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"THE SLEEPING GIANT" - THE EAST COAST 1945-1975  
REGIONAL PROBLEMS AND REGIONAL RESPONSES

A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
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## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	vii
Historical Background	1
The East Coast Development Research Association Inc.	36
Erosion and Forestry	62
Land Tenure and Utilisation	86
Transport and Industrial Development	110
Population Movements and Social Issues	135
Conclusion	153
Appendices	158
Bibliography	187

## ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Location Map of East Coast	2
2	Early Ormond 1876	6
3	Gisborne Harbour 1925	21
4	Gisborne-Opotiki Bridle Track 1903	24
5	Coach Route North of Gisborne 1909	25
6	Oil Well "Totangi"	29
7	Map of East Coast Drilling areas 1956	30
8	Taylor Report Map	50
9	Erosion in Mangatu area	54
10	Results of Bush Burnoff	63
11	Debris dam construction	67
12	Slipping on East Coast hills	77
13	Poverty Bay Flood 1950	95
14	Watties Sweetcorn harvest 1952	107
15	"Napier Star" in roadstead	119
16	Loading at Overseas Wharf	122
17	Helicopter transport of farm materials	124
18	Montana Wines Factory 1976	129

ABBREVIATIONS

EC	East Coast
ECDRA	East Coast Development Research Association
MOW	Ministry of Works
MP	Member of Parliament
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History
NZOYB	New Zealand Official Year Book
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
PRO	Public Relations Office

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to show the problems which have beset the East Coast region of the North Island,<sup>1</sup> and the effect a local group of concerned citizens, in a basically rural community, had in trying to locate and accomplish solutions. The East Coasters have, of necessity, built up a high degree of self sufficiency, but for decades various problems had become very obvious.

The main themes are the long-term problems of the region, making it one for true pioneers. Isolation was a major factor, bringing with it inherent difficulties in transport and communications. It was clearly too distant from other regions to support the establishment of a large metropolitan centre.

With early European settlement, problems involving Maori land tenure and land usage were brought to the surface. For a brief period there was even open racial strife with agitation from the Pai Marire movement followed by the uprising which led to the "Poverty Bay Massacre". Extensive bush clearing and neglect of land led to erosion difficulties. There was no potential for large scale industrial development, and unlike other regions there were no exploitable minerals, although repeated unsuccessful bores were sunk to find oil. Sheepfarming was the basis of the regional economy from earliest European settlement - an isolated, low labour intensive occupation. Therefore, apart from jobs directly related to this primary industry, employment opportunities were limited. The population of the region, after a spectacular growth spurt from the 1890s to the 1920s<sup>2</sup>, consistently failed to keep pace with the national growth rate, despite a high birthrate among the sizable Maori population. This was emphasised by an obvious population drift away from the rural areas from the 1920s on.

1. Delimited for the purposes of this thesis as Matakaoa, Waiapu, Uawa, Cook and Waikohu counties.
2. These were years of prosperity for the region, following them came a period of decline, and there was no real upsurge in progress until the 1960s.

Thus it became a "Cinderella" region - good enough to produce sheep, but not to lavish large amounts of national expenditure on.

In order to assess the extent of these problems by the period 1945-1975, it is imperative to gain some knowledge of the situation prior to these three decades, as it was then that the problems had their roots. It is a very complex picture with every component interrelating closely with the others. For example, one cannot study the effects of erosion on communications and agricultural development without having some background on landscape, climate and early settlement. By the same measure population movements cannot be fully understood unless one knows about land tenure, inter-racial harmony or lack of it, employment opportunities and communications. In order to understand the whole, each factor must be surveyed.

Concern for these problems was manifest well before the 1950s, but it was usually individuals concerned with specific problems that affected them personally.<sup>3</sup> These people, while highly motivated, generally did not have much effect outside their own local sphere of influence. There was no organised group concerned with the whole region. It is easy to see why this state of affairs existed - it was difficult to assess the problems of the region as a whole, with the north of "the Coast" being effectively isolated from the south until communications improved.

People had such personal difficulties wrestling a living from the land or building up businesses, that there was no real time for group organisation. If there had been, from sheer necessity, they would probably have only been concerned with small local areas. It was not until after World War Two that there existed the favourable conditions necessary for such a group to come into being. Then suddenly there was the time, the opportunity, and the well-educated people available for concern to be expressed in an organised and effective way.

3. For example Thomas Todd and his writings about, and practical measures to attempt to combat, erosion from the 1890s to the 1940s. He published a pamphlet entitled Erosion in 1946 which is held by the Gisborne Library.

The East Coast Development Research Association Incorporated was an attempt to bring these problems to the attention of the people who could do something about them. That included just about every sphere of the community - from farmers, fishermen and businessmen, through to Members of Parliament and the Prime Minister himself. They wanted something to be done for the "public good", not solely to benefit themselves. So as a regional pressure group they published reports in the newspaper and lobbied Parliament. As an example of local initiative it is worthy of being recorded in the history of the East Coast. A measure of the success they actually achieved may be judged in later chapters.

Cleveland defines pressure groups as being "organised interests (not being political parties) which try to bring influence to bear on government in favour of their particular aims and ideas".<sup>4</sup> As a private group trying to exert pressure on a public target to secure their goal the East Coast Development Research Association fits well into the definition of a pressure group. It fulfilled many of the roles set out by Cleveland, as it used information gathered to try and influence legislation. It acted as a link between government and citizens of the region. The Association was especially important in its role of disseminating information downwards to the public, as well as upwards to government, by means of newspapers, lobbying and making formal submissions to Parliamentary organisations. It helped provide a flow of information to the whole field of government, and provided an additional channel for the representation of aspects of public opinion, which might otherwise have not been heard.

This thesis begins with an historical outline of the East Coast region which indicates that many of the problems under study were of very long standing, and had resisted earlier attempts to solve them. Following this is a chapter on the East Coast Development Research

4. Les Cleveland, The Anatomy of Influence. Pressure Groups and Politics in New Zealand, Wellington, 1972, p.13.

Association which aimed at finding logical solutions to these problems. Emphasis is laid on membership, organisation and projects of the Association. Subsequent chapters look more closely at action taken on individual problems, namely erosion and forestry; land tenure and utilisation; transport and industrial development; and finally population movements and social issues. All of these had large scale implications on the region, and all were closely researched and reported on by the ECDRA. It did all within its power to make the region a more attractive place for its inhabitants - both socially and economically. The measures of success it did achieve reflected the hard work and initiative of its members. They were a credit to the East Coast.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

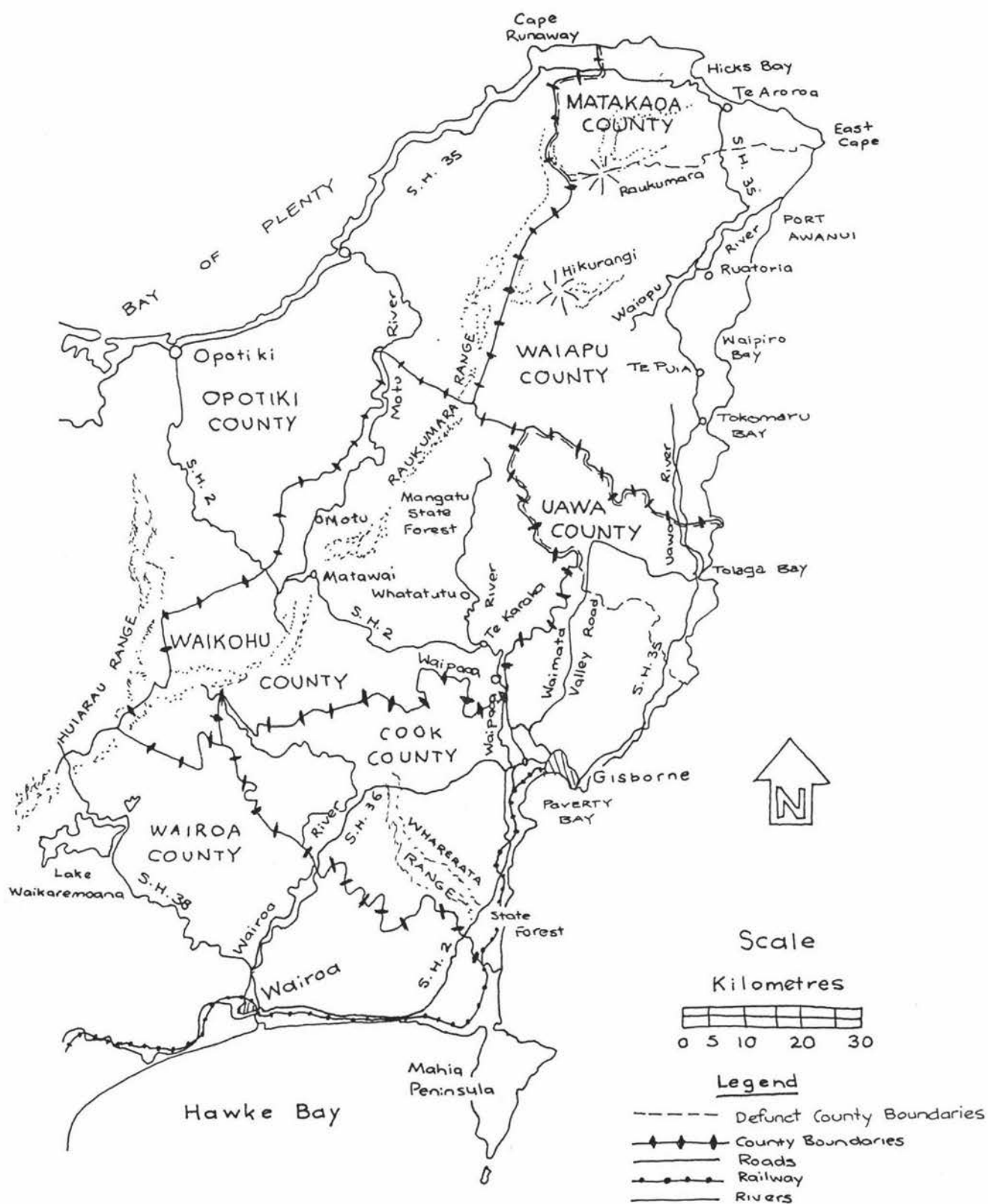
Isolation, both from the rest of New Zealand, and internally within the region, must be the root of virtually all the problems of the East Coast region. This can be seen throughout the region's history from earliest European settlement. Not only is the East Coast geographically remote from the rest of New Zealand, but its topography ensures that within the region, people are cut off from other settlements, or in the case of the real backblocks, from other homesteads. Isolation is a relative phenomenon, it can be broken down by man. But East Coasters had to wait for the advent of proper roads, cars, and eventually planes, before this was to occur on any large scale.

Stretching from the Wharewata Range in the South to Cape Runaway in the North, the region covers an area of some two million acres,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  million of which were occupied by 1950. The western boundary is formed by the Raukumara Range, and the Pacific Ocean forms the eastern boundary, with numerous small bays indenting the coastline. Gisborne is the only city in the area, and the most important townships are Matawai, Te Karaka, Tolaga Bay, Tokomaru Bay, Ruatoria and Te Araroa (see location map). By 1950 Gisborne was almost the sole distributing centre, with its harbour and railway terminal taking most of the produce from the district. The only exceptions being wool shipped from Tolaga Bay, and frozen mutton and wool shipped from Tokomaru Bay.

The physical environment is the basis on which the social and economic conditions of the region are built. It is therefore essential to understand the physical nature of the East Coast. It is an extremely rugged environment, calling for a large measure of initiative and toil from its inhabitants.

The region is composed mainly of steep hill country, interspersed with small areas of rolling land. The valleys consist of strips of terrace and river flats. Most valleys are narrow and steep-sided, except those of the large rivers, especially the Waipaoa and associated tributaries which have formed the Gisborne Plains. Soils





LOCATION MAP  
EAST COAST

FIGURE 1

in the region are small in range but have a complex pattern of frequent changes.

There are two distinctive geological zones with older rocks dominant in the high country and extreme north. This greywacke is jointed and liable to disintegration. Beds of argillites and conglomerates overlay it, and these are very subject to erosive action. The younger rocks, which provide the base of the foothills and coastal hill country, are very heterogeneous. Although widely known as "papa country",<sup>1</sup> besides the greasy blue papa there are dark grey mudstones, soft yellow sandstones, occasional crumbly limestones and hard layers of shell rock.<sup>2</sup> Deposits of bentonitic clay are also present in the strata beds. The lowland pockets of land are composed of combinations of these rocks brought down from the highlands.

In the last 50,000 years the land has risen 500 feet above sea level, which is an uplift of at least 1 foot per 100 years. Each uplift meant increased energy of streams for deepening their beds, the next stage after this being widening of the valleys. This widening meant repeated removal of the solid mantle by erosion. Therefore the effects of the uplift are felt by the soils hundreds of thousands of years after the actual land movement. Many streams in the region are still in the early stages of widening, and those near the headwaters are deepening their channels. Hence the large proportion of steep and very steep slopes with massive rock close to the surface (skeletal soils).<sup>3</sup>

Thus three main physical areas are delimited in the region: alluvial, lowland pockets; hill country which increases in steepness as it goes further inland; and the axial ranges.<sup>4</sup> The lowland pockets

1. Papa is a Maori word applied to weak mudstones and claystones.
2. K.B. Cumberland and J.W. Fox, New Zealand: A Regional View, Christchurch, 1958, p.117.
3. H.S. Gibbs, "Soils of the Gisborne-East Coast District and Their Problems for Pastoral Use; New Zealand Grassland Association, Proceedings of the 21st Conference, Wellington, 1960, p.10.
4. Cumberland and Fox, p.116.

and coastal strips are a small percentage of the total land area, but they exert a considerable influence on the region. It is here that settlement and economic activity is concentrated. The largest lowland areas are the river plains. The Poverty Bay flats (200 square kilometres) are the most important, and are really the focal point of the region. There fertile soil and a favourable climate are combined to support intensive land use. The Waiapu (90 square kilometres) and Uawa (50 square kilometres) river plains are also settlement areas.

Hill country is thus predominant, and although less dissected than the ranges it varies from "stepped terrace country to areas of sharp ridges and gullies".<sup>5</sup> Here large sheep and cattle stations were formed which provided the basis for the economy of the region. Denudation of the slopes of stands of dense bush has led to variable success in the utilisation of this area of hill country.

Climatically the region boasts high sunshine totals. Rainfall is not well distributed over the year, often there is an excess in winter and spring, followed by drought conditions in summer. This, combined with steep slopes, the nature of the rocks and clearing of the bush by burning, led inevitably to erosion. The East Coast gradually became notorious for its large-scale and widespread slumping and gully erosion. With the roots of erosion firmly set in the past, it was obviously up to present inhabitants to both contain and control it, before a large percentage of the Coast ended up in the Pacific Ocean.<sup>6</sup>

Earliest European penetration of the region occurred when isolated whalers, traders and missionaries settled in the various bays along the coastline. These men were prepared to integrate into the existing Maori communities, so there was little conflict.

5. Bradford Patterson, "The East Coast: An Introduction to the Problems of a New Zealand Peripheral Region", Perspective, No.12, April 1976, p.2.
6. D.A. Campbell, "Down to the Sea in Slips", Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council Bulletin, No.5, 1947. Has a good commentary as to how far erosion had progressed by the beginning of the period under survey.

Figure 2:

Early Ormond 1876. Ormond was one of the many small settlements which grew up around Gisborne. At the time of this photograph it contained barracks for the soldiers who lent official protection to European settlers.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



In the 1860s progress was temporarily halted due to Pai Marire activity in the area. In 1865 the rebels were defeated at Waerenga-a-Hika, then in 1869 Matawhero was the site of the "Poverty Bay Massacre" led by Te Kooti. By 1868 the Crown had purchased 741 acres at Gisborne to provide the nucleus for the town, with a military post and trading station being established there in 1870. The population of the town was then approximately 500,<sup>11</sup> but with this official protection lending security to settlement there was a rapid increase in settlement from 1871 to 1875.

At this time a Land Commission was set up to settle some of the early land claims, and later the Native Land Court was constituted to deal with others. It sat in Gisborne from time to time and there were many separate investigations after 1893. Farm areas started to open up and settlement really began in earnest with large areas of land being "broken in". Gisborne was brought into contact with outside districts by coaching and coastal shipping. The completion of the telegraph line to Napier in 1875 was yet another link completed in the chain of progress. By 1886 Gisborne's population had grown to 2,300.

The advent of refrigeration and the frozen meat industry was a real catalyst in the development of the East Coast. The first shipment of mutton destined for London was sent to Wellington for freezing in 1884, and in 1889 the first freezing works in the area was established by Nelson Brothers on the Taruheru River. This was later closed down in favour of a works at Waipaoa in 1916. Over the next three decades five more works would be built throughout the region, symbolising the growth in this industry. The Kaiti works, promoted by Gisborne Sheepfarmers, was opened in 1897. Confidence in the frozen meat industry was established, and store sheep values doubled. Works were also opened at Tokomaru Bay in 1910, and at Hicks Bay in 1920. The export of store sheep to other areas of New Zealand was also an important source of revenue for the region's farmers.

11. In 50 years this grew to more than 12,000, then there was a slowing in growth with an increase of only 3,000 in the next 20 years up to 1945.

The production of frozen meat and wool in the region steadily increased, as can be seen from the following figures.

	<u>No. of Sheep</u>	<u>Frozen Mutton</u> (cwt)	<u>Wool</u> (lb)
1895	877,237	26,166	2,733,190
1911	2,019,876	259,027	15,489,102

As sheepfarming became extensive on the hill country, pastoralism developed as the mainstay of the region - its chief and virtually sole resource. The economy of the region depended on the Romney ewe.<sup>12</sup> Dairying and horticulture were also present as fundamental primary industries, but on a much smaller scale, and only on the flats. Although it made a late start in the industry compared with other regions which had better access to main parts (and which were largely populated by people from farming districts in Great Britain), the East Coast gradually built up a good standing among the sheep breeding areas of the Dominion. The overland route from Hawke's Bay was used extensively in the 1860s by sheepman who could not get shipping space. Captain W.H. Tucker is credited with having made the first coastal drive from Napier to Gisborne in 1866.

There were, naturally enough, problems with land tenure as Europeans wished to obtain large blocks of land to undertake extensive farming. Maori land tenure is a complex issue,<sup>13</sup> and with multiple ownership of blocks often situations eventuated where some owners did not wish to sell tribal land, while Europeans were desperate to buy or lease long-term. Legal and moral difficulties arose as on the one hand some Maoris sold land they had no claim to, while on the other hand "unscrupulous Europeans made extravagant claims that could not be substantiated".<sup>14</sup>

12. Cumberland and Fox, p.112.

13. For more detailed information on this topic see Theses of:  
A.D. Ward, "A History of the East Coast Maori Trust", MA Victoria, 1958, and  
Bryan L. Davies, "The Incorporation of the East Coast: One Solution to the Problem of Maori Lands", MA Canterbury, 1964.

14. Department of Lands and Survey, p.13.



Many Maoris came to realise the potential of the land, and started to farm on the European system. At first the Maori communities had traded mainly in flax, later turning to cropping, and then sheep farming. Mackay recorded that, as early as 1873, there were 14,000 sheep owned by Maoris on the south side of the Waiapu River, and 4,000 on the north side, as well as about 2,000 near East Cape.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile the purchase of large areas of Maori land for settlement under the Crown was proceeding apace. There was also considerable leasing especially of Ngati Porou land, to Pakeha farmers. Those Maoris who retained ownership of land often experienced major difficulties, such as diseases which decimated flocks from time to time. For example, there was a major scab outbreak in the early 1870s. The Government offered to erect dips and supply materials at selected points along the coast if the Maori flockmen would muster and dip their sheep. Of the 52 Maori owners of the approximately 20,000 head only a small number agreed to the proposal, which subsequently had to be abandoned. Eventually the Government bought all these sheep and disposed of them to a boiling down point at Port Awanui, in an attempt to control the disease.<sup>16</sup>

Despite setbacks such as these the industry continued to grow, and the Crown policy of buying Maori lands for settlement gave opportunities to farmers to extend their operations.

The large holding proved very productive, with a high carrying capacity on fertile soil.

The wealth and large tracts of the Gisborne sheep stations became well known all over the Dominion and some glamour became associated with East Coast runholding; life on East Coast sheep stations was regarded as the most desirable farming existence.<sup>17</sup>

15. Joseph A. Mackay, Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, North Island, New Zealand, Gisborne, 1949, p.322.
16. Gisborne Herald, 7 November 1952, p.10.
17. A.A. Duncan, "Farming in New Zealand, Gisborne-East Cape District", New Zealand Journal of Agriculture, Vol.81, No.3, 1950, p.209.



Up until the 1900s the Dairying industry in the region was composed of a number of small establishments on the Gisborne Plain, being supplied by local dairy herds. From 1904 production was handled by two large butter companies - one operated by the Kia Ora Co-Operative Dairying Company Limited at Makaraka, and the other by the Okitu Co-Operative Dairy Company Limited, Gisborne.<sup>18</sup> Later two further factories were established on the East Coast - one at Tolaga Bay in 1912, and at Ruatoria in 1925.<sup>19</sup> All of these factories enjoyed a period of steady expansion but there was a tendency to over expand in the 1920s. This was followed by the Depression, from which they never fully recovered and eventually with the gradual change in emphasis of agriculture in the 1950s the inevitable decline set in.

From earliest settlement days the Gisborne Plain had been used for grazing and cereal production, but there was a growing awareness of its fruit growing potential. On 3 July 1873 F.W.C. Sturm, a trained botanist, was quoted in the Poverty Bay Standard as saying:

Turanga (Poverty Bay) has been the "Garden of New Zealand" for a number of years; it will become a fruit growers' paradise. Its soil and its climate are all that can be desired. Most European fruits will grow to perfection; also some of the tropical fruits.<sup>20</sup>

This was a far-sighted prediction, as when the pastoral production of the area was to subsequently decline, there was a diversification into the production of fruit and vegetables, which contributed greatly to the prosperity of the region.

18. This Company switched to pasteurisation of milk for town supply in 1942.
19. Established by Sir A.T. Ngata as the Ngati Porou Co-Operative Dairy Company, in an effort to boost Maori dairy farming on the Coast.
20. Mackay, pp. 331-332.

Up until the 1920s this region was looked upon largely as a fat stock producing district. Then with the decline in soil fertility, due largely to over grazing in an attempt to stop reversion of scrub, fattening livestock became a less viable proposition. This, combined with increasing demands for store stock to be fattened on the plains of Hawke's Bay, Manawatu, Bay of Plenty and Waikato led to a change in farming methods. From the 1920s sheep numbers began to stabilise instead of continuing to grow, they remained static at about 2,500,000 for the next forty years; the cattle population also increased at less than national growth rate. Dairy herds on the plains were less affected, but after the peak year 1936-37 a definite and irrevocable decline set in - flat land could be used more economically in other ways.

Topdressing and oversowing the deteriorating hill country became an obvious need, but in pre-aerial days the steep slopes made this virtually impossible as did high transport costs, uncertain land tenure and the lack of compensation for improvement of land. Therefore stock numbers dropped and this combined with the depression years further discouraged the farming community. The closure and dismantling of the freezing works' made the decline visible to everyone: Taruheru in 1923, Hicks Bay in 1926, Waipaoa in 1931, and Tokomaru Bay in 1952.

Another primary resource found in abundance in the early years of settlement was timber. By charting the destruction of the bush one can follow the rapidly changing character of the land. At first settlement was confined to the coastal areas which were mainly covered in fern, a type of vegetation easily and quickly removed by burning. By the 1880s, as in other parts of New Zealand, the potential of the forest-clad hill slopes had been realised for farming. Between 1886 and 1925 extensive bush felling took place with thousands of acres of heavy bush being cleared and burnt, the land then being sown in pasture and stocked. During the 1890s "Gisborne

shops often had to light up in the middle of the day, on account of the dense smoke darkening the sky during the burning-off periods".<sup>21</sup>

What became of the cleared trees? Timber milling was a major activity from 1870 to 1930. It started initially in the Makauri-Ormond district, with 50,000 superficial feet of white pine per month being cut and sent to Auckland and Australia. In 1902 the first railway, between Gisborne and Ormond, was opened to cope with the transport of timber to Gisborne Harbour. The centre of timber production, mainly rimu and matai, moved inland through Waipaoa, Puha, Rakauroa, Matawai to Motu as the more accessible sources were depleted. The early railway followed this progression. In the early 1930s timber milling was at its peak in the Matawai-Motu district, with an annual production of 6,000,000 superficial feet.<sup>22</sup> But these were only the accessible trees. Those felled in the back country, unless used locally, were usually left to rot or burnt. Thus production, although high, never exceeded the requirements of the region, and by 1940 most of the easily accessible timber had been cut out.<sup>23</sup>

Maori land was an issue which caused immense personal and bureaucratic wrangling on the East Coast. There is a Maori proverb:

Whatu ngarongaro he tangata, toitu he whenua.  
Man perishes, but the land remains.

It is important to get a full understanding of Maori Land as it was and is such a major issue on the East Coast. Therefore detail will be given about its development and usage through the Settlement Company, the East Coast trust and eventually the Ngati Porou

21. John Charles W. Graham, A Brief History of the Poverty Bay Agricultural and Pastoral Association 1875 - 1955, Gisborne 1956, p.6.

22. Ibid., p.210.

23. Mackay, p.331.

Incorporations and Consolidations. A continuing theme is the way in which Europeans and Maoris have both worked together and against each other to develop the land.

The Maori had a great respect and spiritual attachment to the land; it had been held by their ancestors and was in trust for future generations. This extreme deep-rooted affection was often hard for Europeans to fully comprehend. The East Coast was a region of dense Maori population who had slow and dispersed contact with European settlers. Therefore Maori land owning was very significant in the rural economy of the area. W.H. Oliver also makes the point that they were an easily identified scapegoat group for those who sought reasons for the region's failure to develop at a faster rate.<sup>24</sup> This issue was guaranteed to provoke bitter reactions from those who believed the land should be taken from people who obviously did not know how to manage it economically, and given to those who could. Although this was to fester on into the twentieth century, the region is also famous for the concrete and effective examples of Maori initiative in land use that it portrayed. The East Coast Trust, consolidations and incorporations are sterling symbols of this.

By the 1860s there was a strong reluctance by the Maoris to give up their land, and resentment over that already sold, once its potential was realised. Thus in 1869 a Native Land Court district was formed, with Gisborne as its headquarters, taking in the whole East Coast area. The Court immediately proceeded to establish "titles" on the Coast. It weighed the evidence of various claimants to each block of communal land, and gave decisions as to who were the owners and the relative proportion of interest each held. Thus each person accumulated a series of interests scattered throughout the East Coast, while not actually owning an individual piece of property. "Native land legislation provided something to do for a whole generation."<sup>25</sup>

24. W.H. Oliver and J. Thomson, Challenge and Response, Gisborne, 1971, p.4.

25. Felix M. Keesing, "Maori Progress on the East Coast", Te Wananga Vol.1, No.1, September 1929, p.15.

With titles established the land was further "individualised" by cutting up the blocks and giving freehold orders to various owners. "This partitioning was done either with an office ruler on a map regardless of the topography of the area, or, by more conscientious officials, with survey-pegs and owners on the spot."<sup>26</sup> As time went on a bitter rating controversy was to arise between multiple owners of Maori land and local bodies over whose responsibility it was to pay the rates, when often no immediate benefits could be seen from paying them in the back country.

Often with the best of intentions farmers and officials were creating both a land management nightmare and a bureaucratic muddle. The Stout-Ngata Commission of 1907-09 found that land policy up until that time had recognised Maori rights to land, but in doing so had involved them in endless litigation to secure titles and shares in it. Steady alienation by purchase had been sanctioned, yet in no way had the Maoris been taught and encouraged to use the purchase money profitably.<sup>27</sup>

In 1929 Keesing<sup>28</sup> made the point that by common opinion Maori land was poor or valueless, the exceptions to this being large areas of good land on the northern East Coast. But why should Ngati Porou lands be the exception? In the south of the region Maori land consisted of relatively few and scattered units, mainly in the back hills. But in the north they dominated, and by 1929 held the fertile coast strip, leaving the hinterland for European occupation.

In the south of the region the Rongowhakaata tribe had leaders of very strong character, but, as Keesing observes, they were unversed in the intricacies of land dealing. Therefore in a comparatively short time large areas had been alienated or leased. Also, after the Hau Hau

26. Ibid., p.16.

27. Ibid., p.17.

28. Ibid., p.31.

uprising, land was confiscated for reparation. The inhabitants of the area were in a critical state after the skirmishes - debts had been accumulated, undernourishment and poverty were rife. The wheat, flax and shipping industries started by the Ngati Porou had foundered and plantations were neglected. "Worse still, reconstruction of these means of livelihood was retarded by the onset of a world-wide depression during which the newly acquired skills could not avail the Maori people."<sup>29</sup>

An unusual and ingenious land development venture was the East Coast (later New Zealand) Native Land Settlement Company, incorporated in 1881. A profit-sharing enterprise, it was promoted equally by European capitalists (prominent among whom was W.L. Rees) and Maori leaders (chief of whom was Wiremu Pere).<sup>30</sup> The Maori owners held two-thirds of the Company's shares. These shares had been exchanged for 200,000 acres of tribal lands in Wairoa, Gisborne and Tolaga Bay districts. So in effect the Maoris' contribution to the Company was land, and the Europeans' cash. Unfortunately there was much less of the latter commodity than the former. This appeared to be a far-sighted attempt to preserve tribal lands by both races - but was it?

The motives of some of those involved in the Company were, to say the least, suspicious, and the spectre of sharp dealing was to raise its ugly head. Rees was well known to be impecunious, and a typical lawyer in search of a fee. The legal tangle involved in the Settlement Company was very suitable, and the need to unravel problems such as these "led to an inflow of lawyers who enthusiastically converted the region, for a time, into the most litigious part of New Zealand".<sup>31</sup> It was virtually impossible for lawyers at this time not to become involved in the process of Maori land buying, as it was moving on apace.

29. Anon., "Land under Maori Management", Te Ao Hau, No.8, 1954, p.6.

30. Wi Pere was a chief of the Rongowhakaata and Te Aitang-a-Mahaki. He was a long time M.P. for Eastern Maori and member of the Legislative Council. He had the reputation of being a formidable leader and able Maori politician.

31. R.C.J. Stone, "Clio and the Parish Pump", NZJH, Vol.7, No.1, April 1973, p.82.



Wi Pere's undoubted aim was to present free trade in a way which would be profitable to Maori sellers. Thus the Company's ultimate aim was liquidation after developing the land. The Europeans were to take one-third of the ultimate profits, with the balance going to the Maori shareholders who hoped eventually to buy out the Europeans and manage the land themselves. But the Settlement Company was a victim of the slump, and in 1890 the Bank of New Zealand foreclosed on its mortgage. Most of this land eventually ended up in the East Coast Trust, due to the efforts of James Carroll and Wi Pere.

In 1902 the East Coast Trust Land Board was formed to administer approximately 390,000 acres of Maori land, which at that time was heavily encumbered. There were a series of East Coast Commissioners heading the Trust, the first of whom was J.A. Harding in 1907. During the early years of the Trust, the blocks most suitable for farming were leased to Europeans. Then, in later years, as the term of leases expired, heavy costs for purchase of stock and compensation for improvements had to be met. Under Rawson<sup>32</sup> policy changed, and instead of renewing leases the Commission began farming land on an ever-increasing scale.

At the same time these officers took over the administration of the Mangatu Blocks 1, 3 and 4 which comprised over 100,000 acres in Waikohu and Opotiki Counties. These had at first been administered for the Maori owners by an Incorporated Committee appointed from among themselves, as a result of the Mangatu No. 1 Empowering Act, 1893. Later they were replaced by two Trustees, one of whom was District Commissioner of Crown Lands. After a Royal Commission of Inquiry had reviewed the position of Mangatu in 1917 there was a further change, and from 1920 the Blocks were administered by an Advisory Committee of owners.

32. Chief Judge W.E. Rawson was East Coast Commissioner 1921-23.

The magnitude of this undertaking is shown by the position in 1929, when the East Coast Trust land comprised approximately 151,736 acres scattered over the southern counties. Of these:

59,464 acres were leased to about 30 European holders.

32,709 acres were farmed direct and under Farm Supervisor.

56,563 acres were unleased and unoccupied, being mainly rugged mountain tops.<sup>33</sup>

Commissioner Jessop (1934-51) built the Trust into a tightly woven farming enterprise. There was a system of mutual money-lending between the stations, which saved considerable sums in interest charges. The East Coast Commission lands became the most powerful farming combination on the Coast, especially while the link with Mangatu lasted. By 1945 the Trust had become virtually debt-free, except for occasional seasonal overdrafts.

On a smaller scale were the experimental Whangara Blocks. In 1916 the Maori owners decided to farm the land themselves and hired a European Supervisor. But the banks refused to advance capital direct to the Maoris for the purpose of developing land. So, by a working compromise, the Maoris mortgaged their interests to the Supervisor, who was given approval for a loan. Each block had its owners "incorporated", and the Supervisor was assisted in his administration by an Incorporated Committee on each block.

These farming ventures all exemplified initiative and enterprise - the Maoris were attempting, with assistance, to solve their own land difficulties. These were mainly the multiplicity of owners with interests in tribal blocks, and the juxtaposition of a desire to benefit from their potential wealth, yet lacking both leadership and experience in administration and farming. But also a problem first to be overcome was the stereotypic attitude held that Maoris were lazy, with no idea of economic management, therefore being totally incapable of farming profitably.

33. Included leasing to Pakeha farmers for relatively short terms.



The northern lands were in a similar position to the south, except the factor of isolation was greater and the lands less rich. When Sir Donald Maclean, then Native Minister, approached Ngati Porou leaders on the matter of disposing of Maori land to the Crown, the elders stood firm against selling any but unoccupied mountain hinterlands. Thus they retained<sup>34</sup> the coastlands and rich river valleys. This stood them in good stead, as did the admission, from the 1860s on, of several desirable European families into the district. As lessees of large holdings of Maori land for sheep stations, these people became an invaluable source of advice, work example and financial assistance.

Thus, by the first decade of the twentieth century, Waiapu and Matakaoa Counties were in a unique position in Maoridom. Maoris numbered 2,600 as against 900 Europeans, of whom 120 were land occupiers. Out of an area of approximately 705,228 acres in Waiapu County, the Crown and European settlers had acquired some 383,000 acres, of which 113,025 acres were under lease in big holdings. Maori land was still largely communal - some 57,000 acres had been cleared and grassed, supporting 83,000 sheep, 3,200 cattle, 8,200 pigs and many horses.<sup>35</sup>

A unique system of land tenure was then to be introduced by Sir A.T. Ngata - the "incorporation", followed by experiments in "consolidation". The "Union of Ngati Porou Farmers" was formed by a group of people anxious to initiate sheepfarming on Maori lands. It was chiefly this group which in 1905 sponsored the election of Ngata to Parliament. During the early years of the twentieth century wide tracts of Waiapu Valley and coastlands were cleared of bush, sown in grass and stocked. Communal farms became financial, using their money and credit to develop further land. The need to have a financial organisation behind the farms led to the establishment of the Waiapu Farmers' Co-Operation. As farms developed there was a need for some form of security that could be offered to banks and commercial houses.

34. Keesing, p.21.

35. Ibid., p.28.

Thus land titles had to be either individualised or reduced to such a form as to enable the owners to offer their land as security for mortgages.

Incorporations had been made legal bodies by the 1909 Maori Land Act. Initially they were family affairs, where owners would meet, make necessary decisions and do the work themselves. As the years went on this co-operative spirit gradually lessened, and incorporations came more to resemble private companies than communal enterprises.

Consolidations were a new and wider kind of "individualisation", by which all the scattered "interests" of the individual or family could be assembled in one place. Thus a sufficiently large area was formed, which could be farmed for a profit. The first experiment took place in the Waipiro Blocks, just north of Tokomaru Bay, in 1911. Consolidated areas were portioned on a valuation basis and up until 1929 there were approximately 171,404 acres of consolidated Maori land on the Coast. This did not include the northern Waiapu scheme which still had to be finalised. This scheme was later adopted in other parts of the North Island - namely the Urewera Country, Maketu in Arawa Country, and Maniapoto in the King Country.<sup>36</sup>

Thus in the nineteenth century disputed titles were of great significance in slowing up land development, whereas in the twentieth century short term Ngati Porou leases tended to be the culprit as there was no incentive by the lessee to put anything back into the land. The Maori people though, had inevitably realised that the solution to their land problems lay in their own hands.

Communications within the region have long been notorious, and transport was one of the earliest difficulties which had to be surmounted. From 7 October 1769 when Captain Cook sailed into the deep waters of Poverty

36. Ibid., p.37.

Bay, the sea has played an important role in communications on the East Coast.

At first, by necessity, transport in the region was almost entirely by sea. As natural harbours are rare along the East Coast, ships had to anchor out to sea ("Stand off") and have freight and passengers ferried in and out by barges or small boats. This mode of transport was very susceptible to changeable climatic conditions, and much risk, as well as discomfort<sup>37</sup> and delay were attendant on early voyages. In 1851 the Reverend C. Baker recorded in his diary how a voyage from Tolaga Bay to Auckland had taken five weeks to complete.<sup>38</sup> With the rapid increase of population in Poverty Bay in the early 1870s several steamers were put on the East Coast run, and by the end of that decade Gisborne had become a port of call for inter-colonial passenger and cargo steamers. This continued until just prior to World War One, when Tokomaru Bay, as well as Gisborne was a twice-a-week port of call for Union Company and Huddart Parker Company intercolonial steamers.<sup>39</sup> Thousands of passengers were to be carried over the years until other forms of transport became more efficient.

37. Vivid accounts of the discomfort and unreliability of sea travel are given in Mackay, p.349.

38. Ibid., p.348.

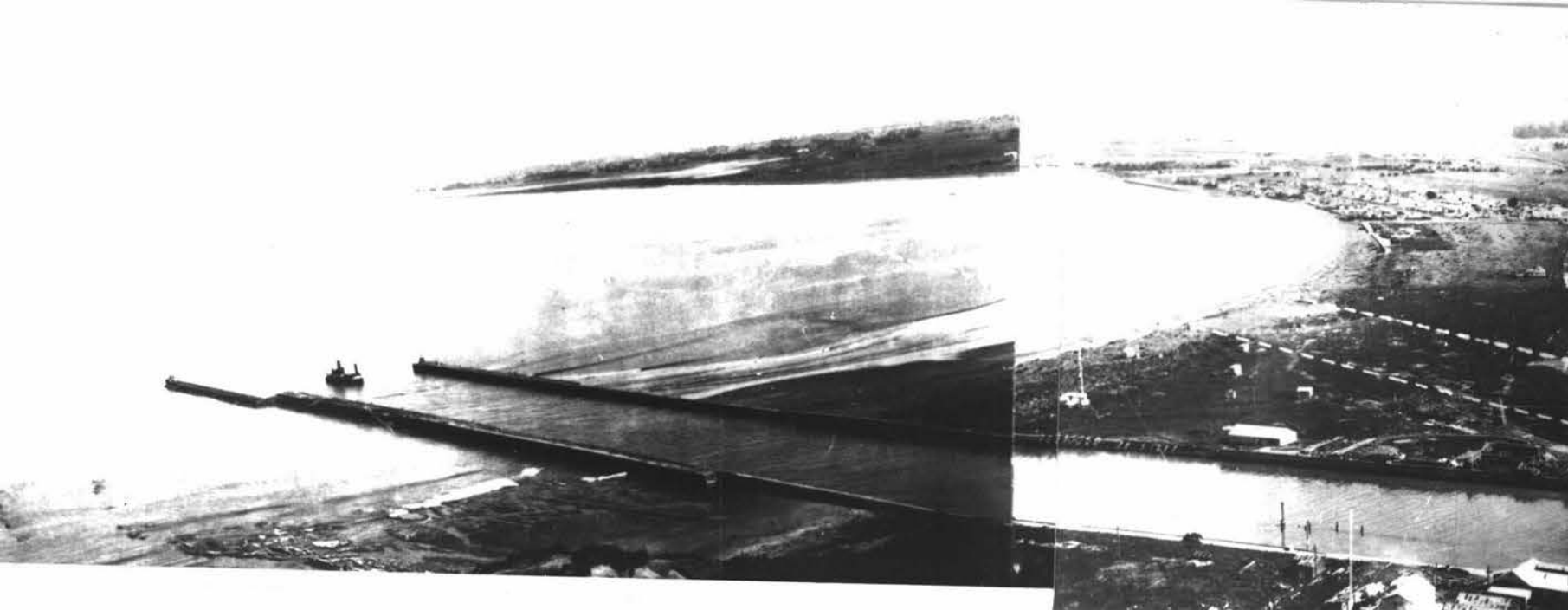
39. In 1913 it was 20 hours to Wellington by train and steamer, and approximately 22 hours by steamer to Auckland. There was a ferry service to Napier, and two steamers weekly each way to Auckland and Tokomaru Bay; and south to Napier, Wellington and the South Island. Passengers could travel, without changing, direct to Sydney.

Gisborne Chamber of Commerce, Gisborne the Golden. A Handbook to Poverty Bay New Zealand, Gisborne, 1913, p.19.

Figure 3:

Gisborne Harbour 1925. Dotted line shows proposed river diversion cut.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



The port of Gisborne was constructed at the mouth of the Turanganui River, at the northern end of Poverty Bay, in 1872. The harbour was not completed until 1932, due mainly to the 1916 flood which silted up the river, thus delaying construction of the harbour basin. This was mainly to be used by coastal ships and local fishing trawlers. Prosperous years had seen the construction of harbour facilities in many localities - a wharf was built at Tokomaru Bay in 1911 (renewed in 1940), and at Hicks Bay and Tolaga Bay 1922-23. Coastal shipping was of prime importance until the 1930s, with thousands of bales of wool and scores of thousands of sheep travelling by this method from the stations. Until the 1960s<sup>40</sup> the harbour at Gisborne consisted of an inner harbour suitable for coastal shipping, protected by break-waters and a diversion wall. Overseas ships had to stand out on the roadstead and be tended by lighters.

As the population grew and spread in the region, demand arose for more constant touch with the outside world. This was mainly represented to the Coast settlers by the budding "metropolis" of Gisborne. As only that part of the Coast south of the Waiapu River had experienced any degree of development in communications, people from Gisborne had generally never attempted to travel any further north than that point. Public works were extremely "patchwork" in the region so in the early decades of the twentieth century it was fairly hazardous to attempt to travel into Waiapu and Matakaoa Counties. There was also public pressure to open up communications from Gisborne to other parts of New Zealand and overseas.

Regional communications developed originally from the needs of traders who established themselves in or near the more populous Maori settlements in the earliest days of European infiltration. The location of Maori settlements had been largely determined by access to sea-food sources, and the estuaries of various rivers and streams were natural

40. In 1967 a new wharf berthage was completed for overseas vessels.

choices for living sites. From these, and other factors, including accessibility from the sea, there developed a system of coastal trading stations. In the course of time tracks branched out from these to areas where European farmers were able to establish themselves.

Coastal beaches offered ready-made roads for horseback travel, for a greater part of the distance between the Waiapu River and Gisborne. Old Maori tracks provided detours across the steep headlands. Roads were demanded, but many local difficulties meant they were slow in coming. The actual physical terrain made road making difficult - there was a tendency for slips and subsidence, and occasional rainbursts meant bridges were washed away. Add to this an absence of good quality road metal in the region, and it becomes obvious why any public works were naturally expensive.

In the early years of settlement tracks were formed, and access to the hinterland made possible by horse or on foot. By 1872 a bridle track had been cut from Ormond to Opotiki, and by 1873 from Gisborne to Hicks Bay. The latter became accessible to wheeled traffic in 1887. Roads gradually improved, first on the plains, then into valleys, and finally into the hill country.

By 1900 Cook County, as it then was, had 90 miles of metalled roads, 180 miles of formed and drained roads and tracks. Scarcity of good metal was, of course, the big problem, the material used costing as much as 16/6 per yard and being inferior at that. As regards bridges, a handicap was the absence of serviceable timber within the settled portion of the country. Timber for that purpose, mostly kauri, had to be imported from Auckland.<sup>41</sup>

In 1872 the first coach was introduced, and these were used until approximately 1915 when motor transport gradually began to replace them. Geologist J. Henderson, writing in 1916, refers to motor transport using only the better roads on the flats. Horses were still much more

41. Life in Early Poverty Bay, Gisborne Times (pub.), Gisborne, p.195.

Figure 4:

Gisborne-Opotiki Bridle Track near Motu 1903.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)

Figure 5: (p.25)

Overland transport was often difficult. Coach Route north of  
Gisborne, Puatai Rocks, 1909.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)







reliable on the side roads, and bullock wagons were a necessity for wool transport from the back stations. Many years were to pass before the main roads were completely metalled.

Railway construction in the region has led an extremely chequered career. Once again physical conditions of steep terrain and soft underlying rock defeated several attempts to construct lines.<sup>42</sup> Originally it was intended to connect Gisborne to the main trunk system - north at Taneatua and south at Napier. In 1900 construction started on the northern route, and by 1917 was through to Motuhora (39 miles). There it ground to a halt. All attempts to find an economic route to Taneatua failed and construction was finally abandoned in 1946, when an estimation of £6,000,000 was put forward as the cost for completing the line.

Work was begun on the "inland" route to Wairoa in 1911. By 1914 it had reached Ngatapa (15 miles) but at this stage the discovery was made that it would be uneconomic to continue on this route. Meanwhile work had been continuing from Napier, and by 1924 the Wairoa-Waikokopu section was completed. Therefore it was decided to undertake a "coastal" route. Construction ceased for a while during the depression but in 1937 the Napier-Wairoa line was operational, and finally in 1942 the Gisborne-Napier line was opened for traffic.

From the land, transport progressed into the skies, and with the advent of air transport into the region a major advance was made in achieving a speedy connection with the outside world. In 1930 the Gisborne Borough Council had anticipated the future and acquired Darton Field, which then became the first publicly-owned aerodrome in the country. This was to be extended during World War Two, when it was taken over by the Government as an air training centre. In December 1931 the first official air mail was carried from Gisborne to

42. Department of Lands and Survey, p.14.

Auckland in the DH 9 biplane. East Coast Airways was formed in 1934 with local capital, and became the first licensed air service in New Zealand, running a daily service between Gisborne and Napier. In 1946 the Company was absorbed by Union Airways, which was operating on a nation-wide scale.<sup>43</sup>

Aviation is a very suitable mode of transport for underdeveloped regions as there is no large investment comparable to the costs of roads and rail, and expenditure on air terminals is slight when compared to seaports. The East Coast was well suited to air transport - this was amply illustrated by the fact that commercial flights to major North Island growth centres were placed on a regular basis well in advance of the region's first outside rail link.<sup>44</sup> Aircraft were to prove invaluable to the region, especially as aerial topdressing gradually proved how efficient a means it was of improving hill country pastures.

The region's inherent transport problems were a major factor in the dearth of any large scale industrial development, with the exception of the freezing works, prior to the 1950s. Obviously the lack of efficient transport meant high costs for marketing goods. Until 1943 there was very little cash cropping, except of maize and ryegrass seed, almost all farm revenue came from grazing animals. But even the almighty animal-based industries were not immune to downturns - notably the frozen meat industry and dairying.

Other disincentives for industry were the lack of electrical power, as the flow of rivers in the area sometimes fell to a virtual trickle in summer. Thus they were not suitable for the generation of hydro-electricity. Lake Waikaremoana was a source of supply for Gisborne, but by 1950 some areas further than 25 miles north of Gisborne

43. Iain Gillies, Baskets Away. The Formative Years of Gisborne and District, Gisborne, 1976, p.39.

44. Bradford Patterson, "Eastern Periphery: An Enquiry into Some Factors Affecting the Development of the Transportation System of a New Zealand Problem Region", MA Victoria University, 1973, p.598.

still had not been reticulated. Also the water supply in Gisborne during the summer months was notorious for its unreliability. Industry was present on a small scale - timber factories, coach makers, cabinet makers, brewery and cordial makers, hotels, brick-making, saddlery, the building trade, etc., all supplied the local demand. But nothing of any significant scale could be established until solutions had been found to basic problems, such as the constant flooding of the Waipaoa River. The site had to become an economic proposition.

Obviously there was a pressing need to try and diversify the resource base of the Coast. An unsuccessful but extremely persistent example of this were the ongoing attempts to locate another exploitable resource in the region - namely oil. The formation of the hill country suggested the presence of "black gold", and many seepages and gas springs were discovered.

In 1874 the Poverty Bay Petroleum and Kerosene Company Limited put down the first shaft at Waitangi Hill, northwest of Whatatutu. Then South Pacific Petroleum took over, sinking eight bores between 1881 and 1885. In 1887 there was a spectacular incident, when amidst claims of "salting" the well, there was a blow out of oil and gas in a shaft in the Ngatapa district which became ignited and burnt down the plant. This created excitement and optimism in the area. The Poverty Bay Herald 3 September 1887 is quoted as saying:

The population of Poverty Bay would be doubled in three years. It will mean prosperity to all, the harbour will be improved, the town will grow, native land difficulties will end, a meat freezing industry will be started, the settled area and production of the land double, business will grow and flourish. In a word almost total change.<sup>45</sup>

45. Quoted in R.M. Sharp, "A Historical Study of the Search for Oil in the Poverty Bay-East Coast District from 1874 to 1912", MA Massey University, 1972, p.31.

Figure 6:

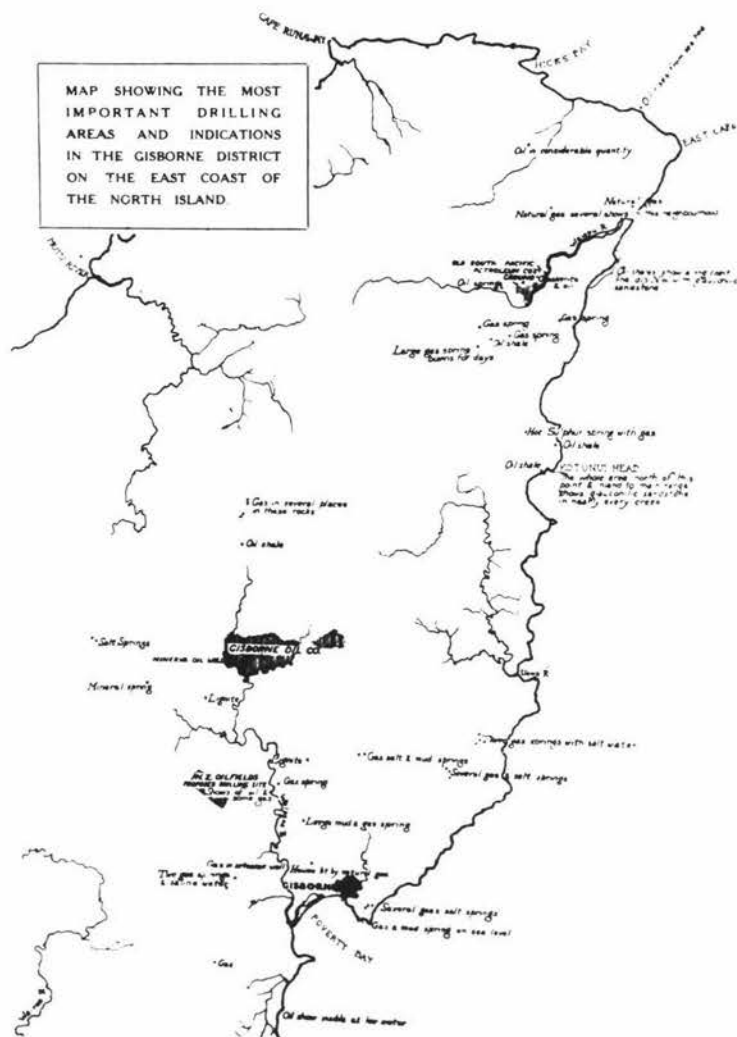
Oil Well "Totangi", New Zealand Petroleum Company, 1938-39.  
One of many wells to be sunk in the region, but to no avail.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)

Figure 7: (p.30)

Map of drilling areas of the East Coast 1956.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



Numerous attempts were to fail; but in 1912 a report on New Zealand oil exploration by Mr J.D. Henry predicted New Zealand's largest tract of oil territory would be discovered on the East Coast.

If the Gisborne territory were part of an American oil state, there are oil men on the other side of the Atlantic who would convert it into a great field in less than two years ....This is just about the time they would require to drill the first hundred wells.<sup>46</sup>

Alas for all potential millionaires this was not to be. It was hoped oil would bring prosperity and improved population to the region. More people would mean more wealth and more industry. But although not successful the whole oil experiment was important, if solely for the fact that the initiative for development came from the East Coast people themselves rather than from the Government - an early forerunner of the enterprise which was to be exhibited in the 1960s.

The East Coast is a huge area and county administration has always provided the men concerned with their fair quota of problems. Together with the other original provincial districts, the County of Cook was formed in 1876. Its boundaries at that time extended from Cape Runaway in the north to Paretu Bluff, south of Poverty Bay. The area was estimated to be just less than 2,000,000 acres. In 1890 the settlers in the northern portion of the district had successfully petitioned for the constitution of a new county. This became known as Waiapu County and extended from Cape Runaway to Anauara, forming nearly half of the original County of Cook.<sup>47</sup> In 1908 Waikohu County separated from Cook, followed by Uawa in 1918. The pattern was established and Matakaoa County sprang out of Waiapu in 1919. This meant administrative areas were of a more manageable size for development, although as time went on Matakaoa and Uawa were to prove unnecessary divisions, and were to merge back into Waiapu.

Population movements, both internally and out of the region, reveal some very interesting trends. Obviously in the early years there was a steady influx of Europeans into the region. They were

46. Gillies, p.39.

47. Life In Early Poverty Bay, p.195.



concentrated in Gisborne and sparsely settled in the rural areas. In contrast the Maori population was heavily concentrated in the rural areas, especially on the coastline. The European population gradually increased, but in the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century it became obvious that definite population movements were beginning. There had always been concern expressed by citizens of the region about pakeha underpopulation on the Coast. Local initiative once more came to the fore in 1913, when Gisborne Chamber of Commerce issued a pamphlet entitled Gisborne the Golden. A Handbook to Poverty Bay, New Zealand, in an attempt to attract British migrants. In it they extolled the "splendid richness" of Poverty Bay, and commended the region as:

One eminently desirable to intending settlers - and there yet remains much land to be possessed - land as rich and fertile, as well-watered and sunny, as any yet taken up, which will yield as much or more to the acre than any land in Lincoln or the South Downs, or England's fairest county of Devon.<sup>48</sup>

In their effort to attract settlers they were even prepared to stretch the truth somewhat:

The town has, of course, that first necessity of a community - a good water supply.<sup>49</sup>

Therefore reliable settlers, with a little capital, were greatly encouraged to take up land in the region. Undoubtedly this sort of publicity was instrumental in attracting some settlers, but not in any significant quantity.

From 1920 on the more remote areas of the Coast started to empty out, in favour of the counties nearer Gisborne and the urban centre itself. Matakaoa County had some dramatic trends in population movement. Between 1921 and 1945 European numbers dropped by 50.3 percent leaving them as only 16 percent of the population, while in contrast the Maori growth rate was 94 percent. The population was mainly

48. Gisborne Chamber of Commerce, p.17.

49. Ibid., p.21.

concentrated along the coast line, and Te Araroa, the sole township in the County had been the marine terminal for the district in the early twentieth century. By the late 1940s a Maori influx had begun into the township.

Waiapu County also had a Maori majority in the population, and they increased rapidly over the period 1921-51, whilst the European population declined by 11.2 percent. This decline was most accentuated in the hill country as upland productivity declined, holdings were amalgamated and there was greater mobility due to improved roading. Of the two townships, Tokomaru Bay diminished while Ruatoria expanded.

Uawa followed the same pattern as Waiapu, although with a slightly larger decrease in Europeans (18.9 percent) over the three decades. Tolaga Bay had a rise in population due to the fact that its importance as a service town had increased, with the intensification in lowland farming.

Waikohu was the most sparsely settled of the counties, and between 1921 and 1951 it suffered a 12 percent loss in population. Europeans fell in numbers by 33.8 percent, while the Maori population rose by 112 percent. Cook was the most densely settled rural County, and one with a predominantly European population. By 1951 Maoris made up just over 26 percent of the total population, but there was an ongoing migration from the other counties.

Comparison of Gisborne-East Coast District Population  
with total New Zealand

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Population Nos</u>		<u>Intercensal Increase Percent</u>	
	<u>Gisborne/E.C.</u>	<u>New Zealand</u>	<u>Gisborne/E.C.</u>	<u>New Zealand</u>
1921	29,561	1,271,664		
1926	31,578	1,408,139	6.82	10.73
1936	34,516	1,573,810	9.38	11.77
1945	34,220	1,747,679	-0.86	11.05

Source: Land Utilisation Survey Gisborne - East Coast, 1964, p.18.

In the period 1936-45 when New Zealand was recovering from the Depression years, it is significant that the New Zealand population increased by 11.05 percent while Gisborne and the East Coast had gone into a decline.

Gisborne had grown rapidly in the early years,<sup>50</sup> and by 1914 it had become one of the Dominion's seven secondary centres. But then it seemed to slip into stagnation, and from 1920 to the mid 1940s the population grew by only 14.6 percent. With a stagnating pastoral economy there was little basis for expansion. By 1951 the city had 42 percent of the total regional population, but this was more a reflection of rural depopulation than healthy urban growth. Isolation played a major part in this, as it revealed the economic stagnation of the rural area.<sup>51</sup> A city cannot thrive if the area it services is unhealthy. But as motor transport and links with the rest of New Zealand improved there was a great potential for growth. This tended to take some of the emphasis off the smaller centres, which then started to fade in importance. With the structural change in the national economy in the twentieth century, needs could be more conveniently met in the provincial city and metropolitan area. "The industrialisation of the economy, the increasing technological nature of society, the mechanisation of farming, have all entailed a swing in emphasis towards the larger urban community."<sup>52</sup>

As good roads were slow in coming to the East Coast, townships maintained their importance in the community for much longer than in many other regions. The future of the small coastal townships depends on the social and economic functions they can perform for the farming community, which they have played a major part in developing.

50. Ibid., p.17.

51. Patterson, "Eastern Periphery", p.59.

52. S.H. Franklin, "The Village and the Bush", Pacific View, 1960, p.183.

World War Two marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of the region. It brought about population movements on an increased scale. Large forces of men went overseas, and came back with new ideas for development. The internal population also moved around on manpower schemes, to fill the gaps left by those overseas. The 1950s saw the introduction of different ideas, especially in the agricultural sector. A sizable urban drift by the region's Maori population also began - now there was a growing labour force in the town, which was an incentive for industrial development. There was enormous potential for development in the next three decades. Diversification was to occur in agriculture, with more arable and intensive horticultural production. Forestry and fishing were also to be recognised as exploitable resources.

Now there was a drive to solve the problems of the region, which for far too long had been neglected. There was the continued erosion of hill country and subsequent flooding of the flats, emphasising the need for forestry in the region. Arable farming became predominant on the flats, and the lack of industrial development and employment opportunities had to be faced. The combined forces of population movements out of the region and internal rural drift illustrated the need to encourage people to stay on the East Coast. Transport and communications would also have to be improved in order to be able to compete for markets with outside regions, and so that residents of the Coast would not have to overcome such a major hurdle everytime they wished to travel. Quality of living in the region needed to be maintained as a reasonably high level.

These were large-scale problems, and a great deal of local enterprise would be needed to effect solutions. Any future developments would have to have far-reaching results in the region if the population were to be convinced to stay. This Cinderella region would have to find some way to get to the Ball, using local initiative. The Fairy-Godmother Government would assist, but the main impetus had to come from within.

THE EAST COAST DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH ASSOCIATION INC.

Deterioration of farm land in the region had brought about a decline in production levels. This coupled with national disasters like the Depression of the 1930s, followed so closely by World War Two, meant that people were distracted from seeing what was so patently under their noses. Some major developments had been made, and applauded, such as the 1942 rail link with Napier. Also the 1938 Maori Housing Amendment Act had initiated the building of new houses for Maoris in rural areas, and opened up opportunities for Maori labour in training and work.<sup>1</sup> But significant developments of any magnitude were the exception rather than the rule.

The cessation of War, and return home of the Forces, brought about a period of consolidation in this region, as indeed it did nationally. Rehabilitation farm development, housing, road construction and trade training schemes all proceeded apace. The Poverty Bay Catchment Board was established, and the ruinous 1948 flood highlighted the huge scale of erosion involved, and emphasised the urgency to have an efficient stopbanking scheme along the Waipaoa River in order to save the Poverty Bay flats from repeated flooding. Another preventative measure vitally needed was the institution of effective erosion control in the hill country, as the material being carried down by the rivers was causing aggradation on the river beds.

Once completed, the stopbank scheme meant that agricultural production could be intensified. This served to attract J. Wattie Canneries Limited to establish a canning factory in Gisborne in 1952, bringing with it an increased demand for labour, and providing more business for servicing industries. All of this renewed activity in the region led to a situation of virtual full employment, and spread a sense of well being among the people of Poverty Bay.

1. R.B. Hudson, "Foundation for a Region. A Case Study of Community Concern and Action in the Gisborne East Coast District", Diploma of Town Planning, Auckland University, 1970, p.28.

The deterioration of the hill country farmlands and the adverse effect this had on all levels of the region's infrastructure, was temporarily pushed into the background. But as the 1950s wore on, the downward trend, as emphasised by an increasing population drift out of the region became more and more glaringly obvious.

Local concern began to be shown at this state of affairs. The driving initiative was to come from members of the Gisborne Rotary Club, which was in the habit of holding fireside discussion groups in the winter on topics of interest. In 1950 A.R. Smith, then the President of the club, decided that instead of topics such as "The Korean War", a subject closer to home should be discussed. So a forum was initiated on the problems of the Gisborne-East Coast region, which found that in many respects the region was not making the same progress as other parts of New Zealand. The Secretary of Industries and Commerce Dr W.B. Sutch was invited to address interested members, and largely as a result of his recommendations it was decided to initiate the formation of an Association, which in turn was to establish a number of study groups with convenors. Thus on 28 September 1959 the inaugural meeting of the East Coast Development Research Association Incorporated (ECDRA) was held, attended by sixty-eight people. The principal objective of the Association was set out in the rules as being:

To promote the development in all its aspects, and in co-operation with other organisations, undertakings and individuals working for that purpose, of that portion of the North Island of New Zealand sometimes known as the "East Coast" comprising the Counties of Cook, Waikohu, Uawa, Waiapu and Matakaoa, the City of Gisborne, and all boroughs and town districts within or encompassed by such counties.

Promotion of co-operation and harmony within the region was high on the objectives list of the Association, as was researching into matters relative to the development of the region. It was expected that such of its information and findings as was deemed desirable would be published. The Association was to act as a collecting and recording centre for information of the region's



trade, resources, facilities and plans. It was also prepared to act for or assist members or district organisations in the promotion and advancement of any scheme approved by the membership; which would aid the development and prosperity of the region. One way of doing this was seen as facilitating the exchange of information and ideas by the promotion of meetings and discussions, and any other means which could be thought appropriate.

Members of the Association could be categorised into two classes - active and supporting. In selecting active members the Board of Directors (which had been elected) was expected to give due regard to two factors. These were firstly an ability to devote their special skill or knowledge towards furtherance of the objects of the Association; and secondly a desirability of obtaining a broad and equal representation within the Association of all major sections and interests within the region. Supporting membership was open to statutory bodies, societies, associations, clubs, companies, firms or individuals interested in the welfare and development of the district. (Appendices A and B illustrate the broad spectrum covered by both active and supporting members.)

Membership maintained a consistent level of between 80 and 90 active members throughout the lifetime of the Association, showing that enthusiasm for the ideals it expressed were maintained, with numbers only dropping slightly in its final years. (Appendix C) The desire to have representation from all major sections and interests in the community can be seen by a survey of the 1964 Directors of the Association, and their respective occupations.

A.R. Smith	Wool Merchant
K.W. Cooper	Dairy Farmer
A.J. McNair	Department of Agriculture
H.C. Williams	City Engineer
R.K. Gardiner	Cook County Clerk
G.J. Gregory	Retailer
G.J. Murray	Trade Union Secretary

E.W. Armstrong	Architect
T.M. Thorp	Solicitor
J.G. McKee	Soil Conservator, Poverty Bay Catchment Board
M.G. Dobson	Accountant
G.G. Muir	Managing Director, <u>Gisborne Herald</u>
J.R. Nicholls	Ormonds Motors

Virtually all spheres of activity on the East Coast had some representation, although there was generally a greater representation of the urban population and its concerns. This was a natural phenomenon, however, considering the very predominantly urban-based nature of the Association. Sheer physical distance could stop those resident in the more remotely rural areas from taking an active part. Although only one actual farmer is evident on the panel of Directors in 1964, it is obvious that among the many other active members, people from the primary production sphere would undoubtedly have a powerful voice, as it was their production that supported the urban community. The phenomenon of sociological isolation is relevant when considering this point. The way in which people viewed their own personal isolation in the region was very important. In the 1950s and 1960s most residents of the Coast did not travel to Gisborne very much, and if they did it was considered a major expedition. Gisborne was as big and remote to them as Wellington is to most present day Gisbornites. People were much more district orientated, with the townships such as Tolaga, Tokomaru and Ruatoria being focal points. Each township had its Post Office and bank, and local sports and service clubs had strong and enthusiastic memberships. There was a sense of "community" which was to a large extent broken down as the 1970s wore on and people, by choice or necessity, became more transitory.

There was almost a sense of prejudice against "townies", and what happened at Gisborne, especially in an association very much based around the Rotary Club, just did not concern most Coast people, until the advent of the "Blue Line" which will be discussed later. On the other hand people from the Waikohu County, where access



to Gisborne was much easier, often played a greater part in the Association.

A fairly substantial number of leading businessmen, merchants, and civil servants were involved in the Association, and they assuredly had a vested interest in the cause of the development and welfare of the region. Safeguarding the region was essential for the safeguarding of Gisborne. People in the business-service sphere were far more likely to notice a gradual decline taking place, than would most ordinary members of the public.

From the lists of members, and people involved in compiling reports, there are two very noticeable deficiencies. These perhaps reflect the decades involved and the generally conservative nature of the region; there are only three women listed, and very few Maori members, although among these Henry Ngata is prominent. The list of supporting members covers a very wide spectrum; from Government Departments and Ministers to local bodies, and from commercial and industrial interests through to individuals and the Te Araroa and District Progressive Association Incorporated, which was obviously getting a few tips on how to promote its own district.

The day to day functioning of the ECDRA was very straightforward. It did not have an office base or any paid staff. The people involved used their own time, and that of the organisations they were involved with, in order to get the work done. To research the reports surveys were carried out by members contacting relevant organisations such as Freezing Works, Farm Products, and the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. The information was then written up by sub-committees, who in turn submitted it to the Directors for approval. The ECDRA was financed solely by subscriptions from individuals and organisations, which were handled by the Treasurer.

The executive met on an average once every two months, and the rest of the membership once a year at the Annual General Meeting. Over the course of the life of the ECDRA some personality clashes and

internal conflicts were inevitable considering the contentious local issues involved. Eventually though a consensus was reached in all matters, and the reports were put out.

After the inaugural meeting the twelve Directors defined which aspects of East Coast development would be considered first, and then set up sub-committees to investigate specific areas. Over the years of the Association's existence it was to produce reports on virtually every aspect of the development in the region. At first in 1960 the emphasis was more on agriculture and pastoralism, with investigations into land tenure, capital resources, veterinary services, cattle statistics and production, wool sales and harbour development, transport and communications. From there reports became more diversified into the spheres of employment, educational facilities, industrial development, irrigation, the availability of finance, population trends, transport facilities and costs, soil erosion and forestry, and the potential trade between Gisborne and Wairoa. These reports were all very thorough, and were to prove extremely valuable in documenting the progress (or lack of it) in the region. In some cases they were even to influence Government decision making.

The effectiveness of the reports circulated can be judged from the following examples. The Industrial Potential Report was frequently revised and vividly illustrated the increased production from cropping land on the Poverty Bay flats. This led to an Industrial Promotion Advisory Council being formed under the auspices of Greater Gisborne Incorporated.<sup>2</sup> In July 1964 three members of the Association attended a meeting with other organisations, namely Gisborne City Council, Cook County Council, Gisborne Harbour Board, Gisborne Chamber of Commerce, Gisborne Trades Council, Jaycees and Greater Gisborne Incorporated, with the purpose of investigating

2. Ibid., p.36. Greater Gisborne was incorporated as a society in 1960 for the purpose of establishing a P.R.O. in Gisborne to benefit the region.

industrial development. Out of this it was decided an Industrial Promotion Council would be constituted under the ECDRA, and eventually an Industrial Prospectus was published, using much of the information provided by the Association.<sup>3</sup>

In 1962 a report entitled "Aspects of Live Stock Production on Hill Country" emphasised the loss of mineral elements over the years through farming, and this gave rise to investigations into establishing fertiliser works on the Poverty Bay flats. In September 1963 the East Coast Farmers' Fertiliser Co. Ltd of Napier was approached by the Association on the prospects of the Company opening a branch in Gisborne. This in turn led to the purchase of land at Matawhero in 1966, and ultimately the construction of a full scale fertiliser works.

The problem of Maori land in the region was dealt with fully in the 1963 "Report of the Land Tenure Sub-Committee". It endorsed many of the recommendations of the Hunn Report,<sup>4</sup> and made proposals for development schemes under Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953, reducing the fragmentation of ownership, improving the management of incorporations, and allowing for stricter control of future partitions in order to avoid the creation of uneconomic units.

While undertaking the compilation of its reports the Association had noticed gaps in official information which were beyond their resources to remedy, therefore they applied to the Government for special assistance. This led to the Land Utilisation Survey of the Gisborne-East Coast Region, the research for which was commenced in October 1960. The Association was anxious to make Central Government aware of the decline being experienced by the region, and the only way for them to get a personal appreciation of this, and a true understanding of local public opinion, was by personal inspection. They

3. Ibid., p.37.

4. J.K. Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1961.

were also anxious that the Government should understand that there were local organisations deeply concerned and willing to help in any way to remedy the situation.

Therefore in October 1963 the Association invited the Director-General of Agriculture Mr D.N.R. Webb, and the Head of the Department's Farm Economics section Mr R.H. Scott to view the region by road and air. This they did,<sup>5</sup> and heard submissions put forward by the Association showing that livestock production was not increasing competitively with other regions. Therefore they felt emphasis should be laid on a general co-ordination of effort, erosion and land reversion, education in modern pasture and management techniques, farming economics and investment return, capital for development, lack of major development schemes, and Maori Land Incorporation Farming Accounts. Both Mr Webb and Mr Scott praised the work done by the Association, and Mr Scott stated that his Department must in future give more emphasis to the East Coast.<sup>6</sup>

The Association felt that the Departments of Agriculture, Lands and Maoris Affairs should co-operate, both with each other and with organisations such as the Catchment Board and the Veterinary Club. This should be done with a view to co-ordinating both policy submissions to Government, and the use of technical staff and facilities in the region. Thus the maximum benefit could be reaped from these valuable resources. The Association also advocated the establishment of demonstration units including privately-owned, Crown and Maori land as part of an educational scheme for the farmers of the region. The services of the Association were offered to assist in getting the co-operation of private owners if activities along these lines were extended. Emphasis was also placed on the point that capital for agricultural development from Government sources was perhaps not flowing as freely into this region as into other parts of New Zealand,

5. Gisborne Herald, 16 October 1963.

6. Gisborne Herald, 22 October 1963, p.10.

and this would have to be remedied. After hearing these submissions the Association was congratulated by its guests on the thoroughness of its reports.

A similar invitation was sent to the Director-General of Lands, Mr R.J. MacLachlan, and on 12 March 1964 he attended a meeting of the Directors of the Association. The submissions made to him were principally those relating to the need for more Government land purchases for settlement in this area. Mr MacLachlan replied stressing the limiting factors on the operations of his Department. Before any purchase is made the Department has to be reasonably sure the Government would not show a loss on the scheme, and that the interest on the capital used would be covered.

From this the Association realised that the present powers of the Departments were not sufficient to solve the region's problems. Therefore a policy change was needed at Government level. In order to inform Central Government of the Association's findings, it was decided to invite the Prime Minister, Rt Hon. K.J. Holyoake, to visit the region. This he did in February 1965, which was a major feather in the Association's cap. He was accompanied by the Minister of Lands, Hon. R.G. Gerard; Minister of Maori Affairs, Hon. J.R. Hannan; and the Minister of Agriculture, Hon. B.E. Talboys, and once again the region was inspected by road and air. The Association also presented submissions based on all the research they had undertaken since 1959.

The Association asked the Government to formulate an overall policy for the guidance of Government Departments, Local Authorities, Associations, business houses and private citizens, being designed to assist the region to recover its proper place in national production results. They considered it to be imperative that the Government provide leadership and act to co-ordinate the efforts of all those interested in solving the region's problems. The submissions covered the subjects of land development and tenure, finance, production incentives, farm labour, erosion and afforestation, fertiliser transport subsidy, farm advisory services and roads.

The Association's recommendations covered only the fields of farming and Maori Affairs. This was not because spheres such as secondary industry or tourism were unimportant, but because a sound pastoral economy was basic to the prosperity of the whole region. They therefore concentrated on investigating the matters considered to be most vital.<sup>7</sup> In a subsequent letter to Mr A.R. Smith (President of the ECDRA), as a result of the visit, the Prime Minister stated that the Government would be making an additional £230,000 available to the Departments of Lands and Survey and Maori Affairs. Of this amount £100,000 would be to enable Lands and Survey to buy more land and commence development in the Gisborne Land District. £50,000 was for the Department of Maori Affairs to increase its operations in improving land at the request of the Maori owners. The other £80,000 was for lending to Maori Incorporations for farm development, and coupled with the legislation requested by representatives of the Maori people, this would service to strengthen the operation of Incorporations. In summing up the Prime Minister said:

If the enthusiasm and drive of your association is any indication, the people of Gisborne and East Coast districts will take full advantage of their opportunities and realise the potential in productivity that undoubtedly exists in the region.<sup>8</sup>

In their report at the Sixth Annual General Meeting of the Association in September 1965 the Directors said:

The visit and tour of inspection highlighted the need for Government action on district farming problems and has given stimulus to concerted action by the Government departments involved. The additional grant by Government of £230,000 for land development will help to boost production and it is hoped that this will be the forerunner of more financial assistance to come.

7. See Appendix D for an index of reports and recommendations given to the Prime Minister.
8. Gisborne Herald, 10 July 1965, p.10.



In a letter to the Prime Minister dated 12 August 1965 the Association expressed its appreciation of the positive action being taken, and proposed to be taken, by the Government to accelerate the rebuilding and development of the pastoral industry in the region. It also accepted the Government's thesis that "the most important ingredient in a district development programme must be self-help, and that the Government's function is properly confined to removing barriers to self-help and to providing the limited assistance which may, from time to time, be necessary to promote steady progress". The Association had pointed out that the previous two years had shown the first substantial signs of progress in the pastoral industry of the region, after nearly forty years of stagnation, in which secondary growth in some areas was offset by the deterioration of the balance of the region. It was hoped that the effect of nationwide tax incentives to farm development, plus special provisions being made for the region would maintain the slight improvement that was appearing. But for all that, "the investment of capital, labour and special knowledge involved in a substantial recovery of the deteriorated lands in this district is of such an order that this will not be achieved without very strenuous efforts".

Therefore they asked that consideration be given to maintaining in Wellington an interdepartmental committee to review, from time to time, the comparative rates of progress and reversion, since the latter was unavoidable until present conditions were altered. The committee was to fulfil the function of being a central point for the collection of any further information which the Association and other interested local bodies could provide. It was to direct the attention of the Association to areas where self-help was lagging and where further local investigation would be appropriate. It was hoped that by doing this any unnecessary intrusion on the time of the Ministers would be avoided, and they would be provided with independent reports on overall progress, and on any major problems arising.

The Land Utilisation Survey of the Gisborne-East Coast Region was undertaken by the Department of Lands and Survey at the specific request of the ECDRA, who were described in the Foreword by the Minister of Lands Hon. R.G. Gerard as "a local organisation concerned that the region's economic development is not making the progress it should". The lack of specific information with regard to land tenure and pasture areas for the preparation of their own reports, had prompted the Association's request for the survey, which was published in 1964. It not only covered the aspects mentioned but also described settlement, development, population, climate, and the existing form and utilisation of the land. The objective of the survey was to "classify the land, to map it, to measure it, and to examine its problems".<sup>9</sup>

In conclusion, the survey stated that the five counties had an immediate and realistic potential increase in stock capacity ranging from 16 to 43 percent, and amounting to 22 percent over the region. The ways to realise this potential were stated as being by intensive rather than extensive farming, by topdressing, oversowing and the use of subdivisional fencing. By these means farming in the region should be brought up to generally accepted North Island standards.

It was seen to be a necessity to solve the basic problems of raising the general standard of farming, maintaining a comprehensive programme of soil conservation, settling the many problems relating to Maori land, and achieving a reasonably balanced and increasing population. Each of the first three were seen as being inter-dependent, with the last depending largely on the solution of the others.<sup>10</sup> Thus the survey finally concluded:

9. Department of Lands and Survey, The Land Utilisation Survey of the Gisborne-East Coast Region, 1964, p.1.

10. Ibid., p.87.



The economy of the Gisborne-East Coast region has not been keeping pace with the progress maintained in other districts of the North Island, although the region has greater than average potential. If local effort can be stimulated by advisory services and security of tenure so that the land is farmed more intensively, there is no reason why there should not be an upsurge in the productivity of the region's basic industry - pastoral farming.<sup>11</sup>

The Association were very pleased with the results of the survey, especially when it was revealed that the survey's findings on the topic of Maori land problems were broadly that of their own conclusions, as expressed in Report number 14 part II which had dealt extensively with that subject.

The prize for the most major and influential report the Association had helped to bring about through its endeavours to inform Government, would undoubtedly go to the "Report of the Technical Committee of Inquiry into Problems of the Poverty Bay - East Cape District". This was released in July 1967 and published as Wise Land Use and Community Development in July 1970, and commonly referred to as the Taylor Report.

In July 1963 this Technical Committee was set up by a resolution of the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council. Its members were all highly qualified:

D.A. Campbell, formerly Chief Soil Conservator,  
Ministry of Works.

A.P. Campbell, Senior Engineer Hydrologist, Ministry  
of Works.

R.J. Hogg, Senior Investigating Officer, Treasury

11. Ibid.

R.H. Scott, Director, Farm Advisory Division,  
Department of Agriculture.

A.P. Thomson, Assistant Director-General of  
Forests.

A.D. Todd, formerly Chief Engineer, Poverty Bay  
Catchment Board.

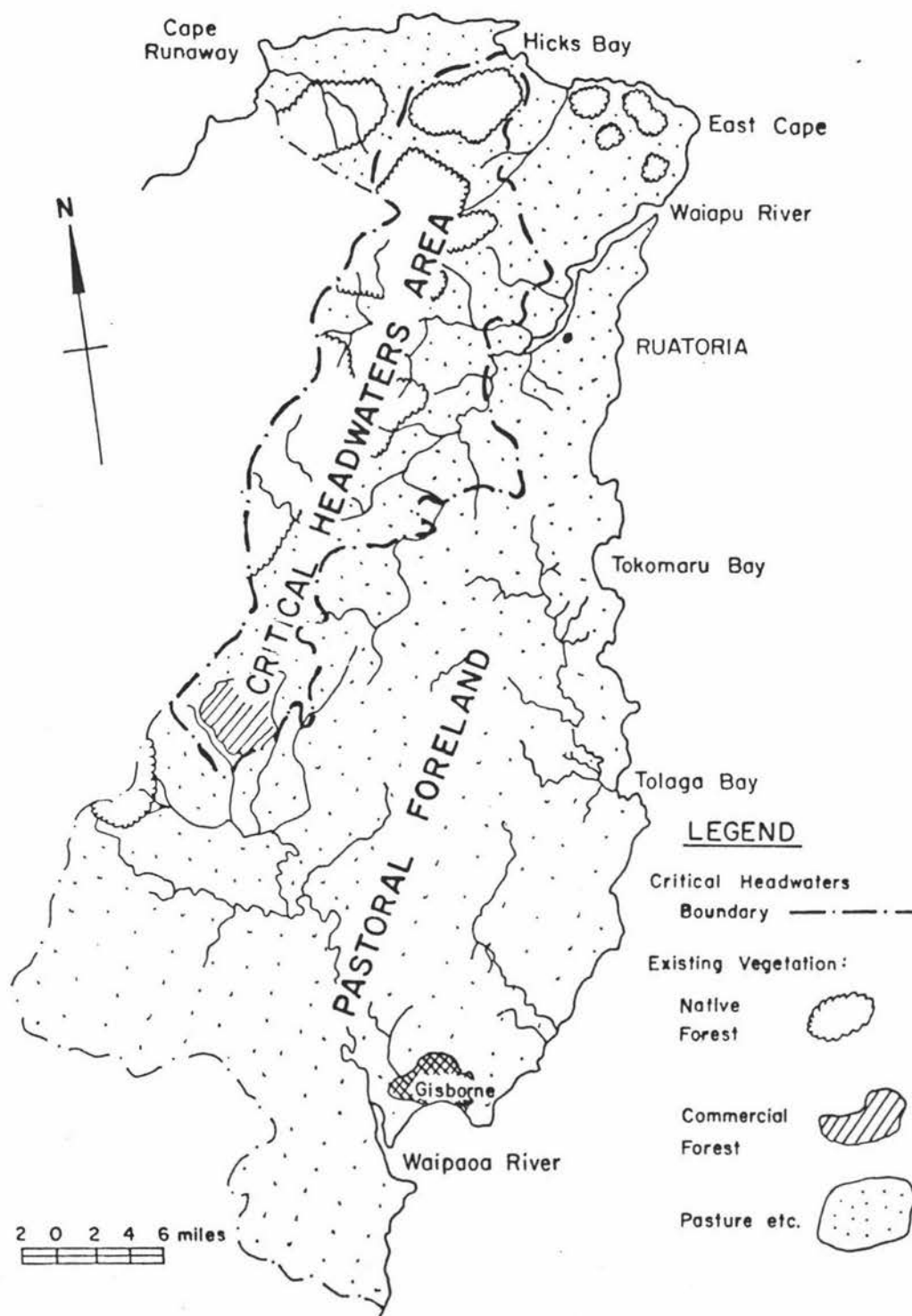
G.A. Vignaux, Applied Mathematics Division, D.S.I.R.

N.H. Taylor, formerly Director, Soil Bureau, D.S.I.R.,  
Chairman.

The Committee's *raison d'être* was to inquire into the conservation problems of the region, to evaluate what measures were necessary to deal with them, and make recommendations on a comprehensive control programme. Various Appendices also were to cover the economic, productive and social problems of the region. The area covered was basically that adopted by the ECDRA and the Land Utilisation Survey, but it was slightly reduced on the western and southern boundaries as it was limited to the catchment of the east-flowing rivers, i.e. the Waipaoa, Waiapu and the Awatere.<sup>12</sup> After examining the costs of conservation farming and forestry, and looking in detail at the land capability of the region, the Committee found that there were two major zones. A Blue Line was drawn on a map of the East Coast by the Taylor Committee, and was to become a real bone of contention on the Coast. (See figure 8.) The zone behind the Blue Line was arbitrarily designated as being the "critical headwaters" area which contained the worst erosion and the highest potential for further erosion; and that to the north, south and east of it, which was labelled as pastoral foreland. The former covered an area of approximately 346,000 acres of high rainfall argillite country, and of this approximately 110,000 acres were in native forest and sub-alpine scrub, the remainder being pasture, reverted farmland or scrub. The latter covered approximately 1,212,000 acres.<sup>13</sup>

12. N.H. Taylor et al. Wise Land Use and Community Development, 1970, p.2.

13. *Ibid.*, p.14.



## TECHNICAL COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY POVERTY BAY—EAST CAPE DISTRICT

THE CRITICAL HEADWATERS AREA & THE  
PASTORAL FORELAND, WITH EXISTING  
VEGETATION

FIGURE 8

Afforestation clearly stood out as the only economic way to control the most severe forms of erosion, and emphasis was laid on the fact that over twenty years had passed since this recommendation had been made for the region; in fact that is what underlay the planting of the Mangatu Forest.<sup>14</sup> In addition to that, a survey conducted by the Catchment Board indicated that in addition to the Mangatu afforestation there were approximately 82,000 acres of severely eroding land on which afforestation was urgently needed. These consisted of a large area north of the Tapuaeroa River and twenty-one small isolated areas, only four of which lay within the pastoral foreland. The New Zealand Forest Service reported that by themselves these areas would be unsuitable for productive forestry, but they could support useful productive forests if "part of a major complex of afforestation large enough for an export market".<sup>15</sup> But as this would, of necessity, involve farmland not immediately threatened by severe erosion, careful considerations of returns from farming and forestry developments, and the likely value of any secondary benefits derived from them, would have to be entered into before including this aspect in a development plan for the region.

Eventually five projects, designated A to E were formulated and financial assessments and physical forecasts made for a fifty year period (being the life of a forest).<sup>16</sup> They were:

- Project A : Status Quo
- Project B : Conservation Farming.
- Project C : Conservation Farming with production  
forestry on two selected areas west  
of the critical headwaters boundary.
- Project D : Conservation Farming with production  
forestry on the two selected areas and  
on subsidiary areas.

14. Ibid., p.7.

15. Ibid., p.19.

16. Hudson, p.61.

Project E : Conservation Farming with complete  
afforestation west of the critical  
headwaters boundary.<sup>17</sup>

It was obvious to the Committee that Project A would be carried out by virtue of simple neglect,<sup>18</sup> unless one of the other Projects were implemented. Therefore Project E was decided to be the best alternative, as it would be of the greatest economic benefit to the region. The development of large-scale commercial forestry would stimulate every social and economic sphere. As a result of this Project it was envisioned that forest industries would be systematically developed, as would further port facilities at Hicks Bay and Gisborne. It was also envisaged that there would be a sawmill at Te Karaka in the twenty-second year. Sawmills and wood treatment plants were to be established at Ruatoria and Hicks Bay after the twenty-second year. A paper mill was to be built at Napier in the thirty-fifth year, unless significant reductions were made in the sediment quantities of the rivers, thus making a site nearer to the forest available. If plans went according to schedule it was hoped to have a plywood factory in Gisborne in the forty-fourth year, and a plywood and veneer factory at Ruatoria in the forty-eighth year.<sup>19</sup> Appendices to the Report also discussed indirect benefits to the region such as improved environmental conditions, tourism and fisheries.

Conclusions reached revealed that severe erosion, which was particularly notable in the back-country hill areas, had had an adverse effect on the whole region, sociologically, productively and economically. Urgent attention was needed as rural areas were exhibiting an abnormal and long-continued rate of decline in population, and land values in the back-country were very depressed.

17. Taylor, p.3.

18. Ibid., p.17.

19. Ibid., p.21.

Erosion was thus a major contributing factor to the stagnation and regression evident in some areas. The costs of dealing with the erosion problems were of such a magnitude that the farming community alone could not economically cope with them. A long-term and large-scale plan of construction and planting was needed, requiring a large measure of both patience and optimism. Diversified development was considered to be essential, and in the early activities of such a development mainly local resources would be involved. There would be no unusually heavy demands on overseas funds until secondary industries were established in the fourth decade of implementation of development.<sup>20</sup> Thus in order to control accelerated erosion and to ensure maximum enduring productivity for the region, the Committee made many recommendations. It wanted the pastoral foreland area to be recognised as land suitable for agriculture, and the critical headwaters area as needing the protection of forest cover. It was recognised that the boundary between these two areas needed a more exact definition, taking into account those factors other than physical. Also the Catchment Board's policy of farmer co-operation should be continued on the pastoral foreland, and soil conservation programmes accelerated. The essential nature of erosion control should be accepted by both the Government and the local community, and finance allocated accordingly. By implementing conservation farm plans the Catchment Board and Farm Advisory Service should co-operate to improve farming conditions in the region. Four demonstration farms on suitable areas within the pastoral foreland should be acquired and operated by the State. It should be ensured, by the Water and Soil Division of the Ministry of Works, that research and experimentation as indicated in the report is carried out immediately.

On the forestry side it was recommended that the New Zealand Forest Service should progressively acquire and plant parts of the critical headwaters area with dual purpose forests, which are designed to afford effective erosion control combined with maximum efficiency. As a first step towards this objective the Forest Service

20. Ibid., p.1.

Figure 9:

The massive erosion in the Mangatu area had to be seen to be believed.

Gully No. 24, Te Weraroa viewed from Tarndale Road, 1955.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)





should immediately prepare to establish a forest in the northern portion of the critical headwaters area, with a planting rate of 5,000 acres per year as soon as possible. Special provision should be made by Government to finance this dual purpose afforestation. Finally they recommended that a local co-ordinating committee representative of all interested or participating agencies should be convened to facilitate the implementation of the recommendations.<sup>21</sup>

Praise was allocated to the work of the Poverty Bay Catchment Board since its formation in 1945,<sup>22</sup> and also to the value of previous studies which helped in the preparation of the Report. This was especially true of the Land Utilisation Survey, which had provided a good deal of background information. The ECDRA was singled out for individual acknowledgement:

Special note must be made of the co-operation received from the East Coast Development Research Association Incorporated, a band of voluntary workers who are painstakingly reviewing and reporting upon problems that affect the region. The Association, which has confined itself to objective fact finding, has freely made its reports available to the committee.<sup>23</sup>

The Prime Minister released the Report on 21 June 1968, and stated that the Government had approved in principle the Committee's recommendations to implement Project E. The Gisborne Herald published full reports on the plan, but unfortunately this seemed to be as far as the information was circulated. This inevitably led to speculation and anxiety as to the possibility of Government using compulsory powers to acquire land, and as to what valuation methods would be used. Over a month was to elapse before the Minister of Lands and the Director-General of Forests were to visit Gisborne and Ruatoria to address interested groups - especially farmers (chiefly

21. Ibid., p.29.

22. Ibid., pp.11-14.

23. Ibid., p.3.

Maoris) from within the critical headwaters area.<sup>24</sup> Assurances were given that purchases would be by negotiation, and dealings were postponed until the Ruatoria Branch of the Federated Farmers had put forward submissions on the matter. In retrospect it is very obvious that better public relations at the time would have made the introduction of the scheme a lot smoother. Ill-informed people often tend to suspect the worst.<sup>25</sup>

In October 1968, in line with the "General Recommendations", a local Co-ordinating Committee was formed with Mr J. Hair as Chairman. Its members comprised the District Officer Department of Maori and Island Affairs, the Commissioner of Lands, plus a representative from the ECDRA, Tairāwhiti District Maori Council (2 members), Poverty Bay Catchment Board, Ruatoria Branch of the Federated Farmers, and the Gisborne Provincial Executive of the Federated Farmers. The associate members comprised people nominated by the Departments of Agriculture and Works, Forest Service, Gisborne Trades Council, and the County Councils of Cook, Waikohu and Waiapu. The functions of the Committee were to consider submissions from those affected by the afforestation project, and make recommendations to the Control Council on those matters. Also, importantly, it was to foster public relations in order to promote the implementation of the plan. The more problems that could be solved at regional level, where they existed, the better for everybody.

To put the Association into context as a regional organisation it is necessary to do a brief survey of other New Zealand regions with parallel problems to the East Coast, in order to ascertain if they too had similar organisations.<sup>26</sup> In the South Island; Nelson had a

24. Hudson, p.68.

25. This aspect is covered in greater detail in the following chapter.

26. Information from correspondence entered into with the Public Libraries of Nelson, Greymouth, Westport, Invercargill, Timaru, New Plymouth, Napier, Thames, Kaitia and Whangarei.

"Provincial Progress League", which was established in 1923 and in 1953 its rules were amended. Its objective was to promote the advancement of the District and secure the co-operation of Town and Country in matters of communication, agriculture, industry, town planning, tourism and all spheres that would benefit the district. Timaru had no similar organisation. Westport had "West Coast Futures", "West Coast Representative Committee", and "West Coast Promotion". Greymouth had the "Westland District Progress League", which was active for 25 years from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. It was set up by local business interests and funded from subscriptions paid by business houses and private individuals. The League maintained a working committee of about twelve members, who were active in promoting tourism and various projects such as a trial tea growing venture (which unfortunately proved to be uneconomic). The League became defunct when the local Chamber of Commerce grew in strength and broadened its interests to cover the same field.<sup>27</sup> The nearest organisation that Invercargill had to the Association was the "Southland Progress League".

In the North Island; Kaitaia had no similar association, the closest being the "Far North Promotion Society", founded in 1968 for tourist promotion. New Plymouth lacked any kind of similar organisation, which is very interesting since Taranaki had experienced a similar rural population decline to the East Coast region. An example of this is Whangamomona County, whose population and financial resources declined to a point where in 1955 it was forced to merge with Stratford County. But there were expressions of concern, for example the New Plymouth and Hawera Chambers of Commerce prepared a Taranaki Regional Survey, showing the decline, in 1972. The conclusions they reached were similar to those of reports put out by the ECDRA.<sup>28</sup> Napier had the "Napier Development Association Incorporated", which had similar objectives to

27. Letter from the Greymouth Public Library 10 October 1981.

28. Letter from the New Plymouth Public Library 26 June 1981.

the ECDRA, but which was confined solely to the City of Napier and which employed people to carry out its functions. It was primarily established to encourage industry to establish in the area and eventually became a public relations office.

Thus the ECDRA appears to be unique in New Zealand, at least in so far as its regional concern, its high level approach, and its purely voluntary nature are concerned. The nearest similar organisation appearing to be the "Westland District Progress League" and the Nelson "Provincial Progress League". The ECDRA did fulfil many of the functions of a regional pressure group. It attempted to influence legislation and frame policy by acting as a link between Government and the people and organisations of the East Coast. It definitely disseminated information on the size of the problems emphasised by their reports, both down to the public, and upwards to Government Departments and Parliament. It worked through the Government, being a channel through which public opinion could be heard. The Association was extremely fortunate in having the support of the Gisborne Herald in the region, for as Cleveland states:

Without news media support some pressure groups may languish and perish while others may experience such fatal difficulties in recruiting sufficient public support for the policies they advocate that they can scarcely achieve significance as anything but historical curiosities.<sup>29</sup>

As the Managing Director of the paper was also the Vice-President of the ECDRA, the newspaper gave the Association and all its related news excellent coverage, and did its best to raise points of concern to the notice of the public.

In short, the ECDRA was a success in so far as its original objectives were concerned. The reasons for this can be found in the following factors. The qualifications of its members were excellent, especially among the Directors. As with any voluntary organisation the brunt of the work load for the Association fell on the Directors,

29. Les Cleveland, The Anatomy of Influence: Pressure Groups and Politics in New Zealand, 1972, p.113.

most of whom were long-serving members, some for the whole term of life of the Association. It is a credit to these men that using only their "spare time" they managed to produce reports of such a high calibre.

Political factors must also enter into the success of the Association. As Gisborne had been a marginal seat for some years, it was often very keenly competed for. In 1960 it was won for National by Mrs Esme Tombleson, who proved to be a very energetic representative for the region, and who retained her seat until 1972. Luckily for the region, a marginal seat held by a Government member created a favourable political climate in which to advocate regional advancement in Wellington. But as far as the actual Association was concerned, political affiliations did not enter into the internal structure. Support from both the Gisborne Herald and those organisations registered as supporting members was of considerable importance to the Association; both financial in meeting the Association's expenses, and in supplying information for reports. In many cases officials for Government Departments were active members of the Association, to the latter's undoubted advantage.

Individual support was also clearly not lacking. An example of this occurred when, to commemorate the bi-centenary of Captain Cook's landing at Gisborne in October 1769, the Association sponsored the writing and publication of an authoritative history of the East Coast. Thus Challenge and Response written by Professor W.H. Oliver and Miss J. Thomson was published in 1973. It is a lasting monument to the ECDRA, as well as having an important place in national, as well as regional history. A number of residents loaned the Association \$5,700 to finance the publication of the book, the Gisborne Herald offered to publish it at cost, and the Gisborne booksellers undertook to sell it without profit to themselves.<sup>30</sup> This was true community spirit. It is an important factor that at all stages

30. Annual Report of the ECDRA, 1967, p.2.

information from all levels was freely given to the Association while it was undertaking research. Therefore its achievements were a real regional contribution to overall national development.

For its size the ECDRA made a big impact. It stirred up recognition in the region of the problems facing the community, and made it possible for Government officials to have a personal awareness of the scale and complexity of those problems. The ECDRA was to a large degree responsible for two in-depth studies being carried out, and co-operated at a high level with all associated organisations and Government Departments involved in studying the region. It was one of only three local associations that made submissions to the National Development Council when they undertook a report on Regional Development in New Zealand.<sup>31</sup> For a little association they made a big noise and managed to interest the influential people.

The ECDRA was officially dissolved on 19 July 1978, although it had been operating at a reduced level for some years prior to this. The principal reason for this was that other associations and councils had been formed in the region, and they incorporated many of the Association's objectives. Primarily these were the East Coast Planning Council and the East Coast Regional Development Council, who jointly issued the East Coast Regional Resources Assessment in 1979, and within whose ranks many of the Association's members were now working. These Councils differed significantly from the ECDRA in that the East Coast Planning Council was set up by the Minister of Works, with a skeleton staff to run it supplied by the Ministry of Works. It was financed by local bodies and the Ministry of Works, with a liason officer to work with other organisations. Members were paid to attend meetings and also received travelling expenses. In the same vein the East Coast Regional Development Council was set up by the Minister of Trade and Industry, and was financed by that

31. The other two being the Otago Council and the Palmerston North Industrial Promotion Committee.

Department. Thus the purely voluntary aspect of the ECDRA had completely disappeared in these subsequent councils.

The time for the Association was over, though it had filled a void when it was greatly needed in the region. But now, with the advance of time, official recognition of the problems was evident, and many major developments were taking place in both primary and secondary levels in the region.



EROSION AND FORESTRY

"In nature there are no rewards, no punishments, just consequences."

- William Pember Reeves

Erosion is severe in the East Coast region.<sup>1</sup> A combination of steep bare slopes; high rainfall; soft, unstable rocks; and the occasional earthquake make conditions perfect for mass erosion. By 1976 more than 400,000 hectares could be classified as eroding or potentially erosive,<sup>2</sup> and today in the 1980s the results of nearly a century of fire and overgrazing can be clearly seen.

As elsewhere, fire was a principal weapon used in the long, intermittent, unfinished struggle to establish pastures in place of fern (and later of manuka). Sheep were a subsidiary arm.<sup>3</sup>

The soil suffered a great deal in the hands of less enlightened station owners. By over-enthusiastic deforestation man accelerated the natural eroding tendencies and grass alone was not sufficient to hold the slopes together.<sup>4</sup> Forest cover had acted as a regulator of water, and the layer of decaying vegetable matter on the bush floor had a blotting paper effect which was very successful in controlling erosion.

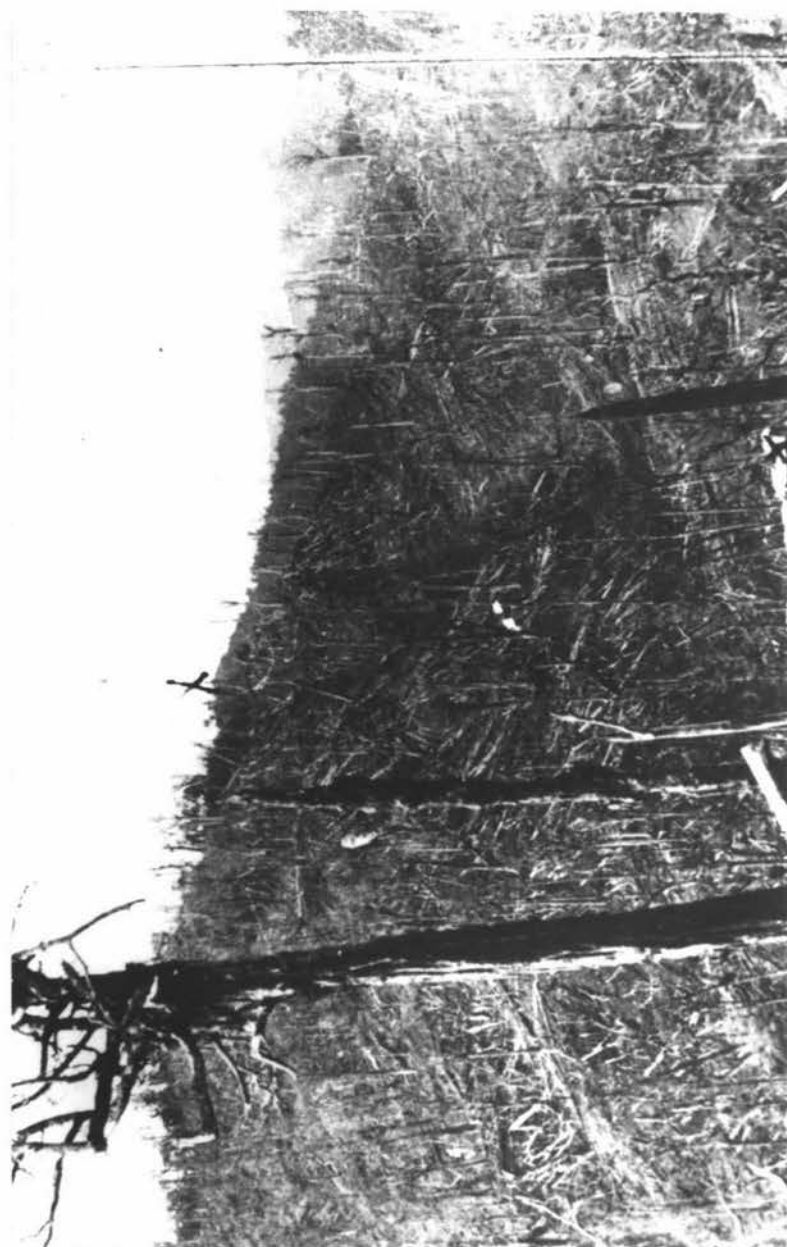
But with the bush cleared, erosion continued on its destructive path virtually unimpeded, until the period under scrutiny when a widespread demand arose for its acceleration to be checked. By 1944 Cumberland was writing that accelerated erosion seemed to have begun with the widespread heavy rain and floods of 1916-17, and that now:

1. D.A. Campbell, "Down to the Sea in Slips", Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council Bulletin, No. 5, 1947, p.1.
2. Bradford Patterson, "The East Coast: An Introduction to the Problems of a New Zealand Peripheral Region", Perspective, No. 12, April 1976, p.2.
3. Kenneth Cumberland, Soil Erosion in New Zealand, Christchurch, p.48.
4. For the effects of deforestation see Cumberland, p.56, and J. Henderson and M. Ongley, The Geology of the Gisborne and Whatatutu Subdivisions, 1920, pp. 27-29.

Figure 10:

The charred remains of the bush stand as mute testament to the destruction of widespread burnoffs. Darnbrooke Station, Motu, about 1915.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



....this entire countryside is crumbling and sliding away with rapidly increasing momentum. Disruption has now reached cataclysmic proportions. Entire valley sides are migrating slowly into their talwegs.<sup>5</sup>

Roads were also buckling and subsiding, and buildings, trees and bridges were showing signs of a deep-seated movement taking place. Slumping is most commonly due to the summer cracking of hillside soils and the subsequent penetration of rain water. From this seemingly innocent beginning areas, sometimes comprising hundreds of acres, can slowly slump. This type of movement was especially severe in the steeper valleys tributary to the East Coast, from the Waipaoa to the Awatere (beyond East Cape).<sup>6</sup> Often the mass movement assumed a most spectacular form - the gullied earthflow. Deterioration of land occurred with the acceleration of flowage and slumping:

The almost vertical walls of deep, badland gullies collapse as unit blocks into the gully bed; or they slowly migrate as viscous masses down slopes, temporarily filling the gullies and developing series of secondary, stepped slump scars in the pasture higher up the slope. One process hastens the other. Removal and destruction are being very widely accelerated and the total area of country affected is widening apace.<sup>7</sup>

In the early period of erosion, accelerated run off had led to the scouring of river channels and banks. By the 1940s this had evolved into severe aggradation of the river beds, and in later years stream beds were known to rise twelve metres in less than twenty years.<sup>8</sup> The Poverty Bay flats had always been subject to inundation from the Waipaoa River. Floods covering considerable areas of the flats occurred in 1853, 1876, 1879, 1894, 1906, 1910, 1914, 1916, 1932, 1944, 1948 and 1950.<sup>9</sup> The most devastating of these occurred in 1948, and this

5. Cumberland, p.53. Talweg means "Valley Track" - the profile along the stream bed; a stream channel from source to mouth.

6. Cumberland, p.52.

7. Cumberland, p.55.

8. Patterson, p.3.

9. W.A. Pullar, "Soils and Agriculture of the Gisborne Plains", Soil Bureau Bulletin, No. 20, 1962, p.13.

was a major factor in making local people aware that something must be done to stop the repetition of this disastrous natural phenomenon. The Waipaoa River has the singular distinction of having carried the largest suspended sediment load ever measured for a New Zealand river. The Poverty Bay Catchment Board reported that during 1960 it discharged approximately 15,674,000 cubic yards of material into Poverty Bay. Moreover it was estimated that during the May 1948 flood (140,000 cusecs), the Waipaoa River carried 16,337,000 cubic yards of sediment in one day, and deposited it out to sea.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of these floods, settlement continued on the flats because of the high intrinsic value of the land, but the £336,000 damage done by the 1948 flood, and the smaller one of 1950, led to the establishment of the Waipaoa River Flood Control Scheme under the control of the Catchment Board. This scheme consisted of three river diversions, involving a channel shortening of five miles, together with a continuous system of parallel stopbanks. There have been five principal changes in river catchment since European settlement according to Pullar.<sup>11</sup> The first change was the clearing of bush on the plain, which led to flood water flowing more freely over a wider area. Secondly, the clearing of forest in the catchment altered run-off conditions. Thus there were shorter intervals between major floods, and more frequent depositions of silt on the flats. The third change was the planting of willows in the channel. This raised the water levels at which a flood of a certain size would flow in the channel, therefore the number of floods was increased. Fourthly, due to gully erosion in the Mangatu and Upper Waipaoa River Catchments, bed levels had been raised nearly three feet by 1962 in the lower channels, and twenty feet in upper reaches. This also led to more floods. Fifthly, instead of ordinary bank erosion causing the

10. Dorothy Wiseman, "Plan to Beat East Coast's No. 1 Enemy", Weekly News, 28 September 1970, p.12.

11. Pullar, p.15.

sediment it was deep gully erosion, with large quantities of unweathered gravel and fine sediment being carried at flood times. Bank erosion had been lessened due to willow planting so less alluvium was being deposited than previously before settlement.

During the period 1945-75 the most severe erosion was to be found in the headwaters of major rivers such as the Waipaoa and the Waiapu. Patterson makes the point that while mass movement reduces the productive potential of the hills, the scars will heal relatively quickly if not affected by gullying. Earth flows to some extent were counterbalanced by the nutrients washed down from higher land.<sup>12</sup> But still, after heavy rains much coarse debris is deposited on low land adjacent to the lower reaches of the river, and the discolouration out to sea testified to the acres of East Coast topsoil that had been lost to production. Ongley and Henderson concluded in 1920 that:

The effects of deforestation in the Gisborne district may be summarised as - greatly increased sheet-washing of the soils; great increase in the number of slips, slumps and rain-gullies; aggradation of the stream-beds; wandering of the streams over valley-bottoms; lateral erosion of the river-banks; burying of culverts and bridges; filling-in of the Gisborne Harbour; and more severe and frequent floods.<sup>13</sup>

These factors certainly should have been enough incentive to control erosion and thus prevent further destruction, especially as the emphasis in the region gradually started to swing away from pastoralism to agriculture and horticulture.

Attempts had been made by individuals to control erosion from early in the settlement period. Thomas Todd settled as a small run holder on the East Coast in the 1890s. He viewed erosion as being a double-sided force - naturally destructive but also beneficial in

12. Patterson, p.3.

13. Henderson and Ongley, p.29.

Figure 11:

Debris dams were erected wherever possible to try and forestall localised erosion. All kinds of materials were used in their construction.

(East Cape Catchment Board Collection)





that it had built-up the rich flats. He started planting willow poles along eroded gullies and erected sheep-netting barricades to sift out a lot of the debris being carried downstream. By these methods he was able to carefully build up small areas of flat land. He asserted:

Neither grass nor trees on a hill-side however big and long-established, will prevent slipping. The Pukhatea (native tree with very strong root system) tells us that only in the creek can erosion be stopped.<sup>14</sup>

There used to be a saying that "country without slips was no good",<sup>15</sup> as it denoted a foundation of brown sandstone which produced steep gorges, and above them easy slopes of poor worthless country. If that saying was true the East Coast should have contained some of the best country in the world. The clock can not be turned back but measures of control can be taken. Nature has provided some compensatory factors in the region. The very high soil erosion potential is matched by high growth potential, and bush, scrub and fern quickly regenerate to heal the scars. Poplars and willows hold gullies together and form debris dams, while native and exotic trees are used to stabilise the steepest land. Pasture also responds well to spelling and topdressing.<sup>16</sup> But despite this individuals are limited in what they can do alone and piecemeal efforts usually only achieved temporary success. Large-scale measures such as afforestation and river control have to be handled by official organisation.

Man had set in motion events which he proved unable to control, and Nature's revenge proved to be devastating. By the 1940s it had become obvious that an integrated plan for erosion control was vital

14. Thomas Todd, Erosion, 1946, p.6.

15. Todd, p.5.

16. Campbell, p.10.

for future development policies. In 1945 the Poverty Bay Catchment Board was set up (this was one of the first districts to have a Catchment Board), and in association with parallel organisations in other regions it had the responsibility of stabilising the headwaters area, and thus safeguarding the alluvial flats. Previous to this the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council had been established in 1941, with the aims of utilising land to promote soil conservation, mitigate erosion and prevent flood damage. Thus there was now an official body with power capable of totally assessing the region's erosion problem.

Official concern was expressed in Parliament over the 1948 and 1950 floods, then in 1951 Mr H. Dudfield<sup>17</sup> expressed the region's gratitude that Government was meeting two-thirds of the total cost of £700,000 for the Waipaoa scheme (mentioned earlier in the chapter).<sup>18</sup> Then, in 1952, he predicted a great future for the Gisborne district, once the river protection works were in operation. Watties Cannery had already been established in Gisborne in anticipation of the change in the agricultural pursuits of the district.<sup>19</sup> In 1953 the Catchment Board undertook a major control scheme on the Waipaoa River, but it was realised that this could not succeed unless land degradation and erosion were controlled. So, at the request of the Board in 1955, the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Council set up a special committee under the chairmanship of A.L. Poole to report on remedial measures. It recommended that the worst of the eroded areas, approximately 5,000 hectares in the Waipaoa Catchment should be afforested. This was to become the Mangatu Forest, and planting began in 1960.<sup>20</sup>

17. Mr H. Dudfield, M.P. for Gisborne, 1951-54.

18. NZPD, Dudfield, Vol. 295, p.630.

19. NZPD, Dudfield, Vol. 298, p.1139.

20. F. Allsop, The Story of Mangatu, Wellington, 1973, p.9.

It was 1959 before the works were again mentioned in Parliament. By then the stop banks along the Waipaoa had been completed, and reafforestation was seen by Keeling<sup>21</sup> as the next important project. Previous to this the necessity of planting exotic forest in the area had been discussed many times, and trial plantings had been carried out. But this was for timber destined for local use, and not forestry on a large scale for the export market.<sup>22</sup>

Soil conservation was becoming a very important topic in the region, and proposals were put forward by the Catchment Board to retire farm lands in the catchment area and embark on reafforestation. Severe aggradation was taking place on the riverbeds, for example at Te Weraroa the riverbed was rising at a rate of two feet six inches each year.<sup>23</sup> Higher stop banks were not the solution, instead the Catchment Board recommended a scheme involving 16,000 acres of high country at the river source.

It has been proved in that area that the acreage of land consisting of riverbed and gully - and that is the area that is completely unproductive - is increasing at the rate of 19.8 percent as against 12.2 percent in 1939.<sup>24</sup>

Although the taking over of the land brought with it complex problems, especially as much of it was owned by Maoris, it was considered essential for this protective measure to go ahead in order for production to continue in the low country. The \$2 million Waipaoa Scheme had been very impressive, but by the 1960s it had become obvious that it was beyond the scope of the local bodies to cure the widespread slumping and gullying in the hill country.

21. R.A. Keeling, M.P. for Gisborne, 1949-51 and 1954-60.

22. NZPD, Dudfield, 1954, Vol. 303, p.361.

23. NZPD, Keeling, 1959, Vol. 319, p.578.

24. NZPD, Keeling, 1959, Vol. 319, p.579.

In her maiden speech to Parliament in 1961, Mrs E. Tombleson stated:

To an East Coaster erosion is a deep fear and a real menace to the productive future of this extensive territory.<sup>25</sup>

She viewed reafforestation as an urgent necessity and thought it should be stepped up in the region, tapping the labour potential of unemployed freezing workers in the winter months. Again in 1962 she stressed how the area was timber hungry,<sup>26</sup> and in 1963 commended the work being done at Patunamu, Wharerata and Mangatu. For the first time a Government grant had been given to combat erosion by planting forests, with a goal of 1,300 acres planted for 1963. This was desperately needed as about 40,500,000 tons of debris entered the headwaters of the Waipaoa every year, which meant an annual rise in the river bed of six feet. To help the project a forestry nursery was being provided at Puha.<sup>27</sup> For approximately twenty years the Catchment Board had co-operated with farmers to carry out many works, including tree planting, damming and drainage to control flooding and erosion. But by 1963 they were forced to admit that the task, as a whole, was beyond their resources. Thus they issued a report that erosion on a large scale could only be controlled by reafforestation, and this in turn led to the Taylor Inquiry.

It was not until 1968, after the release of the Taylor Report findings in the previous year, that serious discussion was given on this subject. It had sparked off a renewed interest in the region. The Taylor Report was probably one of the most comprehensive plans for regional development ever to have been accepted by a New Zealand Government.<sup>28</sup> It saw erosion as destroying the agricultural economy, and with it the social progress of the region. There was ample evidence to support this. In the north and west of the region, where

25. NZPD, Tombleson, 1961, Vol. 326, p.415.

26. NZPD, Tombleson, 1962, Vol. 331, p.1232.

27. NZPD, Tombleson, 1963, Vol. 336, p.1904.

28. Trevor Walton, "East Coast Project", New Zealand Journal of Agriculture, Vol. 122, No. 1, January 1971, p.39.

erosion was most severe, land values had plummeted. Capital values in 1962 were barely 50 percent of what they were in 1919, and unimproved values dropped to less than 25 percent of 1919 values after the same period.<sup>29</sup> The Report was definitely one of the biggest things that had ever happened to the East Coast, and it was estimated that development would eventually cover 231,000 acres, and employ 2,500 in silviculture, forestry, industry and transport. In addition to non-productive afforestation to prevent erosion, it was visualised there would be productive forests amounting to about half the area of the Kaingaroa Forest.<sup>30</sup> This certainly painted a much more rosy picture of the region's future. Costs did have to be counted though, and it was estimated that gross expenditure over the fifty year planning period would be over \$54 million from Government, approximately \$3 million from local bodies, and \$169 million from private enterprise.<sup>31</sup>

Planting trials at Mangatu had predicted a promising future for forestry in the region, as by 1970 a large measure of land stabilisation had been achieved and trees were growing at a rate of between 10 and 20 percent faster than those on the Central Plateau.<sup>32</sup> In 1970 the Co-Ordinating Committee, which had been set up as a result of the Taylor Report, released a district plan for the East Coast Project 1970-75. It envisaged that 5,000 acres of new forest were expected to be planted annually in the critical headwaters area by the 1973/74 planting season. A steady rate of 1,500 acres per year was to be maintained in the Mangatu Forest, while planting in the Ruatoria Forest was to increase from 1,000 acres in 1970/71 to 3,500 acres in 1973/1974.

29. Ibid., p.40.

30. NZPD, Tombleson, 1968, Vol. 356, p.987.

31. NZPD, Tombleson, 1968, Vol. 355, p.290.

32. Walton, p.40.

At the planning level this all sounded marvellous. But behind the scenes the "natives" were getting restless, and anxious about how these schemes were going to affect them. In 1970 Walton wrote:

Lately, there has been a quietening of the wardrums in the Gisborne hills. The residents are no longer restless, but they are certainly owed some answers. Behind discussion, and bearing the brunt of the criticism, has been the Taylor Report. In spite of two years of close public scrutiny, the Report has remained a water-tight case.<sup>33</sup>

Why the criticism? Mainly because plans of the scheme were not made readily available to the public, and those most affected by it were not regularly (if at all) consulted. Criticism had of course been anticipated - it is not the New Zealand way to accept major changes to their way of life passively, without an outcry. On 5 November 1963 Dr N.H. Taylor had been reported in the Gisborne Herald as saying that if New Zealand were a totalitarian state no doubt it would be comparatively straightforward to solve the erosion problem, "but in this case people's wishes and ideas must certainly be respected".

The "East Coast Project" began where the Taylor Report left off. It was introduced at a public meeting in Ruatoria in July 1968 by Hon. D. MacIntyre, Minister of Lands. Of the approximately 200 who attended, most were farmers from behind the "Blue Line" and "assurances by the Minister that the Government would not force farmers to leave their land when it was required for forestry were given to an unreceptive audience".<sup>34</sup> Mr Henry Ngata, a prominent Gisborne Accountant, commented:

The scheme got off to a very bad start. The Government produced what amounted to a blue print for the future of the district, without any consultation with the people involved.<sup>35</sup>

33. Ibid., p.43.

34. Ibid., p.45.

35. Ibid.



Yet despite this, a fortnight after the meeting the provincial Federated Farmers' Executive gave their approval, in principle, to the proposed East Coast Project.

On 11 July 1968, in an article in the Gisborne Herald entitled "Full Confidence in Afforestation Plan", Mr D.A. Campbell (a member of the Taylor Committee) called the plan a "blue print for prosperity" and emphasised that the most important aspect was to get the farming community right behind the scheme by investing in the Government policy of afforestation. He stated that "the blue print for the conservation of the area is the mechanisation of hill country farming married to the maximum protection forestry scheme". He likened the scheme to the Waipaoa Conservation Scheme which had proved such a success. There was some opposition at the start of that scheme, but it had since proved its worth, and it could perhaps be seen as the "test tube or the pilot scheme for this much bigger proposal. That it, too, will be a success, with the support of the people of the full area, I am fully confident." He concluded by saying that with the implementation of this planned programme of conservation and afforestation the name "Poverty Bay" could be changed to "Prosperity Bay". Thus all the stops were being pulled out in an attempt to rectify the bad public relations job which had accompanied the Report. Officials were constantly attempting to reassure farmers that the scheme would not entail the forced selling of their land.<sup>36</sup>

In March 1969 the first substantial purchase of land in the critical headwaters area was completed by negotiation. This was the 9,800 acre "Rip Station" in the Tapuaeroa Valley, and planting of trees commenced the following July on 350-500 acres of the property. In October a further 10,000 acres was acquired with the purchase of "Gate Station" in the same valley. Hon Duncan MacIntyre announced the purchase and stated:

36. For example see Gisborne Herald 29 July 1969, p.1. Article entitled "Matakaoa Problems Discussed".

The sale of these two large properties has now set a pattern for further negotiations to purchase land and is a basis for confidence and assurance for further transaction.<sup>37</sup>

The Control Council hired a registered valuer to report on the valuation aspect of purchases made, in an attempt to dispel any fears held in this area.

Coast opposition to the Project was not solely confined to disgruntled farmers talking over farm fences. On 1 July 1969 an article in the Gisborne Herald entitled "Coast Opposition to Taylor Report" clearly stated the position of the farmers, after a document signed by a large number of land owners opposing the Project, had been forwarded to the Poverty Bay East Cape Co-Ordinating Committee. Mr H.T. Reedy, a member of the Maori Council and spokesman for the farmers, expounded their point of view:

The Taylor Report has been inspired by the thought of business advantages for Gisborne and little, if any for the East Coast. I say this for the simple reason that the formidable list of signatures of owners protesting against the report clearly shows that the scheme did not originate from the owners, nor is there a single representative of Federated Farmers on the Gisborne East Coast Research and Development Committee. This demonstrates a despotic disregard and contempt for the feelings and opinions of the owners of this vast area of land before embarking on this colossal project.

The farmers were objecting to the "no compromise" stance of the Report in demarcating the "Blue Line". It was emphasised that the annual total number of cattle sold in the Matawhero, Tikitiki and Te Araroa saleyards was reputed to be one of the largest in the Southern Hemisphere, and a large number of these came from behind the Blue Line. Also thousands of acres behind the Blue Line had remained in pasture for over sixty years without any fertiliser and most respond swiftly to low levels of topdressing.<sup>38</sup>

37. Gisborne Herald, 7 October 1969.

38. Ronald Vine, "Blue Line Country (2)", New Zealand Farmer, 23 April 1970, p.14.

Some farmers had sold out, but they faced the problem that it was nearly impossible to find farms anywhere else in New Zealand which would give them the same standard of living, for the money received for their East Coast properties. Also the land the planners had marked out contained a large part of one of the greatest cattle breeding grounds in the country, and some of New Zealand's best meat to be judged in England in the past, had come off stations on the "Blue Line". The farmers understood that forestry was good for the economy and created employment, but they also believed that the great timber lands such as Kaingaroa were a totally different situation to theirs. Those lands, were productive of pine trees but extremely barren in other respects. They felt that the best interests of the Coast could be met by the men and women living on the land. Given the finance for materials, grass seed and topdressing the farmers would take their proper place in building the economy of the nation.

Mr Reedy laid the blame for the creation of the situation squarely on the shoulders of the ECDRA for agitating for something to be done in the region, and concluded the article by stating that the owners had adopted a resolution opposing the complete afforestation proposed by the Taylor Report. They asked that it be withdrawn and a new scheme evolved directed solely at control of erosion problems on the East Coast, with the Government making finance available for this purpose. Three days later Mr Reweti (M.P., Eastern Maori) represented the views of these owners to Parliament. He pointed out that much land suitable for farming, including a 13,000 acre Maori Incorporation were behind the Blue Line, and asked Government to look into the matter.<sup>39</sup>

In an attempt to reassure voters on this issue, the Minister of Works, Hon. P.B. Allen, gave a pre-election address in Gisborne on the Taylor Report, saying that land for forestry would be acquired by

39. NZPD, Reweti, 1969, Vol. 361, p.1221.

Figure 12:

Widespread slipping on East Coast farmland led to the Taylor Report, and the eventual partial or full planting of many stations in forestry. Puketoro Station, Waitahaia Road, Mata River, 1973.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



purchase not compulsion, and that plans would be prepared for the first five year period as well as a pamphlet outlining the aims and objectives of the scheme.<sup>40</sup>

Reasons were varied why people were reluctant to sell, but Maori Land (i.e. tenure and Maori farmers) was one of the main contentious factors. By 1970 56 percent of the rural population were Maori, and more than 30 percent of land was Maori owned. The ancestral nature of the land and its deep cultural links, made the sale of land a very significant step for the Maori people. Many were reluctant to sell and buyers were scarce with the threat of afforestation hanging over the land. But it must also be emphasised that for those who did wish to sell, often the Forest Service was the first prospective purchaser to have appeared for many years. There were few areas in New Zealand other than the East Coast where land sales had been so inactive for so long, and the Taylor Report had seen that as a symptom of the economic decline in the region.

The East Coast Project involved the whole region, and not just that part of it behind the Blue Line. The Taylor Committee had adopted from the Land Utilisation Survey the four basic problems<sup>41</sup> which must be solved before the region could achieve its agricultural potential. By 1970 the Maori land problem seemed to be the one in greatest need of attention. Roughly 50 percent of Maori land in the region was under owner management, yet nearly all Maori land was tied up in archaic lease agreements to pakehas, the provisions of which inhibited the use of lands. Just over one-third of Waiapu County was under short term Maori lease, with most of these having no right of renewal or compensation for improvements. "The initiative for reform in this area would probably best come from the marae to a sympathetic Government ear."<sup>42</sup> In its report "Erosion and Forestry" the ECDRA had stated that if it was intended to deal with the problem of Maori

40. Gisborne Herald, 18 November 1969.

41. See previous chapter.

42. Walton, p.46.

land solely by negotiation, it was considered very probable that expensive delays would occur.<sup>43</sup>

The actual planting was disappointing in many respects - by 1970 it was already behind schedule,<sup>44</sup> and by 1975 still had not succeeded in catching up. In 1970 the number of men employed had decreased from 45 to 15, and the erosion situation was critical. The anticipated social and economic stability did not seem to be being achieved, and people were still migrating to the cities.<sup>45</sup> By 1971 the area planted was less than that in 1960/70, and land acquisition was behind schedule. Planting of trees was wholly dependent on unemployed labour. In 1972 the situation appeared to be brighter and Mrs Tombleson was forecasting that large quantities of timber from Mangatu and Wharerata would be arriving in Gisborne in log form in 5 - 10 years, and that a new processing plant would bring increased urban settlement and employment. Already off-season freezing workers and canning factory workers were being employed.<sup>46</sup> In 1973 the planting target of 5,000 acres a year was exceeded for the first time, and Hon. C.J. Moyle (Minister of Forests) stated that the Blue Line was becoming "blurred" in the sense that in selected areas it was felt that as well as protection forestry, agriculture, farm forestry or even production forestry could be allowed.<sup>47</sup> This came after moves by a private company to establish forestry. In 1975 200 people were engaged in forestry activities in the area, and it was hoped that the build up of labour would stabilise the population and require a substantial increase and expansion in such townships as Ruatoria and Te Karaka.<sup>48</sup> The figures for the East Coast Land Project were given as:

43. ECDRA Report No. 15, "Erosion and Forestry" p.2.

44. NZPD, Tombleson, 1970, Vol. 369, p.3769.

45. NZPD, Reweti, 1970, Vol. 369, p.3770.

46. NZPD, Tombleson, 1972, Vol. 380, p.2339.

47. NZPD, Moyle, 1973, Vol. 395, p.5515.

48. NZPD, Davey, 1975, Vol. 396, p.70.



Land Purchased 1 April 1972 to 31 March 1975

- 9,582 hectares

Area planted	1972-73	- 1,439 hectares
	1973-74	- 1,874 hectares
	1974-75	- 2,093 hectares
		<hr/>
Total		5,406 hectares <sup>49</sup>
		<hr/> <hr/>

(See Appendix E for purchases in localities for the East Coast Project.)

By 1976 reaction to the East Coast Project was sharply divided. Those in favour came mostly from urban areas - in and around Gisborne, where the business it was expected that the Project would generate was eagerly anticipated. Those against were largely those most closely affected - the land owners and occupiers of the critical headwaters area. They were the remote minority and:

When you live well back in the hills and a long way from the nearest city, and come bearing an unpopular message, you have to shout pretty loudly to be heard, even in a small city like Gisborne, let alone Wellington.<sup>50</sup>

This is especially true when the advantages are so patently obvious - with expansion in employment, and improvement in social activities, road construction, port development and tourism. "It's easy enough to understand with what enthusiasm harbour boards, banks, chambers of commerce and urban business people generally will react to such suggestions as these, and with what relish politicians will eye such potent vote bait."<sup>51</sup> The farmers were opposed mainly because of the arbitrary imposition of a line to demarcate the use of land, especially as they felt the Taylor Committee had underestimated the potential of the land behind the Blue Line. They also saw the absence of any provision to ensure the continued productiveness of the land in the interval before planting as causing them financial loss. Thus, in the general nature of minorities, they would have to suffer for the "national good".

49. NZPD, Moyle, 1975, Vol. 398, p.1964.

50. R. Vine, "Blue Line Country (1)", New Zealand Farmer, 9 April 1970, p.5.

51. Ibid., p.7.

The Taylor Report gave the total area behind the line as being 346,000 acres. Of this 137,000 acres was native bush, which left 209,000 acres. Severely eroding land urgently needing reafforestation comprised 82,000 acres, and the Mangatu State Forest occupied 8,000 acres. This left roughly 100,000 acres behind the Blue Line on which afforestation was not essential for erosion control.<sup>52</sup> It is also remiss that nowhere in the Taylor Report is the Forest Service asked to report on the minimum area for a forest large enough for an export market. Some of the land behind the Line can run 4 - 5 ewes per acre, as grass grows so vigorously that a circle has to be poisoned around each new tree to give it a chance to become established. Unfortunately for the bureaucrats the scheme involved human, social, political and moral issues as well as practical ones. The farmers wanted some kind of compromise course. In 1976, due to the agitation, a compromise situation had been reached whereby stations had clearly erosive land in forest, clearly productive land in pasture, and that "in-between" designated for trees plus grazing. It was to the Government's benefit for farmers to realise that the financial returns from a combined farming-forest project could be most satisfactory. Trees are a good "storehouse" of realisable money to cover situations such as a drop in farm prices or a new house, they were also an asset not qualifying for death duties.

In 1976-77, in response to the situation, an interdepartmental committee formed by the Poverty Bay Catchment Board carefully redrew the map defining land uses, and formulated a policy which could hopefully be implemented without a bureaucratic tangle. This was also to try and remedy the situation in which some farmers found themselves, whereby private lending institutions were reluctant to have them as clients. "It appears lenders have circled all of the Coast's hill country with a blue line and shut out loans."<sup>53</sup> With land more

52. R. Vine, "Blue Line Country (3)", New Zealand Farmer, 14 May 1970, p.11.

53. Jack Leighton, "After Eight Years East Coast's Blue Line is Likely to Stick", New Zealand Farmer, 27 October 1977, p.17.

accurately mapped for regional land use capabilities this discrimination should disappear. The committee was only interested in changes of land use where necessary, not ownership, and it would work through the modification of existing departmental policies to farming or forestry. One of its recommendations was that a policy of land settlement of new farmers on economic units would boost the local pastoral industry. It also pointed out that the Taylor Committee had recommended that there be a special allocation of funds for reafforestation land purchases. This had never been achieved, so this committee was of the view that a fund should be made available to the Lands and Survey Department to purchase land for an East Coast Project Land Bank. They concluded:

The East Coast is one of the few areas in New Zealand where there need be no competition with pastoral and forestry interests. There is ample scope for development in farming and forestry. A balanced regional land use and development policy will achieve this.<sup>54</sup>

Apart from the East Coast Project, parts of the region had been planted in exotic trees, mostly radiata pine, by the Forestry Service. Mangatu is a good example of this as it shows the important sociological and economic effect forestry has had on the area's population. Mangatu is situated 30 miles north of Gisborne, within the critical headwaters area. By 1970 planting had covered 12,000 acres with a projection of 17,800 when completed. Major difficulties had to be overcome, such as the slipping away of roads, and the occasional landslide which took whole plantings of young trees. In 1970 about a million trees per year were being planted at Mangatu, with a large proportion of these eventually being expected to produce timber and pulp in 20-35 years time. This had a significant affect on the labour force which was 90 percent Maori. In 1970 70-80 were employed, with

54. Poverty Bay Catchment Board, "Report on Land Use, Planning and Development Study", n.d., p.11.

most married workers being transported to work daily, from Te Karaka 12 miles away. Single men lived on the site. Before the forestry only casual work had been available in the district, but steady employment had meant many could afford to build their own homes at Te Karaka or Whatatutu. It is significant that in the five years following the beginning of the Mangatu project (1960-66) the population of these two townships had increased by 44 percent compared with 3 percent in the preceeding five years.

<u>Population</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>
Te Karaka	393	472	637
Whatatutu	262	203	302
	<u>655</u>	<u>675</u>	<u>939</u>
	===	===	===

Source: F. Allsop. The Story of Mangatu, p.39.

Before concluding this chapter, heed must be taken of a note of caution on the subject of erosion, sounded by the ECDRA:

Most people who visit this district for the first time are horrified at the magnitude of the erosion and many leave with the impression that the whole of the district is suffering. This impression has been played up by a few writers, who have used highly extravagant terms to describe our worst examples. While we do not deny that severe erosion can be observed, it is in defined areas and their recovery is far from hopeless.<sup>55</sup>

Thus the situation could be remedied to a large degree, if there was full co-operation from all those involved in the region. To expect a generation of farmers, whose fathers and grandfathers had spent their lifetimes clearing bush and then manuka, to turn around and undertake the wholesale planting of trees was quite an undertaking. Measures such as financial subsidies for tree planting and the effective control of pests such as opossums would have to be implemented.

55. ECDRA, Report No. 15, "Erosion and Forestry", p.1.

It was obvious that socially and economically, forestry in the region would have long term effects. Initially, labour requirements for afforestation and farm erosion control schemes were for largely unskilled labour with a comparatively small proportion of skilled overseers. Probably the bulk of labour requirements in the early years would be for autumn and winter planting, which would fit in well with farm labour requirements. But when forestry really started to get established a considerable additional labour force would be required. As forestry prefers to transport men in from a central area, this points to a likely build-up of the country townships, which had previously had a static population. Thus community services and facilities could develop. There could possibly be some early competition with farmers for available labour, but in the long term this situation would remedy itself as the labour pool built up. European population would be introduced "in an area which has to date been showing an increasing predominance of Maori population".<sup>56</sup> New housing would be needed, and attention would have to be paid to tenure difficulties affecting townships such as Ruatoria. As the forestry projects matured it would necessarily bring with it better roading and port facilities.

The whole issue of erosion and forestry, as revealed in these three decades, had shaken the region to its very core. It focussed attention firmly on the most fundamental problems of land tenure and pastoral production. The primary producers of the region had proved they were a force to contend with.

The Waipaoa Scheme had proved a great success on the plain, then it was the turn of the more remote farmers with the Taylor Report. Although it was perhaps too arbitrary at the outset to draw a line and designate land on one side for farming and the other for forestry, there was a genuine attempt at Government level to listen to the local arguments both for and against the proposals. The ECDRA was seen to be

56. Ibid., p.2.

responsible for the plan so fielded bouquets as well as brickbats from the East Coast community. By 1976 the scheme had softened many of its proposals and was having some measure of success as plantings were at last catching up to their schedule, and there was more leniency towards integrating forestry with farming.

### LAND TENURE AND UTILISATION

Land tenure and utilisation were issues which the ECDRA were concerned with from the outset. It expressed serious concern at the decline in pastoral production in the region, and sought the reasons for this through every possible avenue. Land tenure was one of the first aspects to be scrutinised, and Maori land especially was put under the microscope as it was generally felt to be mismanaged. The Land Utilisation Survey and the Taylor Report went on to study the region in detail.

As the 1960s progressed it became obvious that the East Coast, as a region, was not living up to its full production potential. Therefore, the ECDRA took practical measures, such as lobbying to use the Manutuke Research Station for special projects, and for a fertiliser works to be established in the region. Emphasis was also placed on the increasing need for farmer finance, irrigation and trained farm employees. The obvious intensification of horticulture and viticulture on the plains was carefully reported by the ECDRA. Overall the reports were designed to give as realistic an idea as possible of the region's land and its uses with constructive ideas put forward as to how this usage could be improved.

Land tenure was a basic issue on the East Coast, complicated as it was by the factor of Maori land. By the mid 1960s almost one-third of the occupied area of the East Coast was Maori land. Although some of this was involved in highly productive farming ventures, the general level of production off this land was lower than the average, and a large proportion of it was scarcely farmed at all. It must also be mentioned at this point that extensive areas of pakeha land were also neglected. The main reasons for the deterioration of Maori land were multiplicity of owners, insecurity of tenure, inability to pay compensation for improvement, inadequacies of farming knowledge, and also the low quality of much of the land.



By the beginning of the twentieth century most Maori hill country on both sides of the Raukumara Ranges was leased to pakehas, and broken in by them. Most of these leases made no provision for compensation for improvement. Therefore as the long-term policy of the Maori tribal organisations has been to resume occupancy of these blocks as the leases expire, it has been inevitable that most of them have been handed back in a run down state. Although the terms of the leases have usually been blamed for this, it must be noted that "most of this country was farmed for its first 30 years or so on the wave of its original forest fertility; without topdressing, and that deterioration would have been inevitable anyway unless topdressing and over sowing had been begun. And in a very big proportion of this country today, even the freehold part of it, that is still not done."<sup>1</sup>

This leasing and repossessing cycle set the stage for the problem. The system of fragmentation of title by inheritance was begun by the Government which set up the Native Land Court in 1865. Its purpose was to facilitate sales (and leases) by identifying owners. This entailed listing individuals with a share in the ownership of communal land, so that negotiations with these owners could begin, or, be finalised, because they had often begun before the land in question was taken to the Court. Thus, as J.K. Hunn stated in 1960, "everybody's land is nobody's land".<sup>2</sup>

In the past there have been various schemes aimed at solving the Maori land title problem, but nothing has overcome the basic problem of multiple ownership. By the consolidation scheme all separate interests which one person may own in various blocks are consolidated into a single piece of land in one location. This scheme was abandoned

1. "Maori Land - the Problem", New Zealand Farmer, 9 April 1964, Vol. 85, p.8.

2. Ibid., p.9.

in the late 1950s. The conversion scheme was one where small interests, under £25 in value, were bought up and sold to individual Maoris to form a single title of economic size. In 1957, legislation known as "the £10 rule" was brought in. This enabled the Maori Land Court to vest the interest of a deceased person in any one beneficiary, provided the excluded beneficiary's share did not exceed £10 in value. This and other legislation have not had a very extensive impact in solving the problem of Maori land titles.

About 200,000 acres of Maori land were farmed by incorporations by the 1960-70s. Under this system all owners with shares in a title elected a committee of management, employed a manager, and in due course a dividend from the revenue of the farming was distributed. Sir Apirana Ngata wrote in 1940 that it was "in effect an adoption of the tribal system, the hierarchy of chiefs being represented by the committee of management .... a system evolved by Maoris to suit Maori needs".<sup>3</sup> Success in this form of commercial agriculture is largely dependent upon the quality of the management. The biggest incorporation is Mangatu, which in the mid-1960s comprised fifteen adjoining sheep stations (50 percent of managers Maori) making a total of approximately 100,000 acres.<sup>4</sup>

Maori land on the East Coast was a common subject of Parliamentary debate in the period under scrutiny, mainly because there were vocal local M.P.'s. In 1948 T Omana (M.P. for Eastern Maori 1943-63) was wanting to see the release of Maori lands held under the East Coast Trust, which administered approximately 100,000 acres and included many medium sized grazing stations. This land had been in debt for a considerable period of time, but a position had finally been reached where it could be released from the Trust, as Maori owners were to manage their own affairs.<sup>5</sup> The Mangatu Trust land, which was released

3. Ibid.

4. See "East Coast Hills No. 4. Mangatu - Biggest of them All", New Zealand Farmer, 23 April 1964.

5. NZPD, Omana, 1948, Vol. 280, pp.446-448, and 1950, Vol. 292, p.3617.

to Corporation control in 1948, had showed this admirably when in two years the Committee of Management had cleared the debt it was carrying.<sup>6</sup> The East Coast Trust issue had far-reaching side effects as some Maori families in bad housing conditions could not get a grant from the Maori Land Board to build houses on account of the titles being held by the East Coast Commissioner.<sup>7</sup> There was some talk of individualising the land which would have been a long drawn-out process, but finally the East Coast Trust was wound up in June 1954.

Pakeha attitudes to the Maoris often reflected one of two stereotypes. There were those who believed the Maori was not a farmer and was better suited to working in freezing works and driving heavy machinery.<sup>8</sup> Others believed that Maoris should be encouraged to go back on the land as they could not cope with city life. These stereotypic views tended to colour attitudes towards the Maori land problem.

It is important to understand the Maori value placed on land. The 1953 Land Act illustrated this point well. One provision of this Act was that land held in uneconomic areas to the value of £25 or less could be taken. This was meant to minimize the number of shareholders, but it was seen as a "first class disinheritance Act" which would make many Maoris landless. "One thing the Maori was jealous of was his land, for as long as he owned a piece of land, even no bigger than his two boots, he could take his place on the marae with the biggest landholder."<sup>9</sup> Losing land provoked a genuine feeling of having lost spiritual value and mana. But as Hon. E.B. Corbett (M.P. for Egmont and Minister of Maori Affairs) pointed out, it was impossible for Maoris or Europeans to hold tiny parcels of land with economic benefit to themselves, and advantage to New Zealand.<sup>10</sup> But still the Government was trying to

6. NZPD, Omana, 1950, Vol. 292, p.3619.

7. NZPD, Omana, 1950, Vol. 292, p.3621.

8. NZPD, Alexander, 1950, Vol. 289, p.810 and Jack, 1960, Vol. 323, p.1734.

9. NZPD, Omana, 1954, Vol. 304, p.1573, see Connelly, 1958, Vol. 317, p.1023.

10. NZPD, Corbett, 1954, Vol. 304, p.1574.

keep some measure of control on Maori land. For example, by the Maori Trust Boards Bill no Trust Board would have authority to purchase land without the prior consent of the Minister.<sup>11</sup>

Further to the 1953 legislation if rates were owed to a local body, or land infested with noxious weeds, the local body in conjunction with the Maori trustee could arrange for the land to be leased. This was a partial answer to the problem where there were small blocks of land adjacent to European farms and the European farmer was able to take up the land on twenty-one years lease with or without the right to compensation for improvements. But the Act did not cover the large blocks of land on the East Coast, and the problem was serious as in Matakaoa County approximately 90,000 acres were going out of production. Also many Maoris did not favour the expansion of incorporated schemes, even though the Mangatu block was one of the best paying farming projects in the Southern Hemisphere.

By 1958 the view was being expressed that it was high time the law stopped treating the Maori people as children, making them apply to the Maori Land Court before being able to alienate land.<sup>12</sup> It was generally agreed that all lands should be made productive to their fullest capacity, but the problem was serious on the East Coast and in the Bay of Plenty where some leases had reverted to Maori owners and were just being grazed or going back to secondary growth.<sup>13</sup> Part of the policy of the Department of Maori Affairs was to induce the incorporation of such large areas of land as were economically profitable, and also to bring in young Maoris for farm training.<sup>14</sup>

11. NZPD, Keeling, 1955, Vol. 307, p.2369.

12. NZPD, Jack, 1958, Vol. 317, p.1021.

13. NZPD, Allen, 1958, Vol. 317, p.1023.

14. NZPD, Nash, 1958, Vol. 317, p.1026.

1959 saw the formation of the ECDRA, when there was serious concern over good lands going out of production and the corresponding loss of both overseas funds and sources of employment to the Maori people. The Hon. P.B. Allen, M.P. for Bay of Plenty, stated "many of the Maoris on the Coast want to cling to their ancestral hapus, and would like to find employment in that area. This subject is not new. It is as old as New Zealand, and it is one that will cause worry to any Government".<sup>15</sup> The loss of productive land on the East Coast was not solely the fault of the Maori owners. Responsibility must also rest with the administrators who organised leases without including a protective clause for either party, also there was no sinking fund for improvements or subsidies provided. Therefore, as there was no incentive to do so, nothing was put back into the land. Mr T.P. Paikea (M.P. for Northern Maori 1963-66) stated "when you get nothing for nothing, you give nothing for nothing".<sup>16</sup> The Maori people thus needed assistance to bring this abused land into productivity.

Continued concern at the reversion had seen two new development schemes started in the Tikitiki area in Haha and Ekoe blocks by 1960. But trying to solve the problem of multiple ownership "was like the task of Sisypheus who was sentenced to push a boulder up a hill but found it perpetually rolling back again".<sup>17</sup> As long as restrictions were placed on alienation of Maori land there would be increasing fragmentation of titles.

In 1960 the Hunn Report had stressed the need for accelerated development of Maori land, as at the then current rate of breaking in land at about 10,000 acres a year, it would have taken sixty years to bring all the good Maori land lying idle in New Zealand in production. It was thought that if no Maori settlers were available for broken in land it could be leased for a twenty year term. It would then be producing overseas funds, and could be handed over in a better condition to Maori settlers.<sup>18</sup> Of the 741,869 acres in Matakaoa,

15. NZPD, Allen, 1959, Vol. 319, p.222.

16. NZPD, Paikea, 1959, Vol. 320, p.1093.

17. NZPD, Jack, 1960, Vol. 323, p.1733.

18. NZPD, MacIntyre, 1961, Vol. 328, p.2192.

Waiapu and Uawa counties, about 620,000 acres were "presumed" to be Maori land. Of this approximately 28,000 acres were owned by Maori incorporations (of whom there were 240 in 1964). Not all of these were actively engaged in farming (approximately 80), some were merely used as a medium for leasing the land. The Maoris Purposes Act of 1963 enabled the Board of Maori Affairs to make advances to owners of Maori land for the purpose of development, if the owners had applied to be incorporated. Thus an avenue of obtaining finance was available. Lack of expertise and finance had led to some farms going backwards when released from Maori Trustee to incorporation control.<sup>19</sup>

It was against this background that the ECDRA in 1964 came up with its own ideas on alleviating the Maori land problem in Report No. 14 on "Land Tenure". It did an indepth study on the effect of Maori land legislation of the productivity of Maori land. The ECDRA felt that the main difficulties facing legislative action were that Maori leaders would only approve legislation which did not limit their right to control their lands, and of course the Government was reluctant to impose controls against the will of the Maori owners. Also the farms were not efficiently managed due to lack of necessary farming and administration skills. It was recommended that loan limits be increased where control of farming and development work is retained as a condition of the loans, also that it be promulgated as basic policy the need to obtain efficient usage of Maori land, and that restrictions on alienations be relaxed. There should be checks on the control of incorporation farming activities in appropriate cases, and a standard form of accounts should be used. Present advisory services should be expanded and farm training facilities provided. Finally, statutory provisions for leases of farm lands should be amended to provide better security of tenure and incentive for development.

19. See NZPD, Tombleson, 1964, Vol. 338, pp.722-723 for details.



Submissions to Parliament to this effect, plus effective lobbying brought a measure of success. In 1965 Government increased assistance to the region - £50,000 was made available to help Maori owners with development through the Department of Maori Affairs, and £80,000 to help Maori incorporated blocks. There must have been some suggestion of influence being brought to bear as Mr P.T. Watene (M.P. Eastern Maori 1963-67) said he trusted the voting of money "was the outcome of the visit to the region by the Prime Minister and other members of Cabinet, and that it was not due, as had been suggested to pressure being brought to bear by some businessmen in the area, men who had been prominent in the promotion of maize growing".<sup>20</sup> Land development proceeded, and by 1967 £233,000 had been advanced to incorporations, which had shown a spectacular and gratifying rise in production.<sup>21</sup> There were also ten land development schemes in the area, being administered under the 1953 Maori Affairs Act - five in the Te Araroa-Hicks Bay district, four near Tikitiki and one near Tokomaru Bay. These comprised 28,696 acres. This moved the comment by Hon. A. McCready (M.P. for Otaki 1960-72) that on the East Coast "land is being developed not only for Maori Incorporations, but also for the settlement of young Maoris, these Maori farmers are adopting a completely new outlook on life .... the Maori farmer, having been given the correct training, is as good a farmer as we will find anywhere".<sup>22</sup>

1969 saw a downturn as Mr P.B. Reweti (M.P. Eastern Maori 1967-81) saw stagnation in land titles, land values and production, all of which had resulted in depressed social conditions and large-scale emigration from the area.<sup>23</sup> But by 1972 Tombleson was pleased to note progress in Maori Land development in the region, especially in Waiapu county.

20. NZPD, Watene, 1965, Vol. 345, p.3561.

21. NZPD, Hanon, 1967, Vol. 352, p.2398.

22. NZPD, McCready, 1967, Vol. 352, p.2513.

23. NZPD, Reweti, Vol. 361, p1219.



Agriculture has always been the economic mainstay of the East Coast - the vital primary production base on which the social structure was built. Immediately after World War Two people began to try and resume normal lives, with farming being a major rehabilitation programme for a large number of returned servicemen in the region.<sup>24</sup> The road was not always an easy one though. The disastrous 1948 floods saw much land completely buried under silt, and thus rendered useless for a long period. This was especially severe for dairy farmers, and some were driven to selling their whole herd to the freezing works and moving out. In 1950 the Waipaoa again burst its banks, and the Poverty Bay flats were inundated with flood waters, but luckily as warnings had been issued in time to move stock the results were not nearly as tragic as previously. Still, the agricultural losses were high, one farmer cropping twenty four acres estimated his loss at £2,200 - £2,500. To have that kind of loss on such a small area emphasised the fertility of the soil.<sup>25</sup>

By the 1950s the importance of the region in agriculture and pastoralism was obvious. It was one of the leading breeding grounds in the Dominion for sheep and cattle. It had about 14.5 percent of total cattle stock (excluding dairy cows) in the North Island, and 13 percent of the sheep shorn in the North Island. Over 200,000 sheep, mostly ewes, left the region every year for the Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions. The local M.P., Mr H. Dudfield (1951-54), asserted that it would "be a national disaster for New Zealand if the Gisborne-East Coast area was not able to supply store stock to the Waikato and Manawatu districts. At one of the railway stations on the outskirts of Gisborne, Matawhero, the number of stock handled constitutes a near record, it being the third largest in the Dominion for the outward despatch of stock".<sup>26</sup> The Poverty Bay flats were also highly productive with tremendous potential. In 1951 60 percent of New

24. See NZPD, Sullivan, 1946, Vol. 275, p.382.

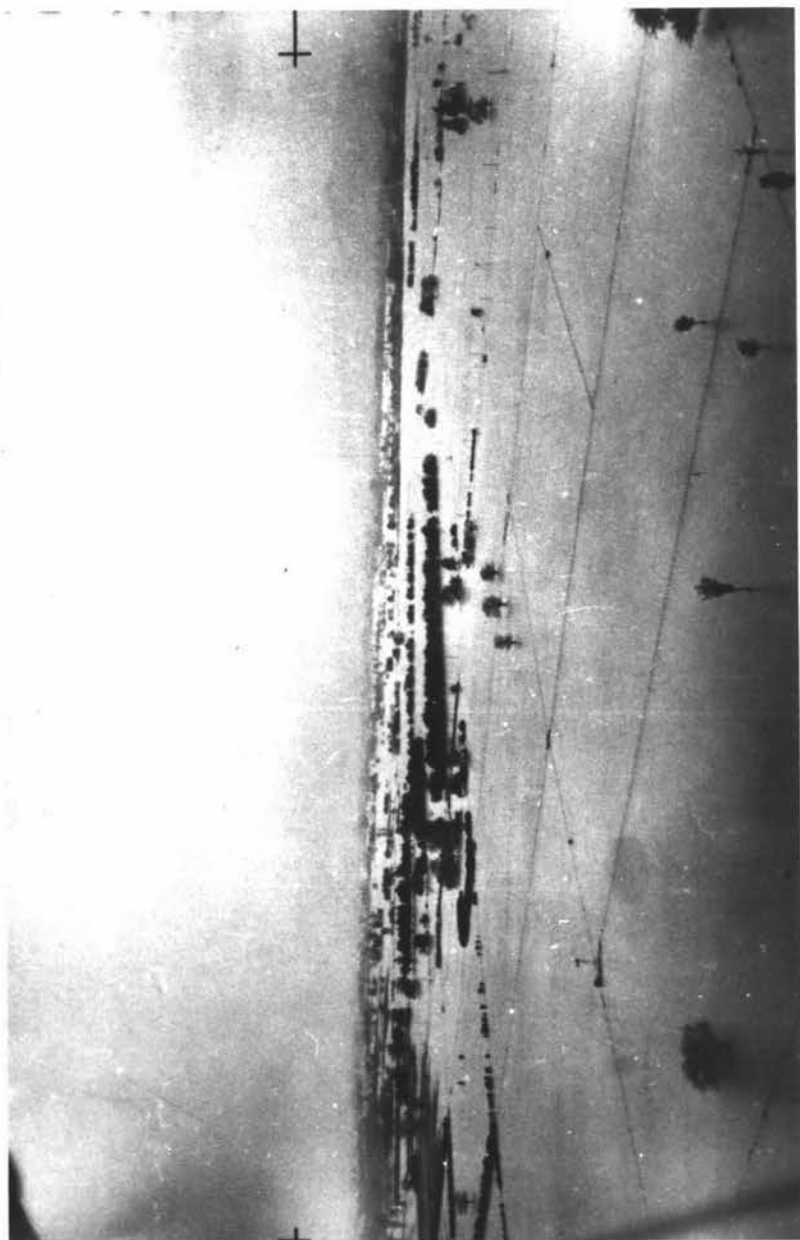
25. NZPD, Keeling, 1950, Vol. 289, p.201.

26. NZPD, Dudfield, 1951, Vol. 295, p.630.

Figure 13:

Flooding on the Poverty Bay Flats July 1950, showing extensive water coverage of prime agricultural land.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



Zealand's maize crop was grown there, with peas, beans, rye grass, clover, pumpkins and barley also being grown extensively.

The construction of the Waipaoa River banks greatly facilitated the development of small holdings for the production of crops - mainly vegetables for canning and small fruits. In 1953 Watties canning factory had a capacity of 5,000 tons per annum. Together these factors encouraged the breaking up of larger holdings on the rich alluvial plain, where in places the soil has a depth of thirty feet. Market gardening gradually increased in importance.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Market Gardens (acres)</u>
1920	60
1948	439
1952	1,500
1953	2,500

Source: NZPD, Dudfield, 1954, Vol.303, p.803.

The big increase in the latter two figures emphasises the influence of Watties. When the Gisborne branch was established its manager, Mr Gordon Wattie, said "the Company showed its faith in the district by investing a third of a million pounds in the developing of canning. This was not done blindly, as the Company realised the potentialities of Gisborne".<sup>27</sup>

The region was one open to agricultural experimentation, It was realised that sub-tropical fruits had important potential - avocado pears, feijoas, loquats, tree tomatoes, guavas, paw paws, cherimoyas and even bananas could be grown on the flats. High quality pip fruit and large quantities of stone and citrus fruit were also grown. The area around Gisborne was ideally suited for the production of grapes, although this was only on a very small scale in the 1950s. There was enormous potential in the region for further development, especially as at least three-quarters of the hill country was suitable for aerial

27. NZPD, Dudfield, 1954, Vol. 303, p.802.

topdressing. In 1954 it was estimated that over 22,000 tons of phosphatic fertiliser would be dropped from the air.<sup>28</sup> It was considered very fortunate for the region that the modern works of the East Coast Fertiliser Company had been established at Napier with an ultimate output estimated at 130,000 tons. But there were numerous problems holding the region back from realising its full agricultural potential.

When the ECDRA was established it pinpointed the major problems on the agricultural front as being land tenure, with a special emphasis on the problems associated with Maori land.<sup>29</sup> It found a large proportion of land was either controlled by the Crown to some extent, or was Maori land. The majority of the area was in steep hills, and grazing was the predominant form of land use. The size of holdings in the area was large with the average unit being 1,040 acres, as against the North Island average of 400 acres.<sup>30</sup> There was concern expressed that the region was not producing to the same extent as in the past, and was therefore not making its full contribution to the productive economy of New Zealand, even allowing for the greater production potential of some other regions.<sup>31</sup> The region's average lambing percentage in 1964 was the lowest in New Zealand, averaging between 83 and 89 percent. The New Zealand average in that year was over 100 per cent.

To try and remedy this situation, the ECDRA made representations to the Department of Agriculture to use the Manutuke Research Station as a Headquarters for investigating the problem of "ill-thrift" in hoggets. This was subsequently approved. It also determined that not enough use was made of farm advisory officers, and that more use should be made of veterinary services in respect of disease

28. NZPD, Duffield, 1954, Vol. 303, p.804.

29. See Appendix F. Report No. 13, p.1.

30. Report No. 13 (revised 1964), "Aspects of Live Stock Production in the Gisborne East Coast District", p.1.

31. See Appendices G and H, Ibid., p.2. N.B. Stock leaving region on the hoof not accounted for.

prevention by vaccination and control, and eradication by testing and slaughter. It was concluded that stagnation in sheep numbers was primarily due to diminishing fertility, and the consequent pasture deterioration. Remedial action was needed in the form of phosphatic fertiliser application, therefore they wanted a fertiliser works to be established in the region as soon as possible.<sup>32</sup> Approximately one-third of the grassland in the region was extensively grazed, with some paddocks ranging from 400 to 600 acres in size. Good pasture management proved difficult to maintain in such circumstances, and only one ewe or less was carried per acre. Without proper grazing control ill-thrift prevailed.

An obvious change of emphasis had occurred in the farming sector by the 1960s. Dairying was on the decrease, and there was a very noticeable swing from pastoral or arable on the flats, especially in market gardening and cropping for Watties. Farming there had become much more intensive, with a swing away from traditional crops such as maize towards orchards, grapes and kiwifruit. The ECDRA saw there was a great need for increasing finance so that farmers would be able to improve their production, also for irrigation and a greater pool of trained farm employees.

In the early 1960s farming in the region was largely inconsistent. Some farmers had successfully adapted new agricultural techniques to hill-country farming, while others had done little more than occasionally apply artificial fertilisers. Production per acre of both wool and meat was below the national average - but this situation could be improved. Aerial topdressing of virtually inaccessible hill country was vital in enabling pasture growth to be sustained and increased. Also important was the adoption of livestock management practices aimed at grazing the land more intensively, but for shorter periods to "eat out" the reverting scrub and allow grasses to recover while the animals are moved to other paddocks. Thus factors

32. Appendix I Acreage Topdressed.

essential for improvements were: security of tenure, scrub clearing, application of prescribed fertiliser, paddock supervision, increased livestock and skilled management.<sup>33</sup>

Despite its problems the region still managed to produce a large amount of stock. In 1961 Mrs Tombleson reported in Parliament that approximately 110,000 cattle were sold annually from the region. About 50 percent were sold privately and the rest from Matawhero and other saleyards. "In railway traffic these Matawhero yards are among the most important in New Zealand, and are comparable with the major South Island saleyards, at Addington",<sup>34</sup> she claimed.

Productivity was increasing on the Poverty Bay flats, and other areas such as Tolaga Bay plains were also exhibiting potential. 1960-61 approximately 7,000 to 8,000 acres were planted in maize around Gisborne. Increasing quantities of maize were being used in stock food mixtures, in the manufacture of poultry food, dairy ration, and for fattening pigs. By 1961, to assist that industry, Gisborne had an up-to-date provender milling plant to silo handle bulk grain, and one of the biggest lucerne drying plants in the country.

Much of the agricultural wealth of the region was used for industrial purposes, as in the freezing works which exported frozen meat, tallow, hides, pelts, neats foot oil and slipe wool to the United States and United Kingdom from Gisborne's harbour. The local cannery absorbed a large amount of the production of peas, sweetcorn, tomatoes, beans and asparagus. A ready market was also created for the manufacture of pet foods for cats and dogs.<sup>35</sup>

33. G.J. Fielding, "Agriculture in the East Coast", New Zealand Geographer, Vol. 20, No. 2, October 1964, p.194.

34. NZPD, Tombleson, 1961, Vol. 326, p.414.

35. Ibid.



Mrs Esme Tombleson was a "go ahead" M.P. with positive ideas. She was very keen on a maize derivatives industry being established in the region to make use of such by-products as corn starch, corn oil and dextrins.<sup>36</sup> In 1965 she went on a world tour, and in Holland her specific mission was to see Gisborne-grown maize samples tested and favourably reported on at a huge maize and grain industrial processing and food manufacturing complex near Amsterdam. In 1966 it was planned that a Dutch director of that firm would come out to make tentative plans for setting up a maize starch, glucose and derivatives industry in Gisborne, based on locally-grown maize. Its products would be used in the textile, food, paper, building and other industries. This would create employment in the area and would be a link between New Zealand's expanding paper industry and the maize starch industry.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately for the region this was never to eventuate as a similar factory was to be opened elsewhere in the North Island.

Another scheme of Mrs Tombleson's which was never to eventuate was the establishment of a sweet potato and pumpkin dehydration plant. This seemed to be perfectly feasible as the growing seasons complemented each other, and kumara was one of the foods highest in mineral content, especially potassium, phosphate and calcium. It would also have created employment for both growers and operators.<sup>38</sup> Many farmers were anxious to improve their techniques and production, as evidenced by two successful farm schools held at Tolaga Bay and Ruatoria in 1963.

1964 saw the publishing of the Land Utilisation Survey, which pointed out most of the region's problems were concerned with erosion control, Maori land tenure, transport difficulty, and lack of fertiliser. The Ministerial visit, previously noted in chapter three,

36. NZPD, Tombleson, 1962, Vol. 330, p.62.

37. Gisborne Herald, "Auckland Firm Has Plans for Maize", 4 July 1968, p.1.

38. NZPD, Tombleson, 1963, Vol. 335, p.832.

did a lot to boost the morale of the region's people, but one discordant note was the absence of local Maori representation on the inspection tour. Mr Watene stated:

Let me say that Maori matters can be resolved only by the Maoris themselves, and it is generally accepted by the Maoris that a solution to land problems is not piecemeal legislation but rather a policy of Maori land development for Maoris, plus rural farm training and management.<sup>39</sup>

The visit made it obvious that more finance should be made available to the Department of Lands and Survey, and to the Department of Maori Affairs to develop the land in the region. Mrs Tombleson also wanted to see portions of the East Coast described as redevelopment regions and given the same help and incentives as were certain areas on the West Coast of the South Island - the area suggested was Waiapu and that part of the Cook County formerly known as Uawa.

In the ECDRA's Report on the Availability of Finance for Farm Development and Associated Matters, it was made obvious that more use should be made of available finance. In the East Coast region very little use was made of Marginal Lands loans, as the figures reveal:

	<u>Percent</u> (i.e. of total lent)
North Auckland	35.1
South Auckland	14.4
Nelson	11.8
Southland	9.1
Wellington	5.9
Taranaki	4.8
Westland	5.1
Otago	4.9
Hawke's Bay	3.1
Marlborough	2.1
Canterbury	3.1
Gisborne	0.6

Source: Appendix 1, p.2.

39. NZPD, Watene, 1965, Vol. 342, p.718.

It was felt that reluctance to use this financial help might be partly due to the region's long tradition of self-sufficiency in its original store of forest-born fertility. But it could also indicate a past weakness in the service of both the Department of Agriculture, and Lands and Survey, on whose sponsorship the extent of Marginal Lands aid in any region was largely dependent. The ECDRA concluded in its Report that some poor or reverted land should be reclassified and either made the object of investment of Government funds for development, or else used for alternatives such as forestry. Some sources were very optimistic on the results of better finance. "With the problem of capital investment tackled realistically and, of course, the direction of that investment steered effectively, it could well be that before long at least one additional freezing works will be needed to cope with the extra meat that will come down from these hills", the New Zealand Farmer stated in 1964.<sup>40</sup>

In 1964-65 a policy of purchasing land for long-term development was introduced, by which reverted properties in isolated areas were to be redeveloped and settled by young farmers. So by 1966, land development in the region had been stepped up to 76,500 acres.<sup>41</sup> The Governor General, in his speech from the throne for that year said:

My Government will continue to develop land in regions offering opportunities for increased production and new settlement, in particular in the Rotorua-Taupo, and Gisborne-East Coast areas, in Northland, on the West Coast of the South Island, and in Southland.<sup>42</sup>

40. "East Coast Hills (5) Farm Advisory Service Has a Big Responsibility", New Zealand Farmer, 7 May 1964, p.9.

41. NZPD, Gerard, 1966, Vol. 346, p.145.

42. NZPD, Tombleson, 1966, Vol. 346, p.323.

From 1963-66 the total number of blocks taken over for development in the region by the Department of Lands and Survey had increased from four to eleven.

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>
Area of that land	9,381 acres	76,541 acres
Subdivision	14 units	73 units
Sheep carried on land blocks	14,706	75,583
Cattle	2,158	10,772

All these blocks had been broken in, brought in and ballotted for, and were economic land.<sup>43</sup>

There had been a large increase in the amount of fertiliser used in the region, aided by the two-thirds transport subsidy. This increased from 29.415 tons in 1963 to 70,000 tons in 1966. Sheep and wool production increased, and horticultural production had grown enormously. In 1966 Gisborne was supplying more than 50 percent of the oranges received by the New Zealand Citrus Marketing Authority. Apple, pear and peach production had also increased.

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>
Apples	38,000 cases	82,000 cases
Pears	4,100 cases	10,600 cases
Peaches	26,000 bushels	65,000 bushels

Source: NZPD, Tombleson, 1966, Vol. 346, p.324.

The Taylor Report (previously noted in chapters two and three) found that the East Coast region had fallen behind comparable North Island areas because of the following inter-related factors:

- (1) Depletion of initial fertility and soil cover.
- (2) General problems of soil stability.
- (3) Conditions of land tenure and size of holdings.
- (4) Problems of isolation and a conservative outlook towards the adoption and implementation of new ideas.

43. NZPD, Tombleson, 1966, Vol. 346, p.324.

- (5) Lack of continuous investment in farming.
- (6) Farm labour difficulties.<sup>44</sup>

This comprehensive Report stated the need to retire a large amount of land from traditional pastoral pursuits but despite this any regional developments would necessarily be largely based on the revitalisation of farming to realise the full potential of the land. Acceptance of technological innovations and the principles of scientific management needed to be sought and would be helped by incentives from Government to facilitate better pastures, subdivision and more effective stocking on the hills. These, plus the application of fertiliser, were to bring in some cases dramatic results. In the past it was a common statement, "I don't seem to get any response to fertilisers on my hill country". However by the 1960s this cry had been replaced by, "now that I am tropdressing so much where can I find more stock".<sup>45</sup>

Government fertiliser subsidies were very important. In 1968 the subsidies were increased, and Tombleson stated:

It is no exaggeration to say that an adequate application of fertiliser is the lifeblood of the cattle - and sheep - raising industry for the whole of the Gisborne-East Coast region. Because of the soil and climatic conditions in the area fertiliser has been and always will be the key to rising production. At the same time the topography is extremely difficult and I believe that no farmer in the whole of New Zealand faces greater transport problems than does the farmer in the Gisborne-East Coast area. It is very difficult country with long lines of communication, but the farmers have proved that they can manage this land. They have the will to do it and can be some of the best farmers in the whole country.<sup>46</sup>

- 44. N.H. Taylor, et al, Wise Land Use and Community Development, p.8.
- 45. ECDRA Report, "The Response of Poverty Bay Hill Country to Fertilisers", p.1.
- 46. NZPD, Tombleson, 1968, Vol. 356, p.986.

By 1969 the agricultural scene in the region was looking bright. The number of breeding ewes had increased by 28.6 percent above the figure for 1962, which was the base year. This was higher than the national increase of 26.8 percent. Cattle numbers had also increased by 22.7 percent, or more than 7 percent above the target set by the Agricultural Department conference in 1962. Citrus orchards, grapes, processed crops and maize had also shown significant increases.<sup>47</sup> The level of export prices and of farm incomes was comparably high in the 1960s – the widespread use of topdressing could be directly linked to these factors.

The 1970s were to see an intensification of the swing away from dependence on pastoral farming towards an intensive cropping, horticulture and viticulture diversification in the region. On the Poverty Bay flats, a stage had been reached whereby livestock had become incidental to crops, and on some individual farms had disappeared altogether. The price of land had skyrocketed and the holdings tended to be smaller. The flats, with their extremely fertile alluvial soil and mild climate were very suited to this diversification – some farmers had grown maize year after year without adding any fertiliser. Moisture was the main limiting factor to the soil's productivity, and as horticulture became more intensified irrigation would have to be used if the water was available. The main river, the Waipaoa, has a small flow in dry parts of the year. "Possibly this may become even less now that afforestation on a big scale is underway at its headwaters. Some day, perhaps, water will have to be piped long distances from some other watershed to sustain a highly intensive and immensely valuable horticulture."<sup>48</sup>

In June 1972 the ECDRA released a Report entitled "A Study of the Need for and Possibilities for Irrigation on the Gisborne Plains". In it were given approximate areas occupied in various forms of agriculture in 1971 (see Appendix I). The Report revealed that at that time irrigation was being practised by individual farmers and on the Watties

47. NZPD, Tombleson, 1969, Vol. 362, p.1895.

48. "Gisborne Plain (1) Swing to Arable Cropping and Horticulture", New Zealand Farmer, Vol. 90, No. 24, 26 February 1970, p.5.

farms. These schemes operated on the principle of overhead spray irrigation, drawing water supplies from the rivers of the plains, or from private bores. The ECDRA established that sufficient water could be made available to operate on an irrigation augmentation scheme over the bulk of the Poverty Bay flats. The Repongaere Lake basin, located just north of the Patutahi township on the western boundary of the flats, appeared to be the most economic storage place for irrigation water in the order of the quantity likely to be sought after. The likely cost of a scheme delivering piped water to most likely users on the flats was estimated to be \$4,000,000.<sup>49</sup> But unfortunately this was never put into effect. Land improvement from sub-surface drainage had proceeded at a very slow pace over the previous nine years to the Report. Reasons for this were lack of suitable drainage outfalls in many areas, and difficulties in obtaining both contractors and finance.

The new intensive settlement on the flats changed the role of the traditional crop - maize. It was not considered a sufficiently intensive crop to have space in the new, smaller, highly capitalised holdings. Maize occupies the ground for practically the whole twelve months, and cannot compare with returns from crops such as tomatoes, grapes, or citrus fruits. Maize was still a transitional crop in the early 1970s, with Gisborne still being a major growing area, sweetcorn is an alternative to maize, and in 1970 was the most important process crop grown on the flats, but this was still not sought after on very intensive holdings. J. Wattie's Cannery played a very important role in the arable revolution, as they provided the export outlet which gave the market stability. Peas, sweetcorn, beans, tomatoes and asparagus were largely dependent on the cannery and freeze plant for their market.

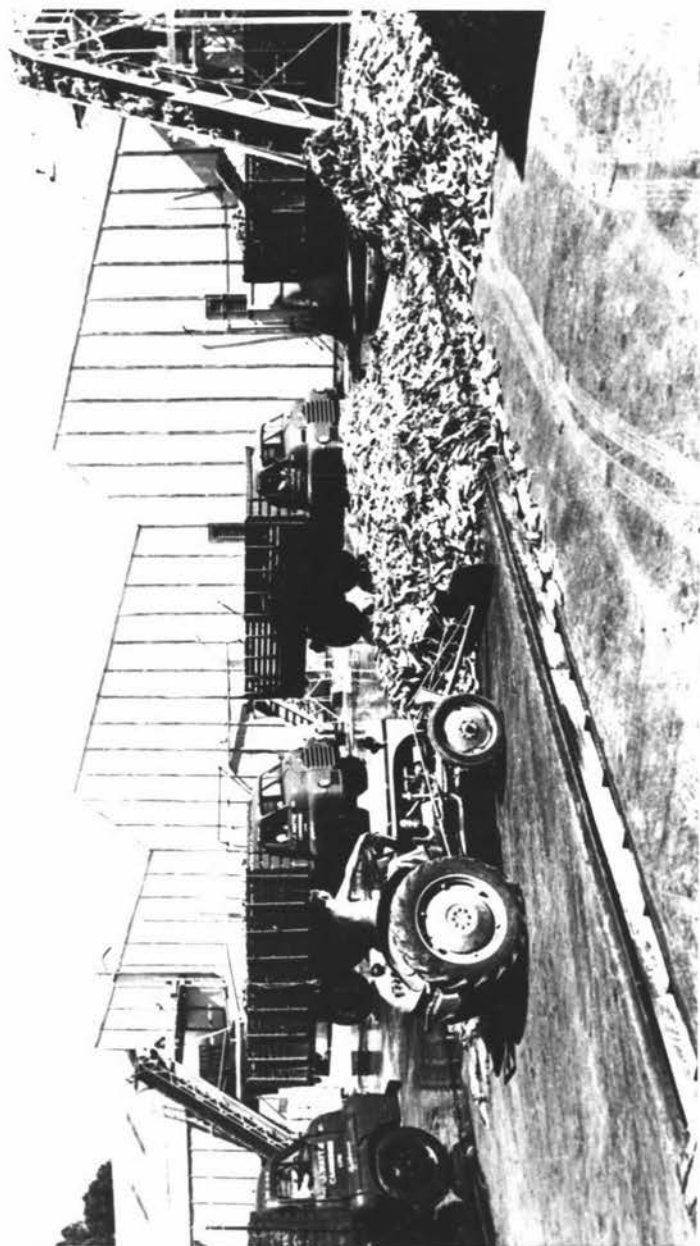
49. ECDRA Report, "A Study of the Need for and Possibilities for Irrigation on the Gisborne Plains", June 1972, p.4.



Figure 14:

Handling part of the large sweetcorn harvest at Watties Factory,  
Gisborne, 1952.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



In the early 1970s market gardening was still on a small scale, but kumaras for the fresh vegetable market were grown on a larger scale than anywhere else in New Zealand. Various experimental crops of grain sorghums showed promise but were not sufficiently profitable to compete strongly with maize and sweetcorn. The establishment of permanent horticultural species like grapes, citrus and berry fruits meant high returns for farmers, but to balance this they were slow-establishing, highly capitalised and a fairly high risk. Major wine manufacturers had turned to Gisborne as a source of future large quantities of grapes, and arrangements were made with local farmers to supply grapes under contract. This led to large scale development in vineyard area - 1965 67 acres were in grapes, but by 1970 this had increased to more than 500 acres. The following figures illustrate the growth and diversification on the Poverty Bay flats in 1972:<sup>50</sup>

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1972</u>	(acreage)
Area in crops	66	1,000	(produced 25% of N.Z. crops)
Citrus production	200	600	(producing 18% total N.Z. yield)
Crops for processing	2,100	5,000	
Sub-tropical fruits	20	130	
Market gardens	500	700	
Maize	6,000	20,000	(producing 38% N.Z. crop)
Barley	700	2,000	
Soya beans <sup>51</sup> (completely new crop)	1970=200	350	

50. NZPD, Tombleson, 1972, Vol. 380, p.1931.

51. According to T. Davey (M.P. for Gisborne 1972-75), NZPD, 1974, Vol. 393, p.3914, from experimental tests carried out on soya beans "indications were that a crop of better type quality and yield would be produced than could be produced anywhere else in the World". But a minimum 5,000 acre area would be needed to establish the area.

Thus agriculture had undergone some dramatic changes in emphasis in the period under scrutiny (see Appendix J). There was a revitalisation in the farming sector, with a corresponding increase in the levels of production. Modern methods and techniques had brought about a new breed of farmer interested in intensive farming, especially viticulture, on the flats and more efficient pastoralism in the hill country. This region was not going to be left behind in the new agricultural revolution taking place.

The ECDRA had played an important role in influencing the sphere of land tenure and utilisation in the region. Careful research had been done to determine the exact problems, and what kind of measures would help to either alleviate or improve the situation. The Maori land problem was assessed, and through lobbying at Parliamentary level increased assistance from Government was forthcoming to help the Maori owners develop their land. Attention was drawn to the true situation of land tenure and utilisation on the East Coast by the Land Utilisation Survey and the Taylor Report. After a thorough investigation of the agricultural situation, representations to the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries brought more research into the problems of the region, and an increased use of the farm advisory service. The ECDRA was useful in applying pressure to try and secure more financial assistance for the region's farmers, better irrigation and usage of fertiliser. It was measurably successful in stimulating this important sector of the region.

### TRANSPORT AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Transport and industrial development were seen by the ECDRA as major issues in the region. The two were essentially inter-related as good lines of communication and efficient transport were vital in assisting both agricultural and industrial development on the East Coast. A good primary base supporting thriving secondary industries would be the ultimate goal of most regions.

Travel, both within and out of the region, was inherently difficult which led to high transport costs. Initially the only forms of transport were by road and sea, then rail and finally air were introduced as viable transportation modes.

Roading has always been a highly expensive venture on the East Coast, employing a large labour pool, first to construct and then to maintain and improve. The extreme shortage of metal and unstable nature of the country made this a very arduous task. After World War Two it became imperative to have better transport so that the region could compete with others in rising production levels, and the War had illustrated the increasing convenience of carrying freight by truck.

Throughout the period under survey there were constant demands in Parliament for more funding for roads in the region, starting in 1947 when the £92,400 allocated for maintenance of highways in the Gisborne District, was not considered enough especially when compared to the amount allocated to the Hawke's Bay District.<sup>1</sup> At that time the journey from Gisborne to Napier entailed travelling over rough shingle roads, and the main road between Gisborne and Wairoa via Tiniroto was often impassable due to erosion. The floods and siltation of 1948 and 1950 caused wide-scale damage to roads and bridges in the region.

1. NZPD, Coleman, 1947, Vol. 278, p.877.

One of the basic problems at this time was an inherent bureaucratic one, in that when the Public Works Department was reorganised it was decided to have six districts instead of twelve. Therefore Gisborne became a sub-district of Napier. The Napier district extended from the Manawatu Gorge to East Cape, which was far too large an area for one Supervisory Engineer to be able to cater.<sup>2</sup> By 1953 though the situation had changed, and Gisborne again had its own district. The atrocious state of the roads was emphasised by Dudfield in 1951 when he said:

The overland road trip to Gisborne, either from North or South is like a politician's speech - very long, very tiring, and everybody is pleased when it is over. In fact on back roads some of the ruts are such that in winter if you are not careful which rut you get into, you are liable to be in that rut for a long long time for some miles. It is imperative if we are to induce people to come back to the country that we must have improved roading, bridging, and all the other amenities countryfolk look for.<sup>3</sup>

There were also numerous calls over the years for heavy reconstruction of the Waioeka Gorge as it was the key road in communications with the north, therefore it was essential that it be brought up to modern highway standard. This road was to take most of the road expenditure in the region until its eventual completion. If it had been up to standard during the 1950s it was envisaged that Gisborne could have been the market garden for Auckland. The Gisborne-East Coast road was in a disgraceful condition for most of the period under survey, due largely to the terrain and lack of finance. In 1956, in order to ensure traffic could pass up and down the coast it was necessary to replace or repair 1,127 feet of bridges annually, yet in 1955 only 123 feet were replaced.<sup>4</sup> This road had enormous potential as a scenic highway but anything done on it was of necessity a major undertaking, and every winter it was in dire threat of becoming a quagmire in patches.

2. NZPD, Keeling, 1950, Vol. 291, p.2119.

3. NZPD, Dudfield, 1951, Vol. 295, p.30.

4. NZPD, Keeling, 1956, Vol. 309, p.1626.

A greater consideration for the region was obviously needed from the National Roads Board. Although traffic density was probably lower than many other regions, costs were higher due mainly to isolation and the fact that the nearest good metal supply was at Napier. The Ministry of Works Engineer told Mr R.A. Keeling in 1957 that "he thought the highway up the East Coast would prove to be the most expensive highway ever built in New Zealand".<sup>5</sup> In 1958 Hon. H. Watt said the stage had been reached on the East Coast road where "many of the bridges are being held up with patches of odd pieces of steel, and with bits of Bailey bridging".<sup>6</sup> But it was not until the 1970s that the road was really to be brought up to an acceptable standard.

Transport was one of the issues discussed in the Land Utilisation Survey of Gisborne-East Coast Region published by the Department of Lands and Survey in 1964. The most significant statement it made on this subject was that:

This is a region that is a long way from other centres of population, and the steep, broken nature of the intervening land accentuates this remoteness. Both for the export of primary produce and for the importing of daily needs, it is dependent on long lines of communication. Though communications - particularly roads - have been much improved in recent years, this still remains one of the major factors in the further progress of this district - the cost, and the time involved in getting produce to markets.<sup>7</sup>

In its 1965 report on transport, the ECDRA concurred that the cost of road transport was of considerable importance to farming operations and land development in the region. The rough condition of many country roads, the steep grades and winding nature of many hill roads also increased the costs of operating road transport and were of social significance in the employment of farm labour. People were often

5. NZPD, Keeling, 1957, Vol. 311, p.178.

6. NZPD, Watt, 1958, Vol. 316, p.543.

7. Department of Lands and Survey, Land Utilisation Survey of Gisborne-East Coast Region, p.15.



reluctant to live in isolated circumstances, therefore good farm labour was often difficult to obtain. Married staff had extra consideration of services such as health, education and entertainment for their children. In the early 1960s there were substantial improvements on the main routes which allowed for faster average speeds with greater loads over a reduced rate mileage. Thus charges were reduced to the farmer, and increases occurred in the net returns for the large numbers of store stock trucked out of the district each year. However it was apparent that any further farm development would place a heavy burden on the country roading system and deterioration would be inevitable unless appropriate steps were taken.

In general transport operators had good fleets and their financial position had been strengthened considerably with the rebuilding of the Gisborne-Opotiki State Highway, and the steady improvement of the East Coast State Highway. What was needed was for feeder routes from the principal hill country farming areas to be improved and sealed and some route mileages reduced.<sup>8</sup>

1966 saw the completion of the Matawai-Otoko link which gave Gisborne a first class outlet through the Waioeka Gorge. There were some suggestions to make the old Motu Road an alternative route to Gisborne but these were ruled out because of the fantastic cost involved.<sup>9</sup> By 1971 road maintenance was costing \$8 a yard in the region.<sup>10</sup> In 1972 Mr P.B. Reweti was concerned that more and more of the overall National Roads Board funds were being diverted to the main centres from the provincial districts. In the year ended 31 March 1971 motorway and state highway construction expenditure were:

Auckland and Wellington	\$11.04 million
Rest of New Zealand	10.88 million
Gisborne	0.41 million

8. ECDRA Report No. 16, 1965, "Transport Facilities and Cost in the Gisborne-East Coast Region, with Particular Reference to Land Development", p.2.

9. NZPD, Tombleson, 1967, Vol. 353, p.3194.

10. NZPD, Tombleson, 1971, Vol. 376, p.4251.

The ECDRA updated their report on transport facilities and costs in the region in 1972. This revealed how the cost of transport into and out of the region caused differentials in force in Gisborne compared to Auckland. An example of the extra costs incurred by East Coast residents is shown below:

	<u>Gisborne</u>	<u>Auckland</u>
Fuel Oil	2.4c/gallon	Nil
Lubricating Oils	14.0c/ "	"
Aviation kerosene	5.1c/ "	"
Aviation spirit	5.0c/ "	"
Bitumen	\$7.20/ton	"

Source: ECDRA Report 16B, p.1.

These helped retard the development of the region, for example two industries alone used over 1,700,000 gallons of fuel oil a year, on which a differential of \$40,000 was levied. It was only in 1971 that differentials on petrol and diesel had been removed. These had been in existence for many decades and at the time of removal were costing the region some \$200,000 per annum.

In 1972 a summary of the region's roading situation was as follows:

<u>State Highways</u>	Class I	115 miles
	Class II	256 miles
	Sealed	335 miles
	Unsealed	36 miles
<u>Country Roads</u>	Class I	Nil
	Class II	1,193 miles
	Class III	262 miles
	Not classified	53 miles
	Sealed	265 miles
	Unsealed	1,243 miles

Source: Report 16B, p.2.

The roading system of the region was comparatively undeveloped at this time with only 21 percent of the feeder routes sealed. A greater rate of upgrading and sealing the remaining routes would go far to improve the economics of road transport in the region.

Rail was the alternative overland transport system. The post-war situation was that the line functioning between Gisborne and Napier had considerably aided the region's prosperity, especially in the transport of stock. As far as goods traffic was concerned the war had limited both the availability of shipping for servicing the port, and the use of motor transport for overland carriage. Thus rail came into its own. This boom was to continue into the 1950s as the shipping companies preferred to continue uplifting cargo from the centralised ports, and over long distances motor lorries provided limited opposition. Frozen meat and wool were railed to Napier for overseas despatch, but post-war railing of livestock between farm, saleyards and freezing works had serious competition from trucks.<sup>11</sup> If the much promised Matawai to Taneatua connection had been constructed it would have served a useful purpose in that the region could have supplied the Auckland market. As it was, stock going to the Waikato had to be railed down to Palmerston North and then up, and timber from the Bay of Plenty had to come in on very heavy road transport. The advantages of a direct link were obvious and there were constant advocates in Parliament for its construction.<sup>12</sup> It seemed a comparatively straightforward proposition to many:

The physical problems involved in completing the gap in the line are not particularly great, the distance involved being between forty and fifty miles. With the new techniques that are available in tunnelling and in railway construction I am certain that the link could be completed in quick time and at relatively small cost. It is ridiculous that at present goods from Auckland for Gisborne should have to be railed almost to the bottom of the North Island before being transferred to the Gisborne line.<sup>13</sup>

11. Bradford Patterson, "Eastern Periphery", p.509.

12. For example NZPD, Dudfield, 1954, Vol. 303, p.361.

13. NZPD, Dudfield, 1954, Vol. 303, p.804.

But unfortunately this was never to become a reality. By 1959 the Gisborne-Motuhora branch line was showing an ever-increasing loss, with patronage continually decreasing. It was particularly vulnerable because of the purely local nature of the services offered. In 1949 the loss on this branch was £9,382 and in 1958 £40,800. It also needed repairs, therefore in 1959 it was decided to uplift it and use part of the line for the new highway.

Thus the southern rail link became even more important. In 1957 the damage caused by a major slip between Waikokopu and Nuhaka had drawn attention to the importance of this connection with Wellington. It had been thought that road transport could cope with the traffic, but while the slip was being repaired it was found that road transport facilities were not sufficient to give a full and adequate service to Gisborne.<sup>14</sup>

The ECDRA in its 1965 Report recounted that the passenger railcar service to Napier was adequate, and that a frequent and satisfactory goods train schedule was maintained. A road link to the Taneatua railhead was also in operation which provided a service in conjunction with coastal shipping and road transport.

The railcar service was to lead a chequered life. By 1968 it had been practically eliminated with only a Friday service running, which put severe strain on the roads. Then by 1972 when the train "Endeavour" was operating from Napier to Wellington, the railcar was servicing the Napier to Gisborne link. Unfortunately insufficient patronage on the line between Napier and Gisborne meant that the expenditure could not be justified to refurbish additional carriages. Therefore the train service could not operate in both directions simultaneously. Once again the region's lack of population had been the stumbling block to progress.

14. NZPD, Keeling, 1957, Vol. 313, p.2411.

Sea transport still had potential in this period although many difficulties had to be overcome. War demands had seen the serious depletion of the coastal fleet, and road and rail had taken a lot of the trade. An acute shortage of construction materials had also hampered post-war attempts at harbour development. The decentralisation of shipping in the war had been a hard blow to the region's ports. In pre-war days 32 overseas ships were loaded at Gisborne, but with the exception of 2 ships in 1941-42 the Gisborne port was not visited by any overseas vessels until the resumption of loading in the Bay, September 1951, when 42,000 carcasses were loaded in the "Napier Star".

By 1950 the sea passenger trade out of the region had completely succumbed, and Gisborne and Tokomaru Bay were the only regional ports with any future. But then with the closure of the Tokomaru Bay Freezing Works and the transfer of stock to Gisborne that port too was closed. (See Appendix K.) In October 1950 the Minister of Transport, Hon, W.S. Goosman, announced Gisborne was to be one of two New Zealand ports at which direct loading into overseas ships was to be resumed, so plans could go ahead for development.

In 1951 Gisborne Harbour Board fortunes were at their lowest ebb, with total exports and imports amounting to 61,249 tons - the lowest since 1904. But then with expansion in meat production at the freezing works and the establishment of the canning factory an improvement was seen with an expansion in the area for cargo holding at the port.

Being a river port imposed extra problems on Gisborne. By 1959 the lightering system, used to outload heavy commerce from shore to ship, had become outmoded. Economically it was now a factory which weighed against the region.<sup>15</sup> The extra costs involved resulted in

15. For details on lighterage charges see the ECDRA preliminary report on "Gisborne Harbour Potential", 1961.

Figure 15:

"Napier Star" in roadstead, note the lighters tied alongside.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)





the port having to meet a penalty rate, which cost the East Coast producers  $\frac{1}{2}$ d for every pound of meat leaving for overseas. The ECDRA, after studying reports on farming potential and freight costs in the region, were convinced from the outset of its organisation, of the necessity of providing berthage in the port for overseas vessels. By the Gisborne Harbour Board Empowering Bill of 1961 it was proposed to establish an export wharf at the water's edge, thus providing wharfside loading for overseas ships. This would serve to stimulate the region's development and production, would accommodate larger ships and would cut out expensive and slow roadstead loading. Provision would also be made for a large increase in the fishing industry (especially tuna for canning), more intensive use could be made of lands in the regions, and industries dependent on harbour development could be established, such as the processing of chilled beef and exotic timber production and wood products for export. Thus the ECDRA proposed in their Report that there was the possibility of wool sales being held in Gisborne thus further reducing producers' costs. Also the means would be provided for direct inward shipments ex overseas, thus the perimeter of the area the port could serve would be enlarged by drawing cargo from the Bay of Plenty and Wairoa districts. The ECDRA in their report "Farm Production and Harbour Development", 1961, concluded that an export wharf would increase farm earnings from direct savings not dependent on export prices. It would also improve the competitive position of the canning industry by lowering freight costs to overseas markets and increase the scope for the region to attract industry necessary to provide employment for the increased district population. The East Coast people wanted to help themselves:

Here we have a clear cut undertaking by a community, isolated from the rest of New Zealand, to further its own development and meet its own requirements, without calling on anyone else for aid. The people there are continuing to develop the harbour and the commercial expansion of the East Coast, with their own private enterprise resources.<sup>16</sup>

16. NZPD, Walsh, 1961, Vol. 329, p.3763.

In 1967 Gisborne began operating its new overseas wharf. The quicker turn-around of ships at the enlarged port of Gisborne meant a cut in costs for Wairoa as it was cheaper to ship from Gisborne than from Napier. Previously in rough weather ships had to stand outside for a considerable time waiting for loading, and eventually went to Napier. Thus Gisborne goods either had to wait or were sent to Napier by train. This could now be eliminated. It was envisaged that the possibility now existed for a rock-crushing plant to be installed in Gisborne for the manufacture and production of manure, which would help the topdressing situation considerably.

There was still the "sticky" problem of oil differentials to contend with. Until 1962-63 a small coaster used to service the port, then she was replaced by larger tankers. The idea then was to bring Gisborne into line with other ports, enabling her to have overseas shipping at the wharves, but instead all oil and petroleum products were then landed at the port of Napier and brought overland by rail to Gisborne. This helped the New Zealand Railways Department revenue but not the East Coast region. Napier was seen to be "waxing fat" at Gisborne's expense.<sup>17</sup>

In 1972 Gisborne ranked fifteenth out of the eighteen commonly accepted commercial ports in New Zealand. Coastal shipping had continued to decline in the quantity of cargo carried, mainly due to irregular service in old ships (see Appendix L). However, importation of cement in bulk was commenced by two companies in 1970, and in 1971 7,000 tons were brought into Gisborne and Wairoa by this method. The development of the deep water port had also enabled two industries to begin operations in the region - the export of pine logs, and the manufacture and export of lucerne-meal pellets. Fishing vessels from the Chathams also made use of the port.

17. NZPD, Tombleson, 1970, Vol. 368, p.3234.

In 1974 Gisborne was to have the pilot scheme for the introduction of a tug and barge service in New Zealand which was meant to revitalise coastal shipping. In 1975 this was replaced by a motorised barge service. An investigation into the potential trade between Gisborne and Wairoa was undertaken by the ECDRA and circulated as a report in 1968. They found that freighting through Gisborne to Wairoa could achieve cost reductions of 13 percent to 14 percent. A two-way trade was envisaged whereby from Wairoa to Gisborne would come meat, meat by-products, skimmed milk powder and wool, while in the opposite direction the potential trade was in commodities such as oil products, fertiliser, cement and structural steel.

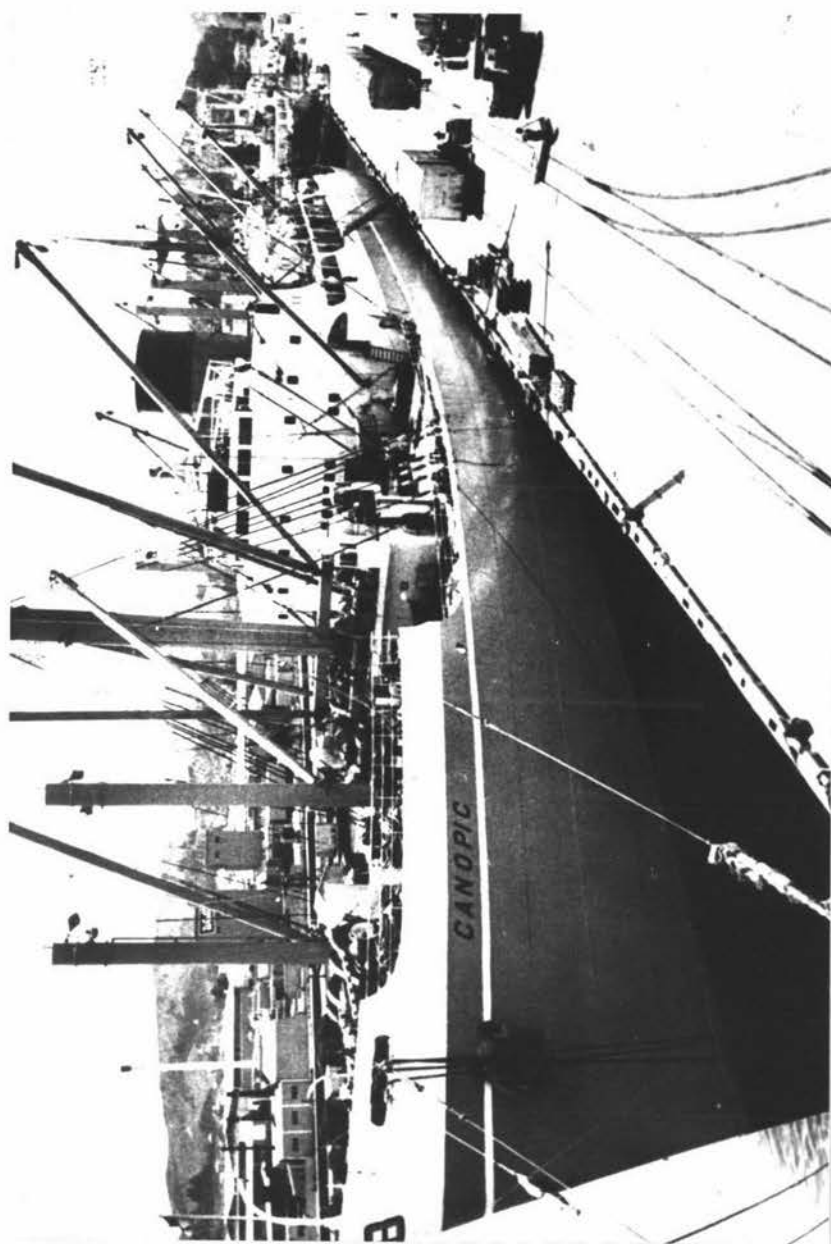
The side effects of such trading were seen to include many benefits. More work would be generated for the waterfront industry, and if this led to wool sales in Gisborne there would be a much greater demand for labour. Increased use would be made of road and rail links between the two centres. Additional sailings of overseas ships would bring increased trade in the city, and extra revenue would accrue for the Gisborne Harbour Board. Therefore, the ECDRA recommended that the potential should be published within the region to obtain support to increase the ties between Gisborne and Wairoa. If there was a favourable reception in Wairoa to these ideas a suitable person from Wairoa would be invited to join the Directors of the ECDRA and occasionally meetings would be held in Wairoa. Also the ECDRA reports would be revised to include the Wairoa district.

Thus the ECDRA's concern at the general transport and freight situation within the region led it to taking positive and direct steps to encourage the growth of Gisborne Harbour as much as possible to achieve its full potential. Unfortunately for Gisborne the Napier harbour was to become much more important, and the dominant port on the East Coast of the North Island.

Figure 16:

The "Canopic" being loaded at the overseas wharf, about 1970.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)



The last form of transport, but by no means the least, to be introduced to the region was air. Nothing could beat the aeroplane for speed, terrain was no longer a problem and there were no expensive harbour facilities which needed to be maintained. Perishables could now be quickly airfreighted out of the region for export market. Once the Gisborne runway was sealed DC3's were replaced by tricycle undercarriage aeroplanes, and by 1970 a new air terminal had been built and a reliable passenger service using Friendship aircraft was well established. There was finally a fast means of contact with the rest of New Zealand.

Planes meant the arrival of aerial topdressing on a large scale. After the War private firms began experimenting in this field, as good prices for wool and meat had given farmers the necessary capital for this investment. The War had left a surplus of small training aircraft which could be adapted cheaply to carry fertilisers, and had also created the skilled pilots needed for this work. The spreading of fertiliser and introduction of clovers into deteriorated pastures by surface seeding proved successful, and made possible the full utilisation of applied fertilisers and increased productivity in the hill country.

By 1957 New Zealand had become a world leader in the application of aerial topdressing techniques on the East Coast. The firm of Fieldair Limited (established in 1949) operated from the Gisborne area. Airstrips were developed in the back country for the Tiger Moths and Beaver aircraft, but the bigger Lodestars had to work from the aerodrome. This saved a lot of wear and tear on the back country roads, as when a small plane was in use a lot of equipment had to be carted to the airstrip. Increasing production in the region reflected the highly developed topdressing techniques in use, and the greatly increased use of fertiliser which was always greatly advocated by the ECDRA (see Appendix M for statistics of fertiliser usage in Gisborne-Wairoa district). Helicopters were also increasingly used for the quick and efficient transportation of farming materials in the steep back country.

Figure 17:

Helicopters became widely used both for topdressing and in the transport of farming materials to inaccessible areas. Here one is transporting poles for planting by the Catchment Board on Bexhaven Station, Mata Road, inland from Tokomaru Bay.

(Courtesy S. Mill)





Thus all the transport modes have had their own definite effect on the region. The internal combustion engine transformed overland transport - it stimulated the development of more intensive types of farming, opened back-country areas up changing the regional settlement pattern, and socially helped break down the isolation of farming areas and townships. Rail provided an alternative overland route and was important for heavy goods haulage. The port was needed for export of primary produce, and the fast developing fishing industry. Planes provided speedy transport for both passengers and goods. They all combined to modify the physical isolation of the region. But the psychological attitude of remoteness built up by residents over the decades was to prove less easy to break down.

Historically the East Coast has always been among New Zealand's least industrialised regions. By the 1966 census only 26.8 percent of the regional labour force was engaged in manufacturing, which was the lowest percentage of any New Zealand statistical area.

For a successful industrial base the essential ingredients are flat land, suitable labour, raw materials, transportation, the availability of fuel, power, water, and facilities for waste disposal. The East Coast suffered from basic underlying problems in that although labour was abundant it was mainly semi to unskilled, transport costs on both materials and products were often high, and internal markets were distant. Also, manufacturing tended to operate to a very narrow base, with most emphasis on the processing of foodstuffs. Food preparation industries needed the greatest plant sophistication, with meat freezing and dairy factories being particularly important in the region. Once transport had improved in the region centralisation and amalgamation of plants could take place.

By 1950 the volume of regional meat exports had decreased due to the impact of international combines on local industry, a decrease in livestock numbers carried in the region, and a trend towards store stock production. But still the industry managed to hold its own and remained vitally important, both as a seasonal employer of labour in Gisborne, and as an exporter from the harbour. In 1952 the Tokomaru Bay works closed down leaving Kaiti as the sole freezing works in the region. By the 1960s export of frozen meat from the region was in decline (see Appendix H for killing and freight figures). The ECDRA was so concerned at this state of affairs that it requested the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board to make investigations into competition from other works, i.e. sheep sent out of the region for killing, and the store stock trade. Wool production statistics in the region during the 1960s were of concern to the ECDRA. Although bales sold in New Zealand were steadily increasing, those sent overseas were on the decline (see Appendix N). This is where the improved wharfage facilities mentioned earlier in the chapter were envisaged to be of benefit to the situation.

The Dairy Produce industry was always on a more modest scale than meat packing. By the end of World War Two dairy production had gone into decline and by 1946 the output was less than 1,000 tons.<sup>18</sup> Both the Uawa Dairy Company at Tolaga Bay and the Ngati Porou Co-Operative Dairy Company Ltd at Ruatoria were well into decline by 1950 as the emphasis swung away from dairy cows. By the end of the period under survey a smaller number of farmers were milking larger herds more efficiently to produce for the town milk supply, as consumer demand for both liquid milk and cream continued to grow (see Appendix O for figures). Gisborne commenced supplying bottled milk and cream to Wairoa and district in June 1974, by which time there was no longer any commercial butter production in the region.

18. Patterson, "Eastern Periphery", contains information on this topic.

By the 1950s it was obvious that economic diversification was necessary. Timber milling, flax dressing, and the quarrying of non-metallic minerals had diminished in importance, and no new rural enterprise had come to the fore. In Gisborne though, consumer industries for the local market were of growing importance. By the 1960s both national and international firms had moved into the region. They controlled the major processing plants, thus effectively removing decision making from the local area. Diversification into light industry was becoming a necessity.

In its surveys of the industrial potential of the region, the ECDRA concluded that the East Coast had a low rate of population growth due to migration out of the region. Therefore it was imperative that secondary industries should be encouraged to hold this labour force and thus maintain population increase as compared with other areas. They saw that the region offered substantial advantages to the establishment of light industries, especially those associated with food production and processing. The climate and geography of the region offered excellent recreational, work and living conditions. This helped maintain industrial harmony and reduce staff turnover. Industrial land was available at reasonable prices, water and sewerage services were available, and power and gas were well serviced within the city limits. With the development of improved harbour facilities it was also hoped that freight rates would prove to be competitive.

Labour and wage rates were to the advantage of the region for most of the period under scrutiny. In 1964 the high birth rate coupled with lack of industry meant a labour surplus, and rates of wages were generally 6d to 9d per hour lower than the New Zealand average.<sup>19</sup> (See Appendix P for comparative wage rates.) Gisborne was regarded as being a "barometer" area in terms of labour, and by 1967 unemployment in the "off season" from April to October was generally

19. ECDRA Report on Industrial Potential of the Gisborne District, 1964, p.128.

expected. In the three years prior to this "off seasonal" unemployment had been reduced mainly by an accelerated population drift to the bigger cities, by the expansion of forestry planting teams, and by the local cannery launching into meat and fish processing and consequently increasing its permanent staff by approximately 75 percent.

The peak demand for labour in the "on season" also exceeded the supply which was augmented by vocational workers, and by a "supplementary" labour force of housewives not normally seeking permanent employment. The annual turnover of labour among those workers employed seasonally at the freezing works was considered to be minimal.

Industrial development of the region is closely associated with the raw materials produced locally. Mutton, beef and wool production is substantial, as is cropping, fruit and vegetable production (see Appendix Q for statistics). Fishing, as it continued to grow, also brought with it additional ancilliary industry. This exploitation of a natural resource is considered in depth later in the chapter. Exotic forestry was well established in the region by 1976 when 45,621 acres had been planted. This made a noticeable impact on employment especially in the rural areas surrounding the Mangatu, Ruatoria and Wharerata forests. The wine industry also had tremendous potential. In 1976 650 hectares were planted in grapes, as compared with 18 hectares in 1963. Waihirere Wines was the pioneering firm in the region, and between 1963 and 1968 its sales of wine rose markedly from 47,000 gallons to 104,000 gallons. At that time it was exporting to Fiji and the Cook Islands, with plans to export to Canada and Hong Kong.<sup>20</sup> In the 1970s the wine industry was to really "take off".

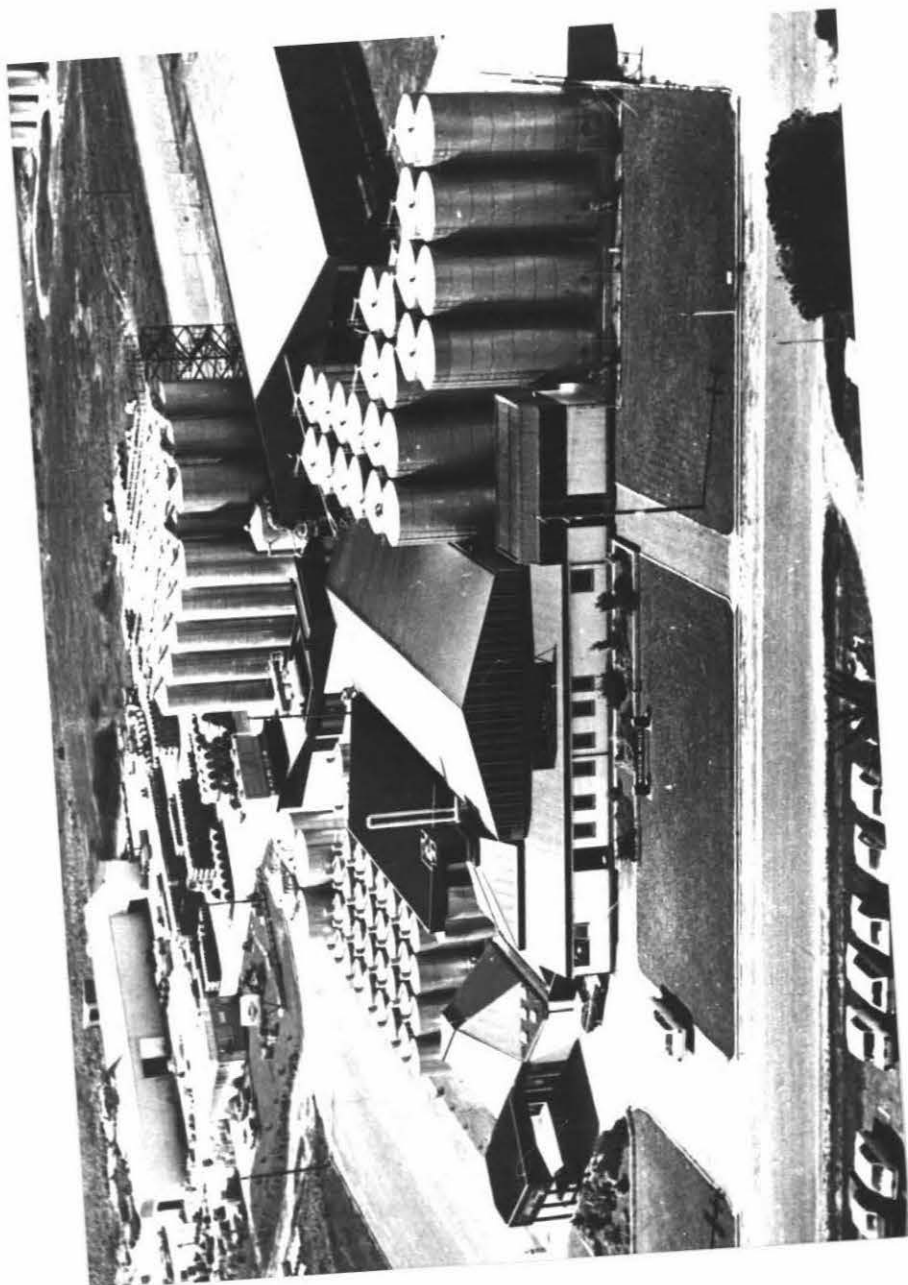
Other raw materials in the region with potential for development were bentonite and cement. Mrs Tombleson was a keen advocate of investigations into the exploitation of bentonite. Unfortunately scientific tests seemed to indicate that although a large quantity existed in the region it was not of a sufficiently high quality for

20. NZPD, Tombleson, 1969, Vol. 356, p.987.

Figure 18:

Montana Wines Factory, Gisborne Industrial Subdivision, 1976.

(Gisborne Museum Collection)





export. Limited quantities were used within New Zealand in foundry sands and for drilling purposes. There were also investigations into other minerals in the region. For example, in 1969 the Commissioner of Crown Lands at Gisborne recommended that approval be granted to five applications for mineral prospecting warrants for East Coast land. The applicant was the Consolidated Silver Mining Company of New Zealand Limited, which was investigating copper, nickel, lead, zinc, molybdenum and tungsten.<sup>21</sup>

Government assistance was also forthcoming to the region. In 1975 it had received \$368,480 in suspensory loans to help firms expand. The region had also received \$1,311,120 from the Development Finance Corporation, which had been invested to expand existing industries, encourage firms to purchase new machinery, and to provide job opportunities to encourage people to stay in the region, and others who had left to return.<sup>22</sup>

By the end of the period under scrutiny it appeared that although the East Coast would never be a major manufacturing region, there was potential for considerable expansion of the secondary sector. Transport costs were high but there was a stable labour pool available at relatively low wage rates. Enlargement of the existing freezing works and cannery was imminently foreseeable, and new crops would bring specialised packing and processing plants. Also an increasing exploitation of both forest and fish resources would bring new factories into existence. The industrial future looked bright.

Fishing had always been a means of primary production in the region, but in the 1960s there was a move towards the diversification of the primary sector by intensively utilising previously under-exploited assets. Mrs Esme Tombleson, as M.P. for the region, was a great advocate and champion of the fishing industry. She considered far more attention and research should be given to the fishing grounds

21. Gisborne Herald, 25 July 1969, p.1.

22. NZPD, Davey, 1975, Vol. 402, p.5083.

around the East Coast region, as there was a huge potential market in Australia, the U.S.A. and Japan. Tuna in particular had a ready market overseas, and could easily take the place of imported canned fish in New Zealand.

By 1965 the Port of Gisborne has risen in a few years from fifth to second landing port of wet fish in New Zealand. "It is .... a lifeline for Gisborne, and anything that is a lifeline for Gisborne is obviously one for the East Coast as a whole."<sup>23</sup> The mid-sixties saw a phenomenal growth in the fishing industry both in the region and in New Zealand as a whole (see Appendix R for figures). Gisborne became established as a base for the tuna industry. The region was fortunate in that the combination of a warm current from the north running down the coast, plus fresh water running from the rivers into the sea, ensured a good supply of plankton for the fish to feed on. In a joint project May to June 1966 undertaken by the Fishing Industry Board and the Marine Department approximately fifty tons of tuna were landed at Gisborne. "This Government sponsored project was backed enthusiastically by Gisborne commercial fishermen, who caught most of their tuna by trolling lures and gill nets."<sup>24</sup>

New ground was broken in Gisborne in 1967 when New Zealand's first combination stern trawler and purse seiner was built in Auckland to harvest the surface-schooling fish which abounded around the East Coast. This was a new and important advance in fishing methods. Tuna fishing continued apace and fishing was a developing industry endeavouring to gain a bigger foothold in a very competitive export trade. "The industry has changed from a backward-looking sector of the economy to one charged with enthusiasm, new ideas and energy."<sup>25</sup> This had been helped by a comprehensive Government programme which gave financial assistance to fishermen, by a new extensive research programme.

23. NZPD, Tombleson, 1965, Vol. 342, p.510.

24. Esme Tombleson, "As I See It", New Zealand Farmer, 23 June 1966, Vol. 87, p.64.

25. NZPD, Tombleson, 1967, Vol. 350, p.521.

One drawback for fishermen in the region was the lack of delivery by sea of petroleum productions, and this did not encourage the growing tendency for industry to be attracted to the region. Because Gisborne had not been declared a main port, oil fuel was shipped to Napier and then railed to Gisborne at a cost of over \$240,000 a year. This difference in the cost of oil fuel as between Napier and Gisborne cost the Gisborne fishing fleet between \$14,000 and \$16,000 a year, half of which was borne by the working fishermen as they operated the boats on a share basis.<sup>26</sup> As the oil companies were not prepared to finance the necessary oil installation in Gisborne, the small fisherman had to suffer this loss. At this time Mrs Tombleson commented that Gisborne had made

more spectacular progress in fishing than any other port in the whole of New Zealand, solely because of the efforts of the small fishermen; it has not had huge combines coming in and then later demanding help. It is one of the main fishing ports of New Zealand.<sup>27</sup>

By July 1968 the fishing fleet had increased from twenty to fifty, and thirty varieties of fish were being caught. During the previous eight years fishing catches had trebled from 1,500 tons to 4,500 tons, and fish processing equalled forty percent of meat production. It was predicted that in the not too distant future it would equal or pass the meat figures.<sup>28</sup> The average landing for a trawler in 1966 was 1,573 cwt, but in Gisborne the average per trawler was in excess of 3,200 cwt.

This indicates either that the East Coast waters are rich in fish, or that the fishermen there are more competent and hard working. It is also significant that the biggest trawler there does not exceed 70 feet in length, yet we have New Zealand's most up-to-date steel vessels in this class, all built in New Zealand and not in Norway. We are also fortunate in having in Gisborne a most enterprising and versatile

26. NZPD, Tombleson, 1967, Vol. 355, p.1767.

27. NZPD, Tombleson, 1967, Vol. 355, p.291.

28. Gisborne Herald, 22 July 1968, p.1.

canning firm, which is undertaking reserach into purse seining and pelagic fishing. The firm has a well-equipped laboratory to undertake research into all aspects of fishing.<sup>29</sup>

Therefore Mrs Tombleson felt Gisborne was the logical place to establish a school of fishing or research unit (an idea backed up by the ECDRA), preferably as a memorial to Captain Cook in his bicentenary. Fish processing was carried out by several establishments in Gisborne. In 1968 Watties was operating a fleet of five vessels and also was actively engaged in research with regard to the catching and processing of tuna and prawns.

By 1971 some problems were being experienced with scarcity of fish. Fishermen had to go out a lot further than usual to get catches, and it was thought that this could be due to siltation in the water from erosion. Investigations were progressing into prawns and scampi, good catches were recorded around Tolaga Bay and White Island but it was not determined if the venture was an economic and viable commercial proposition.

There were moves towards a different kind of fishing in the 1970s. Box nets (a method used by the Maoris in pre-European days) were set up in Waihou Bay, which caused much concern to local residents. Horata Co-Operative Industries had established a fisheries complex hoping to develop that form of fishing, and were working with experts from Japan to find the best way of ensuring the fish were not harmed. Unfortunately box nets tended to attract sharks, and it was feared this form of fishing would have a prejudicial effect on tourism.

By 1973 landings of wet fish at Gisborne were exceeded only by the port of Auckland, and the catch of Terakihi at 36,010 exceeded that of any other New Zealand port. At the close of 1971 in Gisborne there were 191 full time commercial fishermen operating 98 boats, of which 25 were trawlers.<sup>30</sup> Thus there was a steadily increasing fleet

29. NZPD, Tombleson, 1968, Vol. 356, p.988.

30. ECDRA, Addenda to Report 17 revised to September 1973, p.4.

operating from Gisborne. The catch was becoming more diverse, with the taking of pelagic fish such as mackerel. This was the result of experimentation with purse seine techniques. Considerable research had been undertaken into the viability of the tuna processing industry by 1976, as large schools of these fish were seasonally appearing in coastal waters. Rock lobsters were also harvested along most of the coastline, although returns varied from year to year. The fishing industry was in a very healthy position with plenty of potential for expansion.

The ECDRA reports on industrial development revealed there was potential for greater development in the region, especially in the thriving fishing industry. The seas off the East Coast were capable of yielding rich harvests for processing, and the forestry potential of the land was steadily increasing with the large scale plantings being carried out. Therefore many local residents could be kept gainfully employed. As these spheres of East Coast life were constantly changing, the ECDRA updated their industrial reports many times throughout the years it functioned. The most up-to-date information was therefore available to those interested in the development of the region.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL ISSUES

It is very significant that the first report put out by the ECDRA concerned "Population Trends", as by the time of the Association's inception it was disturbingly obvious that migration from the East Coast was happening in alarming proportions. Population trends depend on two basic factors: the reproductive rate of the people and migration.

The birthrate of the Pakeha people resident on the East Coast had always been relatively high. In 1958 the birthrate for Gisborne City was the highest in New Zealand with 29.45 per thousand, against the average for New Zealand cities of 23.57 per thousand. The Maori people of the region had a birthrate of 46.24 in that year, so the resulting overall birthrate was relatively very high. The death rate for both Maoris and Pakehas was comparable with the average for New Zealand, consequently the reproduction rate was approximately 2.4 percent per annum, as against the New Zealand average of 1.8 percent per annum.

Migratory movements were more frequently the determining factor as to the growth or decline of a population in a given area. Up to 1945 there was an overall migratory movement southward and out of the region, with all five counties either decreasing in population or increasing at a rate that was less than the rate of natural increase. Gisborne City managed to maintain an upward trend which was approximately equal to the rate of human reproduction. This indicated that it was probably losing population to outside regions, but recovering it from the five counties. After 1945 there had been a steady influx of people into Gisborne City and the surrounding areas of Cook County. The other four counties were declining, due mainly at first to a general exodus of Pakehas. The actual figures for three census years were as follows:

	<u>1926</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1956</u>
Pakehas in Matakaoa County	539	303	289
" " Waiapu County	1,736	1,641	1,406
" " Uawa County	949	754	779
" " Waikohu County	2,604	1,912	1,946

Source: ECDRA Report No. 1 "Population Trends", p.2.

In 1962 Report No. 11 was produced, showing the results of the 1961 census. By this the distribution of population was shown as:

Gisborne City	21,769	with 11.6	percent Maori
Cook County	9,120	" 27.45	" "
Waikohu County	3,158	" 45.55	" "
Uawa County	1,725	" 59.3	" "
Waiapu County	5,694	" 76.7	" "
Matakaoa County	1,827	" 83.1	" "

Source: Report No. 11, p.1.

The average annual percentage increase and decrease in population for the period 1926-61 was also shown:

<u>Average Annual</u> <u>Percentage</u> <u>Increase</u>	<u>Gisborne</u> <u>City</u>	<u>Counties</u>					<u>District</u> <u>Total</u>
		<u>Cook</u>	<u>Waikohu</u>	<u>Uawa</u>	<u>Waiapu</u>	<u>Matakaoa</u>	
1926-36	0.34	1.22	-0.69	0.36	2.31	2.01	0.84
1936-45	1.16	-0.68	-0.62	-1.18	-0.27	0.37	0.19
1945-51	2.44	1.92	0.63	1.07	0.32	0.07	1.61
1951-56	2.58	2.52	1.88	0.85	-0.07	0.77	1.86
1956-61	2.14	0.47	-1.16	0.21	-1.7	-0.06	0.75

Source: Report No. 11, p.3.

In the summary of the Report it was stated that obviously the migratory movement out of the Gisborne-East Coast region had accelerated over the years 1956-61. While there was a characteristic decline in the rural population throughout New Zealand, the movement in this region was greater than elsewhere and had developed to the extent where the



country areas were threatened with gradual depopulation. The number of Maori residents in Gisborne City was increasing at a rate of approximately 15 percent per year, due mainly to population drift from rural areas. But despite this the growth of Gisborne City was below the average rate of growth for New Zealand. There seemed to be a danger at this time of a levelling off in population growth similar to that which occurred in the region in the 1926-36 period.

By the 1966 Census distribution of East Coast population was as follows:

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>Maoris</u>	
			<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>
Gisborne City	21,769	24,949	11.6%	16.6%
Cook County (including former Uawa County)	10,845	10,069	34.1%	32.4%
Waikohu County	3,518	3,302	45.5%	45.3%
Waiapu County (including former Matakaoa County)	7,521	5,866	78.3%	75.3%
Gisborne-East Coast Region	43,501	44,186	30.8%	30.1%

The principal reasons for the region being below the nation's growth rate was still migration out of rural areas, and the urban movement of the Maori people. The Gisborne urban area had a growth rate of 10.7%; only the following urban areas had a slower rate of growth:

Dunedin	3.5%
Timaru	5.8%
Wanganui	6.9%
Nelson	9.1%
New Plymouth	10.4%

There had been a definite acceleration of the rural-urban movement.

<u>Gisborne-East Coast Total Population</u>	<u>Rural Areas</u>	
	<u>Population</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Census 1956 - 42,068	19,446	46.2%
Census 1961 - 43,653	18,436	42.4%
Census 1966 - 44,186	16,436	37.2%
<u>New Zealand Total Population</u>		
Census 1956 - 2,176,224	1,253,280	42.5%
Census 1961 - 2,417,543	1,439,802	40.5%
Census 1966 - 2,678,853	1,671,891	37.4%

Source: ECDRA 1967 Report on "Population Trends", p.2.

Thus, whereas the population of New Zealand outside the main urban centres was increasing at a rate well in excess of the rate of natural increase, the rural population of the Gisborne-East Coast region was declining. (Appendices S and T show the internal migration situation from 1966-76.) The East Coast was losing a large percentage of its population to other regions in New Zealand. In fact in 1976 it lost the highest percentage in this category in the North Island, and in the South Island was only surpassed by Westland and Marlborough. This situation was causing serious concern in the region, and in 1975 caused this statement in Parliament by the local M.P., Mr T. Davey:

The internal migratory trends which have taken place during the past twenty years have caused such rents in the fabric of our economic and social life that it will clearly take us a very long time before a true balance of population distribution throughout New Zealand can be restored.<sup>1</sup>

Migration trends by the Maori people in the region were a matter of considerable concern during this period. In 1953 Mr Dudfield had commented that "the development of the Maori people on the Coast has been truly phenomenal".<sup>2</sup> A factor that he attributed to increased health services and a renewed will to survive by the Maori race. He was also anxious that Maoris should have better housing and encouragement

1. NZPD, Davey, 1975, Vol. 396, p.69.

2. NZPD, Dudfield, 1953, Vol. 299, p.738.

to enter professions.

Both races had to live together, and the sooner Maori people were given real equality, and a chance to learn skilled trades and professions, the sooner would the barriers be broken down and the two races advance together.<sup>3</sup>

From 1945 to 1966, while the total New Zealand Maori population increased by 102.7% the East Coast Maori population grew by only 36.3%, which was a clear indication of a high rate of outflow.<sup>4</sup> There was a considerable rural-urban flow with Gisborne as its destination. This internal redistribution of population was in keeping with trends in other parts of New Zealand, By 1958 the drift of Maoris to the towns was a matter of concern in relation to housing conditions. This was probably a more acute problem in cities, but was nevertheless felt in the country too - especially in the Bay of Plenty area. Maoris from the East Coast were also drifting down to the Rangitaiki Plains, Murapara and Kawerau, and for the most part were adequately housed. But in Whakatane some Maori houses were built of packing cases in the poorer parts of that town.<sup>5</sup>

In 1965 Mr P.T. Watene (Eastern Maori) said the drift of Maoris to urban districts could be expected to continue. The non-Maori distribution of two persons in urban districts to every one in rural districts could be taken to reflect the real distribution of urban jobs. Maoris were likely to approximate these figures. "Farming is unlikely to support more than a minority of the Maoris and at present the rate of urbanisation of the Maori population is most striking."<sup>6</sup>

Three statistical areas showed losses of Maori population at the 1966 Census, largely as a result of internal migration in Northland, East Coast and Taranaki. The East Coast was notable in that almost one

3. NZPD, Dudfield, 1954, Vol. 304, p.1580.

4. R.M. Frazer, "Patterns of Maori Migration: An East Coast Example", Proceedings of the Sixth N.Z. Geography Conference, 1970, Vol. 1, p.211.

5. NZPD, Allen, 1958, Vol. 317, p.1020.

6. NZPD, Watene, 1965, Vol. 342, p.715.

in three of its population was Maori. There were 442 Maoris to every 1,000 non-Maoris in this statistical area as compared with 294 Maoris to every 1,000 non-Maoris in Northland, the statistical area with the next highest percentage of Maoris in its population.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s opportunities for employment became increasingly provided by the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy rather than in primary industries. These were mainly situated in urbanised areas, thus making migration for many younger Maoris an economic necessity. This was recognised by the Department of Maori and Island Affairs in 1960, when it inaugurated a re-location programme to encourage rural families to move to urban centres by providing them with accommodation and employment in the towns. Large numbers of young single Maoris were also helped in the same way.

Frazer used Ruatoria (the main centre for Waikato County) to illustrate this situation. In this township local opportunities for employment were very limited in range - particularly for females. Apart from nursing or hospital work at Te Puia, and a few positions as shop assistants in town, girls must migrate or remain unemployed. For males, farming, shearing and scrubcutting were the principal local areas of employment. Therefore many migrate - mainly to Wellington and Christchurch as trade training opportunities coincided with the established presence of relatives. Also there is an historic link between the Ngati Porou and the Ngati Tahu of Christchurch.<sup>8</sup>

Closer contact of Maoris and Europeans in urban areas inevitably led to new problems - the most obvious being the acute housing shortage with its associated high price demand for accommodation. This forced many Maoris to congregate in the poorer parts of most towns where overcrowding and inadequate sanitary arrangements endangered their health and standard of living. In the rural areas the problem was not so much one of adaptation as of the maintenance and improvement of the standard of living.<sup>9</sup>

7. 1966 Census, Volume 8, p.5.

8. Frazer, pp.213-214.

9. Joan Metge, N.Z. Geographer, p.124.

The 1971 Census showed that apart from migration to the major cities there was also a significant increase in the numbers of Maoris in those larger towns located in the same geographic areas where rural counties and smaller towns had recorded a marked decrease. The East Coast counties of Waiapu, Waikohu, Cook and Wairoa lost 1,845 Maoris, but Gisborne City gained 1,118 and Wairoa Borough 185.<sup>10</sup> (See Appendix U for Maori population figures in the various counties 1956 to 1971.)

In 1973 Davey stated that a great many of the Maori population of the East Coast have been compelled to come into an urban environment and identify themselves with it. "They are trying to seek a social coherence but it is impossible for them to obtain that sense of identity overnight."<sup>11</sup>

This migration from the Coast and out of the region was a major topic of concern to the ECDRA in this period. Controlling this flow was to rank in importance along with soil erosion and the lack of economic development.

One of the main reasons for the urban drift was seen by the ECDRA to be the isolation of the East Coast, and its inherent lack of many basic modern amenities. There was not the supply of services such as power, television and telephone that were found elsewhere. Transport was difficult, often with bad access roads, and there were problems associated with adequate education and employment in the rural parts of the region.

In 1945 Mr P. Sullivan (M.P. for Bay of Plenty) had asked the Minister of Works to give immediate consideration to the installation of a diesel or other generating plant to supply electricity to the East Coast area including Tolaga Bay and Ruatoria.<sup>12</sup> Then in 1950

10. 1971 Census, Volume 12, p.22.

11. NZPD, Davey, 1973, Vol. 383, p.1641.

12. NZPD, Sullivan, 1945, Vol. 270, p.222.

Mr Keeling stated that on a map of the North Island showing the reticulated area, the largest settled area without electric power lay within the Gisborne Electorate. In the North Island 93 percent of people were connected with the power supply, and a very large proportion of the remaining 7 percent lived on the East Coast.<sup>13</sup>

Various surveys were made throughout the period to ascertain the hydro-electric potentialities in the headwaters of rivers on the East Coast, especially the Motu River. It was hoped that with the establishment of more industries in the region and complete reticulation of the East Coast area, hydro-electric power would do much to alleviate a shortage of power in the future.<sup>14</sup> But by the end of the period under survey nothing really concrete had been achieved in this area.

Throughout the period there was a continued need for more boarding accommodation for children in Gisborne, especially for those from outlying districts. In 1954 the two boarding places attached to the Gisborne High School were so limited in accommodation that girls and boys had to have their names on a waiting list for a few years before they could enter them.<sup>15</sup> The Gisborne High School Amendment Bill of 1956 saw the Gisborne High School continue as Gisborne Boys' High School, while Gisborne Girls' High School was a new creation. As Gisborne High School it probably had a higher percentage of Maori pupils than any other high school in New Zealand - over 200 out of 1,223 pupils. Mr Keeling commented "it is amazing when you visit our high school to find the number of Maoris who are working alongside their European brothers and sisters with complete equality".<sup>16</sup> But still the numbers were growing and it was requested that a third high school be built so that the schools would have a workable number of pupils, and the size of the classes could be kept to a minimum.

13. NZPD, Keeling, 1950, Vol. 289, p.201.

14. See NZPD, Dudfield, 1953, Vol. 299, p.346.

15. NZPD, Dudfield, 1954, Vol. 303, p.738.

16. NZPD, Keeling, 1956, Vol. 308, p.732.

In 1957 Mr Keeling was concerned about the difficulty of adequately staffing the district high schools and Maori high schools, due to the teacher shortage current then. Because of this shortage, it was natural that teachers would apply for positions at schools in the more favoured localities. Therefore country children would not have the same opportunities as those in the town schools.<sup>17</sup> In 1963, due to dropping enrolments the Minister of Education Mr W.B. Tennent was considering the consolidation of the Tikitiki District High School, which had 100 in the secondary department, with Ngata Memorial College at Ruatoria, which boasted 245 pupils.<sup>18</sup> In the same year Gisborne Boys' High had 700 pupils, Girls' High had 717, and Lytton (established in 1961) had 557.<sup>19</sup>

The ECDRA was concerned about education, and issued Report No. 5 (revised 1964) on "Educational Facilities". In this it was stated that the adequacy of existing educational facilities could be related to given population data and trends. These established that the rural population was nearly static, as a noticeable decrease in the European population was scarcely being offset by the increase in the Maori population, combined with a migratory trend away from the region. This was most noticeable in the coastal areas. There was a steady decline in the number of pupils (both Maori and European) from most of the schools in the coastal areas. As a result some schools were closed while others amalgamated. Since 1945 the Gisborne urban area had been maintaining the average New Zealand growth rate, due largely in recent years to the influx of Maori residents. Educational facilities were generally able to keep pace with this moderate increase.

In the region there were five state secondary schools - Gisborne Boys' High; Gisborne Girls' High; Lytton; Waikohu College, Te Karaka; and Ngata Memorial College, Ruatoria. There were two intermediate

17. NZPD, Keeling, 1957, Vol. 312, p.1502.

18. NZPD, Keeling, 1963, Vol. 336, p.1232.

19. NZPD, Tombleson, 1963, Vol. 336, p.1488.



schools in Gisborne, and four District High Schools at Te Araroa, Tikitiki (to be amalgamated with Ngata), Tolaga Bay and Tokomaru Bay. Fifty eight primary schools were spread throughout the region, along with seventeen Maori Schools. In Gisborne there were also two Catholic private schools, and the Tuarangi private co-educational boarding school.

Hostel accommodation at Boys' High and Girls' High by 1964 was no longer adequate for the number of pupils, but it was by choice that many parents sent their children to private boarding schools outside the region. Adult education was adequately catered for, as well attended night classes covered technical, cultural and hobby subjects.

Maori education came in for a lengthy mention in the report, as it was considered that:

The way to education for the Maori child is a difficult one, particularly in rural areas where English can be an unfamiliar language.<sup>20</sup>

There was a large Maori population in the region, and those schools on the East Coast were predominantly Maori:

This provides a difficulty for European parents who feel that where Maoris predominate an unsatisfactory environment is frequently created. They consider that scholastic standards are often low, petty theft and sexual laxity are not uncommon, and there is sometimes racial antagonism. Actual happenings support this view, although it must be added that many Maoris are beyond criticism in these matters, and there is often an intolerant attitude on the Pakeha side. There is no reason to suppose that schools encourage antagonism between Maori and Pakeha; on the contrary, they are often the strongest advocate of integration.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore most European parents on the Coast tried to send their children away for secondary education. They were not eligible for Education Department boarding allowances, as schools were available.

20. ECDRA Report No. 5 (revised 1964), "Education Facilities", p.2.

21. Ibid, p.2.

Therefore many families felt obliged to leave the Coast, and others were discouraged from shifting there. In the ECDRA Report No. 2 (revised 1965) it was recommended that bursaries be granted by the Education Department to cover in full school fees and boarding charges in cases where the children of residents in isolated areas were sent to schools elsewhere. They also wanted investigations into the question of further hostel accommodation for schools in the Gisborne area. It was therefore felt by the ECDRA that only continued educational effort and improved economic conditions would influence the situation. There were difficulties experienced in getting sufficient good teachers for Maori schools, boarding and housing conditions were often poor, and sometimes impossible for single girls. Isolation and lack of familiar amenities also often deterred teachers from taking up Coast positions.

In conclusion the ECDRA stated that the most the Government could do is provide more amenities for country districts to help the education situation. "The key is in the conflict between the Maori and the Pakeha attitudes, and the only solution is the long and difficult process of raising Maori standards so high that the cause of tension eventually disappears."<sup>22</sup>

In 1966 Mrs Tombleson reiterated that it was imperative to keep people on the land, and to do that there must be more hostel accommodation for children in Gisborne. By this year the Government had given a tax free allowance to employers who paid boarding allowances for their employee's children. By the 1970s the need for trade training facilities in Gisborne had become very obvious. Maori boys were being forced to go to Auckland, Hamilton, Rotorua, Wellington and Christchurch. It was felt that boys and girls receiving training not far from their homes were less likely to get into trouble than those who went to larger centres.<sup>23</sup> Mrs Tombleson had always been a strong and

22. Ibid., p.3.

23. NZPD, Tombleson, 1971, Vol. 375, p.3853.

stalwart advocate for a technical school, and also for a national fishermen's training apprenticeship school in Gisborne.<sup>24</sup> In 1972 Mrs Tombleson also said there was a need for a farm training school attached to Ngata Memorial College to keep people in the region.

It was obvious that the lack of technical facilities in the region meant that many young people were compelled to leave school at fifteen and go into the unskilled workforce - which led, in turn, to migratory troubles.<sup>25</sup> Thus by 1975 it had been decided that a technical school would be established in the old Central School, administered through Boys' High School, and a new technical department head would be appointed.<sup>26</sup> One educational problem in the region was nearing a solution, but there were still persisting staffing problems in all the district high schools so staff-pupil ratios were high. This continued inadequacy in primary and secondary education contributed to the high levels of outmigration.

Employment was also a main factor in population migration. As many people depended on seasonal work such as in the freezing and fruit industries they faced annual periods of unemployment.

Both Maoris and Pakehas were forced to leave the East Coast to find suitable employment. Many ideas were formulated to try and stop this drift. In 1961 Hon. D. MacIntyre commented that Maoris could be trained in diesel engineering and "in the finer art of fishing such as the handling of ocean-going ships rather than operating canoes around the crayfish rocks. That suggestion was particularly appropriate to the East Coast, where there was a drift of Maoris from country to town and yet there was a large coastal area with the promise of a great fishing industry in which the Maoris could participate."<sup>27</sup> He

24. NZPD, Gordon, 1972, Vol. 378, p.793.

25. NZPD, Davey, 1973, Vol. 383, p.164.

26. NZPD, Davey, 1975, Vol. 396, p.71.

27. NZPD, MacIntyre, 1961, Vol. 328, p.2193.

felt that as money was advanced to settle farms, it could also be advanced for the purchase of fishing boats. Mrs Tombleson felt a rural housing scheme could help keep population on the East Coast,<sup>28</sup> which was experiencing the same problems as the West Coast of the South Island - lack of production and employment so drift to the cities.

In 1962 the ECDRA released Report No. 2 concerned with male employment in the region. This showed that there had been a significant decline in full-time employment on the land, due to the increasing mechanisation of farm work and changes in the pattern of farming in the region especially the trend from pastoral or agricultural farming. Both these trends made for the engagement of contractors and casual labour rather than full-time workers.

A distinct connection was shown between the fall in full-time employment on the land, and the rate of emigration out of the East Coast counties.

<u>Period 1956-61</u>	<u>Cook</u>	<u>Waikohu</u>	<u>Uawa</u>	<u>Waiapu</u>	<u>Matakaoa</u>
Loss of farm labour	6.3%	14.3%	8.4%	18.6%	11.8%
Estimated Migration	7.8%	16.3%	11.3%	21.2%	14.0%

Source: Report No. 2, p.1.

There was a constant shortage of farm labour at this time due to the drift from the rural areas. This led to a greater employment of outside labour such as Fijian Indians on jobs like scrubcutting. There was also a decline of 4.8% in the region in the number of farms and farm managers in the period 1956-61. A major causative factor of this was the trend to more extensive farming, for example larger and fewer holdings, and the change from dairying to cropping. (See Appendix V for employment figures in other industries 1959-63.) On going trends were reflected in the employment figures. There was an increase in seasonal manufacture due to the expansion of the Kaiti Freezing Works and Wattie's Cannery. The closure of the Motu line had led to a drop

28. NZPD, Tombleson, 1962, Vol. 330, p.62.

in transport and communications. Columbine Hosiery was solely responsible for increased employment under the heading of "Textiles, Clothing and Leather". Also the increase of the New Zealand Forest Service staff in 1963 boosted the "Forestry, Logging and Mining" figures.

In the Appendix to Report No. 2 the ECDRA listed the major social considerations which offset the availability of farm labourers as being education facilities, housing, transport, recreational and cultural interest, and lack of prospect of advancement to employer status. Thus they recommended that group rural housing be fostered with suitable amenities, bursaries be granted by the Education Department to cover school fees and boarding charges, television facilities be provided for rural areas, and projects such as afforestation and forest products should be fostered to assist in providing continuity of employment.

Despite this in 1972 Mr R.M. Barclay (M.P. for New Plymouth) stated that Gisborne had the highest increase in unemployment in New Zealand.<sup>29</sup> This was caused to a considerable extent by extensive building alterations at the Gisborne Freezing Works, meaning all but clerical and maintenance duties had temporarily ceased. Unfortunately the annual cyclical pattern of seasonal unemployment needed the establishment of new industries in the region, in order to be arrested.

With its relatively unspoiled coastline and readily accessible historic sites, the East Coast always had a great potential for tourism. Once the roads were upgraded the potential of the highways as scenic tourist routes was instantly recognisable, especially the East Coast road from Opotiki to Gisborne, and the Whararata road to Napier or branching off through the Urewera National Park to Waikaremoana. A combination of good roads and accommodation were patently needed to bring in the tourist revenue.

29. NZPD, Barclay, 1972, Vol. 381, p.2829.

In 1966 Mrs Tombleson commented that the work carried out to beautify and restore the Morere Hot Springs had been well received, as people were beginning to realise that Morere could become a first-class tourist centre. It was essential to emphasise the uniqueness of the region.

The East Coast had some of the finest, if not the finest, beaches in New Zealand. It was the first place Captain Cook had touched at, and therefore historically was the greatest place in New Zealand. The area had, however, been isolated for sometime....Gisborne also had some of the finest farming land in New Zealand, the department should arrange for more farmers to tour the district, which contained the only area grassed to the tops of the hills. Many countries had lakes, rivers and geysers, but they had not the type of country to be seen on the East Coast.<sup>30</sup>

The Cook Bicentenary on the 9 October 1969 was of great national importance, and did a great deal to promote the region to the country, as well as giving local residents an intense source of regional pride. It gave the East Coast a window on the world. The ECDRA realised the importance of this occasion and did a great deal to promote it. The region was represented as the cradle of history in New Zealand, and Mrs Tombleson along with a great many East Coast residents was a keen advocate for a national memorial to Captain Cook. She was hoping for a Fishing Technology Institute, but instead a statue was erected on Kaiti Hill.

In 1968 Mrs Tombleson remarked that with the right promotion she was sure that in a few years time the East Coast:

....could make the tremendously publicised Queensland Gold Coast look like a children's playground. Private enterprise, encouraged by Government assistance in respect of roading programmes and so on, has opened up the area as a great holiday and tourist locality - in other words the sunny East Coast.<sup>31</sup>

30. NZPD, Tombleson, 1966, Vol. 347, p.1795.

31. NZPD, Tombleson, 1968, Vol. 356, p.987.



A Report on "Development Prospects for Townships of the Eastern Districts" undertaken by J.C. Burland in 1965<sup>32</sup> concluded that: "the East Coast has to compete with the rest of the country and pull itself up by its own bootstraps". Basically he saw that the region had three things to sell: the crafts and culture of the Maori people, the often quoted Coast hospitality, and the beaches. He observed that it would be abhorrent to commercialise Maoritanga as had been done in Rotorua:

But the Maori people on the Coast must be persuaded that they have a unique opportunity to display their traditional customs and crafts in the best sense; with dignity and pride.... Rigid refusal to bend with the rapidly blowing winds of change could, in time, bring about a withering of that which is very much alive at the present time.<sup>33</sup>

It was hoped that steps to recreate Pa sites and develop collections of relics, old photographs and documents under a Trust system would ensure the respect and interest of tourists, whilst also visually preserving these records of East Coast Maori life for future generations. Sales outlets for hand crafts could also be developed. Local bodies would also have to be persuaded to invest in coastal townships to ensure the growth of tourist traffic at the highest level possible. The benefits were obvious to the local communities - better services, employment prospects and pleasant surroundings which are just as important to farming as town people. Thus the benefits flowed both ways and tourism would provide an important source of secondary revenue to the region. In the past the East Coast's reputation for remoteness deterred many prospective tourists, but now this is probably one of its major attractions and charms, which is similar to the West Coast of the South Island.

Social issues on the Coast need a mention to make this general study complete. Poverty Bay is generally accepted as a misnomer by Captain Cook. Dudfield referred to it as "one of the greatest blunders in

32. Found in collection on ECDRA held in the Gisborne Museum, VF Box 330.

33. Burland, p.3.



history",<sup>34</sup> because it gives the wrong impression to those outside the region, and there were unsuccessful moves to rename it Endeavour Bay. It was so obviously Poverty in name only, especially as the next three decades were to prove. The region had a good name for race relations, if one disregards the early history of the "Poverty Bay Massacre". In 1950 Mr Keeling stated:

In Gisborne and on the East Coast we are proud to set an example to New Zealand. Indeed, we are setting an example to the world, which if it were followed, would make many of our troubles disappear. On the East Coast the Maori and European are adjacent to one another, they do everything together for the good of the community while at the same time retaining their traditions and their own rights.<sup>35</sup>

The East Coast was a very self-sufficient region from necessity, but by the 1950s, and the inception of the ECDRA, on it was obvious that a general revitalisation was needed to solve the distinct social problems of the region. Lack of employment opportunities in the region led to an out-migration of population. To halt this movement the measures of improved farming methods, intensification of land use, development of alternative resources and the broadening of the industrial base. The influx of new ideas and opportunities would hopefully be instrumental in the breaking down of conservative attitudes so clearly evident on the Coast. The major development projects such as forestry should have far reaching implications both socially and economically, with employment opportunities being opened up back in the rural sector and foreseeable large scale factories for processing. The problem of Maori migration and Maori land was particularly sensitive. Perhaps the solution lay in finding ways to efficiently farm the land in order to bring greater profit and security to their owners and occupiers.

34. NZPD, Dudfield, 1951, Vol. 295, p.628.

35. NZPD, Keeling, 1950, Vol. 291, p.2117.

On 3 October 1973 a Regional Development Council for the East Coast was established. It was mainly concerned with setting up new industries therefore fulfilled quite a different function from the local planning council. In 1975 Hon. M. Connelly (Minister of Works and Development) stated that both Councils were planning together for all aspects of the region's development, and it was hoped that with the creation of new job opportunities the migratory drift would be arrested.<sup>36</sup> Having these Councils overcame the problem of a multitude of local bodies, which were sometimes too localised and too poor to promote development. Regional Authorities could focus attention on the real problems holding up development. Also they would be backed by Government finance and have the power to implement development programmes.

The East Coast has enormous potential:

Encouragement of the economy in every form, scientific research, wise government, good leadership, ingenuity and determination - these are all ingredients for the solution of our East Coast problems, and I do not think we will be short of any of them. The East Coast is a sleeping giant. It has a gigantic potential, but it needs an impetus and a stimulus.<sup>37</sup>

36. NZPD, Connelly, 1975, Vol. 401, p.4547.

37. NZPD, Tombleson, 1965, Vol. 342, p.510.

## CONCLUSION

The history of the East Coast vividly illustrates how the ebb and flow of development can influence a region. This thesis is structured to illustrate the logical progression of problems from their introduction and build up in the historical background, showing the influence isolation and the physical environment had on land, early settlement and centres of population, the growth of transport, agriculture and industry. Through the development of the ECDRA in recognition of these problems, and an in depth study of the problems from 1945-75.

As time wore on changes in transport, technology and agriculture led to the decline of many small settlements on the Coast. The land, the very lifeblood of the Coast had been, in some cases, terribly exploited. By the 1950s the winds of change appeared to be blowing against the region.

In 1959 it was time for a stand to be taken. Local concern led to the formation of the ECDRA. From its origins in the local Gisborne Rotary Club it grew to have a membership of concerned citizens and organisations representing the whole region. In New Zealand there has been longstanding competition by localities for central resources, a competition in which East Coast people felt that they were disadvantaged. The ECDRA was trying to help right that wrong. To do this they had to analyse the basis of the problems before they could attempt at trying to hazard solutions. Virtually every facet of life on the East Coast was investigated, reports compiled, and, if necessary, submissions made to Government.

Many advances are attributable to the ECDRA, among them the establishment of a fertiliser works in Gisborne. Government was approached for specialist assistance on the question of erosion control and land utilisation. This resulted in the Land Utilisation Survey and the Taylor Report. The latter was undoubtedly their greatest single achievement. This caused a great furore in the region, and if it did nothing else for the first time in living memory the farmers on the East Coast banded together in a common cause.

The Prime Minister and Members of the Cabinet were invited to visit the area to assess the problems themselves. This they did in 1965, which resulted in additional grants to the region through the Departments of Lands and Survey and Maori Affairs. When compared with other regional organisations in New Zealand the ECDRA appears to be unique as regards its high level approach and the purely voluntary nature of its members. It worked through the Governments and disseminated information at all levels in an attempt to help the East Coast. The ECDRA was dissolved when the East Coast Planning Council and the East Coast Regional Development Council were set up. Then, in 1979, the East Cape Region was constituted (which consisted of the counties studied in this thesis plus Opotiki County) and a United Council was formed with members from all the contributing counties. The Cook County Council was appointed as its Administering Authority.

Erosion and forestry were major issues on the East Coast. The exploitation of the land had left many wounds. Erosion had been going on for, in some cases, thousands of years and was often impossible to stop. But in many cases it could be controlled. So after preliminary research, and taking into consideration the very large-scale nature of the problem, the ECDRA decided to lobby Government to have experts assess the situation. The Taylor Report released its findings in 1967 and advocated large scale forestry plantings in the area designated behind the Blue Line. Widespread forestry was already well underway in the Mangatu area to attempt at erosion control affecting the headwaters of the Waipaoa River. The East Coast Project, involving the whole region, was instituted for widespread forestry plantings. Forestry was seen as having enormous potential in the region. It would stop the recurrent flooding of the Poverty Bay flats, preserve valuable hill country, provide rural employment opportunities, and generally make the economic future of the region brighter.

Land is the lifeblood of the East Coast. Therefore once the land was stabilised its tenure and utilisation was the focus of a great deal

of attention. The ECDRA sought reasons as to why some land was underdeveloped, mismanaged or subject to reversion. The multiple ownership of much of this land was also closely scrutinised. Pressure exerted by the ECDRA brought about increased assistance to Maori owners of land for development, and more recognition of the special problems involved with Maori ownership. Emphasis was also placed on the difficulties local farmers faced in areas such as obtaining finance, and the cost and application of fertilisers. The change towards very intensive horticulture and viticulture on the flat land also meant the promotion of new kinds of processing industries.

Farming really was the "backbone" of the East Coast economy, so it was essential that the land was utilised in the best possible way. Therefore farmers were encouraged to seek professional help when making improvements. Anything which would make the region's farming industry more efficient was vigorously promoted by the ECDRA.

Transport and industrial development were essentially inter-related in the region, and were seen by the ECDRA as vital areas of development. The inherent difficulties of improving road and rail communications were emphasised. Roading was especially important to farming operations and land development in the region. A lot of road cartage of stock and materials was used, so it was essential to have an efficient service. There was also a battle over the cost of transport into and out of the region, which caused differentials in the cost of fuel oil and associated products.

The ECDRA was an enthusiastic advocate for the development of an overseas harbour as it would bring more trade to the region, cut expensive roadstead loading, and help promote an increase in the fishing industry. Also, it was felt that a more efficient harbour would help attract wool sales to Gisborne, and give industries in the region an alternative transport source for their products. As it was, the development of a deep water port enabled two industries to begin operations in the region - the export of pine logs, and the manufacture and export of lucerne-meal pellets.

Air transport further broke down the isolation and was seen as having great future potential for the fast delivery to distant markets of perishable products. It was also very important locally for aerial topdressing and transport of farming materials to the more inaccessible hill country - this aided the increase in agricultural production.

Economic diversification was needed in the region. Industrial development was found by the ECDRA to be relatively limited in scope, and heavily biased towards the processing of agricultural raw materials. There was potential for greater exploitation of fishing resources, and for a general expansion of the secondary industrial sector.

Population movements both within and out of the region were a cause of great concern to the ECDRA, especially the continuing rural depopulation. This was especially emphasised on the East Coast by the influx of Maori rural dwellers into Gisborne, which resulted in an increased social pressure especially on housing and employment. Better employment opportunities and more social services were obviously needed if people were to be persuaded to stay both in the rural areas, and in the region as a whole. The feeling of isolation needed to be reduced. There was continuous pressure in the region for better educational facilities, such as hostel accommodation for rural children. The lack of technical trade training in the region was also a definite drawback.

Employment was directly linked to population movement, with a distinct connection between the fall in full-time employment on the land, and the rate of emigration out of the East Coast counties. Industrial development was needed in the area to combat the rising unemployment levels.

Tourism was an area which had great potential to bring employment and much needed revenue to the East Coast. The Cook Bicentenary had served to draw attention to the region but local initiative was needed to emphasise the many unique and beautiful attractions of the region.

The East Coast, being steeped in both Maori and European history, had great scope to emphasise this and its Maori cultural heritage. The very unspoilt "easy going" pace of life on the East Coast does, in itself, give the region a special charm.

A general revitalisation was needed. By the time of its dissolution the ECDRA had performed a great service for the East Coast. The problems of the region which at first seemed intransigent, after careful research were shown to have some degree of flexibility. Erosion could be controlled if not stopped, potential was available for industrial development and improvement in land utilisation and transport. The ECDRA had made both the trouble spots and the potential strengths in the region's economy visible, but a great deal of effort was needed on the part of organisations and individuals. It spear-headed the local initiative and promoted the tremendous potential the region had for growth and development. It helped awaken a renewed confidence in the region - by 1975 the "sleeping giant" was showing signs of awakening.



APPENDIX AMEMBERS OF ECDRA ASSOCIATION

	Adams, J.S.	Bookseller Stationer
*	Adye, E.S.	Gisborne Harbour Board
	Angus, J.M.	Public Accountant
*	Armstrong, E.W.	Architect
	Armstrong, G.W.	Manager Farm Products
	Barton, L.G.	Retired Dentist
	Barker, P.F.	
	Bailey, W.	Manager, A.N.Z. Bank
	Bell, R.L.	Woolbrokers Representative
	Bell, W.A.	Insurance Agent
	Black, A.G.	Young Farmers Club Representative
	Box, A.F.	Farmer - Ngatapa
	Brewster, P.	C/- Maori Affairs
	Brown, F.W.	Commissioner of Crown Lands
	Bridge, G.S.	Manutuke
	Burland, J.	P.R.O. Office
	Burns, W.J.	Department of Agriculture
	Ballantyne, W.	
*	Chamberlain, de O.H.	Agricultural Advisory Officer
	Chrisp, D.E.	Solicitor
	Chrisp, J.B.	Public Accountant
	Clapham, E.T.	Company Manager
	Clarke, C.D.	
	Conway, H.	C/- Maori Affairs Department
	Cooper, C.H.	Farmer
*	Cooper, K.W.	Farmer
	Crawshaw, G.K.	Real Estate Agent
	Crosby, R.	Builder
	Cooper, Mrs P.F.	Public Servant
	Chamberlain, C.W.	

APPENDIX A (cont.)

* Dobson, M.G.	Public Accountant
Dodd, A.D.	
Dumbleton, E.W.	Journalist
Dykes, H.J.	A.N.Z.
Day, G.E.	
Ellmers, Mrs A.V.	Teacher
* Every, J.P.	
Findlay, W.	Baker
Fowler, L.P.	Radio Station Manager
Francis, J.G.	Surveyor
Fraser, T.R.	Public Trustee
Ford, R.W.	Sheepfarmer
* Fookes, G.R.	
Gardiner, R.K.	County Clerk
* Garner, E.W.	Bank Manager
Girdwood, S.P.	Company Manager (Gisborne Sheepfarmers)
Gray, A.J.	Rector - Boys' High
* Gregory, G.J.	Company Manager (John Bull Stores)
Grono, R.N.	Head Teacher, Gisborne Intermediate
Greenendyk, G.	Field Officer
Goldsmith, Colin	
Giblin, P.W.	
Goodman, H.B.	
Hair, J.R.	
Hicks, A.G.	Catchment Board Secretary
Hills, J.R.T.	Spraying Pilot
Hill, J.T.	Timber Company Manager
Holst, V.F.	Public Servant, C/- Maori Affairs
Holt, A.J.	Clerk
Hudson, W.	Town Clerk

APPENDIX A (cont.)

Holdsworth, J.	Te Karaka
Hanse, Ruie	Makaraka
Herkt, F.A.	
Hudson, John	Pomona Orchard
Hillman, G.K.	
Hackett, Harold	
Jones, E.M.	Engineer, M.O.W.
Jory, A.R.	
Jefferd, H.B.	Tokomaru Bay
Jefferd, F.R.	Tokomaru Bay
Kaua, P.	Welfare Officer, Department Maori Affairs
Keith, W.	Merchandise Manager, (Williams and Kettle)
Khull, E.A.	Secretary, Harbour Board
Laing, F.G.	Engineer (Gisborne Refrigerating Co.)
Lewis, T.W.	Builder
Lougher, H.J.	Overseer
Lucas, J.H.	Child Welfare Officer (Dept of Health)
Lynch, K.H.	Public Accountant
Lynch, M.E.	Public Accountant
Lowry, W.M.	
Martin, F.J.	Hotel Proprietor
* Murray, G.J.	Meter Reader
Musgrave, J.O.	Company Manager (Wards Transport)
V.P. Muir, G.G.	Editor
Metsers, A.	Soil Conservator
Miller, John	
Morice, E.H.	
* Muir, M.G.	
Mackay, Miss R.S.	Librarian
* McKee, J.G.	Weed and Plant Control Specialist

APPENDIX A (cont.)

McIntyre, M.F.	Solicitor
McLoughlin, J.B.	Farmer, Matawai
McHugh, A.G.	Solicitor
* McNeur, J.	Farm Advisory Officer
* Ngata, H.K.	Public Accountant
* Nicholls, J.R.	Company Manager (Ormonds Motors)
Nolan, F.W.	Retired Solicitor
Overby, J.D.	Orchard Inspector (Dept of Agriculture)
Olliver, P.J.I.	Public Accountant
Oakley, E.A.	
Okeby, V.	Manager, National Bank
Pullard, W.A.	Pedologist (D.S.I.R.)
Pilbrow, C.A.	Architect
Quigley, I.J.	Company Manager (Gisborne Lighting and Stevedoring Co. Ltd)
Roberts, F.W.	Public Accountant
Rosier, V.	Bank Clerk
Ryan, P.D.	Public Accountant
Riden, P.E.	School Teacher
Rouse, Ellis	Te Puia
Pres. Smith, A.R.	Wool Buyer
Stewart, I.C.	Company Manager (Minute Secretary)
Shone, J.B.	Wool and Shipping Clerk (Common Sheltons)
Skyrme, H.B.	Government Veterinarian
* Shanks, G.R.	Whangara
Spear, C.G.	Manager, National Insurance Co.
Thomson, A.K.	Civil Engineer
* Thorp, T.M.	Solicitor
Toogood, E.S.	Bookseller and Stationer

APPENDIX A (cont.)

*	Todd, A.D.	Civil Engineer
	Toye, J.D.	Dress Goods Specialist
	Turbie, W.B.	
	Tyer, G.	Electrical Engineer
	Tyerman, H.B.	Chemist
	Tyerman, I.W.	Chemist
	Watchman, R.R.	Company Manager (Odlines)
	Wattie, G.	Company Manager (Watties)
	Waugh, A.F.	Company Manager
	Williams, D.W.	Sheepfarmer
*	Williams, H.C.	City Engineer
	Williams, T.A.	Accountant
	Witters, Hunter	Farmer
	Way, W.H.	
	Whitlock, H.P.	Otoko, Farmer
	Wallace, N.M.	Veterinarian
	Wilkinson, C.A.	
	Witters, T.A.	
	Williams, J.B.	
	Williams, C.K.	
	Williams, H.B.	
	Young, J.S.	Veterinary Surgeon

\* Directors

APPENDIX BSUPPORTING MEMBERS\*

Gisborne City Council  
 Poverty Bay Catchment Board  
 Cook County Council  
 J.B. Williams, Esq.  
 Uawa County Council (until wound up)  
 Waikohu County Council  
 Gisborne Stock and Station Agents  
 Gisborne Harbour Board  
 Gisborne Trades Council  
 Waiapu County Council  
 Ormonds Motors Ltd  
 J. Watties Canneries Ltd  
 Gisborne Wool Co. Ltd  
 W.A. Bell  
 Gisborne Jaycees (Inc.)  
 W.H. Smith Ltd  
 Poverty Bay Electric Power Board  
 Gisborne Sheepfarmers Co. Ltd  
 Mrs Esme Tombleson, M.P., Gisborne  
 Mr P.B. Allen, M.P. for Bay of Plenty  
 Mr P.T. Watene, M.P. for Eastern Maori, Messrs Omana, Watene  
 and Reweti - successive M.P.'s for Eastern Maori  
 D.A. Patterson, General Manager, N.A.C.  
 B.E. Talboys, Minister of Agriculture  
 Dept of Industries and Commerce  
 Dept of Maori Affairs  
 Greater Gisborne Inc.  
 Gisborne Chamber of Commerce  
 Dept of Agriculture  
 Federated Farmers Inc.  
 Young Farmers Club  
 The Minister of Lands  
 Lands and Survey Dept  
 Labour Dept  
 Gisborne Herald Co. Ltd

APPENDIX B (cont.)

Nelsons (N.Z.) Ltd

Ministry of Works

J.A. Wilson (Librarian, General Assembly Library)

Alexander Turnbull Library

Librarian Geography Dept, Victoria University

W.R. Armstrong, Victoria University

Hon. Secretary Te Araroa and District Progressive Association Inc.

- \* Supporting Members paid subscriptions to the ECDRA and were on their mailing list.



APPENDIX CMEMBERSHIP NUMBERS OF THE ECDRA

<u>Year</u>	<u>Active</u>	<u>Supporting</u>
1961	68	14
1962	85	15
1963	87	15
1964	81	14
1965	93	14
1966	94	16
1967	90	16
1969	89	16
1970	89	17
1971	89	17
1972	83	17
1973	76	17

APPENDIX DEAST COAST DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH ASSOCIATION INC.I N D E X

Association Reports and Recommendations Submitted to  
the Prime Minister and Minister for Maori Affairs,  
Minister of Lands, and Minister of Agriculture.

<u>REPORT NO.</u>	<u>RECOMMENDATIONS ATTACHED</u>
2. Unemployment	1. Bursaries re boarding of pupils from isolated areas. Re hostel accommodation. 2. (a) Group rural housing (b) Re sub-divisional requirements (c) Special depreciation - farm employee housing. 3. Improved television facilities. 4. Foster afforestation projects.
5. Education	Nil
7. Farm Advisory Service	1. Increase Farm Advisory Staff. 2. Location allowance. 3. "Flock House" type training school. 4. Demonstration farm. 5. Extensive Farming techniques.
9. Industrial Potential	Nil
11. Population Trends	Nil
12. Availability of Finance for Farm Development	1. Investigation of district farming economics. 2. Finance for development of reverted lands. 3. Acquisition of land for development. 4. Extend trading bank advances and short term loans. 5. Publicity required re Marginal Land finance and State Advances Development loans.
13. Livestock Production	Nil

APPENDIX D (cont.)

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 14. Land Tenure          | <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Increase loans under Sec. 460 Maori Affairs Act.</li><li>2. Re policy on efficient usage of Maori Lands.</li><li>3. Re alienation of Maori Lands.</li><li>4. Re Maori Incorporations.</li><li>5. Expand farm advisory services<br/>farm training facilities.</li><li>6. Re Statutory provisions for leases<br/>farm lands.</li><li>7. Continue purchases of farm lands for<br/>development.<br/>Acquire area for major development<br/>on East Coast.</li></ol> |
| 15. Erosion and Forestry | <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Supporting large scale afforestation<br/>and erosion control proposals.</li></ol>   |
| 16. Transport            | <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Fertiliser freight subsidy.</li><li>2. Road improvement.</li></ol>  |

APPENDIX EPURCHASES FOR THE EAST COAST PROJECT

<u>Year</u>	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Area (ha)</u>
1969-70	Ruatoria	7,987.1
1970-71	Puha/Mangatu	2,061.6
1971	Ruatoria	20.3
1972	Ruatoria	4,542.5
1972	Mangatu	3,151.2
1973-75	Ruatoria	3,375.8
1976-77	Ruatoria	2,939.9
		<u>24,078.4</u>
		=====
Summary	Puha/Mangatu	5,212.8
	Ruatoria	18,865.6
		<u>24,078.4</u>
		=====

Source: Poverty Bay Catchment Board, "Report on Land Use Planning and Development Study", Appendix IV, p. 23.

APPENDIX G

<u>Cattle Population</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Gisborne-East Coast	183,167	247,811	306,986	323,057
Hawke's Bay	282,347	304,879	404,058	390,606
South Auckland	644,953	919,728	1,214,536	1,415,726
North Island	2,468,562	3,112,894	3,930,724	4,253,094
New Zealand	3,101,945	3,765,668	4,533,032	4,948,809

<u>1960</u>	<u>1963</u>
347,115	406,237
540,966	624,096
1,874,579	2,139,126
5,263,564	5,812,039
5,991,938	6,690,964

<u>Sheep Population</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
Gisborne-East Coast	2,246,432	2,408,610	2,232,892	2,052,422
Hawke's Bay	3,207,995	3,999,050	4,148,251	4,376,120
South Auckland	1,004,180	1,961,895	2,596,625	3,775,601
North Island	13,248,671	16,535,913	17,179,875	19,020,902
New Zealand	23,914,506	30,841,287	31,062,897	33,856,558

<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
2,215,967	2,099,522
5,800,320	5,982,801
6,399,116	6,876,258
26,264,197	27,011,903
47,133,557	50,190,284

Percentage Variation in Sheep Population between 1960 and 1963:

<u>Gisborne-East Coast</u>	<u>Hawke's Bay</u>	<u>South Auckland</u>	<u>North Island</u>
-5.26	+3.15	+7.46	+2.85
<u>New Zealand</u>			
+6.49			

Source: ECDRA Report No. 13, p.2.

APPENDIX FLAND TENURE 1974

<u>Land Under the Control of the Crown</u>	<u>Thousands of Acres</u>	<u>Percent</u>
State Forest Land	131.9	6
Reserves	11.9	
Crown Land unoccupied	37.3	2
Crown Land under development	12.3	1
Maori Land under development	14.0	1
Riverbeds and lakes	22.6	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	230.0	11
 <u>Land Under the Control of Europeans</u>		
Crown Land leased to Europeans	309.8	15
Maori Land leased to Europeans	73.0	4
Freehold land	897.2	44
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,280.0	63
 <u>Land Under the Control of Maoris</u>		
Crown Land leased to Maoris	14.3	1
Maori Land not leased	133.1	6
Maori Land leased to Maoris	102.7	5
Maori Incorporations	267.9	13
Maori Trusts	23.9	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	541.9	26
 Area of Five Counties	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,051.9	100
 <u>Topography</u>		
Flat land	147.2	7
Easy Hills	376.6	18
Easy Hills in Forest	24.5	1
Steep Hills	1,503.6	74
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Area	2,051.9	100
	<hr/>	<hr/>
 <u>Land Use</u>		
Arable	22.2	1
Dairying	27.5	1
Fattening	76.6	4
Grazing	985.1	48
Extensive Grazing	461.3	23
Not Farmed	479.2	23
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,051.9	100
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Source: ECDRA Report No. 13, p.1.

APPENDIX HMEAT KILLINGS - KAITI WORKS

<u>Season</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Lambs</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Freight Carcase</u>
1921	600,648	361,858	26,141	
1930	272,088	225,274	7,478	
1935	171,261	243,718	13,241	
1940	215,638	256,251	15,352	
1945	186,164	303,313	11,856	
1950	72,445	170,151	7,799	
1955	132,839	232,210	11,176	369,516
1959				367,218
1960	148,848	257,972	14,001	422,155
1961	169,823	302,798	16,347	477,915
1962	174,885	328,552	23,875	459,340
1963	130,002	353,000	23,016	
1964	100,331	387,202	18,364	
1965	95,981	411,102	16,927	444,671
1967	119,994	474,834	18,002	499,969
1968	143,694	609,342	24,903	594,800
1969	141,319	620,087	35,609	667,385
1970	159,198	740,932	40,028	785,597
1971	140,498	724,651	42,639	793,112
1972	123,534	751,272	36,829	775,243
1973	143,665	780,721	42,481	802,130
* 1975	80,146	736,906	38,547	

\* Abbatoirs also working

Source: ECDRA Addenda to Report on Industrial Potential of Gisborne District. Revised 1976. p.1.



APPENDIX IACREAGE TOPDRESSED AND PERCENTAGE OF GRASSED AREA

<u>County</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>%</u>
Matakaoa	5,075	6	12,803	14	10,719	10
Waiapu	21,185	7	14,808	5	19,659	6
Uawa	18,972	15	7,339	6	10,008	8
Waikohu	93,944	23	68,430	17	78,909	19
Cook	102,435	23	62,138	14	64,962	14
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>241,611</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>165,518</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>184,257</u>	<u>13</u>
	=====		=====		=====	
	<u>1962</u>	<u>%</u>			<u>1963</u>	<u>%</u>
	10,130	9			10,843	10
	21,278	7			21,576	7
	10,151	8			13,270	10
	87,634	22			78,221	18
	75,254	17			73,855	16
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>204,447</u>	<u>15</u>			<u>197,775</u>	<u>14</u>
	=====				=====	

Source: ECDRA Report No. 13, p.4.

APPENDIX J

APPROXIMATE AREAS OCCUPIED IN VARIOUS FORMS OF AGRICULTURE  
IN 1971

<u>Crops for Processing</u>		
Sweetcorn	2,500	
Peas	1,440	
Beans	280	
Tomatoes	190	
Asparagus	90	
	<hr/>	4,500
<u>Fresh Vegetables</u>		650
<u>Lucerne</u>		1,500
<u>Fruit</u>		
Grapes	820	
Citrus	380	
Peaches	150	
Apples	130	
Pears	25	
Kiwifruit	20	
Passionfruit	20	
Apricots	15	
Tamarillos	10	
Berries	20	
	<hr/>	1,590
<u>Maize</u>		16,000
<u>Pastoral and Other</u>		17,760
<u>Dairying</u>		600
	<hr/>	
	TOTAL	<hr/> 42,600 acres <hr/>

Source: ECDRA Report, "A Study of the Need for and Possibilities for Irrigation on the Gisborne Plains", June 1972, p.2.

APPENDIX KTOTAL SHIPPING TRAFFIC

	<u>Tokomaru Bay</u>		<u>Gisborne</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>
1939	149	94,479	305	217,022
1942	79	23,587	179	81,536
1944	60	19,814	138	62,719
1945	68	21,788	129	61,621
1946	101	19,566	135	50,941
1947	98	16,539	132	50,073
1948	116	19,351	165	58,098
1949	98	18,932	158	55,673
1950	84	14,834	174	55,711
1951	56	10,905	166	63,185
1952	75	15,903	167	30,898
1953	49	13,839	172	140,184
1954	37	11,127	167	156,148
1955	34	10,387	104	139,466
1956	33	11,477	150	188,495
1957	22	6,677	163	150,238
1958	21	6,668	176	196,446
1959	15	4,808	177	189,175
1960	18	4,816	228	207,205
1961	13	3,228	218	240,947
1962	11	2,399	228	238,814
1963	6	1,864	256	222,298
1964	9	3,006	228	191,519
1965	7	2,338	212	182,312
1966	3	1,002	182	138,366
1967			170	111,612
1968			129	192,687
1969			107	170,964
1970			117	226,000
1971			105	202,000
1972			76	158,060

Source: NZOYB, 1939-72.

APPENDIX L

<u>GISBORNE</u>	<u>Inwards</u>		<u>Transhipments</u>	<u>Outwards</u>		<u>Total Manifest Tonnage</u>
	<u>Coastal</u>	<u>Overseas</u>		<u>Coastal</u>	<u>Overseas</u>	
1947	52,714	-	9	16,836	-	69,568
1949	47,036	676	7	18,373	-	66,099
1950	53,458	-	-	18,639	-	72,097
1951	45,775	-	-	17,334	-	63,109
1952	59,026	1,764	131	16,268	8,952	86,272
1953	54,962	2,978	204	16,449	13,357	88,154
1954	65,855	3,360	17	11,675	15,320	96,244
1955	62,676	3,424	205	11,183	14,392	92,085
1956	57,934	2,028	300	8,864	14,630	84,056
1957	59,255	3,126	-	9,394	11,498	83,651
1958	59,709	2,953	111	11,329	13,127	87,340
1959	57,110	3,124	875	12,784	14,037	88,805
1960	58,018	3,086	81	14,054	15,885	91,205
1961	53,997	2,976	8	13,583	20,678	91,250
1962	52,453	1,854	-	14,553	18,096	86,956
1963	56,346	1,951	-	17,541	16,948	92,786
1964	50,500	2,226	-	17,993	17,113	87,832
1965						
1966						
1967	27,106	2,092	-	16,514	11,186	56,892
1968						
1969	19,307	2,903	-	9,022	38,919	70,151
1970	22,308	5,132	-	8,923	46,584	82,947
1971	21,634	4,985	-	8,940	46,580	82,139
1972	19,129	497	-	7,562	54,342	81,530
1973	18,836	1,028	-	6,579	47,263	73,706
1974	20,912	9,062	-	925	25,120	56,019
1975	13,120	24,144			44,421	81,685

Source: NZOYB, 1947-75.

APPENDIX M

STATISTICS OF FERTILISER USAGE IN GISBORNE - WAIROA DISTRICT

	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total tonnage delivered by Hawke's Bay Works	241,998	263,661	307,577	260,768	202,371	265,538	283,624	273,010
Tonnage - Wairoa and North	39,031	52,343	69,883	62,907	38,180	61,020	69,141	77,092
% of Total Tonnage	16.13	19.85	22.72	24.12	18.87	22.98	24.4	28.3
Increase/Decrease on previous year	-	13,312 Increase	17,540 Increase	6,976 Decrease	24,727 Decrease	22,840 Increase	8,121 Increase	7,951 Increase
% Increase/Decrease on previous year	-	34.11 Increase	33.51 Increase	9.98 Decrease	39.31 Decrease	59.82 Increase	13.3 Increase	11.5 Increase
% Increase/Decrease on 1964	-	34.11 Increase	79.04 Increase	61.17 Increase	2.18 Decrease	56.34 Increase	77.1 Increase	97.5 Increase

Source: ECDRA Report No. 16B "Transport Facilities and Costs in the Gisborne-East Coast Region", p.4.

APPENDIX NWOOL PRODUCTION GISBORNE-EAST COAST

	<u>OVERSEAS</u>			
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966/67</u>
Gisborne Harbour	23,173	19,417	19,186	13,249
Tolaga Bay Harbour	2,603	2,157	1,741	
Tokomaru Bay Harbour	3,000	2,453	2,048	
<hr/> Total Bales <hr/>	<hr/> 28,776 <hr/>	<hr/> 24,027 <hr/>	<hr/> 22,975 <hr/>	<hr/> 13,249 <hr/>

	<u>NEW ZEALAND SALES</u>			
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966/67</u>
Gisborne Harbour	13,104	15,734	17,903	6,535
Tolaga Bay Harbour	1,028	956	1,146	
Tokomaru Bay Harbour	2,608	2,094	2,269	
Rail - Matawhero	19,005 )	20,318 )	22,275 )	
- Muriwai	2,000 )	2,000 )	2,000 )	60,467
Road Services				1,393
<hr/> Total Bales <hr/>	<hr/> 37,745 <hr/>	<hr/> 41,102 <hr/>	<hr/> 45,593 <hr/>	<hr/> 68,397 <hr/>

Source: ECDRA Reports Industrial Potential of Gisborne District 1964 and 1967.

APPENDIX OMILK AND CREAM CONSUMPTION

	<u>Liquid Milk Consumption</u>	<u>Cream Consumption</u>
1965/66	1,062,150 gallons	19,398 gallons
1969/70	1,122,789 "	21,871 "
1970/71	1,161,071 "	22,932 "
1971/72	1,190,342 "	23,387 "
1972/73	1,251,323 "	25,875 "
1973/74	1,315,876 "	27,154 "
1974/75	1,706,940 "	37,615 "
1975/76	1,713,142 "	36,537 "

Source: ECDRA Addenda to Report on Industrial Potential of  
Gisborne District, revised 1976, p.1.

APPENDIX PWAGE RATES (1963)

District	<u>Percentage Surveyed</u>		<u>Average Rates</u> <u>per hour</u>	<u>Average Rate</u> <u>per hour of \$1</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>		
Gisborne	67.3 (67.1)*	32.8 (32.9)	7/ 9.9	( .920)
Napier	70.1 (69.7)	29.9 (30.3)	7/11.5	( .946)
New Plymouth	69.5 (69.4)	30.5 (30.6)	7/10.3	( .920)
Wanganui	69.5 (68.7)	30.5 (31.3)	7/11.4	( .939)
Masterton	68.5 (66.8)	31.5 (33.2)	7/10.2	( .955)
Lower Hutt	71.6 (69.7)	28.4 (30.3)	8/ 9.4	(1.046)
Christchurch	68.0 (66.7)	32.0 (33.3)	8/ 2.1	( .980)
Ashburton	70.6 (70.4)	29.4 (29.6)	7/ 9.4	( .926)
Dunedin	67.0 (65.9)	33.0 (34.1)	8/ 0.6	( .966)
North Island	68.4 (67.2)	31.6 (32.8)	8/ 4.7	(1.002)
South Island	69.6 (68.4)	30.4 (31.6)	8/ 1.2	( .980)
New Zealand	68.7 (67.5)	31.3 (32.5)	8/ 3.7	( .995)

\* figures in brackets are from 1967

Source: ECDRA Reports Industrial Potential of the Gisborne District  
1964 and 1967.



APPENDIX QFRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNING AND PROCESSING

	<u>A C R E S</u>						
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>
Tomatoes	167	195	151	204	210	246	307
Sweetcorn	2,476	2,738	2,518	3,573	3,489	3,305	2,574
Beans	273	328	579	606	910	650	480
Peas	1,441	1,137	1,008	1,109	817	431	677
Asparagus	98	98	98	98	85	50	50
Peaches	187	130	107	94	56	56	56
Citrus	60	60	60	60	108	108	108
Other	50	-	60	70	90	30	107

FIGURES FROM LOCAL BRANCH J. WATTIE CANNERIES

	<u>T O N S</u>						<u>Tonnes</u>
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>
Tomatoes	3,150	3,513	2,853	5,070	6,220	6,003	5,633
Sweetcorn	14,640	16,871	10,662	19,405	20,142	20,107	13,374
Beans	742	1,143	1,488	1,434	3,035	2,558	1,065
Peas	2,891	1,865	1,823	1,269	1,142	985	1,176
Asparagus	75	82	50	74	52	30	32
Peaches	1,517	1,200	702	886	528	490	526
Citrus	70	100	180	240	365	480	500
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,090

Source: ECDRA Addenda to Report No. 17. Industrial Potential of the Gisborne District. Revised 1976, p.2.

APPENDIX RFISHERIES: LANDING AT PORT OF GISBORNE

	<u>Quantity</u>		<u>Value</u>	
	<u>Cwt</u>	<u>% of Value</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
1949	14,675	3.3	22,233	2.6
1950	13,324	3.0	21,848	2.4
1951	15,814	3.87	29,141	3.10
1952	13,666	3.34	29,433	2.73
1953	15,915	3.66	34,845	2.90
1954	17,501	4.23	37,851	3.16
1955	20,892	4.80	50,346	3.87
1956	26,647	5.90	63,289	4.66
1957	27,155	5.45	60,775	4.05
1958	24,657	4.99	56,463	3.56
1959	31,217	6.02	68,161	4.41
1960	36,214	6.67	76,072	5.87
1961	40,613	7.68	92,198	5.66
1962	48,998	8.82	112,921	6.37
1963	46,943	8.52	107,613	6.33
1964	55,697		130,528	
1965	75,467		\$(000) 368	
1966	88,743		395	
1968	67,500		306	
1969	64,877		336	
1970	73,224		411	
1971	90,082		491	
1972	91,566			

Source: NZOYB, 1949-72.

APPENDIX R (cont.)VALUE OF FISH AND SHELLFISH LANDINGS

\$(000)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Gisborne	636	649	694	739

Source: NZOYB, 1974, p.450.

# APPENDIX S

## RURAL - MAIN URBAN AREA MIGRATION

<u>Main Urban Area Moved To or From</u>	<u>1970-71</u>				<u>1966-71</u>			
	<u>In-Migrants from Rural Areas</u>		<u>Out-Migrants to Rural Areas</u>		<u>In-Migrants from Rural Areas</u>		<u>Out-Migrants to Rural Areas</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total In-Migrants To Urban Areas</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total Out-Migrants from Urban Areas</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total In-Migrants to Urban Areas</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of Total Out-Migrants from Urban Areas</u>
Whangarei	1,009	37.4	745	25.9	3,339	46.3	1,672	24.0
Auckland Urban Areas	6,285	12.9	6,334	14.9	18,087	14.8	12,692	13.5
Hamilton	2,175	28.0	1,549	25.5	5,738	30.2	3,013	22.1
Tauranga	842	23.3	810	27.9	2,636	26.0	1,581	24.1
Rotorua	918	27.3	813	25.6	2,409	29.0	1,536	21.7
Gisborne	714	36.2	621	27.0	2,078	42.3	1,211	23.2
Napier	685	21.6	517	19.2	1,866	21.9	1,064	17.5
Hastings	900	28.8	652	23.6	2,260	30.1	1,463	22.3
New Plymouth	953	33.0	601	22.0	2,456	35.0	1,260	19.9
Wanganui	631	27.3	653	23.6	1,677	29.3	1,536	20.6
Masterton	434	30.9	320	20.4	1,106	31.3	880	21.6
Nelson	867	34.1	590	26.4	2,584	37.1	1,341	23.2
Timaru	597	34.3	465	26.4	1,858	38.9	1,198	23.8
Invercargill	1,558	40.1	904	26.6	4,001	44.0	2,004	25.3

Source: N.Z. Census, 1971, Bulletin on Internal Migration, p.10.

APPENDIX TINTERNAL MIGRATION

<u>Usual Residence 5 Years Prior to Census</u>	<u>% Unchanged</u>	<u>Usual Residence on Census Night 1976</u>			<u>Total</u>
		<u>Changed But Within Subject Area</u>	<u>Elsewhere in New Zealand</u>	<u>New Zealand Resident Not Specified</u>	
Northland	57.0	25.8	17.0	0.1	100.0
Central Auckland	57.4	34.4	8.2	-	100.0
South Auckland/ Bay of Plenty	52.8	34.5	12.6	-	100.0
East Coast	58.8	23.3	17.8	-	100.0
Hawke's Bay	57.9	27.7	14.4	-	100.0
Taranaki	55.8	29.7	14.5	-	100.0
Wellington	54.6	33.2	12.1	0.1	100.0
Total North Island	55.6	32.8	11.6	-	100.0
Marlborough	55.7	24.4	19.8	0.1	100.0
Nelson	58.0	26.6	15.4	-	100.0
Westland	59.9	19.6	20.4	0.1	100.0
Canterbury	57.5	32.7	9.7	-	100.0
Otago	56.5	30.0	13.4	-	100.0
Southland	54.6	30.6	14.8	0.1	100.0
Total South Island	56.9	30.6	12.4	-	100.0
Total New Zealand	56.0	32.2	11.8	0.1	100.0

Source: N.Z. Census 1976, Bulletin No. 22, p.6.

APPENDIX U

	<u>1956</u> <u>Census</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
<u>Gisborne City</u>				
Non Maori	18,248	19,893	20,812	21,457
Maori	1,413	2,601	4,137	5,252
Total Population	19,661	22,494	24,949	26,709
<u>Cook County</u>				
Non Maori	6,473	6,669	6,822	7,057
Maori	2,430	3,451	3,247	2,884
Total Population	8,903	10,120*	10,069	9,941
<u>Waikohu County</u>				
Non Maori	2,192	1,915	1,807	1,787
Maori	1,543	1,603	1,495	1,474
Total Population	3,735	3,518	3,302	3,261
<u>Uawa County</u>				
Non Maori	779			
Maori	928			
Total Population	1,707			
<u>Waiapu County</u>				
Non Maori	1,408	1,628	1,449	1,512
Maori	4,820	5,741	4,417	3,466
Total Population	6,228	7,369*	5,866	4,978
<u>Matakaoa County</u>				
Non Maori	289			
Maori	1,545			
Total Population	1,834			
<u>East Coast Counties</u>				
Non Maori	11,141	10,212	10,078	10,356
Maori	11,266	10,795	9,159	7,824
Total Population	22,407	21,007	19,237	18,180
<u>East Coast Region</u>				
Non Maori	29,389	30,105	30,890	31,813
Maori	12,679	13,396	13,296	13,076
Total Population	42,068	43,501	44,186	44,889

N.B. Waiapu by 1961 had absorbed Matakaoa and Cook had absorbed Uawa.

Source: N.Z. Census 1956-71.

APPENDIX V

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>Change</u>	
Building and Construction (all forms of)	1,134	1,206	-68	or -5½%
Administration and Professional (including medicine, etc.)	821	793	+28	or +3½%
Seasonal Manufacturing (including freezing works)	586	410	+176	or +43%
Domestic and Personal Service (including hotels, cinemas)	200	195	+5	or +2½%
Food, Drink and Tobacco (manufacture of)	129	102	+27	or +27%
Distribution and Finance (including wool stores)	979	902	+77	or +8½%
Transport and Communications (including P. & T. Dept)	688	729	-41	or -5½%
Engineering and Metal Work (including repairs to transport)	513	488	+25	or +4¾%
Building Materials, Furnishings (sawmills to joineries)	165	169	-4	or -3%
Power, Water and Sanitation (excluding construction)	99	102	-3	or -3%
Textiles, Clothing & Leather (including hosiery)	101	81	+20	or +25%
Forestry, Logging and Mining (excluding timber yards)	138	55	+83	or +160%
<u>TOTALS</u>	5,693	5,361	+332	or +6.2%

Source: ECDRA Report No. 2, Employment, p.3.

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