# THE RESETMLEMENT OF DISGHAEGED SOLDIERS ON CROMT LAND TN 

CANTERPURY
$1915-1940$

BETNG A THESIS<br>Presented to<br>THE URTVERSITY OF CANTEREURY<br>in Partial Fulfilment<br>of the Requirements 1 or the Degree<br>or<br>MAGTER OF ARTS<br>in Geography

by
W.G. Allan

1967


## ERONTSPTEGE THE LEES VAILITY ACCESS ROAD

This is the notorious Lees Valley road, the principal access to the Soldier Settlement about which more stories are told than any other in Canterbury. Along this track which winds its way for nearly eighteen miles, with a steep unstable hill slope on one side, and a precipitous drop into the Ashley River on the other, soldier settlers carried their supplies and drove their stock. Snow in the winter still isolates the inhabitants for up to three months at a time. When this photocraph was taken early in a Tune afternoon, the road on the shaded slope in the middle distance was covered with ice.

> by
> W.G. Allan
> 1967

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& \text { W. Graeme Allan, } \\
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## CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

ATM
The aim of this thesis is threefold;
a) To show the distribution in Canterbury Land District of Farm Settlement Blocks purchased by the Crown and allocated to ex-servicemen between 1915 and 1924;
b) To discuss briefly the purchase, settlement and dem velopment of these farm blocks, and,
c) a detailed analysis of the factors contributing to the severe problems encountered during the operation of the first major land settlement scheme for dism charged servicemen between 1915 and 1940.

In the time available for research, it has not been possible to investigate in detail every feature of the agricultural repatriation programe in Canterbury. There are, however, certain themes which dominate any discussion of this topic, the principal of which is failure of the soldiex settlers themselves, and of the scheme as a whole. Using Canterbury as an example, this essay attempts to clarify these statements and determine their validity.

## SOURCES

## Primary Published Sources

An intensive search was undertaken in order to locate detailed studies of land settlement by the Crown in New Zealand, Unfortunately, very little of a sufficiently substantial nature to provide a guide for research was discovered. Contact was made with government departments in Great Britain, France, Canada, the United States of America and Australia with equally little success.

The primary published source for this the sis is "The Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand", in which the annual reports of the Lands and Survey Department, (C1), and the Discharged Soldiexs' Settlement Report, (C9), were published. The CI Report, provided data throughout the time period of land purchased and alloted to ex-servicemen, as well as general details of the condition of newly acquired holdings, and development programmes initiated before and during settlement. Much of this information was valuable although a consjderable amount was too detailed to be considered. The report is a statement of government attitudes and action during the World War one Soldier Settlement Scheme, its treatment of settlement upon which this thesis concentrates being very generalised.

This over generalisation is again evident in the c9

Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Report, an annual statement devoted entirely to the progress of land purchase and soldier farmers in each land district of the Dominion. In spite of these relatively minor shortcomings, the $C 1$ and $C 9$ Reports provided the background to the various thenes chosen for investigation.

Onty two books giving a discussion of land settlement by the Crown in New Zealend were found, these being an essay by J.S. Duncan, (1962) included in a publication by the New Zealand Geographical Society, and a Ganterbury provincial history whitten by W. W. Scotter, (1965). The essay by Duncan, although umelated to soldier settlement, is of some interest value, in that it discusses a period of Crown land development and settlement which almost immediately precedes the beginning of the agricultural repatriation scheme in 1915. In this discussion, many conclusions are of direct relevance to a study of soldiex settlement, particularly those relating to the effects of land type chosen for dem velopment, and fam size, two important themes in this thesis. His consideration of government attitudes tovards the direction land settlement shonld take, is of particular value In that many of these beliefs were carried on duxing the intial stages of soldier settlement in Canterbury, these contributing in various degrees to many of the problems
associated with the scheme. The brevity of this essay and the generality of its material are its greatest limitation. W. H. Scotter's very brief but specific treatment of Crown land settlement of discharged servicemen was given detailed attention. Scotter's treatment of this topic is sweeping and so generalised, that it merely provides a bare outline of the scheme in Canterbury and as a result, was of little worth in providing a research guide. The appendices of Scotter's book were of greatest value and provided the basis of the initial mapping of Farm Settlements.

## Secondary Published Sources

"The legislative history of Crown land settlement" by W.R.Jourdain (1925), provides a comprehensive discussion of all aspects of soldier repatriation on the land, although this is only as far as it goes. As a result, the book is bare of opinion and because it covers a mere nine years of the twenty-five discussed in this thesis, its value is limited. A short discussion of land administration in New 8 Zealand by the Crown and written by RoJ. MacLachlan (1965) provided a useful background to government land settlement policies.

The "New Zealand Parliamentary Debates", despite the excellence of their material from the point of view of attitudes and personal opinion, were not major sources because of the time involved in obtaining sufficient worth-
while data. Also, the tendency of 'Hansard' to provide an all embracing treatment of a programe which had strong regional differences, tended to limit its worth as a source for specific reference material.

Both Christchurch newspapers, "The Press", and "The Star", were searched for additional information to that which had been obtained from other sources. Most statements were found to be a precis of reports published in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, therefore they were given a minimum of consideration. Unpublished Primary Sources
"The Soldiers" Register", is the principal unpublished source for this thesis. It contains the official list of alienations of holdings to ex-servicemen during the operation of the World War One Soldier Settlement Scheme for the whole country. The section relating to Canterbury Land District, forms the basis of the discussion in the following pages of failure amongst soldier settlers. Only half of the register is reproduced (see Appendix), the remainder being of a confidential nature. That which remains provided an invaluable guide to the history of soldier settlement between 1916 and the beginning of the Great Depression in 1930.

The Soldiers Register was of value for the following reasons. Most important, it provided data for 49 of the 56 Farm Settlements traced, this number being sufficient to
form a basis for analysis of progress in the land settlement programme. Those settlements which were traced from the register, account for approximately 75 percent of the total Farm Settlements alienated for ex-servicemen in Canterbury. Of additional importance, was the inclusion of the history of success or failure of individual land holders within the Farm Settlements. These data were analysed in some detail, the conclusions arrived at being discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

## Unpublished Secondary Sources

The Files of the Lands and Survey Department, Christchurch, were of little importance as sources. Many relating to the early history of individual Farm Settlements had been destroyed, and the majority of those still in existence were in the departmental archives. A number of these were investigated but the effort required to find what was usually a negligible amount of data did not justify the time expended. The two readily accessible files concerned with the 1939-1940 amalgamation of soldiers holdings were an exception. ${ }^{11}$

Also in the Lands and Survey Department, a volume containing details of the number of holdings originally alloted for soldier settlement on each of the Crown blocks was discovered, the data it contained being useful in the preparation of Appendix Map 1.

## Other Sources

Because of the lack of any substantial single source, a considerable amount of time was spent with administrators who had been associated with the end of the settlement prom gramme, as well as with other members of the public such as retired Crown Solicitors, and representatives of the Returned Services Association, who were also involved with the scheme. These men were, as a result of their experience, able to recommend where emphasis should be made in the treatment of the data obtained.

Before research into failure on Farm Settlements could be undertaken, each block had to be found and mapped. Four map series held by the Lands and Survey Department, Christchurch, were used the se being;
a) The original survey plans published when each Farm Settlement was offered for ballot to returned servicemen. As well as providing an accurate boundary line, each plan contained valuable information relating to acreage of holdings on the settlement, and subdivisions made at the time of alienation. Because the set of these plans was incomplete, the lack of data relating to actual location of farm blocks made mapping very difficult. Other maps were investigated. These were;
b) Another set of survey plans, also incomplete, was
used. Being of a smaller scale (1:63360) than the original survey plans, mapping was a simpler task. Unfortunately, no indication was given on these plans of the class of each Crown Farm Settlement. That is, whether each block had been alienated before the passing of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act in 1915, thus making it a civilian farm settlem ment, or after, when all Crown lands were, until the end of the 1920's slump, offered exclusively to discharged servicemen.
c) In order to clarify this situation, Survey Office plans were used, these being complete, and showing the surveyed boundaries of each Farm Settlement mentioned in the volume dealing with soldiers' settlements mentioned above.
d) After as many settlements had been mapped as time allowed, the se were checked for size and location with the Cadastral Series, 177A, scale 1:63360.

METHOD
Duncan, at the conclusion of his brief essay, one of the more specialised studies of Crown sponsored land settlement programmes in New Zealand, states,
"....the historical geographer, by his use of maps and his concern for questions of location, has a useful contribution to make to the study

> of New Zealand history. The need for more detailed study of such topics as the purchase of Maori land, the private subdivision of large estates and the subsequent course of events on holdings subdivided by the government, has been indicated, It is hoped that students who become interested in these problems will not be deterred by methodological doubts whether their work is history' or geography'. The geographical principle that everything must be somewhere has its counterpart in history: every event had to happen somewhere. The nature of that somewhere may have been very relevant to what did happen, and no seeker after truth can afford to ignore it." 12

The truth of Duncan's statement, particularly that section relating to the need for more "detailed study" of government land subdivisions, is reflected in the almost complete lack of such investigations which have been undertaken in this country. This study is an attempt to fill in some small measure, the research gap he so rightly deplores. The aims of this thesis have been given, the methods employed to fulfill these being dictated by two factors; the sources available, and the space allowed for an adequate discussion of the themes adopted for investigation. Farm Settlements were chosen as the units for study, because the majority of data collected was concerned with settlement of discharged servicemen by the Crown, and it was on these blocks that government sponsored soldiers were placed. Those soldiers who purchased land, and were independent of the Crown except for financial arrangements, were impossible to trace because no readily available maps existed of their 13 property boundaries. Investigations undertaken to determine
the ratio of soldier settlers in this latter category with those who obtained holdings on Farm Settlements, were in14 conclusive although Rogers believed it to be three to one. Although this study is concerned with a discussion of the minority of the soldier settlers in Canterbury Land District, there is no evidence in any of the sources traced to suggest there was any appreciable difference between the two classes of settler discussed above.

With the limited number of sources and amount of data available, there was little possibility of any use of statistical techniques on an intensive scale. As a result, the method chosen was to describe chronologically the setting up and operation of the Vorld War One Soldiex Settlement Scheme in Canterbury, special emphasis being placed on the occurrence and distribution of failure on Farm Settlement holdings administered by the Crown. Inspite of extensive investigations, no soldier settlers could be contacted for interview. The majority of present day farmers residing on former soldier settlement land were either almost completely or entirely ignorant of the scheme, and had nothing to offer regarding the conditions servicemen had to face. Two photographic expeditions were undertaken during which an attempt was made to visit as many of the settlements traced as possible. On each reconnaissance, a personal appraisal of location, original housing, and farm buildings was made.


This writer is "not deterred by methodological doubts Whether his work is 'history' or 'geography' ". Methodologically, the study does not fall clearly into either camp, or into the realm of agricultural economics. At all times, the bias has been towards an explanation of how geographical elements such as topography, soils and climate affected soldier settlers, and contributed to their failure, but the reader will find elements of all three disciplines combined.

## THE STUDY AREA

The Canterbury Land District, has been mentioned as the area in which investigations were made, a map of the area with generalised agricultural regions being shown in Figure 1. The boundary to the east is the Pacific coastline, this terminating in the north along the south bank of the Conway River, and in the south, along the north bank of the Waitaki River. The western boundary, is a line connecting the headwaters of the Conway and Waitaki and passing through or near Lakes Sumner, Coleridge and Tekapo.

## Footnotes:

1. 1915 to 1924 are the years covered by the soldiers ${ }^{\text {s }}$ Register. Those failures occurring during this time form the basis of conclusions in Chapter Four and Five.
2. Except for legislation, no data was found relating to the Soldier Settlement Scheme until 1916, but because the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act was passed in 1915, this date is regarded as the beginning of the programme. The World War One Soldier Settlement Scheme ended officially in 1943 with the passing of The Servicemens' Settlement and Land Sales Act; however, 1940 is taken as the end point in this discussion because it is at this time that amalgamation, the last major programe providing relief for soldier settlers ended.
3. The addresses of departmentis from which replies were received are;

Great Britain

Canada
Department of Veterans Affairs. Veterans Affairs Building, OTTATA.

The United States of America

Austrolia
Ministry of Labour.
Training Department TA 2
Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Road, LONDON S. H . 1.

Veterans Administration
Information Service. WASHINGTON D.C. 20420.

Repatriation Department. Central Office. 312 st. Kilda Road, SOUTH MELBOURNE.

Department of Primary Industry. War Service Land Settlement Branch, CANBERRA. A.C.T.

There was no reply to the inquixy sent to France.
4. Duncan, J.S.: "The Land for the People. Land

Settiement and Rural Population Movements. 1886-1906" in "Land and Livelihood"; ed. M. McCaskill, New Zealand Geographical Society. Christchurch. 1962.
5. Scotter, W.H.: "A History of Canterbury", Vol. 3 1876-1950. Ed. W.J. Gardner. Christchurch. 1965.
6. A good example of this generality can be seen in Appendix II. pp. 484-485 entitled, 'Returned Servicemen Settlements'. During research, some of the acreages given in this table are only approximately correct, and in the column, 'offered', no indication is given whether the date refers to the first offerm ing of the Farm Settlement in entirety, or in part. For the majority of blocks, a single date is insufficient, alienations taking place over a period of time depending on the suitability of different holdings on the block for settlement.
7. Jourdain, W.R.: "Land Legislation and Settlement in New Zealand". Department of Lands and Survey. Wellington. 1925.
8. MacLachlan, R.J.: "Land Administration in Ney Zealand". New Zealand Institute of Public Administration Convention. Dunedin. 1965.
9. The New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. Government Printer. Wellington.
10. This register, is reproduced in the appendix of this thesis with the kind permission of the Lands and Survey Department, Welington. It is a confidential document held in the National Archives, Wellington. It is not for general circulation.
11. Amalgamation Files. Ref. 3/45.
12. Duncan, J.S. (1962) p. 190.
13. Details of these private purchase settlers are kept in the files of the State Advances Corporation, Christchurch, and are confidential.
14. Mr. M. Rogers, Head Farm Appraiser, State Advances Corporation, Christchurch。

## CHAPTER TYO

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE HORLD WAR

## ONE SOLDIER SETTLEMENT SCHEME

1915-1917

The only evidence of the settlement of discharged servicemen with government sponsorship on Crown lands prior to 1915, occurred after the Maori Wars when the Settlements Act, 1863, was passed for this purpose. Under this legislation, soldiers were given holdings on what was formerly Maori land or on Crown property adjoining land still under tribal control. The purpose of this act was to provide a buffer zone between European and Maori land, as well as to open up for settlement small areas never before farmed.

This chapter looks at the beginning of the next land settlement scheme, in which servicemen returning from the First World War were catered for. The period discussed is 1915 to 1917, the first two years of the initial settlement programme, 1915 to 1921. In order to place the scheme in the context of general Crown land settlement, one can look back twenty-five years before the beginning of the programme, and see that during this period, many features of government policy which were later to be stumbling blocks for soldier farmers had already emerged.

## CROWN LAND SETTLEMENT. 1880-1914

After the depression of the $1870^{\prime} \mathrm{s}$, a premium was placed on land settlement and agricultural development by the New Zealand govermment. There was a growing awareness of the asset the country had in its land as a potential. capital producer. Land purchase by the Crown, which had been a continuing process since the establishment of the colony, was changed in emphasis from what was originally a policy of regarding land as a source of revenue for development, to using land as a basis for fostering settlement. What had been formerly thought a satisfactory land settlement policy was now changing. After the depression and until the 1890 elections, the revision of these policies for the benefit of the economic future of the country, and the social wants of the time, became subjects of popular debate and party issues for the forthcoming choice of government in 1890. The double desire for more land for agriculture, and the increased availability of economic units for the small yeoman type farmer, was primarily stimulated by a rapidly growing urban population, increasing unemployment, and the outstanding success of refrigerated meat transportation. The sympathy the Liberal Party showed to the popular clamour for more land to be given the settler who desired to take up farming, led to the election of this party in 1890, and the inevitable establishment as a result of the emphasis given

It during the election campaign, of a lan settlement programme which accelesated intensive development. Eventually the policy was to initiate closer occupance and make avallable numerous small holdings for the emerging yeoman farmer. The previously insatiable bunger for land, produced by a policy of preferential treatment of the wealthy estate owner and resultant inflexible land laws, was in great part alleviated as a result of the new settlement schemes of John Mokenzie, Minister of Lands. The principal change brought about was the breaking up of the large estates, whose occupants the Iiberals agreed, could survive on much smaller holdings than they possessed, as a result of better communications, a growing local urban market and additional marketing opportunities opened up by refrigeration of produce to Eritain. Mokenzie's Land Taz, which replaced the old Property Tax, was graduated in such a mannex as to be of greatest irrigation to the large estate. owners. This tar achieved major successes in the disintegration of the large holdings, one of the best examples being the cutting 5 up of the Cheviot Estate in North Canterbury, which was to be settled soon after by civilians, some soldiexs obtaining holdings on properties still vacant after the passing of the Discharged Soldiexs Settlement Act in 1915. An additional liberalisation of the land settlement policies instituted by the Liberals, which contributed substantially to the
implementation of the closer settlement programme, took place with the passing in 1892 of the Land Act, which gave powers to the Crown allowing it to gain control over land aggregation and speculation. It also provided for low rentals to those lessees with limited eapital resources who wished to be placed on small economic farm units. The same act supplanted the 'deferxed payment' system with 'right of purchase', and introduced the 'lease in perpetuity' tenure replacing the leasehold which had required renewal every twenty-one years. More important, it placed a further clamp on speculation by stating the upper limit of land available for lease from the crom. Lach of these measures further contributed to consolidating the position of the small famer and the Small Farm policy, as MoKenzie's progmame had come to be known. For those estate owners who still remained, legislation was laid down in 1894 to provide the state with powers of repurchase from private land baroas. The power was rarely implemented, although the knowledge of its existence to estate owners was sufficient to achieve the Crom's purpose. For example, of the Crom land offered for settlement in small faxm holdings between 1892 and 1911, 1.2 million acres of former estate land comprised $15 \%$ of the total 8.5 million acres set aside.

In order to foster farm development, Ward's government produced legislation providing the small farmer with
low interest loans. In the 1892 act, provision was made for the first time to standardise all land laws, and by the inauguration of the Lands and Survey Departinent, the Crown had an agency which was able to be fully concerned with land acquisition and alienation as dictated by government. During the campaign before the elections of 1911, two strong issues arose, particularly in the more populous North Island where the small land holder was a growing force in the farming community. First was the belief of the small farmer that his position could be strengthened by further liberalisation of leases and freeholding rights, and second, that the estates were not being eliminated rapidly enough. The Reform Party, with Massey as its leader, a small farmer hirself, championed the cause of these men, the adoption by the party of the small farmers demands gaining surficient support to oust the Liberals from power in 1912. However, the greater part of Massey's election pronises and the period of general land settlement in New Zealand were abruptly interrupted by the declaration of war against Germany of the fourth of August, 1914.

The introduction of a small farm policy by the Crown had become a well established part of national land settle. ment policy when in 1915, inquiries comenced into the possibility of initiating a farm settlement scheme for discharged servicemen.

## SOLDIER SETTLEMENP. 1915-1917

Exactly one year after the declaration of war, $\mathbb{E}$. Newman, member of Rangitikei, asked if any scheme providing for land settlement had been envisaged, where Sarm settlement privileges and preferences would be given to soldiers returning from active service overseas. He noted that,
"Such provision had been made in New South Wales, where large areas of land have been set aside for this purpose, and this is reported to have had a stimulating effect on recruiting." 10

In reply, Miliam Massey, Prime Minister and Ministex of Lands, stated that the question had been given substantial consideration, a circular having been sent on the fourth of June of that year to all the Commssioners of Crown Lands giving details of the government's intention to provide returned soldiers with an opportunity to settle on Crom land. The Commissionerf of the various land districts were asked Por a detailed schedule of the lands avallable, particulars of position, locality, access, quality, suitability for soldier settlers and approximate price per acre of each 11 block.

There is no simple solution to the question of why this legislation was introduced into the House at this particular time. The most obvious reason was the force of almost unanimous public opinion. The horrors of the war, the major military assault by A.N.Z.A.C. forces at Gallipoli on 25th of April 1915, and the subsequent published lists of grim
casualty figures, had a profound and immediate effect on the general public. As the discharged servicemen trickled back home, the public demanded immediate measures for the repatriation of the nation's heroes.

> "The attitude of the public tovards the uniformed ex-servicemen ooresponded with the war temper portrayed in the newspapers. His idealised portrait was modified perhaps only to show those who remembered the man himself in the flesh. On the street, the ex-serviceman was regarded with awe, as one who might have arrived from another planet".

Public opinion was strongly in favour of some form of compensation being provided for discharged men on theix return from the war. A commonly expressed opinion was that men who had fought for their land should, on their return, be given farm properties as recognition of both public and government gratitude. The subsequent result was the lofting of the soldier into the unique position of being a new class, the future of which had become a national discussion point. As a result of the continual public pressure, the movement by the Reform Party to introduce soldier settlement legism lation into parliament, as soon as possible, was a matter of political expediency. Yet in spite of government?s desire to satisfy popular opinion, Massey's attitude towards the purchase of land by the Crow for allocation to ex13 servicemen was viewed with considerable caution. Nothing on such a wide scale had been attempted in the history of land settlement in New Zealand. Continuing public concern
forced Massey to dismiss the caution with which he viewed the proposed scheme, due to the increasing number of men returning during 1915 because of wounds and sickness.

Haste of preparation for the initial negotiations concerning the construction of a land settlement policy, may account in part for the extraordinary measures Massey proposed. When discussing the circular sent to Crown Commissioners in reply to Newman's query, Massey showed, in his first draft of the proposal, basic flaws which, through economic circumstances were to contribute substantially to many of its problems. In the final part of his communication, James Mackenzie, Under Secretary of Lands, stated,
"It has been suggested that a certain area of lands available for fruitgrowing should be set apart, as the fruit industry might be particularly suitable to returned soldiers, and you will therefore pay special attention to any lands in your district suitable for fruitgrowing, and send a separate report thereon." 14

A detailed perusal of the debates in the House, brings out the apparent preoccupation Massey in particular had for the establishment of fruit farms. The reason may be found in the success encountered between 1906 and 1915 with the development of a fruit farming industry in Central otago. Seeing the possible potential of fruit and the success of refrigeration, Massey may have been stimulated to feel that now, because there existed a pool of labour in the form of the discharged servicemen, the development of a national
programme should be attempted. It is of interest to note the emphasis Massey placed on fruit farming for discharged servicemen. An extreme example of his singlemindedness was his attitude towards the North Auckland Gumlands. In reply to the Under Secretary's circular to the District Crown Commissioners, a large area of the Northland gumlands was suggested as being suitable for soldier settlement. Extraordinary as the suggestion was, Massey, in his reply to the proposal, suggested the region would prove eminently 15 suitable for the establishment of orchards. This early period of negotiation was characterised by similar speculations regarding the best way to assimilate the discharged servicemen back into the life of the community. The blame cannot be placed on anyone's shoulders for such indecision, the reason being the total lack of experience the Crown faced in the setting up of such a large and important scheme. Holding size, along with insufficient planning, probably the most significant factor contributing to the later difficulties encountered in the operation of the scheme came under further consideration during the second reading of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Bill. Massey, discussing the intended assistance to be provided mentioned,

[^1]In general, members of the House congratualted the Prime Minister on his work towards the provision of a soldier settlement policy, although this opinion was by no means unanimous, some members of the opposition being particularly vehement in their criticism. Mr. Anstey, member for Waitaki, in one of his numerous speeches on the prospective scheme, said,
"In the present form (the bill) deals with what for my present purpose I may call 5 acre settlements. It does not deal with settlement generally as it makes no provision for ordinary farm settlement." 17

If not equally important in the future of the scheme, was the question of the amount of finance available to the soldier for farm block development. Massey, in his original provisions had put aside a mere $£ 50,000$ for the purposes of the Bill, that sum being provided in order to enable assistm ance to be given by way of loans and gifts to the soldier settlers.

It is obvious that Massey, in alloting such a minute sum for the resettlement programme had no conception of the magnitude of the scheme he was about to initiate. His belief that the amount would be sufficient "for the first couple of years", was both a gross underestimate, as well as further evidence of administrative inefficiency by the Crown.

## The Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act. 1915

The passing of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act of 1915 , was a bold attempt to grapple with the problem of assimilating soldiers back into community life by offering land to those men who had been farmers before enlistment, or who desired to become farmers on their return. The Act was a remarkable piece of legislation. Inspite of the initial caution with which the resettlement programme was viewed, the Act made greater efforts and gave higher per capita loans than any other country provided to settle exservicemen.

Those eligible were;
Class 1. "Members of the New Zealand Naval or Expeditionary Force who served beyond New Zealand in connection with the war against Germany, and who returned to New Zealand and received an honorable discharge; persons who imnediately prior to the war were bona fide residents of New Zealand and served with H.M. Forces and received an honorable discharge therefrom; members of the New Zealand Nursing Service who served beyond the seas with an Expeditionary Force; and any person who was retained in New Zealand as an instructor at a camp of military training conducted for the purposes of the Expeditionary Force." 19

Class 2. This group which was smaller than the first included discharged servicemen who were in camp at the time of cessation of hostilities with Germany; undischarged members of the Expeditionary Force; widows of members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and those who as members of the Expeditionary Force had served as members of a. military camp and had been discharged while in that position.

Areas of Crown and settlement land were set aside for selection by those in Class 1, this land being available under 'Ordinary tenures' of cash, occupation with right of purchase, or renewable lease. Under 'Special tenures', the occupation terms comprised,
a) deferred payment licence for twenty years 21
and b) renewable lease with a purchasing clause the term of lease being thirty-three years in the case of settlement land, or sixty-six years in the case of ordinary Crown land.

As the areas of land set aside under this original act were insufficient to meet unforseen demand, the Amendment 22 Act of 1917 permitted the Crown to buy, on behalf of two or more soldiers including those in Class 2, an area of private freehold land and provided for an advance of up to £2,500 to;

1) Enable a soldier to purchase the freehold of a suitable holding of private or Native land;
2) Acquire the transfer of a leasehold;
3) Acquire the freehold of a Crown leasehold;
4) To discharge any mortgage over freehold land held by a soldier.

Financial advances in the period 1915-1017 were piti2.3
fully small. For clearing, fencing, drainage and general
improvement of Crown or freehold land including erection of buildings and the purchase of plant, stock, implements, seed and trees, the maximum available amount was £750. All these advances were secured by a mortgage over the land and held by the Lands and Survey Department, as administrator for the Crown. In addition to the provisions conferred by the above Acts, Expeditionary Force members were given pre.. Ference at ballots for land opened for selection under the Land Act, or the Land for Settlements Act, both passed in 1908. This legislation encouraged small fammers to take up land offered at low rentals. The settlers considered in this essay were those settied on Crown and settlement lands with leaseholds on 'special' or 'ordinary' tenure holdings.

## SOLDTER SETPLEMENT IN CANTERBURY. 1915-1017

No files could be traced giving details of settlement in Canterbury between the passing of the Act in late 1915 25 and June 1916. One can assume that during this time, in common with other districts, investigations were proceeding, at the demand of the Minister of Lands, into the selection of properties by members of the Canterbury Land Board which was responsible for the purchase of holdings suitable for soldier settlement. The first C9 Report was published in 1916, and in this it was mentioned that 12 applications had been received for land, but no further details were given.


## PLATE 2.1

## STAFORTH FABM SETTLEMENS TIMAYU.

As Appendix map 1 shows, this dairy block had one of the highest rates of failure in Cantexbury. In the right background can be seen an original house construeted for a soldier settler with a few of the fam buildings near by. The high wind break shelters the house from easterly winds coming off the sea which is in the far background. The building in the foreground was probably a labourers cottage. The run down nature of the pasture with its clumps of gorse and infestation with thi stles is evidence of the poor quality of the land even today.

The Soldiers Register has 8 entries listing alienations in that year, and although this number is too small to lend weight to any substantial conclusion, the success of some early settled land holders on the Seaforth Farm Settlement, a dairying block, was poor. Within six months of alienation, a unit of 105 acres had been surrendered, the reason being the, "sea had encroached over part of section". A 15 acre holding on the same settlement had been forfeited after six months and a 58 acre section was surrendered after two months. Seaforth Farm Settlement proved later to be unsatisfactory for a wide variety of reasons however this example shows that immediately after settlement commenced in Canterbury, on blocks which required a lot of development, early failures took place.

In this relatively quiet period between the passing of the first legislation and the end of the war, the two most pressing problems affecting resettlement were;

1) The insufficient finance available for development of farm holdings, and,
2) The steadily increasing cost of land, as vendors took advantage of the Crown's search for suitable holdings.

Before the passing of the Act in October, 1915, Massey had indicated that the $£ 50,000$ put aside by the Treasury would probably be enough for farm development costs "for
the first couple of years". Only five months later, T.T. Rhodes, (Thames) said,
"I trust that very much more than $£ 50,000$ will be provided. If it was $£ 5,000,000$, it would be very much nearer what would be reguired to adequately provide for all the soldiers who return." 28

In the same debate, Mr. Rhodes discussing the class of land that had been purchased up until that time felt that the real interest of the new settler were not being considered and that, with the rise in price for land, land buyers were purchasing holdings regardless of their state. The inllation in land prices is generally attributed to the war which caused a price rise in all commodities. D.J.B. Seymour, Dominion Secretary of the newly formed Returned Services Association, believed that the original intention of Massey was to provide small farm units for soldiers near to urban localities. As a result of the substantial inflation of land value throughout the country, the trend commencing in late 1914, the government was forced, for purely financial reasons to revise its intentions. Owing to this policy change, land was bought often in totally undeveloped regions in bulk because, when purchased in large blocks, it tended to be cheaper. After acquisition, the block was subdivided into units for settlement. Seymour, Vice President of the Canterbury branch of the New Zealand Returned Services Association at that time, states in his memorandum;
"The special difficulty which beset land settlers after the 1914 war was what we now recognise as inflation. The foundation of this was appreciated by practically nobody at the time. (The reason for this inflation) was the abandonment on the oth August, 1914, by $N . Z$ of the gold standard....Men returning from the war found that the price of land, formerly relatively static under the gold standard was rapidly rising. Buyers of the farms men had sold at nominal prices in order to enlist, 29 had doubled their money and were freely speculating."

It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt any explanation, but, whatever the reasons for the inflationary trend, the effects of the rise were considerable. The private speculator was virtually in control of the land market with the government land buyer at his mercy. In Canterbury, the Crown agents went into largely undeveloped or climatically inhospitable districts buying tracts of country for huge sums of money, paying with cash. The vendors in their turn, with the money on hand, went to other parts, purchasing more land, thus maintaining and in some cases increasing, the inflation of land values everywhere.

Sir Francis Bell, who had assumed temporary leadership of the Reform Party after the departure of Massey for the Imperial Conference in 1916, faced the growing problem of speculation by rejecting, despite considerable public criticism, offers from individuals whom he considered were asking too much for their properties.
"We never had a greater responsibility except the responsibilities of the War.... But apart from them no other responsibility we ever had as a Government was so great as that of accepting or
discarding purchases of land for soldiers." Bell's endless concern over the rife speculation taking place was shown by his demand that every block be examined by an expert outside the Land Purchase Board, before purchase was completed. In an additional effort to stop profiteering, Bell kept Crown lands closed for settlement except by returned soldiers. He employed the same control. measures during the subdivision of pastoral lands.

The measures instituted by the government to control land prices were slow to have an effect. To provide for the added costs involved in property acquisition, an amendment to the original act was passed in 1916. Additional funds up to $£ 500,000$ were provided for the purchase of land and the original sum of $£ 50,000,{ }^{31}$ found insufficient for property development, was increased to £100,000. Under this legislation, the scope of the 1915 Act was enlarged by extending its benefits to all those residents of New 32 Zealand who had served in the Naval or Military forces.

The Consolidation of a Land Settlement Policy, 1917
Nationally, the increasing evidence of hardship experienced by soldier settlers, which had come to the notice of the public through reports in the prices, evoked a large measure of anti-government sentiment, and stimulated the political ambitions of the officials in the recently
formed Returned Services Association. By 1917, the association had become a very powerful body with a membership of over 50,000. Land settlement was its 'hobby-horse' and the R.S.A. emerged as the strongest pressure group for the acceleration of soldier settlement in the country. Its aims were threefold;

1) Continual pressure had to be exerted on the Government to increase the purchase and allocation of land for soldiers.
2) Faster subdivision and alienation of land already purchased.
3) More financial effort to improve the lot of the soldier in difficulties.

The profiteering in land selling reached its peak about this time, however, just as alarming and much less documented was the emergence of corruption among the soldiers. The public called them "heroes", and an element in their ranks was fully prepared to take advantage of public senm timent, which was entirely on their side, and to exploit anybody and anything that came their way. Because land was such a good investment, many soldiers applied for every ballot being offered in the country. Their aim was not to gain a farm, but instead to squat on the land which they knew to be continually increasing in value. one of the earliest examples of this trend was during the subdivision


## PLATA 2.2

TRTPP EABM SETTLEMENT. Geraldine. Looking west.

The range in the distance makes up the eastern edge of Tripp Farm Settlement. The hill in the middle left background is the north eastern section of Pour Peaks Farm Settlement. On Tripp, houses were located on the small area of flat land at the entance to the settlement, With the western boundary of the block over ten miles away. As a result, over much of the block access was difficult. Gorse and bush infestation was, and still is common, particularly on the steeper slopes.
of Lees Valley Settlement where it was common knowledge that any property on the block was worth at least $£ 4,000$ in cash on the open market if the lucky ballot winner could 34
sell it. During 1917, the R.S.A. assumed the proportions of a gigantic goose, in that servicemen, who had spent all their resources in unsuccessful applications for each ballot at it appeared, only needed to shelter under the wings of the local association which like the pressure group it had become, turned its demands to the government by asking for more land and more money.

In Canterbury, as was the case in the remainder of the country, relatively few soldiers had yet returned from 35 overseas. In anticipation of the demand which was to add to the pressure already encountered as a result of the number of applications received, all land newly purchased, or held by the Crown for settlement, was put aside for discharged soldiers. Most of those holdings which had formerly been parts of estates, had adjoining blocks of land owned by the Crown added to them in order to facilitate additional subdivisions on the settlement.

There were two schools of thought as to the class of land which should be bought. Some who had witnessed the extreme hardship already faced by settlers on blocks like 36 Seaforth, or the cold Cricklewood Block at Fairlie, advocated the purchase, wherever possible, of improved land so
that an immediate return could be gained. Others supported this contention only in part, believing that in the very near future, the number of applications for land would outstrip the supplies. Consequently, the only way to satisfy the demand they believed was to purchase large blocks of unimproved land which would produce little return to start but would, in the light of the then bouyant prices for agricultural produce, pick up rapidly. Common to both schools was the belief that individual preference for the soldier should be continued. The balottee had three catem gories of farm to choose from, these being;

1) Market gardens or poultry farms, usually suburban in location,
2) Small rural holdings for bee keeping and fruit growing, and,
3) Large rural buildings for mixed farming 38 and pastoralism.

The argument pertaining to improved and unimproved land only related to the last category.

Because wheat was commanding a good price at the time, the initial tendency was to allow occupation of land as soon as it was available, the occupants being placed on short term tenancies, special advantage being taken of the 'special leases' clause in the 1915 Act. Seaforth, Cricklewood and Leeston Farm Settlements were the first to be settled under
this policy, their later history, (see Table 4) illustrating well its shortcomings.

## SUMMARY

This chapter set out to show briefly the beginnings of the resettlement scheme with particular reference to initial legislation, a description of who was eligible for settlement, and land purchase problems. The difficulties associated with lack of finance and poor class of land for ex-servicemen have been mentioned in order to show how these problems, which were later to plague the operation of the scheme, had come about as a result of insufficient planning undertaken by Massey and the Reform Party. Without doubt, the speed with which the Soldier Settlement Programme had been established, and the apparent inability of Massey to forsee the needs of soldier farmers and how to deal rith them satisfactorily, contributed in major part to the years of crisis between 1918 and 1924 which the next chapter will cover.

## Footnotes:

1. MacLachlan, R.J.: (1965) p. 7.
2. The years 1915-1921 were the peak period of soldiex settlement. (See Fig. 2).
3. For additional details regarding the estates in Canterbury, see Scotter (1965) pp. 25-35.
4. Fon. John MoKenzie. Minister of Lands. 24 Jan. 1891. 1 July, 1900.
5. Scotter, H. H : 115.
6. Jourdain, W.R. (1925) p. 116.
7. For explanation of 'deferred payment', 'right of purchase', and 'lease in perpetuity', see Jourdain, M.R. p. 121.
8. MacLachlan, R.J:: (1965) p. 9.
9. ibid.
10. Nev Zealand Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 172, June 24 Aug. 4, 1915, pp. 458-459.
11. The reply to this circular by the Crom Commissionar for Canterbury, Mr. R. Pollen, had apparently been destroyed. A search for a duplicate in the Lands and Survey Head office, vellington, was al so unsuccessful.
12. Personal commuication with Mr. Donglas Seymour, founder of the Nev Zealand Returned Services' Association. The quotation is from an unpublished nemorandum vitten by Seymour on January 5th, 1967.
13. ibid.
14. N. Z.P.D. June 24 - Aug. 4, Vol. 172, 1915, D. 459.
15. The soldier settlers had no such grandiose ideas, but instead took up gundigging as a livelihood rather than farming. So general was this activity among the settlers that in 1917, legislation was passed which stated that,

Land set apart under the act of 1915 within a
kaurimum district not to be available for kaurigun digging.' (Jourdain, p. 191).
16. N.Z.P.D., Vol. 174, Sept. 20 - oct. 12, 1915, p. 212.
17. ibid, p. 212. There was more truth in this statenent than Massey wished to believe. See Table 3.
18. Jourdain, w.R. pp. 189-199.
19. ibid, pp. 46-47.
20. ibid.
21. ibid.
22. ibid, p. 190.
23. ibid, p. 47-48,
24. ibid. Land Act 1908, p. 41.

Land For Settlements Act 1908, p. 13\%.
25. June 1915 marks the first listing of settlement in the Soldiers Register.
26. See Table 1, and Appendix map 1.
27. N.Z.P.D., Vol. 174, Sept. 20-Oct. 12, 1915, p. 212.
28. N.Z.P.D., Vol. 175, May 9 - June 15, 1916, p. 922.
29. Seymour. Personal communication and quote from 1967 memorandum.
30. "The Right Honaxable Sir Francis HoD. Be11. P.C. G.C.M.G. K.C. His Life and Times. By D.F Stewart, Welington 1937, pp. 138-139.
31. Towrdain, p. 190.
32. ibid.
33. Seymour memorandum.
34. Personal communication with Seymour.
35. This is reflected in Fig. 2。
36. See Table 1 and Appendix Map 1. All Farm Settlements mentioned can be located in this manner.

3\%. Scotter, p. 32\%.
38. These three divisions are generalised. A more specific classification can be seen in Table 1 and 2.


## PLATE 3.1

SEAFORTE FARM SETPLEMENT. Timaru. Looking east.

This view, a part of what was Seaforth Settlement. Located five miles north of Timaxu, town supply dairying is still carried on as it was when the block was alienated to discharged soldiers in 1917.

Notice the high wind breaks which shelter stock from the cold winds coming off the sea which is less than a half a mile away in the right distance. Although the pasture in this view is much superior to that shown in plate 2.1 , the state of the fences on this particular holding suggests that life may be still something of a struggle.

## CHAPTER THREE

## LAND ACOUTSTPTON AND SETTELTMENT

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1918-1924
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## INTRODUCTITON

In spite of the few applications for settlement received for settlement by the beginning of 1918, administrators colld look back on two years of problems brought about by providing unsatisfactory or poor land for soldiers, the majority of whom were totally inexperienced. The lack of finance provided for fam development compounded the difficulties, the Farm Settlements of Cricklewood and Seam forth suffering the most up until that time. (See Table 4). Administrators were unable to alleviate these difficulties, particularly those relating to land purchase and development finance because of the lack of provisions for any substantial action under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act and its amendments. The period 1918-1924, was the most trying time faced by settlers during the operation of the resettlement scheme. This chapter attempts to show the course of events during this time with reference in particular to land acquisition and settlement. The two major themes discussed cover;

1) The sudden and unexpected land hunger encountered by the Lands and Survey Department and land buyers brought about by the return of the Expeditionary Force, and,
2) As a result of these pressures, the accelerating collapse of the land settlement programme as originally conceived by the Reform Party. This was caused by those factors mentioned above and the disasterous fall in the price of agricultural produce, beginning in 1920 , which led to the slump.

## LAND HUNGER

In Canterbury, as was the case throughout the Dominion, there was no real land hunger produced by the demands of ex-semvicemen until the middle of 1919. The magnitude of the problem faced by the goverment in rehabilitating the troops back into community life, can be best illustrated by comparing it with the numbers involved. In the Boer War Force, the last group of servicemen to be repatriated befoze the Great Var, a mere 6500 men had been assimilated without incident. Between 1914 and 1918 on the other hand, 100,000 men had been sent to the war, this number accounting for one tenth of the total national population. Tith the return of these men in great numbers toward the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, rehabilitation commenced. Administrators had no idea of the number of discharged soldiens who would take advantages of the opportunities provided for settlement on farm holdings. In 1919, the flood of applications became a very severe strain on the Lands Department who were short of staff because of the wax. The administrative,
legislative, and financial structure of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Scheme was unable to cope with the demand. Not only did this problem have to overcone by new legislation, but the most important aspect of the progress of the scheme, namely land acquisition, had been slowed down considerably as a part of government orders to land buyers to show restraint because of the continually rising land price. The problem which had to be faced was how to settle the large number of men who had applied for holdings when insufficient land of suitable quality was available to satisfy the demand. The unfortunate end result to the situation was the settlement of too many men, most of whom were inexperienced, on land which was in a virgin, roughly developed or worn out state.

The blame for this course of events which was in the long run to play a bigger part than any other factor in later difficulties for the scheme, cannot be placed entirely on the shoulders of the government. In fact, during the initial discussions leading up to the drafting of the 1915 Act, mention had been made of the possibility of providing training for inexperienced applicants. Prom vision was made, in a rudimentary fashion, for the training of these men on specially selected farms run by civilians. As a result of continuing speculation in ballots for properties, and the excessive price for land, the government,
which had been cautious from the start, maintained this attitude. However, the hostile reaction of the press to this caution which it thought unjustified, and blamed in large part for the slow progress of the scheme, swayed public opinion which was for the most part on the soldiers side. The R.S.A. in particular as representative of soldiers affairs, adopted a hostile attitude towards what it considered to be poor planning and inefficiency so that the Crown was virtually forced into action.

The R.S.A. with the first publication of its paper, "Quick March" in 1918 became a strong voice in making known its dissatisfaction with the lack of a viable land settlement policy. The association called for a more satisfactory programe to be formulated on the experience already gained, rather than a continuation of the old scheme based on a half hearted effort geared to satisfying demands as they 6 arose.

## CANTERBURY LAND SFTTLEMENT

It is doubtful if Canterbury suffered from a land hunger on the scale encountered in the North Island, for little mention is made of this problem in the regional section of the C1 and C9 Reports. As Figure 2, 3, 4, and 5 shows, during 1918 and 1919 land acquisition and settlem ment continued at a fast and steady rate. The pattern of
LAND ACQUISITION
land buying was similar to the national trend as Figure 2 shows, with most properties being purchased under the proVisions of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act and its amendments. The statistics from which this set of graphs were constructed, further differentiated the land purm chased into holdings alienated for;

1) Lease or licence, or,
2) sale which included provision for defreed payment.

This study is concerned with those settlers who acquired land under category 1. Figure 4 shows how in Canterbury, as well as elsewhere, the leasehold farm unit was the dominent form of farm tenure listed, this having been the pattern since the scheme began. The reason is straightm forward; the majority of discharged servicemen had little money with which to acquire a freehold property, therefore the leasehold tenure was preferred. Also the amount of freehold land offered to servicemen was small, this being the general case. The same preference was shown for land allotted for settlement under the Land Act and the Land for Settlements Act of 1908, known in Figure 3 and 7 as 'other acts'.

In the same time period, an analysis of farm holding size provides an interesting picture which will be elaborated in Chapter 5. As can be seen in Figure 6 and 7 , the


Canterbury average size of holdings held under lease or licence exceeds the national average by a large measure, whereas land for freehold settlement in Canterbury falls below the national average, this pattern being similar as regards land acquired under both the Discharged Soldiexs Settlement Act and under other acts. The significance of Canterbury holdings held under lease and licence being of the larger size than the national average may account for the Land District having least number of failures in the Dominion. (See Table 8).

## SPECULATION

No data could be discovered giving specific mention to malingerers in Canterbury although Seymour believed the numbers who did exist were an embarrassment to the R.s.A, and the Crown. Many ex-servicemen who had sought properties for purely financial gain and who had been unable to resell their land as a result of the caution exercised by government land buyers were the principal culprits. In an unknown measure these individuals contributed towards land value inflation. Speculation was not only found on the land but abuse of development loan privileges was also common. Dr. R. Hepburn, Crown Solicitor in Christchurch during 1919, encountered this often.

> "At one stage, particularly between $1919-1920$ practically every conveyancing transaction in Christchurch depended eventually on money from a Discharged Soldier's loan, For example, A bought a house from B and obtained a Discharged Soldiers loan to complete the purchase. B then bought a house from $C$ but could not pay for it until a had obtained his loan and paid him (B). And so it went on. Sometimes several trans. actions aere directly or indirectly dependent on the one loan, and the money worked overtime.

Seymour could give no indication of the number of malingerers who were soldier settlers although he believed that because of the numerous opportunities to do so, most at some time took advantage of the loopholes in the prom visions for supplying soldiers with farm development and house loans. He added that if the public had come to know of the many thousands of pounds lost because of adminisw trative incompetance and inefficiency, the whole affair would doubtlessly have become a national scandal and a major political issue.

The situation was made all the more tragic by the continual lack of finance available for farmers, the situation in Canterbury being the same as elsewhere. Hepburn, when discussing this feature of the scheme, states,
"In this conneotion there were various interesting incidents - humorous to look back upon, but not at the time. The Treasury had only a limited amount of money for the loans, and apparently, more loans were authorised (by the Crown Lands Department) than there were funds to pay immediately, so they rationed what funds they had among the various districts. When a transaction

> was ready for settlement.... it was about six weeks before a cheque was available for that particular loan. The Government sent the Comissioner of crown Lands in Christchurch say flo, ooo or f20, ooo each week and when that wes exhausted, there was no more till next week. Eventually, funds ran out altogether and there was no money till parliament met in 1920 and passed the budget, and thus authorised more funds for the purpose."

As a direct result of the lack of money, those settlers on undeveloped blocks, who were already as a result of in.. experience having difficulty meeting moxtgage commitments, had either to surrender their holding or have it taken from them by the Lands Department. After the Crom had held the property for a shont period it was then reallocated, thus perpetuating a vicious circle.

In Canterbury, between 1919 and the beginning of the recession in 1920, land acquisition was reduced as a result of decreasing demand for settlement by discharged sexvicem men. This is reflected in Figure 2 which shows that the rate of land purchasing slowed from 1919 until 1921 when the bottom fell out of meat and wool markets. The decline is most noticable in the amount of land purchased under the terms of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act. The buying rate of land acquired under other acts also fell off to some extent although this reduction was not so considerable as in the former case. With the expiring of many leases on the large Canterbury estates in 1918, acquisition and subo
division of these holdings had accounted for a large prom portion of the total units offered for settlement, this programme of compulsory purchase at fair Values being a major part of Canterbury land acquisition. On a national scale, the purchase of land was also slowed by unsuitable blocks being offered at high and unreasonable values. The artificiality of these values prompted Professor T.A. Hunter to suggest that the only means of overcoming high land values and obtaining more holdings was to impose a stiffly graded land tax in order to force vendors to sell at a more reasonable price. However, officials were reticent to implement this suggestion, pointing out that the Prow gressive Land Tax passed in 1917 was framed for this vexy purpose, the immediate result being a marked increase in market values of land. In fact, this unforseen trend greatly accentuating the normal lag of official valuations behind market prices

## POLICY REVISIONS

By 1919, the R.S.A. had evolved into a vigilante organisation as a result of what it considered the slowness of the Crown in solving the land purchase problem. The intention of the association was to form its own Dominion Land Comittee to act on all grievances received from members of district branches. By producing its own case,
the association felt it would be able to bring pressure to bear on the government and thus produce some action. However, before the R.S.A. could carry out its threat, Massey, without any prior warning, suspended for an indefinite period the financial provisions of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act. His reasons were simple: The country, inspite of a continuing postwar boom in prices, was in debt and not being able to afford payment of loan requirements to soldier settlements. This action more than any other gives a good indication of the strain the rew settlement programe was imposing on the national economy. The original $£ 50,000$ set aside for the purposes of the 1915 Act had, as a result of the demand in 1918 and 1919 proved insufficient. A revision of the advance had gone on throughout the operation of the scheme, the sum being raised to $£ 100,000$ in 1916 as an amendment to the original acto Under the Finance Act of 1917, the allocation was again raised to $£ 500,000$ and the following year to $£ 1,500,000$. However, this large amount was still insurficient to meet the demand for loans.

The Discharged Soldier Settlement Loans Act of 1919, in a final attempt to solve the economic pressures, allocated £12,500,000 for the purposes of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act while additional finance was offered under the Lands for Settlement Act of 1908. However, with


## PLATE 3.2

ISLETORTH FARM SETTLRENT. Hinds.

These tro buildings, a general purpose shed on the left and a milking shed on the right, are an example of the last few remaining original farm buildings constructed for soldier settlers on Isleworth. The shed in the background is not pert of Isleworth block.
continually inflating land values, high prices for the construction of dwellings, amenities, and access roads, and the high costs or agricultural implements, fencing wire, and posts, the additional supply of money was rapidly ex. hausted.

Massey's intention in suddenly removing all returned soldiers from the land market by eliminating their sources of finance, was to produce a drop in land prices. The public pressure that resulted from this action, forced Massey to bring the financial ald programe back into operation before any concrete reduction was shown. Above all, this episode illustrates two points;

1) The difficulty admitted by the Crown in finding the necessary finance for soldier settlers. By late 1919 this was taking two forms;
a) funds for farm development to those settlers who were newly placed on holdings and endeavouring to set themselves up, and,
b) relief to be paid to servicemen who had found difficulties in making their prom perties pay, these problems being discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
2) The considerable problem soldier settlement had become to the government as a result of the complexity of national and regional planning
required to maintain the scheme as it had evolved. This was compounded because of regional differences which had emerged due to the lack of interdistrict coordination between the administrative authorities.

## SUMMARY

' In this chapter, by using both Canterbury and national examples, an attempt has been made to show how land ac... quisition took place and was affected by demand, price and finance available. No special emphasis has been given to Canterbury because in the events covered so far, relating to the establishment of the First World War Soldier Settle ment scheme, there was in general a similarity of events over the whole country.

Chapter 4, which begins discussion relating specifically to Canterbury, considers the significance of the slump of 1920-1924 on soldier settlers with details of the location and condition of soldier settlements.

## Footnotes:

1. Lists of applications received and allotments made to discharged soldiers appear annually in the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Report, C9, A.J.H.R.
2. Personal communication with Watt and Seymour. Although hinted at occasionally, there is no definite indication of numbers of inexperienced men in Canterbury, in the C1 (Lands and Survey Department) and C9 Reports.
3. Scotter, pp. 329-340.
4. See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of Farm Settlement Location.
5. In Canterbury, a farm at Hanmer was set aside for both practical and theoretical instruction. This training scheme was to cater for all classes of settler. However, facilities were inadequate to provide for everyone.
6. Any reference to the operations of the Returned Services Association comes from discussions with Seymour, first Dominion Secretary of the organisation.
7. Annually data was provided in the C9 Report and this information was analysed to produce Figures 2-7.
8. Personal communication.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## FARM SETELEMENP LOCATTON AND FARM TYPE

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter undertakes two tasks;

1) A description of how Soldier Settlements were mapped, and,
2) a discussion of Farm Settlement location and agricultural type.
A. THE LOCATION OF FARM SETTLEMENTS

The initial mapping of Farm Settlements before analysis of failure could be commenced, was a long and tedious task made difficult by three factors;

1) No map could be found in the Lands and Survey Department in Christchurch, or in Head office, Wellington, which showed the distribution of Soldier Farm Settlement blocks in Canterbury.
2) Although files had been prepared on each settlement during its development, too few of these could be located to justify the time spent in searching.
3) Very few administrators associated with the land settlement programme remain, Those with whom discussions took place could not remember where soldier settlements were located.

From the beginning, an attempt was made to include on the final map as many Farm Settlements as could be discovered in the limited time available. The reason was twofold; first a near complete list would increase the significance of any conclusions, and the map would also be a valuable historical document. Initial mapping took place by the following up often fragmentary clues provided in the following documents;

1) The Discharged Soldiers Settlement Report. (C9). This annual statement began promisingly and provided a comprehensive coverage of holdings allenated between 1917 and 1922. Unfoxtunately the treatment is by no means complete or systematic, the detailed description of settlement falling off as time progressed,
2) Scotter's table, "Returned Servicemen Settlements, 1916-211, the only list encountered, was initially treated as if complete, although come time was spent in attempting to confirm this in discussions with staff of the Lands and Survey Department. This was found to be a difficult exercise because so little data could be found, but it was thought that if Scotter's appendix dealing with second World War soldier settlenent was investigated and found to be accurate, the
reliability of the World $\underset{3}{ }$ One settlement could then be ascertained. The writer by this time had discovered nearly all the Second World War settlements, a map of these being held by the Department. Scotter's Iist of these settlements was incomplete and at the time, it was not known how accurate his figures were relating to each block. However, because no other list of a comparable size could be found, but, as some of Scotter's data had proved to be suspect, the search was directed to the Lands and Deeds Office.
3) The Lands and Deeds Office in Christchurch, has in bound volumes, listed in chronological order, all land titles for Canterbury. Certain of these volumes are concerned exclusively with Crown land titles and a search proved the existence of $83 \%$ of the settlements mentioned by Scotter. It was not known at this stage how many more settlements remained to be traced although a concentrated effort was made with the help of Watt to trace frommemory as many as possible. This was very difficult because in the list taken from the C1 Report of 1939 no distinction was made between;
i) Farm Settlements alienated after 1916 for settlement by discharged servicemen;
ii) Farm Settlements alienated under the provisions of the Land Act and Land for Settlements Act of 1908 for settlement by civilians, and,
iii) Farm Settlements alienated under the 1908 Acts which had not been completely settled by civilians at the time of the passing of the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act in 1915, thus having vacant holdings which were then made available to soldier settlers.

Because the 46 blocks which had been traced and proven from Scotter's list appeared, after some more investigation, to be the only ones that could be found, an initial attempt was made to map these. During the search in the Lands Department a number of the original sale plans had been discovered and, although they did not make up a complete list, they gave additional proof of the settlements already found, as well as providing further data such as acreage, holdings available on each block, and the boundary of the 6 farm settlement.

Initial Mapping Difficultios
The first attempt at constructing a map showing the distribution of World War One Farm Settlements faced the


## PLATE 4.1

MOUNT NESSING FARM SETTLIMENT. CaVE. Looking south.

Mount Nessing Settlement was one of the more successful
hill blocks in Canterbury. The settlement which includes all of the hills in the background but none of the foreground was of a gently rolling nature, suffered from no climatic extremes and enjoyed an adequate rainfall in all seasons, this contributing substantially to its record of success.
problem of having only one half of those settlements traced available on sale plans. These 20 blocks were mapped, and a preliminary analysis of theix history commenced from the files which had been traced. Meantime, the search for additional Farm Settlements continued. During this investigation, the 1:63360 Cadastral Series of maps was found to contain all those Farm Settlements established on estates and dealt with under the Land for Settlements Act. The selection of blocks allocated for alienation under the Discharged Soldiers legislation as well as the Land For Settlements Act, was a simple case of eliminating those which were not part of the identified list. It became apparent after initial mapping was complete, that the boundary marked on some Farm Settlenents did not confom to the boundary as shown on the original sale plans. This was discussed with the Chief Cartographer who emphasised that the boundary on the Cadastral sexies was correct. No solution could be offered as to why the discrepency existed. However, because uniformity was desired, the Cadastral series boundaries were adopted and used for the production of Appendix map, 1.

## The Soldiers' Register

During research in Wellington, a register containing the details of settlement by discharged soldiers was found
in the National Archives. This volume contained personal particulars and data relating to individual holdings on Farm Settlements. Because in the reproduction of the Canterm bury section, confidential material had to be omitted, the history of single holdings could not be imestigated. Also, the Soldiexs' Register lists alienations chronologically between June 1916 when the first entry appears and 1924 when the last was made. A perusal of the register added another 10 Farm Settlements to those already traced, bringIng the total to 56. The writer and Bastion estimate that this number accounts for at least $75 \%$ of the total number of settlements on which discharged servicemen obtained holdings. It is not known how many were entirely, or only partially ocopled by soldier settlers. Some settlements are not shown on the Appendix maps, $1-3$ because they could not be found on the Cadastral 177A Series or were discovered after the analysis for Chapter 5 had been completed. These are added to the preface of the Soldiers' Register copy in the appendix.

## FARM SETTLEMENT DESCRIPTION

Table 1 is a list of the 56 Farm Settlements traced. Each block on this table has a figure beside it, this being the code reference number. By noting this figure the individual blocks can be identified on Appendix map 1, 2 and 3.

The column in this table referring to the land use on each Farm Settlement has been classified into seven catem gories, an explanation of which appears at the end. These subdivisions are a simplification of the Lands and Survey classification, which appears in Table 2. The seven catem gory classification is a generalised grouping of the most common form of agricultural practice carried out on each block over a period of years. A specific classification of this type was impossible for the time period being dism cussed as the result of the dynamic nature of farming, particularly between 1915 and 1940 due to the fluctuation in economic conditions.

The column in Table 1, "Number of Holdings", xequires clarification, as the total number of units found opposite some blocks is not likely to be found beside the same blocks in Table 2. The number of holdings in Table 1 refers to the original number of units allotted for settlement at the time of initial alienation of each block. (See Appendix map 1). Rach figure was derived from Survey Office Plans in the Lands and Survey Department, each plan showing a single block divided into a number of units, these being the holdings originally offered for settlement. Some of these figures differ from those given by Scotter but many are identical. The total number of holdings in Table 1 is 538.

TABLE 1

## WORLD WAR ONE FARM SETTLEMENTS

| Code No. | Block | Locality | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Farm } \\ & \text { Type } \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\text { No. of }}{\text { Holdings }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Culverden | Culverden | S | 37 |
| 2 | Waitohi Peaks | Hawarden | SS | 11 |
| 3 | Brooksdale | Hawarden | Stc | 13 |
| 4 | Glenmark | Waikarj | St C | 30 |
| 5 | Lees Valley | Oxford | SS | 10 |
| 6 | Hewitt | Sefton | WH | 2 |
| 7 | Avonhead NO. 2 | Riccarton | WH | 20 |
| 8 | Avonhead | Riccarton | WH | 18 |
| 9 | Hei Hei | Hornby | WH | 18 |
| 10 | Hornby | Hornby | WH | 24 |
| 11 | Drayton | Templeton | S | 22 |
| 12 | Woodlau | Prebbleton | St | 5 |
| 13 | Broadfields | Prebbleton | St C | 5 |
| 14. | Montford | Kirwee | $5+C$ | 7 |
| 15 | Doyleston | Leeston | $D+C$ | 5 |
| 16 | Leeston | Leeston | WH | 5 |
| 17 | Keith | Hororata | $5+C$ | 1 |
| 18 | Homebrook | Southbridge | $5+C$ | 16 |
| 19 | Riverina | Rakaia | $5+$ | 5 |
| 20 | Acton | Chertsey | $5+\mathrm{C}$ | 6 |
| 21 | Lauriston | Methven | $5+6$ | 4 |


| Code No. | Block | Locality | $\frac{\text { Farm }}{\text { Type }}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{No},}{\mathrm{Holding}}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22 | Dromore | Dromore | Stc | 3 |
| 23 | Grange | Methren | $\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{C}$ | 3 |
| 24 | Wairere | Methven | S+D | 7 |
| 25 | Lyndhurst | Methven | $\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{C}$ | 15 |
| 26 | Buckley | Ashburton | $\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{C}$ | 3 |
| 27 | Seafield | Ashburton | $5+\mathrm{C}$ | 4 |
| 28 | Ashton | Ashburton | Stc | 8 |
| 29 | Bruce | Ashburtion | SHC | 3 |
| 30 | Hawthorne | Hinds | $5+C$ | 6 |
| 31 | New Paxk | Hinds | $\mathrm{s}+\mathrm{C}$ | 7 |
| 32 | Beach | Hinds | S+C | 7 |
| 33 | Isleworth | Hinds | Stc | 13 |
| 34. | Coldstream | Hinds | S+C | 12 |
| 35 | Ohapi | Orari | S+D | 6 |
| 36 | Tripp | Geraldine | SS | 22 |
| 37 | Clayton | Geraldine | SS | 5 |
| 38 | Four Peaks | Geraldine | SS | 8 |
| 39 | Jungle | Winchestex | D | 3 |
| 40 | Jungle NO. 2 | Winchester | D | 3 |
| 41 | Kakahu | Winchester | $5+C$ | 5 |
| 42 | Milford | Temuka | D | 4 |
| 43 | Seaforth | Timaru | D | 7 |
| 44 | Lambrook | Fairlie | S | 5 |


| Code No. | B10ck | Locality | $\frac{\text { Farm }}{\text { Type }}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{No} \cdot \mathrm{of}}{\mathrm{Holdings}}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 45 | Oakwood | Timaru | $5+\mathrm{C}$ | 5 |
| 46 | Hedlow | Timaru | $5+\mathrm{C}$ | 3 |
| 47 | Rosebrook | Timaru | $8+6$ | 15 |
| 48 | Cricklewood | Fairlie | S | 8 |
| 49 | Mt. Nessing | Albury | SS | 11 |
| 50 | McGregor | Cave | Stc | 1 |
| 51 | Craigmore | Cave | S | 9 |
| 52 | Banixifeld | St. Andrews | $5+C$ | 9 |
| 53 | Springwell | Maimate | $5+6$ | 6 |
| 54 | Waimate | Waimate | D. ${ }^{\text {c }}$ | 36 |
| 55 | Kowhatu | Waimate | S | 5 |
| 56 | Tara | Waimate | $s$ | 10 |

Total number of holdings -538
Source: Lands and Survey
Ranked Percentage of Different Categories. Percentage of Total Holdings.

1. S+C - (Sheep and cropping) 52
2. 5 - (Sheep) 12
3. SS - (Store sheep) 10.5
4. WH (Workers Home) 10.5
5. D - (Dairying) 7
6. $D+C$ - (Dairying and cropping) 4
7. S+D - (Sheep and dairying)

Table 2 is a more detailed presentation, dividing the number of holdings on each Farm Settlement into leaseholds and freeholds. A comparison of the two lists will show a discrepency in the number of holdings for the same settlements, the Table 2 total being 575. The explanation is straightforward. Between the beginning of the 1920's slump and the end of the depression of the $30^{\prime} \mathrm{s}$, many holdings which were forfeited or surrendered were not resettled but amalgamated with other units which were usually small in size and on the same settlement. This accounts for those blocks Where a reduction in the total number of holdings appears. Where the number of units in Table 2 exceeds those in Table 1, the reason is equally simple. As the Crown acquired additional pockets of land for settlement of soldiers, these were identified by being named as a part of a Farm Settlement block, although, in most cases they did not come within the boundaries of the block as shown in Appendix Map 1, some in fact being located anything up to a mile or so from the 10 settlement.

## TABLE 2

FROM C1 REPORT OP THE LANDS AND SURVYY DEPT. 1939

| CodeNo. Block | $\frac{\text { Lease }}{\text { Holds }} \frac{\text { Free- Farm Type }}{\text { Holds }}$ |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Culverden | 51 | 22 | Mixed and grazing |
| 2 | Waitohi Peaks | 8 | - | Sheep |
| 3 | Brooksdale | 14 | - | Mixed |


| Code No. | Block | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lease- } \\ & \text { Holds } \end{aligned}$ | Free- | Farm Tyye |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | Glenmark | 27 | 5 | Mixed and grazing |
| 5 | Lees Valley | 8 | - | Sheep |
| 6 | Hewitt | 1 | - | Homestead |
| 7 | Avonhead No. 2 | 17 | 2 | Small farming |
| 8 | Avonhead | 17 | 2 | Small farming |
| 9 | Hei Hei | 11 | 6 | Poultxy |
| 10 | Hornby | 16 | 7 | Agricultural gardening |
| 11 | Drayton | 13 | 7 | Agricultural |
| 12 | Woodlau | 4 | - | Mixed and grazing |
| 13 | Broadfields | 4 | - | Mixed grain |
| 14 | Montford | 7 | $\cdots$ | Mixed and grazing |
| 15 | Doyleston | 5 | - | Mixed |
| 16 | Leeston | 5 | 1 | Agricultural |
| 17 | Keith | - | 1 | Workers home gardening |
| 18 | Homebrook | 16 | - | Mixed |
| 19 | Riverina | 3 | $\cdots$ | Mixed |
| 20 | Acton | 4 | - | Mixed |
| 21 | Lauriston | 4 | 1 | Mixed grain |
| 22 | Dromore | 2 | - | Mixed grazing |
| 23 | Grange | 3 | 1 | Dairying and grain |
| 24 | Wairere | 7 | - | Mixed |
| 25 | Lend hurst | 18 | - | Mixed |


| Code No. | Block | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lease- } \\ & \text { Holds } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Free } \\ & \text { Holds } \end{aligned}$ | Farmiype |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 26 | Buckley | 3 | - | Mixed |
| 27 | Seafield | 6 | - | Mixed |
| 28 | Ashton | 6 | - | Mixed |
| 29 | Bruce | 4 | - | Mixed |
| 30 | Hawthorne | 9 | - | Mixed |
| 31 | New Park | 7 | - | Mixed |
| 32 | Beach | 10 | $\cdots$ | Mixed |
| 33 | Isleworth | 18 | - | Mixed grain |
| 34 | Coldstream | 11 | - | Mixed farming and grain |
| 35 | Ohapi | 6 | - | Mixed |
| 36 | Tripp | 23 | $\cdots$ | Sheep and grain |
| 37 | Clayton | 6 | - | Sheep and grain |
| 38 | Four Peaks | 8 | - | Sheep and grain |
| 39 | Jungle | 2 | - | Dairy farms |
| 40 | Jungle No. 2 |  |  |  |
| 41 | Kakahu | 4 | 1 | Workers Homes and gardens |
| 42 | Milford | 4 | - | Mixed |
| 43 | Seaforth | 7 | - | Small farms and dairying |
| 44 | Lambrook | 6 | - | Mixed |
| 45 | Oakwood | 5 | - | Mixed farming and grain |
| 46 | Hadlow | 1 | - | Mixed |
| 47 | Rosebrook | 11 | 3 | Small farming and daixying |


| Code No. Block | Lease- Free | Farm Type |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 48 | Cricklewood | 10 | - | Mixed |
| 49 | Mt. Nessing | 11 | - | Sheep and grain |
| 50 | McGregor | 1 | - | Mixed and grazing |
| 51 | Craigmore | 9 | - | Mixed |
| 52 | Bankfield | 9 | - | Mixed and grain |
| 53 | Springwell | 6 | - | Mixed and grain |
| 54 | Waimate | 34 | - | Sheep, fruit <br> and grain |
| 55 | Kowhatu | 4 | - | Mixed |
| 56 | Tara | 9 | 1 | Sheep and grain |

Total holdings 575

Total leaseholds 515
Total freeholds 60
Percentage of leaseholds 88.5
Percentage of freeholds 11.5

After. Lands and Survey Report (C1) 1939.

During the operation of the scheme, administrators evolved their own simple classification of Soldier settlements. The blocks were referred to as being either 'good', 11 or 'bad'.

## Good Blocks

These were usually differentiated in such a manner because the size of holdings within the settlement were
big enough to be economic units, the block as a whole was easily accessible and located in an area of good quality soils and climate. These comprised, Culverden (1), and Glenmark (4) in the north, Drayton (11), Homebrook (18) and Doyleston (15) in Mid Canterbury and Ohapi (35), Hadlow (46), Rosebrook (47) and Bankfield (52) in the south. All these conform in some measure to the above criteria and have a low incidence of failure as Appendix map 1 testifies. Bad Blocks

These ware classified according to;

1) Size,
2) Dryness,
3) Coldness, and
4) Inaccessibility.

## Small Blocks

The blocks which were small in size can readily be identified on Appendix map 1, the principal of which were 12
Hewitt (6), and the Workers Home Settlements located within a twenty mile radius of Christchurch. In the south there was Kakahu (41), the small blocks in the WinchesterTemuka district, and Wamate Workers Home Settlement. Dry Blocks

Most Settlements in Canterbury except Vairere (24), Tripp (36), and Four Peaks (38) suffered during the year from drought. The most outstanding of these were the


## DLATE 4.2

LAMBROOK FARM SETTLEMENT. Fairlie. Looking east. This settlement, though smaller than its neighbour Cricklewood, was equally cold and inhospitable. The property which was originally divided up into five holdings is now under single ownership as a fat lamb farm. The homestead is well protected from the cold prevailing southerly wind by extensive windbreaks.
blocks on the plains between the Rakaia and Rangitata Rivexs. With no large scale irrigation projects being 13 undertaken until the late 1930's these settlements, particularly the ones on the poor subhygrous soils, suffered throughout the year from dry conditions.

## Cold Blocks

All settlements located on the uplands came under this classification although it affected some more than others. These were Waitohi Peaks (2), Lees Valley (5), Tripp (36), Clayton (37), Four Peaks (38), Lambrook (44), Cricklewood (48) and Mount Nessing (49). Lees Valley, Tripp, Four Peaks, Clayton and Mount Nessing also suffered from inaccessibility both within the settlement and with the rest of Canterbury.

## SUMMARY

Chapter 3 set out to show how the shortcomings on the part of the organisers of the Soldier Settlement Scheme, and the inadequacies of the settlers themselves contributed towards the slowness of development on the farm blocks. The last section of this chapter has added to these conclusions by illustrating briefly how the majority of settlements were further handicapped by natural conditions. Chapter 5 undertakes a detailed analysis of the incidence and distribution of failure among soldier settlers which came about as a result of these factors.

## Footnotes:

1. The administrators with whom most discussions took place were Watt and Pyne. Both these men were actively involved in the operation of the scheme between 1938 and 1940.
2. Scotter, p. 484-485.
3. According to Muir, Chief Field officer, Lands and Survey, Christchurch, Scotter's table relating to Horld War Two Settlements was about $80 \%$ complete.
4. Lands and Deeds Office. Volume Numbers 322, 328, $457,465$.
5. C1. Lands and Survey Department Report. 1939. pp. 45-46. "Summaxy of the Settlements Established Upon Estates Acquired and Dealt With Under the Provisions of the Land for Settlements Act up to the 31 st March, 1939."
6. This data changed after amalgamation ox when additional holdings were purchased to supplement small units.
7. The confidential material included;
1) Discharged Serviceman's name,
2) regimental number, and
3) holding location on the Farm Settlement.
8. Bastion is Administration officer, Leases section, hands and Survey Department, Christehurch.
9. A 'Workers Home' holding was usually of small size and used for market gardening, poultry and small Iruit farming. Many disabled servicemen were allotted units such as these.
10. Bastion. Personal communication.
11. This classification was drawn up after discussions with latt.
12. These figures are the reference numbers to Appendix map 1.
13. The Rangitata Irrigation Scheme was commenced in 1938.
14. The Lees Valley Settlement, (See Frontispiece) was probably the most notorious Farm Settlement in Canterbury. D.N. Hawkins (1957) gives a first rate picture of the problems settlers had to face.
"On the map Lees Valley did not look very isolated, but in actual fact the settlers there lived in a primitive world of theix own. The huts in which many small families were brought up had few house keeoing amenities, and supplies and news were taken in only once a month in the finest of weather. Every year floods and snow blocked the road through the gorge, and for weeks on end the settlement had to survive on its own resources. The road line seemed a mistaken one for it twisted its way through the narrowest part of
the gorge, plunged down into the river, and for miles clung to the ice-bound shaded side. For some reason the original route high up on the sunny southern slopes was never favoured, with the result that the valley was given a seventeen and a half mile £ 100,000 spectacular lifeline allergic to slips and washouts. Within the valley the Ashley and its tributaries isolated one home from another, the winters snowed and iced them up, and the summers bleached the hills and flats into a landscape depressingly grey and monotonous."
"Beyond the vaimakariri." p. 121.
The frontispiece shows the cold slope of the access road mentioned above. At the time the photograph was taken, (July 15,1967 , at $2 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$.) the road was covered with ice.

The lack of accessibility was a constant factor retarding the development of this farm settlement. Mr. J. Pyne, Rural Field Officer of the State Advances Corporation found one family in severe difficulties when he visited the valley in 1938, 21 years after the block had been alienated. Money was so short and materials so hard to acquire that the children of the family slept in a tent erected behind the house in which the parents resided.

TABLE THBEE

## APPLICATIONS RECETVED AND GRANTED TO SOLDTRRS FOR HOLDINGS IN CANTERBUEX. $1916-1925$

Year Aprlications
$\frac{\text { Number otments made }}{\frac{\text { Area }}{\text { (acres) }}}$

| 1916 | 272 | 2 | 629 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1917 | 522 | 319 | 143524 |
| 1918 | 513 | 313 | 103362 |
| 1919 | 1379 | 328 | 117018 |
| 1920 | 5041 | 932 | 403891 |
| 1921 | 5396 | 1087 | 414867 |
| 1922 | 878 | 403 | 97972 |
| 1923 | 284 | 146 | 25113 |
| 1924 | 123 | 79 | 16910 |
| 1925 |  | 4776 | 9014 |
|  | 14624 |  | $1,332,300$ |

Source: Lands and Survey Dept.

## CHAPTER FTVE

## FAILURE OF SOLDIER SETYLERS IN CANTERBURY

$1916=1924$

## INTRODUCTION

Having discussed the distribution and characteristics of Soldier Settlements in Canterbury, this chaptex goes on to describe the incidence of failure among ex-servicemen farmers between the years 1916-1924. This time period was chosen for two reasons. First, as Table 3 shows, the scheme reached its peak during this time so that by 1924 the prom grame was almost completed. As a result, this discussion covers the majority of discharged servicemen settled. Secondy, the Soldiers' Register, from which most of the data for this discussion was derived, was not continued aftex 1924.

The reasons for the financial difficulties soldier settlers had to face have been dealt with. These problems never imm proved sufficiently to instil any confidence into a scheme, which had depressed servicemen and the public alike with con-m troversies regularly reported in the press regarding the shortcomings of planning and the numerous other inadequacies of the programme. The mafority of settlers were responsible and inm dustrious inspite of their own shortcomings. Nationally, the scheme was in even worse straits, the government being forced


## PLATE 5.1

ISLEMORTH FARM GETTLEMENP. HIND.

This is a view of one of the soldiers houses on this settlement. The house is still occupied and the buildings in plate 3.2 belong to this property.
to help those who were in financial difficulties principally as a result of falling behind on loan repayments, rather than attempt to settle more men even although the demand for land was still bouyant. In Canterbury, the continued expiry of estate leases provided sufficient land for sub division so that as Table 3 shows, alienations continued right up until 1921.

The period 1915-1920 was characterised by high prices on the world market for agricultural produce sustained as a result of the unnatural economic conditions created by the First world Far. With the sudden and unexpected slump in the price of meat and wool in 1921, many soldier settlers found themselves in greater difficulties than ever before, some being forced to forfeit or surrender their holdings.

## FORPEITURE AND SURRENDER OF HOLDTNGS

The greatest number of failures took place as a result of forfeiture of leaseholds, the reason being that of all holdings traced, leaseholds accounted for $89 \%$ of the total. (See Table 2). Table 4, showing the 75 failures traced from the Soldiers Register, provides evidence that $89 \%$ of these as well were forfeitures. The forfeituxe of a leasehold took place usually as a result of the occupant failing to comply with the conditions of his lease. (See Appendix Table 1). In most cases, this was due to the incompetance
of the farmer himself. Adequate warning of the consequences of inability to comply with lease conditions was provided by the Lands Department, even although legislation prom vided for leniency. When the Lands Department decided that the landholder was not attempting to improve his economic position, an order for forfeiture of the unit was made. The unoccupied holding was either held for a short time for redevelopment before offering or was immediately amalgamated with other uneconomic holdings on the same Farm Settlement. Forfeiture of a holding was the most effective means the administrator had at his disposal for removing the malingerer from the land.

Surrender of leasehold took place usually as a result of economic difficulties encountered by the farmer. In most cases these difficulties were not the fault of the land holder. In these cases, the Lands Department undertook protracted negotiations to attempt to place the settler on an economic footing, however, if an improvement was not forthcoming, the farmer upon surrender of his lease, was awarded adequate compensation to allow him to set himself up in another holding if he desired it. Occasionally, a farmer surrendered his lease when he wanted the conditions of the lease changed. Forfeiture of freehold was a rarer event, taking place when the land owner failed to comply with mortgage conditions. On such occasions, the holding was

repossessed by the Lands and Survey Department as principal mortgagee. In the following discussion this facet of failure is of little importance since frechold land accounted for a mere $11 \%$ of those holdings traced on which failure occurred. Surrender of freehold was a very rare event.

Table 4 forms the basis for this discussion. The colum dealing with occupancy period shows the time which elapsed between alienation, this not necessarily being the original alienation, and the time when the holding on the particular named settlement was forfeited or surrendered. The difference between these two dates forms the column showing the total length of occupancy of a single settler on a farm unit. The figure beside each Farm settlement is a code number which is not the same as the reference numbers on Tables 1 and 2 and Appendix maps $1-3$. These figures ranging from 1 - 75 facilitate the understanding of Figure 8 .

This diagram was constructed to show the number of failures occurring annually between 1916 and 1924. This can be determined by counting the number of lines in the chart falling between each time division. For example, in 1917, there were 5 failures. There is no data listed in the Soldiers' Register for 1923. The left hand scale, 1916-1935, indicates the length of time one settler stayed on his holding before he was forced to forfeit or surxender it, the length of line corxesponding to the occupancy period.


The scale at the bottom of the diagram, $1-75$, is made up of the reference numbers found alongside the names of the various Farm Settlements in Table 4 , the line directly above each number referring to each case of failure listed on that table.

Another purpose of constructing Figure 8 was to show what chance soldier settlers had of failure if they obtained their holdings in any year between 1916 and 1924. It is clear that the worst year was 1920, immediately before the slump. An attempt was made to see if the total length of occupancy of a settler on his holding decreased significantly, particularly in the years immediately prem ceeding and during the recession. There appears in Figure 8 to be a decrease in the length of time a holding was held as time progressed in the period analysed. In order to produce a clearer picture, Pigure 9 was drawn.

Figure 9 shows the average length of stay settlers had on their properties between 1918-1924 when the period of occupancy shown as lines on Figure 8 was averaged out. The fall between mid 1919 and mid 1920 is spectacular and shows that in the period being discussed, failure occurred more often immediately preceeding the slump in 1921 than it did during the recession itself. This is ewidence for the sensitivity of soldier settlers to economic fluctuations.

Table 5 goes on to illustrate length of stay further.

TABLEA

| Year | Code No. | B1ock | $\frac{\text { Land }}{\text { CIass }}$ | Acreage | $\frac{\text { Occupancy }}{\text { Period }}$ |  | Iength <br> ths. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Reason for } \\ & \begin{array}{l} \text { Failure } \\ \text { F=Forfeiture } \\ \text { S=Surrender } \end{array} \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1916 | 1 | Seaforth | 1st. | 105035 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 10 / 16 \\ & ? 1916 \end{aligned}$ | $?$ |  | $s$ |
|  | 2 | Seaforth | n | 1500 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 10 / 16 \\ & 4 / 4 / 17 \end{aligned}$ |  | 6 | F |
|  | 3 | Seaforth | " | 58130 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 10 / 16- \\ & 5 / 12 / 16 \end{aligned}$ |  | 2 | $s$ |
| 1917 | 4 | Cricklewood | 11 | 39120 | $\begin{aligned} & 14 / 3 / 17- \\ & 7 / 7 / 27 \end{aligned}$ | 10 | 4 | $F$ |
|  | 5 | Leeston | 11 | 21302 | $\begin{aligned} & 7 / 6 / 17- \\ & 14 / 10 / 18 \end{aligned}$ | 1 | 4 | $F$ |
|  | 6 | Seaforth | " | 53210 | $\begin{aligned} & 14 / 6 / 17- \\ & 3 / 11 / 21 \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 5 | F |
|  | 7 | Seaforth | $!$ | 58130 | $\begin{aligned} & 6 / 9 / 17- \\ & 4 / 2 / 24 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 5 | P |
|  | 8 | Cricklewood | " | 2250 | $\begin{aligned} & 6 / 12 / 17- \\ & 12 / 5 / 27 \end{aligned}$ | 9 | 5 | F |


| Year | Code No. | Block | $\frac{\operatorname{Land}}{\operatorname{cta} s s}$ | Acreage |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Occupancy } \\ & \text { Period } \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\text { Total }}{\frac{\text { Oength of }}{\text { Onconcy }}}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Reason for } \\ & \begin{array}{l} \text { Failure } \\ \text { F=Forfeiture } \end{array} \\ & \text { S=Surrender } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1918 | 9 | Tripp | ist. | 127 | 2 | 02 | $\begin{aligned} & 7 / 2 / 18- \\ & 13 / 11 / 24 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 9 | F |
|  | 10 | Cricklewood | 11 | 165 | 2 | 0 | $\begin{aligned} & 4 / 4 / 18- \\ & 7 / 12 / 22 \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 8 | F |
|  | 11 | Leeston | 11 | 22 | 1 | 14 | $\begin{aligned} & 7 / 3 / 18- \\ & ? \end{aligned}$ | ? |  | F |
|  | 12 | Cricklewood | 1 | 226 | 2 | 0 | $\begin{aligned} & 2 / 5 / 18- \\ & 15 / 9 / 27 \end{aligned}$ | 9 | 4 | F |
|  | 13 | Craigmore | 4 | 280 | 1 | 38 | $\begin{aligned} & 2 / 5 / 18- \\ & 18 / 6 / 25 \end{aligned}$ | 7 | 1 | F |
|  | 14 | Craigmore | " | 219 | 3 | 10 | $\begin{aligned} & 6 / 6 / 18- \\ & ? \end{aligned}$ | ? |  | F |
|  | 15 | Seaforth | 1 | 51 | 2 | 3 | ${ }^{1 / 8 / 18}$ | ? |  | F |
|  | 16 | Bruce | " | 402 | 0 |  | $\begin{aligned} & 3 / 10 / 18- \\ & -1921 \end{aligned}$ | 2 | ? | F |
|  | 17 | Seaforth | " | 96 | 0 | 14 | $\begin{aligned} & 12 / 12 / 18- \\ & 13 / 11 / 34 \end{aligned}$ | 15 | 11 | F |
|  | 18 | Seaforth | " | 92 | 1 | 13 | $\begin{aligned} & 12 / 12 / 18- \\ & 17 / 12 / 25 \end{aligned}$ | 7 | - | F |


| Year | Code No. | B100k | $\frac{\text { Land }}{\text { CIass }}$ | Acreage |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Qceupancy } \\ & \text { Period } \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\frac{\text { Total }}{\text { Iength of }}}{\frac{\text { Occupancy }}{\text { Yrs. Mths. }}}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { Reason for }}{\text { Failure }} \\ & \begin{array}{l} \text { Forfeiture } \end{array} \\ & S=\text { Surrender } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1919 | 19 | Homebrook | 1st. | 88 | 2 | 10 | $26 / 2 / 19-$ | ? | - | F |
|  | 20 | Craigmore | 11 | 264 | 2 | 20 | $\begin{aligned} & 16 / 1 / 19- \\ & 3 / 3 / 2 ? \end{aligned}$ | 8 | 2 | F |
|  | 21 | Seaforth | 11 | 29 | 3 | 14 | $\begin{aligned} & 27 / 2 / 19= \\ & 17 / 8 / 22 \end{aligned}$ | 3 | 6 | F |
|  | 22 | Ashton | " | 396 | 3 | 8 | $\begin{aligned} & 27 / 3 / 19- \\ & 7 / 11 / 29 \end{aligned}$ | 10 | 8 | F |
|  | 23 | Cricklewood | 11 | 235 | 2 | 0 | $\begin{aligned} & 15 / 5 / 19- \\ & 2 / 1 / 26 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 8 | F |
|  | 24 | Hadlow | " | 105 |  | 13 | $\begin{aligned} & 21 / 8 / 19- \\ & 28 / 2 / 29 \end{aligned}$ | 9 | 6 | F |
|  | 25 | Kakahu | 1 | 110 | 2 | 0 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 9 / 19 \\ & 6 / 2 / 30 \end{aligned}$ | 10 | 5 | F |
|  | 26 | Avonhead | 11 | 5 | 2 | 8 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 9 / 19= \\ & 31 / 1 / 24 \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 4 | F |
|  | 27 | Avonhead | " | 12 | 0 | 30 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 9 / 19 \\ & 26 / 11 / 25 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 2 | F |
|  | 28 | Avonhead | " |  | 0 |  | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 9 / 19 \\ & 13 / 5 / 26 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 8 | F |


| Year | Code No. | Block | $\frac{\text { Land }}{\text { Class }}$ | Acreage | Qccupency | $\frac{\text { Total }}{\text { Tength of }}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { Reason for }}{\frac{\text { Failure }}{}} \begin{array}{l} \text { FiForfeiture } \end{array} \\ & S=\text { Surrender } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1919 | 29 | Avonhead | 1st. | 14315 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 9 / 19- \\ & 10 / 4 / 24 \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 7 | F |
|  | 30 | Avonhead | n | 20.32 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 9 / 19- \\ & 11 / 10 / 23 \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 1 | F |
|  | 31 | Avonhead | 11 | 13126 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 9 / 19- \\ & 12 / 11 / 25 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 2 | F |
|  | 32 | Avonhead | n | 14134 | $\begin{aligned} & 5 / 8 / 19= \\ & 13 / 8 / 25 \end{aligned}$ | 5 | 11 | F |
|  | 33 | Beach | \% | 93206 | $\begin{aligned} & 18 / 9 / 10- \\ & 13 / 1 / 27 \end{aligned}$ | 7 | 4 | E |
|  | 34 | Beach | " | 8900 | $18 / 9 / 18 \mathrm{~m}$ $?$ | $?$ |  | F |
|  | 35 | Doyleston | " | 98228 | $\begin{aligned} & 25 / 11 / 19- \\ & 12 / 11 / 25 \end{aligned}$ | 6 |  | F |
|  | 36 | Wairere | : | 17320 | $\begin{aligned} & 11 / 12 / 19- \\ & 4 / 8 / 26 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 8 | F |
|  | 37 | Wairere | " | 1301 | $11 / 12 / 19-$ | ? |  | 5 |
| 1920 | 38 | Waimate | 11 | 8333 | $\begin{aligned} & 16 / 1 / 20 \\ & 10 / 11 / 24 \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 10 | F |





| Year | Code No. | Block | $\frac{\text { Land }}{\text { Class }}$ | Acreage | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Qccuoaney } \\ & \text { Period } \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{\text { To }}{\text { De }}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { Reason fox }}{\text { Failure }} \\ & \frac{F=F \text { orfeiture }}{S=\text { Surrender }} \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1922 | 69 | Woodlau | 1 1st | 68039 | $\begin{aligned} & 18 / 5 / 22 \\ & 2 / 7 / 25 \end{aligned}$ | 3 | 2 | E |
|  | 70 | Avonhead No. 2 | 4 | 9215 | $\begin{aligned} & 20 / 7 / 22- \\ & 11 / 2 / 26 \end{aligned}$ | 3 | 7 | $F$ |
|  | 71 | Avonhead No. 2 | 11 | 9215 | $\begin{aligned} & 20 / 7 / 22 \\ & 28 / 2 / 29 \end{aligned}$ | 6 | 7 | F |
|  | 72 | Avonhead No. 2 | 11 | 9215 | $\begin{aligned} & 20 / 7 / 22 \\ & 18 / 1 / 23 \end{aligned}$ |  | 6 | F |
|  | 73 | Avonhead NO. 2 | " | 9119 | $\begin{aligned} & 21 / 9 / 22- \\ & 1 / 7 / 26 \end{aligned}$ | 3 | 10 | F |
|  | 74 | Avonhead No. 2 | 18 | 4307 | $\begin{aligned} & 21 / 9 / 22 \\ & 25 / 4 / 27 \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 7 | F |
| 1924 | 75 | Avonhead | " | 5208 | $\begin{aligned} & 15 / 10 / 24 \\ & 17 / 6 / 26 \end{aligned}$ | 1 | 8 | F |

82. 

TABLE 5

## LENGTE OF STAY AND PERCENTAGE

## OF TOTAL HOEDINGS TRACED

Period of occupancy (in years)

Total
Holdings

Percentage of Total

Less than 1
4
4.
6.3
6.3
7.8
10.9
20.3
12.5
15.6
7.8
1.6
4.7
4.7

More thanly
1
1.6
$100.0 \%$

64 traceable out of 75 or $85 \%$ coverage of total holdings traced.

Here it can be seen that the longest period, the greatest number of soldier settlexs lasted on their holdings was 4-5 years.

Annual Fajlure Rate
Table 6 shows the incidence of failure in the years 1916-1924. The greatest number of occurrences took place in 1919, (25.4\%), and 1920, (32\%), these percentages being calculated by giving the failures in any year as a percentage of the total failures traced. An attempt was made to find the total number of alienations made on the 56 Farm Settlements traced, the results of this investigation appearing in Table 7. In this table, the greatest percentage of failures took place in 1921, (41\%), and 1922, (37\%), although 1918, (38\%), al so shows a high incidence. The conclusions illustrated in Table 6 are inconclusive because the total number of alienations which could be traced from the Soldiers' Register was 302 whereas the total number of alienations taking place on the 56 Farm settlements traced numbered at least 538 as Table 1 shows.

## HOLDTING SIZE AND OCCURRENCE OF FATLURE

Brief mention has already been made of the problems encountered by soldiex settlers when holdings allotted to them were too small. According to comment in the annual reports of the Lands and Survey Department, and administrators

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF FAILURES IN CANTERBURY 1916-1924

| Year of | Number | Percentage of |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Alienation |  | 4.0 |
| 1916 | 3 | 6.7 |
| 1917 | 5 | 13.3 |
| 1918 | 10 | 25.4 |
| 1919 | 19 | 32.0 |
| 1920 | 24 | 9.3 |
| 1921 | 7 | 8.0 |
| 1922 | 6 | Rotal |
| $1923-$ No failures listed in the Soldiers' Register. |  |  |
| 1924 | 1 | 1.3 |

TABLE 7
SOLDIER SETTLER FAILURES AS A PGRCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ALIENATIONS MADE ON THE FARM SEITLEMENTS TRACED

| Year | Alienations | Failures | Failures as a percentage of total Alienations |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1916 | 9 | 3 | 33 |
| 1917 | 30 | 5 | 17 |
| 1918 | 26 | 10 | 38 |
| 1919 | 114. | 19 | 17 |
| 1920 | 91 | 24 | 26 |
| 1921 | 17 | 7 | 41 |
| 1922 | 16 | 6 | 37 |
| 1923 | 5 | - | - |
| 1924 | 1 | 1 | - |

with whom the writer discussed this feature of land settlem ment in Canterbury, the existence of so many small and uneconomic units was the principal reason for failure in the province. Lack of experience did contribute substantially to the chronic failure rate, but it is generally agreed by those contacted, that smallness of units was more significant, in most cases the only difference between the fallure rate of experienced men compared with those who were experienced being the quicker collapse of the former. Failure faced the majority, the question being not so much a matter of 'if' but 'when'?.

There are numerous reasons for holdings in general being of such a small size considering their locality. climate, soil type and agriculture intended to be carried on. Principal among these was;

1) The high cost of 1 and which dictated that small blocks be acquired for subdivision during the period of most intense land buying, this period being shown in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5.
2) The continuing goverment desire to settle servicemen as small farmers, this attitude being a legacy from land settlement policies formulated in the $1880^{\circ} \mathrm{s}$ and $1890^{\prime} \mathrm{s}$.

3) The widespread belief of the public that the soldier who had fought for his country was entitled to be provided with land in recognition of his services.
4) As a result of these attitudes, what the soldier settler ended up with was a mere token of gratitude for services rendered, parcels of land being presented as compensation rather than as well planned and viable economic units. More time will be spent on this feature of the discussion later in the chapter.

Figure 10, 'Size Range of Farm Units', was constructed in order to substantiate these conclusions as well as further developing the discussion by showing the number of holdings falling within certain categories formulated according to the spread of the data. All holdings accounted. for are listed in the Soldiers' Register. Each unit was placed in its respective acreage classification and then mapped. Contained in this number are holdings which appear twice because of the failure of one occupant and resettlement by another. Only the seaforth holding of 58 acres could be positively identified. The remainder are not known, howewer, Table 4 and Appendix Map No. 1 suggest that the number does not exceed ten, a negligible amount when compared with the total holdings mapped in Figure 10. As a result, the diagram
does not markedly lose its worth or usefulness.
The columas are divided into three, the bottom section representing those holdings which were not forfeited or surrendered according to the Soldiers' Register. The middle division shows the forfeited units and the top, those which were surrendered. The number of occurrences of failure in this diagram exceed the number listed in Table 4, the reason being that Figure 10 is made up of all the alienations listed in the Soldiers' Register and not only those from the 56 Farm Settlements traced. The figures placed in the lower body of each column represent the percentage of failure of holdings within each acreage category. For example, in the class, 'up to 5' acres there are altogether 26 units, 9 having been forfeited or surrendered, this accounting for 35\% of the group. The percentage of failure after category '301-325' acres was not calculated, the number of holdings being too small to make the effort valid. The diagram shows that in the upper end of the scale there was a negligible amount of failure, this representing large run holdings such as Waitohi Peaks, Heron, Somers Block and others. In the middle and lower ends of the scale the percentage of failure was substantial. For example, of the 287 units making up the total holdings up to and including the 351-575 category, this subdivision accounting for the middle and bottom sections of the scale, there were listed, in the register,


74 failures, this representing $26 \%$ of the total alienations. To make the diagram more meaningful, the data can be further classified into divisions of size range calculated by matt to be typical of different farm types in the time period under discussion. These are;

1) Up to 75 acres $=$ workers Home
2) $25-125$ acres $=$ Daixying
3) $25-175$ acres $=$ Dairying and cropping
4) $75-300$ acres $=$ Sheep or sheep and eropping
5) Above 300 acres $=$ Sheep and store sheep. These categories are estimations, often in reality, certain farm types falling out of the range given above, but these subdivisions do fit the majority, as a comparison of Table 1 showing farm types and the Soldiers' Register will attest. FABM TYPE AND FATLURE

Figure 11, entithed Parm Type and Occurrence of Failure, was constructed from a sample of 69 holdings or 92. of the 75 originally traced from the Soldiers' Register, the remaining six having insufficient data as Table 4 shows. The height of each colum is proportional to the number of failures occurring in each year, the circle at the bottom of each colum showing the percentage of the sample that failed in that particular year.

Those holdings which were sumendered are clearly indicated, all others being forfeited. The diagram covers
only part of the data, therefore any detailed comment on possible reasons for the incidence of failure at any given time cannot be made, although some attempt to explain the distribution of failure among dairy farms, sheep and cropping and workers home holdings has been attempted.

All the fallures of dairy farms occurred on the Seaforth Settlement. The three examples in 1916 and 1917 appear to be typical and can probably be explained by incompetence of the settler in the case of the forfeited example, and sheer physical difficulties on the surrendered properties, (see Plate 2.1) one of these units having the sea encrachw 4 ing over part of the land at certain times. The fallure of sheep and cropning units show what could be a trend in response to the economic conditions of the early twenties. It can be seen that there were two peaks in this class, these being in 1922 and 1925. The fact that three of these holdings out of seven in 1922 were surrendered, may indacate that poor holding size and market conditions forced a sudden surrender of the units after the onset of the slump in meat and wool prices in 1921, this occurring on Montford with two instances and Hawthorne with one The 1925 peak is characterised by group failures, three being registered on Lyndhurst and two on Woodlau. In general, the failure of sheep and cropping holdings was widespread, with no year being sufficiently prominent to justify additional comment.

The failure of workers homes, these being predominently poultry, market gardening or fruit growing farms, although well spread, shows a peak a little later than the sheep and cropping holdings. The reason for this probably lies in the alternative source of income such as part time jobs enjoyed by settlers on these properties, which were all located, except for Leeston block, close to or within metropolitan Christchurch. When the slump was felt by all sections of the communty, the very small size of these units was without doubt, the principal factor causing their failure.

The remaining farm types, because of their represen tation in small numbers only, cannot be commented on fox risk of over generalisation.

The most significant feature of Figure 11 is the peak occurrence of failures amongst all farm types between 1921 and 1927, all holdings coming within this time period accounting for $82.3 \%$ of the total sample. Possible reasons to explain why another peak does not occur in the early years of the $30^{\prime}$ s are;

1) Most farmers who, because of personal incompetence or deficiencies in their holdings, had a 'potential' for failure, lost their holdings before this time, or,
2) Because the Soldiers' Register covers only


## PLATE 5.2.

TRIPP FARM SEITLEMENT, Geraldine Looking west.

The Tripp Settlement was one of the wettest in Canterbury. Rushes can still be seen in some of the paddocks, a clump being visible in the middle distance to the right of the photograph, this being evidence of sour soil. Behind the trees on the right the soldiers' houses were built, and the flat land, of which a portion is visible, was the most intensively farmed area.
those holdings alienated up until 1924, famers will have either lost their holdings or settied successfully by this time.

## CONCEUSTONS OF TNOUIRY BOARDS INLO RAILURE

In 1922, D.H. Guthrie, Minister of Lands, advised all soldier settlers of the setting up of a Dominion Board of Inquiry whose job was to investigate and report upon the position of soldier farmers. An opportunity was given every farmer to furaish the board with details of his state and position. These investigations set out to determine the percentage of failures, both temporaxy or pemanent, due to those six causes which had, up until that time, proved to be the principal stumbling blocks. These were;

1) Failure due to unsuitability of subdivision, sections being too small or too large or not corresponding to or fitting the configuration of the country in which they were set.
2) The charging of excessive rents or the high price originally paid for land.
3) The inexperience of settlers, incorrect farming techniques or the unsuitability or poor class of stock.
4) The lack of sufficient working capital or the undeveloped or neglected state of the land at alienation to servicemen.
5) The high prices ruling for stock at the time of initial settlement with the resultant unheralded slump forcing low prices for stock and produce.
6) The high cost of building, roadmaking and general contracting, fencing material, implements, seeds and manure at the time of purchase and selection. The findings of the board were published in 1923 after $43 \%$ of the total number of soldier settlers in Canterbury had been interviewed.

The Position of Soldier Settlers at the Time of Investigation
By 1924, the worst days of the slump were over with improved prices for wool, sheep and dairy produce. Pastoral farmers were still in some considerable difficulty, the incubus of loss over stock purchased at high and sold at low price, still being felt by the majority. On land classified as 'sheep and cropping', as soon as prices for meat and wool dropped, an over emphasis was placed on wheat cultivation with the result that those farms on the MidCanterbury dry lands suffered from over cropping and in some cases, disasterous soil exhaustion, the Seafield, Pendarves areas being most prone. Commenting on techniques, the 69 report for 1924 stated;
"In common with other farmers, soldiers must learn to farm on a system of rotation suitable to keep their land in proper heart, and not be led away too much by the prospect of immediate gain, very often made to the deteriment of future results, and sometimes not made at all."

In the same report, mention was made for the first time of amalgamation, an aspect of soldier settlement to attain considerable importance from this time and up to the bew ginning of the Second Forld War.
"Curiously enough, here and there are very success. ful settlers with very little previous experience, alongside other unsuccessful ones with a life knowledge of farming. It is considered in the case of some abandoned settlement lands that the better policy will be to add the holdings to those of the adjacent men where the country is of a light nature....."

Generally, problems were under control and inspite of the staff shortage amongst administrators of the Lands Department, progress was real for the first time gince the scheme had begun.

## Conclusions Reached by the Inquiry Board

The general remarks were made under the following headings;

1) Small grazing run farms or those such as

Glenmark, Grange and Cricklewood.
2) Agricultural farms, i.e. Brooksdale, Ashton,

Coldstream.
3) Dairy farms, i.e. Seaforth。

## PLATE 5. 3

## CRTCRITYOOD, LAMBROOK AND CLAYION FARM SETCLPMENTS. Fairlia.

Looking north east.

Cricklewood Settlement is that area of Land to the right of the centre road in this panorama. The farm houses are all protected from the cold northerly wind by pines which surpound each dwelling. According to Barnes, (see plate 6.1) the seeond soldier settler on the block, farming was "as tough as hell" and the land "as cold as sin". Formerly part of an estate, the settlement when alienated in 1917, was woma out and infested with goxse. Fool prices vere so loy about four pence a pound in 1919, that the first settlers had to grov wheat to make a living. By the end of the $1920^{\circ} \mathrm{s}$ slump, soil fertility was lost and the settlement exhausted financially.

Lambrook Settlement, (see plate 4.2) is situated in the middle distance in the centre of the panorama. Clayton Settlement is on the flat and rolling country at the far left.


4) Fruit farms,
5) Market gardens, and,

Poultry, i.e. Avonhead Settlements,
Hei Hei and Leeston.

## Small Grazing Farms

In the inspection of these farms, the board found that many of the different subdivisions had not taken into account the varying conformity of the country, some soldiers having cold land such as Lees Valley, Waitohi Peaks, Glayton, and Cricklewood and others obtaining drought prone country, Lauriston and Beach Farm Settlement being representative of this type. Those who had dry blocks were quite unable, in the Summer, to graze stock to the best advantage while on cold settlerients, great losses were suffered owing to snow and the ravages of the kea. As a result, it was concluded that under these conditions, further remissions of rent be allowed so that settlers could adjust with more success to the difficulties they had to pace. In some cases, particm ularly on the more isolated blocks, Lees Valley being an excellent example, there was no satisfactory road access, which necessitated the packing of wool or the driving of sheep for long distances at shearing time. On the back country runs of south Canterbury, the losses in sheep had
been considerable between shearing and the autumn muster due to the impossibility of fencing the less accessible boundaries which were often at heights of 6 -7000 feet. Lack of access, high cost of materials and labour, and heavy falls of snow throughout the area, were serious obstacles to fencing.

When soldiers were allotted their holdings, they had to purchase their stock at the prevailing prices, and through the sudden and severe drop in values of sheep and wool that took place the following years, they became financially embarrassed and their working capital proved insufficient as a result. This was the main reason for difficulty encountered by so many. However, by the time the report was published, these prices had risen to a satisfactory level, the problem being less intense.

A further cause of concern for men on the grazing holdings, was the lack of differentiation shown in the amount of financial aid allocated for farm development. The maximum advance of $£ 750$ to effect improvements and purchase stock was in some cases not sufficient for small agricultural and dairy farms. As a result, through the inability of run holders to procure sufficient finence under Crown loans, they were forced to procure assistance from outside agencies, thus having to meet a higher rate of interest.

Of lesser importance was the occasion where subdivisions were made with no consideration for the natural Peatures of the country so that homestead sites had, because of the hostility of the environment in winter, to be located some distance from the block, Tripp Settlement being the best example. Had an account been taken of the physical features of the land before subdivision, homestead sites could have been located close to or on the actual holding so that during spring, ewes would have received proper attention and lambing percentages would have been better than was the usual case.

The final observation made by the board conceraed amalgamation of uneconomic properties. Some of the areas of the runs were too small for grazing, and in the case where leases were surrendered, it was recomended that remaining holdings be divided among the remaining lessees.

## Agxicultural Fames

The largest number of settlers occupied these farms. The quality of the land varied considerably, many settlem ments being on the light stoney inferior soils of MidCanterbury. As a result, they were unsuitable for wheat cropping, the principal standby for farmers in favoured districts when wool prices fell. In spite of this, excessive cropping had taken place in the bad years when
quick returns were wanted, with the result that fertility had been lost, many holdings being choked with twitch and weeds, thus reducing production and farm value. With the weed infestation came the necessity to summer fallow in ordex to attempt eradication. On many of those properm ties where pastures ran out soon after allenation, the settler found himself in financial difficulties too great to surmount. The principal shorteoming found by the board, was the lack of experience so many settlers possessed in respect to the buying and selling of stook so that flocks of poor quality were often built up, these providing retums Which were often insufficient to provide capital for the meeting of loan and mortgage mepayment liabilities.

## Daipy Farms

With a few exceptions, settlers on these farms were not wholly successful principally for two reasons. first, inadequate finance for purchase of stock and plant forced men to buy cull herds which proved uneconomic. Too many properties were stocked with infexion milking strains, and, although pedigree bull pools had been established in most North Island districts to produce pedigree herds, no evidence for any similar co-operative programme could be found in Canterbury.

## Market Gardens

The board found that, although most settlers on these properties were industrious, the high land values of this suburban land proved such a burden to most that reatals could not be met. On Hei Hei, Hornby, and the Avonhead Settlements, rents were crippling.

## Poultry Farms

This form of farming was carried on at the Avonhead Settlements, Hei Hei and Leeston. It had not proved the success that was anticipated, the reason being the inflated cost of birds, food and labouring expenses. A contributing factor to the lack of success of this venture was the inm different health of some of the men who attempted itg many of whom were poison gas victims.

## Conclusion

Table 8, 'Sumary of Findings of Inquiry Boards in Respect to Farms Inspected', shows the position of soldier settlers in Canterbury in relation to the rest of the country. The percentages given had been dexived from replies to the six headings relating to failure listed at the setting up of the Board in 1922. (See page 91). Most significant is the finding that Canterbury had proved the most successful of all land districts.

Reviewing the position of soldier settlement as a whole, the Board concluded that, although so many of the men required financial assistance to carry on, the cause was not altogether for the want of trying on their part on due to inexperience and the consequent loss of working capital but principally owing to the losses of revenue from stock, wool and dairy produce caused by the slump of 1921 and 1922.

The report concluded with the Board being of the opinion that, with the approval of recommendations for remission of rent and instalments and the reduction in the ruling price of land, the boyant conditions on the markets generally, and the increased prices of products,
". the soldier settlers who really desire to succeed will realise their responsibilities, and by their energy eventually prove to the country that the Govermment"s policy in placing them on the land has been amply justified. 15

TABLE 8

Wey: The percentage of soldier farms where it is considered the farming operations have been unsuccessful


b) Excessive rent or high price paid for the land.
c) Inexperience of farmer, wrong methods of farming or unsuit ability of stock
d) Insufficient working capital on the undeveloped or neglected state of the land
e) High prices ruling for stook at the time of purchase and the subsem quent slump, resulting in low prices for produce and stock.
f) High cost of building, fencing material, implements, seeds, and manure at the time of purchase or selection.
g) Any other reason

Percentage of farms at present un profitably occupied which would be successfu under normal condition and with good management.

| I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VITI | IX | X | LI |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 42 <br> (b to f) | - | $\begin{aligned} & 85 \\ & \text { (incl. } \\ & \text { e and } \\ & \text { f) } \end{aligned}$ | 35 | 21 | 39.3 | 80 | 35 | $\begin{aligned} & 100 \\ & \text { (inel. } \\ & \text { a and } \\ & \text { d to } \mathrm{I} \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | 24.6 |
| 9 | ${ }^{7} \mathrm{c}, \mathrm{to}$ | $20$ <br> (c to | 5 | 14 | 10 | 12.6 | 10 | 25 | $\begin{aligned} & 20 \\ & (a 150 \end{aligned}$ | 21.5 |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { S } \\ & \text { O } \\ & \text { in } \end{aligned}$ | f) | f) |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \operatorname{lncl}, \\ & \ln b\rangle \end{aligned}$ |  |
|  | 26 <br> (a) to f) | 80 <br> (d) to i) | 5 | 11 | 25 | 22.4 | $3-1 / 3$ | 15 | - | 10.8 |
| ¢ 6 | 2 | $\cdots$ | - | 12 | 27 | 12.1 | $3-1 / 3$ | ** | $\cdots$ | 32.3 |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (incl. } \\ & e, f, d \\ & \text { and } g \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | $\cdots$ | - | $\cdots$ | 15 | 12 | 0.5 | $3-1 / 3$ | ** | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ |
|  | $\cdots$ | - | - | 1 | $\cdots$ | 11.7 | $\cdots$ | 25 | * | 6.2 |
| 70 | 80 | 90 | 80 | 50 | 70 | 24.2 | 50 | 25 | 50 | 44.6 |

## Sumary of Percentages in respect to the 4332 Farms inspected, as deduced from the above Table.

(1) Percentage of successful farms
50.6
(2) Percentage of farms temporarily unsuccessful
30.7
(3) Percentage of fallures
18.7

Note: 3,303 settlers failed to respond to the invitation for inspection, and it may be safely 2,303 setters ailed to the percentage of successful farms will greatiy exceed the percentage shom assumed that the percent
under number (1) above.

## Source:

Report of Dominion Inquixy Board 1923.

## Footnotes:

1. The Lands and Survey Department was the principal mortgagee up until 1936 when after the formation of the State Advances Corporation, the latter department assumed these responsibilities.
2. Occastonally it is possible to trace in the Soldiers Register an alienation which took place for the second time. For example Table 4 , reference number 3 is a holding on Seaforth Settlement of 58 acres which was surrendered in December 1916 and realienated in September, 191\%. This is the best example to be found although there are probably others which are impossible to trace such as Cricklewood, (8) 225 acres and Cricklewood (12) of 226 acces.
3. The technique employed to obtain this curve was with moving averages, i.e. The length of stay on holdings between 1 and 10 in Table 4 were added together and an average computed. From this point averages were continued by adding holdings $2-11,3-12$ etc., the result being plotted to produce the curve in Figure 9.
4. See Soldiers' Register, p. 206. (Seaforth 105 acres).
5. Inquiry Board's Report. C9A, p. 18. 1923.

## CHAPTER SIX

## RELIEF MEASURES FOR SOLDIER SETTLLARS

## $1925-1940$

## INTRODUCTION

The opinions of Inquiry Boards in the various land districts had shown the widespread need for revaluation of properties, and the provision of more finance for farm development. Unfortunately, among the soldiers themselves and the public generally, the impression prevailed that the se Boards were really being set up to revalue soldiers land, many servicemen looking forward to the findings of the various regional committees as an event which was to herald a reduction in the capital value of their farm. Some who were in a particularly difficult situation hoped for almost impossible results. The principal aim of the Inquiry Board was not to revalue holdings, but to investige ate on a national scale the position of soldier settlers, and to report back their recommendations so that a standardised relief and development programe could be formulated for the whole country. As a direct result of these inm vestigations, the 'Discharged Soldiers Dominion Revaluation Board' was set up.

## THE REVALUATION BOARD

The work of this Board was very similar to the activities of the Inquiry Board. Its job was to appoint district revaluation comittees whose function was to provide the central committee with recommendations rox relief. After investigations had been completed, it was then the responsibility of the Board to determine the reductions to be made in the capital value of properties, rent and mortgage debts according to the severity of the settlers: financial position. Authority was delegated to the Board to wite orf, reduce or suspend any accounts in arrears to the D.S.S. account.

Servicemen were invited to provide the district comm ittees with details of their position, Iarmers being visited individually during the course of investigations which lasted from the setting up of the Revaluation Board in 1924 until the beginning of the Depression in 1930 .

## The Posttion of Soldier Settlers in Canterbury

At the time of the setting up of the Revaluation Comittees, soldier settlement had, except for reallot trient of abandoned holdings and occastonal applications, been completed. All settlers, regardless of the type of holding they occupied, were affected in some measure by the slump of the early $1920^{\prime}$ s. Between this time and the beginning
of the depression in 1930, settlers suffered from the aftermath of the slump and in 1925, 1926 and 1927 especially unfavourable weather. Poultry farmers, these being almost entirely located on the 'Workers Home' settlements, were having a very hard time. A lot of the men were disabled in some way and the small turnover of their holdings had proved very sensitive to the economic climate. The weather too had made the recovery of market gardeners on workers Home' holdings slow as a result of the cold and heavy rain. Those on sheep farins were in a more fortunate position, with good prices reappearing for wool. However, those of sheep and cropping units, because of the $x$ ain and cold temperatures, had lower crop yields, poor growth of fodder crops, a lack of hay and reduced lambing percentages. Farms generally were in a much improved state, although the slump and bad weather continued to precipitate failuxe for those on uneconomic holdings whose whole existence had been a tragic struggle from the very beginning. The majority were conpletely rundown and unless they were, upon abandonment, amalgamated with other units on farm settlements, considerable expenditure of time, money and effort by the Lands Department as well as loss of productivity resulted in the period of redevelopment. By 1926, the investigations of the Revaluation Board had been virtually completed, although its activities were to continue on a lesser scale for
another four years. The aim of the investigations was twofold. First to help settlers over the problems en countered as a result of the slump and, secondly, to revalue holdings so as to place farmers on a satisfactory economic footing whereby they could improve their properties and increase production rather than stagnate as a result of crushing debts.

The findings of the committees were in many respects similar to those given by the Inquiry Board.

After the publication of its recomendations, the Canterbury Committee for Revaluation was Irustrated by its inability to help the borderline cases, particularly those on uneconomic holdings. The majority of these holdings, of which no examples were reported, ${ }^{3}$ would have only had a temporary respite from financial difficulty even if capital value reduction and remission of rents was substantial. An unforseen result of the regional committees inquixies was the refusal by some men to accept financial aid recommendations after revalnation because they believed these measures were a reflection on their inefficiency as farmers.

The principal difficulty the comittee found in Canterbury was lack of money among the settlers. In these interm depression days, inspite of the majority making some headway, a reeling of dissatisfaction was still widespread. The main cause of this was the continuing fall in the value of land.

At the time of initial alienation, because of the grossly inflated prices given for land, rents and mortgages were considerable. In consequence of the devaluation which took place and the generally deflationary effects of the slump, there was widespread difficulty experienced in meeting liabilities. The recommendations made periodically by the Revaluation Board took some time to implement and, as a result, many private mortgagees to whom soldiers had turned because of the small financial grants offered by the Crown, found themselves faced with the situation that in many cases; their apporent equity for advances had disappeared. This was a direct result of the progressive land devaluation. As a result, before renewing any mortgage, they looked for repayment in part at least of the debt so as to secure a fair margin of security over advances. In a great number of cases, the repayment was not forthcoming. Mortgagees, as a result lost confidence in rural securities and withdrew theix support. These measures did not help the situation, this action further restricting the supply of finance which had never been adequate to satisfy the demand. There were three other factors, of less significance than the lack of development finance but still sufficiently important to mention, which further restricted soldier settlers activities in Canterbury. The price of farm labour at this time was beyond most settlers means, the reason
being that soldiers farms were notorious in the rural communty for the hard work required of labourers on holdIngs which, for the most part, were in poor condition. Some settlers who managed to get their heads above water in 1925-1927 when prices improved and who thought they had sufficient finance to invest in an automobile or tractor, found that from 1928 on, they had actually overspent, thus straining themselves financially when every penny was rem quired. Finally, the high rates of interest with which servicemen settlers had been forced to struggle since the beginning of the land settlement scheme, continued as a considerable burden during these years of fluctuating economic conditions.

## THE GREAT DEPRESSTON

The drop in prices for agricultural products was first felt by soldier settlers as early as 1927, the fall becoming more serious in 1929 and 1930. The emphasis on relief programmes which had been set up following the recommendations of the Inquiry and Revaluation Boards was intensified, with an all out effort being made by the Lands Department not to offer advice for further section development but simply to keep soldiers on their properties. It was clearly underm stood by administrators that, although the majority of settlers were already, or soon to be in severe economic
difficulties, this was the best plan. It was equally well known that, although an economic burden while still on his holding, the soldier would be far worse off if he was forced to abandon his unit. The man would be better off producing something, regardless of price, rather than doing nothing for himself and, in the long run, the consumex.

All farmers, soldier settler and civilian, had faced three bad years and for servicenen, it was onily the transference of current account advances to long term instalment mortgages that saved many from surrendering theix properties to the Lands Board. Not all, however, could be helped; the depression was the final blow for the weaker cases who had managed to linger on as a result of the satisfactory market conditions reigning between 1925 and 1928. These settlers were unable to obtain further loans because of the record of remissions and postponements many already had. Inspite of every effort which had been made, the Lands Department admitted for the first time in the history of the scheme that, unless conditions improved, all settlers on uneconomic holdings would have to face the possibility of losing their farms. Conditions deteriorated rather than improved, and in 1933 for soldier settlers in Canterbury, the depth of the depression was reached with the setting in of a prolonged and severe drought. It had been hoped that the generous relief measures introduced in the Mortgagors Relief Act of

1931 and the Mortgagors and Tenants Relief Act, 1932, would have met the economic position prevailing. This may well have been the case if it had not been for the tragic onset of a severe drought in the province. Settlers incomes, already strained by five years of bad markets and heavy mortgage repayment commitments, plummetted disasterously. Delicate budget calculations formulated to hold settlers over what was thought to be merely a temporary recession, were upset to such an extent that the administration of accounts was a major task. Most longterm financial relief and development plans were put aside, concentrated efforts being made to protect financial advances already made. Advances under the D.S.S. Account during the 1935 season, were subject to a new innovation as a result of the current protective measures. Loans were allocated seasonally, a review being made each year, further advances being conditional on the findings of each annual assessment.

At the time the seasonal advance plan was mooted in 1934, the upward trend in meat prices had extricated sheep farmers from their difficulties in meeting repayments and in some cases, a consolidation of financial positions took place. The outlook on mixed farms was still poor, not so much as a result of the depression, but because of the persistence of the drought. Infact, the Lands Department left settlers on this type of holding to their own resources
because their chances of failure were slight owing to the generally satisfactory size of holdings and the good survival rate shown during the worst years of the slump.

After the disastrous drop in 1933, prices gradually rose in 1934-35, yet the increase which did take place was unsubstantial except for meat, which showed an upward trend. Low prices persisted for wool and butterfat and, as if this was not enough, the settiers faced continued drought in the summer months, and exceptionally heavy rains in the cxucial spring and autumn seasons.

Government had recognised for some time the strain which had been imposed on the Lands Department as sole adminism trator of land settlement and financial affairs. During 1935, the management of loans had been taken over by a semi= public organisation, The Mortgage Corporation of New Zealand. However, the Labour Party, the new goverment elected in that year, transferred all loan and mortgage affairs to the new State Advances Corporation, a purely government organisation created in 1936 after the passing of the State Advances Corporation Act. Under this act, provision was made for the appointment of farm appraisers, who as their name suggests were to investigate individual holdings and arrange finance for development as well as loan and mortgage repayments according to their findings. In the Canterbury Land District, these field officers were men of wide


## PLATE 6.1

CRICKIENOOD FARM SEPTLEMENT Fairlie.

This house was one of the better class dwellings constructed for soldier settlers on Cricklewood. It was occupied by D. Barnes, M.P. for Taitaki from 1936m38 and Director of the State Advances Corporation after his defeat. The small room on the right of the house was added by Barnes himself and in this study, the proposals for amalgamation of uneconomic holdings were drawn up, the programe which resulted being an example for the whole of the country. Some servicemen were reticent to give up their holdings for amalgamation, therefore, in order to lead the way, Bames gave up his own fam.
experience coming mostly from the Valuation Department, Lincoln College or the Lands Department. One of the invaluable activities of the farm appraisers was the introduction of $\underset{7}{ }$ a sophisticated budgetary system for soldier settlers. This meant that the field officers, after detailed personal investigations of each holding, virtually took over the financial affairs of the farmer. The immediate result was a very considerable psychological boost for the soldiex settlers, and in the long term, many mortgage repayment difficulties which had plagued exwservicemen for years were eliminated.

The final legislative relief measure aimed at putting farmers on a sure economic footing was the passing in 1936 of the Montgagors and Lessees Rehabilitation Act. The Labour government was fully aware that expedients such as postponement of charges, land revaluation and other con cessions had been rendered useless by the years of depression. Accordingly, this act was brought formard, its passing resulting in a fuxther scaling down of rents and liabilities of all settlers, both soldier and civilian then in difficul. ties to a level commensurate with the productive value of their land.

## AMALGAMATION

Because Canterbury had more uneconomic holdings on its soldier settlements than any other land district, the need
had been recognised for some time that the only way to alleviate economic stress on these farms was to amalgamate those considered unsatisfactory. Then the voluntary prom gramme got under way in the early part of 1937 , it was the first move on the part of administrators in this direction in the country. By the time of its virtual completion in 1940, Canterbury amalgamation procedure had provided a speedy and efficient lesson for the rest of the country to follow.

The programe arose from amongst the ranks of officials and reached a high point of sophistication considering the whole scheme was a voluntary venture. An Vneconomic Farms Committee was formed from representatives of the lands and Survey Department, Valuation Department and the state Advances Corporation. All planning and spadework was undertaken by farm appraisers whose recomendations were sent to the local and central committees for consideration, the central comittee being the overall controlling body.

## PROCRDURA

After the machinery for the amalgamation investigations had been set up in 1938, the programme was immediately implemented. Farm settlements containing the greatest number of uneconomic holdings had been known for a long time and it was these blocks which were first visited. The job of
the appraiser was to evaluate those holdings most likely to benefit from having land added to them, and which settlers, because of age or ill health could be persuaded that amalm gamation was the best solution to their economic difficulties. The term, 'uneconomic holding' in these early investigations was to apply only to those farms which were too small to be used as Viable economic units, but which added wholly or partly to other small holdings, either on the same or adjoining blocks, would make economic holdings. Other classes of farms were recognised which were also uneconomic. These may have been large enough in area but, owing to the lack of finance for development and stock purchase, the properties were still uneconomic in spite of the satisfactory market conditions existing at that time. There were also large holdings of inferior land such as existed in Lees Valley Settlement, which were also uneconomic. In the initial stages of the scheme, it was only the first mentioned class that was given preferential treatment.

Investigations began in June 1939, the progress of the programe being vexy rapid. Three months after its beginning, the following settlements had been visited and sone recommendations had been made to the controlling comittees.
Montford Reference No, 14

Homebrook 18
Wairere 24
Tripp Reference No. ..... 36
Isleworth ..... 33
Brooksdale ..... 3
Havthome ..... 30
New Park ..... 31
Bankfield ..... 52
Craigroore ..... 51
Coldstrean ..... 34
Kakahu ..... 41
Doyleston ..... 15
Broadfields ..... 13
Woodlau ..... 12
oakwood ..... 45In January and February, 1940, attention was given to thosesettlements in Mid Cantembury which wexe located on the drylands. These were,
Ashton ..... 28
Bruce ..... 29
Bucktey ..... 26
Seafield ..... $2^{7}$
Lauriston ..... 21
Lyndhurst ..... 25
Grange ..... 23
Following successful experimentation with irrigation afterthe Great Depression on a few holdings in this area, it was
decided to recommend amalgamation only if irrigation could not eliminate the uneconomic holdings. At the same time investigations were continuing on,

Four Peaks 38
Lembrook 44
Milford 42
Mt. Nessing 49
Ohapi 35
Rosebrook 47
Seaforth 43
Tara 56
Kowhatu 55
By March, 1940, less than a year after amalgamation investigations had commenced, the programme was virtually complete. Where recommendations had been passed by the central 'Uneconomic Farms Committee', amal gamation imnediately took place. The farm settlements affected are insted in Table 9. The end result of the proposals at the end of the period under review in this essay are shown in Table 10.

## An Appraisal of Analganation

Appendix Map 2 was constructed in order to show where amalgamation was most prevalent. Except for Brooksdale in the far north, and Broadfields, Moodlau, Montford, Doyleston and Homebrook which are adjacent to Christchurch, the

## TABLE 9

## AMALGMMAIION PRODOSASS <br> (June, 1940)

Farm SettlementLox amalgamation
Bankfield ..... 8
Brooksdale ..... 13
Homebrook ..... 16
Doyleston ..... 4
Monteford ..... 6
Coldstream ..... 16
Havthorne ..... 5
New Park ..... 6
Tripp ..... 26
Wajrere ..... 3
Craigmore ..... 10
Oakwood ..... 6
Cxicklewood ..... 13
Kakahu ..... 4Final Figure proposals

These figures represent the total number of holdings affected by proposals and do not represent the units to be eliminated by amalgamation.

Source: Lands and. Survey Department.

TABLE 10

## TH POSTTION OR AMALGAMATION

(October., 1940)

| Settlement | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Original } \\ & \text { Mo. of } \\ & \text { Molaings } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Present } \\ & \text { No. } \end{aligned}$ | No. <br> dealt with | $\frac{\frac{\text { Still }}{\text { not }}}{\text { economic }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bankfield | 9 | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| Cricklewood | 8 | 4. | 4. | 1 |
| Craigmore | 9 | 5 | 4 | $=$ |
| Four Peaks | 8 | 8 | - | 4 |
| Hadlow | 3 | 1 | - | - |
| Kakahu | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Kowhatu | 5 | 4. | 1 | 2 |
| Lambrook | 5 | 4 | - | 3 |
| Milford | 4 | 3 | - | - |
| Mt. Nessing | 11 | 11 | - | 4 |
| Oakwood | 5 | 3 | 2 | - |
| Ohapi | 6 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Seaforth | 9 | 5 | 4 | - |
| Tara | 8 | 8 | - | 3 |
| Waimate | - | - | 1 | 1 |

Source: Lands and Survey Department.
Although this table does not include all those farm settle. ments mentioned, it does show where investigations had been totally or partially completed. Those not mentioned had either not had the amalgamation recommendations passed or were being subjected to additional investigations.
principal concentration of settlements amalgamated was in the south. Every settlement except Acton, Dromore, Clayton, Jungle, Jungle No. 2, McGregor and Springwell was investigated and amalgamations recommended.

No specific information could be obtained to explain how amalgamation affected the future development of soldiex settlements. The programme itself undertaken at a time when prices for agricultural products had reached a satisw factory level, particularly after the declaration of war, restored economic progress to the farmers with greater success than any other relief measure undertaken during the World War One Soldier Settlement Scheme.

## Footnotes:

1. Administrators had felt that, because of the considerable problems encountered immediately after the commencement of the Land Settlement Scheme in 1915, the government had allowed officers of the Lands and Survey Department to solve their own problems. Thus in many cases the programme had come more under the control of regional Crown authorities than was desirable.
2. Discharged Soldiers Settlement Account.
3. Although this discussion would have been much more meaningful had examples been available, none were mentioned in the annual reports from which this information was derived. Discussions with adminm istrators also failed to produce anything worth mentioning。
4. It is a peculiar twist of fate to look back and see how the weather was always particularly bad when soldier settlexs were facing their most difficult times. In 1918 and 1919, when the scheme was getting onto its feet, extremely severe snowstorms were encountered which caused very heavy stock losses particularly on the high country blocks. Doubtlessly, these contributed towards the depressed state in which settlers found their finances at the onset of the slump in 1921.
5. Budgets had been made up for settlers since the beginning of the scheme and contributed towards the low overall failure rate in Canterbury in spite of the strains imposed upon them.
6. Some settlexs on the Mid Canterbury drylands undertook some small scale irrigation at this time.
7. As a result of the new budgetary system, financial expenditure by soldier settiers came under very strict control, each farm's account coning under the juris diction of a farm appraiser appointed to manage affairs in a particular part of the land district.
8. The credit for Canterbury leading the rest of the country with its amalgamation programme is due to Mr. D. Barnes, former M.P. for Waitaki and first Director of the State Advances Corporation. Barnes, who was a soldier settler himself, had planned the initial programme while a parliamentarian but after his defeat in 1938 and his new appointment as Director of the State Advances Corporation, he was able to put the plan into action in Canterbury.
9. For further information see Table 1.

## CHAPTER SEVBN

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

## SUMMARY

The First Vorld War Resettlement Scheme for discharged servicemen in Canterbury passed through six phaseso

1) $1915-1917$

During this period, the initial legislation was introduced and passed which was to set up the agricultural rew patriation programme. Preliminary land purchases by the Crown were undertaken on a moderate scale. These years were characterised by considerable uncertainty and confusion in thought and action on the part of administrators because the Crown had lacked experience in the operation of such a large scheme geared to assimilate a section of the amed forces back into the life of the communty. Operations were carried out using the 'hit or miss' method, administrators having no conception of the number of returning troops who would take advantage of the opportunities offered by the scheme, or the amount and class of land which would be most suitable for them.
2) 1919-1921

This period say the peak years of the scheme's operation during which the number of exwservicemen applying for resettlement in Canterbury far exceeded all earlier estimates. The immediate result, inspite of the land becoming available through the expiring of estate leases, was a spate of indescriminate land buying. Most of this was purchased at grossly inflated prices and situated on land with poor intemal and external accessibility, Tripp, Four Peaks and Lees Valley being the best examples of settlements on which soldier farmers had to face these problems. Much of the land when purchased was in a run down condition and those men settled on these properties had little chance of success because of their inexperience in farm management and agricultural affairs. Holdings in this category were located mainly on the flat or rolling lands in south Canterbury although there were some instances of weed infestation and worn out pastures on the Mid Canterm buxy dxy lands between the Rangitata and Rakaia Rivers.

Between 1919 and 1920, because of the lack of foresighted planning and an absence of coordination and interm regional understanding between local administrators and the Crown, undue risks were taken in land acquisition and loan allocation to soldier settlers so that speculation took place when it could be $i l l$ afforded. The risks which were
taken in purchasing land of poor quality during this period when market conditions were bouyant because of the unnatural economic conditions created by the war were to prove the first and major stumbling block to the successful operation of the scheme. Then prices fell suddenly in 1921, soldier settlers were unable to cope with loan repayments which they had incurred in attempting to develop their generally uneconomic holdings. As a result of the heavy pressures imposed on them by the slump, administrators were crippled by the inadequacies of badly planned and ill conceived legislation so that in order to supply relief on a satism factory scale, the Crom had to pass virtually continuous amendments to meet each problem as it arose.

## 3) 1921-1925

The sudden onset of the slump in 1921, the after aftects of which lasted until 19\%5, threw the whole land settlement into contusion. Loans vere desperately needed but insufficient financial advances by the Crown and the almost complete absence of skilled farm advisors to suggest the best use of money available, resulted in a large number of soldier settlers being forced to abandon their holdings, forfeiting them by order of the Lands and Survey Department. This was also a period characterised by a considerable increase in the number of those who remained being placed in
a position of reliance on the nunerous relief measures passed periodically as a result of the investigations by the Inquiry Board and Revaluation Gommittee.
A) 1925-1930

With the major portion of resettlement complete in Canterbury, the interdepression period saw the partial recovery of sheep farmexs but not of the remainder who because of small farm size, inexperience, and excessive property rentals caused by high land values when holdings were purchased, made little or no progress towards improving productivity or theix own financial position. By this time, findings of the Inquiry Board and Revaluation Committee were being acted upon to provide for long tera relief measures and the placing on a sounder financial footing of those settlexs who were fortunate enough to be on a satisfactorily sized holding. The only alternative for those not so happily placed was the surrender of their property to the Lands Board. In order to eliminate this alternative, a genuine effort was made by the Lands and Survey Departinent to undertake careful longrange economic planing providing in the main for closer management of farm development fund allocations. However, the outbreak of the Great Depression in 1930 forced the postponement of these measures so that for those in difficulties, the last chance for relief slipped away.
5) $1930-1935$

With budgetary programes set aside, the main effort of the Lands Department was to keep as many men as possible, regardless of their potentiel for success, on their prom perties while the recession lasted. As it was, by the beginning of the depression proper in 1930, the majordty of those settlers who for varlous reasons could not make a success of farming had either surrendered or been forced to rorfeit their properties. the the government sponsored relief programmes in operation, the soldiex settler was in the fortunate position of being slightly better off than the civilian farmer.
6) 1936-1939

With the reappearance of good prices for most agricul. tural produce in 1936, the Lands and Survey Department was again able to recommence its long range planing policy. Those settlers who had managed to survive the many shortcomings of the scheme and the economic depressions were generally on a sound rooting, There were still a number of survivors particularly in Mid and south Canterbury who, because of the small size of their holdings, would never have been a financial success regardless of good market conditions or additional financial aid.

The existence of the uneconomic holding had been
recognised for some time as one of the greatest shortcomings of the schene. In 1937, planning was commenced in Canterbury for amalgamation of these holdings. The amalgamation programe reached its peak between 1938 and 1940 although property size adjustments were carried on because of the large number of uneconomic holdings in the land district until 1941. The scheme ended after investigations commenced in 1943 for the establishment of what was to be the Second World War Rehabilitation Programe for digoharged soldiex settlement.

## CONCLUSION

Because of the almost complete absence of documentary material relating to land settlement in general and soldier settlement in particular, this study had had to be a genex.. alised descriptive exploration of the first major rehabilm itation programe for discharged servicemen in New Zealand.

Emphasis has been given to the number and distribution of failures taking place in Canterbury because information was discovered in the Soldjers' Register which lent itself to objective description. This theme was chosen for some brief analysis because it was the most interesting aspect of the scheme. Yet as Table 8 shows this list having been formulated after the greatest period of failures had been encountered in the scheme's existence, only six percent of the settlers were forced to forfeit or surrender their
holdings. Therefore, employing forfeiture and surrender as criteria for measuring suceess, one cannot justifiably say that in Canterbury, the first land settlement programme for discharged soldiers was a total failure. One really meaningful way in which it could be possible to come to any cut and dried decision would be to look at the case histories of individual Farm Bettlements. Then one can say that Lees Valley and Seaforth Settlements wexe a failure, or, Tripp Settlement and Cricklewood were only partially successful. The real problem in this method of appraisal arises when one attempts to classify settlenents at the other end of the scale for very few blocks, as Table 11 testifies, were successful, even in 1939 when the scheme was drawing to a close.

Therefore any attempt to determine whether the scheme as a whole was a failure is a very considerable task. One can look at what took place on individual Farm Settlements and say that for some soldier farmers, the seheme was a tragedy. A substantial number failed completely and yet even more never had any chance of substantial financial success or personal happiness because of their own short comings or the inadequacies of the holdings they were allotted. It is this latter category, the borderline cases, about whom no statistics exist, who would sway the final opinion as to the success of the programe as a rehabilitation venture and land settlement scheme.

## TABLE 11

## RVALUATION OF THE POSTTTON OF SETTTEMENPS TRACED IN 1939

| Code No. | Settlement | Position |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Culverden | Good |
| 2 | Maitohi Peaks | Improving |
| 3 | Brooksdale | Uncextain |
| 4. | Glenmark | Good |
| 5 | Lees Valley | Position difficult |
| 6 | Hewitt | Satisfactory |
| 7 | Avonhead No. 2 | Uncertain |
| 8 | Avonhead | Uncertain |
| 9 | Hei Hei | Uncextain |
| 10 | Hornby | Fair |
| 11 | Drayton | Improving |
| 12 | Moodlau | Uncertain |
| 13 | Broadficlds | Uncertain |
| 14 | Montford | Improving |
| 15 | Doyleston | Uncertain |
| 16 | Leeston | Well established |
| 17 | Keith | Satisfactory |
| 18 | Homebrook | Good |
| 19 | Riverina | Faix |


| Code No. | Settlement | Position |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20 | Acton | Should succeed |
| 21 | Lauriston | Fair |
| 22 | Dromore | Should succeed |
| 23 | Grange | Faix |
| 24 | Wairere | Fair |
| 25 | Lyndhurst | Satisfactory |
| 26 | Buckley | Fair |
| 27 | Seafield | Fair |
| 28 | Ashton | Fair |
| 29 | Bruce | Fair |
| 30 | Hawthorne | Satisfactory |
| 31 | New Park | Faix |
| 32 | Beach | Faix |
| 33 | Isleworth | Uncertain |
| 34 | Colastream | Fair |
| 35 | Ohapi | Good |
| 36 | Tripp | Poor to Pair |
| 37 | Clayton | Good |
| 38 | Four Peaks | Good |
| 39 | Jungle | Fair |
| 40 | Jungle No. 2) |  |
| 41 | Kakahu | Poor to fair |
| 42 | Milford | Fair |



One can look at the scheme optimistically as well as at its darker side. Under the soldiex settlement programme a very considerable area of what had been undeveloped or inaccessible land was opened up and brought into production. From this point of view and looking at its long term consequences it was wholly worthwhile. Moreover, if it had not been for the mistakes made and the lessons learned during the implementation of the first scheme, the second Morld War programme would not have been the unqualified success it has proved to be throughout the whole country. Innovations such as the introduction of field officers and farm appraisors, and the management of financial affairs with a well organised budgeting system, eliminated from the latter scheme the financial problems which crippled the first. The thorough grading of applicants before settlement kept the inexperienced from the land until a satisfactory training had been completed. Land Sales Comittees were set up to supervise the negotiations for land purchase, the golden rule being that land must be of a suitable type and the holding of an economic size before alienation to settlers took place. Finally from experience gained during experiments in the late $1930^{\prime}$ s, the development of the Mid Canterbury irrigation schemes was stimulated so that future settlement was commenced on a sound footing with every aid and
facility the Crown possessed being at the soldiex settlers disposal.

The settlement of discharged soldiers on farms by the Crown aftex the first world War was one of the biggest, most complex and probably the most controversial land settlement programme in the history of New Zealand. This thesis has merely skipped across its surface, touching on certain aspects of the programe which interested the writer as a student of historical geography. It is hoped that in the future some one will be stimulated by the conclusions in this study to contribute something moxe to this neglected field of research.

## APPENDIX

## TABLE 1

This list is a summary of the official reasons given for the failure of individual tenants on some of the Farm Settlements traced from the Soldiers' Register. The details in this document are incomplete, some forfetted holdings having no page reference number for the New Zealand Gazette which gives added information about the circumstances of the failure. This accounts for the fragmentary nature of the table.

## Explanation:

Beside each Farm Settlement name there is a reference number which checks with that in Table 4 in the text. For purposes of facilitating recogntion of the holding listed, the acreage of the property is also given. The remaining columns in oxder of appearance show:

1) The explanation for fallure given in the Soldiers' Register, (F) meaning that the holding was forfeited or (s), surrendered.
2) The next column shows the N. Z. Gazette reason for failure, the year in which it took place and the official explanation given on the page for which a reference was provided in the Soldiers' Register.

It can be seen that for those holdings which were forfeited, 'non compliance with conditions of lease',
meaning in most cases an inability to pay rent and mortgages and 'section abandoned', were the two principal reasons given for failure by official sources. The reason given for those holdings which were surrendered needs no explanation.

## TABLE 1

## REASONS FOR FAILURE

| Reference Number | Settlement | Acreage | $\frac{\frac{\text { Soldiers }}{}}{\frac{\text { Register }}{}}$ | "N.Z. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | Cricklewood | 391 | F | F, 1927, p. 2230 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 7 | Seaforth | 53 | F | F, 1924, p. 2883 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 8 | Cricklewood | 225 | F | F, 1927, po 1456/7 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 9 | Tripp | 127 | F | F, 1924, p. 2747 <br> "Section abandoned". |
| 12 | Cricklewood | 226 | F | F, 1927, p. 2883 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 13 | Craigmore | 280 | F | F, 1925, p. 1932 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 16 | Bruce | 402? | F | $F, 1921, p \cdot 101$ <br> "Failure to pay rent and effect required improvements". |


| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Reference } \\ & \text { Number } \end{aligned}$ | Settlement | Acreage | $\frac{\text { Soldiers' }}{\frac{\text { Register }}{\text { data }}}$ | "NoZ. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 17 | Seaforth | 96 | F | F, 1924, p. 2747 <br> "Holding abandoned". |
| 18 | Seaforth | 92 | F | F, 1925, p. 3415 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 20 | Craigmore | 264 | F | F, 1927, p. 567 <br> "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 21 | Seaforth | 29 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, 1922, p. } 2256 \\ & \text { "Section abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 23 | Cricklewood | 235 | F | F, 1925, p. 2019 unon compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 24 | Hadlow | 105 | F | F, 1929, p. 490 "Non compliance with conditions of lease"。 |
| 25 | Kakahu | 110 | F | F, 1930, p. 381 <br> "Breach of conditions of lease". |
| 26 | Avonhead | 5 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, 1924, p. } 304 \\ & \text { "Holding abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 27 | Avonhead | 12 | F | F, 1925, p. 3287/8 "Non compiance with conditions of lease. |


| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Reference } \\ & \text { Number } \end{aligned}$ | Settlement | Acreage | $\frac{\text { Soldiers' }}{\frac{\text { Register }}{}}$ | "N.Z. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 28 | Avonhead | 15 | F | F, 1926, p. 1301 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 29 | Avonhead | 14 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, } 1924, \text { p. } 886 \\ & \text { "Non payment of rent". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 30 | Avonhead | 20 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, } 1923, \text { p. } 2595 \\ & \text { "Holding abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 31 | Avonhead | 13 | F | F, 1925, p. 3177 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 32 | Avonhead | 14 | F | F, 1925, p. 2446 "Non compliance with conditions of rent". |
| 33 | Beach | 93 | F | ?, 1927, p. 122 "Breach of conditions of lease". |
| 34 | Beach | 89 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FHoíding abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 35 | Doyleston | 98 | F | F, 1925, p. 3177 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 36 | Wairere | 173 | F | F, 1926, p. 568 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |


| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Reference } \\ & \text { Number } \end{aligned}$ | Settlement | Acreage | $\frac{\text { Soldiers }^{1}}{\frac{\text { Register }}{\text { data }}}$ | "N.Z. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 38 | Waimate | 8 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, 1924, p. } 96 \\ & \text { "Holding abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 39 | Woodlau | 55 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, } 1922, \text { p. } 1909 \\ & \text { "Inability to carry on". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 40 | Lyndhurst | 223 | F | F, 1925, p. 2069 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 41 | Lyndhurst | 288 | F | F, 1925, p. 2474 "Non compliance with conãtions of lease". |
| 42 | Lyndihurst | 293 | F | $\text { F. } 1925, \mathrm{p} \cdot 1572$ "Abandonment". |
| 43 | Woodlau | 47 | F | F, 1925, p. 2446 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 44 | Woodiau | 68 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, } 1922, \text { p. } 1298 \\ & \text { "IVon payment of rent". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 45 | Montford | 381 | $s$ | S, 1922, p. 1002 <br> "Surrendered to land Board". |
| 46 | Montford | 320 | E | S, 1922, p. 1225 <br> "Surrendered to Land Board". |


| Reference Number | Settiement | Acreage | $\frac{\text { Soldiers }^{\text {Register }}}{\frac{\text { data }}{}}$ | "N.Z. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 47 | Riverina |  | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F. 1922, p. } 3095 \\ & \text { "Inability to carry on". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 48 | Springwell | 124 | F | F, 1927, p. 2004 <br> "Non compliance with <br> conditions of lease". |
| 49 | Waitohi Peaks | 1200 | F | F, 1928, p. 2064 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 51 | Hawthorne | 100 | F | F, 1925, p. 2019 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 53 | Isleworth | 78 | F | F, 1926, p. 1625 "Non compliance with conditions of rent". |
| 54 | Isleworth | 160 | $F$ | F, 1925, p. 1016 <br> "Section abandoned". |
| 55 | Isleworth | 112 | F | F, 1927, p. 1942 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 56 | Isleworth | 141 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F. } 1924, \text { p. } 2883 \\ & \text { "Section abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 57 | Isleworth | 99 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, 1924, p. } 2235 \\ & \text { "Section abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |


| $\frac{\text { Reference }}{\text { Number }}$ | Settlement | Acreage | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { Soldiers }}{}{ }^{\text {Register }} \\ & \frac{\text { data }}{} \end{aligned}$ | "NoZ. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 58 | Broadfields | 124 | S | S, 1921, p. 874 "Surrendered to Land Board". |
| 59 | Broadfields | 96 | F | F, 1926, p. 2657 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 60 | Dromore | 299 | F | S, 1921, p. 874 "Surrendered to Land Board". |
| 61 | Bankfield | 167 | F | F, 1925, p. 892 "Section abandoned". |
| 62 | Lyndhurst | 240 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, } 1922, \text { p. } 2227 \\ & \text { "Inability to carry on". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 63 | Hei Hei | 3 | F | F, 1924, p. 2883 "Section abandoned". |
| 64 | Hei Hei | 4 | F | $\begin{aligned} & \text { F, 1924, p. } 2847 \\ & \text { "Holding abandoned". } \end{aligned}$ |
| 65 | Hei Hei | 3 | $s$ | $s, 1922, \text { p. } 218$ <br> "Surrendered to Lands Board". |
| 66 | Hei Hei | 3 | F | F, 1927, p. 773 "Non compliance with conditions of rent". |


| Reference Number | Settlement | Acreage | $\frac{\text { Soldiers }}{\frac{\text { Register }}{\text { data }}}$ | "N.Z. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 67 | Hei Hei | 4 | F | F, 1925, p. 1992 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 68 | Hei Hei | 3 | F | F, 1928, p. 3351 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 69 | Woodlau | 68 | F | F. 1925, p. 2018 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 70 | Avonhead No. 2 | 9 | F | F, 1926, p. 412/3 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 71 | Avonhead No. 2 | 9 | F | F, 1929, p. 490 <br> "Breach of conditions of lease". |
| 72 | Avonhead No. 2 | 9 | F | S, 1923, p. 180 <br> Listed in register as $F$ but in gazette - <br> "Surrendered to Land Board." |
| 73 | Avonhead No. 2 | 9 | F | F, 1926, p. 1862 "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |
| 74 | Avonhead No. 2 | 4 | F | F, 1927, p. 1145 <br> "Non compliance with conditions of lease". |


| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Reference } \\ & \text { Number } \end{aligned}$ | Settlement | Acreage | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { Soldiers }}{}{ }^{\text {Register }} \\ & \frac{\text { data }}{} \end{aligned}$ | "N.Z. Gazette" data |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 75 | Avonhead | 5 | F | F, 1926, p. 1669 "Non compliance with conditions of lease" |

## TABLE 2

## AL TENATION DATE OP FARM SETTLEMENTS TRACED

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Reference } \\ & \frac{\text { Nurnber }}{\text { Nun }} \end{aligned}$ | Farm | Date of Alienation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Culverden | 1916 |
| 2 | Waitohi Peaks | 1920 |
| 3 | Brooksdale | 1920 |
| 4 | Glenmark | 1920 |
| 5 | Lees Valley | 1917 |
| 6 | Hewitt | - |
| 7 | Avonhead No. 2 | 1922 |
| 8 | Avonhead | 1919 |
| 9 | Hei Hei | 1921 |
| 10 | Horraby | 1919 |
| 11 | Drayton | 1917 |
| 12 | Woodlau | 1920 |
| 13 | Broadfields | 1921 |
| 14. | Montford | 1920 |
| 15 | Doyleston | 1919 |
| 16 | Leeston | 1917 |
| 17 | Keith | - |
| 18 | Homebrook | 1919 |
| 19 | Riverina | 1920 |
| 20 | Action | 1919 |
| 21 | Lauriston | 1921 |
| 22 | Dromore | 1920/21 |


| Reference Number | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Farm } \\ & \text { Settlement } \end{aligned}$ | Date of |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 23 | Grange | 1920 |
| 24 | Wairere | 1919 |
| 25 | Lyndhurst | 1919/20 |
| 26 | Buckley | 1918 |
| 27 | Seafield | 1917 |
| 28 | Ashton | 1919 |
| 29 | Bruce | 1918 |
| 30 | Hawthorne | 1920 |
| 31 | New Park | 1919 |
| 32 | Beach | 1919 |
| 33 | Inleworth | 1920 |
| 34 | Coldstream | 1919 |
| 35 | Ohapi | 1919 |
| 36 | Tripp | 1918 |
| 37 | Clayton | 1917 |
| 38 | Four Peaks | 1916 |
| 39 | Jungle | 1918 |
| 40 | Jungle No. 2 | 1918 |
| 41 | Kakahu | 1919 |
| 42 | Milford | - |
| 43 | Seaforth | 1917 |
| 44 | Lambrook | 1920 |
| 45 | Oakwood | 1920 |
| 46 | Hadlow | 1919 |


| Reference Number | Farm | Date of Alienation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 47 | Rosebrook | - |
| 48 | Cricklewood | 1917 |
| 49 | Mount Nessing | 1917 |
| 50 | McGregor | 1917 |
| 51 | Craigmore | 1917 |
| 52 | Bankfield | 1920 |
| 53 | Springwell | 1920 |
| 54 | Waimate | 1919 |
| 55 | Kowhatu | 1917 |
| 56 | Tara | 1916 |
| Number of Farm Settlements Alienated |  |  |
| 1916 | 3 |  |
| 1917 | 11 |  |
| 1918 | 5 |  |
| 1919 | 14 |  |
| 1919/1920 | 1 |  |
| 1920 | 13 |  |
| 1920/21 | 1 |  |
| 1921 | 3 |  |
| 1922 | 1 |  |
| 1924 | - |  |
|  | Data from Scotter, and the Soldiers' Register. |  |
| Appendix map 1 shows that there was no significant regional concentration of Farm Settlements alienated between 1916-1924. |  |  |

## THE SOLDIERS' REGISTER

The Canterbury portion of the register falls into three divisions.

Division 1
This section from page 206-213, the biggest of the three, is concerned with those holdings,
"Allotted to Discharged Soldiers under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act, 1915 Without Competition or at Soldiers Ballot."

## Division 2

Holdings in this section were,
"Acquired at Ordinary Ballot or Auction by Discharged of Returned Soldier of Wife."

These are found on page 435.

## Division 3

Page 484 shows those holdings acquired by;
"Transfer to Discharged or Returned Soldier or Member of Expeditionary Force or Wife."

## Interpretation

After the reproduction of the register, the names of certain Farm Settlements became indistinct. These are; Page 206.
a) After Cricklewood Sett. (391 acres) - Paddy's Market and Homestead site.
b) After Burke ( 4767 acres),

- Lees Valley Sett. (2748 acres),

Seafield Settlement. (390 acres),
Leeston Settlement. (21 acres)
Page 20\%.
After Hornby Sett. (3 acres),

- Craigmore Sett, (264 acres)

Page 208.
a) The first four entries in the Takanui

District all refer to Ashton Settlement.
b) After Snowdale Run ( 5300 acres),

- Leeston Sett, (36 acres)
- Homebrook Sett, ( 88 acres)
-- Craigmore Sett, (216 acres)
c) After Oxford + Kowai (207y acres),
- Kakahu.

Page 213.
After Seaforth Settlement, (29 acres),

- Heron, Somers, Alford S.D. (Survey District). Occasionally, Farm Settlements are mentioned in a number of different ways. The following is a list of these abbrem viations which could be traced in the New Zealand Gazette. Page 20\%.

Sett XIII. XIV Leeston, also known as Leeston Settiement.

Page 208.
a) Sett III Wakanui, also known as Ashton Settlement.
b) XVI Pareora, also known as Oakwood Settlement.
c) XII Opihi, also known as Kakahu Settlement.
d) X Canterbury, also known as Avonhead Settlement.
e) XI Geraldine, also known as Ohapi Settlement.

Page 209.
I, III Coldstream, also known as Beach Settlement. Page 210.
a) Hawkins Mountford Sett, also known as Mountford Settlement. (When acquired, this block was known as Mountford Settlement, however the name was changed to Montford shortly after. Hawkins refers to the Survey District in which the block was located.)
b) Corwar Lyndhurst $s$, al so known as Lyndhurst Settlement, Corwar referring to the Survey District.

Page 211.
a) IV, XII Rakaia, also known as Riverina Settlement.
b) XI Waimate, also known as Springwell Settlement.
c) IX, III Noble + Waitohi, also known as Waitohi Peaks Settlement.

According to Watt, the following settlements were acquired for discharged soldier farmers.

1) Allanholme Settlement. Waiho Downs.
2) Coopers Creek Settlement. Oxford.
3) Aylesbury Settlement. Aylesbury.
4) Welburn Settlement. Leeston.
5) Morten Settlement. Sumner.

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(This volume contains details of holdings on all Crown Farm Settlements in Canterm bury. It al so gives details of section numbers and references to the survey plans for each settlement. The book is held in the Survey Office of the department.

Files of the Lands and Survey Department. (Current files are held in the File Room, 4th floor, and closed files are in the departmental basement archives).

|  | Soldiers' Register. <br> (Permission to use this document which is in the National Archives must come from the Administration Officer, Lands and Survey Department, Head Office, Mellington). |
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Ma0s

All maps used are found in the Lands and Survey Department, Christchurch.
i) S.O. Plans
ii) Survey Plans.
iii) Cadastral Series 177 A (1:63360)
(These are held in the Survey office, and show in detail., the boundary of each Farm Settlement.).
(This series was published when settlements were alienated. They are held in the Leases Section).
(This series was used to determine the final dism tribution of Farm Settlements).
vi) N.Z. Territorial Series 1:253,440.





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Remake









[^0]:    "It is neither necessary nor desirable that we consider the totality of region as the common basis of geographic study. Individual interest and competence begins and may remain with specific elements of nature and of culture and with the meaning of their spatial relationships."

    Carl 0. Sauer.
    A.A.A.G. Vol. 46 (1956) p.292.

[^1]:    "We do not intend that any of the sections shall be large, and it is not necessary that they should be, especially those for fruit growing purposes in fruit growing districts." 16

