

**OFFICIAL**

**Wai 1130 # E37**

# **The Taurewa Development Scheme 1939-2006**

A research report for the National Park District Inquiry

Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal

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## PREFACE

My name is Ann Beaglehole. I have a PhD in New Zealand History from Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. My publications include *A Small Price to Pay: Refugees from Hitler in New Zealand, 1936-1946* (Allen and Unwin, 1988); *The History of the Eastern Bays of Wellington Harbour* (Eastbourne Historical Society, 2001); and a novel, *Replacement Girl* (Tandem Press, 2002). Since August 2005 I have been employed as a Research Officer with the Waitangi Tribunal Business Unit. I was employed as Senior Policy Analyst at Te Puni Kokiri from 2000-2005.

This report was completed with the assistance of staff at the Waitangi Tribunal Business Unit. In particular I would like to acknowledge the research advice and editorial assistance provided by Leanne Boulton, Mark Derby, Jamie Mitchell and Barry Rigby. I would like to thank Brian Herlihy, former registrar of the Wanganui Maori Land Court, for his help with locating information and Peter Little, Manager of the Land Management Unit, Te Puni Kokiri, for contributing his personal knowledge of the Taurewa Development Scheme. I am also grateful to Molly Kino, Senior Records Officer at Te Puni Kokiri, for enabling me to access vital information. Lastly, I would like to give sincere thanks to the people who agreed to be interviewed about the Taurewa Development Scheme: Tumu Te Heuheu, Kepa Patena, Arthur Smallman and Sonny Te Ahuru.



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# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 The Commission

This report addresses an information gap in the National Park inquiry casebook. In his direction dated 15 July 2005, the presiding officer Judge W. Isaac noted that the Taurewa Farm Development Scheme was not dealt with in the research reports then available. He recommended that it be made the subject of a separate project.<sup>1</sup>

The Tuwharetoa (Wai 575) Final Amended Statement of Claim (ASOC) for the National Park inquiry identified general issues of concern about the Crown's development schemes. Issues identified included the following: the schemes were 'too little too late' (131.1); they were developed for the benefit of the occupiers (individual farmers) at the expense of the owners and the 'Crown failed to promote and implement alternative models that enabled the land to be managed collectively' such as trusts and incorporations (131.3); owners were 'deprived' of the 'rights of ownership over their land'; the schemes 'suffered through poor administration or unsustainable debt levels'; some schemes were overcapitalised, leaving owners with a heavy burden of debt to discharge; and the rights of minority shareholders were overlooked (131.4).<sup>2</sup>

Specific claimant issues concerning the Taurewa Development Scheme relate to the Crown's management of the blocks (for example, were the Crown's land management techniques effective?); consultation with block owners (was there adequate consultation?); and issues around amalgamation of titles (for example, was amalgamation carried out with proper notice?).<sup>3</sup>

This report examines the history of the Taurewa Development Scheme in the light of the above concerns. It considers:

- the circumstances surrounding the establishment and successive expansions of the scheme; and
- subsequent management and operation of the scheme to the present day, with emphasis on the period before 1986.

The research commission is attached as Appendix I.

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<sup>1</sup> Wai 1130 #2.3.20, 15 July 2005.

## 1.2 Existing literature

There is a considerable body of research on Maori land development. Ashley Gould's 'Maori Land Development Schemes – generic overview, 1920-1993'<sup>4</sup>, setting Maori land development schemes in a social, economic and political context, is particularly illuminating.

Several development schemes are specifically dealt with in the literature. Until the present report, the Taurewa Development Scheme had not been addressed.

In addition to Gould's work, Aroha Harris's 1996 Master of Philosophy thesis 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga'<sup>5</sup> is useful in providing general background information on development schemes.

Other research reports which provide valuable general information include: Bruce Stirling's 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview'<sup>6</sup>; Paula Berghan's 'Block research narratives of the Tongariro National Park District 1865-2000'<sup>7</sup>; and Terrence Hearn's 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Twentieth Century Overview'.<sup>8</sup> Valuable reports on specific development schemes include: the Waitangi Tribunal report on Waiheke Island (Wai 10) and Paul Hamer's review of the Tokaanu scheme.<sup>9</sup>

A comprehensive list of the literature on Maori land development schemes, trusts, incorporations, consolidation schemes and amalgamation is available in Tim Shoebridge's *Waitangi Tribunal Bibliography, 1975-2005*.<sup>10</sup> Ashley Gould's 'Existing Literature on the subject of Maori land Development Schemes', in his 2004 report on Maori land development

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<sup>2</sup> Tuwharetoa (Wai 575) ASOC, 26 July 2005, Wai 1130, #1.2.14, paras 131.1, 131, 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> Ngati Hinewai (Wai 1029) ASOC, 26 September 2005, Wai 1130, #1.2.4, para 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ashley Gould, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, Generic Overview, c1920-1993', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A67; Ashley Gould, Graham Owen, Dion, Tuuta, 'Maori Land Development, 1929-1954: An Introductory Overview With Representative Case Studies', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1996, Wai 674 D11.

<sup>5</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce Stirling, 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A71.

<sup>7</sup> Paula Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives of the Tongariro National Park District, 1865-2000', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1130 A5.

<sup>8</sup> Terrance Hearn, 'Taupo-Kaingaroa Twentieth Century Overview: Land Alienation and Land Administration, 1900-1993', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A68.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Hamer, 'Tokaanu Development Scheme, 1930-1968, research report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, 1994, Wai 84 B12.

<sup>10</sup> Tim Shoebridge, *Waitangi Tribunal Bibliography, 1975-2005: Tribunal Reports, Research Reports and Other Publications*, Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 2006.

schemes, is also a useful source.<sup>11</sup> The Taurewa Development Scheme fits into the broad pattern of small post-war development schemes discussed in the literature on development schemes.

### **1.3 Sources used for this report**

The sources used for this report were mainly primary. Secondary material, including existing research reports, was used mainly as background material to provide contextual information about Maori land development issues and Maori land development schemes generally. Contextual information about environmental issues and farming was also provided by *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, edited by Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking.<sup>12</sup>

### **1.4 Documentary evidence**

Department of Maori Affairs files on the Taurewa Development Scheme, held at Te Puni Kokiri, Wellington, and at Archives New Zealand, Wellington, were a key source for this report. Native Department files, the Native Land Development Minute Book and the Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book provided crucial information for the period 1932-1949. Official publications, particularly the annual reports of the Department of Maori Affairs, published in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, and New Zealand statutes related to Maori land development and Maori Affairs were also significant.

### **1.5 Oral evidence**

As there are a number of people in the community who can remember the Taurewa Development Scheme, documentary/archival evidence was supplemented by oral evidence. One interviewee provided useful information (with a Department of Maori Affairs perspective) while several other informants were able to draw on personal involvement with the scheme.

Interviewees were selected to be interviewed if they had significant personal knowledge of the scheme and were available to be interviewed in February/March 2006. We were keen to obtain as diverse a range as possible of perspectives on the scheme.

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<sup>11</sup> Ashley Gould, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, Generic Overview, c1920-1993', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A67, pages 457-458.

<sup>12</sup> Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking eds, *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002.

The interviews were carried out either by Ann Beaglehole or by Ann Beaglehole and Mark Derby jointly.<sup>13</sup> Interviews with Tumu Te Heuheu, Arthur Smallman and Kepa Patena were tape recorded and notes were taken. Notes only were taken for interviews with Sonny Te Ahuru and Peter Little.

We would like to have interviewed members of the Hemopo family, Hilda Otene and Mrs Monica Matamua but unfortunately this was not possible. A list of topics raised in the interviews is attached as Appendix II.

## **1.6 The people interviewed**

### Tumu Te Heuheu

Tumu Te Heuheu was interviewed on 21 February 2006 at the Tuwharetoa Trust Board Office in Turangi.

Mr Te Heuheu is the paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, eldest son of the late Sir Hepi Te Heuheu, and a prominent Maori leader.

### Arthur Smallman

Arthur Smallman was interviewed on 21 February 2006 at the Tuwharetoa Trust Board Office in Turangi and later at his home in Turangi. His iwi affiliation is Ngati Tuwharetoa.

Mr Smallman is currently a Tuwharetoa Trust Board member, a Trustee of the Lake Rotoaira Trust Board and Taupo District Councillor. He held the position of Secretary for the Taurewa 5 West Trust between 1995 and 2002.

### Kepa Patena

Kepa Patena was interviewed on 21 February 2006 at his home in Turangi.

Mr Patena is currently Trustee of Taurewa 5 West Trust. He was Chairman of the Trust between 1990 and 1994 and held that office when Taurewa 5 West was returned by Maori Affairs to owners of the blocks in 1991. His iwi affiliation is Ngati Tuwharetoa.

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<sup>13</sup> Ann Beaglehole and Mark Derby are Research Officers at the Waitangi Tribunal.

### Sonny Te Ahuru

Sonny Te Ahuru was interviewed on 22 February 2006 at his home near the papakainga housing of Kakahi, Taumarunui.

Mr Te Ahuru has been personally involved with the Taurewa Development Scheme for over five decades as shepherd, as manager, as owner of the blocks and as trustee. His iwi affiliation is Ngati Tuwharetoa.

### Peter Little

Peter Little was interviewed on 29 November 2005 at Head Office, Te Puni Kokiri in Wellington. I subsequently had two further brief conversations with him, once by phone on 13 March 2006.

Mr Little has diplomas in agriculture, valuation and farm management. He is currently Manager of the Land Management Unit, Te Puni Kokiri. His involvement with the Taurewa Development Scheme began in January 1967 as Maori Affairs Field Officer, based at Taumarunui. He acted in that role until September 1968. He became Senior Field Officer and worked in that role periodically during the early and mid 1970s. Between November 1975 and August 1977, he was Supervising Field Officer and from August 1977 to September 1989 Field Director, followed by Director Land Development. In that role, he was responsible for the land development and rural lending programmes of the Department of Maori Affairs.

## **1.7 Omissions**

The report discusses the history of Maori land development and Maori land development schemes only very briefly, by way of background to the main discussion on the Taurewa Development Scheme. As already noted, other historians have addressed these topics at considerable depth. Changes in government policies, particularly in the agricultural/rural and Maori Affairs sectors, no doubt impacted on the Taurewa Development Scheme but are not discussed in the report at any depth. The 'grasslands revolution' and agricultural practices, such as intensive fertiliser use, are mentioned only in passing.

As there are approximately 106 files specifically on the Taurewa Development Scheme held at Archives New Zealand, as well as some Native Department files, it was not possible in the

time available to look at every file which may have been useful. An effort was made to look at the most relevant files, on a diverse range of topics, related to various aspects of the history of the scheme. Similarly, time constraints prevented the undertaking of more interviews with people involved in, and familiar with, the operation of the Taurewa Development Scheme.

The report focuses simply on the history of the Taurewa Development Scheme. No attempt was made to find out if the scheme's history is typical of development schemes in general by comparing Taurewa with other land development schemes (administered by Maori Affairs or other agencies). Comparisons, even with the adjacent Whangaipeke Development Scheme, have been by and large avoided. Comparisons may be misleading since factors such as terrain and access, for example, might differ significantly between neighbouring schemes. In any case, time constraints prevented more complex comparative analysis.

Issues have been identified by owners concerning two pieces of land within the Taurewa area. The first is known as 'The Dominion' and the second, located between the Whakapapa and Whanganui Rivers as 'The Island'. They are Department of Conservation land and are not addressed in this report. This report focuses on land formerly managed by Maori Affairs as a land development scheme.

## **1.8 Main themes and issues**

Several themes and issues stand out as having had a major significance for the Taurewa Development Scheme over the years from its establishment in 1939 to the hand-back to owner control in 1991. These issues have impacted on the ability of the scheme to fulfil the intended purpose and potential of development schemes and to meet the various expectations of owners and of Maori Affairs.

The deep divisions that existed among owners about participation in the development scheme have had a strong bearing on how the development scheme has fared over the years. This is particularly so in relation to the title improvement aspect of land development. Difficulties of the location (the access issues), and possibly of the terrain, have clearly also had a major role.

A key question asked by the Department of Maori Affairs and owners over the years has been: why did the scheme not do better? The part played by the Department's management in the scheme's difficulties in meeting promises made to owners about the creation of a profitable enterprise is hard to determine. As debt and losses grew, so did the clear concerns

of owners and Maori Affairs about profitability. But the right solutions were not forthcoming despite the efforts Maori Affairs seemed to be making to improve productivity, reduce debt and raise profits. The Department remained mystified by the Taurewa Development Scheme's failure to fulfill its potential.

## **1.9 Organisation of the report**

The next chapter contains a discussion of the origins of Maori land development and an outline of development scheme legislation and policy in the twentieth century, including the background to, and provisions of, the Maori Affairs Act 1953, its amendments and subsequent legislation. It also includes information on the block history of the locality, including the gazetting of the Taurewa Development Scheme in 1939, and further vesting of land in the scheme in 1941 and subsequent years. The blocks were released back to trustee control in 1991.

Chapter 3 looks at farming and development in Taurewa from the 1920s (before the setting up of the development scheme) to the 1950s (when the scheme was becoming established and significant development began). The management and operation of the scheme in the 1960s and 1970s is discussed in Chapter 4. The chapter focuses on the increasing concern about the scheme's economic performance (particularly the losses and the growing debt) and on such topics as owner participation in the running of the scheme and in decision making and on the issue of providing adequate all-weather access to the scheme.

The subject of Chapter 5 is the setting up of a trust in 1982-83 to participate in the management of the Taurewa Development Scheme. The 1982 order by Maori Land Court Chief Judge ETJ Durie to amalgamate the Taurewa 4 West lands previously included in the development scheme is discussed. The chapter also looks at a range of other matters affecting the operation of the scheme in the 1980s. Maori Affairs handed back the Taurewa Development Scheme to trustee control in 1991.

The scheme's debt was written off. These topics are discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 deals with some of the issues that have preoccupied the Taurewa 5 West Trust since the hand-back. It covers the years from around 1991 until the end of 2005. The report ends with a Conclusion (Chapter 8), a Bibliography and Appendices. A chronology of main events in the history of the Taurewa Development Scheme is attached as Appendix III.

## 2 BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Origins of Maori land development

Maori land development is considered to have originated with the provisions of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929, introduced to New Zealand's legislature by Apirana Ngata, Native Minister between 1928 and 1934. Although there are recognised precursors to the passing of this Act, this was the first time the state had committed its resources to Maori farming.<sup>14</sup> The 1929 legislation and subsequent legislation granted the state direct legal and financial responsibility for assisting Maori to develop and farm land designated for this purpose.

The land which came under development was subject to a legislative management regime, brought about by the publication of a declaration notice in the *New Zealand Gazette*, which had the effect of granting the Minister of Maori Affairs, and later the Board of Maori Affairs, the right of exclusive occupation of the land. Beneficial ownership of the land was not transferred but the vesting of exclusive rights of occupation and management was intended to provide the security needed for advancing state funds for developing the land.

Several restrictions were placed on Maori owners of land under development and the state acquired various responsibilities as a trustee for the Maori owners of the land in question. State responsibilities included the provision of a comprehensive programme of training and supervision, aimed at teaching Maori to be farmers of their own land.

Maori land development went hand in hand with title rationalisation, reform or 'improvement', as the concept came to be known. The state viewed multiple ownership of Maori land as an obstacle to bringing Maori land into full production. It was regarded as an obstruction to utilisation (everybody's land was nobody's land) and a deterrent to private sector financing of Maori land development. Various means were used to 'improve' Maori title, including consolidation, conversion and amalgamation.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Malcolm McKinnon, *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Wellington, Bateman, with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1997, plate 86; Graham Butterworth and Hepora Young, *Maori Affairs*, Wellington, Iwi Transition Agency, Government Print Books, 1990.

<sup>15</sup> Ashley Gould, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, Generic Overview, c1920-1993', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, summary, pages 5-6, Wai 1200 A67; Aroha Harris,



## 2.2 What is a Maori land development scheme?

A 'land development scheme' is the name given to the management structure set up by the Department of Maori Affairs for developing multiple-owned Maori land in areas designated as local development areas. The specific land being developed might be Maori freehold land, European freehold land, land owned by individual Maori, Crown land, or land acquired by the Minister or Board of Maori Affairs. Typically, 'naturally contiguous areas of land owned by related families or hapu' were grouped under a single scheme.<sup>16</sup>

Between 1929 and 1986 about 150 schemes were set up and administered under five specific pieces of legislation and various other subsidiary pieces of legislation. During this period, significant changes in government policies in relation to development schemes took place. The specific process of creating farms on the cleared land tended to vary according to the period when development began. The process for schemes started before the Second World War, for example, differed from post-war schemes. Individual schemes varied considerably from one another in the specific detail of their operation and in the extent to which they met their objectives.<sup>17</sup>

Two of the most significant pieces of legislation impacting on development schemes, including on the Taurewa Development Scheme, were the Labour government's Native Land Amendment Act 1936 and the National government's Maori Affairs Act 1953. The latter legislation, with amendments, governed Maori Affairs policy for the next forty years.<sup>18</sup> The 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act was also important.

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'Maori land development schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, Abstract and pages 1, 25-27.

<sup>16</sup> Ashley Gould, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, Generic Overview, c1920-1993', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, page 6, Wai 1200 A67; Ashley Gould; Owen, Graham; Tuuta, Dion, 'Maori Land Development, 1929-1954: An Introductory Overview With Representative Case Studies,' Wai 674 D11, research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1996, Wai 674 D11.

<sup>17</sup> Ashley Gould, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, Generic Overview, c1920-1993', Summary, Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A67, page 6; Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, Abstract and page 1.

<sup>18</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori land development schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, page 34.

### **2.3 Native Land Amendment Act 1936**

The Board of Maori Affairs vested land in the Taurewa Development Scheme under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936.<sup>19</sup> Under this Act and its successors, the Government was required to undertake development of Maori land for the occupation and benefit of its owners.<sup>20</sup>

Under the Act, powers previously vested in the Minister of Maori Affairs were vested in the Board of Maori Affairs, established in 1935. Section 3 of the Act made it the duty of the Board to promote the settlement and more effective use by 'Natives' of 'Native' land and of land owned or occupied by 'Natives' and to encourage Maori to take up farming and related occupations.<sup>21</sup>

### **2.4 Maori Affairs Act 1953**

The Maori Affairs Act 1953 consolidated Maori land legislation since 1931. The Act reinforced existing title improvement provisions as well as introducing new measures to address the state's concerns about Maori title. The most controversial new measure was conversion, a process which allowed the Maori Trustee to acquire uneconomic interests in Maori freehold land. The Government's view was that drastic changes in titles to Maori land were necessary for Maori farmers to participate in the modern farming economy. If blocks of Maori land were owned by one person or by small groups of owners, Maori land would be easier to develop as an economic unit.<sup>22</sup> Part XXIV of the 1953 Act set up the legislative basis for post-war development schemes, including for the Taurewa Development Scheme. The main purpose of this part of the Act was to: 'promote the occupation of Maori freehold land by Maori and the use of such land for farming purposes'.<sup>23</sup>

The Board of Maori Affairs, a statutory authority chaired by the Minister of Maori Affairs, continued to have primary responsibility for the schemes and could, under Section 330 of the

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<sup>19</sup> ANZ, Native Land Board Minute Book, 1933-1935; Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book, 1938-1946.

<sup>20</sup> Ashley Gould, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, Generic Overview, c1920-1993', Summary, Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A67, page 6.

<sup>21</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, pages 31-32.

<sup>22</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, pages 24-26.

<sup>23</sup> Part XXIV of the Act, quoted by Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, pages 35-38.

Act, declare classes of land subject to Part XXIV provisions. Before declaring land subject to Part XXIV, the Board was required to take steps to find out the wishes of owners and to consider any objections. Generally, the Board of Maori Affairs could improve and develop Part XXIV land as it saw fit by undertaking the following: surveying, draining, roading, fencing, clearing, grassing, building and maintaining buildings, buying and selling livestock and farm equipment. Part XXIV land could be occupied and farmed by the Board itself or its nominated occupiers or lessees. The nominated occupier could be an owner of the land concerned. The Board could advance money to lessees for any reason it approved (for example to buy equipment to develop the land) and money spent by the Board on the land became a charge on the land under development.<sup>24</sup> Section 438 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 made provision for the setting up of trusts and subsequently these were referred to as 'section 438 trusts'.<sup>25</sup>

The Department of Maori Affairs (Land Development and Settlement Division) had the main responsibility for administering development schemes. In conjunction with owners, Maori Affairs staff arranged to bring suitable land under the development scheme legislation; recommended loans to the Board; supervised land development and farm management; and were responsible for training and supervision of the settlers on the farm. The Board of Maori Affairs controlled certain of the Department's activities and was the lending authority for the schemes.<sup>26</sup>

## **2.5 Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967**

The Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 provided that the status of 'European land' was able to be given to blocks of Maori land owned by no more than four persons. The Department of Maori Affairs was given powers to restructure titles and to intervene to ensure the efficient use of Maori land. The law relating to incorporations was amended so that they became virtual companies, with Maori owners having shares in incorporations, instead of fractional

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<sup>24</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, pages 35-38.

<sup>25</sup> Nicholas Bayley, Leanne Boulton, Adam Heinz, 'Maori Land Trusts and Incorporations in the Twentieth Century in the Central North Island Inquiry Region', Part 2 of 2, research report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 1200 G4, page 2; G.V. & S. M. Butterworth, *The Maori Trustee*, Wellington, the Maori Trustee, 1991, page 120.

<sup>26</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, pages 38-39.

interests in blocks of land. The Act also made changes to the Maori Affairs Act 1953 relating to alienation, allowing for the easier sale of land.<sup>27</sup>

## **2.6 Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993**

Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 further extended trust possibilities by creating five separate types of trust. The Act changed the situation created by the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act, making incorporations less like commercial companies, with the shareholder once again a beneficial owner in the land.<sup>28</sup>

## **2.7 Stages in the land development process**

On 30 June 1954, the Department of Maori Affairs was responsible for 445,281 acres (180,205 ha)<sup>29</sup> of land being developed under part XXIV of the 1953 Maori Affairs Act. The development schemes were at various stages in the development process between gazetting of the scheme and disposal, and hand back to trustee control. The other stages were (at least in theory): meetings and discussions with owners and other steps preparatory to development such as title investigations and amalgamation of titles; development of the land; farming of the land; and settlement on the land.<sup>30</sup>

## **2.8 Funding Maori land development**

The extent of the Maori land development project is conveyed by the figures for the period 1964 to 1969 when between 10,000 to 12,000 acres (4,047 to 4,856 ha) were being grassed a year.<sup>31</sup> It appears that while the state was committed to developing all suitable Maori land that was lying 'idle' or being 'insufficiently used', in practice, not enough funds were allocated for the purpose.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> G. V. Butterworth and H. R. Young, *Maori Affairs*, Wellington, Iwi Transition Agency, Government Print Books, 1990, pages 105-106.

<sup>28</sup> Nicholas Bayley, Leanne Boulton, Adam Heinz, 'Maori Land Trusts and Incorporations in the Twentieth Century in the Central North Island Inquiry Region', Part 2 of 2, research report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 1200 G4, page 3.

<sup>29</sup> Conversions have been rounded off.

<sup>30</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, pages 40-42.

<sup>31</sup> G. V. Butterworth and H. R. Young, *Maori Affairs*, Wellington, Iwi Transition Agency, Government Print Books, 1990, page 105.

<sup>32</sup> Aroha Harris, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, 1945-1974, with two case studies from the Hokianga', Master of Philosophy thesis in Social Policy, Massey University, 1996, page 40.

The Taurewa Development Scheme appears to have been affected by financial shortfalls at various crucial points in its development process. Taurewa's need for adequate all-weather access, for example, although identified in the 1930s, was not addressed until 1972, presumably due to a shortage of funds. (The cost of building the bridge over the Wanganui River was then borne by owners and Maori Affairs.) In the 1980s, the availability of funding for such items as fertiliser was restricted. These issues are discussed further in later chapters.

## **2.9 Where is the Taurewa Development Scheme?**

The Taurewa Development Scheme (currently Taurewa 5 West) is part of the original Taurewa block created in 1886.<sup>33</sup> Located across the Whakapapa River from Kakahi, it is situated between the two rivers - the Wanganui and the Whakapapa. The scheme is one of three land development schemes along the Hohotaka Road which were run by Maori Affairs before 1991. (The other two were the Manunui and the Whangaipeke.) The Taurewa Development Scheme is situated at the south western end of the Hohotaka Road, off State Highway 41. (See below for Figure 1, Locality Map and Figure 2, Development Schemes along the Hohotaka Road.)

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<sup>33</sup> Paula Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives of the Tongariro National Park District, 1865-2000', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1130 A5, page 322.

**Figure 1: Locality Map**

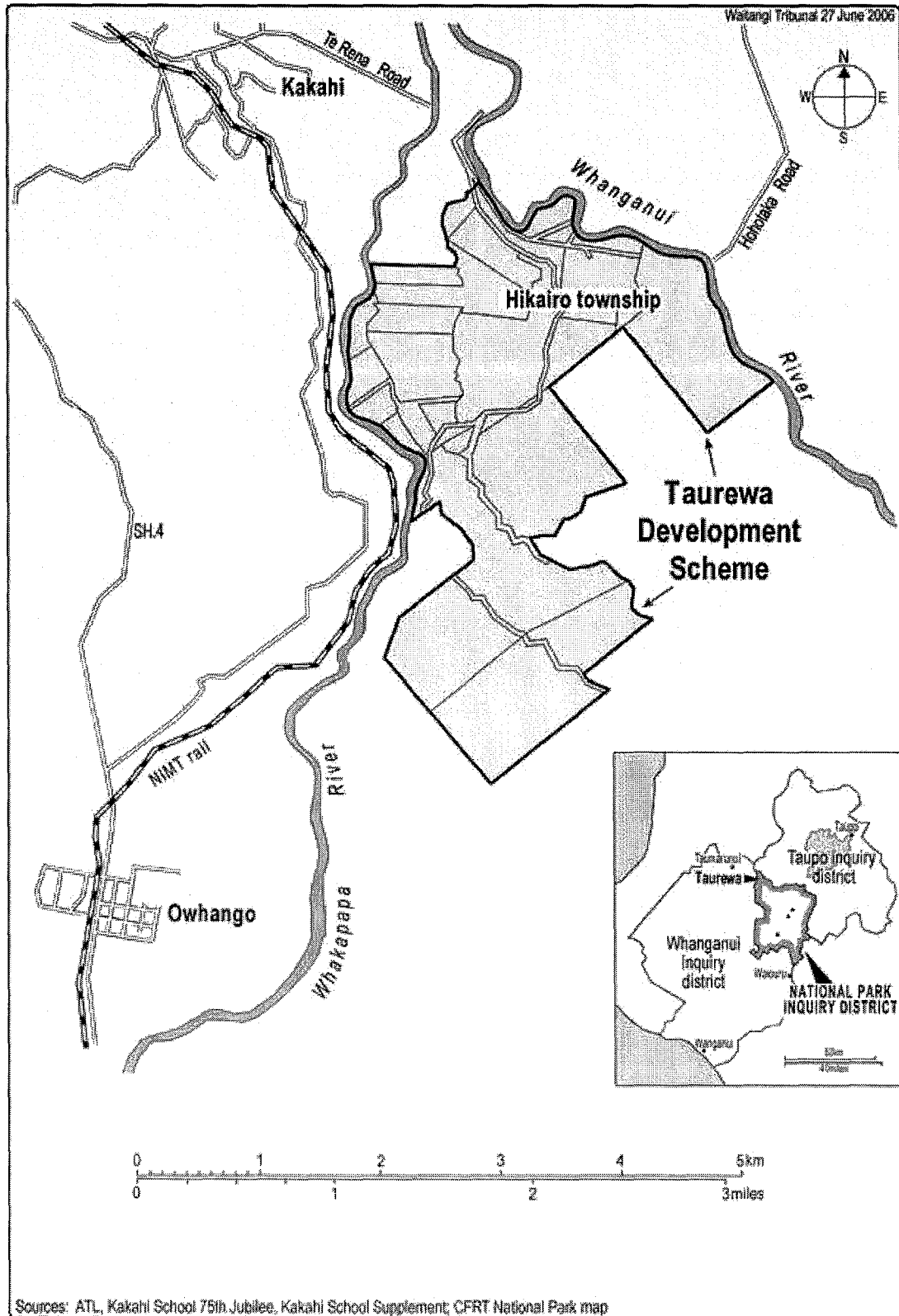
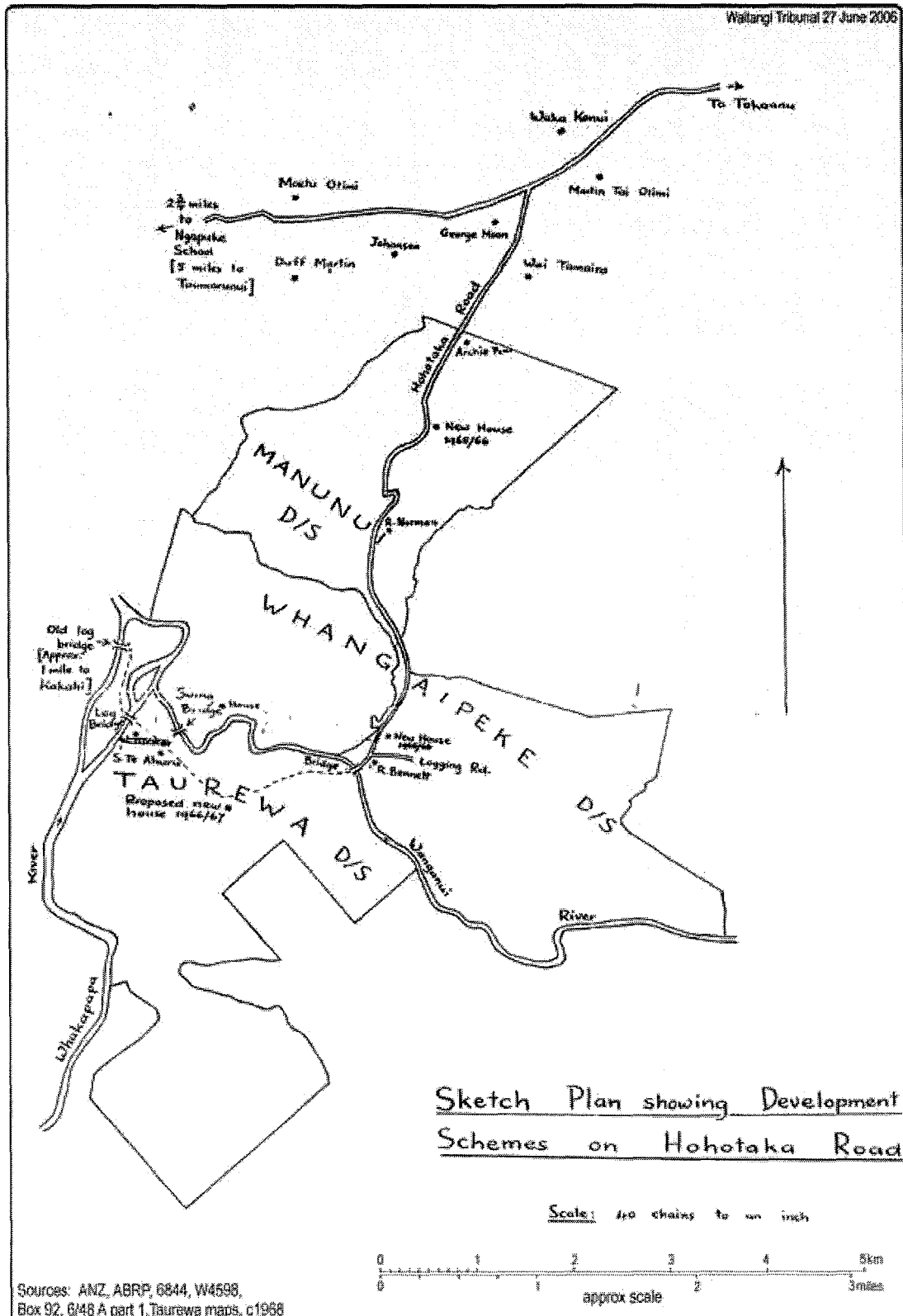


Figure 2: Development schemes along the Hohotaka Road



## 2.10 Hapu and iwi associations

Ngati Tuwharetoa has traditional ancestral association and contemporary interest in the National Park Inquiry District, including the Taurewa block. Hapu of Ngati Tuwharetoa that assert 'mana whenua' in the inquiry district include: Ngati Hikairo, Ngati Waewae, Ngati Turumakina, Ngati Te Mahau, Ngati Turangitukua, Ngati Karauia, Ngati Rongomai, Ngati Hine, Ngati Hinemihi, Ngati Manunui, Ngati Whiti, and Ngati Tama.<sup>34</sup> Ngati Hinewai, a Tuwharetoa hapu with Whanganui associations, have also asserted their interest in the Taurewa area.<sup>35</sup> An in-depth discussion of hapu and iwi associations with the National Park inquiry district may be found in a report by Angela Ballara - 'The People of the Central North Island: an Introduction.'<sup>36</sup>

## 2.11 Names

Taurewa means elevated range. The Taurewa Development Scheme is referred to by a variety of names in Department of Maori Affairs files - Taurewa Station, Taurewa Farm Development Scheme and Taurewa Scheme or project. The scheme is sometimes identified by its proximity to the small settlements of Kakahi and Te Rena or by distance to Taumarunui - approximately 30 kms. The scheme is also known by the names of the various parcels of land or blocks included in the scheme - Taurewa 4 West A2 being the first of these. After 1982, the amalgamated development scheme was known as the Taurewa 5 West A-F blocks. Since the return of the blocks to owners in 1991, the former Taurewa Development Scheme has been known as Taurewa 5 West, with the managing body referred to as the Taurewa Trust.

The Taurewa Development Scheme/Taurewa 5 West is to be differentiated from Taurewa Farm, which is also in the Taurewa area, but was administered by the Department of Land and Survey until 1986, when it came under the management of Landcorp Management Services. Taurewa Farm runs along State Highway 47 from the township of National Park, past the Whakapapanui Stream and extends into the Okahukura Block. This report does not examine the Taurewa Farm, and it should not be confused with Taurewa Development Scheme.

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<sup>34</sup> Tuwharetoa (Wai 515) ASOC, 26 July 2005, Wai 1130, #1.2.14, para 10.

<sup>35</sup> Ngati Hinewai (Wai 1029) ASOC, 26 September 2005, Wai 1130, #1.2.4, paras 3-4.

<sup>36</sup> Angela Ballara, 'Tribal Landscape Overview, c1800-c1900 in the Taupo, Rotorua, Kaingaroa and National Park Inquiry District', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A65.



The Crown agency administering the Taurewa Development Scheme has been known by various names too. It was the Native Department until 1947 when it was renamed the Department of Maori Affairs. The Department of Maori Affairs became the Department of Maori and Island Affairs in 1968. In 1989, the Iwi Transition Agency and Manatu Maori, the Ministry of Maori Affairs, replaced the Department of Maori Affairs. The Iwi Transition Agency and Manatu Maori subsequently became Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry of Maori Development.

### **2.12 An attractive property with good contour and bush**

The Taurewa Development Scheme is described in numerous reports from the 1950s to the late 1980s as an attractive property with potential to become a profitable farm, even several farms. However, the reports invariably make reference to the difficulties facing the scheme due to the terrain and/ or the location. In 1965, for example, by which time scheme development was well under way, the Taurewa Development Scheme is described in a report to the Board of Maori Affairs as: ‘Flats at front above Whakapapa River rising gradually then steeply to “high hill” 2/3rds way back and again falling to 400 acre cultivable area at back of property. Broken country and length of property makes difficulty of working.’<sup>37</sup>

The following year, another report to the Board of Maori Affairs noted that the ‘attractive property with good balance of hills and flats, [was] somewhat spoilt by elongated shape and broken country in centre of the property.’ The report added that: ‘Strong reversion to fern and blackberry has been brought well under control by stocking and manure.’<sup>38</sup> These issues – the amount of cultivable land, the suitability of the land for farming and the management of reversion will be touched on later in the report.

### **2.13 Title history**

The Taurewa Development Scheme is located on a portion of the Taurewa area, which was part of the large Tauponuiatia block, the history of which is covered extensively in the Central North Island casebook. Paula Berghan’s ‘Block Research Narratives of the Tongariro

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<sup>37</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Report on the Taurewa Development Scheme by Wanganui District Office to the Board of Maori Affairs, 2 March 1965.

<sup>38</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Report on Taurewa Development Scheme by Wanganui District Office to the Board of Maori Affairs, 3 March 1966.

National Park District 1865-2000'<sup>39</sup> details the purchasing and title changes of the Taurewa blocks. The report begins with the Tauponuiatia hearing, which began on 14 January 1886, and ends on 25 March 1982 when the Taurewa 5 West A-F blocks were created through a series of amalgamations.

As detailed by Berghan, key events in the Taurewa title history before the start of the Taurewa Development scheme include:

- On 2 June 1886, Land Purchase Officer W. H. Grace confirmed that the 40,000 (16,188 ha) Taurewa had 451 owners.
- On 24 September 1887, the Court issued four certificates of titles over the Taurewa blocks: Taurewa 1,2, 3 and 4. The Crown purchased Block 1. The remaining three blocks stayed with Maori owners.
- In 1894, the Crown purchased Taurewa 2A and 3. Taurewa 2B remained with a single Maori owner.
- By 1904, Taurewa 4 was the only block left in Maori ownership.
- From 1904 until 1917 the fragmentation continued.
- From 1917 and during the 1920s several partitions occurred, partly in response to the Crown's purchasing efforts.
- From 31 October 1918, several Orders in Council prohibited the alienation of the Taurewa 4 blocks other than to the Crown.
- In 1920, the Native Land Board confirmed leases within the Taurewa 4 West blocks.
- On 29 January 1925, there was a partial revocation of an Order in Council prohibiting all alienation of the Taurewa No 4 West D6 and D9 blocks from alienation other than in favour of the Crown.

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<sup>39</sup> Paula Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives of the Tongariro National Park District, 1865-2000', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2004, Wai 1130 A5, pages 322-336.

## 2.14 Initiating the Taurewa Development Scheme

The Taurewa Development Scheme was set up in 1939 under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, discussed earlier. The following notice, constituting the scheme, appeared in the *New Zealand Gazette*: 'Pursuant to Section 4 of the Native Land Amendment Act, 1936, the Board of Native Affairs hereby declares the Native land described in the Schedule hereto to be subject to Part 1 of the said Act and to be called or known as the Taurewa Development Scheme.'<sup>40</sup>

The accompanying schedule, 'Dated at Wellington, this 23rd day of November, 1939', stated that the new scheme would comprise: 'All that area of Native land in the Aotea Native Land Court District, situated in Block III, Waimanu Survey District, and known as Taurewa 4 West A No. 2 Block, containing 235 Acres 2 roods, more or less (95 ha).'<sup>41</sup> It was somewhat unusual for the Crown to initiate a development scheme with just a single small (235 acre) unit but not without precedent.<sup>41</sup>

## 2.15 Further vesting of land

From 1941, the amount of land in the Taurewa Development Scheme grew enormously due to a large number of separate vestings of land blocks. By the end of that year, 2,064 acres (835 ha) had been vested in the scheme.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.16 Hikairo Township blocks

Some time before 1915, the formation of a township, to be called Hikairo Township, was proposed. When the railway planned in the vicinity did not eventuate, the township scheme lapsed, with the land set aside for the township reverting to the Maori owners.<sup>43</sup> Hikairo Township blocks were added to the scheme between 1958 and 1965, the bulk in 1958. (See Appendix IV: 'Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme - Table'.)

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<sup>40</sup> Extract from *N. Z. Gazette* No. 141, 30 November 1939, page 3187.

<sup>41</sup> Panguru (302 acres) and Ruatapiwha (227 acres) were also small development schemes. *AJHR*, Volume 2, 1939, G-10, pages 12-39 details the acreages of various development schemes in 1939 (not at point when the schemes were initiated). Taurewa Development Scheme grew to over 1000 acres by 1941.

<sup>42</sup> Appendix IV, 'Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme - Table'; Paula Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives of the Tongariro National Park District, 1865-2000', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2004, Wai 1130 A5, page 337.

<sup>43</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, District Officer, Department of Maori Affairs to County Clerk, Taumarunui, County Council, 4 April 1979.

## **2.17 Land vested and released, 1965-1982**

From 1965 the amount of land in the scheme stayed relatively unchanged until 1982. On 25 March 1982, the Taurewa 5 West A-F blocks were created through amalgamations.<sup>44</sup> The reconstitution of the Taurewa 4 West subdivisions as Taurewa 5 West A-F blocks resulted in a minor decrease in the land invested in the Taurewa Development Scheme.<sup>45</sup>

## **2.18 Taurewa Development Scheme declared subject to Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953**

The following notice appeared in the *New Zealand Gazette* on 30 April 1965:

Pursuant to Section 330 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953, the Board of Maori Affairs hereby declares that on and from the date of the publication of this Notice in the Gazette the land described in the Schedule hereto shall be subject to the provisions of Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953.<sup>46</sup>

## **2.19 Release of the land vested in the Taurewa Development Scheme**

In 1991, under the Maori Affairs Restructuring Act 1989, the Taurewa Development Scheme ended, with the release of all 2023 acres (819 ha) that remained in the Taurewa 5 West A-F blocks returned to the control of the original owners.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Paula Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives of the Tongariro National Park District, 1865-2000', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2004, Wai 1130 A5, page 337.

<sup>45</sup> Appendix IV: 'Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme - Table'.

<sup>46</sup> *NZ Gazette*, No 22, 6 May 1965, page 632, notice dated 30 April 1965, Registration Number 631128.

<sup>47</sup> Appendix IV: 'Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme - Table'.

### 3 ESTABLISHMENT AND EXPANSION, 1920s - 1950s

#### 3.1 Development before the start of the development scheme

Farming and development of the area was taking place for at least three decades before the gazetting of the Taurewa Development Scheme in 1939. Kepa Patena, whose family was involved with the development scheme and who is currently a trustee of Taurewa 5 West Trust, recalled that his family's involvement in farming the Taurewa blocks reached back to the early twentieth century. In her memoir, Patena's mother records that: 'Our Taurewa farm was the first block to go under the native development scheme.'<sup>48</sup> (It is likely that the farm she is referring to is the single 235 acre unit that started the Taurewa Development Scheme in 1939. But it is not possible to be certain of this because the memoir and the oral evidence are not specific enough in terms of date and location.) The memoir focuses on the reasons behind the decision to open up part of the bush-covered Taurewa blocks for farming. As Patena's mother wrote, the first move was made by her entrepreneurial grandfather Tohi Raukura in the 1920s 'because of his love for his land and his family.'<sup>49</sup>

Farming was only one of several business ventures for Tohi Raukura, who owned two general stores and a billiard saloon at Tokaanu, as well as being an agent for tourist supplies and a tourist guide to fishing spots in the locality. 'He [Tohi Raukura] hired men – mainly European. They were responsible for teaching him to bush fell, to fence, to farm etc. They liked his outlook for the future. He was a hard worker and was honest and he provided work for many.'<sup>50</sup> Tohi Raukura's plan to open up his land to European farming was as controversial in the 1920s as it was to become later.

His own people didn't like [it]. They thought he was spending too much time with Pakehas [sic] and in the end may learn the Pakeha way of crooking people. These men cleared the land and later grassed it and Tohi stocked it with cattle. Later he started milking cows. I think he started off by milking twenty cows but increased in later years.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Patena memoir.

<sup>49</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006; Patena memoir.

<sup>50</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006; Patena memoir.

<sup>51</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006; Patena memoir.

All milking was done by hand. The packhorses carried the cream cans across the Whakapapa River to Kakahi Railway Station. From there, the guards loaded them onto the goods train and took them to Piriaka and then delivered them to the Kaitieke butter factory. The grading for his cream was very seldom second grade. In view of doubts about the quality of the land when the blocks came under the Native Department (later Maori Affairs) development scheme, it is worth noting that in the 1920s, according to the memoir, the land was so fertile, 'the animals grazed on high pastures.'<sup>52</sup>

### **3.2 Application to the Native Minister for assistance to build two bridges, 1932**

According to Native Department records,<sup>53</sup> in 1932 Inia Ranginui and 148 other owners applied to the Native Minister 'for assistance in the matter of the erection of two bridges across the Whakapapa and the Wanganui Rivers.'<sup>54</sup> The owners hoped that improved access to their farm would enable them to resume dairying.

The application was accompanied by a letter (written in Maori) addressed to Native Minister Apirana Ngata. The letter, dated 13 July 1932, states that in 1928 owners were forced to abandon dairying for sheep farming, but now wished to resume dairying. The owners also told the Minister that they had approached a bridge builder who quoted £800 (\$1,600) 'more or less', using local labour. He 'is a Maori and his wife has interests in Taurewa 4 West D and Taurewa 4 West E blocks.'<sup>55</sup>

Attached to the letter is an account, probably written in Ngata's hand, which provides additional background information to the application. Based on Ngata's interview with Te Arawa Karauti and Inia Ranginui, both of Kakahi, in reference to their application, it explains why the owners were seeking government assistance to build the two bridges. Below is a summary of the main points contained in the account.

- 'In 1909 a number of Taurewa owners commenced occupying and improving their holdings which lie between the Whakapapa and the Wanganui Rivers – Taurewa 4 West E.'
- In 1914 they started milking and supplying cream to the Piriaka factory.

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<sup>52</sup> Patena memoir.

<sup>53</sup> I am grateful to Barry Rigby at the Waitangi Tribunal for drawing these to my attention.

<sup>54</sup> ANZ, MA1, Box 473, 22/1/124, Ranginui & others to Native Minister, 13 July 1932.

<sup>55</sup> ANZ, MA1, Box 473, 22/1/124, Ranginui & others to Native Minister, 13 July 1932.

- They found transporting the cream difficult ‘owing to the road to the factory being subject to floods which at certain seasons necessitated holding up their cream for two or three days.’
- The effect of the transport problems was that the young people who were doing the milking became ‘greatly discouraged.’<sup>56</sup>

A memo from the Undersecretary, Native Department, to the Native Minister, dated 25 October 1932, summed up the applicants’ situation as follows:

Petition regarding a request for £800 (\$1,600) towards construction of bridges for your consideration. It appears from explanation attached that the Natives started milking and owing to the transport difficulties and the spread of ragwort gave it up in 1928. They are anxious to recommence milking and have ascertained that two bridges are estimated to cost £800 (\$1,600) and they desire Government assistance. It would appear that if the bridges were completed some expenditure would also be required on the road.<sup>57</sup>

After discussion, the applicants were persuaded to drop the Wanganui River Bridge proposal ‘in the meantime’ and to apply for assistance to build the Whakapapa River Bridge only.<sup>58</sup>

Ngata declined the application. On 27 October 1932, he wrote: ‘These lands are not under development and it is doubtful that any scheme can be undertaken there. No action.’<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that the Whakapapa River Bridge would have provided access to the local Piriaka dairy factory. The factory appears to have been on the main trunk line, four miles from the proposed bridge. Without the bridge successful dairying was impossible. One interpretation of Ngata’s action is that he dismissed the possibility of successful development at Taurewa seven years before the development scheme’s establishment. However, without specific information on why Ngata declined the application, it is hard to be sure of this. There seems to be no further information on what happened next – whether, for example, the owners tried to resume dairying at that time despite the access problems. However, at some time in

<sup>56</sup> ANZ, MA1, Box 473, 22/1/124, Ranginui & others to Native Minister, 13 July 1932.

<sup>57</sup> ANZ, MA1, Box 473, 22/1/124, Undersecretary, Native Department, to Minister, 25 October 1932. A sketch of the draft bridge is attached with the application.

<sup>58</sup> ANZ, MA1, Box 473, 22/1/124, Undersecretary, Native Department, to Minister, 25 October 1932.

<sup>59</sup> ANZ, MA1, Box 473, 22/1/124, Undersecretary, Native Department, to Minister, 25 October 1932.

the second half of the 1930s, the decision was made to hand over the blocks for development under the development scheme.<sup>60</sup>

Though dairy farming was regarded as the most viable option for development schemes, it does not seem to have been attempted after the blocks came under the control of the Native Department/Maori Affairs. This is likely to have been because dairying is even more dependent on good access than other types of farming and the Taurewa Development Scheme was dogged by problems with access. These problems continued to hamper the success of the scheme in the years after the establishment of the development scheme in 1939 until the Wanganui River Bridge was built in 1972.

### **3.3 Establishment of the development scheme**

#### **3.3.1 Lack of information**

Information on the specific circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Taurewa Development Scheme and on the early history of the scheme is fragmentary. For example, no evidence has been found on whether the Crown considered alternative land development options, such as trusts and incorporations, at the establishment phase of the scheme. A consideration of these options took place in the early 1980s, just before the setting up of a trust. (This is discussed in Chapter 5.)

There is also little information that is specific to the Taurewa Development Scheme on the original purpose and intended potential of the scheme, or on Crown promises to the owners. There is, of course, a considerable body of information on the benefits of development schemes in general (at least from the point of view of the Crown). The hope of sharing in the benefits which other owners in various parts of the country were already supposedly experiencing presumably influenced some Taurewa owners to move in the same direction and persuaded them to turn their blocks over to the Native Department for development.

#### **3.3.2 The decision to call in the Native Department**

As noted in the previous chapter, the bulk of the land eventually included in the Taurewa Development Scheme (around 2061 acres/834 ha) was made subject to Maori land development provisions between 1939 and 1941. According to oral evidence and the Patena

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<sup>60</sup> Patena memoir and interview, 21 February 2006; Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.



memoir, the decision to call in the Native Department to develop the first two blocks – Nukuroa and Kaharoa - was made in the 1930s by Tohi Raukura. Arguments over whether or not he made the right decision are still continuing today.<sup>61</sup>

Kepa Patena recalled that, as a businessman, Tohi Raukura knew only a little about farming. 'He got in the Maori Affairs people to help him because he thought they'd know more than he did. But the Maori Affairs wouldn't come in just for those two blocks; they had to have the whole block.' (Please note that Patena's statement and the memoir appear to be at variance with the documentary evidence that the Taurewa Development Scheme started with one block.)

Just as Tohi Raukura's plans to start developing his land to turn it into a dairy farm had been controversial in the 1920s, his decision in the late 1930s to put his blocks into the development scheme was unpopular with some of the other owners. As Kepa Patena told us: 'They didn't like it that he got Pakeha men who knew about farming to come in and help him.'<sup>62</sup>

### **3.3.3 To join or not to join**

Whether or not they wished to become part of the development scheme probably became a divisive issue among some owners. The division is suggested in the account of the scheme's beginnings contained in the Patena memoir.

Our Taurewa farm was the first block to go under the native development scheme. Dad who was fully responsible for starting the scheme in these areas was almost shot at by the owners of the surrounding blocks. They believed that Dad was all for the Pakeha and he was letting the Pakeha into too many lands. [They feared that] the Pakeha may take full control of our lands. My father-in-law who strangely opposed the scheme said that he preferred his ferns and tea trees left alone and not disturbed, at least he'll still have his land.<sup>63</sup>

Sonny Te Ahuru, an owner and trustee, whose involvement with the Taurewa Development Scheme in various roles spans more than five decades, also recalled the strong opposition of some owners to the land going under the Native Department. (An illustration of Sonny Te

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<sup>61</sup> Patena memoir and Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006; Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

<sup>62</sup> Patena memoir and interview, 21 February 2006.

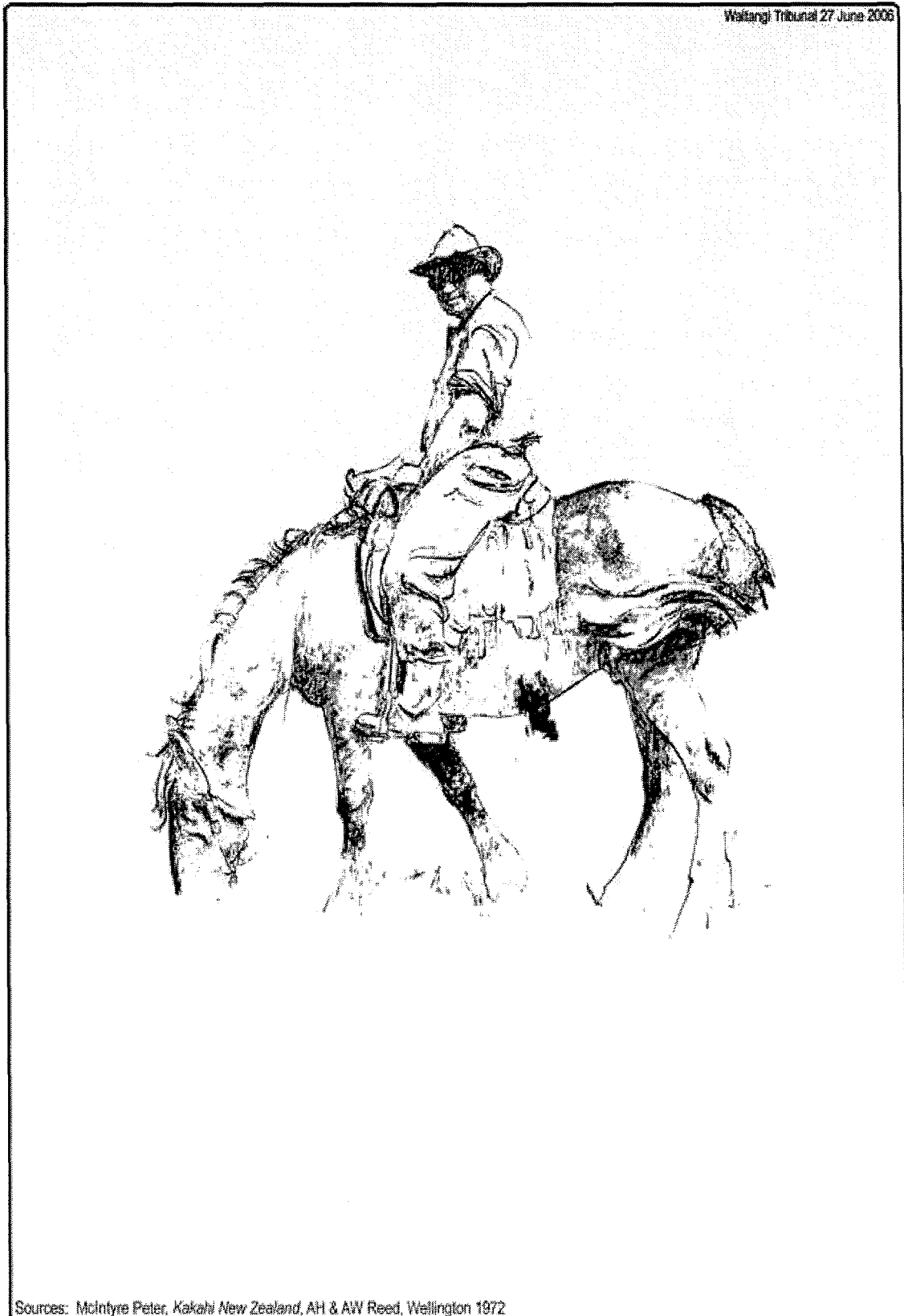
Ahuru on horseback is attached as Figure 3.) ‘The Hemopo family at the next block – they didn’t want anything to do with the development [scheme].’<sup>64</sup> (As noted in the introduction, I was unable to interview members of the Hemopo family.)

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<sup>63</sup> Patena memoir.

<sup>64</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006. The longstanding Te Ahuru family connection with the Taurewa blocks originally came about through marriage. Sonny Te Ahuru grew up on the block and spent much of his life there.

**Figure 3: Sonny Te Ahuru on horseback**



### **3.3.4 Meeting held to formally hand over blocks to the Native Department for development, 24 June 1937**

It is likely that a meeting, or several meetings, between owners and the Native Department took place before the gazetting of the Taurewa Development Scheme in 1939. However, the only indication in the official record of this is a 1942 reference to a meeting, supposed to have taken place on 24 June 1937 at Kakahi. At this meeting, according to the Native Scheme Supervisor, the following blocks were formally handed over for development: Taurewa 4 West A1, A4A, D1, D2A, D2B, D3, D7, D8A, D8B, D8C, D9, D10, D11A, D11B, D12, D13 and D14. The Native Scheme Supervisor thought that 'these sections had been gazetted although he did not have a reference.'<sup>65</sup>

### **3.3.5 Other events leading up to the gazetting of the Taurewa Development Scheme**

A search of the minute books of the Native Land Development Board and the Board of Maori Affairs yielded some additional fragmentary information on events leading up to the gazetting of the Taurewa Development Scheme in 1939.<sup>66</sup> A meeting held in the Native Affairs Committee room, Parliament Buildings, on 8 July 1938 'Resolved that the question of bringing Taurewa 4 West A No. 2 Block under the provisions of Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act, 1936, be deferred.'<sup>67</sup> The contradiction in the documentary evidence obtained from the Native Land Board minutes should be noted. While the board on 8 July 1938 deferred action on bringing Taurewa 4 West A2 under development provisions, the Native Department gazetted that unit as the sole unit within the new scheme in November 1939. The question arises whether it did so without a recommendation from the Board.

A second meeting, held in the Native Affairs Committee room, Parliament Buildings, on 1 December 1938, attended by the Acting Native Minister and six others, heard an application for the partition of Taurewa 4 West E2B3A and other blocks. The meeting 'resolved that the Board of Native Affairs approve the action taken by the Hon. Acting Native Minister in

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<sup>65</sup> ANZ-W, MA-Wang, W2140, Taurewa (WH617), Volume 3, Applications, Harris, Marsack & Hall to Registrar Native Land Court Wanganui, 23 July 1942, 're Kaitieke County Council & Native Rating lien applications affecting Taurewa 4 block.'

<sup>66</sup> I am grateful to Barry Rigby (Waitangi Tribunal) who searched the indexed volumes of the minute books for information on the establishment and early history of Taurewa Development Scheme. I am also grateful to Brian Herlihy, former registrar of the Wanganui Maori Land Court, for his helpful suggestions about the location of information on the scheme.

<sup>67</sup> ANZ-W, Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book, 1938-1939, MA 410/3, Meeting held at Parliament Buildings, Wellington, re Taurewa Development Scheme (Proposed), 8 July 1938, pages 1 and 12, No. 1824, ND 1/5/20.

lodging an application for partition between the Crown and the non-sellers in Taurewa 4 West E 2B3A, E2B3C A4C and Hautu 1B1B2B5 blocks.<sup>68</sup>

### **3.3.6 Resolutions of the Native Land Development Board and the Board of Maori Affairs regarding the Taurewa Development Scheme, 1940s**

On 3 April 1941 the Board of Native Affairs ‘Resolved that Taurewa 4 West A1 and other blocks, comprising a total area of 1,836 acres, 3 roods and 18.2 perches (743 ha), be brought under the provisions of Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act, 1936 and included in the Taurewa Development Scheme.’<sup>69</sup> The Board of Native Affairs meeting of 22 February 1945 resolved that ‘the Whangaiepeke 3, 4, 5 and 8 blocks together containing 999 acres (404 ha) be brought under the provisions of Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, and included in the Taurewa Development Scheme.’ At the same meeting, the Board approved the sum of £925 (\$1850) of development funding for the scheme.<sup>70</sup>

A meeting of the Board of Native Affairs held on 22 August 1946 resolved that the Whangaiepeke 1A Section 1 block containing 71 acres and 1 rood (29 ha) be included in the Taurewa Development Scheme. The Board also approved ‘the expenditure of £664 (\$1330) from development funds for the purpose of purchasing the existing improvements on the Whangaiepeke 1A Section 1 block.’<sup>71</sup>

A meeting of the Board of Maori Affairs held on 22 September 1949 resolved that Whangaiepeke No 1B comprising an area of 438 acres 1 rood (177 ha) be ... included in the Taurewa Development Scheme (Section 4 of the Act). The Board also approved the expenditure of £200 (\$400) from development funds ‘for the purchase of a dwelling erected on Whangaiepeke 4A by Murau te Nge, alias Murray Springhall, such monies to be applied as a deposit for any advances under the Maori Housing Act, 1935, made to said Murau te Nge, alias Murray Springhall.’ (Section 6 and 9 of the Act.)<sup>72</sup> It should be noted that the

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<sup>68</sup> ANZ-W, MA 41/3, Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book, 1938-1939, meeting held at Native Affairs committee room, Parliament Buildings, Wellington, 1 December 1938, pages 1 and 28, No 2246, NLP 1913/16/11, 1913/16/7, 1915/26/1.

<sup>69</sup> ANZ-W, MA 41/4, Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book, 1940-1943, meeting held at Native Affairs committee room, Parliament Buildings, Wellington, 3 April 1941, No 3618, ND 1/5/20, pages 1 and 4-5.

<sup>70</sup> ANZ-W, MA 41/5, Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book, 1943-1945, meeting held at Native Affairs committee room, Wellington, 22 February 1945, No. 5318, ND 1/5/20, pages 1 and 7.

<sup>71</sup> ANZ-W, MA 41/6, Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book, 1945-1946, meeting held at Norwiche Union Building, Wellington, 22 August 1946, No.6421, ND 1/5/20, pages 1 and 6.

<sup>72</sup> ANZ-W, MA 41/7, Board of Maori Affairs Minute Book, 1947-1949, meeting held at Maori Affairs committee room, Wellington, 22 September 1949, No. 7874, MA 1/9/113, DO 6/20/24/2, No 7878, pages 1, 15, 16.

resolutions passed by the Board during 1945-1949 included Whangaipeke units in the Taurewa Development Scheme. However, Appendix 1V 'Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme' does not include any Whangaipeke units. I am not able to explain this contradiction.

### **3.3.7 Persuading reluctant owners of Hikairo Township sections to sell their lots to be included in the development scheme, 1959**

According to a Maori Affairs report, eleven sections of Hikairo Township were sold to Europeans 'many years ago.' These owners were 'communicated with asking for their feelings as to disposing of their sections to the Department.'<sup>73</sup> It seems that some of the owners approached were reluctant to sell their lots to be included in the development scheme, certainly at the prices offered by Maori Affairs; others were simply driving a hard bargain. Correspondence between Wanganui District Office and Head Office suggests that a certain amount of pressure was applied by Maori Affairs to persuade owners to sell.

A memo dated 11 June 1959 from the District Officer in Wanganui to Maori Affairs Head Office begins with a reference to the Board of Maori Affairs' decision 'to purchase the sections in the name of the Crown.' It goes on to say that:

It appears that the owner of Lot 23 was not prepared to sell earlier. However, now that the Hohotaka Road is to be brought up to County standard at a cost of many thousands of pounds, half of the cost being payable by the scheme account, the owner will be required to make a pro rata cash contribution towards the cost of the work, and this together with the fact that the section will be entirely surrounded by scheme land, the position may alter. Please advise the position in due course.<sup>74</sup>

A 6 July 1959 memo from the District Officer in Wanganui to Maori Affairs Head Office first lists the sections to be purchased, accompanied by the suggested monetary amount to be offered, for example, 'Sections 1-3 and 47: offer £40 (\$80) with a maximum of £50 (\$100)', followed by:

It is suggested that you ask the District Land Purchase Officer of the Ministry of Works, Wanganui, to acquire this land on our behalf [...] It could also be pointed out

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<sup>73</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/-, Taurewa Development Scheme, Head Office to Wanganui Office, 13 August 1958. I am assuming that the owners being communicated with are not Maori.

<sup>74</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/-, Taurewa Development Scheme, District Officer Wanganui to Maori Affairs Head Office, 11 June 1959.

to any of the owners who are not prepared to sell at the figures offered that the Department will have no option but to fence off the Sections, and that they will be responsible [for] half the cost of such fencing upon receipt of a notice under the Fencing Act.<sup>75</sup>

Crown purchase of Hikairo Township sections was eventually completed and the lots were included in the development scheme, the bulk in 1958, when around 42 acres (17 ha) were added to the scheme, and the remainder in 1965.<sup>76</sup>

### **3.3.8 Original purpose and intended potential of the scheme**

There is no specific information on the original purpose and intended potential of the Taurewa Development Scheme, though there is a wealth of research on the purpose and potential of Maori land development schemes generally. As discussed in the previous chapter, Apirana Ngata's land development schemes were set up to help Maori people to develop and farm Maori land. Taurewa differed from other schemes in the timing of the various phases of development - breaking in the land, farming and hand-back to owners - but in its purpose and intended potential, it was much like other land development schemes.

### **3.3.9 Owner expectations/departmental promises**

Information specific to the Taurewa Development Scheme on owner expectations and departmental promises in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s is fragmentary. It is reasonable to assume that Maori owner's may have held three broad expectations relating to the development scheme. They would have expected that the development scheme would be profitable; they would have expected the scheme to provide employment opportunities; and finally, they would have expected that the scheme would help improve their living standards. From a Maori Affairs perspective, according to an official report, 'owners decided to transfer their properties into the development scheme because of isolation and economic factors.'<sup>77</sup> But no indication or contextual information is given in the report about the basis for the comment.

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<sup>75</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/-, Taurewa Development Scheme, Head Office to Wanganui Office, 13 August 1958.

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix IV: 'Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme – Table'.

<sup>77</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, position sheet, undated.

The perspective of some owners is given by Kepa Patena who suggested that owners agreed, full of hope, to let Maori Affairs take over, expecting that they (Native Department/Maori Affairs) knew better than the owners how to farm the land. 'We thought they had the knowledge.' Through Maori Affairs education and know-how, owners had hoped to find their lands turned into profitable farms.<sup>78</sup> The account in the Patena memoir also suggests that the Taurewa farm was struggling by the 1930s due to severe drought, with Tohi Raukura forced to sell stock. It was at that stage that the block was 'planned for development.' 'Dad thought it was only right that he and his sons should open the land for a new development.'<sup>79</sup>

### 3.3.10 The Department's 'settlement objective' in the late 1950s

By the second half of the 1950s, Maori Affairs files become a more useful source of information on departmental promises and owner expectations. At the 26 June 1958 meeting, the Senior Field Supervisor told Taurewa Development Scheme owners: 'There is a potential carrying capacity of 2000 breeding ewes in two or three years' time. The proposed utilisation is to have five unit farms.'<sup>80</sup> Presumably, the intention was that settlers would occupy the five unit farms, though this is not stated at the 1958 meeting.

The promised goal of settlement is linked to the promised goal of title improvement through amalgamation. Another 1958 departmental report stated that:

to facilitate eventual settlement the owners of the many blocks [twenty-two is the number given in the report] should be asked to agree to a cancellation of all the present partitions and an amalgamation of all their interests in the present partitions into one new title for the whole scheme. Such action is a prerequisite in all-new schemes started since 1950 and is very desirable and necessary that the same should apply in Taurewa.<sup>81</sup>

By the 1960s, submissions to the Board of Maori Affairs refer specifically to the 'settlement objective' of the Taurewa Development scheme being four or five sheep farms, with, presumably, a family on each farm, though this is not stated.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>79</sup> Patena memoir. It is not stated whether the farm is struggling with dairying or with sheep.

<sup>80</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, 6/48/3, Part 4, Box 93, Minutes of meeting of the owners of the Whangaipeke and Taurewa Development Schemes.

<sup>81</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11, Head Office to Wanganui Office, 13 August 1958.

<sup>82</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Development Submission to Board of Maori Affairs, 1962, month not given.



### **3.4 Starting to develop the scheme, 1940s**

Apart from the resolutions of the Board of Maori Affairs referred to earlier, official sources are silent on the Taurewa Development Scheme in the first half of the 1940s. It seems likely that development at Taurewa did not begin until after the end of the Second World War.

According to Sonny Te Ahuru, some development - mainly clearing the land - got under way straight after the war in 1945. His father (Kepa Patena's grandfather) was managing the farm at that time and Sonny was helping him. Sonny recalled that they had no equipment – no trucks, tractors or tools of any kind. It was hard manual labour – scrub cutting, with a team of horses. After a few years, realising the farm was not big enough to feed the whole family, Sonny's younger brothers left and got other work.<sup>83</sup>

### **3.5 Farming and development, 1950s**

Maori Affairs involvement got under way in the early 1950s and became more significant from the mid 1950s. According to Peter Little, currently Manager of the Land Management Unit, Te Puni Kokiri, whose involvement with the Taurewa Development Scheme began in 1967 as Maori Affairs Field Officer, based in Tamarunui, the war, lack of finance and difficulties of access probably explain the delay in the start of development.<sup>84</sup>

When the Department started developing the blocks in the mid 1950s, Sonny Te Ahuru was logging timber on the blocks on contract. He recalled that they (Maori Affairs) tried to stop him selling the timber. They stuck a government brand on the timber and threatened him with jail if he continued. But in the end, they gave him a job instead. This was as manager of both the Taurewa and Whangaiapeke development schemes.<sup>85</sup>

#### **3.5.1 Sonny Te Ahuru, first manager under Maori Affairs, 1952-1959**

From the time Sonny Te Ahuru started as manager in around 1952, Maori Affairs kept close tabs on him, and, according to the Patena family memoir, Sonny kept 'a close watch on the movements of the Maori Affairs.'<sup>86</sup> Much of the hard physical work of breaking in the land was done by Sonny during this period, with help from the whanau. 'It was hard to get anyone

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<sup>83</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006; Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>84</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>85</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

<sup>86</sup> Patena memoir.

to help on the farm – apart from family.’<sup>87</sup> According to the Patena family record, ‘Sonny could write a book about the breaking in of these two big blocks Taurewa and Whangaiepeke. He was managing, he was shepherding, he was fencing [...].’<sup>88</sup>

Sonny’s pay from Maori Affairs for undertaking the role of manager was low and the paperwork requirements were heavy. In the 1950s, managers were required to keep a diary and detailed stocktaking records and to submit these to Maori Affairs for inspection. Regarding his time as manager, Sonny recalled that if there were any stock losses or debt, it was always the manager’s fault.<sup>89</sup>

### 3.5.2 From fern to grass: snapshot of the Taurewa Development Scheme in 1958

Maori Affairs appeared cautiously optimistic about Taurewa in 1958, at the end of the first period of development. As the Field Supervisor commented in his report: ‘Taurewa has made much progress in the two years of development. Development has appeared slow but has entailed clearing the land with cattle. Under the circumstances the development of this land from fern to grass has been more satisfactory than expected.’<sup>90</sup>

*Table 1: The state of the development scheme in the middle of 1958*<sup>91</sup>

Gazetted area	2061 acres (834 ha)
Area in grass	800 acres (324 ha)
Undeveloped area	1200 acres (486 ha)
Ewes	797
Lambs	409
Rams	23
Steers	231

### 3.5.3 Dissatisfaction with the Taurewa Development Scheme, 1959

The sense of optimism about progress was short-lived, however. By November 1959, the District Field Supervisor based at Wanganui, was dissatisfied with returns and Sonny Te Ahuru had lost his position as manager, with a cloud over his performance in the role.

<sup>87</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

<sup>88</sup> Patena memoir.

<sup>89</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

<sup>90</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, 6/48/3, Part 4, Box 93, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, Report on Taurewa Station by Field Supervisor, 24 June 1958.

<sup>91</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, 6/48/3, Part 4, Box 93, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, Report on Taurewa Station by Field Supervisor, 24 June 1958.

However, the Field Officer does not specifically attribute the Taurewa Development Scheme's problems to Sonny's management but to the quality of the land.

The station has been placed under a new manager but it will not make any difference to improvement in returns. The losses incurred have not been a managerial problem but one where little can be expected from an area with little cultivable land for initial build-up [...] the working of the block has been made most difficult by lack of access.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.5.4 Access and bridges

As discussed earlier (in relation to the unsuccessful efforts of owners in 1932 to obtain Government assistance to build two bridges), the access problems referred to in the Field Officer's report dogged the Taurewa Development Scheme, situated between the Whakapapa and Whanganui Rivers, from the beginning. The explanation most frequently offered for the scheme's difficulties from the 1950s until the building of the Wanganui River Bridge in 1972 was lack of adequate, all-weather access.

'The three [foot] bridges that used to span the Whakapapa River were built by our Dad, Tohi Raukura and his Pakeha friends', recorded the Patena family memoir.<sup>93</sup> Several other locals have also left written accounts of the bridges in the area. Pipiana Hemopo, who arrived in Kakahi in 1935 to begin her married life at Te Rena and at Kakahi, felt dizzy when she first tried to cross the river. As she recorded:

My first experience there was the swing bridges that crossed three arms of the Whakapapa River between Kakahi and Te Rena. I had never seen a swing bridge let alone walk over one [...] when I saw the others cross, it began to swing up and down. [...] I thought I would never walk that bridge, so I got down on my hands and knees and crawled slowly over. But there were two more [...].<sup>94</sup>

Below in Figure 4 is a sketch of one of the old bridges in the area in the 1930s.

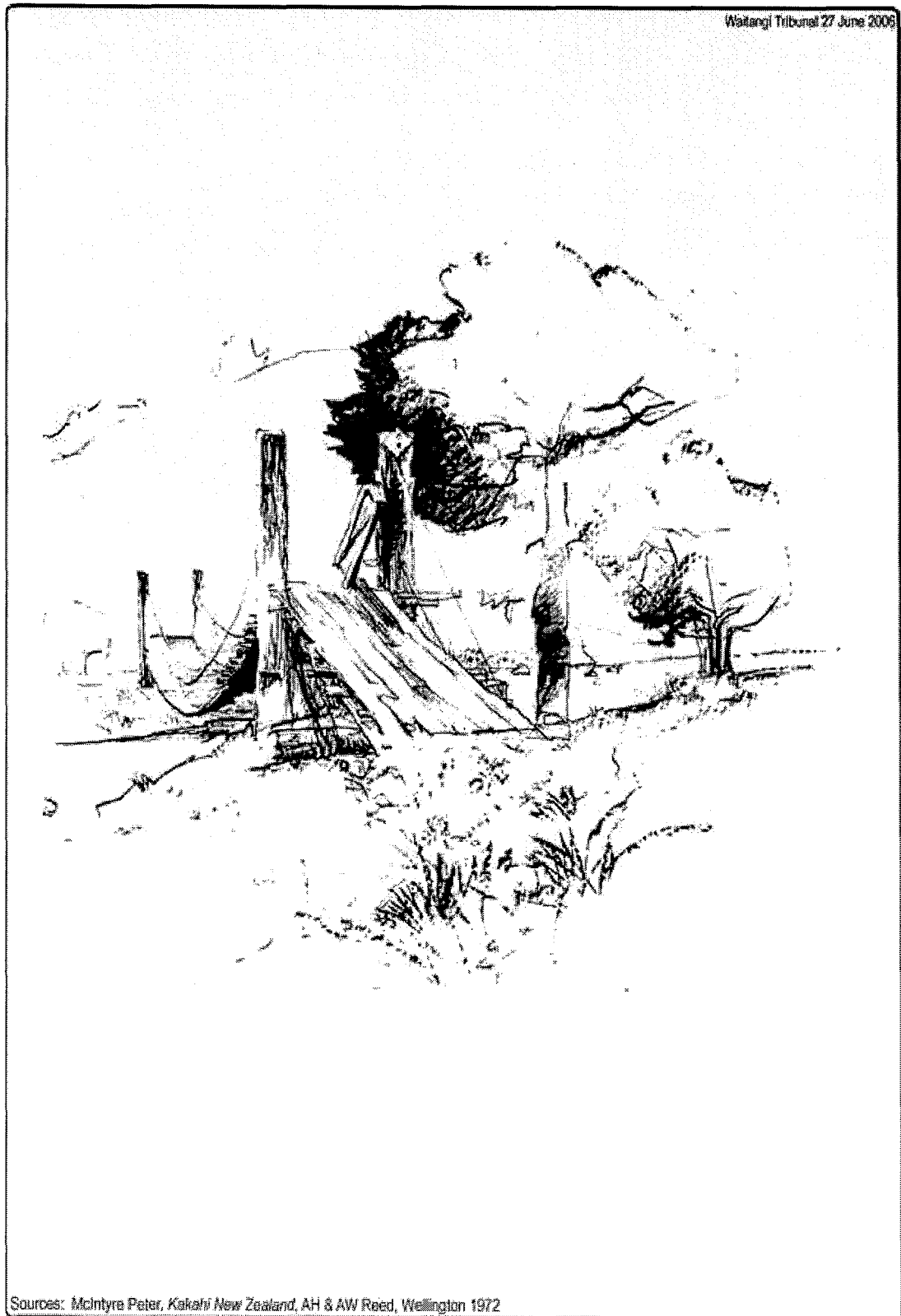
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<sup>92</sup> ANZ, ABRP 6844, Box 95, 6/48/18, Part 5, Taurewa Development Scheme, Stocktaking 1954-1980, District Field Supervisor, Wanganui District Office.

<sup>93</sup> Patena memoir.

<sup>94</sup> National Library, PAM, 372.993, 52, KAK, 1994, 'Memories: Kakahi School 85<sup>th</sup> Jubilee', Easter 1994, page 27.

**Figure 4: Bridge**



By the late 1950s, according to official records, the Taurewa Development Scheme was dependent for road access on the two bridges and road built by the P. D. Smith Timber Company, which had timber cutting rights on one of the Whangaipeke blocks.<sup>95</sup> As significant development got under way, these bridges proved inadequate to the needs of the development scheme. Sonny Te Ahuru, speaking of the difficulties of farming the blocks in the 1950s (without phone or power and having to ride to Kakahi to make a phone call), recalled that the floods, which periodically cut off access to and from the farm, made the task all the harder.

‘In February 1958 this station had access cut off by heavy floods,’ reported the District Officer.<sup>96</sup> The floods had washed away the Timber Company’s bridges and although the Company acknowledged that access to the development scheme had been cut off as a result, it delayed making the necessary repairs, stating that ‘it was not possible to restore the bridges during the winter.’<sup>97</sup>

The fact that the Timber Company did not start to rebuild the bridges until the end of the year<sup>98</sup> caused major concern. It was clear to Maori Affairs that something had to be done to improve the access to and from the Taurewa Development Scheme. But it was not at all clear whose responsibility it was to do so. A 1958 report by the Field Supervisor on the Taurewa Development Scheme noted that: ‘The onus is not on this Department to provide access but to a private logging company whose actions to date have appeared non-existent. It is important for access to be opened up for this scheme cannot function without access.’<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3. Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, District Officer, ‘Taurewa Station Annual Accounts’, 3 December 1958.

<sup>96</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, Report by District Officer, 21 October 1959.

<sup>97</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3. Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, District Officer, ‘Taurewa Station Annual Accounts’, 3 December 1958.

<sup>98</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3. Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, District Officer, ‘Taurewa Station Annual Accounts’, 3 December 1958.

<sup>99</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3. Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, Field Supervisor to Resident Officer, Taumarunui, ‘Report on Taurewa Station’, 24 June 1958.

At a meeting of owners held at Taumarunui on 5 November 1958, the District Officer outlined the Department's plan for Taurewa and blamed the poor access for the scheme not meeting expectations:

We are seeking to bring in more area and so reduce the per acre loading and also to obtain profits. Our plan was to clear grass 300 acres (121 ha), to spend £800 (\$1600) on weed destruction, to erect 550 chains (11,055 metres) of fencing, to spend £500 (\$1000) on tracks and to erect a house and an implement and manure shed. We have not achieved all we wanted to due to difficulties of access.<sup>100</sup>

### 3.5.5 Concern over debt and losses

The Taurewa Development Scheme started with a debt, which grew rapidly as development got under way and the station incurred losses. The debt increased from £21,200 (\$42,400) in March 1957 to £47,000 (\$94,000) in March 1958.<sup>101</sup> The loss for 1958/59, when both capital and revenue expenditure were reported to have been well below estimate, was £2027 (\$4050).<sup>102</sup>

Concern by owners and Maori Affairs over debt and losses was already apparent in the late 1950s and would rise in the years ahead. In this period, however, Maori Affairs was reassuring to owners about the scheme's financial situation, explaining away debt and losses as simply an inevitable and temporary part of development.

At a meeting of owners of the Taurewa and Whangaipeka schemes, held at Kakahi on 26 June 1958, the Maori Affairs District Officer told concerned attendees:

We have made a loss this year as we have done in past years. In developing land, we always tend to make losses whilst development is in progress [...] When we have passed the development stage, we should start to make profits and reduce the debt to something more like the valuation.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 91, 6/48/0, Part 5, Meeting of Owners, 5 November 1958.

<sup>101</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, Report by the accountant, 24 June 1958.

<sup>102</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

<sup>103</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

At a meeting of owners of Taurewa and Whangaipeke stations, held at Taumarunui on 25 November 1959, concern was again expressed about the size of the debt and the accumulated losses. The Maori Affairs officer responded to owners' concerns by explaining 'how interest pushes up the debt'. Interestingly, he foreshadowed what was to come in three decades time by making 'reference to the write-off procedure.'<sup>104</sup>

### 3.5.6 Expansion

One way of improving the development scheme's profitability was thought to be through expansion of the scheme. At a meeting of owners, held on 26 June 1958, Departmental officers outlined plans for increasing the areas of grass to 1300 acres (526 ha): 'There is a potential carrying capacity of 2000 breeding ewes in two or three years time,' owners were told.<sup>105</sup>

Despite the poor performance of the station in the previous year, the Maori Affairs official told owners present at the meeting held on 25 November 1959 that the Department 'wanted more support from the owners to get more land into the scheme.'<sup>106</sup> At the same meeting, the Departmental officer also told owners that before the Board of Maori Affairs would agree to the development of new land, existing partitions had to be cancelled.

Responses to this differed and show owners' mixed feelings about the Department's proposals. It is apparent from the questions owners asked at the meeting that some had difficulty understanding the advantages of the cancellation of partitions. Others feared the consequences of not doing as Maori Affairs wanted.

One owner Pateriki Hura told the meeting: '[...] the Maoris will lose some of their land further unless development can go ahead ... there would be some confiscation of Maori land within twenty years possibly for arrears of rates if Maoris continued to leave Maori land idle.' Another owner, Runga Raukura, said that 'he realised that the Maori cannot develop the land

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<sup>104</sup> ANZ, ABRP 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

<sup>105</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

<sup>106</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

on his own but that they must also help themselves.’ A third owner, Mrs Hoani Patene, voiced concerns about the impact of farming on her family’s burial grounds.<sup>107</sup>

### **3.5.7 Agreement to amalgamate?**

Despite their concerns, the forty-five people who attended the 25 November 1959 meeting, owners of both Taurewa and Whangaipeke stations, passed the following resolution:

That this meeting accepts in principle the cancellation of partitions in the Taurewa Station, subject to the reallocation of areas on Consolidation, along the original partitions as far as it is practicable to do so consistent with the utilisation and that graves be strictly reserved from agricultural farming.<sup>108</sup>

The ‘agreement’ to amalgamation expressed at the meeting was, however, by no means the end of the story. In the future further meetings of owners would agree to amalgamate titles, or would discuss progress on the amalgamation of titles, without the amalgamation of titles actually taking place.

Amalgamation was discussed at meetings held in 1965, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982. Maori Affairs’ intention to ‘improve’ Taurewa Development Scheme titles and to complete the amalgamation process is evident in numerous departmental memos. But the desired result was not obtained. Amalgamation was not completed until after the return of the blocks to owners in 1991.

### **3.6 Was it a doubtful scheme from the start?**

According to assessments by Maori Affairs, the Taurewa Development Scheme was already struggling by the late 1950s. It seems that the Department had serious doubts about the potential of the scheme to be as beneficial for owners as anticipated and as other development schemes were. These concerns were not shared with owners at that time.

By the late 1950s, the Taurewa Development Scheme was unfavourably compared by Maori Affairs with adjoining Whangaipeke, perceived as doing better. There was speculation over the reasons for Whangaipeke’s better performance. Was it the condition of the soil, the

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<sup>107</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

<sup>108</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/-, Taurewa Development Scheme: Amalgamation of Titles, 19 February 1964; ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.



amount of cultivable land, the better access or the quality of the management?<sup>109</sup> In the Department's search for explanations for Taurewa's failings in the late 1950s, there was a tendency to apportion blame, at least in the short term, to the management of Sonny Te Ahuru. As, however, Sonny was also managing Whangaipeke, which was doing better, Taurewa's problems were clearly not due to his management failings. The scheme's problems in the longer term were attributed to poor access and isolation, compounded by having too little good quality, cultivable land.<sup>110</sup>

### **3.7 The years ahead**

Searching for reasons to explain the Taurewa Development Scheme's lacklustre performance continued in the years ahead. Issues that preoccupied owners and Maori Affairs in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s are evident by the end of the 1950s. They are access and bridges; land management practices and pasture quality; amalgamation of titles; settlement on the scheme; and losses and indebtedness. It is clear that divisions among owners over the value of participation in Maori Affairs land development also had significant impact on the future of the scheme (by making the amalgamation of scheme titles hard to carry out).

The following chapters examine these issues, focusing on the matters raised in the research commission. These are: the nature of Crown promises and owner expectations; the social and economic benefits of the scheme; the fulfilment, or otherwise, of the scheme's intended purpose; the provision of employment and training for Maori owners; and the participation of owners in decision making.

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<sup>109</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>110</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 95, 6/48/18, Part 5, Taurewa Development Scheme, stocktaking, 1954-1980.

## **4 MANAGEMENT AND OPERATION, 1960s and 1970s**

The Taurewa Development Scheme struggled during the 1960s and 1970s to fulfil the expectations of owners and of Maori Affairs. Troublesome issues of concern included above average stock losses; the need for increasing capital expenditure; the accumulating debt; the relatively small profit; the inadequate access; and the difficulty of attracting skilled staff. In terms of management and operation, Maori Affairs files convey a picture of an administrative regime with intense scrutiny of the minutiae of scheme management and operation. Managers of the scheme in the 1950s and early 1960, for example, were required to keep diaries and to record and account for minor items of expenditure and for minor decisions. But major issues, such as ensuring adequate access to the scheme, were not addressed in a timely fashion by the various Crown agencies involved.<sup>111</sup>

### **4.1 Concern over economic performance**

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s reports by Maori Affairs on the economic performance of the Taurewa Development Scheme almost invariably highlighted the scheme's various difficulties: debt, losses, floods, drought and staffing problems. From 1972, the additional debt incurred by expenditure on building the Wanganui River Bridge caused concern. The reports also show how uncertain the Department was over the best way of addressing the problems. In one report, the carrying capacity of the scheme is considered too small; in another, it is found to be too large; one year, the main problem is the stock or the pasture; the next, it is the manager or the weather that is found wanting.

Sometimes the difficulties mentioned are not specific to Taurewa, but Taurewa seems to be more seriously affected by them than neighbouring Whangaipeke. For example, the drop in wool prices impacted badly on Taurewa for the 1967-68 year, as did periods of drought, in 1974.<sup>112</sup> The follow report from the District Field Officer, accompanying the Annual Accounts for 1967/68, is fairly typical:

It is agreed that the performance on this scheme is far from satisfactory. The performance again this 1967/68 year has not been good. It is the intention to reduce

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<sup>111</sup> ANZ, ABRP, Taurewa Development Scheme, Manager's diaries, 1956-.

<sup>112</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, Reports and Estimates, Senior Field Supervisor Report, 18 June 1974.

the carrying capacity to five and a half ewe equivalents per acre for the 1968-69 season. This will allow greater culling with view to improved performance. The success of any scheme is largely dependent on the management ability. It is important therefore that at least the new bridge over the Wanganui River is constructed without further delay.<sup>113</sup>

The District Officer's report of 18 September 1967 is in a similar vein:

You will note that the year's workings resulted in a loss of £2,195/8/3 (approximately \$4,400) [...] We must try to improve our performance on this Scheme. We could reasonably expect to get a gross return per ewe equivalent of \$4.80 but on the basis of the accounts for the year ended 31 march 1967 the return was only \$3.28 [...] We must aim to increase our income without increasing expenses.<sup>114</sup>

#### **4.2 Two snapshots of the Development Scheme in the 1960s and 1970s**

To provide a context for the concerns about economic performance, two snapshots of the development scheme are presented below.

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<sup>113</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

<sup>114</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

Table 2: Development scheme snapshot 1963/64<sup>115</sup>

Area in grass and carrying capacity	At 31/3/64, 1,400 acres (566 ha) were in grass, carrying 3,427 breeding ewes and 1151 other sheep, 129 breeding cows and 379 other cattle.
Area suitable for further development	400 acres (161 ha) is suitable for further development; 303 acres is unsuitable for development.
Value of improvements	This was £30,560 (\$61,000) at 30/10/64.
Losses	A substantial increase was made from wool but a loss was made from sheep trading. Both sheep and cattle purchases increased in the 1963/64 period and £4,334 (\$8,700) was spent on clearing the land and grassing. This resulted in an overall loss for the year increasing from £2,144 (\$4,280) in the previous year to £4,063 (\$8,120).
Debt	The debt due to the Crown at 31 March 1964 was £95,383 (\$190,800); other debt for the same period was £59,985 (\$120,000).
General	'Heavy blackberry, gorse and scrub reversion has been brought under control'.

Table 3: Development scheme snapshot 1973/74<sup>116</sup>

Total scheme area	854 hectares (2,110 acres)
Area in grass	522 hectares (1,290 acres)
Other land suitable for development	202 hectares (499 ha)
Land unsuitable for development	130 hectares (321 ha)
Stock wintered 1974	3951 breeding ewes 204 breeding cows 1074 other sheep 231 other cattle
Profit	\$14,463
Accumulated scheme losses	\$33,387
Total security value (at 30 June 1974)	\$226,930
Debt to Department	\$226,030
Owner's equity	\$900
Indebtedness	99% <sup>117</sup>
General	'Isolation and less than adequate access over the years has played its part in expensive development costs and retaining satisfactory labour with a consequent high level of indebtedness.'

<sup>115</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, Report by District Accountant, 10 September 1964; TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, development submission to Board of Maori Affairs, 2 March 1965.

<sup>116</sup> ATL, Pbox, q338, 13, PER MAO, Maori Land Development Schemes, Aotea, 1974.

<sup>117</sup> No further detail is given in the report.

### 4.3 Concern over debt and losses

Concern over the debt and losses grew - as did the debt and the losses - during the 1960s and 1970s. The District Field Supervisor expressed concern over Taurewa's high debt in 1963, noting the consequent 'high interest charge.'<sup>118</sup> The same concern was expressed over a decade later. 'This scheme has an extremely high debt loading,' wrote the District Field Supervisor on 15 October 1975.<sup>119</sup> By the end of the 1970s, the scheme had incurred at least two types of debt: to the Crown and to the Rural Bank, for such ventures as the Livestock Incentive Scheme. As for losses, trading results for the Taurewa Development Scheme for the five years ending in 31 March 1971 are shown in the figure below:

*Table 4: Trading results for the Taurewa Development Scheme<sup>120</sup>*

1967	\$4,390 (loss)
1968	\$3,938 (loss)
1969	\$2,540 (loss)
1970	\$914 (profit)
1971	\$5,695 (loss)

### 4.4 Seeking solutions for Taurewa's financial problems

A variety of solutions to ease Taurewa's economic woes were recommended at different times. Changing the type of flock was a favourite. 'The essential need on the scheme is to farm for performance', wrote the District Field Supervisor in his report on 11 October 1971. 'I consider a change to Perendale [sheep] will reduce costs and improve performance.'<sup>121</sup>

Another avenue favoured to ease the scheme's financial troubles was to seek rates concessions from the Taumarunui County Council. (As far as I have been able to find out, a rates remission was not granted.) Maori Affairs sought rates concessions in the 1960s and early 1970s, arguing that Taurewa Scheme differed from other lands developed and farmed by

<sup>118</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, District Field Supervisor, Taumarunui, to District Officer, Wanganui, 9 September 1963.

<sup>119</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, 6/48/0, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

<sup>120</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 5, Taurewa Development Scheme, Rooding 1977-1978, District Officer, Maori Affairs to the County Clerk, Taumarunui County Council, 5 January 1972.

<sup>121</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

the Department. 'The Crown acts as agent of the owners and also banker in that the Crown provides by way of loan monies to develop stock and operate the station', wrote the District Officer on 5 January 1972.<sup>122</sup>

Efforts to get rates concessions were also made in 1973 'on the grounds that the scheme has been put to considerable expense in providing access.'<sup>123</sup> The reference is to the portion of the cost of the bridge over the Wanganui River that was charged to Maori owners - \$14,479.<sup>124</sup> Other avenues considered were approaching the Board of Maori Affairs for interest concessions 'beyond those normally available.'<sup>125</sup>

#### **4.5 Borrowing and expansion: the Land Development Encouragement Loan and the Livestock Incentive Scheme**

The end of the 1970s ushered in a new period of intense development for the Taurewa Development Scheme. But the new approach to addressing Taurewa's economic performance problems - borrowing to finance more intensive development - only appeared to exacerbate these problems, contributing to the scheme's growing indebtedness.

On 9 November 1978, the Board of Maori Affairs approved a move to develop an additional 140 hectares (346 acres) of the scheme. The new development would be financed by loans available from the Rural Bank. In June 1979, the scheme's application for a Land Development Encouragement Loan of \$35,000 to develop the 140 acres (346 acres) was approved by the Rural Bank. In March 1981, an application for a further Land Development Encouragement Loan of \$16,000 was approved by the Rural Bank.<sup>126</sup> The scheme also received a smaller loan (\$1,380) from the Livestock Incentive Scheme. This was written off in 1983.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> ANZ, ABRP 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

<sup>123</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, Reports and Estimates, Notes of the Development Officer for the Annual Meeting of Owners to be held at Taumarunui on 23 February 1973.

<sup>124</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates, Taurewa Development Scheme, Annual Accounts, 1984/85.

<sup>125</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

<sup>126</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 91, 6/48/0, Part 6, Taurewa Development Scheme, General Correspondence, 1977-1985.

<sup>127</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates, Taurewa Development Scheme, Annual Accounts 1983/84.

## 4.6 Owner participation

By the early 1960s, meetings of owners were taking place at least once a year, a regular departmental procedure for development schemes. Did most owners involved with the Taurewa Development Scheme have the opportunity to attend these meetings? Did the Department make reasonable effort to obtain up-to-date lists of owners and to arrange meetings at a time and location to suit as many owners as possible? Were owners who attended meetings a representative group of scheme owners, or were they, at least, a reasonably wide group of owners?

### 4.6.1 Location and timing of meetings

The location and timing of annual meetings would have had a bearing on whether those owners who wished to attend were able to do so. The lists of owners (attached to the minutes of annual meetings) that I located in the Taurewa Development Scheme files did not for the most part include owners' addresses. However, one 1957 list of owners that I found did include some addresses. At that time some owners were living at considerable distance from the most common meeting venue - Taumarunui. The 1957 list included owners based in Wellington, Palmerston North and Hawera, as well as locally at Tokaanu, Kakahi, Manunui, Turangi and Taumarunui.<sup>128</sup> A 1971 list of owners, which had some owners' addresses indicated in pencil, showed that at that time some owners were based at Taupo and Waihi, also a considerable distance from the meeting venue – Taumarunui.<sup>129</sup>

Correspondence from owners to Maori Affairs, asking about the value of their interests, also shows that some owners were living at addresses distant from the Taurewa Development Scheme. A 1965 inquirer, for example, was from Hastings; a 1966 one from Pahiatua.<sup>130</sup> Some meetings were much better attended than other meetings but it is hard to say whether the reason for this was the location or other factors, such as interest in a specific issue to be discussed. The 1961 meeting, held at Kauriki Pa, Manunui (near Taumarunui), was well attended, with J. Asher, Pat Hura, Hepi Te Heu Heu and forty other owners present. Six

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<sup>128</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa 4 West D1, consolidated to 30/4/1957.

<sup>129</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, 6/20/3/1, Meeting of Owners, Taurewa Development Scheme, 29 October 1971.

<sup>130</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, District Officer, Wanganui, to T. T. Wainohu, Hastings, regarding his interests in the Taurewa Development Scheme, 13 September 1965; TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, District Officer, Wanganui, to Public Accountant, Pahiatua, regarding interests in the Taurewa Development Scheme of Mrs Waimaria McIlroy, 14 December 1966.

Maori Affairs officers also attended.<sup>131</sup> The 1969 meeting, which took place at Taumarunui on a Friday from 10 am, with ‘light luncheon’ provided, was less well attended.<sup>132</sup>

Meetings in the 1960s and 1970s were usually held in the second half of the year – in August, September, October, November or December. However, the 1973 meeting was held in February.

#### **4.6.2 Notifying owners about meetings**

Not all owners had the opportunity to attend meetings regardless of their interest, or the convenience of the meeting venue and meeting time. Some would not have been notified about forthcoming meetings because the Department of Maori Affairs did not have a list of up-to-date names and addresses. Notices informing owners that a meeting would be held were usually circulated and those receiving them were asked to let other owners know about the forthcoming meeting. Typically, the Department of Maori Affairs notice would say: ‘As this office does not possess up-to-date addresses of all persons that are interested in the land, you are asked to inform all owners of whom you are aware, of the times and places of the meetings.’<sup>133</sup>

#### **4.6.3 Keeping owners informed**

Typically, at meetings of owners, a Maori Affairs officer would give owners a report, including a financial report, on the progress of development and farming, with opportunity for owners to ask questions. Owners were, for example, informed about such matters as the resignation of the previous manager and the appointment of a new manager. Reports were given on the scheme’s access problems and on progress, if any, with amalgamation of titles. Owners were told about plans for the further development of the scheme.

The minutes of meetings show that owners asked a variety of questions. Typically, these were about the timing of settlement and about how improvements in productivity and profits might be achieved in order to reduce the scheme’s losses and debt. It seems that while owners were not involved in the day to day running of the scheme, those who attended

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<sup>131</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

<sup>132</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Minutes of Annual Meeting of Taurewa Development Scheme, 12 December 1969.

<sup>133</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, Notice of meeting of development schemes, 26 November 1969.



meetings had at least the opportunity to be informed about major issues related to the scheme's operation.

Did owners also participate in decision making? Kapa Patena, recalling the meetings of owners he attended, noted that Maori Affairs would ask for a decision from owners from time to time but usually the decision was already made and the meeting was used simply to inform owners of whatever had already been decided.<sup>134</sup> The minutes of meetings of owners suggest this too. Maori Affairs was in control. Meetings were primarily used by the Department of Maori Affairs to keep owners informed about major decisions that had already been made. They were not a means of involving owners in decision making.

At the 1961 meeting, for example, the only decision made by owners seemed to be about whether or not non-owners would be able to remain at the meeting. The motion that non-owners could remain was carried. Maori Affairs officers told owners that the property, which had made a profit due to the number of steers sold in March ('This was good farming as the market was favourable'), had 'a good potential'. Owners asked questions about the debt (£40/\$80 per acre for the year ended 31 March 1961) and about the timing of settlement (they were told that there would be no settlement on the Taurewa Scheme for seven or eight years.)<sup>135</sup>

Meetings were also used by the Department of Maori Affairs to manage owners' concerns about the scheme's economic performance. For example, Maori Affairs told the twenty-one owners present at the 16 September 1964 meeting that while Taurewa's results were not as good as Whangaipeke's, the position was not as bad as the statement of accounts for the year ended 31 March 1964 indicated. The owners present must have accepted this statement politely enough, for the official, after thanking the owners for attending, went on to say that:

It was gratifying to meet a group of owners that were understanding and could appreciate the difficulties in administering the scheme. The Department was always

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<sup>134</sup> Phone conversation with Kapa Patena, 31 March 2006.

<sup>135</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

conscious that it was the owners' land, and the Department always liked to hear what comments the owners have to offer concerning the administration of the land.<sup>136</sup>

Owners were far less understanding and more likely to express frustration and disappointment over the scheme's economic situation in the 1970s and in the 1980s. In the 1970s they asked questions showing their concerns over the level of productivity and the extent of losses; in the 1980s, a focus of concern was the lacklustre performance of the scheme manager. Issues of concern raised by owners in the 1980s and the response of Maori Affairs officials to these are discussed in Chapter 5.

#### **4.6.4 Advisory groups**

Special purpose committees of owners, known as advisory groups, were set up from time to time by Maori Affairs. An advisory group was set up in 1965 to assist Maori Affairs with amalgamation and a development committee is recorded as meeting in 1978.<sup>137</sup> At the October 1960 meeting, attended by twenty-three owners, one of the Maori Affairs Officers told owners that 'the Department likes to work with owners and the Advisory Committee. If ideas from all sources are pooled and we all work together progress could be made.'<sup>138</sup>

Owners who were involved in committees and advisory groups would have had more opportunity than other owners to participate in decision making, or, at least, to play a significant advisory role.

### **4.7 Amalgamation of titles**

#### **4.7.1 Owner participation in decision making about amalgamation**

One of the most important decisions facing owners was the amalgamation of scheme titles. How was this crucial decision made? Did all owners with an interest in the blocks have the opportunity to participate in the decision to amalgamate the titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme? As discussed in the previous chapter, owners had resolved to amalgamate the separate titles, which comprised the Taurewa Development Scheme, at a

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<sup>136</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Owners, 1962-1973, Minutes of the Annual Meeting held at Taumarunui, 16 September 1964, Maori Affairs District Officer to meeting attendees.

<sup>137</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1973-1983, Minutes of the Meeting of the Taurewa Development Scheme, 14 November 1978 refers to members of the development committee.

<sup>138</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

meeting held in 1959. A meeting of owners, which took place on 28 July 1965, probably confirmed this intention.<sup>139</sup> The 28 July 1965 meeting of owners also agreed to an advisory committee being set up to assist Maori Affairs officials to bring the amalgamation into effect.

The Advisory Committee met at least once on 29 August 1965 to discuss the amalgamation of titles. According to the notes of the meeting, those attending the meeting resolved that the amalgamation should take place at 1952 government values as this was the valuation nearest to the date when development work began in the area. A member of the committee was allocated the task of pinpointing urupa sites so that they could be excluded from the scheme and the amalgamation. The notes of the meeting state that issues still to be resolved before the amalgamation could proceed were related to timber sales on the scheme and a claim that 'certain land' had been mistakenly included in the scheme.<sup>140</sup> The latter issue, which would take decades to resolve, is discussed further below.

There is no record that I could find of the advisory group meeting again. At the 15 September 1965 meeting of owners, the departmental officer named the members of the advisory group and said that he hoped that 'the owners would give support to the committee which will be required to make some difficult decisions.' But the scheme had to be amalgamated [...] It was 'a prerequisite to any new development,' he told owners.<sup>141</sup>

The fact that the advisory group probably did not meet again after 1965 is referred to by Judge Kevin B. Cull, who studied the minutes of meetings of the development scheme in the early and mid 1960s in relation to a 1979 application to amalgamate scheme titles. He noted the lack of advisory group meetings in his 1979 report on the issues preventing him making an amalgamation order at that time.<sup>142</sup> The delays in filing an amalgamation order to the Maori

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<sup>139</sup> I have been unable to locate the minutes of the 1965 meeting. I have found correspondence between Leith Comer and Darrell C. F. Nader which refers to a note on file stating that a meeting of owners was held on 28 July 1965. The meeting apparently confirmed the intention to amalgamate all the titles. Leith Comer notes that TPK was not able to find the notes of that meeting. The correspondence between Comer and Nader is located at TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/-, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, 1979-, Chief Executive Leith Comer to Barrister Darrell C. F. Nader, responding to a request for information under the Official Information Act 1982, 3 July 2003. The note on file referred to in the correspondence is located at TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, Taurewa Amalgamation (position as at 31/8/65).

<sup>140</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974, Minutes of Meeting of the Advisory Committee for the Amalgamation of Titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme, 29 August 1965.

<sup>141</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Minutes of the Meeting for the Taurewa Development Scheme, 15 September 1965.

<sup>142</sup> Maori Land Court, Tokaanu Minute Book, Volume 60, Folio 141-144, encl in TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, ruling by Judge Kevin B. Cull, August 1979.

Land Court and the provisional amalgamation order of 1982 are discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 5.

#### 4.7.2 Some owners not able to be involved in decisions about amalgamation

Some owners have claimed that they did not have the opportunity to participate in decisions about the amalgamation of titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme, with the effect that their blocks were erroneously included in the proposed amalgamation.<sup>143</sup> Maori Affairs' view seems to have been that references to amalgamation were made at most meetings of owners and there were no objections made at these meetings except by Rawiri Hemopo who objected to the whole of Taurewa 4 West D13 being included in the amalgamation.<sup>144</sup> (Rawiri Hemopo's situation is discussed further below.)

However, verbal evidence was given at the hearing related to the amalgamation application by the Maori Land Board that 'none of the objecting owners had bothered to attend the scheme annual meeting, and none of the owners present really had any understanding of what the proceedings were about.'<sup>145</sup>

In August 1979, Judge Kevin B. Cull of the Maori Land Court adjourned the application by the Maori Land Board to amalgamate titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme in part because he thought there was insufficient evidence that the owners had consented to the amalgamation of scheme titles. In relation to the 28 July 1965 meeting of owners, he noted that:

There was not a very representative gathering of owners from such a large number of blocks, but to those owners who were present the proposals to amalgamate, the consequences of same, and the future utilisation of the land were discussed at great detail. It was also decided at that meeting that a committee to represent the owners be formed and the minutes of the meeting record the names of that committee. About a month later on 29 August 1965 a meeting of this advisory committee was held and a number of matters relating to the proposed amalgamation were discussed. From that

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<sup>143</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>144</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer Maori Affairs to Judge E. T. J. Durie, 13 August 1979, page 2.

<sup>145</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer Maori Affairs to Judge E. T. J. Durie, 13 August 1979, page 2.

time until this application was brought before the Court (in 1979) it does not appear that anything further was done to implement the proposals of these two meetings.<sup>146</sup>

#### 4.7.3 Lack of progress on amalgamation

At various meetings of owners from 1965 on, and also in their numerous reports, Maori Affairs officials reported on the 'progress' being made with amalgamation. A 1968 announcement of a forthcoming meeting of owners stated: 'We are still working towards this amalgamation. A paper is now being prepared for submission to the Board which will request certain approvals and consents which the Court will require before it makes an order.'<sup>147</sup>

The reality, however, was that progress on amalgamation had virtually stopped. Almost a decade later, on 2 February 1977, the District Officer wrote: 'This title improvement job has been dragging on for far too long and we must have it finalised this year.'<sup>148</sup> But it was not finalised. Taurewa Development Scheme titles were eventually amalgamated after the blocks were handed back to owner control in 1991. What caused the very long delay? Why were Maori Affairs not able to sort out the various obstacles and achieve the amalgamation sooner?

The possibility that the group of owners who had agreed to the amalgamation may not have been a representative group of owners was a significant obstacle. There were a number of other obstacles. On 13 August 1979, a letter from the Maori Affairs District Officer to Judge E. T. J. Durie stated that:

You will be aware that applications to amalgamate the titles of the Taurewa Development Scheme have been delayed over a ten-year period principally because the Development Division in this office was not able to get certain matters respecting the applications into order.

Regarding the 'certain matters' referred to, he went on to say that:

This is a complicated matter in that, not only is the Court being asked to make an order to amalgamate the titles of numerous blocks of Maori lands, but is being asked

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<sup>146</sup> Maori Land Court, Tokaanu Minute Book, Volume 60, Folio 143, encl in TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, ruling by Judge Kevin B. Cull, August 1979.

<sup>147</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, Notice of meeting, Taurewa Development Scheme, 24 October 1968.

<sup>148</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles, 1976-1980, District Officer, Maori Affairs to Deputy Registrar, Maori Land Court, 2 February 1977.

to include the titles of other lands which have been acquired for the scheme owners in the amalgamated titles. To add further to those complications there are the matter of the urupas, the determination of ownership of lands in roadways, the closing of certain roadways, and the subdivision of one block of Maori land. Also the original scheme of the amalgamation has been varied [...] to avoid undesirable title complications arising later [...].<sup>149</sup>

Some of the complications referred to in the letter are discussed briefly below.

#### **4.7.4 Setting aside urupa sites**

Setting aside urupa sites from the areas to be developed and farmed could be a lengthy process. Urupa sites had first to be identified, then surveyed and finally gazetted under the Maori Affairs Act 1953 as a 'Maori reservation'. The process of setting aside urupa sites turned into a particularly lengthy one at Taurewa. Maori Affairs found it hard to contact the owners concerned and even harder to get them together to pin-point the sites. There were also issues to resolve around the fencing costs of partitioning off urupa sites.<sup>150</sup>

#### **4.7.5 Use of 1952 values in apportioning shares of the owners of the amalgamated titles**

Differing views over whether it was appropriate to use 1952 values in apportioning the shares of the owners of the amalgamated titles also held up the amalgamation. Maori Affairs' view was that those values were agreed to 'by properly appointed representatives of the owners and were accepted by the Maori Land Board as ascribed values' in terms of the requisite legislation.<sup>151</sup>

In support of their view, the Department cited the minutes of the 29 August 1965 meeting of the advisory committee for the amalgamation of titles in the Taurewa Scheme which had stated that:

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<sup>149</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer Maori Affairs to Judge E. T. J. Durie, 13 August 1979, page 2.

<sup>150</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980. Numerous reports and correspondence address these issues, including: District Officer, Maori Affairs to Deputy Registrar, Maori Land Court, 21 December 1977, page 2; District Officer, Maori Affairs, Wanganui, to Taumarunui Office, 19 February 1979; and TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, District Officer, Wanganui to Head Office, Maori Affairs, 7 March 1979.

<sup>151</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer to Judge E. T. J. Durie, 13 August 1979.

The meeting spent considerable time going over the question of values in endeavouring to decide which set of values should be used for the amalgamation. The grounds traversed were similar to those at the meeting held on 28 July 1965. The arguments for and against each valuation were well covered. It was finally moved by Hohepa Patena (Joe Hoko) and seconded by Rawiri (Dave) Hemopo that the 1952 unimproved value being the roll valuation nearest to the date on which development commenced, i.e. 1954 be adopted for the purposes of effecting the amalgamation of titles. Carried.

The Advisory Committee members at this meeting were: Rawiri Hemopo, Bill Paraku, Sonny Te Ahuru, Hohepa Patena (Joe Hoko), Wai Tamaira, M. S. Byres (Chairman), Pura Turanga, and Maeka Kuru.<sup>152</sup> A differing view, held by some owners, and supported by Judge Kevin B. Cull, was that in view of the length of time that had elapsed since the owners had first agreed to the amalgamation, further information was needed before he could make an order to amalgamate the titles.<sup>153</sup>

#### **4.7.6 Rawiri Hemopo's stand**

From a Maori Affairs perspective, the main reason that the amalgamation of titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme could not proceed was the position adopted by Rawiri Hemopo. Below is a sequence of events as the dispute unfolded.

##### Sequence of events

The meeting of the Advisory Committee to assist with the amalgamation of titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme, held on 29 August 1965, was attended by Rawiri Hemopo and eight other owners. The minutes of that meeting refer to the 'disputed area', noting that:

Mr Rawiri Hemopo alleges that for many years he and his son have farmed some thirty (12 ha) to forty acres (16 ha) of Taurewa 4 West D13 block in conjunction with Taurewa 4 West E 2B 3A 1. The latter block is not under Part XXIV but according to our records Taurewa 4 West D13 is under Part XXIV and is part of the scheme. If Mr Hemopo's allegation is correct, then it appears that the 30-40 acres should never have

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<sup>152</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3., Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974, Minutes of Meeting of the Advisory Committee for the Amalgamation of Titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme, 29 August 1965.

been included in the scheme and positive steps should now be taken to exclude it before any amalgamation is proceeded with. It could be that there is confusion over boundaries but Mr Hemopo does not support this.

The Maori Affairs departmental officer present at the meeting undertook to arrange a meeting between Mr Hemopo and the District Field Supervisor to 'ascertain the actual position and make recommendations accordingly.'<sup>154</sup>

On 24 September 1965, the District Field Supervisor reported to the Taumarunui Office that: 'We have realised for some time that Rawiri Hemopo has been grazing part of Taurewa 4 West D13 [...] The occupation of all of Taurewa 4 West D13 by the scheme is therefore very desirable and it should be retained in the Taurewa Scheme title.'<sup>155</sup>

The following year, on 17 March 1966, the District Field Officer reported that:

In company with Rawiri Hemopo I inspected the areas Taurewa 4 West E2B3A1 and part Taurewa 4 West D13 at present occupied by Hemopo but included in the Taurewa Scheme title. The occupation of all of Taurewa 4 West D13 by the Scheme is desirable and in fact should be retained in the Scheme title. The area at present occupied by Hemopo is in a neglected state. [There is] heavy infestation of blackberry, gorse and manuka reversion. To clean the area, sow in good pasture and farm efficiently is in my opinion beyond the capabilities of Hemopo or his immediate family. After discussion with Hemopo it is evident that if he is not given this area he would not agree to title amalgamation. This being the case, it may well pay to concede the area in question to Hemopo.<sup>156</sup>

Over a decade later, Maori Affairs noted that:

The major reason for the delay [in amalgamation] is that Rawiri Hemopo owns only 2.3334 shares out of a total of 20.8561 shares in Taurewa 4 West D13 which is

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<sup>153</sup> Maori Land Court, Tokaanu Minute Book, Volume 60, Folio 143, encl in TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, ruling by Judge Kevin B. Cull, August 1979.

<sup>154</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3., Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974, Minutes of Meeting of the Advisory Committee for the Amalgamation of Titles in the Taurewa Development Scheme, 29 August 1965.

<sup>155</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, District Field Supervisor, Wanganui, to Taumarunui Office, 24 September 1965.

<sup>156</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, District Field Officer, Wanganui to Taumarunui Office, 17 March 1966.



insufficient to enable him to partition 44 acres, 1 rood and 35.3 perches (18 ha) out of 77 acres 2 roods 19.3 perches (31 ha) in his own name, and his attitude has been that, if he cannot partition Taurewa 4 West D13 as he requires he will not consent to the amalgamation of titles.<sup>157</sup>

Views about how to deal with the issue differed. In March 1978, the District Officer wrote: 'The fact is that the Hemopo family owns at least eight-tenths of the shares in the [Taurewa 4 West A4A1] block, a sufficient shareholding to give Rawiri Hemopo reasonable cause to believe the Hemopo family has rights it is entitled to enforce.'<sup>158</sup>

In 18 May 1977, the Field Officer wrote:

Age has made Rawiri Hemopo difficult to deal with. A particularly fine person but on the subject of land he becomes very agitated. The moment you discuss Taurewa 4 West D13, Rawiri gets onto the subject of Taurewa West A4A1 presently in bush that he holds is not to be included in the amalgamated title of [the] Taurewa Scheme. The cure to this problem is time.<sup>159</sup>

According to a memo from the District Officer of 20 July 1977,

The bugbear with this proposed amalgamation has been Rawiri Hemopo's delay in partitioning that area of Taurewa 4 West D13 which has not been farmed by the scheme, and his changes of mind regarding what land should be portioned. We have now decided to serve notice on Mr Rawiri to appear before the Court when the application for amalgamation is further prosecuted and voice his objections there. In view of the protracted delay caused by Mr Hemopo we are confident he will be overruled by the Court.<sup>160</sup>

After Hemopo's death in April 1978, his family took up the cause of trying to keep the block out of the amalgamation. (A map of the Hemopo land outside the development scheme is shown below in Figure 5.)

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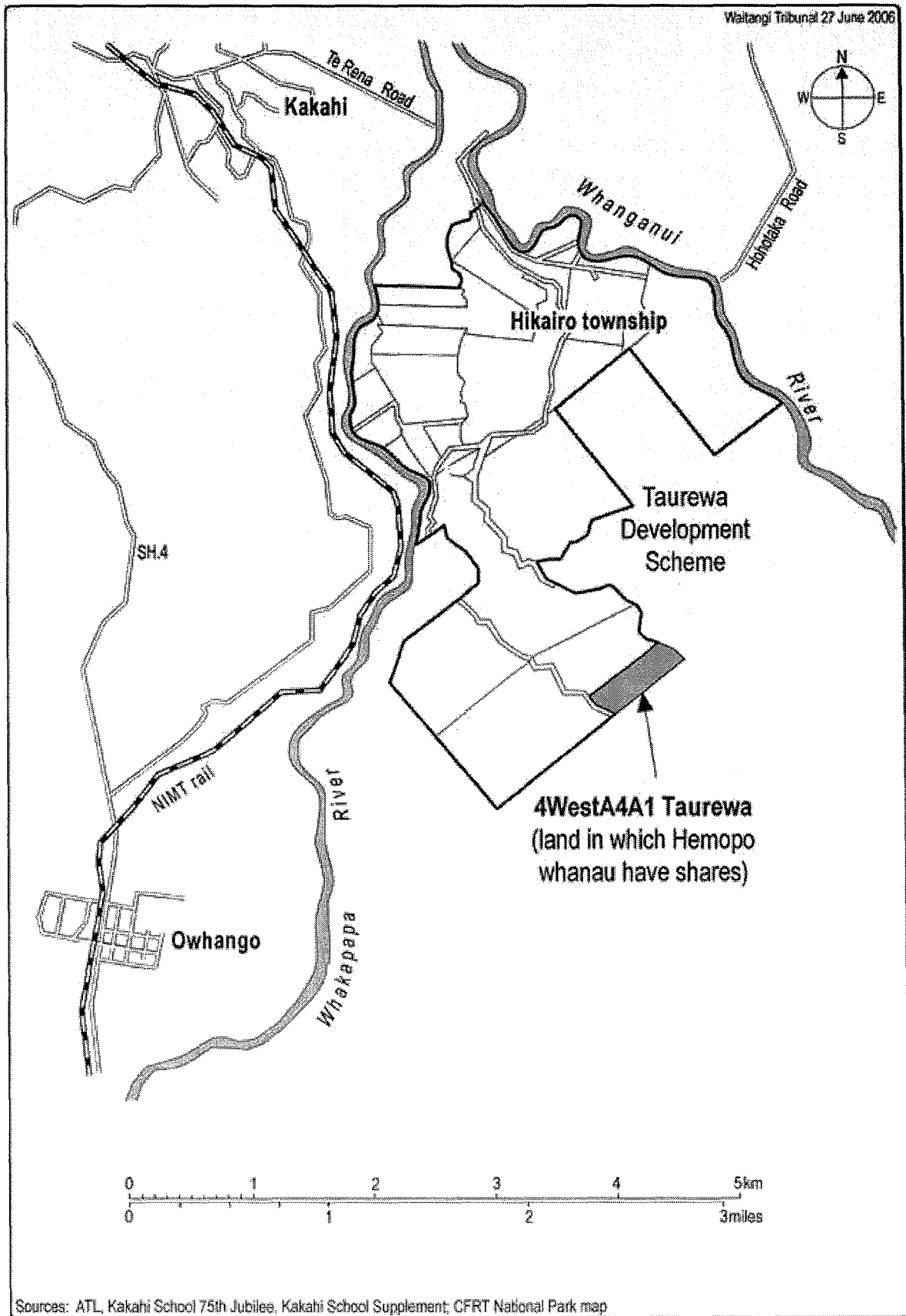
<sup>157</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Office, Maori Affairs to Head Office, 10 February 1978.

<sup>158</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer to District Field Officer, 23 March 1978.

<sup>159</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Field Officer, Taumarunui, to Wanganui District Office, 18 May 1977.

<sup>160</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer, Wanganui to Head Office, Maori Affairs, 20 July 1977.

**Figure 5: The Hemopo land outside the development scheme**



Sources: ATL, Kakahi School 75th Jubilee, Kakahi School Supplement; CFRT National Park map

#### 4.7.7 Trying to have Taurewa 4 West A4A1 Block released from the scheme

At the 1978 annual meeting of owners, held on 14 November, a motion to have Taurewa 4 West D13, consisting of forty acres (16 ha) of bush, released from the scheme was passed. The motion was moved by Harapata Hemopo and seconded by Henare Hemopo. Four departmental officers were present at the meeting but the number of owners is not given in the minutes.<sup>161</sup>

In early 1979, the District Officer reported that the Community Officer in Taumarunui was having difficulty in getting representatives of the owners of Taurewa 4 together to inspect urupa sites so that the report needed for the application to the Land Court could proceed.<sup>162</sup> Sometime in March 1979 the Hemopo family were informed by Maori Affairs of the costs - fencing and surveying - of withdrawing from the scheme.<sup>163</sup> The Department seemed to hope/expect that the information about the costs involved might make the owners change their mind about proceeding.<sup>164</sup>

If it did not, 'technically, there will be no difficulty in getting a charging order to secure such costs,' wrote the District Officer to the Field Officer on 22 March 1979. 'But the matter of a charging order should not be mentioned. The owners might then have different ideas.'<sup>165</sup> In August 1979, Judge Cull considered the application to amalgamate Taurewa Development Scheme titles too complex for him to make the orders requested and adjourned the application.<sup>166</sup>

At the end of 1978, the owners of Taurewa 4 West A4A1 resolved to exclude the block, comprising 40 acres and three roods (16 ha), from the proposed amalgamation and to withdraw the land from the development scheme. The owners were again advised by Maori Affairs that, if they withdrew their land, they would be charged with the cost of fencing off

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<sup>161</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Owners, 1974-1978, Minutes of the Meeting of the Taurewa Development Scheme, 14 November 1978, page 3.

<sup>162</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, District Officer, Wanganui to Head Office, 7 March 1979.

<sup>163</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, District Office, to Taumarunui Office, 28 March 1979.

<sup>164</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles, 1976-1980, District Officer to Head Office, 23 March 1979.

<sup>165</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles, 1976-1980, District Officer, Wanganui to the Field Officer, Taumarunui, 22 March 1979.

<sup>166</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, District Officer to Head Office, 3 September 1979.

the withdrawn land from the development scheme and for the cost of preparing a boundary survey. However, no development debt would be charged against Taurewa 4 West A4A1.<sup>167</sup>

#### **4.7.8 Underlying obstacles to amalgamation**

Differences between the Hemopo family and Maori Affairs continued for almost thirty years and prevented amalgamation proceeding. In the view of one Maori Affairs official who worked hard to resolve the obstacles to amalgamation 'it was not reasonable that some four or five owners, who had not bothered to attend scheme meetings, could thwart the clearly expressed resolution of the majority of owners which had been repeatedly expressed over the past ten years.'<sup>168</sup>

The issues that prevented the amalgamation proceeding may also be related to the early history and establishment of the Taurewa Development Scheme and to the differences that existed among owners about 'giving up their land to the Pakeha', for development under a development scheme.<sup>169</sup> The efforts to amalgamate the development scheme's titles continued in the 1980s. In 1982 the Maori Land Court made an order to amalgamate, subject to the completion of a survey of the amalgamated titles.<sup>170</sup> Events in 1982 are discussed in the next chapter.

#### **4.8 Settlement**

As noted earlier, settlement of Maori farmers on the land was considered as crucial a part of the process of Maori land development as the amalgamation of titles. By 1961, Sonny Te Ahuru is referred to in Departmental reports as a nominated settler at the Taurewa Development Scheme. Eventually, he became the scheme's only settler and a long-term employee of Maori Affairs.

At the start of the development process at the Taurewa Development Scheme, owners seem to have had expectations that the blocks would be divided into four or five sheep farms, with land allocated to four or five settlers. Notes of meetings of owners suggest that the prospect

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<sup>167</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer, Wanganui to Head Office, 23 March 1979. It is not known whether any of these charges were actually applied.

<sup>168</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 6/48/1, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Establishment and Titles 1976-1980, District Officer Maori Affairs to Judge E. T. J. Durie, 13 August 1979, page 2.

<sup>169</sup> Patena memoir. See Footnote 52: '[They feared that] the Pakeha may take full control of our lands.'

<sup>170</sup> Maori Land Court, Aotea District, 64 Tokaanu Minute Book 184-188, Chief Judge Edward Taihakurei Junior Durie, 'Order cancelling several titles and substituting one title', Taumarunui, 25 March 1982.

of settlement, the timing, precise number and identity of settlers were issues of considerable interest to them. Presumably, owners' expectations about settlement were based on information they had been given by Maori Affairs, though I have not found a specific reference to when this first occurred. Owners asked Maori Affairs questions about settlement at the October 1960 meeting, at the September 1962 meeting and at several other meetings in the 1960s. On each occasion, they were told that settlement was still seven or eight years away.

At the 26 September 1962 meeting, for example, an owner who asked when the land would be ready for settlement, was told that the 'the latest review paper says about 1969. We need to farm this land to ensure that there is no loss.'<sup>171</sup> In the early 1960s, there were references in the files to a plan of allowing for five settlers, (though I have not been able to find such a plan). The number of settlers planned became fewer as the decade continued, presumably because the Department was unable to ensure there was no loss. 'This plan (of five settlers) has been accepted by the owners but has not yet been submitted to Head Office,' wrote the District Officer in Wanganui to Head Office on 23 August 1960.<sup>172</sup> A February 1966 'Development Submission' from Maori Affairs, Wanganui to the Board of Maori Affairs stated under the heading 'Settlement Objective' that: 'Project utilisation is for five sheep farms.'<sup>173</sup>

The 'settlement objective' is mentioned less frequently in departmental papers as the years passed. At the 30 October 1970 meeting, a Maori Affairs officer responded to an owner who asked about the chance of Taurewa becoming available for settlement by one of the owners by explaining 'the difficulties that a settler would face.'

Approximately \$15,000 in cash would be needed by a settler, and at the present time he would have little hope of making a "go" of it. The block does not lend itself to "piece-meal" settlement. He felt that the proper thing to do is to complete full development before settlement.'<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Meeting of Owners of Taurewa Development Scheme held at Kauriki Pa, Manunui, 26 September 1962, page 3.

<sup>172</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/-, Taurewa Development Scheme, District Officer, Wanganui, to Head Office, Maori Affairs, 23 August 1960.

<sup>173</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/-, Taurewa Development Scheme, Development Submission by Wanganui District Office, Maori Affairs, to Board of Maori Affairs, 16 February 1966.

<sup>174</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Meeting of Owners of Taurewa Development Scheme, 30 October 1970.

There do not appear to be further references to settlement at meetings of owners during the remainder of the 1970s.<sup>175</sup> In August 1979, in the Maori Land Court, Judge Kevin B. Cull, in reviewing the early minutes related to the Taurewa Development Scheme (as part of an application by the Maori Land Board to amalgamate titles in the scheme) made the following comments:

It appeared to be of the utmost concern to the owners as to how the land was to be divided for individual settlement once development had progressed and the owners were assured that it would be divided up into economic farm units and some system of allocation would be devised.

He went on to note that: '[...] on what has been presented to the Court, there is nothing to show the existence of any such scheme, nor any proposals as to how the land was to be allocated for settlement by the groups of owners.'<sup>176</sup>

#### **4.9 Providing access to the scheme**

The effort to obtain adequate all-weather access for the Taurewa Development Scheme took twenty years to achieve. (It took forty years after the 1932 application by owners to build two bridges.) The need to improve access to the scheme and to provide an alternative to the two log bridges – one across the Whakapapa River from Kakahi; the other across the Wanganui River from the Hohotaka Road - both of which were liable to flooding, had been recognised by Maori Affairs since the early 1950s. One of the main reasons for the relatively poor performance of the scheme, according to Maori Affairs, was the inadequate access which hampered development of the property and successful farming.

Peter Little recalled that the official road finished at Whangaipeke, with no provision for Taurewa. In his view, the building of an adequate bridge over the Wanganui River, to replace the old, unsafe log bridge, was crucial to the normal running of the property. Without such a bridge access was cut off from time to time as the land was subject to frequent flooding; the log bridge was in danger of collapse and trucks carrying stock had problems crossing. But

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<sup>175</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners from 1971 onwards.

<sup>176</sup> Maori Land Court, Tokaanu Minute Book, Volume 60, Folio 143, August 1979; TPK, 6/48/1, Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles.

'there were competing priorities for funding required to build the bridge to ease Taurewa's access woes.'<sup>177</sup>

'Consideration will have to be given to access to this scheme but it is not likely that any finance will be required during the next three years,' wrote the District Officer in 1962.<sup>178</sup> Providing all-weather access was not considered a priority in the middle 1960s even though problems with access affected the quality of staff able to be employed by the scheme. Staff with children were particularly hard to attract and to retain due to the difficulties children faced in getting to school when the rivers were in flood.<sup>179</sup>

'There is also a possibility of the present manager becoming disheartened [by the difficult access]', reported the District Officer on 24 February 1965.<sup>180</sup> There was certainly plenty to be disheartened about. A 19 November 1965 memo from Maori Affairs to the Ministry of Works noted that:

[...] the Wanganui River has been subject to flood lately and this flood covered the bridge and washed out the approaches, isolating the Taurewa Development Scheme employees, cropping contractor and the shearing gang [...] This is a serious problem, another flood could completely wreck the bridge [...].<sup>181</sup>

By 1966, Maori Affairs considered that urgent remedies were needed. Events in 1966-67 prompted the following letter from the Department to the Commissioner of Works.

A recent inspection of this area disclosed a particularly unsatisfactory state of affairs. At present, a very small and inadequate bridge spans the Wanganui River. Apparently this is covered when the level of the river rises to any extent, and for a whole week last winter the employees on the development scheme were entirely cut off. Also it is understood that a child was swept off this bridge recently, but luckily there was a farm employee nearby to make the rescue. Problems such as this make it rather difficult to get staff for this scheme, especially as children have to suffer an ordeal to get to the

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<sup>177</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>178</sup> ANZ, MA 1, 22/1, Part 3, Box 470, District Officer to Head Office, 27 February 1962.

<sup>179</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 1, District Field Supervisor to the District Officer in Wanganui, 17 March 1964.

<sup>180</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 1, District Officer, Wanganui to Head Office, 24 February 1965.

<sup>181</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 6, Taurewa Development Scheme, Roding 1962-1963, Maori Affairs to Ministry of Works, 19 November 1965.

local school. It would therefore be appreciated if urgent steps could be taken to having the bridge erected.<sup>182</sup>

The District Field Supervisor's report for 1967/68 highlighted the staff difficulties caused by the poor access. 'The management and labour position on this scheme has never been satisfactory. The reasons for this are:

(a) No legal access to the scheme. A timber bridge across the Wanganui River provides the only access.

(b) The school bus travels as far as Whangaipeke. The bus has only operated over the past two years. Children attending school have to walk some three to three and a half miles to catch the bus. For small children the crossing of the timber bridge provides a constant danger.

(c) To employ satisfactory labour under these conditions was impossible. Until the new bridge is constructed, the road formed to the Manager's house and legalised the labour problem will still exist.'<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 1, Letter from Maori Affairs to Commissioner of Works, 20 June 1967.

<sup>183</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.



#### **4.9.1 Building the Wanganui River Bridge**

Steps towards the building of the Wanganui River Bridge to ease the scheme's access and staffing problems were slow and faltering. Some milestones are listed below.

1950s	Access needs of the development scheme identified.
May 1966	Survey work started.
July 1966	Ministry of Works approves £11,500 (\$23,000) for roading on the scheme.
November 1966	Consideration of whether the new construction would be a 'through road' or 'an internal road'. If the latter, the scheme bears half the cost of construction.
May 1967	Concerns mount about floods isolating the scheme.
September 1967	Concerns about rising costs of building the proposed bridge.
April 1968	'The Wanganui River Bridge is a definite commitment in our design programme', writes the District Commissioner of Works to the District Officer, Department of Maori and Island Affairs.
February 1970	The bridge is almost completed.
May 1970	The bridge is completed but further funding is needed to extend the Hohotaka road to the development scheme.

The total estimated cost for the Wanganui River Bridge at 19 December 1968 when the job was about to be tendered was \$26,000.<sup>184</sup>

#### **4.9.2 The scheme's access problem is eased but the debt increases**

While the building of the bridge eased the access problems of the scheme, the cost of building the bridge contributed greatly to the scheme's financial problems. Before the bridge was built, owners were informed about the financial burden this presented to the scheme at the

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<sup>184</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Roding 1966-1972, Commissioner of Works to Maori Affairs, 19 December 1968.

annual meeting of owners held on 5 November 1968 (and probably also on other occasions too). The Maori Affairs official told owners that ‘Although this is essential it will not add to the revenue of the farm. It will have the effect of adding to interest charges.’

An owner who asked if the work would be subsidised was told the government would pay half the cost of the bridge.<sup>185</sup> The Department of Maori Affairs had a policy that in the case of an ‘internal road’ for a Maori development scheme, the scheme would have to bear half the cost of construction. No research has been undertaken to determine whether development schemes on Crown land were also subject to this charge. The final cost borne by owners for building the bridge over the Wanganui River was \$14,000.<sup>186</sup>

#### **4.9.3 Access issues after the building of the Wanganui River Bridge**

The building of the Wanganui River Bridge helped resolve some of the development scheme’s access problems. Arguments and shifting of responsibility continued in the decades ahead between Taumarunui County Council, the Ministry of Works and Maori Affairs over whose obligation it was to complete the task and ensure adequate on-going and legal access for the Taurewa Development Scheme. Work on the Pepenui Culvert, extension to the Hohotaka Road and upgrading of the access to the manager’s house were some of the jobs argued over, which still needed to be completed.<sup>187</sup>

#### **4.10 Employment**

To what extent was the Taurewa Development Scheme able to provide employment for Maori owners or for local Maori? It appears that while employment was provided for some owners and local Maori from time to time, the scheme was not a source of significant employment opportunities for them to a large extent because the staff needs were small. The level of wages for farm work also tended to ensure that employment by the development scheme was not considered desirable employment by job seekers. They preferred to find better paid work off the scheme.

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<sup>185</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/20/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Annual meeting of owners, 5 November 1968.

<sup>186</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Roding 1966-1972, letter from District Officer to Taumarunui County Council, 5 January 1972.

<sup>187</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 94, 6/48/11, Part 5, Taurewa Development Scheme, Roding 1977-1979, Ministry of Works to Department of Maori Affairs, Taurewa Development Scheme: Hohotaka Road maintenance, 1 June 1979; ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 94, 8/48/11, Part 6, Taurewa Development Scheme – Roding, District Officer, Maori Affairs, to District Commissioner of Works, ‘Roding Programme: Taurewa Development Scheme’, 18 December 1973.

Kepa Patena recalled the difficulties of finding experienced staff: 'No one wanted to work on farms. There were better jobs elsewhere.'<sup>188</sup> Typically, Taurewa provided permanent employment for one manager and one shepherd, with casual workers taken on as the need arose. For example, in 1972, in addition to the manager and shepherd, three unemployed winter relief workers (they were Maori but I have not been able to find out if they were local) were employed.<sup>189</sup>

#### 4.11 Scheme managers

As discussed, Sonny Te Ahuru was the Taurewa Development Scheme's first manager and shepherd, looking after both Taurewa and Whangaipeke farms in the 1950s. In September 1959, Sonny, who had been manager of the scheme since 1954, was replaced as manager and a new manager put in place. Why? It seems that he may have been a convenient scapegoat for Taurewa's early failure to live up to expectations. A memo from the Administration Officer to the District Field Supervisor concerning Taurewa's annual accounts for 1959/1960 and the change of manager stated that:

In the year under review the stock management was not regarded as particularly good. The previous manager, Te Ahuru, is now employed as shepherd. The [new manager] took over as manager for both Whangaipeke and Taurewa in September 1959 but on completion of a new house on Taurewa we were able to appoint separate managers for each station. These appointments will show beneficial results and will eliminate some of the doubtful aspects of the previous control.<sup>190</sup>

What did Maori Affairs think had gone wrong under Sonny's management? The memo contained several references to his 'poor control'. This seems to have entailed a degree of laxity in meeting the Department's paperwork requirements. Under the new manager: 'Greater attention to proper completion of paddock diaries and monthly returns can be expected from now on,' said the writer of the memo optimistically.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>189</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 95, 6/48/18, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1968-1974.

<sup>190</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

<sup>191</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964.

Sonny, clearly upset by his demotion and insensitive treatment, showed some difficulty in working as shepherd under the new managers appointed over him by Maori Affairs. He was taken off permanent staff with loss of earnings. From June 1961, his weekly pay became the same as that of inexperienced young shepherds, £13/10/3 (\$26), while as manager he had earned £16 10s (\$33) per week.<sup>192</sup> The new managers' diaries contain references to employee problems<sup>193</sup> and there are also several reports and memos referring to these during the period 1960-1962 when Sonny was probably feeling most frustrated by his treatment by Maori Affairs. His position as owners' nominee probably ensured his on-going employment.<sup>194</sup>

After the appointment of the manager who replaced Sonny was terminated 'for inefficiency and neglect'<sup>195</sup>, the managers put in place by Maori Affairs were Pakeha. According to Kapa Patena, 'Maori Affairs got in their own people. There was no effort to employ local people. They had jokers of their own choice – some Maori, some Pakeha. No matter how good you were, you wouldn't get the job under Maori Affairs [if you were Maori].'<sup>196</sup> The first Pakeha manager was appointed in June 1960. He held the job till November 1967. After his resignation, Maori Affairs had difficulty filling the position and it remained vacant till March 1968. After the next appointee, three more managers came and went in rapid succession, due in part to the difficult access, a major issue for managers with children.<sup>197</sup>

The manager appointed in September 1972 had six children but by the time of his appointment the construction of the Wanganui River Bridge had resolved some of the scheme's access problems. The new appointee stayed in the job until he took voluntary severance in 1990. The Maori manager who replaced him was the first appointed by the Taurewa 5 West Trust after the return of the blocks to owner control in 1991. In between the rapid changes of manager during the 1960s and early 1970s, Sonny Te Ahuru stepped in as temporary manager from time to time though he did not receive the manager's salary. As

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<sup>192</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, Part 3, 6/48/3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

<sup>193</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, Part 3, 6/48/3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974, W. J. Turner's diaries, 1960-61.

<sup>194</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, Part 3, 6/48/3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974.

<sup>195</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 95, 6/48/14, Part 2, Taurewa Development Scheme: Employment and staff, 1961-1990.

<sup>196</sup> Kapa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>197</sup> Several documents refer to the difficulties faced by staff with children. For example, ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 94, Part 3, 6/48/11, Taurewa Development Scheme, Roothing, 1966-1972, Secretary for Maori Affairs to Commissioner of Works, 'Maori Roothing: Taurewa Development Scheme', 20 June 1967.

Kepa Patena recalled, 'If it weren't for Uncle Sonny, I don't know how Taurewa would have got on.'<sup>198</sup>

Sonny's contribution was eventually acknowledged in the early 1970s. 'As has been the case on several occasions Sonny Te Ahuru has assumed temporary management of Taurewa Scheme upon the change of management. On no occasion has he received an extra duty allowance for the added responsibility,' wrote the District Field Supervisor on 11 October 1972.<sup>199</sup> Sonny's ability to act as temporary manager kept the scheme going through the period of instability. He contributed vital stability and local knowledge, mitigating the impact of unstable management when otherwise the performance of the scheme would have been badly affected. As for the various managers he worked with over the years, Sonny thought that the first Pakeha manager stood out. 'He was a good manager. Some others were managing too much from Taumarunui. They did not let the people on the ground just get on with work.'<sup>200</sup>

## **4.12 Training**

### **4.12.1 Information about training schemes**

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, owners whose current addresses were known to Maori Affairs, were informed by the Department about the availability of farm training by means of the notices which advertised forthcoming meetings of owners. Typically, a notice would say that:

This Department is anxious that Maori youths interested in a farming career are given an opportunity of getting suitable training. Persons interested in these training schemes are invited to ask for further particulars at the meeting or from any office of the Department of Maori and Island Affairs.<sup>201</sup>

Other notices referred to a training farm near Rotorua<sup>202</sup> and to training schemes in the Auckland and Taranaki areas.<sup>203</sup> In 1971, several training farms offered farm cadetships and

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<sup>198</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>199</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 91, Part 1, 6/48/0, Taurewa Development Scheme, General, 1977-1983, District Field Supervisor, Wanganui to Taumarunui Office, 11 October 1972.

<sup>200</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

<sup>201</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Notice informing owners of the 5 November 1968 meeting.

<sup>202</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Notice informing owners of the 13 September 1967 meeting.

training and farming experience for Maori youths. They included Telford Farm near Balclutha and Flock House in the Manawatu. Maori Affairs and the Maori Trust Office were asked to publicise the training schemes 'and direct the attention of any likely youths to them.'<sup>204</sup> It seems that while staff at the Taurewa Development Scheme would have received some of the information detailed above about training schemes they did not participate in these.

#### **4.12.2 On the job training**

The provision of on the job training was an alternative to attending training schemes and training farms. Was on the job training available for those involved with the Taurewa Development Scheme? The requirement to provide some training for staff was specified in a station manager's job description. This stated that a manager's duties and responsibilities were to: 'Instruct shepherd on the general handling of stock.'<sup>205</sup>

Was training offered Sonny Te Ahuru, in view of his longstanding and extensive involvement with the development scheme? It was not offered, according to Kepa Patene. 'There were no training opportunities for Sonny.'<sup>206</sup> Sonny's unmet training needs, particularly when he was starting out as manager, are referred to in a 19 September 1961 report by the Resident Officer. His report quotes from a report by the Senior Field Officer, based on an interview with Sonny which took place on 7 September 1961.

He [Sonny] states that he started with the Department when Taurewa Scheme was commenced, and while he was regarded as being a good worker he had no knowledge of stock work or farm management. However he was placed in charge of the two schemes and acquired his own horses and dogs, from there on he had to apply himself to his responsibilities as best as he could, without the assistance of experienced personnel from whom he could learn or be shown some, if not all, of the techniques of

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<sup>203</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Notice informing owners of the 5 November 1968 meeting.

<sup>204</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1962-1973, Notice informing owners of the 31 October 1971 meeting.

<sup>205</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, ACC, W4598, Box 95, 6/48/14, Part 2, Taurewa Development Scheme, Manager and Staff, 1961-1990, for example, District Officer to R. Marsdon, 15 July 1969, and District Officer to W. F. Turner, 21 July 1960.

<sup>206</sup> Kepa Patena, phone conversation, 31 March 2006.

management. ...The appointment of [a new manager] provided the first opportunity for learning and gaining further knowledge on farming practices.<sup>207</sup>

The Resident Officer, in concluding his report, is critical of the failure of Maori Affairs to meet its obligations to Sonny Te Ahuru.

I am concerned with a duty to provide potential settlers with every opportunity to gain as much experience and knowledge to fit them for eventual settlement. Sonny is a nominated settler, and has remained on these schemes right from the outset, in which some incidents were created that were a personal affront and embarrassment, and reflection on his ability, and despite these reverses he has resisted the temptation to quit.<sup>208</sup>

The Resident Officer was keen to ensure Maori Affairs did better by Sonny in the future. 'I discussed the matter of Sonny's work with his manager, who agrees he needs to be helped along. [...] [the manager] has offered to assist Sonny to gain as much experience as possible in stock work and pasture management.'<sup>209</sup>

Training opportunities depended on the willingness and ability of individual managers to provide training. While the training situation improved for Sonny under one manager, some managers who followed him did not meet their responsibilities. For example, in 1969, when Sonny wanted his son to receive training, the current manager was said to be 'uncooperative' in the matter.<sup>210</sup> According to Peter Little, the issue of training did not apply to Taurewa. 'There was only Sonny Te Ahuru, regarded as kaumatua by locals.' Later Maori Affairs tried to introduce training for trustees but people had too many other commitments.<sup>211</sup> Trustee training is addressed in the next chapter.

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<sup>207</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, ACC, W4598, Box 95, 6/48/14, Part 2, Taurewa Development Scheme, Manager and Staff, 1961-1990, Report by Senior Field Supervisor, enclosed in report by Resident Officer, 19 September 1961.

<sup>208</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, ACC, W4598, Box 95, 6/48/14, Part 2, Taurewa Development Scheme, Manager and Staff, 1961-1990, Report by Senior Field Supervisor enclosed in report by Resident Officer, 19 September 1961.

<sup>209</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, ACC, W4598, Box 95, 6/48/14, Part 2, Taurewa Development Scheme, Manager and Staff, 1961-1990, Report by Resident Officer, 19 September 1961.

<sup>210</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 3, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1964-1974, District Officer, Wanganui to Tamarunui Office, 4 February 1969.

<sup>211</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

#### **4.13 Other issues in the 1960s and 1970s: Tongariro power development scheme**

The Tongariro power development scheme in 1972 reduced the flow of the Wanganui and Whakapapa rivers. The Taurewa blocks were affected and Maori Affairs and owners put a case for compensation to be paid. After considerable negotiation about the sum considered appropriate, the sum of \$12,400.32 was paid by the Ministry of Works to Maori Affairs in November 1977.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, 6/48/0, Part 6, Box 91, Taurewa Development Scheme, General Correspondence, 1977-1985, District Commissioner of Works to District Officer, Maori Affairs, 4 November 1977.



## 5 SETTING UP THE TRUST AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1980s

### 5.1 Snapshot of the development scheme in 1981/82

At the 15 November 1982 meeting to consider the setting up of a trust 'pursuant to Section 438 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953', Departmental Officers presented owners with figures from the annual accounts. These provide a snapshot of the state of the development scheme just before the formation of the trust.

*Table 5: Development scheme in 1981/82<sup>213</sup>*

Area being farmed	818.7402 hectares (2023 acres)
Debt owing to the Department	\$229,000 (same as previous year)
Owners' equity in the scheme	\$731,000
Value of one share in the block	\$247 per share
Profit from farming for 1981-82	\$14,226

At 1 July 1981, the total value of the assets of the Taurewa Development Scheme was reported to be \$762,632, minus \$229,520 (debt) and \$24,037 (Rural Bank loans), making the equity in the property \$509,075.<sup>214</sup>

An earlier report 'Maori Land Development, Aotea District 1981' had noted two measures recently introduced by Maori Affairs to raise productivity and profitability of the scheme. They were a change to Perendale sheep and the development of 147 hectares (363 acres) of 'cut over bush' under the Land Development Encouragement Loan.<sup>215</sup> Regarding the overall state of the development scheme, a report from the District Officer, dated 5 August 1982, noted:

Because the debt is still relatively high and because a further substantial input is required to all but complete the programme [of development], it is anticipated that a further six years or more will be required before return to the owners can be effected

<sup>213</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Owners, 1973-1983, Minutes of the Taurewa Development Scheme Meeting, 15 November 1982.

<sup>214</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimate, report by District Officer, 5 August 1982.

<sup>215</sup> ATL, 'Maori Land Development, Aotea District 1981,' Department of Land and Survey, P box, q338, 13, MAO, 1976, Per, MAO.

with confidence knowing that the Board has discharged its obligation to develop, stock and leave in good heart this potentially fine property.<sup>216</sup>

Several land blocks (see Appendix IV on 'Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme – Table') were released from the scheme in 1982. The provisional amalgamation order was made by the Maori land Court on 25 March 1982. This is discussed further in section 5.3

## **5.2 The trust is set up, 1982**

A notice dated 4 November 1982 announced that a meeting of owners of the Taurewa Development Scheme blocks would be held to consider the formation of a trust.<sup>217</sup> The notice stated that, in line with the Maori Land Board's policy of returning all schemes to owners' control as soon as possible, the meeting had been called to 'give the owners an opportunity to express their views as to the future utilisation of the block and how control can best be handed over to the Maori owners.'

It was 'very important', the notice went on to say, 'that a strong organisation be set up to control the farming operations.' Owners were urged to attend to put forward their views on this and also, 'if a Section 438 Trust is approved, who the trustees should be.' The notice concluded by saying that 'As this office does not have the up to date addresses of all the owners you are asked to let other members of your family who are owners and other owners know of the date and place of the meeting'.

A Taurewa Development Scheme meeting was held on Monday 15 November 1982 in the Manunui Memorial Hall, with forty-one owners and six departmental offices listed as having been present.<sup>218</sup> The District Officer explained to the owners that a legal entity needed to be set up as soon as possible to take control of the operation of the blocks. This entity could be an incorporation or a Section 438 Trust. The differences between the two entities were discussed.<sup>219</sup> The resolution to form the trust, to be known as Taurewa 5 West, was passed unanimously. Nine trustees were available for nomination and seven were nominated as

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<sup>216</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates.

<sup>217</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Owners, 1973-1983, Notice of Annual Meeting, 4 November 1982.

<sup>218</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Owners, 1973-1983, Minutes of the Taurewa Development Scheme Meeting, 15 November 1982.

<sup>219</sup> For a full discussion of these differences see Nicholas Bayley, Leanne Boulton, Adam Heinz, 'Maori Land Trusts and Incorporations in the Twentieth Century in the Central North Island Inquiry Region', research report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, 2005, Wai 1200 G4, pages 9-17.

trustees. The trustees appointed were: Sir Hepi Te Heu Heu, Paea Tuhera Kiriona, Fred Te Ahuru, Jim Ham, Sonny Te Ahuru, Kepa Patena and Tamure Piripi.<sup>220</sup>

Two questions related to the formation of the trust need consideration. First, did Maori Affairs make reasonable efforts to contact all owners to attend the meeting? Views differ. Owners' addresses that were listed included such locations as Auckland, Porirua, Taupo, Hamilton, Wanganui and Feilding as well as Turangi and Kakahi, showing that owners who were not local did have the opportunity to attend the meeting. Anecdotal evidence, however, suggests that it is possible that not everyone who needed to be contacted was given the chance to have a say about the future of the blocks.<sup>221</sup>

The second concerns the preparedness of the newly appointed trustees for the task at hand. According to Kepa Patena, some trustees were unsure about their role.<sup>222</sup> Peter Little recalled that the matter of training trustees was considered by the Department. 'We used to talk about the possibility of trustee training, but people were too busy to take part. They had other commitments.'<sup>223</sup> Peter Little commented that the status of trustees was also an issue. 'In the 1980s, trustees were people like Sir Hepi Te Heuheu. It wasn't appropriate to offer training to people of his ilk.'<sup>224</sup>

On 24 March 1983 the Taurewa Development Scheme blocks were vested in Section 438 Trustees. Maori Affairs intended that the new trust would be responsible for the administration and farming of the blocks, in conjunction with the Board of Maori Affairs, until the development debt was reduced sufficiently 'to enable the trustees to operate solely on their own account [...] It is expected that the property could be returned to the trustees' complete control by 1988', predicted Maori Affairs, somewhat optimistically as it turned out.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Owners, 1973-1983, Minutes of the Taurewa Development Scheme Meeting, 15 November 1982.

<sup>221</sup> Kepa Patena and Arthur Smallman interviews, 21 February 2006 and papers relating to Mrs Monica Matamua. I have not found files to substantiate the anecdotal evidence.

<sup>222</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>223</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>224</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>225</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Owners, 1973-1983, Maori Affairs to Maori Land Court, Aotea District, 18 March 1983.

### 5.3 Amalgamation of titles

At the November 1982 meeting, which set up the trust, owners were advised that the Maori Land Court had approved the amalgamation of the various titles which made up the around thirty-nine blocks of the development scheme into one title - Taurewa 5 West. They were also told that a list of owners in the amalgamated title would be available for 'the owners' perusal' at the meeting.

On 25 March 1982, the Maori Land Court Chief Judge ETJ Durie had ordered the amalgamation of the Taurewa 4 West lands previously included in the development scheme<sup>226</sup>, bringing to a resolution, it was expected, longstanding unresolved title issues. A subsequent official gazette notice followed this amalgamation order.<sup>227</sup> The order was subject to certain conditions. They were the production of a survey of the amalgamated title and the production of title diagrams and a list of owners in the amalgamated title being referred to the next meeting of the scheme owners for their perusal and to the Court at the next sitting following the meeting.<sup>228</sup>

But the provisional amalgamation order did not achieve the anticipated outcome of resolving outstanding amalgamation issues and the conditions required to meet the order were not met. The reasons for the delays in meeting the survey and other requirements of the amalgamation order are not completely clear (to the writer) but are probably related to the inaccuracies affecting some of the conditions and to longstanding differences in views among owners, referred to in previous chapters. Nor does official correspondence between the Department of Land and Survey and Maori Affairs shed much light on the matter for the officials concerned appear to be baffled by the delays. 'It is difficult to understand why the sites to be set aside as urupa cannot be identified ... I am very much concerned that the matter of urupas is preventing this long standing exercise to amalgamate the scheme titles proceeding to completion.'<sup>229</sup> 'The Chief Surveyor at Wellington is understandably becoming restive about

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<sup>226</sup> Maori Land Court, Tokaanu Minute Book 64, 25 March 1982, fol 184-186.

<sup>227</sup> Maori Land Development Notice, 28 April 1982, *New Zealand Gazette*, 1982, no 50, pages 1514-15.

<sup>228</sup> Provisional amalgamation order, 25 March 1982, Maori Land Court, 64 Tokaanu Minute Book, 184-188, 30 Aotea Minute Book, 188-192.

<sup>229</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, Department of Lands and Survey to Maori Affairs, 23 May 1983.

the delay in being able to define the urupa sites by survey, and is asking that prompt action be taken.<sup>230</sup>

In December 1985, more than three years after the Amalgamation Order was made, owners were expressing concern at the delay in finalising the survey requirement of the Order. Responding to their concerns, the Registrar of the Maori Land Court wrote to Land and Survey: ‘This is becoming somewhat embarrassing to us and we would appreciate any efforts on your part to finalise the survey. Can you give us some indication as to when the survey will be completed?’<sup>231</sup>

I have not been able to find out if such an indication was given. In any case, delays in fulfilling the survey requirements needed for completing the amalgamation continued. The amalgamation of titles was not completed until after the return of the Taurewa Development Scheme blocks to owner control in 1991. In 1993, eleven years after the original order was made, Judge HB Marumaru amended the 1982 order in recognition of inaccuracies affecting some of the conditions set down in that order.<sup>232</sup> Judge Marumaru’s amended orders then allowed for the registration of a single title for the 888 hectares amalgamated as Taurewa 5 West A, B, C, D, E, and F in May 1994. Within this new certificate of title the named proprietors (Lance Te Ahuru, Edwin Ashford, Peta Hollis and Kepa Patena) have included five urupa for Ngati Hikairo, and one for the Te Ahuru family.<sup>233</sup>

#### **5.4 Setting aside land for a papakainga, 1985**

An important early decision of the trust established in 1982 was to put into effect a long held and much discussed intention to set aside as a Maori Reservation 57.9619 hectares (143 acres) of land at the site of what was to have been Hikairo Township. The intended use of the land would be as a papakainga for owners who wished to return to the area and build homes there.

At a meeting of owners and trustees, held on 19 January 1985 at the Hikairo Township site, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

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<sup>230</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation of Titles, J. F. Nelson, Department of Lands and Survey to Senior Field Officer, Maori Affairs, Taumarunui, 8 August, 1983.

<sup>231</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 92, 8/48/1, Part 1, Taurewa Development Scheme – Amalgamation, 1965-1986, Registrar Maori Land Court, Aotea District to Chief Surveyor, Department of Land and Survey, 11 December 1985.

<sup>232</sup> Maori Land Court, Aotea Minute Book 30, 21 April 1993, fol 188-192.

<sup>233</sup> Certificate of Title, 23 May 1994, WN 49B/1000.

That the following blocks of land be set aside as a Maori reservation under Section 439 of the Maori Affairs Act (1953) for the purpose of a Marae Complex, house sites, water and wood supply, Arts and craft, fruit and vegetables and livestock for the benefit of members of the Ngati Hikairo sub tribe of Ngati Tuwharetoa.<sup>234</sup>

On 11 March 1987, a ruling of the Maori Land Court created a trust, to be known as the Hikairo Papakainga Trust, to manage the papakainga.<sup>235</sup> However, the papakainga could not proceed at that time because the requirements of the amalgamation order had not yet been met and the amalgamation of scheme titles was held up.

## 5.5 Managing the scheme in the 1980s

### 5.5.1 Increasing losses

The scheme continued to make losses in the 1980s and indebtedness grew. A summary of losses shows the following:

*Table 6: Scheme losses*<sup>236</sup>

30/6/80	\$27,096
30/6/81	\$14,043
30/6/82	\$13,821
30/6/83	\$61,074
30/6/84	\$43,946

### 5.5.2 Growing debt

In 1982/83, the debt to the Department was \$277,119; in 1983/84 it was \$317,919; by 1984/85 it had reached \$332,363.<sup>237</sup> Expansion and borrowing, which began in 1979, accelerated in the early 1980s. By the middle of the 1980s, there were concerns that the Land Development Encouragement Loan (LDEL) and other loans from the Rural Bank were adding to the scheme's financial difficulties.

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<sup>234</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/1, Part 1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Amalgamation, 1965-1986, Taurewa Development Scheme meeting, 19 January 1985.

<sup>235</sup> Maori Land Court, Aotea District, 70 Tokaanu Minute Book 119, 11 March 1987.

<sup>236</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates, Balance Sheet, 30 June 1986.

<sup>237</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates, Statistical and Financial Summary for Taurewa Station.

Nonetheless, in 1985, Maori Affairs sounded optimistic enough about the financial prospects of the Taurewa Scheme, as the following correspondence with the Rural Banking and Finance Corporation suggests.

With the current debt loading faced by this scheme the owners are working hard to increase performance to ensure continued viability of the property of which the work completed under the land development scheme has now formed an intricate part of their development operation.<sup>238</sup>

In a similarly optimistic vein, at the November 1985 meeting, Maori Affairs reported to owners that the scheme had had a satisfactory year during 1984/85.<sup>239</sup> The optimistic assessment contrasts strongly with Maori Affairs internal assessments at this time. In 1986, further development under the LDEL scheme was 'curtailed because of rising costs.'<sup>240</sup>

### **5.5.3 Changes in Government rural and agricultural policies after 1984**

Government assistance to the farm sector grew from the mid 1970s, particularly from 1979. In 1982 farmers, shielded from market forces, were receiving a negative return on their investment and yet were continuing to expand production. By 1984, 'a truly amazing and expensive range of farm "incentives" [had] evolved.' A Treasury report at that time estimated that farm subsidies had reached almost \$1 billion. The cost of subsidising farming alone was \$1192 million in 1982/83. This was the peak year and subsidisation amounted to 34% of the value of pastoral farm output.<sup>241</sup> From 1984, government assistance to the rural sector was drastically cut and the farming sector was rapidly exposed to international market forces.<sup>242</sup> Government land development schemes too were suddenly facing a more market driven economy.

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<sup>238</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/0, Taurewa Development Scheme, Maori Affairs, Wanganui, to the Rural Banking and Finance Corporation in December 1985.

<sup>239</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1982-1987, Minutes of the Taurewa Development Scheme Meeting, 27 November 1985.

<sup>240</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates, Development Submission, 17 January 1986.

<sup>241</sup> Brian Easton, *In Stormy Seas: The Post-war New Zealand Economy*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1997, pages 152-154.

<sup>242</sup> J. R. Fairweather, 'Agrarian Restructuring in New Zealand', Research Report No. 2132, Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit, Lincoln University, April 1992, pages 55-58.

#### 5.5.4 The scheme struggles for existence, 1984-1989

The Taurewa Development Scheme, along with other land development schemes, was significantly affected by the changes in Government rural and agricultural policies. This became manifest in declining stock numbers, lack of fertiliser application and subsequent reversion of land, and drops in production and income.<sup>243</sup> Owners' concerns about these and other issues were raised at meetings from 1984 onwards. Taurewa owners questioned Maori Affairs about the level of stock losses, the increasing debt and the performance of the manager. In responding to owners' concerns in 1986, Maori Affairs officials acknowledged that Taurewa was going through a difficult period and referred to problems outside the Department of Maori Affairs and managerial control.<sup>244</sup>

From 1986, departmental reports contain references to Taurewa 'struggling for its existence', 'especially with a debt of \$270,817 in proportion to the size and nature of the Block.' The Field Officer noted that: 'Taurewa Trust is one of the more difficult blocks to make any headway and the Department is using all its resources to see that Taurewa becomes more progressive.'<sup>245</sup> In the 1987/88 Annual Report, the District Field Officer commented that:

[...] due to falling profitability, maintenance inputs in fertiliser, weed control and structural improvements have been at a below average level [...] unless there is a dramatic improvement in the terms of trade it will prove difficult to maintain carrying capacity.<sup>246</sup>

The Field Officer's report for the same period stated:

The station continues to struggle for its existence. The debt to the Dept is simply too high in relation to the station's servicing ability. The resources are stretched and unless the economy in the Rural sector picks up significantly then Taurewa will continue to get deeper into debt.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Ashley Gould, 'Maori Land Development Schemes, Generic Overview, c1920-1993, Summary', research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai 1200 A67, page 19.

<sup>244</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Minutes of Taurewa Development Scheme Meeting, 3 December 1986.

<sup>245</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates, District Field Officer's report for 1986/87.

<sup>246</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 'Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Trustees', District Field Officer, Taumarunui to Wanganui Office, Maori Affairs, 24 September 1987.

<sup>247</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates.



In 1989/90, just before the scheme was returned to owner control, with the debt written off, indebtedness had risen to \$359,911.<sup>248</sup> The report accompanying the 1989/90 financial statement noted: 'Despite being under departmental control since 1940, the property has struggled financially and maintenance of the property has been less than required.'<sup>249</sup>

### **5.5.5 Performance of the manager**

An issue, which came increasingly to concern trustees and owners from the middle 1980s, was the performance of the scheme's manager. In an ironic reversal of Maori Affairs holding Sonny Te Ahuru's management responsible for the failure of the scheme to fulfil its potential in the late 1950s, the trust saw the scheme manager as being responsible for the problems of the scheme in the mid 1980s.

The minutes of the 27 November 1985 meeting convey the extent of dissatisfaction. Trustee Fred Te Ahuru was reported as saying:

We lose a lot of stock in [the] swamp due to lack of feed. Blame recent loss to 1080 poisoning. Manager will have to come out more often and look around the scheme. No good just driving around. Has to get out of his vehicle and look. A good manager will give good performance.<sup>250</sup>

The minutes of the meeting of trustees, held on 11 April 1987, stated that an improvement in the performance of the manager was required and, if progress was not made in completing outstanding work, the trust would consider asking Maori Affairs to give him a notice of dismissal.<sup>251</sup> A Maori Affairs memo of 19 August 1987 about this meeting noted that it was an 'extremely delicate matter and we must ensure that we protect the manager and ourselves as employer to ensure that the regulations are carried out exactly to the law.'<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates.

<sup>249</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates.

<sup>250</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1982-1987, Minutes of the Taurewa Development Scheme Meeting, 27 November 1985.

<sup>251</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1982-1987, Taurewa Scheme, Management Trustees Meeting, 11 April 1987.

On 24 September 1987, a memo from the District Field Officer noted that:

The situation relating to the Manager's performance on Taurewa is complex and cannot be easily defined in terms of specific failure to perform in any particular aspect. He has been in the Department employ for in excess of 23 years and as manager of Taurewa since 1972. He is a very willing and co-operative staff member and while he is unquestionably one of our weakest managers, his shortcomings are difficult to define and specify.

Revealingly, the memo went on to say:

The failure of Taurewa to perform in a profit earning capacity can't be laid on any shortcoming of his in total and we as a Department must share the responsibility. It is quite unreasonable to seek to lay all the failures of Taurewa at his door merely to satisfy the Trustees' dissatisfaction with results being attained.<sup>253</sup>

Maori Affairs response to the trustees was that:

A concerted effort will be made by both the field and scheme management to improve overall performance. In relation to this scheme, the major problem is that the scheme doesn't produce enough income to carry out all of the outstanding maintenance work to ease the problem of management and stock control.<sup>254</sup>

Dissatisfaction with the manager continued for the next four years with no further action taken. The manager's employment was eventually terminated when control of the scheme was handed over to the trust in 1991. The hand-back of the scheme to trust control is the subject of the next chapter.

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<sup>252</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1982-1987, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meeting of Trustees, Director Taumarunui Office to District Field Officer, Wanganui, 19 August 1987.

<sup>253</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1982-1987, District Field Officer, Taumarunui to Wanganui Office, Maori Affairs, 24 September 1987.

<sup>254</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/3/1, Taurewa Development Scheme, Meetings of Owners, 1982-1987, Letter from Director to Mr P. Patena, Secretary Taurewa Trustee, 20 October 1987.

## **6 HAND-BACK TO TRUST CONTROL, 1991**

Kepa Patena was chairman of the Taurewa 5 West Trust when the Crown handed back the Taurewa blocks to trust control in 1991 under the Maori Affairs Restructuring Act, 1989. His fellow trustees were: Sir Hepi Te Heu Heu, Lance Te Ahuru, Sonny Te Ahuru, Henare Hemopo, Paraone Patena and Aperahama Sullivan.<sup>255</sup> The trust and owners had waited a long time for the return of their blocks. What had been achieved in fifty years of development by Maori Affairs? What was the state of Taurewa at the point when it was finally returned? Did the return to owner control proceed smoothly? How was the debt dealt with?

### **6.1 Condition of the Taurewa Development Scheme just before the hand-back**

At the point of hand-back to trust control Taurewa consisted of 826 hectares (2,041 acres), of which 670 hectares (1,656 acres) was in grass. The Senior Field Officer's 1990 report noted that:

Gorse and blackberry head the weed list present in patches yet significant to warrant attention. Taurewa is located in an area well know for its Tb problem. Taurewa has a Romney ewe flock. Cattle comprise of good Angus and Angus cross Hereford suitable for this location.<sup>256</sup>

The report also stated that:

Soils are of medium fertility pumice and loams (yellow brown pumice alluvium.) They require regular top dressing with phosphate and potash to sustain pasture growth. Annual fertiliser maintenance required would be 250-300kg/hectare of Potash Longlife Superphosphate.<sup>257</sup>

The words 'maintenance required would be' in the last line should be noted. Along with other development schemes, the Taurewa Development Scheme is likely to have been suffering the consequences of the Government's post-1984 rural and agricultural policies (see section 5.5.3). According to our interviewees, this was particularly manifest in insufficient

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<sup>255</sup> Maori Land Court, 16 Aotea Minute Book 110, 'Deed relating to the release of land from the provisions of Part 11 of the Maori Affairs Restructuring Act 1989', 17 September 1990.

<sup>256</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Development Scheme, Senior Field Officer to General Manager, Western, 9 April 1990.

fertiliser application, with drops in production and income. (Owners' views are discussed further below.) Owners and Maori Affairs agreed that conditions at Taurewa in 1990/91 were not ideal but differed over the extent and severity of the difficulties.

### 6.1.1 Owners' views

According to Kepa Patena, at the point of hand-back the farm was in poor condition. He holds Maori Affairs policy and practices of the middle 1980s, such as over-stocking, responsible. 'When we took over, the ewes were falling over. They were so thin. The lambs were [so lacking in energy] they were just walking away from the gate. Maori Affairs hadn't fertilised for years [...] they reckoned they were keeping down the debt.'<sup>258</sup>

In Kepa Patena's evaluation, 'Maori Affairs management didn't do us, the owners, any favours [...] it] made our people poor.'<sup>259</sup> Arthur Smallman, currently a Tuwharetoa Trust Board member, who held the position of Secretary for the Taurewa 5 West Trust between 1995 and 2002, raised the issue of the Department's inadequate use of fertiliser, as did Sonny Te Ahuru. Both spoke of the blocks' 'history of starvation,' with the application of fertiliser having been in far too small doses.<sup>260</sup>

### 6.1.2 Maori Affairs views

But according to Peter Little, the farm was in reasonable condition when it was handed back.<sup>261</sup> Regarding the use of fertiliser, he said:

The issue of how much and what quality fertiliser is used is a judgement call on a year by year basis. Whether you could afford to fertilise [...] was based on district practice and on the economics of it. Every year, you put on some fertiliser. It was a matter of budgets. You always had the impression you could get more production out of the flat land at Taurewa. But it wasn't good quality soil despite first impressions. Maybe we wasted all that fertiliser to try to keep it in grass, but if we wanted grass, we had to fertilise.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Development Scheme, Senior Field Officer to General Manager, Western, 9 April 1990.

<sup>258</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>259</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>260</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006; Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>261</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>262</sup> Peter Little phone conversation, 13 March 2006.

On the other hand, the Senior Field Officer's 1990 report on Taurewa acknowledged that deferred maintenance was a problem.

The financial history of Taurewa Trust whilst under Agency administration has always been tight. The ever-increasing debt level had meant that the scheme working expenditure was at a minimum. This had at many times resulted in the deferment of maintenance work and inadequate top dressing of pastures.<sup>263</sup>

The 1990-1991 Operating Budget Estimates Report by the Taumarunui Senior Field Officer, Iwi Transition Agency (the successor of the Department of Maori Affairs) painted a similar picture.

Taurewa Trust has had a history of starvation. Any fertiliser applied in the past has been in small doses. In the 1989-90 year Taurewa was fortunate enough to receive 80 Tonne of superphosphate which is below half its annual maintenance requirement. The current operating budget fails to generate sufficient revenue to allow for the application of fertiliser on pasture, before interest. The minimum annual requirement is 170 tonnes Longlife Superphosphate at 250 kg per hectare.<sup>264</sup>

### **6.1.3 'A situation which is completely unacceptable'**

The Senior Field Officer raised several other matters about the operation of the scheme which he found 'completely unacceptable', such as that Taurewa had no farm truck. It had had one two years previously but it was sold due to deterioration and never replaced.

The problem of no farm truck is made greater due to the station's water supply reservoir which is located across the Whakapapa River, the only access to this is by 4WD vehicle going around by road to Kakahi township and then through Railway Reserve land, and the entire round trip takes up 90 km [...] during winter [...] heavy showers block up the filters. On average, the reservoir needs maintaining up to 3 to 4 times per month. This task was carried out by myself [...] it has proved to be a complete nuisance and often interfered with other work and weekends.

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<sup>263</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Development Scheme, Senior Field Officer to General Manager, Western, 9 April 1990.

<sup>264</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/4, Field Officer to Iwi Transition Agency, 26 July 1990.

The station is also dependent on the goodwill of neighbours to deliver goods as they come back from town. This is a situation which is completely unacceptable. The 4WD is also needed on the scheme as a means of carting materials from one part of the block to another. The steep hill divide between the front block and the back prevents the use of the 2WD tractors in winter. The attempted use of these vehicles at present during winter especially, has proven to be very dangerous.

The trustees have often requested for this problem to be addressed but in past budgets, the realisation of the interest bill has always overshadowed.

The Senior Field Officer included the purchase of the much needed 4 WD in the operating budget but noted that the budget for 1990/1991 had a cash deficit of \$101,700 and that the trustees were concerned about any increase in the debt, with hand-back of the property approaching.<sup>265</sup> The Field Officer concluded the report by noting that ‘the interest payment has always frightened any hope of success on this property. The Trustees have requested a complete write off of the debt. The farm struggles to break even, Trustees and staff knowing full well that the top dressing of pastures in this budget has been omitted.’<sup>266</sup>

## **6.2 Writing off the debt**

The accumulated debt on the Taurewa Development Scheme had to be addressed before the blocks’ hand-back to owners. As discussed, the debt had grown over many years but had increased considerably in the mid 1980s, during the period of borrowing to expand the development scheme. In Kepa Patena’s view, ‘the debt was caused by too much development too late.’<sup>267</sup> In view of the marginal performance history of the blocks, a meeting of trustees unanimously resolved to request a complete write off of the debt. The Senior Field Officer’s report of the meeting noted that: ‘The block has been under development since 1940 and the owners are concerned that after fifty years there is still a debt on the property.’<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/4, Field Officer to Iwi Transition Agency, 26 July 1990.

<sup>266</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 6/48/4, Field Officer to Iwi Transition Agency, 26 July 1990.

<sup>267</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>268</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Development Scheme, Senior Field Officer to General Manager, Western, 9 April 1990.

### **6.3 'We refused to take it back'**

Kepa Patena was Chairman of the Taurewa 5 West Trust when the letter came from Koro Wetere (then Minister of Maori Affairs) 'offering the block back to us.' As Patena recalled:

The debt by then was \$440,000. But Maori Affairs was supposed to hand our blocks back as viable propositions [...] We refused to take it back. A man came up from Wellington and the Wanganui staff all came up in numbers and told us we had to take it back. We said 'no' because we believed the debt was theirs and we shouldn't start off in debt. So they went away.

The next time they came back, it was quite threatening. They said that if we don't take it back, they'd contract it out. So we told them to go ahead and we told them again that it wasn't our debt. The Trust would have been scratching to pay back \$440,000.

I was in Turangi when they caught up with me. They said that Koro Wetere, or Parliament, had agreed that they'd wipe the debt. We got the blocks back. All we had to pay was 90 grand for administration and we paid that off in one year.<sup>269</sup>

Maori Affairs had recommended the write-off of \$403,305 of the Taurewa Development Scheme debt as at 1 July 1990, enabling the blocks to be handed back to owner control virtually debt free.<sup>270</sup>

### **6.4 A new beginning under trust control**

Not surprisingly, in view of past concerns about the performance of Taurewa's manager, one of the first decisions taken by the trust when they took control of Taurewa was to advertise for a new manager. The first manager employed by the Taurewa 5 West Trust was appointed in May 1990.<sup>271</sup> Another early decision taken under trust control was a change in the type of stock to a better quality than in the past. (The Trust started to buy \$700 or \$800 rams.) Trustees were intent on a new beginning, with a changed focus. 'The Maori Affairs focus had

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<sup>269</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>270</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Development Scheme, Senior Field Officer to General Manager, Western, 9 April 1990.

<sup>271</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

been to develop the land. Our focus was to improve on it and push it to its potential.<sup>272</sup>  
Taurewa under full trust control after 1990 is the subject of the next chapter.

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<sup>272</sup> Kapa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.



## **7 TAUREWA 5 WEST TRUST, 1991 – 2006**

### **7.1 ‘We have our ups and downs’**

Being a trustee of Taurewa 5 West is not a simple job, according to Kepa Patena. ‘To be a trustee, you have to stay focused. You have to develop a thick skin. We (the Trust) have our ups and downs.’<sup>273</sup> The work of trustees has been affected by unresolved issues and inherited problems from Maori Affairs days. Arguments over the past are still taking place. In Arthur Smallman’s view, another issue affecting trustees is that they are not always adequately trained for their role. ‘A lot of our problems [have been] because our trustees don’t know what their functions are. You had trustees who weren’t conversant with their business.’<sup>274</sup>

### **7.2 Old issues/new concerns**

Since the hand-back of the blocks to owner control in 1991 and the winding up of the development scheme, the Taurewa 5 West Trust has had to deal with the aftermath of Maori Affairs development and farming practice and the consequences of earlier management decisions, including past mismanagement.<sup>275</sup> Maori Affairs did not hand the blocks back as a viable business proposition, according to Kepa Patena who, as a trustee, had to address several problems inherited from Maori Affairs days. As he wrote to Peter Little on 17 February 1994, three years after the hand-back, the trust was feeling ‘the full force of unforeseen expenditure caused by your department’s inability to complete issues under your control prior to hand-back of the block in 1991.’<sup>276</sup>

Since the hand-back the trust has been preoccupied with how to make financial profit out of land which may be too small to be economic, which may not be of the most suitable quality for farming and which is isolated, with relatively poor access. These were the same issues that had concerned Maori Affairs when it was managing the scheme. New matters have also arisen for the trust to manage. This chapter discusses some of the issues – both old and new - that have been addressed by the trust in the period from 1991 to 2006.

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<sup>273</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>274</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>275</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006; Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>276</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Reports and Estimates, Kepa Patena to Peter Little, 17 February 1994.

### 7.3 Legalising Te Rena Road, 1998-99

One matter from the past that the Trust has addressed concerns legalising Te Rena Road from the Wanganui River Bridge to Hikairo Township/papakāinga. The roadway was laid down when Hikairo township, with the railway going through it, was planned. But the road was never legalised as neither the railway nor the township eventuated. The fact that the road was not legalised meant, among other things, that the Taumarunui County Council was not responsible for maintaining the road.

When he was a trustee, Arthur Smallman tried to resolve long standing obstacles to legalising the road. He tried to have the land surveyed, a step towards legalisation, but resigned his position before this was achieved. Eventually, with the assistance of a favourable ruling from the Maori Land Court, issues preventing the legality of the road were resolved in 2003. The new legal road has been named Te Rena Road north and south to differentiate it from the existing Te Rena Road and maintenance of the road has become the responsibility of the Ruapehu District Council.<sup>283</sup>

### 7.4 Amalgamation of titles

The amalgamation of scheme titles, considered an essential part of Maori land development, had still not been completed when the trust took over from Maori Affairs. (The survey of titles and the other requirements, listed in Chapter 5, remained outstanding.) A number of issues had to be addressed by the Trust arising from the fact that 'Maori Affairs hadn't pushed it [the amalgamation] through.'<sup>284</sup>

One matter that resurfaced was concern that not everyone with an interest in the blocks had been contacted to attend meetings about the proposed amalgamation. According to Arthur Smallman, 'not too many owners attended meetings when the decision was made about amalgamation.' He believes that his father was not advised about an impending meeting, and,

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<sup>277</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>278</sup> For example, see: Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006; Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

<sup>279</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>280</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>281</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>282</sup> Patena memoir.

<sup>283</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006; District Engineer for the Ruapehu District Council, letter to A. Smallman re: 'Creation of a Maori Roadway,' Arthur Smallman papers.

<sup>284</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

as only attendees could vote, the family may have lost the chance to keep a block out of the amalgamated scheme.<sup>285</sup>

But views differ. While Kepa Patena considers that reasonable efforts would have been made to contact everyone with an interest in the blocks,<sup>286</sup> the trust has been dealing with the 1993 application from Monica and Ike Matamua under Section 45 of Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 for cancellation of an amalgamation order related to the beneficial interest of Mrs Matamua in lands known as Taurewa 4 West E2B1. The application was made on the grounds that she was not notified that her interest in Taurewa 4 West E2B1 was subject to an amalgamation order.<sup>287</sup>

In 1993, eleven years after the original order was made, Judge HB Marumaru amended the 1982 order in recognition of inaccuracies affecting some of the conditions set down in that order.<sup>288</sup> (This was noted earlier in section 5.3.) The 17 February 1994 letter from Kepa Patena, Chairman of Taurewa 5 West Trust, to Peter Little at Te Puni Kokiri, discussed earlier, raised the issue of the amalgamation, which was ‘not complete to date’, and referred to the difficulties that lack of clarity about titles was causing the trust.<sup>289</sup>

From time to time, the trust has also had to respond to a number of owners with strong feelings about their right to occupy their own land, irrespective of the amalgamation of titles. ‘Lot of our people say: “It is our land and we want to go back on it.” They move back on the land and it becomes one big head-ache for the trustees.’<sup>290</sup>

## 7.5 New debt, 2000

Taurewa 5 West Trust was held responsible for new debt when the Hikairo Papakainga Trust, which was managing the papakainga housing at Hikairo, ran into financial difficulty. In order to fulfil a long held aim of putting up Papakainga housing at Hikairo, the Hikairo Papakainga Trust had built three houses to replace the inadequate homes that kaumatua were at that time living in. Trustees’ concerns mounted as the debt grew to \$155,000, with insufficient returns from Taurewa to service the debt.

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<sup>285</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>286</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>287</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, Darrell Naden, Barrister, to Ministry of Maori Development, 16 June 2003.

<sup>288</sup> Maori Land Court, Aotea Minute Book 30, 21 April 1993, fol 188-192.

<sup>289</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates.

<sup>290</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

When the Hikairo Papakainga Trust defaulted on their mortgage, Arthur Smallman, a Taurewa 5 West Trustee, was summonsed by the Housing Corporation. The Corporation threatened to remove the houses unless the payments were forthcoming. As Arthur Smallman recalled, Taurewa 5 West Trust was not in a financial position to take on the debt and to purchase the mortgage. Nor would the sale of the three houses have recovered sufficient revenue to meet mortgage repayments.<sup>291</sup> ‘So I struck a deal with them. The houses were on privately owned land, with no access permitted for non-owners. I refused the Housing Corporation access to uplift the houses. I said “if you want those houses, you take them by helicopter.”’<sup>292</sup> The issue was eventually resolved with Housing Corporation offering to sell the houses to the Trustees at \$18,000 each. The Hikairo Papakainga Trust agreed to forfeit trusteeship in favour of Taurewa 5 West Trust, charged with recovering some of the money paid to the Housing Corporation.<sup>293</sup>

## **7.6 The water supply, 1994**

The water supply was shifted by New Zealand Rail in 1994, causing serious inconvenience for those farming the blocks. After the relocation, an 80 km round trip was required to maintain the water supply. The trust tried unsuccessfully to get compensation.<sup>294</sup>

## **7.7 Managing the Trust**

Getting experienced staff to manage and work on the property has been a problem for the Trust as it was for Maori Affairs. Currently, Taurewa is leased out. Before the decision was made to lease out the property to the current lessee, Arthur Smallman notified owners and asked them to register an interest in farming the blocks.

One or two did [register an interest], but their proposals never came up to what I considered the requirements for putting the farm back into profit. This Pakeha chap came forward and straight away put the farm into profit. Debts were paid and there was a small surplus. When I resigned as trustee [in 2002] there was still a surplus.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006 and Arthur Smallman papers.

<sup>292</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>293</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006 and Arthur Smallman papers.

<sup>294</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006 and Arthur Smallman papers.

<sup>295</sup> Kapa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>296</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006. Arthur Smallman told us that he could not comment on the financial situation of the property in 2006. Kapa Patena and Arthur Smallman both suggested that the farm was

Regarding trying to find owners with an interest in managing the property, Kepa Patena noted: 'A lot of our people will come to meetings but don't want to change their lifestyle. Our own people didn't want to work on the farm.'<sup>297</sup> Views of owners differed over the decision to lease out the blocks. For Arthur Smallman, leasing out the farm to the current lessee was the only way to pay off the debts. But 'some wanted trustees to take over.'<sup>298</sup>

In making the decision to lease out the blocks, Arthur Smallman was influenced by his memories of past policies of Maori Affairs. By not investing sufficiently in fertilisers, the Department had 'made our people poor.' And when Maori Affairs put super on the land, 'the debt fell on the Maori owners.'

The cost of fertiliser was a major factor in Arthur Smallman's decision to accept the current lessee's proposal because, as he realised, responsibility for bringing the soil up to scratch was now the trust's. He recalled: 'We could not afford the amount of fertiliser that needed to be put on. The lessee put his own money into fertiliser to bring the land up to scratch. He has invested heavily in fertiliser. It is better to let him (the lessee) use his money to develop the farm.'<sup>299</sup> Kepa Patena's view was that the lessee 'is farming to survive. That joker likes the block. It's up to him to survive. He has to perform to survive.' Patena saw this as being in contrast with managers in Maori Affairs days – they simply toed the line and filed their reports.<sup>300</sup> But he acknowledged that there was a downside to leasing out the farm. 'When you lease it out, you lose contact.'<sup>301</sup>

## **7.8 'The way forward is in the way we think'**

Owners and trustees we spoke to about Taurewa 5 West had a range of views about Taurewa's future direction. 'Taurewa could be made a first class farm but it would cost so much money,'<sup>302</sup> Arthur Smallman told us. Although he acknowledges that the current lessee was doing a good job, Sonny Te Ahuru 'would like to see the farm come back to the whanau – free of debt.'<sup>303</sup> Kepa Patena's thoughts on the future included ways of capturing the

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doing well in the hands of the lessee, certainly in comparison with Maori Affairs management. We sought documentary evidence about the current situation of Taurewa 5 West but this was not available.

<sup>297</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>298</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>299</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>300</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>301</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>302</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>303</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

tourism potential of the blocks. 'The potential is there. If the farm was how we wanted it to be, we would be there already [with tourism].'<sup>304</sup>

We were fortunate to be able to talk to Tumu Te Heuheu, paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, about future directions for Tuwharetoa, including for the blocks that used to comprise the Taurewa Development Scheme. In response to our questions, Tumu Te Heuheu speculated, as had Maori Affairs officials in the past, on why Taurewa did not do as well as adjacent Whangaipeke. Weighing up the possible benefits of increased co-operation between the two blocks in the future, to assist the under-achieving block, he commented that 'the way forward is in the way we think.'<sup>305</sup> As it was too hard for an individual to succeed alone, whether in farming or in tourism, an aim of the Tuwharetoa Trust was 'to bring people together' to help with the development of collective packages. 'As difficult as it might be, there is a way forward,' Tumu Te Heuheu said.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>305</sup> Tumu Te Heuheu interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>306</sup> Tumu Te Heuheu interview, 21 February 2006. Further details were not given. Tumu Te Heu Heu appears to be referring to joint recreational and pastoral development.

## **8 CONCLUSION**

As required by the research commission, this report has investigated the circumstances surrounding the establishment and successive expansions of the Taurewa Development Scheme. The commission also required an examination of the subsequent management and operation of the scheme to the present day, with emphasis on the period before 1986.

### **8.1 Availability of information**

Extensive searching of archival sources and of files at the Wanganui Maori Land Court yielded limited material on the first part of the research commission: the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Taurewa Development Scheme. Due to the scarcity of information, it has not been possible to address fully the following sections of the commission: ‘whether the Crown, in establishing the scheme, adequately considered alternative land development options such as trusts and incorporations’; ‘the original purpose and intended potential of the scheme, and promises made by the Crown to the Maori owners regarding its economic and social benefits’; and ‘any other evidence relating to the expectations of Maori owners’. (Sections 1bi-iii of Research Commission in Appendix 1.)

Quantitative information on parcels of land placed in the scheme was available to address the aspect of the research commission related to successive expansions of the Taurewa Development Scheme. Material regarding the subsequent management and operation of the scheme to the present day, with emphasis on the period prior to 1986, was also readily available. My summary and conclusions (where I am able to arrive at a conclusion) in relation to each aspect of the research commission are presented below.

### **8.2 Brief literature review and legislative overview**

The first two chapters of the report supply ‘A brief summary of the existing literature on development scheme legislation and policy in the twentieth century, in particular the background to and provisions of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 and its amendments.’ (Section 1a, Research Commission.)

My conclusion is that the Taurewa Development Scheme fits the general pattern of development schemes throughout New Zealand portrayed in the literature. Although the scheme varied from others in the timing of the various phases of the development process (eg. breaking in of the land, farming, the setting up of a trust and hand-back to trust control), it did not differ significantly from other small, post-war development schemes.

### **8.3 Establishment and expansion**

Chapter 3 investigated ‘The circumstances surrounding the establishment and successive expansions of the Taurewa Development Scheme.’ As already noted, information about the circumstances of the scheme’s establishment has been particularly hard to find. There is, however, information (supplied in Chapter 3) that at least one meeting between owners and the Native Department was held before the gazetting of the development scheme in 1939. At this meeting, the following blocks were formally handed over for development: Taurewa 4 West A1, A4A, D1, D2A, D2B, D3, D7, D8A, D8B, D8C, D9, D10, D11A, D11B, D12, D13 and D14. Regarding successive expansions of the scheme, an overview of the parcels of land placed in the scheme (including name of parcel, area of parcel, date brought into scheme, statutory authority bringing it into scheme and date released from the scheme) is given in Appendix IV.

### **8.4 Alternative land development options**

No direct evidence was found to answer the question posed in the research commission on ‘whether the Crown, in establishing the scheme, adequately considered alternative land development options such as trusts and incorporations.’ The official record (notes of a meeting held with owners) shows that these options were considered in the early 1980s, just before the setting up of Taurewa 5 West Trust. (Section 1bi, Research Commission.) In 1932 Native Affairs Minister Apirana Ngata considered, and subsequently declined, an application by owners in the Taurewa area to build a bridge across the Whakapapa River (within four miles of a dairy factory) to assist them with dairying. The application and Ngata’s response, however, took place seven years before the scheme was established in 1939.

### **8.5 Purpose, potential and Crown promises**

Information specific to the Taurewa Development Scheme about the scheme’s ‘original purpose and intended potential’ has also been difficult to find. The general purpose of



development schemes, as, for example, stated by Tamati Reedy, former Secretary of Maori Affairs in 1990, applies to the Taurewa Development Scheme. Maori land development schemes, wrote Tamati Reedy, were created to become economic assets that future generations could build on.<sup>307</sup>

Only limited information relating to the initial/establishment phase of the scheme was found. It is not possible to answer the research commission's question concerning 'any promises made by the Crown to Maori owners regarding its [the Taurewa Development Scheme's] economic and social benefits.'

While no information was available on possible Crown promises to owners in the 1930s and 1940s, there was documentary material from the late 1950s. At a meeting of owners held in 1958, for example, Maori Affairs officials responded to owners' concerns about the scheme's level of debt and losses. The officials expressed the view that profits would be forthcoming and the debt reduced when the scheme had passed its development stage. The expression of such a view could be understood as a promise. These desired events did not eventuate until the scheme was wound up. This material is located in Chapter 3.

The Maori Affairs Department intended to amalgamate scheme titles. It communicated this intention to owners at various meetings from the late 1950s until the hand-back to owners in 1991. This could also be regarded as a promise in the sense of an assurance given that one will do or provide something. This material is located in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6. (Section 1bii, Research Commission.)

## **8.6 Expectations of Maori owners**

The research commission sought: 'any other evidence relating to the expectations of Maori owners'. Chapter 3 offers fragments of oral history and information contained in a family memoir as a partial answer to the expectations owners might have had in the early/establishment phase of the scheme. According to the Patena family memoir and the recollections of some owners, one owner decided to call in the Native Department to develop the first two of the blocks because he thought 'they'd know more than he did' about farming and developing the land. 'We thought they (the Native Department) had the knowledge,' one

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<sup>307</sup> G. V. Butterworth and H. R. Young, *Maori Affairs*, Wellington, Iwi Transition Agency and Government Print Books, 1990, Preface, page 2.

of our interviewees told us. Through Crown know-how, owners had hoped to find their lands turned into profitable farms.<sup>308</sup>

By the late 1950s, there is information in the official record to shed further light on owner expectations. It seems that some owners may have had reason to expect that the intention of Maori Affairs was to place settlers on five prosperous sheep farms. They hoped these settlers would also be owners of blocks included in the Taurewa Development Scheme. The promised goal of settlement on these farms is linked in a statement by a Maori Affairs official to title improvement – the cancellation of existing partitions and the amalgamation of scheme titles.

As the report reveals, the five sheep farms did not eventuate. Probably due to the financial problems of the scheme, there was only one farm, with one nominated settler – Sonny Te Ahuru. Owners would certainly have expected that scheme titles would be amalgamated. This was not achieved until 1994. The material on owner expectations in the late 1950s is located in Chapter 3.

Notes of meetings between owners and Maori Affairs in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s suggest that some owners might have expected, or hoped, that the various strategies adopted by Maori Affairs to address the scheme's financial problems would help to reduce debt and improve profitability. These actions included changes in numbers and type of stock, changes in the pasture and borrowing from the Rural Bank to finance further development. But they did not improve the scheme's performance overall. Material on owner expectations from the 1960s until the late 1980s is found in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. (Section 1b iii, Research Commission.)

## **8.7 Overview of the parcels of land placed in the scheme**

As already stated in relation to 1b (successive expansions of the Taurewa Development Scheme), quantitative information on the parcels of land placed in the scheme is given in Appendix IV: Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme - Table. (Section 1b iv, Research Commission.)

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<sup>308</sup> Patena memoir and Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

## 8.8 An evaluation of the success of the scheme

The research commission calls for an examination of the operation of the scheme. (Section 1c, Research Commission.) Despite the considerable amount of information that is available on the Taurewa Development Scheme's financial performance and other difficulties from the late 1950s, evaluating scheme outcomes in any precise way is difficult.

Regarding perceptions of the success of the scheme, our interviewees were divided. As material offered in the report shows, some considered that owners gained economic and social benefit from handing over their land for development by Maori Affairs; others disagreed. Arthur Smallman's view was that 'The development scheme didn't improve owners' living standards. It was supposed to be run for the benefit of owners, but where was the advantage for our people?'<sup>309</sup>

Crown official Peter Little's view, however, was that owners had benefited from the scheme despite the lack of profitability and despite the fact that Taurewa's potential had not been realised. The land had stayed in the hands of Maori owners; and most importantly, 'the owners didn't end up with any debt. The Department wrote it off at the point of returning the blocks.'<sup>310</sup>

The archival/official information, presented in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 clearly reveals that the Taurewa Development Scheme experienced significant financial difficulty throughout its existence under the Native Department and Maori Affairs. As the report accompanying the Maori Affairs 1989/90 financial statement, just before the scheme was handed back to owner control, noted: 'Despite being under departmental control since 1940, the property has struggled financially and maintenance of the property has been less than required.'<sup>311</sup>

The debt written off by the Crown in 1990 was \$403,305. Writing off a debt of this size may be regarded as, in effect, an acknowledgement of Crown failure. Nonetheless, Peter Little's point that the scheme brought economic and social benefits to some owners because it enabled Maori owners to keep their land also needs to be taken into account in any evaluation of scheme success.

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<sup>309</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>310</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>311</sup> TPK, Maori Affairs, 65/11/1, Volume 9, Taurewa Station, Reports and Estimates.

Why did the Taurewa Development Scheme not do better economically? Who, or what, was responsible for the scheme's failure to perform as well as expected? Was it system failure or were other issues more important? No one seemed to know why the Taurewa Development Scheme was never as successful as those involved – owners and Maori Affairs – expected it to be. There was a tendency on both sides to apportion blame. For example, in the late 1950s, Maori Affairs considered Sonny Te Ahuru's relaxed management style to be a problem. In the late 1980s, owner trustees held Maori Affairs and a long-standing scheme manager responsible for the scheme's underperformance.

Attributing responsibility for the failure of the scheme to a specific agency, policy or individuals risks missing the full complexity of the development scheme's history over five decades. My conclusion is that the Taurewa Development Scheme may have performed as well as possible in the circumstances and that a combination of factors best accounts for the scheme's financial and other difficulties. Some specific issues related to an evaluation of the scheme's success are discussed further below.

### **8.8.1 Maori Affairs management**

As referred to in the report, in the view of owner Kepa Patena, Maori Affairs management of the Taurewa Development Scheme 'didn't do us [the owners] any favours [...] It made our people poor.'<sup>312</sup> He held Maori Affairs management in part responsible for the failure of the scheme to meet expectations. One aspect of the Department's management that he has been particularly critical of is that they did not monitor the performance of the manager adequately. 'Their priority was not having the manager leave. The managers didn't have to perform – they just had to stay in the job long enough and not cause ripples.'<sup>313</sup>

Peter Little acknowledged that there were issues about the management of the scheme. 'Maybe the managers didn't have enough oomph,' he recalled. Lack of forceful and imaginative management by Maori Affairs, he conceded, might have contributed to the scheme's difficulties.<sup>314</sup> These issues and the different points of view expressed by our interviewees are considered in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of the report. It is evident that energetic and imaginative management was not consistently provided by Maori Affairs. But it needs to

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<sup>312</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>313</sup> Kepa Patena interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>314</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

be acknowledged that capable staff were hard to attract and even harder to retain due to the isolation of the location.

### **8.8.2 Access issues**

The isolation and staffing problems, referred to above, would have been lessened had the Wanganui River Bridge been built sooner. In 1932 Native Minister Apirana Ngata declined the owners' application to the Government for assistance to build a bridge to the local dairy factory. A 1958 Maori Affairs report on the Taurewa Development Scheme, referred to in Chapter 3 of the report, noted that 'It is important for access to be opened up for this scheme cannot function without access.'<sup>315</sup> The failure to build that bridge for almost two decades after the need for improved access to and from the development scheme became apparent is a clear example of system failure. Essential infrastructure to help the scheme at a crucial stage in its development was not provided in a timely fashion. However, the bridge built in 1972, with half the cost born by owners, contributed to the debt and the scheme's on-going financial difficulties.

### **8.8.3 Other explanations for the Taurewa Development Scheme's inadequate performance**

Peter Little, with extensive in-depth knowledge of the scheme, acquired over many decades, seemed able to offer only inconclusive explanations for Taurewa's 'very average' performance over the years. Although the terrain was difficult, the farm had a mix of flat blocks and hills, with good alluvial soil between two rivers. It was a 'difficult property' to manage but it 'always seemed as though it should have done better than it did.'<sup>316</sup>

Asked why, in his view, the scheme did not realise its potential, Little speculated over the respective parts played by the terrain, the isolation and the quality of the management in Taurewa's lacklustre performance. 'Or maybe there were other causes,' he said.

The owners weren't happy with the running of the scheme. Everyone recognised the property wasn't performing to expectations. You can show clearly that the farm wasn't doing well but the cause is hard to determine. The production output wasn't good; the debt grew. I always thought we'd get more production out of the flats than

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<sup>315</sup> ANZ, ABRP, 6844, W4598, Box 93, 6/48/3, Part 4, Taurewa Development Scheme, Balance Sheets, 1952-1964, Field Supervisor to Resident Officer, Taumarunui, 'Report on Taurewa Station', 24 June 1958.

we did. The isolation was a problem. The scheme next door – Whangaipeke – which had different topography and management, did better overall.<sup>317</sup>

Comparisons between Taurewa and Whangaipeke schemes are touched on in section 3.6 of the report. Referring to another matter which did not proceed at Taurewa as expected, Peter Little said: ‘Amalgamation and titles should have been sorted first (before development began). This held up the return of the scheme to owners. But it didn’t make any difference to the running of the scheme.’<sup>318</sup>

#### **8.8.4 Did Maori Affairs do the best it could in the circumstances?**

Material is presented in the report to show the diverse strategies Maori Affairs employed to improve the Taurewa Development Scheme’s performance over the years. The department’s efforts were hampered by such difficulties as the terrain, the quality of the soil, the divisions among owners, and the ending of the government’s rural subsidies in the mid 1980s. The official record shows Maori Affairs struggling to understand Taurewa’s failure to meet expectations and to arrive at strategies to raise production, improve profitability and to reduce the debt. My conclusion is that it is not at all clear, even with hindsight, what the Crown/Maori Affairs should have done to ensure the scheme’s economic success.

#### **8.9 Participation of owners in decision making**

The research commission requires ‘an evaluation of the success of the scheme with particular attention to the participation of Maori owners in decision making.’ (Section 1ci, Research Commission.) Information on owner participation in decision making is provided in Chapter 4. By the early 1960s, meetings of owners were taking place at least once a year, a regular departmental procedure.

While some owners certainly attended meetings, what is less clear is whether a representative group of owners, or at least a reasonably wide group of owners, had the opportunity to attend these meetings. There is official record and anecdotal evidence to suggest that they did not. This may be because some owners were living at considerable distance from the most common meeting venue – Taumarunui. In addition, Maori Affairs may not have had up-to-date names and addresses of owners.

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<sup>316</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

Another issue in relation to owner participation in decision making is that at typical meetings owners were kept informed on the progress of development and farming, but only after decisions had already been made. While there was opportunity for owners to ask questions, decision-making opportunities were few, with control remaining in the hands of Maori Affairs officials.

At least two special purpose committees of owners, (advisory groups) were set up. The first was set up in 1965 to assist Maori Affairs with amalgamation. A development committee is recorded as meeting in 1978. Owners involved in these committees would have had more opportunity to participate in decision making, or at least to play a significant advisory role, than owners who simply attended the annual meeting.

Based on the various reports and meeting notes presented in the report, my conclusion is that it is likely that not all owners who wished to participate in decision making were able to be involved. In relation to decisions that were made about amalgamation, it is likely that these were not made by a sufficiently representative group of owners.

#### **8.10 Fulfillment of original purpose**

The research commission requires an examination of ‘the extent to which the scheme fulfilled its original intended purpose (and any subsequent revisions of that purpose), and the nature, cause and extent of any failure to do so’. (Section 1c ii, Research Commission.)

The paucity of information specific to the Taurewa Development Scheme on the scheme’s original intended purpose has already been noted. Did the Taurewa Development Scheme meet the intended purpose and potential of development schemes in general? Did it become an economic asset for future generations to build on?

According to Kepa Patena, the scheme did not. His disappointment over the failure of the development scheme to deliver and to meet expectations is shared by other owners.<sup>319</sup>

Through Maori Affairs education and know-how, he and other owners had hoped to find their lands turned into profitable farms. But this did not happen.

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<sup>317</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>318</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>319</sup> By those interviewed and by owners whose views are revealed in the minutes of owners’ meetings and other documents.

### **8.11 Employment and training for Maori owners**

Was the scheme able to provide employment and training for Maori owners? (Section 1c iii, Research Commission.) Chapter 4 of the report offers information on employment opportunities for owners at the Taurewa Development Scheme. These opportunities were limited by the size of the scheme.

One of the owners we interviewed was disappointed by the lack of employment opportunities. 'The scheme didn't provide employment for our people,' Arthur Smallman told us. He acknowledged that a few people received a salary from Maori Affairs – 'but not from the farm. The income to be derived from the farm was small.'<sup>320</sup>

Peter Little pointed out that contract employment was provided from time to time for weed sprayers, fencers, shearers, truck drivers, though permanent job opportunities were always limited to the manager and shepherd.<sup>321</sup> My conclusion is that the size of the Taurewa Development Scheme meant that employment opportunities were necessarily limited. Training opportunities were also limited for the same reason. However, as noted in the report, it is likely that Sonny Te Ahuru was not offered training at a time when he would have most benefited from it.

### **8.12 Tensions around the use of multiple owned land**

Evidence presented in the report suggests that tensions around the use of multiple owned land resulted in divisions between owners who wished to be involved in the Taurewa Development Scheme and those who did not. At least two families seem to have been at odds over whether or not to participate in the scheme. It is likely that the divisions that existed at the scheme's beginning continued to impact on the scheme, for example, by delaying the amalgamation of scheme titles for decades.

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<sup>320</sup> Arthur Smallman interview, 21 February 2006.

<sup>321</sup> Peter Little interview, 29 November 2005.

<sup>322</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.

<sup>323</sup> Sonny Te Ahuru interview, 22 February 2006.



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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: The research commission

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**OFFICIAL**

**Wai 1130 #2.4.9**

#### WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

**CONCERNING** the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

**AND** the National Park district Inquiry

#### DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Anne Beaglehole, a member of the Tribunal's staff, to prepare a research report on the Taurewa Development Scheme for the National Park district inquiry (see Wai 1130, #2.3.20, 15 July 2005.) This report is to cover the following matters:
  - a) A brief summary of the existing literature on development scheme legislation and policy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the background to and provisions of the Maori Affairs Act 1953 and its amendments.
  - b) The circumstances surrounding the establishment and successive expansions of the Taurewa Farm Development Scheme, including:
    - i. whether the Crown, in establishing the scheme, adequately considered alternative land development options such as trusts and incorporations
    - ii. the original purpose and intended potential of the scheme, and any promises made by the Crown to the Maori owners regarding its economic and social benefits
    - iii. any other evidence relating to the expectations of the Maori owners
    - iv. Existing quantitative information to provide an overview of the parcels of land placed in the scheme, including:
      - name of parcel
      - area of parcel
      - date brought into scheme
      - statutory authority bringing it into the scheme
      - date released from the scheme
  - c) The subsequent management and operation of the scheme to the present day, with emphasis on the period prior to 1986, including:
    - i. an evaluation of the success of the scheme with particular attention to the participation of Maori owners in decision-making

- ii. the extent to which the scheme fulfilled its original intended purpose (and any subsequent revisions of that purpose), and the nature, cause and extent of any failure to do so
  - iii. an assessment of the extent to which the scheme was able to provide employment and training for Maori owners
  - iv. any other relevant issues.
2. The commission commences on 7 November 2005. A complete draft of the report is to be submitted by 28 April 2006.
3. The commission ends on 12 May 2006, at which time one copy of the final report must be submitted for filing in unbound form, together with indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts. An electronic copy of the report should also be provided in Word 97 or Adobe Acrobat format. The report and any subsequent evidential material based on it must be filed through the Registrar.
4. At the discretion of the presiding officer the commission may be extended if one or more of the following conditions apply:
  - a) the terms of the commission are changed so as to increase the scope of work;
  - b) more time is required for completing one or more project components owing to unforeseeable circumstances, such as illness or denial of access to primary sources;
  - c) the presiding officer directs that the services of the commissionee be temporarily reassigned to a higher priority task for the inquiry;
  - d) the commissionee is required to prepare for and/or give evidence in another inquiry during the commission period.
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:
  - Anne Beaglehole
  - Claimant counsel in the National Park (Wai 1130) district inquiry
  - Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal
  - Deputy Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal
  - Inquiry Facilitator, Waitangi Tribunal
  - Solicitor General, Crown Law Office
  - Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
  - Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust
  - Chief Executive, Te Puni Kokiri
  - Genesis Energy

Dated at *Wellington* this *25<sup>th</sup>* day of January 2006.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Wilson Isaac', with a small mark to the right.

Judge Wilson Isaac  
Presiding Officer  
**WAITANGI TRIBUNAL**

## **Appendix II: Interview questions and topics**

- When did interviewee's involvement in scheme start/end?
- Role of interviewee in scheme (manager, farmer, shepherd, trustee, owner)?
- How extensive the involvement?
- Establishment of scheme
- Alternative land development options
- Participation of owners in decision making
- Expectations of the scheme
- Were expectations met?
- Views on the operation of the scheme
- Why successful/why not successful?
- Access issues
- Employment and Training
- Setting up of trust
- Amalgamation issues
- Return of blocks to owners
- Situation since return of blocks
- Other issues

### Appendix III: Chronology – Taurewa Development Scheme

1939	Scheme gazetted as a single 235 acre unit
1941	Addition of blocks to the scheme largely completed
1956	Scheme gets going
1958	Addition of Hikairo Township blocks
1959	Owners approve amalgamation of titles (approx 50) in principle
1982	Maori Land Court Judge orders amalgamation of Taurewa 4 West lands previously included in the development scheme
1983	A section 438 trust formed. (Trust members are: Sir Hepi Te Heu Heu, S Te Ahuru, W Te Ahuru, K Patena, Paea Tuhera Kiriona, Jim Ham, Tamure Piripi)
1985	Owners resolve to set aside part of the area known as Hikairo township for papakainga and kaumatua flats
1990	Debt wiped as at 30 June 1990 (\$412,681)
1991	Land released back to owners under Maori Affairs Restructuring Act 1989
1994	Registration of a single title for the amalgamated lands Taurewa 5 West A,B,C,D,E, and F
2000 (circa)	Block leased out to current lessee

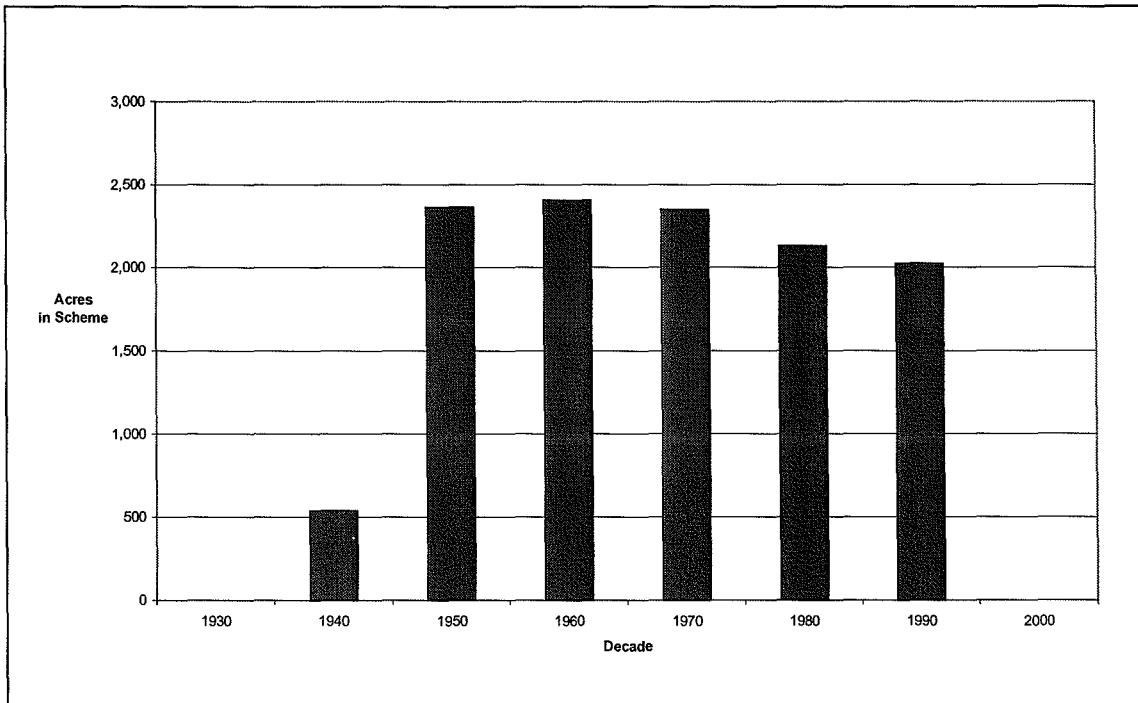
## Appendix IV: Land in the Taurewa Development Scheme - Table

BlockName	Event Name	Date	Act	Development Area (acres)
Taurewa 4 West A2	Inclusion	1939	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	235.33
Taurewa 4 West A1	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	5.00
Taurewa 4 West A3	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	159.00
Taurewa 4 West A4A	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	336.00
Taurewa 4 West D1	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	56.65
Taurewa 4 West D10	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	19.23
Taurewa 4 West D11A	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	38.39
Taurewa 4 West D11B	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	44.63
Taurewa 4 West D12 & 14	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	61.35
Taurewa 4 West D13 pt	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	77.45
Taurewa 4 West D2A	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	15.37
Taurewa 4 West D2B	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	28.73
Taurewa 4 West D3	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	23.18
Taurewa 4 West D4 & 5B pt	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	43.36
Taurewa 4 West D5A	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	11.23
Taurewa 4 West D6	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	84.46
Taurewa 4 West D7	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	34.46
Taurewa 4 West D8A	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	75.37
Taurewa 4 West D8B	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	31.56
Taurewa 4 West D8C	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	101.69
Taurewa 4 West D9 pt	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	109.22
Taurewa 4 West E2B1	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	247.04
Taurewa 4 West E2B3B2	Inclusion	1941	Native Land Amendment Act 1936	225.52
Hikairo Township	Inclusion	1958	Maori Affairs Act 1953	41.59
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 11 DP 4418) (1919-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.17
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 21 DP 4418) (1916-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.17
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 22 DP 4418) (1917-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.17
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 23 DP 4418) (1917-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.17
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 24 DP 4418) (1917-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.17
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 25 DP 4418) (1919-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.17
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 26 DP 4418) (1919-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.21

BlockName	Event Name	Date	Act	Development Area (acres)
Hikairo Township pt (Lots 1, 2, 3 & 47 DP 4418) (1918-1982) (European Roll)	Inclusion	1965	Maori Affairs Act 1953	1.17
Taurewa 4 West E2B1	Inclusion	1970	Maori Affairs Act 1953	2.71
Taurewa 5 West A, B, C, D, E & F	Inclusion	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	2,023.37
Hikairo Township	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	41.84
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 11 DP 4418) (1919-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.25
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 21 DP 4418) (1916-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.25
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 22 DP 4418) (1917-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.25
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 23 DP 4418) (1917-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.25
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 24 DP 4418) (1917-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.25
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 25 DP 4418) (1919-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.25
Hikairo Township pt (Lot 26 DP 4418) (1919-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	0.30
Hikairo Township pt (Lots 1, 2, 3 & 47 DP 4418) (1918-1982) (European Roll)	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	1.25
Taurewa 4 West A1	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	5.00
Taurewa 4 West A2	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	235.50
Taurewa 4 West A3	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	159.00
Taurewa 4 West A4A	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	336.00
Taurewa 4 West D1 pt	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	51.29
Taurewa 4 West D1 pt (PW Taking 1950) (1950-1982) (European Roll)	Alienation	1950	[Public works taking]	5.63
Taurewa 4 West D10	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	19.30
Taurewa 4 West D11A	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	38.48
Taurewa 4 West D11B	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	44.88
Taurewa 4 West D12 & 14	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	61.43
Taurewa 4 West D13 pt	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	77.62
Taurewa 4 West D2A	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	15.45
Taurewa 4 West D2B	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	28.98
Taurewa 4 West D3	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	23.13
Taurewa 4 West D4 & 5B pt	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	43.53
Taurewa 4 West D5A	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	11.23
Taurewa 4 West D6	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	84.63
Taurewa 4 West D7	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	34.63
Taurewa 4 West D8A	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	75.54
Taurewa 4 West D8B	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	31.81
Taurewa 4 West D8C	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	101.94
Taurewa 4 West D9 pt	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	109.30
Taurewa 4 West E2B1	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	2.71
Taurewa 4 West E2B1	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	247.07
Taurewa 4 West E2B3B2	Amalgamated	1982	Maori Affairs Act 1953	225.69
Taurewa 5 West A, B, C, D, E & F	Released	1991	Maori Affairs Restructuring Act 1989	2,023.37

Source: Prepared by Jamie Mitchell, Research Officer, Waitangi Tribunal, March 2006.

## Appendix V: Land in Taurewa Development Scheme - Graph



Source: Prepared by Jamie Mitchell, Research Officer, Waitangi Tribunal, March 2006.