming clear that there will be a shortage of Native land available for the rehabilitation of the Maori ex-servicemen. If that shortage will not be acute generally,’ he added, ‘it seems that it will, at least, be particularly acute in certain districts.’¹³⁶⁸ Ngata had stressed that point four years earlier. The Native Land Court, Baker went on to record, in considering applications for confirmation of alienations, often inquired whether the land in question was likely to be required for the rehabilitation of any of the owners or sons of the owners, but could not withhold confirmation where it may have been so required. In the Director’s view, ‘there is a *prima facie* case for the amendment of the existing legislation in such a way as to enable reasonable areas of good quality Native land to be made available for rehabilitation purposes ...’ He cited the case of Waiwiri East 1A and suggested that it indicated ‘that there may be frequent instances where legislation along the lines suggested would have the effect of protecting Maori servicemen against the improvidence of their relatives or other co-owners in the land.’ Otherwise, the Court could only appeal to a purchaser or lessee to withdraw from a proposed transaction. Finally, he noted, that if land could be so ‘diverted,’ then it should be gazetted under Part I/1936.¹³⁶⁹

The existing legislation to which Baker referred was section 43(4) of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943. It specified that ‘In considering any application for the confirmation of an alienation under Part XIII of the Native Land Act, 1931, or for confirmation of a resolution under Part XVIII of that Act, the Native Land Court shall have regard to the provisions of this Act.’ It is not clear

¹³⁶⁷ Legal Officer, Rehabilitation Department to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0. See T.J. Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown in Te Rohe Potae c1900 to c1935,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2011, p.745.

¹³⁶⁸ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 20 September 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁶⁹ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 20 September 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

whether the word ‘shall’ was intended to convey future or prospective actions or to specify an instruction or an obligation.¹³⁷⁰ Baker clearly thought that the Native Land Court should be given a clear and definite instruction.

The application lodged in respect of Waiwiri East 1A was heard in the Native Land Court in Levin in June 1944. It attracted considerable attention, and, indeed, the *New Zealand Herald* reported that it ‘might have an influence upon the whole policy of the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen ...’ The applicant opposed the confirmation of a lease of 144 acres of Maori freehold land owned by the Perawiti and Kuiti families to a Pakeha. ‘With the return of sons of both the native owners they had undergone a change of mind and desired to oppose the granting of the lease in order to rehabilitate their sons on the area.’ Judge Whitehead was of the view that he had no course other than to approve, but that since the decision ‘would affect the whole policy of the rehabilitation of native ex-servicemen,’ judgement would be reserved.¹³⁷¹ In his ruling, Whitehead noted that on 12 May 1943, an application had been made to confirm a lease of 102 acres to F.C. Jarrett. Confirmation was granted on 15 September 1943, while on 21 June 1944 an application was made for the confirmation of lease of the balance of the block.

At that last hearing, two officers of the Rehabilitation Department attended in the interests of two returned soldiers, one from each of the two families. The Court was reminded that the original order had not been signed and that it could exercise its discretionary power to review and decline confirmation. The Court was not prepared to re-open the application dealt with in September 1943: all the conditions of section 273 of the Native Land Act 1931 had been complied with, the alienation was not contrary to equity or good faith, and was not contrary to the interests of the owners. Further, the Court could not allow a lessee to be prejudiced by the neglect or inadvertence of Court staff. As for the balance of the land, the Court ruled that it was in the interests of the owner that it be rendered revenue producing by forming part of the larger block. Judge Whitehead observed that ‘The objections of the owners do not

¹³⁷⁰ On account of the ambiguity of the term ‘shall,’ it is no longer employed in legislation.

¹³⁷¹ ‘Maori lands, a rehabilitation issue,’ *New Zealand Herald* 28 June 1944, copy in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

come within any of the provisions of Section 273, but merely give expression to a natural desire to reserve the land for use of ex-servicemen.¹³⁷²

The Under Secretary referred Baker's suggestion to the Native Land Court judges, noting that the Supreme Court would not review a refusal by the Court to confirm an alienation on the ground that it was not in the interests of those alienating, unless, that is, some error in principle could be demonstrated. Judge Beechey asked whether it would be for the Court to decide whether the land in question was required for rehabilitation and suggested that 'It would be a far sounder plan for the Crown to have power to employ a proclamation forbidding sale.'¹³⁷³ Judge A.A. Whitehead (Wellington) described Baker's suggestions for amending legislation as 'quite inappropriate.'¹³⁷⁴ For his part, Judge Harvey announced that he did 'not agree that the Court should have thrust upon it the duty of scouting round to find a Maori returned soldier ... to replace alienees who have (often at considerable expenses (*sic*)) procured leases of Native land at rack rents.'¹³⁷⁵ The suggestion was allowed to lapse. It is worthwhile noting that the purchase of the goodwill of leases involving Pakeha lessees was also canvassed, but Baker concluded that it was 'doubtful that much land of any value will be made available from this source.'¹³⁷⁶

9.13 Expanding the Maori land development programme

The second major option involved the expansion of the existing and the establishment of new land settlement schemes under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. That approach had the blessing, possibly unintended, of Parliament's 1942 Land Development Committee. Charged with investigating the operations of the Department of Lands and Survey under Part I of the Land Laws Amendment Act

¹³⁷² 'Native Land Court. Important reserved decision,' *Evening Post* 27 September 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹³⁷³ Judge Beechey, note of Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Judge Beechey 3 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁷⁴ Judge A.A. Whitehead, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 March 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁷⁵ Judge Harvey, Rotorua to Under Secretary, Native Department 10 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington MA W2490 26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁷⁶ Director, Rehabilitation, Note for file, 28 March 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

1929 and under the Small Farms Act, 1932-1933, it concluded that whereas in the past the development of land had been undertaken by individual settlers, the stage had been reached at which development had become ‘a national undertaking of paramount importance,’ and that ‘The prior development of the land by the State has everything to commend it ... It seems far preferable to develop land in large blocks and write off any costs in excess of productive value than to give an individual a life-long task in breaking in a farm from the raw.’¹³⁷⁷ Expanding the existing and establishing new Maori land development schemes was thus an option apparently in line with wider land development policy and effort. There were difficulties, not least, the time and cost that the development of land, its subdivision, and the construction of roads, houses and farm buildings involved and the prospect of substantial debt write-offs. Moreover, development schemes involving Maori-owned land merely stepped over rather than resolved title difficulties, with implications for subsequent subdivision, owners retained some voice in the nomination of occupiers, and the terms of leases under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 were plainly unacceptable to the Rehabilitation Board.

Some months after Stace and Shepherd had discussed the matter, that is, towards the end of August 1944 – and four years after Campbell’s initial approach to the Maori land boards – Campbell asked the presidents to prepare ‘a complete stocktaking of the Native land within your district which is suitable and is available or may be made available by the owners for the purpose of Maori Servicemen’s Rehabilitation ...’ Two months passed and the Under Secretary noted that no replies had been received. The matter, he suggested to the boards, was ‘becoming very urgent and some organised action appears to be called for in view of the steps being taken by other Departments to find land for prospective settlement by returned servicemen.’ He was clearly uneasy over the search being conducted by the Department of Lands and Survey. Indeed, he wondered whether ‘it may be necessary for our Department to ask that of any lands acquired by the Crown for soldier settlement a certain proportion should be made available for Maori soldiers,’ an option that so far as could be determined had not previously been raised. He also suggested that an approach should be made to iwi to establish what lands they were prepared voluntarily to make available, suggesting

¹³⁷⁷ AJHR 1943, I5A, p.8

that such a step had not previously been contemplated or taken. The Department of Native Affairs, he added, had developed a number of properties comprising Crown land ‘and it may become necessary to reserve these areas entirely for ex-servicemen who have no landed interests but these areas probably will be quite insufficient for requirements and additional lands will therefore have to be acquired – probably privately owned European land will have to be purchased ...’ He then added, with respect to any such purchases, that ‘the Maori returned servicemen may be placed at a disadvantage in respect of Crown purchases of European lands should it be the case that the Maori people have not themselves made some lands available.’ Without the stocktaking he required ‘it will be very difficult to sustain a claim for any substantial areas of private lands purchased for soldier settlement.’¹³⁷⁸

Shepherd concluded by observing that

I want the Maori soldiers to be given their full share of rehabilitation benefits but in order to urge their claims in the matter of land settlement I want to be in a position to state authoritatively that the Maori people have made their contribution in the way of Native land for absorption of some of their own boys.¹³⁷⁹

Unless Maori were prepared to make land available for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel, the Crown, Shepherd appeared to suggest, would decline similarly. Moreover, he appears to have suggested that the oft-promised ‘equal access’ to rehabilitation assistance was, so far as Maori veterans were concerned, contingent upon the willingness of iwi and whanau to make their lands available for settlement purposes. How such a requirement, that is, that Maori make lands available for rehabilitation settlement, could be reconciled with the Government’s and the Rehabilitation Board’s professed commitment to ‘equal opportunity,’ Shepherd did not say.

In accordance with Shepherd’s instructions, the Maori land boards thus prepared lists of the lands within the *existing* land development schemes considered suitable for

¹³⁷⁸ Memorandum, Under Secretary, Native Affairs to all Judges 30 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2. See also AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹³⁷⁹ Memorandum, Under Secretary, Native Affairs to all Judges 30 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

development and for settlement by Maori ex-servicemen. For the Tokerau and Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Districts, Judge Beechey prepared a schedule outlining ‘the prospects of development schemes ... for subdivision and settlement by discharged soldiers.’¹³⁸⁰ Most of the schemes listed required substantial investment and protracted development before subdivision could be contemplated. While the schemes might yield up to 70 farms, the consent of owners would have to be secured: such consent, other than for soldier relatives, appeared unlikely, not least since a good many of the owners concerned required the land for their own use. Table 9.1 lists the schemes in the two districts that offered some scope for further development. In all, the 29 schemes covered a total area of almost 58,000 acres: of that area, some 19,500 acres were ‘suitable for development,’ but not all was considered suitable or indeed available for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. Expanding the existing schemes, at least in those two districts, appeared to offer only modest scope for accommodating Maori veterans. The Crown land within some of the schemes would attract the attention of the Rehabilitation Board.

¹³⁸⁰ Registrar, Auckland to Under-Secretary, Native Affairs 25 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

Table 9.1: Development schemes in the Tokerau and Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Districts: total area and area suitable for further development, 1944

Schemes	Acres	Acres suitable for development	Remarks
Mohinui	773	123	Maori land, not suitable
Okaroro	1760	55	Maori land, probably required for owners' needs
Opapaki	997	147	Maori land, doubtful for soldiers
Ngataki	3083	1453	Crown land, for Te Hapua Maori
Oturu	726	225	Crown land, could provide three holdings
Pouto	9000	5530	Maori land, owners would need to be consulted, possibly ten farms
Ruataniwha	227	200	Crown land, not suitable
Tautore	1607	240	Crown land, possibly three farms
Waiomio	1826	426	Maori land, not suitable
Waireia	4640	1500	Crown land, possibly ten farms
Waima Bush	1650	-	Maori land, owners short of land
Waima Sth A	1460	1400	Maori land, unsuitable for subdivision
Te Wharau	2377	471	Maori land, unsuitable for subdivision
Oturei	1803	695	Maori land, possibly seven farms
Pokapu	770	160	Maori land, possibly two farms
Aramiro	5208	1883	Maori land, owners require for own use
Hangatiki	556	80	Board property, possibly four farms
Kopua	506	115	Crown land, possibly four farms
Te Kuiti Base Farm	618	30	Board property, possibly two farms
Mahoenui	5313	1000	Maori land, possibly two farms
Mangaora	1023	263	Maori and Crown land, possibly two farms
Ngutunui	527	50	Maori land, possibly four farms, owners would favour settlement of relatives
Ngahape	794	Nil	Maori land, possibly four farms
Pukemoremore	731	62	Maori land, possibly six farms
Ranui	3769	1025	Maori land, unsuitable for subdivision
Uriwha	486	-	Maori land, possibly two farms
Waimiha	5278	1776	Maori land, possibly five farms
Waikaretu	977	592	Maori land, unsuitable for subdivision
Totals	57979	19501	Possibly 70 farms

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2

The Aotea District Maori Land Board classified blocks in its districts into four categories, namely (1) gazetted lands not yet developed, a total of nine blocks with an aggregate area of 77,024 acres; (2) further areas for gazetting, the consent of the owners having been obtained, a total of eight blocks with an aggregate area of 1,434 acres; (3) lands acquired from the Crown by exchange and available for settlement,

namely, seven subdivisions in the Tauranga-Taupo development scheme with a total area of 13,588 acres and 8,317 acres in the Korohe Development Scheme; and (4) land purchased by the Crown from the trustees of L.M. Grace's estate for development, namely, six subdivisions of Pukawa with a total area of 2,551 acres. Collectively, 102,914 acres were available, although in respect of the first two categories, 'no reliable information can be given as to what areas could be set aside for the specific settlement of Returned Servicemen.' The land acquired from Grace's estate, on the other hand, could be set aside and readily brought into production. Moreover, adjoining areas 'the majority of owners of which are amply provided with other lands to provide for their future needs,' could also be developed. On the other hand, extensive development work would be required and whether any of land would be set aside for returned service personnel was unclear. He went on to remind the Under Secretary that at a hui held at Waihi on 31 January 1943, Ngati Tuwharetoa had agreed to set aside very large areas for rehabilitation purposes. He also observed, with specific reference to the Pukawa and Waihi Kahakaharoa areas, 'that any approach to the owners for lands for settlement of Servicemen which do [not] evolve into a transfer of the freehold but envisage the ultimate granting of leases to the occupiers will be favourably received by the owners.' Finally, he noted that Maori were reluctant to consent to the gazetting of new areas whilst land in the existing schemes remained undeveloped. In short, 'ample land' available for the settlement of the district's veterans and to meet owners' needs.¹³⁸¹

The Tairāwhiti District Māori Land Board reported that it could not 'even suggest areas for investigation,' although it did indicate that parts of the East Coast Trust lands at Tolaga Bay, including a racecourse, could be used, while Lake Whakaki could be drained and limited to its summer level to render the surrounding land available for settlement. The Board's President reported that Ngati Porou had held a hui early in November at which one attendee asked 'We have given our boys, are we to give our land also – are the Pakehas giving their lands?' Judge Carr concluded by suggesting that 'If you can give me a satisfactory answer, I will be much fortified.'¹³⁸²

¹³⁸¹ Registrar, Whanganui to Head Office, Native Affairs 31 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁸² Judge Carr, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Department 8 November 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2. For Carr, see Vincent O'Malley, 'Carr, Harold Herbert,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

A few days later he advised the Under Secretary that a hui at Ruatoria ‘favoured the absorption of their boys on their lands by natural process rather than by handing over areas to Departments of State ...’ He also responded to the Under Secretary’s memorandum of 30 October 1944 (noted above), suggesting that it had imparted ‘rather a discordant note’ to the discussions.

An impression has been formed [he reported] that unless the Maori makes land available for Maori Servicemen his boys will be barred from participating in other lands purchased for Soldier Settlement. I trust that a wrong interpretation has been placed on your views otherwise it would seem that the Maori is being asked to do more than the other members of the community.¹³⁸³

Shepherd does not appear to have refuted that ‘impression.’ Subsequently, the Board’s Registrar suggested that several blocks of Crown land should be employed for the settlement of Maori veterans, among them several stations that included Ngamahanga. With respect to Hereheretau Station, he noted that ‘As this land was originally acquired for Maori ex-servicemen ex the last war, the time might be opportune to decide what is to be done with this portion of the old Maori Soldiers’ Fund.’¹³⁸⁴ Independently, the Kahungunu Tribal Executive Committee pressed for the purchase of Springhill Station and Wai Station at Nuhaka: with respect to the latter, the committee suggested that, if purchased for the settlement of Maori veterans, it would be prepared to waive all claims to this previously confiscated land.¹³⁸⁵

In the Horowhenua district there was apparently ‘very little land’ that could readily be made available for the settlement of Maori veterans. There were blocks of Maori-owned land suitable for subdivision into dairy farms but they were leased to Pakeha. In any case, most of the owners would not agree to their lands being occupied by ‘non owner Natives ...’ Among the blocks were the 486-acre Ransfield Estate (Manawatu-Kukutauaki 4F, 4E and other blocks), the 600-acre Bevan’s Estate (Ohau), and the 250-acre Bell’s Estate: on the latter two, 12 men could be settled. One of the owners regarded the rents under the existing arrangements as secure, and suggested that only

¹³⁸³ Judge Carr, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 16 November 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁸⁴ Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 October 1945, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

¹³⁸⁵ Secretary, Kahungunu Tribal Executive Committee to Minister, Rehabilitation 27 June 1944, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/358/b 9/1/1 Part 1.

a very small proportion of Maori veterans would prove to be successful farmers.¹³⁸⁶ The Native Department's field supervisor in Hastings reported that the only areas under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 that were partly developed lay in the Rakautatahi, Porangahau, and Mangaorapa development schemes. None was regarded as suitable for the settlement of Maori veterans.¹³⁸⁷ On the other hand, the Kahungunu Tribal Executive Committee advised the Minister of Rehabilitation of several properties that it considered should be acquired for the settlement of Maori veterans. They included the 2000-acre Moutawa Station, the 5,300-acre Ngamahanga Station, Waikautuku Station, Wai Station, Denton's Estate, and Ruakituri Station.¹³⁸⁸ The Director of Rehabilitation took particular interest in the Hereheretau and Ngamahana Stations, both administered by the Department of Native Affairs.¹³⁸⁹ Both properties were rejected by the Native Department as unsuitable.¹³⁹⁰

In brief, the existing land settlement schemes appeared to offer only modest prospects for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. In general, those schemes confronted a range of difficulties that included the small size of holdings; uncertain tenure; low investment; low productivity (of land, labour, and stock); low production; low returns; and underemployment. To those difficulties had to be added under-investment during the war years, apparent in deteriorating pastures, declining stock carrying capacities, and declining yields. Such difficulties were hardly likely to meet the Rehabilitation Boards's very clear requirements that ex-servicemen, Maori and Pakeha, were to be settled on developed land, on single unit properties that were freehold or offered security of tenure and full compensation for improvements, and that were capable of yielding each settler and his family economic independence and a reasonable standard of living.

¹³⁸⁶ Field Supervisor, Native Affairs, Levin to Registrar, Wellington 29 September 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁸⁷ Field Supervisor, Native Affairs, Hastings to Registrar, Wellington 17 September 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁸⁸ Kahungunu Tribal Executive, Wairoa to Minister of Rehabilitation 17 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁸⁹ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 15 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁹⁰ Under Secretary, Native Department to Director, Rehabilitation 8 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

9.14 'There is a prejudice'

But there were other difficulties. Judges Harvey and Whitehead took advantage of the opportunity to declare their views on the proposal to employ the Maori land development programme as the primary vehicle for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. Harvey insisted that gazetting lands under Part I/1936 'would cause trouble and defeat the object unless the present policy of the Board of Native Affairs to treat Maori lands under development as if they were Crown lands is modified.' In Harvey's view

There is a prejudice in the minds of many Natives against further land being made subject to Part I/36 and until both the Rehabilitation Department and the Native Department can say exactly how lands brought under Part I/36 for the purpose of rehabilitating Maori soldiers are going to be treated, it is useless stumping the country asking that lands be made available for such purpose. As far as I can see the Rehabilitation Department has no mind to get into the job of firstly allotting to the Maori soldiers their share of Crown and pakeha lands and secondly advising us of the names of approved Maori farmers not so provided for that it is prepared to back forthwith into a suitable farm. Frank action of this nature we and the Natives could understand and direct response would be the rejoinder. Interminable circulars, committees, liaisons, delegations, portfolios, categories etc etc isolate us and the Natives from both aims and problem all too effectively.¹³⁹¹

The burden of Harvey's comments was clear enough, that it was for owners to decide upon the disposition of their lands. Judge Whitehead noted that 'Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 is designed for the ultimate benefit of the native owners, whereas the purpose of the proposed legislation is to safeguard the interests of soldier lessees which is vastly different.' He also noted that 'The problem of providing for ex-servicemen is a national one and I see no difference between Maori soldiers and Pakeha soldiers in this respect.' He also suggested that 'the exercise of compulsory powers of leasing native land would result in a large increase of informal grazing tenancies which I for one am anxious to discourage.' Sales of Maori land were another matter and he could see no objection to the Director of Rehabilitation substituting his name for the proposed purchaser. Confirming the Native Land Court's

¹³⁹¹ Judge Harvey, Rotorua to Under Secretary, Native Department 10 October 1944, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA W2490 26 32/1 Part 2.

recently acquired aversion to confirming alienations by way of sale, Whitehead remarked that ‘If this results in discouraging natives from selling their land this would be entirely satisfactory from the point of view of our Department.’ But Whitehead went further and suggested that Part I should not be applied, but rather that an amending Act should be passed ‘which would provide for the Native Department as agent for the Director [of Rehabilitation] to take native land with the consent of the owners expressed through the Native Land Court for the purpose of rehabilitation upon such terms as adequately safeguard the interests of the native owners.’¹³⁹²

Harvey did not elaborate on his claim of a ‘prejudice’ on the part of many Maori towards gazetting under the Native land development scheme, but there is little doubt that many Maori were concerned over the marked departure from Ngata’s scheme that Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 was considered to represent. Prior to the passage of that Act, owners had been given clearly to understand that, once development had been completed and all development debts repaid, they would decide all matters relating to future ownership, occupation, and utilisation. Part I, on the other hand, initiated major changes that placed much greater emphasis on the creation of titles in severalty, owner-operated farms, and cost recovery. That the consent of owners to development was not required was also of major concern, a matter upon which the Crown Solicitor had commented at some length. Indeed, he noted that under section 4, the powers of the Board of Native Affairs were ‘almost as drastic as a Proclamation under the Public Works Act 1928.’¹³⁹³ As Minister of Native Affairs Langstone observed, the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 gave ‘power to the Board of Native Affairs to do anything necessary for the development of Native lands, with a view to settling Natives on the land.’¹³⁹⁴

That included the selection of occupiers. The Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929 and the Native Land Act 1931 were silent on the

¹³⁹² Judge A.A. Whitehead, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 March 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³⁹³ Crown Solicitor to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 18 December 1936, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1525/c 62/42 Part 1, cited in T.J. Hearn, ‘Land titles, land development, and returned soldier settlement in Te Rohe Potae,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2009, p.310.

¹³⁹⁴ NZPD 1936, Vol 247, p.1078.

matter of the selection and rights of occupiers.¹³⁹⁵ That was a matter that the 1934 Native Affairs Commission considered and it was upon its recommendation that section 16(1) of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 was based.¹³⁹⁶ It empowered the Board of Native Affairs to ‘nominate any Native to be the occupier ... whether or not at the time of the nomination the land is owned or occupied by that Native or by any other person.’ Section 16(3) allowed the Board to revoke any nomination. To many Maori land owners, Part I of the 1936 Act promised loss of control if not outright dispossession. But if owners entertained serious doubts about the direction that Native land development policy had taken, others were sceptical that Part I would meet the needs of Maori ex-servicemen. Thus, in September 1944, Tiaki Omana claimed that ‘the units in those [development] schemes are very much tied down and restricted, and I am hoping that those Maori soldiers who go on to the land through the Native Department will receive better consideration than has been forthcoming from that Department in the past.’¹³⁹⁷

One matter that would assume major importance was debated at this time, namely, the terms of leases that the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 empowered the Board of Native Affairs to issue (through the Maori land boards) leases to occupiers. Section 26 of the Act had provided for a term or terms not exceeding 50 years, section 27 empowered the Board to set the rental, and section 28 provided that a lease ‘may contain’ provision for the payment of compensation for improvements, ‘but in no case shall a greater amount be paid than that represented by the value of the unexhausted improvements at the termination of the lease or renewal.’ In 1938, the Board of Native Affairs appointed a committee to draw up a form of lease for lands being developed under Part 1. That committee recommended a term of 42 years, revision of rental every 14 years, and rental at five per cent of the owners’ interest: it could not agree on the rate of compensation for improvements.¹³⁹⁸ Unhappy with that failure, the Department’s Under Secretary proposed a rate of 50 per cent of the actual value of

¹³⁹⁵ See A.T. Ngata, ‘Maori land settlement’ in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, pp.96-154, especially p.148.

¹³⁹⁶ AJHR 1934, G11, p.43.

¹³⁹⁷ NZPD 1944, Vol 266, pp.171-172.

¹³⁹⁸ Board of Native Affairs, Memorandum on tenures under Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/a 60/16 Part 1. Cited in Hearn, ‘Land titles,’ p.499.

improvements.¹³⁹⁹ The Board of Native Affairs decided to consult Maori and the presidents of the Maori land boards. The conference of young Maori leaders held in Auckland in May 1939 agreed to a rate of 50 per cent, but whether efforts to consult Maori went further is unclear.¹⁴⁰⁰ Judge McCormick noted that Maori lessors had always been strongly opposed to the notion of compensation for improvements and that even at the proposed rate of 50 per cent would ‘feel aggrieved at having to pay a substantial amount to get their land back after being deprived of it for so many years at a rental which apparently will be only a percentage of the true rental based upon the unimproved value.’¹⁴⁰¹ In November 1939, the Board agreed to compensation at the rate of 50 per cent, a decision taken well in advance of the Department of Native Affairs’s proposal that the land development programme should be employed to accommodate Maori veterans. It was a decision that was also taken well in advance of the Rehabilitation Board’s settling on the minimal terms of tenure required for rehabilitation assistance.

9.15 ‘What about applying the reverse process?’

The third major option involved the Crown making lands in its ownership available for selection by Maori veterans and acquiring general land for the same purpose. Tiaki Paikea was among the first to declare that Crown lands should be made available and that general lands should be purchased for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen: after the transfer of lands owned by Maori into Pakeha ownership, he suggested, ‘What about applying the reverse process and making Crown land and big estates available to the Maoris?’¹⁴⁰² That option was canvassed in mid-October 1944 when some 400 delegates representing 30 iwi gathered in Wellington to discuss, among other matters, land claims, health, housing, the future of the MWEO, and

¹³⁹⁹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Acting Native Minister 14 March 1939, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/a 60/16 Part 1. Cited in Hearn, ‘Land titles,’ p.500.

¹⁴⁰⁰ A.T. Ngata, Kakariki to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 28 May 1939, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/a 60/16 Part 1. Cited in Hearn, ‘Land titles,’ p.501.

¹⁴⁰¹ President, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 14 June 1939, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/a 60/16 Part 1. Cited in Hearn, ‘Land titles,’ p.501.

¹⁴⁰² ‘Debate ends,’ *New Zealand Herald* 12 March 1943, p.4. Proposals of that kind elicited the standard response that Maori still owned some 4m acres. See, for example, NZPD 1943, Vol 262, p.354.

rehabilitation.¹⁴⁰³ The conference appointed a number of committees, A. T. Carroll convening that appointed to investigate and report the ‘Maori War Effort and Rehabilitation.’¹⁴⁰⁴ Native Minister Mason was among those who addressed the conference: with respect to rehabilitation, he claimed that the Government had ‘done a fair amount,’ citing the purchase of Huramua and several other properties. ‘There is no differentiation between Maori and pakeha with regard to rehabilitation ... It may be in some cases that the Native Department can do more for the Maori especially with regard to his interests in Maori land.’¹⁴⁰⁵ The findings of Carroll’s committee were not located, although Ngu Taylor proposed the establishment of a separate Maori rehabilitation board to deal with the rehabilitation of Maori veterans; Tiri Ratana suggested that there was a ‘dislocation’ between the Rehabilitation Board and the Maori soldier; while W. Barrett proposed that leases of Maori land to Pakeha should be determined and the land released employed for rehabilitation purposes. Of particular interest was Carroll’s observation that with respect to settlement, Maori possessed little land and that the Crown should provide.¹⁴⁰⁶

The conference does not appear to have discussed the possibility that iwi themselves should assume full or at least fuller responsibility for rehabilitation. Ngata was more forthcoming on that issue. On 5 November 1944, at his invitation, Ngati Porou leaders met at Ruatoria ‘to formulate ways and means of launching local initiatives regarding Rehabilitation, Maori welfare, Education, Employment, survey of districts regarding development settlement, and housing, water supply schemes, re-forestation, and health.’ Over 200, from Gisborne to Tikitiki, attended. The agenda for the meeting listed, under ‘Rehabilitation,’ ‘Matters regarding which local initiative can be taken and which may or may not be entitled to assistance from the Rehabilitation Department.’ Those matters included sites for homes, assistance by way of a guarantee of two per cent interest on the cost of houses (200 at an average cost of £750 or £150,000), the £3,000 guarantee to be raised from a range of sources that included the Waiapu Farmers Company and the Ngati Porou Dairy Company. The houses would be constructed by the Department of Native Affairs. Under ‘Work in

¹⁴⁰³ ‘Maori conference. Future of the race,’ *Evening Post* 10 October 1944, p.4.

¹⁴⁰⁴ ‘Welfare of Maoris,’ *Dominion* 19 October 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington, ACIH 16036 MA1/378 19/1/535.

¹⁴⁰⁵ ‘Notes of a speech,’ in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/378 19/1/535.

¹⁴⁰⁶ ‘Notes of Maori conference,’ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/378 19/1/535.

the district,' the prospects for employment on both Maori and Pakeha farms would be established, while an effort would be made to identify lands that could be provided for the settlement of veterans. The agenda paper recorded that:

A number will be re-absorbed on family lands; a number will replace people now occupying land; a number will be provided for by the subdivision of existing farms. But any soldier not a member of a land-owning family or with no prospect of inheriting farm land cannot be provided for from Maori lands north of say the Waiau bridge at Hikuwai. He would have to purchase or lease or marry into a land-owning family.¹⁴⁰⁷

Some whanau did settle returning veterans, as the reports of Maori Rehabilitation Officer for the East Coast made clear.¹⁴⁰⁸ In November 1944, Captain Pine Taiapa reported that he had assisted a number of 'A' grade ex-servicemen to prepare applications for submission to the Native Land Court (sitting at Tikitiki on 24 November 1944).

The job [he noted] was to get around to the point where the family or parents were willing to hand over the family property either leasehold or freehold. This took time, patience, and careful handling and it meant assembling them before the Court. Prior to this during our many tribal and Executive meetings leading men spoke on the question of settlement and it sounded simple, but now that the grade 'A' man has come up to the question of free grant or leasehold of family property they are not so willing to back their statements.¹⁴⁰⁹

Interestingly, the families involved resisted any suggestion that a lawyer should represent the servicemen, insisting that 'the moment a lawyer is involved it kills sentiment ...' The families preferred to deal directly with the Judge,' whom they have known practically all their lives...'¹⁴¹⁰ Efforts by veterans to acquire family lands soon encountered other difficulties. Thus, in July 1944, the Maori Rehabilitation Officer for the East Coast reported that many Maori ex-servicemen were unhappy 'because their requests [for rehabilitation assistance] cannot be met as it involves grading, clear

¹⁴⁰⁷ 'Matters for discussion at the meeting at the Pavilion, Whakarua Park, Ruatoria, Sunday, November 5th, 1944,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

¹⁴⁰⁸ See, for example, Maori Rehabilitation Officer, East Coast to Director, Rehabilitation 13 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, East Coast to Director, Rehabilitation 13 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

¹⁴¹⁰ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, East Coast to Director, Rehabilitation 1 November 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

titles to family properties, subdivision or in other words putting their cases before the Tairāwhiti Land Board ...'¹⁴¹¹ On the other hand, where the Rehabilitation Board's criteria for an 'economic holding' could be met, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee did assist veterans to purchase the interests of family members, acquire stock, and undertake any development work required.¹⁴¹²

The acquisition of general land for the purpose of settling Maori veterans carried with it, for the Government, a degree of political risk. For Maori it raised risks of another kind. In 1944 the Rehabilitation Board approved a recommendation from its Farms Advisory Committee that the Land Settlement Board should be 'the main land purchase organisation for buying private land,' and that blocks should be transferred to the Department of Native Affairs for development and settlement as the need arose. For the settlement of Maori veterans, that decision carried certain risks, first apparent in the effort made by the Crown, commencing in 1943, to acquire the 1,295-acre Whataroa estate. The property comprised 918 acres of freehold and 377 acres leased from Maori, namely, the 377-acre Kaurotewhenua 3D3E2B. The Bank of New Zealand had acquired the property from Broadfoot and Findlay as mortgagee and advised the Crown that it was willing to sell for £17,870, entering into a contract for sale and purchase through the Department of Lands and Survey. The precise sequence of events is a little unclear, but it appears that the Bank set out to acquire the leasehold land. Under Part XIII of the Land Act 1924 and Part XII of the Native Land Act 1931, it was debarred from doing so, but it appears to have entered into agreements for the purchase of interests confident that it could secure Cabinet approval under section 246 of the Native Land Act 1931.¹⁴¹³ Judge E.M. Beechey declined to call a meeting of assembled owners to consider sale to the bank: in his view the land was suitable for Maori settlement and its sale was therefore 'undesirable.' He went on to suggest that 'It seems to me that if the Crown desires to purchase, as it apparently does, that it would be more suitable if the Crown were to offer by way of exchange some other more suitable area that could be at a later stage

¹⁴¹¹ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, East Coast to Director, Rehabilitation 19 July 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

¹⁴¹² See, for example, ANZ Auckland BBDL 1030/1926/c 27/5/55.

¹⁴¹³ Section 246 empowered the Governor-General to authorise acquisition of land owned by Maori notwithstanding any provision as to limitation.

developed for the benefit of the Maoris.¹⁴¹⁴ For his part, Native Minister Mason directed the Under Secretary of Native Affairs to investigate, noting that while he was keen to facilitate the settlement of veterans, he would ‘have to consider carefully any proposal that resulted in a diminution of the land available to Natives.’¹⁴¹⁵

In November 1943, Registrar J.H. Robertson advised the Under Secretary that the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board was not prepared to summons a meeting of owners to consider a sale of Karuotewhenua 3D3E2B to the Bank of New Zealand. ‘The block,’ he noted, ‘is owned by one family and would be most suitable for Native occupation when the present lease expires in 1954.’¹⁴¹⁶ Intensive negotiations involving the Department of Lands and Survey (as the agency which had contracted with the Bank of New Zealand for the sale and purchase of Whataroa Estate), Auckland’s Registrar, and Judge Beechey followed. The last adhered to his proposal for an exchange of land, but adding a requirement that the Crown should set aside some sections of the property for the settlement of returned Maori soldiers. R. Ormsby (who had acted as agent for the Bank of New Zealand over the purchase of interests) was also involved: in his view the best course of action was to call a meeting of assembled owners, although, he noted, the Crown could proceed under section 445 of the Native Land Act 1931. The preferred course of action was purchase by way of a meeting of assembled owners.¹⁴¹⁷

A decision was made to proceed under section 422(c) of the Native Land Act 1931 and seek acquisition in the name of the Crown.¹⁴¹⁸ Owners were likely to agree to sale provided that an up-to-date valuation were obtained, while confirmation could be secured, the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey was advised, provided that rents for the balance of term were paid and provided that two sections were reserved for

¹⁴¹⁴ Judge E.M. Beechey to Registrar [Auckland] n.d. in ANZ, Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁴¹⁵ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 11 August 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁴¹⁶ Registrar, Auckland to Head Office 17 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁴¹⁷ Native Land Draughtsman, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 21 December 1943, in ANZ, Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁴¹⁸ Section 422(c) empowered assembled owners to consider an offer of purchase by the Crown or an exchange of land.

Maori veterans.¹⁴¹⁹ To that last condition the Under Secretary was prepared to agree but provided that ‘suitable Maori applicants are available when the holdings are ready for offering.’¹⁴²⁰ A special valuation indicated that the value of the interests of the Maori owners in the 377-acre Karuotewhenua 3D3E2B was £3,140, and the value of the leasehold interest held by the Bank of New Zealand was £490.¹⁴²¹ The Department of Lands and Survey proposed purchase ‘at a figure not inconsistent with the Government valuation of the Native interests.’¹⁴²² The Native Minister agreed, while the owners themselves, meeting at Te Kuiti on 21 February 1944 also agreed to sell their land to the Crown for £2,958. That resolution was confirmed by the Native Land Court on 26 April 1944 and subsequently adopted by the Board of Native Affairs. The block was proclaimed Crown land in June 1944.¹⁴²³ In June 1946, seven dairy sections in the Whataroa Farm Settlement were offered for selection by ‘ex-servicemen,’ and another in June 1947. It is not clear whether those eight included Maori ex-servicemen, although the indications are that they did not. What was clear was that a battle was being enjoined over the acquisition and provision of land for the settlement of returned servicemen, specifically whether a single State agency could be entrusted to acquire land and make it available for selection by two groups of veterans, Maori and Pakeha.

On the other hand, the Director of Rehabilitation went on to specify what in practice would act as an allocative (or rationing) mechanism. He noted that the great majority of Maori ex-servicemen who had been graded ‘A’ had had their gradings made subject to their settlement being arranged under the supervision of the Native Department. Such tagging meant that those men would be settled on land already available for that purpose and administered by the Native Department (that is, the land development schemes), and on lands acquired by the Department of Lands and

¹⁴¹⁹ Native Land Draughtsman, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 21 December 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁴²⁰ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 6 January 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁴²¹ The Valuation Department subsequently adjusted these figures to £2,958 and £672 respectively.

¹⁴²² Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 20 January 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁴²³ The Valuation Department, in January 1944, valued the owners’ interests at £3,140, subsequently reduced to £2,958. It lay in the centre of Whataroa Estate and lacked legal access. For the proclamation, see ‘Proclaiming Native Land to be vested in His Majesty the King,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 48, 8 June 1944, p.687. Whataroa was listed in the annual report of the Department of Lands and Survey as comprising 1,255 acres while its purchase price was given as £17,840. See AJHR 1945, C1, p.5.

Survey and subsequently handed over to the Native Department. Those Maori ex-servicemen graded 'A' and whose settlement was not subject to the supervision of the Native Department would be included in ballots open for European settlement, while they would also be able to apply through the State Advances Corporation to the Rehabilitation Loans Committee for finance to purchase single units (farms).¹⁴²⁴

Subsequently, in June 1945 the Minister of Rehabilitation recommended, and the Minister of Finance agreed, with respect to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, first, that land suitable for development and settlement by Maori ex-servicemen, would be purchased through the Land Settlement Board in the case of European land and through the Native Department in the case of Native land, the cost in either case to be charged to the *Lands for Settlement Account – Vote: Native Land Settlement*. In other words, two agencies would be responsible for the purchase of land for Maori rehabilitation purposes. Second, they agreed that blocks of land so acquired by the Department of Native Affairs would be developed by that Department from moneys out of the Land for Settlement Account – Vote: Native Land Settlement. Third, they agreed that Maori ex-servicemen would be established on such blocks, when developed and subdivided, at values determined on a productive basis in accordance with the announced Government policy, the balance (if any) to be recoverable from the War Expenses Account, and that in appropriate cases Maori ex-servicemen who held 'B' and 'C' grading certificates would be settled on such lands following subdivision on the same basis as it is proposed to settle them on land subject to Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. Finally, they agreed that settlement in the blocks so acquired and developed would be on a renewable leasehold basis, rental at £4 per cent per annum of the unimproved value with a reassessment every 33 years, and the lessee to purchase the improvements and stock at valuation with a rehabilitation loan (to the extent required).¹⁴²⁵

The decision to vest responsibility for the purchase of general land for Maori rehabilitation purposes in the Department of Lands and Survey raised a number of questions. Which agency, Native Affairs or Lands and Survey, was to estimate the

¹⁴²⁴ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 4 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹⁴²⁵ Minister of Rehabilitation to Minister of Finance 7 June 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW249/26 32/1 Part 2.

requirements for Maori rehabilitation settlement? Would the two agencies find themselves competing for land and if so how were any disagreements over who should have priority resolved? How long, under the very great pressure to acquire and make land available for settlement, would the arrangement endure? And would Ngata's fear, that the involvement of the Department of Lands and Survey again disadvantage Maori ex-servicemen, be realised?

9.16 Board and Department and a question of confidence

Towards the end of 1943, Under Secretary Campbell advised the Maori Rehabilitation Committee that Maori 'had been asked to make available for soldier settlement all idle Native lands.' The next move, he announced, was over to owners: why the Department was not evidently prepared to approach owners, he did not say. Tai Mitchell suggested that owners would not make any move and indeed proposed that land should be taken, whereupon Shepherd agreed that owners would not move but offered no opinion on the proposal that land should be taken.¹⁴²⁶ The apparent disinclination on the part of the Department of Native Affairs to act proactively with respect to land acquisition appears to have been at the heart of the progressive deterioration through 1944 of relationships between the Rehabilitation and Native Departments. In January 1945 Baker, in a long letter to the Under Secretary of the latter stated that for some time he had been 'rather concerned with the progress which has been made in regard to the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen ...' Baker reminded Shepherd that initially no specific arrangements had been established for liaison between the Department of Rehabilitation and the Board of Native Affairs, and that as a result of representations made by Maori and by several departments of State – including the Native Department – a scheme had been prepared and approved by Cabinet on 27 November 1943. Subsequently, on 29 February 1944, Cabinet reconstituted the Rehabilitation Board and placed in it full control of the entire rehabilitation programme. That decision was incorporated into the Rehabilitation Amendment Act 1944.

¹⁴²⁶ Minutes of a meeting of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee 9 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/124/a 10/0.

Among the issues Baker raised was the apparent objection on the part of the Department of Native Affairs to the involvement of the tribal executive committees. To that objection (which the Under Secretary described as incorrect), Baker noted, in a highly qualified observation, that ‘From a purely official standpoint these committees can possibly be regarded to some extent as a nuisance, but from the soldiers’ angle and as a means of giving an indication of public opinion in respect of our treatment of individual ex-servicemen, their services are most valuable.’ Their involvement had reached that stage at which it was ‘impossible now to visualise an administrative scheme in which these committees are ignored.’ The message was plain enough.¹⁴²⁷

Baker went on to record that a number of tribal executive committees had expressed objections to ‘the administration of the Native Department ...’ For its part, the Rehabilitation Department had urged them to ‘forget their old quarrels and take the fullest advantage of the assistance that is being offered through the agency of your Department, hoping that the service given by that means would effectively stifle any further criticism.’ That had not transpired, with Maori in Northland in particular evidently ‘keen to break away entirely from the Native Department ...’ Among the complaints being expressed was ‘insecurity of tenure by men who have settled on development schemes.’ Baker quoted from a report dated 29 August 1944 in which his Department’s Senior Maori Rehabilitation Officer had recorded that ‘the Maori people as a whole were very antagonistic towards the Native Department ...’ Kaumatua, he noted, considered that

No matter how enthusiastic the Native Department may be at the present time in carrying out the work submitted to it on behalf of the Maori ex-servicemen, that sooner or later the Department is more than likely to fall back to that complacent attitude known as ‘Taihoa.’¹⁴²⁸

Finally, Baker turned to the matter of land settlement in terms that suggested some frustration over the matter of grading and, especially, over the provision of land. The

¹⁴²⁷ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/ 32/1 Part 1.

¹⁴²⁸ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

Department of Native Affairs had failed to yield the information requested as to the extent of Maori and Crown land under its control, while a decision still had to be made as to how Maori freehold land could be set aside for veterans. Should it not be possible to resolve the difficulties involving the ‘conflicting’ interests of owners, the Rehabilitation Board might be forced to conclude that Maori freehold land in which ex-servicemen held no interests was not suitable for rehabilitation, a conclusion that would mean ‘that greater areas of Crown land will need to be set apart for rehabilitation purposes.’¹⁴²⁹ Of particular concern to Baker was the large number of loan applications submitted by Maori being channelled through the ‘European Committees.’ He reminded Shepherd that the Rehabilitation Boards’ view was that ‘unless a Maori is in effect cutting himself adrift from all Maori associations, his main source of assistance ... should be through the Native Department.’¹⁴³⁰ Quite why pursuing rehabilitation assistance through the standard channel should have meant a severing of ‘all Maori associations,’ Baker did not explain. The context of that remark did though point to the importance that the Board attached to settling Maori veterans on Maori-owned land.

Baker also expressed some frustration over what he believed to be the inflexible manner in which the Department of Native Affairs was utilising the grading system. He reminded Shepherd that those who sought assistance through the State Advances Corporation or who desired to participate in a ballot for Crown land had to have been graded ‘A.’ But, he added, ‘For the greater majority [of Maori veterans] ... who should be the responsibility of the Native Department, the system can be varied to suit the circumstances.’ For *final* settlement, Maori veterans would still require to hold ‘A’ grade certificates, but men graded B and C could still be employed on development work, and then in farm work during the training period. Once established ‘permanently with a definite tenure and the indebtedness ... appropriately adjusted,’ any rehabilitation concessions would then apply. It was through the exercise of such flexibility that Baker sought to expedite the placement of Maori veterans on the land.

¹⁴²⁹ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

¹⁴³⁰ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

9.17 'You appreciate the difficulties'

Baker's major concerns remained the supply of land for rehabilitation purposes and the terms on which land would be made available for settlement. The Department of Native Affairs, he complained to Shepherd, had still to furnish details of Maori and Crown land under its control and which could be suitable and made available for rehabilitation purposes. With respect to the land owned by Maori, the key issue was that of 'security.' Security was the foundation on which successful rehabilitation rested. 'The conflicting interests of Native owners, unless some solution can be found, may force this Board to the conclusion that native-owned land in which the ex-servicemen has no direct interest, is not suitable for rehabilitation purposes. This, of course, will mean that greater areas of Crown land will need to be set aside ...' He did not spell out the implications, but did reassure Shepherd that 'it was most desirable that an equitable distribution of lands purchased by the Crown should be made as between European and Maori settlers.'¹⁴³¹ The Rehabilitation Board shared its Director's evident frustration. In its annual report for the year to the end of March 1945, it acknowledged that 'The problems attendant upon the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on the land are somewhat more complex than those encountered in the case of the pakeha.' It went on to add that 'The importance of a vigorous policy of land settlement in Maori rehabilitation is, however, recognised, and every endeavour is being made to acquire and develop suitable properties.'¹⁴³²

Baker's growing impatience with the Department of Native Affairs appears to have been shared by the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey. Towards the end of April 1945, he made it clear to Baker that his Department 'will be interested, through the Land Settlement Board, in purchasing European land only. Land which is already Native land cannot be purchased by this Department.' But, he added, it was his Department's assumption that it would be advised of general land considered suitable for acquisition 'and that it will not be ...[its] function ... to locate land for the settlement of Native ex-servicemen. You appreciate the difficulties,' he advised the

¹⁴³¹ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹⁴³² AJHR 1945, H18, p.13. See also AJHR 1946, H18, pp.19-20.

Director of Rehabilitation, 'there are in getting land for the European ex-servicemen.'¹⁴³³

That declaration appeared to confirm the anxiety entertained by some Maori, as articulated by Ngata, that the interests of their ex-service sons and daughters would rank of secondary concern. The implication of the Under Secretary's comments was plain, namely that it was incumbent upon the Department of Native Affairs, where land purchase was concerned, to exercise the initiative. The purchasing process remained the responsibility of the Department of Lands and Survey. The *War history of rehabilitation* recorded, with respect to land acquired from Europeans, that in the case of land offered specifically for the settlement of Maori veterans, the matter was referred to the Department of Native Affairs and the Commissioner of Crown Lands was advised. Otherwise, all such lands were referred to the Department of Lands and Survey. 'Where ... the land was located in an area where the need for land for Maori ex-servicemen was paramount, the attention of the Lands Department was drawn to this aspect.' If and by whom and with what outcomes any such referral was made were matters upon which the publication did not comment.¹⁴³⁴

In any case, merely drawing the attention of the Department of Lands and Survey appears to have been of minor effect. When, in 1946, the Crown acquired a 136-acre property at Ruawai and the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided to ask the Department of Lands and Survey to make it available for Maori ex-servicemen, the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey, recorded that the Land Settlement Board

After consideration of all the circumstances ... decided that the application could not be favourably considered. On account of the lack of suitable land this Department is further behind with the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen in the North Auckland District than in most districts, and to allocate the area for Maori ex-servicemen would have the effect of reducing the prospective number of units for settlement in the North Auckland District by two dairy farms.

¹⁴³³ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Director, Rehabilitation 23 April 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁴³⁴ *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965*. Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965, p.181.

It should be pointed out that when the land has been developed and is made available for settlement, suitably graded Maori ex-servicemen will be eligible to apply in the usual way.¹⁴³⁵

It appears not to have occurred to the Under Secretary that that decision reduced by two the number of dairy farms available for Maori ex-servicemen. Moreover, he had casually glossed over the fact that most of those veterans were debarred from participating in ballots for Crown land. But, to judge from the comments offered by Auckland's Commissioner of Crown Lands in 1920, it also re-stated the Department's long-held stance. For its part, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee did not contest the decision. The power exercised by the Department of Lands and Survey and the purchase and settlement priorities it had established had been made abundantly clear.

9.18 'Definite steps be taken to acquire land'

That pronouncement by the Department of Lands and Survey, saw the Maori Rehabilitation Committee, when it met on 3 May 1945, discuss at length the acquisition of land. It arrived at a number of resolutions (confirmed by the Rehabilitation Board that same month), namely, that 'definite steps be taken to acquire lands ... in the North Auckland, East Coast, and Rotorua Districts and to a lesser extent in other districts;' that 'a general approach' should be made to the owners of Maori land 'in regard to making lands available, by sale or otherwise, for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen' by a sub-committee comprising the Under-Secretary, Native Department, the Director of Rehabilitation and Messrs E.L. Cullen and H.H. Rankin;' that where owners had signified a willingness to sell that the Department of Native Affairs approach them; that the Land Settlement Board should 'make such provision as necessary to make areas available in the North Auckland, East Coast and Rotorua Districts for settlement of Maori ex-servicemen;' and finally that where owners were willing, efforts should be made to acquire leases. The

¹⁴³⁵ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Under Secretary, Native Department 17 January 1947, in 'Land for settlement of Maori ex-servicemen,' paper attached to minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 31 January 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/100/a 8/887.

Committee agreed upon the terms on which land so acquired would be offered for selection.

Finally, it dealt with lands that had been gazetted under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, resolving ‘That wherever economic single-unit holdings ... are available, suitable eligible Maori ex-servicemen be settled thereon ...’ It set out the conditions under which such settlement should take place, set out the terms of the leases it required, and, importantly, ‘Resolved that in the event of the Board of Native Affairs not agreeing in any case to the terms of leases ... in respect of Native land subject to Part I/1936 that rehabilitation assistance be not made available unless the property is capable of being vested as to an estate of freehold in the ex-servicemen solely.’¹⁴³⁶ That last resolution initiated a protracted struggle between the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Native Affairs: it is explored in the following chapter.

In June 1945, Ngata insisted that the Department of Native Affairs should be responsible for all matters pertaining to the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel. The Rehabilitation Department ‘was the wrong one to handle the matter.’¹⁴³⁷ The Rehabilitation Board had other ideas. In July 1945, the Director of Rehabilitation, H.H. Rankin (Rehabilitation Board), and C.F. Blackburn (Chief Field Supervisor, Department of Native Affairs) departed on an extensive tour of the North Island with a view to making a personal appeal to Maori for land on which to settle Maori ex-service personnel, either by way of purchase or otherwise. Meetings had been arranged for the Hawke’s Bay, East Coast, Auckland, North Auckland, Waikato, and Taranaki districts. ‘The absence of suitable land,’ reported the *Auckland Star*, ‘has been the chief difficulty so far experienced in the settlement of Maori and pakeha servicemen.’¹⁴³⁸

¹⁴³⁶ See ‘Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-Servicemen,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 23 May 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1. See also Minutes of Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 3 May 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1. See also ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁴³⁷ ‘Maori welfare. Rehabilitation needs. Employment on the land,’ *New Zealand Herald* 11 June 1945, p.2.

¹⁴³⁸ ‘Maori ex-servicemen. Lands for settlement,’ *Auckland Star* 31 July 1945, p.3.

Reports of some of these hui were located. On Gisborne's Poho-o-Rawiri Marae, on 2 August 1945, Baker was anxious to make it clear that the Native Department was 'the Government Departmental agent to provide the assistance we want to see provided ... and we want the Maoris to have confidence in that agency, particularly the Returned men ...' Baker set out the elements of the economic rehabilitation programme: he stressed the importance of trade training, noting that 'it is obvious ...that we cannot go on forever settling all the Maoris, or the Pakehas for that matter, on the land and the question arises as to whether a start should not be made now to train more men for other things,' where other things meant trades beyond carpentry. Housing, he suggested, was a national problem, one that – citing materials and manpower shortages – would take some considerable time to resolve, at the same time acknowledging that the state of Maori housing 'was worse than the Pakeha and much needs to be done to improve the housing conditions of the Maori people.'¹⁴³⁹

9.19 'We are all floundering in the dark'

Baker then turned to the matter of land settlement. He insisted that the Board was prepared to settle graded men on the land and added, significantly perhaps, that the needs of Maori veterans would not be sacrificed as the Board endeavoured to meet the needs of Pakeha. Moreover, the assistance rendered would be the same in each case. Leases would have a term of 33 years, would be renewable, and compensation for improvements upon sale would be paid at the rate of 100 per cent. 'I am the one,' he announced, 'who in this matter applies the rule literally and I am not prepared and the Board has agreed that they will not provide rehabilitation loans to Maoris on any different terms.'

And that, he acknowledged:

... means that we cannot settle men under the present rules relating to land development or the present rules relating to Native leases, because in both cases the maximum period of a lease is 21 years, with a right of renewal for a

¹⁴³⁹ Extracts from speeches at rehabilitation conference held at Poho-o-Rawiri Marae on 2 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

further period of 21 years with no further right of renewal and the maximum compensation that has been permitted by the Native Land Court ... is 50 percent of the improvements and we have said that unless some means can be provided to give the same terms to ... Maori ex-servicemen ... as we are able to give to Pakehas, then we cannot ... deal with those leases. That means that the only man that we can deal with on a Rehabilitation basis is the man who can get a title to a piece of property or a lease from the Crown of a piece of property. With that in the back of our minds, how can we help the Maori Soldier? You might say help him by buying up all the Pakeha land and put him on that on the same terms as the Pakeha and in reply to that, I want to point out that in addition to the Maoris, we can see and we are sure that we will have the job of settling at least 6,000 Pakehas on the land ... we are going to have a big enough job settling those men and I cannot see yet how we are going to do it. The purpose of this discussion therefore is to see before we decide finally what we are going to do, to see to what extent the Maoris themselves can assist the settlement of the Maori Soldier on the land, only remembering that we can only settle him on Maori land if the man can get title to the property.¹⁴⁴⁰

Baker went on to record that some parents and grandparents of returning veterans were considering settling members of their whanau on their own land, but, he added, they must have sole ownership of the land, as in the case of Pakeha parents handing over their lands to their children. The Rehabilitation Board was prepared to assist by buying out interests and it was in respect of that process, he suggested, that the Tribal Executive Committees could most assist. The Board was also prepared, where leases were beginning to expire, to buy out the interests of co-owners so that sole ownership resulted, and to buy out Pakeha lessees in those cases where the returning men had interests in the lands concerned. Baker also touched on the matter of grading, observing that before any veteran was finally settled on the land, he had to be graded 'A.' He added that 'Before we will finally settle the land, we want to know that he can stand on his own feet. When that state has been reached, we will establish him permanently and not have him carried on in the same way as the Units of the Native Development Scheme are under supervision.'¹⁴⁴¹ It was a succinct summary of the Rehabilitation Board's assessment of the Department of Native Affairs, its goals and its programmes.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Extracts from speeches at rehabilitation conference held at Poho-o-Rawiri Marae on 2 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

¹⁴⁴¹ Extracts from speeches at rehabilitation conference held at Poro-o-Rawiri Marae on 2 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

After the debate of the last 18 months, Baker concluded, ‘it is now for the Maori people ... to decide whether they are going ... to make land available for their own boys; by gift if possible, if they are handing it from father to son, or by sale of their interests so that a particular man can be settled there ...’¹⁴⁴² Otherwise, Maori veterans would have to enter the ballots along with Pakeha and thus would be ‘well behind in getting settled.’¹⁴⁴³ The argument now seemed to be that unless Maori made land available, fewer Maori veterans would be settled than might otherwise have been the case. Baker concluded with an exhortation:

With the local office of the Native Department and my own Office, we are all floundering in the dark and for goodness sake let us face our obligations as citizens. Let us adhere to the very good principle that has been laid down, that the Maori boys are going to get the chance that we all agree they deserve and let us remember finally that the men who have been away to the War and are very proud of their record, can be settled and made as good a citizen as he was a Soldier. Then the future of the Maori is assured for all time.¹⁴⁴⁴

A week later, at Ohinemutu, Baker, Rankin, Blackburn, and ‘delegates from every sub-tribe of the Arawa confederation,’ traversed a number of issues. For the Department of Native Affairs, Blackburn made it clear that it ‘expected the full cooperation of tribal units in its task of re-establishing men in civil life. Many Maoris,’ he added, ‘did not want to go on the land. On the other hand, some had carried on under development schemes too long for their own good and too long for the reputation of the Maori people.’ Baker was keen to make clear the opportunities that existed in the trades, but it was land settlement that he explored further. ‘How could the rules relating to the settlement of farmers,’ he asked, ‘be applied to lands now held communally?’ He went on to suggest that Maori should ‘take a list of those who were fitted to go on the land and to see how many there were for whom provision could be made by the creation of permanent and individual tenures.’ Should Maori not be able to provide land, then those veterans who did wish to settle ‘would have to join in the race with at least 6000 of their pakeha comrades,’ although, he added, ‘No

¹⁴⁴² To provide for the settlement ‘Natives and descendants of Natives (particularly those who are discharged servicemen),’ section 5 of the Native Purposes Act 1943 empowered the Crown to accept any Maori land or interest therein as a gift or to purchase the same at a price less than its valuation.

¹⁴⁴³ Extracts from speeches at rehabilitation conference held at Poho-o-Rawiri Marae on 2 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Extracts from speeches at rehabilitation conference held at Poho-o-Rawiri Marae on 2 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/4.

Maori community would be asked to make available land for pakehas.’ The central message offered by Baker and Blackburn was perfectly plain. Unfortunately, the *New Zealand Herald* merely recorded that ‘A general discussion ensued.’¹⁴⁴⁵

On 9 August 1945, Baker and Blackburn met, at Ohinemutu, delegates from every hapu of the Arawa Confederation. The latter made it clear that the Department of Native Affairs ‘expected the full cooperation of tribal units in its task of re-establishing men in civil life ...’ He suggested that ‘some [Maori occupiers] had carried on under development schemes too long for their own good,’ implying, it seems, an expectation that they would be encouraged to relinquish such tenure as they possessed. Baker again laid emphasis on the Rehabilitation Board’s requirement that those settled should have individual and secure titles and urged those attending to establish how many men ‘for whom provision could be made by the creation of permanent and individual tenures.’ Otherwise, Maori veterans ‘would have to join in the race for land with at least 6000 of their pakeha comrades and it would be a considerable time before all demands in this sphere could be met.’¹⁴⁴⁶ According to the *Auckland Star*, the Rotorua Maori Rehabilitation Committee had prepared plans for the settlement of Arawa veterans on tribal lands, Major H.R. Vercoe announcing that ‘It was definitely the policy of the Arawa Farms Rehabilitation Committee ... to ensure that all returning Arawa servicemen who desired to settle on the land should be given the opportunity to do so. There was ample land available.’ His ‘very conservative’ estimate of the number of men who would require land was 200. His remarks indicated that the Department of Maori Affairs would develop the blocks, employing veterans to carry out the work and settling them on the land once

¹⁴⁴⁵ *New Zealand Herald* 9 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. Baker’s comments moved Judge Beechey to offer some observations to the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court. ‘I naturally wonder,’ he wrote, ‘how far the individualisation of native title is to be carried into effect.’ He went on to add that ‘If native farmers are to have the opportunity of acquiring interests in blocks, how far should the principle be applied when Europeans seek to acquire similar interests?’ In his view, where unoccupied Maori-owned land was not required for development, Europeans should be permitted to purchase. See Judge Beechey to Chief Judge, Native Land Court 10 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁴⁴⁶ ‘Maori welfare. Settling ex-soldiers. Conference at Ohinemutu,’ *New Zealand Herald* 8 August 1945, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

subdivided.¹⁴⁴⁷ The party also met Maori at Ngauruawahia and Oturu, but the brief press reports did not suggest any new disclosures.¹⁴⁴⁸

9.20 'On the whole ... a success'

The touring party presented a lengthy report to the Rehabilitation Board in which it declared the tour to have been 'on the whole ... a success.' It recorded that

The Maori people were informed that the Government and other organisations connected with Rehabilitation were agreed that the Maori soldier should receive treatment equal in every respect to that afforded to the pakeha servicemen. They were asked to take stock of the lands and of the returned servicemen in their area and to decide how much of this land could be set aside for the settlement of their men. It was pointed out that if the Maori land available throughout New Zealand was insufficient for the needs of the Maori ex-servicemen their men would have to go into the race for Crown and pakeha lands with the many pakeha ex-servicemen at present awaiting settlement. It was emphasised strongly that the only form of settlement which the Rehabilitation Board would consider was one where the ex-serviceman would have a security of tenure and the Maori people in making lands available for soldier settlement must be prepared to transfer their interests in that land by way of sale or otherwise.¹⁴⁴⁹

The report went on to note that in some districts, notably Rotorua and Te Rohe Potae, 'with the co-operation of the Maori people large areas of land could be made available for soldier settlement whereas in the North Auckland District, on account of the large Maori population, there is insufficient land for this purpose.' To enlist that co-operation, those settled would have to be nominated by owners 'and given a form of freehold tenure,' while it would be necessary to ensure that land so settled could not be sold to persons other than the Crown or another Maori. 'From the national point of view,' the report observed, 'it appears highly desirable that Maori land at

¹⁴⁴⁷ 'Maori soldiers. Farm settlement. Systematic plan evolved,' *Auckland Star* 10 August 1945, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹⁴⁴⁸ See 'Maori soldiers. Rehabilitation plans. Director visits Waikato,' *New Zealand Herald* 13 August 1945, and 'Rehabilitation for Maori. Pakeha alike,' *Northern Advocate* 17 August 1945, copies in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹⁴⁴⁹ 'Report on the visit to Maori localities by Colonel Baker, Mr H.H. Rankin, and Mr C.F. Blackburn,' attached to minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 27 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1.

present unoccupied be made available for settlement by Maori returned men before European land is purchased in any great quantity for this purpose.’ In short, a direct link was made among the development of previously unused land owned by Maori, the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel, and the ‘national interest.’ The report went on to recommend that legislation should be prepared to give effect to its principal findings, and that the Department of Native Affairs should be asked to prepare a schedule of all suitable Crown lands then under development for the settlement of Maori veterans.¹⁴⁵⁰ The recommendations implied a shift, with respect to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, of emphasis, from Native freehold land within established development schemes and general land to Crown lands within land development schemes and to Native freehold land acquired conditionally.¹⁴⁵¹

The Rehabilitation Board’s Legal Officer thus prepared an amendment to the Rehabilitation Act 1941 to empower the Rehabilitation Board to acquire any Maori-owned land on behalf of the Crown and to sell or otherwise dispose of any land acquired to ‘Discharged servicemen who ... are suitable for rural occupation and who are natives within the meaning of the Native Land Act or who are descended from natives.’ The proposed amendment would also prohibit the Crown from alienating any land so acquired to other than Maori.¹⁴⁵² When it met on 27 August 1945, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee resolved, first, that the Rehabilitation Board ‘agree to the principle of issuing freehold titles to Maoris in respect of any land purchased by the Board from Maoris and made available for Maori settlement in accordance with the wishes of the Maori vendors,’ and, second, that it subscribe to the view that any freehold title issued in accordance with the foregoing ‘should be restricted to prevent the ex-serviceman from sales or other disposition of the land made available to him to any person other than the Crown or to another Maori.’¹⁴⁵³

¹⁴⁵⁰ See ‘Report on the visit to Maori localities ...’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 27 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

¹⁴⁵¹ It will be recalled that by section 23(1) of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, Native land as defined by the Native Land Act 1931, as owned by Maori within the Act’s meaning, and land held or administered for Maori by any statutory trustee or statutory agency could not be compulsorily acquired by the Crown for the purpose of settling ex-servicemen.

¹⁴⁵² Memorandum for Director of Rehabilitation 24 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁴⁵³ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 27 August 1945, in ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1. See also AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

Two days later, on 29 August 1945, the Director of Rehabilitation took the matter up with the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, proposing that ‘special provision should be made in our legislation for (a) the Crown to buy native land and (b) the Crown to issue freehold titles to discharged servicemen who in the opinion of the Board are suitable for a rural occupation,’ but that freehold titles should be restricted to prevent alienation to any person other than the Crown or another Maori. Any legislation to give effect to his proposals would form an amendment to the Rehabilitation Act. He also noted that the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee had asked that the Department of Native Affairs prepare a schedule of all Crown lands under development and were suitable and available for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. The stance taken by the Department of Native Affairs on the matter of legislation was not located, but in mid-September 1945 the Director of Rehabilitation raised the matter with the Law Draftsman: Baker indicated that considerable importance attached to the proposed restriction on alienation since ‘it has already been made clear by a number of the older Maori that they would not be happy to sell their land even for the purpose of settlement by Maori ex-servicemen, if that land could at some future time, become subject to European ownership.’¹⁴⁵⁴

Section 72 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1945 dealt with the disposal of Maori land acquired under Part XIX of the Native Land Act 1931 for the settlement of discharged Maori servicemen. It provided for administration by the Board of Native Affairs on behalf of the Rehabilitation Board. Further, such land would also be subject to the provisions of Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. Section 72(4) provided that upon transfer by the Board of Native Affairs to ‘a Native or a descendant of a Native,’ the memorandum of transfer was to disclose that transfer was subject to the provisions of section 72; while section 72(5) specified that any such land for which a certificate of title was issued ‘shall be deemed to be Native freehold land ...’ Finally, section 72 included a proviso to the effect that:

... in considering any application for the confirmation of any alienation of the land, the Native Land Court shall have regard to the desirability of facilitating the settlement of discharged ex-servicemen, and may refuse to confirm an alienation by way of sale to any person other than a discharged servicemen

¹⁴⁵⁴ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 17 September 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

who is a Native or a descendant of a Native if it is satisfied that there is such a discharged serviceman ready and willing to purchase the land at a reasonable price.

Few transactions were conducted under section 72. Essentially, the issue was one of trust. Following a tour of his district in 1947 during which he met kaumatua and ex-servicemen in Tolaga Bay, Tokomaru Bay, Waipiro Bay, Jerusalem, Ruatoria, Tikitiki, Rangitukia, Te Araroa, Hicks Bay, Potaka, and Cape Runaway, Gisborne's Rehabilitation Officer reported that

As regards offers of freehold, here again I found that an erroneous impression existed that if Maori land was offered to this Department, there was no assurance that it would be reserved for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen exclusively. This, I feel certain, I have corrected, by giving Elders the assurance that if any land was offered by them for the express purpose of settling Maoris, the terms of their offer would be honoured to the full. Furthermore, I gave them a categorical assurance that if any owner or groups of owners made land available to us for the establishment of a particular serviceman or servicemen, those servicemen would be so established if they were sufficiently experienced to warrant an 'A' grading or w[h]ere they were not, we would arrange such further training, either by subsidised employment with private farmers, agricultural college courses, or supervised employment on the development of the block, until such time as they were sufficiently experienced to warrant an 'A' grading. I also emphasised that the grading procedure was devised for the protection of the ex-serviceman so that once he was established, under normal conditions and circumstances, he had every chance of success in the future. However, for the reasons set out ... [above] I fear little [*sic*], if any, freehold properties will be offered.¹⁴⁵⁵

9.21 'As though land was their sole sphere'

On 8 November 1945, Rehabilitation Officers met in conference to discuss the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel. Shepherd and Grace attended the first part of the proceedings. The former noted that there was a tendency to treat Maori 'as though the land was their sole sphere.' He went on to observe that

¹⁴⁵⁵ Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 24 July 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4. See also Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 1 August 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3; and AATG 6164 5/e 19/2.

In many cases, the Maori did nothing before he went to the war except perhaps wandering around the pa and doing an odd job or two. He had hoped at some time to be on the land. When he comes back his outlook is probably directed towards land again and I think Rehabilitation on to a large extent [*sic*] does direct his views to land.¹⁴⁵⁶

Shepherd identified three classes of land available for the settlement of veterans, namely, land owned by veterans themselves, land owned by families but not available to veterans unless titles were transferred, and lands owned by the Crown in the ballots for which Maori veterans had the same right as others to participate. What he did not say was that few ex-servicemen would fall into the first category, that the ability to transfer depended to a considerable if unknown extent on the state of consolidation proceedings, particularly in the Tokerau and Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Districts, while only those with open 'A' gradings could participate in the ballots for lands in Crown settlement blocks. Shepherd, it should be noted, was keen to encourage Rehabilitation Officers to assist in establishing veterans 'in the ordinary activities of the country apart from land ...'¹⁴⁵⁷

In the discussion that followed, several major points were clearly articulated. First, the view was expressed that Maori wished to retain land for the young men 'coming on now' and that the Rehabilitation Board should find land for Maori ex-servicemen. That assertion ran directly counter to one of the key assumptions upon which the Department of Native Affairs had originally and confidently predicted it could settle 300 returned veterans. Second, concern emerged over grading, namely, that Maori ex-servicemen graded through the general grading channel would be disadvantaged. It was predicted that not more than one per cent would secure 'A' gradings and that those graded 'B' and 'C' would take many years to 'come up to the European standard ...' Third, doubts were voiced over the capacity of the Department of Native Affairs to offer all the supervision required for all the men graded 'A' and their certificates tagged. The apparent reluctance of Pakeha farmers, notably in Northland, to accept either single or married men as trainees was noted. At the same time, some of the rehabilitation officers were openly sceptical that Maori would ever make good farm managers or businessmen. The fourth area of concern involved those veterans

¹⁴⁵⁶ A record of the conference can be found in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁴⁵⁷ 'Record of conference,' ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

settled on land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, specifically that they were unable to secure access to rehabilitation concessionary interest rates. The fifth area of concern related to the incomplete state of consolidation proceedings. All Shepherd could offer was assistance to deal with such matters on a case by case basis, primarily through the use of exchanges. Much as Acheson had done for some years prior to his 'retirement,' the Under Secretary cited a lack of trained and experienced staff.¹⁴⁵⁸

Baker dealt with the matter of land settlement at some length. Unsurprisingly, he made it clear that the solution to the problems of access to rehabilitation financial assistance was secure titles. Interestingly, Shepherd reported that he had raised the matter before the Rehabilitation Council but that the Minister of Rehabilitation was not prepared to grant concessionary rates of interest where titles were not secure. Baker went on to acknowledge that in some districts, notably Northland, setting aside Crown land or purchasing general land for Maori ex-servicemen

may be warranted ... but that is not the general position throughout New Zealand. Rotorua has ample land owned by Maoris under common ownership which if made available would settle not only servicemen but the whole civilian population as well. In those districts we would not be justified in asking Europeans generally to sell their lands for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen particularly in view of the number of Europeans we have waiting.¹⁴⁵⁹

The Director of Rehabilitation was quite certain that throughout the country there were large areas of 'unoccupied or undeveloped' land and Maori had to decide what to do with it. 'It would be wrong,' he suggested, 'to allow that land to drift on ...' He envisaged the Crown purchasing large blocks, stepping over consolidation issues, subdividing afresh and allocating the holdings thus created to veteran members of the families who held the original interests. At that point, Shepherd noted that the problem of ex-servicemen having insufficient interests remained and 'then you could not satisfy the policy of the Rehabilitation Board in a freehold title or a lease in perpetuity.'¹⁴⁶⁰ The matter was not pursued.

¹⁴⁵⁸ 'Record of conference,' ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁴⁵⁹ 'Record of conference,' ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁴⁶⁰ 'Record of conference,' ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

After Shepherd and Grace had departed, discussion turned to what Baker termed 'internal problems.' The grading of Maori ex-service personnel, he reported, was always conducted with 'great deliberation,' although he recognised some concern that they were being treated leniently and then passed over to the Department of Native Affairs. He expressed frustration over what he perceived to be the Native Department's apparent inability to act despite its obvious capabilities. To those who had voiced doubts over the value of Maori Rehabilitation Officers, Baker insisted that Maori appointees were essential if progress were to be made, especially over land settlement. It was also essential, he added, that the officers concerned were members of the Rehabilitation Department. The Maori Rehabilitation Officers were especially important in those districts only recently opened to Pakeha settlement and development, notably Te Rohe Potae, that is, districts in which 'communalism' remained dominant and the challenges involved in rehabilitation that much greater and where communication with and the support of kaumatua were indispensable. Given what one of those attending termed the well-founded distrust on the part of Maori toward Pakeha and the Crown, the Maori Rehabilitation Officers were important if confidence and trust were to be re-established.

9.22 Facilitating settlement: a settled strategy

By the end of 1945, 60 Maori veterans had managed to acquire farms of their own, while a further 100 had returned to their own farms. Among those 100 were a number who had been development units under the Maori land development programme. Such evidence as is available suggests that many of those who acquired farms of their own (usually from whanau) or who returned to development holdings were unable to secure rehabilitation finance, their farms failing to meet the Rehabilitation Board's definition of an 'economic unit.' No veterans, whether Maori or Pakeha had by that stage been settled on Crown development blocks. Towards the end of 1945, following the various hui and debates, the Director of Rehabilitation prepared a policy statement relating to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on the land. It was approved, in February 1946, by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. Essentially, it dealt with the avenues through which, it was hoped land would be made available. Maori

ex-servicemen were expected to fall into two categories. The first included those ex-servicemen who were already owners in their own right of sufficient interests in Native or other land and which were suitable for settlement. Such men would be afforded financial assistance to develop and stock such lands, provided that the farms constituted economic units. Few veterans, in fact, were expected to fall into this first category. The second category included those ex-servicemen who had insufficient interests in land to derive a reasonable living therefrom, or had no interests. The great majority of veterans were expected to fall into this category.

To meet the needs of those who fell into the second category, the Rehabilitation Board proposed to adopt five main approaches as part of a land settlement strategy. The first approach involved the purchase of land by the Crown from Maori owners either for the settlement of specific Maori ex-servicemen, for Maori ex-servicemen of a particular tribe, or for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen generally. Purchases would be effected under Part XIX of the Native Land Act 1931, that is, either through meetings of assembled owners or the purchase of individual interests. Should the owners wish the land in question to be made available for any specific group, they would be required to indicate as much before any purchase was undertaken. Once acquired, the land would be proclaimed as subject to section 72 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1945 and by notice thereunder be rendered subject to Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 and thus administered by the Board of Native Affairs. Once developed and subdivided, the land involved would be allocated to 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen, if necessary following a ballot. Certificates of title would record that the lands were subject to section 72 so that the land would be deemed to be Native freehold land, with the outcome that any subsequent transfer would require confirmation by the Native Land Court. The latter would be required to consider the desirability of facilitating the settlement of ex-servicemen and may refuse confirmation if there were an eligible ex-servicemen ready and willing to purchase the land at a reasonable price. A note was included regarding the purchase of lands leased from Maori by Pakeha: where the owners were prepared to transfer by sale or otherwise their interests to Maori ex-servicemen and the lessee was prepared to dispose of his interests, the purchase of the lessee's and owners' interests could be undertaken.

The second major option involved the utilisation of Crown land that had already been gazetted subject to Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, that is, Crown lands that had been included in Native land development schemes. The Director's wish was that such land should be made available under section 16 of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1944 (the 'Byrant tenure').¹⁴⁶¹ The third approach involved the Crown's purchasing of land from its Pakeha owners, while the fourth involved assisting Maori ex-servicemen to purchase suitable farms that they themselves had located. The final approach involved the acquisition of single unit properties under section 51 of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943. According to Baker, 'Where it is considered that properties are more suitable for the settlement of Maoris either by reason of their location within districts closely populated by Maoris, or for any other reason, the provisions of Section 51 will be used to divert such lands for Maori settlement and the same general provisions will apply as when such lands are taken for the settlement of Pakeha ex-servicemen.'¹⁴⁶² Baker also recommended that where Maori land owners wished to gift interests in land to specific servicemen, they should be encouraged to treat the transfer as a sale and leave the proceeds with the Maori land board concerned until such time as the land had been settled: at that point they could decide to accept the proceeds or allocate them in reduction of the mortgage debt incurred by the settler(s).¹⁴⁶³

9.23 Applying the 'reverse process'

The purchase of non-Maori land for the settlement of Pakeha ex-servicemen and those Maori ex-service personnel who elected to seek assistance through the standard rehabilitation channel, was vigorously pursued by the Crown. By the end of March

¹⁴⁶¹ Under the Bryant tenure, an owner enjoyed undisturbed possession of a unit but any sale required the approval of the State Advances Corporation. Introduced in 1944, it was abolished by the Land Act 1949.

¹⁴⁶² See 'Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-servicemen: Land Settlement,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 1 February 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. Baker also dealt briefly with the purchase of interests by the Crown where the owners were desirous of giving those interests to an ex-servicemen relative or to a group of ex-servicemen. A copy of this document can be found in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁴⁶³ See 'Purchases of Maori Interests in Land by the Crown for Ex-Serviceman Settlement,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 3 May 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1.

1950, the Crown had acquired 797,679 acres for subdivision and settlement through voluntary negotiations with private land owners and it had secured 248,890 acres under Part II and section 51 of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943. To that total of 1,046,569 acres, purchased at a cost of £16,968,315, had to be added 87,953 acres of existing Crown lands made available for rehabilitation purposes. Of the grand total of 1,134,522 acres acquired by the Crown by the end of March 1950, just over 664,300 acres had been allocated to 1,679 'units' either on a permanent tenure or on wages with the promise of a title. Sufficient land remained at that date to settle a further 878 'units.'¹⁴⁶⁴ Those acreages included, it is presumed, lands purchased specifically for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel.

Data included in the annual reports of the Department of Native/Maori Affairs indicate that by the end of March 1946, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee had purchased, for the settlement of 'A' grade ex-service personnel, freehold and leasehold properties aggregating just 5,101 acres for £77,161 (or just over £15 per acre compared with just over £16 per acre for all purchases completed by the Rehabilitation Board up to the end of March 1950). Prominent among the acquisitions was the 1,778-acre Huramua Station, acquired for £35,000. The same report noted that offers of other properties had been declined on the grounds that they were uneconomic and unsuitable as economic single unit holdings.¹⁴⁶⁵ By the end of March 1948 the area purchased for Maori rehabilitation purposes stood at 15,382 acres and the cost at £155,482, or just over £10 per acre.¹⁴⁶⁶ Table 9.2 sets out some details and indicates that three blocks (Huramua Station, Rotoiti Station, and Kohatutaka Station) accounted for almost 44 per cent of all purchases.

In March 1946 the Rehabilitation Board, reported that section 72 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1945 was facilitating the purchase of Maori freehold land for rehabilitation purposes, noting that 'one large area' in the Tirau district had been 'made available,' and that negotiations were in train for two other blocks.¹⁴⁶⁷ A year later, the Board reported that it hoped that under section 72 'more land will be offered

¹⁴⁶⁴ AJHR 1950, H18, p.15.

¹⁴⁶⁵ AJHR 1946, G10, pp.42-43.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 1 October 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 34/2 Part 2. See also AJHR 1947, G10, p.24 and 1948, G10, p.15. Subsequent reports did not include details of land purchases.

¹⁴⁶⁷ AJHR 1946, H18, p.20.

by Maori owners for settlement of the ex-servicemen relatives.¹⁴⁶⁸ But in July 1948, the Director of Rehabilitation recorded that ‘very little land has been offered by Maori owners.’¹⁴⁶⁹ Section 72 thus appears to have been of little practical effect, but the Crown did acquire blocks of Maori freehold land, often in association with general land. The following sections describe some of the transactions involved: their settlement will be outlined in Chapter 11.

9.23.1 Punakitere

Among the blocks that the Crown acquired from Maori for rehabilitation purposes were Punakitere 2B7P, 2B8I, and 2B9.¹⁴⁷⁰ The initiative came from Hone Heke Rankin. In 1949, he proposed that some 3,000 acres comprising the Punakitere and Mangatōa Kauri Gum Reserves should be transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs for development and settlement by Maori ex-servicemen. That proposal was endorsed by the Department of Lands and Survey, the land to be combined with poorer Crown land in the vicinity and developed by that Department. The Minister of Lands advised Rankin that ‘If when the scheme progresses it is found desirable to provide some land in the locality for Maori ex-servicemen’s settlement, full consideration can be given to the making of some of the subdivision available for the purpose.’¹⁴⁷¹ Towards the end of May 1950, the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs conveyed to the Department of Lands and Survey the essence of the agreement reached with Rankin, namely, that Lands and Survey would develop the Maori-owned land in conjunction with the Crown land; that on completion, the Maori owners would participate in the settlement of some of the sections; and that the basis of settlement ‘will be in proportion to the present unimproved value of the Maori and Crown land ...’¹⁴⁷²

¹⁴⁶⁸ AJHR 1947, H18, p.15.

¹⁴⁶⁹ ‘Schedule showing steps taken by the Rehabilitation Board ...’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/b 10/0. See also AJHR 1948, H18, p.17.

¹⁴⁷⁰ For the background to Punakitere 2, see Tony Walzl, ‘Punakitere No.2 and Kohatutaka,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2016, Part 1.

¹⁴⁷¹ Minister of Lands to H.H. Rankin 13 February 1950, cited in Fields Director, Lands and Survey, ‘Note for file,’ 6 October 1954, in ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1178/99/b D4/291 Part 2, in Bassett and Kay, ‘Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,’ Document Bank, Volume 2, p.720.

¹⁴⁷² Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 25 May 1950, in ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1178/99/b D4/291 Part 2, in Bassett and Kay, ‘Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,’ Document Bank, Volume 2, p.720.

Table 9.2: Freehold and leasehold properties acquired by the Crown, to 31 March 1948

Property	Location	Nearest acre	Cost: £
Motatau 2, section 33	Piipiwai	140	2100
Sections 4 and 6, Block VI, Hokianga S.D; section 1, Block V and section 1, Block VII, Hokianga SD; and leasehold of section 87, Block IX, Hokianga S.D.	Waima	483	1640
Kaiapoi, Section 68	Tuahiwi	16	750
Sections 2, 4, 5, 6, Block I, Otama S.D.	Kennedy Bay	248	4000
Section 45 and Pt section 69, Block V, Mangaone S.D.	Eketahuna	146	3824
Section 42, Block I, Waoku S.D.	One	80	2250
Parahi, Lot 4, DP 29278	Ruawai	134	200
Section 21, Block IV, Waimana S.D.	Waimana	752	) 16652
Section 1, Block VIII, Waimana S.D.	Waimana	666)
Omataroa, Section 9E, and Lots 5, 6, and 7, Rangitaiki S.D.	Te Teko	292	8000
Huramua Station	Wairoa	1778	35000
Section 9, Block VIII, Whangape S.D.	Pawarenga	193	1645
Sections 54 and 55, Block I, Waoku S.D.	One	175	1100
Kohatutaka 6G1	Hokianga	144	1005
Section 14, Block XIV, Waoku S.D.	Waimamaku	99	1668
Kaiti 313, Section 1C	Gisborne	35	810
Nukumaru 1B2A2 and 1B2A3	Waitotara	37	552
Opouteke-Ruataewao 1	Pakotai	135	2132
Lots 1, 2, and 3 DP 10719, Pt section 1, Block V, Punakitere S.D.	Taheke	140	1380
Sections 1, 5, 6, 10, 16 30, 31, and 32, Block IV, Opoe S.D.	Awanui	212	1655
Section 3, Block IV, Mangaoporo S.D.	Whakaangi	503	2750
Rawhiti 2A7	Russell	203	900
Section 1, Block V, Whitianga S.D.	Whitianga	627	4878
Mataitai 1A2B5A1	Clevedon	120	2800
Waiwhakaata 1A and 3E2, Section 2	Pirongia	175	2457
Omahu 2D1B Part	Hastings	5	45
Lots 1 and 2, Part Kaitara 2D and 2E	Kaiwaka	163	1140
Rotoiti 3M, 3T, 3K, 3L, and 3N	Rotoiti	3445	22823
Maungatautari 4H4B2B	Te Awamutu	) 905	) 2250
Maungatautari 4H5B2	Te Awamutu))
Lot 1 DP 5327, and Lots 2 and 3, DP 5328, Blocks XVI and XXI, Taramarama S.D.	Wairoa	1433	11551
Lot 1 DP 4256, Part Matuku Block, in Blocks XVI and XXI, Taramarama SD	Wairoa	364	5525
Part Kohatutaka 2 and Part 6A	Taheke	1534	12000
Totals		15382	155482

Source: AJHR 1946, G10, p.43; 1947, G10, p.24 and 1948, G10, p.15

It appears that the Department of Lands and Survey did not formally acknowledge that arrangement. In September 1950, the Board of Maori Affairs approved of purchase negotiations with the Maori owners of Punakitere 2B7P, 2B8B1, and 2B9, a total area of 2,160 acres. The Board of Maori Affairs recorded the agreement reached with Rankin and conveyed to the Department of Lands and Survey. Owners of the three blocks, meeting in November 1950, were advised by Auckland's Registrar that 'It was understood that the Lands Department would be prepared when development was complete and areas ready for settlement to set aside areas for settlement by Maoris, probably under the control of the Board of Maori Affairs.'¹⁴⁷³ If recorded accurately, Robinson's assurance appeared to have represented a weakening of the original arrangement that Rankin thought that he had secured. In 1952, the Board of Maori Affairs approved an additional purchase, namely, Punakitere 2B3B3 of 394 acres: the alienation was confirmed on 8 July 1952. For the four blocks, the Crown paid £2,647: both the Board of Maori Affairs and the Maori Land Court sitting at Kaikohe on 22 April 1952, approved the transaction, but neither approval carried any proviso or stipulation.¹⁴⁷⁴ The blocks were proclaimed Crown land in May 1953.¹⁴⁷⁵ In April 1953, the Land Settlement Board approved of proposals for the development of a total area of 11,210 acres and for subdivision into some 50 dairy and six sheep farms.¹⁴⁷⁶ Further, in April 1954, the Board's minutes recorded that it had been assured by the Chief Surveyor that 'no promise had been made at any stage to make any part of this block [Punakitere] available for Maori settlement.'¹⁴⁷⁷

9.23.2 Te Kuiti 2B20B

The Crown's purchase of Te Kuiti 2B20B similarly involved the Department of Lands and Survey.¹⁴⁷⁸ In April 1942, Auckland's Registrar reported that the owners

¹⁴⁷³ Minutes from a meeting of owners 21 November 1950, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 11466 A139/231/f 6194. Cited in Walzl, 'Punakitere No.2,' pp.41-42.

¹⁴⁷⁴ For details, see Walzl, 'Punakitere No.2,' pp.42-45.

¹⁴⁷⁵ 'Proclaiming Maori land to be vested in Her Majesty the Queen,' *New Zealand Gazette* 24, 7 May 1953, p.697.

¹⁴⁷⁶ See Fields Director, Lands and Survey, 'Note for file, ' 6 October 1954, in in Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,' Document Bank, Volume 2, pp.720-721.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Minutes of the Land Settlement Board 3 March 1954 and 7 April 1954, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/36/b 8/1/35 Part 1.

¹⁴⁷⁸ This section is taken from T.J. Hearn, 'Land titles, land development, and returned soldier settlement in Te Rohe Potae,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2009, pp.538-541.

of the block were desirous of selling and suggested that the Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board call a meeting of assembled owners to consider sale to the Crown. The block, he suggested, was 'suitable' for Maori ex-servicemen.¹⁴⁷⁹ The Under Secretary countered with the suggestion that the block should be acquired for the Te Raita family which held the largest interests in the land. A decision was taken to ask the Board of Native Affairs to agree to purchase, leaving the matter of whether it should then be made available to the Te Raita family or a returned serviceman for the Board to consider at a later date. In the event, the Board approved purchase for the purpose of development, at the same time ruling that if that one of the Te Raita family were settled on the block, s/he would have to agree to his or her share of the purchase money being retained for development purposes.¹⁴⁸⁰

The owners in fact agreed to sell the block to the Crown at the rate of £4 10s per acre 'for the purpose of settling Maniapoto Maori returned soldiers.' The block had a 31 March 1940 capital valuation of £610. The Department of Native Affairs was not inclined to regard the proposed acquisition as 'a purchase in the true sense: a returned Maori soldier will be settled on it at the cost to the Government.'¹⁴⁸¹ When the Under Secretary suggested that the owners should be asked to nominate a returned soldier, with the Department to finance a transfer directly to him, Auckland's Registrar demurred and again proposed that the Crown purchase the block.¹⁴⁸² A further complication arose, Judge Beechey making it clear that since the price sought was less than the government valuation, the Native Land Court could not confirm the resolution to sell. Beechey's solution was legislation to enable the Crown to purchase land for the settlement of returned Maori soldiers 'with suitable provision that if the land is not required for the purpose it should be re-vested.'¹⁴⁸³ The matter was taken up with the Native Minister: in turn he agreed that appropriate provision should be

¹⁴⁷⁹ Registrar, Auckland to Head Office 21 April 1942, in ANZ Auckland AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Paper for Board of Maori Affairs, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁸¹ See notes on Registrar, Auckland to Head Office 14 October 1942, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W307/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁸² Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 18 November 1942, and Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 24 November 1942, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁸³ Judge E.M. Beechey to Registrar, Auckland 2 March 1943, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61. There was a precedent: section 4 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1917 allowed the Crown to accept Owahaoko as a gift for the purposes of returned Maori soldier settlement.

made to allow the Crown to acquire at less than the government valuation (section 5 of the Native Purposes Act 1943. In August 1943 the owners intimated that they would accept £640 (£30 above the government capital valuation): it then transpired that they had removed buildings and other improvements, reducing the value to £385, but that they were considering sale to a neighbouring (Pakeha) farmer at the original capital valuation of £4 10s per acre.

The Department's Chief Supervisor pressed for acquisition at £4 10s per acre, noting that 'we should place the best man available on it irrespective of his tribal associations.'¹⁴⁸⁴ A further meeting of assembled owners was called by the Crown: held in Te Kuiti on 23 April 1946, the owners present (representing 1 and 35/54 out of a total of five shares) agreed to accept the Crown's offer of £4 10s per acre.¹⁴⁸⁵ The resolution was confirmed by the Native Land Court and adopted by the Board of Native Affairs. In September 1946, the Rehabilitation Officer stationed in Te Kuiti indicated that a returned soldier (a member of a Pakeha pioneering family) wished to acquire the land.¹⁴⁸⁶ A difficulty was immediately apparent: in proposing acquisition, the assembled owners had been assured that the block was required for the settlement of a returned Maori soldier. The Department's Chief Supervisor was adamant that the promise thus given should be honoured. In turn, the Under Secretary made it clear that he would not agree to the land being settled by a Pakeha returned soldier 'Unless the Rehabilitation Department can give me an assurance that no Maori ex-serviceman requires, or is likely to acquire, the section ...'¹⁴⁸⁷

Te Kuiti 2B20B was vested in the Crown in December 1946.¹⁴⁸⁸ The Department of Native Affairs decided to ascertain the views of the original owners. A meeting of assembled owners, held in Te Kuiti on 23 May 1947, was attended by just one owner: she raised no objection to the land being settled by a Pakeha returned soldier. Auckland's Registrar inferred from the poor attendance that the owners were not

¹⁴⁸⁴ Chief Supervisor, Native Department to Under Secretary, Native Department 5 February 1946, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁸⁵ The block had 36 owners.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Rehabilitation Officer, Te Kuiti to Registrar, Auckland 19 September 1946, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 22 November 1946, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁸⁸ *New Zealand Gazette* 1946, p.1835.

particularly interested and would not raise any objections.¹⁴⁸⁹ Whether that was a reasonable inference it is difficult now to judge. A decision was taken to treat the block as ordinary Crown land and the Board of Native Affairs approved a recommendation that it should be handed over to the Department of Lands and Survey for rehabilitation purposes. It is important to note that the land was never opened for ballot and hence the potential interest on the part of returned Maori servicemen was never tested, while no other effort appears to have been made to ascertain whether a returned Maori serviceman, including any under training, might have been interested in the land. It should also be noted that the Department failed to follow through on its own suggestion that the land should be developed and subsequently offered for selection. Rather it simply claimed that the block was ‘totally unimproved & in its present state ... not suitable for settlement by a Maori ex-serviceman.’¹⁴⁹⁰ The block was transferred to the Department of Lands and Survey, the transfer price being set at £512 9 5, sufficient to cover the original cost and interest.

9.23.3 Rotoiti

Of particular significance was the decision of Te Arawa, with respect to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on the land, to take the initiative. The iwi established a committee, variously known as the Rotorua Maori Rehabilitation Committee and the Arawa Farms Rehabilitation Committee. Its task was to draw up plans for settling Maori veterans on tribal lands, an endeavour that secured the support of the Director of Rehabilitation. The aim was to ensure that all those veterans of Te Arawa who wished to settle would have the opportunity to do so. ‘There was,’ according to Major H.R. Vercoe, ‘ample land available.’ As noted above, 200 veterans were expected to seek settlement, and Vercoe insisted that the leaders of Te Arawa would ‘ensure that these men would in the first place receive sound farm training, and then be given an opportunity to take up unit holdings of varying areas.’ He also indicated that the scheme would be administered by the Department of Native Affairs. The latter would undertake the development of the lands made available, and

¹⁴⁸⁹ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 3 June 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Under Secretary, Native Department to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 27 June 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1032/c 32/1/61.

those who succeeded in the ballots would be financed as under ordinary Maori land development schemes. Settlement was expected to take place two to three years after development had commenced of the several large blocks in the Rotoiti and Rotoehu districts that the committee had under consideration.¹⁴⁹¹

Ngati Pikiāo had pressed the Government, both during and immediately after the war, to establish further land development schemes and to revive the Taheke and Rotoiti consolidation schemes ‘inter alia [to] prepare the ground for rehabilitation purposes for our soldiers.’¹⁴⁹² But effort was focussed largely on establishing a large rehabilitation scheme on five Rotoiti 3 subdivisions that included both Maori and general land, specifically Lichenstein’s station, located on the northern side of Lake Rotoiti. Lichenstein Arnoldson and Coy had acquired, by 1929, the freehold of 1,867 acres (Rotoiti 3K, 3L, and 3N) and leases of Rotoiti 3M, 3T, 6, and 7, an additional 5,800 acres.¹⁴⁹³ The property was offered to the Land Settlement Board in 1945. Upon that offer being declined it was offered to the Department of Native Affairs, but the Minister was advised that the purchase of the freehold should not be entertained unless the owners of the Native leasehold were also prepared to sell.¹⁴⁹⁴ In September 1945, H.R. Vercoe informed the Rehabilitation Department that if it were prepared to acquire the leases of Rotoiti 6 and 7, then Ngati Pikiāo would be prepared to sell to it an adjoining 1,200 acres.¹⁴⁹⁵ Vercoe made a similar proposal to the Department of Native Affairs, noting that it represented ‘a very good opportunity for a number of returned soldiers who are the owners’ sons.’ The cost of purchase, he suggested, would not be great and ‘negotiations could be entered into with the Maori owners for

¹⁴⁹¹ ‘Maori soldiers. Farm settlement. Systematic plan evolved,’ *Auckland Star* 10 August 1945, p.3.

¹⁴⁹² Rangi Kauariri Taiatini to Native Minister 25 July 1941, ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/564 29/4/1, cited in D.M. Loveridge, ‘“The most valuable of the Rotorua lands:” alienation and development in the Ngati Pikiāo blocks, 1881-1960,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1998, p.249.

¹⁴⁹³ See Peter McBurney and Donald M. Loveridge, ‘Ngati Pikiāo lands ca.1881-1960: block histories,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1998, pp.156-164. The sources on which they relied were ANZ Auckland BAJJ A73 160/8007 (Rotoiti 3M), and BAJJ A73 160/8008 (Rotoiti 3T).

¹⁴⁹⁴ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 21 September 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, ‘“The most valuable lands,”’ pp.249-250.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 3 October 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, ‘“The most valuable lands,”’ p.250.

a reasonable sum by way of a sale to the Crown in order to carry out the rehabilitation of the young Maori servicemen of those people.¹⁴⁹⁶

The owners of the 998-acre Rotoiti 3M, at a meeting held on 31 October 1945, agreed to sell the block to the Crown for the £3,285 offered. But they also required an undertaking, formally affirmed by the Minister of Native Affairs, to the effect that:

1. The land is to be used for the settlement of returned Maori servicemen of their own tribe;
2. The owners through their tribal committee appointed from among the owners nominate the persons to be so settled from time to time;
3. That should any person placed on the block prove unsatisfactory the tribal committee should have the right to nominate a successor;
4. Persons so settled shall when proved satisfactory and within a reasonable time be given the freehold;
5. That a Maori be appointed as Supervisor especially during the early stages of development, as in the opinion of the owners one of their own race should be given the opportunity of a position of authority is possessing suitable qualifications, and that such supervisor be approved of by the tribal committee.¹⁴⁹⁷

According to the Waiariki District Maori Land Board's representative at the meeting, only 11 owners had attended, too few, evidently, to secure a 'representative' result.¹⁴⁹⁸ The Crown objected to all but the first condition on the grounds that they would impede the Department of Native Affairs' 'freedom of action.' McBurney and Loveridge cited a handwritten note, dated 21 March 1945 in which it was recorded that 'Department will not accept any conditions but an assurance can be given that the purchase is for Maori Rehabilitation and if practicable area will be reserved for "A" grade Ngati Pikiao. No further promises can be given.'¹⁴⁹⁹ The owners withdrew all

¹⁴⁹⁶ H.R. Vercoe to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 2 November 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, "The most valuable lands," p.250.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Meeting of the owners of Rotoiti 3T, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, "The most valuable lands," pp.251-252.

¹⁴⁹⁸ McBurney and Loveridge, 'Ngati Pikiao lands,' p.159.

¹⁴⁹⁹ McBurney and Loveridge, 'Ngati Pikiao lands,' p.160.

but the first condition and it was on that basis that, in May 1946, the Native Land Court confirmed the sale.¹⁵⁰⁰

The owners of the 582-acre Rotoiti 3T were not disposed to sell to the Crown, while the Court, Vercoe's representations notwithstanding, refused to override their wishes.¹⁵⁰¹ Vercoe claimed that the Department of Native Affairs had failed to explain adequately the purpose of the proposed purchase, while the owners were evidently not convinced that the Crown would honour any conditions they might attach to the proposed sale.¹⁵⁰² Subsequently, on 19 July 1946, the owners of Rotoiti 3T, by a substantial majority, did approve the sale of the block to the Crown for £2,855.¹⁵⁰³ For his part, the Director of Rehabilitation made it clear to the Department of Native Affairs that the owners had been assured that preference with respect to settlement would be accorded first to ex-servicemen of Ngati Pikiāo and only then to the returned men of Te Arawa. He also noted that 'The request is not in any way part of the resolution [to sell] ...'¹⁵⁰⁴ In December 1946, Lichtenstein Arnoldson and Coy offered Rotoiti Station (Rotoiti 3) to the Crown for £24,000 and the leases of Rotoiti 6 and 7C for £2,000. The latter were in fact acquired by a timber milling company for £6,000.¹⁵⁰⁵

Concern was subsequently raised over the proposed purchase price for Rotoiti 3T, its capital value having increased since its September 1945 valuation. The matter came before the Native Land Court on 20 June 1947, the same month in which Lichtenstein and Arnoldson indicated that unless the resolution of the owners of Rotoiti 3T were confirmed by the Court before the end of that month, they would withdraw their property from the proposed sale.¹⁵⁰⁶ Judge Harvey, in June 1947, produced a four-page opinion on the application for a conformation of the alienation of Rotoiti 3T. He concluded that:

¹⁵⁰⁰ Rotoiti 3M was gazetted as Crown land on 10 June 1947.

¹⁵⁰¹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, "The most valuable lands," p.252.

¹⁵⁰² Meeting of the owners of Rotoiti 3T, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, "The most valuable lands," p.251.

¹⁵⁰³ McBurney and Loveridge, 'Ngati Pikiāo lands,' p.163.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 July 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, "The most valuable lands," p.253.

¹⁵⁰⁵ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, "The most valuable lands," p.253.

¹⁵⁰⁶ McBurney and Loveridge, 'Ngati Pikiāo lands,' p.164.

The matter was on a higher plane than an ordinary transfer of Native land in return for cash. It represents a tribe's campaign towards helping its soldier members rehabilitate themselves. Upon this basis, the Court will (pro forma) confirm the resolution to sell to the Crown at the increased price of £2,975, and will likewise recommend that Governor-General under section 555, to consent to such confirmation, leaving the question of completion of the matter to the conscience of the Crown.¹⁵⁰⁷

The Crown concluded its purchase of Rotoiti Station, for £23,000, in November 1947. The transaction was approved by the Native Land Court in January 1948.¹⁵⁰⁸ But it was not followed by prompt action to prepare the land for settlement and, indeed, in June 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee was 'of the opinion, and possibly with some justification, that the settlement of this property has been unduly delayed.'¹⁵⁰⁹ According to Loveridge, the reasons for that delay are not readily apparent. Settlement of Maori ex-servicemen did commence during the latter half of 1949, four units being placed on the developed sections of the station. But it was 1954 before preparations commenced to settle three more units on undeveloped parts. Loveridge noted that the number settled was fewer than had been expected originally and that settlement took longer and cost more than predicted. That suggested to him that 'the original planning of the project was not very realistic.'¹⁵¹⁰

Rotoiti 3K, 3L, 3M, 8N, and 3T, a total area of 3,445 acres, were declared subject to Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 in October 1951.¹⁵¹¹

Map 9.1 summarises the transactions involved in the Rotoiti lands, while Map 9.2 is a plan of the proposed subdivision.

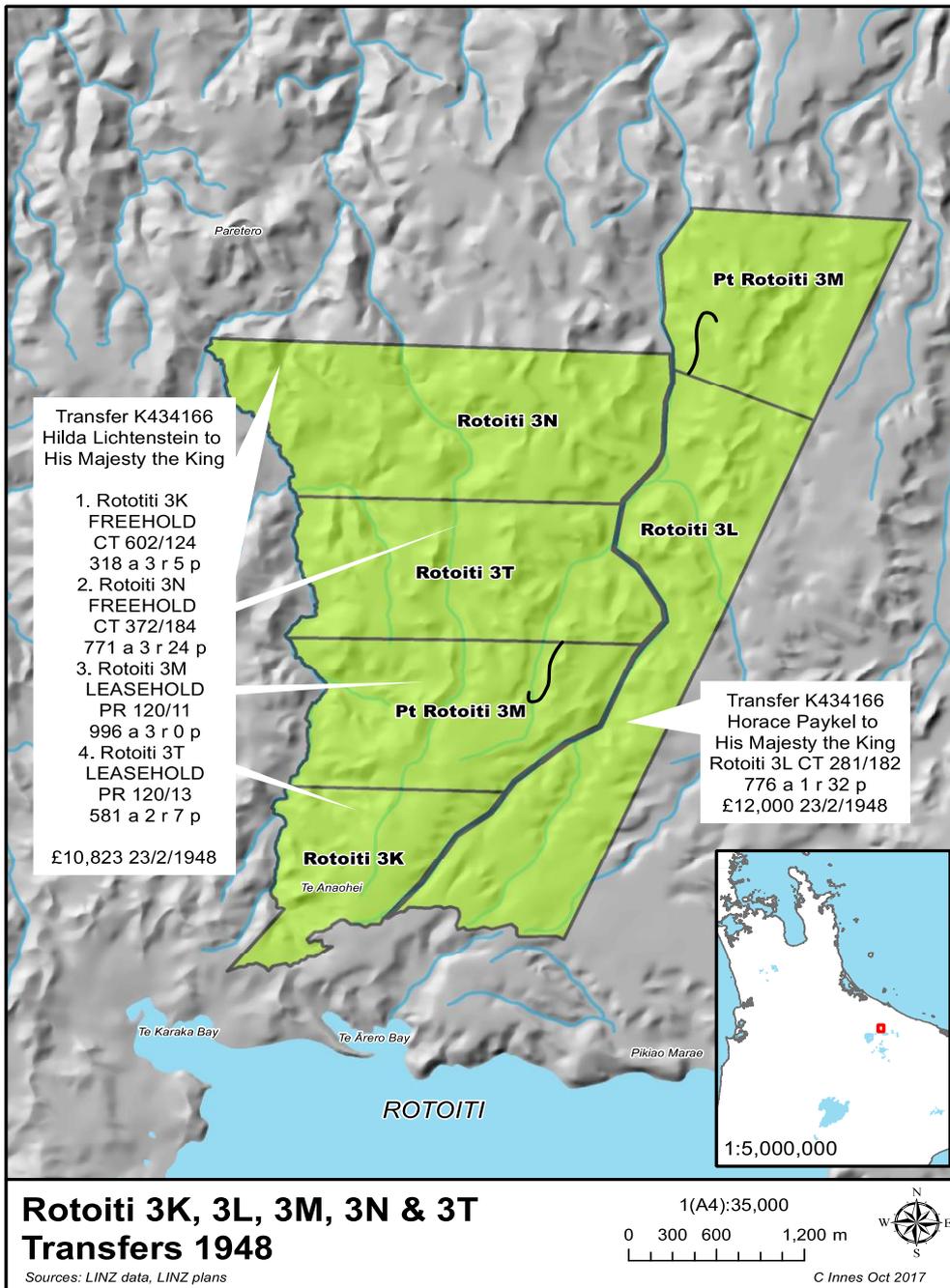
¹⁵⁰⁷ Cited in McBurney and Loveridge, 'Ngati Pikiao lands,' p.164.

¹⁵⁰⁸ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 1, cited in Loveridge, "'The most valuable lands,'" p.253.

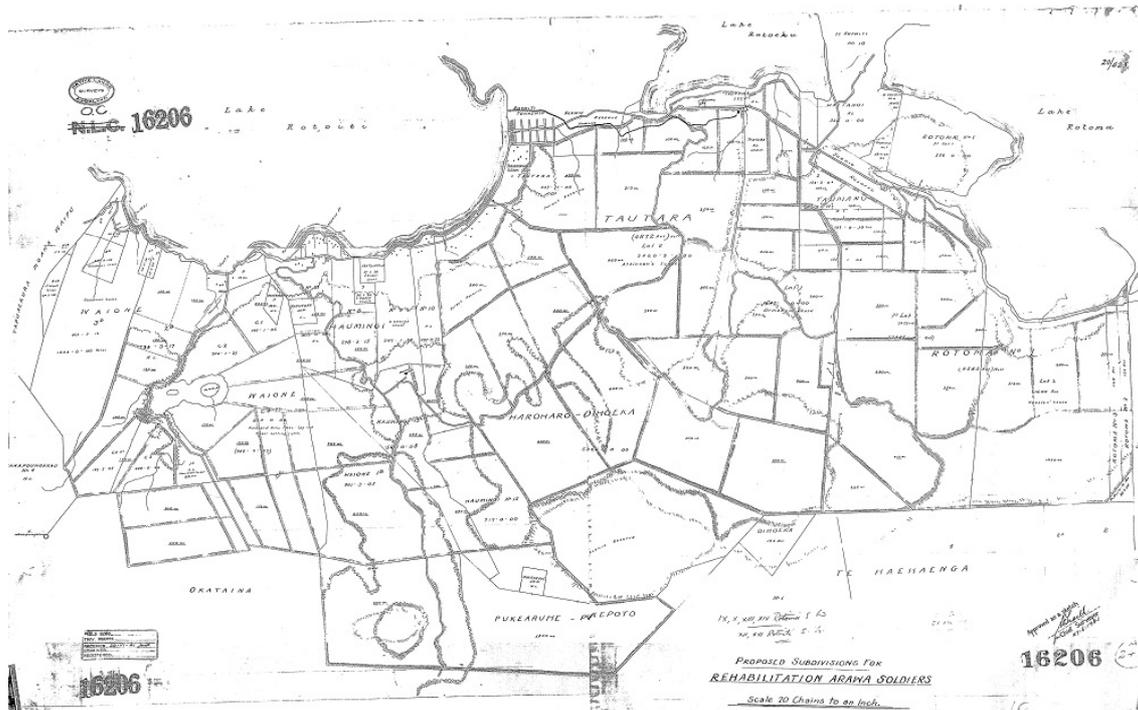
¹⁵⁰⁹ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrar 2 June 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69 5/5/32 Part 2, cited in Loveridge, "'The most valuable lands,'" p.254.

¹⁵¹⁰ Loveridge, "'The most valuable lands,'" p.255.

¹⁵¹¹ 'Declaring certain Crown land to be subject to Part I of the Maori Land Amendment Act 1936 (Rotoiti Rehabilitation Block),' *New Zealand Gazette* 84, 1 November 1951, p.1631.



Map 9.1: The Rotoiti land transfers (courtesy Craig Innes)



Map 9.2: The proposed Rotoiti subdivision

9.23.4 Kohatutaka

A further large purchase involved Kohatutaka 2 and Part 6A, a total 1,534 acres. The history of the block is set out in Walzl.¹⁵¹² It is of interest to note here that in 1917 the block was described as being ‘most suitable’ for the settlement of returned soldiers: inquiries then revealed that ‘the best parts are either being retained in small holdings by the Native owners or have already been disposed of to Europeans.’¹⁵¹³ Part of Kohatutaka Station (established by 1920 through the amalgamation of parts of the parent block) was offered to the Crown by the McIntyre Estate in 1944, although it was 1947 before the Board of Native Affairs approved the purchase of 1,534 acres (part Kohatutaka 2 and 6A) for £12,000 and the gazetting of the land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 as the Ninihi Development Scheme.¹⁵¹⁴

¹⁵¹² Walzl, ‘Punakitere No.2 and Kohatutaka,’ Part 2.

¹⁵¹³ Chief Surveyor, Auckland to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 6 October 1917, in ANZ Wellington AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1/179/i 1917/87, quoted in Walzl ‘Punakitere No.2,’ pp.136-137.

¹⁵¹⁴ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Auckland 29 April 1947, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/153/d 19/15 Part 3. See Heather Bassett and Richard Kay, ‘Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes 1930-1990,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2006, pp.286-290.

9.24 Making Crown and Crown-controlled lands available

Making existing Crown lands available specifically for Maori ex-servicemen also ran the risk of arousing the ire of some sections of the community, certain as they remained that Maori possessed sufficient idle land to meet their own needs without drawing upon the Crown's dwindling and hard-pressed supply. Nevertheless, in November 1945 the Department of Native Affairs, as requested by the Rehabilitation Board, prepared a schedule of the Crown lands that it controlled and which might be suitable and available for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. The total area involved was some 32,278 acres, but it is clear from the accompanying remarks that some in fact was neither suitable nor available. Thus, included in the total were 3,083 acres of the Ngataki block that had been set aside for Maori from Te Hapua, together with blocks that would require substantial investment before settlement could be contemplated, and blocks that existing unit farmers required.¹⁵¹⁵

In 1946 a sub-committee of the Farms Advisory Committee prepared a detailed report on the settlement on the land of ex-service personnel. It concluded that 'some move must be made to have Native land capable of development and that already developed made available more quickly and preferably to meet the needs of Maori ex-servicemen.'¹⁵¹⁶ The Department of Native Affairs was thus asked to furnish, within four days, an estimate of the areas of Crown and privately-owned Maori-owned lands it administered (including, it is presumed, the vested lands) and were considered suitable for settlement purposes.¹⁵¹⁷ With respect to Crown lands, the Department referred to its November 1945 schedule. With respect to the Native freehold lands, the Under Secretary simply indicated that the Department was 'unaware of any lands available for soldier settlement, bearing in mind that such lands are by Section 23 of

¹⁵¹⁵ Under Secretary, Native Department to Director of Rehabilitation 5 November 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁵¹⁶ Report of the sub-committee of the Farms Advisory Committee, 'Review of farm settlement for ex-servicemen,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61.

¹⁵¹⁷ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 23 August 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61.

the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 exempted from the provisions of that Act.¹⁵¹⁸ It is not clear why he chose to offer that reminder.

The area of Crown lands administered by the Department was put at 31,230 acres of which 7,624 acres were in grass. Table 9.3 sets out some details. The sub-committee's report was considered by the Farms Advisory Committee in October 1946 with a view to resolving what it regarded as the chief difficulty, namely, how to encourage Maori land owners to make land available for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, 'particularly in view of the difficulties being encountered in acquiring sufficient European land to settle ex-servicemen.' It was at that meeting that Under Secretary Shepherd insisted that his Department knew of not one Maori veteran awaiting settlement, his subsequent comments implying that the Rehabilitation Department was failing to pass on the relevant details. He traversed the tenure set out in Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, claiming that it had been designed to 'protect Maoris against Maoris.' Baker responded by setting out the Rehabilitation Board's minimum requirements. At that juncture, Blackburn suggested that Maori might more readily accept the idea of making land available for rehabilitation purposes if the rehabilitation interest rate concessions were extended to Maori ex-servicemen. He did not elaborate. D.M. Greig (Under Secretary, Lands and Survey) suggested that while Maori should retain ownership of their lands, with respect to development blocks the Crown should remain their agent, presumably with power to settle the land on leasehold terms of its choosing.

¹⁵¹⁸ Under Secretary, Native Department to Director, Rehabilitation Department 27 August 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. See also In 'Matter for consideration of the Farms Advisory Committee,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61.

Table 9.3: Crown land administered by the Department of Native Affairs, October 1946

Locality	Blocks	Acres	Acres in grass	Remarks
Kaitaia	Ngataki	3083	628	For Te Hapua Maori
Kaitaia	Otoru	726	375	3 veterans settled
Kaikohe	Ruataniwha	227	-	Poor country
Kohukohu	Waireia	4640	2140	3 veterans settled
Te Awamutu	Kopua	506	375	Development required
Whangamata	Whangamata	4838	340	Development required
Kaikohe	Tautoro	1609	1160	Development required
Tokaanu	Hautu	259	-	Poor land
Tokaanu	Ohuanga	498	-	Partly developed
Lake Taupo	Pukawa	2558	-	Not developed
Okareka	Tarawera SD	2122	-	Not developed
Okere Scheme		640	-	Not developed
Okere Scheme		) 828	828	Four dairy units
Waikaukau Scheme)		
Ngati Awa Scheme		2012	-	Not suitable
Mangataua		126	-	One dairy unit when developed
Maungarangi		1743	Partly	One sheep unit when developed
Rotorua	Brent's Farm	308	-	Base farm
Mohaka	Ngaiharanga Station	4507	1778	Hard country
Totals		31230	7624	

Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61

The Committee decided, first, that the Department of Native Affairs should be supplied with details of 'A,' 'B', and 'C' graded men who would require settlement through 'Native Department channels,' an implicit acknowledgement, perhaps, that such details had not previously been forwarded; and, second, that the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee should be asked to discuss and take action 'regarding negotiations with the owners of Native land for (a) the purchase of their interests or (b) a lease for a maximum term of 50 years with full compensation for improvements effected or paid for by the lessee.'¹⁵¹⁹ The discussions and the decisions to which they gave rise reflected what appears to have been an increasingly

¹⁵¹⁹ Minutes of meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee, 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/32 8/0/61.

entrenched frustration over the perceived inaction or sluggish response on the part of the Department of Native Affairs to the desire of Maori ex-servicemen to secure their rehabilitation through land settlement. The Department sought to defend itself by recording, in its report for the year ended 31 March 1947, that

Some difficulty has been experienced in finding areas which, when developed, would provide the ex-serviceman with an economic single-unit holding, and consequently the amount expended upon land-settlement during the past year has been somewhat less than that of the previous year. Most of the properties offered for rehabilitation purposes were found to be unsuitable, and the [MRF] Committee ... was reluctantly compelled to decline these offers.¹⁵²⁰

What the Department did not acknowledge was its own reluctance to make Crown properties under its control available. In 1947, the Director of Rehabilitation pressed the Under Secretary of Native Affairs over four Crown properties in the Rotorua and Bay of Plenty districts, named as Bank Run (Tauranga), Tikitere, the Isles property at Rotorua, and Brents Farm at Rotorua. Baker noted that 'In view of the difficulties experienced by this Department [Rehabilitation] as well as yours concerning the approach to Maori Elders for the purchase of properties on behalf of the Crown for settlement of their exservicemen relatives' he desired to submit details of their suitability and availability to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.¹⁵²¹ Of the four, the Department was prepared to consider releasing only one.¹⁵²²

9.25 Conclusions

Assisting military personnel to secure land for settlement, as both inducement to serve and acknowledgment of service, has a long history in New Zealand, from the Fencibles of the 1840s, to the Waikato military settlers of the 1860s, to the discharged soldiers of World War I. Settlement on the land again featured prominently in the government's plans for the rehabilitation of service personnel returning from the wars in Europe and the Pacific. But whereas under the World War rehabilitation

¹⁵²⁰ AJHR 1947, G10, p.21.

¹⁵²¹ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 15 October 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/3.

¹⁵²² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 19 November 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/3.

programme no special, separate, or particular effort was made to assist Maori ex-service personnel, that devised for veterans of World War II was intended to ensure that Maori veterans had 'equal access' to all rehabilitation facilities and services. A key issue was how that principle would be implemented in respect of the single greatest challenge that confronted the rehabilitation authorities, the settlement on the land of all those who desired that form of rehabilitation.

The evidence bearing on that question is complex, but a number of conclusions can be drawn with reasonable confidence. It was clear at a very early stage, certainly not later than 1940, that the Government would endeavour to persuade the owners of Maori freehold land to provide for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, explicitly to ease the pressure that Pakeha veterans were expected to exert on the available land resource. Equally clear was the belief that an expansion of the existing Maori land development programme could accommodate all those Maori ex-servicemen expected to seek rehabilitation through settlement on the land. It soon became apparent that most Maori owners were, for a range of reasons at the heart of which lay both disappointment and distrust arising in good measure out of the course that the land development and consolidation programmes had taken, reluctant to make land available. That reluctance was matched by a disinclination on the part of the Native Land Court to sanction the transfer of land out of Maori ownership. In the light of that reluctance, the Crown, through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, did purchase some Maori freehold land, particularly where it had been held in association with general land, and that the Crown, through the Department of Lands and Survey, also acquired general land for rehabilitation purposes and transferred some to the Department of Native Affairs. That raised a question over the basis on which such transfer was made: the principle of 'according to their respective needs' was invoked, but if and how that principle was observed is a matter that remains to be established.

The evidence is also plain that the Department of Native Affairs was convinced that it could accommodate all Maori veterans seeking farms by expanding the existing Maori land development programme on established lines and to do so at a cost significantly lower than that predicted in the case of all other ex-servicemen. In doing so, it appears to have discounted the fact that many Maori were distrustful of the Crown, convinced that the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 had departed from

Ngata's original undertakings, and certain that lands once taken under development would never be returned. Not surprisingly, perhaps, many viewed the rehabilitation programme as yet another effort by the Crown to individualise Maori land ownership and to commodify Maori land. They recalled Ngata's original promise that lands once developed would be returned to them and that it would be for them to reach decisions over their future management and utilisation. Some land development schemes included areas of Crown land and their settlement could be and was handled in the same manner as other Crown lands. The same was not so in the case of Maori freehold land within the development schemes and in the case of those lands it would soon become apparent that rehabilitation facilities, notably interest rate concessions, would only be available to those who met the Rehabilitation Board's loan criteria.

The evidence examined suggests one other conclusion, namely, that for the determination of the Department of Native Affairs to secure a pivotal role in the rehabilitation programme and thus to marginalise the well organised and energetic Maori War Effort Organisation looking to offer Maori leadership and new services in a post-war world, Maori ex-servicemen paid a significant price. No evidence was located to indicate that the Department consulted Maori before offering the land development programme as the vehicle for the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, or that it made sustained and determined efforts to acquire general land for rehabilitation purposes. The outcome of the apparently modest efforts made to acquire land, the decision to exclude most Maori ex-servicemen from ballots for Crown lands acquired through the Department of Lands and Survey, and the placement of many veterans on Part I lands where available, collectively limited the opportunities for Maori veterans to secure their rehabilitation through land settlement. 'Equal access' may have been one of the major founding principles on which rehabilitation policy rested, but in practice access for Maori veterans was significantly constrained. That conclusion is explored further in the following chapter.

Chapter 10: ‘Something at least will have been accomplished:’ settling Maori veterans to c1950

10.1 Introduction

If the provision of land for Maori ex-servicemen proved difficult, the terms on which it would be made available for selection would also prove contentious, embroiling the Departments of Native Affairs and Rehabilitation in a struggle that exposed profound differences over objectives, approaches, and policies. The issues involved went to the heart of rehabilitation policy and the manner in which they were managed would have a major bearing on the rehabilitation of those Maori ex-servicemen who sought to settle on the land. Chapter 10 will explore the genesis of a conflict that emerged early in the implementation of the rehabilitation programme and the repeated – and unsuccessful – efforts made to resolve it. It will conclude that the original decision to employ the Maori land development programme as the primary vehicle through which settlement would be effected generated a set of consequential difficulties that limited the access of Maori ex-servicemen to rehabilitation assistance and indeed seriously compromised the oft-cited principle of ‘equal access, equal treatment.’

Chapter 10 will also explore one other issue that bore very directly on the matter of ‘equal access’ and ‘equal treatment,’ namely, the opportunity afforded Maori ex-servicemen to participate in ballots for Crown sections. It will conclude that the grading of Maori ex-servicemen for settlement purposes, and in particular, the practice of what become known as ‘tagging,’ acted both to screen applicants, to ration the sections that the Crown made available for rehabilitation purposes, and to accord preference to one group of veterans over another. Finally, Chapter 10 will offer a brief summary of the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on the land up to March 1950. Chapter 11 will examine the progress achieved after 1950.

10.2 Existing literature

The settlement on the land of the Maori ex-servicemen who served during World War II has attracted little investigation. Thomson offered a very brief account in which she noted the dispute that developed over settlement terms, recording that ‘The Rehabilitation Board took a steadfast and uncompromising stand ... evidently on the grounds that opposition to truth and justice would eventually crumble.’¹⁵²³ She concluded that ‘Overall, the number of Maori ex-servicemen assisted to acquire farms was disappointing ...’¹⁵²⁴ Butterworth deal briefly with rehabilitation, noting that the Maori land development programme was ‘significantly expanded during the mid and late 1940s to assist with the rehabilitation of servicemen,’ but concluded that ‘The most important assistance ... was the trade training of a total of 771 Maoris, 664 under the ‘A’ class system in which full-time intensive theoretical and practical instruction, followed by advanced practical work, was provided for a number of the building trades, notably carpentry.’¹⁵²⁵ Butterworth and Young noted that the Rehabilitation Board’s insistence that Maori veterans were settled, as all other ex-service personnel, on economic units with an acceptable level of security forced the Department of Native Affairs to confront the multiple and interrelated difficulties that beset the Maori land development programme. They concluded that the Department of Native Affairs ‘resolved the problem of the ex-servicemen by accepting the Rehabilitation Board’s policy of equal treatment.’¹⁵²⁶ The evidence indicates in fact that the problem was never resolved with the result that many of those who chose land settlement as their rehabilitation were denied access to rehabilitation assistance.

10.3 ‘Exactly the same treatment as the Pakeha’

The genesis of the impasse reached between the Department of Native Affairs and the Rehabilitation Board can be traced back to the difficulties that accompanied the

¹⁵²³ Thomson, ‘The rehabilitation of servicemen,’ p.322.

¹⁵²⁴ Thomson, ‘The rehabilitation of servicemen,’ p.325.

¹⁵²⁵ G.V. Butterworth, ‘A rural Maori renaissance? Maori society and politics, 1920 to 1952,’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 2, 81, June 1972, pp.160-195. See p.188.

¹⁵²⁶ G.V. Butterworth and H.R. Young, *Maori Affairs*. Wellington: Iwi Transition Agency: GP Books, c1990, p.88.

rehabilitation land settlement programme devised for the settlement of discharged World War I veterans. Early in 1942, the Rehabilitation Board appointed a committee to advise it on the settlement of returning veterans. The Lands Committee was first reminded of the ‘failures’ experienced under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915, identified as the purchase of land at too high a price, the purchase of unsuitable land, uneconomic holdings, faulty supervision, and the fact that many of the settlers lacked farming experience and/or skills in financial management. Many of the men settled under that Act had failed for one or more of those reasons, but not least the last. Those conclusions were contained in a report prepared in 1941 by a committee comprising representatives of the Departments of Lands and Survey, Agriculture, and Native Affairs, and the State Advances Corporation. It will be recalled that at that stage it was assumed that 3,000 ex-servicemen would seek settlement and that the cost involved would reach about £13m.¹⁵²⁷

The Lands Committee also considered a paper entitled *Discussion report for special committee on tenure* in which the unnamed author noted that the only extant legislation relating to small farm settlement was the Small Farms (Relief of Unemployment) Act 1932 and the amending Acts of 1939 and 1940. The paper advanced four tenure options. The first was the freehold, an option that, it was suggested, carried with it the risk of inflated land prices that ‘may prove a tragic result of the good intentions of the Government,’ while purchase of the freehold would compromise any provisions relating to probation and supervision. The second form was the leasehold, as already provided for by the Act, although with a reduction in the annual rent and some modifications relating to the method of calculating that rent. The third was the leasehold with the right of purchase at a fixed capital value, an option advanced on the grounds that it was one enjoyed by most Crown tenants and particularly World War I soldier settlers. The leasehold was also advanced on the grounds that ‘The existence of the condition has proved an incentive to the most efficient farming.’ The final form listed was the ‘adjustable lease’ with the rental being ‘based on economic considerations existing from time to time.’¹⁵²⁸

¹⁵²⁷ What appears to be a copy of that report, ‘Rehabilitation of discharged soldiers by land settlement,’ can be found in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1. The paper made no reference to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, past or prospective.

¹⁵²⁸ *Discussion report for special committee on tenure*, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA W2490 24 32/1 Part 1.

In the discussions that followed in the Lands Committee, F. Mitchell of the State Advances Corporation, touched upon what was termed ‘the Maori problem,’ asking whether Maori ‘would be qualified to receive assistance in all the benefits available to the Pakeha. If so,’ he averred, ‘such assistance should be granted only after consultation with the Native Department which knew the needs and psychology of the Maori.’ He did not elaborate on the nature of the ‘Maori problem,’ merely assuming that those present understood what the term was intended to convey. E.L. Cullen, who chaired the meeting, indicated that the Department of Native Affairs would be consulted, while noting that Maori ex-servicemen ‘would receive exactly the same treatment as the Pakeha.’ The Committee also considered a recommendation to the effect that the Rehabilitation Board should establish a single controlling authority for land settlement, especially for the purchase of land for settlement purposes. It was Professor E.R. Hudson of Lincoln College who encouraged the Committee to consider the ‘underlying principles in regard to land settlement,’ suggesting that the economic conditions that would obtain after the war would differ markedly from those that emerged in the wake of World War I. His own view was that settlement should be confined to land already improved, while he also ‘deprecated’ the freehold and urged instead that the State retain ownership of lands acquired.¹⁵²⁹

In response, O.N. Campbell, then Under Secretary of Native Affairs, felt that the option of the freehold should remain, and rejected the suggestion that settlement should be limited to lands already in production.¹⁵³⁰ He then dealt at some length with lands in Maori ownership, ‘not first-class land, but quite fit for settlement.’ There was a large area, he indicated, then under development, and for which occupiers had not yet been selected. Such land ‘would probably be available for the settlement of returned Maoris, and he was of the opinion that the Maori people generally would lean towards the soldier, provided, of course, that the land was not specially required for the settlement of the owners’ own families. Nevertheless, the Maori should not be

¹⁵²⁹ Report of Lands Committee advising Rehabilitation Board, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

¹⁵³⁰ O.N. Campbell served as Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs from 1935 to 1944. See ‘Native Affairs. Under-Secretary retires,’ *Evening Post* 2 March 1944, p.6.

debarred from any general settlement scheme.’¹⁵³¹ Campbell did not touch upon the matter of terms of settlement, rather assuming, it appeared, that the terms provided for under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 would not prove to be a factor nor an obstacle to the granting of rehabilitation assistance. But Auckland’s Registrar independently glimpsed the potential difficulties lying ahead. Commenting on Ngata’s April 1942 submissions to the Minister of Native Affairs on the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, he observed that ‘the settlement of Native soldiers on tribal or other Native lands would, it would seem, require[s] consideration of ways and means of giving settlers a secure tenure, otherwise they would not be in as good a position to become successful settlers and eventually freeholders as would Pakeha soldiers established on Crown lands probably with the right to acquire the freehold.’¹⁵³²

10.4 ‘A delicate matter’

A second issue emerged that would also have a direct bearing on the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. Following the Rehabilitation Board’s adoption, on 24 November 1943, of the report of the special committee appointed to consider the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, the Departments of Native Affairs and Lands and Survey were asked ‘to decide in what circumstances Maoris should normally be included in ballots for Crown lands and to submit their decision to the Rehabilitation Board.’ The Director of Rehabilitation noted that some restriction might have to be placed on Maori ‘if Native Development Schemes exclusively for the benefit of these men were being developed in the same district.’¹⁵³³ On the copy of the letter from Baker to the Under Secretary for Lands and Survey were some notes, dated 29 November 1943. The unnamed official concerned recorded, presumably for his Under Secretary, that

¹⁵³¹ Report of Lands Committee advising Rehabilitation Board, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

¹⁵³² Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 5 April [? May] 1942, in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

¹⁵³³ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 25 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

Under Land Laws no distinction between Maori & Pakeha so ‘normally’ Maoris would always be included in Crown ballots. Restriction (if any) a delicate matter – a Maori living as a European with no desire to go on a Native Block should not be excluded from a Crown Block. The Rehab. Selection Committees could no doubt suggest to Maoris in suitable cases that they apply for settlement on a Native Development Scheme. Will it not be that generally Maoris will wish to go on Native Blocks?¹⁵³⁴

The law might not have distinguished between Maori and Pakeha but, it seems, the Department of Lands and Survey distinguished between a Maori ‘living as a European’ and, presumably, a Maori living as a Maori. On the other hand, the official appears to have affirmed that whether a Maori, however defined, chose to enter a ballot for Crown sections or to seek placement on a Maori land development scheme was one for him/her to make. The Under Secretary of the Native Department then advised Baker that he had discussed the matter with the Department of Lands and Survey and that:

we agree that any Maori will be eligible to apply for Crown lands ... provided he meets the full requirements demanded from other applicants, and can show that no Native lands are available to him he will receive equal treatment to that given to the Pakeha soldier. As Crown lands will be in limited supply it is however hoped that all Maoris requiring land will be rehabilitated on their own Tribal lands.¹⁵³⁵

Clearly, the official hope was that Maori ex-servicemen would not compete with Pakeha veterans for Crown sections. The phrase ‘provided he meets the full requirements’ appears to have been a reference to the grading scheme then under discussion: he offered no comment on what those requirements might be or how they might be applied. More importantly, ‘equal treatment’ was, so far as Maori veterans were concerned, highly qualified by the phrase ‘that no Native lands are available to him ...’ Campbell offered no indication of what that might mean in practice. Did it mean, for example, any lands irrespective of area, quality, location, and title status, or did it mean insufficient land for the purposes of an economic unit? Such vagueness apart, the intent of Campbell’s comment seemed clear, namely, that the Crown

¹⁵³⁴ Notes on Director, Rehabilitation to Under-Secretary, Lands and Survey 25 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1.

¹⁵³⁵ Under Secretary, Native Department to Director of Rehabilitation 2 December 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490 24 32/1 Part 1. See also AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1.

proposed to restrict, as far as possible, Maori veterans to settlement on lands owned by Maori.

10.5 ‘The interests of owners must be one of the main considerations’

As the Rehabilitation Board moved to define the terms under which lands would be purchased and made available for the settlement of ex-service personnel, the potential difficulties involving the settlement of Maori within the land development schemes emerged into sharper relief. Two classes of land were involved, Crown land and Maori freehold lands.

10.5.1 Crown lands in Maori land development schemes

Crown land was included in a number of development schemes: some of the land represented blocks that it had secured as awards under consolidation, some represented interests that had been partitioned out, others were isolated blocks for which it had no specific purpose. The pressing issue in respect of the Crown lands included in Maori land development schemes related to the form of lease which occupiers should be offered: should occupiers be granted leases on the same terms as other Crown tenants or should they be offered leases on the same terms as occupiers of Maori lands within the development schemes? The issue appears to have arisen first in connection with the Waimiha development scheme. In December 1941, Auckland’s Registrar, noting that final consolidation orders had been issued, proposed the issue of leases to the three Waimiha units occupying Crown sections. The three units concerned in fact declined to accept the leases in the form in which they had been presented: they insisted that they had been assured that they would have the right to purchase the lands concerned, the price to be the unimproved value of the land plus any advances owed to the Crown. The Board of Native Affairs decided to defer the matter.¹⁵³⁶ In the event, two executed the leases and collateral mortgages of the leasehold interests, while the third insisted upon the same terms granted to Crown tenants. The Board of Maori Affairs held firm to its stance that unit occupiers of

¹⁵³⁶ Board of Maori Affairs paper, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/a 60/16 Part 1.

Crown lands in Maori land development schemes should accept the same terms and conditions as those it granted to occupiers of Maori lands.¹⁵³⁷

The terms on which Crown lands in Maori land development schemes might be granted were still under discussion in 1944. It was noted that the Crown (through the Department of Lands and Survey) was issuing three main forms of tenure: renewable leases under Part III of the Land Act 1924, renewable leases under the Land Act 1924 and the Land for Settlements Act 1925, and leases under the Small Farms Act 1939. It was also noted that where a lease was not renewed, the incoming lessee was required to purchase from his predecessor improvements at valuation.¹⁵³⁸ In May 1945, the Rehabilitation Board asked the Board of Native Affairs to agree that Maori ex-servicemen settled on Crown and Maori land within Maori land development schemes should have the terms and conditions as defined by the Small Farms Amendment Act 1939. The Board of Native Affairs, meeting towards the end of July 1945, agreed that those terms and conditions would apply to Crown lands.¹⁵³⁹ With respect to Maori land, the Board adhered to the terms specified in Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, that is, terms of 42 years with revaluation every 14 years and consequent adjustment of rental, and compensation at the rate of 50 per cent of the lessee's interest in improvements.¹⁵⁴⁰

The Rehabilitation Board was advised accordingly and on 22 August 1945 it resolved to accept the decision of the Board of Native Affairs with respect to Crown lands within Maori land development schemes, but not that concerning Maori land in those schemes.¹⁵⁴¹ Subsequently some uncertainty arose over whether, under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, the Board of Native Affairs had the power to lease Crown lands proclaimed subject to Part I for a longer aggregate term than 50 years.¹⁵⁴² Section 18 of the Maori Purposes Act 1947 empowered the Board to grant leases of such Crown lands for any term not exceeding 33 years with a right of

¹⁵³⁷ Board of Maori Affairs paper, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/a 60/16 Part 1.

¹⁵³⁸ Memorandum in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/a 60/16 Part 1.

¹⁵³⁹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16065 MA41/6. See also Board of Native Affairs paper, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074 1330a 60/16 Part 1.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director of Rehabilitation 31 July 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2. See also ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁵⁴¹ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁵⁴² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 16 September 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/307 60/16 Part 2.

renewal for the same or shorter term or with a perpetual right of renewal for the same or shorter term.

10.5.2 Maori freehold land in Maori land development schemes

The terms on which Maori freehold land within development schemes would be made available to Maori ex-servicemen proved to be irresolvable. In March 1944, the Rehabilitation Department's Legal Officer (C.J. Stace) discussed at some length the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel with the newly appointed Under Secretary of the Native Department, G.P. Shepherd.¹⁵⁴³ Among the matters traversed was that of tenure and, with respect to that matter, Shepherd insisted that the interests of the owners 'must be one of the main considerations.' He thus favoured sections being offered on leases of 42 years, rental reassessment every 14 years, and compensation of 50 per cent of the value of improvements at the end of the term, that is, the terms currently available under the Maori land development programme. Shepherd was aware that under the Small Farms Act 1932-33, settlers, including soldier settlers, would be offered significantly more favourable terms. On 22 March 1944, Baker and Stace both met Shepherd again when much of the discussion focussed on 'the handing over of Native land to ex-servicemen ...' Baker made it plain that the tenure available under Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 would not be acceptable to the Rehabilitation Board. One option suggested was to legislate for the transfer of development land to the Crown. In turn, the Crown would issue freehold titles to Maori ex-servicemen settlers.¹⁵⁴⁴ It appears not to have been taken any further, although a variation of that proposal appeared as section 72 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1945 (see below).

There was one other matter discussed that is of some relevance here, namely, the eligibility of Maori ex-service personnel for assistance through the State Advances Corporation. On the basis of the definition of 'Maori' employed by the Native Land

¹⁵⁴³ O.N. Campbell was succeeded as Under Secretary by Chief Judge G.P. Shepherd, known to Maori as Te Heparā, the good shepherd. See 'Native Affairs. New Under Secretary,' *Evening Post* 8 March 1944, p.4.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Director, Rehabilitation, 'Note for file,' 28 March 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W16666/126/a 10/0.

Act 1931, it was suggested that those of half blood or more should be treated as Maori, 'unless there are strong circumstances justifying his being treated as a European,' and that their rehabilitation should be handled by the Department of Native Affairs. Maori of less than half blood would be treated as European 'unless it can be shown that there is a good reason to the contrary.' Presumably, the rehabilitation of the latter would be handled by the Rehabilitation Board and the State Advances Corporation. Better counsels prevailed, Stace noting that 'This suggested instruction will be seen on examination to be practically valueless ...'¹⁵⁴⁵ The idea of employing some measurement of race as a basis on which to allocate rehabilitation assistance had nevertheless occurred to some officials.

In a report to the Director of Rehabilitation, dated 10 May 1944, Stace set out a range of matters that in his view required resolution if a programme for the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel were to operate effectively. He was certain that general dissatisfaction existed over the apparent delay on the part of the Department of Native Affairs in granting 'fixity of tenure' to occupiers within the Maori land development schemes. He also suggested that, in its enthusiasm to get the land development programme under way, the Department had placed Maori on farms without regard for their qualifications or experience and now faced the task of dislodging those who had proved to be incompetent. The return of veterans afforded the Department the opportunity it sought, and Stace predicted that 'quite a number of the present occupiers' would be replaced by veterans.¹⁵⁴⁶ It is worthwhile recording here that, a few months later, in September 1944, in the course of a debate on estimates for the Department of Native Affairs, reference was made to the appointment of 'a special committee of investigation' to review the efforts of 'certain groups of Maori settlers under the Board's control in the Gisborne and Central Rotorua areas.' Several nominations were evidently cancelled.¹⁵⁴⁷ What is not known is whether that review was intended to facilitate the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen or whether similar 'reviews' were conducted elsewhere.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Legal Officer, Rehabilitation Department to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Legal Officer, Rehabilitation Department to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁵⁴⁷ *NZPD* 1944, Vol 266, p.647.

Stace, it appears, seems to have thought, moreover, that the displacement of existing occupiers would afford an opportunity not only to install Maori ex-servicemen but also to revise the terms on which the land involved would be held. Thus he suggested that it might be possible to persuade the Department of Native Affairs to offer soldier settlers more generous lease terms than those available to civilian settlers, but added that 'it must be remembered that the Department also owes a duty to the owners of the land and, this being so, it may not be possible to obtain any better treatment for ex-servicemen.'¹⁵⁴⁸ Stace proposed that any ex-serviceman settled on Native land development schemes should spend his first year on probation, supervised and trained, especially in financial management, by the Department of Native Affairs. The lack of such a probationary period had resulted, he suggested, in the Department settling many Maori as farmers but producing relatively few efficient farmers. Finally, he proposed that ex-servicemen settled on development schemes should receive rehabilitation interest rate concessions, with the difference between such rates and those ordinarily charged by the Department of Native Affairs being met out of the War Expenses Account.¹⁵⁴⁹ In other words, Stace was proposing to step over the difficulties posed by the occupancy terms deemed unacceptable by the Rehabilitation Board. In Stace's proposal for a probationary period appears to have resided the origin of the practice of 'tagging' the 'A' grade certificates issued to Maori ex-servicemen. This matter is discussed below.

There was one other matter that Stace raised, namely, the security that ex-servicemen settled on land in which they were not substantial owners could offer for any rehabilitation assistance extended to them. He suggested that one option would be to gazette the land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, thus allowing the Department of Native Affairs to secure a statutory charge over the freehold. Where a serviceman could only offer his lease as security constituted one more reason for the Rehabilitation Department's insistence that the lease contain 'substantial rights of compensation' for any improvements he effected. But, Stace concluded, as a result of past' bitter experiences,' the Native Land Court was averse to confirming leases

¹⁵⁴⁸ Legal Officer, Rehabilitation Department to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Legal Officer, Rehabilitation Department to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

containing compensation rights.¹⁵⁵⁰ He did not elaborate, but it is possible that he had in mind the difficulties that arisen in respect of the many leases of Maori freehold land that had been granted in the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Court District and the report of the 1929 Royal Commission. In its report, the latter dealt at some length with compensation for improvements, noting that in respect of lands vested in the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board, the Board had failed, section 263(5) of the Native Land Act 1909 notwithstanding, to establish sinking funds to meet future compensation costs. It also noted that with respect to private leases that had specified a rate at which compensation would be paid, the Board had similarly failed, with the exception of one or two instances, to utilise the provisions of section 228 of the same Act to establish sinking funds. The Commission had concluded that the one effective remedy lay in ‘facilitating the acquirement of the freehold by the lessees,’ exactly the outcome that owners feared.¹⁵⁵¹

10.6 Training, grading and tagging

The Rehabilitation Board’s early decision that ex-service personnel seeking their rehabilitation through land would have to possess an ‘A’ grade certificate has already been noted. Details of the grading process are set out in Part XII of the *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand*.¹⁵⁵² The origins of the practice of ‘tagging’ the grading certificates issued to Maori ex-servicemen, that is, endorsing them, are not entirely clear, but it appears that, early in the implementation of the rehabilitation programme, several Maori ex-servicemen secured ‘open gradings’ and financial assistance through the State Advances Corporation. It was then found, or so it was claimed, that without ‘special supervision,’ such settlers had not measured up to the standard that an ‘A’ grade farmer was expected to attain.¹⁵⁵³

¹⁵⁵⁰ Legal Officer, Rehabilitation Department to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁵⁵¹ *AJHR* 1929, G7, p.4. The matter is explored in T.J. Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown in Te Rohe Potae c1900 to c1935,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2011, Chapter 17.

¹⁵⁵² Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965*. (Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965).

¹⁵⁵³ ‘Conference of District Rehabilitation Officers, 1947,’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/238/b 40/28/4.

Misgivings over the ability of Maori soldier settlers to manage their financial affairs appear to have been widely shared. Thus, in February 1944, the Whangarei Rehabilitation Committee insisted that it could not recommend Maori veterans as farmers ‘unless they worked on a budget. Even then they would be a heavy liability to the State and a great responsibility and worry to the Field Officers handling their budget.’ In its view, the men concerned should be ‘handled’ by the Department of Native Affairs ‘and worked under a communal system where they could be under the supervision of a competent man ...’¹⁵⁵⁴ The phrasing was indelicate, to say the least. A few months later, Whangarei’s Rehabilitation Officer raised concern over the growing number of ‘A’ graded Maori veterans in Northland awaiting settlement, especially those who had no land of their own.

It is felt [he recorded] that the establishment of Maori ex-servicemen is taking second place to the establishment of Pakehas. Although it is realised that there are difficulties in that Maoris may not be able to accept the same financial responsibilities, it would be most unfortunate for Rehabilitation if the impression is gained that the Maori is not obtaining every facility possible and that responsibility [for his settlement] ceases at grading.¹⁵⁵⁵

As noted above, Stace, in May 1944, certainly suggested that the Department of Native Affairs should supervise Maori settlers, especially in respect of financial management. During a conference of rehabilitation officers held on 8 November 1945 (and attended by Shepherd and Grace), concern was expressed that grading Maori veterans through the general grading channel would act to their disadvantage. Indeed, it was predicted that not more than one per cent of Maori applicants would secure ‘A’ gradings and that those graded ‘B’ and ‘C’ would take many years to ‘come up to the European standard ...’ In fact, some of the rehabilitation officers in attendance openly expressed doubts that Maori would ever make good farm managers or businessmen.¹⁵⁵⁶ That view long persisted.¹⁵⁵⁷ Subsequently, the *War history of rehabilitation* indicated that where a Maori ex-serviceman was allotted ‘a section specifically reserved for Maoris he was usually required to work on wages for a period on the particular farm before he was given permanent title,’ thus allowing the

¹⁵⁵⁴ J.W. Parker, Whangarei Rehabilitation Committee, Whangarei to Director, Rehabilitation 14 February 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/a 10/1.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Rehabilitation Officer, Whangarei to Director, Rehabilitation 18 May 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/a 10/1.

¹⁵⁵⁶ A record of the conference can be found in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁵⁵⁷ See, for example, *AJHR* 1949 H46A, p.83.

Department of Maori Affairs ‘to supervise his general farming methods and ensure that he was capable of managing his financial affairs unaided.’¹⁵⁵⁸

Tagging thus appears to have originated in concerns over the ability of Maori ex-servicemen to manage, as settlers, their financial affairs. But, in January 1945, Baker advised the Under Secretary of Native Affairs that the Rehabilitation Board regarded it as:

most desirable that an equitable distribution of lands purchased by the Crown should be made as between European and Maori settlers ... the Farms Advisory Committee recognised that, where the Lands Department proceeded with development and settlement and there were isolated Grade ‘A’ Maori ex-servicemen waiting to be settled, there was no reason why these men should be excluded from any ballots which took place in that area.¹⁵⁵⁹

In other words, the practice of excluding Maori ex-servicemen from participating in ballots for Crown sections, could be varied according to circumstances, suggesting that considerations other than financial management ability were at play. One inference that could be drawn from Baker’s comment was that the settlement of Maori veterans would be directed towards, perhaps restricted to, particular areas or districts. At least such an approach was consistent with that expressed by the Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs. The settlement of Maori veterans, it appeared, would be confined as far as practicable to ‘Maori districts.’

In practice, then, to secure an ‘A’ grading, Maori ex-servicemen had to meet the same standards as those required of all other veterans with one important difference, namely, that the grading could be qualified. Thus, if a Maori ex-servicemen were considered to be a competent farmer, and capable of farming in a wide area and doing so irrespective of the presence or not of other Maori, he received an ‘A’ grade certificate for that area without qualification. On the other hand, if it were considered that he could satisfy the same conditions only within the Maori Land Court district within which he normally resided, his grading was limited to that district. Further, where it was considered that he lacked the ability to manage his finances

¹⁵⁵⁸ Rehabilitation Board, *War history of rehabilitation In New Zealand*, p.132.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 1.

appropriately, then his certificate would be endorsed 'subject to supervision from the Department of Maori Affairs.'¹⁵⁶⁰ In January 1945, the Director of Rehabilitation recorded that the 'great majority' of Maori ex-servicemen farm applicants who were graded 'A' were tagged. As a result, their settlement would be arranged by the Department of Native Affairs on lands under its control or on lands that had been acquired by the Department of Lands and Survey and handed over for Maori rehabilitation purposes.¹⁵⁶¹ But tagging would acquire one further function, as a means of excluding Maori ex-servicemen from participating in ballots for Crown sections, that is, as a rationing device.

The Minister of Rehabilitation, in December 1946, offered Finance Minister Nash, a succinct summary of the position. Under the heading of 'Eligibility of Maori veterans to participate in "Pakeha land ballots,"' he recorded that Maori ex-servicemen graded an unrestricted 'A' were entitled to participate in ballots conducted by the Department of Lands and Survey, and to apply for individual loans from the State Advances Corporation or the Department of Native Affairs to purchase single unit properties. On the other hand, those granted a tagged 'A' grade would be restricted to settlement either on their own land or freehold properties acquired from either Maori or Pakeha, to inclusion in ballots conducted by the Native Department, and to settlement on properties acquired under section 51 of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 and set aside specifically for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. They were not entitled, in view of the necessity for Native Department supervision, to participate in ballots conducted by the Department of Lands and Survey. In deciding the question as to whether a Maori ex-serviceman should be granted an unrestricted grading or one subject to supervision by the Native Department, he noted that, apart from practical experience, the Rehabilitation Board took cognizance of the applicant's managerial ability, and where it was considered that he was competent to manage a farm property without supervision, and was 'suitable for settlement in other than a Maori community,' he was given an open grading and thus placed in the same

¹⁵⁶⁰ *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965*. (Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965), p.179.

¹⁵⁶¹ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 4 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

position as a Pakeha veteran.¹⁵⁶² How suitability for settlement in Pakeha farming communities would be defined, assessed, and measured and by whom were matters that were not discussed. The Minister of Rehabilitation did not point out to Nash that Pakeha veterans who acquired Crown sections and rehabilitation loans through the State Advances Corporation were also placed under budgetary control and paid a wage for so long as the control remained in place. The implied lack of financial management skills did not preclude them from participating in ballots for Crown sections.

For the Rehabilitation Board, the answer to the lack of farming and financial management skills was farm training. Such training was a key element of its plans to prevent as far as possible the high rate of failure among post World War I soldier settlers. By 1958, 277 Maori ex-servicemen had been ‘afforded’ farm training (5.5 per cent of the total demobilised by the end of March 1948 compared with 1.5 per cent of the 197,270 Pakeha ex-service personnel demobilised by the same date), suggesting significantly greater relative interest in the part of Maori veterans in land settlement and a willingness to accept training.¹⁵⁶³ That proved to be the peak number. The Rehabilitation Board early recognised that without training, few Maori veterans would qualify for ‘A’ grade certificates. In its view, one of the primary reasons that the Department of Native Affairs had enjoyed only limited success in settling Maori on development scheme farms had been the lack of suitable and appropriate training.¹⁵⁶⁴ Training was thus offered on blocks under development acquired by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, through employment on blocks gazetted under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1936, and on Huramua until its subdivision and settlement. During 1946 consideration was given to establishing a second training farm for Maori veterans, although the Department of Native Affairs preferred an expansion of Huramua and a shorter training programme as more cost-effective alternatives. Further, it believed that the key to successful Maori settlement

¹⁵⁶² Minister of Rehabilitation to W. Nash (?) November 1946, in ANZ Auckland AATG 6164 5/e 19/2.

¹⁵⁶³ See, for example, Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 2 February 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/a 10/1.

¹⁵⁶⁴ See, for example, C.J. Stace to Director, Rehabilitation 10 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

was what was termed ‘a good supervisory service upon establishment.’¹⁵⁶⁵ Another alternative canvassed during 1946 was a settlement scheme for Maori veterans who were not graded, whose education had been modest, but who would respond well under supervision.¹⁵⁶⁶

Small numbers were trained at Massey Agricultural College and with private (Pakeha) farmers. Training was one part of the equation: settlement on the land was another: by the end of March 1958, 277 may have been ‘afforded’ farm training, but the number settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee by the same date stood at 164, although an additional smaller number had been assisted through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee. Training notwithstanding, the ‘A’ certificates issued to Maori ex-servicemen were still tagged, suggesting that the content of the training courses was less than sufficiently comprehensive.

Tagging is explored further below, but one question that it did not prove possible to investigate was how limiting Maori veterans, through their grading certificates, to settlement in particular districts worked in practice. How many veterans, for example, were limited to Northland? Given the number of Maori service personnel drawn from that district, and given the marked pressure on the available land, to what extent (if any) were their prospects of securing a section diminished as a result?

10.7 Priorities in conflict

By June 1944, therefore, the difficulty over the granting of rehabilitation interest concessions to Maori ex-servicemen placed on farms under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 was well recognised, generating friction, and, apparently, proving to be incapable of resolution. Towards the end of June 1944, the Director of Rehabilitation decided to place that and other matters, including the Native Department’s action on housing, the employment of men graduating from the

¹⁵⁶⁵ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 21 August 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/a 10/1.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Director, Rehabilitation to Rehabilitation Officers 10 September 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/a 10/1.

Rehabilitation Department's trade training centres, and farm training, before the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.¹⁵⁶⁷ The latter considered the various issues, but no action followed 'as the question of Maori land involved a great deal of research.'¹⁵⁶⁸

When it met early in July 1944, the Committee considered at some length the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel.¹⁵⁶⁹ During the discussion, Baker made four points, namely, that the first and foremost concern of the Rehabilitation Department was the general welfare of veterans; second, that veterans working on land development schemes 'as mere labourers with no finality as to their eventual settlement' was not acceptable; third, that the main object of rehabilitation 'was eventual settlement of the man on the land;' and, that interest rate concessions were of 'paramount importance.' Shepherd, on the other hand, indicated that for the Department of Native Affairs, its first and foremost concern was for the owners of land in development schemes, and suggested that occupiers granted leases (as provided under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936) should receive the interest rate concessions. The Board and Department were talking past each other. For its part, Treasury announced that veterans settled on development schemes were not eligible for rehabilitation interest rate concessions: all it could suggest was that 'some agreement should be arrived at whereby ex-servicemen can receive the benefit.' The assumptions upon which the Department of Native Affairs had proposed the Maori land development programme as the vehicle for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen stood exposed. But also exposed as misplaced was the confidence that the Rehabilitation Board had evidently reposed in the Department's commitment to 'rationalising farm management.'

The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided, first, that rehabilitation interest concessions should be made applicable to Native land development schemes from the time that leases were granted to Maori ex-servicemen; second, that Maori ex-

¹⁵⁶⁷ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 June 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/a 10/0.

¹⁵⁶⁸ 'Schedule showing steps taken by the Rehabilitation Board in endeavour to implement its existing policy whereby Maori ex-servicemen may be assisted and established on Maori lands subject to Part I/1936,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/b 10/0.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Baker presented a paper entitled 'Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-servicemen.' A copy can be found in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

servicemen, being the owners of the land and assisted under the Native land development programme, could elect to apply for grading and, if graded 'A' and met Native Department requirements, should qualify immediately for interest rate concessions; third, that 'A' grade veterans, where settled under Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, should complete a probationary period of not more than 12 months and, if granted a lease, should qualify for interest rate concessions from commencement of the lease; and, finally, that veterans who had secured a lease prior to the war and enlistment should be eligible for concessions only on the grounds of hardship.¹⁵⁷⁰

10.8 'These people have no security of tenure'

Among those Maori who enlisted for active service were a good many unit farmers or occupiers under the Maori land development programme. It appears to have been a widely shared assumption that they would secure rehabilitation interest rate concessions where they sought to restock and/or to develop their holdings further. The Rehabilitation Board was as much concerned for those returning to their holdings as it was over those who might be settled on the land development schemes. With respect to the former, it is difficult to establish how many ex-servicemen were affected. It is not known how many possessed formal leases, although many of the men concerned were clearly dissatisfied over the matter of tenure.¹⁵⁷¹ It was subsequently established that, as at the end of March 1953, of 1,470 settlers only 453 had satisfactory tenures. That number is likely to have been appreciably fewer in 1945. In 1953, those with unsatisfactory tenures numbered 466 in the Tokerau Maori Land District, 152 in the Waikato-Maniapoto, 259 in the Waiariki, and 104 in the Tairāwhiti Maori Land Districts, the balance being shared between Aotea and Ikaroa and the South Island. In those 1,017 cases, the Department acknowledged, it was 'unlikely that the precise rights and liabilities incidental to occupation have ever been determined. These people have no security of tenure ...' The legislation offered no assistance, while in

¹⁵⁷⁰ Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, Minutes 3 July 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

¹⁵⁷¹ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua, report for fortnight ending 31 March 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8.

most cases no formal written record existed of the terms upon which occupiers had been nominated. The only certainty was that the improvements, being attached to the land, were owned by the owners of that land, while the latter could also mount a claim to the stock and chattels and any credit balances in the loan accounts. This is not the place to examine the genesis of these anomalies.¹⁵⁷² It is sufficient to note that they served to disqualify the Maori ex-servicemen involved from benefitting from the concessions offered under the rehabilitation programme.

Baker took the matter up with the Department of Native Affairs and was advised that district offices had been instructed to conduct a survey of development occupiers with a view to granting leases to those who had proved their efficiency as farmers. 'It will no doubt happen,' he recorded in May 1944, 'that many returned men will be settled on development holdings ... This Department [Rehabilitation] will endeavour to see that any ex-servicemen rehabilitated in this way are [*sic*] given, after a reasonable period of probation, proper security of tenure for a long term and with substantial compensation rights. This is one of the matters,' he added, 'that will be discussed at length with the Under-Secretary, Native Department in the near future.' Baker also insisted that 'this Department will endeavour to see that the usual interest concessions are made available ...'¹⁵⁷³ Rotorua's Maori Rehabilitation Officer, William Vercoe, raised the matter again, in August 1944, at the same time noting that the Department of Native Affairs was claiming that it had no consolidation staff. 'This,' he suggested, 'is going to cripple the Rehabilitation of Maoris so far as housing and farm loans are concerned.'¹⁵⁷⁴

Those ex-servicemen returning to existing holdings on development schemes faced further difficulties when endeavouring to secure rehabilitation assistance, namely, the

¹⁵⁷² It is, though, worthwhile noting that the architect of the Maori land development programme, Sir Apirana Ngata, insisted that nominated occupiers possessed no 'specific understanding that they should become permanent occupiers under titles created and conferred by the mortgagee-administrator.' In his view, granting titles to occupiers would constitute the final dispossession. Ngata's assumption was that lands, once developed and debts to the Crown repaid, would be handed back to their owners and that arrangements for the future use of the land would be their responsibility. See A.T. Ngata, 'Maori land development,' in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcome & Tombs, 1940, especially p.148.

¹⁵⁷³ Director, Rehabilitation to Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua 11 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua to Director, Rehabilitation 1 August 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8. See also Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua to Director, Rehabilitation 26 February 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8.

lack of clear titles and the fact that most holdings established on the development schemes were small. Their size, combined with inferior pastures, and low yielding stock, served to limit the ability of occupiers to accumulate capital for reinvestment in stock, plant, and pasture. Many of the holdings established on or within the development schemes were at best marginally economic. Most were simply uneconomic. The Rehabilitation Board would only authorise loans in respect of farm units deemed to be economic. An analysis of annual butterfat production per settler in the Bay of Islands and Hokianga development schemes for the period from 1937 to 1941 indicated a range from 1,529 to 2,243lbs in the case of the former and 1,568 to 2,689 in the case of the latter, well short of the minimum of 8,000lbs specified by the Rehabilitation Board.¹⁵⁷⁵ How many Maori ex-servicemen, returning to the development scheme farms they had left found that they could not secure rehabilitation farm loans to re-stock, erect or modify dwellings, and generally to improve their properties is not known.

One option that appeared available to ex-servicemen wishing to ‘step over’ the difficulties associated with tenure was to have the holdings they occupied excised from the schemes involved. But that raised a range of potential difficulties, not least being the consent of owners. Further, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs insisted that

Settlement should not be undertaken until a proper planned subdivisional scheme has been prepared and approved, enabling sections to be hived off from time to time when required in the interests of settlement, without doing injury or injustice to the other portions of the scheme lands as a whole and the owners of those lands. No one individual should be entitled to claim a preemptive right to occupy a specially selected area or to be settled in priority to others with at least equal interests in the block, either in their own right or in anticipation through their relatives.¹⁵⁷⁶

¹⁵⁷⁵ Frazer’s 1958 study concluded that 55 per cent of Northland’s Maori dairy suppliers produced less than 3,000lbs of butterfat annually, while only three per cent produced over 10,000lbs, then regarded as ‘the optimum production for a single holding.’ See R.M. Frazer, ‘Maori land in Northland and the East Coast: a contrast in utilisation.’ *Proceedings of the second New Zealand geography conference*, Christchurch, 1958, p,28-34. See also R.M. Frazer, ‘Maori land and Maori population in the Far North,’ *New Zealand geographer* 14, 1, April 1958, pp.19-31. For another discussion, see T.J. Hearn, *Maori economic development in Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District c.1885 to c.2006*, commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, pp.480-482.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 19 December 1944, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington AAMK 869 W3074 62/10/1 Part 2.

In the case of the Mahoenui development scheme, one veteran sought to have land released. The Department of Native Affairs recommended that the Board of Native Affairs partition a subdivision but subject to four provisions, namely, that the veteran concerned was eligible to receive financial assistance from the Rehabilitation Board, that his grading was ‘satisfactory,’ that the title of the land was vested in him or in the Crown, and that an ‘equitable’ proportion of the scheme’s debt was allocated to the land to be released.¹⁵⁷⁷ In the light of his inability to satisfy all of those requirements, the Department of Native Affairs considered settling him as a ‘development unit,’ but that raised the matter of the scheme’s overall settlement and the selection of nominated occupiers. The Department’s Chief Supervisor claimed that Mahoenui was best run as a station and that as such it would eventually be clear of debt. ‘Only then,’ he noted, ‘would any unit have a chance of succeeding, because he would require finance for the further necessary improvements.’¹⁵⁷⁸ It had taken some years, he concluded, to get Mahoenui on to what he termed ‘a paying basis,’ and that the Crown had provided £21,947 by way of subsidies.¹⁵⁷⁹ In short, piecemeal excision of blocks had implications for the allocation of debt between the block or blocks proposed for excision and the balance of a scheme, and consequences for both the management and the financial sustainability of the scheme involved. So far as could be ascertained, few if any piecemeal excisions for the purposes of rehabilitation took place.

10.9 ‘We cannot give concessions unless the owners are agreeable’

Encouraging the Department of Native Affairs to subdivide and settle existing development schemes also seemed to run into difficulties. In December 1944, Rotorua’s Maori Rehabilitation Officer (William Vercoe) complained that ‘The policy of the Native Department and it’s [*sic*] attitude towards the cutting up of various

¹⁵⁷⁷ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 6 September 1945, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington AAMK 869 W3074 1495a 62/10/1 Part 2.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Note on Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department, 21 November 1945, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington AAMK 869 W3074 1495a 62/10 1 Part 2.

¹⁵⁷⁹ See Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA 32/10/A Part 2. A second veteran, with the support of the Rehabilitation Department, sought to settle on some 300 acres of family land within the Mahoenui development scheme. With assistance from the Board of Maori Affairs, he was eventually settled as a unit on the scheme and in 1956 secured rehabilitation finance to repay the advance from the Board of Maori Affairs.

sections under its administration for settlement is most obscure and unsatisfactory,' adding that 'It must be borne in mind that most of the ex-servicemen who wish to return to the land are interested owners and are eligible to be considered along with the rehabilitation of the Maori population of this district.' There were in his district, he claimed, areas ready for conversion to dairying and ex-servicemen owners ready for settlement, 'but the policy of the Native Department in connection with these cases is unsatisfactory,' some of the men having applied some nine months ago for sections but without result. 'This is not encouraging to the ex-servicemen' he noted, 'and I am apprehensive that they may lose heart and get into a groove from which it will be very hard to move them.' Finally, he suggested that the acquisition of European property on which to settle Maori ex-servicemen would 'prove most costly to all concerned and I think a more successful method would be to place these ex-servicemen wherever possible, on properties in which they are interested.'¹⁵⁸⁰ It seems likely that the Department's apparent reluctance to subdivide development schemes arose out a desire to farm them as stations until such time as the debts to the Crown had been significantly reduced.

Vercoe's representations added to Baker's mounting frustration over the manner in which the Department of Native Affairs appeared to be approaching the responsibilities it had accepted as an agency of the Rehabilitation Board. It is unlikely that Baker would have been reassured by the observations offered, in February 1945, by Auckland's Registrar, to the effect that 'It is thought that a considerable risk is taken in settling young Maoris on properties costing £3,000, £4,000, or £5,000 and that they will have difficulty handling properties involving such a capitalisation.' He went on to add that experience with the development schemes had demonstrated that 'generally speaking, few Maoris are capable of handling properties involving a capitalisation of more than £2,000 or less sometimes.' He also suggested that the gradings of Maori for farm settlement 'should be accepted with some reserve.'¹⁵⁸¹

Baker's exasperation over the approach of the Department of Native Affairs to rehabilitation generally and land settlement in particular was matched among some

¹⁵⁸⁰ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua to Director, Rehabilitation 2 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8.

¹⁵⁸¹ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 2 February 1945, in ANZ ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

sections of the Maori community. In February 1945, a group of veterans gathered in Whakatane in February 1945 to consider forming a Maori Ex-servicemen's League and the rehabilitation measures. The Department was assailed for its 'inefficiency,' while the meeting was unanimous that Maori ex-servicemen 'should not be placed under the control of the Native Department but rather under a neutral body such as a set Congress composed of delegates of returned men and women from the four electoral tribal boundaries of the Dominion: to act as Advisory Council to the Rehabilitation Minister.'¹⁵⁸² Kaumatua of Te Aupouri, meeting at Te Kau in May 1945, expressed dissatisfaction with the pace of rehabilitation in Te Hiku o te Ika a Maui. A few veterans had been settled on the land, but 'the large majority were on relief work and engaged in a variety of other occupations, waiting for their ultimate rehabilitation.'¹⁵⁸³

Suspensions emerged that Maori ex-servicemen were being treated less than fairly over the matter of land settlement. So much was made apparent during the course of a hui at Wairoa early in June 1945. Rehabilitation Board member Cullen (who attended together with Shepherd, Blackburn, and Colonel Reta Keiha) expressed the hope that the sole emphasis would not be on land settlement, but rather that Maori veterans would be encouraged to take up trade training, noting that "Land settlement has been slow – it is a very difficult problem indeed.' Turi Carroll recorded that:

Not one of the Maori boys from the last war was rehabilitated. We were excluded from all land ballots. There was a slur cast upon these boys because they were called the pioneer unit – those who formed working parties – besides those at the front. That is why we insisted on them going as a fighting unit in order to prove to the Pakeha and the Government that we were equal to the Pakeha and entitled to equal consideration now. I think you must accept our plea that the achievements of the Maori Battalion prove our right to the same treatment as our Pakeha brothers.¹⁵⁸⁴

¹⁵⁸² 'Maori veterans. Ex-servicemen unite. Meeting in Whakatane,' *Bay of Plenty Beacon* 6 February 1945, p.5.

¹⁵⁸³ 'Maoris dissatisfied. Rehabilitation work,' *New Zealand Herald* 25 May 1945, p.9.

¹⁵⁸⁴ 'Report of Meeting between Under Secretary and Members of Wairoa Maori Leaders at Wairoa on 2 June 1945,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/99/c 8/887. At Whakarewa Point stands the granite memorial to Second Lieutenant Alexander Ormond and seven men of Ngati Rongomaiwahine, all of whom lost their lives on active service during World War I. See also 'Report of meeting at Mahia on 3 June 1945 between the Under Secretary and the Maori Owners,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/99/c 8/887. Ormond served in the 11th Battalion of the Manchester Regiment of the British Army. He was killed at Pozieres in October 1915. For further details see He Toa Taumata Rau/Online Cenotaph.

On the matter of land tenure, Baker appears to have decided to force the issue. Early in April 1945, as the Rehabilitation Board prepared to issue a revised set of instructions relating to rehabilitation, Baker again pressed Shepherd over the terms of settlement as they related to lands proclaimed under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. In asking for the comments of the Native Department, the Director of Rehabilitation drew Shepherd's attention to the matter of compensation for improvements. 'Unless full compensation can be provided for in these cases,' he noted, 'the form of tenure will not be comparable in its benefits to the ex-serviceman lessee, with leases of subdivided blocks which will, of course, be on the same terms as those granted under the Small Farms Act, namely with a perpetual right of renewal and a reassessment of rental every 33 years.'¹⁵⁸⁵ For his part the Under Secretary of Lands and Survey noted that he favoured full compensation, but that the owners of the lands concerned would have to be consulted in which case 'full compensation rights may not be obtainable.' He also noted that his department was averse to leasing land from Maori for sub-leasing.¹⁵⁸⁶ For the Native Department, the Chief Supervisor noted, with respect to lands owned by Maori, 'We cannot give concessions unless the owners are agreeable.'¹⁵⁸⁷

10.10 The Rehabilitation Board decides

In April 1945, after discussions involving Treasury, Native Affairs, Lands and Survey, and the State Advances Corporation, the Rehabilitation Board arrived at two key decisions, first, that Crown lands within Maori land development schemes should be settled in the terms set out in the Small Farms Amendment Act 1939, and, second, that the matter of the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on lands proclaimed under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1936 should be referred to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee for consideration and report. On 3 May 1945, the

¹⁵⁸⁵ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 6 April 1945, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA W2490 26 32/1 Part 2.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Under Secretary, Lands and Survey to Director of Rehabilitation 23 April 1945, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA W2490 26 32/1 Part 2.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Note by Chief Supervisor 16 April 1945, on Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 6 April 1945, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA W2490 32/1 Part 2.

latter endorsed the decision that Maori ex-service personnel settled on Crown lands subject to Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1936 should enjoy the same terms as provided for by the Small Farms Act 1939. It also recommended that, in respect of Maori-owned lands also subject to Part I, settlers should be offered renewable leases with a rental reassessment every 33 years, rent at 4.5 percent of the unimproved value, and lessees to pay for any improvements with rehabilitation loans, together with the established terms, covenants and conditions. Finally, the Committee resolved that in the event of the Board of Native Affairs not agreeing to such terms, rehabilitation assistance should not be made available unless the property concerned were ‘capable of being, and was, vested as to an estate of freehold in the ex-serviceman settler solely.’¹⁵⁸⁸

A month following the meeting of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, on 7 June 1945, the Minister of Rehabilitation wrote to the Minister of Finance setting out the decisions arrived at by the Rehabilitation Board with respect to Maori ex-serviceman rehabilitation in general and land settlement in particular. Thus recommendation 3(A)(a) dealt with *land suitable for development and settlement* by Maori veterans. Such land would be purchased by the Department of Native Affairs, while the Land Settlement Board would purchase general land. Recommendation 3(A)(c) was to the effect that veterans be established on such blocks when developed and subdivided at values determined on a productive basis ‘and that in appropriate cases Maori ex-servicemen who hold ‘B’ and ‘C’ grading certificates be settled on such lands ... on the same basis as it is proposed to settle them on lands subject to Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936.’ Settlement would be on a renewable basis and rental at £4 per cent per annum (reassessed every 33 years). Recommendation 3(C)(i) provided that the same interest rates would be charged and upon the same terms as loans granted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee. Two key recommendations were 3(C)(iii) and 3(C)(iv): the former provided that the difference between the ‘Native Department’s lending rate of interest from time to time and the rate (if any) payable by the borrower under a Rehabilitation loan be recouped to the Native Department’s funds from the War Expenses Account.’ The latter provided that the rents payable by Maori ex-servicemen lessees settled on

¹⁵⁸⁸ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 3 May 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1. See also AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1, and AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

developed lands 'be reduced to £3 per centum per annum of the unimproved value (as already recommended by Treasury) – and that the difference between the £3% p.a. and £4% p.a. be provided by subsidy from the War Expenses Account.'¹⁵⁸⁹

Recommendation (4) dealt with the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on *Lands subject to Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1936*. Under it, the Board of Native Affairs would be asked to agree that wherever single-unit holdings were or could be made available, 'suitable eligible Maori ex-servicemen be settled thereon,' but subject to conditions. Those holding 'B' and 'C' certificates would be settled on a subsidised wage basis or on a share-milking or other profit-sharing basis for 12 months; that at that period they should be re-graded; that to any veteran then graded 'A' (tagged or not) the Board of Maori Affairs, *subject to the approval of the owners or the Native Land Court*, would grant him a lease and a loan on the terms specified in 3(C) above. Those who failed to secure an 'A' grading but were considered worthy of a further trial would have their occupancy extended by a further 12 months. If deemed unsuitable, then occupancy would be terminated.

Recommendation 4(C) dealt with those Maori ex-servicemen graded 'A,' tagged and open, and was to the effect that the Board of Native Affairs should grant a renewable lease with a reassessment every 33 years, rent to be set at £4 per cent per annum of the unimproved value, and the lessee to purchase any improvements with a rehabilitation loan. The terms, covenants and conditions of the renewable leases were to be as set out in the Small Farms Act, a loan would be granted to enable the purchase of stock and chattels, improvements to the land, and initial maintenance and working expenses, and that all the concessions specified in Recommendation 3(C) 'shall apply to both the lease and the loan from the commencement.'¹⁵⁹⁰ There could

¹⁵⁸⁹ The Department of Native Affairs was keen to ensure that its funding was not eroded by having to pay interest (4.5 per cent per annum in 1946) on the funds it was allocated (per section 6 of the National Development Loan Act 1941), but having to charge those Maori ex-servicemen who qualified lower rehabilitation concession rates on farm, housing, and business loans. In 1946, the Department was authorised to recover the difference from the War Expenses Account, although in July 1948 Cabinet approved the inclusion of an amount in Vote: Maori Affairs as 'Rebate of interest on rehabilitation loans,' That amount was initially set at £2,000. See ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1030/c 32/1/3 Part 1.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Minister of Rehabilitation to Minister of Finance 7 June 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 3. These recommendations had been approved by the Rehabilitation Board on 27 April 1945. See 'Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-Servicemen,' paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Committee 27 April 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1.

be no doubt about the position adopted by the Rehabilitation Board, and its recommendations were supported by Treasury and accepted by the Government.

In July 1945 the Board of Native Affairs, to whom the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee's recommendations had been referred, agreed that, with respect to Crown lands in land development schemes, the term of leases 'shall, as far as possible, contain similar terms and conditions to those contained in leases granted by the Lands and Survey Department under the Small Farms Amendment Act 1939 ...' but that with respect to lands owned by Maori, the term would be 42 years, revaluation every 14 years and adjustment of rent, and compensation for the lessee's interest in improvements at the rate of 50 percent.¹⁵⁹¹ In August 1945 the Rehabilitation Board adopted the decision of the Board of Maori Affairs with respect to Crown lands but declined that dealing with lands owned by Maori.¹⁵⁹² So far as settlement within Maori land development schemes was concerned, those decisions created two classes of Maori soldier settler, the one assisted by concessionary rates of interest, the other having to accept higher rates.

It was clear that the Rehabilitation Board's approach to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen was founded on three major principles: first, that those veterans should acquire or have the right to acquire the freehold of the land concerned or have a permanent right of renewal or have a right to compensation for improvements at the rate of 100 percent; second, that as far as possible Maori ex-service personnel should be settled on lands owned by Maori; and, third, that where they could not meet the conditions relating to tenure and compensation, they should seek settlement through the Board of Maori Affairs and thus relinquish any claim to rehabilitation financial assistance at least until they could satisfy the Rehabilitation Board's requirements.

¹⁵⁹¹ Under Secretary, Native Department to Director of Rehabilitation 31 July 1945, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA W2490 26 32/1 Part 2.

¹⁵⁹² See 'Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-Servicemen, paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 22 August 1945, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/1 1. See also AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

10.11 'Just a farce'

The position of veterans occupying land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 was discussed during the Rehabilitation Officers' Conference held on 8 November 1945. Under Secretary Shepherd and John Te Herekiele Grace attended for part of the proceedings.¹⁵⁹³ On the matter of concessionary interest rates, Baker remained adamant: those occupying land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 did not qualify. Shepherd noted that he had raised the matter before the Rehabilitation Council, but that the Minister of Rehabilitation was not prepared to grant concessionary rates in such instances.¹⁵⁹⁴ Once Shepherd and Grace had withdrawn from the meeting, discussion turned to what Baker termed 'internal problems.' Maori ex-servicemen, he recorded, were reluctant to deal with the Department of Native Affairs. While some attendees expressed doubts over the value of Maori Rehabilitation Officers, Baker insisted that Maori appointees were essential if progress were to be made, especially over land settlement. It was also essential, he added, that the officers concerned were members of the Rehabilitation Department. He went on to suggest that Maori Rehabilitation Officers were vital in those districts only recently opened to Pakeha settlement and development, notably Te Rohe Potae, districts in which 'communalism' remained dominant, in which the challenges associated with rehabilitation were that much greater, and in which communication with and the support of kaumatua were indispensable. One District Rehabilitation Officer suggested that 'the Maori distrust of the European is well founded.' Significantly, the Maori Rehabilitation Officers were regarded as essential if confidence and trust on the part of Maori veterans were to be re-established and sustained.¹⁵⁹⁵

Criticism of the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel intensified. Early in 1946 members of the Rehabilitation Board toured the 'Far North,' conducting discussions with both Maori and Pakeha rehabilitation committees, mostly on the matter of land settlement. The view was expressed that unless the Government undertook to

¹⁵⁹³ See Graham Butterworth, 'Grace John Te Herekiele,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara - the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

¹⁵⁹⁴ A record of the conference can be found in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁵⁹⁵ A record of the conference can be found in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

purchase and develop land, all 'A' grade men in the district would move to the cities. The notes of the meeting contained no specific references to land owned by Maori, but the Kawakawa Tribal Executive Committee claimed that, with respect to settlement, Pakeha ex-servicemen were being favoured over Maori veterans. The chairmen of several tribal executive committees noted that Maori had very little land to offer for settlement purposes, complained that Maori ex-servicemen and their kaumatua were being given little information by the Department of Rehabilitation, that little contact was being sustained with Maori veterans, and urged that an immediate start be made on the development of Crown lands.¹⁵⁹⁶

In March 1946, meeting at Kaikohe, a hui requested 'that Government provide lands (Crown and surplus) free for Maori soldiers.' Skinner responded by simply noting that 'Maori ex-servicemen who are graded A for farming have the same rights as other ex-servicemen in that they can either make application for land opened by ballot, or can be financed onto a suitable farm by the State Advances Corporation.'¹⁵⁹⁷ That statement was not entirely accurate. In April, when at Otiria, Tai Tokerau Maori made clear to Prime Minister Fraser their dissatisfaction over what they alleged was the slow progress in the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen. Several reasons were advanced, including, the 'failure' of the District Rehabilitation Committee, and the whole matter of eligibility for rehabilitation assistance, including who determined eligibility and how.¹⁵⁹⁸ The submission presented to Fraser recorded:

Unsatisfactory aspects of the Rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen are causing no little concern among members of Tribal Committees as well as those Maori Officers directly connected with Rehabilitation matters. The number of Maori ex-servicemen rehabilitated seems to be out of all proportion to the number of applications lodged. It does not appear that lack of qualification is in the majority of cases, as has more often than not been suggested, the whole trouble. While this may be true in many cases it is not so in the majority of cases. The suspicion (an unpleasant word) that many of the applications entered are shelved is perhaps rather severe. We put it that

¹⁵⁹⁶ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey 6 February 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/41/b 8/2 Part 1. The complaint over lack of information was not new. See, for example, Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua, report for fortnight ending 31 March 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Minister, Rehabilitation to Minister, Defence 11 March 1946, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1.

¹⁵⁹⁸ 'Maoris concerned at rehabilitation problems,' *Northern Advocate* 5 April 1946, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3.

undoubtedly unnecessary delay through office procedure is one of the main obstructions to the immediate settlement of our servicemen. It is the desire of this gathering that the Prime Minister be made aware of this matter and asked that he give his help ...¹⁵⁹⁹

The concerns raised were aired within the Department of Native Affairs and publicly through the press. Auckland's Registrar described the complaint as being 'of a very general nature, and in these circumstances somewhat difficult to answer.' He rejected claims that applications were being 'shelved' and suggested that, with respect to applications for farming assistance in particular, applicants were often unsure of their land interests. He did not elaborate on the reasons for the apparent uncertainty, but might have cited the incomplete state of consolidation proceedings. Others graded 'A' expected to be settled on farms acquired for them and efforts were being made to locate suitable properties, while acute shortages of building materials explained the delays in respect of housing.¹⁶⁰⁰

Early in May 1946, under the headline 'Loan delays: Maoris restive ...' the *Gisborne Herald* reported claims that Maori ex-servicemen had been discouraged by a complex application procedure and by the long lapse of time between lodging applications and securing decisions. On the other hand, it was suggested that some applicants had not assisted matters by submitting incomplete or inadequate documentation – although it was recognised that Maori ex-servicemen often encountered difficulties when dealing with correspondence – suggesting in turn that the delivery of rehabilitation services was less than adequate. It was also becoming clear that some Maori veterans were encountering difficulties meeting the qualifications specified for the various types of rehabilitation assistance. Thus for a furniture loan, the applicant had to have a house in which to lodge it and the furniture had to be for the use of his immediate family. Houses in multiple ownership or inhabited by several families did not meet those

¹⁵⁹⁹ Tai Tokerau leaders to Prime Minister 3 April 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/465 21/4/78. See also Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Gisborne 18 April 1946, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/359/a 9/1/1 Part 2. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/56 35/1 Part 1; and ACIH 16036 MA1/465 21/4/78. Towards the end of July 1946, a hui held at Kaihu made it clear to the Prime Minister (in attendance) 'That rehabilitation assistance expected for Maori boys is not 100% and this representative gathering respectfully asks that regulations governing same be introduced so that the majority of our Maori ex-servicemen could be eligible for assistance.' See Minutes of hui at Kaihu, 27 July 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA W2490 35/1 Part 1.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 30 April 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3.

qualifications despite the fact that the Department of Rehabilitation took security over the furniture and looked to the holder of the loan for repayment.

The Gisborne Returned Services' Association waded into the discussion, pointing out that if that rule were applied, then a large number of Maori servicemen would be denied access to assistance. It went on to observe that 'They already suffered difficulties in respect of finance for settlement on family lands through the system of communal holding, and it seemed illogical that a man should be unable to secure a furniture loan simply because there was a possibility that other people might use the furniture.' It was also evident that some veterans did not understand that security of tenure was, with respect to farming assistance loans, a key requirement upon which the Rehabilitation Board insisted. During the discussions that took place at Tairawhiti Kiwi Club on 30 April, it emerged 'that most of the Maori servicemen were not familiar with the requirements in regard to tenure of land upon which they sought rehabilitation finance.' The Rehabilitation Department's representative at the meeting made it clear that 'security of tenure was one of the main planks in the policy affecting the settlement of Maori soldiers ...' and that the security demanded was for the applicant's protection. At least some branches of the Returned Services' Association contemplated establishing committees of members familiar with departmental procedures to support and assist Maori ex-servicemen.¹⁶⁰¹

Gisborne's Registrar was quick to assert that applications were not being held up 'through the instrumentality of our officers,' adding that, 'As far as land settlement is concerned, the main difficulty is that there has been none available.' He went on:

The insistence by the Rehabilitation Board on each applicant being able to obtain an individual title in fee simple has effectively prevented many would-be blocks being offered by the owners. If it were possible to induce the Rehabilitation Board to accept the same forms of tenure which the Board of Native Affairs relied on in its Land Development Schemes, it is considered that much better progress could be achieved.¹⁶⁰²

¹⁶⁰¹ 'Loan delays. Maoris restive. Rehab. Applications. Misconceptions removed,' *Gisborne Herald* 1 May 1946, copy in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/359/a 9/1/1 Part 2. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3.

¹⁶⁰² Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 2 May 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3. See also ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/359/a 9/1/1 Part 2.

The Rehabilitation Department concluded that Maori ex-service personnel were not, with respect to rehabilitation assistance and procedures, being informed as fully as they should have been, and that the Department of Native Affairs was failing to deal with such applications as had been made in an expeditious manner. Gisborne's Rehabilitation Officer complained that an inability to criticise that Department publicly rendered the Rehabilitation Department a scapegoat for delays for which it was not responsible.¹⁶⁰³ It is unlikely that such inter-departmental wrangling appealed to veterans seeking what they believed had been promised.

It was against such a background that in June 1946, Lieutenant-Colonel J.C. Henare, recently selected as the National candidate for Northern Maori, claimed that, to his men, rehabilitation was a 'farce.' A report of his speech was brief, but his concerns appeared to centre on the delays that many Maori ex-servicemen were evidently experiencing.¹⁶⁰⁴ During the Address in Reply debate, in July 1946, Cullen took issue with Henare's description of rehabilitation as 'just a farce.' He acknowledged that 'a very large number of Maori returned servicemen are not applying for the type of assistance that ... the Board would like to give. There have been a number who have wanted to go into business, when they have had no previous training or education to fit them for their contemplated activities.' He offered no indication that any additional measures were being considered, but merely insisted that 'Rehabilitation of returned Maori servicemen has been carried out in the best interests of the Maoris.'¹⁶⁰⁵ Tirikatene challenged the opposition 'to show that one Maori was rehabilitated after the 1914-18 war. There was great discrimination as between Maori and pakeha.'¹⁶⁰⁶ Minister of Native Affairs Minister Mason claimed that there was 'considerable activity in rehabilitating our Maori returned servicemen.'¹⁶⁰⁷

Ngata came to Henare's support.¹⁶⁰⁸ Campaigning for the Eastern Maori electorate, he pressed the Government to honour its pledges and to allocate £5m to facilitate land

¹⁶⁰³ District Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 2 May 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁶⁰⁴ 'Maori Colonel says rehabilitation just farce to his men,' *Dominion* 21 June 1946, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3.

¹⁶⁰⁵ *NZPD* 1946, Vol 273, p.365.

¹⁶⁰⁶ *NZPD* 1946, Vol 273, p.366.

¹⁶⁰⁷ *NZPD* 1946, Vol 273, p.392. See also p.437.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Walker noted that veterans of the Maori Battalion in Waiapu and a section of Ngati Porou, disenchanted with the Rehabilitation Board, persuaded Ngata to stand again for Parliament in

settlement. Ngata claimed that the ‘failure’ to settle Maori veterans on the land was attributable to the fact that ‘the sole measure to get assistance from the State Advances Corporation was a pakeha measure. It was a measure quite all right for the pakeha, but was too stiff for the Maori, for the pakeha and Maori ideas of economy, expenditure and community life did not agree, and could not be reckoned by the same measure.’¹⁶⁰⁹ His trenchant criticism was strongly refuted by the Minister of Rehabilitation, pointing out that the Director of Rehabilitation was a former commander of the Maori Battalion and had a personal interest in the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, that the chief Maori Rehabilitation Officer was Lieutenant-Colonel Reta Keiha, and that H.H. Rankin was a member of the Rehabilitation Board.

10.12 Maori rehabilitation: taking stock

Skinner in fact ignored the burden of Ngata’s criticism, doing little more than challenging Ngata’s claims over the extent of the assistance already rendered by advancing some comparative ratios (Table 10.1). The low ratios recorded in respect of education and business loans are apparent, while the very low ratios recorded in respect of ‘B’ and ‘C’ class training reflected the rural backgrounds of most Maori ex-servicemen and their concentrated involvement in casual, part-time and full-time largely unskilled work. Skinner evidently considered that the data refuted rather than lent support to Ngata’s claims.¹⁶¹⁰ Finally, he claimed to have been unable ‘to find record of any Maoris whatever who benefitted under any of the rehabilitation schemes after the last war. Even the non-Government venture initiated by Sir Apirana Ngata himself after the last war was a complete failure,’ a reference to the purchase of the Hereheretau and Te Hoia blocks. They were, Skinner insisted, ‘bad buys, and no one

November 1946. See Ranginui Walker, *He tipua: the life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Viking, 2001, p.375.

¹⁶⁰⁹ ‘Maori welfare. Soldiers want land. Sir Apirana Ngata speaks,’ *New Zealand Herald* 9 August 1946, copy in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0. See also ‘Land, home and productive work wanted. Sir Apirana Ngata states case for Maori soldier,’ *Hawkes Bay Herald* 8 August 1946, copy in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0.

¹⁶¹⁰ During the debate on the Financial Statement in September 1946, Tirikatene cited broadly similar ratios, except in the case of business loans with ratios of 1 in 16 for Maori and 1 in 37 for Pakeha ex-servicemen. He noted that fewer Maori had applied for business loans, suggesting that the ratio of 1 in 16 was an error. See NZPD 1946, Vol 274, p.647.

was ever settled on the land. Even the Native Trustee, when he eventually had to take the blocks over, had to buy adjacent property to make the land more workable.’¹⁶¹¹

Table 10.1: Rehabilitation assistance afforded Maori and Pakeha veterans, as at 31 October 1946: some comparative ratios

	Maori veterans	Pakeha veterans
Farm loans	1 in 51	1 in 56
Housing loans	1 in 18	1 in 15
Furniture loans	1 in 13	1 in 10
Business loans	1 in 73	1 in 44
Tools of trade loans	1 in 125	1 in 180
Education assistance	1 in 76	1 in 11
Farm training	1 in 60	1 in 53
Trade training		
A class (trade training centres)	1 in 14	1 in 49
B class (subsidised training)	1 in 181	1 in 53
C class (revived apprenticeships)	1 in 1064	1 in 58
D class (D.S.R. League)	1 in 106	1 in 344

Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/c 10/0

10.13 ‘Some move must be made’

During the debate, in September 1946, over the estimates for the Native Department, the National Opposition mounted a concerted attack on the Government over the apparently slow progress over the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel (and housing for Maori generally). The Government was pressured to subdivide existing Maori land development schemes (including Mahoenui) and promptly settle Maori veterans. It was claimed that only 13 Maori veterans had been settled to date, that subdivision and settlement were being delayed while schemes recovered from war-time neglect, and while debts were reduced so that settlers would not be unduly burdened financially.¹⁶¹² Thus Massey (MHR Franklin), noting that he had been a member of the ‘Native Land Settlement Board’ for three years, insisted ‘that practically nothing had been done within recent years to settle Maori ex-servicemen on land in which they had an interest. The Department [of Native Affairs] was being

¹⁶¹¹ ‘Maori servicemen. Rehabilitation aid. Reply to Sir Apirana Ngata,’ *Evening Post* 15 August 1946, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3.

¹⁶¹² *NZPD* 1946, Vol 275, pp.20, 23, and 48.

controlled in an efficient manner, but the policy adopted was wrong.¹⁶¹³ He went on to suggest that the Government had turned Ngata's land development programme into what he termed 'a State-farm scheme.'¹⁶¹⁴ Corbett (MHR Egmont) claimed that the fact that only 13 Maori veterans had been settled on the land indicated that 'The door has been shut.'¹⁶¹⁵ Smith (MHR Bay of Islands) claimed that in the Tokerau district, after subtracting the area of development scheme lands occupied by units, the Department of Native Affairs retained control over some 300,000 acres and that it 'should try to get the whole of the area subdivided for the settlement of returned soldiers. It was no exaggeration that hundreds of Maori returned soldiers were looking for properties in North Auckland.'¹⁶¹⁶ Other schemes, it was suggested, among them Horohoro, Ngataki, and Waimiha contained large areas of Crown land that should be subdivided for Maori rehabilitation purposes.

The Government responded by criticising the National Opposition's alleged selective and partial use of statistics, although it is unlikely that Cullen's claim that up to the end of July 1946, 23 Maori veterans had been settled on the land impressed the many still awaiting settlement.¹⁶¹⁷ It was equally unlikely that many of those who were owners in the land development schemes were impressed by Cullen's support for the view that Maori veterans should be settled on at least some of the land development schemes rather than being returned to their owners.¹⁶¹⁸

In a report dated 29 August 1946, a sub-committee of the Farms Advisory Committee assessed the progress that had been made in land settlement during the past year. It recorded that a total of 2,384 veterans had been settled on the land (leaving 5,698 'A' grade men awaiting settlement); included among the 2,384 were 21 Maori veterans settled through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and 39 through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee on land that had required development before settlement. It recorded that 123 Grade 'A' men and 117 Grade 'B' Maori veterans

¹⁶¹³ NZPD 1946, Vol 275, p.20.

¹⁶¹⁴ NZPD 1946, Vol 275, p.21.

¹⁶¹⁵ NZPD 1946, Vol 275, p.22. A great deal of the debate centred on housing for Maori generally, although the National Opposition endeavoured to embarrass the Government over Ngata's resignation as Minister of Native Affairs more than ten years earlier.

¹⁶¹⁶ NZPD 1946, Vol 275, p.51.

¹⁶¹⁷ NZPD 1946, Vol 275, p.23.

¹⁶¹⁸ NZPD 1946, Vol 275, p.49.

men awaited settlement. While acknowledging that some progress had been made, the report expressed concern. It noted that the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on Native land was 'rather involved' and that the method settling Native land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 was not regarded by the Rehabilitation Board as satisfactory. The committee endorsed the Board's policy, while urging that 'some move must be made to have Native land capable of development and that already developed made available more quickly and preferably to meet the needs of Maori ex-servicemen.' Accordingly, it recommended that a review should be conducted of the method of settlement employed, and the Department of Native Affairs should supply estimates of the Crown and Maori land it administered that was considered suitable for settlement, the number of men who could be settled, and the steps required to have the land made available.¹⁶¹⁹

In September 1946, in what may have been an effort to circumvent a range of difficulties associated with the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, Rankin raised with the Under Secretary of Native Affairs a proposal for what was termed 'an additional scheme.' The scheme was intended for those who were not graded farmers 'and who possibly have not the educational background to become farmers or tradesmen, but who are good workers under supervision.' District Rehabilitation Officers were directed to prepare a list of men who might be assisted, while Rankin proposed developing the idea and submitting it to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, the Rehabilitation Board, and the Board of Native Affairs.¹⁶²⁰ Rankin's ideas appear to have been discussed by the Rehabilitation Board's Farm Advisory Committee. In October 1946, that body, concerned over the mounting demand by returning service personnel for settlement on the land, and mindful of the difficulties posed by Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, proposed the purchase of a block (where the owners agreed) as an 'experiment' in the development and settlement of land. Such experiment was essentially an effort to bypass the existing Board of Native Affairs arrangements.¹⁶²¹ The recommendation was passed to the Rehabilitation Board. The

¹⁶¹⁹ 'Review of progress in farm settlement since report of November 1945,' report of Sub-committee of the Farms Advisory Committee 29 August 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/5 5.

¹⁶²⁰ See draft circular, Director of Rehabilitation to District Rehabilitation Officers c. September 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁶²¹ Minutes of meeting of Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1.

fate of the proposals advanced by both Rankin and the Farm Advisory Committee is not clear.

As criticism and pressure mounted, the settlement of Maori veterans was reviewed by the Farms Advisory Committee of the Rehabilitation Board in October 1946: on that occasion both Shepherd and Blackburn were in attendance. According to the minutes of the meeting, Baker defined the main issue at hand as being ‘in what way could owners of Native land be encouraged to make available for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, particularly in view of the difficulties being encountered in acquiring sufficient European land to settle ex-servicemen,’ and given that Maori freehold land was exempted from the operation of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943.¹⁶²² One option canvassed was the possibility of purchasing the interests of Maori owners in land, while the other matter considered was the possibility of arranging leases of Maori land for a maximum term of 50 years with full compensation for improvements effected by the lessee. Neither proposal was new, suggesting, perhaps, incipient policy paralysis.

Astonishingly, Shepherd indicated that his department was unaware of *any* Maori ex-servicemen seeking settlement. Such a claim, made by a department that had actively sought a key role in the rehabilitation programme and had been appointed an agent of the Rehabilitation Board for the settlement of Maori veterans, suggested either muddle and lack of direction within the Department of Native Affairs or that the relevant information was not being made available to it.¹⁶²³ Whether an apparent failure to pass on essential information reflected a decision on the part of the Rehabilitation Board to handle the rehabilitation of Maori veterans itself is not clear. It might be noted that Shepherd did not say whether the Department had sought such information. Whatever the reason, it seems that the needs and wishes of Maori veterans were in considerable peril of being overlooked. All Shepherd could suggest was the possibility that the owners of existing development schemes might be prepared to allow sons or the sons of relatives to take up ‘appropriate portions of this land.’ He noted that on those schemes, occupiers were given a 21-year lease with a

¹⁶²² Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/5 5. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁶²³ It is worthwhile noting that just a few months later, the Department, through the registrars of the Maori land districts, were able to supply detailed information to the Rehabilitation Board. See below.

right of renewal for a further period of 21 years and the right of 50 percent compensation for improvements at termination. That limit of 50 percent, he added, was ‘the absolute rule of the Native Affairs Board, and a rule which they would not be prepared to break.’ Above all, Maori land owners were ‘absolutely against an L.I.P.’¹⁶²⁴ And therein was one of the key difficulties, for the Rehabilitation Board, as noted, had decided, as a matter of firm policy, that certain conditions relating to security of tenure and ownership of improvements as an alternative to the freehold had to be met if rehabilitation loans were to be granted. Baker, who chaired the meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee made it very clear that the tenure offered by the Department of Native Affairs on the development schemes remained unacceptable to the Board.

D.M. Greig (Land Purchase Controller in the Department of Lands and Survey and subsequently Director-General), supported Maori retaining ownership of their lands but wondered whether the legislation setting out the terms and conditions on which developments could be held could be amended to meet the changed conditions. He went on to observe that ‘He could never understand why the Native Department developed a block of land from the unimproved state and the Maori owners could not remain in exactly the same position with the Crown acting as agent for all time.’¹⁶²⁵ Shepherd simply repeated that ‘the law was against it,’ and that ‘The Maoris were absolutely against an L.I.P.’ He did suggest, though, that an ‘experiment’ be made with a block, that is, that the owners concerned should be asked to sell or lease it to the Crown ‘on a long term agreement with full compensation for improvements at the end of the term.’ The Kapenga block in the Rotorua district was identified as one possibility.¹⁶²⁶

For his part, Blackburn (Department of Native Affairs) offered two suggestions. The first was that when Maori ex-servicemen were being graded they should be asked to nominate any interests that they held in land and whether there was any prospect of

¹⁶²⁴ Minutes of meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. By referring to that form of tenure, Shepherd appears to have been intent on making a particular point.

¹⁶²⁵ Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/5 5.

¹⁶²⁶ Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/5 5. Horohoro was among the first areas developed under Ngata’s scheme, two development schemes, Kapenga 1 (Horohoro) and Kapenga 2 (Horohoro), being gazetted in June 1931.

their being settled thereon (something that was in fact being recorded), and the second that consolidation, ‘another type of settlement,’ could assist.¹⁶²⁷ It is not at all clear exactly what Blackburn had in view, but, in any case, the suggestion does not appear to have been discussed. It is possible that he had in mind the consolidation efforts of Acheson with respect to the blocks located around Bland Bay and the Whangaruru Harbour. The contributions of Shepherd and Blackburn left a distinct impression of a department that was ill-informed, muddled, out of touch, and bereft of concrete suggestions for resolving the obvious difficulties that had arisen. Finally, Baker indicated that ‘the main question was to rehabilitate these Maori ex-servicemen in a proper manner. The only hold up there is to this being done was the lack of land which is being made available under the conditions on which the Rehabilitation Board was prepared to put these men on the land.’ He could not have made his views plainer.¹⁶²⁸

Baker did adopt Shepherd’s suggestion. He thus proposed that the Rehabilitation Board, using section 72 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1945, acquire a block of land, recompense the Department of Native Affairs for any development work undertaken, and finance the further development of the land into individual farm holdings. In Baker’s view, ‘this suggestion was the right approach to the problem,’ and all that was required was to nominate someone to conduct the necessary negotiations. Shepherd offered the services of his department, but the minutes of the meeting failed to record any decision relating either to Kapenga or to Shepherd’s offer.

10.14 ‘Cannot adequately be proceeded with’

The prospect of reconciling the policies of the Board of Native Affairs and the Rehabilitation Board appeared bleak. The Farms Advisory Committee thus decided that the Department of Native Affairs should be supplied with details of all Maori ex-servicemen seeking settlement on the land, and that the matter of settlement be referred to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee ‘for discussion and action

¹⁶²⁷ Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/5 5.

¹⁶²⁸ Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/5 5.

regarding negotiations with the owners of Native land for (a) the purchase of their interests or (b) a lease for a maximum of 50 years with full compensation for improvements effected or paid for by the lessee.¹⁶²⁹ A matter of great importance to those Maori veterans who aspired to rehabilitation through land settlement appeared to be in peril of being reduced to the status of a policy and bureaucratic shuttlecock. In the event, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided, when it met on 6 December 1946, that the Rehabilitation Department should prepare lists of all Maori ex-servicemen graded for farming, that such lists should be forwarded to all registrars, and that they should be asked to establish the whereabouts, occupation, and requirements of each man listed and to offer suggestions for their 'effective rehabilitation.' That decision marked the beginning of what would prove to be a continuous process of winnowing. Lists were sent to all registrars by the end of December 1946. The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, when it met on 31 January 1947, noting that reports on the lists had still to be received, deferred consideration of both the purchase of land owned by Maori and amendment of the terms of leases as specified in Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936.¹⁶³⁰

The Department of Native Affairs had already decided to take another tack, namely, to challenge the Rehabilitation Board's decision over its refusal to grant rehabilitation loans to Maori veterans occupying land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. To that end, towards the end of October 1946, it appealed to Treasury, Shepherd advising the Secretary that 'The rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen cannot adequately be proceeded with whilst this state of affairs exists and the Department's native land development and settlement efforts will be hampered while it continues.' Maori veterans, occupying land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 to the satisfaction of the Board of Native Affairs, should be, he urged, accorded the same interest rate concessions as all other soldier settlers.¹⁶³¹ Unsurprisingly, the Rehabilitation Board was not disposed to accept any suggestion that its policies were impeding the settlement of Maori veterans. Baker remained

¹⁶²⁹ Minutes of a meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee 1 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁶³⁰ 'Settlement of Maori Ex-Servicemen,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 6 December 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1. See also ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁶³¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Secretary, Treasury 23 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. See also ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

adamant that the tenure offered by the Board of Native Affairs was unacceptable in respect of both term and provision for compensation for improvements. The Rehabilitation Board, he recorded, had directed its efforts towards assisting veterans to acquire the interests of other owners and, once secured, making rehabilitation assistance available. He went on:

The Rehabilitation Board definitely opposes the granting of rehabilitation terms to those ex-servicemen who may now accept settlement under Part I/1936 as it feels (a) that this would simply perpetuate the trouble (b) that this is not what is being offered to other ex-servicemen. In fact some of these properties would probably not be regarded as suitable security if offered to a State Lending Department by either a servicemen or [a] civilian. In case of those settled prior to the war and have again resumed occupation of the unit properties on their return, they would probably not be eligible for rehabilitation assistance in view of Cabinet direction to the Rehabilitation Board on the matter of 'Refinancing of Mortgages' ... the Board considers that the present policy should stand and constant endeavours made to induce owners of Native Lands to sell their interests in units or blocks either direct to parties or servicemen or to the State for subdivision and resale to Maori ex-servicemen (as contemplated by Section 72 of the Statute Amendment Act, 1945).¹⁶³²

Baker's claim that some of the properties under Part I 'would probably not be regarded as suitable security' suggested that he now entertained serious doubts about the suitability of the Maori land development programme as a vehicle for the settlement of Maori veterans. He may have had in mind reports published during the early 1940s that Maori farmers in Northland were abandoning their small and marginally economic farms. Under Secretary Shepherd chose not to respond to Baker's apprehension, electing rather to insist that Baker failed to understand its proposal and that it was doing no more than proposing that Maori ex-servicemen settled on land development schemes should have access to rehabilitation loans at three per cent rather than the 5.5 per cent charged by the Native Department.¹⁶³³ Plainly, the two agencies were still talking past each other.

Auckland's Registrar took the matter up directly with the Director of Rehabilitation. Baker had indicated that leaseholds would be accepted as securities for loans where

¹⁶³² Director of Rehabilitation, Rehabilitation Department to Secretary, Treasury 12 November 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. See also ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

¹⁶³³ Under Secretary, Native Department to Secretary, Treasury 23 December 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. See also ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

they provided for a perpetual right of renewal, or were for a ‘reasonable’ term with a right of renewal, and where they provided for ‘adequate’ compensation for improvements effected by lessees. The words ‘reasonable’ and ‘adequate’ might have been thought to imply some softening of position, but it was made plain, again, that the Rehabilitation Board favoured leases with terms of 33 years and 100 percent compensation for improvements. Leases granted under sections 13 and 14 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 remained acceptable.¹⁶³⁴ The Native Department’s Under-Secretary continued to press his case, but without effect.¹⁶³⁵ In May 1947, Treasury finally decided that, with respect to Maori veterans who had taken up holdings before 1939, concessionary rates of interest could not be granted in the light of the Government’s decision that advances made prior to military service could not be re-financed. With respect to other returned servicemen, Treasury ruled that ‘the views of the Rehabilitation Board should prevail in matters of policy pertaining to rehabilitation of any discharged servicemen.’¹⁶³⁶

10.15 ‘It really isn’t worth pursuing’

By mid 1947, most of the lists and reports requested by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee in the previous January, had come to hand from the registrars covering the North Auckland, Auckland, Rotorua, Gisborne, and Whanganui ‘districts.’ They suggest that considerable effort was made to locate those veterans graded for farming, to establish their circumstances, and to define their requirements. Table 10.2 summarises some of the key details for the ‘South Auckland’ district, that is, largely Te Rohe Potae: it offers some insights into the hopes and expectation of veterans, their existing circumstances, and their requirements. An inspection of the lists for other districts suggests similar patterns, that is, first, that most veterans had secured employment in the primary sector (farming and mining); second, that many were engaged in or required farm training; and third, that many still sought farms.

¹⁶³⁴ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 13 February 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490 39 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁶³⁵ Under Secretary, Native Department to Secretary, Treasury 21 May 1947 in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16936 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1. See also ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

¹⁶³⁶ Secretary, Treasury to Under Secretary, Native Department 22 May 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 Part 1. See also ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

Table 10.2: Position of Maori ex-servicemen graded for farming, South Auckland, as at 31 December 1946

Case	Grading	Occupation	Requirements and remarks
1	A	Labourer	Farm required
2	B	Farm-hand	Farm required
3	A	Nurseryman	Nursery purchase in hand
4	A	Quarry worker	Farm required
5	A	Farming	Farming family land, title adjustments reqd
6	C	Not traced	-
7	A	Farm-hand	Farm required
8	A	Surfaceman	Requires lease of a farm
9	A	Gold mining	Nil at present
10	A	Surfaceman	Nil, lost interest in farming
11	A	Farmer	Development unit, title to be adjusted and freehold purchased
12	A	L&S teamster	Farm required
13	B	Factory hand	Farm training
14	A	Farm-hand	Farm required
15	C	Labourer	Farm training
16	B	Factory hand	Farm training
17	C	Contractor	Settlement on land interests
18	A	Not traced	-
19	A	Farm-hand	Farm training and farm
20	C	Farmer	House on own farm
21	B	Farm trainee	Settlement on Moerangi lands
22	A	Farmer	Nil, established on own property
23	C	Quarry worker	Farm training
24	A	Not known	Farm required
25	B	Farm trainee	Farm training
26	A	Not known	-
27	C	Not known	Rehabilitation lost contact
28	C	Farm trainee	Farm required
29	C	Not known	Farm training; 'Gone to England to collect Bride.'
30	B	Farm trainee	Settlement on parents' farm
31	A	Quarry worker	Farm required
32	A	Gold mining	Nil, 'successfully rehabilitated.'
33	B	Labourer	Farm training
34	B	Farmer	Purchase of half of farm
35	C	Farm trainee	Settlement on own land
36	B	Farm-hand	Purchase of unit area and adjoining Crown land
37	B	Quarry worker	Farm training
38	A	Farm-hand	Farm required
39	A	Farm-hand	Not known
40	A	Farm-hand	Farm required
41	A		

42	C	Not known	Rehabilitation lost contact
43	B	Farm trainee	Attending Massey College
44	A	Farm-hand	Settlement on family property
45	C	Labourer	Nil, application withdrawn
46	A	Farm-hand	Farm required
47	B	Farm trainee	Farm required
48	B	Farmer	Nil, settled on land obtained in open ballot

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1

Table 10.3 summarises by districts (not defined, but probably ‘rehabilitation districts’) those Maori ex-servicemen awaiting settlement. The total number of 258 represented a modest increase on the 240 recorded by the Farms Advisory Committee in October 1946. Almost certainly that reflected the continuing demobilisation of the Maori service personnel. In general terms the registrars’ reports indicated that in ‘many instances’ the men had taken up other permanent occupations or, for various reasons, were no longer interested in settlement.

Table 10.3: Maori-ex-servicemen graded, all farming types, and awaiting settlement as at 31 December 1946

District	Graded A	Graded B	Graded C	Totals
North Auckland	50	23	3	76
South Auckland	25	12	11	48
Rotorua	29	10	-	39
Gisborne-East Coast	16	29	1	46
Whanganui-Taranaki	6	9	4	19
Wellington-Hawke’s Bay	11	13	6	30
Totals	137	96	25	258

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/39 32/4 Part 1

The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided, at its meeting on 5 June 1947, that the lists furnished by the registrars should be reviewed by a committee consisting of the appropriate registrar and rehabilitation officer. Of particular interest were the gradings of those who appeared to be no longer interested in settlement. Second, it recommended that registrars prepare and maintain lists of Maori ex-servicemen desiring settlement, a recommendation that might suggest that neither the Rehabilitation Board, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, nor the

Department of Maori Affairs had a clear appreciation of the potential magnitude of the task that confronted them. Third, and somewhat astonishingly since this matter had been first canvassed in 1940, it recommended that each registrar, in conjunction with the appropriate rehabilitation officer explore the possibility of settlement in each area, including settlement on developed, undeveloped or leased blocks of Native land and that they forward particulars of any blocks of Native land considered suitable and available for purchase for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. That the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee found it necessary to issue those recommendations suggests that the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, notably through settlement on the land, was being impeded by a lack of initiative on the part of and communication and coordination among the various agencies involved. Finally, in a clear signal to those agencies, it recommended that registrars should furnish quarterly reports for its information, such reports to show the number settled, the position of those cases under action, and the prospects of the early settlement of all others. On that basis the Committee would then consider the acquisition of other than Maori land for the settlement of Maori veterans.¹⁶³⁷

The reluctance of Maori to make land available was made very clear to Gisborne's Rehabilitation Officer when, in July 1947, and accompanied by Ngata, he conducted an extensive tour of his district, meeting kaumatua and ex-servicemen in Tolaga Bay, Tokomaru Bay, Waipiro Bay, Jerusalem, Ruatoria, Tikitiki, Rangitukia, Te Araroa, Hicks Bay, Potaka, and Cape Runaway. With respect to land settlement, he reported to the Director of Rehabilitation that:

From the outset, it soon became apparent that the Board's policy of requiring perpetually renewable leases with full compensation for improvements was not an attractive one to Maori owners. They feel that with such leases, the land is irretrievably lost to them, and they are, in fact, handing the properties over to us for all time. I fear that my efforts to dispel this misunderstanding were of no avail and I think that little land will be forthcoming from this source.

As regards offers of freehold, here again I found that an erroneous impression existed that if Maori land was offered to this Department, there was no assurance that it would be reserved for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen exclusively. This, I feel certain, I have corrected, by giving Elders the

¹⁶³⁷ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 5 June 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1. See also AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

assurance that if any land was offered by them for the express purpose of settling Maoris, the terms of their offer would be honoured to the full. Furthermore, I gave them a categorical assurance that if any owner or groups of owners made land available to us for the establishment of a particular serviceman or servicemen, those servicemen would be so established if they were sufficiently experienced to warrant an 'A' grading or w[h]ere they were not, we would arrange such further training, either by subsidised employment with private farmers, agricultural college courses, or supervised employment on the development of the block, until such time as they were sufficiently experienced to warrant an 'A' grading. I also emphasised that the grading procedure was devised for the protection of the ex-serviceman so that once he was established, under normal conditions and circumstances, he had every chance of success in the future. However, for the reasons set out ... [above] I fear little [*sic*], if any, freehold properties will be offered.¹⁶³⁸

He went on to note that at Tolaga Bay, the leases of three properties were to expire over the next few years and hence asked whether a lease of 21 years with a further right of renewal of 21 years and full compensation for improvements would be acceptable to the Rehabilitation Board, and, assuming that such a lease would be acceptable and that the present lessees were willing to surrender their leases, on what basis would the value of the unexpired term be assessed. Baker noted that while the Rehabilitation Board would probably consider a 21-year lease, since it was contrary to the policy adopted by the Department of Native Affairs and the Board of Native Affairs 'it isn't really worth pursuing.'¹⁶³⁹ In any case, Ngata had made it very clear that Maori land owners were not prepared to lease their lands in line with the Rehabilitation Board's requirements, and that providing for full compensation for improvements was 'particularly unattractive.' Moreover, owners would not make family lands available exclusively to ex-servicemen sons 'as they feel that by doing so they will be penalising the younger members of the family who, because of their youth, were unable to serve overseas.'¹⁶⁴⁰

Ngata was certainly not alone in his views. As the expiry of a lease (to a Pakeha) over Rangitikei Manawatu B4 approached in 1947, two 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen sought to take over the land. The Board of Native Affairs recorded that:

¹⁶³⁸ Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 24 July 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4. See also Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 1 August 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3; and AATG 6164 5/e 19/2.

¹⁶³⁹ Note by Baker on Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 24 July 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

¹⁶⁴⁰ In Rehabilitation Officer, Gisborne to Director, Rehabilitation 24 July 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/a 10/4.

The question of the terms under which these two men could be settled, has been discussed with the Maori owners and although they were unanimous in their desire that their ex-servicemen relatives be settled on the property for sentimental reasons, they could not see their way clear to dispose of the property to the ex-servicemen for settlement in accordance with Rehabilitation policy.¹⁶⁴¹

It is worthwhile recording here that the Minister of Maori Affairs assured the Returned Services' Association that his department 'used every endeavour to encourage the owners of Maori Lands to make land available for the settlement of their own Ex-Servicemen with tenures suitable to the Rehabilitation Board's requirements.'¹⁶⁴²

In August 1947, the 2nd NZEF Association made clear to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence (F. Jones) and Minister of Rehabilitation its concern over the slow pace of settlement of Maori ex-servicemen.¹⁶⁴³ A few weeks later, in November 1947, the Rehabilitation Department issued a press release setting out the progress made in respect of settling Maori veterans on the land. Much of it dealt with the Huramua Training Farm and its planned subdivision into 14 farms, and the purchase of two adjoining properties, one of 1,400 acres from Mrs J.S. Jessop, and the other of 360 acres from E.N. Knapp. The two latter, it was hoped, would divide into six farms. Finally, it recorded the purchase, from Maori, of the 900-acre Mamakumara Soldiers' Settlement, on which it was proposed to settle three Ngati Haua veterans, while 2,000 acres acquired from Miller and Davies were expected to provide six farms for Tuhoe veterans.¹⁶⁴⁴

10.16 Maori veterans: the settlement position at 30 September 1947

Table 10.4 offers a summary of the position as at 30 September 1947. It is worthwhile noting that among those classified as 'not interested' were 20 men graded 'A,' 37

¹⁶⁴¹ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/618/b 15/6/102 Part 1.

¹⁶⁴² Minister, Maori Affairs to General Secretary, Returned Services' Association 4 April 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁴³ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/25 32/1 Part 3.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW290/25 32/1 Part 3.

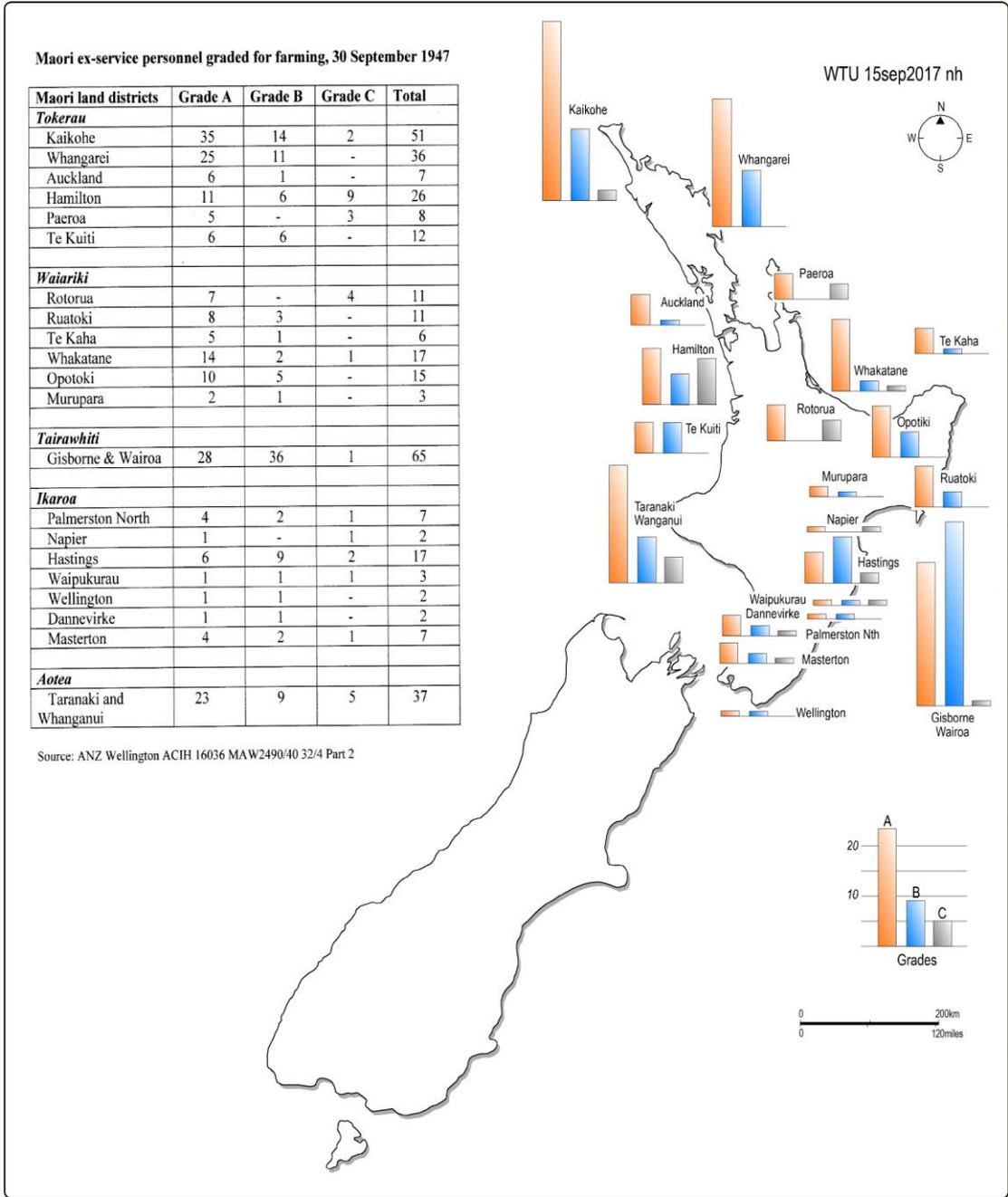
graded 'B,' and 11 graded 'C.' That suggests that care is required when employing gross totals (as in the second column) as a proxy measure of demand for farms. Not included in Table 10.4 was the small number, 22, classified as 'settled.' On the other hand, those classified as 'waiting for settlement' and 'settlement after training,' a total of 217, does serve as a measure of demand at that stage. The 255 classified as 'under action,' 'waiting for settlement,' and 'Settlement after training' suggests that little advance had been made since December 1946 when 258 Maori ex-servicemen of all three grades were awaiting settlement' (Table 10.3).

Table 10.4: The status of all Maori ex-servicemen graded for farming, as at 30 September 1947, by Maori land districts

Districts	Graded A, B, & C	Under action	Waiting for settlement	Settlement after training	Not interested
Tokerau	87	14	36	13	22
Waikato-Maniapoto	53	9	15	20	7
Waiariki	63	2	26	12	13
Tairāwhiti	65	7	23	25	10
Ikaroa	40	6	14	8	9
Aotea	37	-	16	9	7
Totals	345	38	130	87	68

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2

Map 10.1 shows the distribution, by Maori land districts, of Maori veterans graded 'A,' 'B,' and 'C,' for farming, again as at 30 September. While it is not certain that the data for the Waiariki Maori Land District were complete, nevertheless, the map displays those districts in which the pressure on the land resource was greatest.



Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2

Map 10.1: Distribution of Maori ex-servicemen graded for farming, by Maori land districts, 30 September 1947

10.17 ‘A matter of deep concern’

With those returns before it, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee sought to accelerate the pace of settlement. Again it urged the Department of Native Affairs to

establish the area of Crown land vested in the Department and available for subdivision and settlement in North Auckland, an estimate of the cost of development, and the number of men who could be settled.¹⁶⁴⁵ A similar report was sought for the Waikato District, with the Maungatautari block being singled out for mention. The reports, and the whole question of the settlement of Maori veterans, were to be discussed again at the Committee's April meeting.¹⁶⁴⁶ According to the Department of Native Affairs, the total area available in Northland was 2,812 acres (1,012 acres in Ninihi, 193 acres in Oturu pt, and 1,697 acres in Tautoro). The total cost of development was estimated at just over £24,000, and the number of men who could be settled was eight, by ballot if necessary on 1 July 1949. The Ninihi block had in fact been acquired specifically for the settlement of Maori veterans and hence he recommended the acquisition of the Oturu and Tautoro block.¹⁶⁴⁷ That recommendation was approved by the Board of Maori Affairs in June 1948.¹⁶⁴⁸

Some iwi sought to bring pressure to bear. Late in May 1948, the Maniapoto Tribal Central Executive resolved that Maori lands under the supervision of the Department of Maori Affairs within its district should be 're-opened' to Maori ex-servicemen; that Te Kuiti Base Farm should be allocated to the descendants of the Ngatai Hetet family; and that the Hangatiki Base Farm, Tawanui, and Ngapaenga estates should be allocated to Maori ex-servicemen living in the Maniapoto Tribal Executive district.¹⁶⁴⁹ The 618-acre Te Kuiti Base Farm represented what was described as 'a considerable source of income' for the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board and for that reason was not prepared to dispose of land. In any case, it claimed, it did not think that it would prove suitable for subdivision and the settlement of veterans. On the other hand, it was prepared to dispose of 593-acre Hangatiki Base Farm, noting that it owed the Department of Maori Affairs between £6,000 and £7,000, and a further £3,700 to the Board itself. The 916-acre Tawanui Station was a Crown leasehold that the Native Trustee had acquired in 1931: it was not considered suitable

¹⁶⁴⁵ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 25 March 1948, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1. See also AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

¹⁶⁴⁶ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁴⁷ 'Crown land available for Soldier Settlement in North Auckland,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 28 May 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 3. See also AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1 and AADK 6130 W1666/23/c 6/19.

¹⁶⁴⁸ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Secretary, Maniapoto Tribal Central Executive to H. Rankin, Wellington 26 May 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

for Maori veterans and had in fact been offered to the Department of Lands and Survey.¹⁶⁵⁰ The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided to take no action over the Te Kuiti Base Farm, to seek a detailed report in respect of the Hangatiki Base Farm, and to approve the transfer of Tawanui Station to the Department of Lands and Survey.¹⁶⁵¹

Concern over the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen was also raised by some of the local farming sub-committees. Thus in May 1948 the Tauranga Farming Sub-committee advised Baker that Maori ex-servicemen applied for grading, secured tagged certificates and that ‘This is the last we hear of them. We never hear of them being settled. There is a large area in this district under the control of the Native Department ... But the men are still waiting for farms.’ Baker acknowledged the difficulties but insisted that Maori ex-servicemen would not be settled on terms that differed from those that applied to Pakeha veterans. ‘We stick rigidly to that, and at that point run into the difficulties. Practically all Maori land is in the same condition. No-one had got a specific claim to a specific portion ...’ adding that ‘We will not settle them unless we can get proper titles and security of tenure. To enable that to be done, the Maoris must not only lease but sell to the Crown, which could in turn lease to the ex-serviceman.’¹⁶⁵²

As the slow pace of settlement attracted criticism so, too, did the issue of rehabilitation interest rate concessions. In June 1948, H.H. Rankin recorded that it was ‘a matter of deep concern ... that so few Maori ex-servicemen’ had been settled under the rehabilitation programme. The 98 settled during the previous five years fell ‘far short of what was hoped when the policy was formulated ...’ Although he had not previously favoured the granting of interest rate concessions to Maori ex-servicemen settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, on the grounds ‘that a more substantial measure of aid was warranted,’ he now felt that ‘a less ambitious and

¹⁶⁵⁰ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 14 July 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁶⁵¹ Land available for settlement in the Maniapoto District, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/2.

¹⁶⁵² ‘Notes on meeting of Director with Tauranga Farming Sub-committee,’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/58 8/2/38.

more immediately effective policy' was desirable.¹⁶⁵³ Rankin's concern was discussed by the Maori Finance Rehabilitation Committee on 25 June 1948, but it decided that 'in the interests of Maori ex-servicemen,' it could not recommend that the Rehabilitation Board make loan assistance available to those settled under Part I. Rather, it reaffirmed its existing position, although it did propose that the Boards of Rehabilitation and Maori Affairs meet in an effort to reach a solution 'to the present difficulty.'¹⁶⁵⁴ The Director of Rehabilitation informed the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs accordingly and took the opportunity of reminding the latter of the various occasions on which the matter had been raised. In fact, he went so far as to forward a schedule of the steps that the Rehabilitation Board had taken in its efforts to implement its policy regarding the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. Nevertheless, he proposed yet another meeting between the Board of Maori Affairs and the Rehabilitation Board 'so that this all important question may be discussed.'¹⁶⁵⁵

10.18 'Tantamount to the disposal of their land'

It was also in June 1948 that Grace, private secretary to the Minister of Maori Affairs, suggested that, in the light of the small number of Maori ex-servicemen settled on the land, the governing policy required re-examination. He recorded that just 30 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled through the State Advances Corporation and 36 by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee: the total of 66 'would appear to be very low in view of the fact that there are approximately 5000 [Maori] ex-servicemen of whom 310 are Grade 'A' for farming.' To that total of 66 he added a further 35 men who had been settled by the Department of Maori Affairs under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. He recognised that the owners of Maori freehold lands were averse to 'perpetual leases,' regarding them as 'tantamount to the disposal of their

¹⁶⁵³ H.H. Rankin, Kaikohe to Minister, Rehabilitation 14 June 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2. See also ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/b 10/0. By the end of March 1947, 96 'A' grade men had been established on single-unit properties with rehabilitation assistance. See *AJHR* 1947, H18, p.15.

¹⁶⁵⁴ 'Matter for consideration by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee,' ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2. See also ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/b 10/0.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 16 July 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/b 10/0.

land and to denying themselves or their children the use of the land in later years.’ He went on to report that some Maori communities were of the view that Maori ex-service personnel should not receive any special consideration where tenure was concerned, although they should have priority of settlement and interest rate concessions. He suggested to the Minister of Maori Affairs that Maori ex-service personnel should, where Maori land was concerned, be awarded leases of 42 years with revaluation every 14 years, rent payable at the rate of five percent on the unimproved value, compensation for improvements at the rate of 50 per cent, the establishment of sinking funds to meet such compensation, and concession rates of interest.¹⁶⁵⁶ Should the Rehabilitation Board maintain its stance, then section 285 of the Maori Land Act 1931 and section 26 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 (both limiting the lease of Maori land to a maximum of 50 years) would have to be repealed and that, he suggested, ‘would not be in the interest of the Maori people.’ He favoured the Board of Maori Affairs’s existing policy, suggesting that ex-servicemen would have the use of the land for 42 years, ‘sufficient ... to make provision for their future and that of their young family.’¹⁶⁵⁷

Towards the end of that same month, June 1948, the Rehabilitation Board referred the matter of rehabilitation concession rates to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. The latter decided that, ‘in the interests of Maori Ex-Servicemen,’ it could not recommend the provision of rehabilitation loans to those granted leases under Part I, citing the limitation of compensation for improvements to 50 per cent.¹⁶⁵⁸ That Committee’s recommendations were referred to the Minister of Rehabilitation and thence to a sub-committee of the Rehabilitation Board: its members included J.J. Granville, H.H. Rankin, and Baker. It was charged with taking the matter up with the Board of Maori Affairs. It is not clear whether that was done, but in July, Shepherd took the matter up with his Minister. The decisions of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, a meeting he had been unable to attend, were, he indicated, ‘the outcome of protracted negotiations which I had inaugurated with the object of using the existing Maori land development schemes to accelerate the

¹⁶⁵⁶ Private Secretary to Minister, Maori Affairs 10 June 1948, in ANZ Wellington MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Private Secretary to Minister of Maori Affairs 10 June 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 25 June 1948, in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1.

settlement of Maori ex-servicemen.’ He added that most preferred to be settled on lands owned by themselves, whanau or hapu rather than seek land elsewhere, and that ‘from our point of view it is desirable and preferable for them to do so.’ He did not elaborate on the reasons informing that conclusion, but he did acknowledge that the results thus far secured by his Department were ‘not impressive,’ adding that ‘there is little doubt that our lack of progress has, in no small measure [,] been due to the requirement that lessees of Maori land granted by the Board of Maori Affairs must provide for full compensation for lessee’s improvements.’¹⁶⁵⁹

In other words, in the view of the Department of Native Affairs, the slow progress secured in settling Maori ex-servicemen remained attributable to the intransigence of the Rehabilitation Board. Again, the Under Secretary urged that ex-servicemen occupying land under Part I should have access to the concessionary rates of interest. Contrary to what he understood to be the Rehabilitation Board’s concern that it would be offering terms less favourable than those offered Pakeha ex-servicemen, Shepherd claimed his proposal if adopted would give Maori veterans a good deal more and ‘certainly would meet the needs of Maori ex-servicemen under what is, after all, a procedure and policy which has [*sic*] proved successful in a wider field than that of rehabilitation.’ His final comment was, perhaps, revealing:

The real point for consideration in this matter is that Maori Land Development is a process of rehabilitating Maoris as farmers and husbandmen, and the Department has had much experience in this field. The rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen is merely dealing with a section of that work.¹⁶⁶⁰

The likely outcome, it seemed, was that settlement of Maori ex-servicemen would continue to be restricted and delayed by an inter-departmental policy wrangle that had exposed a conflict between the objectives and policies of the Department of Maori Affairs and the Rehabilitation Board respectively. The Government does not appear to have attempted to resolve the impasse that had clearly been reached. The matter was left in the hands of the Rehabilitation Board and there it rested.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 8 July 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 8 July 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

Whatever confidence the Department of Maori Affairs had in its ability to settle Maori ex-servicemen was not universally shared by the latter or by the Rehabilitation Board's Farming Sub-committee. In August 1947, the Te Kuiti Farming Sub-committee criticised the 'lack of interest' shown by the Department of Native Affairs in those Maori veterans already settled.¹⁶⁶¹ In July 1948, the Hastings Farming Sub-committee offered rather more pointed remarks. It had just considered the applications of two Maori veterans for open A' gradings. Neither, it reported, wished to be placed under the supervision of the Department of Maori Affairs. The Rehabilitation Officer stationed in Hastings reported that a member of the Department had sat on the committee during the hearings, that it was 'probable' that had the applicants been Pakeha they would have secured open A gradings, but that the Department could not support the applications, its Pakeha delegate citing 'his long experience and contact with the Maori people ...' The Sub-committee went on to draw the attention of the Director of Rehabilitation 'to the fact that settlement of Maoris on the land is being prevented because the restricted grading excludes them from the few ballots available.' The Rehabilitation Officer noted that the Committee believed that 'it would not necessarily be impracticable to allow Maori ex-servicemen graded under supervision to participate in the normal ballots if they so desire, the matter of supervision being taken up should a man graded in this way be successful.'¹⁶⁶²

The matter was submitted to the Farms Advisory Committee at its November 1948 meeting at which Baker recorded that 'there are many Maoris entitled to open gradings but who are graded subject to supervision merely because they are Maoris.' Nevertheless, he did not support any change primarily, it appears, on the grounds that 'the land was there for Maori settlement without having to utilise land set aside for European settlement ... provided the support of the Department of Maori Affairs could be obtained.' The Farms Advisory Committee turned to debate the merits of 'communal' versus 'individual' farming for Maori, leaving the key issue unchanged.¹⁶⁶³ The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee took the matter up in February 1949, but it merely resolved to ask the Director of Rehabilitation to arrange

¹⁶⁶¹ Acting Rehabilitation Officer, Te Kuiti to Director, Rehabilitation 27 August 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

¹⁶⁶² Rehabilitation Officer, Hastings to Director, Rehabilitation 28 July 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

¹⁶⁶³ Farms Advisory Committee, Minutes of meeting held 30 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

to have grading committees award open A grade certificates ‘where this is merited.’¹⁶⁶⁴

In September 1948, Prime Minister Fraser made clear views on the slow progress achieved in the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel:

It was disappointing [he informed Parliament] that only two hundred Maori returned boys had been settled, most of them on land bought from Europeans. The problem was a very difficult one because the Maoris were jealous of parting with the ownership of their lands. Personally he thought that Maori land should be individualized. First, there was the big process of consolidation, and then the cutting up of the land into separate holdings, and giving returned men and others a chance to go on to them ... The trouble was that when it came to giving the freehold title, Maori owners would not agree to their land being alienated. He did not care whether it was the freehold or the leasehold that the Maori ex-servicemen got, so long as they had security of tenure. The difficulty about that was that several hundred beneficiaries might be concerned as owners. The Department was addressing itself to the problem, which was not easy of solution. Even Maori people who had helped their boys away and who had sent them food would not agree to giving the boys even a small share of the land if it involved alienation. Many more Maori boys should be settled on the land: there was no argument about that. The Rehabilitation Department and the Department of Maori Affairs had done their best, but had just not hit the solution.¹⁶⁶⁵

Fraser may well have been exasperated, but holding Maori responsible for the difficulties over consolidation and restructuring land holdings was a harsh judgement when it had been the Department of Native Affairs, without apparently consulting Maori and without considering the settlement policies that the Rehabilitation Board had early signalled it would adopt, that had offered the Maori land development programme as the primary settlement vehicle. Interestingly, following Fraser’s statement, Minister of Finance Walter Nash also raised the matter of Maori veteran participation in open ballots: the Minister of Rehabilitation simply responded by restating existing policy.¹⁶⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶⁴ Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, February 1949, extract in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

¹⁶⁶⁵ NZPD 1948, Vol 283, p.2520.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Minister, Rehabilitation to Minister, Finance 26 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/a 10/1.

For his part, the Minister of Rehabilitation was unable to give the exact area of Maori land upon which Maori ex-servicemen had been settled. Rather, during the debate on supply late in October 1948, he stated that 73 Maori veterans had been settled and that ‘All those men were on the freehold – all Maori land was freehold ... The whole of those seventy-three men settled on Maori land would have the freehold tenure.’¹⁶⁶⁷ It was a less than frank answer and not surprisingly he was asked whether those veterans had secured individual titles. Skinner affirmed that they had, noting that ‘the other interests are bought out. We would not be prepared to finance them in any other way.’¹⁶⁶⁸ During the same debate, Skinner recorded that to date (26 October) 103 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled on farms; 398 had received housing loans, 132 had received business loans, 595 had received furniture loans, and 57 had received tools of trade loans. No reference was made to educational assistance. But ‘It so happened that the number of ex-servicemen who had received assistance, compared with the total number of enlistments, was almost identical proportionately among both Maori and pakeha, proving that Maori ex-servicemen were not being neglected.’¹⁶⁶⁹

While Skinner could claim that 103 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled on the land by October 1948, the fact was that not all had been settled with rehabilitation finance. Further, the central issue was less the number that had been settled than the number awaiting settlement. As at the end of November 1948, that number of ‘A’ grade men stood at 233, compared with 137 as at the end of December 1946. The total number of graded men awaiting settlement stood at 258 and 536 respectively. The task of meeting the aspirations of those men had now assumed major proportions.

¹⁶⁶⁷ *NZPD* 1948, Vol 283, p.3225.

¹⁶⁶⁸ *NZPD* 1948, Vol 283, p.3228.

¹⁶⁶⁹ *NZPD* 1948, Vol 283, p.3234.

Table 10.5: Maori ex-servicemen graded and awaiting settlement, as at 30 November 1948, by Maori land districts

	Graded A	Graded B	Graded C	Grading deferred	Grading withdrawn	Graded awaiting settlement
Tokerau ¹	181	64	21	2	20	94
Waiariki	67	16	9	-	4	51
Gisborne	34	18	-	-	1	27
Aotea	26	5	3	-	1	19
Ikaroa	54	31	7	1	3	42
Totals	362	134	40	3	29	233

¹ Including South Auckland

Source: Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 25 February 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43/3

10.19 ‘Must regard this form of settlement as their rehabilitation’

In July 1948, the House of Representatives approved a motion calling for a return that would show the total area held by the Crown considered suitable for settlement and the ‘number of economic units’ that area would support; the total area of unoccupied Maori land considered suitable for settlement and the ‘number of units’ that such area would provide; and the total area of land purchased for rehabilitation purposes and the number of units that it would provide. As the purchase of general lands for rehabilitation purposes continued, attention turned to ‘idle’ lands in Maori ownership.¹⁶⁷⁰ The Whangarei Rehabilitation Committee claimed that the number of veterans settled to date on Northland farms was ‘regrettably small and the waiting list discouragingly large ...’¹⁶⁷¹ When members of the Rehabilitation Board toured Northland in November 1947, they were advised by the Kaitaia Rehabilitation Committee that ‘there was any amount of Native land in North Auckland not being used and ... should be acquired and used for ex-servicemen settlement.’ Baker evidently instructed the committee on the difficulties involved in settling veterans on

¹⁶⁷⁰ See, for example, ‘Idle Maori land,’ *New Zealand Herald* 11 September 1948, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/212 48/1 Part 1.

¹⁶⁷¹ ‘Rehabilitation ... Northland settlement,’ *Northern Advocate* 18 October 1947, copy in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/84 8/8/5.

lands owned by Maori.¹⁶⁷² Federated Farmers of New Zealand pressed for the extension of the compulsory purchase provisions of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 to lands owned by Maori. Sections of the press claimed that the pending expiry of leases of vested lands and the possibility of their re-vestment in the beneficial owners would mean that land would pass out of production at the very time when Pakeha settlers who had brought their lands into a state of high productivity were having portions taken compulsorily for rehabilitation purposes. 'Such absurd contradictions,' remarked the *New Zealand Herald*, 'do not make a land policy.'¹⁶⁷³

The Minister of Maori Affairs (E.T. Tirikatene) re-stated the policy in place, namely, that ex-service personnel would be placed on partially or fully developed units, a policy that reflected the Government's desire 'to bring about the most speedy establishment of servicemen on farms of their own.' Federated Farmers was reminded that under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, the Government had the power to bring Maori-owned land under development, with or without the consent of owners, and of the provisions of Article the Second of the Treaty of Waitangi. Finally, the Minister pointed out, with respect to Maori-owned land, that

The great bulk of all unfarmed lands is either undeveloped or reverted and in many cases can be classified as 'marginal' and while it is agreed that such unoccupied land should be brought into production as soon as possible, the advantage of this course must be weighed against the disadvantages likely to accrue from diverting the already inadequate supplies of farming materials (and to a certain extent labour) from existing farms to areas unlikely to yield an [*sic*] considerable return for some years.¹⁶⁷⁴

Tirikatene went on to note that Maori land was already subject to compulsory development, that the Board of Maori Affairs paid 'special attention to the needs of Maori Returned Servicemen,' and that the wholesale compulsory purchase of Maori land would contravene the Treaty of Waitangi. The Government, he observed, was also mindful of the needs of 'an ever increasing Maori population.' Interestingly, he also noted that lands vested in the Maori land boards would be re-vested, after 25

¹⁶⁷² ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/84 8/8/5.

¹⁶⁷³ 'Iniquitous land laws,' *New Zealand Herald* 22 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/212 48/1 Part 1.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Minister of Maori Affairs to Secretary, Federated Farmers 25 January 1949, in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/212 48/1 Part 1.

November 1957, in their beneficial owners: where leases had expired or otherwise fallen in, the land might well be lying idle, a matter that was under investigation.¹⁶⁷⁵

Table 10.6 sets out the Department of Maori Affairs's estimate of the area of land in Maori ownership considered capable of development and suitable for settlement. Of the total area of 3.678m acres, just over half (52.2 per cent) was classified as 'undeveloped' and just over 23 per cent was classified as 'suitable for settlement.' The balance, it is presumed, was considered capable of development but not capable of settlement. The number of units that the area capable of settlement was considered able to support was put at 3,040.

Table 10.6: Land in Maori ownership considered capable of development and settlement, 1949

Land districts	Total acres	Acres undeveloped	Acres suitable for settlement	Number of units
Tokerau	481000	318830	132500	700
Waikato-Maniapoto	393323	284363	174938	500
Tairāwhiti	611878	26564	5164	10
Wairariki	891855	709000	300000	1150
Aotea	700000	400000	200000	600
Ikaroa	400000	80000	20000	40
South Island	200000	100000	15000	40
Totals	3678056	1918757	847602	3040

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/212 48/1 Part 1

Such estimates notwithstanding, it had been clear for some years that Maori, both owners and occupiers, generally had lost confidence in the land development programme: the former in most instances had not received rents, confronted rising debts, and had no guarantee that their land would be returned to them. While the latter laboured without secure leases or titles on small farms incapable of sustaining a reasonable livelihood and with no guarantee that they would secure any compensation for their efforts and investments. In March 1949, Shepherd acknowledged that the

¹⁶⁷⁵ Minister of Maori Affairs to Secretary, Federated Farmers 25 January 1949, in ACIH 16036 MAW2490/212 48/1 Part 1. See also 'Land settlement policy. Availability of Maori reserves,' *Bay of Plenty Times* 11 May 1949, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/212 48/1 Part 1.

confidence of ‘some of the Maori people in regard to development had been shattered and it would be the duty of the Department to try and [*sic*] regain that confidence ...’ At that same meeting, Fraser, as Minister of Maori Affairs, again indicated ‘that he was terribly disappointed with the settlement of young Maori soldiers. This was caused mainly through the reluctance of the Maori owners to give the freehold or even a renewable lease to their own boys, and partly the result of unscrupulous grabbing of their lands in the early days. The Government wanted the people to get the full and increased value of their lands, not that someone else should get what the young Maori soldier had worked hard for.’¹⁶⁷⁶

Fraser may have been correct, although the reluctance of Maori owners had its origins in the less than precise terms in which Parliament had originally couched the Maori land development policy. His reference to ‘unscrupulous grabbing’ would have struck a chord, not least given an unease among Maori that the Crown might resume purchasing in order to settle returned service personnel. According to Ngata any such move would break the ‘truce’ reached in 1929 between the political parties, namely, that land purchasing should cease in favour of land development. In response to an observation by the Minister of Maori Affairs that Pakeha-owned land had been taken compulsorily for both Pakeha and Maori returned service personnel, Turi Carroll urged him to adopt a ‘consultative approach.’ Corbett gave an assurance that the Crown would not resort to the compulsory taking of land owned by Maori.¹⁶⁷⁷ The difficulty was clear: since land owned by Maori was not subject to the operation of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel was dependant on the owners making lands available.

In July 1949 the new Under Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs (T.T. Ropiha) announced that the time had arrived when an ‘increased effort was’ to be made over the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel.¹⁶⁷⁸ One outcome was the decision to complete the purchase of the Hangatiki Base Farm ‘forthwith’ and to ask the Board of Maori Affairs to make Kopua Farm available. Instructions were issued to

¹⁶⁷⁶ Notes of representations made to the Minister of Maori Affairs 25 March 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/213 48/2/3.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Notes of representations made to Minister of Maori Affairs, 6 February 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490 40 32/4 Part 3.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrars 4 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 2.

all registrars that all properties under the control of the Department where the title was held in the name of the Crown were to be used immediately, and that every avenue was to be explored to see if the owners of suitable Maori Land would agree to the issue of a satisfactory leasehold tenure to any of their ex-servicemen qualified to receive assistance.

That same month, on 16 July 1949, Cabinet decided to expand the Maori land development programme with twin objectives. 'The most important,' announced the Minister of Maori Affairs, 'is the establishment of the owners on their lands as independent self-supporting occupiers. The other, a more national outlook, is the continuation of the development of the country's assets, with its effect on national economy.'¹⁶⁷⁹ It approved the development of some 200,000 acres over ten years, including 30,000 acres in the Tokerau, 20,000 acres in the Waikato-Maniapoto (Te Rohe Potae), 100,000 acres in the Aotea (Taupo district), and 50,000 acres in the Waiariki (Rotorua-Bay of Plenty) Maori Land Districts. The result would be the creation of some 1,000 'economic and complete units.'¹⁶⁸⁰ Consolidation and development would proceed in tandem, the objective being to establish single unit economic farms.¹⁶⁸¹

That decision came after mounting pressure on the Government to act. Some of that pressure was exerted by local authorities, perennially disposed to express concern over the apparently idle state of both Maori freehold lands and the substantial areas of land vested in the Maori land boards. Some was exerted by various interest groups prominent among which was Federated Farmers. Thus in February 1949, the latter pressed for the expropriation of Maori freehold land for the settlement of ex-servicemen. The Minister of Maori Affairs made it plain that 'The wholesale compulsory acquisition of Maori land could not be conscientiously attempted by any Government of this Dominion in the face of the Treaty of Waitangi ... It is the desire of the Government,' he indicated, 'that a policy of land improvement should be

¹⁶⁷⁹ *AJHR* 1950, G9, p.2.

¹⁶⁸⁰ 'Development and Settlement of Maori Lands,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 30 September 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43/4.

¹⁶⁸¹ An economic sheep unit was defined as one carrying 800 ewes, a dairy unit carrying 40-50 cows and producing 10,000lbs butterfat annually, and a mixed unit as one carrying 20-25 cows and 300-400 ewes. The Rehabilitation Board some years previously had defined economic units in quantitative terms.

followed, so that the full utilization of all undeveloped areas may be achieved.¹⁶⁸² The only references to rehabilitation in connection with the proposed expanded programme was a decision to employ the same grading system as that used by the Rehabilitation Board, and to try to ensure that the settlement of ex-servicemen by the Department of Lands and Survey was not adversely affected through competition for essential inputs.¹⁶⁸³

Two weeks later, on 29 July 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee (under its new chairman Ropiha) was advised of Cabinet's decision. Among other matters, it was informed that:

To ensure good occupation, the Department [of Maori Affairs] is placing great importance on security of tenure and the question will be gone into before development operations commence. It is intended to ask the owners to agree to a tenure no less attractive than a 42 year lease with full compensation for improvements. Of course, it will be a number of years before any of this land will be available for subdivision and settlement.¹⁶⁸⁴

Whether any Maori ex-servicemen would wait the many years normally involved in advancing Maori land development schemes to the settlement stage, whether they would or could maintain their 'A' gradings, whether rehabilitation assistance would continue to be available, and indeed whether owners would support subdivision let alone agree to allocation to veterans, were all matters left in abeyance.

With that information before it, the Committee arrived at three recommendations: first, that the owners of Maori land included in Maori land development schemes should be encouraged to nominate as occupiers their ex-servicemen relatives for whom there were no immediate settlement prospects; second, that before accepting nomination it should be made clear to the ex-servicemen concerned that, if they prove satisfactory as occupiers, they would be granted Part 1 leases and must regard this form of settlement as their rehabilitation; and, third, that in respect of any holdings taken up by Maori ex-servicemen, the Maori owners should be urged to give

¹⁶⁸² Minister, Maori Affairs to Secretary, Federated Farmers 23 February 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/213 48/2/3 Part 1.

¹⁶⁸³ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to all officers 17 November 1949, in ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/244/b 14/20/1 Part 1.

¹⁶⁸⁴ 'Maori Ex-servicemen – land settlement,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee 29 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43/4.

sympathetic consideration to the granting of tenures which would enable the occupiers to apply for rehabilitation assistance. The tenor of those recommendations strongly suggested that the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, at least, had accepted that the expectation and prediction that Maori ex-servicemen would secure rehabilitation settlement through the Maori land development programme would not be more than partially realised.

Subsequently, the Minister of Maori Affairs indicated that the Cabinet decision covered a series of policy recommendations that embodied the conditions to which owners would be required formally to agree before any development commenced. They provided that owners' equity in the lands to be developed would be preserved, that occupiers would pay rent at five per cent of the value of the owners' equity, that the terms would be 'no less attractive than a 42 years' lease with full compensation for improvements at termination,' and that, as necessary, existing partitions would be cancelled and revised subdivision undertaken. Owners would retain the right to nominate and select graded occupiers for their land.¹⁶⁸⁵ The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee was advised accordingly.

10.20 Accelerating settlement

It was at the meeting of 29 July 1949 that the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee also resolved to ask the Board of Maori Affairs to make a number of properties available for rehabilitation purposes. They included the Waireia development scheme, the Whangamatā development scheme, the Kopua farm, the Maungarangi development scheme, A.R. Millar's property, and Waldron's property. It decided also to ask the Board to complete immediately the purchase of the Hangatiki Base Farm and Hereheretau Station, to offer employment to 'A' grade men on the Mamakumarū development scheme with preference to men from Ngati Haua, to conduct a ballot for V.C. Miller's (balance) among 'A' grade men of Tuhoe resident in the Waiariki district, and 'to proceed as expeditiously as possible' with the development of Grace's block. Finally, it decided to defer action with respect to the

¹⁶⁸⁵ Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, 'Development & settlement of Maori lands,' in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3. See also ACIH 16036 MAW2490/302 60/1 Part 4.

Waikaukau development scheme pending discussions with Turi Carroll over opening selection to all 'A' grade Maori veterans, the committee being of the view that the men of Wairoa had 'had their share of rehabilitation farm settlement.'¹⁶⁸⁶

By the end of June 1950, nationally 196 Maori ex-service personnel had been settled on farms with state assistance: 38 had been granted rehabilitation assistance through the State Advances Corporation and Land Settlement Board, and 58 through the Department of Maori Affairs and under the direction of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. In addition 17 men were employed on development blocks on the understanding that on the completion of development they would secure an option on a subdivision. A further 100 men had been settled under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, while 20 had purchased farms with their own finance. In all, 333 Maori ex-service personnel had been absorbed into the farming industry. But a further 202 had been graded 'A' for immediate settlement and were awaiting farms; 33 were under training, and 44 were awaiting training. In all 557 Maori ex-service personnel had been graded for rehabilitation farm settlement.¹⁶⁸⁷

The Rehabilitation Board again looked to the land development schemes. It took careful note of the Cabinet's July 1949 decision to approve plans for the development of some 200,000 acres of Maori-owned land over a period of ten years, at the same time continuing to express concern over the terms of tenure, and in particular the matter of compensation for improvements. Indeed, in September 1950 it asked the Board of Maori Affairs to 'arrange more satisfactory terms for ultimate settlers as a condition precedent to the development of any particular block of Maori land.'¹⁶⁸⁸ Given that the expanded land development scheme was unlikely to produce for some considerable time any holdings suitable for settlement, attention turned back to the existing schemes and a summary of the position was prepared. Table 10.7 indicates that while an estimated 612 sections could be created, just 108 would be available within two years.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 29 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4.

¹⁶⁸⁷ See ANZ Wellington MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 3; and AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 19 September 1950, in ANZ Wellington MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 3.

Ngati Tuwharetoa was among those iwi eager to develop its lands and indeed had proposed further development well before the conclusion of the Second World War.¹⁶⁸⁹ The iwi opened discussions with the Rehabilitation Board in May 1942, and in October of that same year a number of hapu indicated that they were ‘prepared to provide all lands required for farm or other form of settlement from their own exclusive lands so far as it affects definitely soldiers of Tuwharetoa.’ In December 1942, an initial offer was made of 46,252 acres to the Rehabilitation Board for Ngati Tuwharetoa ex-servicemen. Subsequently the iwi expressed some concern, ‘under the cloak of Rehabilitation,’ claimed Hepi Te Heu Heu, over growing pressure to make its land available for settlement. The iwi was clearly worried by that pressure, and in fact took the opportunity to insist that no provision had been made for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen following World War I. Only Tapsell of Maketu, it was claimed, had secured a holding, and then by accident, and that the Government had attempted to exclude him once it discovered that he was Maori rather than European.¹⁶⁹⁰

Table 10.7: Land development schemes by Maori land districts, 1950

Land districts	Stations	Estimated sections	Sections available within two years	Sections available later	Stations unsuitable for subdivision
Tokerau	5	39	5	34	12
Waikato-Maniapoto	17	90	27	63	2
Waiariki	34	262	34	228	8
Tairawhiti	6	28	20	8	11
Aotea	9	169	13	156	1
Ikaroa	6	15	3	12	-
South Island	2	9	6	3	-
Total	79	612¹	108	504	34

¹ Includes 77 sections set aside for ex-servicemen.

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW249/40 32/4 Part 3

¹⁶⁸⁹ This section is taken from T.J. Hearn, ‘Taupo-Kaingaroa twentieth century overview. Land alienation and land administration 1900-1993,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Chapter 8.

¹⁶⁹⁰ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074 63/18 Part 1.

In October 1949, following the Government's announcement that it planned to expand the Maori land development programme, Hēpi Te Heu Heu made it clear that Ngāti Tuwharetoa was 'anxious that full utilisation of their lands, both developed and undeveloped, be made effective,' and accordingly nominated blocks with an aggregate area of 244,742 acres.¹⁶⁹¹ He went on to indicate the iwi sought the speedy settlement on economic units of nominated owners or others, including Maori other than Tuwharetoa should no members of that iwi be available. As a first priority, Ngāti Tuwharetoa wished to see the settlement of its ex-servicemen. 'The Tuwharetoa volunteers on active service number surviving over 200, most of whom desire to settle on their own ancestral lands rather than embarrass or hinder the Government in purchasing lands elsewhere.' Hēpi Te Heu Heu also made clear Tuwharetoa's dissatisfaction not only with the Aotea Maori Land Board but also with the Rehabilitation Board. He claimed that of 96,207 acres of Tuwharetoa lands held under the Aotea Board, some 85,000 acres lay 'idle and non-producing,' while approaches to the Rehabilitation Board that had been initiated in 1940 had elicited little more than a 'vague and evasive promise ...'¹⁶⁹²

10.21 'Certain anomalies ... are in existence'

The matter of tagging surfaced during 1948, the practice restricting Maori veterans to loans on their own properties, provided that they could demonstrate that those properties constituted economic holdings; to loans for the purchase of existing freehold properties from either Maori or Pakeha; to ballots conducted by the Department of Maori Affairs in respect of lands acquired for rehabilitation purposes; and to settlement on properties acquired under section 51 of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 where acquisition had been arranged specifically for Maori veterans. As significantly, they were excluded from ballots for Crown sections, and in Northland in particular that exclusion seriously limited their prospects of securing rehabilitation through land settlement. Finally, tagging also limited the

¹⁶⁹¹ Hēpi Te Heu Heu to Prime Minister n.d. (4 October 1949?), in ANZ Wellington. AAMK 869 W3074 63/18 Part 1.

¹⁶⁹² Hēpi Te Heu Heu to Prime Minister n.d. (4 October 1949?), in ANZ Wellington, AAMK 869 W3074 /841/d 63/18 Part 1.

prospect of settlement to nominated districts although, as noted above, it did not prove possible to explore the practical effect of that limitation.

The first tentative step towards resolving the difficulty was taken by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Board when, in 1948, it resolved to ask the Farms Advisory Committee to consider whether those Maori veterans graded 'A' and subject to the supervision of the Department of Maori Affairs should have the opportunity of appearing before local Farming Sub-committees so that they might establish their qualifications for entry into ballots.¹⁶⁹³ The Farms Advisory Committee discussed the matter during its meeting on 30 November 1948, but reached no decision. The following day, commenting upon his report (as chairman) to the Rehabilitation Council, J.J. Granville recorded that Committee had discussed what he termed 'certain anomalies which are in existence regarding the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen.' Those 'anomalies' centred on tagging and participation in ballots. The minutes of the meeting recorded that 'we [presumably the Farms Advisory Committee] are now recommending that men who feel they have the same qualifications as the pakeha be permitted to go before a Grading Committee and receive an open grading.'¹⁶⁹⁴ It was hoped, he indicated, 'to have a complete review of the position with the Lands Department and the Department of Maori Affairs to see if we can speed up the question of Maori settlement.'¹⁶⁹⁵ Granville, it seemed, was acknowledging that exclusion from ballots for Crown sections had seriously impeded the settlement of Maori veterans. It was not clear from the minutes how or by whom Maori ex-servicemen were to be advised of the opportunity to apply for an 'open grading.'

It was also in November 1948 that Auckland's Registrar (J.H. Robertson) noted that most Maori ex-servicemen had been graded 'A' for farming subject to supervision by the Department of Maori Affairs. There were, he suggested, two outcomes, that those whose certificates had been so endorsed were not eligible for loans through the State

¹⁶⁹³ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee 29 October 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 3.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Minutes of the Rehabilitation Council 1 December 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Minutes of a meeting of the Rehabilitation Council 1 December 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 Skinner1W214/1 5. Granville was appointed to the Council during the year ended 31 March 1948, replacing E.L. Cullen. He chaired the Farms Advisory Committee.

Advances Corporation and, second, that they were not eligible to participate in land ballots conducted by the Department of Lands and Survey.¹⁶⁹⁶ When the Farms Advisory Committee met a few days later, on 30 November 1948, the Director of Rehabilitation suggested that there were ‘many Maoris entitled to open gradings but who are graded subject to supervision merely because they are Maoris.’¹⁶⁹⁷ In other words, tagging had been applied not only on the basis of ethnicity but also without proper regard for individual qualifications, skills, and circumstances. Those were serious allegations. It should be noted here that all those who secured farm loans through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and thus the State Advances Corporation were subject to supervision: supervision was, indeed, one of the bases on which the rehabilitation land settlement programme was founded. It does not appear, though, that the grading certificates issued to Pakeha veterans were explicitly tagged, while any requirement that they accept supervision by the State Advances Corporation did not limit their right to participate in ballots.

The Director of Rehabilitation was not prepared, his allegations notwithstanding, to endorse a suggestion that Maori ex-servicemen in certain categories could be made eligible for all ballots, the tag notwithstanding. Maori applicants, he insisted, would have to demonstrate an ability to take up a farm under the ‘normal supervision’ of the State Advances Corporation and that they were ‘capable of settling in a wholly European community.’ Baker went on to add that ‘To his mind the land was there for Maori settlement without having to use land set aside for European settlement – particularly at Rotorua – provided the support of the Department of Maori Affairs could be obtained.’ Finally, he added that ‘a Maori settlement along the lines of Hurumua [*sic*] was the best type of settlement to be considered.’ Further, one member of the Farms Advisory Committee claimed that ‘it was contrary to the Maoris [*sic*] natural inclination to live on an individualised farm. Generally, communal farming was preferred.’ H.H. Rankin and Baker concurred, the former noting that he was in favour of ‘group settlement.’¹⁶⁹⁸ Given the Crown’s long quest to ‘individualise’ Maori land ownership, that was a novel departure, and one that suggested that a

¹⁶⁹⁶ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 10 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Extract from Minutes of a meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee 30 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Extract from Minutes of a meeting of the Farms Advisory Committee 30 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

disposition to employ 'individualisation' or 'communalism' to suit. What is not known is whether and, if so, to what extent the preference some members of the Rehabilitation Board expressed for 'group settlement' shaped its approach to the provision of land and thereby limited the chances of Maori veterans of securing rehabilitation through settlement on the land.

In February 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Committee decided to ask the Director of Rehabilitation to arrange to have grading committees review all cases of Maori ex-servicemen graded 'A' and the men concerned given open gradings where merited.¹⁶⁹⁹ That suggested that no system, certainly no formal system, for regular reviews had been instituted. In its report covering the progress of rehabilitation settlement to the end of June 1949, the Farms Advisory Committee again examined the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen in some detail, in particular whether those holding tagged grading certificates and residing in districts where Maori freehold land was not available should be permitted to participate in open ballots. It also discussed whether any sections drawn by Maori veterans should be transferred for administrative purposes to the Department of Maori Affairs instead of the State Advances Corporation. Neither the reasons for nor the implications of such a transfer were specified. 'The problem,' the Farms Advisory Committee concluded, 'is that in some districts many more men are graded and awaiting settlement than there is land available for settlement. This is particularly so in North Auckland where there are 50 Maori ex-servicemen awaiting settlement and only 11 sections available.' It then added that one of the major difficulties would be that in large blocks (of Crown sections) 'there would be dual control.'¹⁷⁰⁰ What those difficulties might have been, it did not explain, nor is it at all clear what they might have been. The argument was a curious one. What was clear was that the pressure from graded ex-servicemen seeking sections was greatest in Northland, precisely the district where, it was widely recognised, very little Maori freehold land was available for Maori rehabilitation purposes. The matter of grading and participation in open ballots was referred back to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.

¹⁶⁹⁹ See 'Farming Assistance to Graded Ex-servicemen,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 25 February 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 3.

¹⁷⁰⁰ 'Report of Farms Advisory Committee on land settlement progress to 30 June 1949 and the problem ahead,' paper attached to Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 31 May 1950, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/61 36/1422.

One of key questions to which tagging gave rise, therefore, was whether and to what extent it either served unintentionally or was employed explicitly as a rationing mechanism, that is, as a means of easing some of the pressure on lands being purchased and prepared for settlement by the Department of Lands and Survey. Those whose 'A' grade certificates had been tagged could seek settlement through the purchase of single unit properties, on family lands, or within land development schemes, but rehabilitation assistance was only available where the holdings concerned were deemed to be 'economic units' and where the tenure involved was acceptable to the Rehabilitation Board. The extent to which tagging deterred Maori veterans from pursuing land settlement as their preferred mode of rehabilitation is another issue that proved difficult to explore. In short, only those comparatively few Maori ex-servicemen whose 'A' grade certificates had not been tagged were eligible to enter ballots for land 'open for European settlement,' and to apply for rehabilitation finance to purchase single unit properties.¹⁷⁰¹

The major difficulty confronting the Rehabilitation Board was that the demand among all grade 'A' servicemen significantly exceeded the potential supply of sections, Crown or otherwise. It is difficult not to conclude that the Farms Advisory Committee was keen not to increase the competition for Crown sections by admitting Maori ex-servicemen to the ballots. Table 10.8 sets out some details of the position as at 30 June 1949. In the North Auckland Land District, for the 973 veterans, including 47 Maori, an estimated 119 units would be available; in the South Auckland Land District for 1,190, including 86 Maori, an estimated 595 units would be available. In all, 2,054 units would be available for 6,119 'A' grade men, including 219 Maori. In other words, on those figures, each ex-servicemen had a one in three chance of settlement. It is not clear whether the estimated number of units include those that might be made available through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.

¹⁷⁰¹ See Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 4 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

Table 10.8: Total and Maori 'A' grade men awaiting settlement as at 30 June 1949 and estimated numbers of units

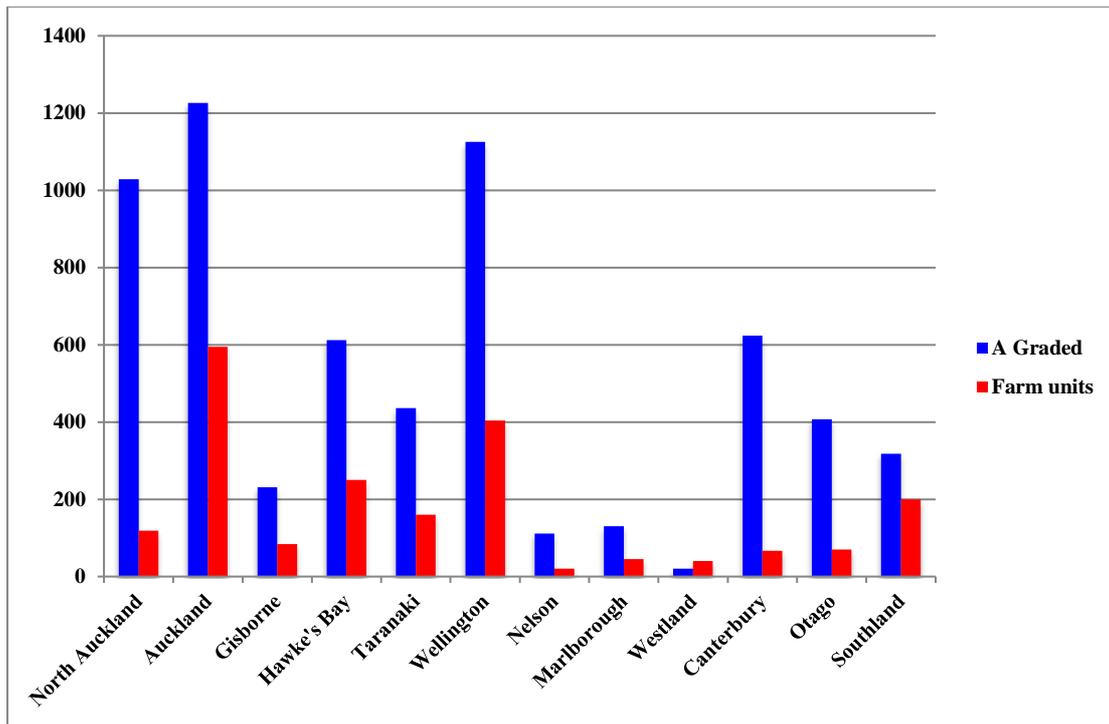
Land Districts	Totals awaiting settlement	Maori included in Column 2	Total settled ¹	Future prospects ¹
North Auckland	973	47	931	119
South Auckland	1190	86	1633	595
Gisborne	240	28	)	84
Hawke's Bay	611	33	) 600	250
Taranaki	411	7	395	160
Wellington	1100	18	887	404
Nelson	196	-	)	20
Marlborough	162	-	) 600	45
Westland	16	-	)	40
Canterbury	633	-	771	67
Otago	375	-	402	70
Southland	311	-	399	200
Totals	6118	219	6618	2054

¹ Through both the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and the Land Settlement Board

Source: ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5

Graph 10.1 is drawn from an alternative source. It compares the total number of men graded 'A' and awaiting settlement as at 30 June 1949 with the estimated number of farm units that a 'preliminary review' conducted in August 1948 suggested could be extracted from areas held privately but considered capable of settlement. The number of units per 100 grade 'A' men awaiting settlement was lowest in Canterbury (10.7) and North Auckland (11.6), and highest in Auckland (48.5) and Hawke's Bay (40.9).¹⁷⁰²

¹⁷⁰² Full details of the source are Report of Farms Advisory Committee on land settlement progress to 30 June 1949, attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 29 September 1949, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/8 8.



Source: ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/8 8

Graph 10.1: Total number of 'A' graded men awaiting settlement as at 30 June 1949, and estimated number of farm units that could be extracted from areas held privately but capable of closer settlement, August 1948, by land districts

10.22 Granting the freehold, revising charges

There were other reasons to conclude that the handling of the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen had been less than careful and inclusive. Prior to the passage of the Land Act 1948, ex-servicemen settled on Crown land had been offered either a renewable lease or a restricted freehold known as a 'Bryant tenure.'¹⁷⁰³ The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee had in fact offered Maori ex-servicemen the former only. Section 62 of the Land Act 1948 provided for settlement by way of renewable leases, deferred payment licences, or freehold purchase. On 29 July 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided to recommend that Maori ex-servicemen should have the option of acquiring the freehold, although the size of the

¹⁷⁰³ The 'Bryant tenure ... ' The Returned Services' Association was adamantly opposed to the 'Bryant freehold' that the Government, by May 1944, had decided to offer to those who requested it, insisting that 'in barest justice' soldier settlers 'should enjoy at least the same right as is enjoyed by the large majority of ordinary Crown tenants' and as enjoyed by those settled under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915. See ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074 1513b 62/26 Part 2.

deposits usually required was recognised as a likely impediment. The disposing authority was the Board of Maori Affairs as the agent of the Rehabilitation Board: it had the power to sell the freehold of Crown land under section 5 of the Maori Purposes Act 1939 and section 72 of the Statutes Amendment Act 1945. Legislation was thus not required. A month later, on 25 August 1949, the Rehabilitation Board confirmed its decision, but some 12 months had elapsed before a right granted to Pakeha ex-servicemen settlers was made available to their Maori peers.¹⁷⁰⁴ It was not the only instance in which the interests of the latter would be overlooked.

Part I of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1947, which applied only to servicemen or ex-servicemen, amended the Small Farms Act 1932-1933 by allowing such servicemen to apply for a review of their liabilities, that is, of the rent of any lease granted under the Small Farms Act 1932-1933, the principal monies under any mortgage in respect of any such lease, and the purchase price or principal monies secured by mortgage to the State Advances Corporation of land acquired under section 16 of the Land Laws Amendment Act 1944. Those provisions were carried forward into the Land Act 1948 (sections 154-165), while sections 152 and 153 of that Act empowered the Land Settlement Board (established under the Act) to vary the rental payments made by those holding renewable leases, deferred payment licences, and or pastoral leases or pastoral occupation licences.

Those provisions did not apply to Maori servicemen and ex-servicemen holding land under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. During 1948, the Director of Rehabilitation pressed the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs to draft legislation to make similar provision for Maori ex-servicemen settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.¹⁷⁰⁵ By August 1948 the Department of Maori Affairs had still not responded. The matter, it appears, had been caught up either in the administrative muddle that marred Shepherd's last years in office, and/or in Grace's proposal for a conference between the Departments of Rehabilitation and Maori Affairs, a proposal that appears to have lapsed. It was not until May 1949 that

¹⁷⁰⁴ See 'Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-Servicemen – Land Settlement,' paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 25 August 1949, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/8 8.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Director of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 20 January 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036/40 32/4 Part 1; and Director of Rehabilitation, Department of Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 18 June 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs, now T.T. Ropiha, finally forwarded to Baker the long-sought draft. Part 1 (sections 2 to 11) of the Maori Purposes Act 1949, extended to Maori servicemen and ex-servicemen holding leases granted under Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 the same right to apply for a review of their liabilities.

10.23 ‘Impossible to settle these men under Rehabilitation’

Important as the matters relating to revision of charges and the granting of the freehold were, the key issue remained the slow pace of rehabilitation settlement. To the mounting concern, added urgency was imparted by revised estimates of the total number of World War II ex-service personnel likely to seek settlement on the land and a lengthening timetable for the completion of the task. As noted above, in 1945 the Rehabilitation Board’s Farms Advisory Committee set the total number at 8,000 and completion of the task within four years, but a year later the Rehabilitation Board revised the number to 10,000 and extended the completion date to 1952.¹⁷⁰⁶ The position was sufficiently serious that in 1949 the Rehabilitation Board began to consider ways in which the demand for land for rehabilitation purposes could be reduced and restrained.

Part of the concern related to the slow rate at which Maori veterans were being settled. Service organisations began to press for changes in the policies adopted by the Rehabilitation Board. In August 1947 the 2nd NZEF Association pressed for the granting of assistance to Maori ex-service personnel who had 42-year leases, and urged the government to ‘exploit and pursue with the utmost vigour the scheme of small farms settlement in order to increase production and accelerate the rehabilitation of Maori ex-service personnel.’¹⁷⁰⁷ The Returned Services’ Association similarly made its concerns known to the Government during 1948 and 1949. In April 1949, the Minister of Maori Affairs drafted a letter in which he advised the Association that the Department of Maori Affairs had ‘used every endeavour to encourage the owners

¹⁷⁰⁶ Rehabilitation Board Minutes 26 June 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/6 6.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Notes of Deputation to Prime Minister and others, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA W2490 25 32/1 Part 3.

of Maori lands to make land available for the settlement of their own Ex-servicemen with tenures suitable to the Rehabilitation Board's requirements.' In a revised version, he noted that where an ex-serviceman sought to purchase or lease land from its Maori owners, his department was 'prepared to do everything possible to assist in any negotiations with the Maori owners ...' ¹⁷⁰⁸

Not apparently satisfied, the Association advised the Prime Minister of its concern over 'the disappointing progress in the settlement of Maori returned servicemen upon the land,' and urged the Government to 'examine the factors retarding such settlement, and to devise a formula which will enable the settlement of such returned men upon Maori land with rehabilitation assistance.'¹⁷⁰⁹ The Department was being 'criticised for moving too slowly ...' recorded the Under Secretary. ¹⁷¹⁰ In his report to the Rehabilitation Council in September 1949, Baker, moving the adoption of the absent chairman's report, conceded that with respect to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, 'Progress has not been as fast as had been hoped.' He attributed the slow rate of settlement to the tenure that the 91 men settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 had been obliged to accept. In particular, that full compensation for improvements was not available rendered it 'impossible to settle these men under Rehabilitation.'¹⁷¹¹

10.24 'Something at least will have been accomplished'

In July 1948 when T.T. Ropiha took over as Secretary of Maori Affairs, he inherited, according to Butterworth 'a difficult office,' his predecessor having left 'a great accumulation of organisational, administrative, and legal problems.' He also recorded

¹⁷⁰⁸ Draft of letter, Minister of Maori Affairs to General Secretary, Returned Services' Association 4 April 1949; and Minister of Maori Affairs to General Secretary, Returned Services' Association 5 April 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁷⁰⁹ General Secretary, Returned Services' Association to Prime Minister 7 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3. Rangi Royal was a member of the Association's Dominion Executive Committee. See also Director-General, Lands and Survey to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 18 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 4.

¹⁷¹⁰ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrars Auckland, Rotorua, Gisborne, and Whanganui 4 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁷¹¹ Minutes of the Rehabilitation Council 7 September 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5.

that ‘Although gentle in manner, Ropiha was vigorous in action.’¹⁷¹² In July 1949, as the Government was approving plans for a reinvigorated Maori land development programme, Ropiha announced that the time had arrived ‘when an increased effort must be directed towards the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on the land,’ and accordingly sought ‘the utmost cooperation in the matter of immediate settlement of those lands under our control where the title position does not present any difficulty.’¹⁷¹³ He directed the preparation of development, subdivision, and building plans (notably of houses) for 15 blocks under the control of the Crown. Table 10.9 lists the blocks: Whangamata was ordinary Crown land, the remaining blocks having been acquired specifically for the settlement of Maori veterans. What he did not say was that some of those blocks had been in the possession of the Crown for several years, nor did he dwell on the reasons for the delays in preparing them for settlement. Registrars were also instructed to explore ‘every avenue ... to see if the owners of suitable Maori land will agree to the issue of a satisfactory leasehold tenure to any of their ex-servicemen who may be qualified to receive assistance.’¹⁷¹⁴

Table 10.9 also indicates that, with respect to the lands controlled by the Department of Maori Affairs for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, 77 sections could be made available, 21 in 1950 and the balance ‘later.’ Settlement through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee – as distinct from that effected through the Board of Maori Affairs – might thus be expected to accommodate just over a third of the 214 ‘A’ grade veterans who, at the end of March 1949, were awaiting settlement.¹⁷¹⁵ How the needs of the remaining 127 would be met was left unsaid. Ropiha also recorded that up to 31 March 1949, 44 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and 33 through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, while a further 92 were occupying land under Part I of the Native Land

¹⁷¹² Graham Butterworth, ‘Ropiha, Tipi Tainui,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. As a surveyor, Ropiha worked in particular on the Tuwharetoa and Urewera lands and gained experience during the 1930s on Maori land development schemes. E.G. Schwimmer noted that he carried out the post-1945 policy of handing over full control of Maori land to incorporations and individuals ‘with vigour and determination.’ See E.G. Schwimmer, ‘Farewell to a Maori administrator,’ *Te Ao Hou* No.21, Vol.6, No.1, pp.10-12, 63-64.

¹⁷¹³ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrars Auckland, Rotorua, Gisborne, and Whanganui 4 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁷¹⁴ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrars Auckland, Rotorua, Gisborne, and Whanganui 4 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 1.

¹⁷¹⁵ ‘Maori Ex-servicemen – land settlement,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Committee 29 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43/4.

Amendment Act 1936. Finally, he noted, the Maori land development schemes included some 1,800 holdings, located mostly on land owned by Maori: if and when such holdings were vacated, the Department was of the view that owners should be encouraged to nominate as occupiers returned soldier relatives for whom there were otherwise no settlement prospects. Those so settled would not qualify for rehabilitation assistance, 'but provided they understand this, and were satisfied to accept their settlement in this way ... something at least will have been accomplished.'

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Table 10.9: Land controlled by the Department of Maori Affairs for settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, 1950: planned subdivision

Property	Acres	Location	Holdings	Available 1950	Available later
Waireia DS ¹	3500	Panguru	6	-	6
Ninihi SS ²	1371	Kaikohe	5	5	-
Tautoro DS	1400	Kaikohe	-	-	-
Whangamata DS	1200	Waihi	5	-	5
Hangatiki Base Farm	593	Te Kuiti	2	-	2
Te Kuiti Base Farm	618	Te Kuiti	5	-	2
Hamakumarū SS	674	Te Awamutu	4	-	4
Pirongia DS - Kopua	480	Te Awamutu	3	-	3
Maungarangi DS	1500	Tauranga	7	-	7
Lichenstein & Arnoldson SS	3445	Rotoiti	7	-	7
V.C. Miller's property	396	Waimana	3	-	3
A.R. Miller's	800	Okaroka	2	-	2
Tikitere DS	412	Rotorua	3	1	2
Waikaukau DS	280	Horohoro	2	-	2
Huramua DS	3575	Wairoa	17	10	7
Hereheretau Station	3691	Whakaki	3	3	-
Tututohora Station	1871	Te Araeoā	2	2	-
Waihi-Pukawa DS	1916	Tokaanu	4	-	4
Totals			77	21	56

¹ Development scheme ² Soldier Settlement

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3

¹⁷¹⁶ 'Maori ex-servicemen – land settlement,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 29 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3. See also ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1.

10.25 'In view of the disappointing progress'

At its annual general meeting in 1950, the Returned Services' Association again pressed for action, resolving 'That in view of the disappointing progress in the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel upon the land, the Government be urged to examine the factors retarding such settlement and to devise a formula which will enable the settlement of such returned men upon Maori land with Rehabilitation assistance.'¹⁷¹⁷ A few months earlier it had seemed as if some progress might soon be possible. In October 1949, the Board of Maori Affairs held a special meeting to formulate the terms to which owners would be required to agree before it would initiate land development operations. Among a host of decisions, it recommended that owners agree formally to the establishment of any new development scheme, all prospective lessees to be graded, occupiers to be granted leases of not less than 42 years with full compensation for improvements as established by a valuation made under the Valuation of Land Act 1925, preservation to the owners of their equity in the lands involved, the payment of rent at not less than five per cent of the owners' equity to be to the owners from the date on which a lessee appointed, the cost of development, once expenditure in excess of productive value, to be a charge against the land, and where necessary the cancellation of existing partitions and revised subdivision.¹⁷¹⁸

A response to those proposals was not long in forthcoming. In January 1950, in a long letter, Ngata made it very clear to the Minister of Maori Affairs (E.B. Corbett) that Maori in the Western Maori Electorate, at least, would have 'most violent objections' to a tenure that provided for a term of not less than 42 years and with full compensation for improvements. Experience, he claimed, had demonstrated that such a tenure was

loaded against the beneficial owners and will do harm to the future of the [land development] schemes. It will give colour to a suspicion that a Lands Department complex pervades the Department and the Board of Maori

¹⁷¹⁷ General Secretary Returned Services' Association to the Prime Minister 7 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

¹⁷¹⁸ See ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/301 60/1 Part 2; ACIH 16036 MAW2490/302 60/1 Part 3, 1948-1949; ACIH 16036 MAW2490/302 60/1 Part 4, 1950-1952; ADRK 17391 T1/257 40/116/1; and ADRK 17391 T1/W2591/14 40/116 Part 3.

Affairs. It will raise doubt about your own attitude, as the people are aware of the atmosphere of the East Coast Settlement Reserves in which you were brought up. Then once more your dual position as Minister of Lands, of Maori Affairs will come into question.¹⁷¹⁹

A few weeks later, in February 1950, Ngata, Turi Carroll, Rangi Royal, and J.H. Grace, met the Minister (E.B. Corbett) and the Under Secretary (T.T. Ropiha) of the Department of Maori Affairs. The meeting appears to have been arranged in response to suggestions emanating from various quarters that, in order to expedite the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, the Crown should 'take over' all undeveloped Maori-owned land. Ngata reminded the Minister that in 1929 the two political parties had agreed to a 'truce' under which the Crown would desist from purchasing Maori-owned land in favour of financing its development. Corbett's response was to point out that 'pakeha lands' were being taken for the settlement of both Maori and Pakeha ex-servicemen and that 'the pakehas asked why their lands should be taken and not the Maori owned land also.' A consultative approach, he was assured, would elicit the desired response. 'The only thing the people would want,' remarked Ngata, 'is a say as to who was to go on their lands.'¹⁷²⁰

The discussions turned to the matter of consolidation and that Ngata suggested, was 'the ideal which should be pursued with the greatest possible energy.' Consolidation, he seemed to suggest, was the key to effective settlement and utilisation. On the settlement of units on development land, Ngata insisted that the idea of leasing land for 42 years with compensation for improvements 'was repugnant to his people,' a claim which Carroll agreed, suggesting that 'Through the generations lessees would probably lose touch with the owners of the land.' Ropiha, on the other hand, suggested that 'every effort should be made to give a unit sole ownership,' while noting that long leases enabled occupiers to repay monies invested and advanced by the Crown and to recoup some the improvements they may have made.¹⁷²¹ The divergence between the preferences of Maori and the Crown stood clearly exposed.

¹⁷¹⁹ Sir Apirana Ngata, Gisborne to Minister of Maori Affairs 28 January 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/307 60/16 Part 2. Ngata covered a range of other matters that included taxation of farm profits from communally owned lands, 'approximating Maori lands titles to the European,' East Coast Trust lands, and the Mangatu Incorporated blocks.

¹⁷²⁰ Notes of representations made to Minister of Maori Affairs 6 February 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

¹⁷²¹ Notes of representations, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

Under Secretary Ropiha suggested, with particular reference to the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, that units should have sole ownership.¹⁷²²

The Farms Advisory Committee, at its meeting of 31 May 1950, discussed the issue of unused Maori freehold land, but Baker made it clear that 'until there was either legislation or the owners would voluntarily agree to satisfactory tenures, it was not possible to acquire the land.'¹⁷²³ In its review of land settlement at the end of June 1950, that Committee noted that the Department of Maori Affairs proposed to undertake new development only where the owners would agree to long-term leases, and 70 to 100 per cent compensation for improvements. 'This policy,' it observed, 'is of recent date and it is yet too early to say how owners view the proposals. It concluded that it remained anxious to facilitate the settlement on rehabilitation terms of the 'large number of suitable Maori ex-servicemen' awaiting settlement. In its view, there was scope for the settlement of these men on the lands that had been or were being developed, and recited the well-established obstacles. It thus recommended that the Rehabilitation Board ask the Board of Maori Affairs if it could arrange 'satisfactory terms' as a condition precedent to the development of any block of land.¹⁷²⁴ The Rehabilitation Board, on 7 September 1950, adopted that recommendation and the matter was referred to the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs.

Corbett in fact had decided to recommend a limit of 75 per cent in order to preserve a margin of security for any advance to owners necessary to meet the cost of compensation.¹⁷²⁵ The Board of Maori affairs was thus asked to approve two recommendations, that it amend its decision of 28 October 1949 by substituting 75 per cent for 100 per cent compensation, and that owners who nominated graded ex-servicemen be requested to consider long-term leases with 100 per cent compensation. Although aware of the representations of the Rehabilitation Board on the matter of terms of compensation, the Under-Secretary of Maori Affairs appears not to have

¹⁷²² Extracts from notes of representatives at Parliament Buildings 6 February 1950,' in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/307 60/16 Part 2.

¹⁷²³ Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 31 May 1950, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562/61 36/1422.

¹⁷²⁴ 'Review of land settlement to June 1950 and an assessment of the problem ahead,' Report of the Sub-committee to the Farms Advisory Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562 /61 36/1422.

¹⁷²⁵ See Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 8 November 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/307 60/16 Part 2.

conveyed them to his Minister, nor the latter to Cabinet.¹⁷²⁶ It is of interest to record here that among iwi, Ngati Tuwharetoa, having considered the merits of freeholds and leaseholds, decided that the latter, at 42 years, were too long, and that compensation for improvements at 100 per cent was excessive. Some owners at least preferred the option of large blocks being owned and run by incorporations.¹⁷²⁷ When at Tokaanu on 29 March 1950, the Minister of Maori Affairs indicated that he supported the policy developed by the Board of Maori Affairs, indicating that in his view compensation for improvements at the rate of 100 per cent was too high, but equally the 50 per cent, as owners preferred, was too low.¹⁷²⁸

Part II of the Maori Purposes Act 1950 was entitled 'Compensation to lessees for improvements,' section 23 providing that compensation should be set at 75 per cent of the value of their value. In February 1951 Cabinet decided, with respect to existing leases under Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, that the same terms would apply.¹⁷²⁹ The outcome was two different tenures for Maori unit farmers. Baker was advised that those were 'the best terms that most owners would agree to but in particular cases where the graded ex-serviceman was a relation or part owner in the land this Department would of course make every effort to get the owners to consider him for a lease with 100% compensation clause. It must be emphasised that any such terms over and above those laid down by Cabinet are an act of grace on the part of owners.' He went on to add that the Department did not suggest 'at this juncture asking the Rehabilitation Board to accept leases with 75% compensation provision as suitable for Rehabilitation finance as this would remove the grounds we have at present in asking for 100% terms in order to obtain such finance.'¹⁷³⁰ Two weeks later, on 26 July 1951, the Rehabilitation Board reaffirmed its existing policy. It was noted that 'The Department of Maori Affairs hopes to be able, under their ordinary

¹⁷²⁶ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 8 November 1950, and Minister of Maori Affairs, Memorandum for Cabinet, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/307 60/16 Part 2.

¹⁷²⁷ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/841/d 63/18 Part 1.

¹⁷²⁸ Representations of Tuwharetoa to Minister of Maori Affairs at Tokaanu 29 March 1950, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/841/d 63/18, Part 1.

¹⁷²⁹ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1330/b 60/16 Part 3.

¹⁷³⁰ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 13 July 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/302 60/1 Part 4.

development provisions, to effect the settlement of the balance of the men [awaiting settlement] but such settlement might not, of course, be on rehabilitation terms.’¹⁷³¹

10.26 The settlement of Maori ex-servicemen: a summary to 1950

By the end of March 1949, according to the Rehabilitation Board, 455 Maori ex-servicemen had been graded for training and land settlement. Of that number, 112 had been placed on single unit properties with rehabilitation finance, 213 were awaiting settlement, 96 were under training or awaiting training, 20 had been settled with their own finance, and 14 were employed by the Department of Lands and Survey with a promise of a section.¹⁷³² In January 1950, the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs again noted the ‘difficulty of obtaining Maori land for soldier settlement’ and suggested that ‘the poor result so far achieved is a reflection of this difficulty.’ He went on to record that 214 ‘A’ grade Maori ex-servicemen were awaiting settlement and that, ‘unless our present rate of settling men is very much accelerated, there appears to be no alternative but for a large proportion of these men to seek their rehabilitation through other channels.’¹⁷³³

The Minister of Maori Affairs, in May 1950, reiterated that argument when the Returned Services’ Association pressed the Government to accelerate the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. Maori-owned land, the Association was reminded, was not subject to the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 and that meant that settlement was ‘dependant on the owners making their lands available.’ The Association was also reminded that the Rehabilitation Board required that, in order ‘to fully protect ex-servicemen,’ that a prospective settler, to qualify for rehabilitation assistance, had either to own the freehold or have a long lease with full compensation for improvements. Before any new development scheme was commenced, owners – who, he acknowledged, had still to express a view on the matter – would have to

¹⁷³¹ ‘Review of land settlement to June 1951 and an assessment of the problem ahead,’ Report of the Sub-committee to the Farms Advisory Committee, in ANZ Wellington AADS W3562 /61 36/1422.

¹⁷³² *AJHR* 1949, H18, p.16.

¹⁷³³ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs, Circular 1949/45, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

agree to long-term leases with compensation of between 75 and 100 percent. The Government's decision to develop 200,000 acres of Maori-owned land subject to acceptance of the new tenure terms should make it possible, he suggested, to settle many of the graded men (see summary below) still looking to the Department of Maori Affairs for their settlement. On the other hand, he concluded, owners would retain 'the privilege of nominating the prospective settlers.'¹⁷³⁴ The Minister summarised the position thus:¹⁷³⁵

• Total Maori ex-servicemen graded A	373
• Total graded B and C	155
• Number settled through rehabilitation	89
• Number settled through Maori land development	92
• Number of graded men still looking to the Department for settlement	190
• Number of graded men absorbed into other occupations	157
• Number of sections at present under development	77

That 'progress' claimed appears to have been modest. If it is assumed that the 528 Maori ex-servicemen then graded 'A', 'B,' and 'C' represented the upper limit of demand for farms, then to date just 17 per cent had been settled through rehabilitation, that is, had secured loans with concessionary rates of interest. If the measure of potential demand is taken as the number graded 'A,' that is, 373, then the proportion settled rose to almost 24 per cent, that is, about one in four. The 92 settled through the Maori land development scheme had not secured those advantages and properly could not be regarded as having fallen within the scope of the rehabilitation programme. For the 190 men still looking to the Department of Maori Affairs for their settlement, just 77 sections, were or would become available. Clearly apparent in the data is the fact that of the total of 528 graded men, 157 (or almost 30 per cent) had entered other occupations.

¹⁷³⁴ Minister, Maori Affairs to President, New Zealand Returned Services' Association, draft letter, c. May 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490 32/4 Part 2. This letter was sent although a copy of the final version was not sighted.

¹⁷³⁵ Minister, Maori Affairs to President, New Zealand Returned Services' Association, draft letter, c. May 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490 32/4 Part 2. See also ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

Tables 10.9 and 10.10 summarise the progress made in settling Maori ex-servicemen on the land by about 1950. Table 10.9 details the number and aggregate value of ‘farming loans’ advanced, as at the end of August 1949, through the State Advances Corporation (Rehabilitation Loans Committee) and through the Department of Maori Affairs (Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee). According to the same source on which Table 10.9 is based, a further 92 loans had been advanced under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, the total value being £188,877. The number of loans granted through the Department of Maori Affairs (48) correlates well with the Rehabilitation Board’s summary of settlement progress as at 31 March 1950. The total number of rehabilitation loans numbered just 85. The annual report of the Department of Maori Affairs for the year ended 31 March 1950 recorded that 89 Maori ex-servicemen had been granted farm loan assistance, 51 through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and 38 through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, while a further 100 occupied land in the various development schemes. ‘A considerable number of these men,’ the report noted, ‘are part-owners in the blocks they occupy, and there is little doubt that eventually many of them will become sole owners by exchange, purchase, or consolidation.’¹⁷³⁶

Table 10.10: Farm loans granted to Maori ex-service personnel for ‘settlement on farms’ as at 31 August 1949

Land districts	Through SAC: No.	Through SAC: £	Through DMA: No.	Through DMA: £	Total number
North Auckland	13	32610	20	50999	33
South Auckland	13	59580	14	52188	27
Gisborne	-	-	5	12359	5
Hawke’s Bay	1	6390	2	4610	3
Taranaki	2	3825	1	673	3
Wellington	2	3172	3	8407	5
Marlborough	3	7620	-	-	3
Nelson	1	1000	1	1000	2
Westland	-	-	-	-	-
Canterbury	1	750	2	1250	3
Otago	1	2575	-	-	1
Southland	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	37	117522	48	131486	85

Source: ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5

¹⁷³⁶ AJHR 1950, G9, p.13. See also AJHR 1947, G10, p.21.

Table 10.11 is the Rehabilitation Board's summary of overall rehabilitation settlement as reached by 31 March 1950. The number of Maori ex-servicemen assisted by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee is not shown separately, but if it is assumed to be the 37 given in Table 10.10, then the number of Maori veterans settled with rehabilitation assistance stood at 88, or 1.3 per cent of the total settled with rehabilitation assistance through both committees. A further 17 veterans were employed by the Department of Maori Affairs with promise of a title. The total number of Maori ex-servicemen settled or promised settlement thus stood at 105, or 1.4 per cent of the total number of ex-service personnel settled with rehabilitation assistance. Of considerable significance was the large number, 100 assisted by the Department of Maori Affairs under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 and who therefore did not qualify for rehabilitation assistance. It proved difficult to establish the number of Maori ex-servicemen who *established themselves* on the land without rehabilitation assistance, but the available evidence suggests that the number was small.¹⁷³⁷ The Department of Maori Affairs attributed responsibility for the slow progress that had so disappointed Fraser to the Rehabilitation Board's requirements with respect to tenure.¹⁷³⁸ Baker, on the other hand, was no less certain that a lack of support from the Department of Native Affairs had impeded the Rehabilitation Board's efforts, including its efforts to acquire land for Maori rehabilitation purposes.¹⁷³⁹

¹⁷³⁷ See ANZ ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁷³⁸ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Prime Minister 8 July 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 4.

¹⁷³⁹ Minutes of the Farms Advisory Committee 30 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/34/b 8/1/1 Part 2.

Table 10.11: The progress of rehabilitation settlement to 31 March 1950

Categories	
Settled on single units by Rehabilitation Loans Cmte	5609
Settled on land settlement blocks by Rehabilitation Loans Cmte	1032
<i>Settled on single units and blocks through Maori Rehabilitation Finance Cmte</i>	51
Sub-total	6692
Settled on land settlement blocks – financial adjustments still to be made	357
Employed by Lands and Survey with promise of title	290
<i>Employed by Maori Affairs on single units and blocks with promise of title</i>	17
Sub-total	664
Total settled with rehabilitation assistance	7356
Settled without rehabilitation loans assistance on freehold, Crown, and private leasehold properties	1015
Maori ex-servicemen assisted by Maori Affairs (Maori Land Amendment Act, 1936)	100
Sub-total	1115
Totals	8471

Source: AJHR 1950, H18

A final measure offers a summary of the relative rates of settlement. By the end of March 1950, 51 of the total number of 179 Maori veterans settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Committee had been placed on the land, that is, 28.5 per cent. By the end of March 1950, the total number settled by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee stood at 6,641 of the total of 12,287 placed by the end of March 1972 or 54.9 per cent. In other words, even allowing for the fact that the Rehabilitation Loans Committee number included some Maori veterans, the settlement of the far greater number of all other veterans proceeded at an appreciably faster rate. The comparatively slow rate of settlement was clear in the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land District. By the end of March 1949, just 12 Maori veterans had been settled. Of 40 waiting for settlement, nine were ‘under action,’ while the remaining 31 were described as ‘cases where there is nothing in view and the ex-servicemen are awaiting the availability of suitable land.’¹⁷⁴⁰ Indeed, in January 1948, the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs had advised Rotorua’s Registrar that ‘A’ graded men awaiting settlement should seek some other

¹⁷⁴⁰ Return in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 2.

permanent employment.¹⁷⁴¹ Two years later, in January 1950, noting the large number of ‘A’ grade Maori veterans awaiting settlement, he suggested to his staff that at the existing rate of settlement ‘there appears to be no alternative but for a large proportion of these men to seek their rehabilitation through other channels.’¹⁷⁴²

One other set of data located in the papers of the Minister indicated that as at 31 August 1949, 211 Maori ex-servicemen graded ‘A’ awaited settlement, while a further 95 were under training and awaiting settlement.¹⁷⁴³ That suggested that a further 306 veterans remained to be placed on the land. The annual report of the Department of Maori Affairs for the year ended 31 March 1950 gave the number of Maori ex-servicemen graded ‘A and awaiting settlement as 204, while a further 84 graded B and C were undergoing training. ‘Most of these,’ it noted, ‘will seek the assistance of the Department in their settlement. At present 17 properties are being developed which, it is anticipated [*sic*], will establish 77 men.’¹⁷⁴⁴ That left 127 with prospects for settlement that were uncertain.

10.27 Conclusions

The evidence presented with respect both to the practice of tagging and to the profound disagreement that developed between the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Maori Affairs over the minimum qualifications for rehabilitation assistance seriously compromised the principles of equal access and equal treatment on which, it was claimed repeatedly, rehabilitation policy was based. The claim that tagging originated in doubts over the ability of Maori veteran-settlers to manage their financial affairs is not entirely supported by the evidence located. There is, on the other hand, strong evidence to indicate that, if it were not originally intended to serve as a mechanism for rationing land, it was appropriated for that purpose. To that extent, Ngata’s worst fear, that the discriminatory practices that were allegedly employed in connection with the post-World War I soldier settlement programme

¹⁷⁴¹ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrar, Rotorua 5 January 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 2.

¹⁷⁴² Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to all officers 9 January 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA W2490 40 32/4 Part 3.

¹⁷⁴³ ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5

¹⁷⁴⁴ AJHR 1950, G9, p.13.

would be repeated, was realised. The only difference was that an apparently defensible rationalisation was found in the alleged inability of Maori settlers to manage their financial affairs, an inability not – again apparently – found among the other 12,287 veterans settled on the land by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee.

Tagging was employed less for the reason stated than for two other reasons. First, it was employed in an effort to ease the pressure, however slightly, that confronted the Department of Lands and Survey and the Rehabilitation Board in their efforts to meet the demand by all other veterans for units, a demand, moreover, quickly found to have been grossly under-estimated. Second, the exclusion of Maori veterans from ballots for Crown units constituted part of an effort to encourage, persuade, or induce Maori freehold proprietors to make their lands available for rehabilitation purposes. Quite why Maori veterans could not have participated in Crown land ballots and, if successful, then placed as indicated under the supervision of the Department of Maori Affairs, was never explained, although those other veterans who did succeed in those ballots were placed under the supervision of the State Advances Corporation. No evidence was located that would indicate major differences in the type and duration of the supervision offered, although further research might indicate otherwise.

The inability of the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Native Affairs to resolve the dispute over tenure and rehabilitation assistance ensured that a large number of Maori ex-service personnel were denied rehabilitation assistance altogether. At the heart of that dispute lay a clash between, on the one hand, a board keen to encourage Maori veterans to enter fully into the country's economic life and, on the other, a department more conservative in its views about the place of Maori in post-war New Zealand. But the dispute also suggested a serious miscalculation on the part of the Department of Native Affairs. Its assurance that Maori veterans wishing to settle on the land could be accommodated within the existing Maori land development programme does not appear to have been based upon any careful and comprehensive survey of the settlement potential of the established schemes, much less any direct consultation with the proprietors of the lands involved. That lack of consultation may well have exacerbated the distinct lack of confidence and trust that many Maori reposed in the Department, a consequence of the marked departure from the terms on which the original land development schemes had been established and the failure to

complete the reform of Maori land titles.¹⁷⁴⁵ Further, the evidence suggests that it made that assurance knowing that the terms under which occupiers had been settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 would not be or were likely not to prove acceptable to the Rehabilitation Board.

What is surprising was that the dispute, with its major implications for Maori veterans, did not apparently prompt any reconsideration of the original policy decision, but rather was allowed to develop into a series of futile attempts on the part of both agencies to have each adopt the other's terms. One consequence of such intransigence was that a large number of Maori ex-servicemen were compelled to accept terms significantly less favourable than those available to all other ex-serviceman settlers. Whether those Maori veterans settled under Part I all received units that met the Rehabilitation Board's definition of 'economic' was not investigated, although some of the evidence presented below suggests that they did not. In such case, that would raise another set of questions about the rigour with which the commitment to 'equal opportunity' was met.

¹⁷⁴⁵ On this matter, see NZPD 1946, Vol 275, pp.19-24.

Chapter 11: ‘Not spectacular but considerable progress:’ settling Maori military veterans on the land, 1950 to 1972

11.1 Introduction

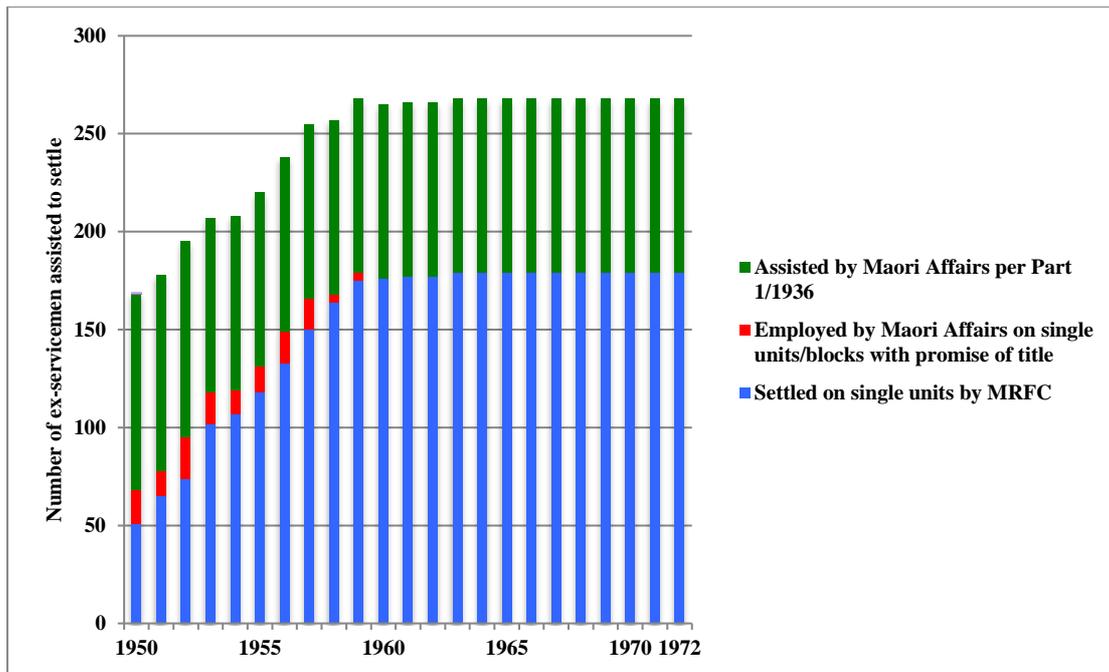
After 1950 the number of Maori ex-service personnel settled on the land with rehabilitation assistance increased modestly. But an appreciably sharper contraction took place in the number of ‘A’ grade veterans awaiting settlement as periodic grading reviews took place, public support for the preferential treatment accorded ex-service personnel began to wane, and veterans eschewed the apparently distant prospect of settlement for other forms of employment. During the 1950s (and into the early 1960s) the New Zealand economy expanded rapidly, especially the urban-based manufacturing and servicing sectors. By 1951 the urban-wards migration of Maori, young people at first, followed by families, was underway and would gather strength through the decade. Among their number were ex-servicemen and their families, drawn especially from Northland where the demand by veterans for farms remained unfulfilled. While a total of 6,692 veterans had been settled with rehabilitation assistance on the land up to the end of March 1950, another 5,774 would be settled by the end of March 1972. In short, the Rehabilitation Board still confronted a serious challenge, the profound structural changes underway in the national economy notwithstanding. Chapter 11 explores the ways in which the Board responded to and dealt with that challenge, and, in particular, the implications for Maori ex-service personnel.

11.2 Settling Maori ex-servicemen, 1950 to 1972

It will be helpful first to summarise the course of settlement from 31 March 1950 to 31 March 1972. Graph 11.1 sets out the numbers settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, those employed by the Department of Maori Affairs with promise of title, and those settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 (and Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953). It does not include the small number settled through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee. Total –

as distinct from rehabilitation – settlement increased significantly during the 1950s. The number settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee rose from 51 in 1950 to reach a peak of 179 in 1963, most (150) by the end of March 1957. Some of that increase reflected the reduction in the number employed by the Department of Maori Affairs with promise of title. The number settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 fell from 100 to 89 (as the data were adjusted) and remained at that figure for the remainder of the period under review. In other words, if the data are accurate, and no reason was identified that would suggest that they are not, then practically all of the rehabilitation settlement that took place after 1950 was through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee.

The data thus suggest three major conclusions. Of the 204 'A' grade veterans awaiting settlement as at the end of March 1950, 128 had been settled by the end of March 1963. It thus appears that 76 (or 37.3 per cent) were not settled. If the total number of Maori ex-service personnel graded is taken as 557 (all grades), and if it is accepted that that number represented potential demand, then 378 graded veterans, or 67.9 per cent, had had to find alternative employment. When the 38 Maori veterans who had been settled through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee as at the end of March 1950 are deducted, then the number not settled falls to 340 and the proportion to 61 per cent. It will be recalled that in 1942 when proposing the Maori land development as the primary vehicle for Maori rehabilitation settlement, the then Under Secretary indicated that 300 men would be settled in three years. The actual number settled with rehabilitation assistance appears to have been 217, 27 years after the end of the end of World War II, and the number settled under Part 1/1936 without rehabilitation assistance to have been 89.



Source: AJHR 1950 to 1972, H18

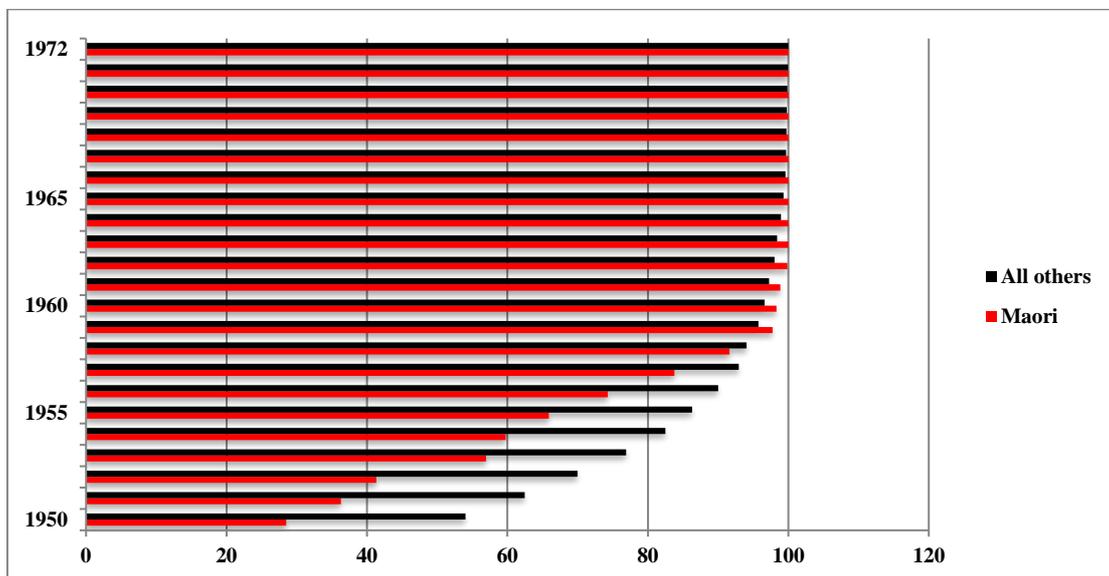
Graph 11.1: Settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, 1950 to 1972

The second conclusion is that the number of Maori ex-servicemen settled with rehabilitation assistance constituted an appreciably smaller proportion of the number who had been demobilised by the end of March 1948, that is, 179 of 4,995 or 3.58 per cent. The number of all other veterans settled on the land with rehabilitation assistance reached 12,287, representing 6.22 per cent of the 197,270 demobilised. If the number of Maori veterans settled through the Rehabilitation Committee, taken to have been 38, is included, then the number of Maori settled rises to 217 or 4.34 per cent of all Maori service personnel demobilised by 1948. The number of all other veterans settled falls slightly to 12,249 or 6.21 per cent of those demobilised. That meant that for every 100 other ex-service personnel, almost 70 Maori veterans were settled on the land.¹⁷⁴⁶

The third conclusion deals with the comparative rate of settlement. Graph 11.2 sets out details of the number of Maori and all other veterans settled by the end of March in each year. In this instance, the number of Maori veterans assisted through the

¹⁷⁴⁶ The figure of 69.89, a representation index, was obtained by calculating 4.34 as a percentage of 6.21.

Rehabilitation Loans Committee is not included in the Maori total: for that group it did not prove possible to secure a continuous run of data. Nevertheless, Graph 11.2 suggests that the settlement of all others proceeded at a faster rate than that of Maori veterans. The proportion of the former settled by the end of March 1950 stood at 54 per cent and at 86.3 per cent by the end of March 1955. The comparable proportions for the very much smaller number of Maori were 28.5 and 69.5 per cent. The contrast suggests that either a greater and/or more effective effort was made to settle ‘all other’ veterans or that the settlement of Maori veterans encountered particular difficulties. Some at least of the reasons for the comparatively slow rate at which Maori veterans were settled are explored below.



Source: AJHR 1950 to 1972, H18

Graph 11.2: Comparative settlement (per cent) of Maori and all other ex-service personnel to 31 March 1972

11.3 ‘We are not in a position to say’

The Labour Government’s rehabilitation record came under sustained political attack during 1949-1950, its efforts with respect to land settlement disparaged as ‘tinkering’ and its various promises as ‘intemperate.’¹⁷⁴⁷ Federated Farmers was bitterly critical

¹⁷⁴⁷ NZPD 1950, Vol 289, p.529.

of the compulsory purchase provisions of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, while the Returned Services' Association was equally critical of the delays in settling men on the land. The total number of 'A' grade men waiting for settlement was commonly cited as about 4,000 for which the Government had just 600 units in various stages of development. Attention was drawn to 'the enormous amount of Maori land undeveloped and unused,' much of it served by roads and bridges but generating little in the way of rates, all accompanied by the familiar refrain that 'the Maori is not a farmer' and the usual suggestions that the land in question should be vested in the Crown for development, 'the interests of the Maori being conserved,' of course.¹⁷⁴⁸

In June 1950, during a meeting of Cabinet, one minister claimed 'that there were three times as much Maori land broken in as could be settled by Maori-ex-servicemen.' Some two months later, the Minister of Maori Affairs advised the Prime Minister that just 14,473 acres were ready for settlement by Maori civilians and 7,122 acres for Maori ex-servicemen. Quoting data published in the Rehabilitation Board report for 1949-1950, he went on to note that, as at the end of March 1950, 204 'A' grade Maori veterans were 'desirous of settlement,' while a further 84 were graded B' and 'C,' suggesting that a total of 288 were looking to settle on the land. That same report recorded that a total of 557 Maori ex-servicemen had been graded to date.¹⁷⁴⁹ Further, the Minister added, an additional 50 or so were awaiting grading, taking the potential demand to 338 units. 'From the above,' he noted, 'it will be seen that more developed land is still required for Maori ex-servicemen. It may be,' he added, '...that the Hon Minister who made the statement ... had in his mind certain areas being farmed as stations for Maori owners where subdivision and settlement was [*sic*] not contemplated owing to their unsuitability for cutting up.'¹⁷⁵⁰

That explanation may have been the reason that Maori freehold lands scarcely featured during the protracted second reading debate on the new National Government's Servicemen's Settlement Bill. Rather, that debate centred on the prices

¹⁷⁴⁸ NZPD 1950, Vol 289, pp.761 and 810-811.

¹⁷⁴⁹ AJHR 1950, H18, p.17. The number of 38 assisted through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee was obtained by deducting the number assisted by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee from the the total of 89.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Minister, Maori Affairs to Prime Minister 22 August 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

payable for lands taken, on whom the burden of the costs of the rehabilitation programme should fall, and whether enactment of the measure would generate another land boom. In the Legislative Council the only comment was offered by H.G. Dickie (Rotorua) when he claimed that in his district Maori had declined to subdivide their 'large estates' under development. 'The result was that we had to buy pakeha land on which to settle Maori ex-soldiers.'¹⁷⁵¹ The Act contained no specific reference to Maori freehold land other than exempting such land from liability to taking by the State. The same was true of the Land Settlement Promotion Act 1952: it replaced the Servicemen's Settlement Act 1950 on its expiry on 30 June 1952. While section 3 empowered the Crown to take land for settlement where it was 'required for the settlement of landless discharged servicemen and others requiring land on which to establish themselves in farming ...' Maori land within the meaning of the Maori Land Act 1931, and land held or administered by any statutory Board or body for or on behalf of Maoris within the meaning of that Act remained exempt. On the other hand, land owned by Maori in fee simple was liable to resumption.

Although the Minister of Maori Affairs had given the number of Maori veterans holding 'A' grade certificates and desirous of settlement as 204 as at the end of March 1950, considerable uncertainty emerged over both the number settled and the number awaiting settlement. In August 1950, the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs calculated that, at the end of March 1950, 189 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled on the land, that is, 89 through the rehabilitation programme and 100 through the Maori land development programme. In addition, 22 Maori ex-servicemen had arranged their own settlement without rehabilitation assistance. The Department estimated that 171 'A' grade men and 67 'B' and 'C' grade men were awaiting settlement, a total of 238: of that total, 193 were looking to the Department of Maori Affairs for their settlement.¹⁷⁵² That total of 'A,' 'B,' and 'C' grade veterans fell short by 50 the number that had been supplied to the Prime Minister. The Department conducted a check of its figures and arrived at the Rehabilitation Department's totals. The Department, the Minister of Maori Affairs advised its minister, had over-estimated the

¹⁷⁵¹ NZPD 1950, Vol 293, p.4753. The second reading debate can be found in NZPD 1950, Vol 292, pp.3290-3347.

¹⁷⁵² Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrars 6 July 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

number of men 'thought to have dropped out.' The new total was 'final' and had been reconciled with that produced by the Rehabilitation Board.¹⁷⁵³

It should be noted that while 89 veterans may have been settled through the rehabilitation programme, only 46 had had their charges fixed, a vital stage in the settlement process. Of that number 19 were located in Tokerau Maori Land District, six in the Waikato-Maniapoto, five in the Waiariki, 11 in the Tairāwhiti, three in the Aotea, and two in the Ikaroa Maori Land Districts. In other words, just 46 men had been settled permanently. Of those Maori ex-servicemen occupying land under the provisions of Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, 26 were located in the Tokerau, 48 in the Waiariki, and 15 in the Tairāwhiti Maori Land Districts.¹⁷⁵⁴

Three conclusions can be drawn from the data: first, that the rate of settlement had indeed been slow: the 89 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled on economic units (38 through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and 51 through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee), represented just 1.44 per cent of the total number of ex-service personnel settled with rehabilitation finance by the end of March 1950. More importantly, those 89 constituted 15.9 per cent of the Maori 557 veterans who had been graded for training and land settlement. The second conclusion is that the data indicate that of those 557 veterans, 468 remained to be settled, or 451 if the 17 employed by the Department of Maori Affairs on single units and blocks with the promise of titles are deducted. The third conclusion is that a large number of veterans appear to have 'disappeared.' Although 451 of the 557 graded men remained to be settled, the Rehabilitation Board recorded that just 204 'A' grade men were 'awaiting settlement,' or 288 if the 'B' and 'C' grade men are included. That suggests that 163 (451-288) had 'disappeared' by the end of March 1950.

In a statement released to the press towards the end of September 1950, the Rehabilitation Board offered an amended set of data. It now claimed that 196 Maori ex-servicemen of World War II had been 'permanently settled on farms of their own with government assistance.' It did not claim that 196 had been settled with

¹⁷⁵³ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 17 August 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3. See also Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrars 6 July 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

¹⁷⁵⁴ AJHR 1950, G9, p.22.

rehabilitation assistance. In fact, to the end of June 1950, according to the Board's own data, 96 men had been settled with rehabilitation finance (38 through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and 58 through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee). The balance of 100 had been settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. The Board went on to claim that by adding the 17 men employed on development blocks by the Department of Maori Affairs with promise of a title, and 20 who had bought farms with their own finance, a total of 333 returned Maori servicemen 'had been absorbed and settled in the farming industry. This of course does not include those who were already settled on entering the forces.' The origin of the figure of 333 is not clear, for the figures given above (196 + 17 + 20) yield a total of 233. What was clear was that a mere 96 men had been settled with rehabilitation assistance. The Board did at least acknowledge that 202 'A' grade men awaited settlement, that a further 33 were under training, and that 44 were awaiting training.¹⁷⁵⁵ That suggested that another 279 units would have to be found.

The uncertainty over numbers persisted for, in June 1951, the Department acknowledged that the number settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 was not 100 but 95. Clearly exasperated, Under Secretary Ropiha concluded that 'we are not in a position to say, in the simplest terms, just what has been achieved in the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on the land.' Rehabilitation, he reminded them, 'is always in the public eye, and we must be able to say, at any time, with complete accuracy and reasonable promptitude, what progress has been made.'¹⁷⁵⁶ The Department acknowledged that 202 'A' grade men awaited settlement, that 33 were under training, and that 44 were awaiting training. It is of interest to note there that the Rehabilitation Board recorded that 89 Maori veterans had been settled under Part 1 by the end of March 1953: that number did not subsequently change.

¹⁷⁵⁵ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 4.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrars Auckland, Rotorua, Gisborne, Whanganui, and Wellington 1 June 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 4. See also ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/359/a 9/1/1 Part 2.

11.4 Settlement plans

The Rehabilitation Board sought to maintain pressure on the Department of Maori Affairs. In September 1950, it reminded the Department of Maori Affairs that it remained ‘anxious to facilitate the settlement on Rehabilitation terms the large number of suitable Maori ex-servicemen still awaiting settlement.’ It suggested that there was scope for the settlement of those men on the lands that had been or that would be developed by the Board of Maori Affairs, at the same time noting, again, ‘that the main difficulty in the past has been the unsuitable tenure available, combined with the insufficient compensation at the termination of the lease, for improvements purchased or established by the lessee.’ The Board wondered ‘whether in future the Board of Maori Affairs could arrange more satisfactory terms for ultimate settlers as a condition precedent to the development of any particular block of Maori land.’¹⁷⁵⁷ The request was transmitted to the Department of Maori Affairs where it appears to have been set aside.

The Under Secretary of Maori Affairs set out for his Minister the Department’s settlement plans for Maori ex-service personnel. First, he set out the position of the 372 Maori ex-servicemen (that is, of the total of 557 men who had been graded) who had been graded ‘A’ (Table 11.1). The number of ‘A’ grade ex-servicemen who had ‘withdrawn’ and those who had their gradings suspended, a total of 57, or 15.3 per cent of all ‘A’ graded men, occasioned no comment. The key figure was the 204 ‘A’ grade men awaiting settlement: 140 had been graded for dairying, 43 for sheep farming, 15 for mixed farming, and six for ‘miscellaneous’ farming. In addition, 84 ‘B’ and ‘C’ men were undergoing training, bringing to 288 the number who were apparently desirous of settlement.¹⁷⁵⁸

¹⁷⁵⁷ Director, Rehabilitation Department to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 19 September 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIGH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3.

¹⁷⁵⁸ It should be noted that details of the numbers of men graded, training, and awaiting settlement were constantly being modified as men were placed on sections, gradings changed, veterans changed their minds, and the number and availability of holdings changed. Further, the data do not always admit of easy interpretation. The fact that veterans of the Emergency Forces would also qualify added another variable.

Table 11.1: Graded Maori ex-servicemen: the position as at 31 March 1950

	Number
Men graded 'A'	372
'A' grade settled with loan assistance through the RLC	38
'A' grade settled with loan assistance through the MRFC	51
'A' grade settled without loan assistance	22
'A' grade waiting settlement	204
'A' grade withdrawn	42
'A' grade suspended	15
Total 'A' grade	372

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 34/2 Part 3

The area of developed land ready for settlement by civilians and veterans was (as noted above) given as 14,473 acres and 7,122 acres respectively, with just over half of the 21,595 acres being located in the Waiariki District (Rotorua and Bay of Plenty). It was noted that owners of some of the land earmarked for civilian settlement could make it available for returned servicemen. Table 11.2 sets out the estimated number of sections that the Maori land schemes were expected to yield. The estimated total of 612 included the 77 sections that had been 'ear-marked' for Maori ex-servicemen, and of that number 43 would be settled within two years. In other words, the 'schemes' included lands controlled by the Department specifically for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. In that case, it appeared that, of the 204 'A' grade men awaiting settlement, just over one in three could look forward to securing a section and assistance on rehabilitation terms, unless owners in other schemes chose to nominate ex-servicemen as occupiers and to allow settlement on terms that satisfied the Rehabilitation Board.

Table 11.2: Maori land development schemes: potential section availability, 1950

Districts	Stations for subdivision	Estimated total sections	Available within two years	Available later	Stations unsuited for subdivision
Tokerau	5	39	5	34	12
Waikato-Maniapoto	17	90	27	63	2
Waiariki	34	262	34	228	8
Tairāwhiti	6	28	20	8	11
Aotea	9	169	13	156	1
Ikaroa	6	15	3	12	-
South Island	2	9	6	3	-
Totals	79	612	108	504	34

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/40 32/4 Part 3

11.5 ‘Although not spectacular does reflect considerable progress’

In May 1951, the Under Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs, commenting upon policy resolutions passed by the Dominion Council of the Returned Services’ Association in 1950, rejected as too severe allegations that the settlement of Maori veterans had been ‘disappointing.’ As at the 31 March 1951, he reported, 203 had been settled, including 100 under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. If not a ‘spectacular’ result, he submitted, it did at least indicate ‘considerable progress.’ Speedier settlement, he advised the Director-General of the Department of Lands and Survey ‘can be achieved only if the owners will cooperate in the matter of tenure.’¹⁷⁵⁹ On the matter, at least, the Farms Advisory Committee, the Rehabilitation Board, and the Department of Maori Affairs were in agreement.

The Farms Advisory Committee, during 1951, prepared a new report that reviewed land settlement up to 30 June 1951. Part XI dealt with the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. It recorded that the number of ‘A’ grade veterans awaiting settlement

¹⁷⁵⁹ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director General, Lands and Survey 31 May 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 4.

now stood at 131, a decline of 73 on the number recorded for 31 March 1950.¹⁷⁶⁰ It also recorded, using information supplied by the Department of Maori Affairs, that as of 31 July 1951, 49 sections were available for settlement (although, in addition, 15 'A' grade men were working on 'development sections' with promise of settlement).¹⁷⁶¹ The Farms Advisory Committee accepted the conclusion offered by the Department of Maori Affairs, namely, that those graded 'A' for sheep and mixed farms would be settled, but that sections were 'in sight' for only 38 of 86 veterans graded 'A' for dairying. There was, the report recorded (and echoing the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs), possibly some scope for settling the remaining 48 on Maori-owned land, 'but it is entirely for the Maori landowners to say whether or not they will lease their land on terms which will enable settlement to be effected through rehabilitation channels.'¹⁷⁶² The purchase of additional areas of general land and the opening of Crown land ballots to participation by Maori ex-servicemen possessing tagged grading certificates were not mentioned as alternative options.

Some modest progress was achieved by the end of September 1951. Table 11.3 summarises the results secured by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee as at the end of September 1949 and again in 1951: the number of veterans settled rose from 47 to 70, an increase of almost 49 percent in two years. Most of that settlement had taken place in the three northernmost land districts. Of some interest is that the cost (as given) of settling veterans rose from an average of £2,758.3 in 1949 to £3,809.49 just two years later, an increase of 38.11 per cent. It seems reasonable to wonder whether and, if so, to what extent, rising per veteran settlement costs dissuaded the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and the Department of Maori Affairs from purchasing additional land for Maori rehabilitation purposes. Presumably, rising costs meant a greater write-off when charges were finally fixed.

¹⁷⁶⁰ It is worthwhile noting here that the Department of Maori Affairs put the number at 117. The reason for the discrepancy is not clear. See Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director of Rehabilitation, Rehabilitation Department 28 August 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 5.

¹⁷⁶¹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 5.

¹⁷⁶² Report of the Sub-committee to the Farms Advisory Committee, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 5.

Table 11.3: Settlement on farms achieved through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, as at 30 September 1949 and 1951

Land districts	Settled: 1949	Cost 1949: £	Settled: 1951	Cost 1951: £
North Auckland	20	51153	23	69966
South Auckland	14	52188	19	75592
Gisborne	4	10359	17	88982
Hawke's Bay	2	4610	4	20199
Taranaki	1	673	1	673
Wellington	3	8407	3	9002
Canterbury	2	1250	2	1250
Nelson	1	1000	1	1000
Totals	47	129640	70	266664

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/645 32/10/A Part 2

It is of interest to record here that in September 1952 the debate on supply included a wide-ranging discussion of rehabilitation, although the Opposition seemed primarily intent on demonstrating that land settlement and housing construction and purchase had both slowed under the National Government. With respect to the rehabilitation of Maori veterans, Tirikatene asked whether the Government had decided to cease purchasing land for the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen since there was no item entered into the estimates: the Minister of Rehabilitation declined to answer the question, on the grounds that the matter was covered under the estimates for the Department of Maori Affairs.¹⁷⁶³ There was no reference to that issue during the consideration of the estimates for the Department of Maori Affairs.¹⁷⁶⁴ No evidence was in fact located to suggest that the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, operating through the Department of Maori Affairs, completed any or at least any significant purchases of land, whether Maori freehold or general, after 1950. By 1948, just 8,956 acres had been acquired by the Crown for Maori rehabilitation purposes.¹⁷⁶⁵ The Department of Lands and Survey recorded that, by the end of March 1955, it had purchased and transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs a total of 11,963 acres, an area that the Department claimed was sufficient for 30 units.¹⁷⁶⁶ No further transfers were made.

¹⁷⁶³ NZPD 1952, Vol 298, pp.1370-1371.

¹⁷⁶⁴ See NZPD 1952, Vol 298, pp.1782-1788.

¹⁷⁶⁵ AJHR 1948, H18, p.17.

¹⁷⁶⁶ AJHR 1960, C1, p.55.

Table 11.4 sets out, for the years from 1943 to 1950, the sums appropriated for and expended by the Department of Maori Affairs, under the head of 'Native land development schemes,' on the purchase of land for all rather than solely rehabilitation purposes. Lands purchased solely for rehabilitation purposes were not separately identified. The table suggests that expenditure on the purchase of land for the purposes of the Maori land development programme generally fell well short of the sums Parliament had allocated. Although this is a matter that requires further investigation, the minute books of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee indicate that it did not proactively endeavour to acquire land by opening negotiations with owners, much less with employing the compulsory provisions of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943. Rather, it clearly preferred to act upon offers made, and to look to land held by mortgagees, by the Maori Trustee, or by the Crown. Moreover, it was probably no coincidence that an appreciable proportion of the general land acquired had been held by their proprietors in conjunction with Maori freehold land. The Committee's stance contrasted sharply with the decidedly proactive approach to land purchase adopted by the Department of Lands and Survey, including its willingness to employ the compulsory purchase provisions of the 1943 Act. The apparent reluctance on the part of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee may have been the result of direction by the Government, concerned that the purchase of general land for Maori rehabilitation purposes would have strengthened the opposition to compulsory acquisition. What is clear is that the Rehabilitation Board remained convinced that Maori retained sufficient land to meet the settlement needs of Maori veterans and that the purchase of general land was to do no more than supplement that source. Map 11.1 sets out the location of the main blocks acquired by the end of June 1949.

Table 11.4: Department of Maori Affairs: monies voted for and expended on purchase of land or leasehold ex Lands for Settlements Account, 1943 to 1950

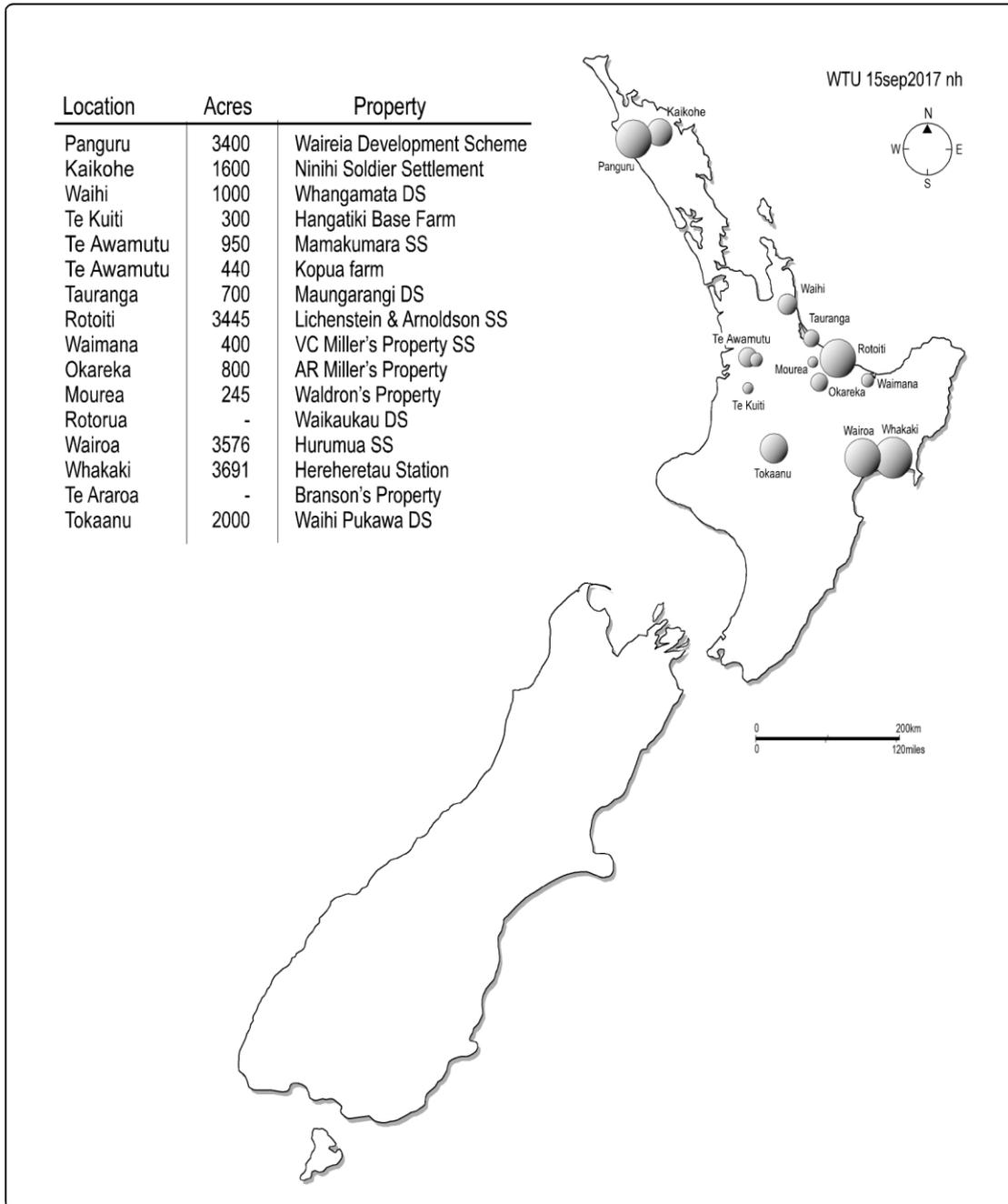
Years to 31 March	Voted: £	Expended: £
1943	2000	1079
1944	10000	24440
1945	80000	39328
1946	50000	24053
1947	30000	5394
1948	20000	17733
1949	20000	36454
1950	10000	14198

Source: AJHR 1944 to 1950, B7 Part 1

Criticism of the apparently slow pace of settlement remained. The Servicemen's Settlement Act 1950 expired in 1952. The Land Settlement Promotion Bill sought to sustain the power of the Crown to take farm land 'for the settlement of land less discharged servicemen and others requiring land in which to establish themselves in farming and ... [where] sufficient land cannot be acquired by voluntary negotiation ...' Rehabilitation matters were discussed during the second reading debate, but the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen attracted little comment apart from *Part III: Provisions relating to unproductive Maori land* of the Maori Purposes Act 1950 (Part III) and a proposal that the 'huge Maori estates' that were 'more or less reconstructed' under Ngata's land development programme should be subdivided. Section 30(1) of the Land Settlement Promotion Act 1952 did not deal with that matter, but provided that Maori land could not be alienated if 'undue' aggregation of farm land would result. Section 30(2) forbade the Maori Trustee, as agent of any owner or owners under Part II of the Maori Purposes Act 1950, from doing likewise, Section 31 set out the matters that were to be considered in establishing 'undue aggregation.' The National Government was averse, it seems, to 'a Maori aristocracy' employing others to manage their 'huge estates' and 'drawing dividends.'¹⁷⁶⁷ While, then, the exclusion of Maori freehold land from the ambit of the Bill did elicit some criticism, it was generally accepted that its provisions would otherwise scarcely apply to such lands.¹⁷⁶⁸

¹⁷⁶⁷ NZPD 1952, Vol 298, p.1394.

¹⁷⁶⁸ See, for example, NZPD 1952, Vol 298, p.1417.



Source: Archives NZ Wellington AADK 6133/8 8

Map 11.1: Location of freehold land purchased by Crown for settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, as at 30 June 1949

One issue that was raised during the debate was rehabilitation policy as it related to members of K Force. In 1951, the Rehabilitation Board announced that ‘appropriate rehabilitation assistance,’ following a decision by the Government, would be made

available to members of K Force.¹⁷⁶⁹ Regulations under which the Rehabilitation Board was empowered to act were subsequently published, but in 1952 it announced that ‘in the light of changing circumstances,’ it had been found necessary to amend some aspect of rehabilitation policy as it applied to ex-servicemen of World War II. It went on to record that

The main variation is in the field of land-settlement assistance, where, because of the large number of graded and eligible World War II men still awaiting land-settlement assistance and the fact that suitable land for subdivisional purposes is definitely limited, K Force men will not be eligible for farm ballots on the same basis as discharged servicemen of World War II, nor is there provision to compulsorily acquire land for their settlement. Settlement facilities will therefore be confined to loans to enable them to purchase by private negotiation, and such preference as may eventually be extended to ex-servicemen generally under the Land Act.¹⁷⁷⁰

At the end of March 1953, by which time 1,281 ‘K’ Force veterans had enrolled with the Rehabilitation Department, Cabinet approved the principles that would be applied to future land settlement schemes, such principles reflecting its desire to introduce a civilian land settlement scheme once the needs of ex-service personnel had been ‘largely satisfied.’

(a) That land acquired specifically for the settlement of ex-servicemen and Crown land being developed and subdivided for that purpose be offered exclusively for settlement by eligible and graded ex-servicemen of World War II but in the event of any sections, so offered, not being selected by ex-servicemen then they are to be offered to graded and eligible men from Kayforce.

(b) That other areas of Crown land and land acquired for general settlement be offered with the following preferences:

- (1) Approximately 50% to be offered for civilian land settlement;
- (2) The remaining units to be offered for general settlement in the following order of preference:

First preference: Eligible and graded ex-servicemen World War II

Second preference: Eligible and graded ex-servicemen of Kayforce;

¹⁷⁶⁹ AJHR 1951, H18, p.14.

¹⁷⁷⁰ AJHR 1952, H18, p.12.

Third preference: Other ex-servicemen within the meaning of the Rehabilitation Act or of the Emergency Forces Rehabilitation Regulations and any other similar legislation
Fourth preference: Civilians.¹⁷⁷¹

While the Rehabilitation Board included details of the assistance granted to members of the Emergency Forces, it did not distinguish between Maori and all other veterans.

11.6 The case of the disappearing Maori ex-servicemen, 1950-1954

It was recorded above that as at the end of March 1950, 204 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen awaited settlement.¹⁷⁷² Just fifteen months later, the number was recorded as 131.¹⁷⁷³ In Part VI of its annual review of settlement to the end of June 1952, the Farms Advisory Committee dealt briefly with the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, focussing largely on the matter of pre-ballot screening (see below). In 1953 the same committee prepared a more detailed analysis of the position of Maori veterans. It recorded that as at 30 June 1953, 59 veterans graded 'A' were awaiting settlement, a sharp fall on the 82 recorded just six months earlier and a fall of 145 on the number recorded for 31 March 1950.¹⁷⁷⁴ The report contained details of a survey of Maori veterans. Table 11.5 sets out some details relating to the efforts of the 37 men to secure settlement on dairy units. Not included is one veteran not eligible to participate in any ballots. A further six men were interested in settling on sheep units, two being eligible to participate in Crown land ballots, three in Maori land ballots only, and one was not qualified to participate in either. When asked why they had not applied for any ballots, of 22 veterans who responded, 11 cited the absence of ballot offerings in their home district, six cited their recent grading, and three indicated that they were awaiting the development of family land. Table 11.5 suggests that while the veterans who responded remained genuinely interested in settlement, their desire to settle in their home districts combined with the absence of units for ballot and the restriction to

¹⁷⁷¹ Assistant Director, Rehabilitation, circular memorandum 10 September 1953, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/24 32/1 Part 5. By the end of March 1954, 1,577 veterans of the Emergency Forces as a whole had enrolled with the Department of Rehabilitation. See AJHR 1954, H18, p.32.

¹⁷⁷² AJHR 1950, H18, p.17.

¹⁷⁷³ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/644 32/8A Part 2.

¹⁷⁷⁴ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/644 32/8A Part 2.

ballots for Maori land only had served to act as serious checks on the progress of settlement.

Table 11.5: Dairying: responses of Maori veterans eligible to participate in ballots, as at 30 June 1953

	Eligible for ballots	Eligible for Maori land ballots only
Number of completed questionnaires	9	28
Number stating 'still interested in settlement'	9	28
Number interested in own district only	5	20
Number with definite properties in view, and not considered to be a settlement problem	2	3
Number considered not genuinely interested	-	-
Number who had not sought properties by private negotiation and not applied for loans	4	16
Number who had not applied for any ballots	4	18
Number who had not sought properties by private negotiation and not applied for any ballots	3	13

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/644 32/8A Part 2

In March 1954, the Rehabilitation Board claimed that:

The settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on the land is continuing steadily. As 31 March 1954, 154 men had been established with rehabilitation finance, 12 were employed by the Maori Affairs Department on blocks with promise of sections, and 23 had been settled with their own finance. In addition, a further 89 men had been established as farmers under the Maori Land Amendment Act 1936. Fifty-nine ex-servicemen graded 'A' were still awaiting settlement on the land and an additional 10 were undergoing or awaiting training. The work of developing areas of Crown land made available for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen is progressing well.¹⁷⁷⁵

Table 11.6 sets out some details of the settlement effected through the Maori Rehabilitation Committee and the Department of Maori Affairs. From the data for the period up to the end of March 1954, it can be deduced that 35 Maori ex-servicemen had been assisted through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee. But what is of particular interest is that the number of 'A' grade veterans awaiting settlement was put at 59: that compared with the 204 as at the end of March 1950. In the intervening

¹⁷⁷⁵ AJHR 1954, H18, p.31.

four years, 56 veterans had been settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and none under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. That left 145 unaccounted for, although a small number may have been settled through the Rehabilitation Finance Committee. In short, some progress had been made, although the data suggest that a sizeable number of veterans had decided to seek other forms of rehabilitation assistance or simply decided to strike out on their own. No evidence was located of any effort to establish why they had done so.

Table 11.6: Approximate rehabilitation settlement achieved through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and the Department of Maori Affairs as at 31 March 1954

Districts	Sheep	Dairy	Other	Totals
<i>North Auckland</i>				
MFRC	-	33	-	33
Maori Affairs	-	2	-	2
<i>South Auckland</i>				
MFRC	5	37	-	42
Maori Affairs	3	5	5	13
<i>Hawke's Bay, Poverty Bay</i>				
MFRC	15	10	-	25
Maori Affairs	-	-	-	-
<i>Taranaki</i>				
MFRC	-	2	-	2
Maori Affairs	-	-	-	-
<i>Wellington</i>				
MFRC	-	3	-	3
Maori Affairs	-	-	-	-
<i>Canterbury</i>				
MFRC	-	2	-	2
Maori Affairs	-	-	-	-
<i>Totals</i>				
MFRC	20	83	-	107
Maori Affairs	3	7	5	15

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6

11.7 Settlement under Part I, Native Land Amendment Act 1936

In its 1951 report, the Farms Advisory Committee turned to a brief discussion of the matter of tenure, noting that in September 1950, it had advised the Rehabilitation Board that there appeared to be scope for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen on

Maori lands under development by the Department of Maori Affairs, but that the problem of unsatisfactory tenure remained. On 26 July 1951, the Rehabilitation Board reaffirmed its existing policy, namely, that Maori ex-servicemen should, as a first preference, have freehold tenure or, failing that, either 100 per cent compensation for improvements or permanent right of renewal. The Department of Maori Affairs, it was noted, hoped to be able to settle the remaining 'A' grade men under its ordinary land development programme but not on rehabilitation terms.¹⁷⁷⁶

As noted above, and according to the data published by the Rehabilitation Board, 89 Maori ex-servicemen had been settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. It was also noted that that number had not changed by the end of March 1972. If more veterans were settled under Part 1, then they did not show in the statistics compiled by the Rehabilitation Board, while after 1950 the annual reports of the Department of Maori Affairs contained few references or details relating to rehabilitation. Other evidence tends to support that assessment. In November 1953, for example, Whanganui's Registrar and District Officer reported that there was 'little prospect' of the early settlement under Part I/1936 of 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen in his district. He noted that owners were generally reluctant to nominate anyone who was not himself an owner or a close relative of the owners, while 'The partitioning of lands into uneconomic holdings vested in separate family groups is another factor which renders it difficult to obtain unanimity in this respect.'¹⁷⁷⁷ While the land consolidation programme, where completed, had gathered together the interests of families into small holdings, many failed to meet the Rehabilitation Board's definition of 'economic unit.' He also went on to note that funding was not available for the subdivision and settlement of scheme lands, so that plans to subdivide the Manunui development scheme, for example, had had to be deferred.¹⁷⁷⁸

In view of Government policy, that lessees of Maori land were entitled to compensation for improvements of not less than 75 per cent, the Department concluded that it 'largely precludes the use of Maori land for rehabilitation purposes'

¹⁷⁷⁶ Report of the Sub-committee to the Farms Advisory Committee, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 5.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Registrar and District Officer, Whanganui to Head Office 11 November 1953, in ANZ Wellington MA W2490 42 32/4 Part 6.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Registrar, Whanganui to Head Office 11 November 1953, in ANZ Wellington ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1. See also ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

and that therefore the Department could do no more than encourage Maori land owners to make their land available on terms acceptable to the Rehabilitation Board.¹⁷⁷⁹

11.8 Settlement by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee

By the end of March 1953, 102 Maori ex-service personnel had been settled on single units and blocks through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, while the Department of Maori Affairs employed a further 16 on single units and blocks with promise of title. The following sections describe the acquisition, subdivision, and settlement of a number of those blocks.

11.8.1 Ninihi

In March 1948, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee asked the Chief Surveyor for the Department of Maori Affairs to prepare a report setting out the Crown land available for Maori ex-serviceman settlement in North Auckland. The report nominated three blocks that were ‘available and suitable for settlement,’ namely, Ninihi, Oturu, and Tautoro, an aggregate area of 2,812 acres with a development cost of £24,051. Eight veterans could be settled, with the date of the ballot being set at 1 July in each case. Ninihi was located on part of the Kohututaka Station the purchase of which had been approved by the Board of Maori Affairs in April 1947. The block was expected to provide four dairy and two sheep and cattle units. Towards the end of May 1948, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee asked the Board of Maori Affairs to make the Oturu and Tautoro blocks available, and to submit for approval development and settlement proposals for all three blocks.¹⁷⁸⁰ In February 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided that applications from eligible Maori ex-servicemen graded ‘A’ for dairying in the North Auckland district should be called for employment on the 1,534-acre Ninihi block.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Settlement of ‘A’ grade Maori ex-servicemen in North Auckland, paper in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW 2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

¹⁷⁸⁰ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/106/d 8/1299.

Five holdings, with an aggregate area of 755 acres, were created initially.¹⁷⁸¹ In 1952 four of the 16 men who had participated in the ballot conducted in 1949 were ‘placed’ on the dairy units.¹⁷⁸² The fifth unit, of 1,050 acres, was occupied by the successful ballotee in January 1952 but he left less than 12 months later. A further ballot was held and the unit was in the occupation of a Maori veteran by March 1953.¹⁷⁸³

11.8.2 Punakitere

The history of Punakitere 2 is set out in Walzl.¹⁷⁸⁴ In 1949 Hone Heke Rankin, as a member of the Rehabilitation Board, discussed with the Minister of Lands the transfer of a 3,000-acre block of Crown land (comprising the Punakitere and Mangatoa Gum Reserves) to the Department of Maori Affairs for development and settlement by Maori ex-servicemen.¹⁷⁸⁵ The Department of Lands and Survey decided not only to develop the land as part of its larger land development operations in the district but also to propose that it develop adjoining Maori-owned land. The Minister of Lands assured Rankin that should development proceed and it was found ‘desirable’ to settle Maori ex-servicemen, ‘full consideration can be given to making some of the subdivisions available for the purpose.’¹⁷⁸⁶ As part of its plan, the Crown sought to purchase Punakitere 2B7P (624 acres), 2B8I (1,406 acres) and 2B9 (200 acres), a course of action endorsed by Auckland’s Registrar: once the land had been developed, he noted, ‘we could arrange with the Lands Department to give preference to Maoris in the settlement of a reasonable number of these subdivisions or, alternatively, hand over to this Department an area equal to that sold to the Crown for settlement by Maoris.’¹⁷⁸⁷ The Crown thus acquired Punakitere 2B9, 2B8I, and 2B7P (after some small areas for owners had been excised), Auckland’s Registrar having first informed

¹⁷⁸¹ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/106/d 8/1299.

¹⁷⁸² Rehabilitation Officer, Rehabilitation Department to District Officer, Maori Affairs, Auckland 5 June 1952, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/153/b 19/15 Part 1.

¹⁷⁸³ Bassett and Kay, ‘Tai Tokerau land development schemes,’ pp.113-115.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Tony Walzl, ‘Punakitere No.2 and Kohatutaka (1865-present),’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2016. This section is based in part on pp.38-49 of that report and on the documents that it employed.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Private Secretary to Minister of Lands to Director-General, Lands and Survey 6 December 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/77 5/5/82.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Minister, Lands and Survey to Rankin 13 February 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/77 5/5/82.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 24 April 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/77 5/5/82.

owners that ‘It was understood that the Lands Department would be prepared when development was complete and areas ready for settlement to set aside areas for settlement by Maoris ... [emphasis added].’¹⁷⁸⁸

In May 1953, the Land Settlement Board approved the development of the entire area of 11,210 acres it now controlled. Reminded of the expectations held by the Department of Maori Affairs, the Department of Lands and Survey insisted that neither undertaking nor promise had been made in respect of settling Maori on the block. The scheme was to be divided into 50 dairy and six sheep units, so that on the basis specified above the Department of Maori Affairs was apparently entitled to ten dairy units and two sheep units.¹⁷⁸⁹ In November 1954, the Director-General of Lands and Survey acknowledged that, while he had been unable to locate any evidence of a commitment to make sections available to the Department of Maori Affairs for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen, ‘there appears to be at least a moral obligation. ...’ The Land Settlement Board thus reversed an earlier decision and directed that the Board of Maori Affairs should be offered seven dairy sections, a number that took into account the fact that the Department of Maori Affairs had not had to meet any roading costs.¹⁷⁹⁰ When advising the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs of the decision reached, the Director-General of Lands and Survey noted that:

In view of the fact that graded Maori ex-servicemen, including those whose grading certificates were endorsed ‘Settlement subject to supervision of Department of Maori Affairs,’ are now entitled to participate in ballots for properties formerly intended for European settlements only, the Board has asked that when the Punakitere units now offered to your Department are being disposed of [,] preference be given to these classes of graded Maori ex-servicemen.¹⁷⁹¹

That condition the Department of Maori Affairs declined to accept, wishing rather to make the farms available to those owners who had sold to the Crown: among their

¹⁷⁸⁸ Minutes of meeting of owners 21 November 1950, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 11466 A139/231/f 6194.

¹⁷⁸⁹ File note, Fields Director, Department of Lands and Survey 6 October 1954, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1178/99/b D4/291 Part 2.

¹⁷⁹⁰ ‘Land Settlement Board: commitment of sections for Maori settlement,’ in ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1178/99/b D4/291 Part 2; and Director-General, Lands and Survey to Secretary, Maori Affairs 10 November 1954, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16037 MA1/77 5/5/82.

¹⁷⁹¹ Director-General, Lands and Survey to Secretary, Maori Affairs 10 November 1954, in ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1178/99/b D4/291 Part 2.

number were four ex-servicemen who had never applied for rehabilitation grading (and who were therefore not eligible for rehabilitation assistance) but who were ‘capable trained farmers.’¹⁷⁹² In February 1955, the Department proposed that the four should be settled, and that three sections should be reserved for graded Maori ex-servicemen, a proposal that the Department of Lands and Survey decided to accept.¹⁷⁹³ Five years later, in September 1960, the Department of Lands and Survey indicated that the first of the seven dairy farms would probably be ready for settlement in 1961/1962.¹⁷⁹⁴ It appears to have been November 1981 before the other three dairy units were offered for selection, with eligible and graded ex-servicemen being accorded first preference.

11.8.3 Huramua Soldier Settlement

In October 1943, at the monthly meeting of the Kahungunu Tribal Executive Committee, A.T. Carroll offered his property for the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel. That offer was conveyed to the Rehabilitation Board, the only stipulation being that Maori veterans should be settled ‘as there is a shortage of lands for placing Maori soldiers on at the present time in this district.’¹⁷⁹⁵ The total area of the station was 2,107 acres with a valuation of £44,590. Carroll indicated that he was prepared to sell either 1,299 acres for £34,800 or 1,777 acres for £38,206. The Government chose the latter option and made an offer of £35,000 that Carroll accepted.¹⁷⁹⁶ From 1 July 1944, Huramua was used as a training farm for Maori ex-servicemen graded ‘B’ and for whom placement with private farmers could not be secured. In May 1948, the Department claimed to have realised, before the purchase of Huramua, that few, if any, Maori ex-servicemen would be graded ‘A’ for farming ‘and that many of those who would be applying for farming assistance would have insufficient knowledge to

¹⁷⁹² Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director-General, Lands and Survey 3 December 1954, in ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1178/99/b D4/291 Part 2.

¹⁷⁹³ Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director-General, Lands and Survey 10 February 1955, and Director-General, Lands and Survey to Secretary, Maori Affairs 17 February 1955, in ANZ Auckland BAAZ 1178/99/b D4/291 Part 2.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Superintendent of Land Development, Lands and Survey to District Officer, Whangarei 2 September 1960, in ANZ Auckland BBDL 1030/3057/a 18/20 Part 1.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Secretary, Kahungunu Tribal Executive Committee to Chariman, Rehabilitation Board 30 October 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/99/c 8/887.

¹⁷⁹⁶ See Investigating Officer, Treasury to Assistant Secretary, Treasury 21 March 1944, and Secretary, Treasury to Acting Minister of Finance 12 May 1944, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/405 53/96/5.

enable them to absorb much of the academic instruction' offered by Massey and Lincoln Colleges 'and that good practical instruction was required.'¹⁷⁹⁷ Some at least among Maori considered that Huramua should have been subdivided from the outset and veterans settled on it under a supervisor.¹⁷⁹⁸

By 1947 the purchase of the adjoining properties of P.A. Jessep (1,433 acres) and E.N. Knapp (364 acres) had been completed: the Rehabilitation Board pressed the Department of Native Affairs to prepare a plan for the subdivision and settlement of the entire block.¹⁷⁹⁹ By the end of 1947, the first six units had been surveyed and preparations made for a ballot in which priority was accorded, first, to Maori ex-servicemen from the Wairoa district, second, Maori ex-servicemen trained at Huramua, and, third, Maori ex-servicemen generally. Applicants would be required to appear before the Farming Sub-committee at Wairoa for 'examination and confirmation of grading, for the specific farms on the blocks.'¹⁸⁰⁰ The scheme of subdivision envisaged the creation of ten blocks ranging in size from 53 to 561 acres, with eight of the units combining dairying with the growing of asparagus.¹⁸⁰¹ By the end of March 1950, ten sections of Huramua had been balloted for and allocated, those successful being placed on wages and a probationary period of 12 months.¹⁸⁰² In June 1950 the Committee approved applications for loans from the five men who had succeeded in the June 1948 ballot and who had since worked on wages. Further, each secured a renewable lease of his section.¹⁸⁰³ For five sections, charges were fixed in 1951.¹⁸⁰⁴

By 1955, two of the settlers had relinquished their holdings and the sections were again offered for ballot. No-one from the priority group applied, while inquiries made

¹⁷⁹⁷ See 'Huramua Soldier Settlement,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 28 May 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 3.

¹⁷⁹⁸ See, for example, 'Report of Meeting between Under Secretary and members of Wairoa Maori Leaders at Wairoa on 2 June 1945,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/99/c 8/887.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Assistant Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 24 January 1947, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/99/c 8/887.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 28 May 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 1607 MA43 3.

¹⁸⁰¹ It appears that, some opposition from Wairoa residents notwithstanding, Messrs Swift NZ Limited had been granted a licence to establish a canning factory in the district.

¹⁸⁰² AJHR 1950, H18, p.17.

¹⁸⁰³ 'Huramua Soldier Settlement. Applications for Farming Loans,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 30 June 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4.

¹⁸⁰⁴ 'Huramua Soldier Settlement - Fixing of Charges,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 16 December 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4.

by District Officers elsewhere in the country failed to locate, with one exception (who then failed to apply) any eligible men willing to settle on Huramua. The reason was given as the unwillingness of Maori to settle away from their own tribal affiliations. The Department of Maori Affairs concluded that ‘To date it appears that we have exhausted the supply of men with local affiliation qualifications and further, that other eligible Maori ex-servicemen do not want settlement on Huramua.’ It thus raised the possibility of allowing eligible Pakeha ex-servicemen to apply.¹⁸⁰⁵ In August 1955, the Rehabilitation Board decided that it would be unwise to settle a Pakeha ex-serviceman on Huramua, and that an effort should be made to locate Maori ex-servicemen not eligible for rehabilitation farm assistance for settlement ‘on civilian terms’¹⁸⁰⁶

11.8.4 Hereheretau Station

In February 1948, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided to seek a special valuation of Hereheretau Station and advice on its potential for subdivision. The capital valuation, as at 19 April 1948, was given as £23,403, while subdivision into three units was proposed.¹⁸⁰⁷ In September 1948, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee approved the purchase of the Maori Trustee’s interest in the lease of the station and decided that applications for settlement should be called, those successful to be placed on wages with a promise of settlement. The first question to be resolved was whether the Maori Trustee had power to sell his interest: one legal opinion was that a perusal of the rules of the Maori Soldiers’ Fund Council, the War Funds Act 1915, and other relevant legislation indicated that the Maori Trustee did not have the requisite power. It was suggested that the difficulty might be overcome by invoking section 2(2) of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Amendment Act 1948: it provided that Crown land held under lease or licence could be taken for the settlement of discharged servicemen. According to Ngata, at the time of the establishment of the East Coast Maori Soldiers’ Fund, the Committee of Management

¹⁸⁰⁵ See ‘Huramua Farm Settlement,’ paper prepared for the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board 4 August 1955, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/11 11.

¹⁸⁰⁶ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/100/a 8/887.

¹⁸⁰⁷ ‘Hereheretau Station,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 25 July 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 3.

gave no undertaking to settle men from any specific district on the block. The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee thus resolved, in February 1949, that the interest of the Maori Trustee should be acquired 'by the most suitable means.'¹⁸⁰⁸

In December 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee noted that, according to the Director of Maori Land Settlement, the station as it stood constituted an economic proposition for three settlers on a partnership basis 'under budgetary control' and that the three Maori ex-servicemen occupying the property should be informed accordingly. It thus recommended purchase of the Maori Trustee's leasehold interest for £16,374 and the purchase of a freehold area from the Department of Lands and Survey for £6,669, the preparation of a deed of partnership for the three settlers, and the grant of a lease.¹⁸⁰⁹ In April 1950, the three-man partnership was granted rehabilitation financial assistance.¹⁸¹⁰ The partnership did not endure and the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided to rescind its decisions relating to the acquisition of Hereheretau Station (that is, 3,838 acres from the Maori Trustee) for rehabilitation purposes.¹⁸¹¹

In October 1951 the two farming members of the Wairoa Farming Sub-committee resigned: they advanced various reasons, but precipitating their decision appears to have been the decision not to settle Hereheretau Station. 'It is distressing to see,' they noted, 'promising young Maoris complete their farm training at Huramua or elsewhere and then find there is no land for them.'¹⁸¹²

¹⁸⁰⁸ See 'Hereheretau Station,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 2 February 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 3.

¹⁸⁰⁹ 'Hereheretau Station,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 16 December 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4.

¹⁸¹⁰ 'Application for Advance for Settlement of Ex-Servicemen. Hereheretau Station,' paper attached to Minutes, Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 28 April 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16078 MA43 4.

¹⁸¹¹ 'Hereheretau Station,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 23 February 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4. See also 'Hereheretau Station,' Further details of this scheme can be found in 'Hereheretau Station,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 1 June 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4.

¹⁸¹² D.H. Robertson and G.W. Powdrell. Wairoa to Director, Rehabilitation 20 October 1951, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/100/a 8/887.

11.8.5 V.C. Miller's Property

The Crown acquired this 752-acre block at Waimana from V.C. Miller, at a cost of £11,100 for the land and £4,949 for the stock and chattels, under section 51 of the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 with a view to its subdivision into three dairy units.¹⁸¹³ The cost of purchase, improvements, stock and chattels was estimated at just over £21,033.¹⁸¹⁴ Those selected would also have to accept employment on wages in the first instance, and demonstrate their ability to farm. Once development had been completed, the sections would be valued on a 'productive basis' and charges fixed accordingly.¹⁸¹⁵ The Waimana Tribal Executive Committee was anxious to secure the land for the settlement of their returned men, there being available no tribal land in the locality – but anxious to have their men settled where the iwi could assist.¹⁸¹⁶ In December 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided that 396 acres of this property, being the unallocated balance of 752 acres acquired, could be subdivided into three units provided that an additional 35 acres were acquired. It also decided that applications should be called from 'A' grade men of Tuhoe resident in the Waiariki district.¹⁸¹⁷

11.8.6 Rotoiti 3M and 3T

In 1913 the Maori owners of Rotoiti 3M (998 acres) and 3T (582 acres) leased the blocks to Hilda Violeta Lichenstein (wife of Auckland merchant Max Lichenstein) for 50 years at 1s per acre per annum.¹⁸¹⁸ In 1917 she endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to purchase the land, while, in 1923, Isabella Arnoldson sought to acquire the lessors' interest in Rotoiti 3M, the owners unanimously rejecting the offer. In 1929 Hilda Lichenstein, acting on behalf of herself and Arnoldson, again sought, unsuccessfully, to purchase the blocks. In 1945, Lichenstein and Arnoldson offered the blocks to the

¹⁸¹³ Section 21, Block IV, Waimana Survey District.

¹⁸¹⁴ See 'V.C. Miller's property at Waimana,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 5 July 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1.

¹⁸¹⁵ 'V.C. Miller's property at Waimana,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 5 July 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 1.

¹⁸¹⁶ Maori Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua to Director, Rehabilitation 17 July 1944, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/130/f 10/8.

¹⁸¹⁷ 'V.C. Miller's Property, Waimana – Balance Area,' paper attached to Minutes, Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 16 December 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4.

¹⁸¹⁸ The following account is based upon ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Parts 1 and 2, and ACIH 16036 MA1/70/764 Parts 3 to 5.

Crown, but the Land Settlement Board declined the offer on account of the leasehold tenure.

The Board of Native Affairs then decided to try to acquire the blocks and offered the owners £3,285 for Rotoiti 3M and £2,855 for Rotoiti 3T, the sums in each representing the capital value of their interests. The purchase was made conditional upon the Crown's also securing the interests of the lessee. The owners agreed to sell, subject to several conditions, namely: that the land was used for the rehabilitation of servicemen of their own iwi; that the owners would nominate those to be settled; that the owners would have the right to nominate a successor in the event that any settler should prove unsatisfactory; that those settled would have the right, 'when proved satisfactory,' to the freehold; and that a Maori would be appointed supervisor during the development stages. In the case of Rotoiti 3M, the owners agreed to sell, although only a small number attended the meeting of assembled owners, while those of Rotoiti 3T declined the Crown's offer. A record of the meeting of the owners of the latter block, held on 31 October 1945, indicated that owners were dissatisfied with the form in which the Crown had presented its resolution and were concerned that, should they agree to sell without their conditions being embodied in that resolution, they would not be respected. The vote was .360 shares in favour of selling and 115.90 against (total shares numbered 638.5).

The Department of Native Affairs declined to accept any conditions although it was prepared to offer an assurance that purchase would be for the purpose of rehabilitation 'and if practicable [the] area will be reserved for "A" grade N'Pikiao. No further promises can be given.' During the confirmation hearing on 7 May 1946, H.R. Vercoe indicated that the owners had agreed to waive all the conditions with the exception of that requiring that the land be employed to settle their soldier relatives.¹⁸¹⁹ Rotoiti 3M was proclaimed Crown land on 1 June 1948.¹⁸²⁰ The owners' were paid £3,983 for their interests. For Rotoiti 3T another meeting of owners was held on 19 July 1946 when a resolution to sell was carried by 290.25027 against 5.02729 shares. Hone Heke Rankin of the Rehabilitation Board attended that meeting and made it clear, if

¹⁸¹⁹ Native Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book 95/63.

¹⁸²⁰ 'Proclaiming Maori land to be vested in His Majesty the King,' *New Zealand Gazette* 33, 10 June 1948, p.705.

sold to the Crown, the land would remain ‘classed as Native land and only Maori Soldier owners will be settled on it.’ Baker subsequently advised the Under Secretary of Native Affairs of the assurance that Rankin had offered. Judge Harvey then raised three matters that required resolution, namely, with respect to ‘other lands,’ that most of the owners were short of the standard required, that is, 50 acres; the adequacy of consideration; and whether it was in the interest of the owners to sell. One further question was raised, whether Rankin’s assurance that the block would remain Maori land was in fact accurate. Complicating matters still further was the declared intention of Lichenstein Arnoldson and Coy to withdraw the property from sale should matters not be finalised by the end of June 1947.

The resolution to sell Rotoiti 3T was before the Native Land Court on 20 June 1947 when Judge Harvey confirmed the resolution subject to the price being increased to £2,975: even then Harvey indicated that the owners were making ‘a financial sacrifice ...’ insofar as by enforcing the lease they would on expiry in 16 years become the possessors of a property greatly exceeding in value any return available by investing the purchase monies in some alternative option. Harvey recorded that the owners were not selling for the money but transferring the lands as part of Ngati Pikiao’s campaign to assist in the rehabilitation of its returning servicemen. He thus consented, while ‘leaving the question of completion of the matter to the conscience of the Crown.’¹⁸²¹

The matter did not end there. In August 1947 the Under Secretary of Native Affairs returned the Court’s recommendation with a request that it incorporate an assurance that the alienors were able to maintain themselves and that the transaction was not contrary to the public interest. The Court simply affirmed its belief that the proposed sale was not contrary to the public interest, but the matter of ‘other lands’ posed some difficulties.¹⁸²² Eleven owners were found to have sufficient other lands and two were able to support themselves by their own means and labour. The circumstances of the remaining 80 were referred to the Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs. Further, Lichenstein and Arnoldson demanded £24,000 for their interests in Rotoiti Station, that is, 1,867 acres of freehold and leasehold interests in 1,578 acres (Rotoiti 3M and 3T). The Crown’s counter-offer of £23,000 was accepted, and

¹⁸²¹ Native Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book 96/24.

¹⁸²² Native Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book 96/143-145.

purchase was completed. How the small interests of the remaining 80 owners were dealt with was not established, although affidavits presented to the Court indicated that many were ‘permanently’ employed or engaged ‘consistently’ in causal labouring, or drew on welfare entitlements, and had homes of their own: that appears to have been sufficient for the Crown to set aside any concerns over ‘insufficient lands.’

In July 1949, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee resolved to approve the plan for subdivision into four units as adopted by the Rotorua Farming Subcommittee, and to offer the sections once development was complete to eligible ‘A’ grade ex-servicemen of Ngati Pikiāo. Should too few apply, the sections would be offered to ‘A’ grade men of Te Arawa. It also decided that as far as possible Maori ex-servicemen of Ngati Pikiāo be employed on the block during the development period.¹⁸²³ Vercoe led a determined effort to try to ensure that the occupants of the units were either former owners of Rotoiti 3 or acceptable to them. It appears that while four Ngati Pikiāo veterans with ‘A’ gradings were available, the Rotorua Rehabilitation Farm Sub-Committee offered employment on the station (with a view to settlement) to an alternative four, three of whom had ‘C’ gradings. The Registrar reported that ‘The names available for selection from the descendants of the original owners and the persons who have Pikiāo blood ... [had been] strictly limited,’ and that none of the descendants had ‘A’ gradings.¹⁸²⁴ Nevertheless, the three ‘C’ graded, along with one ‘A’ graded man, were selected: the former three were not entitled to rehabilitation assistance. Loveridge recorded that two of the three ‘C’ graded men proved to be ‘ineligible for settlement on the block,’ but did not specify the nature of their ineligibility.¹⁸²⁵ In 1950, as the selection of permanent settlers neared, Vercoe continued to insist that settlement should be restricted to the Ngati Pikiāo descendants of the original owners of the lands involved, rather than to Ngati Pikiāo as a whole. As the secretary of the Ngati Pikiāo West Tribal Executive Committee expressed it: ‘If the true interpretation [of Ngati Pikiāo] is not made clear it would be a direct penalty on those people who sold their land for the purpose of settling their own

¹⁸²³ ‘Lichenstein & Arnoldson’s Property,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 16 December 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4.

¹⁸²⁴ Registrar to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 12 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69 5/5/32 Part 2, cited in Loveridge, “‘The most valuable lands,’” p.256.

¹⁸²⁵ Loveridge, “‘The most valuable lands,’” p.257.

Returned Servicemen on the land.’¹⁸²⁶ The Rehabilitation Department stood its ground, claiming that ‘Ngati Pikiao’ referred to all those who claimed descendancy and that skill was the key criterion for selection. A ballot was conducted in February 1952: three of the men then working on the land were successful, but not the one actual owner: the latter succeeded in a ballot held in April 1952. Loveridge noted that the men backed by the owners were successful.¹⁸²⁷

11.8.7 Tautoro Development Scheme

In May 1948, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee asked the Board of Maori Affairs to make this 1,607-acre scheme available for rehabilitation purposes, a request to which the Board agreed. The block had been taken over originally by the Department of Maori Affairs in connection with the consolidation of the Motatau lands but had remained idle. In June 1948, the Board of Maori Affairs decided that it should be made available for the settlement of Maori veterans. A few months later, in November 1948, Auckland’s Registrar suggested that there were no Maori ex-servicemen in Northland suitable for farming mixed sheep and cattle units ‘and furthermore, the capital indebtedness would be more than the average Maori could possibly handle.’¹⁸²⁸ That was a view with which Kaikohe’s Field Supervisor agreed, suggesting that the block should not be subdivided but offered to a partnership of two ‘very experienced’ Pakeha ex-servicemen.¹⁸²⁹ In January 1949, Auckland’s Registrar suggested that the Department of Lands and Survey take over the property.¹⁸³⁰ That suggestion was adopted by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee a few weeks later, at the same time proposing that the Department of Lands and Survey make available ‘land of equivalent value and deemed to be more suitable for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen.’ The Land Settlement Board agreed to take the block but

¹⁸²⁶ Secretary, Ngati Pikiao West Tribal Executive Committee to Rehabilitation Officer, Rotorua 2 October 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/69/764 5/5/32 Part 2, cited in Loveridge, “‘The most valuable lands,’” p.258.

¹⁸²⁷ Registrar to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 15 April 1952, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/70 5/5/32 Part 3, cited in Loveridge, “‘The most valuable lands,’” p.259.

¹⁸²⁸ Registrar, Auckland to Field Supervisor, Kaikohe 24 November 1948, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/509a 18/13 Part 3.

¹⁸²⁹ Field Supervisor, Kaikohe to Registrar, Auckland 11 January 1949, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/509a 18/13 Part 3.

¹⁸³⁰ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 17 January 1949, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/509/a 18/13 Part 3.

claimed not to have any land that it could offer by way of exchange. The matter was deferred.¹⁸³¹

In February 1951, the Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs again raised the prospect of settling two named Maori ex-servicemen, both graded 'A' for sheep and/or dairy in Northland.¹⁸³² The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee declined to approve any such settlement, and decided that, subject to the consent of the Board of Maori Affairs, Tautoro should be divided into two units and offered for selection by ballot to both Maori and Pakeha ex-service men, although the former were to have preference should they meet the requirements in respect of grading and cash contribution. Those decisions were conveyed to the Rehabilitation Department in September 1951.¹⁸³³ Towards the end of that year, the Department of Maori Affairs again raised with the Department of Lands and Survey the possibility of an exchange of land.¹⁸³⁴ Aware of some opposition within the Land Settlement Board to any such exchange, in May 1952 the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee decided to rescind its earlier decision regarding the calling of applications with preference to Maori ex-servicemen and to call for applications from eligible Maori veterans only. In 1952, two veterans were settled on the block.¹⁸³⁵

11.8.8 Touwai

In October 1950, the Whangaroa Returned Services' Association at Kaeo reported that 'In this district a large number of Maori ex-servicemen have been waiting for a number of years to take up farming, but are unable to get farms,' although large blocks were available.¹⁸³⁶ The Association was informed that steps were being taken

¹⁸³¹ See 'Tautoro Development Scheme,' paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 25 February 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 3. See also ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/509/a 18/13 Part 3.

¹⁸³² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Auckland 16 February 1951, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/509a 18/13 Part 3.

¹⁸³³ Registrar, Auckland to Rehabilitation Officer, Whangarei 14 September 1951, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/509/a 18/13 Part 3.

¹⁸³⁴ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director-General, Lands and Survey 12 December 1951, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/509/a 18/13 Part 3.

¹⁸³⁵ Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau land development schemes,' pp.497-506.

¹⁸³⁶ General Secretary, Returned Services' Association to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 24 October 1950, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/377/a 21/18 Part 1. See Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,' Documents, Volume 4, p.1870.

to ascertain the potential for development and settlement of the Touwai and Mahimahi blocks, the only ones in Whangaroa Country, according to the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs, 'which are worthy of consideration for the ultimate settlement of Maori ex-servicemen.'¹⁸³⁷ Touwai 30A, 30B, and 30C (a total of 543 acres) were identified as suitable, especially if combined with an adjacent (and idle) Crown block of 236 acres. While the Crown was clearly interested in purchasing the land, the owners, it was reported, were unlikely to agree unless members of their whanau were considered as prospective settlers. A meeting of owners, held on 16 December 1952, agreed to the land being brought under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936.¹⁸³⁸ The paper submitted to Cabinet made no reference to ex-servicemen, recording only that the block should be subdivided when the Department of Maori Affairs was satisfied that there were 'trained and capable men available as settlers.'¹⁸³⁹ On the other hand, the Department's Inspecting Accountant recorded that the owners had agreed to the development of the land and its settlement either by themselves or by Maori returned servicemen.¹⁸⁴⁰ At that stage, 1954, it was intended to subdivide the block into five dairy farms: that number was reduced to four in 1956. It was also in 1956 that the Crown proposed purchasing the scheme: each owner's shares in 30BA were evidently 'uneconomic,' all but five of the 20 owners of Touwai B30B held uneconomic shares, and 96 of 98 shares in Touwai B30C were also uneconomic. Following the approval of the Board of Maori Affairs, the Crown acquired B30A and B30C through meetings of owners held in 1957, while the Maori Trustee acquired the majority of shares in B30B through conversion and live buying.¹⁸⁴¹ In 1964, three farmers were placed upon the block, but all reference to the settlement of Maori ex-service personnel had long since ceased.

¹⁸³⁷ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to General Secretary, Returned Services' Association 11 December 1950, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/377/a 21/18 Part 1. See Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,' Documents, Volume 4, p.1869.

¹⁸³⁸ 'Meeting of owners,' in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/377/a 21/18 Part 1. See Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,' Documents, Volume 4, pp.1856-1857.

¹⁸³⁹ ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/377/a 21/18 Part 1. See Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,' Documents, Volume 4, pp.1858.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Inspecting Accountant to Chief Accountant, c.June 1954, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/377/b 21/18 Part 2. See Bassett and Kay, 'Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,' Documents, Volume 4, p.1908.

¹⁸⁴¹ On 18 September 1958, the Maori Land Court issued an order under section 447 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 appointing the Maori Trustee as agent for the remaining owner, efforts to trace him having failed. Maori Land Court, Northern Minute Book 85/361-363.

11.8.9 The Te Kuiti Base Farm

The 618-acre Te Kuiti Base Farm was acquired in 1930 by the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board.¹⁸⁴² By section 4 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, the farm was brought under the control of the Department of Native Affairs and employed as part of the Maniapoto Land Development Scheme. The Department made what were termed ‘strenuous endeavours to prevail upon the [Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land] Board to offer the property’ to the Crown. In the face of the Board’s reluctance to sell the property, the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, in September 1949, recommended that the Minister of Maori Affairs apply the provisions of Part II of the Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943 ‘provided the provisions of the said Part II are operative in respect of land owned by a Maori Land Board.’¹⁸⁴³ Given that the land was ‘European’ land and owned by the Board, the powers of acquisition under the Act did apply, but again the Board was asked to consider selling voluntarily. It was asked to note that nine ‘A’ grade ex-servicemen in the Te Kuiti Rehabilitation District were awaiting settlement. As an alternative, the Board was asked to consider the possibility of the farm being used as place for training Maori farmers.¹⁸⁴⁴ Purchase was in fact completed in 1951: the Crown paid £10,695 for the land and £9,952 for the stock. In November 1951 the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee noted that there were ‘no suitably graded Ex-Servicemen available in the King Country area and one only ... in South Auckland.’¹⁸⁴⁵ In September 1952, two Maori ex-servicemen were settled on two units formerly part of the Te Kuiti Base Farm.

11.8.10 Moturuna

In 1951, the Crown acquired 653 acres of Te Karae 4 Pt from its Pakeha owner for £6,537 with a view to creating three economic dairy units for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. The block was gazetted, under Part I of the Native Land Amendment

¹⁸⁴² The background is set out in Hearn, ‘Land titles,’ pp.235-237.

¹⁸⁴³ ‘Te Kuiti Base Farm – application of provisions of Part II of Servicemen’s Settlement and Land Sales Act, 1943’ paper attached to Minutes of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee 30 September 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43 4. See also AAMK 869 W3074 1030d 32/1/6 Part 2.

¹⁸⁴⁴ ANZ Wellington MA 43 4.

¹⁸⁴⁵ ANZ Wellington MA 43 5.

Act 1936 as the Moturuna Development Scheme.¹⁸⁴⁶ Since the land involved was Crown land, the settlers would qualify for rehabilitation assistance. In 1953, the Director of Maori Land Settlement expressed doubt over the proposed subdivision, and observed that ‘If it were not for the pressure of the fullest utilisation of the land and the number of ex-servicemen graded for dairying in the North, this block would have made a good single unit proposition ...’¹⁸⁴⁷ The block was divided into one dairy (130 acres) and one sheep and cattle (523 acres) units. Two veterans were settled on the scheme, the manager taking over the sheep and cattle unit in 1956: after just two years in occupation he left. The Department of Maori Affairs recorded that ‘all eligible Maori ex-servicemen who have been graded for sheep farming had been settled,’ and thus considered offering the holding to a Maori civilian settler or transferring it to the Department of Lands and Survey for sale or lease.¹⁸⁴⁸ The second course was adopted, in 1959, leaving the Department of Maori Affairs with a loss of £13,478. The 510-acre farm was released from Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 in 1961, 23 acres being allocated to the Maori ex-servicemen occupying the dairy unit and the balance being disposed of by the Department of Lands and Survey.¹⁸⁴⁹

¹⁸⁴⁶ See Bassett and Kay, ‘Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,’ pp.280-285.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Director of Maori Land Settlement to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs, n.d. in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/154/d 19/16 Part 1.

¹⁸⁴⁸ District Officer, March 1961, in ANZ Auckland BAAI 1030/154/e 19/16 Part 2, cited in Bassett and Kay, p.283.

¹⁸⁴⁹ See Bassett and Kay, ‘Tai Tokerau Maori land development schemes,’ pp.280-285.

shares and excise them in the form of farms for themselves and in some cases soldier sons, any effort to purchase ‘on a face’ would not succeed. ‘On the other hand,’ he noted, ‘there are individual cases for Rehabilitation farm assistance arising out of progress made in Court with consolidation and partition activities.’ He also noted that while a good deal had been done to simplify land titles, many further exchanges were required.¹⁸⁵¹ Baker was informed that purchase, in whole or in part, was not considered advisable.¹⁸⁵² The Director of Rehabilitation nevertheless sought an assurance that where owners were prepared to sell the Department of Native Affairs would seek to acquire the land in question.¹⁸⁵³

A report prepared in June 1951 considered nine subdivisions of Whangaroa Ngaiotonga 4, a total area of 1,255 acres, or about 20 per cent of the area in the locality considered ‘suitable and available for large scale development ...’ Ten units, it was suggested, could be settled on ‘economic holdings.’ The report recorded that the area had been ‘favourably reported on’ by the chairman of the Land Purchasing Board on behalf of the Rehabilitation Board and that he had pronounced it as ‘most suitable for the settling of Maori Exservicemen.’ According to the report, the people of Whangaruru had agreed to gift the land for that purpose.¹⁸⁵⁴ A larger scheme was established but it ended in failure for reasons that ranged from a failure to conduct a careful appraisal of the capacity of the land to support intensive development and settlement to overly optimistic assumptions regarding development costs and trading returns.¹⁸⁵⁵ The scheme was finally returned to the Whangaroa Ngaiotonga Trust in 1989.

Table 11.7 summarises the area under development, the number of units that it was expected to support, and the approximate date of availability. Most of the predicted 43 units would not be ready for selection until 1955, although it would be 1958 before

¹⁸⁵¹ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 12 June 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

¹⁸⁵² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 20 June 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

¹⁸⁵³ Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 2 July 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/640 32/3/1.

¹⁸⁵⁴ A copy of the report can be found in ANZ Auckland BBDL 1030/2487/a 18/14 Part 1. Cited in T.J. Hearn, ‘Local study: Tuparehuia, Otara, Oteaka, and Whangaruru-Whakaturia,’ commissioned research report, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2016, pp.133-134.

¹⁸⁵⁵ The history of the scheme is set out in Hearn, ‘Local study,’ Chapters 4 and 5.

the 11 units of the Whangamata Development Scheme would be available. In addition to those 43 units, commitments were in place in respect of a further 16: these involved the blocks and units occupied by veterans with a promise of title. Of those 16, five were located in the Ninihi settlement and a further five in Huramua.¹⁸⁵⁶

Table 11.7: Blocks under development and availability for settlement by Maori ex-service personnel, as at 28 February 1953

Property	Location	Acres	Units	Settlement complete by
Maungataniwha	Kaitaia	117	1	1955
Ruataniwha DS	Kaikohe	227	1	1954
Moturuna DS	Kohukohu	653	1	1955
Nukuroa DS	Topuni	550	5	1955
Whangamata DS	Waihi	1200	11	1958
Hangatiki Base Farm	Te Kuiti	595	2	1955
Mamakumara Soldier Settm.	Te Awamutu	1090	4	1955
Maungarangi DS	Tauranga	1743	9	
A.R. Miller's	Okareka	800	2	Uncertain
Huramua Soldier Settlement	Wairoa	1545	2	1954
Waihi-Pukawa DS	Tokaanu	2551	5	1955
Totals		11071	43	

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/644 32/8A

11.9 Settlement on the Crown development blocks

In an undated paper (but post March 1954), it was recorded that 54 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen were still awaiting settlement (nine on sheep farms and 45 on dairy farms). Of those 54, just 13 were eligible for ballots conducted by both the Department of Maori Affairs and the Department of Lands and Survey, 32 were eligible only for ballots conducted by the Department of Maori Affairs, and nine were not eligible for any ballot. On 25 March 1954, the Rehabilitation Board recorded that

From the inception of the Rehabilitation land settlement scheme [,] various assurances were given that Maori land would be made available. When the Rehabilitation Board was established continuous efforts were made to obtain

¹⁸⁵⁶ ANZ Wellington ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 1.

land from Maori owners for the settlement of their own ex-servicemen. It must be acknowledged that these efforts yielded certain results, particularly the acquisition of such blocks as the Mamakumarū in the King Country, Lichenstein and Arnoldson in the Pumice Area and Huramua on the East Coast. In addition to these and other major blocks offered [,] the contribution from small owners to enable individual settlement must be acknowledged, particularly in North Auckland. The overall contribution, however, has been quite insufficient and had it not been for the Department of Maori Affairs making available such blocks as Ninihi, Whangamata, Tautoro, and Maungarangi, Maori settlement would have been much smaller.

The position has now been reached when the limited amount of Maori land purchased by negotiation for rehabilitation purposes through the Department of Maori Affairs is either all settled or committed and the Farms Advisory Committee has found it necessary to look for other means of providing for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen.¹⁸⁵⁷

The ‘assurances’ were, presumably, those that the Department of Native Affairs had offered, assurances offered without any effort having been made to consult Maori, at least as far as could be established. Further, as noted above, the Department did not, insofar as land purchase was concerned, proactively seek out suitable properties for possible purchase. Moreover, once it had acquired blocks offered specifically for Maori rehabilitation purposes and other blocks the acquisition of which seemed unlikely to arouse public criticism, it appears to have desisted. It had taken almost some ten years before the Farms Advisory Committee and, through it, the Rehabilitation Board were prepared to acknowledge that the original decision to rely on the ‘assurances’ had been ill-judged.

The ‘other means’ cited by the Farms Advisory Committee involved settlement on Crown development blocks (controlled by the Department of Lands and Survey) from the ballots for which most Maori ex-servicemen had been excluded. Table 11.8 sets out the total number of ‘A’ grade ex-servicemen settled on Crown development blocks to the end of March 1950 and March 1960. It will be noted that both the number and the area settled practically doubled over the decade: the greatest increases were in the North Auckland and South Auckland Land Districts. As at the end of March 1960, the total number of ex-servicemen settled with rehabilitation assistance stood at 12,201, so that the 3,340 settled on Crown development blocks constituted

¹⁸⁵⁷ Settlement of Maori ‘Ex-Servicemen on the Land,’ paper attached to Minutes of the Rehabilitation Board AADK 6130/10 10. See also ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 7.

27.4 percent. In short, the Crown development blocks accounted for a significant proportion of all rehabilitation settlement.

Table 11.8: ‘A’ grade ex-servicemen settled on Crown development blocks to 31 March 1950 and 1960

Land districts	Acres: 1950	Units: 1950	Acres: 1960	Units: 1960
North Auckland	17917	126	69474	321
South Auckland	72417	467	245596	1222
Gisborne	49884	62	87533	121
Hawke’s Bay	51185	146	115098	276
Taranaki	13592	89	37257	158
Wellington	135593	301	220998	482
Marlborough	57716	56	88845	75
Nelson	1574	18	3772	23
Westland	3449	8	6841	22
Canterbury	157030	231	218229	322
Otago	75218	94	126603	163
Southland	28768	81	88186	155
Totals	664343	1679	1308432	3340

Source: AJHR 1950, C1, p.21, and 1960, C1, p.54

11.9.1 Pre-ballot screening and tagging

During 1953 and 1954, the practice of tagging the ‘A’ grade certificates issued to Maori ex-service personnel came under considerable scrutiny, Maori veterans had not only to secure ‘A’ grade certificates but also to pass what was known as a ‘pre-ballot screening.’ Details of one such screening, conducted by a special grading committee in Hamilton in May 1952, were located. The settlements concerned were Whangamata, Kopua Farm Settlement, and Te Kuiti Base Farm. Applications had been received from five veterans, all of whom held Grade ‘A’ certificates. The questioning centred on the veterans’ knowledge of modern farming methods and not, apparently, on their matters relating to financial management.

Applicant for Te Kuiti Base Farm: Age 52, graded ‘A’ for sheep store and fat sheep, and for wool and run cattle on any approved property in the Northern King Country. Assessed as not measuring up to the standard required for the block in the Te Kuiti Base Farm that he had nominated.

Applicant for Kopua: Age 29, 'A' grade, dairy, South Auckland excluding Hauraki Plains, employed by a Te Awamutu dairy farmer: approved for participation in ballot.

Applicant for Kopua: Age 42, 'A' grade, dairy, South Auckland excluding Hauraki Plains, employed a share-milker with a Cambridge dairy farmer since 1949 – assisted by Maori Affairs to purchase herd and plant (repaid all but £360 from the original loan of £1,500): approved for participation in ballot.

Applicant for Whangamata: Age 31 – graded 'A' for dairy, South Auckland excluding Hauraki Plains, employed as a labourer by the New Zealand Dairy Coy: not approved for participation in ballot.

Applicant for Whangamata: Age 29 – graded 'A' for dairy, Hoe-O-Tainui district, employed as a dairy worker: not approved for participation in ballot.¹⁸⁵⁸

Of the five 'A' grade men who appeared, just two were approved for participation in the ballots concerned. Such decisions raised doubts over whether those Maori veterans holding open 'A' gradings (that is, gradings that did not carry the tag 'subject to supervision by the Department of Maori Affairs') were in fact up to standard.

In that same month, May 1952, in a 'Note for file' dealing with the grading of Maori veterans, the Director of Rehabilitation was recorded as having criticised the practice of 'screening' A grade Maori veterans, least of all in respect of properties that appeared to present no farming difficulties. He insisted that 'there could be no justification for the Board, through its Farms Advisory Committees grading an ex-servicemen 'A' for farming and then screening him out of ballots for normal properties.' Where an 'A' graded ex-servicemen was considered not to be up to standard, then his grading should be reviewed.¹⁸⁵⁹ The Rehabilitation Board thus decided, in June 1952, that a review of the gradings of all Maori ex-servicemen graded 'A' and not settled was required with a view to eliminating any need for pre-ballot screening. The review would be conducted by the Farming Sub-committee and the Rehabilitation Department stressed the need for 'special care' to ensure that

¹⁸⁵⁸ Minutes of a special grading committee meeting, Hamilton 7 May 1952, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 34/2 Part 5.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Note for File 27 May 1952, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

representatives of the Department of Maori Affairs and the tribal committee involved were present at review meetings. Cases where the Farming Sub-committee considered the standard had not been met were to be referred to the [Rehabilitation Board's] Executive Committee for a decision over down-grading or withdrawal of grading.¹⁸⁶⁰ While it was expected that the number of 'A' grade veterans awaiting settlement would be reduced, in fact no down-gradings resulted, while the tag was removed in only a few cases.¹⁸⁶¹

11.9.2 Tagging and ballot eligibility

Attention turned from pre-ballot screening in respect of Crown lands controlled by the Department of Maori Affairs to tagging in respect of Crown lands controlled by the Department of Lands and Survey. In August 1953, the Director of Rehabilitation forwarded to the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs comments prepared by the Whangarei Farming Sub-committee regarding his department's provision of land for Maori ex-servicemen holding tagged 'A' grade certificates. It recorded

That this Committee is somewhat concerned with the problem of settling Maori ex-servicemen in Northland. There have been practically no ballots for Maori 'A' grade ex-servicemen holding a grade 'A' for dairy, [in the] N.A.L.D. [North Auckland Land District] subject to the supervision of the Department of Maori Affairs for several years and it appears that very few farms are or will become available for development by the Dept. of Maori Affairs. Many of the Maoris graded have held a grading 'A' for six or seven years. The Committee now finds, that because of the lack of ballots conducted by the Department of Maori Affairs, they are now receiving applications from Maori ex-servicemen to have the tag 'settlement subject to the supervision of the Dept. of Maori Affairs' removed so that the men can enter Pakeha ballots. The Committee recognises that it is more difficult for an 'A' grade Maori to find a farm by private treaty. The Committee, therefore, feels that more effort should be made to develop and offer Maori land for settlement so that those Maori ex-servicemen holding a grading 'A' settlement subject to the supervision of the Dept. of Maori Affairs can effect their settlement far sooner than it would appear at present they will do.¹⁸⁶²

¹⁸⁶⁰ Assistant Director, Rehabilitation Department to District Rehabilitation Officers 23 June 1952, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 5.

¹⁸⁶¹ Assistant Director, Rehabilitation, Memorandum 1952/31 (23 June 1952), in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

¹⁸⁶² In Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 19 August 1953, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

The solution offered was the familiar one, namely, that Maori veterans should be settled on land owned by Maori. The matter was referred to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and discussed at its meeting on 28 August 1953. In its submission, the Department of Maori Affairs recorded that since 1948, 20 ex-servicemen had been settled in North Auckland, ten on development schemes drawn by ballot, seven on sections acquired by applicants with rehabilitation finance, and three on sections owned by the applicants prior to assistance being granted. As at the end of July 1953, the Whangarei Rehabilitation Office had 33 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen awaiting settlement, including 27 for dairy farms and two each for sheep, mixed, and other farms. The Department noted that it was developing four blocks, namely, Maungataniwha (117 acres), Ruataniwha (227 acres), Moturuna (653 acres) and Nukuroa (550 acres): together they would, by 1955 provide eight dairy units. Further, there were four 'A' grade men working on properties with promise of settlement, two on the Oturu, one on the Ninihi, and one on the Moturuna development schemes. Whangarei's Rehabilitation Officer concluded that if the Department of Maori Affairs could not develop sufficient land, 'then consideration must be given either to making some Pakeha ballots open to Maori ex-servicemen or allowing Maoris to take part in Pakeha ballots.'¹⁸⁶³

The Department insisted that it had been aware 'for many years' of the shortage of land in Northland and had 'seized every opportunity of acquiring land for rehabilitation purposes.' The Moturuna and Nukuroa properties had been acquired within the last two years.¹⁸⁶⁴ It went on to note that in 1951, the lands comprising the Tautoro Development Scheme (1,607 acres) had been offered to the Department of Lands Department for European rehabilitation in exchange for three dairy sections at Kaiwaka, but that the Land Settlement Board, while agreeing to take over the 1,607 acres, could not enter into a commitment to provide any land in exchange. Tautoro has since been settled by two Maori ex-servicemen who held the appropriate sheep gradings.¹⁸⁶⁵

¹⁸⁶³ Rehabilitation Officer, Whangarei to Director, Rehabilitation 14 August 1953, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Moturuna occupied Te Karae 4, sections 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 14.

¹⁸⁶⁵ 'Settlement of Maori Ex-Servicemen graded 'A': Northland,' in ANZ Wellington AAMX 6095 W3430/8 26/1/139 Part 1.

In a paper presented to the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, the Department claimed that the exclusion of Maori veterans from open ballots had unfairly cast the burden of settlement upon it, that few men possessed land of their own, and that Maori owners, given that compensation for improvements had been set at a minimum of 75 per cent, were reluctant to make land available for leasing purposes. It claimed that it had 'always sought opportunities of telling Maori owners that the re-establishment of their own men on the land would be speeded up if their land were made available on tenure acceptable to the Rehabilitation Board. In view of Government policy,' it concluded, 'the Department cannot go further than this.'¹⁸⁶⁶ The Department followed the matter up, establishing that of 58 Maori veterans graded 'A' and awaiting settlement, just 14 had open gradings. It pressed for a review of all gradings, for adjustments to be made where indicated, and for an end to the practice of tagging. Assistant Secretary Ropiha concluded that 'The Maori ex-servicemen with the present restricted grading has been placed in a very disadvantageous position ...'¹⁸⁶⁷

The matter was referred to the Farms Advisory Committee: it was presented with slightly different figures, namely, that of 54 Maori veterans holding 'A' grade certificates and awaiting settlement as at 17 March 1954, 13 were eligible for all ballots, 32 were eligible for Maori land ballots, while nine were not eligible for either. The Rehabilitation Board recorded that the tag related to the ability of Maori veterans to manage their finances. In response to the claims issued by the Department of Maori Affairs, it recorded that

The Department of Maori Affairs assured this Board in the early stages that with its system of supervision by its Field Staff it could cope with this aspect (whereas other Departments could not) and it was on this basis that the special 'tagged' grading was introduced. If the Department of Maori Affairs cannot now provide this service, this Board should be advised that this is the reason why it is considered 'tagged' gradings should be reviewed. If they can provide the service then there is no reason, except insufficiency of land, why the present system should not continue.

¹⁸⁶⁶ 'Settlement of Maori Ex-Servicemen graded 'A': Northland,' in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Assistant Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 11 March 1954, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

That hardly answered the question that the Department of Maori Affairs had raised, and again suggested that ‘tagging’ was not being employed for the purpose originally envisaged but to ration a dwindling land resource.¹⁸⁶⁸ In short, where once the Department of Native Affairs had been anxious to secure responsibility for the rehabilitation of Maori ex-servicemen, and where once it had been confident that through the Maori land development programme all those seeking rehabilitation through land settlement could be accommodated, the Department of Maori Affairs now appeared to suggest that it had had to accept an obligation that the Rehabilitation Board had made it impossible for it to fulfil. The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee deferred a decision on the matter of ‘A’ grade Maori ex-servicemen awaiting settlement in Northland. Instead, it asked for up-to-date information relating to their location and land interests, and for some indication of the prospects of settlement under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1936. In November 1953 the Rehabilitation Department provided the information sought in the form of a schedule that listed all Maori ex-servicemen still waiting for settlement. Although not stated, the schedule appears to list only those holding ‘A’ grade certificates, the total number of 58 comparing well with the 59 ‘A’ grade veterans awaiting settlement as at 31 March 1954.¹⁸⁶⁹ Of those 58, 22 resided in Whangarei, 13 in Rotorua, seven each in Hamilton and Palmerston North, and the remaining nine in Auckland, Gisborne, Napier, and New Plymouth. The majority (45) had been graded for dairying. Of the 58, 37 had no interests in land, while most of the remainder possessed only small interests. Finally, all but one were described as ‘genuinely interested in settlement,’ a conclusion supported by the modest assets that most had accumulated in preparation for settlement, in one case £3,000.¹⁸⁷⁰

Although all but 12 of the men listed in the schedule were eligible for ballots, it was subsequently established that only 14 had open ‘A’ gradings.¹⁸⁷¹ The Department of Maori Affairs was of the view that the tag had been ‘the basic reason why many of our Maori ex-servicemen have proved unsatisfactory upon settlement in that the tag

¹⁸⁶⁸ ‘Matter for the consideration of the Farms Advisory Committee,’ in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/127/b 10/1.

¹⁸⁶⁹ AJHR 1954, H18, p.31.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Director, Rehabilitation to Secretary, Maori Affairs 2 November 1953, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 1636 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

¹⁸⁷¹ Assistant Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 11 March 1954, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

was appended as compensation for a lesser standard than that accepted for pakeha ex-servicemen.’ Having noted that in Northland it had just seven units for ex-servicemen up to and including 1956, it therefore proposed

That holders of the present restricted ‘A’ grade certificates should be re-examined by the Farming Sub-committees and that the certificates should be made ‘open’ or reviewed and reduced in status according to the knowledge and experience of the particular Maori ex-serviceman. In theory there should be only one standard of ‘A’ certificate for Maori or pakeha, either a man should be fully qualified, with the consequent advantage of entering the open ballots, or he should not get an ‘A’ grade certificate but this Department is prepared to concede that there may be a few Maori ex-servicemen who may not make the full grade but who could prove to be worthy of settlement. The Department is prepared to accept a tagged certificate for such men as the Department’s representative on Farming Sub-committees will vouch for. It is felt such men will be very few and the balance should either qualify for the ‘open’ certificate or have their gradings reduced.¹⁸⁷²

The Department’s Assistant Secretary went on to add that ‘The Maori ex-serviceman with the present restricted grading has been placed in a very disadvantageous position in that the tag prevents his participation in ballots for settlement on farms made available by the Farming [*sic*] Land Settlement Board.’¹⁸⁷³ Tagging had been in place for at least ten years and its consequences long since apparent. No evidence was located that, prior to 1954, the Department had raised any objections to the practice.

The Farms Advisory Committee, meeting in March 1954, recommended that Maori ex-servicemen should be permitted to participate in ballots of Crown lands reserved for ex-servicemen.¹⁸⁷⁴ In other words, the ‘A’ grade certificates awarded would no longer be tagged. The Rehabilitation Board acknowledged that the ‘Maori settlement problem’ remained and accordingly resolved that Maori ex-servicemen then holding tagged ‘A’ certificates could now apply to the Commissioner of Crown Lands to participate in ballots for sections offered specifically for the settlement of all other ‘A’ grade ex-servicemen. A veteran holding a tagged or endorsed ‘A’ grade certificate, if

¹⁸⁷² Assistant Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 11 March 1954, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

¹⁸⁷³ Assistant Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 11 March 1954, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 6.

¹⁸⁷⁴ On the question of the numbers of Maori veterans likely to be affected by the change, see Assistant Director, Rehabilitation, Circular Memorandum 1954/69; and Director-General, Lands and Survey to Commissioners of Crown Lands 12 May 1954, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/0.

successful in a ballot, would be financed by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee rather than by the Rehabilitation Loans Committee.¹⁸⁷⁵ The Board noted that unless veterans took advantage of the new policy, ‘it will not be possible to satisfy all applications held for many years to come owing to the limited amount of Maori land available.’¹⁸⁷⁶ The matter was discussed briefly by the Land Settlement Board in May 1954: it was advised that it was not required to approve of any change in the eligibility of Maori veterans, but rather that ‘The administrative action rested largely with the Rehabilitation Department and on the men’s grading certificates being amended as required they would automatically be entitled to participate in ballots.’¹⁸⁷⁷ The change in policy was implemented immediately.¹⁸⁷⁸ For its part, the Department of Maori Affairs encouraged eligible Maori ex-servicemen to take advantage of what appeared to be increased opportunities for settlement. It is not entirely clear what applying for permission to participate entailed. Whether permission was granted as a matter of course or whether veterans were required still to satisfy some additional criteria is not certain.

There was one other aspect of grading that merits comment. Whereas previously Maori ex-servicemen had not been graded for any particular district, under this new arrangement they were only permitted to enter ballots within their local Maori Land Court District, that is, unless they had been graded for some other district or had extensions to their gradings approved.¹⁸⁷⁹ The implications of that restriction are not immediately clear, but it seems entirely possible that it served to limit the settlement prospects for at least some Maori veterans. Those Maori veterans who were successful in any ballot would be transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs under the control of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. Had such transfer

¹⁸⁷⁵ Assistant Director, Rehabilitation, Circular Memorandum 1954/69; and Director-General, Lands and Survey to Commissioners of Crown Lands 12 May 1954, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/0.

¹⁸⁷⁶ ANZ Wellington AADK 6133/10 10.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Minutes of the Land Settlement Board 5 May 1954, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/36/b 8/1/35 Part 1.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Assistant Director, Rehabilitation Department, Memorandum 1954/69, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/27 32/1 Part 7.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Secretary, Maori Affairs to Manual Holders 10 June 1954, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/42 32/4 Part 7. See also AAMA W4320/62 3/769. The Rehabilitation Board encouraged graded ex-servicemen to extend their gradings to those districts in which major development work was, by the early 1950s, being undertaken, notably Northland, South Auckland (‘Pumice Area’), and Te Rohe Potae. See Rehabilitation Department, Circular memorandum 1952/51, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/41 32/4 Part 5. A number of Maori ex-servicemen did apply for such extensions. See, for example, ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/644 32/8A Part 2.

been considered at the outset, Maori veterans presumably could have participated in Crown ballots from the implementation of the rehabilitation settlement programme. Whether the abolition of tagging in fact resulted in Maori veterans acquiring land in Crown schemes was not established.

11.10 Land titles, lapsed gradings and rehabilitation finance

An appreciable number of veterans, a total of 1,137, including 89 Maori veterans under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, by the end of March 1956, were classified as ‘Settled without rehabilitation loans assistance.’ In April 1952 the Rehabilitation Board’s Executive Committee considered the position of that group of ex-servicemen: of concern was the fact that they had not been invited to apply for the new limited-life grading certificate and that therefore their gradings were considered to have lapsed. Although applications for reinstatement had otherwise closed at the end of March 1951, the Board decided to advise those men that they had three months from the date of such advice to submit applications. It was the Board’s expectation that Maori ex-servicemen involved would be advised by the Department of Maori Affairs of that opportunity and thus the possibility of securing rehabilitation finance. The Department of Maori Affairs appears not to have taken any action in the matter. The Deputy Director of Rehabilitation (L.P. Turner) asserted, over four years later, that, by means of undated memorandum, the Department of Maori Affairs had been advised and that it had been suggested that it contact the Maori ex-servicemen affected. Turner indicated that ‘Though it is not clear from my records, it does seem that action to notify Maori ex-servicemen of the Board’s decision was not completed [by whom he did not say] and consequently those men were not given the opportunity to apply for grading in terms of the Executive Committee decision of 23.4.1952.’¹⁸⁸⁰

When it met on 29 November 1956, the Rehabilitation Board decided that reinstatement applications from three men who had secured the freehold raised the

¹⁸⁸⁰ Deputy Director, Rehabilitation to Secretary, Maori Affairs 18 October 1956, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/1.

whole question of re-admission of all Maori ex-servicemen whose gradings may have lapsed. The Board classified them into three groups:

Group 1: This group included 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen settled by the Board of Maori Affairs prior to 1 January 1951: they were estimated to number 20, including the three who had applied for readmission or re-instatement. The applications were to enable them to re-finance at rehabilitation rates. The Board noted that these men should have been afforded the opportunity of applying in 1952 but had been 'overlooked.'

Group 2: Group 2 included 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen who had failed to renew their grading certificates as at 1 January 1951 and who had since been settled by the Board of Maori Affairs. Under existing policy, they could not be re-instated.

Group 3: The third group included 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen who did renew their 'A' grade certificates at 1 January 1951 and who had since been settled by the Board of Maori Affairs.

The Board took the opportunity to re-state its wider policy for the settlement of Maori ex-servicemen. Thus it noted that

It could be held that Maori ex-servicemen are in a somewhat different position. As a general policy the Board has agreed that, while Maori ex-servicemen are entitled to share in all the resources available to the Board, as far as possible their settlement on the land should be achieved by the utilisation of Maori Land. This policy has been generally followed up till recent years when the Board of Maori Affairs advised that the Maori land that had been set aside had been settled and that Crown land should be made available to Maori ex-servicemen. Because of the peculiar difficulties involved in Maori land titles it is frequently necessary for the occupier to accept a title not acceptable to the Rehabilitation Board; while negotiating with the owners for a satisfactory title – this may take some years. Consequently while these men, who have been settled by the Board of Maori Affairs, are actively negotiating for a title, the operation of the deadline for disposal and settlement elsewhere if Board decision of 23.2.56 is applied works to their disadvantage and eventually to the disadvantage of the Board in its land settlement problem ... provided the property concerned is an economic proposition at the time of settlement or has a potential to [be] an economic

unit, and provided the ex-serviceman is the holder of a current 'A' grade certificate at the time of settlement, it would appear fair and reasonable to accept the proposition as a rehabilitation measure if and when the ex-servicemen acquires an acceptable title. This would perhaps mean the reinstatement of some gradings which have already been cancelled ... Although the readmission of cancelled gradings is contrary to Board policy in general [,] it is considered that in the particular circumstances of these men, an exception could be made without involving the Board in any major re-opening of applications. It is emphasized also that no land problem is involved. Those men who have already acquired or in the future acquire properties which are not up to the standard required by the Board as rehabilitation propositions will still be dealt with in line with the policy requiring disposal by a fixed date [31 July 1957] if settlement assistance from the Board is desired.¹⁸⁸¹

The Rehabilitation Board thus resolved, first, that those Maori ex-servicemen who had not been advised to apply for new limited term certificates be advised to apply and that the Executive Committee should admit or decline any application received up to 31 July 1957; and, second, that those Maori ex-servicemen who had been classified as settled by the Board of Maori Affairs at 31 December 1950 and not advised to renew their grading certificates, those who did renew their certificates and had since been settled by the Board of Maori Affairs, and those who might be so settled, and who had or might be settled on properties unacceptable to the Rehabilitation 'solely because of defective title,' be admitted as eligible for re-finance at rehabilitation rates if and when they secured a satisfactory title. Three provisos were proposed: first, that the serviceman held a current 'A' grade certificate at the date of settlement, that the property on which he was settled was suitable for the rehabilitation of Maori servicemen, and that rehabilitation finance was still available at the time an application was made. Any re-financing would date from the moment an acceptable title had been secured.¹⁸⁸²

How many Maori ex-servicemen benefited as a result of these decisions was not established.

¹⁸⁸¹ 'Matter for consideration by the Rehabilitation Board,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/1. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW23490/41 32/4 Part 8.

¹⁸⁸² 'Matter for consideration by the Rehabilitation Board,' in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/1. See also *War history of rehabilitation in New Zealand, 1939 to 1965*. Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965, pp.180-181.

11.11 Settlement on land development schemes

It was noted above that, by the end of March 1953, the Department of Maori Affairs had settled 89 Maori veterans under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 (Part XXIV, Maori Affairs Act 1953) and that, if the Rehabilitation Board's data were accurate, remained the maximum number. The reinvigorated Maori land development programme announced in 1949 appears not to have yielded one of the results sought. The funds allocated had allowed – up to 1956 – the Department of Maori Affairs to develop annually just 10,500 acres, far short of the originally projected 20,000 acres per annum over ten years.¹⁸⁸³ In the year ended 31 March 1954, for example, no new areas were brought under Part XXIV at all.¹⁸⁸⁴ In short, the development of 200,000 acres over ten years and the creation of 1,000 economic units proved to be overly ambitious targets. Two measures indicated the slow rate of development and settlement. First, the area grassed over the period from 1954 to 1959 was 58,500 acres, an average of 9,750 acres per annum, while of the total area, 53,200 acres were located on development stations. Second, the number of new 'settlers' over the period from 1950 to 1959 totalled 432, an average of 43 per annum.¹⁸⁸⁵

In any case, owners increasingly expressed a desire for the return of development stations to trusts and incorporations. Initially, the Crown did return stations to collective control where they were not suitable for subdivision or where owners who, 'for special reasons,' so desired.¹⁸⁸⁶ But return to collective control and management became the norm as owners, in many instances, dealing with the high cost of re-purchasing shares acquired by the Crown under conversion or through live buying, balked at the additional costs that subdivision entailed. It is also important to recognise that many of the development schemes established both before and after World War II remained under the control of the Department for many years as it sought to recover development costs from trading operations. On the establishment of the Kokomiko development scheme in 1964 (incorporating Te Tarake A20, B4, and B5 formerly part of the Waimiha development scheme, together with the Crown

¹⁸⁸³ ANZ Auckland BBHT 4940 A1172/244/b 14/20/1 Part 1.

¹⁸⁸⁴ AJHR 1955, G9, p.12.

¹⁸⁸⁵ AJHR 1961, G9, pp.144 and 146.

¹⁸⁸⁶ AJHR 1954, G9, p.20 and 1955, G9, p.13.

blocks Rangitoto Tuhua 76B2, 76B6, and 76B9), an official of the Department of Maori Affairs noted that several Maori ex-servicemen still awaited settlement. And that, some 20 years having elapsed since becoming entitled to rehabilitation assistance, was a matter of concern since such assistance was expected imminently to cease.¹⁸⁸⁷

11.12 ‘The real deficiency:’ the 1957 review

By the end of March 1957, 150 Maori veterans had been settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, while 16 were employed by the Department of Maori Affairs on units or blocks with promise of title. A further 89 had been settled under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. An effort was made to locate all ‘A’ grade Maori veterans awaiting settlement (excluding those employed on units and blocks with promise of title) and, through interview, to establish their requirements. The results are summarised in Table 11.9: just twelve veterans were found to be waiting for settlement, while 12 farms were evidently available, although the particular type (dairy or sheep) was not always available or available where desired.¹⁸⁸⁸ A revised list included the names of five veterans who were arranging their own settlement by purchasing farms or farming family land. To meet the needs of the 12 men, the Department of Maori Affairs had available ten sheep farms but only two dairy units. The figures were subsequently revised so that the Department had eight sheep farms that could be readied for settlement within two to three years for eligible men, and only two dairy farms where eight were required. That left a dairy unit deficiency of six: since two Taranaki veterans would not leave their districts, ‘if no Crown lands are available in Taranaki, the real deficiency is 4.’ The solution, the Department concluded, ‘appears to be to endeavour to make arrangements with the Lands & Survey, who it is understood, are in need of sheep farms for the settlement of

¹⁸⁸⁷ See, Development Officer, Maori Affairs to Administration Officer, Maori Affairs 2 June 1964, in ANZ Wellington ABRP 6844 W4598/11 2/50/0 Part 2.

¹⁸⁸⁸ ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/0.

ex-servicemen, for an exchange of sheep farms for dairy farms as they become available.¹⁸⁸⁹ The paper contained a curious paragraph, to the effect that

None of the schemes [listed – that is, Mamakumarū, Whangamata, Maungarangi, and Okareka – where farms would become available] are located in 100% Maori farming communities. At Whangamata [,] although we have settled 3 Maoris on earlier sub-divisions [,] all the surrounding farms are owned or operated by Europeans. The same applies at Maungarangi. The Okareka block which faces Lake Okareka near Rotorua could be termed a highly desirable location for Europeans.¹⁸⁹⁰

Table 11.9: ‘A’ grade Maori ex-servicemen, awaiting settlement, February 1957

	Number
<i>Grade ‘A’ Dairy</i>	
Willing to accept settlement in any district	6
Not willing to leave district	4
<i>Grade ‘A’ Sheep</i>	
Willing to accept settlement in any district	3 ¹

¹ Including one whose grading had been suspended.

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 9

The proposal to transfer, in exchange for dairy farms, certain blocks in course of development as sheep farms to the Department of Lands and Survey was approved by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee in July 1957. The proposed exchange was approved by the Land Settlement Board in 1958, although it noted that the sheep farms concerned were located in the Whangamata, Okareka, and Maungarangi districts, and that ‘None of the blocks are [*sic*] located in 100% Maori farming communities.’¹⁸⁹¹

¹⁸⁸⁹ ‘Review of the position regarding Maori ex-servicemen still awaiting settlement,’ Paper prepared for Maori Rehabilitation Committee, ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 9.

¹⁸⁹⁰ ‘Review of the position regarding Maori ex-servicemen still awaiting settlement,’ Paper prepared for Maori Rehabilitation Committee, ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 9.

¹⁸⁹¹ ‘Land Settlement Board: proposed exchange of units with Maori Affairs Department,’ in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1333/b 61/1 Part 3. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 9.

Superficially, with the 'real deficiency' standing at just four units, it may have appeared that the settlement of the Maori veterans of World War II had been practically completed. But as previously recorded, the number of 'A' grade Maori ex-servicemen awaiting settlement stood at 204 as at the end of March 1950. A year later the number had fallen, sharply, to 123. By the end of June 1953, the number had fallen further to 59 and by March 1957 stood at just 12.¹⁸⁹² The question is whether a minimum (to allow for the addition of any newly graded men) of 204 Maori ex-servicemen were settled through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee and the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. The data published in the annual reports of the Rehabilitation Board indicate that over the period from 1 April 1950 to the end of March 1957, 99 ex-servicemen were settled through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. It is possible that a small number were settled through the Rehabilitation Loans Committee, but the data indicate that only about half of those awaiting settlement in 1950 had seven years later been settled. The 'real deficiency' was not four but closer to 100.

11.13 Closing down the economic rehabilitation settlement programme

The closing date for initial applications for land settlement had been set at 31 March 1951. Until the end of 1953, the Rehabilitation Board did accept late applications lodged on special grounds, but subsequently applied the closing date rigorously. By 1954, the Board thus had a clear picture of the remaining task before it. In 1957 the Rehabilitation Board offered the Government a majority recommendation to the effect that the rehabilitation land settlement scheme should cease in 1960. That recommendation was not accepted, but the Government did decide that 50 per cent of all sections offered by the Land Settlement Board should be available for civilian settlement. The second Labour Government (1957-1960) declined to accept that recommendation: rather, it decided that all sections should be offered for general selection but with first preference accorded eligible and graded ex-service personnel of World War II, second preference to eligible and graded ex-service personnel of the

¹⁸⁹² The figures are taken from ANZ Wellington ACHO 8622 SKINNER1W214/1 5; ACIH 16036 MA1/643 32/8A; ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 9; and AJHR 1950, H18, p.17.

Emergency Forces; third preference to all other ex-service personnel of both World War II and the Emergency Forces; and finally to civilians. A final date was not fixed for loans for land settlement. These new measures were expected to bring about a gradual end to the rehabilitation settlement scheme.

Another review of the position as it related to Maori ex-servicemen was conducted in 1959. A paper prepared for the Maori Rehabilitation Committee, date 8 September 1959, listed 14 Maori veterans some details of whom are set out in Table 11.10. The relationship between the 1957 list (above) and this list is not clear. Of the 13 listed, nine were to be declared ineligible for rehabilitation assistance. Of the remaining four, two faced being declared similarly should they prove unable to submit 'concrete proposals' for their settlement.¹⁸⁹³ The Department of Maori Affairs pressed the Rehabilitation Board to suspend the certificates of those 'A' graded Maori ex-servicemen who were apparently doing little to achieve settlement. The Board resisted, insisting that so long as the veterans concerned complied with all the conditions attaching to their certificates they should be permitted to retain them, that is, while the scheme remained in force. It also insisted that veterans whose gradings had been suspended (usually on account of inadequate assets) could apply for reinstatement. The Board also indicated that District Rehabilitation Officers would be directed to investigate the cases of those for whom cancellation was recommended. Final decisions would be made by the Rehabilitation Board's Executive Committee.¹⁸⁹⁴

The number of Maori ex-service men settled with rehabilitation finance did grow, from 175 at the end of March 1959 to 179 by the end of March 1963. At the same time, the number employed by the Department of Maori Affairs on units or blocks with promise of title fell by four to zero. The number assisted by that Department under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 remained at 89, the number originally reached by the end of March 1953.

¹⁸⁹³ Paper for Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and dated 8 September 1959, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 10.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Director, Rehabilitation to Secretary, Maori Affairs 21 September 1959, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 10. See also AADK 6130 W1666/126/b 10/0.

Table 11.10: The position of Maori ex-servicemen, September 1959

Auckland Rehabilitation District	Wellington Rehabilitation District
<i>Veteran A:</i> will not move from his home district	<i>Veteran A:</i> owners to consider sale of farm he occupied which would entitle him to rehabilitation concessions or a 42-year lease with the Board of Maori Affairs
<i>Veteran B:</i> address unknown, supposedly working as a fencing contractor	<i>Veteran B:</i> settled himself, does not require rehabilitation assistance
<i>Veteran C:</i> surrendered his A certificate for eligibility for stock loan and understood to be share milking	<i>Veteran C:</i> Not willing to leave Whanganui River district and therefore cannot be granted assistance
<i>Veteran D:</i> surrendered his A grade certificate	<i>Veteran D:</i> Farming father's property, will not leave district, not eligible therefore for assistance
<i>Veteran E:</i> purchased 150 acres in proposed new development scheme <i>Veteran F:</i> not saved sufficient for a deposit but desired to settle on development scheme without rehabilitation finance or concessions	<i>Veteran D:</i> Grading suspended, whereabouts unknown
<i>Veteran G:</i> endeavouring to purchase a relative's farm; suitability for rehabilitation concessions still to be determined	
<i>Veteran H:</i> endeavouring to purchase land of which he is a part owner; eligibility for rehabilitation finance not clear yet	
<i>Veteran I:</i> sold farm to ex-serviceman, not eligible for land ballots, but entitled to rehabilitation finance if he submits a suitable proposition and contributes proceeds of the sale.	

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 10

11.14 The right to purchase Crown lands

While settling Maori veterans may have come to an end, a number of issues remained to be resolved, among them, the purchase by their lessees of the units made available for selection by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee. In 1966, the Committee declined applications to advance finance to enable lessees to purchase their units, on

the grounds that such advances were not available to Pakeha settlers. The Department of Maori Affairs claimed that the decision placed Maori settlers in a worse position since purchase of Crown lands by deferred payment, available under the Land Act 1948, was generally not available through the Department. The latter thus asked the Board of Maori Affairs to allow Maori ex-serviceman settlers to purchase Crown lands on terms that approximated as closely as possible those of deferred payment licences.¹⁸⁹⁵ On 23 May 1966, the Board of Maori Affairs revised an earlier decision and decided to ‘approve a general policy that Maori settlers who have already been given a lease of Crown land be advanced finance under section 368 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953, at a price to be determined by a Special Government Valuation ...’ The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee was thus asked to indicate whether it would be prepared to approve advances to Maori ex-servicemen to purchase the freehold of Crown lands that they leased.¹⁸⁹⁶ On 12 September 1967 (more than 12 months later), the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee endorsed the policy adopted by the Board of Maori Affairs. That action was confirmed by the Rehabilitation Board on 14 December 1967.

11.15 Establishing some outcomes

It was noted above that the Rehabilitation Board stipulated that for rehabilitation assistance to be granted, farms had to constitute ‘economic units,’ and that in the case of a dairy unit, it had to be capable of producing not less than 8,000 to 12,000lbs of butterfat per annum. It is of interest to note here that in 1950 the Board of Maori Affairs set the minimum at 12,000lbs. While it did not prove possible systematically to establish whether all Maori ex-servicemen were in fact established on farms with rehabilitation assistance, some of the available evidence suggests that a proportion were not. Thus the annual report of the Department of Maori Affairs for the year ending 31 March 1950 included a table entitled ‘Rehabilitation of Maori Ex-servicemen: summary of progress in land settlement to 31st March 1950.’ It gave the

¹⁸⁹⁵ Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 23 March 1966, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/b 10/0.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Rehabilitation 17 May 1966, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/125/b 10/0.

total number of dairy cows as 1,508, the average herd size as 32.78, the total yield of butterfat for the year as 275,698lbs, and the average yield of butterfat per cow as 182.82lbs.¹⁸⁹⁷ That gave a per average herd yield of 5,992.8lbs of butterfat.

In 1961, the Department of Rehabilitation surveyed a number of Maori ex-serviceman settlers in Northland and found that some 'were not progressing as satisfactorily as could be expected.' On 15 farms butterfat yields were declining. The Department of Maori Affairs decided to conduct its own investigation.¹⁸⁹⁸ The results for 11 'Maori Affairs rehabilitation farms' were

- **Farm 1:** of 140 acres, 66 in good pasture, 28 in worn-out pasture; debt £2,850; butterfat production declined from peak of 9,781lbs in 1955/1956 to 6,178lbs in 1960/1961; potential 12000lbs; settler working full time for local county council; intends to use farm for dry farming.
- **Farm 2:** 96.5 acres, 50 in grass; debt £1,770 at 31st March 1962; butterfat production 5,032lbs in 1956/1957, 3,393lbs in 1960/1961; potential 7,000lbs; farm now used as a winter run off for another farm and whole property deteriorating.
- **Farm 3:** 144 acres of which 139 in grass; debt at 31 March 1960 was £2,355; butterfat production 8,429lbs in 1957/1958 to 7,294lbs in 1959/1960; potential 13,000lbs.
- **Farm 4:** 275 acres of which 90 in average pasture and 80 in fair/poor pasture; debt of £5,637 at 31 March 1961; production 15,708lbs in 1958/1959 but declined to 10,707lbs in 1960/1961; potential 16,000lbs. To be given additional assistance.
- **Farm 5:** 150 acres of which 140 in grass; debt £10,721; production 17,129lbs in 1958/1959 but 13,834lbs in 1960/1961; potential 17,000lbs.

¹⁸⁹⁷ AJHR 1950, G9, p.18.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Secretary, Maori Affairs to [District Officer?] Whangarei 13 November 1961, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 11.

- **Farm 6:** 135 acres of which 120 in grass; debt £4,700; production 10,352lbs in 1958/1959, but 8,394lbs in 1960/1961; potential 13,000lbs; farm uneconomic.
- **Farm 7:** 122 acres of which 121 in grass; debt £5,614; production 12,500lbs in 1957/1958, but 8,500lbs in 1960-1961; potential 12,500lbs; farm badly neglected, owner wishes to sell.
- **Farm 8:** 166 acres of which 145 in grass, debt £2,400; production 7,228lbs in 1952/1953, but 6,618lbs in 1960/1961; potential 14,000lbs; qualified for rehabilitation assistance; farm uneconomic.
- **Farm 9:** 193 acres of which 129 acres in grass; debt £3,368 as at 31 March 1960; production 7,274lbs in 1957/1958, but 5,200lbs in 1959/1960; potential 10,000lbs.
- **Farm 10:** 150 acres of which 60 in good pasture, 40 fair to good, 9 fallow; debt £1,869 as at 31 March 1960; production risen from 6,284lbs in 1951/1952 to 13,156lbs in 1959/1960; nominated occupier in 1944, acquired the freehold in 1952 and in July 1957 the £4,250 advanced at settlement was converted to rehabilitation rates, retrospective to 1952.
- **Farm 11:** 109 acres of which 90 in good pasture and 12 in poor pasture; debt £5,923 at 20 August 1960; production 11,006lbs in 1958/1959 to 9,067lbs in 1960/1961; run by settler's widow, receiving rehabilitation rates, considering selling.¹⁸⁹⁹

The data indicate that some of the 11 farms hovered around the criterion adopted by the Rehabilitation Board, two were clearly uneconomic, and a further two were described as 'uneconomic.' For several units, production was significantly below potential. The data offer a picture that is sufficiently mixed to suggest that a more

¹⁸⁹⁹ 'Maori Affairs rehabilitation farms,' in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/43 32/4 Part 11.

comprehensive inquiry could yield valuable insights into the degree of success that the rehabilitation land settlement effort for Maori ex-servicemen attained.

11.16 Farm assistance loans

The focus in this chapter has been on settling Maori ex-service personnel on the land. But rehabilitation loans were available for a range of farming purposes. By the end of March 1972, a total of 12,283 farming loans had been made: they had an aggregate value of £81,252,208 (\$162,504,415). The number of rehabilitation farming loans granted to Maori ex-service personnel from all sources stood at 231 with a total value of £1,526,160 (\$3,052,320).¹⁹⁰⁰ The farming loans granted to Maori veterans thus constituted 1.88 per cent of all farming loans and the same proportion by value. The average size of all farming loans was £6,615 and the average size of those granted Maori £6,607.

Table 11.11 offers some insights into rehabilitation in Te Rohe Potae: it is based on the *Minutes Books* of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee for the entire period from 1944 to 1958, and a further volume which contained all of the 631 resolutions of the Committee made between 1944 and 1949.¹⁹⁰¹ In all, in respect of Te Rohe Potae, 14 Maori ex-servicemen involving 12 holdings (for a total of just over 2,500 acres) were assisted. The total amount advanced was £95,879. With respect to the block purchases, one involved a father who wished to transfer a development scheme holding to his son; a second involved purchase from relatives who were owners; a third involved the purchase of both Crown- and Maori owned land; and the remainder involved transfers of land from existing Maori owners.

¹⁹⁰⁰ AJHR 1972, H18, pp.9 and 11.

¹⁹⁰¹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43/9.

Table 11.11: Rehabilitation farm loan applications granted, Te Rohe Potae, to 1958

Settlers	Area of farm: acres	Loan amount: £	Purpose
1	175	3968	Land, stock, and chattels
2a)	103	4000)	Land, stock and chattels
2b)		3599)	
3a)	159	5000	Land and development
3b)	36	2210	Land and development
4a)		4395	Land, stock, and chattels
4b)	98	150	New buildings
4c)		1000	New house
5	175	4012	Land, stock, improvements
6a)		4040	Purchase of land
6b)	171	3750	New house
6c)		820	Improvements
7	276	8212	Stock, chattels, improvements
8a)	357	8445 and 5497	Stock, chattels, improvements
8b)		1820	New woolshed
9	117	2860	Stock, chattels, improvements
10a)	170	1850 and 5576	Stock, chattels, improvements
10b)		1000	House renovations
11	176	3011	Stock, chattels, improvements
12	189	6662	Stock, land, and improvements
13	153	3952	Stock, plant, and improvements
14	159	4035	Stock, plant, improvements
Totals	2514	95879	

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16067 MA43/1-9 and ACIH 16036 MA1/645 32/10/A Part 2

11.17 Conclusions

Prime Minister Fraser, in 1948, expressed his disappointment over the slow progress then apparent in the settlement of Maori veterans on the land. The rate of settlement improved after 1950, but the number settled with rehabilitation finance, estimated at 217, remained appreciably short of the 300 that in 1941 the Department of Native Affairs confidently predicted that it could settle. The genesis of the difficulties that the Rehabilitation Board experienced in settling Maori veterans can be traced back to two primary decisions. The evidence indicates that the Department made the offer that it did, that is, of employing Maori freehold rather than other private and Crown land, without consulting iwi. Had it undertaken to consult, in all likelihood it would have

soon realised that it had misjudged both the capacity and the willingness of Maori to respond as predicted and expected.

Although it was clear, at least by 1945, that the prospects for settling veterans on Maori freehold land under the land settlement programme were limited, neither the Department of Native Affairs nor the Rehabilitation Board, as far as could be determined, re-assess the original policy decision. The Rehabilitation Board, in particular, through its Farms Advisory and Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committees, did little more than try to pressure the Department of Native Affairs into making greater efforts to acquire Maori freehold land. The inability of many iwi to make lands available, the apparent disinclination on the part of the Department of Native Affairs actively to identify and seek to acquire compulsorily or by voluntary negotiation other than Maori freehold land, and the powerful competition for land offered by the Department of Lands and Survey, were other factors reflected in the modest results achieved. No evidence was located that would suggest that the Board pressed the Department of Native Affairs to pursue more aggressively the purchase of general land, pointing possibly to inter-agency tensions and rivalries. Thus the evidence indicates that although the Department of Maori Affairs was, with respect to land purchasing, adequately resourced, it failed to employ those resources fully. The exclusion of Maori veterans from ballots for Crown land also lessened the chances of their securing units, not least in North Auckland where the pressure on the land was greatest.

The distant prospect of securing units through the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, the exclusion (until 1954) from ballots for Crown units, and changes in grading combined to discourage many qualified Maori ex-servicemen from pursuing rehabilitation through land settlement. Concurrently, the steady withdrawal of both women and older persons from the wartime labour force, rapid increases in the volume of export commodities and a rapid improvement in export values together with the State-led and in large measure State-funded efforts to reconstruct and diversify an otherwise vulnerable economy, served to simplify the Rehabilitation Board's task by encouraging the rapid growth of urban-based employment opportunities. It was to those opportunities that young Maori adults, quickly followed by young Maori families, and including veterans, responded. Insofar as Maori ex-

service personnel were concerned, the results secured by the Rehabilitation Board were, with respect to trade training and housing, impressive. With respect to land settlement they were, at best, modest.

Chapter 12: Conclusions

It was recorded, in the *Introduction*, that the report would discuss the extent to which the various economic rehabilitation programmes that were devised to facilitate the economic rehabilitation of the men and women who had served in the New Zealand's armed forces were fully available to Maori ex-service personnel and produced outcomes that were comparable with those achieved by all other ex-service personnel. The notion of equality that lay at the heart of that question was disaggregated into five component concepts, namely, equality of access, equity of provision, equality of treatment, equality of outcomes, and equality of autonomy. These concepts constitute the major themes that inform this report and the following conclusions are presented accordingly.

Throughout the conflicts that followed annexation and concluded, practically, with Te Kooti's internal exile, some iwi and some individual Maori elected, for a range of reasons, to support or at least fight alongside the Crown. During the final phases of those conflicts, in fact, Maori of Ngati Porou, Te Arawa, and Whanganui, in particular, carried a great deal of the burden of fighting. Nineteenth century governments gave little thought to the economic rehabilitation of those they had employed in the service of the Crown. Grants of land or land scrip were offered, but often as payment for service, as a means of enhancing internal security essentially through a policy of containment and pacification, or as a means of giving practical effect to the policy of retribution through confiscation. The grants made to Te Arawa and Whanganui were intended, through the establishment of garrison settlements, to advance the Crown's effort to consolidate, extend, and enforce its geographical reach. Those two grants aside, Maori who were enlisted in support of the Crown do not appear to have qualified for free land grants. The array of relevant Acts and Regulations do not appear to have provided for the character of the service Maori offered or the status of the units they constituted. With respect to pensions paid to men wounded or injured while on active service and to widows of men killed in action, Maori were by law paid at rates significantly lower than those paid to Pakeha. A more extensive exploration of the archival record than was possible for this investigation might offer some insights into how values were set.

The South African War was the first of a series of foreign conflicts in which New Zealand participated. It was also the first for which the New Zealand Government was, with respect to the rehabilitation of the several thousand men and women who served, singularly ill-prepared. Very little consideration appears to have been given to facilitating their re-introduction to civil life. Such proposals as were made encountered a large measure of official indifference or thinly concealed resistance, the partial exception being war pensions. The rehabilitation experience of the veterans of the South African campaign was marked, in particular, by the determination of successive governments to exclude them from the rehabilitation programme established in 1915-1918 to assist the 100,000 men and women who returned from the conflicts in Europe and the Middle East. A number of Maori enlisted in the contingents that New Zealand despatched to South Africa, but no evidence was located that would suggest that they were even more ill-served than their Pakeha comrades.

The magnitude of New Zealand's commitment to World War I measured in terms of the proportion of its population directly engaged, the large number of men and women killed, and the larger number who returned to New Zealand injured, ill, and psychologically damaged, presented the Government with an unprecedented challenge, namely, how to support and facilitate their reabsorption into the country's economic and civil life. Initially, it focused on placing veterans on the land, providing pensions, and placing men into employment, but in 1918 broadened the scope of its rehabilitation programme to include education and training and financial assistance for a range of purposes that ranged from furniture to farm development. Practically the same programme would be implemented in the wake of World War II. What distinguished the former was the apparent failure of the Government to reach out to, consult, and engage iwi, to establish whether Maori veterans had particular needs, to determine whether the various components of the rehabilitation programme required shaping to meet those needs, and to define an effective means by which those veterans could be reached and assisted to secure the services and benefits to which they were entitled.

The Government's default position, and one that it maintained until the rehabilitation programme was practically terminated in 1922, was that Maori veterans were, under the law, guaranteed equal access. Equality of access obtains where actors have a chance to secure the same goals without being impeded by some obstacle. Alternatively, it can be defined as the absence of discrimination whether on grounds of gender, race, religion or some other characteristic. To that extent, the Government's position was at least defensible: there was nothing in the legislation or in the accompanying regulations that overtly discriminated against Maori veterans. But the Government assumed that equal access would produce equal outcomes. It followed, therefore, that no separate provisions, support, or assistance were required to ensure that they secured the benefits to which the law entitled them. So far as could be established, information and application forms were not printed in te reo Maori, no particular effort was made to reach Maori veterans who had returned to their communities, and no consideration given to ways in which Maori veterans might be guided and supported through the application process. In fact, it was too easily assumed that Maori veterans would be re-absorbed into the communities from which they had been drawn, that those communities would remain a tenuously linked subset of the New Zealand polity, and that few Maori veterans would seek the assistance that the rehabilitation programme offered. In such circumstances, it was perhaps not too surprising that many Maori veterans were unsure that the rehabilitation programme was intended to include them, and unsure, in any case, whether it offered services or assistance that would meet their particular circumstances.

The evidence presented makes it very clear that few Maori veterans benefited from the programme initiated in 1915 whether in respect of Crown sections or financial assistance to purchase, stock, and develop farms, or to purchase or construct homes. What is less clear is how many sought to do so, although the evidence does indicate that the major agency involved, the Department of Lands and Survey, actively discouraged Maori veterans from lodging applications, whether for Crown sections or for financial assistance. Rather, veterans were advised first to 'regularise' their own land interests and titles. That advice was at least consistent with the regulations issued under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915 with respect to freehold titles and security for mortgage advances. The effect of the regulations was to limit if not to deny access, in much the same way as the exclusion of Native freehold land from the

operation of the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894 denied all but a small number of Maori land owners access to the financial assistance offered by State lending agencies.

It is also clear that the Government, clearly aware of the difficulties that Maori veterans confronted, took no compensatory action: while it had certain powers to promote the consolidation of fragmented land titles, it was 1928 before any effective action was taken. Moreover, it chose not to act on at least of two of Ngata's proposals, namely, that the Crown acquire the Native freehold lands vested in the Maori land boards specifically for Maori veterans and that, when acquiring other Maori freehold land for soldier settlement, it set aside portions for those veterans. Both approaches would have allowed the Crown to step over title difficulties and to settle Maori veterans on much the same basis as all other soldier settlers. In short, the Crown, while recognising the difficulties that Maori veterans confronted, failed to take any remedial or compensatory action. With respect to other elements of the rehabilitation programme – loans for businesses, furniture, and tools of trade, and education and training – no evidence was located to indicate that Maori benefited at all. In short, the rehabilitation programme initiated in 1915 was tailored to meet the demands and needs of Pakeha veterans. It did not recognise the very different experiences and circumstances of Maori veterans and thus did not include provisions or measures intended to secure comparable results for both groups of veterans. Where it did take some tentative steps, as in the case of the Otaramakau Settlement, it either retreated or compromised in the face of accusations of 'preferential' treatment or 'separatism.' The irony embedded in claims of that character went unremarked.

The greater volume and quality of evidence available for the post-1939 period supported a more systematic analysis of the key themes set out in the Introduction. The first major theme explored was again equality of opportunity or equality of access. The term was freely employed in the debates and discussions that took place over rehabilitation policy and its implementation. The Government and the Rehabilitation Council and Rehabilitation Board insisted that Maori ex-service personnel would enjoy the same access to all rehabilitation services and benefits. The genesis of that repeated assurance appears to have resided chiefly in a belief, frequently cited by Maori politicians and others and rarely challenged, that while

Maori veterans of World War I had not been expressly excluded from the rehabilitation programme then devised, nevertheless, the manner in which the scheme had been implemented through various State agencies had seriously disadvantaged those veterans. Ngata's claim that Maori veterans of World War II stood to be 'flung into the maelstrom of Pakeha affairs' thus resonated strongly and certainly informed the views and policies formulated and adopted by the Rehabilitation Council and Rehabilitation Board. Institutional racism was a charge that they were anxious to avoid.

The conviction that Maori veterans of World War I had been denied equality of access thus lay at the heart of the protracted debate that took place between 1941 and 1944 over how best rehabilitation assistance could be made available and delivered to Maori ex-service personnel. Ngata, familiar with the administrative arrangements that had been established to implement the post-World War I rehabilitation programme, and especially with the difficulties for ex-service personnel to which the closure in 1922 of the Repatriation Department gave rise, led and shaped much of that debate.¹⁹⁰² It is clear that he discerned in the proposals for the establishment of a new and dedicated agency of the State, in partnership with existing agencies, the potential for a repetition of the difficulties that World War I Maori veterans had encountered. In his view, Maori ex-service personnel would require support and assistance that another short-lived repatriation department could not provide. Those twin concerns, that is, the prospect of the 'Pakeha maelstrom' and a short-lived rehabilitation agency, merged in his conviction that the successful rehabilitation of Maori veterans required a permanent and dedicated body. To that end, Ngata, unsure perhaps that the Maori War Effort Organisation would long survive the cessation of hostilities and the position of the Department of Native Affairs, supported, albeit with some reluctance, the claims of the latter to a key role in the implementation of the rehabilitation programme.

For its part, the Rehabilitation Board was acutely aware of the antipathy on the part of many Maori, including ex-service personnel, to the Department and any involvement in rehabilitation; it was uncertain that that agency shared its commitment to its

¹⁹⁰² See AJHR 1930, H39.

encompassing and progressive policies and its desire to employ the rehabilitation programme, so far as its mandate allowed, to assist Maori to participate fully in the country's wider social and economic life; and it was not convinced that it possessed the capacity to implement and manage the rehabilitation programme. Moreover, that the Department of Native Affairs had at an early stage described rehabilitation as merely an extension of its existing role appears to have reinforced the Board's misgivings. For those reasons, it was determined to retain full control of rehabilitation policy and full oversight of the rehabilitation programme's implementation. Much of the antipathy on the part of Maori towards the Department of Native Affairs had its proximate origins in the manner in which both the land development and the title consolidation programmes had been implemented, the modest results each had achieved, and their practical suspension on the outbreak of war. But the Department believed that it had one major card to play, namely, the Maori land development programme: it thus made clear during the early discussions over the administrative arrangements required to implement the proposed rehabilitation programme its conviction that its land development efforts could be expanded to accommodate all those Maori veterans expected to seek their rehabilitation through land settlement. Moreover, it claimed that it could do so at a *per capita* cost significantly lower than that projected for the settlement of all other veterans. Quite clearly, it envisaged reviving the arrangements for Maori land development initiated in 1930 under which Maori supplied the land and the labour and carried the risks, while the Crown supplied finance, technology, and management, the sole departure being that the land once developed would be allocated to Maori veterans. The simple question raised by Ngati Porou – 'Are we to give our land also?' – carried more than ordinary weight.

The Rehabilitation Board accepted, or allowed itself to be persuaded by, the assurance extended, the Department of Native Affairs thereby securing its participation in the rehabilitation programme. The arrangements finally adopted had several major elements: first, the establishment of a special committee that would assume responsibility for the rehabilitation of those Maori veterans who elected to employ its services; second, the constitution of that committee as an executive committee of the Rehabilitation Board, rather than as a sub-committee of the Board of Native Affairs and thus controlled by the Department of Native Affairs; and, third, Maori veterans being accorded the opportunity and the right to seek rehabilitation assistance through

either the special channel thus established or the channel open to all ex-service personnel. The formulation of rehabilitation policy and overall responsibility and accountability for its implementation would thus remain firmly in the hands of the Rehabilitation Board. By such arrangements, the Board and the Government hoped that the oft-cited bias of State agencies, on the part notably of the Department of Lands and Survey and the State Advances Corporation, would be circumvented and nullified, and that Maori veterans, as a result, would have exactly the same access to all the benefits and forms of assistance that the rehabilitation programme proposed to offer.

The Rehabilitation Board and the Government went further. Recognising that Maori veterans might, for a variety of reasons, be averse to seeking assistance from the State or be deterred by the complex administrative structure and process that the Board had constructed, the Board, with the Government's approval, appointed a number of Maori rehabilitation officers, themselves veterans and officers. They were charged with meeting iwi and hapu, contacting all veterans, disseminating information relating to rehabilitation, establishing and assessing their needs, assisting them to complete the required application procedures, and generally offering support and guidance. Significantly, those officers were not members of the Department of Native Affairs, then attempting to expand its role beyond land settlement and land tenure reform into the area of general welfare. Such evidence as is available indicates that the Maori rehabilitation officers fulfilled the Rehabilitation Board's expectations, albeit on occasion with a modest excess of enthusiasm. The appointment of dedicated officers thus complemented the establishment of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee and the clear definition of lines of responsibility and accountability. The question that remained was whether the formal equality of opportunity thus secured would be matched with the fair equality of opportunity.

The decision to establish a Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee, not as a sub-committee of the Board of Native Affairs but as an executive committee of and answerable to the Rehabilitation Board, undoubtedly strained relationships between the Department of Native Affairs and the rehabilitation authorities. The Department's entrenched opposition to any participation by the Maori War Effort Organisation in the rehabilitation process left the Rehabilitation Board perplexed. Further, in its

estimation, the Department of Native Affairs' approach to the rehabilitation of Maori veterans was, certainly by 1945, demonstrably conservative, lacking in ambition, and devoid of urgency. By that stage, it was increasingly certain that the Department would not be able to fulfil its freely volunteered assurance that it could accommodate within the existing Maori land development programme all those Maori veterans expected to seek their rehabilitation through land settlement. The Board expressed concern over what it perceived to be, on the part of the Department, an inexplicable dilatoriness over the acquisition of land for rehabilitation purposes; a less than cooperative approach to resolving the difficulties presented by the terms and conditions under which occupiers held their holdings within the Maori land development schemes; and over its unwillingness to accord priority to Maori veterans in respect of the State rental properties that had been allocated to it. Above all, the Rehabilitation Board found unacceptable what it regarded as the Department's constrained and limited approach to Maori economic and social progress, especially given that it saw itself as a major driver of the Government's plans for the post-war economic and social reconstruction of the country as a whole, and especially the creation of a skilled, flexible, and mobile workforce for an economy that would rely increasingly, it was believed, on its secondary sector.

For its part, the evidence suggests that, on occasion at least, the Department of Native Affairs felt itself stranded among iwi reluctant to make land available for rehabilitation purposes, what it presumed would be strong public and political opposition to the acquisition of general land for settling Maori veterans, and constant pressure from the Rehabilitation Board to deliver on the assurances that it had offered. Disturbed by its initial omission from the administrative structure through which the Government proposed to deliver the rehabilitation programme, it clearly resented the involvement of the Rehabilitation Board in an area that it regarded as a subset of its existing mandate and operations, the powers and political influence that the Board possessed, and its policies that if implemented in full would materially encourage the rehabilitation of Maori generally. It resented, too, the thinly disguised criticism of its land development, settlement, consolidation, and housing programmes; it found it difficult to accept that many Maori lacked confidence in its commitment and capacity, even while admitting privately that its efforts had been found wanting; and it was deeply suspicious of the moves made by the Maori War Effort Organisation to expand

its activities and to secure statutory recognition. There is no doubt, too, that it was troubled by the decision of the Rehabilitation Board to appoint its own Maori rehabilitation officers, an action regarded also as imperilling its desire to broaden the scope of its activities beyond land development, land settlement, and housing into broader areas of social welfare. Finally, it is clear that the Department felt threatened by the Rehabilitation Board's insistence on expanding for Maori veterans opportunities for trade training, settling veterans on 'economic' holdings, and insisting that the houses built for veterans should attain the same standards as similar homes for all other veterans. Ambitions of that scope and character served to expose the limits and inadequacies of the policies and programmes that the Department of Native Affairs had begun to implement during the 1930s.

Whether the tensions, disagreements, and impasses that bedevilled the relationship between the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Native Affairs impeded or adversely affected the rehabilitation of Maori veterans is not easy to establish, except, notably, in the area of land settlement. Nevertheless, the course of events generally supported the judgement of those who insisted that the control of rehabilitation policy and oversight of its implementation should remain very firmly in the hands of the Rehabilitation Board and not in those of the Department of Native Affairs or its Board of Native Affairs. The Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee strove to implement the Rehabilitation Board's policies and thus played a key role in ensuring that Maori veterans had access to the same forms of rehabilitation assistance as their Pakeha counterparts: no evidence was located to suggest that Maori veterans were disadvantaged by the creation of a separate administrative channel. The major failing, and one for which both the Board and the Department shared responsibility, was land settlement (discussed below).

In brief, the answer to the alleged bias exhibited by State agencies engaged in implementing the post-World War I rehabilitation programme, and to the perceived shortcomings of the Department of Native Affairs, was the establishment of an executive committee of the Rehabilitation Board dedicated to assisting Maori veterans.

The second major theme explored in the report was thus that of the equity of provision or the substantive or fair equality of opportunity. It shifted the focus away from the formal commitments to 'equality' and the administrative structures and arrangements intended to secure it, to the content of, or the services offered by, the rehabilitation programme. The key question was the extent to which, if any, the Government and the Rehabilitation Board recognised and took into account the fact that, where the large majority of Maori ex-service personnel were concerned, they would deal with a group that largely lacked the education, training, and financial and commercial experience of their Pakeha counterparts. Although many of the latter had been disadvantaged by the truncation of their education and trade training during the 1930s, the two groups nevertheless embarked upon their rehabilitation from very different starting points. Again, it was Ngata who articulated concerns among Maori that a rehabilitation programme designed with the country's needs for an educated and trained workforce to the fore would largely fail to meet the rehabilitation needs of Maori veterans. That proportionately fewer Maori veterans sought (or at least secured) educational grants and loans for the establishment or purchase of businesses suggests that those concerns were soundly based.

Thomson reached much the same conclusion, suggesting that 'Maori standards of education and material well-being were lower than Pakeha ones, and Maori ex-servicemen were therefore less equipped to handle financial and business matters than Pakehas; less able to use housing loans; and had fewer educational, training, or career options.'¹⁹⁰³ She went on to note that the concept of special assistance to underdeveloped groups to assist them to reach the general standard did exist in a rudimentary form in the 1940s and Maori did receive 'special opportunities for trade and farm training.'¹⁹⁰⁴ Quite what she meant by 'special opportunities' is not clear. It is probably more accurate to say that particular efforts were made to encourage Maori veterans to enter into the trade and farm training programmes, in part by establishing training centres in those districts to which many of the veterans had returned upon demobilisation.

¹⁹⁰³ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, pp.332-333.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, pp.332-333.

Indeed, it is clear that the Rehabilitation Board saw in both programmes a means of equipping Maori veterans with new or advanced and transferable skills that would enable them to achieve the economic independence and full participation in the wider New Zealand economy that it prized as the key objective of the rehabilitation programme. Further, the evidence indicates that both programmes were either preceded or accompanied by courses in numeracy and literacy. Such courses may have compensated in some small part for the inability on the part of many Maori veterans otherwise to make use of the rehabilitation opportunities for post-secondary and tertiary study. Finally, with respect to housing loans, the evidence is clear that, in direct response to the particular needs and circumstances of Maori veterans, the Rehabilitation Board varied the requirements relating to loan securities. That, proportionately, significantly more Maori veterans secured rehabilitation housing loans reflected both the urgent need for improved housing among Maori generally and the effectiveness of the Board's response.

In brief, the evidence indicates that the Rehabilitation Board was aware that many Maori veterans would not be able to take full advantage of all forms of rehabilitation assistance, that it took some steps to remedy the educational disadvantages under which many veterans laboured, and that it encouraged veterans to engage in particular in trade and farm training.

The third key theme was that of equality of process. It shifted attention from the matters of access and content to the manner in which policy was implemented, specifically to whether mechanisms or requirements were instituted that adversely affected the chances of Maori veterans securing rehabilitation benefits. An inspection of the minute books of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee did not disclose any evidence that would indicate or suggest that the various policies adopted by the Rehabilitation Board were implemented in a manner that disadvantaged Maori veterans. Rather, applications for rehabilitation assistance, notably for housing and especially applications lodged by widows, were dealt with sympathetically and even generously. Applications for business loans were subjected to the same careful scrutiny and evaluation as all other similar applications. The only scepticism about the business acumen of Maori came from within the Department of Native Affairs, the same agency exhibiting some reluctance to offer mentoring or allied support to those

whose business propositions gained approval. Further, Maori veterans appear to have had secured access to rental housing under the 50 per cent State rental allocation scheme: the only difficulty was again a certain reluctance on the Department of Maori Affairs to make available 50 per cent of the State houses allocated to it for Maori families. Such was the dismay of the Rehabilitation Board that it promptly relieved the Department of a delegated responsibility for the housing of Maori veterans, an action that both exposed and exacerbated the tensions between the two agencies. It is also worthwhile noting that at an early stage in the rehabilitation programme, furniture loans to veterans returning to Maori villages were limited on the grounds that the furniture would be used by extended families: that nascent practice was terminated when it was pointed out that the grantees were responsible for repayment.

In brief, the evidence indicates that the Rehabilitation Board sought to implement its policies in an even-handed manner: the one exception appears to have been a small number of veterans of the women's armed services whose applications for farm units and farm loans were declined. The matter of land settlement is considered separately below.

The fourth key theme was equality of outcomes or equality of results, the key question being whether Maori ex-service personnel secured rehabilitation benefits that were comparable proportionately in terms of number and value with those secured by all other ex-service personnel. With respect to both the number of rehabilitation loans, proportionately Maori veterans fared equally with all veterans with respect to housing loans, but less so in the case of farming and business loans. The average value of housing loans granted to Maori veterans was appreciably higher than that of those granted to all other veterans, that of those granted for farming purposes was on a par, while the average value of loans granted for business purposes was appreciably lower. An inspection of business applications considered by the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Board indicated that most propositions were modest in character. Time did not allow a fuller examination of outcomes or results, in particular, comparative assessment and measurement of results after a defined period or periods of time. How many, for example, of those who secured business loans succeeded in establishing and sustaining their enterprises for say five years? How many of those who secured housing loans were able to repay their loans? How many were, after training in the

various trades, able to secure and remain in gainful employment after five years? And how many of those who secured farms remained in occupation after five years and after ten years? Some evidence was located that suggested that not all Maori veterans secured 'economic farms,' but this is an aspect of the rehabilitation programme that might merit more systematic investigation.

In brief, Maori veterans benefitted in particular from the housing assistance and trade training programmes offered by the Rehabilitation Board, less so from educational grants and business loans. Those variations in outcomes appear largely to have reflected the marked contrasts in the pre-war education, training, and employment experiences of Maori and Pakeha service personnel.

Where possible, one other theme was explored, namely equality of autonomy, that is, the extent to which the ex-service personnel involved, Maori and Pakeha, were empowered through the rehabilitation programme to make the decisions that they considered would allow them to exercise control and to make choices. Only limited evidence was located that bore upon this matter, at least where Maori veterans were concerned. In 1948, Maori building tradesmen challenged the practice of the Department of Maori Affairs of paying wages at levels lower than those paid by other public sector agencies and insisting on other work conditions that were less advantageous. That the Rehabilitation Board took up the veterans' case also contributed to the tensions between the two agencies. Significantly, it is suggested, a good many of the tradesmen involved resigned from the Department of Maori Affairs and took up employment with local bodies and the Department of Public Works or, most importantly, established their own small building, contracting and allied enterprises. In other words, the trade-training programme had equipped them with marketable and transferable skills and, in some instances, the confidence to establish their own businesses. It can be surmised that the Rehabilitation Board took considerable satisfaction in such developments, especially given that it had early discerned in the rehabilitation programme an opportunity to allow and encourage Maori veterans to participate fully in the country's economic life.

The matter of land settlement, although touched upon in the above discussion, merits separate assessment. Rehabilitation through land settlement was, as in the case of the

post-World War I rehabilitation, a major component of the rehabilitation programme. It was also a very much larger component than originally envisaged. While the Government and the Rehabilitation Board took considerable pride in scale and success of the land settlement programme generally, the progress made in settling Maori veterans was less impressive and indeed was a matter for considerable official disquiet. Significantly fewer Maori veterans, proportionately, were settled on the economic farm units (as defined by the Board) than all veterans, while, more importantly, only a modest proportion of those Maori veterans who wished to settle were able to do so. The Rehabilitation Board frequently recorded its concern over the slow pace of settlement and frequently pressed the Department of Native Affairs for more decisive action. The question of pace was important for, while the Government would prove generous and flexible, clearly at some stage the rehabilitation programme would be brought to a close.

For the modest results achieved, both the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Native Affairs were in significant part responsible. As suggested above, the Department of Native Affairs, anxious to add rehabilitation to its existing responsibilities and thus expand its mission to embrace Maori social and economic welfare generally, assured the Rehabilitation Board that the existing land development programme could accommodate all of those veterans who, in its estimation, would seek settlement. Moreover, clearly assuming that Maori land owners would make land freely available, it claimed that it could do so at a significantly lower cost per capita than first estimates for the land settlement programme as a whole indicated. It appears to have discounted the qualified and indeed cautionary advice tendered by the Maori land boards. For its part the Rehabilitation Board appears to have accepted uncritically the assurances it had been offered, perhaps because they cohered with the prevalent belief that Maori retained sufficient good quality land for their collective needs and could readily accommodate returning veterans. Conspicuously lacking in the record is any evidence that the Department of Native Affairs either consulted iwi directly or carried out the comprehensive and systematic rehabilitation land settlement surveys conducted by the Department of Lands and Survey.¹⁹⁰⁵ Nor does it appear to

¹⁹⁰⁵ For some years, the Department of Lands and Survey carried out, district by district surveys of land for development and settlement by ex-service personnel and of 'the difficulties confronting acceleration [of settlement].' See for example, ANZ Wellington ABWN W5021 6095/493 17/243/3

have attempted to establish whether any of the land vested in the Maori land boards, the leases of which were nearing expiry, could be employed for rehabilitation purposes. Given the predicted scale, cost, and complexity of the rehabilitation land settlement programme, it can be surmised that the Rehabilitation Board was considerably relieved over the assurances that were proffered. As, on the one hand, the demand for farm units rapidly and massively exceeded original estimates and, on the other hand, difficulties quickly emerged with respect to the availability of Maori freehold land, the Board does not appear to have re-examined its original decision to rely on the Department of Native Affairs. Rather, it confined itself to efforts periodically to press the latter to act with greater expedition and effect. It is important to note that the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act 1943, as originally introduced into Parliament, did not exempt Maori freehold land from liability to expropriation for rehabilitation purposes. That it was exempted owed a great deal to Maori support for the Labour Government (its overall support ebbing to the National party), and to the assumed willingness of Maori land owners to make lands freely available for the settlement of Maori veterans.¹⁹⁰⁶

In short, at the heart of the difficulties that the settlement of Maori veterans encountered lay, on the part of both agencies, several key failures, first, to engage in any meaningful consultation with iwi; second, to establish the availability and suitability of Maori freehold land; and, third, to engage critically with the decisions made and the policies adopted. The settlement of Maori ex-service personnel on the land was thus handicapped from the outset by decisions based on assumption, poor quality information, and suspect advice. There appears to have been no clear understanding of the area, location, and quality of the land remaining in Maori ownership, let alone the considerable variations iwi by iwi. Nor was any effort made to assess the likely response on the part of Maori to the suggestion that they should vest their lands in the Crown for rehabilitation purposes, surprising given the controversies that accompanied the implementation of vesting under the Maori Land

Part 1. It appears to have been 1949 before the Department of Lands and Survey conducted a nationwide land utilisation survey with the goal of establishing, 'systematically and comprehensively,' the area of unimproved land – Crown and private, including Maori freehold – land suitable for closer settlement. See AJHR 1950, C1, p.3.

¹⁹⁰⁶ In the general election held in September 1943, the Labour party secured 45 of 80 seats, including the four Maori seats, but the National party gained nine to reach 34, in part by capturing a large share of the rural vote. There was one Independent.

Settlement Act 1905 and the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 and all the difficulties that subsequently accompanied their administration.

The implications of poorly designed, partially implemented, long delayed, and prematurely terminated policies – notably land development, land consolidation, and title reform – similarly served to complicate efforts to settle Maori ex-servicemen. The implications of the resurgence of Maori population growth, marked from 1921, for the expansion of the Maori workforce and the pressures already apparent in some districts, notably Northland, on a dwindling land resource went largely unremarked. The decision of the Government in 1949 to initiate a large-scale land development programme and to reformulate the basis on which land development would be undertaken constituted, at least in part, an acknowledgement that the assurances held out by Under Secretary Campbell in 1941 had proved incapable of fulfilment. It is difficult not to conclude that the decisions to rely on the assumed willingness of Maori landowners to make land available and to accommodate veterans within the Maori land development programme constituted serious errors of judgement. While it had been Ngata's original intention that land once developed would be returned to owners to decide upon its disposition and allocation, the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 effected a major change, introducing an emphasis on the creation of leased sections occupied by settlers whose nomination was controlled by the Board of Native Affairs. Any attempt to harness a programme that had been devised in large part to meet the impoverished state of many Maori communities apparent by 1930 for an avowedly commercial purpose carried with it a risk of failure.

Thomson suggested that 'competition for resources' contributed to the difficulties experienced with respect to land settlement. 'The failure,' she concluded, 'to provide equal numbers of houses and farms for Maoris had much to do with the general shortage of these, and the unfortunate fact that the dominant group in society generally gets the lion's share of scarce resources.'¹⁹⁰⁷ It is presumed that by 'equal,' Thomson meant proportionately the same: if so, then the evidence indicates that in terms of housing loans (value, especially), Maori ex-servicemen were advantaged rather than disadvantaged. With respect to land settlement, the evidence is mixed. An

¹⁹⁰⁷ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, p.333.

inspection of the annual summaries of allocations to and expenditure by Government agencies suggests that the Department of Maori Affairs, once made responsible for acquiring land for rehabilitation purposes, did not always employ to the full the funds granted for that purpose. In contrast to the Department of Lands and Survey, it did not set about proactively to acquire land, apparently preferring to wait for offers of private land (including Maori freehold land), to acquire lands already owned by the Crown, to secure Maori freehold lands under the control of the Maori Trustee, and otherwise to secure lands the ownership of which was uncertain. The Department of Maori Affairs appears to have lacked a clear appreciation of the scale of demand and a clear sense of purpose. Butterworth and Young concluded that for all his efforts to inject some urgency into the efforts of the Department of Native Affairs when he took over the portfolio in 1946, Peter Fraser was 'defeated by the lethargy of the bureaucracy.'¹⁹⁰⁸ The Department's patchy record in respect of rehabilitation appears to have been an element of a larger array of difficulties.

In one important respect, Thomson's conclusion, with respect to land settlement, was soundly based. It is quite clear that, at an early stage in the implementation of the rehabilitation programme, a decision was taken, apparently by the Rehabilitation Board in response to concerns raised by the State Advances Corporation, to tag the 'A' grade farming certificates issued to Maori veterans and to employ such tagging to exclude them from ballots conducted for Crown sections. Justification was found in the alleged inability of Maori to manage their financial affairs. No evidence was located that indicates that the ability or inability of each Maori veteran was assessed separately: in other words, the endorsement was entered indiscriminately and on purely ethnic grounds. The Rehabilitation Board had accepted that one of the reasons for the failure of so many post-World War I soldier settlers lay in their alleged inability to manage their finances, and, while close budgetary control over Pakeha rehabilitation settlers was exercised by the State Advances Corporation, no similar endorsement was entered on their grading certificates, much less employed to exclude them from ballots. In short, the use of an endorsement, at once discriminatory and indiscriminate, had less to do with the supposed lack of financial acumen on the part of Maori veterans and more to do with the rationing of a scarce resource. It was not

¹⁹⁰⁸ Butterworth and Young, *Maori Affairs*, p.91.

until 1954 that the simplest of administrative solutions was adopted, namely to allow qualifying Maori veterans to enter Crown ballots and to place those successful under the budgetary oversight of the Department of Maori Affairs rather than the State Advances Corporation. In brief, exclusion from ballots was an important contributor to the slow rate at which Maori veterans were settled and a factor in the decision of many to abandon land settlement in favour of migration to the cities.

One other matter relating to land settlement merits some concluding observations, namely the inability of many of those Maori veterans who did gain a section also to secure rehabilitation finance. The early disagreement between the Rehabilitation Board and the Department of Native Affairs over the terms and conditions upon which sections within land development schemes were available for occupation, the source of that inability, proved insoluble. The Department of Native Affairs insisted that Maori land owners would not grant terms more favourable than those available under Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. But, while aware that land owners were averse to granting terms that might result in the passage of more land out of their ownership, the Department of Native Affairs appears not to have raised this matter when it first assured the Rehabilitation Board that those Maori veterans expected to seek settlement could be accommodated within the Maori land development programme. For its part, the Rehabilitation Board, having early settled on its minimum terms and conditions, appears not to have broached the issue with the Department of Native Affairs until some time after it had decided that the settlement of Maori veterans should take place wherever possible on Maori freehold land. A failure on the one hand to consult and disclose, and a failure on the other to investigate and clarify meant that most of those veterans settled under Part I did not receive rehabilitation financial assistance. Moreover, the evidence indicates that few were able subsequently to meet the conditions set down by the Rehabilitation Board and thus transfer the loans granted by the Board of Maori Affairs into rehabilitation loans.

There is little doubt that the Rehabilitation Council and the Rehabilitation Board were determined to lead the way in recognising the contribution that Maori service personnel had made to the war effort by equipping veterans with the skills and resources that would allow them to participate fully and effectively in the wider

economy and society. Their insistence on ‘equality of opportunity’ and ‘equality of treatment’ – on Maori veterans being settled on economic farms, established in businesses, equipped with marketable and transferable skills, and housed in good quality homes – stood in marked contrast to the more conservative or (in Thomson’s terms) ‘old-fashioned and paternalistic’ view that the Department of Maori Affairs entertained of the capacity and aspirations of Maori.¹⁹⁰⁹ While the results secured by the Rehabilitation Board in little more than a decade were, in some areas, more limited than they could and probably should have been, nevertheless they contrasted sharply with the meagre outcomes for Maori veterans of the rehabilitation programme initiated in 1915 and with the ‘billycan’ farms and often poor quality housing produced by the Maori land development programme.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Thomson, *The rehabilitation of servicemen*, pp.332-333.

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ABWN: Land Information New Zealand, National Office

ABWN 6095 W5021/493 17/274/1 Rehabilitation settlement surveys – Auckland, 1944-1947

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ADXS 19502 LS-W12/21 Wasteland Board minutes, 1920-1921

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ACGO: Department of Internal Affairs, Head Office

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ACHK: Governor

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ACHO: Hon Charles Farrington Skinner

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ACIG: Department of Education

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ACIH 16036 MA1 70 5/5/32 Part 4 Rotoiti and Rotehu Stations – Rotoiti 6 and 7B
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Scheme), 1952-1955

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- ACIH 16036 MAW2490 28 32/1/7 Part 1 Rehabilitation Finance Committee – schedule of provisional approvals, 1950-1958
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- ACIH 16036 MAW2490 30 32/1/14 Estate of John Robb – Estate of C.N. Nisbet – Wharepoke and other blocks – offer of rehabilitation, 1943-1945
- ACIH 16036 MAW2490 32 32/1/16/3 Part 1 Huramua Soldier Settlement – valuation of individual holdings and fixing of charges prior to settlement, 1948-1951
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- ACIH 16036 MAW2490/31 32/1/16/1 Part 5 Huramua station – report and estimates, 1954-1954
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- ACIH 16036 MAW2490/33 32/1/17 Part 1 Section 21, Block IV Waimana Survey District offer to sell – rehabilitation – Pura Akuhata rehabilitation farming loan, Edward James Crewther farming loan, Joe Ratu farming loan, 1944-1950
- ACIH 16036 MAW2490/33 32/1/17 Part 2 Waimana rehabilitation Scheme, 1950-1953
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- ACIH 16036 MAW2490/34 32/1/21 Part 1 Omataroa 60A9E, W.C. Davies (Estate Thos Davies) – purchase for rehabilitation, 1944-1951
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- ACIH 16036 MAW2490 34 32/1/34 Rehabilitation on Purimu 6A – J.W. McNutt property – rehabilitation, 1945-1949
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- ACIH 16036 MAW2490/38 32/1/84 Part 3 Development schemes – Ninihi Development Scheme, 1954-1975
- ACIH 16036 MAW2490/38 32/1/91 Offer of property rehabilitation – Te Karae block Lots 6, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 – Mangamuka Block Survey District, 1947-1950
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- ACIH 16036 MA1 810 70/1/1A Maori Soldiers' Trust – accounts, 1925-1937
- ACIH 16036 MA1/1138 1915/251 Received: 2nd February 1915 – From: The Registrar, Tairāwhiti District, Maori land board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka No 2A4P and 2E3C7. Board recommends under section 296/1909 that the land be exempted from Part XVI/1909, 1915-1919
- ACIH 16036 MA1/1148 1915/3657 Received: 19 November 1915 – From Tairāwhiti District Maori Land Board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka 2D2M2 and 2D2M3. Board recommends that the land be exempted from Part XVI of the Native Land Act 1909 (under Section 296/1909), 1915-1915
- ACIH 16036 MA1/1151 1916/812 Received: 25 March 1916 – From Tairāwhiti District Maori Land Board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka 2D2E1. Board recommends that the land be exempted from Part XVI of the Native Land Act 1909 (under Section 296/1909), 1916-1916
- ACIH 16036 MA1/1165 1917/16 Received: 24 January 1917 – From Tairāwhiti District Maori Land Board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka 2A4A5A. Board recommends that the land be exempted from Part XVI of the Native Land Act 1909 by partial revocation of the Order in Council of 18 February 1908, 1917-1917

ACIH 16036 MA1/1165 1917/79 Received: 24 March 1917 – From Tairawhiti District Maori Land Board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka 2D2B1C. Board recommends that Order in Council of 18 February 1908 be revoked so that the above land shall cease to be subject to Part XVI/1909, 1917-1917

ACIH 16036 MA1/1181 1918/83 Received: 12 March 1918 – From President Tairawhiti District Maori Land Board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka 2D2C1. Lease Tepora and another to Kapu Karauira. Land subject to Part XVI. Board recommends consent under Section 298/1909, 1918-1918

ACIH 16036 MA1/1187 1918/199 Received: 11 July 1918 – From: Registrar Tairawhiti District Maori Land Board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka 2A4S2 (land subject to Part XVI). Sale Ani te Kara and 2 others to Myra Powdrell. Board recommends consent of Native Minister under Section 298/1909, 1919-1919

ACIH 16036 MA1/1284 1922/85 Received 13 March 1922 – From: President, Tairawhiti District Maori Land Board, Gisborne – Subject: Nuhaka 2E3A9B. Land subject to Part XVI/1909 – Sale to Peta Nepia. For consent under Section 298/1909, 1922-1922

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ADAV 16028 A5/225 26/30 Soldiers' Financial Assistance Board, 1940-1946

ADBO: Social Security Department

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ADQD: New Zealand Railways

ADQD 17422 W2476 1919/1176/3 Concessions to soldiers disabled in South African War, 1923-1950

ADRE: National Efficiency Board, Head Office

ADRE 17315 NEB1/6 141 Returned Soldiers' Association Information Department [sic] List of returned soldiers, n.d. – n.d.

ADRE 17315 NEB1/12 465 Regarding acquisition of North Auckland land for settlement of returned soldiers, no date – no date

ADRE 17315 NEB1/20 1007, Regarding Native lands, no date – no date

ADRF: National Efficiency Board, Wellington

ADRF 17316 NEB-W1/3 724 Regarding settlement of returned soldiers on land and in business, n.d – n.d.

ADRF 17316 NEB-W1/3 702 Regarding Maori hui, no date-no date

ADRF 17136 NEB-W1/4 1063 Regarding financial assistance to returned soldiers to acquire businesses, no date – no date

ADRK: The Treasury

ADRK 17391 T1/257 40/116/1 Part 1 Maori land development scheme, no date - 1951

ADRK 17391 T1/257 40/116/1 Part 2 Maori land development scheme, no date - 1957

ADRK 17391 T1 W2591/14 40/116/1 Part 3 Maori land development programme, 1957-1973

ADRK 17391 T1 405 53/96/5 Rehabilitation Maoris, no date – 1951

ADRK 17408 T25 3/21 Rehabilitation Act, 1940-1941

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ADRK 17408 T25/18/150 General data on post-war reconstruction and repatriation, 1941-1941

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ADRK 17408 T25/18/154 Ministerial memoranda on proposed policies, 1941-1941

ADSQ 17639: New Zealand Forest Service

ADSQ 17639 F1/179 3/1 Part 1 Employment for discharged soldiers, 1915-1918

AEBE: Legislative Department

AEBE 18507 LE1/732 1920/174 Alt No 347 Lands, Lands and Survey Department, Maori returned soldiers, applications for lands in North Auckland district, 1920-1920

AEBE 18507 LE1/732 1920/176 Alt No 274 Lands, Lands and Survey Department, soldier settlement, Crown lands, in North Auckland available for, also land withheld, 1920-1920

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AEBE 18507 LE1/732 1920/174 Alt No 347 Lands, Lands and Survey Department, Maori returned soldiers, applications for land in North Auckland district, 1920-1920

AEBE 18507 LE1/753 1921/206 Alt No 206 Lands and Survey Department, discharged soldiers' advances, number of applications received from and number of applications approved, 1921-1921

AEBE 18507 LE1/772 1922/231 Native Affairs, Tokerau Maori Land Board, area of land vested in, 1922-1922

AEEO: Prime Minister's Department

AEEO 18657 PM11/1 4/1 Information re the Organisation for National Development, 1944-1944

AEEO 18657 PM12/1 5/2 Activities of the Organisation for National Development, financial, 1944-1944

AEEO 18657 PM12/1 26 Rehabilitation, 1944-1945

AEEO 18674 PM22 2/7/1 Rehabilitation and reconstruction – statistical returns, 1942-1945

AEEO 18674 PM22 12/7/2 Rehabilitation and reconstruction – land settlement (especially Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Bill, 1943), 1941-1947

AEEO 18674 PM22 12/7/3 Rehabilitation and reconstruction – rehabilitation, 1943-1944

AEEO 18674 PM22 13/7/4 Rehabilitation and reconstruction – rehabilitation, 1945-1945

AEEO 18674 PM22 13/7/5 Rehabilitation and reconstruction – rehabilitation, 1946-1947

AEEO 18674 PM22 14/7/6 Rehabilitation and reconstruction – rehabilitation, 1948-1949

AECO 18674 PM22 14/7/8 Rehabilitation and reconstruction – post-war reconstruction, 1943-1945

AECZ: Native Land Purchase Department

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b 1920/57 From Dr Pomare, Wellington. Date: 5 September 1919. Subject: As to setting apart portion of Morikau Block for Maori soldiers, 1919-1920

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1 232/b N1920/463 From: Dr Pomare, Wellington. Date 2 September 1920 Subject: Morikau farm blocks. As to purchase of 7000 acres for settlement of Maori returned soldiers, 1920-1922

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP 1/167/f 1916/44 From Raureti te Huia. Date 20 June 1916 Wharepuhunga North Reserve wishing to sell or give to the Crown in order to be given to returned soldiers, 1916-1918

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 168/f 1916/55 From W.E. Goffe, Land Purchase Office, Gisborne Date : 25 August 1916 Block: Nuhaka 2F2A – enclosing subject: two letters which recommend its purchase by the Crown, 1916-1921

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 180/a 1917/95 From: W.E. Goffe, Gisborne Date 11 October 1917 Block: Nuhaka 2A4E Subject: suggests that the Crown should acquire, 1917-1919

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1/211/i 1918/29 From: Tapapa-Okoroire Settlers' and Ratepayers' Association, Okoroire Date: 17 July 1918 Subject: Whaitekuranui No 2D – that it's to be acquired for Returned Soldiers settlement, 1918-1934

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 171/f 1916/97 Part 1 Owahaoko Blocks, 1916-1936

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 171/g 1916/97 Part 2 Owahaoko Blocks, 1956-1958

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 211d 1918/24 Lands vested in Tokerau District Maori Land Board. As to acquiring those suitable for settlement, 1916-1921

AECZ 18714 MA-MLP1 246/1 1923/16 From W.F. Marsh, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Napier Date: 26 June 1923 Subject: Nuhaka 2D2G2, as to acquisition by the Crown, 1923-1923

AEFN: Department of Industries and Commerce

AEFN 19230 IC49 4 50 Part 1 Rehabilitation of ex-servicemen into industry, 1937-1951

AEFN 19230 IC49 4 50 Part 2 Rehabilitation of ex-servicemen into industry, 1937-1951

AELE: State Advances Corporation

AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956/57 36/1/6 Rehabilitation policy – Board and Council proceedings, 1944-1944

AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956/57 36/1/6 Part 1 Rehabilitation policy – Board and Council proceedings, 1951-1952

AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956/57 36/1/6 Part 2 Rehabilitation policy – Board and Council proceedings, 1944-1945

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AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956/58 36/1/6 Part 6 Rehabilitation policy – Board and Council proceedings, 1947-1947

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AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956/59 36/1/6 Part 10 Rehabilitation policy – Board and Council proceedings, 1950-1951

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- AELE 19203 SAC1/327 36/25 Part 3 Rehabilitation – lands purchased – general, 1946-1956
- AELE 19203 SAC1/327 36/25 Part 2 Rehabilitation – lands purchased – general, 1946-1946
- AELE 19203 SAC1/328 36/25 Part 4 Rehabilitation – lands purchased – general, 1952-1953
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Appendix 1: Direction Commissioning Research

OFFICIAL

Wai 2500, #2.3.9

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

Wai 2500

CONCERNING

the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND

the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Dr Terry Hearn, Historian, to prepare a report on Crown repatriation support for Māori military veterans, 1860s-2000s, for the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry.
2. This direction re-commissions the research originally commissioned from Dr Terry Hearn and Coralie Clarkson, which could not proceed and was previously cancelled (Wai 2500, #2.3.1, #2.3.8).
3. The report should consider the following main research themes:
 - a) What were the main forms of repatriation support provided for New Zealand military veterans?
 - b) What legislative, policy or practical barriers or restrictions, if any, have Māori military veterans faced with regard to various forms of repatriation support provided for New Zealand veterans?
 - c) What was the statutory framework of returned soldier settlement and its administration and outcomes for returned Māori military veterans in the soldier settlement cases specified in claims to this inquiry; for example, allegations concerning soldier settlement on the Nuhaka valley lands following the First World War?
 - d) What was the nature of Crown engagement and consultation with Māori veterans and their communities over the provision of repatriation assistance and the repatriation requirements of Māori veterans?
 - e) What conclusions, if any, can be drawn from statistical or other comparisons between Māori and non-Māori veterans?
 - f) What were Māori veterans' experiences of the administration of repatriation support through the various agencies involved, in particular, in catering for the challenges some Māori veterans may have faced in accessing support from isolated rural areas or where language barriers existed?

4. The commission ends on 15 May 2018, at which time one copy of the final report must be submitted to the Registrar for filing in unbound form, together with indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts. An electronic copy of the report and supporting documentation should also be provided in Word or PDF file format.
5. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.
6. The Registrar is to send copies of this direction to:
 - Dr Terry Hearn
 - Claimant counsel, Crown counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry
 - Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 - Principal Research Analysts, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 - Manager Research Services, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 - Manager Inquiry Facilitation, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 - Inquiry Facilitator, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 - Solicitor General, Crown Law Office
 - Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
 - Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri

DATED at Wellington on this 30th day of November 2017



Chief Judge W W Isaac
Presiding Officer
WAITANGI TRIBUNAL