



EDUCATION, HEALTH AND HOUSING IN THE TAIHAPE INQUIRY DISTRICT, 1880-2013

A report prepared by Paul Christoffel for the Waitangi Tribunal's Taihape district inquiry



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Introduction

Report Structure

This report is divided into three main sections, on education, health, and housing respectively. Each section in turn has its own introduction which includes a chapter overview. This information is not repeated in this introductory chapter.

Each section also includes a conclusion chapter which attempts to address the questions outlined in the commission for this report. To avoid repetition the overall report does not, therefore, have a concluding chapter.

This introductory chapter also includes a brief overview of Maori communities within the Taihape inquiry district using data from censuses from 1926 onwards. This profile is included to help familiarise readers with the location of the main Maori communities in the district.

The Project

In August 2010 Bruce Stirling and Evald Subasic produced a research scoping report for the Taihape inquiry which recommended a project titled ‘Cultural and Economic Impacts’.¹ This recommendation was accepted by the Waitangi Tribunal, which suggested in a September 2010 discussion paper that the project be undertaken as separate economic and social projects. This suggestion was endorsed at the second Taihape judicial conference on 29 November 2010.² After the third judicial conference in June 2011 the project was renamed ‘Economic and Social Impacts, Development and Service Delivery’, and was split into the two topics in the casebook research programme, namely ‘Economic Capability and Development’ and ‘Social Service Delivery and Socio-economic Impacts’. The Tribunal then made provision in the casebook research programme to prepare an internal scoping report on these two topics. This would help it understand the nature of the claims issues and the research resources and skill sets needed to examine them.³ The fourth Taihape judicial conference on 22 April 2013 endorsed the proposed approach and Presiding Officer Judge Harvey approved a phase two scoping report on ‘Economic capability and development, social service delivery and socio-economic impacts’.

Philip Cleaver had by then already begun preparation of the scoping report, which he completed in December 2013. Cleaver recommended that two reports should be prepared to examine the

¹ Bruce Stirling and Evald Subasic, ‘Taihape: Rangitikei Ki Rangipo Inquiry District – Technical Research Scoping Report’, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, August 2010, Wai 1200 #A2, pp 147-151

² Wai 2180 #2.5.18, para 10

³ Wai 2180 #6.2.20, p 4

issues identified in his scoping report, with one report focussed on issues associated with healthcare, education, and housing.⁴ In December 2014 the Tribunal commissioned Paul Christoffel to prepare a research report ‘examining the Crown’s provision of healthcare, education and housing to Māori of the Taihape inquiry district, with a focus on the period from 1880 to 2013’.⁵ A copy of the commission is appended to this report. The questions included in the commission are outlined in the introduction to the separate sections on education, health and housing in this report.

The Claims

The Treaty of Waitangi claims which are directly relevant to the subject matter of this report are outlined below. Note, however, that this report may be relevant to assessing prejudice arising from other Treaty grievances.

Wai 1639

The peoples of Mokai Patea were disadvantaged through the suppression of Maori culture and customs through state education and other government agencies.

Wai 1888

Large-scale land loss, knowledge of customs and nga taonga katoa have played a major part in Ngati Whitikaupeka’s present predicament. The iwi’s wealth and resources have dwindled away to almost nothing and the people are dispossessed, deprived and alienated from their whenua and each other.

Wai 662/1835/1868

By 1945, ‘most Māori lived in what were by contemporary standards, sub-standard dwellings’.

The diseases which commonly took a toll of health and lives – notably typhoid and tuberculosis – owed their incidence and virulence to adverse environmental conditions.

The Crown, in breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, has failed in its duty to actively protect Te Reo Maori, and other taonga. The fluent use of Te Reo Maori is considered to be fundamental in the preservation of Maori culture and today there are limited numbers of Maori who are able to converse in Te Reo Maori.

⁴ Philip Cleaver, ‘Scoping Report: Economic Development, Social Service Delivery, and Maori of the Taihape Inquiry District’, Wai 2180, #A14, December 2013, p 177

⁵ Wai 2180, #2.3.10

Methodology

This report covers the time period 1880 to 2013, as specified in the commission. On occasions, however, information is presented that relates to 2014 or 2015. In some cases this is because this is the best recent information available and in others to ensure that the report is as up-to-date as possible by taking into account recent events such as school closures. Macrons have not been used in this report except where they were used in sources quoted directly.

The geographical area covered by this report is the Waitangi Tribunal's Taihape inquiry district. There are several maps of the inquiry district in this report: see in particular Figure 4 below. The size and location of the inquiry district presents methodological problems for researchers. The district lies on the outskirts of several major areas: Manawatu/Horowhenua to the south; Hawkes Bay to the east, and Whanganui to the west and north-west. Most of the inhabited parts of the Taihape inquiry district lie within the former Rangitikei County. However the County included two significant Maori settlements outside of the inquiry district – Ratana and Kauangaroa. Ratana grew rapidly in the 1920s and became a constant concern to officials due to health and housing problems there, as is outlined in the health section of this report. The focus on Ratana dominated many of the documents consulted for this report.

This report is based almost exclusively on written sources. However, the researcher attended two research hui with claimants at an early stage of research and drafting. The first hui was on 25 May 2015 with representatives of the Mokai-Patea Waitangi Tribunal Claims Trust and was held in the Trust's offices. The second hui was on 9 June at Winiata Marae with claimants from Ngati Hinemanu me Ngati Paki and several other claimant groups. The input provided by claimants at these hui helped in some cases to guide the researcher on which particular topic areas to pursue. Logistical problems hindered plans for further face-to-face consultation with the claimant community but claimants were given an opportunity to provide written feedback on the draft report and were consulted directly on some matters.

Readers are referred to Philip Cleaver's socio-economic scoping report for a detailed discussion of the main secondary sources used. Among these sources are three reports produced for Waitangi Tribunal inquiries, these being Helen Robinson's report on health for the Rohe Potae inquiry, Brian Murton's socio economic report for the Urewera Inquiry (which includes a section on housing), and my own report on education for the Rohe Potae inquiry.⁶ All these reports

⁶ Helen Robinson, 'Te Taha Tinana: Maori Health and the Crown in Te Rohe Potae District Inquiry, 1840–1990', Waitangi Tribunal Unit, March 2011, Wai 898 #A31; Brian Murton, 'The Crown and the Peoples of the Urewera: The Economic and Social Experience of Te Urewera Maori, 1860-2000', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2004, Wai

include extensive overviews of national trends and of government policy in their respective areas. Rather than extensively revisit the national picture, this report focuses primarily on developments within the Taihape inquiry district to the extent that this has been possible. In many cases, however, little local information has been available and it has been necessary to infer local developments from what has been happening regionally or nationally.

Many primary sources were consulted in research for this report, including newspapers and official reports contained in the annual *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR). The main sources were departmental archives held at Archives New Zealand in Wellington and Auckland, and local body archives held at Archives Central in Feilding. Archives Central, as its name suggests, is a centralised repository for historical archives from a number of North Island local authorities, including the Rangitikei District Council. The district council's archives include those from the former Rangitikei County, which included most of that part of the Taihape inquiry district in which Maori lived. The Council's archives also include records from the former Taihape Borough Council. Although useful sources were found at both Archives New Zealand and Archives Central, many archives consulted contained little information of direct relevance to the inquiry district, particularly with respect to health and housing. This made it necessary to rely on regional or national information in many cases.

Census data

This report makes extensive use of information from the five-yearly census of population and dwellings conducted by Statistics New Zealand (SNZ) and its predecessor the Department of Statistics. The current system of regular five-yearly national population censuses was initiated by an 1877 Act which provided for a census in 1878, 1881 and every five years after that.⁷ The system of census-taking quickly became reasonably sophisticated as applied to the 'European' population, involving household questionnaires distributed and collected by sub-enumerators, of which 708 were employed in 1891.⁸

894 #H12; Paul Christoffel, 'The Provision of Education Services to Maori in Te Rohe Potae, 1840-2010', Waitangi Tribunal Unit, February 2011, Wai 898 #A27

⁷ *New Zealand Official Year Book* 1990, pp 130-131; 'The Census' in AH McIntock (ed), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 1966, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/population/page-2>

⁸ 'Arrangements for Census' in 'Report on Results of Census, 1891', http://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1891-census/1891-report-on-results-census/1891-report-on-results-census.html#idsect1_1_981

Separate regular censuses were taken of the Maori population from 1874, but the census-taking methods were at times crude.⁹ From 1886 books were distributed to sub-enumerators who estimated the number of Maori resident in their districts, usually by county. The information was collected over an extended period and there was occasional confusion and inconsistency over whether it was the actual or usually resident population that was being counted.¹⁰ In some cases Maori provided no information to the sub-enumerators. For example in 1896 Resident Magistrate Brabant, whose district included the Counties of Whanganui, Rangitikei, Oroua, Kiwitea and Pohangina, reported ‘considerable difficulty in taking the census owing to the want of co-operation, and in some cases active obstruction, of the Natives themselves, and the difficulty of finding sub-enumerators capable of acting in the face of such obstruction’.¹¹ Lack of co-operation with the census was mainly in areas of residual suspicion of government motives following land confiscations, such as the Waikato and Taranaki.¹² However, enumerators in the 1890s commonly reported that some Maori ‘have an idea that the census is in some way connected with taxation, and show a disinclination to give any information’.¹³

These problems had diminished somewhat by 1906, but even then the under-secretary of Justice ‘doubted whether the large decrease shown by the census of 1896 was real decrease, or merely due to the non-inclusion of a number of Natives either by accident or through refusals to give proper information to the sub-enumerators. Similarly the large increase shown by the present census may in part be attributed to more favourable circumstances permitting closer enumeration to be made on this occasion.’¹⁴ There were additional problems with census taking. Robinson notes that ‘many Māori lived in very small and scattered settlements far from Pākehā centres, and most moved around frequently to harvest resources, undertake seasonal or temporary wage work, and to attend Land Court hearings, hui and tangi’.¹⁵ The enumeration issues this transience caused, particularly when a census was conducted over several days or weeks, are obvious. Cleaver notes that, ‘particularly during the nineteenth century, the largely Pakeha enumerators would not always have a good knowledge of the locations of Maori kainga

⁹ Pool provides an analysis of the quality of early census data on Maori from a demographer’s perspective; see Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1991, pp 64-68 and elsewhere.

¹⁰ ‘Counting Maori’ in *New Zealand Official Year Book* 1990, pp 157-158

¹¹ ‘Papers relating to the Census of the Maori Population’, AJHR 1896, H13b, p 8

¹² Robinson, Wai 898, A31, p 11

¹³ AJHR 1891, G2, p 6. See also AJHR 1896, H13b, p 5 and elsewhere.

¹⁴ AJHR 1906, H26a, p 1

¹⁵ Robinson, Wai 898, A31, p 11; Cleaver, Wai 2180, A14, p 21

and in some instances a lack of communication between enumerators may have seen some areas counted twice'.¹⁶ He might have added that some kainga may not have been counted at all.

Additional problems arise when trying to get regional population data. As Robinson notes, 'it is not always clear from the returns what area is being discussed, and areas in question frequently changed between censuses'.¹⁷ According to Cleaver, this factor caused problems in trying to obtain pre-1926 census data for the Taihape inquiry district as

...it is not possible to extract useful data for areas that do not closely align with the county boundaries. While much of the Taihape inquiry district lay within the boundaries of Rangitikei County, it also includes areas that lay within the Wanganui, Taupo, Hawkes Bay, Kiwitea, Pohangina, and Oroua Counties. All of these counties contained areas of population that lay outside the inquiry district....Adding to the complexity, county boundaries were subject to change over the years.¹⁸

In fact Cleaver's misgivings are not entirely warranted, as the Maori population of the inquiry district resided mainly within the Rangitikei County, as shown for 1926 by Figure 1 below. A minor problem, however, is that Rangitikei County extended to the coast and thus included Marton, Bulls, and nearby coastal settlements not within the Taihape inquiry district. Although the county of Kiwitea lay almost entirely within the inquiry district, successive censuses consistently showed that almost no Maori resided within Kiwitea. Small parts of other counties also lay within the Taihape inquiry district.

The boundaries of Rangitikei County remained fairly consistent from 1906 until the 1970s, when counties were abolished. There was, however, a change in the early 1900s when most of the Erewhon riding was transferred from Hawkes Bay County to Rangitikei.¹⁹ The area transferred included Maori settlements such as Moawhango. An additional problem with the population figures is that in 1911 those census enumerators who dealt with the group of counties that included Rangitikei reported resistance to participation in the census due to a belief that it would result in further loss of land.²⁰ The fall in the recorded Maori population of several counties, including Rangitikei, can perhaps be attributed to this. These matters aside, the population of Rangitikei County appears to be the best proxy available for the Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district at this time.

¹⁶ Cleaver, Wai 2180, A14, p 21

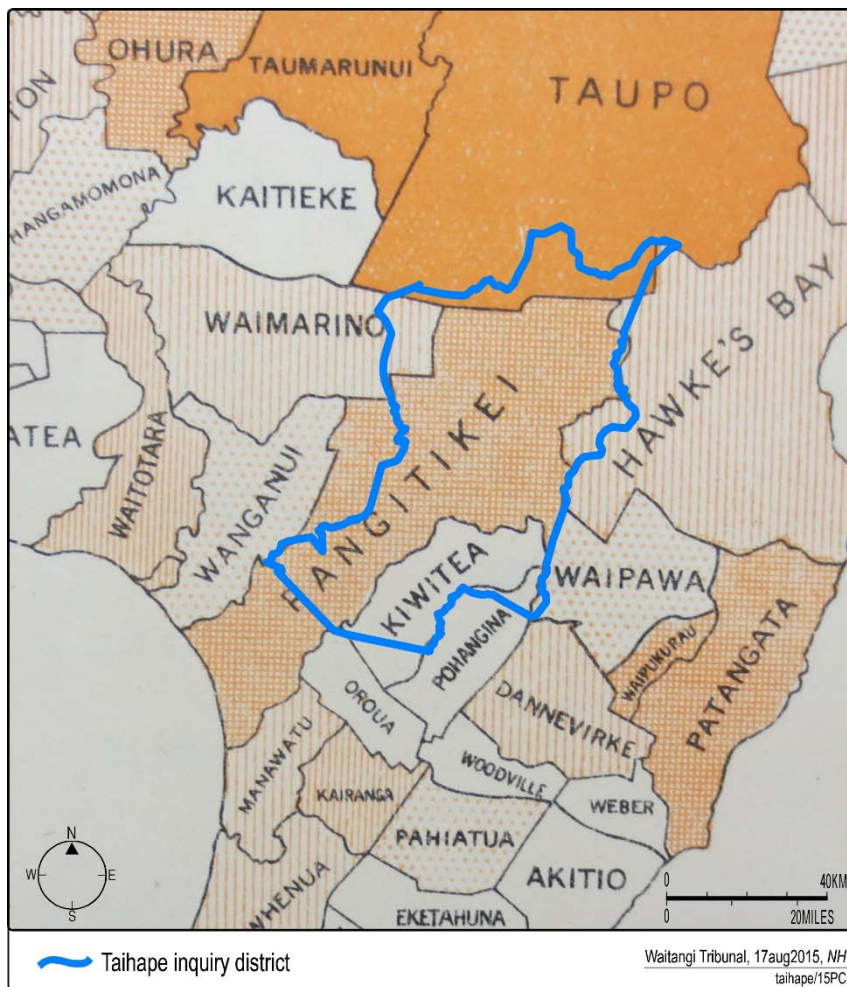
¹⁷ Robinson, Wai 898, A31, p 11

¹⁸ Cleaver, p 24

¹⁹ See New Zealand population census results from 1901 and 1906, available on www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digitised-collections/census-collection.aspx

²⁰ AJHR 1911, H14a, pp 17-18

Figure 1: County Boundaries and Taihape Inquiry District, 1926



From 1926 Maori households began to fill out their own census forms and the census was conducted on a single night, as had been the case for many decades for Pakeha (and for South Island Maori in 1916 and 1921). Maori living in towns and cities in the North Island were recorded separately for the first time in 1926.²¹ Even then, however, researchers consider there continued to be some under-enumeration of the Maori population, although the errors reduced over time.²²

From 1951 the same questions were asked of Maori and non-Maori households in the five-yearly population census.²³ The censuses in 1956, 1961 and 1966 asked extensive questions on amenities provided in dwellings and reported the results by region and ethnicity. The questions were not always comparable between censuses but they provide useful information which has

²¹ 'Counting Maori' in *New Zealand Official Year Book* 1990, pp 157-158

²² Cleaver, Wai 2180, A14, p 21

²³ 'Counting Maori' in *New Zealand Official Year Book* 1990, pp 157-158

been used in the health and housing sections of this report. Because the Statistics Department reported detailed local data on households from the census for 1956, 1961 and 1966 it was possible to analyse for this report the census results for the Rangitikei County but to exclude certain areas outside the inquiry district. The easiest way to exclude these areas was to exclude the internal towns. This did not greatly distort the results because the great majority of Maori in Rangitikei lived rurally at the time, with the exception of the township of Ratana, outside of the inquiry district. The exclusion of Ratana from the Rangitikei County figures greatly boosts their reliability when using the county as a proxy for the Taihape inquiry district.

Including only rural areas meant that two towns within the inquiry district, Hunterville and Mangaweka, were excluded from the figures when analysing housing data. This did not greatly distort the results as both towns had small Maori populations at the time. The borough of Taihape was also excluded from the Rangitikei figures and the census results for Taihape were analysed separately. More detail on the number of dwellings in the respective areas is provided in the housing section of this report. Dwellings were classified by the Statistics Department as Maori or non-Maori on the basis of the ethnicity of the householder who filled out the census form.

The rural Rangitikei County figures used in the housing section include the army base at Waiouru, whose population was not typical of the inquiry district as a whole. They also include the settlement of Kauangaroa, outside the Taihape inquiry district. Kauangaroa had a Maori population of 172 in 1961 and the Waiouru army base a Maori population of 186. The inclusion of these populations may have had a distorting effect to the extent that the residential profile of these settlements differed from that of the Rangitikei County as a whole.

All three sections of this report include data from the 2013 census. In a scoping project for this inquiry, Waitangi Tribunal researcher Georgie Crow asked SNZ to provide tabulated data on a number of variables from the census. Readers should refer to that report for the detailed methodology, but in brief it involved closely approximating the Taihape inquiry district using Statistics New Zealand's Census Area Units and meshblocks.²⁴ Meshblocks are the smallest areas on which Statistics New Zealand reports data and can be combined into larger Census Area Units (CAUs). The CAUs whose boundaries fell within the Taihape inquiry district were Waiouru, Hunterville, Mangaweka, Taihape and Ngamatea. For that part of the inquiry district that lay outside of these five CAUs, meshblocks were used. Meshblocks were chosen for

²⁴ Georgie Crow, 'Māori in the Taihape inquiry district: A sociodemographic scoping exercise', Wai 2180, #A28, 15 January 2015, and Supporting documents, Wai 2180, #A28(a)

inclusion where they lay entirely or substantially within the inquiry district or contained a large proportion of residential properties within the district.²⁵ Combining information from these area units and meshblocks gave a close approximation for the whole inquiry district.

Brief Profiles of Maori Communities

This section briefly profiles some of the main Maori communities within the Taihape inquiry district and the changes they underwent during the period covered by this report. It draws heavily on census data which, as outlined in the previous section, was problematic at times. The accuracy of census data with respect to Maori communities improved greatly after World War Two.

The inquiry district did not appear from census returns to have a large Maori population. Figure 2 below shows the trend in the recorded Maori census population for Rangitikei Country from 1891 to 1921, showing a maximum population of around 600 during this period. The big increase in population in 1906 can probably be attributed mainly to the transfer of most of Erewhon riding to Rangitikei, as outlined in the previous section. The fall in Maori population in 1911 is more of a mystery. As outlined above, there appeared to be some resistance to the census in certain counties that year, but it seems odd that such a large discrepancy was not given more prominence in the enumerators' report. The slight fall in the recorded population between 1916 and 1921 was out of step with the results for the country at large, which showed a substantial increase in Maori population despite the 1918 influenza pandemic. The Native Under-secretary speculated that the national increase was due to the return of servicemen from war.²⁶

Figure 3 below shows the population changes in the inquiry district at selected censuses from 1936 to 2013. The military facilities at Waiouru established in the 1940s have been excluded from the figures. As can be seen, the Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district almost trebled between 1936 and 1966 then stayed reasonably steady over subsequent decades. The other main trend apparent from Figure 3 is the shift in population from small towns and rural districts to the town of Taihape, the only significant centre in the district. In 1936 just 12 percent of the Maori population of the inquiry district lived in Taihape. By 1966 that had increased to 29 percent, and by 2013 over 56 percent of the Maori population of the inquiry district lived in Taihape.

²⁵ Craw, Wai 2180, #A28, pp 9-10

²⁶ AJHR 1921, H39a, p 1

Figure 2: Maori Census Population of Rangitikei County, 1891-1921

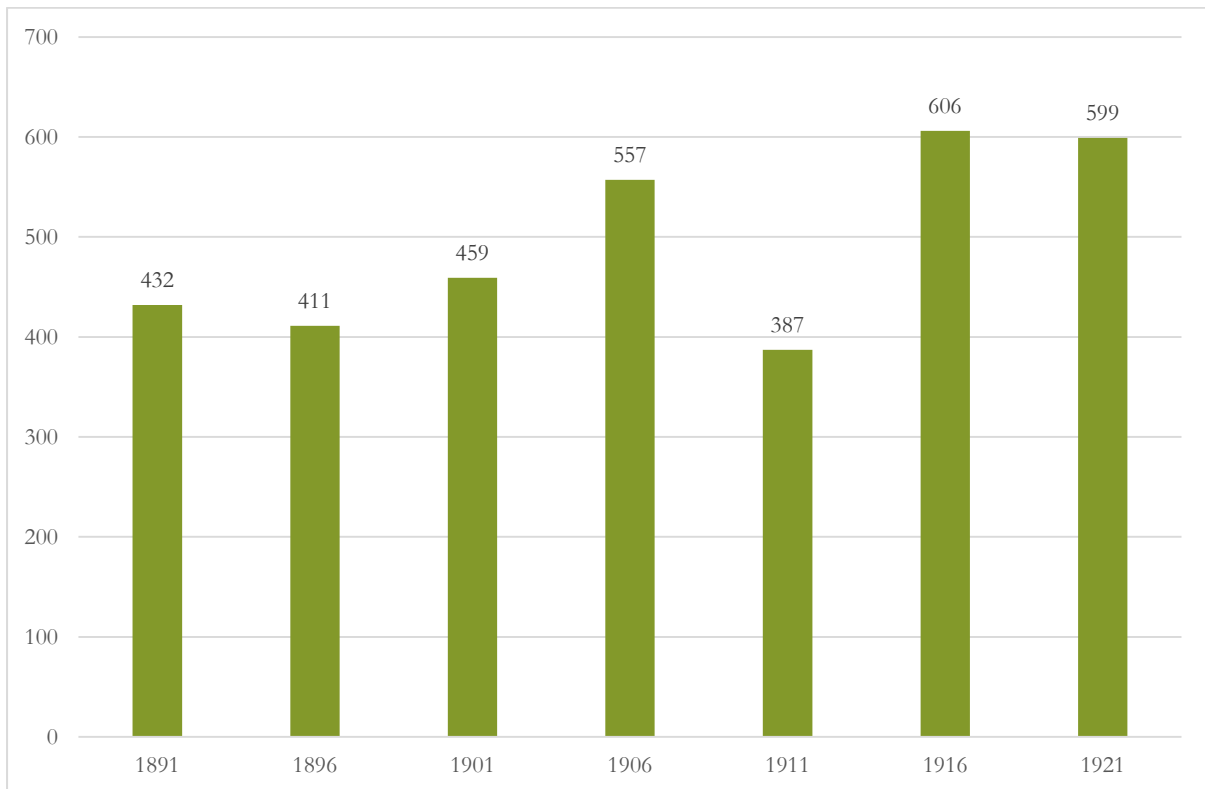
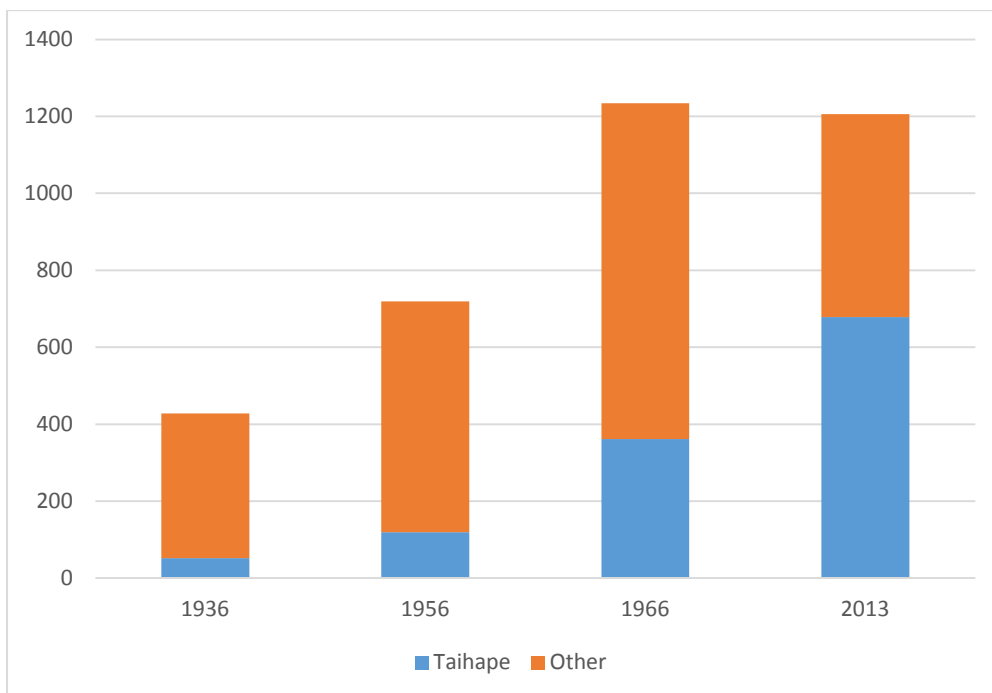


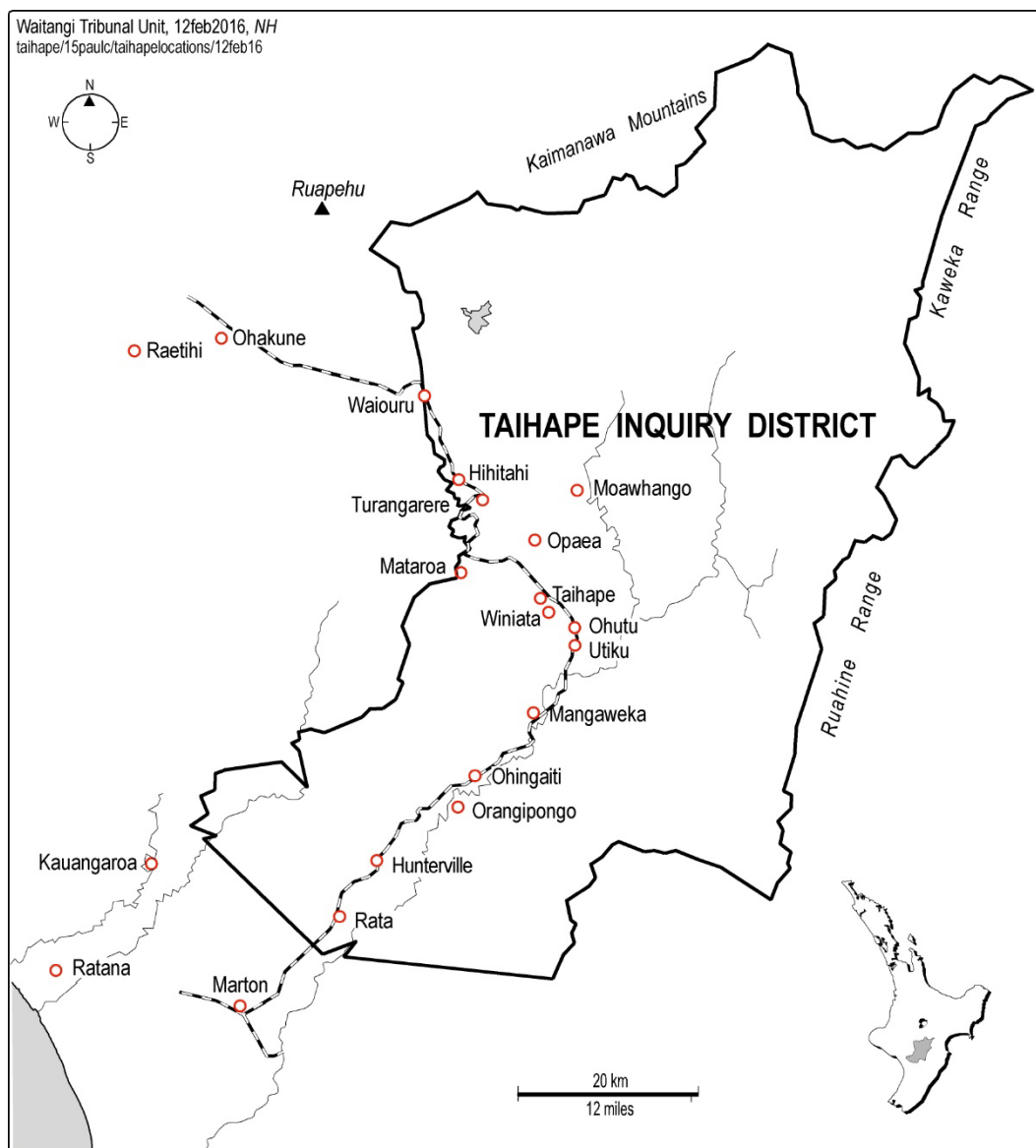
Figure 3: Maori Population of the Taihape Inquiry District (excluding Waiouru) at Selected Censuses, Taihape town and Other 1936-2013



Sources: Cleaver, pp 25-27, Craw, 1956 Population Census

The remainder of this section profiles some of the main areas of Maori settlement within the Taihape inquiry district during the period covered by this report. These communities and other significant areas of Maori settlement are outlined in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4: Main Areas of Maori Settlement during the Twentieth Century



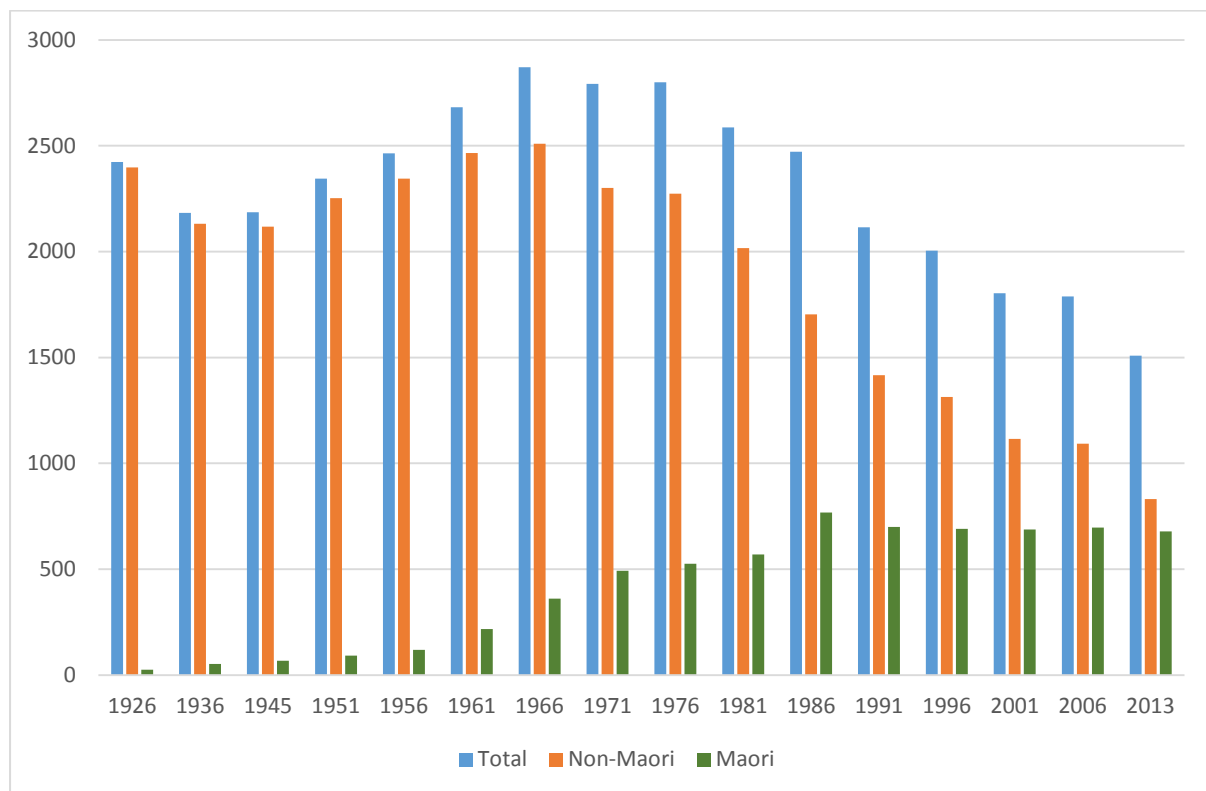
Note: Map shows major rivers and Main Trunk Railway Line

Taihape

In 1894 a group of settlers from Canterbury arrived in Taihape to take advantage of land settlement schemes instituted under the Liberal Government. Men with little capital could apply

their labour to clearing land and building roads in exchange for eventually being allocated land in the resulting settlement. After assessing several options, the Collinsville Settlers Association (named after a Canterbury MHR) decided to take up land in the Awarua 4A block around what was to become Taihape.²⁷ The 1896 census recorded Taihape as having just 86 people but by 1901 the population had grown to 461 thanks to improved road access to the south.²⁸ In 1904 the main trunk railway reached Taihape, further fuelling growth of the town. By 1906 the Taihape population had swelled to 1273 and the town became a borough.

Figure 5: Census Night Population of Taihape Town by Ethnicity, 1926-2013



Few Maori resided in Taihape in its early years but gradually moved to the town over time, attracted by the employment opportunities it offered. The 1926 census recorded 25 Maori in Taihape. Figure 5 shows that the Maori population of the town grew each census, nearing 500 in 1971 and peaking at 768 in 1986. As was seen in Figure 3, although the Maori population of Taihape plateaued after 1986, the shrinking Pakeha population resulted in the town becoming more and more prominent as a centre of Maori population within the Taihape inquiry district. In

²⁷ Percy Lucas, 'Liberal Land Policy for Closer Settlement, 1891-1911', An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand 1966, www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/land-settlement/page-6

²⁸ Stirling and Subasic, Wai 2180, A2, pp 85-86; Moar, p 30; *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, p 15

²⁸ AJHR 1897, E1, p 24 and AJHR 1902, EI, p 31

1991 Maori constituted a third of the Taihape population and in the 2013 census 45 percent of the Taihape population was Maori.

Moawhango

The pre-1890 census reports contain little information relating to the Taihape inquiry district. In 1881 the report by Wanganui census enumerator James Booth referred to 'inland Patea'.²⁹ This appears to refer to part of the inquiry district, the 'inland' distinguishing it from Patea in coastal Taranaki. The main Maori settlement at this time, and possibly the one referred to in the censor's reports, was Moawhango. Moawhango lies about 10 km north-east of Taihape on the Napier-Taihape road. When Native School Inspector James Pope visited Moawhango in 1888, he described the village as consisting of two main settlements – Te Tohu o te Rerenga and Paharakeke – on opposite banks of the Moawhango River. Pope did not say how many people lived there, but estimated there were about 30 children in Moawhango.³⁰ As noted later in this report, others also visited Moawhango around this time and described it as a reasonably substantial settlement. The first published census record of the Moawhango population was in 1936 when 89 Maori were recorded as living there. This was around 20 percent of the estimated Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district, making Moawhango the largest single settlement.³¹

Moawhango continued to be the largest Maori settlement in the Taihape inquiry district until 1956 when it was narrowly surpassed by the rapidly-growing Maori population of Taihape Borough. In 1966 Moawhango was still the second-largest Maori settlement in the inquiry district with a census population of 112.³² The 2013 census recorded 171 Maori living in the Moawhango vicinity, so it remains a significant centre of Maori population.³³

Rata

The Maori population of the township of Rata, about 10 km south-west of Hunterville, grew gradually during much of the twentieth century. The 1936 census recorded the Maori population as 57, rising to 82 in 1956. By 1966 the Maori community had shrunk slightly to 74 people but Rata remained one of the most significant Maori communities in the Taihape inquiry district. No

²⁹ AJHR 1881, G3, p 8

³⁰ James Pope to Inspector-General of Schools, 27 April 1888, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³¹ Cleaver, pp 25-26

³² Cleaver, p 26

³³ Statistics New Zealand, '2013 Census, QuickStats about a place: Moawhango', www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-a-place.aspx?request_value=14238&tabname=Populationanddwellings#

recent figures are available but it is likely the population continued to shrink in line with the rural depopulation of the 1970s and beyond.

Winiata

When a new teacher started at Taihape primary school in 1897 he passed through Winiata 'pah', which was the main Maori settlement near the new town.³⁴ The 1936 census showed Winiata had 66 Maori inhabitants, making it the second-largest Maori settlement in the Taihape inquiry district.³⁵ The settlement still had 62 Maori inhabitants in the 1956 census but its population declined rapidly after that, reaching just 14 in 1966.³⁶ However Winiata Marae remains an important social centre for Taihape Maori.

Turangarere

Pakeha settled near Turangarere in the late nineteenth century, attracted by the employment provided at a nearby flax mill and two timber mills. In 1907 Turangarere became a native township under the Native Townships Act 1895.³⁷ Although the name of the Act gives the impression it had something to do with Maori townships, its purpose was in fact to establish townships for *Pakeha* settlers. Once laid out, it was intended that the townships would remain in Maori ownership and the land leased to settlers, with the leases administered by the Commissioner for Crown Lands.³⁸ The initial population of Turangarere was therefore predominantly Pakeha. Over time, however, Maori began to settle in and around the township because of the employment opportunities it provided. The 1936 census recorded 59 Maori living in the Turangarere locality, making it a major Maori settlement in the Taihape inquiry district. Writing in the early 1950s, Norman Moar claimed that Turangarere was 'about 80 per. cent Maori'.³⁹ By then, according to Stirling and Subasic, Turangarere was no longer a proper township:

...most of the land was used for grazing, rather than as a town, and the little township land remaining in Maori ownership that was being leased brought in a negligible return. The reasons for the failure of the township will need to be ascertained, but it seems evident that a combination of the exhaustion of the timber and flax resources, improvements in road

³⁴ *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, pp 20-21

³⁵ Cleaver, p 26

³⁶ Cleaver, p 26

³⁷ Stirling and Subasic, Wai 2180, A2, pp 98-99; Moar, p 91

³⁸ Suzanne Woodley, *The Native Townships Act 1895*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui series, 1996, p 1

³⁹ Norman Moar, 'The Origins of Taihape', p 3

transport, and the concentration of services in Taihape would have contributed to the demise of Turangarere (as they did for so many other small rural service towns).⁴⁰

There were still over 50 Maori residing around Turangarere in 1956, but by 1961 the number had declined to just 35.⁴¹

Utiku

The Potaka Native Township was proclaimed under the Native Townships Act in 1899, although the township was generally known as Utiku after its founder Utiku Potaka.⁴² Before the proclamation the Crown took land under public works legislation for the main trunk railway and a main road, and construction of these was soon underway.⁴³ The remaining land, owned by the Potaka family, became Utiku Native Township. Sections in Utiku were put up for auction in 1900.⁴⁴

Although primarily a township for Pakeha settlers, Maori lived in and around Utiku from the early days. However, their numbers were never large before World War Two, with the 1936 census recording just 19 Maori resident in Utiku township.⁴⁵ The Maori population swelled after the war, reaching 75 in 1956 then declining slightly to 54 in 1966. The Maori population of nearby Ohutu, previously negligible, had by then swelled to 54.⁴⁶

Mangaweka

Settlement began in the Mangaweka district in the early 1890s and was boosted when work began on the Mangaonoho to Mangaweka portion of the main truck railway line at the end of 1891. The settlement thrived due to railway construction until the line was completed in 1908, after which growth stalled.⁴⁷ Mangaweka's population of 390 in 1916 made it the third largest town in the Taihape inquiry district but by 1945 the population had fallen to 290. Mangaweka went through a brief revival in the 1950s and 1960s but by 2013 the population was just 147.

In the early decades of the twentieth century the Maori population of Mangaweka was small, with just 11 Maori recorded in 1936 census. By 1951 the number had swelled to 28 and the 1966

⁴⁰ Stirling and Subasic, Wai 1200 #A2, p 99

⁴¹ Reports on the New Zealand Population Census, 1956 and 1961

⁴² Wai 2180, A8, pp 163-164

⁴³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 February 1899, p 2

⁴⁴ Wai 2180, A8, pp 163-164

⁴⁵ Cleaver, p 26

⁴⁶ Cleaver, p 27. Just 21 Maori were recording as living at Ohutu in the 1956 census

⁴⁷ *Mangaweka and District's First 100 Years*, p 9

census recorded 45 Maori living in Mangaweka and its vicinity.⁴⁸ In the 2013 population census 27 residents of Mangaweka identified as Maori, making up 18 percent of the total.

Huntermville

Huntermville, in the south of the Taihape inquiry district, became a centre of Pakeha settlement in the 1880s and 1890s. By 1901 the town population reached 576 and in 1911 it reached 658. This was Huntermville's heyday.

Few Maori lived in Huntermville and its environs for many decades. The 1936 census recorded just nine Maori living in Huntermville and its vicinity.⁴⁹ As noted above, however, the nearby town of Rata to the south had a reasonably substantial Maori population. By 1966 the Maori population of Huntermville had gradually risen to 40.⁵⁰ This made it one of the more significant Maori population centres in the inquiry district. In contrast to rural parts of the Taihape inquiry district, the Maori population of Huntermville continued to grow. The 2013 census recorded Huntermville as having a population of 426, of whom 93 were Maori.

⁴⁸ Cleaver, pp 26-27

⁴⁹ Cleaver, p 26

⁵⁰ Cleaver, p 27

Section A: Education

Chapter 1: Introduction to Education in the Taihape Inquiry District

Background and Methodology

The Waitangi Tribunal's commission for this project included a number of questions on education. These are outlined below.

- i. Why and from when did the Crown become involved in providing education services for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What services did it provide or resource, especially in primary and secondary schooling and in native schools? How has this decision making changed over time?
- ii. To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted about or involved in decision making over the provision of education, including over the location, type and curriculum of schools?
- iii. To what extent has the Crown supported Māori-led education initiatives for the Taihape inquiry district, including attendance at denominational Māori boarding schools and the development of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa schools?
- iv. What barriers or difficulties, if any, have Taihape Māori faced in accessing primary and secondary schooling and other education services in this inquiry district? To what extent, if at all, was service provision for Taihape Māori affected by differing area-based priorities adopted by the Crown (or local or special purpose authorities), and with what impacts on their opportunities for participation in school decision making and involvement in school life? As far as is possible from available sources, to what extent have Taihape Māori had equality of access to education services?
- v. What do official measures reveal about educational outcomes for Māori of the Taihape inquiry district? How do these compare with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally, with particular reference to levels of school enrolment and

qualifications obtained? How has the Crown monitored education outcomes for Māori of this district and responded to any evident disparities?¹

This section of the report attempts to address these questions by providing an historical overview of the provision of education in the Taihape inquiry district for the period 1880 to 2013. There are some methodological issues related to an historical discussion of education in Taihape. Researchers on education issues for Waitangi Tribunal inquiries commonly focus on native schools – that is, the schools that operated under the ‘Native’ (from 1947 ‘Maori’) school system between 1867 and 1969. This is because in general the great majority of pupils at Native schools were Maori. A focus on native schools thus provides a useful way of looking into the quality of education provided to a considerable proportion of Maori within an inquiry district.

In the case of the Taihape inquiry district there was only one native school – Moawhango – and that was a Maori school for only 24 years of the twentieth century. For the remainder of its history (the school was established in 1896 and still operates today) Moawhango operated as a general school. Church mission schools were not established in the inquiry district as they were in other parts of the country. William Colenso abandoned his mission in inland Patea in 1852, although he presumably taught some reading and writing while there.² In 1876 the German Missionary Society established a school at Te Reureu, to the south of the inquiry district.³ The fate of this school is not known.

In the early 1870s, Renata Kawepo set aside 26,000 acres in the Owhaoko block, in the north-eastern corner of the inquiry district, as a school endowment. Income from leasing the land was used to help establish two schools in the Hawkes Bay – Omahu, which opened in 1872, and Pakowhai, which opened in 1873. When an inspector visited Omahu in 1873, he found the roll to consist of 26 Maori, six ‘half castes’ and six Pakeha. It is not clear to what extent, if at all, the schools provided education for children from the Taihape inquiry district.⁴ Of the two schools, only Omahu was listed as a native school in 1877, and the school apparently closed shortly after.⁵ Pakowhai re-opened as part of the native schools system in 1882 but does not appear to have had any association with the inquiry district.⁶

¹ Wai 2180, #2.3.10

² Norman Moar, ‘The Origins of Taihape: A Study in Secondary Pioneering’, MA thesis in History, Victoria University of Wellington, 1955, p 10

³ AJHR 1877, G1, p 20

⁴ AJHR 1873, G4a, pp 2-3 and AJHR 1875, G2a, p 11. Omahu School provided board for a few Pakeha students, and Renata Kawepo argued that it should provide board for Maori students too. It is unclear if it ever did.

⁵ AJHR 1877, G4a, p 3

⁶ AJHR 1882, E2, p 1

The lack of native schools in the inquiry district makes it obvious that a focus on native schools will not work in the case of Taihape. The focus instead needs to be on general primary schools along with pre and post primary education. Determining which schools to focus on presents obvious problems. Some of the schools will have had significant numbers of Maori pupils at various times, but which ones? In the case of larger schools the number of Maori pupils may have been reasonably substantial but Maori may generally have been a small minority of the pupils. How do we get an understanding of the way in which education provided to Maori pupils was different from that provided to school pupils in general, if indeed it was?

A first step was to try and identify which schools had Maori pupils. This in itself is not easy. Around 47 primary schools appear to have operated within or near the Taihape inquiry district at different times, excluding a number of small schools – sometimes run from family homes – that operated for no more than a few years. All the schools were administered by the Wanganui Education Board, which was set up in 1878 to establish and administer schools in a large part of the central North Island. The boundaries of the board's administrative area changed from time to time, but remained reasonably consistent. Figure 1.1 below shows the boundaries of the Wanganui education district in the late twentieth century. As can be seen, much of the inquiry district lay within the boundaries of the Hawkes Bay and South Auckland education boards. However, as that part of the Taihape inquiry district within these boundaries contained no schools, for all practical purposes the inquiry district lay entirely within the Wanganui Education Board area.

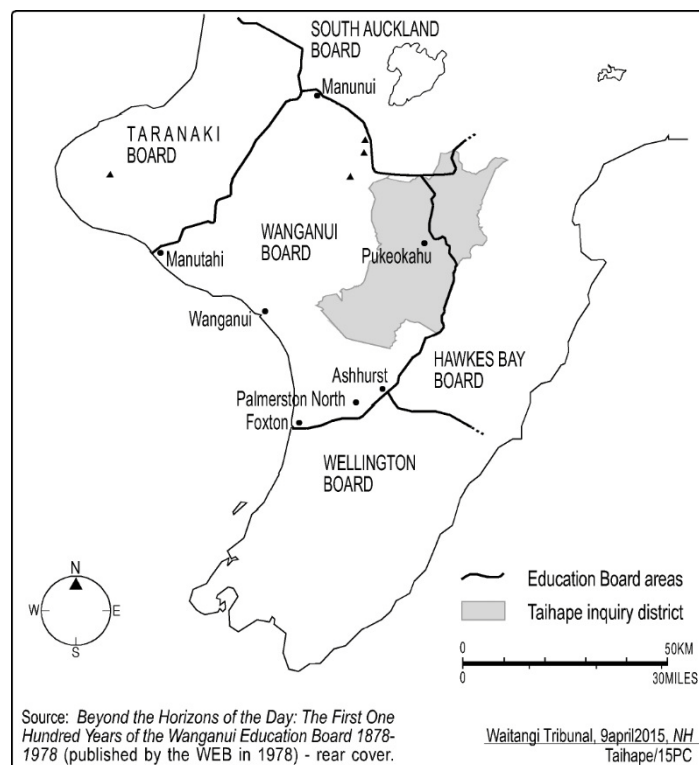
The Board's administrative area extended well beyond the inquiry district - from Foxton in the south, north along the coast almost as far as Hawera, then inland north east as far north as Taumarunui. To the east the board's boundaries went from Waiouru down to Palmerston North. As a result, schools in the Taihape inquiry district were just a small minority of the total number of primary schools administered by the Wanganui Education Board.

The majority of schools that opened within the inquiry district in the early years catered almost exclusively for the children of Pakeha settlers, primarily farming families or mill and railway workers. At Silverhope School, for example, it was considered a German-speaking teacher might be desirable given the background of the settler families in the area.⁷ There appeared to be little interest in providing education facilities for the small and scattered Maori population in the inquiry district. However some schools that opened in the district were attended by reasonable numbers of Maori children at various times during their history. The approach taken in this

⁷ Hunterville Consolidated School's Centennial 1987, p 13

report has been to try and identify these schools for further study. This assessment was made: first, by looking at schools based in major centres of Maori population; and second, by scanning the numerous anniversary, jubilee and other publications dealing with schools in the district and assessing the extent to which lists of former pupils included Maori names and school photos included obviously Maori faces. The publications themselves often also mentioned the presence of Maori pupils in the schools. Finally, a selection of the actual rolls of many schools was examined to find pupils with Maori names and pupils identified by teachers as being Maori. It is noted that even in the early twentieth century Pakeha names such as Steedman and Lomax were common amongst Maori families and as a result a number of Maori pupils were likely missed. Maori with Pakeha names were generally included only if specifically identified as Maori by the teacher, as sometimes happened.

Figure 1.1: Education Board Boundaries and the Taihape Inquiry District, 1978



This process led to the majority of the 47 or so schools being eliminated from consideration, usually on the basis of lack of evidence they had Maori pupils. In some cases it was found that the schools were open for a relatively short period of time – perhaps 20 to 30 years – and there was little surviving information about them.

Chapter outline

Chapter 2 of this report outlines the provision of primary education outside the town of Taihape, which has its own chapter. Moawhango is also excluded for the same reason. The chapter includes an outline of some of the issues faced by the Education Department and education boards in providing schooling in rural areas. It also includes a table giving basic information about all the main primary schools investigated for this report.

Chapter 3 outlines the provision of primary education in Taihape including Taihape Area School. The town has shrunk somewhat in recent decades but since the early 1900s has consistently been by far the largest centre in the inquiry district. Its census population peaked at 2871 in 1966.

Chapter 4 is a history of Moawhango School, which has consistently had a reasonably substantial number of Maori pupils throughout most of its existence.

Chapter 5 is an overview of the provision of post-primary education to Maori in the Taihape inquiry district. It includes material on the six Maori boarding schools that were located reasonably close to the inquiry district.

Chapter 6 addresses question (v) from the Tribunal's commission using evidence from the inquiry district. It thus covers educational outcomes including participation and qualifications.

Chapter 7 brings together conclusions on education in the Taihape inquiry district and addresses in summary the commission questions.

Chapter 2: Taihape Rural Primary Schools

Introduction

The Taihape inquiry district is a rural area. As noted in the introduction, some 47 schools have operated in the inquiry district excluding a few tiny short-term schools. This chapter provides a brief description of some of those schools that operated outside of Taihape town, the only major centre (Huntermville and Mangaweka have thus been classified here as ‘rural’). Primary schools that operated in Taihape itself are discussed in Chapter 3. Moawhango School is not discussed in this chapter as that school had a significant proportion of Maori pupils throughout most of its history and thus has a chapter of its own (Chapter 4).

Waiouru School is not discussed in this report. A small school opened in Waiouru in 1905 but closed after three years due to lack of pupils.⁸ A school opened to serve the new army base in 1949 and still operates today.⁹ It is assumed that this school has existed primarily to serve the needs of army families based in Waiouru rather than to provide education services to the residents of the Taihape inquiry district.

This chapter begins with an overview of the issues involved in providing education in a predominantly rural district. It then gives a brief historical description of five schools that operated in the district, these being Utiku, Turangarere, Rata, Huntermville and Mangaweka schools. These schools were located within communities identified in the introduction to this report to have had a reasonable substantial Maori population for at least some of their history. Huntermville and Mangaweka schools still operate today. The chapter ends with a table giving basic information about a further 37 schools which are not elsewhere discussed in this report.

Providing education in a rural district

There have never been any significant urban centres within the Taihape inquiry district. It has, rather, been a collection of rural districts, small settlements, and three small towns. This presented particular challenges for education. Although in theory primary education became free and compulsory after 1877, in practice it was neither, particularly for families in rural districts. Legislators recognised there was no point in making schooling compulsory in areas without schools. Although many schools were established in the provincial era (and in the 1870s under the Native Education Act), the Education Act 1877 recognised that, in a growing country where

⁸ AJHR 1906, E1, p 34 and AJHR 1909, E2, p 40

⁹ Rodger Douglas, *Waiouru School 25th Jubilee: Historical Notes*, Waiouru, 1973

new settlement was still underway, the supply of schools would long struggle to meet demand. Thus only those who lived within two miles of a school were required to attend – and then only for half the time the school was open.¹⁰

The abolition of school fees in most cases led to a demand for public schools which the regional education boards, set up in 1878, often struggled to meet. Establishing new schools was expensive and there was often the risk that the school would no longer be needed in a few years as settler families moved away or transport systems improved. The solution adopted by most education boards, including Wanganui, was to require settler families to provide land and/or school buildings until the need for a school was clearly established. The board would generally then fund a teacher along with equipment and some stationery, although some small schools were, initially at least, only subsidised rather than fully funded.¹¹

Communities were often willing to put resources into establishing a school so their children could be educated, but there were financial motivations too. George Leighton Stewart, the secretary of the Wellington Education Board, told the Education Commission in 1912 about the research he had conducted into the way in which new schools enhanced the value of surrounding rural property. He told the commission that it was ‘well known that the establishment of a school very materially increase[s] the capital value of adjacent lands’. He thus considered that a contribution from the community or the owner subdividing land for settlement was appropriate.¹² As Nancy Swarbrick notes, the community contribution in rural areas did not necessarily end with the establishment of a school. For many years schools were funded from capitation grants based on average attendance. When pupils were unable to get to school due to poor roads, bad weather, and the seasonal requirements of farm labour, this affected school funding and the parents had to make up the difference – in some cases even contributing to the teacher’s salary.¹³

The necessity of community contributions to so-called ‘free’ schooling did nothing to slow the demand for rural schools, however. Colin McGeorge has calculated that on average 40 new schools opened each year in New Zealand between 1877 and 1900. The great majority were small schools with only one or two teachers.¹⁴ By 1897 the Wanganui Education Board

¹⁰ Nancy Swarbrick ‘Country Schooling’, Te Ara-the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, teara.govt.nz/en/country-schooling/page-1;

¹¹ Colin McGeorge, ‘Childhood’s Sole Serious Business: The Long Haul to Full School Attendance’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2006, vol 40 no 1, pp 28-29

¹² AJHR 1912, E 12 p 659

¹³ Swarbrick, ‘Country Schooling’

¹⁴ McGeorge, ‘Childhood’s Sole Serious Business’, pp 28-29

administered 127 schools with over 10,000 pupils.¹⁵ About 20 of these schools were in the Taihape inquiry district, and most of these were small schools with fewer than 50 pupils.¹⁶ In fact nearly three-quarters of the 47 schools identified in the Taihape inquiry district opened in just 24 years between 1886 and 1910.

The opening of schools followed closely on Pakeha settlement. From the late 1860s sheep farming gradually extended up the valley between the Ruahine and Kaweka ranges from the Hawkes Bay.¹⁷ Further east towards the foot of the Ruahine range, farming settlement extended north from the vicinity of Feilding and Palmerston North, resulting in the development of townships such as Kimbolton, Apiti, and Rangiwahia. Once transport to Mangaweka improved, farming settlement extended in the surrounding district, including the fertile Kawhatau Valley to the east.¹⁸

The gradual northward advance of the North Island Main Trunk Railway was a major factor in bringing people to the district, thus fuelling demand for schools. The railway line as far as Mangaonoho (about 10 km north of Hunterville) had opened by the end of 1893, with roads taking travellers further north from there.¹⁹ The development of Hunterville led to the opening of the Silverhope and Hunterville schools in 1886 and 1887.²⁰ These appear to have been the earliest schools in the inquiry district. In Kimbolton, at the southern tip of the district, two schools opened in 1889. It was not until 1902 that the railway extended as far as Mangaweka – the lengthy delay being due, among other things, to the need to build two tunnels, plus a viaduct at Makohine.²¹ Work on the railway required a significant work force, and there was additional work in felling and milling the large stands of timber along the route. Between 1892 and 1895, a further seven schools opened along the projected rail route between Hunterville and Lake Taupo.

But even with all these new schools there remained plenty of children for whom the nearest school was some distance away. Many rural children travelled to school by horse, but this was impractical for young children and roads were often impassable in winter. The railways provided one solution. From 1886 the government made schooling compulsory for children living within two miles of a train station and provided free rail passes to children under 15 who needed to

¹⁵ *Beyond the Horizons of the Day: The First One Hundred Years of the Wanganui Education Board 1878-1978*, p 23.

¹⁶ *Beyond the Horizons of the Day*, p 34

¹⁷ RAL Batley, *Moan'ango Valley and School: A Short History of the Inland Patea*, Taihape, 1958, pp 19-26

¹⁸ *Mangaweka and District's First 100 Years*, 1984, pp 11-13

¹⁹ *Wanganui Herald*, 18 December 1893, p 2

²⁰ Hunterville Consolidated School's Centennial 1987, pp 3, 13

²¹ *Feilding Star*, 4 Nov 1902, p 2

make use of the service.²² A single passenger carriage was often added to a goods train when passenger timetables did not fit in with those of schools. The downside was that goods trains were often cancelled, resulting in pupils being late for school and/or having to leave early. For example in 1928 the school inspector noted that the seven secondary pupils at Hunterville District High School who travelled by rail frequently got only two hours of schooling in a day due to goods train cancellations.²³

In the early twentieth century the main solution used to eliminate long school journeys was to build more schools. By the end of 1912 there were 2214 schools in New Zealand, 61 percent of which had only one teacher. The government had long realised the inefficiencies in having large numbers of one or two teacher schools but solutions were hard to come by. A solution eventually emerged in the form of improved roads and the development of motorised transport. As Logan Moss wrote in an article on the development of the school bus service:

By 1923 metalled surfaces, rather than dirt tracks, were becoming the norm. Thus while automobiles still broke down and many roads remained subject to wash-out, the prospect of children being able to travel routinely and reliably to school, perhaps five miles from their home, was no longer a fanciful notion.²⁴

From 1924 education boards were encouraged to ‘consolidate’ schools – that is, to close some schools in a district and bus the pupils to one central school. The school bus service was established and quickly became a feature of rural districts. An initial experiment with consolidating schools in the King Country proved successful and during the 1930s the consolidation trend spread to other parts of the country including the Wanganui education district.²⁵ By 1940, 415 schools around New Zealand had closed under the consolidation policy.²⁶ The term ‘consolidation’ was later dropped, although small schools continued to close and continue to do so today.

A number of small schools, including Rata and Silverhope, were consolidated onto Hunterville School in the late 1930s. In the introductory chapter to this report it was noted that Rata had a comparatively sizeable and growing Maori population in the 1930s, so many Maori families would have been affected by the closure of Rata School. Several schools were consolidated onto Taihape District High School – Ohutu in 1936, Ngawaka and Raukura in 1937, and Taoroa Road

²² Logan Moss, ‘Boarding the School Bus’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 2006, vol 40 no 1, pp 57-58. See also McGeorge, ‘Childhood's Sole Serious Business’, p 32

²³ Hunterville District High School inspection report 1928,

²⁴ Moss, p 62

²⁵ Logan Moss, ‘Boarding the School Bus’, p 57

²⁶ Moss, p.70

in 1938.²⁷ The consolidation of schools was often controversial, with a vote of affected parents sometimes required. No evidence was found in research for this report of Maori communities opposing consolidation in the 1930s or that their access to schooling was compromised by the policy – although lack of evidence of Maori opposition does not mean that opposition did not exist. The only evidence uncovered of children having difficulty getting to school because the school bus did not reach them was at Moawhango School (see Chapter 4), and there it was Pakeha farming families who were affected.

School transport was more of an issue with respect to secondary education. Hunterville had a district high school from 1912 to 1929 and Rangiwahia briefly had a district high school from 1946 to 1950. But otherwise there was only one secondary school in the inquiry district, in Taihape. For those unable to bus daily to Taihape, or to Marton to the south of the inquiry district, accessing secondary schooling could be a significant problem. This issue is discussed in more detail in the chapter on secondary education. That chapter also discusses boarding allowances, which were provided to parents of children who could not access bus services. A final resort in such cases was the Correspondence School, established in 1922. This was of limited assistance to Maori parents, however, as few spoke English at the time. The Correspondence School did not provide materials in te reo Maori until 1949.²⁸

Utiku School

Utiku School opened in 1897 in a public hall built by settlers to the district.²⁹ As outlined in the introduction to this report, the Potaka Native Township was proclaimed under the Native Townships Act in 1899, although the township was generally known as Utiku (and later called that) after its founder Utiku Potaka.³⁰ The Potaka family maintained a close association with Utiku School. Various family members were on the school committee in the years 1903, 1936, 1942, 1946, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965 and no doubt in more recent years as well.³¹

In 1903 and 1904 a Mr A Potaka was secretary of the Utiku School Committee. In that capacity he corresponded with the Wanganui Education Board and Education Minister Richard Seddon on what the committee perceived as an injustice to the school. In 1898 the education board obtained a government grant of £250 for a school building at Utiku. However the board subsequently got permission from the Minister of Education to spend the money on a school at

²⁷ Taihape District High School Diamond Jubilee, 1956, p 16

²⁸ John Garner and Katherine Forde, *The Correspondence School: Golden Jubilee History, 1922-72*, Government Print: Wellington, 1972

²⁹ Utiku School Centennial 1897-1997 (no page numbers)

³⁰ Wai 2180, A8, pp 163-164

³¹ *Utiku School 75th Jubilee Souvenir, 1897-1972*, 75th Jubilee Committee, 1973, pp.25-26

the nearby settlement of Torere.³² In January 1902 an Utiku delegation visited the education board to lobby for a school building.³³ A year later nothing had happened so Potaka wrote to the board and the Minister of Education on behalf of the school committee. He pointed out that Utiku School was still housed in the public hall, a venue which the school committee considered so unsuitable that it was considering closing the school. By then the school had a roll of 40 and was expected to grow.³⁴ In January 1903 the Wanganui Education Board applied for a new grant for Utiku School. The board pointed out to the Education Department that Seddon had promised a new grant the previous year. By 1904 nothing had happened and Potaka again wrote to the Minister. In April 1904 Cabinet approved a grant of £321. The new school building was completed in October 1905, way over budget and seven years after it was first applied for.³⁵ A residence for the teacher was also built at this time.

The township grew rapidly due to the railway and the extensive flour and timber milling operations in the district.³⁶ By 1908 the school roll reached 127 and the Education Department granted money to extend the school erected just three years earlier. The work was completed in 1909.³⁷ Because the school roll subsequently declined and never again exceeded 100, the school always had ample accommodation and grounds. The buildings were eventually replaced in the 1960s.³⁸

In 1898 five members of the Winiata family attended Utiku School.³⁹ However the school otherwise appeared to be exclusively Pakeha for some years. In 1907 the name Potaka first appeared on the roll, and the school subsequently had Maori pupils almost every year thereafter.⁴⁰ These were mainly from the Potaka and Winiata families. In 1924, for example, there were 80 pupils on the school roll, of whom five had Maori surnames (three Potaka, two Winiata).⁴¹ Other years sampled had fewer Maori names on the roll.

³² A Potaka to Wanganui Education Board, 23 April 1903, Potaka to Minister of Education, 24 April 1903, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Utiku 1903-1967', item R20131753, ABFI W3540 69/ 7/4

³³ *Wanganui Herald*, 11 January 1902, p 1

³⁴ A Potaka to Wanganui Education Board, 23 April 1903, Potaka to Minister of Education, 24 April 1903, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Utiku 1903-1967', item R20131753, ABFI W3540 69/ 7/4

³⁵ Wanganui Education Board to Department of Education, 21 January 1903, A Potaka to Minister of Education, 9 March 1904, Secretary, Department of Education to Wanganui Education Board, 12 April 1904, Wanganui Education Board to Education Department, 24 October 1905, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Utiku 1903-1967', item R20131753, ABFI W3540 69/ 7/4

³⁶ *Utiku School Centennial 1897-1997* (no page numbers)

³⁷ Wanganui Education Board to Education Department, 3 July 1908, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Utiku 1903-1967', item R20131753, ABFI W3540 69/ 7/4

³⁸ *Utiku School Centennial 1897-1997* (no page numbers)

³⁹ *Utiku School Centennial 1897-1997*, 'School Rolls', (no page numbers)

⁴⁰ *Utiku School 75th Jubilee Souvenir, 1897-1972*, pp 43-67 provides extensive lists of former pupils.

⁴¹ Utiku School Roll 1924, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls U-Z 1924', ABDV W3571 1036/

Businesses in Utiku were affected by the downturn in 1930 and some of the surplus labour was used to build a swimming pool for the school.⁴² The pool was completed by the time the inspector visited that October and its presence was ‘noted with approval’.⁴³ Swimming and other sports became a strong focus of the school. Maori children feature prominently in the lists of trophy winners in swimming and athletics in Utiku School’s 1972 jubilee publication.⁴⁴

In the three school inspection reports sampled – for 1930, 1937, and 1950 – the inspectors were generally impressed with the quality of education at Utiku School. They were particularly impressed with the accommodation and school facilities, assisted by the fact that the school roll had virtually halved since its peak in 1908. In 1937 the inspector noted that the school had an empty classroom.

With Taihape only six kilometres away and improved transport routes, Utiku township declined in the post-war period. By the early 1970s there were only 25 dwellings there.⁴⁵ The railway station closed in 1981 and the school roll continued to decline. By 1990 only 14 pupils were enrolled at Utiku School and a public meeting the following year voted to close the school. When the school closed in December 1991 it had only five pupils.⁴⁶

Turangarere School

Settlers founded a school in a rented building in Turangarere in 1904. The school had an average attendance of 23 pupils in its first year.⁴⁷ As outlined in the introductory chapter to this report, Turangarere was declared a native township in 1907. The Wanganui Education Board agreed to pay the school rent from 1908 although it appears that, due to a paperwork mix-up, the board was not reimbursed by the Education Department until 1911.⁴⁸

The school expanded rapidly, in part due to children travelling by rail from townships such as Hihitahi a few kilometres north. The settlers expected the rental arrangement to be temporary and the school committee was lobbying for a new school by 1910.⁴⁹ Eight years later the Maori owners donated the land for a school site and the Education Department bought out the lease

⁴² *Utiku School Centennial 1897-1997* (no page numbers)

⁴³ Inspector’s report Utiku School, 23 October 1930, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports N-W 1930’, item R21911297, ABDV W3571 81/

⁴⁴ *Utiku School 75th Jubilee Souvenir, 1897-1972*, 75th Jubilee Committee, 1973, pp 31, 38

⁴⁵ Subasic and Stirling, ‘Taihape Inquiry District Sub-district Block Study – Central Aspect’, Wai 2180, #A8, CFRT, October 2012, p 172

⁴⁶ *Utiku School Centennial 1897-1997* (no page numbers)

⁴⁷ AJHR 1905, E1, p28

⁴⁸ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Secretary, Education Department, 28 February 1907 and 31 March 1911, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Primary Schools – Wanganui-Turangarere’, item R20131786, ABFI W3540 90/ 7/4.

⁴⁹ Fowldes (Minister of Education) to Secretary of Education, 18 May 1910, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Primary Schools – Wanganui-Turangarere’, item R20131786, ABFI W3540 90/ 7/4

on the land and buildings. In a briefing to the Minister of Education, the secretary of the Wanganui Education Board noted that ‘in this case the native is more generously disposed towards the cause of education than the pakeha’.⁵⁰ Once the education board had completed the purchase in 1919 the board had the existing buildings renovated to provide improved school accommodation.

The list of families appended to the application for a new school in 1918 included two Maori farming families (the Raukawa and Tihema families).⁵¹ However, the remainder of the roll of 80 was made up of Pakeha children, many from Hihitahi. (A school was established at Hihitahi in 1911 but presumably it was not large enough to meet the demand).⁵² By 1924 there were 96 children on the roll, seven of them Maori.⁵³ One of the pupils in the late 1920s was Porokoru Pohe (generally known as John), whose war service is mentioned later in this report.

One of the two classrooms was demolished at the end of 1930 in anticipation of a falling roll. A new school at Hihitahi was considered likely to take as many as 40 pupils from Turangarere as they would no longer have to travel there by train each day.⁵⁴ The prediction was correct, as the number of Pakeha children at Turangarere declined during the 1930s. On the other hand the number of Maori children on the roll (assessed by names and teacher identification) doubled from five in 1929 to 10 in 1930 and subsequently remained at that level.⁵⁵ Maori thus constituted an increasing share of the roll, making up nearly 40 percent of enrolments by 1941 (nine out of 23 pupils).

The inspection reports for Turangarere School gave little hint of the demographic change affecting the school, as the increasing Maori presence in the classrooms was only occasionally referred to. In 1930 the school had 47 on the roll so still had two teachers. It received a good report from the inspector who wrote that ‘a fine spirit of work is in evidence throughout the school’. The only early inspection report copied for this report – that for 1913 - gave the school a poor review. The school had reasonable inspection reports in 1934 and again in 1937.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Memo, Wanganui Education Board to Dr Anderson, 6 August 1918, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Primary Schools – Wanganui-Turangarere’, item R20131786, ABFI W3540 90/ 7/4

⁵¹ Particulars of Families Concerned in the Establishment of the Proposed School, 8 August 1918, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Primary Schools – Wanganui-Turangarere’, item R20131786, ABFI W3540 90/ 7/4

⁵² AJHR 1912, E1, p iv

⁵³ Turangarere school roll, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School rolls M-T 1924’, item R21914911, ABDV W3571 1036/. The school roll figures cited in this section are all from the education board’s school rolls files for the relevant years.

⁵⁴ Draft letter from Minister of Education, 25 July 1930, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Primary Schools – Wanganui-Turangarere’, item R20131786, ABFI W3540 90/ 7/4

⁵⁵ At Hihitahi, on the other hand, there appeared to be no Maori pupils on the roll in 1932.

⁵⁶ Inspection reports, Turangarere School, 1913, 1934, 1937, Archives NZ Wellington, ABDV W3571 81/

In relation to reading in the advanced classes (Standard 2 and above) the inspector in 1930 wrote in his confidential notes for teachers that ‘Maori pupils are making satisfactory progress in view of the disabilities pointed out’.⁵⁷ It was not specified what these ‘disabilities’ were, but this was presumably a reference to the speaking of Maori as a first language. The teacher’s notes on pupils occasionally stated that they spoke Maori at home. In 1941, for example, the teacher noted of one pupil: ‘Two languages – one in home, other at school’.⁵⁸ In 1952, two pupils were noted as ‘bilingual’.⁵⁹ The teachers did not appear to see this as a good thing. By then the town was in decline and only 11 pupils remained on the roll, six of whom were Maori.⁶⁰ The school closed in 1961.

Rata School

A school was established at Rata, about 10 km south-west of Hunterville, in September 1890. One of the local settlers who had requested a school donated two acres of land for a site near the railway station. The Wanganui Education Board subsequently erected a school building. The school started with a roll of 27 but within a year over 40 pupils were enrolled.⁶¹ By the 1920s the roll was consistently over 60, although attendance was well below this figure due to frequent pupil absences. In 1908 Rata School was moved to a new site due to drainage problems and conflict with the Railways Department, which proved to be a poor neighbour.⁶²

The 1936 census results indicate that 57 Maori lived in the ‘Rata locality’.⁶³ It appears from photos in the Hunterville centennial publication that a number of Maori attended Rata School. According to that publication the first Maori pupil was Maihi Rangipo, who joined the school 11 days after it opened.⁶⁴ Maori attendance is confirmed by a sample of school rolls, which show many Maori attended in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁵ It is difficult to assess just how many from the names on the roll because of the presence of some Maori with European names, in particular the Down family. In 1932 the teacher appeared to identify all the Maori on the roll with annotations. Some of the ‘Down’ children were identified as Maori and others were not. A number of ‘Down’ children attended Rata School in every year sampled and it is difficult to classify them. If all the

⁵⁷ Inspection report, Turangarere School, 22 October 1931, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports N-W 1930’, item R21911297, ABDV W3571 81/

⁵⁸ Turangarere school roll, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School rolls 1941, item R21914929, ABDV W3571 1036/

⁵⁹ Turangarere school roll, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School rolls 1952, item R21914941, ABDV W3571 1038/

⁶⁰ Turangarere school roll, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School rolls 1952, item R21914941, ABDV W3571 1038/

⁶¹ *Hunterville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1987*, p 21

⁶² *Hunterville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1987*, pp 24-25

⁶³ Cleaver, Wai 2180, A14, p 26

⁶⁴ *Hunterville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1987*, pp 21, 24-25

⁶⁵ Rata School Rolls 1923, 1924, 1932, 1936, Archives NZ Wellington

Down children are counted as Maori there were between nine and 14 Maori pupils on the Rata School roll in the four years sampled (1923, 1924, 1932 and 1936).

In 1936 there were 68 pupils on the roll, making Rata a reasonable size school for the inquiry district. However by that time schools within the inquiry district were being ‘consolidated’ on larger schools. The Wanganui Education Board proposed that the Rata and Silverhope Schools be closed and the pupils bussed daily to Hunterville. The board arranged a meeting of the parents of both schools at the Rata Coronation Hall in October 1936. Parents from both schools supported the proposal and Rata School closed in 1937.⁶⁶ No information was located on the attitude of Maori parents to the closure.

Hunterville School

Hunterville School was one of the first in the inquiry district, opening in September 1887 with 40 Pakeha pupils. The school site was provided by the settlers and the school building was paid for by the Wanganui Education Board. Hunterville School was the largest in the inquiry district for many years until surpassed by Taihape in the early 1900s. The school roll trebled by 1893 and extensions to the school were required. By 1908 over 180 pupils were enrolled, and in 1912 Hunterville joined Taihape as a district high school, with 11 secondary pupils. As noted elsewhere in this report, the secondary department did not thrive and closed in 1929.

The Hunterville School roll remained steady before growing considerably during the ‘consolidation’ period of the late 1930s. In September 1937, Rata and Silverhope Schools were closed and its pupils bussed daily to Hunterville, whose roll expanded to well over 200. In 1939 and 1940 Mangaonoho and Putorino Schools were closed and some Poukiore pupils were also sent to Hunterville. The school was renamed ‘Hunterville Consolidated School’, a name it retains today, and by 1940 the school roll was 286. Hunterville Consolidated School further expanded during the 1950s with the roll reaching a peak of 414 in 1957. There then followed a steady decline, to 302 pupils in 1972, 225 in 1980, and 193 in 1986.⁶⁷ The roll of Hunterville Consolidated School averaged 183 pupils each year from 2000 to 2013, but declined to just 163 in 2014.⁶⁸ However it remains the largest primary school in the Taihape inquiry district.

There is no evidence that Hunterville School had any Maori pupils before the late 1930s. From 1938 Hunterville Consolidated School no doubt acquired a number of Maori pupils following the closure of Rata School. In subsequent decades Maori moved to the district as part of the

⁶⁶ Murray Haywood, *Rata, in the heart of the Rangitikei*, Hamilton, 2003, pp 109-110

⁶⁷ *Hunterville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1987*, pp 3-11

⁶⁸ Ministry of Education, ‘Education Counts’, www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers

urbanisation trend. The number of Maori pupils peaked at 54 in 2001, making up 29 percent of the school roll. Since 2003, however, the number of Maori pupils has never exceeded 40 and Maori have generally made up less than 20 percent of the roll.⁶⁹ Recent Education Review Office Reports are positive about the way in which Hunterville Consolidated School caters to its Maori students. The February 2015 report states:

The school actively promotes educational success for Māori as Māori. Sixteen per cent of the roll identify as Māori and a number whakapapa to Ngāti Hāuaiti iwi. Formal reports to iwi show that most students achieve at or above in relation to the National Standard and at levels comparable or exceeding those of the total roll. Reports also indicate that Māori students experience success across the breadth of the curriculum.

Teachers are progressing te reo and te āo Māori in classrooms. There has been notable growth since the 2010 ERO review. Whole staff professional learning and weekly, external leadership continues to build teacher and student confidence. The progressive review of the school's curriculum includes the integration of new learning.

Partnership with Rata Marae is supporting the school's commitment to a marae-based model for developing student and teacher capability. Parents are helping, through sharing knowledge, to add complexity to the curriculum.

As a result, students lead confidently, demonstrate pride in their achievements and have good knowledge of their language, culture and identity.⁷⁰

Mangaweka School

Mangaweka School is today a tiny school with around 30 pupils but in earlier decades it was one of the largest schools in the inquiry district.⁷¹ The jubilee history of Mangaweka School records it as first opening in 1894, although official records do not mention the school before 1896. It is likely that the school opened on an unofficial basis while funding was sought from the Wanganui Education Board and Education Department.⁷²

⁶⁹ Education Review Office reports on Hunterville Consolidated School, 19 June 2007, 10 November 2010 and 4 February 2015, ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Hunterville-Consolidated-School-04-02-2015

⁷⁰ Education Review Office report on Hunterville Consolidated School, 4 February 2015, ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Hunterville-Consolidated-School-04-02-2015

⁷¹ Education Review Office report on Mangaweka School, 16 April 2015, ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Mangaweka-School-16-04-2015

⁷² *Mangaweka School 75th Jubilee 1894-1969* (no page numbers); AJHR 1896, E1b, p 13

In 1898 the Wanganui Education Board funded an extension to the rapidly-growing school, whose average attendance ballooned to 126 by the end of the year.⁷³ By 1909, when the main trunk rail line between Auckland and Wellington came into regular use, the school roll was 156.⁷⁴ However the importance of Mangaweka township declined with the completion of the railway and by 1915 the school roll had fallen to 94.⁷⁵ St Joseph's Convent School opened in Mangaweka in 1918.⁷⁶ Mangaweka School burnt down in 1926 and classes were held in the Oddfellows Hall while a new school was built. As a result many pupils transferred to the convent school, whose roll soon surpassed 100. However, as a private school charging fees St Joseph's was hit by the depression and closed in 1935.⁷⁷ On the other hand the Mangaweka School roll increased slightly during the depression as a state-funded school.

Mangaweka township had a renaissance in the 1950s and 1960s, when the school roll was consistently over 100. The school acquired new buildings during the 1960s and the old school was demolished in 1968, when 132 pupils were enrolled.⁷⁸ The roll fell during the 1970s but was still 75 in 1979, making it one of the largest schools in the inquiry district. By 1983 there were just 51 pupils on the roll but the decline then stalled and there were 60 pupils at Mangaweka School in 2000.⁷⁹ In 2001 the roll fell to 49 and averaged just 37 each year between 2002 and 2013. In July 2014 there were just 28 pupils at the school.⁸⁰

The publications on Mangaweka School and township mention nothing of a Maori presence after the school opened in 1894. However Mangaweka School had a small but consistent number of Maori pupils on its roll from around 1920. The school rolls were sampled for three years. In 1923, three out of 78 pupils on the school roll had Maori names; in 1929, four of 72 pupils; and in 1932 two of 96 pupils.⁸¹ The 1969 jubilee school photo shows many Maori faces. As outlined earlier, the 1966 census showed that Maori families moved to Mangaweka during its second boom period of the 1950s and 1960s.⁸² In 2000 there were 19 Maori at the school making up nearly a third of the total roll. However the number of Maori pupils fell in subsequent years and

⁷³ AJHR 1898, E12, p 1; AJHR 1899 E1, p 25

⁷⁴ AJHR 1909, E2, p xxiii

⁷⁵ AJHR 1916, E2, p xxx

⁷⁶ *Mangaweka and District's First 100 Years*, pp 73-74

⁷⁷ *Mangaweka and District's First 100 Years*, pp 74-75

⁷⁸ *Mangaweka School 75th Jubilee 1894-1969* (no page numbers)

⁷⁹ *Mangaweka and District's First 100 Years*, pp 72, 94, 100

⁸⁰ Ministry of Education, 'Education Counts', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers

⁸¹ Mangaweka School rolls, 1922, 1929, 1932

⁸² *Mangaweka School 75th Jubilee 1894-1969* (no page numbers)

from 2005 onwards there were never more than six Maori pupils at Mangaweka School.⁸³ Maori had moved away to other areas.

Other Schools in the Taihape Inquiry District

The table below outlines other primary schools that opened within or very near the Taihape inquiry district that are otherwise not mentioned in the text of this report or are mentioned only briefly. The list does not include a number of small schools that opened for only a short time, sometimes within private homes.

Figure 2.1: Table of Main Schools within (or near) the Taihape Inquiry District, 1880-2013

School	Year Opened	Notes
Apiti	1905?	No evidence of Maori pupils
Bluff Road (Kimbolton)	1889	Little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Hinau	1903?	Existed for a relatively short time, Maori attendance unclear
Karewarewa	1899	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Kimbolton	1889	Little evidence of Maori attendance
Main South Road	1899	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Makohine Valley	1890s	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Mangahoe	1895	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Mangaonoho	1894	Little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Mangarimu	1890s	Existed for a relatively short time, little evidence of Maori attendance
Manui	1890s	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Ngawaka	1900	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Ohingaiti	1892	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Ohutu/Torere	1902	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available
Orangipongo	1894	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Otamakapua	1927	Existed for a relatively short time, little evidence of Maori attendance
Omatane	1930?	Existed for a relatively short time, Maori attendance unclear
Poukiore	1895	Little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Pourangaki	1909	Little evidence of Maori attendance
Potaka Road	1919	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Pukeokahu	1904	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear

⁸³ Ministry of Education, 'Education Counts', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers

Putorino	1921	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Rangiwaea/ Owhakura	1905	Little information available, some evidence of Maori attendance
Rangiwahia	1894	Little evidence of Maori attendance
Rata-iti	1903	Little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Rewa	1890s	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear
Rongoiti	1909	Little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Ruahine	1896	Existed for a relatively short time, minimal information available
Ruanui	1926	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available
Silverhope	1886	Little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Taoroa/Lower Moawhango	1904	Little information available, Maori attendance unclear (although now substantial)
Tiriraukawa	1898	Little evidence of Maori attendance
Tuha	1928	Existed for a relatively short time, little information available, little evidence of Maori attendance
Waiouru	1949	Significant numbers of pupils from families posted to the Waiouru army base
Waipuru	1895	Little evidence of Maori attendance
Whaka Rd	1918	Little evidence of Maori attendance

Chapter 3: Taihape Primary Schools and Kohanga Reo

Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the schools located just outside or within the town of Taihape, these being Taihape school under its various guises, Winiata Side School, St Joseph's Convent School (now just 'St Joseph's') and Mataroa School. St Margaret's Parish Church School, which opened in Taihape in 1917, is not included as it closed in 1929 due to financial problems.⁸⁴ The chapter also touches on Maori-led initiatives through the Kohanga Reo movement.

For most of the twentieth century Taihape primary school was called Taihape District High School, although it was still predominately a primary school. More recently it has become Taihape Area School. Within a decade of its establishment in 1896 Taihape School was by far the largest school in the inquiry district and has remained so ever since (although if just the primary roll is taken into account then it has occasionally been surpassed by Hunterville and St Joseph's).

Taihape Primary School

The early years

As outlined in the introductory chapter to this report, Taihape township was established in the mid-1890s. In 1895 the settlers erected a 'town hall' in the main street which, the following November, became the venue of Taihape's first school. The school's jubilee publication describes the original school room as 'only a barn, with no fireplace, and very scanty furniture and equipment'.⁸⁵ The school was operated by the Wanganui Education Board.⁸⁶

The first teacher was Alex McIntosh, a reliever who started on 23 November 1896. The school log book survives from his brief spell at the school. He recorded that on his first day he had 24 pupils, ten of whom were Maori. The school operated for only three weeks before closing early for the Christmas break due to the teacher having eyes 'very much inflamed'. Taihape School reopened on 25 January 1897 with one new pupil, a Maori girl.⁸⁷ On 5 February only 20 pupils were present, and the teacher received a letter from Maori parents saying the students would be back at school as soon as they returned from visiting friends. Further Maori absences were

⁸⁴ Robertson, *Taihape on a Saturday night*, p 196, p 70, pp 87-88

⁸⁵ *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, p 15

⁸⁶ AJHR 1897, E1, p 24 and AJHR 1898, E1, p 24

⁸⁷ Taihape school log book 23 November 1896, 15 December 1896, 25 January 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

recorded on 14 April due to a tangi.⁸⁸ Because few if any Maori lived in Taihape at the time the Maori pupils had to travel to school from Winiata and other nearby locations.

McIntosh noted in the log book that a school clock and bell were needed as the household timekeeping devices all kept different times, but no clock had arrived by June 1897.⁸⁹ In March the teacher noted there were 32 pupils on the roll, although average attendance was well below that number. On 12 March 1897 the teacher recorded: 'Parents of Maoris visited school and expressed themselves well pleased with progress their children are making'.⁹⁰

McIntosh recorded a number of discipline problems at the school, although none of these appeared to have involved Maori children. He did note, however, that he found 'great difficulty in compelling Maori children to come clean and tidy'. He also fielded complaints about Maori children playing on the verandah of the local store at lunch time – 'hence a school and schoolground very much needed to keep all children off the public road'.⁹¹ McIntosh blamed the school committee for lack of action over school improvements, and felt that nothing would be done until a new committee was elected. Until then 'we shall have to work without a fire. A playground very much needed with shelter shed'.⁹²

McIntosh finished at the school in June 1897, and was replaced by a permanent teacher, John O'Reilly. O'Reilly's entries in the school log book were routine and uninformative, but fortunately he later recorded his reminiscences of Taihape School for publication in the school's jubilee journal. He was apparently only 19 when he started at the school. In common with others travelling to the district outside summer, he recorded an arduous journey to Taihape that ended with trudging on horseback through snow.

The snow continued and about dark I reached another clearing and saw a 'wharepuni'. I called in and found it was Winiata. One of the Maoris who said his name was Robin, on learning that I was the new 'kura mahita', told me that Taihape was still further on and that the children from this pah would be some of the pupils.

⁸⁸ Taihape school log book 5 February, 8 April 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

⁸⁹ Taihape school log book 5 February, 11 June 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

⁹⁰ Taihape school log book 5 and 12 March 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

⁹¹ Taihape school log book 30 April and 21 May 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

⁹² Taihape school log book 30 April 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

O'Reilly recorded that when he started at the school in 1897 there were 38 pupils on the roll, 15 Pakeha and 23 Maori, ranging in age from five to 17 years. 'Very few of the native children could speak English and I had no Maori. However, before very long we made progress in each others [sic] language, and the Maori children particularly proved very obedient and willing pupils, especially keen at such subjects as writing, drawing and singing.'⁹³

In late 1897 or early 1898 the Wanganui Education Board applied for funding to build a school in Taihape and Cabinet approved £431 for the job.⁹⁴ Attendance in winter was irregular 'owing to bad weather and awful roads and tracks' but roll growth eventually entitled the school to an assistant teacher, Anne McColl, who started at the end of 1898. At the start of 1899 the roll was 43, including 12 Maori pupils who, judging by the marks and comments recorded by the teacher, were among the more able pupils in the standard classes.⁹⁵

In January 1900 the school transferred to the newly completed building approved over 18 months earlier. A house for the head teacher also seems to have been completed around this time.⁹⁶ James Thurston, who was a teacher and headmaster at the school from 1902 to the end of 1920 recalled that the school grounds were 'a shock' when he arrived in Taihape. 'However, then as later, the combined efforts of the teachers, committees, and people of the town and district soon mended matters.' The Taihape recreation ground was used for football and cricket.⁹⁷

Taihape was growing and so, consequently, was the school. By 1902 the school roll had grown to 111, but not one of the pupils had a Maori name.⁹⁸ The Maori pupils seem to have inexplicably disappeared in just a few years. The reasons remain a mystery but what can be known is that there seems no evidence their disappearance was a subject of discussion on the part of teachers or school inspectors.

In 1904 the main trunk railway reached Taihape, further fuelling growth of the town. By September 1904 the average weekly roll was 169 and, although the attendance was somewhat lower than this the school inspector considered the school 'inconveniently overcrowded'. He therefore supported the education board's application to considerably enlarge the school. The application included a list of 24 children of school age living within three miles of the school and not attending, and 152 children within the same radius not yet of school age. None of the names

⁹³ *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, pp 20-21

⁹⁴ AJHR 1898, E12

⁹⁵ Taihape school roll in Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls S-W 1899, item R21914831, ABDV W3571 1014/. The Maori pupils on the roll that year were easy to identify as they had only one name recorded.

⁹⁶ *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, pp 15, 21-23

⁹⁷ *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, pp 15, 24

⁹⁸ Taihape school roll in Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls T-W 1902, item R21914841, ABDV W3571 1016/

on the list were Maori.⁹⁹ The school extensions were quickly approved and appear to have been completed in 1905.¹⁰⁰ Further additions were made to the school in 1907.¹⁰¹

By the end of 1906 the school roll had reached 251, of which only three pupils could be identified as Maori.¹⁰² It was as if the influx of Pakeha pupils in the early twentieth century had driven out the Maori pupils. It is not clear where they went as there were few other nearby schools available. However, from 1909 some Maori pupils attended a 'side school' that opened in the township of Winiata, just south of Taihape.

Winiata Side School

During 1908 average attendance at the school was 239 and the staff comprised seven teachers.¹⁰³ Some pupils were apparently having difficulty attending Taihape School from Winiata due to the 'unsuitability of the train arrangements', so in 1909 a hall was rented in Winiata to establish a side school.¹⁰⁴ It is not clear exactly what distinguished a 'side school' from an ordinary school, for Winiata appears to have been largely a separate school although it operated under the Taihape headmaster and school committee.

After it opened in 1909 the Winiata roll generally fluctuated between 20 and 30, although regularly moved outside that range. In 1913 the roll briefly plummeted to 15 but reached 36 less than two years later.¹⁰⁵ In 1918 the roll temporarily fell to 12, the fluctuations being caused mainly by pupil movements between Winiata and the main school at Taihape.¹⁰⁶ It is not clear how many of the pupils were Maori as the school rolls for Winiata were unable to be located for this report.¹⁰⁷ However, pupils with Maori names were referred to so regularly in the log books that they clearly made up a large proportion of the roll. When the Taihape headmaster made one

⁹⁹ Application for Addition or Enlargement, 3 September 1904, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Taihape 1904-1939', item R20131731, ABFI W3540 67/ 7/4 1

¹⁰⁰ Education Department Memorandum for Payment of Grant, 29 August 1905, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Taihape 1904-1939', item R20131731, ABFI W3540 67/ 7/4 1

¹⁰¹ AJHR 1908, E1, p 78

¹⁰² Taihape school roll in Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls T-W 1902', item R21914841, ABDV W3571 1016/

¹⁰³ AJHR 1909, E1, p 33

¹⁰⁴ Secretary Wanganui Education Board to Secretary, Education Department, 31 March 1911, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Buildings and Sites – Wanganui Primary Schools – Winiata 1908-1925', item R3821563, ACIG 17240 W362 E1W362 13/ 7/4

¹⁰⁵ Winiata School log book, 27 June 1913 and 3 March 1916, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁰⁶ Winiata School log book, 20 September 1918, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁰⁷ Winiata pupils did not appear in the roll for Taihape District High School.

of his regular visits to Winiata side school in February 1922 he noted there were 36 pupils on the roll, with ‘many Maoris’.¹⁰⁸ That is as precise as the figures ever get.

Winiata school is the only one for which a long series of log book entries is available, lasting from March 1912, three years after the school opened, until April 1925, six months before it closed (although there are significant gaps). There is little evidence in the log books that allowance was ever made for what was at times a high proportion of Maori pupils. One exception was Maori being singled out for what was commonly referred to as ‘skin disease’ or ‘hakehake’. The incidence of hake among Maori children in schools, including Winiata side school, is discussed in the health section of this report.

The Winiata log book entries commonly related to pupil absences. A fairly typical entry for 8 June 1914 stated: ‘Lawrence Bilderbeck played truant for half a day today. Niwhai Mako is attending another school this week.’ Less typically, the entry for 19 April that year recorded that ‘Mr Huata took arithmetic’. There is no record of a Mr Huata on staff, so he may have been a parent temporarily taking a class.¹⁰⁹

In July 1918 Taihape headmaster James Thurston carried out a full inspection of Winiata Side School and recorded his impressions in the log book. He considered that standards were pretty good across all levels at the school.¹¹⁰ The school inspector also occasionally put his impressions in the log book, usually commenting on physical aspects of the school. For example when visiting on 18 April 1921 the inspector noted: ‘The work of this school is being carried out at a considerable disadvantage in a rented hall, which is at times used for other purposes’.¹¹¹ In March 1922 Taihape Principal William Hird was less impressed than his predecessor with Winiata, noting that ‘much of the work is careless and untidy’. On another visit six days later Hird commented on the poor state of the latrines and referred the matter to the school committee.¹¹²

The school inspector seems to have visited Winiata side school only occasionally, mainly after 1920, and he commonly remarked on the presence of Maori pupils in the school. In 1920 the

¹⁰⁸ Winiata School log book, 8 February 1922, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927’, item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁰⁹ Winiata School log book, 19 April and 8 June 1914, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927’, item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹¹⁰ Winiata School log book, 26 July 1918, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927’, item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹¹¹ Winiata School log book, 18 April 1921, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927’, item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/. The teacher mistakenly gives this date as Monday 15 April, but that date was a Friday and there is a separate entry for that day.

¹¹² Winiata School log book, 24 and 30 March 1922, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927’, item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/. A school inspector some years earlier also commented on the poor state of the latrines, and Hird subsequently inspected them on every visit to the school.

school received a reasonable report, but the inspector commented: ‘Many of the pupils are natives who are above the usual age for the classes in which they are placed. They find difficulty with some branches of English.’¹¹³ When the school inspector visited in 1921 he was less impressed, criticising the physical state of the school and grounds and some aspects of the teaching. He noted in conclusion: ‘The presence of a number of Maoris in the school tends in some measure to make progress slow, but careful preparation of the lessons combined with stimulating teaching should do much to compensate for this drawback’.¹¹⁴

Winiata side school closed in August 1925 as a cost saving measure as the senior inspector of schools considered that the pupils could easily travel to Ohutu or Taihape schools. The Wanganui Education Board agreed.¹¹⁵ There is no evidence that parents were consulted on the move, or that any raised objections.

Taihape becomes a District High School

In 1907 a ‘technical school’ opened on the Taihape grounds, initially to teach cooking and woodwork. It was intended as a regional facility so that students could be transported there on regular occasions from nearby schools for technical education.¹¹⁶ By 1910 the technical school was providing instruction in a wide range of subjects including bookkeeping, dressmaking and wool classing.¹¹⁷ The technical school eventually became part of Taihape District High School (DHS).¹¹⁸

In 1909 Taihape School qualified for district high school status. This is less a momentous change than it sounds. The school largely continued as a primary school as before, but with one or two secondary classes added to the school. This provided an opportunity for the few students who continued on to secondary education to do so without going to boarding school. This is discussed more fully in the chapter on secondary education. However, a few figures may illustrate the point. In 1919, ten years after Taihape became a district high school, the school

¹¹³ Inspection Report, Winiata Side School, 1920 (exact date not noted), Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports 1920, item R21911225, ABDV W3571 78/

¹¹⁴ Inspection Report, Winiata Side School, 25-26 October 1921, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports – O-W 1922, item R21911225, ABDV W3571 78/

¹¹⁵ Senior Inspector to Chairman, Wanganui Education Board, 9 July 1925 and Senior Inspector to Director of Education, 9 July 1925, ‘Buildings and Sites – Wanganui Primary Schools – Winiata 1908-1925’, Archives NZ Wellington, item R3821563, ACIG 17240 W362 E1W362 13/ 7/4

¹¹⁶ *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, p 15

¹¹⁷ Information provided to Minister of Education, 27 May 1910, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Primary Schools – Wanganui – Taihape 1904-1939’, item R20131731, ABFI W3540 67/ 7/4 1

¹¹⁸ Robertson, *Taihape*, p 84

had 307 primary pupils and 33 secondary pupils.¹¹⁹ A decade later there were still only 53 students on the secondary roll.¹²⁰ Taihape was still very much a primary school.

In May 1910 a Taihape deputation bailed up Education Minister George Fowlds while he was on a train passing through the town. The school roll had grown from 293 to 351 in the previous year and more classes were needed, they said. They claimed that classes were being held in the passages and shelter shed.¹²¹ The following month the Wanganui Education Board applied for funding to expand the school. The application included a list of 24 children of school age who would not be attending school after winter as they were considered too young to travel on the muddy and sometimes snow-covered roads. There were no Maori names on the list.¹²² The grant was approved but by 1915 the school inspector was commenting on how crowded the school was and a further application was put in for funding. That too was approved.¹²³ In the meantime the local community had raised funds to fix up the school grounds and in June 1912 members of the school committee approached Internal Affairs Minister George Russell about the government contributing some money. Russell was very sympathetic and conveyed their request to the Minister of Education with a recommendation it be met.¹²⁴

Taihape District High School continued to grow, reaching a peak of 550 pupils in 1929. This led to further expansion of the school facilities. However, these will not be dealt with here as this account concerns the provision of education to Maori. As was outlined above, in the early days of Taihape School, Maori made up a large proportion of the roll. But by the 1920s this was no longer the case, as can be seen by a sample of the school's primary roll. Between 1929 and 1941 no more than 14 Maori primary pupils can be identified in any year at Taihape District High School. During this period it appears Maori never made up more than four percent of the school population. (Pupils were identified as Maori if they had Maori names and/or if they were specifically identified by the teacher as Maori (as often happened).¹²⁵ This is perhaps not surprising given that population censuses between 1926 and 1956 showed that Maori made up

¹¹⁹ AJHR 1920, E2, p xxxi

¹²⁰ AJHR 1930, E6, p 20

¹²¹ Fowlds to Secretary for Education and Information provided to Minister of Education, 27 May 1910, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Taihape 1904-1939', item R20131731, ABFI W3540 67/ 7/4 1

¹²² Grant application and attached list, 6 July 1910, Assistant Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Secretary, Education Department, 27 July 1910, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Taihape 1904-1939', item R20131731, ABFI W3540 67/ 7/4 1

¹²³ Secretary, Education Department to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 11 August 1910, Inspection Report Taihape DHS, March 1915, Grant application, 30 July 1915, Secretary, Education Department to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 13 December 1915, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Taihape 1904-1939', item R20131731, ABFI W3540 67/ 7/4 1

¹²⁴ Russell to Minister of Education, 18 June 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Taihape 1904-1939', item R20131731, ABFI W3540 67/ 7/4 1

¹²⁵ The years sampled were 1929, 1936, 1937, 1941, 1949 and 1951. The roll appears to have peaked at 498 pupils in

between one and five percent of the population of Taihape Borough. As was seen in the introductory chapter to this report (Figure 5), it was only in the 1960s that Maori began to make up a significant proportion of the Taihape population and also, therefore, of Taihape schools.

Taihape Primary again

By September 1960 the primary roll at Taihape District High School had grown to 584 and the secondary roll to over 200.¹²⁶ The school was considered too large for both primary and secondary pupils and in 1963 Taihape District High School reverted to being a normal primary school. Taihape College opened at Winiata. By then Maori constituted over eight percent of the Taihape population. Given the youth of the Maori population the proportion in the school age groups would have been considerably higher.

Taihape town continued to grow in the 1960s, as was seen in Figure 5, but in the late 1970s the population of Taihape began to fall and continued to do so into the twenty-first century. The fall was driven entirely by a decline in the Pakeha population. The Maori population remained steady and thus grew as a proportion of total population. By the 2000s Taihape School had become predominantly a Maori school. From 2000 to 2004, between 57 and 64 percent of the roll was Maori.¹²⁷ The Maori community became extensively involved in school governance with the increasingly proportion of Maori pupils at Taihape School.¹²⁸

The reversal of the demographic change that led to the re-establishment of Taihape School in 1963 cast doubt on the viability of having separate primary and secondary schools. Falling population meant falling school rolls. By 2000 the roll of Taihape School had fallen to 214 and that of Taihape College to 207. By 2003 Taihape School had just 144 pupils and Taihape College 181, making 325 pupils in total. The primary school roll was thus a quarter of what it was when Taihape College was established forty years earlier.

Taihape Area School

In the early 2000s Education Minister Trevor Mallard instituted what were termed 'network reviews' of various areas around the country. The aim was to free up education resources by closing and merging schools within a particular geographical area. Districts and towns with declining populations, such as Putaruru in the Waikato, were a major focus of the reviews. The Taihape district was among those singled out for attention – unsurprisingly given its falling

¹²⁶ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 8 September 1960, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools - Wanganui – Taihape 1957-1968', item R20131730, ABFA W3540 67/ 7/4 4

¹²⁷ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹²⁸ Personal communication, Barbara Ball and Moira Raukawa-Haskell, 26 February 2016

population.¹²⁹ The Ministry claimed the Taihape district had surplus capacity for 727 students. The outcome of the review for Taihape was announced in January 2003. It was proposed that all the schools in the district outside of Taihape were to remain open, but Taihape primary school and Taihape College would merge.¹³⁰ The Minister announced the final decision on the merger in May 2003 following consultation with the communities involved.¹³¹ Claimant informants indicate that the Ministry of Education involved the Taihape Maori community in decision-making over the future of schools in Taihape.¹³²

Taihape College was to close at the end of the 2004 year and relocate to the primary school site in 2005. This was of course a return to the situation over 40 years earlier, except that the new combined primary and secondary school was to be called an ‘area school’ rather than a ‘district high school’. An establishment board was set up to consult with parents and teachers about how to house all the students following the closure of Taihape College.¹³³ New buildings were planned but these were to be completed long after the February 2005 deadline.

The proposal proved hugely controversial. One opponent claimed that 82 percent of parents with children at the primary school opposed the merger.¹³⁴ The Rangitikei District Council made several approaches to the Minister of Education to try and get him to change his mind. The Taihape ward members of the council were particularly vociferous in their opposition.¹³⁵ Sensitive to the opposition, the Education Minister announced in December 2004 that the government planned to spend \$10 million on the new complex for Taihape Area School to open during 2006.¹³⁶

In the meantime many disgruntled parents appear to have reacted to the proposed merger by withdrawing their children from Taihape School. The school roll declined by 36 percent between 2002 and 2004, from 182 to just 117 pupils. Both Maori and Pakeha pupils appear to have left the school at this time. As outlined below, Mataroa School, seven kilometres from Taihape,

¹²⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 24 June 2003, www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=3509031

¹³⁰ Government press release ‘Proposal announced for Taihape school network’, 30 January 2003, www.beehive.govt.nz/node/18822

¹³¹ Government press release ‘New area school for Taihape’, 11 May 2004, www.beehive.govt.nz/release/new-area-school-taihape

¹³² Personal communication, Barbara Ball and Moira Raukawa-Haskell, 26 February 2016.

¹³³ *Central District Times*, 21 December 2004, p 1

¹³⁴ *Central District Times*, 14 December 2004, p 3

¹³⁵ *Central District Times*, 20 November 2004, p 1

¹³⁶ *Central District Times*, 7 December 2004, p 1

gained 57 pupils (most of them Maori) over the same period, so this seems a likely destination for many.¹³⁷

Taihape Area School opened in February 2005 under Principal Abraham Swart and with a roll of 295 pupils, over half of whom were Maori. This was about the same number of pupils as Taihape School and College had in total the previous year.¹³⁸ Over the next few years the school had to operate across a variety of locations as old school buildings were demolished and new ones erected.¹³⁹ The school got off to a rocky start for other reasons too. By July 2006 the school's Maori roll had fallen by 10 percent.¹⁴⁰ The Ministry of Education's *Education Gazette* reported on the school's difficulties in August 2007.

The decision to amalgamate the local primary and secondary schools was unpopular in the largely Maori community and this began to show in poor attendance, behaviour and NCEA results. Parents began sending their children out of the area to other schools.¹⁴¹

A new principal, Boyce Davey, started at the school in mid-2006. Davey had previously taught in Northland and was brought to Winiata Marae by Ngapuhi representatives, where they were welcomed with a powhiri.¹⁴² A local iwi representative was subsequently appointed to the Board of Trustees.¹⁴³ Davey got Taihape Area School involved in Te Kauhua, a programme launched in 2000 to try and raise Maori school achievement through a combination of professional development, community engagement and curriculum reform.¹⁴⁴ The Education Review Office endorsed the way Te Kauhua was being implemented in Taihape in a 2008 national report.¹⁴⁵

The new Taihape Area School building was blessed in a ceremony held in December 2008.¹⁴⁶ The high-tech school was reported to have cost \$22 million although the principal later asserted

¹³⁷ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹³⁸ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028; *Central District Times*, 15 February 2005, p 1

¹³⁹ *Central District Times*, 20 December 2005, p 2

¹⁴⁰ Calculated from Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹⁴¹ *Education Gazette*, 20 August 2007, www.edgazette.govt.nz/Articles/Article.aspx?ArticleId=7398. As noted earlier, parents appear to have started sending their children elsewhere *before* Taihape Area School was established.

¹⁴² A video of the powhiri is available on the Ministry of Education's 'Te Kete Ipurangi' web site, <http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/Curriculum-stories/Media-gallery/School-curriculum/Strengthening-iwi-and-whanau-partnerships>

¹⁴³ *Education Gazette*, 20 August 2007, www.edgazette.govt.nz/Articles/Article.aspx?ArticleId=7398

¹⁴⁴ M Tuuta, L Bradnam, A Hynds, J Higgins and R Broughton, *Evaluation of the Te Kauhua Māori Mainstream Pilot Project*, Ministry of Education 2004

¹⁴⁵ Education Review Office, *Partners in Learning: Good Practice*, September 2008, pp 10-12

¹⁴⁶ *Central District Times*, 23 December 2008, pp 1, 7

that the cost was ‘only’ \$17.6 million.¹⁴⁷ The pupils moved into the new building at the start of the 2009 school year, and it had an official opening that October.¹⁴⁸ The opening of the new school brought students back, particularly those from Maori families. By September 2010 the school had nearly 400 pupils, 60 percent of whom were Maori.¹⁴⁹ This represents a roll increase of 44 percent in just three years.

Davey left the school in early 2010 to be replaced by the current principal Richard McMillan. The ERO report on the school after staff visited in September 2010 was very positive. ‘Close links with iwi and whānau, underpinned by student and staff participation in the initiative Te Kauhua, contribute to positive relationships and high levels of student engagement in learning’. As discussed in Chapter 6, ERO noted that the school roll growth was partly driven by more pupils staying on to complete years 12 and 13 and that NCEA results had improved ‘significantly’ since the last review, particularly at levels 1 and 2.¹⁵⁰

Despite roll growth and a good ERO report, things were not all well with the school. In 2012 McMillan approached the local newspaper, the *Central District Times*, accusing local people of spreading rumour and innuendo. ‘In the two years I have lived in Taihape, I have become increasingly concerned about the amount of false information that is aired in the community’.¹⁵¹ Regardless of McMillan’s protestations, the school roll was declining again, falling to 322 by the end of 2012 – a 19 percent fall in two years. A reduction in staff at the Waiouru army base, from where Taihape Area School drew some of its pupils, was one reason, along with the sharp decline in the Taihape population since 2006. By July 2014 the roll had fallen further, to 287 students, nearly two-thirds of whom were Maori.¹⁵² As was shown in the introductory chapter (Figure 5), many Pakeha families had left the district since 2006. However there may also have been some ‘white flight’ from the school, as the roll of St Joseph’s Taihape grew at the same time (see below).

¹⁴⁷ *Central District Times*, 14 March 2012, available on www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/your-manawatu/central-district-times/6573056/McMillan-stands-up-to-TAS-bad-mouthers

¹⁴⁸ *Central District Times*, 10 February 2009, p 1

¹⁴⁹ Education Review Office, Report on Taihape Area School, 9 September 2010, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Taihape-Area-School-09-09-2010/1-The-Education-Review-Office-ERO-Evaluation

¹⁵⁰ Education Review Office, Report on Taihape Area School, 9 September 2010, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Taihape-Area-School-09-09-2010/1-The-Education-Review-Office-ERO-Evaluation

¹⁵¹ *Central District Times*, 14 March 2012, www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/your-manawatu/central-district-times/6573056/McMillan-stands-up-to-TAS-bad-mouthers

¹⁵² Calculated from Ministry of Education ‘Education Counts – School Rolls’, www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

The 2010 ERO report mentioned that Taihape Area School had a bilingual class but said nothing else on this subject. The bilingual unit was reported set up in the early 2000s but its current status is unclear.¹⁵³ In 2012 ERO noted that the school ran after-school te reo Māori classes for whānau and community members, it had two te reo Māori teachers available to provide in-class support in Māori language and culture, and that the school ‘integrated te reo me ngā tikanga Māori into the day-to-day life of the school’. However the school’s teaching of te reo Maori was a concern, as noted by the 2014 ERO report:

Provision of progressive te reo Māori learning and offering te reo at NCEA levels continues to be a challenge for the school. Leaders and the board recognise this and are considering how to respond. ERO encourages the school to act with urgency to achieve the language aspirations the school, iwi and community have for their learners.¹⁵⁴

Due to limited alternatives at the post-primary level, Taihape Area School has been predominantly a secondary school. In 2014, for example, only 101 of the 263 pupils at Taihape Area School were in the primary classes (years 1 to 8).¹⁵⁵ Most of the other primary pupils were at other schools in and around Taihape, particularly Mataroa and St Joseph’s.

St Joseph’s Convent School

St Joseph’s Convent School was founded in 1916 as a primary school. The school initially had 42 pupils and the roll does not appear to have grown significantly until relatively recently. From the school’s jubilee publication the school appears to have been almost exclusively a Pakeha school for most of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁶ School rolls examined for this report bear this out.

In the early 1980s all the Catholic Schools in New Zealand integrated into the state education system under the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975. This Act limited the ability of private religious schools that chose to integrate into the state system to charge fees. In exchange they received significant state assistance, in most respects comparable with state schools.¹⁵⁷ It is likely that the virtual elimination of school fees at a time when Maori were

¹⁵³ Personal communication, Barbara Ball and Moira Raukawa-Haskell, 26 February 2016.

¹⁵⁴ Education Review Office, Report on Taihape Area School, 7 November 2014, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Taihape-Area-School-07-11-2014/2-Review-and-Development

¹⁵⁵ Ministry of Education ‘Education Counts – School Rolls’, www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹⁵⁶ St Joseph’s 75th Jubilee, 1991. A photo of the 1936 pupils shows one Maori face, and one from 1956 shows none.

¹⁵⁷ Patrick Lynch, ‘A Brief History of the Integration of Catholic Schools in New Zealand into the State System of Schools’, 24 July 2012, www.nzceo.org.nz/media/resources/brief-history-of-integration.pdf

making up an increasing share of the Taihape population brought more Maori into the school. The school photo for 1991 shows a number of Maori faces.¹⁵⁸

Integration into the state system boosted the St Joseph's School roll, which by 2000 had grown to 150 pupils, of which 44 (29 percent) were Maori. However, as with Taihape School, St Joseph's was hit with falling rolls as Pakeha families left the district. By 2005, the year Taihape Area School opened, the St Joseph's roll had fallen to 125, although there were still 42 Maori pupils at the school.¹⁵⁹ The roll was virtually the same in 2006 despite a falling population in the district, perhaps because of some parents disgruntled with Taihape Area School sending their children to St Joseph's. Education Review Office staff who visited St Joseph's in May 2008 considered it was catering well to its Maori pupils:

Māori students are successful learners in academic, sporting and social contexts. In numeracy and reading, all achieve at or above-age appropriate levels. In written language, most students perform at or above expectations. Progress is measured and is evident for the small group at risk of underachieving.

Senior students capably assume leadership roles and are articulate, confident role models. They participate successfully in a wide range of team and individual sporting activities. Māori students enjoy positive relationships with teachers and their peers.¹⁶⁰

ERO's 2008 report mentioned nothing of Maori cultural activities or language at the school but its 2010 report did.

Teachers skilfully incorporate their knowledge of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori into teaching and learning. Māori students are highly engaged and successful. Kapa haka and marae-based activities further support all students to develop understanding of their bicultural heritage.¹⁶¹

The 2010 report also stated 'Māori student achievement and progress mirrors that of non Māori'. However the ERO report in 2014 was not as positive as the previous two, noting that a review of the teaching of te reo Maori was needed.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ St Joseph's 75th Jubilee, 1991

¹⁵⁹ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹⁶⁰ Education Review Office, Report on St Joseph's School (Taihape), 16 May 2008, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/St-Joseph-s-School-Taihape-15-05-2008

¹⁶¹ Education Review Office, Report on St Joseph's School (Taihape), 19 December 2010, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/St-Joseph-s-School-Taihape-20-12-2010/1-The-Education-Review-Office-ERO-Evaluation

¹⁶² Education Review Office, Report on St Joseph's School (Taihape), 12 February 2014, <http://www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/St-Joseph-s-School-Taihape-12-02-2014>

By 2009 the roll of St Joseph's School had fallen to 95 pupils, and the roll remained at that level until 2012. Then between 2012 and 2014 the roll of St Joseph's School increased by 23 percent, from 95 to 117 pupils. The proportion of Maori pupils increased from 32 to 37 percent, reflecting the ongoing decline in the Pakeha population of the district.¹⁶³ Given that the rolls of Taihape Area and Mataroa Schools fell during the same period, it is possible that some parents began sending their children to St Joseph's in preference to those schools. In 2014 St Joseph's was the second largest primary school in the inquiry district after Hunterville.¹⁶⁴

Mataroa and Taoroa Schools

Mataroa School

Mataroa School is about seven kilometres north-west of Taihape and is therefore in reality a rural school. However, with modern roads and transport systems it can be easily accessed from the main town. Paengaroa School (renamed Mataroa School two years later) was established in 1900 in temporary accommodation. Initially it was an 'aided' school as it had only 16 pupils, mainly from surrounding farms.¹⁶⁵ (An aided school was only partially funded by the education board and parents contributed to expenses such as the teacher's salary). However the school was expected to grow once the planned Mataroa township went ahead and the government therefore allocated funding to provide a more suitable building. The amount allocated was boosted in 1902 when it was found that average attendance was already 27 and was expected to soon increase to 40.¹⁶⁶ A school building was completed in 1903 and a teacher's residence provided shortly after - the teacher had reportedly been living with his family of seven in 'a small hut with tents attached'.¹⁶⁷

It appears that for many decades the school provided education primarily for the children of Pakeha settlers in the district, many of whom worked at sawmills in the area. By the late 1950s the school was becoming overcrowded and local pressure led to the expansion of the school

¹⁶³ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹⁶⁴ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹⁶⁵ 75th *Jubilee of Mataroa School*, 1975, p 4

¹⁶⁶ Hogben to Walker, 1 March 1902, and Memorandum, Wanganui Education Board to Education Department, 28 April 1902, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Mataroa 1902-1968', item R20131635, ABFI W3540 57/ 7/4

¹⁶⁷ Mataroa School Committee to Wanganui Education Board, 5 December 1902 and Memorandum, Wanganui Education Board to Education Department, 23 April 1903, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Mataroa 1902-1968', item R20131635, ABFI W3540 57/ 7/4

buildings in 1960.¹⁶⁸ In 1961 the nearby Rongoiti School closed and its pupils were bussed to Mataroa. In 1963 the closure of Mataroa School itself was mooted after many years of high teacher turnover. However a meeting of parents narrowly rejected a proposal that the school be closed and the pupils bussed to Taihape.¹⁶⁹

By the 1960s the school had a number of Maori pupils, as shown by a school photo from 1965.¹⁷⁰ The school's jubilee history records that a course in 'Maori study' was introduced in 1972, including action songs, haka, weaving and carving.¹⁷¹ The school staffing problems were resolved in the mid-1960s and the school expanded. Eventually in 1975 the old school buildings were demolished and replaced. The Mataroa School roll peaked at 96 in 1977 after nearby Tiriraukawa School closed. The school roll subsequently shrunk due to rural depopulation and was 63 in 1993. By then the school was employing a part-time Maori language teacher.¹⁷²

By 2000 Mataroa School had just 30 pupils, half of whom were Maori. However, between 2002 and 2004 the school went through a dramatic expansion, with the roll more than doubling from 41 to 94. The number of Maori pupils at the school trebled from 18 to 59 over the same period. As noted above, some or all of this expansion may have been at the expense of Taihape School. The uncertainty over the future of that school led many parents to bus their children to Mataroa. According to claimant informants the school 'had leadership with particular skills and strengths that whanau at the time saw was relevant, reflected their beliefs and values, and aspirations in education'.¹⁷³

Between 2006 and 2012, however, the Mataroa School roll declined steadily from 83 to 38, with the school losing both Maori and Pakeha pupils equally. In 2014 the roll fell to just 24, including 14 Maori pupils.¹⁷⁴ The declining roll since 2006 does not appear to reflect poor Education Review Office reports. The reports in 2008, 2010 and 2013 were all positive about the school. In 2010 ERO staff considered that Mataroa School was serving its Maori pupils well.

Māori students achieve and progress well academically, culturally and in sports. Their success in mathematics is commendable. They show high levels of engagement and good behaviour in

¹⁶⁸ Minister of Education to Roy Jack MP, 15 June 1959, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools – Wanganui – Mataroa 1902-1968', item R20131635, ABFI W3540 57/ 7/4

¹⁶⁹ *District Centennial 1893-1993, Mataroa, Rongoiti, Tiriraukawa, Koeke and Ruani*, 1994, no page numbers

¹⁷⁰ *75th Jubilee of Mataroa School*, 1975, p 14

¹⁷¹ *75th Jubilee of Mataroa School*, 1975, p 16

¹⁷² *District Centennial 1893-1993, Mataroa, Rongoiti, Tiriraukawa, Koeke and Ruani*, 1994, no page numbers

¹⁷³ Personal communication, Barbara Ball and Moira Raukawa-Haskell, 26 February 2016.

¹⁷⁴ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

and out of class. Teachers ensure te reo me ngā tikanga Māori are effectively taught and New Zealand's bicultural heritage is apparent in the classrooms.¹⁷⁵

Taoroa School

Lower Moawhango School opened in 1904 and within a few years was renamed Taoroa School.¹⁷⁶ Little historical information is available about Taoroa, which appears from Education Department annual reports to have been a very small school. There is little evidence that many Maori attended the school until relatively recently. In 2001 Taoroa School had no Maori pupils.¹⁷⁷

Taoroa School is today a short road trip from Taihape. A few Maori pupils moved to Taoroa in the late 2000s after the opening of Taihape Area School. However the school roll declined to just six pupils in 2012. The school then revived dramatically and in 2014 had 24 pupils, 21 of them Maori. In 2015 Taoroa School had 33 pupils, 30 of them Maori.¹⁷⁸

Maori-led initiatives

No kura kaupapa Maori schools have been established within the Taihape inquiry district. However kohanga reo have operated in the inquiry district since the early days of the kohanga reo movement. The movement came out of a series of hui in the late 1970s and early 1980s on the revitalisation of the Maori language. The Kohanga Reo National Trust was formed in April 1982 and was incorporated as a charitable trust in January 1984. The Waitangi Tribunal notes that the trust's governance structure reflected a Crown-Maori partnership. The Kohanga Reo National Trust was funded by a block grant from the Department of Maori Affairs and the trust in turn distributed funds to those kohanga reo that came under its umbrella. The Departments of Labour and Social Welfare and the Māori Education Foundation also provided resources. In addition the minority of kohanga reo licensed under the Child Care Centre Regulations 1985 could access childcare subsidies from the Department of Social Welfare.¹⁷⁹

During the 1990s the funding of kohanga reo was transferred to the Ministry of Education. Kohanga reo came under the same funding model that applied to other types of early childhood education and also the same regulatory regime. Many kohanga reo closed in the late 1990s and

¹⁷⁵ Education Review Office Report on Mataroa School, 3 March 2010, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Mataroa-School-28-11-2013

¹⁷⁶ AJHR 1905, E1, p 74; AJHR 1908, E1, p 30

¹⁷⁷ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹⁷⁸ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

¹⁷⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Matua Rautia: The Report on the Kohanga Reo Claim*, Wai 2336, May 2013, pp 13-15

further reforms did little to significantly reverse the decline. This was among the reasons that the Kohanga Reo National Trust took a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2011.¹⁸⁰

The first kohanga reo opened at Pukeatua Marae in Wainuiomata in April 1982.¹⁸¹ Te Kohanga Reo o Mokai Patea opened in Taihape the following year with 26 children.¹⁸² The government initially provided no capital funding for kohanga reo, and Te Kohanga Reo o Mokai Patea operated for some decades in inadequate premises before moving to new premises in Huia Street in 2012.¹⁸³ Te Kōhanga Reo o Te Puawai o Te Kakano opened in Taihape in 1990.¹⁸⁴ According to the Education Review Office, '[m]ost children and whānau affiliate to hapū and iwi outside of the area'.¹⁸⁵ Two other kohanga reo opened in the inquiry district, although both have since closed. One opened in Mangaweka and the other at Utiku after the school there closed in 1991.¹⁸⁶ In April 2013 Te Kōhanga Reo o Mokai Patea provided early childhood education services to 14 children and Kōhanga Reo o Te Puawai o Te Kakano provided services to 16 children.¹⁸⁷

Summary

Maori engaged positively with the new school following the establishment of Taihape township at the end of the nineteenth century. But as the town, and thus the school, grew, Maori interests were lost sight of. Maori seemed to disappear from the school almost entirely until Winiata side school opened in 1909, closing in 1925. Maori remained a small minority in Taihape District High School (despite its name largely a primary school) until the 1960s. There is likewise little evidence of Maori attending St Joseph's Convent School until recent decades. The latter school now has about a 30 percent Maori roll and is considered by the Education Review Office to serve its Maori pupils reasonably well. Mataroa School, about seven kilometres from Taihape, attracted a high proportion of Maori pupils in recent decades, although the actual numbers were low because of the small size of the school.

¹⁸⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *Matua Rautia: The Report on the Kohanga Reo Claim*, Wai 2336, May 2013, pp 18-24

¹⁸¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Matua Rautia: The Report on the Kohanga Reo Claim*, Wai 2336, May 2013, pp 13-15

¹⁸² Robertson, *Taihape*, p 287

¹⁸³ ERO reports on Te Kōhanga Reo o Mokai Patea, 19 May 2009 and 29 April 2013, <http://ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/Early-Childhood-Reports/Mokai-Patea-O-Taihape-Te-Kohanga-Reo-18-05-2009>

¹⁸⁴ Robertson, *Taihape*, p 92

¹⁸⁵ ERO report on Kōhanga Reo o Te Puawai o Te Kakano, 20 October 2009, <http://ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/Early-Childhood-Reports/Te-Puawai-O-Te-Kakano-Te-Kohanga-Reo-19-10-2009>

¹⁸⁶ *A Centennial Story; St Mary's Parish, Taihape, 1899-1999*, St Mary's Parish Centennial Committee, Taihape, 1999, no page numbers; *Utiku School Centennial, 1897-1997*, Utiku School Reunion Committee, Wanganui, 1998, no page numbers

¹⁸⁷ ERO report on Te Kōhanga Reo o Mokai Patea, 29 April 2013, <http://www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/Early-Childhood-Reports/Mokai-Patea-O-Taihape-Te-Kohanga-Reo-29-04-2013/1-About-the-Kohanga-Reo> and Kōhanga Reo o Te Puawai o Te Kakano, 19 April 2013, <http://www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/Early-Childhood-Reports/Te-Puawai-O-Te-Kakano-Te-Kohanga-Reo-19-04-2013/1-About-the-Kohanga-Reo>

Schooling in Taihape has been heavily influenced by population fluctuations. Rapid population growth led to Taihape School gaining district high school status in 1909, and the school continued to grow. The town's population fell in the 1930s but took off in the post-war years to peak at nearly 3000 in the mid-1960s. The consequent growth of Taihape District High School led to it being split into primary and secondary schools in 1963. But population decline since the late 1970s eventually threatened the viability of the college and by 2005 things had come full circle. The college and primary school were reunited, this time under a different name – 'Taihape Area School'. The school had a rocky first decade and was widely criticised by many in what is now a strongly Maori Taihape community.

No kura kaupapa Maori schools have been established within the Taihape inquiry district. However there has been a kohanga reo in Taihape since 1983, making it one of the oldest in the country. A second kohanga reo opened in Taihape in 1990. Two other kohanga reo opened within the inquiry district, at Mangaweka and Utiku, but both have since closed.

Chapter 4: Moawhango School

Introduction

The brief for this project includes questions about Native schools and about Moawhango School in particular. Moawhango was the only native school in the Taihape inquiry district. Furthermore it was established as a board (ie, general) school and became Moawhango Native School only in 1944. In 1947 the school was renamed Moawhango Maori School in line with a policy change that affected not only the native school system but all government departments. The word ‘native’ was almost universally replaced by the word ‘Maori’ in official usage. As a native or Maori school, Moawhango was administered directly by the Education Department instead of, as with most schools, by a regional education board with departmental input.

Moawhango lies around 17 km north-east of Taihape. Today it is a tiny settlement, but before the extension of the main trunk railway to Taihape in 1904 it was one of the more significant townships in the northern part of the inquiry district, despite being isolated for much of the year due to the poor condition of the roads and lack of bridges. The inhabitants were mainly Maori but a number of Pakeha lived in the general vicinity (mainly on farms) and have continued to do so up until the present day.

The establishment of Moawhango School

Although the Native Schools Act was passed in 1867, and its provisions made considerably more generous in 1871, Maori at Moawhango did not request a native school until 1886. In July that year the Mokai Patea chief Hiraka Te Rango wrote to Te Puke Te Ao, the MHR for Western Maori, asking him to inform the Native Minister of ‘our great desire that a Native School may be established at Moawhango’. Te Rango said 50 children residing there were ‘growing up in ignorance’. His letter suggested Maori would give land for a school site.¹⁸⁸

Te Ao wrote to the Native Minister with the request, which was forwarded to the Minister of Education whose department had been responsible for Native education since 1879. On 6 August 1886 Education Minister Robert Stout wrote to Te Ao suggesting Te Rango send him a petition for a school ‘signed by at least ten of the Natives residing in the locality’ and offering a site for the school.¹⁸⁹ This was the standard procedure for requesting a new Native school laid

¹⁸⁸ Hiraka Te Rango to Te Puke Te Ao, 8 July 1886, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1. Te Ao died just three months later.

¹⁸⁹ Stout to Te Ao, 6 August 1886, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1. Some of the correspondence on file has deteriorated

out in the Native Schools Code 1880, which required Maori communities to donate at least two acres for a school site (although the department generally asked for three acres).¹⁹⁰

The ensuing petition was put together in remarkably quick time, as it was dated 11 August 1886 and was received by the department on 14 August. It was signed by Hiraka, Taiuru and Raumaewa Te Rango, Hone and Hori Warena, Wiremu Te Ota, Winiata Te Whare [sic], Te Oti Pohe, Wiata Turoa, and Utiku Potaka. The petition offered up to ten acres for a school site and teacher's residence.¹⁹¹

Inspector of Native Schools James Pope recommended that he visit Moawhango to inspect the site. Education Secretary William Habens agreed, his memo to Stout stating 'It would be a good thing to get schools in this district'.¹⁹² On 1 September 1886, Habens wrote to Te Rango informing him 'the inspector of Natives Schools will visit your district in a few weeks time'.¹⁹³ However weeks turned to months, and in January 1888 Habens wrote a memo to Pope that 'as this is 17 months old it would be well to arrange to attend to it at an early stage'.¹⁹⁴ This was followed by an apologetic letter from Habens to Te Rango stating that 'the promise contained in my letter of September 1st 1886 has not been fulfilled'. He promised the inspector would visit in late March or early April 1888.¹⁹⁵

Pope finally visited Moawhango on 16 April 1888 and completed his report on 27 April. He estimated there were 30 Maori children at Moawhango who 'appear to be well-fed, healthy & very intelligent'.

There are 20 more children now living at Karioi, a considerable settlement on the Taupo road, at Rangitikei and at Taupo, who would attend school if one were established at Moawhango.

There are also seven European children of school age in the district.¹⁹⁶

to the extent it is unusable. The records were presumably put on file after Moawhango became a Native school in 1944, given the date range specified in the file description.

¹⁹⁰ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, section I

¹⁹¹ Hiraka Te Rango, Wiremu Te Ota and eight others to Minister of Education, 11 August 1886, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1. Winiata Te Whare should be Te Whaaro.

¹⁹² Memos Pope to Habens and Habens to Stout, 25 August 1886, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

¹⁹³ Habens to Te Rango, 1 September 1886, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

¹⁹⁴ Habens to Pope, 13 January 1888, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

¹⁹⁵ Habens to Te Rango, 31 January 1888, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

¹⁹⁶ James Pope to Inspector General of Schools, 27 April 1888, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

Pope appears to have greatly underestimated how far Taupo and Karioi were from Moawhango given the quality of the roads at the time. The return journey from Hunterville took him five days due to road conditions and ‘my guide’s imperfect knowledge of the short cut’ - although Pope considered the trip could be done in three days ‘under favourable circumstances’. When Richard Seddon visited Moawhango in 1894, it took his party over four hours to travel from there to Karioi.¹⁹⁷ A native school in fact opened in Karioi, located about 15 km outside the Taihape inquiry district, in 1896.¹⁹⁸

Although the nearest schools were some 80 km away at Hunterville and Hampden (in the Hawkes Bay), Pope claimed that some of the children ‘have picked up the art of reading and writing in Maori’. He was very supportive of the request for a school, his summary stating:

- (a) Moawhango is an important and permanent Maori settlement with 50 children growing up quite illiterate.
- (b) The Natives ask for a share of the benefits desirable from our education system, the operations of which do not reach any points within 50 miles of them.

He concluded ‘the district has a good claim to a village school and I believe that such a school would be very successful and extremely useful’.¹⁹⁹ However, his report also noted ‘There appears to be some reluctance on the part of a few of the Natives to the giving of an absolute title for a school site’.

In their petition for a school the Natives offer a site not exceeding ten acres in extent. Unfortunately Hiraka Te Rongo, the chief of the district had left Moawhango for Napier in the morning as I arrived in the afternoon, and the question of the exact position of the site had not been settled before his departure.

Pope was keen to avoid a second visit ‘involving as it would considerable expense & great loss of time’. He therefore spent some time familiarising himself with the district using ‘an elaborate map possessed by the Natives’.

I also explained the principal requirements that a site would have to satisfy & finally arranged that on Hiraka’s return the question of the site should be settled, that the locality should be described verbally & that it should be marked on the map, and that the description and the map should be forwarded to me in Wellington.

¹⁹⁷ AJHR 1894, G1, p 6

¹⁹⁸ AJHR 1898, E2, pp 1, 3

¹⁹⁹ James Pope to Inspector-General of Schools, 27 April 1888, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

Pope seemed confident that determining the suitability of the site and the position of the buildings would be fairly straight-forward from there. His report ended saying 'No further action is needed until Hiraka Te Rango's letter with regard to the site has been received'. In his annual report on native schools in 1888, Pope characterised the Moawhango application as being more urgent than other applications for schools the department had received that year.²⁰⁰

William Habens' memorandum on receiving Pope's 1888 report simply read 'wait for letter'. The next note on the memo sheet was from James Pope and was dated 4 April 1893: 'W. Butler (Land Purchase) called today to say that Moawhango people are anxious to have a school and that he will see that they obtain all necessary formalities'.²⁰¹ Nothing, it seems, had happened in the intervening five years. When Hiraka Te Rango appeared before the Native Land Laws Commission in May 1891 he told the commission that 'my hapu has set apart some portion of land for school purposes' but did not mention what, if anything, had happened since.²⁰² In his annual report for 1893, Pope stated that 'the Natives have recently renewed indirectly their application for a school'.²⁰³

At this point the story of the establishment of Moawhango School takes a slightly unusual turn. A young man, Joshua Down, had his heart set on teaching at a native school and appears to have heard that a school was expected to be established shortly at Moawhango. He had a strong ally in John Thornton, principal of Te Aute College, who in December 1893 wrote to James Pope in his support. Thornton emphasised that Down 'could fulfil the marriage qualification at any time, as he is engaged to be married'.²⁰⁴ Here Thornton was referring to a specific provision in the Native Schools Code: 'As a rule the Government will appoint a married couple, the husband to act as master of the school, and the wife as sewing mistress'.²⁰⁵

The 1880 Code contained a further provision relating to teachers that was to prove highly relevant to the Moawhango case:

It is not intended that the duties of the teacher should be confined to the mere school instruction of the Maori children. On the contrary, it is expected that the teachers will by their

²⁰⁰ AJHR 1888, E2, p 4

²⁰¹ Habens, 27 April 1886 and Pope, 4 April 1893, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²⁰² AJHR 1891, G1, p 55

²⁰³ AJHR 1893, E2, p 3

²⁰⁴ Thornton to Pope, 14 December 1893, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²⁰⁵ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, section II

kindness, their diligence, and their probity, exercise a beneficial influence on all the natives in their district.²⁰⁶

A circular that accompanied the Code when it was first distributed to schools elaborated on this provision:

Besides giving due attention to the school instruction of the children, teachers will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the Natives, old and young; to show by their own conduct that it is possible to live a useful and blameless life, and in smaller matters, by their dress, in their houses, and by their manners and habits at home and abroad, to set the Maoris an example that they may advantageously imitate.

... It is highly necessary that teachers should be on their guard against allowing their own habits to degenerate under the influence of surrounding negligence. They ought rather to exert a steady influence tending to the elevation of the people among whom they live.²⁰⁷

When researching native schools for the Tribunal's Rohe Potae inquiry, I found the 'rule' that the Government appoint a married couple to a teaching position was frequently ignored, particularly in the twentieth century. Single men and women were commonly appointed as teachers, and in a few cases where married couples were appointed the wife was the head teacher.²⁰⁸ But in the early 1890s the Native Schools Code was still a relatively recent innovation and was perhaps taken more literally.

Thornton informed Pope that Down intended to go to Moawhango in the new year to see what he could do to help get a school established. Pope's response included the cryptic comment that he had heard a report that the intended wife 'appeared to be ill at present'.²⁰⁹

In early January 1894, Pope received a letter from W T Prentice, a friend of Down who appears to have had some association with Te Aute College.²¹⁰ Prentice informed Pope that Down had headed for Moawhango that morning. 'He said he would see the Natives up there about getting a school & would find out the number of children that could attend, should they be keen on it he would do his best to work it up'.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, section II

²⁰⁷ Directions for Teachers of Native Schools, AJHR 1880, H1F, p 7

²⁰⁸ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 128-129

²⁰⁹ Thornton to Pope, 14 December 1893, Pope to Thornton 16 December 1893, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²¹⁰ A 'W T Prentice' is mentioned as one of the speakers at the Te Aute Old Boys conference in 1897; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 17 December 1897, p 4

²¹¹ Prentice to Pope, 1 January 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

Shortly after, Down wrote to Pope about his experiences in Moawhango. One of the unnamed chiefs he spoke to was particularly interested in the idea of establishing a school and called a hui to discuss the matter. The meeting was attended by 84 people and ‘all expressed a very strong desire that a school for native children should be established at Moawhango’.²¹²

But there was a hitch. ‘The site, however, was not decided upon’. Down then asked Pope some fairly basic questions concerning the amount of land needed to be set aside for the school and who paid for the buildings. Clearly little progress had been made in the intervening years since Pope’s 1888 visit. Pope sent Down a copy of the Native Schools Code in response.

Down also inquired as to whether he was likely to get the teaching job, writing that ‘of course I should take charge as a married man’. He followed this up with a further letter assuring Pope that his intended wife would make a good teaching assistant. ‘I first satisfied myself that the person to who I had engaged myself was both capable of assisting in the teaching, and also was willing to share with me the interest I had already felt for the welfare of the Maoris.’²¹³

After reviewing the Native Schools Code, Down helped put together a petition from the Moawhango people, which he attached to his letter – for ‘not only am I myself anxious that a school should be established at Moawhango, but the Maoris themselves are still more so’. The petition to the Minister of Education was signed by Erueti Arani and 20 others. It reiterated that there were more than 50 children ‘running about in this place’, but also put forward a very modern-sounding argument in favour of a school. ‘Our lands are decreasing in quantity and we are extremely desirous that our children may be in a position to attend schools, so that they may be enabled thereby to provide for their own living in the future.’²¹⁴

The petition said that three acres had been selected for a school site, and asked the Minister to send an inspector to see it. Pope responded to Down that ‘it will take time to deal with the petition but there will be no unnecessary delay’.²¹⁵ On 1 February 1894 an education official wrote to the petitioners seeking specific information: a list of children who might attend the school along with their ages and the names of their parents; a sketch plan and detailed description of the proposed site; and ‘a statement respecting the nature of your title, and showing

²¹² Down to Pope, 10 January 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²¹³ Down to Pope, 25 January 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²¹⁴ Erueti Arani et al to Minister of Education, 1 February 1894 (in Maori and English versions), Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²¹⁵ Pope to Down, 30 January 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

how you propose to convey the site to the government'.²¹⁶ In Pope's annual report dated 31 March 1894, he wrote that 'the Maoris seemed very anxious to have a school, but no real advances towards the establishment of one has yet been made'.²¹⁷

Also in early 1894, Lands Minister John McKenzie visited Moawhango as part of a North Island tour, where he met with prominent local Maori and a few Pakeha settlers. Hiraka Te Rango presented a number of requests to McKenzie, including that the government establish a school there.²¹⁸ McKenzie supported this request, saying a place of so much importance 'should have had a schoolhouse long ago'.²¹⁹ He followed up with a memo to Education Minister William Pember Reeves: 'I think there is great necessity for this being done'. Reeves responded that his department was already dealing with the matter.²²⁰

In early March 1894, Premier Richard Seddon visited Moawhango on his tour of 'native districts'. He addressed local Maori about the government's plans for Maori land, and was in turn addressed by Hiraka Te Rango. Hiraka focussed mainly on getting a hotel in Moawhango (a virtual impossibility given the strict licensing laws passed the previous year) in order to undermine illegal alcohol sales. He touched briefly on the school, saying a census of children had been taken and three acres of land selected for school buildings.²²¹ This indicates that the local community was trying to implement the Education Department's request for more information.

Meanwhile Joshua Down's application for the teaching position at Moawhango was proceeding well. An education official wrote to him seeking a formal application, which was duly provided in late February 1894. (Down matriculated in 1885 and went on to study theology. He reiterated in his application that he would 'take charge as a married man'). Senior education official Kirk wrote a memo to Habens saying Down appeared a very suitable candidate, and later wrote to Down saying his application would be considered favourably.²²²

²¹⁶ Department of Education to Hirata Te Rango et al, 1 February 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²¹⁷ AJHR 1894, E2, p 3

²¹⁸ *Evening Post*, 14 February 1894, p 4; *Wanganui Herald*, 10 February 1894, p 2. Neither newspaper gives a date for the meeting.

²¹⁹ *Wanganui Herald*, 10 February 1894, p 2

²²⁰ McKenzie to Reeves, 13 February 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²²¹ AJHR 1895, G1, p 5

²²² Department of Education to Down, 1 February 1894, Kirk to Habens, 27 January 1894, Down to Department of Education, 21 February 1894, Kirk to Down, 2 March 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1. Kirk's memo to Habens preceded the formal application and was presumably based on Thornton's testimonial, which had already been provided.

John Thornton, who had provided a testimonial for Down's application, met with his intended wife. Thornton communicated his impressions to Pope who forwarded these to Kirk. She was educated and was apparently a good seamstress and laundress. 'She would in all possibility exert a good influence on the Maori women'. In addition, Archdeacon Williams adjudged her to be 'a respectable young woman'.²²³

In April 1894, Joshua Down married his fiancée, whose name remains a mystery. Then on 11 June, James Pope received a letter from John Thornton that put something of a spanner in the works. 'After the very favourable recommendation I forwarded to the Department concerning Mr Down, it seems only right that I should put you in possession privately of information that has since come to my [attention]'. It seems that when the couple married two months earlier, the bride was in an advanced state of pregnancy – 'indeed, she is shortly expecting her confinement'. Furthermore 'as his lamentable slip is of course known and discussed by the Maoris, I thought it right to let you know'.²²⁴ It seemed that the couple were not living the 'blameless life' that the Education Department hoped would 'set the Maoris an example that they may advantageously imitate'. Pope's response was fairly terse.

It seems to me that Mr Down would do well to take to work other than teaching; although he has acted honourably in making such reparation as lay in his power he would, for a long time to come, find his mishap a source of great and annoying weakness if he succeeded in getting employment as a teacher.²²⁵

There do not appear to be any other records that give a clue to the fate of the application for a native school at Moawhango. There is no record of the Moawhango people providing a site description, or of efforts to find an alternative teacher. However, given the poor retention of education sector records this should not be taken as evidence that no description was provided. A government land purchase officer contacted the Education Department regarding the school site in 1893, but no other records surrounding that interaction seem to have survived.

In the end a local settler, Robert Batley, took matters into his own hands. Batley had lived in the general area on and off for some time, eventually settling with his family at Moawhango in 1882

²²³ Telegram, Pope to Kirk, undated, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²²⁴ Thornton to Pope, received 11 June 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²²⁵ Pope to Thornton, 11 June 1894, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

and establishing a store and post office.²²⁶ He became an influential member of the community, and John McKenzie and Richard Seddon both stayed at the Batley residence on their visits to the district in 1894.²²⁷ He learnt to speak Maori and had a close association with the people of the area.²²⁸ By the mid-1890s Robert and Emily Batley had several children and employed a private tutor. However, their preference seems to have been to see them educated along with the other Maori and Pakeha children of the area.

During 1896 Batley approached the Wanganui Education Board to establish a school. He offered not only to provide a building in which lessons could take place but also provide free board to the teacher for a year.²²⁹ The Education Board accepted his offer in October, and in early January 1897 the Board informed Batley that it had appointed a teacher, Hugh Goldsworthy, to the job.²³⁰ Moawhango finally had a school.

The reasons for the delay of over ten years in getting a school for Moawhango are something of a mystery. Local Maori appeared keen to have a school and twice petitioned the Minister of Education on the matter. The senior inspector of native schools strongly supported the establishment of a school there, as did the Secretary of Education and a cabinet minister who visited the township.

One possible explanation lies in the attitude of the Education Department. The department was fairly conservative in establishing new schools at the time, as many of those established by the Native Department during the 1870s subsequently closed due to lack of pupils. Indeed, the number of native schools barely increased during the 1880s. Schools closed as quickly as new ones opened (or formerly closed schools reopened). In 1880 James Pope visited all 66 village schools. A decade later the total number of village schools had increased by just two to 68.²³¹ However, the department generally established a number of new native schools each year, and all the evidence indicates that Moawhango was a prime candidate in this regard.

A more likely explanation lies in the issue of finding land for the school. The Native Schools Sites Act 1880 placed no barriers on Maori land being donated for schools as long as it had first

²²⁶ Robert A L Batley, 'Batley, Robert Thompson', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 4 June 2013, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b10/batley-robert-thompson

²²⁷ *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 10 February 1894, p 4; AJHR 1894, G1, p 6

²²⁸ Batley, 'Batley, Robert Thompson', www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b10/batley-robert-thompson

²²⁹ Robert A L Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School: A Short History of the Inland Patea*, published to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of the Moawhango Maori School, 1897-1957, Moawhango School Jubilee Committee Taihape, 1958, p 28

²³⁰ Wanganui Education Board to Batley, 11 October 1896 and 4 January 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Letter Books 1896-1897', Item R21911342, ABDV W3571 Box 92

²³¹ AJHR 1881, E7, p 2 and AJHR 1891, E2, p 2

been through the Native Land Court. The huge Awarua block on which Moawhango stood went through the court in 1886.²³² However, there was still the matter of partition of the block to be dealt with, along with the survey of the subdivisions. This eventually occurred during 1890 and 1891 following much preliminary argument over where the hearing was to be held. There then followed a lengthy period of Crown purchase, during which time there would have been a degree of jockeying for position amongst the numerous owners. It was not an ideal environment in which to get agreement to donate part of the block for a school.²³³

The Native Schools Sites Act Extension Act 1890 included a provision that the Governor could ‘appoint a competent person to ascertain the consent of any Natives or their representatives...to the grant of any land for the purpose of a site for a school’.²³⁴ The government presumably did not want any residual disagreement clouding its acquisition of land for a school, and the uncertain situation of the Awarua block in the late 1880s and early 1890s would not have boosted its confidence in this regard. Furthermore, as Barrington notes, the Education Department was fairly particular about the sort of site it considered suitable for a school.²³⁵ A precise description of the site was therefore important. The evidence from Joshua Down indicates that an exact site had still not been agreed in early 1894, and there is no firm evidence that a site was ever agreed. This may help explain why a native school never eventuated at the time. This is, of course, speculation given that some of the relevant records appear to have been lost.

The early years of Moawhango School

Hugh Goldsworthy was a single man of 19 when he started teaching at Moawhango in early February 1897 (education boards did not generally discriminate on the basis of marital status when employing teachers). Goldsworthy wrote a brief account of his first impressions of the school for the 60th Jubilee publication, which also contains excerpts from the school log books. As the latter seem to have since disappeared (it appears school log books commonly ended up in private hands), this publication is a valuable source of information.

The school when it opened had 11 Maori and nine Pakeha pupils aged from 5 to 18 years. The Maori children ‘had never been to school before’.

²³² Evald Subasic and Bruce Stirling, *Taihape Inquiry District Sub-district Block Study – Central Aspect*, CFRT October 2012, Wai 2180, A8, pp 70-72

²³³ Subasic and Stirling, *Central blocks*, A8, pp 73-105

²³⁴ Native Schools Sites Act Extension Act 1890, section 4

²³⁵ John Barrington, *Separate but Equal? Maori Schools and the Crown 1867-1969*, Victoria University Press: Wellington, 2008, p 45

There were four of Mr Batley's own boys and these had had some home tuition, but my Maori pupils, small and big started off from scratch. The older ones got on rapidly for they were lacking only in knowledge, not in intelligence. Our difficult English language is a great handicap to Maori pupils, but when it comes to writing and drawing, singing and arithmetic they excel.²³⁶

Things were not helped by the fact that the young Maori children knew no English and Goldsworthy knew no Maori. 'One helpful parent taught me some Maori words that I should find useful – commands that meant, Stand up! Sit down! Be quiet!'²³⁷

The Wanganui Education Board soon discovered that it had funded the Moawhango School in error, as Moawhango was actually in the Hawkes Bay Education Board's district. In 1898 the two boards agreed to a minor border change so that Moawhango was included in the Wanganui Education Board district.²³⁸

Attendance on occasions proved a problem for various reasons. In 1898 the teacher recorded that some Maori children would be going away for the winter because a failure of the potato crop had led to food shortages.²³⁹ Attendance remained a problem after the School Attendance Act 1901 Act made attendance compulsory for all pupils at education board schools aged seven to 14, whether Maori or Pakeha. It also empowered truant officers and school committees to enforce attendance. Previously attendance of Maori children at board schools had not been compulsory even when there was no native school available.²⁴⁰ On 14 November 1902 the teacher recorded: 'Have been informed by Constable Baker that in future the police will assist in improving attendance by looking up irregular attendants. This is a step in the right direction.'²⁴¹

By the twentieth century the influence of Mormon Church missionaries had spread into the district from the Hawkes Bay, and this occasionally affected attendance at Moawhango School.²⁴² In April 1905 the teacher recorded that the Mormons 'are still holding their meetings and practically all the Maori children are away at same. Only on two days did the attendance exceed half the Roll No'.²⁴³ The following March the teacher recorded that 'all the Maori pupils are gone

²³⁶ Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, pp 30-31

²³⁷ Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 30

²³⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 16 August 1898, p 3 and 15 November 1898, p 2, *Wanganui Herald*, 13 December 1898, p 2

²³⁹ Quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 35

²⁴⁰ School Attendance Act 1901, sections 3 and 6; Barrington, *Separate but Equal?*, p 73. Moawhango School had no school committee until 1944, as discussed below.

²⁴¹ quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 35

²⁴² Hirini Kaa, Nga Hahi: 'Maori and Christian Denominations – Mormon Church', Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 16 July 2014, accessed 27 March 2015, www.teara.govt.nz/en/nga-hahi-maori-and-christian-denominations/page-5

²⁴³ School log book quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 35

to Hawke's Bay to attend the Annual Mormon meeting.²⁴⁴ Transport issues also caused problems. On 27 July 1906 the teacher recorded that 'owing to the wet state of the weather and bad roads, some of the children find it impossible to get to school'. The following year the teacher recorded that his salary had been reduced by the education board 'on account of poor attendance'.²⁴⁵

Under the Education Acts of 1877 and 1914, schools elected a committee each year at a parents' meeting. However, if the parents failed to elect a committee then the education board could appoint commissioners to carry out the duties of the committee.²⁴⁶ These duties included a variety of administrative functions such as ensuring the school was kept 'in good repair and order'.²⁴⁷ The community failed to elect a school committee for Moawhango in its early decades. In April 1907 the teacher recorded in the log book that he had discussed forming a committee with a local farmer. 'I hope in this way to have the residents take more interest in the school.'²⁴⁸ He was unsuccessful, and at its May 1909 meeting the Wanganui Education Board appointed Robert Batley as commissioner in lieu of a committee. The press thereafter reported the appointment of new commissioners at regular intervals and, as noted below, the school still had a commissioner in 1944.²⁴⁹ A committee was elected after the school became a native school that year.

The few inspector's reports on file for the first decade of Moawhango School generally rate it as fairly mediocre. Individual subjects and the general progress of the school was commonly described with the terms 'fair', 'very fair', 'moderate' and 'satisfactory'. Descriptions like 'good', 'very good', 'inferior' or 'poor' appeared only occasionally. In 1905 the inspector noted that 'progress was hindered by a change of teachers and the school has been closed for one month'.²⁵⁰ In 1906 he commented: 'The Maori pupils require much practice in conversational work'.²⁵¹

²⁴⁴ School log book quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 36

²⁴⁵ School log book quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, pp 36-37

²⁴⁶ Education Act 1877, sections 66-68 and Education Act 1914, Third Schedule

²⁴⁷ Education Act 1914, section 49

²⁴⁸ Moawhango School log book, 31 April 1907, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 36

²⁴⁹ *Wanganui Herald*, 6 May 1909, p 3. See also, for example, *Feilding Star*, 21 July 1915, p 1; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 May 1919, p 3; *Feilding Star*, 16 June 1920, p 3

²⁵⁰ Inspection report Moawhango School, 6 March 1905, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls L-M 1905', item R21914856, ABDV W3571 1018/

²⁵¹ Inspection report Moawhango School, 15 March 1906, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls M 1906', item R21914860, ABDV W3571 1019/

The struggle for a proper school

Initially school lessons were held in one of Batley's storage sheds. 'It was a large woolstore, nearly filled with wool bales.... One end of it was lighted by some windows, enough space being left to hold desks and other school furniture'. The furniture did not arrive until some days after the school opened.²⁵² The education board provided a fire place but the building was still cold in winter.²⁵³ On 14 July 1899 the school log book recorded that the frost 'was so hard last night that the ink in the ink-wells is frozen this morning. Three ink-wells were broken by the frost'. The following June, Batley 'built us a proper schoolroom equipped with a good stove to keep us warm in winter'. Goldsworthy recorded in the log book at the time: 'Great improvement upon old – more warmth, more light, no draughts'.²⁵⁴

Despite relocating the school in 1900, Batley had always intended his housing of the school to be a temporary arrangement. In 1911 he pointed out to the Commissioner of Crown Lands that, although he offered to provide a building rent-free for twelve months rather than permanently, 'that building has been occupied on the same terms ever since'.²⁵⁵

Hugh Goldsworthy left Moawhango School during 1901.²⁵⁶ Later that year a site appeared to have been found for the school that the new teacher, G H Marshall, considered suitable.²⁵⁷ Nothing came of this by the time Marshall left in 1902, to be replaced by a W K Grant. The new teacher was not impressed with having to teach in a building not designed as a school.

Resumed work after Christmas vacation. School full of wool – had to transfer desks etc. to band-room. It is very annoying having to make changes which would not be necessary were there a Board building here.²⁵⁸

Grant left the school at the end of 1903 (possibly in frustration).²⁵⁹ Robert Batley was unhappy that his intended short-term provision of a school building had turned into a long-term one. He thus used the building from time to time for other purposes. Furthermore the school room was next to a stable and other farm buildings. The situation was becoming increasingly frustrating for all concerned, as shown by entries in the school log book. In April 1908 the teacher recorded

²⁵² Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 30

²⁵³ Wanganui Education Board to Batley, 22 May 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Letter Books 1896-1897', Item R21911342, ABDV W3571 Box 92

²⁵⁴ Moawhango School log book, 14 July 1899 and 4 June 1900, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 35

²⁵⁵ Robert Batley to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 27 November 1911, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912', item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

²⁵⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 22 January 1901, p 2

²⁵⁷ *Manawatu Standard*, 17 September 1901, p 3 and *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 December 1901, p 1

²⁵⁸ Moawhango School log book, 30 January 1903, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 35

²⁵⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 22 September 1903, p 7

that the building 'does not make a suitable school as there is a stable adjoining – the smell of horses and manure is very evident, and the numerous flies are very annoying. There is no playground and no tank or lavatories'. In early winter that year the heating of the school caused problems. 'The men working in the hay loft objected to our having fires on account of the smoke being uncomfortable for them so I have discontinued fires temporarily'. In November 1910 the teacher recorded 'much inconvenience caused by the clouds of dust raised by bullock traffic invading the school through the windows which have to be left open'.²⁶⁰

The building was also occasionally used for other meetings and activities, causing further disruption. In October 1910 the teacher recorded:

The school was in a disgraceful state this morning, consequent on the meeting held on Saturday. The floor was littered with cigarette ends, matches and dried expectoration, and an odour of stale tobacco had replaced the usual smell from the stables.²⁶¹

On the evening of Saturday 20 May 1911 the building was used for a meeting of the 'Collie Club', which appears to have been some sort of drinking club. Come Monday morning the teacher again found the school in 'a disgraceful state, it resembling a tap room more than a school'.²⁶²

Batley regularly attempted to get a proper school established, but with no success. He directed his efforts to trying to get local Maori to donate or sell land for the school and the Wanganui Education Board to supply a building. The teacher's entries in the school log book in February and April 1907 appeared hopeful: 'Interviewed Mr Arani and Mrs Batley yesterday re site for school. Mr Arani has given an acre of land as a gift for the school site'; and six weeks later 'Mr Brennan and Mrs Batley called at the School this afternoon and informed me that an application had been made for a new school, and asking information to enable them to fill in forms'.²⁶³ In October 1907 the Wanganui Education Board applied to the Education Department for a grant to build a school and teacher's residence.²⁶⁴ There is no record in the press or anywhere else of what became of this application, but clearly it came to nothing.

²⁶⁰ Moawhango School log book, 8 April 1907, 7 June 1907, 7 November 1910, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, pp 36-37

²⁶¹ Moawhango School log book, 17 October 1910, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 36

²⁶² Moawhango School log book, 20 May 1911 (sic), quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 37. The entry must have been made later – probably on the 21 or 22 of May - as 20 May was the Saturday referred to in the entry.

²⁶³ Moawhango School log book, 26 February 1907 and 8 April 1907, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 36

²⁶⁴ *Wanganui Herald*, 3 October 1907, p 4

In November 1910 the teacher was contacted by the education board to say ‘that a member had been deputed to visit Moawhango to report on the advisability of applying for a Government Grant to erect a building for school purposes.’²⁶⁵ The investigation by a Mr Aldridge revealed problems in finding a site for the school.²⁶⁶ In January 1911, Aldridge reported to the education board that ‘a Maori lady’ desired to donate a school site and building, but again nothing come of this.²⁶⁷

James McKenzie, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, visited Moawhango during 1911 to discuss land for a school. In December 1911 McKenzie and the Crown Lands Ranger based in Taihape exchanged letters discussing a proposal to take half an acre from a police reserve for school purposes. McKenzie stated that the site was too small and in any case the Minister of Justice opposed losing part of the police reserve. He instead asked the ranger to investigate a site on two acres of Maori-owned land and provide him with an assessment of its suitability.²⁶⁸

The land in question was Awarua 2C 13N (generally known as ‘the pa block’). Robert Batley drew the Commissioner’s attention to it in a letter dated 27 November 1911 and marked ‘confidential’. Batley emphasised that ‘a proper school building should be erected here as soon as possible’, and noted the unsuitability of the existing building as ‘I have often wanted it for storage purposes’. He had talked to several people ‘who are taking an interest in school matters’ and ‘there does not appear to be much prospect of procuring a suitable position from the natives who made some proposals recently’. However, Batley considered the two acre ‘pa block’ to be an ideal site and suggested the land could be taken under the Public Works Act ‘without special hardship to anyone’.²⁶⁹

The ranger reported that the pa block was ‘admirably suited’ for a school. He recommended that the Crown ‘take steps to secure this section with as little delay as possible’ as the existing school building was ‘not at all satisfactory’.²⁷⁰ Commissioner McKenzie reported to the Under Secretary

²⁶⁵ Moawhango School log book, 14 November 1910, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 37. See also *Wanganui Chronicle*, 8 November 1910, p 8

²⁶⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 December 1910, p 8

²⁶⁷ *Feilding Star*, 12 April 1911, p 2

²⁶⁸ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Crown Lands Ranger, Taihape, 21 December 1911, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912’, item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099. The Commissioner was replying to an earlier letter from the lands ranger not on file. The police reserve referred to was presumably the site of the Moawhango police station, for which land was taken in 1896 (Subasic and Stirling, ‘Central blocks’, A8, p 48). A police station had been one of Hiraka Te Rongo’s requests to the government in 1894, so at least one of them was acted on.

²⁶⁹ Robert Batley to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 27 November 1911, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912’, item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

²⁷⁰ Crown Lands Ranger, Taihape, to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 30 December 1911, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912’, item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

of Lands that he had visited the Public Trust Office, which acted for owners who were minors and had a half-share in the block. The adult owner of the other half-share had apparently blocked partition 'on account of which the block is lying idle, not producing any revenue for the owners'. For this reason the Public Trust Office agreed the block could be taken under the Public Works Act, which was the course of action recommended by the Commissioner.²⁷¹ However, the Under Secretary's office informed McKenzie that it was not the job of the Lands Department to acquire land for schools – that responsibility lay with the education agencies.²⁷² McKenzie therefore wrote to the Wanganui Education Board outlining all that had transpired and leaving things in their hands.²⁷³

It took the education board over two months to reply to McKenzie's letter. When they did so, in April 1912, they suggested that he was wrong and that the Lands Department could indeed acquire the land for a school.²⁷⁴ McKenzie's response betrayed his obvious annoyance:

I took a good deal of trouble to ascertain particulars as to a piece of land which is understood to be available for a school site at Moawhango, and placed them at your disposal. I regret I am unable to assist your Board further in the matter, it having been ruled that it is not the function of this Department to purchase sites for schools.²⁷⁵

There is no record of what action, if any, the Wanganui Education Board took to try and secure the pa block for Moawhango School. In his February 1916 report the school inspector recorded, with a hint of exasperation, that the school building was still the same 'as formerly reported as unsuitable for the purposes of a school'.²⁷⁶

When Robert Batley died in July 1917 school lessons were still being held in the room he had provided rent free for some 20 years – a room that all acknowledged was unsuitable as a

²⁷¹ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Under Secretary of Lands, 14 January 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912', item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

²⁷² O'Neill for Under Secretary of Lands to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 18 January 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912', item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

²⁷³ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Chairman Wanganui Education Board, 2 February 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912', item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

²⁷⁴ Chairman Wanganui Education Board to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 12 April 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912', item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

²⁷⁵ Commissioner of Crown Lands to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 24 April 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School site Awarua 2C 13N Moawhanga [Moawhango] 1912', item R24016882, ADXS 19483 LS-W1 572 28099

²⁷⁶ Inspection Report, Moawhango School, 17 February 1916, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports – Unnotified Visits 1916', item R21911288, ABDV W3571 83/

classroom.²⁷⁷ It appears that Batley left money to purchase a school site in his will, but in the end this was not needed.²⁷⁸ At its November 1917 meeting, the education board reported that ‘the Pini [Pine?] family at Moawhango had given two acres of valuable land as a site for a school, and a vote of thanks was accorded them’.²⁷⁹ The land in question was part of the Motukawa 2B12 block, which bordered Moawhango to the west.²⁸⁰ The board then applied to the Education Department for a capital grant of £590 to erect a building on the site. The school inspector visited the site in May 1918 and informed the education board that ‘it appeared to me to be in every way a suitable one’ for a school. His letter was very informative and so is quoted here at length (emphasis added):

There has been a school here, continuously open, for the past 25 years, with an attendance varying from about 12 to over 30. In its earlier years much the greater number of pupils were Maoris: now the majority are Europeans. The present roll number is 28 – 23 Europeans, 5 Maoris.

The school all the while has been held in part of a wool-shed, a place both in itself and in the immediate surroundings quite unsuitable for the purposes of a school. The shed adjoins a stable and within a few yards is a row of houses occupied by workers (single men) on the station. *I cannot understand why a school has so long existed under such unsuitable circumstances.* The Board, I believe, has now been notified to quit this building.²⁸¹

Despite this damning report the Education Department was still not satisfied. As part of its assessment of the education board’s grant application, the Director of Education wrote to the Under Secretary of the Lands and Survey Department in July 1918 seeking information about the district. The Director noted that, although the application listed 31 children of school age in the district, only four of the parents were farmers, while others were in occupations such as shepherds and contractors ‘not necessarily regarded as permanent settlers’. He therefore sought advice on whether the settlement was of a permanent character and whether the department

²⁷⁷ Robert A L Batley, ‘Batley, Robert Thompson’, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 4 June 2013, www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b10/batley-robert-thompson

²⁷⁸ *Feilding Star*, 16 August 1917, p 2

²⁷⁹ *Feilding Star*, 15 November 1917, p 2

²⁸⁰ Subasic and Stirling, ‘Central blocks’, A8, pp 62, 123

²⁸¹ Illegible [Milne, school inspector] to Chairman, Wanganui Education Board, 4 June 1915, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1. Despite the date range on the file, it contains documents from the period 1886-1894 and 1918-1920.

would be justified in erecting a permanent school.²⁸² The request appears to have been forwarded to the Crown Lands Ranger, who reported to his superiors on 30 July 1918:

The school accommodation at Moawhango, for a number of years past has been most unsuitable. New school buildings are urgently required.

The settlement is permanent, and the number of children will always be sufficient to support a decent country school. The Education Department will be justified in erecting a permanent school house.

When the ranger's letter was forwarded to the Lands Department, a staff member made further inquiries by telephone, as noted in an annotation dated 12 August 1918. The staff member acquired the additional information that the school roll was unlikely to increase much due to the proximity of Taihape, which had by then grown considerably.²⁸³ The Director of Education then wrote to the Wanganui Education Board saying that, as there was 'little likelihood of an increase in the school population', a smaller school costing around £450 was justified. In response the board said they were prepared to amend the plans from a 40-pupil to a 30-pupil school, but pointed out that there were presently 29 children on the roll. The Board estimated that the building as revised would cost £490.²⁸⁴ The Education Department appears to have backed down somewhat, for officials recommended a grant of £540 to Cabinet, and this amount was approved in September 1918.²⁸⁵

Things did not run entirely smoothly, however, as there appeared to be some hiccups securing the site. In November 1919 the press reported that an official 'had been unable to get all the signatures of the Maoris interested in the Moawhango site – he believed they were dodging him'.²⁸⁶

The hiccup was clearly resolved, and on 5 July 1920 the teacher at Moawhango School recorded the move to the new school building in the school log book. 'Tidying up has taken all day so there were no lessons taken. Mrs Batley has kindly consented to make a short speech to children

²⁸² Director of Education to Under Secretary, Lands and Survey, 2 July 1918, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²⁸³ Crown Lands Ranger to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 30 July 1918 plus later annotations, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²⁸⁴ Director of Education to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 13 August 1918 and Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 28 August 1918, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²⁸⁵ Memo, Spencer to Anderson, 5 September 1918 and Director of Education to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 10 September 1918, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²⁸⁶ *Feilding Star*, 14 November 1919, p 2

and parents and then to declare school open'.²⁸⁷ After more than 23 years of waiting, Moawhango finally had a proper school.²⁸⁸

There was still much work to do, however, as the new school sat on a bare field. Over the next few years it was gradually transformed under a new teacher, a Mr Warner. The community formed a tennis club and the court was built with volunteer labour on the school grounds.²⁸⁹ In August 1922 local farmers donated seeds for flower and vegetable gardens, and 80 trees which were planted on Arbor Day. The rabbit problem needed to be dealt with before the seeds could be planted.²⁹⁰ In July 1923 the school Agricultural Inspector wrote an approving note in the log book: 'Within the last two years Mr. Warner has altered the environment of this school from a bare paddock into a credit to the district.'²⁹¹

Decline and recovery

One reason why the Wanganui Education Board may have been slow to act on obtaining a suitable school for Moawhango was the falling roll. Between 1900 and 1905 the school had between 30 and 32 pupils enrolled, but by 1908 enrolments had fallen to 18, falling further to 13 in 1911.²⁹² This decline was driven entirely by Pakeha parents abandoning the school. In 1905 there were 24 Pakeha pupils on the roll, but this fell to 11 in 1906. By 1911 just five Pakeha were enrolled.²⁹³ The reasons for this departure are unknown, but perhaps the some pupils went to Taihape School after that school's classroom capacity greatly expanded in 1905 and 1907.²⁹⁴

The decline was worsened in 1912 when Maori parents suddenly abandoned the school. Between 1900 and 1911 Moawhango generally had between seven and 12 Maori on the roll. In 1912 there were none. As a result, when the inspector visited the school in October that year he found just four children enrolled.²⁹⁵ Pakeha returned to the school by 1916 but only 13 pupils were enrolled. The school inspector noted: 'Some years back there was a good attendance of Maori

²⁸⁷ Moawhango School log book, 5 July 1920, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 37

²⁸⁸ However for some reason it was not until the following August that the Wanganui Education Board informed the Education Department that the school had been completed - Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 24 August 1921, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

²⁸⁹ Moawhango School log book, 28 October 1921, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 38

²⁹⁰ Moawhango School log book, 11 and 18 August 1922, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 38

²⁹¹ Moawhango School log book, 5 July 1923, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 38

²⁹² Rolls for Moawhango School, 1900, 1902, 1905, 1906, 1908, 1911 in Archives NZ Wellington, Rolls for various years, item numbers R21914833, R21914840, R21914856, R21914860, R21914870, R21914876

²⁹³ I assessed pupils to be Maori or Pakeha on the basis of their names. An exception was members of the Chase family, which correspondence on file indicates were Maori and they commonly had Maori first names.

²⁹⁴ This is outlined in the chapter on Taihape School.

²⁹⁵ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 30 October 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports - Notified Visits 1912', item R21911393, ABDV W3571 83/

children. Now there is only one on the roll'.²⁹⁶ What happened to the Maori pupils for those four years is a mystery. One possible explanation is that some of the children may have attended the Mormon school established for Maori children in the Hawkes Bay in 1908.²⁹⁷ However no evidence was found in the time available as to whether or not this was the case.

The Maori pupils had returned by 1917, the year that local Maori donated land for a new school. The school inspector noted that the school had nine Maori pupils. 'The roll number is larger than it has been for the past few years.'²⁹⁸ By 1918 the roll had grown to 28, and from then the school generally retained a healthy number of pupils, including a high proportion of Maori.²⁹⁹ The standard of teaching does not appear to always have been as good. In March 1919 the inspector gave the school a highly negative review.

It was evident to me that the previous teacher's management of this school left much to be desired. There is no record of the 1918 August term examination: the pupils are very backward. Those placed in Std. I and II were with one exception fit only for P. 4: the pupils habit of talking in quite a loud tone is most disturbing. The present teacher will have much up-hill work before he can bring the school into a satisfactory state of efficiency.³⁰⁰

The tone was less negative by the time the inspector visited in October 1920, shortly after the school moved to its new premises. He noted with satisfaction that toothbrush drill had been established. When the inspector visited again a year later the school roll had jumped to 38. The inspector's report was generally positive although he noted: 'There are many Maori children in attendance and the consequent language difficulty has tended to lower the standard of work in some subjects'.³⁰¹

By October 1922 the school seemed to have had a major turnaround. The school grounds were well-established and the school building 'new and clean'. The roll was still 38, which the inspector considered the maximum capacity of the school. He described the pupils as 'orderly and well behaved. They show an industrious interest in their work'. Some, however, he

²⁹⁶ Inspection Report, Moawhango School, 17 February 1916, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports – Unnotified Visits 1916', item R21911288, ABDV W3571 83/

²⁹⁷ AJHR 1908, E2, p3

²⁹⁸ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 27 February 1917, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports 1916, item R21911289, ABDV W3571 84/

²⁹⁹ Figures cited in Education Department memo, Spencer to Anderson, 5 September 1918, and illegible [Milne, school inspector] to Chairman, Wanganui Education Board, 4 June 1915, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁰⁰ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 13 March 1919, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports 1919', item R21911291, ABDV W3571 84/

³⁰¹ Inspection reports, Moawhango School, 12 October 1920 and 28 November 1921, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports 1920' and 'Inspectors Reports 1921', items R21911222 and R21911223, ABDV W3571 78/

considered too old for the class they were in. The inspector recommended more practical illustration in some areas. ‘This particularly applies to the “shopping sums” especially in the case of Maori pupils’.³⁰²

The inspection report for 1923 was just as positive as in 1922, describing the instruction as ‘sound’, the pupils once more as ‘industrious and attentive to their work’ and the discipline as ‘good’. Indeed, the good behaviour of the pupils became a regular feature of inspection reports for Moawhango. The teachers at general (as opposed to native) schools had no specific training in teaching Maori pupils. The inspector therefore had some advice for the teacher with respect to reading.

You are recommended to give the Maori pupils some regular sentence drill to improve their articulation and pronunciation. This might well take the form of repetition of sentences and phrases after your pattern. A few minutes a day should result in decided improvement in this respect. Some of the European children might take the same drill.³⁰³

At the end of 1923 the school roll was 37 (12 Maori).³⁰⁴ This was a far cry from the pitiful roll numbers often recorded between 1908 and 1916. According to the school inspectors the quality of teaching had improved greatly, coinciding with a move to a brand new school building in 1920, eventually followed by much-praised grounds. After an often-difficult first two decades, things were finally looking up for Moawhango School.

Accommodation problems reappear

At the start of 1924 Moawhango had 41 pupils on the roll and a new teacher.³⁰⁵ The pupil numbers were beyond the capacity of the school but by May 1925 the roll had inexplicably dropped to 24. A comment from the school inspector in relation to a ‘special study on rivers’ illustrates the practical approach that education officials had tried to instil in teachers over the previous two decades (this is discussed in detail in my report for the Rohe Potae inquiry).

³⁰² Inspection report, Moawhango School, 3 October 1922, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports A-N 1922’, item R21911224, ABDV W3571 78/

³⁰³ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 9 October 1923, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports A-N 1923’, item R21911226, ABDV W3571 78/

³⁰⁴ Moawhango School roll, 30 November 1923, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School rolls M-T 1923’, item R21914905, ABDV W3571 1027/

³⁰⁵ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 18 March 1924, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports A-M 1924’, item R21911228, ABDV W3571 79/

There is probably no better place anywhere to study rivers than this district and your local stream is an excellent example. A real study of the streams of the Rangitikei basin would be of far greater value than 'study' from books etc. of the rivers names in your scheme.³⁰⁶

In April 1926 the roll had increased again to 34 and the inspector made the usual glowing comment on the behaviour of the pupils. However he was less impressed with the ability of the teacher to motivate her students. 'Out of doors they are active and energetic but in school their mental activity is by no means equivalent.' The November report was a little more positive.³⁰⁷

In 1927 the same teacher (Miss Grierson) was in charge for the fourth year running – a rare period of continuity. Unfortunately her inspection reports continued to be mediocre, with a predominance of 'very fairs'.³⁰⁸ The roll had again fallen below 30 and remained so in 1928. From late 1927 to early 1929 the school changed teachers three times. Despite the loss of continuity the inspection reports showed a temporary improvement. In September 1929 the inspector again had advice for the teacher in relation to the 'primer' (ie, new entrant) classes.

Practically all the pupils are natives. They will require much practice on concrete lines in number work. In reading make all possible use of the board in building up sentences containing words with which the pupils have become familiar so as to give abundant practice in the reading of simple sentences, then proceed to a simple book.³⁰⁹

By August 1931 the roll had increased to 30 and the inspection report had reverted to a more negative tone. The inspector noted that 'most of the pupils are Maoris, and this fact has been given full consideration'.³¹⁰ The 1932 report was more positive, although the inspector noted that the pupils 'need to be quieter during lessons'.³¹¹ Subsequent inspection reports again commented on the noisiness of the pupils – a departure from the glowing reports on pupil behaviour in earlier years. In his annual examination report for 1932 the teacher rated the reading

³⁰⁶ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 6 May 1925, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports A-M 1925', item R21911230, ABDV W3571 79/

³⁰⁷ Inspection reports, Moawhango School, 8 April and 5 November 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports A-M 1926', item R21911232, ABDV W3571 79/

³⁰⁸ Inspection reports, Moawhango School, 25 March and 10 October 1927, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports A-M 1927', item R21911296, ABDV W3571 80/

³⁰⁹ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 26 September 1929, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports A-M 1929', item R21911293, ABDV W3571 80/

³¹⁰ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 26 September 1931, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports A-M 1931', item R21911298, ABDV W3571 81/

³¹¹ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 13 September 1932, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports A-M 1932', item R21911300, ABDV W3571 81/

comprehension of the 'English' pupils as 'good' and that of the Maori pupils as 'fair'.³¹² This sort of distinction was rare, however.

In 1932 and early 1933 average attendance was just under 30 (meaning the actual number on the roll was over 30).³¹³ But when the school re-opened after the May holidays that year, 40 children were enrolled. The school log book recorded: 'An influx of Maori families for the football season together with several pakeha visitors have made for a somewhat congested classroom'.³¹⁴

The increase in school population is surprising given that Taihape, just 17 km away, had grown rapidly since the turn of the century to quickly surpass Moawhango as the main centre in the district. The police station erected at Moawhango in 1897 closed in 1931, and in 1937 an official pronounced the township to be 'absolutely dead'.³¹⁵ The post office closed in 1939.³¹⁶

In June 1933 the Wanganui Education Board reported that the school roll was 41, including 21 Maori pupils. The board was sceptical the increase would be sustained, but in the meantime it had a problem – the school was too small and the load on the teacher excessive. The board requested an assistant teacher and an additional classroom in which to hold lessons. It suggested the school use the former school room on the Batley property which was apparently available to rent.³¹⁷

The education board received a response from the Senior Inspector in mid-August 1933. By then the roll had fallen to 38, although there were still 21 Maori enrolled. Most of the children were in the early years of school, indicating that the roll numbers could well be sustained for some years. The inspector indicated he was willing to recommend a teaching assistant if the roll numbers remained high but was unsympathetic to a request for additional accommodation.

I consider the building under offer unsuitable; it is dingy, dirty, and poorly lighted; it has no conveniences, no playing area; it is some distance away from the school.

The population is evidently a shifting one, and the expense of additional permanent accommodation does not seem to be warranted.

³¹² Teacher's Annual Examination Report, Moawhango School, 31 December 1932, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls, all schools 1932', item R21914919, ABDV W3571 1032 /

³¹³ Figures annotated on Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 26 June 1933, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³¹⁴ Moawhango School log book, 22 May 1933, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 39

³¹⁵ Subasic and Stirling, Central blocks, A8, p 48

³¹⁶ Moawhango School log book, 6 June 1939, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 40

³¹⁷ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 26 June 1933, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

His comments on the Batley property are interesting given that education officials allowed the school to be housed there for nearly 23 years. The inspector suggested that, if an assistant teacher was appointed, ‘the Headmaster can arrange for oral lessons to be taken in the porch or the shelter shed, according to weather conditions’.³¹⁸

An assistant teacher, Miss Gowan, started at the school in 1934 to teach the younger pupils. The inspector noted in his September report that she had unspecified difficulties with certain ‘native pupils’.³¹⁹ The school log book records that a new assistant teacher – Miss Quirke – took over in March 1935. ‘She takes Primers [new entrants] and Std. 1 in the shelter shed which appears to be the best accommodation available at the present time’.³²⁰ The education board noted that only half of these children fitted inside the shelter shed, with the rest being in the open air.³²¹

Despite predictions to the contrary the school roll still stood at 41 in 1935, with the number of Maori pupils having further increased to 25. Officials considered that ‘there is no guarantee that the Maori population will remain in the district’, and the education board therefore applied for a grant of just under £200 to erect a portable classroom.³²² The grant was approved and in July 1935 the school log book recorded that the new class was ready for use.

Today Miss Quirke moved into the new room which was finished by the workmen on Friday. It appears to be a very warm building. With one teacher to a room many teaching difficulties have disappeared. Discipline shows a marked improvement.³²³

This improvement was reflected in the inspector’s report when he visited in October 1935 and gave the school a very positive report:

This school is improving, and is in many respect (sic) better than very fair; the maintenance of the present rate of progress should soon enable the school to be classed as good.

Order, discipline and tone are very good. The pupils are orderly, and well mannered, and are attacking their school tasks with a most pleasing keenness; their attitude towards their teachers is friendly, and they are evidently enjoying their schooldays.

³¹⁸ Senior Inspector to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 15 August 1933, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³¹⁹ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 27 September 1934 (Gowan), Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports A-M 1934’, item R21911261, ABDV W3571 81/

³²⁰ Moawhango School log book, 4 March 1935, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 39. The teacher shows a striking degree of stoicism about the situation.

³²¹ Director of Education to Minister of Education, 5 June 1935, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³²² Director of Education to Minister of Education, 5 June 1935, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³²³ Moawhango School log book, 22 July 1935, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 39

The teachers are earnest and progressive, and are ensuring sound advance for their pupils.

The provision of a second classroom has improved teaching conditions. The accommodation is in fine order, having been recently painted. Both rooms are bright, and are maintained in clean condition.

The grounds are neat and attractive, and are most creditable to those responsible for their general appearance.³²⁴

Generally positive inspection reports continued from 1936 to 1940. However, these reports also reveal a falling roll and in 1937 the school lost its teaching assistant.³²⁵ The roll fell as low as 20 in 1940, prompting the Wanganui Education Board to demolish the 'temporary' classroom it had erected in 1935.³²⁶ This proved to be a short-sighted move.

Moawhango becomes a Maori school

A new teacher, Stewart McNichol, started at Moawhango School in September 1940. However, he shortly departed to serve in the navy and a series of relieving teachers followed. When the inspector visited again in September 1942 he noted that it had been a very broken year 'due to irregular attendance and changes of teachers' but 'the school has now settled down to steady work'. He also advocated better co-operation from the parents in such things as providing reading materials, as this would 'confer great benefits on the children at very little expense'. The school had reasonably good inspection reports in 1943 and 1944 under the wartime relieving teacher Geoffrey Annear, and the inspector noted that the Country Library Service had provided some books. However in both 1942 and 1943 the inspector emphasised that the school was becoming cramped due to a rising roll.³²⁷

The increasingly crowded school (not helped by the demolition of a classroom in 1940) and the loss of the assistant teacher appears to have contributed to dissatisfaction among the Moawhango parents. In late 1943 they approached the teacher with a request that the school become a native school administered directly by the Education Department instead of by the Wanganui Education Board. When the board's secretary communicated this to the department

³²⁴ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 27 October 1935, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports A-M 1935', item R21911383, ABDV W3571 82/

³²⁵ Inspection reports, Moawhango School, 1936-1940, Archives NZ Wellington, items R21911385, R21911387, R21911392, R21911388, R21911389. From 1937 onwards the inspectors' detailed comments on individual teachers and subjects were placed in a separate file from the main report. These appear to be in random order with no index, so with some 200 schools I considered the process of searching these files too time-consuming.

³²⁶ Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, pp 34, 40, 44

³²⁷ Inspection reports, Moawhango School, 1940, 1942, 1943, 1944, Archives NZ Wellington, items R21911213, R21911215, R21911391, R21911214

just before Christmas, he noted that Maori had predominated on the roll 'for some years', with the 1943 figures being 24 Maori and six Pakeha. This belied predictions that the number of Maori pupils would fall away.

According to the education board the parents gave four main reasons for wanting a change of status. They believed the school would qualify for an assistant teacher as a native school, and that a residence would be provided for the head teacher. Free school books and stationary would be provided to the pupils, a practice that distinguished native schools from board schools. Finally, 'such activities as woodwork and cookery would have a greater chance of being established'.³²⁸

The board suggested it could perhaps retain Moawhango but with the extra resources being supplied as if it were a native school. The Director of Education replied in February 1944 that this was not an option and a formal change of status to Education Department control would be required to get the extra resources. This would happen only if the parents and education board agreed. The Director rather unsubtly pushed the board in the direction of a transfer. 'In these circumstances it seems that the facilities recommended for the Moawhanga (sic) school cannot be provided unless your Board, with its well known regard for the welfare of the children in its schools, decides to accede to the request of the parents that the school should be declared a Native school'. The Director did, however, imply that one of the parents' concerns could well be met in any case. 'Should the Board not see its way to agree to the proposal, a definite application for a school residence would receive careful consideration. It is realised that the accommodation of teachers in country districts presents an ever increasing problem.'³²⁹

In May 1944 the board agreed 'to hand the school over to the Department as a Native one if the parents are agreeable to the change'.³³⁰ The Education Department then successfully sought the board's agreement that the senior inspector of native schools would visit Moawhango 'with a view to ascertaining the view of the people to the proposed change'.³³¹ In the meantime the school commissioner, G Woollaston, wrote to the Department saying that he and the parents

³²⁸ Secretary Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 22 December 1943, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³²⁹ Director of Education to Secretary Wanganui Education Board, 29 February 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³³⁰ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 1 May 1944 and Director of Education to Secretary Wanganui Education Board, 3 May 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³³¹ Director of Education to Secretary Wanganui Education Board, 3 May 1944 and Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 1 June 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

supported the proposed change. A week later a group of 12 parents sent a similar letter stating ‘the white settlers are wholly with us in desiring the change’. Both letters said the number of Maori pupils had risen to 28 out of a roll of 34.³³² The Department responded on 22 June 1944 to say both the Senior Inspector for Native Schools and the Senior Inspector for the Wanganui Education District intended to visit in early August.

On 8 August 1944 Tom Fletcher, the Senior Inspector for Native Schools, visited Moawhango accompanied by officials from the Wanganui Education Board. Fletcher outlined in detail to the parents the differences between native and general schools. He stated in his report that it was the ‘unanimous desire’ of the parents that the change take place and ‘even the parents of the pakeha children are quite agreeable to the proposed change’. The education board wanted to hand over the school in the new term, so there was much to be done. Fletcher considered a teacher’s residence a priority, particularly as the school would likely be eventually staffed by a married couple. He therefore outlined possible sites for the residence that he had already investigated. He also noted the lack of decent blackboards and suggested the Department supply new ones. This appears to have been done almost immediately judging by an annotation on Fletcher’s report.³³³

The report went to the Minister of Education, who approved the proposed change on 25 August 1944.³³⁴ Moawhango became a native school when the new term began on 4 September.³³⁵ No immediate effort was made to appoint a married couple to the school as indicated in Fletcher’s report, and in fact this does not appear to have happened until 1948 when Mr and Mrs McNichol were appointed.³³⁶ In the meantime the wartime relieving teacher, Geoffrey Annear, stayed on in the job and was soon joined by Miss L Tomoana as assistant teacher.³³⁷ Moawhango had its first Maori teacher after nearly 50 years, although she did not stay long.

Moawhango Native School

There were a number of differences between native and general schools. General schools were administered by regional education boards while native schools were administered directly by the

³³² G Woollaston to Director of Education, 22 May 1944 and K H Hakopa et al to Director of Education, 27 May 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³³³ Senior Inspector of Native Schools to Director of Education, 17 August 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³³⁴ Director of Education to Minister of Education, 24 August 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³³⁵ Moawhango School log book, 18 September 1944, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 40

³³⁶ Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 44

³³⁷ Director of Education to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 8 September 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1; Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 44

Education Department. In some cases the remoteness of the department's bureaucracy, based in the main centres, could result in delays in maintenance and other school needs. Native schools were based on the premise that many or most pupils spoke Maori as a first language. Teachers were therefore encouraged to focus strongly on ensuring their pupils learned English. By the 1940s native schools were also encouraged to include Maori cultural activities in their curriculum, such as weaving, poi dances, and Maori songs.³³⁸ However, these language and cultural factors did not appear to be the motivation behind the Moawhango parents' desire for their school to become a native school. Rather it was their perception that greater resources went to a native schools. There was some truth in this. The average attendance requirements that qualified schools for additional teaching staff were slightly more generous for native schools, and the head teacher was provided with a house as a matter of course. Unlike general schools, native school pupils were provided with free books and stationary.

The school committees of native schools had more limited powers and responsibilities than those of general schools. It is therefore ironic that Moawhango parents did not elect their first school committee until after it became a native school. The members of the new school committee had high expectations of what would come from Education Department administration. They were to be disappointed, in the short term at least. An immediate problem was finding suitable board in Moawhango for the new assistant teacher. The head teacher found short-term board for her until the end of the school year, but nothing was available after that, resulting in her departure.³³⁹

Tom Fletcher's report of August 1944 noted that the school had 13 'primers' who had just started school, and that there were 21 children in the settlement below school age. It seemed likely that the school would experience an increase in pupil numbers in the near future. In April 1945 the school teacher wrote to the Education Department seeking more school desks as the roll had increased to 39.³⁴⁰ This was a similar size to that a decade earlier that resulted in the provision of a temporary classroom, since demolished. The parents were unhappy.

In May 1945 the secretary of the newly-formed Moawhango School Committee wrote to the Senior Inspector of Native Schools to say the parents were threatening to keep their children

³³⁸ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 132-135

³³⁹ Annear to Education Department, 9 November 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁴⁰ Annear to Education Department, 28 April 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

home when the winter term started on 4 June unless more school space was provided.³⁴¹ In June 1945 Mr K Hakopa, the chairman of the school committee, approached the Health Department about overcrowding at the school. The committee threatened to close the school unless something was done to relieve the situation, even if only in the short term.³⁴² At the end of June 1945 the teacher reported that the committee had temporarily closed the school.³⁴³ The Education Department contacted the Taihape police to try and enforce attendance.³⁴⁴ The Taihape constable advised parents of their responsibilities and, as the children had returned to school by early August, no further action was taken.³⁴⁵

In mid-July 1945 the Director of Education wrote to both the secretary of the school committee and the head teacher showing little sympathy for the concerns raised in various communications with the department. He noted that the school roll had fallen to 34 and information provided by the teacher did not indicate a likely increase (despite the advice of the senior inspector to the contrary just a year earlier). There was therefore no immediate need to provide additional desks or classroom space. Furthermore the assistant teacher had already left, further reducing the need for a second classroom or a heater on the porch. The Director threatened that no improvements would be made to the school until the children returned.³⁴⁶

Despite the department's hard-line stance in its July 1945 letter, less than two weeks later a native schools inspector visited Moawhango and recommended the re-appointment of an assistant teacher, that a stove for heating be installed on the porch (where some lessons were held), that the building of a residence for the head teacher be given priority, and that replacement desks be

³⁴¹ Woollaston to Senior Inspector of Native Schools, 22 May 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁴² Memo from J Linford, Inspector of Health, to Medical Officer of Health Palmerston North, 25 June 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁴³ Moawhango School log book, 26 June 1945, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 40; Annex to Education Department, 26 June 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁴⁴ Education Department to Taihape Police (telegram), 6 July 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁴⁵ Report of Constable C Chesnutt, 9 August 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁴⁶ Director of Education to Secretary, Moawhango Native School Committee, and Director of Education to Head Teacher, Moawhango Native School, both dated 19 July 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

supplied. The inspector noted that the school committee chairman had suggested that one of the disused Wanganui Education Board buildings could be transferred to the school site.³⁴⁷

Following the inspector's visit the local community agreed to provide board for an assistant teacher. By September 1945 the see-sawing roll had risen again, to 41, and the teacher again raised the issue of the need for extra space.³⁴⁸ The Education Department decided to transfer the disused Ngawaka School building (the school closed in 1935) to the Moawhango site using a local contractor. A grant of £500 was provided for the purpose and the department began discussions with the Wanganui Education Board about shifting the school.³⁴⁹ The department also liaised with the Rangitikei County Council to try and get the Taihape-Napier road realigned so as to allow for an extension of the school grounds.³⁵⁰

With the increased roll, a new assistant teacher started in the first term of 1946, putting further pressure on school space.³⁵¹ The school committee became impatient with the slow progress in moving the Ngawaka building, particularly with the approaching winter likely to make the job impossible. In April the chairman raised their concerns with the local Member of Parliament.³⁵² By this time Cabinet had approved funding to remove and refurbish the building.³⁵³ The new building was finally occupied by teachers and pupils at the end of July 1946.³⁵⁴

In the meantime another accommodation issue had been simmering away. In October 1944 the Education Department began the process of acquiring a site on which to build a teacher's residence. It appears that all the available land was Maori-owned.³⁵⁵ In November the wartime

³⁴⁷ Inspector of Native Schools to Director of Education, 26 July 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁴⁸ Annex to Director of Education, 24 September 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1. See also extract of Annex to Director of Education, 24 September 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁴⁹ Director of Education to Minister of Education, 8 January 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁵⁰ Rangitikei County Engineer to Director, Native Schools Branch, 28 January 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2. I have not followed up on what happened with the road realignment, but it appears many in Moawhango objected.

³⁵¹ McNichol (Head Teacher Moawhango) to Director, Native School Branch, 7 February 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁵² Hakopa to Langstone, 21 April 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁵³ Director of Education to Minister of Education, 11 April 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁵⁴ Moawhango School log book, 27 July 1946, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 40; McNichol to Director of Education, 29 July 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁵⁵ Director of Education to Registrar, Native Land Court, Wanganui, 2 October 1944; Registrar, Native Land Court, Wanganui to Director of Education, 6 October 1944; Director of Education to Under-secretary, Lands and

relieving teacher wrote to the department emphasising the necessity of building a teacher's residence and outlining his own problems in commuting daily from Taihape by motorbike.³⁵⁶ The secretary of the school committee also wrote to the department about a teacher's residence. The department responded that it was trying to acquire land adjacent to the school but the process was complex, and wartime labour shortages were also likely to delay progress.³⁵⁷ The drawn out process of acquiring land for the site is covered by Phil Cleaver in his public works report and will not be repeated here.³⁵⁸

By the start of the 1945 school year a permanent teacher, Stewart McNichol, had been reappointed after being discharged from navy service. He took the job on the understanding that a house would be provided, but ended up renting part of a house in Taihape for himself and his wife for the whole of 1945. This meant considerable travel every day. In early 1946 McNichol tried a mixture of bus and bicycle for a short time until the bicycle was damaged by rough roads, then resorted to taxis. The cost of the latter was eventually reimbursed by the Education Department, which had considered closing the school for a time until the matter was resolved. The teacher was losing patience after being informed that the house would not be completed until the second half of 1946, the couple having a young child by then. McNichol visited Wellington to discuss the situation with Education Department officials, and wrote to the local MP about the issue. A portable army hut was eventually supplied as temporary (and rather uncomfortable) accommodation for the teacher in Moawhango while his family remained in Taihape.³⁵⁹ McNichol took leave late in 1946 and was replaced by a relieving teacher for the remainder of the year.³⁶⁰

Survey Department, 13 November 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁵⁶ Annear to Education Department, 9 November 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁵⁷ Fletcher to Annear, 10 November 1944 and Fletcher to Secretary, Moawhango Native School Committee, 16 February 1944, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946', item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

³⁵⁸ Phil Cleaver, Wai 2180 #A9, pp 223-224

³⁵⁹ Director of Education to Chairman, Moawhango School Committee and to McNichol, 7 March 1946, McNichol to Director of Education, 9 March 1946, Telegram Education to McNichol, 11 March 1946, McNichol to Director of Education, 15 March 1946, Education internal memo dated 26 March 1946, Director of Education to McNichol, 3 April 1946, McNichol to Frank Langstone MP, 26 April 1946, Frank Langstone to Minister of Education, 27 April 1946, Under-secretary of Education to Director of Education, 2 May 1946, McNichol to Director of Education, 5 June 1946, Minister of Education to Langstone, 11 June 1945, Education memo to Minister of Education, 14 June 1946, Memo to Langstone, 5 July 1946, Director of Education to Head Teacher, Moawhango Native School, 8 July 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁶⁰ Moawhango School log book, 19 December 1946, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 40; Director of Education to McNichol, 25 June 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

The teacher's residence was still not completed when McNichol returned for the 1947 school year. The couple were finally able to occupy the house at the end of February, although there were on-going problems, mainly with water supply and fencing.³⁶¹ Mrs McNichol was employed as an assistant teacher in 1948.³⁶²

Following the takeover of Moawhango School by the Education Department it took well over two years to provide adequate classroom accommodation and living accommodation for teachers. But the situation by 1948 appeared to be a considerable improvement on earlier decades, with two teachers at the school and adequate classroom space.

Moawhango Maori School to 1963

In 1947 Moawhango Native School was renamed Moawhango Maori School in line with changes across the government sector. The first inspection report in the records for the school after its change of status in 1944 is from November 1946, just six weeks before the name change. The inspector considered that 'the standard of the written expression should be raised'. However he was impressed with the 'orderliness and tidiness' of the infant room and the 'musical and other interests being fostered in the school', and considered there was 'a good understanding between teacher and pupils'.³⁶³ The teacher in question was L G Spiller, who was relieving for Stewart McNicol, then on unpaid leave. Spiller was impressed with the school, as shown by his final entry in the log book:

Received advice that a pupil has been awarded a scholarship to Wesley College [a Methodist boarding school in Pukekohe]. I have been very favourably impressed by the calibre of the children of this school, and consider that in initiative, keenness, personality, sensible outlook and manners they are superior to children of most other native schools in which I have served in the last few years. I wish also to record my favourable impression of Miss Blanchard's management of the Infant Dept.³⁶⁴

Stewart McNichol returned to the school at the start of 1947 and Moawhango thereafter had good teacher retention by the standards of small schools, with teachers generally staying 3-4

³⁶¹ McNichol to Director of Education, 25 September 1946; Acting Architect to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 2 October 1946, Director of Education to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 5 November 1946, Architect to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 6 February and 6 March 1946, McNichol to Director of Education, 6 March 1947, Architect, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 12 December 1947 and 21 January 1948, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁶² Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 44

³⁶³ Inspection Report, 14 November 1946, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁶⁴ Moawhango School log book, 19 December 1946, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 40

years. However there was a considerable turnover of assistant teachers. As noted earlier, L Tomoana departed the school after just a few months, as she was only able to find short-term board in Moawhango. McNichol subsequently suggested employing a 'European' assistant might make it easier to find board.³⁶⁵ It appears on the basis of this comment that board could not be found within the Maori community and the Pakeha community was unwilling to supply board to a Maori teacher. When the department advertised to replace Miss Blanchard in early 1948 the only applicant was the daughter of R T Kohere, 'a well-known Maori personality and scholar'. The Director of Education, Clarence Beeby, considered her likely to be 'quite acceptable in a European home'.³⁶⁶ It is not clear what became of this application, as a Mrs N Paku was shortly after employed as assistant teacher.³⁶⁷ After that there seemed to be at least one new assistant teacher every year, apart from a Miss Weneti who was at the school from 1954 to 1957.³⁶⁸

The next inspection report on file was for March 1948, by which time Stewart McNichol had been back at the school for over a year. The inspector considered he was taking 'a keen interest in the school and in the welfare of his pupils', and rated the 'tone' of the school as 'good to very good'.³⁶⁹ The next two inspection reports on file are dated July 1952 and October 1953. These reports again are fairly positive, but there is something striking about all of these first four reports - none make any mention of the Maori culture activities that were introduced into the native school curriculum from the early 1930s.³⁷⁰

There seem to have been some Maori cultural activities in the school, for in September 1952 the school log book records: 'Some 15 of our pupils were taken to Taihape to put on Maori items at a Queen Carnival Concert in the Town Hall. They acquitted themselves very well'.³⁷¹ The previous March the head teacher attended a Maori schools refresher course in Wanganui, and that course may well have had some cultural content.³⁷² However, the first mention of Maori cultural activities in an inspection report did not come until October 1963, when the inspector

³⁶⁵ Beeby to Headteacher, Moawhango Maori School, 5 March 1948, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁶⁶ Beeby to Headteacher, Moawhango Maori School, 5 March 1948, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³⁶⁷ Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 44; Inspection Report, 23 March 1948, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6. Miss Kohere may possibly have married a Mr Paku after applying for the job.

³⁶⁸ Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 44

³⁶⁹ Inspection report, 23 March 1948, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁷⁰ See Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 32, 132-135

³⁷¹ Moawhango School log book, 27 September 1952, quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 40

³⁷² District Administration Officer to Headteacher, Moawhango Maori School, 15 February 1951, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

noted that 'Maori culture is being fostered and the visiting lady who takes an especial interest in this work carries out her honorary duties very capably'.³⁷³

In early 1952 an unusual incident took place in which the parents of a 10-year old pupil sought permission to send her to Taihape for schooling due to her fear of Maori children. The teacher sought the department's view and received a reply that no permission was required as long as the parents paid for transport to Taihape.³⁷⁴

The inspection reports make little mention of the practical activities that were increasingly introduced into the school curriculum from the early 1930s. Although one of the reasons given by parents in 1944 for wanting the department to take over the school was greater access to manual training, none appears to have been provided until late 1958 – and then only to the children attending classes in Taihape.³⁷⁵

The roll of Moawhango School grew during the 1950s, with much of the growth seemingly driven by an increasing number of Pakeha children attending from stations along the Taihape-Napier road. This resulted in a campaign for a bus service for the school and a bus was eventually provided by the end of the decade. The survival of the bus service continued as an on-going issue in the 1960s and 1970s. This issue is not dealt with in this report as the pressure for a bus service –judging by the correspondence on file – was driven entirely by Pakeha parents.³⁷⁶

Because of the roll growth in the 1950s, by 1960 Moawhango had become a three-teacher school – Mr and Mrs Maihi plus a junior assistant.³⁷⁷ By September 1960 the roll had reached 62 and the head teacher complained to the Education Department about over-crowding. The department responded that plans were already being prepared for extra accommodation.³⁷⁸ In 1962 the two separate classroom buildings were replaced by a single building incorporating two larger

³⁷³ Inspection report, 22 October 1963, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁷⁴ Correspondence from Headteacher dated 30 and 31 April 1952, and District Administration Officer to Headteacher, 11 June 1952, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁷⁵ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to District Superintendent, Department of Education, Auckland, 29 May 1958, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁷⁶ There is a whole file on the school bus issue at Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Moawhango 1948-1976', item R20136031, ABFI W3540 495/33/4

³⁷⁷ Inspection report, 9 March 1960, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁷⁸ Head teacher to District Superintendent, Department of Education, 6 September 1960 and District Executive Officer to Headteacher, 9 September 1960, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

classrooms.³⁷⁹ Due to the unavailability of the Minister of Education, Customs Minister Norman Shelton officially opened the new building in October 1962.³⁸⁰ In 1963 the inspector was highly impressed with the physical characteristics of the school:

The school occupies a well developed attractive site with swimming pool, tennis and basketball courts and an ample concreted area in front of the school. Internal and boundary fences are in first class order. A modern two-classroom block, recently completed, provides excellent accommodation for the children, and an older classroom has been converted into a fine staff-room.

The teaching side of the school also received a ringing endorsement from the inspector. 'A very fine tone prevails throughout the school and the children are making very good progress. The district is fortunate in retaining the services of Mr and Mrs Maihi who have made a splendid contribution to the school over the past four years.'³⁸¹

The last years of Moawhango Maori School

As the Maori population became more urbanised in the 1950s, officials increasingly advocated that Maori schools should end their special status. As a result, individual schools gradually transferred to education board control from the late 1950s. In 1962 a Commission on Education recommended this process be speeded up.³⁸² Officials therefore began discussions with the Moawhango School Committee on eventual transfer of control to the Wanganui Education Board.³⁸³

In June 1964 members of the education board met with the school committee and parents to discuss the issue of transfer. The main advocate for transfer was the Education Department's Maori Education Officer D M Jillett. He was concerned at the expense of administering the small group of Maori schools within the Wanganui Board area from Auckland. Jillett told the meeting that it was government policy that schools should transfer and that only a third of Moawhango pupils were Maori. Unfortunately, due to an influenza epidemic, only 14 parents were able to attend. The school committee chairman therefore ruled that a vote on the proposal

³⁷⁹ Document 77, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1960-1969, item R20391678, BAAA 1001 A440 352/a 44/4 5

³⁸⁰ Undated newspaper clipping (October 1962) and Batley to Maori Schools Officer, 21 August 1962, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁸¹ Inspection report, 22 October 1963, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1945-1963', item R20393396, BAAA 1001 A440 965/b 44/6

³⁸² Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 35-36

³⁸³ Preston to Batley, 12 May 1964, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1964-1968', item R20393397, BAAA 1001 A440 965/c 44/6

could not take place that evening.³⁸⁴ A subsequent report to the Wanganui Education Board noted that ‘it would appear from comments made by parents present that the pakehas are very happy to be under the Maori Services control’.³⁸⁵ The parents eventually voted at a special general meeting held over three months later, and chose to keep Moawhango as a Maori school.³⁸⁶ It was to remain so for only four years, however, for in 1966 the government decided that all Maori schools would be transferred to education board control.³⁸⁷

The number of pupils on the roll fell from a peak of 68 in 1964 to 47 in 1968. Mr and Mrs Maihi were still at the school during much of its last four years, along with Mrs H Wickliffe, a teaching assistant.³⁸⁸ Only one inspection report for Moawhango is on file from those years, which appears to be from 1967 when there were 56 pupils on the roll.³⁸⁹ That final inspection report for the Moawhango Maori School was an extraordinarily positive one:

This school is in very fine heart.

It is receiving full community support and its affairs are being particularly well managed by a most co-operative, enthusiastic and progressive School Committee. It is very well equipped with teaching aids and library books. The buildings and grounds, which are in immaculate order, are functional and are used to the full by the pupils and the community.

The children, who are friendly, well behaved and most responsive, are being well taught by two experienced and conscientious teachers. Standards of attainment in the basic subjects are particularly pleasing. Especially noteworthy is the quality of the reading throughout the school.

In all, this is a school of which parents, School Committee, children and teachers can feel justifiably proud.³⁹⁰

In February 1969 the remaining nine Maori schools in the Wanganui Education Board District (including two run by the Catholic Church) were transferred to Board control.³⁹¹

³⁸⁴ Notes on a meeting with school committee and parents, 8 pm, 3 June 1964, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1964-1968’, item R20393397, BAAA 1001 A440 965/c 44/6

³⁸⁵ Stephens to Wanganui Education Board, 9 June 1964, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1964-1968’, item R20393397, BAAA 1001 A440 965/c 44/6

³⁸⁶ Batley to Jillett, 21 October 1964, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1964-1968’, item R20393397, BAAA 1001 A440 965/c 44/6

³⁸⁷ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 35-36

³⁸⁸ Figures for Moawhango school in ‘Taihape College – Rolls of Contributing Schools’ (undated), Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Populations Survey – Taihape 1959-1987’, item R12554979, ABFI W3544 62/7/24

³⁸⁹ 1967 figure for Moawhango school in ‘Taihape College – Rolls of Contributing Schools’ (undated), Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Populations Survey – Taihape 1959-1987’, item R12554979, ABFI W3544 62/7/24

³⁹⁰ Undated Inspection report [between 1965 and 1968] by B F E Kelly and R J Dow, Inspectors of Maori Schools, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1964-1969’, item R20393397, BAAA 1001 A440 965/c 44/6

Moawhango School from 1969

In 1969 the administration of Moawhango School reverted to the Wanganui Education Board. By then a new teaching couple, the McQuarries, had taken over, although Mrs Wickliffe was still the junior assistant. The inspector gave the school a generally positive report that year, stating that ‘standards of attainment are very good’. The good liaison between the school and parents appeared to have continued. The school roll rose again to 50.³⁹² Many of the new entrants appear to have been Maori; a 1972 file note stated that around 60 percent of the pupils were Maori.³⁹³

The school roll remained at 50 in 1973, although there was ‘a high turnover of pupils due to admissions and withdrawals of children of itinerant parents’. Despite this factor, the inspector considered that ‘standards of work are comparable with other schools of similar size and location’. The inspector recommended a greater emphasis on literature, drama, puppetry and poetry to add ‘a further dimension to the programme’.³⁹⁴ By this time a new teaching couple, the Farringtons, were at the school. They were still there when the inspector next visited in 1976. His report was again positive, although less so than before regarding the relationship between the school and community. The inspector noted that the teacher’s task was ‘not made easier by divisions which exist within the community and which from time to time become apparent in matters which affect the school’.³⁹⁵ It is not clear what the inspector was referring to.

No further inspection reports appear on file until March 1982, by which time another new teaching couple were at the school. Much of that report emphasised the considerable contribution the community made to the school, including helping with school trips and raising funds for extra equipment. There was no reference to the ‘divisions’ of six years earlier. The report was very positive, commending the ‘happy, friendly and purposeful atmosphere about the school. The children are polite and co-operated well with each other and the staff’. The school roll had by then fallen to 37.³⁹⁶

The 1985 inspection report noted that 37 percent of the 34 pupils were Maori and referred to a change of emphasis under a new ‘principal’ (formerly ‘head teacher’). ‘It is particularly pleasing to

³⁹¹ *Beyond the Horizons of the Day*, p 51

³⁹² Inspection report, Moawhango School, 15 October 1969, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports 1969-1971, item R21911263, ABDV W3571 85/

³⁹³ History Notes: Moawhango School, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘History – Moawhango 1972’, item R21915382, ABDV W3571 1067/S179/36

³⁹⁴ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 15 October 1973, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports 1972-1974, item R21911264, ABDV W3571 85/

³⁹⁵ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 29 July 1976, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports 1976-1977, item R21911266, ABDV W3571 85/

³⁹⁶ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 2 March 1982, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Inspectors Reports 1982-1983, item R21915449, ABDV W3571 85/

note that links with a local marae have been made as part of the schools Taha Maori programme'. This is the first clear reference to Maori culture in the school on file since the reference in 1963. The 'very active' school committee was again singled out for praise.³⁹⁷

The Moawhango school roll remained steady at around 34 in the late 1980s.³⁹⁸ By 2000 pupil numbers had fallen to 27 and the school averaged 30 pupils each year from 2000 to 2014. Between 2000 and 2010 the number of Maori on the school roll generally made up between a third and half of all pupils, then increased each year from 2011. By 2014 there were 21 Maori at Moawhango School making up 70 percent of the school roll.³⁹⁹

Two Education Review Office reports on Moawhango School are available from the ERO web site. One is from a review conducted in February 2009, when the school had 30 pupils (14 of them Maori). Looking at results from 2008, ERO found that pupils were doing well on the standard tests commonly used to assess primary student achievement in New Zealand, which were analysed by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research:

NZCER analysed data found that most students made significant progress during 2008. In the Supplementary Test of Achievement in Reading (STAR), students progressed from 65% achieving at or above national expectations in February to 92% reaching these expectations in November. In the mathematics Progressive Achievement Test (PAT) 62% of students achieved at or above national expectations in February while 95% achieved at that level in November. Students progressed from 54% achieving at or above national writing expectations in February to 92% achieving as successfully in November. In the PAT vocabulary and comprehension the number of students achieving or above expectations moved from 68% in February to well over 90% in November. In general, the achievement levels of students in November 2008 were high.

The percentage of students achieving above expectations in each test also increased dramatically. In mathematics, 5% of students were above expectations in February and 36% above in November. In writing, no student was above expectations in February while 43% were above in November.

A basic translation of this is that average pupil performance in the three areas tested (reading, writing and arithmetic) improved during 2008, with almost all the pupils being at or above

³⁹⁷ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 20 June 1985, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports 1984-1986, item R21915454, ABDV W3571 84/

³⁹⁸ Director of Education to Minister of Education, 24 April 1985 (with later figures annotated), Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Populations Survey – Taihape 1959-1987', item R12554979, ABFI W3544 62/7/24

³⁹⁹ Ministry of Education, 'Education Counts', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers

national norms by November. The improvement for Maori pupils was even greater, in writing and arithmetic at least (ERO did not report the results for reading).

Māori students progressed significantly during 2008 in reading, writing and mathematics. NZCER achievement analysis showed that Māori achieved at levels similar to their peers and in some areas progressed significantly. In the mathematics PAT, 40% achieved at or above national expectations in February and 100% achieved that level in November. Māori progressed from 46% at or above writing expectations in February to 100% above in November.⁴⁰⁰

Overall ERO was positive about the school.

Friendly, respectful relationships among students and with their teachers contribute to an environment where the emphasis is on learning rather than behaviour. Older students support their younger peers. Most students are focused, independent learners who work well and are proud of their achievements.⁴⁰¹

The other ERO report available was based on a review conducted in April 2012 when the school had 34 pupils, including 18 Maori. The pupil achievement information reported in 2012 was vaguer than in 2009, simply stating that it showed ‘many students achieve at age expectations in mathematics, reading and writing’.⁴⁰² With respect to Maori students, the report focussed on the extent to which the curriculum catered for ‘Maori as Maori’ rather than on student achievement. Again the report was somewhat vague. ‘Parents and community personnel support aspects of waiata and te reo Māori. It is timely for staff to consider their curriculum design and delivery to better reflect cultural aspirations and expectations.’⁴⁰³

ERO found that the board of trustees failed to comply with the requirement to ‘Report to students and their parents on the student’s progress and achievement in relation to National Standards in plain language and in writing at least twice a year’.⁴⁰⁴ However, it did make some positive findings about the school. ‘Classroom environments are well organised and inviting spaces. Practices and agreed values effectively promote a safe and inclusive environment.

⁴⁰⁰ Education Review Office, Moawhango School 23/3/2009, ‘Findings’, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Moawhango-School-22-03-2009/Findings, accessed 17 April 2015

⁴⁰¹ Education Review Office, Moawhango School 23/3/2009, ‘Community Page’, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Moawhango-School-22-03-2009, accessed 17 April 2015

⁴⁰² Education Review Office, Moawhango School 20/06/2012, ‘Learning’, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Moawhango-School-20-06-2012/2-Learning, accessed 17 April 2015

⁴⁰³ Education Review Office, Moawhango School 20/06/2012, ‘Curriculum’, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Moawhango-School-20-06-2012/3-Curriculum, accessed 17 April 2015

⁴⁰⁴ Education Review Office, Moawhango School 20/06/2012, ‘Sustainable Performance’, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Moawhango-School-20-06-2012/4-Sustainable-Performance, accessed 17 April 2015

Affirming and responsive relationships among teachers, students and parents are evident in daily interactions.⁴⁰⁵ Overall, however, ERO's report on Moawhango School in 2012 was considerably less positive than that in 2009.

Conclusions

Local Maori first requested a native school for Moawhango in 1886. However, despite apparent enthusiasm for a school from the residents and the Education Department, nothing happened until William Batley, a local settler, established a school in conjunction with the Wanganui Education Board in 1896. The school was housed in a makeshift building on the Batley farm and was intended to stay there a year, but it took the education board 23 years to find a suitable site for the school. During that time the Maori roll of the school fluctuated considerably for reasons unknown. The school started with 11 Maori who made up over half the roll but by 1918 there were only five Maori enrolled. Fifteen years later the school roll had ballooned to over 40 pupils, half of whom were Maori. Maori made up an increasing proportion of the roll and in 1944 Moawhango became a Native School at the request of the parents.

It is not known whether the conversion of Moawhango from a general to a native school was unique, but it was certainly unusual. In earlier times the process of conversion had been the other way around, with native schools converting to general schools. This was because most native schools were established at a time when the North Island was undergoing rapid colonial expansion, thanks in the main to land acquired from Maori. Thus a native school would be established in a remote location which was soon populated by Pakeha settlers who sent their children to the school. Between 1900 and 1940 Pakeha on average made up 10 to 12 percent of native school rolls and in the nineteenth century Pakeha numbers were even greater.⁴⁰⁶ In many native schools Pakeha became the majority, in which case the Education Department would generally hand the school over to a regional education board to manage, often after consultation with the parents. Such transfers became standard policy by the twentieth century. For example, of seven native schools established in Te Rohe Potae between 1886 and 1902, four were transferred to the Auckland Education Board within a decade of opening.⁴⁰⁷

Over time, however, education officials came to see native schools as a permanent part of the educational landscape. Maori, it was thought, would remain a rural people for the foreseeable future and te reo Maori would continue to be their first language, requiring special schools

⁴⁰⁵ Education Review Office, Moawhango School 20/06/2012, 'Context', www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Moawhango-School-20-06-2012/1-Context, accessed 17 April 2015

⁴⁰⁶ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 26

⁴⁰⁷ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 62

dedicated to teaching their children English. Officials also recognised, after a small-pox scare in 1913 led to Maori in the north of the country being excluded from schools, that Maori in general schools could become victim to community prejudice.⁴⁰⁸ Thus the number of native schools increased by 84 percent during the twentieth century to reach a peak of 164 schools in 1954.⁴⁰⁹ It was only in the 1950s that the need for a separate Maori school system was seriously questioned.

Demographic changes were also underway. Between the world wars the rural Pakeha population fell while the Maori rural population grew.⁴¹⁰ This was reflected in the roll of Moawhango School, which was predominately Pakeha from around 1912 until the early 1930s. From then on Maori increasingly became a majority at the school and by 1943 there were just six Pakeha on the roll and 24 Maori.

Moawhango became a native school at the request of the parents who were likely dissatisfied with the way the school was operating. The school roll was growing in the 1940s, but not by enough to justify an extra teacher under education board policy. The school lost its assistant teacher in 1937 and in 1940 the education board demolished a classroom on the basis it was no longer needed. Within a few years the school was becoming crowded again. There had, furthermore, never been a residence for the head teacher.

The parents were reported to have four main reasons for wanting the change. Firstly, they correctly thought the school would qualify for an assistant teacher under the more liberal rules that applied to native schools. Second, they thought a residence would be provided for the head teacher, which was also likely. Third, they thought, correctly, that their children would be provided with free books and stationary, as were all pupils at native schools. Fourth, they considered that activities such as woodwork and cookery would have more chance of being established at the school. There was no mention of a desire for the Maori cultural instruction which had by then become a standard part of the native school curriculum.

The Education Department supported the change to native school status and sent the Senior Inspector of Native Schools to ascertain the views of the parents. The inspector considered the parents' support was unanimous, Maori and Pakeha alike. The Wanganui Education Board agreed to hand the school over to the Education Department. The parents' belief that a new

⁴⁰⁸ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 28-29

⁴⁰⁹ AJHR 1901, A2, p 1; AJHR 1955, E1, p 37

⁴¹⁰ Statistics New Zealand, 'New Zealand: An Urban/Rural Profile – Historical Context', www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/Maps_and_geography/Geographic-areas/urban-rural-profile/historical-context.aspx. The rural Pakeha population increased again after World War Two before falling again in the 1970s onwards.

school and head teacher's residence would be provided were eventually realised, although it took several years. A series of assistant teachers were appointed to Moawhango Native/Maori School, although there were initially problems finding board for the teacher. It does not appear, however, that activities such as woodwork and cooking were ever introduced to the school.

Although the Native Schools Act was passed in 1867, and its provisions made considerably more generous in 1871, Maori at Moawhango did not request a native school until 1886. By then the country already had 64 native schools.⁴¹¹ It is unclear why it took Maori in the inquiry district so long to request a school. The requirement to provide land for a school may have been a barrier, for even after a school was requested obtaining land for a school seems to have been a problem. It was always central to education policy and legislation that a native school was provided only at the request of a community as officials considered a school was more likely to succeed with community support.

As noted earlier, an important distinction between native and general schools is that the former had as one of their central aims teaching English to Maori children, most of whom until at least the 1930s spoke only Maori at home.⁴¹² In general schools, however, the fact that pupils did not speak English was seen as a barrier to learning. As noted in this chapter and elsewhere in this report, this view came through occasionally from comments recorded by teachers and inspectors at schools in the Taihape inquiry district. Another curriculum distinction from around 1930 was that Maori arts, crafts and culture were commonly taught in native schools. This rarely happened in general schools before the 1970s.

Once schools were established in the inquiry district, Maori initially seemed to show support. For example in March 1897 the teacher at Taihape School recorded that Maori parents had visited the school 'and expressed themselves well pleased with progress their children are making'.⁴¹³ But in the early twentieth century Maori pupils almost disappeared for a time, from Taihape and Moawhango schools at least. The reasons for this are unclear but officials at the time appeared to take little or no interest in this issue, particularly with respect to Taihape. The fact that Taihape was, for obvious reasons, a general rather than a native school meant that the absence of Maori pupils was largely ignored.

⁴¹¹ AJHR 1887, E2, p 1

⁴¹² Christoffel, pp 121-122

⁴¹³ Taihape school log book 5 and 12 March 1897, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

Moawhango School never seemed to garner sufficient community support to establish a school committee. The situation changed once it became a native school, and an active school committee was elected almost immediately. The school inspector noted in 1967 that the school was 'receiving full community support and its affairs are being particularly well managed by a most co-operative, enthusiastic and progressive School Committee'.⁴¹⁴ A decade later the inspector noted divisions within the community which affected the running of the school.⁴¹⁵ Whether or not this change was related to the return of the school to Wanganui Education Board control cannot be ascertained. It does appear, however, that the community seemed to get behind the school to a far greater extent when it was a Maori school.

⁴¹⁴ Undated Inspection report [between 1965 and 1968] by B F E Kelly and R J Dow, Inspectors of Maori Schools, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Moawhango 1964-1969', item R20393397, BAAA 1001 A440 965/c 44/6

⁴¹⁵ Inspection report, Moawhango School, 29 July 1976, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports 1976-1977', item R21911266, ABDV W3571 85/

Chapter 5: Post-Primary Education

Background

At the start of the twentieth century it was rare for children to proceed to secondary education. State secondary schools were initially established through legislation, mainly in the 1870s and 1880s. Most were endowed with land to help fund their teaching activities, while others were given state grants or aid from School Commissioners charged with administering public reserves for education. The remainder of secondary school income – roughly half – came from fees charged to the families of pupils.⁴¹⁶ To cover these fees, and assist pupils with boarding and other expenses, the Education Act 1877 empowered regional education boards to provide scholarships for post-primary education. However, the number of such scholarships was limited. In 1900, for example, just 349 out of 2,792 secondary pupils were in receipt of education board scholarships.⁴¹⁷ The remaining 88 percent received no state assistance, although a small number received private scholarships or scholarships from the schools themselves, paid for out of endowment funds.

Government-funded high schools were located only in the main centres. In 1900 New Zealand had 26 high schools that received some government funding.⁴¹⁸ There were in addition four Maori boarding schools recognised by the government as providing secondary education, and several private schools that received no government funding. None of the 26 high schools were within easy reach of the Taihape inquiry district, the nearest being Napier Boys and Napier Girls high schools, Wanganui Collegiate, and Wanganui Girls' College. A private girls' school, Nga Tawa, shifted from Shannon to Marton in the early 1900s.⁴¹⁹ Until 1909 those wishing to proceed to secondary education from within the inquiry district had to attend boarding school or seek private board.

For some New Zealand children living in rural areas there was an alternative to private board in the form of what were called 'district high schools'. Despite their name these were not really high schools. Rather, they were secondary classes added onto primary schools. In other words district high schools were primary schools with a small proportion of post-primary pupils. In 1900 New Zealand had 13 district high schools with an average of 30 secondary pupils each. None of the schools was near the Taihape inquiry district. However in the early twentieth century the

⁴¹⁶ *New Zealand Official Year Book 1893*, p 341

⁴¹⁷ AJHR 1901, E1, p xxviii, AJHR 1902, E1, p xv

⁴¹⁸ AJHR 1901, E1, p xxviii and E12.

⁴¹⁹ Michelle Whitmore, *Nga Tawa: A Centennial History*, Waikanae, 1991, p 20

government began its expansion of secondary education with increased funding to district high schools. From 1903 two years of free schooling at a district high school was provided to any pupil who had passed their proficiency examination, discussed in Chapter 6 of this report. More and more primary schools added secondary classes and by the end of 1908 there were 66 district high schools, including schools at Marton, Bulls, and Feilding.⁴²⁰ In 1909 Taihape School became a district high school, followed by Hunterville in 1912. Secondary classes at Hunterville ended in 1929 due to poor attendance.⁴²¹ The school never had more than 20 secondary pupils and attendance was not helped by the fact that several pupils had to travel daily to the school by rail. Trains were often cancelled, resulting in these pupils missing a lot of schooling.⁴²² Thus, with one minor exception, the only secondary school in the inquiry district between 1930 and 2013 was in Taihape. The minor exception was Rangiwahia, which started a third form class in 1938 and became a district high school in 1947. By the end of 1949 the secondary department had only seven pupils and it closed the following year.⁴²³

In the nineteenth century secondary schools focussed primarily on equipping students to attend university or complete lesser academic qualifications such as public service examinations. In the twentieth century education policy became strongly focussed on increasing the number of students proceeding to secondary school, accompanied by a shift to more vocationally-oriented education. As Education Secretary George Hogben pointed out in 1902: ‘The secondary school programmes are framed to a large extent so as to lead up to the matriculation and junior scholarship examinations of the University, and yet not one boy or girl in twenty does or can go to the University’.⁴²⁴ Hogben’s widely-shared view was that, with far more pupils going on to secondary school, the teaching programmes of those schools needed to be focussed to a large degree on the practical skills that would enable the majority to obtain gainful employment in later life. As a result, high schools became less focussed on obtaining qualifications enabling progression to tertiary education and more focussed on providing around two years of general education that included, where possible, practical subjects such as bookkeeping and agriculture. In district high schools the push for a more practical education was even more pronounced, on the apparent assumption that most pupils were destined to be farmers or farmer’s wives.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁰ AJHR 1909 E2, pp 32-33

⁴²¹ *Hunterville Consolidated Schools’ Centennial 1987*, pp 5-8

⁴²² Hunterville District High School inspection report 1928,

⁴²³ AJHR 1948, E2, p 44; AJHR 1950, E2, p 40; Ken and Lucy Grover, *Rangiwahia and District: As it was and as it is, 1996-1986*, Rangiwahia Centennial Committee 1985, p 63

⁴²⁴ AJHR 1902, E12, p 7

⁴²⁵ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 183

Until the mid-twentieth century the qualifications system was very much designed to filter progression to the next level. At primary school, pupils were assessed annually to ensure they were fit to progress to a higher 'Standard'. If they made it to Standards V or VI (later Forms 1 and 2 and now years 7 and 8) they had the opportunity to sit an examination in which they could either be awarded a Competency or a Proficiency Certificate. From 1903 a Competency Certificate provided an automatic right to attend secondary school but the Proficiency Certificate was far more valuable for it provided two years free secondary education for those attending district high schools and, after 1914, for those attending any state secondary school.⁴²⁶ At secondary school it was possible to sit senior scholarship examinations that provided additional years of free schooling. But for most their secondary education ended when they completed Form 4 (ie, Year 10). From 1946 School Certificate became a major focus of secondary education, but until then simply being able to attend secondary school was a significant measure of success.

The number of pupils going on to post-primary education increased significantly each year from the early 1900s. By the 1930s over half of primary pupils went on to secondary school. The Proficiency Examination was abolished in 1937 and secondary schooling became free for all. Secondary schooling was near-universal by the late 1950s.⁴²⁷

Maori Secondary Education

Secondary schools were located in cities and small towns and thus inaccessible to many Maori, who predominantly lived in rural districts for much of the twentieth century. However, the church-run denominational boarding schools helped fill the gap. These had been providing education to Maori for much of the nineteenth century until their rolls were depleted by wars from the 1860s and by the government's establishment of a native school system after 1867. Most church-run schools closed and some that survived began providing secondary schooling to Maori. From 1881 the government provided a limited number of secondary boarding scholarships each year, initially to Maori pupils who had passed Standard IV at a native school. The scholarships lasted two years, the standard time that most pupils spent at secondary school until well into the twentieth century.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ Nancy Swarbrick, 'Primary and secondary education – Standards and examinations', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012, www.teara.govt.nz/en/primary-and-secondary-education/page-4; Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 148-149

⁴²⁷ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 149-150

⁴²⁸ The material in this section draws on Christoffel, Wai 898, A27 unless otherwise indicated.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Maori boarding schools provided a mixture of primary and secondary education, but over time they increasingly focussed on the secondary classes as the government gradually raised the standards required for its boarding scholarships. In 1900 only four schools were considered to be providing a sufficient level of education to be eligible for government subsidy. They had between them 223 pupils enrolled, mostly private pupils without scholarships.⁴²⁹ Initially the scholarships were available only to pupils of native schools, but from 1903 a limited number were also available to Maori who had been educated in general schools and passed Standard V.⁴³⁰ In 1912 the threshold was lifted to a Standard VI Proficiency Certificate. The number of general school scholarships remained tiny in subsequent decades – a point of relevance to this report given the lack of Maori schools in the inquiry district until 1944.

By 1909 the government was looking to impose a new curriculum on the Maori boarding schools, following a similar practical emphasis as it was imposing on secondary education overall. This change was reflected in the Education Department's annual reports on native education, such as this extract from 1910:

An important function of the secondary school is to provide training in industrial occupations. In this connection a class in wool-classing was established at Te Aute College during the year, but we regret to say it did not meet with much success, and appears to have been given up. During the year a conference was held between the trustees and the Inspector-General of Schools with a view to remodelling the present curriculum so as to make full provision for training in agriculture. It is to be hoped that the scheme approved by the trustees will be put into operation before long.⁴³¹

One measure implemented by officials to further this practical emphasis was to introduce 'senior' scholarships that provided funding for pupils to stay at secondary school beyond two years – providing they learned a trade or trained for nursing. Annual reports commented year after year on how rarely the senior scholarships were actually taken up, despite the fact there were only a handful available. Maori parents, it seems, did not send their children to secondary school so they could learn a trade, any more than Pakeha parents did. Undeterred, the government persisted with this approach for some 16 years. Around the same time the

⁴²⁹ AJHR 1901, E2, p 27

⁴³⁰ AJHR 1903, E2, p 2

⁴³¹ AJHR 1910, E3, p 10

government suspended the university scholarships reserved specifically for Maori, although these were reinstated in 1920.⁴³²

In the early 1900s two factors led to a tightening of the criteria for Maori boarding scholarships. Firstly, native schools were increasingly providing education to the levels of Standards V and VI rather than just to Standard IV. Secondly, the level of demand for Maori boarding scholarships far outstripped supply because of the low bar that had been set to qualify. The government's response was to increase the number of scholarships, but also to raise standards. It stopped providing boarding school scholarships to many pupils for lower-level classes, which helped free up the colleges to focus on secondary education⁴³³ The actual requirements for scholarships were never clearly spelt out in the annual reports – in part because the schools themselves had some input as to which pupils would get them.⁴³⁴ With an increased number of scholarships, more schools opened and existing schools altered their curriculum to attract more senior students. By 1910, nine Maori colleges were providing board and education to 378 students nationwide.⁴³⁵

The number of Maori students from general primary schools with Maori boarding scholarships remained low – there were just nine in 1919 for example.⁴³⁶ However some general school pupils in these early years are likely to have attended the schools without scholarships or to have attended general secondary schools.

Unlike primary schools, where the teaching and even use of the Maori language was discouraged, the language was generally encouraged in Maori secondary schools. The reasons for this were outlined in the 1909 annual report on native schools:

Maoris in learning English have already taken one foreign language; to put them, therefore, on an equal footing with European candidates Maori is included among the optional subjects in the Civil Service Junior Examination. For this reason, and also because it is desirable to foster the study of their own language by educated Maoris, the Maori language and literature are included in the syllabus of the Native secondary schools.⁴³⁷

⁴³² Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 185-186

⁴³³ John Barrington and Tim Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society: An Historical Review*, NZ Council for Educational Research: Wellington, 1974, pp 165-166

⁴³⁴ In contrast the requirements for free places at general secondary schools were spelt out precisely – see, for example, AJHR 1915, E6, p3

⁴³⁵ AJHR 1911, E3, p21

⁴³⁶ AJHR 1920, E3, p 11

⁴³⁷ AJHR 1909, E3, p 9

In 1925 the government established the Maori Purposes Fund out of accumulated interest from funds held by Maori Land Boards.⁴³⁸ A Maori Purposes Fund Control Board was established to administer the fund. In 1926 the Board established a system of ‘continuation scholarships’ which provided funding for further schooling for Maori who had completed two years of secondary education. Twenty-five of these senior scholarships were provided every year.⁴³⁹ Previously the only such assistance available to Maori for continued academic study (as opposed to trades training) was through the private scholarships established from the estates of Donald McLean and Walter Buller.⁴⁴⁰ This signalled a shift away from the almost exclusive focus, adopted around 1910, of trying to direct the more able Maori into practical pursuits such as agriculture and the trades.

From 1937 a weekly boarding allowance was provided that could be put towards private board or a boarding school for those who could not access secondary education.⁴⁴¹ Previously pupils needing to board had to rely on scholarships or private funds. In the post-war period the Maori boarding scholarships were made significantly more generous. From 1951 they were extended to four years.⁴⁴² Since the early 1960s scholarship assistance for Maori post-primary education has been provided primarily through the Maori Education Foundation, now Toutu Kaupapa Maori Matauranga (the Maori Education Trust).

Maori participation in post-primary education

I argued in my education report for the Rohe Potae inquiry that Maori were unable to participate to anything like the same extent as Pakeha in the massive expansion of secondary education that took place in the first half of the twentieth century. By the 1930s over 30,000 pupils were attending secondary classes each year but just a few hundred of these pupils were Maori.⁴⁴³ This was for several reasons. While the government greatly increased the availability of free secondary education, until 1937 a competency certificate was still required to go to a secondary school and a proficiency certificate was needed to avoid school fees. As is outlined in Chapter 6, few Maori reached this level of qualification. In any case most Maori lived in remote areas where secondary schooling was often inaccessible.

The denominational boarding schools helped counteract these disadvantages to an extent as the criteria for Maori boarding scholarships did not generally require proficiency certificates. But

⁴³⁸ AJHR 1925, G9, p 2

⁴³⁹ AJHR 1927, E3, p7

⁴⁴⁰ These were the Te Makarini and Buller scholarships awarded annually to Maori boarding school students.

⁴⁴¹ AJHR 1941, E3, pp 1-2

⁴⁴² Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 161

⁴⁴³ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 149. 154

between 1910 and 1950 the government's funding of free places at the denominational boarding schools barely increased in real terms. As a result the number of Maori educated in these schools also barely increased.⁴⁴⁴ For Maori in the Taihape inquiry district access to denominational boarding schools would have been even more difficult because of the lack of native schools in the inquiry district. As outlined earlier it was generally easier for pupils of native schools to get Maori boarding scholarships than for those attending general schools.

Things improved greatly with respect to Maori participation from 1937 following the introduction of free secondary schooling. Only the completion of primary school was needed to gain access to post-primary education. In 1940 the government estimated that 41 percent of Maori proceeded beyond primary school – a considerably improvement on the tiny numbers of earlier decades.⁴⁴⁵ This figure had increased to 63 percent by 1949 and over 90 percent a decade later.⁴⁴⁶

For those without ready access to a secondary school the government provided free or subsidised buses and free rail passes. This greatly assisted many Maori pupils from the more remote parts of the district to attend Taihape District High School. By 1948, 25 secondary pupils were being transported there each day from Ohingaiti, Mangaweka and Utiku.⁴⁴⁷ Another bus carried both primary and secondary pupils from the Moawhango, Raukura and Ngawaka areas, although by 1949 this service was becoming overcrowded and was supplemented by taxis. The Wanganui Education Board proposed an additional bus to relieve congestion.⁴⁴⁸ The education board regularly received requests from parents for bus services to be extended to enable their children to attend secondary school. In 1952, for example, it received a request that the bus pick up eight secondary pupils from Turangarere and four from Hihitahi each day starting in 1953. Officials decided to extend the route to Turangarere and the Hihitahi children could cycle to there. The extended route involved the teacher-driver in two 80-minute bus runs each day, for which he was paid. By the end of 1953 the route was extended to Hihitahi, although the service only lasted a few years.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁴ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 159-160

⁴⁴⁵ Barrington, 2009, p 224

⁴⁴⁶ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 161

⁴⁴⁷ Conveyance Contract, 11 November 1948, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Taihape 1947-1963', item R20136057, ABFI W3540 497/ 33/4

⁴⁴⁸ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 27 January 1949, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Taihape 1947-1963', item R20136057, ABFI W3540 497/ 33/4

⁴⁴⁹ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 10 December 1952 and 30 September 1953, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Taihape 1947-1963', item R20136057, ABFI W3540 497/ 33/4

By 1962, 57 of the roughly 200 secondary pupils at Taihape District High School were travelling there by bus each day. The closure of the secondary department and the opening of a new secondary school in Winiata created additional problems. The road to Winiata was considered dangerous and the Wanganui Education Board therefore proposed a school bus service operate between Taihape and Winiata. The board's acting secretary claimed that the Minister of Education had promised this would happen.⁴⁵⁰ The Education Department denied the Minister had made such a promise but transport to the new school remained a contentious issue in Taihape and the local Member of Parliament got involved. In the end the department relented following discussions with the Minister and free buses were subsequently provided from Taihape despite the fact that the distance travelled would not normally attract a transport subsidy.⁴⁵¹

In 1961 the bus route to Moawhango was cancelled because the diversion to the village from Potaka Junction was to pick up just one student.⁴⁵² In 1962 the teacher at Moawhango telegraphed the Wanganui Education Board to find out whether his pupils sitting Maori scholarships that year would be able to get transport to attend the new Taihape College opening the following year. The board's response was that Moawhango was unlikely to be included in any school bus service because of lack of demand.⁴⁵³ However a bus continued to travel to the general area of Moawhango, mainly to pick up primary school pupils. With a revival in demand a separate bus to Moawhango village was instituted in 1964.⁴⁵⁴ When the service was threatened with cancellation a few years later, parents agreed to a subsidised service to which that had to contribute a daily fare. Four of the Maori families apparently struggled to pay this fare so the Taihape College board approach the Maori Education Foundation to try and get a grant to pay this contribution. The Maori Welfare Officer visited Moawhango and found that three of the four families were in fact willing and able to pay and a grant was provided so the remaining family could send two of their children to Taihape College for the remainder of 1969.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁰ Acting Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 5 March 1962, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Taihape 1947-1963', item R20136057, ABFI W3540 497/ 33/4

⁴⁵¹ Director of Education to Wanganui Education Board, 26 February 1963, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Taihape 1947-1963', item R20136057, ABFI W3540 497/ 33/4

⁴⁵² Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 20 November 1957 and 22 February 1961, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Taihape 1947-1963', item R20136057, ABFI W3540 497/ 33/4

⁴⁵³ Telegrams dated 19 October 1962, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Moawhango 1948-1976', item R20136031, ABFI W3540 495/ 33/4

⁴⁵⁴ Education Department to Wanganui Education Board, 13 December 1963, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Bus Services (Wanganui) – Taihape 1947-1963', item R20136057, ABFI W3540 497/ 33/4

⁴⁵⁵ Principal, Taihape College to Maori Education Fund (sic) 6 June 1969, Maori Education Foundation to District Officer, Maori and Islands Affairs, 24 July 1969, District Officer to Maori Education Foundation, 18 August 1969, 'Maori Welfare - Education - School leavers, Wanganui (Zone 19) - Taihape College 1967-1978', item R20463144, ABRP 6844 W4598 185/ 31/5/3/1/10

Taihape District High School

Taihape District High School was almost the sole provider of post-primary education in the inquiry district between 1930 and 1962. Taihape School acquired district high school status in 1909 and averaged 30 pupils on its secondary roll in its first year.⁴⁵⁶ However the roll appeared to fluctuate greatly, with pupils commonly dropping out during the year. In March 1915, for example, the school inspector reported that the secondary department ended the previous year with just 14 pupils but started the new year with 38.⁴⁵⁷

The secondary school initially had a strong emphasis on agriculture, as was typical at the time. The inspector noted in 1915 that all 20 boys spent a day each week at Marton (where they presumably travelled by rail) for agricultural instruction while the girls spent the day learning to sew. The pupils spent a further half day each week on woodwork and cookery.⁴⁵⁸ The Marton Farm School was run by Messrs Grant and Banner, who were employed by the Wanganui Education Board as agricultural instructors. The school gave instruction each Monday to pupils from Taihape, Marton, Hunterville and Wanganui.⁴⁵⁹ Some students were occasionally selected to be sent to the prestigious Hawkesbury Agricultural College in New South Wales for further education.⁴⁶⁰ In 1913 newspapers reported that the first student to be sent to Hawkesbury was a Maori boy from Taihape, known only in the press as 'Abraham'. He was reported to have done very well and spent at least two years at Hawkesbury.⁴⁶¹

By the 1920s the Taihape District High School curriculum had taken on a more academic turn judging by the inspector's reports.⁴⁶² This may have been due to parental pressure – education officials and Ministers regularly lamented parental resistance to their children being trained for the likes of farming.⁴⁶³ There was little change in enrolments, with 26 on the roll in 1920 and 32 in 1923. Children from the Taihape area did not seem to be taking to secondary education in large numbers. Aside from the above-mentioned 'Abraham' there is no evidence that many Maori pupils proceeded to the secondary department of Taihape District High School in its early decades. As outlined earlier, until 1937 in order to proceed to a public secondary school a

⁴⁵⁶ AJHR 1910, E6, p 21

⁴⁵⁷ Inspection report, Taihape District High School, 11-12 March 1915, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports – Unnotified Visits 1915', item R21911287, ABDV W3571 83/

⁴⁵⁸ Inspection report, Taihape District High School, 11-12 March 1915, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Inspectors Reports – Unnotified Visits 1915', item R21911287, ABDV W3571 83/

⁴⁵⁹ *Manawatu Times*, 24 July 1912, p 6

⁴⁶⁰ Prime Minister Richard Seddon visited Hawkesbury while on an official trip to Sydney in 1906 – *Auckland Star*, 8 May 1906, p 4

⁴⁶¹ *Feilding Star*, 11 April 1913, p 2; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 28 April 1913, p 5; *Feilding Star*, 11 December 1913, p 2; *Evening Post*, 22 April 1915, p 8

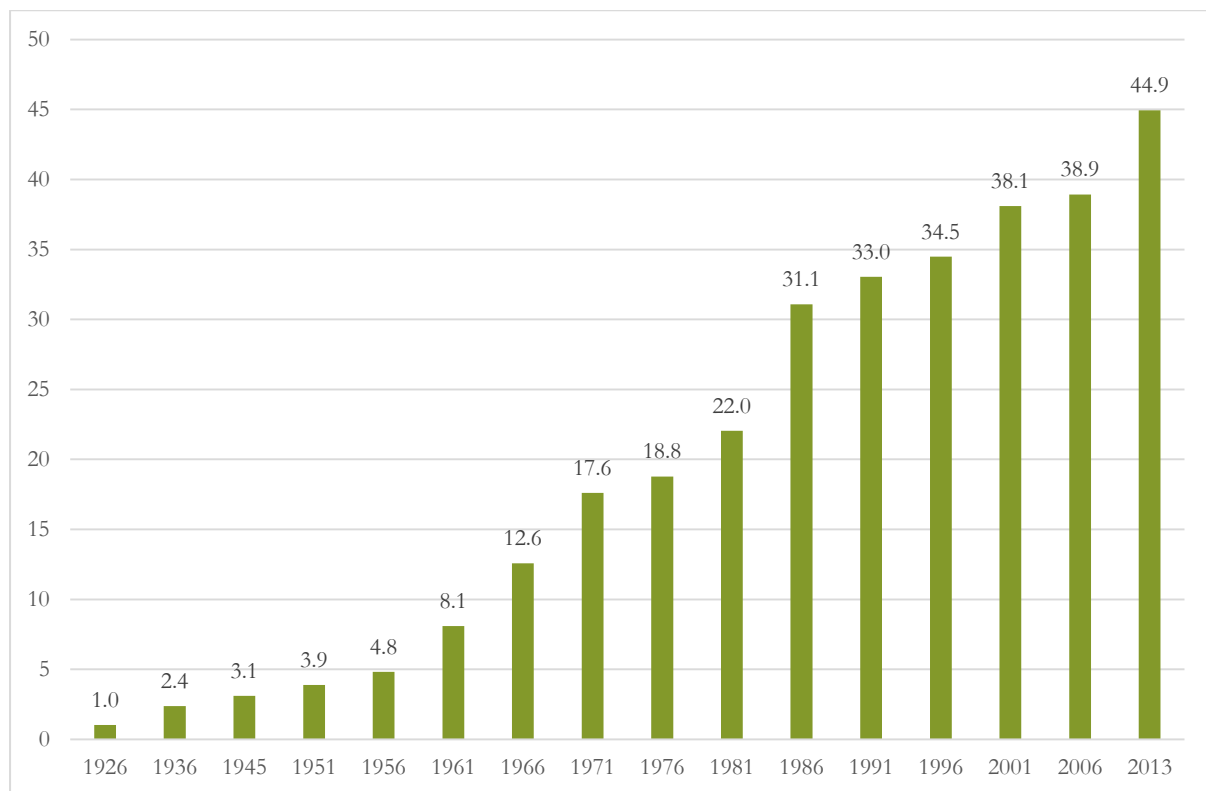
⁴⁶² See, eg, Taihape District High School inspection reports from 1920 and 1923.

⁴⁶³ For examples from the 1920s see Christoffel, Wai 898 A27, pp 187-188

certificate of competency or proficiency was required. As will be seen in Chapter 6, few Maori within the inquiry district gained proficiency or competency certificates.

As outlined earlier, the proportion of Maori proceeding to post-primary education rapidly increased following the introduction of free secondary education in 1937, reaching 41 percent in 1940, 63 percent in 1949 and over 90 percent by 1959.⁴⁶⁴ It is likely this trend was reflected in the roll of the secondary department of Taihape District High School, although it should be borne in mind that relatively few Maori lived in Taihape before the 1960s, as shown by Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1: Maori Census Night Population of Taihape Town 1926-2013 (percent of total)



Many secondary pupils travelled to Taihape District High School each day from outside of town. A 1961 survey of new third formers at the school found that, of the 80 pupils in Form 3, a quarter had previously attended schools outside of Taihape. However schools with relatively few Maori pupils, Mangaweka, Ohingaiti and Mataroa, accounted for the majority of these students. Not one Taihape District High third-formers in the survey had attended Moawhango Maori School the previous year. It does not appear from this evidence that significant numbers of Maori secondary pupils travelled to Taihape District High School from outside the town each

⁴⁶⁴ Christoffel, pp 161-162

day.⁴⁶⁵ As a result it is likely that it was only in the latter years of the school, when Maori had an increasing presence in Taihape, that many Maori pupils attended the secondary department of the Taihape District High School.

Taihape College

In 1963 Taihape District High School was effectively split into separate schools – primary and secondary – with the establishment of Taihape College. This reform resulted from the continued expansion of Taihape town in the post-war period, putting further pressure on school accommodation. When a new primary block opened at Taihape District High School in 1952 there were over 400 primary pupils on the roll and 127 in the secondary department.⁴⁶⁶ By September 1960 the primary roll had grown to 584 and the secondary roll to over 200. The Wanganui Education Board proposed further extensions but in the end it was decided to establish a separate secondary school at Winiata, just south of Taihape.⁴⁶⁷

Taihape College began operating at the start of the 1963 school year, although it was not officially opened by Prime Minister Keith Holyoake until late March 1964. The *Manawatu Evening Standard* reported that the Prime Minister was greeted by members of the college Maori club.⁴⁶⁸ A demographic change was underway. The Maori population of Taihape (and thus of Taihape College) was growing rapidly. As Figure 5.1 shows, the 1966 census recorded nearly 13 percent of Taihape's population as Maori. Because of the youthful population, Maori made up nearly a quarter of the Taihape College roll in 1967.⁴⁶⁹ Thanks to population growth further additions were needed to the school within two years of it opening.⁴⁷⁰

Although Taihape had ceased to grow by the 1970s, the trend for pupils to remain at school beyond the fourth and fifth forms outlined in Chapter 6 meant that the roll of Taihape College continued to expand. By October 1980 the school had 349 pupils of which 108 (31 percent) were Maori.⁴⁷¹ The school appeared to have an active Maori club – in 1967, for example, it sought

⁴⁶⁵ L. M. Bradley, Memo to School Buildings Division, 2 March 1961, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Populations Survey – Taihape 1959-1987', item R12554979, ABFI W3544 62/ 7/24

⁴⁶⁶ Programme for Minister's visit, 3 November 1952, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools - Wanganui – Taihape 1950-1957', item R20131732, ABFA W3540 67/ 7/4 3

⁴⁶⁷ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 8 September 1960, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Primary Schools - Wanganui – Taihape 1957-1968', item R20131730, ABFA W3540 67/ 7/4 4

⁴⁶⁸ 'Taihape College Officially Opened', *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 25 March 1964

⁴⁶⁹ Taihape College Maori Students 1967, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Welfare - Education - School leavers, Wanganui (Zone 19) - Taihape College 1967-1978', item R20463144, ABRP 6844 W4598 185/ 31/5/3/1/10

⁴⁷⁰ Regional Superintendent of Education, Education Department to Wanganui Education Board, 13 April 1964, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Subject Files - Taihape College - Buildings and Accommodation 1963-1974, item R21914605, ABDV W3571 996 / 194/4

⁴⁷¹ Aotea District Secondary Schools' Statistical Data 1980, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Youth Development – Taihape College 1980-1983', item R20463502, ABRP 6844 W4598 194/ 31/19/10 1

Department of Maori Affairs funding to help provide piupius.⁴⁷² By the 1980s every third form pupil took a course in Maori studies which included basic language and culture. A more advanced course was available in the fourth form. In 1982 the school inspectors commended the ‘strong emphasis on Maori culture, and the involvement of the Maori cultural group with the community’.⁴⁷³ By 1987 Maori studies was available as a Form 5 subject.⁴⁷⁴ Maori language instruction at the school struggled however. Those wanting to study Maori at a senior level had to rely on the correspondence school until well into the 1980s. The school struggled at times to provide anything but basic instruction in Maori.⁴⁷⁵

From around 1970 the school authorities and government officials began to take a clear interest in the progress or otherwise of Maori pupils at Taihape College. Maori Welfare officers visited the school on occasions to discuss career options with Maori pupils and issues related to Maori education with staff. In 1974, for example, the Maori Welfare officer had group and individual discussions with all the Maori girls at the school concerning career, training and job opportunities. The Maori Affairs files contain several letters relating to the situation of specific Taihape students.⁴⁷⁶ In the 1980s Maori Affairs continued to monitor how well third and fourth form Maori pupils were settling into the school and the destinations of Maori pupils who left the school, to the extent that this could be traced.⁴⁷⁷

The population of Taihape fell continuously from the mid-1970s which affected the Taihape College roll. A boarding hostel was established near the college in 1994, presumably for children from the district who might otherwise board further afield.⁴⁷⁸ The declining population continued into the twenty-first century and by 2002 the Taihape College roll stood at just 193, having declined 45 percent since 1980. In the early 2000s nearly half the pupils were Maori.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷² Letter to Mrs P Bailey, Department of Maori Affairs, Wanganui, 4 September 1967, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Welfare - Education - School leavers, Wanganui (Zone 19) - Taihape College 1967-1978’, item R20463144, ABRP 6844 W4598 185/ 31/5/3/1/10

⁴⁷³ Taihape College Report, 13-16 September 1982, p 14. Archives NZ Wellington ‘School Inspection - Taihape College 1975-1987’, item R20471525, AAZY W3901 92 /

⁴⁷⁴ Taihape College Report, 16-19 March 1987, pp 25-26. Archives NZ Wellington, ‘School Inspection - Taihape College 1975-1987’, item R20471525, AAZY W3901 92 /

⁴⁷⁵ Taihape College Principal to Department of Maori Affairs, Wanganui, 27 April 1981, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Youth Development – Taihape College 1980-1983’, item R20463502, ABRP 6844 W4598 194/ 31/19/10 1

⁴⁷⁶ These records will not be included in the document bank for this report as they include sensitive information about specific students. The general file reference is Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Welfare - Education - School leavers, Wanganui (Zone 19) - Taihape College 1967-1978’, item R20463144, ABRP 6844 W4598 185/ 31/5/3/1/10. This is a restricted file.

⁴⁷⁷ This information is included in the following restricted file that is not included in the document bank: Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Youth Development – Taihape College 1980-1983’, item R20463502, ABRP 6844 W4598 194/ 31/19/10 1

⁴⁷⁸ Robertson, *Taihape*, p 91

⁴⁷⁹ Ministry of Education ‘Education Counts – School Rolls’, www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

The fall in the rolls of Taihape College and Taihape Primary School resulted in the closure of Taihape College in 2004 and the opening of Taihape Area School (incorporating primary and secondary classes) the following year.

Taihape Area School

The opening of Taihape Area School in 2005 was something of a return to the past. The school incorporated classes from years 1 to 14, and thus combined primary and secondary schooling in a single school, just as Taihape District High School had done for 53 years until 1962. The area school proposal attracted much local opposition resulting in many primary pupils being sent to other schools. Because the opposition appeared to be focussed on primary pupils the background to the opening of the school and the subsequent controversies were covered in Chapter 3.

Although primary pupils could go to other nearby schools if their parents were unhappy with the area school, for secondary pupils the options were limited. When Taihape Area School opened in 2005 it had 157 secondary pupils (years 9 to 15) making up 53 percent of a roll of 295.⁴⁸⁰ Taihape Area School has been predominantly a secondary school ever since. The secondary roll peaked at over 200 in 2010 before falling to 163 by 2014. In general, however, the primary roll has fluctuated more sharply year to year. The area school roll was 50 percent Maori in 2005 rising to 65 percent in 2014. The secondary classes (years 9 onwards) of Taihape Area School had a 59 percent Maori roll in 2014, although the proportion was significantly higher than this in years 9 and 10.⁴⁸¹

The secondary department of Taihape Area School got off to a bad start. As with the primary department it was housed in temporary accommodation while a completely new school was being built. The school was established in the early years of the NCEA qualification. In 2005 and 2006 the school's NCEA results were poor, particularly at level 1 (year 11). Across these two years only a handful of the Maori students passed *any* of their NCEA level 1 subjects. As outlined in Chapter 3, a new principal, Boyce Davey, started at the school in mid-2006 and got Taihape Area School involved in Te Kauhua, a programme launched in 2000 to try and raise Maori school achievement. Whether or not because of this programme, NCEA results improved significantly in 2007. The improvement was sustained, at least for a time, once the school moved

⁴⁸⁰ Ministry of Education, 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

⁴⁸¹ Ministry of Education, 'Education Counts – Student Population', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/find-school/school/population/year?school=549&district=38®ion=8

to its new building in 2009. Qualifications at Taihape Area School are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Rangitikei College

Huntermville, at the southern end of the Taihape inquiry district, had a population of 426 in the 2013 census. This makes it the third largest town in the inquiry district after Taihape and Waiouru. Huntermville had no provision for secondary education after the school lost its district high school status in 1929. Huntermville children needing secondary education thereafter went by bus or train to Marton District High School, some 26 kilometres south. From June 1945 the teacher-bus driver from Marton was provided a house in Huntermville.⁴⁸²

By 1957 Marton was the largest district high school in the country. In 1958 it was converted to a secondary school - Rangitikei College - with a roll of 300. The Rangitikei College Trust was established in 1963 to provide scholarships and otherwise assist students to attend the school. Rangitikei College boomed over the following decade, with the roll more than doubling from 414 in 1963 to 924 in 1976.⁴⁸³ Given the college's relative proximity it is likely that many pupils travelled there from Huntermville each day and continue to do so. In 2011, for example, two pupils from Huntermville were among those awarded \$400 Rangitikei College scholarships paid annually from the Rangitikei College Trust.⁴⁸⁴ One of the two pupils was Maori, and Rangitikei College has had a substantial minority of Maori pupils since the 1960s. In 1973 a Maori cultural group was formed at the school as an elective activity. The group gradually developed during the decade to the point that they performed at the Aotea Festival in Wanganui in 1978. In 1976 Rangitikei College had candidates for School Certificate Maori for the first time.⁴⁸⁵ In 1980 there were 161 Maori students at Rangitikei, over 20 percent of the roll of 800.⁴⁸⁶

After reaching its peak of over 900 in 1976, the roll of Rangitikei College fell continuously over subsequent decades. By July 2000 the roll stood at 399 and over a third of the pupils were Maori – a proportion that has been sustained ever since.⁴⁸⁷ By 2006 the roll stood at 332. The Education Review Office clearly had concerns about the school and visited it three times in four

⁴⁸² *Huntermville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1987*, pp 9-10

⁴⁸³ *Rangitikei College Reunion: 25 Years*, 1982, pp 3-9

⁴⁸⁴ *Rangitikei Mail*, 15 December 2011, www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/your-manawatu/rangitikei-mail/6145190/Scholars-hail-from-Huntermville

⁴⁸⁵ *Rangitikei College Reunion*, p 41

⁴⁸⁶ Aotea District Secondary Schools' Statistical Data 1980, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Youth Development – Taihape College 1980-1983', item R20463502, ABRP 6844 W4598 194/ 31/19/10 1

⁴⁸⁷ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

years.⁴⁸⁸ The school's NCEA results were poor at the time although subsequently improved, as is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. In July 2014 the roll of Rangitikei College stood at 293, fewer pupils than the school had when it first opened 56 years earlier.⁴⁸⁹

Maori Boarding Schools

The vagaries facing pupils relying on school bus transport to get to secondary schools were outlined earlier. The Education Department understandably did not want to operate bus services for one or two pupils in remote areas, and teacher-drivers – equally understandably - did not want to spend hours each day driving buses. There were complex regulations to try and determine who was eligible for free or subsidised bus transport although, as the example of Taihape College shows, the rules were sometimes bent.

For those pupils for whom daily travel by bus or other means (train, private car, horse, bicycle, or by foot) each day was unfeasible, the government provided a boarding allowance from 1937. This could be used to contribute to private board near a secondary school or towards fees at a boarding school. The boarding allowance was initially set at seven shillings and sixpence per week (or just under £13 for a 40 week school year) and increased from time to time. It was thus considerably less generous than a Maori boarding scholarship of £35 per year but was available to anyone from a remote area who had completed primary school.⁴⁹⁰

It was thus feasible for those Maori secondary pupils in the inquiry district who were unable to travel to Taihape or Marton each day to obtain board, most likely at a Maori boarding school. Little information is available as to how many from the inquiry district did so, but anecdotal evidence suggests boarding was common and continued into relatively recent times. A Wanganui Education Board analysis in 1968 found that over the previous four years, between 20 and 30 percent of pupils who had finished Form 2 at one of the contributing schools did not attend Taihape College the following year.⁴⁹¹ Some of these pupils would have left school, but the remainder presumably travelled outside of the district to board.

In the country as a whole the relevance of Maori boarding schools decreased after 1940 due to the introduction of free secondary education in 1937, transport improvements, the continued expansion of secondary schools into more remote areas, and Maori urbanisation. A 1948 survey

⁴⁸⁸ Education Review Office report on Rangitikei College, 20 June 2006, ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Rangitikei-College-19-06-2006

⁴⁸⁹ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

⁴⁹⁰ AJHR 1937-38, E3, p 6 and AJHR 1939, E2, p 6

⁴⁹¹ Taihape College Determination of Intake, 1965-1968, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Populations Survey – Taihape 1959-1987', item R12554979, ABFI W3544 62/ 7/24

found that only 19 percent of Maori secondary students were in private Maori schools, and this proportion reduced greatly in subsequent decades.⁴⁹² However in the Taihape district these factors had less of an effect, as no new secondary schools opened in the inquiry district, many roads remained rough, and there were few large towns or cities nearby. Government policy was that Maori should generally attend the secondary boarding school closest to their place of residence.⁴⁹³ A number of Maori colleges were established in the general vicinity of the inquiry district and it is likely that many pupils from the district who boarded attended one of these schools. Some attended Maori boarding schools in Auckland – an example was provided in Chapter 4 of a Moawhango pupil who did so – but the Auckland schools are not covered in this report.

Te Aute College

The Anglican Church's Te Aute College in the Hawkes Bay was the best-known of the Maori boarding schools. Anecdotal evidence suggests that boys from within the inquiry district commonly attended Te Aute. The school first opened in 1854 and had a chequered history in its early decades, mainly due to funding issues.⁴⁹⁴ Te Aute was a primary school when John Thornton became principal in 1876 but over the following decades he established the school as a provider of quality secondary education.⁴⁹⁵ In this he was assisted by the government's development of the boarding scholarship system for Maori schools in the 1880s. By the time Taihape Maori finally had access to schooling in the late nineteenth century, Te Aute had established a strong reputation. Several students passed the matriculation examination most years, and a number of graduates went on to become lawyers, doctors, politicians and clergymen.

In the early twentieth century Te Aute got caught up in a debate over the future of Maori secondary education. In 1906 a royal commission was held into the Te Aute College and Wanganui College trust deeds, but the commission became primarily focussed on curriculum matters: should Te Aute continue to focus on training a small group of Maori to make their way in the Pakeha world, or should they be providing a larger group of Maori with skills to contribute to their communities? Government officials such as Hogben and Williams Bird (who replaced James Pope as head of the native schools service in 1904) largely supported the latter view. Hogben, as outlined earlier, wanted all secondary education, whether for Maori or Pakeha, to

⁴⁹² Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 153

⁴⁹³ AJHR 1905, E2, p 13

⁴⁹⁴ James Graham, 'Whakatangata Kia Kaha: Toitu te Whakapapa, Toitu te Uakiri, Toitu te Mana – An Examination of the Contribution of Te Aute college to Maori Advancement', PhD thesis in Education, Massey University, New Zealand, pp 46-50

⁴⁹⁵ Barrington and Beaglehole, pp 166-167

have a more practical focus, although he still supported academic schooling for a small minority.⁴⁹⁶ Bird provided no support for academic schooling at all, saying that education should train Maori for life among Maori. 'If you take the best Maori away from their kaingas and put them into the towns, these boys are practically lost to the Maori race. You do not want to train the individual at the expense of the race'.⁴⁹⁷

The general consensus, even among Te Aute old boys, was that the college should be providing a high proportion of practical classes, and Thornton introduced lessons in woodwork and agriculture over subsequent years.⁴⁹⁸ His successors, particularly Ernest Loten, continued this trend. Loten was a graduate of Hawkesbury Agricultural College in New South Wales and introduced agricultural and matriculation streams to the school in 1919. In 1924 only 13 out of the 46 new Te Aute students enrolled in the agricultural course, indicating that parents preferred the matriculation option.⁴⁹⁹ Te Aute was consistently the most academic of the Maori boarding schools and tried to equip many of its students for possible higher education rather than aiming solely at lower level qualifications such as the public service entry examinations.

Te Aute College had 71 pupils in 1910, gradually rising to 85 in 1920. By 1925 there were 93 on the roll following an increase in the number and value of scholarships provided at the school.⁵⁰⁰ The rolls of Te Aute and most other Maori colleges collapsed during the depression of the 1930s, making the staffing of the less popular specialised practical courses unviable. During the decade Te Aute reverted to a largely academic curriculum.⁵⁰¹ It also became difficult to find teachers able to teach the Maori language.⁵⁰²

Te Aute went through something of a revival in the 1950s in a time of greater prosperity and, as outlined earlier, significantly increased state assistance for boarders at Maori schools. In 1951 the roll reached 153.⁵⁰³ In 1954 the college was approved as an accrediting school for University Entrance, a status granted only to schools seen as having reached a sufficient academic standard. The large numbers of School Certificate passes at that time resulted in Te Aute having a record number of sixth form students in 1955. The 1962 annual report for the college noted that some

⁴⁹⁶ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 183-185

⁴⁹⁷ AJHR 1906, G5, p 94

⁴⁹⁸ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 183-184

⁴⁹⁹ Barrington, 2009, p 165

⁵⁰⁰ Barrington and Beaglehole, p178; Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 159

⁵⁰¹ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 188-189

⁵⁰² AJHR 1936, E3, p 5

⁵⁰³ Graham, 'Te Aute', p 75

15 percent of graduates went on to university in the previous decade (a high proportion at the time for most schools), while a further 15 percent went on to train as primary teachers.⁵⁰⁴

However by the 1960s the school role was plummeting, presumably due to Maori urbanisation.⁵⁰⁵ The resulting financial problems led its sister school, Hukarere, to close in 1969 (see below) and a government bailout in 1972 to assist with much-needed capital works.⁵⁰⁶ Discussions with the government led to Te Aute becoming a state-integrated school during the 1970s.⁵⁰⁷ This resulted in further significant capital investment and the school went through a boom period in the 1980s, with over 200 pupils enrolled for a time. From the early 1990s Te Aute became a co-educational school with a small number of female students, but returned to being a boys' school in 2004. The school again became known for its achievements, although this time these appeared to be more sporting than academic in nature.⁵⁰⁸ Te Aute has fallen on hard times in recent years, with the roll having fallen to under 100 pupils. The school trustees resigned in 2011 due to the financial difficulties besetting the school and were replaced by a commissioner.⁵⁰⁹

In 1993 Tama Potaka, raised in Rata, was head boy and dux of Te Aute.⁵¹⁰ However little information was uncovered in research for this report as to the extent students from the Taihape inquiry district have attended the college. Anecdotal evidence indicates it was a common destination for boys from the district attending boarding school. Class lists are available for the college, but they give no information as to where pupils were from. In 1910 Te Awe Potaka, possibly from the inquiry district, was on the school roll.⁵¹¹

The lists of those accepted on scholarship include information on where students were from. No pupils on the scholarship lists examined from the early decades of the twentieth century were from within the Taihape inquiry district. This is not surprising as it appears that all those accepted by the 1920s had proficiency certificates, which were rare among Maori in the inquiry district. In addition, those with scholarships in the first half of the twentieth century seemed to come exclusively from native schools, of which there were none until 1944 in the inquiry district. Taihape pupils attending Te Aute would therefore most likely have been private pupils. After

⁵⁰⁴ Barrington and Beaglehole, pp 235-236

⁵⁰⁵ Graham, 'Te Aute', p 75

⁵⁰⁶ Barrington and Beaglehole, pp 237-238, Graham, 'Te Aute', pp 74-77

⁵⁰⁷ Graham, 'Te Aute', pp 79-80

⁵⁰⁸ Graham, 'Te Aute', pp 80-82

⁵⁰⁹ Education Review Office report on Te Aute College, 26 July 2013, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Te-Aute-College-26-07-2013/1-Background-and-Context

⁵¹⁰ Murray Haywood, *Rata, in the Heart of the Rangitikei*, Hamilton, 2003, p 187

⁵¹¹ Annual Examination 1910, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Te Aute : list of scholars 1881-1941', item R20393473, BAAA 1001 A440 1037b 44/6

1937 it became far more viable for parents to send their children to Te Aute as private pupils, as boarding allowances became available to those without the (more generous) government scholarships.

One well-known Taihape district pupil to attend Te Aute was Porokoru (John) Pohe from a farming family near Taihape. Pohe attended Turangarere School and Taihape District High School before going on to Te Aute. He completed his New Zealand Air Force training in 1941 and was posted to England. Pohe was captured following a bombing raid over Germany in 1942 and sent to the Stalag Luft III prisoner of war camp. He was among those who famously escaped from the camp in 1944 but was recaptured and executed.⁵¹²

Turakina Maori Girls' College

Turakina Maori Girls' College is given extensive coverage here because of its location just outside the inquiry district – first in Turakina itself (near Wanganui), then from 1928 in Marton. Anecdotal evidence suggests that girls from the inquiry district commonly attended Turakina, although little documentary evidence is available on this. One of the first pupils in 1905 was Mary Tua from Rata.⁵¹³ In 1925 three girls from Rata were attending the school.⁵¹⁴ The Potaka name regularly appears in lists of pupils.

The Presbyterian Church founded a Maori girls' boarding school, then called Turakina Maori Girls School, in 1905. Education Minister Richard Seddon officially opened the school that April.⁵¹⁵ In its first year the school authorities applied for and were granted five government scholarship places at the school, out of a roll of 28.⁵¹⁶ This was fewer scholarships than generally provided at the other main Maori girls' boarding schools, Hukarere in Napier and Queen Victoria in Auckland. This disparity was a regular cause of complaint from the Turakina management.

In 1912 the headmaster had a further cause to complain when education officials issued a circular requiring pupils from general schools to have at least a Proficiency Certificate to be eligible for scholarships. He contrasted this with girls from native schools, who were required to have passed Standard IV with credit, a much lower barrier. The headmaster pointed out that

⁵¹² 'Porokoru Patapu Kohe', Auckland Museum online cenotaph, <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph/record/C18989>

⁵¹³ R M Ryburn to Richard Seddon, 20 June 1905, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Turakina 1904-1912', item R20393524, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/a 44/6

⁵¹⁴ Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, November 1925, p 81

⁵¹⁵ *Manawatu Times*, 14 April 1905, p 3

⁵¹⁶ Albert Pitt to James Carroll, 8 June 1904, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Turakina 1904-1912', item R20393524, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/a 44/6

there were few native schools anywhere near Turakina so many of their pupils had to meet higher standards to get scholarships.⁵¹⁷ Although ostensibly an institution for 'higher education' there were few pupils at Turakina beyond Standard VI in its first decade or so. The girls' education therefore generally finished with the proficiency exam, although a few went on to take the Public Service Entrance examination.

In 1928 the school moved to a new site in Marton and was renamed Turakina Maori Girls' College (the 'Turakina' name was retained for branding purposes). From 1929 the school increasingly specialised in post-primary education. By the end of 1929 there were 12 pupils in Forms 3 and 4, rising to 19 by the end of 1930. The roll slumped a little during the depression of the 1930s, but rebounded after 1934. In 1937 there were 40 girls on the roll, with just two in Form 2 (previously Standard VI). Seven girls were in Form 5. By then the number of government scholarships at the school had increased to 15, along with two 'continuation' scholarships providing for additional years of schooling.⁵¹⁸

Although Maori was a compulsory subject for holders of government scholarships, in 1932 the inspectors described the quality of instruction in Maori as 'inadequate'. (Fewer pupils during the depression meant fewer staff, and the more specialised subjects tended to suffer). In 1935 the inspectors report said that the primary history syllabus should include stories 'from Maori and English history'. There was little evidence of Maori arts and crafts in the school, aside from a rare mention of taniko work in the 1937 inspection report.⁵¹⁹ The situation subsequently improved and in 1947 the inspector praised the action songs and tukutuku work at the school.⁵²⁰ Later inspection reports indicate that Maori culture gained a central place in the curriculum, and the Turakina Maori Girls' Choir went on to issue a number of records and CDs of Maori songs.

In 1950 the inspectors suggested a greater integration of Maori legends and culture into social studies and history lessons.⁵²¹ The 1953 inspection report noted an interesting trend - only about a third of the girls starting at Turakina spoke fluent Maori. Because of the lack of instruction in Maori at primary school, their reading, writing and grammar had to start almost from scratch.

⁵¹⁷ Alfred Hamilton to Minister of Education, 20 April 1912, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Turakina 1904-1912', item R20393524, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/a 44/6

⁵¹⁸ Turakina Inspection reports 1928-1938, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Turakina 1913-1944', item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

⁵¹⁹ Turakina Inspection reports 1932, 1935 and 1937, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Turakina 1913-1944', item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

⁵²⁰ Turakina Inspection reports 1945 and 1947, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵²¹ Turakina Inspection report 1950, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

The 1955 inspection report contained more information gleaned from a conversation with the principal. 'Some pupils come with virtually no knowledge of Maori; many speak it but have no grammatical knowledge; a few are well equipped in all phases of the language.' About half the girls sat School Certificate Maori, and two pupils were sitting the subject for University Entrance, both of whom entered the school with no Maori at all.⁵²²

In common with girls in all New Zealand secondary schools in the early twentieth century, the curriculum included a significant amount of domestic instruction.⁵²³ In 1932, for example, the standard curriculum for Forms 3 and 4 comprised arithmetic, English, history, geography, Maori, hygiene, nursing, cookery, dressmaking, needlework, housecraft, singing, and physical drill.⁵²⁴ The emphasis was not entirely on the practical however. In 1929 the inspector tested the third and fourth form pupils in English composition, literary appreciation, geography, arithmetic, and physiology. He considered they showed 'a competent knowledge of these subjects'.⁵²⁵ However the inspection reports consistently revealed a lack of instruction in mathematics and science.

By 1932 the inspectors were criticising Turakina for its lack of academic rigour. They recommended more challenging instruction in English, history, geography and arithmetic and that 'a more advanced secondary course' be made available for the more able and ambitious girls.⁵²⁶ In 1933 geometry and algebra were introduced into a new academic stream, with less focus on the practical subjects. In 1935 science was added to the academic stream.⁵²⁷ The inspectors report for 1950 commented on what they saw as the main aims of the school. These included 'to train [the students] either to earn their own living or to put into practice in their homes what they have learned to do at school'.⁵²⁸ In earlier decades the emphasis would have been very much on the latter aim rather than the former.

By the mid-1940s the roll had increased to over 50 and remained at that level. This in part reflected the increased financial assistance available. By 1950, 31 of the 56 girls at Turakina were

⁵²² Turakina Inspection reports 1953 and 1955, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls - Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵²³ See Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 182-183

⁵²⁴ Turakina Inspection report 1934, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Turakina 1913-1944, item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

⁵²⁵ Turakina Inspection report 1929, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Turakina 1913-1944, item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

⁵²⁶ Turakina Inspection report 1932, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Turakina 1913-1944, item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

⁵²⁷ Turakina Inspection reports 1933, 1935, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports - Turakina 1913-1944, item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

⁵²⁸ Turakina Inspection report 1950, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls - Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

on government scholarships, eight had a boarding allowance, and three others were on other scholarships.⁵²⁹ The number of girls in receipt of a boarding allowance increased in subsequent years.

During the 1940s girls at Turakina sat School Certificate in increasing numbers. A sixth form class began at the school in the post-war period. However it was to be some years before the pupils began sitting University Entrance. Instead they sat a lesser qualification called 'endorsed School Certificate'. By 1955 Turakina girls were sitting University Entrance in English, history, geography, Maori and biology.⁵³⁰ The qualifications sat and obtained by Turakina girls are outlined in more detail in the chapter on qualifications.

Correspondence on file reveals that by the 1960s the Education Department had a number of concerns about the education provided at Turakina. In particular officials considered the curriculum too narrow, thus restricting potential professional and career options for the girls. The limited instruction in mathematics and science was a particular concern. At that time the Presbyterian Church was developing an ambitious expansion plan for Turakina, encouraged by high demand. Although the roll had never exceeded 60, the church was proposing to enlarge the school to take up to 200 boarding students, including around 80 Pakeha girls.⁵³¹

The Education Department, on being asked for advice from the church, was not supportive of the plans. D M Jillett, the department's Officer for Maori Education, pointed out that the demand for boarding places at Maori schools was driven by strong population growth, by then weakening, and was likely to be counteracted by other trends, including urbanisation and the spread of secondary schools to smaller towns. Turakina, he noted, was far from the main centres of Maori (and Pakeha) population. If the school was to expand, the department considered it would struggle to attract quality teachers. Jillett also criticised the proposed curriculum as too narrow, as outlined in the chapter on qualifications.⁵³²

⁵²⁹ Turakina Inspection report 1950, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵³⁰ Turakina Inspection reports 1947, 1950, 1955, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵³¹ Kirk to Jillett, 2 June 1964, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵³² Jillett to Kirk, 3 July 1964, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

The Education Board criticism prompted a rethink, and the expansion plans were temporarily put on hold.⁵³³ The church re-launched its expansion plan in 1966 and the new extensions were officially opened in 1970.⁵³⁴ The Minister of Maori Affairs opened a new dining block at the college in 1971.⁵³⁵ Although the school abandoned plans to attract Pakeha students, by 1980 it had 130 pupils enrolled.⁵³⁶

Turakina Maori Girls' School was integrated into the state system in 1981. As an integrated school it could not restrict access to particular groups, but was required to have a 'special character'. In the case of Turakina: 'The Special character of the College emphasises the beliefs and values of Maori and the Christian faith through acknowledging the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi'.

Much of the college was rebuilt between 1981 and 1986.⁵³⁷ However the school roll subsequently declined, and stood at just 83 in July 2000.⁵³⁸ By 2010 the roll had increased slightly to 105, but the school was in trouble. In December 2012 the Ministry of Education appointed a Limited Statutory Manager to oversee certain aspects of the school in response to ongoing Education Review Office concerns. By July 2014 the school roll was just 63, making it one of the smallest secondary schools in New Zealand. Staff numbers also declined as a result.⁵³⁹ In November 2015 the Minister of Education confirmed an earlier decision that the school would close at the end of the year.⁵⁴⁰

Other Boarding Schools

Hukarere boarding school for girls opened in Napier in 1875 as an Anglican sister school to Te Aute. During the 1880s the school became eligible for Maori boarding scholarships, although it never provided the same level of academic education as Te Aute.⁵⁴¹ Hukarere had 63 pupils on the roll in 1910 – only slightly fewer than Te Aute - but the roll failed to increase much after that.

⁵³³ Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, November 1964, pp 412a-413a

⁵³⁴ *Te Ao Hou*, September 1966, p 14, teahou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teahou/issue/Mao56TeA/c11.html; Programme 'Opening of Additions to Turakina Maori Girls' College – 7 February 1970.

⁵³⁵ *Te Ao Hou*, 1971, p 29, teahou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teahou/issue/Mao69TeA/c11.html

⁵³⁶ Aotea District Secondary Schools' Statistical Data 1980, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Youth Development – Taihape College 1980-1983', item R20463502, ABRP 6844 W4598 194/ 31/19/10 1

⁵³⁷ Turakina Maori Girls' College website, www.tmgc.school.nz/

⁵³⁸ Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

⁵³⁹ Education Review Office reports on Turakina Maori Girls' College, 14 May 2010, 9 August 2012 and 18 July 2014, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Turakina-Maori-Girls-College-18-07-2014; Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

⁵⁴⁰ *Manawatu Standard*, 25 November 2015, www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/74423423/Turakina-Maori-Girls-College-devastated-over-school-closure

⁵⁴¹ Graham, 'Te Aute', p 51; Barrington and Beaglehole, p 163

There were 65 pupils on the roll in 1925.⁵⁴² Hukarere Girls' School closed in 1969 due to the financial difficulties it shared with Te Aute and operated solely as a boarding hostel for Maori girls attending Napier Girls College.⁵⁴³ The school reopened in 1993 as Hukarere College, at a new location north of Napier at Eskdale.

A 1995 book on Hukarere listed all the girls on the school roll from 1875 to 1995.⁵⁴⁴ From 1875 until the school became a boarding hostel in 1970 the list includes, with minor exceptions, where the pupils originated from. Only seven girls from the Taihape inquiry district were identified on the list. The list also identifies the origins of those who stayed in the boarding hostel between 1976 and 1982. None were from the inquiry district. It appears that girls from the inquiry district did not go to Hukarere.

Hato Paora College in Feilding was founded by the Catholic Church in 1948 as a Maori boarding school. Lists of pupils in the school magazine indicate that a number attended from within the Taihape inquiry district between 1965 and 1976 – normally between two and seven students each year. Only one pupil from the inquiry district was found in the lists for 1962 to 1964 and only three for the years 1977 to 1982.⁵⁴⁵

Another Catholic School, **St Joseph's Maori Girls' College**, was founded in Napier in 1867. The school buildings were destroyed in the Napier earthquake and the school was rebuilt at its present site in Greenmeadows (near Taradale), reopening in 1935.⁵⁴⁶ In 2014 the school had 150 boarders.⁵⁴⁷ Anecdotal evidence suggests that girls from the Taihape area attended the college over the decades but no evidence was found for this report as to the extent to which this happened.

In 1912 the Latter Day Saints (Mormon Church) founded a **Maori Agricultural College** at Hastings. This was a purely private school and its pupils were not eligible for government scholarships. The college took a mixture of primary and secondary pupils but by 1930 almost all the 34 pupils were in the secondary classes. The school burnt down that year and did not

⁵⁴² Barrington and Beaglehole, p 178

⁵⁴³ Ross Claman, 'Maori education – matauranga – Maori church boarding schools', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012, www.teara.govt.nz/en/maori-education-matauranga/page-4

⁵⁴⁴ Kuni Jenkins and Kay Morris Matthews, *Hukarere and the Politics of Maori Girls' Schooling 1875-1995*, Dunmore Press: Palmerston North, 1995, pp 162=179

⁵⁴⁵ Hato Paora College annual magazine *Parorangi* 1962-1964 and *Paroro-o-te-Rangī* 1965-1982

⁵⁴⁶ St Joseph's Maori Girls' College website, www.sjmgc.school.nz/

⁵⁴⁷ Education Review Office Report on St Joseph's Maori Girls' College, 13 August 2014, <http://www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/St-Joseph-s-Maori-Girls-College-13-08-2014/1-Context>

reopen.⁵⁴⁸ Because Maori in the Taihape inquiry district had Mormon connections it is likely that a number of children from the district attended the agricultural college, although no evidence could be found of this.

⁵⁴⁸ AJHR 1932, E2, p 7; Barrington, 2009, p 166

Chapter 6: Maori Educational Outcomes in the Taihape District

Introduction

The commission for this project included questions about the qualifications obtained by Maori in the Taihape inquiry district:

- What do official measures reveal about educational outcomes for Māori of the Taihape inquiry district?
- How do these compare with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally, with particular reference to levels of school enrolment and qualifications obtained?

This chapter attempts to assess the educational outcomes for Maori in the inquiry district with reference to qualifications and participation in education. The analysis has been heavily driven by the extent of information available. It begins with a primary school qualification, the Certificate of Proficiency, which operated from 1899 until 1936. The certificate was an important qualification as it became the main entry into secondary education before free secondary schooling was introduced in 1937.

The chapter then looks at secondary qualifications such as School Certificate, to the extent that information is available. This section includes an overview of the education provided at Turakina Maori Girls' College in Marton (south of the inquiry district). Reasonably comprehensive information is available about that school, which appears to have been attended by many girls from the inquiry district. The chapter then looks at information on qualifications and educational outcomes derived from 2013 census data. Although this is a contemporary snapshot, it also gives something of an historical picture given that the census covers the entire population including those who attended education institutions many decades ago.

The chapter concludes with a look at the extent to which Taihape Area School, established in 2005, and Rangitikei College in Marton are catering for their Maori pupils with respect to NCEA results.

Certificates of Proficiency

Under policies introduced in the early twentieth century to facilitate participation in secondary education, the Certificate of Proficiency gradually assumed prime importance in the New Zealand education system. The certificate increasingly provided the means by which children could access post-primary education. By 1914 state secondary schools were required to provide

up to two years of free secondary education to any child awarded a proficiency certificate.⁵⁴⁹ The exams were generally held in the latter months of Standard VI (later Form II) when pupils were usually aged 13 or 14. The exams covered a variety of subjects and the individual scores were then added together to produce a total figure. From the mid-1920s, schools in some board districts began accrediting proficiency certificates on the basis of attendance and work done during the year.⁵⁵⁰ However this was mainly confined to larger schools where moderation was easier. In general pupils had to sit the annual exams, although accreditation became increasingly common during the 1930s. The proficiency exam was abolished in 1937.

A lesser qualification, the Competency Certificate, was awarded to those who narrowly missed out in the proficiency exam. Those awarded competency could, and sometimes did, re-sit the proficiency exam the following year (as could those who failed). The system changed over time, but by the late 1920s a score of 230 out of 400 was required for proficiency and over 200 for competency. Over 80 percent of those who sat scored 200 or more (or were accredited). It should be remembered, however, that just getting to Standard VI required surmounting a number of hurdles. Pupils failing to meet the required standards in the eyes of the teacher and/or the school inspector could be held back in the same class for an extra year. This commonly happened, particularly at the lower levels of school. As a result, a large portion of pupils left school without reaching Standard VI and thus never sat the exam.

The proficiency results at board-run schools indicate that the schools did not do a good job at getting Maori pupils through the proficiency exams. In 1906, the first year for which figures are available, just 13 Maori were awarded proficiency certificates at general public schools, and 16 were awarded competency certificates. No proficiency certificates and just one competency certificate was awarded to Maori in Wanganui board schools.⁵⁵¹ By 1920 the figures had improved only marginally, with 37 Maori achieving proficiency (four in Wanganui) and 12 achieving competency (none in Wanganui).⁵⁵² To put these figures in perspective, at a national level 10,618 proficiency certificates (772 in Wanganui) and 2,176 competency certificates (205 in Wanganui) were awarded in 1920 in general public schools.⁵⁵³

In the early decades of the twentieth century around half of Maori children were educated in native schools, administered directly by the Education Department, rather than in general

⁵⁴⁹ *New Zealand Official Year Book* 1950, p 160

⁵⁵⁰ AJHR 1925, E2, pp 39, 40

⁵⁵¹ AJHR 1907, E2, p 29

⁵⁵² AJHR 1921, E3, p 18

⁵⁵³ AJHR 1921, p 25. The figures exclude native and private schools.

primary schools run by education boards.⁵⁵⁴ Native schools appeared to perform significantly better for Maori in the proficiency examinations than did general schools. In 1920, 65 proficiency certificates and 28 competency certificates were awarded to native school pupils, greatly outnumbering the 37 proficiency certificates and 12 competency certificates awarded to Maori in general schools. (Around a fifth of Standard VI pupils in native schools were classified as 'European' in 1920, so the native school figure needs to be reduced by 20 percent for a valid comparison).⁵⁵⁵

By 1924 there had been a huge improvement in Maori achievement of proficiency in general schools. That year 95 Maori were awarded a proficiency certificate (10 in Wanganui) and 15 a competency certificate (one in Wanganui).⁵⁵⁶ However, less than a quarter of Wanganui schools were within the Taihape inquiry district, so Maori in the inquiry district were unlikely to have been awarded proficiency certificates in 1924 (although, as outlined below, two in fact were).

Methodology

In this section the proficiency results for a number of schools in the inquiry district were examined to see how many Maori pupils passed the certificate. Given that the national and Wanganui figures were so small before 1924, there seemed little point in going much further back in time than that (a search of the 1918 files revealed no Maori proficiency candidates within the inquiry district). The 14 years from 1923 to 1936 were therefore analysed. Pupils in the lists of proficiency candidates were identified as Maori solely on the basis of their names. The number of Maori on the lists may therefore have been under-estimated.

There were roughly 40 schools in the inquiry district in the period under consideration, but most were very small and few had more than one or two Maori pupils, if any. It was decided to first focus on the largest schools on the basis that, even if they had a low proportion of Maori pupils they would still generally have had some Maori on their roll by virtue of their size. Taihape, Mangaweka and Hunterville Schools were therefore initially chosen, although Hunterville was subsequently left out due to the lack of evidence that the school had *any* Maori pupils at all throughout the period 1923 to 1936. Moawhango was included as it generally had a reasonable number of Maori pupils on the roll, estimated at between 10 and 20 each year throughout this period. Utiku was included because of its small but consistent number of Maori pupils most years, mainly from the Potaka family. Turangarere School was included because it generally had

⁵⁵⁴ Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 29

⁵⁵⁵ AJHR 1921 E3, pp 3, 20

⁵⁵⁶ AJHR 1925 E3, p 15

between five and ten Maori pupils on the roll throughout this period – only slightly fewer than the far larger Taihape District High School.

Rata School was excluded despite the reasonably substantial Maori population in Rata shown in the 1936 census. This was for two reasons. One was Rata's relative proximity to Turakina Maori Girls' College in Marton. As discussed below, some Maori girls attended Turakina in the latter years of primary school to prepare for the proficiency examination and there is some evidence that Rata pupils were among those who did so.⁵⁵⁷ In addition there were throughout the period a significant number of Rata pupils with the surname 'Down'. The teachers identified some of these pupils as Maori, but for most they did not do so. It is therefore unclear to what extent the 'Downs' on the school rolls were Maori. At least one was awarded a proficiency certificate.⁵⁵⁸

Overall Results

Figure 6.1 below shows the percentage of proficiency and competency certificates earned by Maori in general primary schools within the Taihape inquiry district between 1923 and 1936. The figures for both types of certificate were combined because of their small number within the district.

The national proportion of certificates issued to Maori in 1923 (excluding Native schools) was 0.7 percent. By 1936 this had increased to 1.7 percent. Although this appears a slight increase, proportionately it represents an increase of 177 percent. This far outstripped the 72 percent growth in the proportion of Maori pupils in general primary schools over the same period (the proportion rose from 2.9 percent to five percent). However, the figures also show that Maori were achieving qualifications at a far lower rate than might be expected given their numbers in the school population. All things being equal, in 1936 Maori should have earned close to five percent of the Standard VI qualifications at board schools rather than the 1.7 percent they did.

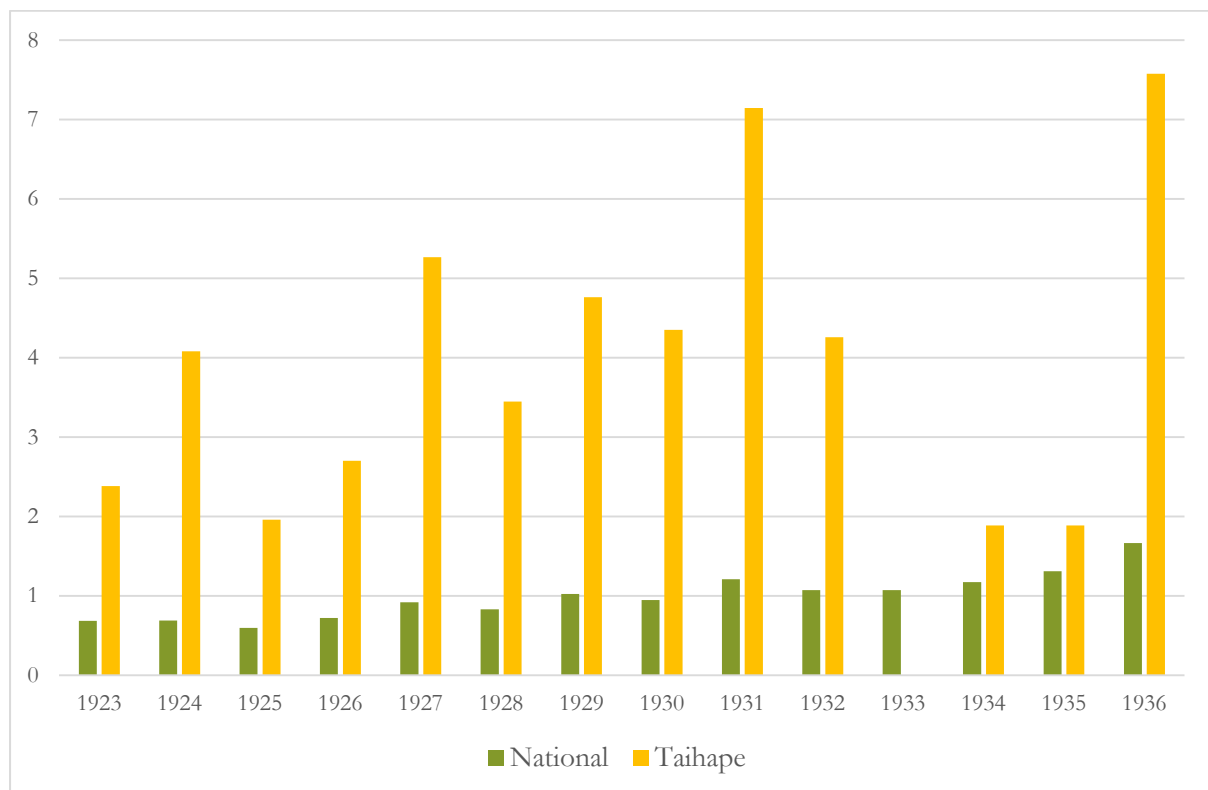
For the five schools analysed in the Taihape inquiry district the percentage jumped around a lot, as might be expected given the relatively small number of certificates issued. There was, however, a general upwards trend in the proportion of proficiency and competency certificates issued to Maori, with the obvious exception of the lean years 1933 to 1935. Overall, Maori pupils in the Taihape district appear to have done far better than Maori elsewhere in the country in the Standard VI exams.

⁵⁵⁷ During the 1920s and for part of the 1930s Turakina Maori Girls' College had a substantial proportion of primary pupils, most of whom sat the proficiency exam.

⁵⁵⁸ It is unclear if the Down family was in any way related to the Joshua Down who unsuccessfully sought a teaching position at the proposed Moawhango Native School in the 1890s.

This could, of course, be accounted for simply by the fact that there was a higher proportion of Maori pupils in the Taihape schools than elsewhere – indeed, two of the schools were chosen for exactly that reason. However, the low proportion of Maori at Taihape District High School makes this explanation unlikely to account for the difference. During the late 1920s and 1930s Maori made up less than four percent of the Taihape DHS primary roll. The school was by far the largest school in the district – it had nearly 500 primary pupils in 1929 and still had over 400 in 1937. Neither Turangarere nor Moawhango schools had more than 46 pupils in any year during this period, so Taihape DHS clearly dominates the statistics. Given that the results from the five schools are combined in this analysis, the proportion of Maori overall at the five schools cannot generally have been significantly higher than five percent. It can therefore be reasonably concluded that Maori pupils in the Taihape inquiry district were more likely to achieve Standard VI qualifications than their counterparts elsewhere in the country. However, in common with Maori elsewhere in New Zealand, they were significantly less likely than Pakeha pupils to achieve these qualifications.

Figure 6.1: Proficiency and Competency Certificates: Percent of all Certificates Issued to Maori 1923-1936 (Board Schools only)



Taihape District High School

Taihape DHS was by far the largest primary school in the inquiry district but few Maori attended – 10 to 14 in an average year in the 1930s out of a roll exceeding 400. For the years analysed,

pupils with Maori names achieved proficiency certificates in 1923, 1924, 1928 and 1935 (the latter being accredited). Two competency certificates were achieved, in 1926 and 1936. Maori pupils sat the exam but failed in 1928, 1930 and 1931. Maori thus did better at achieving Standard VI qualifications at Taihape DHS in the 1920s than in the 1930s.

Over the same period 435 Pakeha at Taihape DHS were awarded proficiency certificates and 105 were awarded competency certificates. Seventy-four Pakeha sat and failed the exam. Maori pupils thus achieved less than one percent of the proficiency passes between 1923 and 1936.

Moawhango School

Moawhango had more Maori pupils than Taihape DHS through most the period 1923 to 1936 despite the latter school being more than ten times the size. In some years the school inspector reported that the majority of pupils were Maori. However, Maori pupils earned just two proficiency certificates and two competency certificates during this time. Over the same period Pakeha pupils earned 20 proficiency and five competency certificates. Proficiency certificates were earned by Maori pupils in 1929 and 1932, and competency certificates in 1932 and 1934.

Turangarere School

Turangarere had only a few Maori pupils on its roll each year during the 1920s, and in 1927 three of them were awarded competency certificates. One of the successful pupils was John Pohe (discussed elsewhere in this report) who had been recently promoted to Standard VI after turning 12. He failed to get a proficiency certificate by one mark the following year, but another Maori pupil was awarded a competency certificate.

By the 1930s the number of Maori pupils at Turangarere had increased. The sole Maori candidate failed in 1931, but two were awarded proficiency certificates in 1932. In 1936 Makuine Pohe scored 316 out of 400 in the proficiency examination (scores of over 300 being relatively rare). During the same 14-year period 23 Pakeha pupils were awarded proficiency certificates at Turangarere and three were awarded competency certificates. For a small school Turangarere did surprisingly well at getting its Maori pupils through the proficiency and competency exams.

Mangaweka School

Mangaweka was one of the largest schools in the inquiry district during this period, but only a few Maori pupils attended the school each year. In 1923, three out of 78 pupils on the school roll had Maori names, rising to four of the 72 pupils in 1929 then dropping to two of 96 pupils in 1932.

In the years 1923 to 1936, five Maori were awarded proficiency certificates at Mangaweka, a surprising number given the small number of Maori on the roll. Four certificates were awarded between 1926 and 1931 and the other in 1936. During the same period Pakeha pupils were awarded 82 proficiency certificates and 20 competency certificates. The few inspection reports looked at for Mangaweka School were fairly positive about the standard of education at the school. None mentioned Maori pupils.

Utiku School

Utiku School, founded in 1896, had a small but consistent proportion of Maori pupils on its roll throughout most of its history – mainly from the Potaka and Winiata families. In 1924 there were five Maori on a roll of 80 but only one Maori on a roll of 70 in 1932.⁵⁵⁹ By 1936 the roll had dropped to 59, with five Maori enrolled.

Maori pupils at Utiku School achieved five proficiency and one competency certificate between 1923 and 1936. One Maori pupil sat and failed in 1926. During the same period the Pakeha pupils were awarded 65 proficiency and 16 competency certificates. Sixteen Pakeha sat and failed the exam. Maori pupils therefore constituted between two and ten percent of the roll during this period and were awarded seven percent of proficiency certificates.

Conclusions on Proficiency

Schools within the Taihape inquiry district seem to have done reasonably well overall in getting Maori pupils through the proficiency examinations set in Standard VI. Maori pupils at schools within the district appear more likely to have been awarded a proficiency or competency certificate than Maori at board schools elsewhere in the country, although the likelihood varied greatly from school to school. As elsewhere in New Zealand, Maori pupils in the inquiry district were considerably less likely than Pakeha pupils to be awarded proficiency or competency certificates.

Results from Moawhango School were disappointing given that the school generally had more Maori pupils than any other in the district in the period 1923 to 1936. Results from Taihape District High School were also rather indifferent considering the number of Maori pupils going through the school. On the other hand the small number of Maori pupils at Utiku, Mangaweka and Turangarere on occasions achieved surprisingly good results.

⁵⁵⁹ Utiku School roll 1924, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School rolls U-Z 1924', ABDV W3571 1036/

Secondary School Qualifications

The Proficiency Certificate was abolished in 1937 and secondary schooling became free for those who had completed Standard VI (which became Form 2). Before 1937 secondary qualifications were generally aimed at the more academic. A matriculation exam, which allowed access to university, could be sat in the third or fourth year of high school. Scholarship examinations and the Higher Leaving Certificate (which could be accredited in the fifth year of high school) entitled the tiny minority who attended university to financial assistance.⁵⁶⁰ For the less academically able there were public service entrance examinations, although these too were academic in nature. Otherwise there was something called the Intermediate examination, which appeared to be sat by third form students as preparation for the public service and other more advanced examinations in subsequent years.⁵⁶¹

This situation persisted after 1937, apart from a School Certificate examination introduced in 1934. This was a lesser version of the matriculation examination (which became University Entrance in 1944) and was sat by few. The result of the academic bias in the qualifications system was that few pupils stayed at secondary school beyond two years.

A new general School Certificate examination was launched in 1946, covering a wide range of subjects. School Certificate was sat in the third year of secondary school by increasing numbers of Fifth Form students each year.⁵⁶² A score of at least 50 percent was required to pass a subject, and the degree of difficulty was such that significant numbers failed to pass any School Certificate subjects. Even in the early 1960s only about 30 percent of pupils were awarded a School Certificate qualification.⁵⁶³ Limited information is available on Maori achievement in the examination. In 1962, figures compiled by the Commission on Education in New Zealand showed that less than five percent of Maori left school in 1960 with School Certificate or a higher qualification, compared with 30 percent of non- Maori.⁵⁶⁴ By 1976, the figure for Maori had increased six-fold, to 30 percent, although the non-Maori rate had more than doubled to 69 percent.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁰ Nancy Swarbrick, 'Primary and secondary education – standards and examinations', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13 July 2012, www.teara.govt.nz/en/primary-and-secondary-education/page-4

⁵⁶¹ There are few references to the Intermediate examination in official sources.

⁵⁶² Roger Openshaw, Greg and Howard Lee, *Challenging the Myths: Rethinking New Zealand's Education History*, The Dunmore Press: Palmerston North, 1993, p 216

⁵⁶³ Openshaw et al, p 74

⁵⁶⁴ Cited in Openshaw et al, p 74

⁵⁶⁵ Lewis Holden, *Youth: A Statistical Profile*, Department of Internal Affairs: Wellington, 1984, p 15

The main information that could be found about School Certificate and higher qualifications of direct relevance to the inquiry district was from Turakina Maori Girls College. The College was located immediately to the south of the Taihape inquiry district on major transport routes, so is likely to have been attended by many from the district. As was outlined earlier, boarding allowances introduced in 1937 along with an increase in Maori boarding scholarships made attending Turakina more affordable in the post-war period. The school would have provided a valuable alternative for girls from within the Taihape inquiry district who required board not far from home.

Post-primary education at Turakina

As was outlined earlier, until Turakina Maori Girls School moved to Marton in 1928 it was really an advanced primary school. It provided girls from small schools a better opportunity than they might otherwise have had to obtain a proficiency or competency certificate. In addition, the school provided a significant amount of instruction in what might be termed 'household skills'. From 1925, however, the school regularly put forward some of its few post-primary girls for the Public Service Examination.⁵⁶⁶ From 1929 the school began acquiring an increasing proportion of secondary pupils, although domestic subjects remained an important part of the curriculum. The latter included nursing and physiology, subjects which were also of potential vocational relevance.

In 1930 the school inspector noted that a number of third and fourth form girls were preparing to sit the public service examination the following year. He suggested that the more able third form girls should sit the Intermediate examination in preparation for this. Such practice, he said, would be necessary for those wanting professional employment such as teaching, nursing and dentistry. 'It would be very advisable to comb out in Forms II and III those girls who are adapted for academic study and give them the time and assistance for prosecution of this study'.⁵⁶⁷

In 1932 the school inspectors went further, recommending a more challenging secondary curriculum for all the girls, along with an academic stream. As a result more rigorous instruction was introduced for English, history, geography and science. Geometry and algebra were included in the new academic stream. By 1937 the primary classes were all but phased out and seven of the 40 girls enrolled were in the fifth form.

⁵⁶⁶ Turakina Inspection reports 1925, 1926 and 1927, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Turakina 1913-1944, item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

⁵⁶⁷ Turakina Inspection report 1930, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools – General Correspondence and Inspection Reports – Turakina 1913-1944, item R20393525, BAAA 1001 A440 1065/b 44/6

By 1944 the school had 55 girls on the roll. The majority of fourth and fifth form girls were in the academic stream aimed at sitting the School Certificate examination introduced in 1934. In 1944, four girls passed School Certificate in English, history, geography, physiology, housecraft and Maori. Two went on to teachers training college while the other two returned to school for further study.⁵⁶⁸ Turakina commonly had one or two sixth form pupils each year by then. However, instead of being candidates for the University Entrance qualification they were instead entered in a lesser qualification called 'endorsed School Certificate'. This policy continued into the 1950s and may have resulted from the difficulty often encountered by Turakina in employing sufficiently qualified staff to teach a range of subjects at the advanced level.⁵⁶⁹

With the revamping of School Certificate in 1946 the exam was sat by an increasing number of Turakina girls. Nine girls sat in 1947, with seven passing. Twelve sat in 1948 and 10 passed. Ten sat in 1949, but only five passed.⁵⁷⁰ This latter result aside, 22 School Certificate passes in three years was a reasonable achievement for a school which, just over a decade earlier, had only one or two fifth form pupils. It cannot be known, of course, to what extent those passing school certificate came from within the inquiry district.

By 1950 the number of girls in the fifth and sixth forms outnumbered those in the third form. In part this was a consequence of girls spending two years in the fifth form to prepare for School Certificate, as they commonly did. The two-stream system was temporally dispensed with so that all girls were doing courses leading to School Certificate. Some Latin instruction was introduced to the sixth form.⁵⁷¹

By 1955 Turakina girls were sitting University Entrance in English, history, geography, Maori and biology. The inspectors report that year contained information on the destination of the 14 students who left school in 1954. Three went to teachers training college, four into nursing, two became assistant teachers at Maori schools, three got jobs in offices, one in a factory, and one

⁵⁶⁸ Turakina Inspection report 1945, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls - Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵⁶⁹ Turakina Inspection report 1950, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls - Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵⁷⁰ Turakina Inspection report 1950, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls - Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵⁷¹ Turakina Inspection report 1950, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls - Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

went 'home'.⁵⁷² 'Home' appears to be a standard term for a future involving marriage and domestic duties, and was a common destination for girls, both Maori and Pakeha, on leaving secondary school in the 1950s – particularly those leaving district high schools.⁵⁷³ On the evidence from 1954 at least, pupils from Turakina appeared to be doing well.

However by 1959 the school seems to have stagnated. The curriculum had changed little in over 20 years. There were only 12 candidates for School Certificate (little more than a decade earlier) and only two girls in the sixth form.⁵⁷⁴ In 1964 a letter from the District Senior Inspector of Post-Primary Schools to D M Jillett, the Education Department's Officer for Maori Education, stated that 'in recent years standards and courses offered at the college have been causing concern'. Some of these concerns were hinted at in a letter from Jillett to the Secretary of the Presbyterian Church's Maori Synod, who had sought his advice on a proposed expansion of the school. For example the letter stated (emphasis in original):

The professional course proposed has two serious weaknesses. It contained neither Full Mathematics nor General Science. The girls attending such a school would have many professional and some skilled occupations closed to them. The proposed sixth form course would prepare girls for very restricted employment.⁵⁷⁵

Although Jillett was writing about a *proposed* course, that course was little different from the curriculum operating at Turakina at the time, as he would be well aware. He was indirectly conveying to the school management the criticisms that the inspectors and others had been making of the school for some time. His letter was also sceptical that the school would be able to attract sufficient able teachers if it wanted to expand. Again, his letter hinted that the school was *already* having trouble attracting quality teachers. Jillett suggested that if the school was to expand it should focus on preparing girls to progress to sixth form classes run at the nearby Rangitikei College. Interestingly, when Turakina's first university graduate, Georgina Manunui (later Te

⁵⁷² Turakina Inspection reports 1947, 1950, 1955, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵⁷³ See Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, p 191

⁵⁷⁴ Turakina Inspection report 1950, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

⁵⁷⁵ Jillett to Kirk, 2 July 1964, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Inspection of Schools - Inspection and Registration of Private Secondary Schools - Turakina Maori Girls – Marton 1944-1970', item R23977676, BCDQ 1050 A739 1351/e 22/11

Heuheu) started her course at Victoria University in 1962, she completed her sixth and seventh form years at Auckland Girls Grammar rather than at Turakina.⁵⁷⁶

As outlined in the previous chapter, the school's expansion plans went ahead anyway. By 1980 Turakina had 130 pupils, 31 of whom sat School Certificate that year and eight of whom sat University Entrance.⁵⁷⁷ In 1981 Turakina became a state integrated school. In the early years after the full introduction of the NCEA qualification in 2004 (discussed below) the school produced excellent results at all levels.⁵⁷⁸ However, results since around 2009 were highly variable and the Education Review Office had ongoing concerns about the underachievement of pupils in years 9 and 10 at the school (that is, the pre-NCEA classes). A Limited Statutory Manager was appointed to the school in 2012, in part to try and deal with this problem.⁵⁷⁹ Turakina Maori Girls College closed at the end of 2015 due to a dramatic fall in student numbers.⁵⁸⁰

Turakina Maori Girls College evolved considerably during the twentieth century. It started out as little more than an advanced primary school, but after the school moved to Marton in 1928 it gradually changed into a full secondary school. With prodding from the Education Department the curriculum increasingly prepared at least some of its pupils for professional roles. By the mid-1940s the school succeeded in getting most of its girls through the School Certificate examination at a time when less than a third of New Zealand pupils successfully completed the examination. The successes of the 1940s were built on in the 1950s, by preparing some girls for University Entrance. However by the 1960s education officials were concerned at the narrowness of the academic curriculum, particularly the limited instruction in mathematics and science. Despite these concerns the school was able to expand for a time. The school closed at the end of 2015 due to rapidly falling rolls over the previous decade. In recent years ERO raised concerns about the quality of education at the school although Turakina did, in the main, produce good NCEA results.

⁵⁷⁶ *Te Ao Hou*, September 1966, <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao56TeA/c25-10.html>. Georgina Te Heuheu later became the first Maori woman to graduate in law.

⁵⁷⁷ Aotea District Secondary Schools' Statistical Data 1980, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Youth Development – Taihape College 1980-1983', item R20463502, ABRP 6844 W4598 194/ 31/19/10 1

⁵⁷⁸ 'School Report – Turakina Maori Girls' College', www.stuff.co.nz/interactives/schoolreport/school-ncea.php?school=194

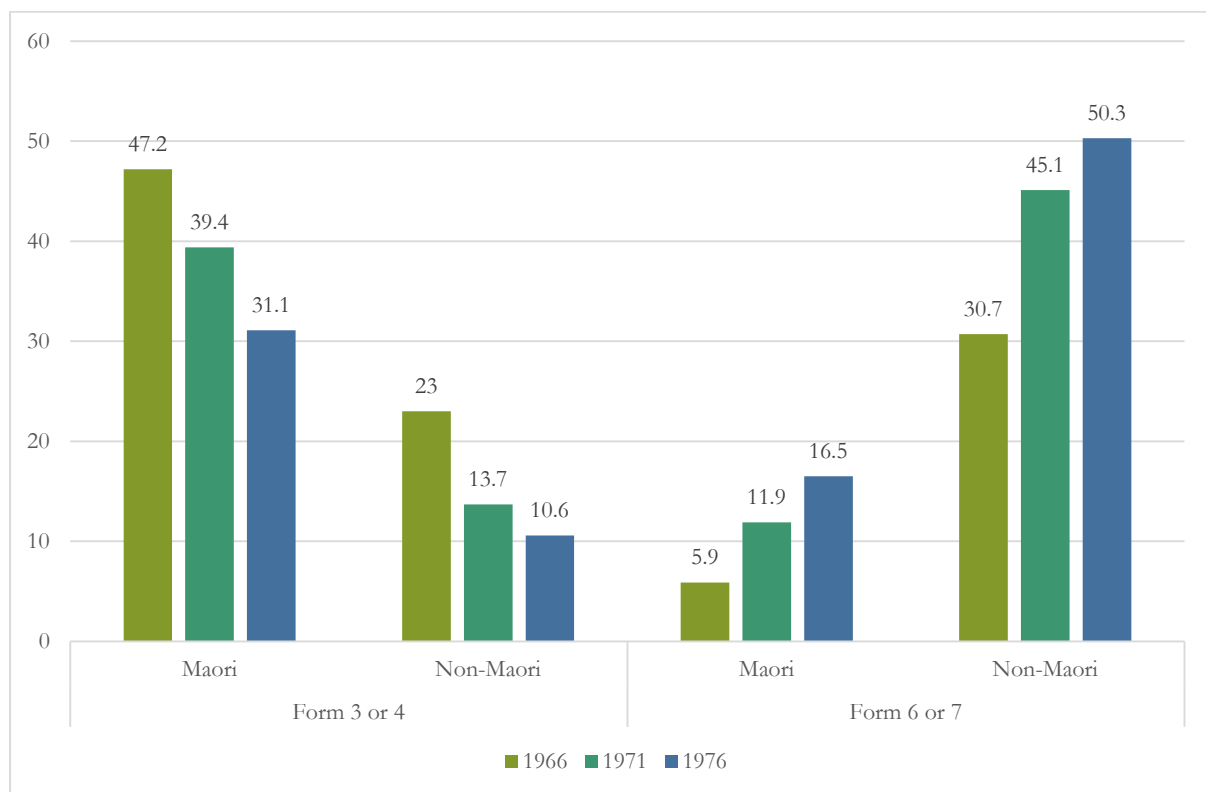
⁵⁷⁹ Education Review Office reports on Turakina Maori Girls' College, 14 May 2010, 9 August 2012 and 18 July 2014, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Turakina-Maori-Girls-College-18-07-2014

⁵⁸⁰ *Manawatu Standard*, 25 November 2015, www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/74423423/Turakina-Maori-Girls-College-devastated-over-school-closure

The 1960s and 1970s

As outlined in my report for the Rohe Potae inquiry, the Education Department did not monitor Maori participation in post-primary schooling at general schools until the 1940s. The department estimated that the proportion of Maori pupils proceeding from primary to secondary school increased from 41 to 63 percent between 1940 and 1949 – an increase greatly boosted by the introduction of free secondary education in 1937. In the 1950s officials mounted a campaign to try and further increase Maori participation in post-primary education, with some success. By 1959 the Education Department estimated that over 90 percent of Maori pupils proceeded to secondary school.⁵⁸¹ However retention of Maori pupils beyond the third or fourth form and the achievement of qualifications remained an issue. Figure 6.2 below illustrates the proportion of Maori and non-Maori pupils leaving school after one or two year’s secondary schooling and those leaving after completing the sixth or seventh forms.

Figure 6.2: Highest Year of Secondary Schooling by Ethnicity and Year (Percent)



Source: National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, 1980, p 5

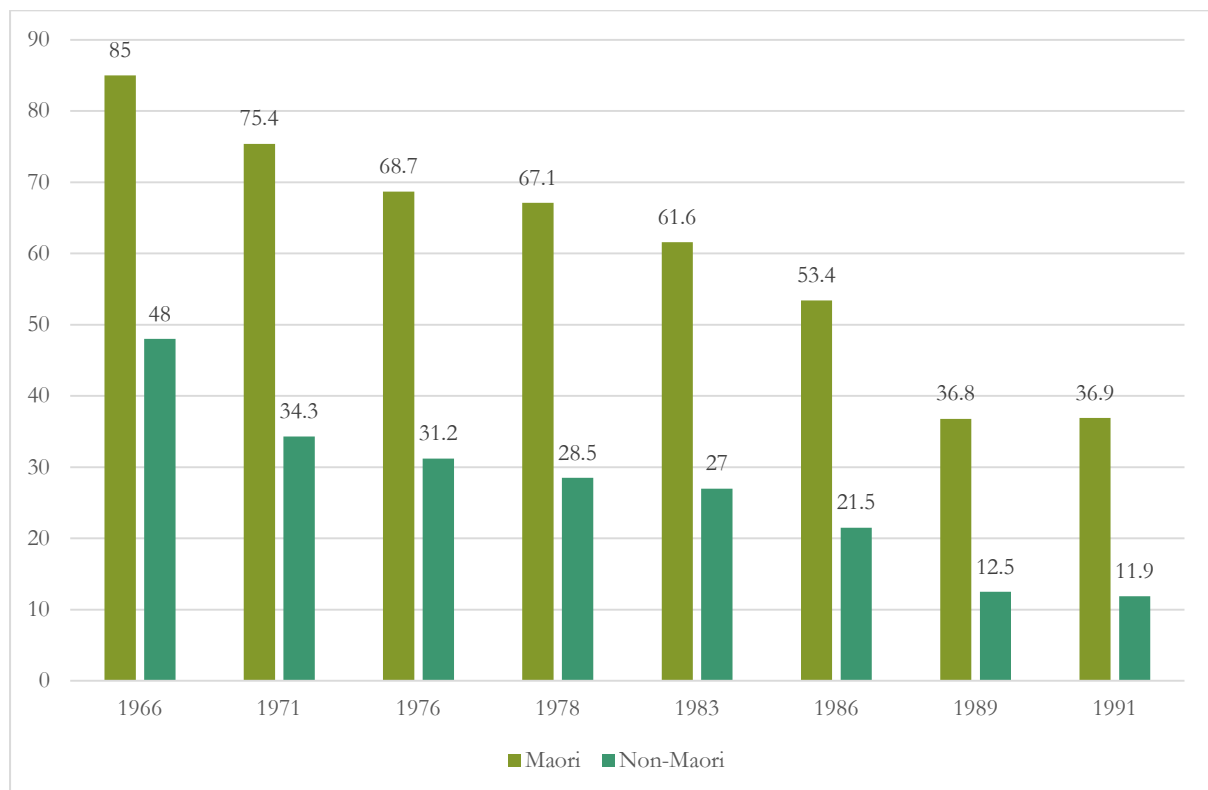
In 1966 Maori pupils were twice as likely as non-Maori to fail to progress to Form 5 and a fifth as likely to progress to Form 6 or 7. By 1976 the situation had improved, but nearly a third of

⁵⁸¹ Christoffel, pp 161-162

Maori pupils failed to progress to Form 5 compared with 10.6 percent of non-Maori. Only one Maori in six progressed to Form 6 in 1976 compared with half of non-Maori. Maori were going to secondary school, but significant numbers were leaving after just two or three years.

In all three years in Figure 6.2 (1967, 1971 and 1976) around half of Maori pupils left after completing Form 5 and therefore had an opportunity to sit School Certificate. However the achievement of qualifications proved elusive. Figure 6.3 below shows that in 1966 only one in six Maori pupils left school with any qualification at all. By the late-1970s the ratio had improved to one in three, but significant progress did not come until the 1980s. By the end of that decade over 64 percent of Maori left school with qualifications, although this was still below the 87 percent achieved by non-Maori.

Figure 6.3: Percentage of Maori and Non-Maori Leaving School with No Qualifications, Various Years 1966-1991



Source: National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, 1980, p 5 and Department of Internal Affairs, 1994, p 24

Taihape College followed a similar pattern as nationally, at least for the only year for which information was found. In 1967 the college had 71 Maori pupils on its roll. Of these, two pupils

were in Form 6, 21 were in Form 5, and 23 were in Form 4.⁵⁸² It thus appeared, assuming there were no population blips, that most Maori at the school were progressing to Form 5. However, the majority of fifth form pupils for whom their ages were recorded were aged 16 or 17 at the start of the year (the norm was 15). Many may have been repeating their fifth form year or have been held back in earlier years. It therefore seems likely that many Form 4 pupils at Taihape College were failing to progress to Form 5, in line with the national pattern.

The only Taihape College School Certificate and University Entrance (UE) results located in researching this report were for 1980. That year 23 Maori pupils sat School Certificate and five sat UE out of a total Maori roll of 108. Although over a quarter of Maori pupils on the roll (ie, including those in Forms 3 and 4) sat these exams, the results were abysmal. Just two pupils passed UE (one being accredited) and only six of the 23 candidates passed even one subject in the School Certificate exams (pupils nation-wide commonly sat exams in four or five subjects).⁵⁸³ If this was a typical year then only a small minority of Maori had any chance of leaving Taihape College with qualifications at the time. No comparative figures regarding the performance of the college's Pakeha pupils in these exams were located for this report.

Taihape Qualifications in the 2013 Census

The 2013 census collected information on the highest qualifications held by New Zealanders aged over 15 on census night. This data was synthesised by Statistics New Zealand for a scoping report by Georgie Crow for this inquiry.⁵⁸⁴ The details are outlined in the methodology section of the introductory chapter to this report. Socio-economic data from the Crow report, including that on qualifications, was analysed for inclusion in this report.

Figure 6.4 below shows the spread of highest qualifications for those residing in the Taihape inquiry district and for New Zealand overall for Maori and Non-Maori. The qualifications used for the graph include both school level qualifications (NCEA) and post-school qualifications (certificates, diplomas and degrees). The New Zealand Qualifications Authority website gives a detailed description of the various levels of qualification that can be obtained.⁵⁸⁵ The bars are arranged with the lowest level (no qualifications) on the left and the highest level (degree or

⁵⁸² Taihape College Maori Students 1967, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Welfare - Education - School leavers, Wanganui (Zone 19) - Taihape College 1967-1978', item R20463144, ABRP 6844 W4598 185/ 31/5/3/1/10

⁵⁸³ Taihape College UE and School Certificate results 1980 and Aotea District Secondary Schools' Statistical Data 1980, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Youth Development – Taihape College 1980-1983', item R20463502, ABRP 6844 W4598 194/ 31/19/10 1

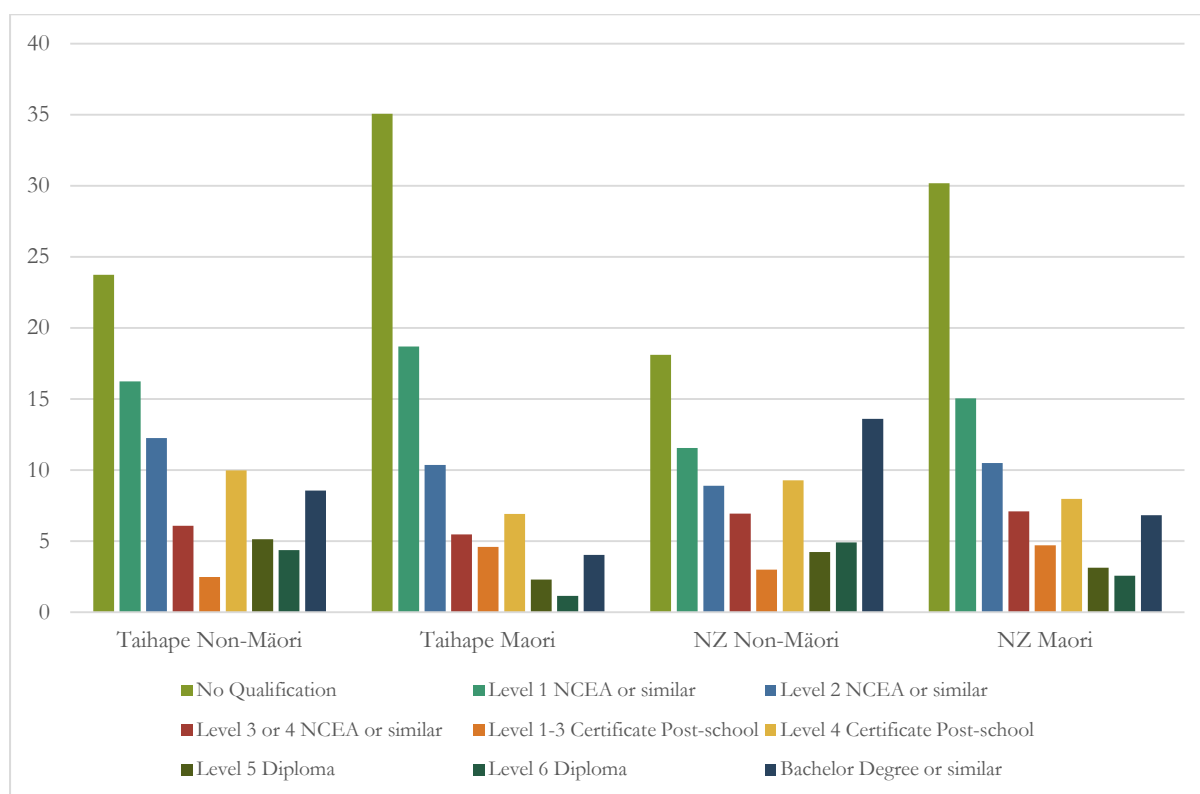
⁵⁸⁴ Crow, Wai 2180, #A28 and A28(a)

⁵⁸⁵ See in particular www.nzqa.govt.nz/qualifications-standards/qualifications/national-certificates-and-national-diplomas/

similar) on the right. Those whose highest qualification was greater than a bachelor’s degree, or who specified an overseas qualification in their census return, are not included.⁵⁸⁶

Those residing in the inquiry district were more likely than those in the country overall to have no qualifications, and less likely to have a degree as their highest qualification. For Taihape Maori the differences were more pronounced. For over half (54 percent) their highest qualification was at the bottom two steps in the scale – no qualification (35 percent) or NCEA level 1 (19 percent). This compares with 45 percent of Maori nationally, 40 percent of Non-Maori in the inquiry district, and 30 percent of Non-Maori outside the inquiry district.

Figure 6.4: Highest Qualification for those aged over 15: Taihape Inquiry District and NZ by Ethnicity (Percentages, 2013 Census)



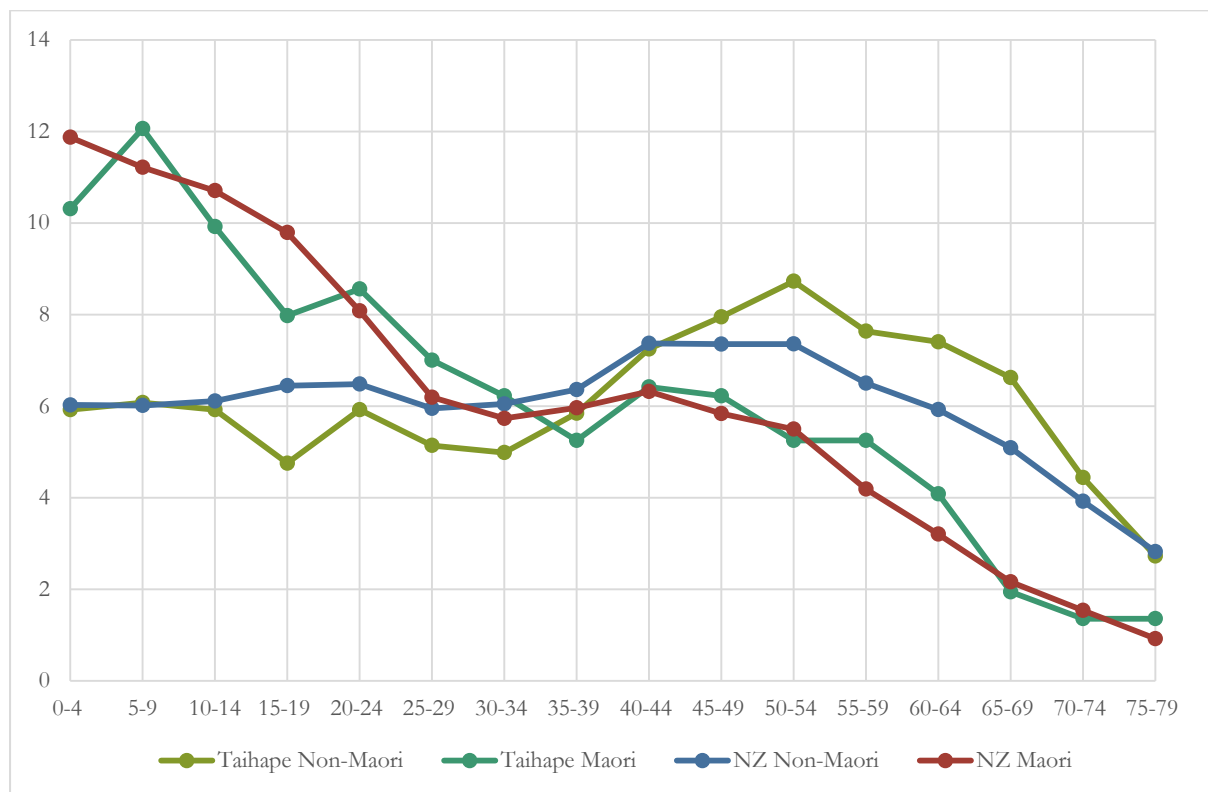
Nineteen percent of Taihape Maori had a post-school qualification, a similar percentage to Maori overall (20.5 percent) but far less than Non-Maori (35 percent overall and 30.5 percent for those within the inquiry district). Just four percent of Taihape Maori indicated they had a bachelor’s degree or similar, compared with 6.8 percent of Maori nationally, 8.5 percent of Taihape Non-Maori and 13.6 percent of New Zealand Non-Maori.

⁵⁸⁶ The numbers for some groups in these categories were too small for Statistics New Zealand to report the figures without risking breach of confidentiality.

To a small extent the qualifications profile will reflect the age structure of the population. As can be seen from Figure 6.5 below, Maori were more likely than Non-Maori to be aged between 15 and 24. Many in this younger age group may have since gone on to complete higher level qualifications but had not yet done so at the time of the census. Similarly, Non-Maori in the inquiry district tended to be predominately in the older age groups (50 to 69) who are less likely to have advanced qualifications. Overall, however, the main difference in age structure between the groups is in those aged under 15 who are not included in the qualifications chart above.

Although the information in Figure 6.4 is a snapshot of qualifications at a particular time (the 2013 census period), it will also to a large extent be historical because of the age range of those included. Obviously those aged in their 60s and 70s will have done their education and training in a different era to those aged in their 20s.

Figure 6.5: Age by Ethnicity - Taihape Inquiry District and New Zealand (Percentages, 2013 Census)



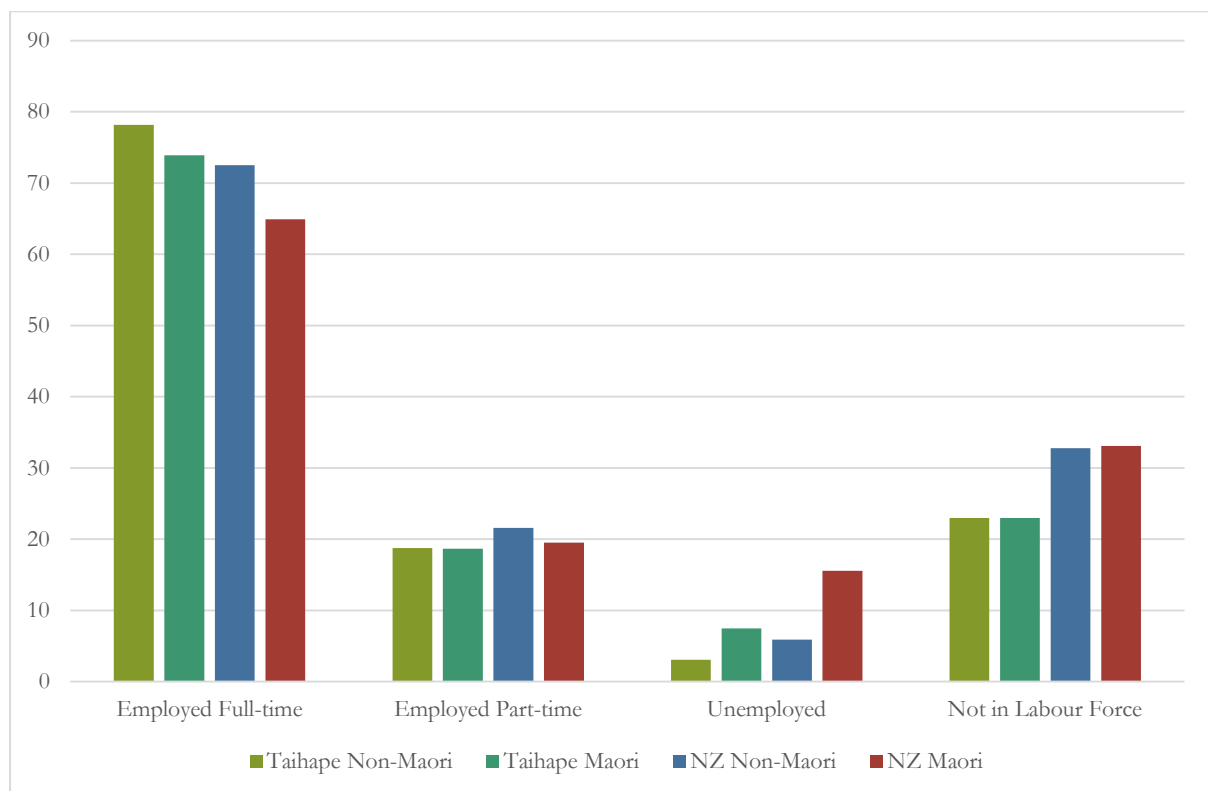
Other socio-economic indicators

Education and qualifications are typically reflected in other indicators such as employment status and earnings. It would be expected that the lower level of education and qualifications on the

part of Taihape district Maori would result in a greater chance of being unemployed, having lower incomes, poorer living standards and so on.

As can be seen from Figure 6.6 below, those in the inquiry district were more likely to be in the labour force, more likely to be employed full-time and less likely to be unemployed than those outside the inquiry district. The census night unemployment rate for Taihape Maori, at 7.5 percent, was more than double that for Taihape Non-Maori. However it was less than half the unemployment rate for Maori overall (15.6 percent) and only slightly above the New Zealand average of 7.1 percent.

Figure 6.6: Employment Status, Taihape Inquiry District and NZ by Ethnicity (Percentages, 2013 Census)



Note: Employment and unemployment figures relate to those in the labour force only. The labour force figures relate to total population over 15, so the figures used in the chart will not add to 100 percent.

The greater workforce participation of Taihape district residents could in part be explained by the lack of training facilities in the district. Those in education and training are classified as not participating in the labour force. Because training opportunities were generally outside of the inquiry district, few residing within the district would have been out of the labour force due to undertaking education and training.

Figure 6.7 below shows the spread of general occupation categories from the 2013 census. Non-Maori in the inquiry district were substantially more likely than Non-Maori elsewhere (particularly Non-Maori) to be classified as labourers. However Taihape Maori were only slightly more likely than New Zealand Maori to be classified as labourers.

Even more strikingly, those in the inquiry district were significantly less likely than those elsewhere to be classified as professionals. New Zealand Maori were 50 percent more likely than *Non-Maori* in the inquiry district to be classified as professionals. This presumably reflects the lower level of qualifications and lack of urban centres in the district. The predominance of managers amongst Taihape Non-Maori is likely due to the classification of farmers as managers. For the same reason Taihape Maori were slightly more likely than Maori nationally to be classified as managers.

Figure 6.7: Occupation in Taihape Inquiry District and NZ by Ethnicity (Percentages, 2013 Census, those in employment aged 15 and over)

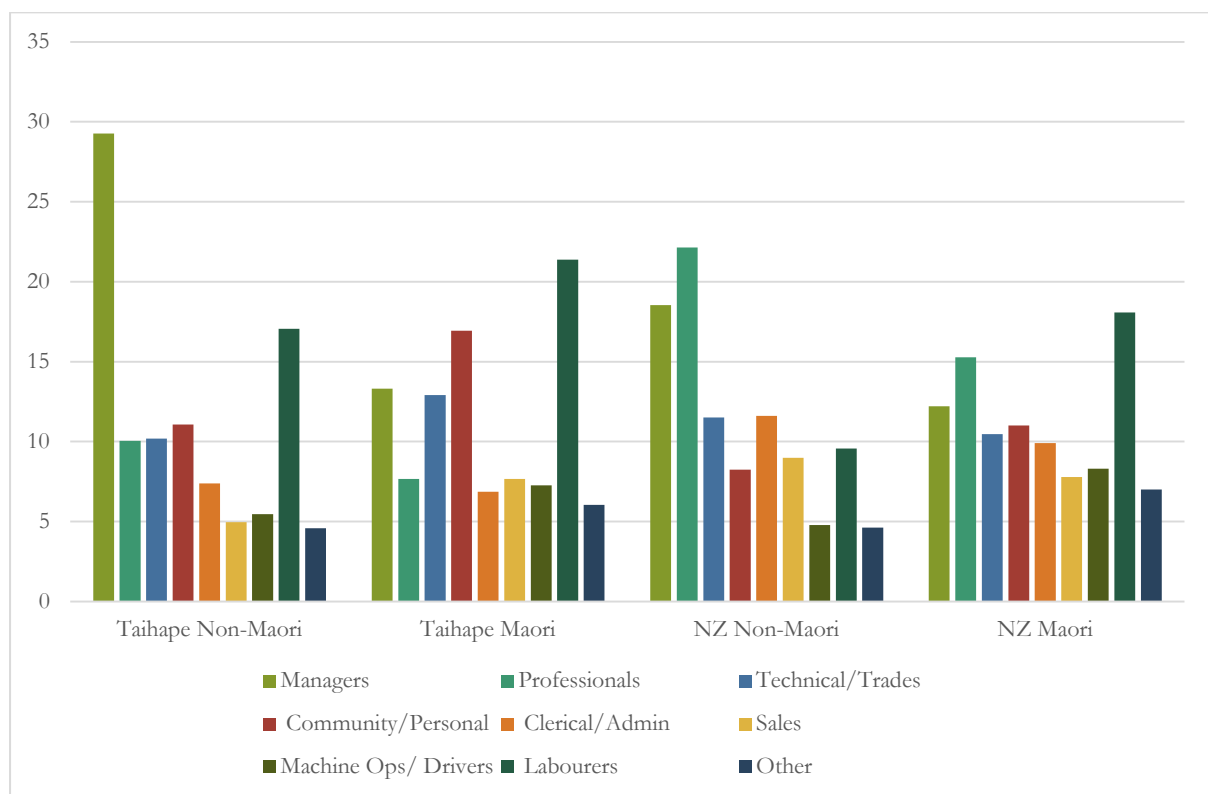
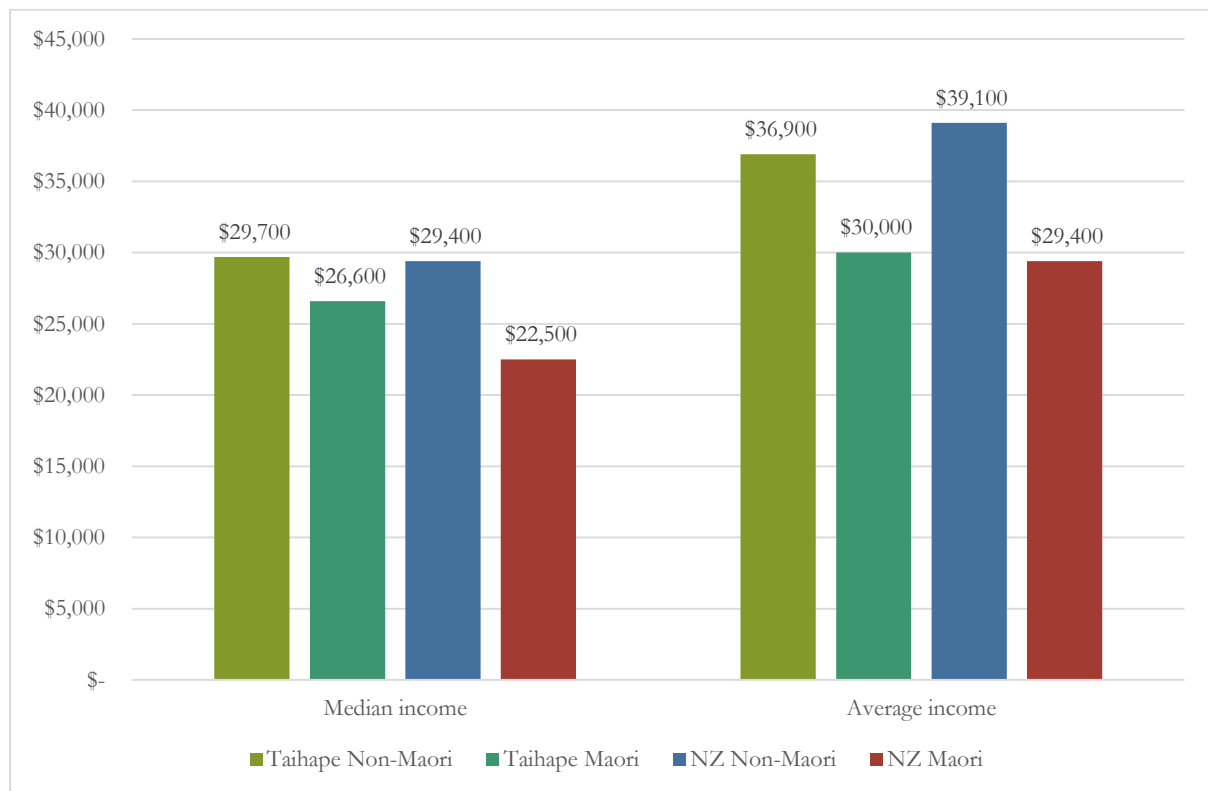


Figure 6.8 shows median and average incomes in the inquiry district compared with New Zealand overall. The median personal income for Maori in the inquiry district was around \$3000 per annum less than for Non-Maori, whether within or outside the inquiry district, but was \$4100 more than that for Maori in New Zealand overall.

The average personal income for Maori in the inquiry district was almost the same as for New Zealand Maori, \$6900 less than Non-Maori in the district and \$9100 less than for Non-Maori in New Zealand overall. The differing results for median and average income are because of the relatively small number of individuals in the inquiry district with incomes at the higher end of the scale. Only 8.8 percent of residents in the inquiry district earned over \$70,000 per annum, compared with 12.4 percent of the population overall. While this difference looks small, it has a considerable impact on the average because of the large incomes at the top of the scale. The median income is probably a better measure because it does not give undue weighting to the very rich. The median income for Taihape Maori, at \$26,600 per annum, was 6.7 percent below the New Zealand average for all residents over 15 of \$28,500.

Figure 6.8: Median and Average Personal Income, Taihape Inquiry District and NZ by Ethnicity (2013 Census, resident population aged 15 and over)



A final measure calculated by Statistics New Zealand is the New Zealand Deprivation Index. This index was developed by the University of Otago to measure relative deprivation of populations using 2013 census data. The index uses a number of variables measuring aspects of living standards – communication, income, employment, qualifications, home ownership, social support, living space and transport – and converts them into a single figure on a ten point scale.

The scale ranges from one – the least deprived – to ten – the most deprived. The variable measure the deprivation of population groups rather than of individuals. The table below outlines how the different variables are assessed using census data, with those variables treated as the most important coming first in the table. A detailed description of the index, called NZDep2013, can be found in papers published by University of Otago.⁵⁸⁷

Dimension of deprivation	Census variable used to measure that dimension
Communication	People aged under 65 with no access to the internet at home
Income	People aged 18-64 receiving a means-tested benefit
Income	People living in low-income households
Employment	People aged 18-64 unemployed
Qualifications	People aged 18-64 with no qualifications
Home ownership	People not living in their own home
Living space	People in crowded households
Transport	People with no access to a car

Figures 6.9 and 6.10 below outline the results of applying the index to 2013 census data from the inquiry district and for New Zealand overall. As can be seen in Figure 6.9, for the national picture the index follows a clear and tidy pattern. Non-Maori are predominantly located in areas of least deprivation and the proportion reduces as we move up through the scale, with the lowest proportion (6.8 percent) living in areas of greatest deprivation. For Maori the pattern is even more striking. Just 3.8 percent of Maori lived in the least deprived areas, and the proportion increases steadily as we move up the deprivation scale with nearly a quarter (23.5 percent) living in areas of greatest deprivation.

For the Taihape inquiry district the graph in Figure 6.9 shows no such tidy pattern. Almost no one in the inquiry district lived in areas of most or of least deprivation on the index (1 and 10), compared with 20 percent of the New Zealand population living in one of these areas.⁵⁸⁸ Instead, both Maori and Non-Maori in Taihape are clustered in the middle and upper bounds of the scale

⁵⁸⁷ See, for example, June Atkinson, Clare Salmond and Peter Crampton, 'NZDep2013 Index of Deprivation', May 2014, www.otago.ac.nz/wellington/otago069936.pdf

⁵⁸⁸ The exact number of Taihape residents in areas rated either 1 or 10 on the scale cannot be determined because Statistics New Zealand suppresses very small values for reasons of privacy. However it can be worked out from the data supplied that the range for each variable is between 0 and 3 people.

– numbers 5-8. This is more clearly illustrated by Figure 6.10, which combines steps on the scale in pairs. As can be seen, 9.5 percent of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district lived in areas rated as the most deprived on the scale (9 and 10). This is twice the proportion for Non-Maori in the district (4.7 percent) but less than half the New Zealand average of 19.6 percent. New Zealand Non-Maori were 50 percent more likely to live in the most deprived areas than Taihape Maori. New Zealand Maori were over four times as likely to live in such areas.

Figure 6.9: NZ Deprivation Index 2013, Taihape Inquiry District and NZ by ethnicity (percent)

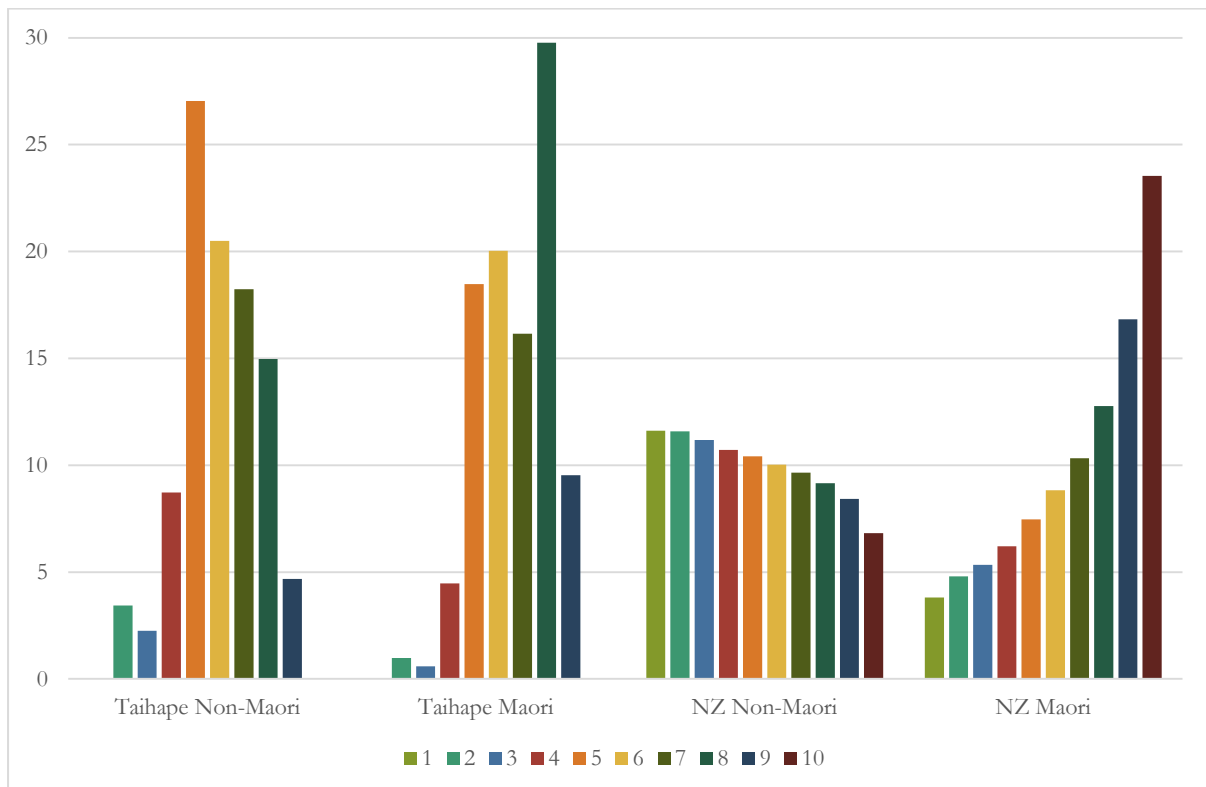
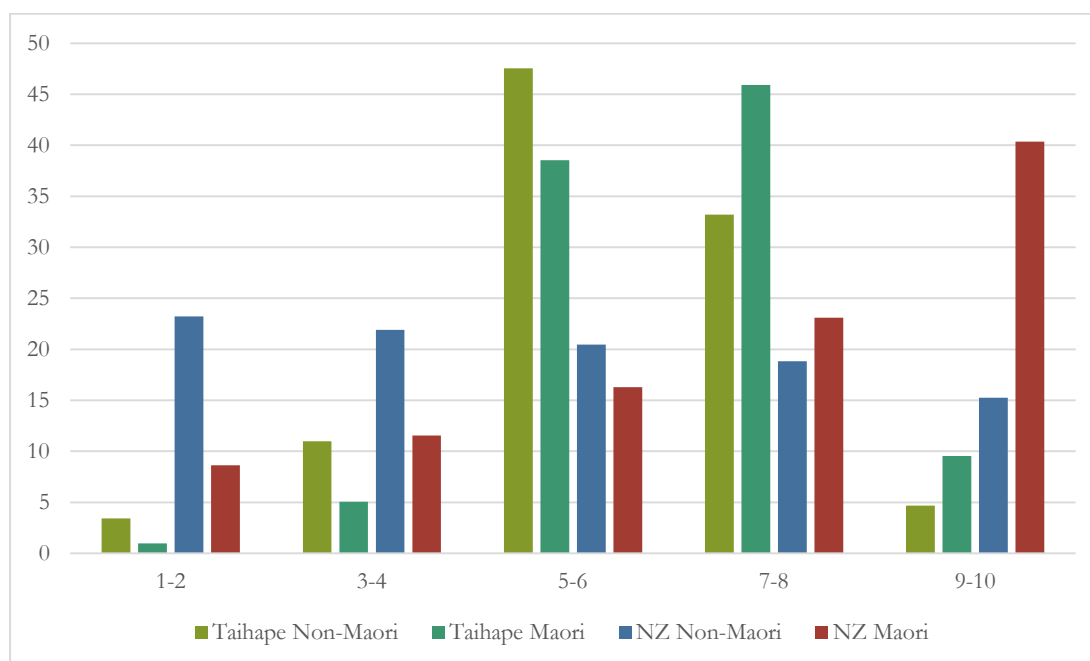


Figure 6.10: NZ Deprivation Index 2013, Taihape Inquiry District and NZ by ethnicity (percent with steps combined)



Conclusions on 2013 Census Data

Data from the 2013 census shows that Maori in the Taihape inquiry district were poorly qualified compared with Non-Maori (particularly those outside the inquiry district) and compared with Maori nationally. Over half either had no qualifications, or their highest qualification was NCEA level one. Few had university degrees.

This low level of qualifications is reflected in the fact that over one in five were classified as a labourer, twice the national average, and few were professionals. However lack of qualifications was not strongly reflected in other socio-economic indicators from the census. The unemployment rate for Taihape Maori was only slightly above the national average and the median income was only slightly below the national average. On the New Zealand Deprivation Index developed by Otago University, Taihape Maori were half as likely as the rest of the New Zealand population to be in the most deprived 20 percent on the scale.

What are we to make of the fact that fewer qualifications was not really reflected in lower living standards? There appears to have been plenty of work available in the inquiry district judging by the unemployment rate of 4.2 percent in the census compared with the national figure of 7.1 percent. Nearly a third of the workforce was employed in agriculture and forestry compared with

the national figure of 6.5 percent.⁵⁸⁹ These sectors generally require little in the way of formal qualifications and depend more on on-the-job experience. On the other hand there are limited opportunities in the inquiry district for those with higher qualifications, and little opportunity for post-school training without moving outside the district. Many are therefore likely to move away for further education, perhaps never to return. Others may be attracted to the district for employment in the agricultural sector and service industries. The figures for the inquiry district in the 2013 census are therefore likely to exclude many raised in the district who later moved away, and include many who have moved to the district from outside. The presence of an army base in the district naturally adds to this latter factor; over 10 percent of the Taihape district workforce was employed in 'Public Administration and Safety', a category that presumably includes the army.

NCEA Qualifications

The National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) qualification was phased into the school system between 2002 and 2004. In 2002 NCEA level 1 replaced the School Certificate examination, normally sat in year 11. In 2003 NCEA level 2 replaced University Entrance, normally sat in year 12. Finally in 2004 NCEA level 3 replaced the University Bursary examination sat in year 13. Pupils were still able to sit scholarship examinations, usually in year 13. The change introduced a significant degree of internal assessment at all three levels. Previously internal assessment had been largely confined to University Entrance and to particular subjects, such as art, at other levels.⁵⁹⁰ Passes in NCEA subjects are awarded on a three point scale, 'excellence', 'merit', and 'achieved'. A failure is called 'not achieved'.

NCEA results can be reported for schools on a 'participation' or a 'roll' basis. The participation-based figure measures pass rates only on the basis of those who have actually tried to pass an NCEA subject in a particular year. The roll-based measure calculates a rate based solely on the number of pupils on the roll. The participation rate appears the more robust but it is claimed to be subject to manipulation to make a school's NCEA results look better by withdrawing likely-to-fail students from the qualification.⁵⁹¹ For the two schools discussed here, however, there was relatively little difference between the participation and roll-based figures except at level 3, where there is a significant gap. However, the gap remained constant over time and did not noticeably increase. Participation-based NCEA pass rates are cited throughout this section.

⁵⁸⁹ Data derived from Georgie Crow, Supporting Documents, Wai 2180, A28(a), Table 2(b)

⁵⁹⁰ Nancy Swarbrick, 'Primary and secondary education - Standards and examinations', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, www.teara.govt.nz/en/primary-and-secondary-education/page-4

⁵⁹¹ Siobhan Downes, Andy Fyers, and Laura Walters, 5 July 2015, www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/69865270/ncea-results-manipulation-an-abuse-of-the-system

Taihape Area School

In 2014 Taihape Area School had roll of 263, 65 percent of whom were Maori. The school was a decile 4 composite school running from years 1 to 14. Nearly 62 percent of the students (162) were in the secondary classes at the school (years 9 through 14).⁵⁹²

In the decade after it opened in 2005, Taihape Area School had highly variable NCEA results.⁵⁹³ The school got off to an unpromising start, with NCEA results at levels 2 and 3 far below the national average. Maori (and male) students failed all their NCEA level 3 subjects in 2005. The 2006 results were as bad, with level 1 pass rate of just a 31 percent (five percent for Maori students). In 2007, however, there was a dramatic turnaround, with pass rates of 81 percent at level 1, 70 percent at level 2, and 67 percent at level 3. The results for Maori students improved greatly, although were still poor at level 2.

Taihape Area School moved to a new building in 2009. NCEA pass rates at all three levels were 70 percent or above in 2009 and 2010. However, Maori results were poor in the main in 2009, with not a single NCEA pass at level 3. The Maori results improved greatly at all levels in 2010, and were exceptional at level 3 where the pass rate was 100 percent - a dramatic turnaround from the 100 percent failure rate the year before. Furthermore, a quarter of level 3 subjects sat by Maori students in 2010 were passed with 'excellence'. The national average for 'European' students that year was under five percent.

In its September 2010 report the Education Review Office noted the school's turnaround in its NCEA results and also in the improved qualifications of those leaving Taihape Area School.

Since 2007, NCEA results have improved significantly, particularly at Levels 1 and 2. In 2009, students gained NCEA Levels 1 and 2 at rates higher than schools of comparable decile. Although Māori students' achievement is similar to Māori results nationally, it is below that of their school peers....The proportion of students continuing to Year 12 and 13 has increased since 2007. As a result the percentage of students leaving with at least NCEA Level 2 has increased and is above those of comparable schools. Māori leaver qualifications mirror those of other students in the school.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹² Ministry of Education 'Education Counts – School Rolls', www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028

⁵⁹³ All NCEA results in this report come from the 'School Report' database, www.stuff.co.nz/interactives/schoolreport/index.php

⁵⁹⁴ Education Review Office, Report on Taihape Area School, 9 September 2010, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Taihape-Area-School-09-09-2010/1-The-Education-Review-Office-ERO-Evaluation

Results slipped after 2011 and 2012 to below the national average at all levels. The Maori results in 2012 were particularly poor. In its 2012 report on the school, ERO stated that the ‘significant decline in NCEA Level 1 results was particularly concerning’. As a result the overall NCEA results in 2011 for Taihape Area School were ‘noticeably below the level of students in similar schools and those nationally’.⁵⁹⁵

Results improved greatly in NCEA level 2 in 2013 and 2014, with pass rates of 71 and 87 percent respectively. The level 2 pass rate for Maori in 2014 was 89 percent, although none of the passes were with merit or excellence. ERO noted in its 2014 annual report that 83 percent of Taihape school leavers in 2013 gained at least a level 2 NCEA certificate.⁵⁹⁶ However in 2014 the NCEA level 3 results at Taihape Area School were poor. Pakeha pupils had a pass rate of just 33 percent and Maori pupils a pass rate of just 28 percent.

Rangitikei College

As noted previously, some of the pupils who attend Rangitikei College in Marton come from the south of the Taihape inquiry district, particularly from Hunterville. In 2014 the college was a decile 3 school with a roll of 267 students, 38 percent of whom were Maori.⁵⁹⁷

The school’s performance in NCEA level 1 subjects has been highly variable. In the six of the eleven years between 2004 and 2014, Rangitikei College recorded level 1 NCEA results better than the national average on a pass-fail basis. In 2004 and 2014 over 78 percent of those who attempted a level 1 subject passed it. In 2007, 2010, 2012, and 2013 between 62 and 67 percent of those attempting level 1 subjects at the college passed them. However in 2005, 2006, and 2011, average pass rates were around 40 percent, far below the national average. The level 1 results for Maori pupils at the school have consistently been inferior to those of ‘European’ pupils and in most years have been worse than the national average for Maori.⁵⁹⁸

With the exception of 2007 and 2008, pass rates in level 3 NCEA at Rangitikei College had been over 60 percent - around about the national average. As with level 1 results, the level 3 results for Maori pupils at the school have generally been inferior to those of ‘European’ pupils and in most years have been worse than the national average for Maori. The exception was 2006, when the level 3 Maori pass rate at Rangitikei was 100 percent.

⁵⁹⁵ Education Review Office, Report on Taihape Area School, 12 November 2012, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Taihape-Area-School-12-11-2012/2-Learning

⁵⁹⁶ Education Review Office, Report on Taihape Area School, 7 November 2014, www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/School-Reports/Taihape-Area-School-07-11-2014/2-Review-and-Development

⁵⁹⁷ ‘School Report – Rangitikei College’, www.stuff.co.nz/interactives/schoolreport/school-ncea.php?school=195

⁵⁹⁸ ‘School Report – Rangitikei College’, www.stuff.co.nz/interactives/schoolreport/school-ncea.php?school=195

Rangitikei College has seen significant gains in NCEA level 2 over the years. In 2005 the level 2 pass rate was just 47 percent, but the trend since then has been consistently upward. The pass rate has been above the national average since 2008 and peaked at 86 percent in 2013. The level 2 pass rate for Maori at Rangitikei has in the main improved greatly since 2009. In 2013 the Maori pass rate was over 92 percent in the level 2 subjects they sat at the college. In 2014, 29 percent of the Maori results in NCEA level 2 were at the ‘excellence’ level, significantly above the national average for all ethnic groups. In comparison, no ‘European’ pupils at Rangitikei College scored an excellence rating in NCEA level 2 in 2014.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁹ ‘School Report – Rangitikei College’, www.stuff.co.nz/interactives/schoolreport/school-ncea.php?school=195

Chapter 7: Conclusions on Education

Introduction

This chapter attempts to draw conclusions on education for Maori in the Taihape inquiry district. The chapter is structured around the questions in the Waitangi Tribunal's commission for this project which were outlined in the introduction to this section of the report.

Crown involvement and services

Why and from when did the Crown become involved in providing education services for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What services did it provide or resource, especially in primary and secondary schooling and in native schools? How has this decision making changed over time?

The Crown's first involvement with providing education to Maori in the Taihape inquiry district came in 1886 when Maori at Moawhango applied for a school to be provided under the Native Schools Act 1867. However, even though an inspector visited the village and produced a favourable report, nothing came of the application. It is unclear why but there appear to have been problems finding suitable land to donate for the school as required under native school regulations.

The Education Act 1877 set up what ultimately became a system of free and compulsory schooling following the end of provincial government. Education boards, including one for the Wanganui education district, were set up under the act to provide for regional administration of schools. The Wanganui Education Board opened several schools within the Taihape inquiry district in the late 1880s and early 1890s at the request of Pakeha settlers who were, in the main, the sole users of the schools.

One exception was Rata School, south west of Hunterville, which had Maori pupils almost as soon as it opened in 1890 and consistently did so until it closed in 1937. Pakeha settlers requested a school at Rata in the late 1880s and one of them donated two acres of land for the school. Such community contributions in the form of land, buildings or labour (or some combination of the three) were commonplace for rural schools at the time, for three reasons: settlers valued education for their children; the presence of a school enhanced the resale value of the surrounding land; and the government struggled to finance new schools at the time due to intense demand. The Wanganui Education Board immediately paid for a building to be erected on the Rata School site but, as has been seen, in other cases the Crown did not act so promptly.

In the case of all but the smallest of schools the education board provided a salaried teacher for the school (and assistant teachers if the school grew large enough), desks, blackboards, chalk and other equipment. The board often assisted financially with additions to schools such as playground shelter sheds, and where accommodation was a problem a residence for the teacher.

Sometimes, however, it took some time before education boards provided much more than a teacher and basic equipment. In 1896, settlers in Taihape provided a venue for a school in a building originally erected as a town hall. A large proportion of the pupils in the first few years of the school were Maori from the surrounding area. The building was unsuitable for the growing school – the roll exceeded 40 pupils by 1899 - and Cabinet eventually agreed to fund a proper school building. The school shifted to its new premises in 1900, nearly four years after the school opened. There was still considerable work to be done on the grounds. Taihape School continued to expand and in 1909 a ‘side school’ was provided at Winiata for pupils south of Taihape. The school operated in a rented hall until it closed in 1925 despite school inspectors commenting on the unsuitability of aspects of the accommodation.

In the case of Moawhango School it took education officials 23 years to provide land and a suitable building for the school. After the attempt to establish a native school appeared to fall through, a local settler, Robert Batley, contacted the Wanganui Education Board offering to house a school on his property until suitable premises could be found. After Moawhango School opened in 1897 with a high proportion of Maori pupils, what had been intended as a temporary arrangement became a long-term one. There appear to have been two problems – securing a suitable site for the school and uncertainty about its survival. The school roll fell after 1905 and fluctuated for some years before picking up around 1917. In that year local Maori donated land for a school and the education board eventually had a new building erected there. Moawhango School moved to its new building in 1920. (In Turangarere, as at Moawhango, it was local Maori who eventually donated land for the school in 1918, although there were few Maori at the school at that time).

Things did not end there however. The Moawhango roll eventually grew substantially and the school became overcrowded. The education board erected a temporary classroom but demolished it in 1940 when the school roll fell. The falling roll also meant the school lost its assistant teacher provided in the mid-1930s. The teacher was not reinstated when the roll increased again in the 1940s, putting renewed pressure on school accommodation. Furthermore a residence was never provided for the head teacher. The parents of the pupils – by then predominantly Maori – requested that the school be taken over by the Education Department as

a native school. They believed such a change would mean greater resources would be provided for the school under the more liberal criteria applied for resourcing native schools. They were eventually proved correct, although not after some delay. Within a few years of its change of status, Moawhango Maori School had additional accommodation, an assistant teacher, and a residence for the head teacher. The pupils were provided with books and stationary (as were all pupils in Maori schools).

The Wanganui Education Board continued with the haphazard process of providing schools at the request of settlers for many years, usually after settlers had first taken the initiative by providing land and/or buildings. By 1910 there were over 30 schools within the Taihape inquiry district for a relatively small number of people. Some schools closed within a few years due to lack of demand. Over time the government and officials attempted to make the provision of rural education more efficient by providing free rail passes, boarding allowances, and setting up the Correspondence School. As roads and vehicles improved, a school bus service was established from the mid-1920s. These changes enabled education officials to take the initiative. Many small schools were closed and 'consolidated' on larger schools. A number of schools in the Taihape inquiry district closed in the late 1930s and early 1940s and the pupils were bussed daily to Taihape and Hunterville.

In 1900 few children went on to post-primary education, particularly in rural areas, as secondary schools were located in the major population centres and fees were generally required to attend them. The government was convinced that the future of the country depended on better-educated workers and began to encourage secondary schooling. It began by expanding the district high school system under which secondary classes were added onto existing primary schools. From 1903, two years of free secondary schooling was provided at a district high school for anyone with a proficiency certificate. Between 1900 and 1908 the number of district high schools nation-wide expanded from 13 to 66. By 1912 there were district high schools in Taihape and Hunterville, and also in Marton, just south of the inquiry district.

District High Schools tended to have a fairly practical curriculum. Pupils at Taihape District High School in its early years were taught agriculture, cooking, woodwork and sewing. The boys would travel each Monday to the Marton Farm School to join boys from a number of district high schools in agricultural instruction. Some of the Marton Farm School boys were in turn selected each year to be sent to the Hawkesbury Agricultural College in New South Wales for further agricultural education. The first to be sent to Hawkesbury was a Maori boy from Taihape.

The expansion of secondary education in New Zealand was further boosted once the government abolished public secondary school fees in 1937. However, after Hunterville reverted to an ordinary primary school in 1929 almost the sole secondary options within the Taihape inquiry district were Taihape and Marton. (Rangiwahia School educated a tiny number of secondary pupils between 1938 and 1950). By the early 1960s both Taihape and Marton had full secondary schools not associated with a primary school. A free or subsidised bus service was available to transport pupils to secondary school, although for many the centres of Taihape and Marton remained out of reach. In such cases government boarding allowances were available from 1937 to assist with boarding expenses.

From 1989 under ‘Tomorrows Schools’ the government disestablished regional education boards and devolved some of their functions to the schools themselves, operated under boards of trustees. The remaining functions were picked up by the centralised government education bureaucracy – primarily the Ministry of Education. With decision-making more centralised, governments began taking a greater interest in the location of schools. In the early 2000s the government instituted what were termed ‘network reviews’ of regional primary schools in areas with declining populations like Taihape. A number of schools in the inquiry district were included in the review, but in the end only one school closed, that being Taihape College. In 2005 Taihape reverted to the old district high school model, with primary and secondary pupils centralised on a single school. In 2009 the Taihape Area School moved into a new high tech building paid for by the government.

Involvement in decision-making

To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted about or involved in decision making over the provision of education, including over the location, type and curriculum of schools?

Taihape Maori have had some say over the location of schools to the extent that they donated land for at least two schools in the district (Moawhango and Turangarere). Otherwise, however, their input into the location, type and curriculum of schools has been minimal. Moawhango Maori School had an active school committee between 1944 and 1969, although it is unclear to what extent that enabled the community to have input into curriculum matters.

The occasional inclusion of Maori language and culture in the school curriculum may indicate at least some Maori input. For example the Ohingaiti district centenary publication records Maori

being taught at Ohingaiti School in the 1940s.⁶⁰⁰ At Otamakapua School in 1963, a hangi and Maori concert was held for over 200 people at the end of year function ‘to conclude a Maori Studies project’.⁶⁰¹ In the 1960s a Maori cultural group was formed at Taihape College. This was at a time when official encouragement for Maori cultural activities was largely confined to Maori schools.

More recently some Taihape schools have established links with local marae. A local iwi representative was appointed to the Taihape Area School Board of Trustees in 2006, shortly after the school opened. The school, for a time anyway, sought input from the local Maori community into aspects of the school’s operation and curriculum.

Maori-led initiatives

To what extent has the Crown supported Māori-led education initiatives for the Taihape inquiry district, including attendance at denominational Māori boarding schools and the development of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa schools?

The government began funding Maori denominational boarding schools in the 1840s, initially through direct grants to the churches that ran them. After 1858 a system of per capita pupil funding was put in place for the schools and continued with minor reforms until a Maori boarding scholarship system was introduced in the 1880s.⁶⁰² The scholarship system in turn remained in place, with occasional changes in the criteria for, duration and value of scholarships, until the 1960s.

Some Taihape Maori may have attended denominational boarding schools before schools became available in the inquiry district from around 1890 – there is some evidence of literacy in the district that predates that time.⁶⁰³ In the early 1870s, Renata Kawepo set aside 26,000 acres in the Owhaoko block, in the north-eastern corner of the inquiry district, as a school endowment. Income from leasing the land was used to help establish two schools in the Hawkes Bay – Omahu, which opened in 1872, and Pakowhai, which opened in 1873. However it is not clear to

⁶⁰⁰ *Ohingaiti district and schools centenary, 1992: Ohingaiti, Orangipopo, Otamakapua, Tuba, Waipuru*, Centenary Committee, Taihape, 1992, p.22

⁶⁰¹ *Ohingaiti district and schools centenary, 1992: Ohingaiti, Orangipopo, Otamakapua, Tuba, Waipuru*, Centenary Committee, Taihape, 1992, p 38

⁶⁰² Christoffel, Wai 898, A27, pp 15-16, 26-27

⁶⁰³ For example an ‘A Potaka’ was secretary of the Rata School Committee in the early 1890s and wrote letters to government agencies on the committee’s behalf.

what extent, if at all, the schools provided education for children from the Taihape inquiry district.⁶⁰⁴

After 1937 a boarding allowance was provided to assist those students without boarding scholarships to attend boarding schools where no local school was available. From the 1960s Maori boarding scholarships were provided by the Maori Education Foundation and its successors. Since the 1970s Maori boarding schools have been integrated into the state system and thereby funded on the same basis as state-run boarding schools.

No kura kaupapa Maori schools have been established within the Taihape inquiry district. However kohanga reo have operated in the inquiry district since the early days of the kohanga reo movement. Te Kohanga Reo o Mokai Patea opened in Taihape in 1983 with 26 children.⁶⁰⁵ The government initially provided no capital funding for kohanga reo, and Te Kohanga Reo o Mokai Patea operated for some decades in inadequate premises before moving to new premises in Huia Street in 2012.⁶⁰⁶ Te Kōhanga Reo o Te Puawai o Te Kakano, catering mainly to whanau originating outside the Taihape inquiry district, opened in Taihape in 1990.⁶⁰⁷ Two other kohanga reo opened in the inquiry district, although both have since closed. One opened in Mangaweka and the other at Utiku after the school there closed in 1991.⁶⁰⁸ In April 2013 Te Kōhanga Reo o Mokai Patea provided early childhood education services to 14 children and Kōhanga Reo o Te Puawai o Te Kakano provided services to 16 children.⁶⁰⁹

Access to education services

What barriers or difficulties, if any, have Taihape Māori faced in accessing primary and secondary schooling and other education services in this inquiry district? To what extent, if at all, was service provision for Taihape Māori affected by differing area-based priorities adopted by the Crown (or local or special purpose authorities), and with what impacts on their opportunities for participation in school decision making and

⁶⁰⁴ AJHR 1873, G4a, pp 2-3 and AJHR 1875, G2a, p 11. Omaha School provided board for a few Pakeha students, and Renata Kawepo argued that it should provide board for Maori students too. It is unclear that it ever did.

⁶⁰⁵ Robertson, *Taihape*, p 287

⁶⁰⁶ ERO reports on Te Kōhanga Reo o Mokai Patea, 19 May 2009 and 29 April 2013, <http://ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/Early-Childhood-Reports/Mokai-Patea-O-Taihape-Te-Kohanga-Reo-18-05-2009>

⁶⁰⁷ Robertson, *Taihape*, p 92

⁶⁰⁸ *A Centennial Story; St Mary's Parish, Taihape, 1899-1999*, St Mary's Parish Centennial Committee, Taihape, 1999, no page numbers; *Utiku School Centennial, 1897-1997*, Utiku School Reunion Committee, Wanganui, 1998, no page numbers

⁶⁰⁹ ERO report on Te Kōhanga Reo o Mokai Patea, 29 April 2013, <http://www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/Early-Childhood-Reports/Mokai-Patea-O-Taihape-Te-Kohanga-Reo-29-04-2013/1-About-the-Kohanga-Reo> and Kōhanga Reo o Te Puawai o Te Kakano, 19 April 2013, <http://www.ero.govt.nz/Early-Childhood-School-Reports/Early-Childhood-Reports/Te-Puawai-O-Te-Kakano-Te-Kohanga-Reo-19-04-2013/1-About-the-Kohanga-Reo>

involvement in school life? As far as is possible from available sources, to what extent have Taihape Māori had equality of access to education services?

Until the 1890s Maori in the Taihape inquiry district had minimal access to education services. Some may have attended boarding schools, but there were no schools located where Maori lived. An 1886 application for a native school at Moawhango eventually came to nought and the few schools provided by the Wanganui Education Board were for the convenience of Pakeha settlers rather than Maori.

In the 1890s and early twentieth century, however, the number of schools within the inquiry district grew rapidly and many were located in areas where they could be accessed by Maori. As roads improved, the government funded buses to transport pupils from further afield to a convenient school, or in some cases provided free rail passes where appropriate. By the 1930s schooling was available to almost all children in the inquiry district. Access would have been more difficult for Maori, however, as they were less likely to live in the main towns – Taihape, Mangaweka, and Hunterville - that had the largest schools. In 1936, for example, Maori made up less than three percent of the Taihape population. This changed in subsequent decades as Maori increasingly moved into the larger towns and by 1971 Maori made up 18 percent of the Taihape population.

There were no secondary schools in the inquiry district until Taihape District High School opened in 1909. Taihape has since then been the main (and generally sole) location of secondary schooling in the district. The exceptions were Hunterville between 1912 and 1929 and Rangiwahia (on a very small scale) between 1938 and 1950. In addition Marton District High School (Rangitikei College from 1958) and Turakina Maori Girls' College (also in Marton) lay just to the south of the inquiry district.

For the large part of the inquiry district population who did not live in or near Taihape or Hunterville, accessing secondary schooling could be problematic. It might involve lengthy daily bus trips and in some cases a parental contribution towards the cost of this. For those beyond the limits of bus runs (or not handy to a railway station), private transport or boarding were the sole options. Boarding was expensive without a scholarship even after boarding allowances were introduced in 1937 in conjunction with free secondary schooling. As Maori appear to have lived largely in the some of the more remote parts of the inquiry district until the late 1960s, they were more likely to be affected by the difficulties in accessing secondary schooling. An additional issue is the lack of native schools in the inquiry district until 1944. This made it difficult to access

Maori boarding scholarships for which priority tended to be given to pupils attending native rather than general schools.

The lack of tertiary education facilities in the Taihape inquiry district has also been a problem for Maori residing there, as it has been for Pakeha. The increasing availability of remote learning options may reduce the impact of this problem to an extent.

The Education Department's focus on providing increasing numbers of schools in the early twentieth century benefitted Maori within the inquiry district despite the lack of native schools. However the consolidation policies of the 1930s and 1940s resulted in many of these schools closing and many Maori having to travel further to school. Improved school bus transport helped alleviate these effects to some extent. In the 2000s the Ministry of Education followed an active policy of closing schools in districts identified as having too many, resulting in the closure of Taihape College in 2005 and the restoration of a single primary and secondary school in the form of Taihape Area School. This move appears to have caused some Maori parents to send their children to alternative schools such as St Joseph's and Mataroa.

Educational outcomes

What do official measures reveal about educational outcomes for Māori of the Taihape inquiry district? How do these compare with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally, with particular reference to levels of school enrolment and qualifications obtained? How has the Crown monitored education outcomes for Māori of this district and responded to any evident disparities?

This report has looked at a number of indicators of educational outcomes based on data available as far as possible from within the inquiry district. One of the indicators looked at was the proficiency examination that many children sat in the highest level of primary school (Standard VI) until 1937. The examination was important because achieving a 'competency' rating gave a child an automatic right to go on to secondary school and a 'proficiency' rating ensured secondary schooling would be free for two years. The examination was also used to assess eligibility for Maori boarding scholarships at denominational secondary schools.

From the analysis done for this report, schools within the Taihape inquiry district seem to have done reasonably well overall in getting Maori pupils through the proficiency examinations. Maori pupils at schools within the district appear to have been more likely to be awarded a proficiency or competency certificate than Maori at board schools elsewhere in the country. As in the rest of New Zealand, Maori pupils in the inquiry district were considerably less likely than Pakeha pupils

to be awarded proficiency or competency certificates. In addition, Maori in native schools were generally more likely to be awarded certificates than Maori in board schools, including those in the inquiry district. The government kept statistics on Maori performance in the proficiency examinations although there is no evidence that it took any particular action on the basis of these statistics.

Because few Maori passed the proficiency examination, it is unlikely that many went on to secondary school. Just how many did so is not known because the Education Department did not monitor Maori participation in post-primary schooling at general schools until the 1940s, by which time the proficiency examination had been abolished. The department estimated that the proportion of Maori pupils proceeding from primary to secondary school increased from 41 to 63 percent between 1940 and 1949. In the 1950s officials mounted a campaign to try and further increase Maori participation in post-primary education, with some success. By 1959 the Education Department estimated that over 90 percent of Maori pupils proceeded to secondary school.⁶¹⁰

However, although Maori were going to secondary school, significant numbers were leaving after just two or three years. In 1966, 47 percent of Maori pupils failed to progress to Form 5 compared with 23 percent of non-Maori. Just six percent of Maori progressed to Form 6 compared with 31 percent of non-Maori. Taihape College followed a similar pattern, at least for the only year for which information was found. In 1967 the college had 71 Maori pupils on its roll. Of these, two pupils were in Form 6, 21 were in Form 5, and 23 were in Form 4.⁶¹¹ It thus appeared, assuming there were no population blips, that most Maori at the school were progressing to Form 5. However, the majority of fifth form pupils for whom ages were recorded were aged 16 or 17 at the start of the year (the norm was 15), and thus were probably repeating their fifth form year. It therefore seems likely that in fact half of Form 4 pupils at Taihape College did not progress to Form 5, in line with the national average.

From the mid-1940s the School Certificate examination sat in Form 5 assumed increasing importance in the education system, as did the University Entrance qualification sat in Form 6. Although little information was found for the inquiry district on Maori performance in these qualifications, some information was found with respect to 'Turakina Maori Girls' College in Marton. By the mid-1940s the school succeeded in getting most of its girls through the School

⁶¹⁰ Christoffel, pp 161-162

⁶¹¹ Taihape College Maori Students 1967, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Welfare - Education - School leavers, Wanganui (Zone 19) - Taihape College 1967-1978', item R20463144, ABRP 6844 W4598 185/ 31/5/3/1/10

Certificate examination at a time when less than a third of New Zealand pupils successfully did so. The successes of the 1940s were built on in the 1950s by preparing some girls for University Entrance. By the 1960s, however, education officials were concerned at the narrowness of the academic curriculum at Turakina, particularly the limited instruction in mathematics and science.

Between 2002 and 2004, the School Certificate, University Entrance and University Bursary qualifications were phased out and replaced by the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA). Taihape Area School produced very poor NCEA results in the two years after it opened in 2005, particularly for Maori pupils. After interventions to try and improve educational outcomes for Maori students, the school's NCEA results improved considerably, although have since been rather variable and in 2014 NCEA level 3 results were poor.

At Rangitikei College in Marton the NCEA level 1 results for Maori pupils have consistently been inferior to those of 'European' pupils and in most years have been worse than the national average for Maori. The level 3 results for Maori pupils at the school have also generally been inferior to those of 'European' pupils and in most years have been worse than the national average for Maori. The exception was 2006, when the level 3 Maori pass rate at Rangitikei was 100 percent.

In 2005 the level 2 pass rate at Rangitikei College was just 47 percent, but the trend since then has been consistently upward. The pass rate has been above the national average since 2008 and peaked at 86 percent in 2013. The level 2 pass rate for Maori at Rangitikei has improved greatly since 2009. In 2013 the Maori pass rate was over 92 percent. In 2014, 29 percent of the Maori results in NCEA level 2 were at the 'excellence' level, significantly above the national average for all ethnic groups. In comparison, no 'European' pupils at Rangitikei College scored an excellence rating in NCEA level 2 in 2014.

Data from the 2013 census showed that Maori in the Taihape inquiry district were poorly qualified compared with non-Maori (particularly those outside the inquiry district) and compared with Maori nationally. Over half either had no qualifications, or their highest qualification was NCEA level one. Few had university degrees.

This low level of qualifications is reflected in the fact that over one in five Maori in the inquiry district were classified as a labourer, twice the national average, and few were professionals. However lack of qualifications was not strongly reflected in other socio-economic indicators from the census. The unemployment rate for Taihape Maori was only slightly above the national average and the median income was only slightly below the national average. On the New

Zealand Deprivation Index developed by Otago University, Taihape Maori were half as likely as the rest of the New Zealand population to be in the most deprived 20 percent on the scale.

What are we to make of the fact that fewer qualifications was not reflected in lower living standards? One explanation is that there was plenty of work available in the inquiry district - thus the unemployment rate of 4.2 percent in the census compared with the national average of 7.1 percent. Nearly a third of the workforce was employed in agriculture and forestry compared with the national figure of 6.5 percent. These sectors generally require little in the way of formal qualifications and depend more on on-the-job experience. On the other hand there are limited opportunities in the inquiry district for those with higher qualifications, and little opportunity for post-school training without moving outside the district. Many are therefore likely to move away for further education, perhaps never to return. Others may be attracted to the district for employment in the agricultural sector and service industries. The figures for the inquiry district in the 2013 census are therefore likely to exclude many raised in the district who later moved away, and include many who have moved to the district from outside.

Section B: Health

Chapter 8: Introduction to Health in the Taihape Inquiry District

Tribunal Questions

Helen Robinson's report on health for the Waitangi Tribunal's Rohe Potae inquiry provided an extensive overview of Maori health at the national level in addition to an account of healthcare within the Rohe Potae inquiry district. This report does not duplicate Robinson's national analysis but instead focuses primarily on health services for Maori within the Taihape inquiry district. The Waitangi Tribunal's commission for this project included a number of questions on health:

- i. Why and from when did the Crown become involved in providing health services for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What services did it provide or resource in public health and the primary, secondary and tertiary care sectors, including through local or special purpose authorities? How has this provision and decision making for health services in the district changed over time and how were they related to the Crown's evolving capability to make such provision?
- ii. To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted or their needs directly identified as part of the decision making over the provision of health services?
- iii. What barriers or difficulties, if any, have Taihape Māori faced in accessing health services in this inquiry district? What has been the Crown (or responsible local or special purpose authority) response to this? As far as is possible from available sources, to what extent have Taihape Māori had equality of access to healthcare services in this inquiry district, including to improvements in sanitation and safe water supplies?
- iv. To what extent have Māori-specific and/or Māori-led health initiatives been provided, implemented and supported in this inquiry district, including Native Medical Officers, Māori health nurses, Native school health services, Māori Health Council initiatives and, more recently, iwi-based health services? How have Māori and the Crown viewed the success or otherwise of these initiatives?

This chapter begins with a brief outline of some of the methodological problems facing those conducting historical research into Maori health issues. It then provides an outline of the remaining chapters in the health section of this report.

Methodological Problems

This section outlines some of the methodological problems facing anyone undertaking historical research into Maori health issues. There are numerous difficulties in assessing the state of Maori health in the late nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth century. Enough information is available to enable researchers to conclude that Maori were dying far younger and, adjusting for age structure and population size, in far greater numbers than Pakeha.¹ Maori were more likely to get sick and Maori illness more frequently resulted in death, but beyond that information is hard to find. What illnesses most affected Maori? Were Maori more likely than Pakeha to die of certain illnesses or were higher mortality rates entirely a consequence of getting sick more often? There is plenty of anecdotal evidence but little in the way of systematic research to draw on.

There are a number of issues that made such research extremely difficult. A lot of basic information is lacking, including reliable population data. As was outlined in the introductory chapter of this report, the methods for taking the census of the Maori population were fairly crude between 1874 and 1921, during which time the government relied on the estimates of census enumerators. Although their counting methods improved over time, it was generally acknowledged that the Maori census was far from satisfactory. From 1926 Maori filled out their own census forms and census data became significantly more reliable as a result. From 1951 the same questions were asked in the Maori and 'European' census.

Given the lack of reliable census data for many years it is hardly surprising that health information on Maori was even less reliable. Dow notes that, although the Maori Councils Act required councils to collect relevant mortality and health data, little was achieved. Limited registration of Maori deaths began in 1913, but the level of compliance was low.² When researching the 1918 influenza epidemic, Geoffrey Rice found significant under-registration of Maori deaths in the epidemic and under-reporting of those deaths that were registered.³ Even in

¹ See, for example, Alistair Woodward and Tony Blakely, *The Healthy Country? A History of Life and Death in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, 2014

² Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy, 1840-1940*, VUW Press, 1999, p 207

³ Geoffrey Rice, *Black November: The 1918 Influenza Pandemic in New Zealand* (Second Edition), Canterbury University Press: Christchurch, 2005, pp 159-161

1930 only about 60 percent of Maori deaths were registered.⁴ The Health Act 1920 promoted health research, but little of the resulting research was directed at Maori.⁵ Of the research that was conducted, the most significant was that undertaken from 1928 by Harold Turbott, then the Medical Officer of Health for Gisborne and the East Cape. A committee of inquiry into tuberculosis that year commented on the lack of research regarding Maori, and much of Turbott's research over subsequent decades was into tuberculosis, although he also covered a wide variety of other topics mainly relating to health and hygiene.⁶

Pool notes that changing medical 'fashions' in the first half of the twentieth century made any time-series analysis problematic even for Pakeha, with the possible exception of trends relating to tuberculosis.⁷ In the post-war period the methodological problems reduce. As noted above, from 1951 the same information was asked of Maori and non-Maori in the population census. Recording of deaths became increasingly more detailed and accurate, with most deaths requiring medical certification. On the other hand 'as interaction between Maori and Pakeha increased, ethnic classification became more and more complex'. In addition, it was only in the late twentieth century that reliable sub-national breakdowns of Maori health statistics were possible.⁸ This has obvious implications for a study like this focussed on a specific geographical region.

An additional problem relating to both census and health data is to identify who in the population is and is not Maori. This has become more problematic over time with intermarriage. The classification problem has been widely discussed elsewhere and will be touched on only briefly here. From the 1960s two definitions were commonly used in official statistics – those who were 'half or more' Maori and the Maori-descent population. From 1986 the Statistics Department dispensed with the 'half or more' definition but continued to struggle with exactly how to define whether or not someone was 'Maori'.⁹

Problems Specific to the Taihape Inquiry District

As outlined in the introductory chapter, the location and size of the Taihape inquiry district made it difficult to find useful archival material in some cases. Much of the health material from central and local government was dominated by concerns about Ratana village, which lies outside of the inquiry district. Ratana thus tended to overshadow health issues within the district at times.

⁴ Dow, *Maori Health*, p 207

⁵ Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 208-209. The main research directed at Maori was trying to determine why in many areas they were less susceptible than Pakeha to dental problems.

⁶ Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 209 - 213

⁷ Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, p 108

⁸ Pool, *Te Iwi Maori*, p 138

⁹ Pool includes a chapter on ethnic classification issues in his 1991 classic *Te Iwi Maori*, pp 11-25

Chapter outline

Chapter 9 of this report outlines the available information on the health status of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district in the late nineteenth century. This draws on a variety of official reports, mainly from census enumerators. It also outlines what health services were available in the district before 1900.

Chapter 10 outlines aspects of the Government provision of health services in the Taihape inquiry district from 1900 until the outbreak of influenza at the end of World War One. It examines demographic trends in the inquiry district and discusses public health measures instituted by the government following the bubonic plague scare of 1900. This includes the establishment of the Kurahaupo Maori Council under the Maori Councils Act. The chapter also outlines health services instituted within the inquiry district, including Taihape hospital (opened in 1911) and the expansion of nursing services. The chapter ends with a discussion on schools and health, including an account of the hakehake controversy of 1913 within the Wanganui Education Board district.

Chapter 11, which covers developments until about 1940, begins by discussing the 1918 influenza epidemic and its effect in the inquiry district. Among the effects was a renewed focus on public health, including sanitation and inoculation, and the revival of the Kurahaupo Maori Council. The chapter also examines the extent to which the school medical service, established in 1913, operated in the inquiry district and the establishment of school dental clinics within the district.

Chapter 12 begins by outlining the significant changes to the health system instituted under the Social Security Act 1938, which had the effecting of ‘mainstreaming’ health services to Maori. It then looks at some exceptions to mainstreaming, including the formation of tribal committees, the district nursing scheme, and the continued inoculation of Maori school children for typhoid. It also covers renewed efforts to improve sanitation in Maori communities, developments at Taihape hospital (including the establishment of a maternity annex), and the post-war anti tuberculosis campaign.

Chapter 13 outlines the tentative retreat from the mainstreaming of Maori health services which began in the 1980s. It then looks at Maori mental health, which only came to the attention of the health profession in the 1970s, and outlines the changes to Taihape Hospital since the 1970s. The chapter also outlines developments leading up to and following the closure of Taihape Hospital in December 2010.

Chapter 14 is a summary chapter that addresses the Tribunal commission questions on health.

Chapter 9: Health and Health Services, 1880 to 1900

Introduction

This chapter outlines the available information on the health status of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district in the late nineteenth century. It draws on a variety of official reports, mainly from census enumerators. It also outlines what health services were available in the district before 1900.

Nineteenth Century Health Status

It is well documented that the Maori population was in decline in the nineteenth century and this information will not be reiterated here.¹⁰ Most of the information we have about the health status of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district before 1900 comes from census enumerators. These were the government officials whose job it was to undertake and oversee the collection of census information on Maori in their assigned districts. As was outlined earlier, census enumeration of Maori was an error-ridden process. In 1881 there was no clear definition of the boundaries of the geographical areas on which census enumerators reported. From 1886 the boundaries were based on county boundaries, which bore no obvious relationship to Maori settlement patterns. That said, as was seen in the introductory chapter, most of the Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district resided in the county of Rangitikei.

The enumerators were not trained in medical matters, but were expected to comment on the health of the populations in their district and other matters relating to their living standards. In 1881, Wanganui census enumerator James Booth's district included inland Patea. He was 'not aware of any prevailing disease amongst the Natives of this district'. However, Booth did note a worrying sign; 'owing to the great disparity between adults and children, nearly four to one, the tribes in this district must surely decrease more and more rapidly year by year. I find that comparatively few children are born, and that of those few a great number die at one and two years of age'.¹¹ Booth's comments were standard at a time when some were predicting the eventual demise of the Maori race. His observation of fewer children seems to fit in with the national picture. According to modern-day commentators, the drop in births was driven largely

¹⁰ See, for example, James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Penguin: Auckland, 1996, p 249 and *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Penguin: Auckland, 2001, pp 466-467

¹¹ AJHR 1881, G3, p 8

by a high mortality rate among women of child-bearing age.¹² At the same time, as Booth noted, infant mortality rates remained high.

By 1886 the census enumeration duties for much of the inquiry district were taken over by Robert Ward, who concluded - despite Booth's prediction five years earlier - that the population of the district he oversaw had remained stable. Ward attributed the population stability to

...absence of any serious epidemic; the fact that the Natives are more settled in their minds re land matters, large tracts of land having been dealt with by the Native Land Court, so they have been able to lease unrequired portions to European tenants at fair rentals; from this source they have in many cases good incomes; they live in better houses, have more comfortable homes and surroundings, are better fed and clothed, and are decidedly more temperate in their habits as to drinking.

Ward noted that 'they possess large flocks of sheep, and many cattle and pigs', although Maori cultivations 'are not extensive'. Many, he said, suffered from pulmonic complaints, 'but not so much as formerly'. He claimed that local Maori 'did not yet appear to see the importance of educating their children'.¹³ Despite this last observation, that same year the residents of Moawhango applied to the government for a native school. In response to this application Native Schools Inspector James Pope visited the settlement in April 1888. He estimated there were about 30 children at Moawhango. 'They appear to be well-fed, healthy, and very intelligent'. Pope was highly impressed with the settlement overall.

The Natives here are among the most intelligent Maoris that I have met. They are remarkably well to do. Their sources of income are rents from leased land; wool, grown and scoured by themselves; and flour produced by them at Moawhango. They have five woolsheds and a flour mill; also an accommodation house conducted in the European fashion. In many instances the Maoris have Europeans working for them. There are two stores and a post office here, but these belong to Europeans. On the whole, however, the population of this interesting little township is Maori, though no one passing through it without seeing the inhabitants would suspect this to be the case in view of the tokens of wealth and comfortable circumstances that are everywhere discernible.¹⁴

¹² Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920*, Auckland University Press, 1999, pp 50-52

¹³ AJHR 1886, G12, pp 11-12

¹⁴ James Pope to Inspector-General of Schools, 27 April 1888, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1944-1946', Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

The observations of other visitors to Moawhango around this time seem to confirm an apparent degree of health and prosperity among Maori there.¹⁵ Further south though, things did not seem so positive. In April 1890 a party that included the Minister of Lands traversed some of the route of the North Island main trunk line north from Hunterville. A newspaper reporter accompanying the party claimed that '[n]o Maoris were seen along the line, though it was formerly thickly peopled. The Maoris have died out very rapidly. Forty years ago the Maoris had wheat mills grinding fine corn grown on the rich river terraces...None is now grown'.¹⁶

In 1891 the new census enumerator, District Magistrate Herbert Brabant, did note an apparent decline in the population of his district, which included Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua. But rather than putting this down to Maori having 'died out', Brabant reported that his sub-enumerators noted 'a considerable number of Natives have changed their residences since last census, moving from one county to another, and in some instances leaving the district'. Brabant, as with earlier enumerators, observed that Maori in the district 'appear to enjoy a fair amount of health and prosperity. In some cases they have valuable farms and stock, and enjoy rents from lands leased to Europeans'. They had not, as far as he was aware, 'been visited by any special disease or epidemic'.¹⁷

When Native Minister Richard Seddon visited the inquiry district in March 1894 as part of his tour of 'Native Districts' he visited Moawhango accompanied by journalists and officials. The account of that visit, published in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, mainly focused on the economic conditions of the district and Maori requests for facilities such as a police station and telephone services. However there was some mention of health matters in the form of the alleged trafficking in liquor. Pakeha observers were 'assured that nearly every second Native is concerned, either directly or indirectly, in dispensing *waiپیرو*. The liquor is brought up from European settlements, and, after being adulterated with methylated spirits, is retailed to the customers of both races'. Hiraka Te Rango requested from Seddon a hotel for the district so that liquor sales could be under some control and illegal liquor sales curtailed.¹⁸ This and later requests for a hotel at Moawhango were largely futile under the strict licensing regime then in force.¹⁹

¹⁵ See, for example, *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 19 January 1888, p 3; *Daily Telegraph*, 3 January 1893, p 3; *Wanganui Herald*, 29 November 1892, p 2

¹⁶ *Star*, 8 April 1890, p 2

¹⁷ *AJHR* 1891, G2, p 6

¹⁸ *AJHR*, 1895, G-1, 'Pakeha and Maori; A Narrative of the Premier's trip through the Native Districts of the North Island', pp 5- 6

¹⁹ *Feilding Star*, 8 June 1901, p 2

In the 1896 Maori census Brabant again observed a considerable amount of transience among the population of his census district, which included Rangitikei.²⁰ In 1901 a new enumerator, W E Goffe, noted that ‘the general health of the Maoris has been good’:

There appears to have been no particular epidemic, with the exception of influenza...The appearance of both old and young is very satisfactory. The homes are cleanly kept and well conducted, mostly on the European Principle. The old mode of living in whares herded together is becoming a thing of the past, each head of a family having his own comfortable weatherboard house or wharepuni, in which chairs, tables, and bedsteads are extensively and properly used.²¹

The reports of the Native Medical Officers (discussed below) and the Resident Magistrates and other officials who regularly reported to the government on Maori districts are also a potential source of information on the state of health of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district. In practice, however, their reports revealed little about the district and were focussed on other parts of the country.

Health Services in the Inquiry District Before 1900

Health services in New Zealand were fairly rudimentary in the nineteenth century. Before the first graduates came out of the Otago Medical School in the 1890s the country had to rely on immigration for its doctors. Hospitals, run by Charitable Aid Boards, were few and far between. A disproportionate number were located near the gold-mining districts of Otago and the West Coast where there had been numerous accidents at the height of the mining boom.²²

Nurses were not required to be registered until 1901 and the first nurses register was gazetted in 1903.²³ The 1903 register showed no nurses residing in the inquiry district. The nearest registered nurses were based in Napier, Wanganui, Palmerston North, and Foxton.²⁴

There were, however, doctors based within the Rangitikei from an early date. The Register of Medical Practitioners for 1880 lists a Henry Donaldson residing in ‘Rangitikei’. There were, in addition, doctors based in Bulls and Marton just south of the Taihape inquiry district and also in Napier, Wanganui and Feilding.²⁵ By 1887 Donaldson was joined by Samuel Curl as another

²⁰ AJHR 1896, H13b, p 7

²¹ AJHR 1901, H26b, p 16

²² See, for example, Report on the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions of the Colony, AJHR 1899, H22; Linda Bryder, ‘Hospitals – Establishment of Hospitals in New Zealand’, *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.teara.govt.nz/en/hospitals/page-1

²³ Nurses Registration Act 1901

²⁴ *NZ Gazette*, 30 January 1890

²⁵ *NZ Gazette*, 4 February 1880, pp 104-113

‘Rangitikei’ doctor, although Marton appeared to have lost its doctor.²⁶ By 1890 the two Rangitikei doctors had gone, but a Samuel Cooper was now based at Hunterville. A doctor was again based in Marton and there were 16 doctors residing in Napier and Hastings and five in Wanganui.²⁷ By 1897 an additional doctor, John Carmichael Smith, was based in Hunterville.

In summary, then, during the 1890s there was at least one doctor based at Hunterville and others near the Taihape inquiry district. Hunterville, however, was some distance from much of the inquiry district in those days of rudimentary transport. One account tells of a Taihape settler family taking a sick toddler by cart to Ohingaiti where he was either treated by a doctor or taken by train to a doctor in Hunterville. The boy died shortly after.²⁸ Getting the seriously sick or injured to the nearest hospital in Wanganui or Napier could present even more of a challenge. In June 1892 the *Manawatu Evening Standard* reported on an accident resulting from tree-felling near Ohingaiti. Thanks to muddy roads it took a whole day to get the injured man to Wanganui hospital via horse and rail.²⁹ Today the trip takes little more than an hour.³⁰

With no registered nurses or hospitals in the district and with doctors few and far between, medical help was often administered by the amateur efforts of locals. At Moawhango, for example, long-time settler Robert Batley was the main provider of healthcare for Maori and Pakeha, including dental work and the setting of bones.³¹ In the early years of Taihape in the 1890s, Mrs Shute, ‘who had qualifications and experience with St John’s’, became the person ‘to call for medical help.’ She apparently performed amputations on occasions.³² There is no evidence that either Batley or Shute operated on anything other than an informal basis and neither was employed or funded by a state agency.

Local women were also relied on for midwifery services. Minnie Law, who lived in Taoroa (then known as Lower Moawhango) in the 1890s reportedly carried out extensive services helping deliver babies in the district. Her daughter recorded in a memoir that when Mrs Law herself gave birth, assistance was provided by ‘Mrs Cameron at Ohotu, a Maori woman who came and attended to Mother and the new baby, looked after the older children, cooked, cleaned, washed

²⁶ *NZ Gazette*, 20 January 1887, pp 81-92

²⁷ *NZ Gazette*, 30 January 1890, pp 128-139

²⁸ Merle Jurgens, *Kelly and Cryer Chronicles*, Jurgens Pub House, Taumarunui, 2007, p 54; and Jurgens, *Recollections of Early Taihape*, p 9

²⁹ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 27 June 1892, quoted in *Ohingaiti district and schools centenary, 1992: Ohingaiti, Orangipopo, Otamakapua, Tuha, Waipuru*, Centenary Committee, Taihape, 1992

³⁰ AA distance calculator, www.aatravel.co.nz/main/time-distance-calculator.php

³¹ Robertson, *Taihape on a Saturday night*, p 25

³² Robertson, pp 27, 55

etc'.³³ At Rata another untrained nurse, Mary Jane McMillan, worked with Dr Smith from Hunterville and acted as a midwife in the delivery of Maori and Pakeha babies.³⁴

Health services specifically for Maori in the nineteenth century were very limited. According to Raeburn Lange, '[a]t no stage before 1900 did the government see a need for concerted official action against low standards of Maori health'.³⁵ There were some measures in place, however. Teachers at native schools gave health advice and dispensed medicines – in fact Lange claims that the 'most comprehensive Maori health work before 1900 was done by the staff of the Native Schools'.³⁶ This is of little relevance in a district such as Taihape that had no native schools. The staff in general schools, of which a few were established in the district in the late nineteenth century, did not normally carry out medical functions and the government did not provide teachers with medicines to dispense.

A system of Native Medical Officers operated from the 1850s. Despite the title, these were not doctors whose sole responsibility was to administer to Maori. Rather they were ordinary doctors who, in exchange for a small annual payment, were expected to provide free treatment to Maori in their district in addition to their normal duties. There were 26 Native Medical Officers around the country in 1896 (a disproportionate number being in the South Island) but there do not appear to have been any in the inquiry district at that time.³⁷ Matthew Scott based in Napier visited the Taupo region in 1885 but does not appear to have ventured further south. While Scott was at Taupo he administered vaccinations.³⁸ Lange notes that the government carried out sporadic campaigns to vaccinate Maori against smallpox during the nineteenth century, although again no evidence could be found of vaccination within the inquiry district.³⁹ In 1882 a Dr Caro was reported to have vaccinated a number of Maori in the Napier district, although it is unclear if this included any within the inquiry district.⁴⁰

In addition to Native Medical Officers the government appointed men not medically qualified as 'Native Dispensers'.⁴¹ Again, no evidence could be found of native dispensers operating within the Taihape inquiry district. Maori there seem to have been in a similar situation to Pakeha in being largely without medical services. It did, however, appear easier for Pakeha to get medical

³³ Ida Hair, *Tall Totara, Deep Gorges: A Story of Early Taoroa by a Pioneer's Daughter*, no page numbers

³⁴ Recollections of Barney Downs of Hunterville in D M Laing, *Hunterville: The First Hundred Years*, Hunterville Museum, 1983, p 85

³⁵ Lange, *May the People Live*, p 68

³⁶ Lange, *May the People Live*, p 75

³⁷ Lange, *May the People Live*, pp 71-72

³⁸ AJHR 1885, G2a, pp 9-10

³⁹ Lange, *May the People Live*, p 74

⁴⁰ AJHR 1882, G1, p 7

⁴¹ Lange, *May the People Live*, p 73

help. In 1887, for example, a visitor named Mr Gibbons fell ill while in Moawhango. A local man, Snelling, contacted George Preece, the Resident Magistrate in Napier, who in turn referred the case to the United District Charitable Aid Board. The Board noted the lack of a doctor at Moawhango and decided that Dr Caro should prescribe 'suitable medicine' sight-unseen (presumably Snelling provided a description of the man's illness). The medicine would then be delivered via the rough road from Napier by a policeman.⁴² It seems unlikely that similar measures would be taken in the event of illness on the part of Maori at Moawhango.

⁴² *Daily Telegraph*, 21 March 1887, p 3. It is assumed here that "Mr Gibbons" was Pakeha.

Chapter 10: Health and the Maori Councils Act, 1900 to 1918

Introduction

This chapter outlines aspects of the Government provision of health services in the Taihape inquiry district from 1900 until the outbreak of influenza at the end of World War One. The influenza pandemic is covered in Chapter 11.

As has been well documented, the population census until 1896 showed a downward trend in Maori population numbers and a recovery thereafter. This chapter begins by examining the extent to which this positive trend was reflected in the inquiry district. It then discusses public health measures instituted by the government following the bubonic plague scare of 1900, focusing in particular on measures such as the Maori Councils Act.

The chapter then outlines health services instituted within the inquiry district during this period, including the opening of Taihape hospital in 1911. It also covers the expansion of native and district nursing services and the extent to which they catered to Maori in the inquiry district. The chapter ends with a discussion on schools and health, including an account of the hakehake controversy of 1913 within the Wanganui Education Board district.

Maori Health Trends

Despite the numerous faults with the Maori census, time series analysis shows a clear trend at the national level. After reaching a low point in 1896 the Maori population began to increase, at first slowly then at an accelerating rate as the twentieth century progressed. A revival was underway, but it is hard to determine to what extent this was reflected in the Taihape inquiry district.

As was seen in the introductory chapter to this report, the Maori population of the inquiry district resided mainly within the Rangitikei County. The Maori population of that county fluctuated from around 400 to around 600 between 1891 and 1921. It is unclear if the fluctuations reflected problems with census-taking or whether they indicated genuine variations in population. For example, the slight fall in the recorded Maori population of Rangitikei County between 1916 and 1921 was out of step with the results for the country at large, which showed a substantial increase in Maori population despite the 1918 influenza pandemic. The Native Under-secretary speculated that the national increase was due to the return of servicemen from war.⁴³

⁴³ AJHR 1921, H39a, p 1

In 1906, 1911 and 1916 the enumerators provided some comment on the state of health of Maori in their districts. In 1906 the sub-enumerator for Rangitikei noted many improvements in the living standards in Maori communities, although his comments were largely based on prejudices about what he perceived as the traditional Maori way of life. On the negative side he noted a lack of drains 'to carry away refuse and water' which was 'dangerous to health'.⁴⁴ The sub-enumerator appears to have spent some time at Opaea, a village about seven kilometres north of Taihape:

Here I found the houses in the pa of a European type, and the sanitary conditions of the kainga very good.... The Natives here do not seem in want of food.... During the night the young people indulged greatly in spirituous liquors, which were brought up from Taihape by the bottle. I should like to see this stopped... I also found that the Natives had plenty of work, and worked their lands for growing grain.⁴⁵

The 1906 report also noted that potato blight had hit the region. In Opaea, 'most of the destruction was by frost.' In the Rangitikei district, 'the Maoris are crying out for potatoes' and 'the blight has been very unmerciful.' However, 'at Moawhango the blight had a little mercy on the people; a few of the crops escaped.'⁴⁶ Eight years earlier Maori at Moawhango had been less fortunate. The school teacher recorded in his log book that some of the Maori children would be going away for the winter. 'Food is scarce in the pa. The dry weather and the frosts have played havoc with the potato crops'.⁴⁷

In 1911 the sub-enumerator commented that all the Maori he came across in the county were enjoying good health.⁴⁸ Enumerator comments in 1916 were very brief. The enumerator for the counties that included Rangitikei simply stated the 'general health of the Maoris is very good, and in some counties they are very industrious'.⁴⁹

Public Health and Maori Health Councils

In the nineteenth century central government largely neglected public health, preferring to leave matters such as sanitation to local authorities. But according to Raeburn Lange the international bubonic plague scare of 1900 changed all that. The plague reached Sydney early that year resulting in over 100 deaths and widespread panic in New Zealand. The mode of transmission of bubonic plague was at the time unknown, except to the extent that it was closely associated with

⁴⁴ AJHR 1906, H26a, p 20

⁴⁵ AJHR, 1906, H26a, 'Census of the Maori Population', p 20

⁴⁶ AJHR, 1906, H26a, 'Census of the Maori Population', p 28

⁴⁷ Quoted in Batley, *Moawhango Valley and School*, p 35

⁴⁸ AJHR 1911, H14a, p 17

⁴⁹ AJHR 1917, H39a, p 4

dirt and overcrowding. Medical men who had been pushing for greater government attention to public health were suddenly listened to with keen interest. The eventual result was the Public Health Act 1900 which set up a new Department of Public Health.

In the 1890s government officials such as James Pope and political activists such as Apirana Ngata and other members of the 'Young Maori Party' campaigned for a greater emphasis on Maori health.⁵⁰ This campaign bore fruit when Dr Maui Pomare was appointed to the senior position of Maori Health Officer in the new department. He was charged with visiting Maori settlements and inquiring into their general health, the condition of the water supply, and the disposal of human waste. He was joined by Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) in 1905, and both men engaged in a disease prevention campaign which featured vaccinations, inspections, and public lectures. They also conducted medical examinations, offered treatment, and acted to suppress outbreaks of infectious diseases.⁵¹ No evidence was found in research for this report of either Pomare or Buck carrying out their work within the Taihape inquiry district. The Kurahaupo district discussed below was within the large area that was Buck's responsibility in 1905, but his annual report for that year made no mention of settlements within the district.⁵² He did, however, attend a meeting of the Kurahaupo Maori Council.

Prominent Maori (along with Elsdon Best, a Pakeha) were appointed to assist Pomare in his work and were given the title 'Native Sanitary Inspectors'. An inspector was appointed to Wanganui but it is unclear if he ever operated within the Taihape inquiry district.⁵³ In 1909, as a cost cutting measure, the Maori health programme was transferred from the Health Department to the Native Department, where it remained until 1911. Pomare resigned in 1910 and the role of Native Sanitary Inspectors soon disappeared.⁵⁴

The gap left by the laying off of the sanitary inspectors was filled to some extent by the Health Inspectors employed by hospital boards. The inspector for the Wanganui Hospital Board, who stayed in the job for two decades, was Thomas Pargeter. He had to cover a large district and had far from an exclusive focus on Maori health. In November 1914, Pargeter reported on a typhoid outbreak in Taihape, apparently brought to the town following a tangi in Raetihi. Pargeter said

⁵⁰ Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 90-91

⁵¹ Hearn, Wai 894, M1, pp 14-15

⁵² AJHR 1906, H31, pp 73-75

⁵³ AJHR 1908, H31, p 127

⁵⁴ Cleaver, p 129

he was 'suppressing the tangi as much as possible, though it was difficult work. Still, he thought the Maoris were beginning to realise the danger they ran when typhoid was amongst them'.⁵⁵

In March 1915 Pargeter toured his district and recommended that a number of 'Maori huts' be 'condemned as unfit for human habitation'.⁵⁶ There is no information as to whether or not any of these 'huts' were within the Taihape inquiry district.

The Kurahaupo Maori Council

In another public health measure aimed specifically at improving Maori health, Parliament passed the Maori Councils Act 1900. The Act, which was heavily promoted by Maori Parliamentarian James Carroll and the Young Maori Party, enabled the Governor to proclaim Maori districts, with each district having an elected Maori Council.⁵⁷ The duties of councils included suppressing 'injurious Maori customs', promoting education and instruction, generally promoting the health and welfare of Maori in their districts, and making reports to the Governor on the health of local Maori and other relevant information.

The councils were empowered to make by-laws concerning a range of matters. These included health and hygiene; preventing drunkenness and sly-grog selling; protecting meeting houses and burial grounds; registering dogs; regulating the sale of goods by 'Indian, Assyrian and other hawkers'; preventing children from smoking; and preventing gambling.

The Act allowed the councils to regulate tohunga and punish 'those (whether European or Maori) who practise upon the superstition or credulity of any Maori in connection with the treatment of any disease'.⁵⁸ They could also record Maori births, deaths and marriages and pass this information on to the nearest European Registrar. As well as these various optional powers, councils were required to control and prevent the spread of noxious weeds, and compel the fathers of 'illegitimate' children to pay support.

Maori Councils were also empowered to appoint Village Committees (Komiti Marae) for specific Maori settlements. The Committees could deal with local sanitation matters such as destruction of rubbish, the repair or removal of unsanitary buildings, and the installation of water closets.

⁵⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 November 1914, p 3

⁵⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 March 1915, p 2

⁵⁷ Lange, pp 142-144; Maori Councils Act 1900, s 9

⁵⁸ Maori Councils Act 1900, s 16 (5)

The Maori Councils Act 1900 was amended twice in its early years, in 1901 and 1903. The 1903 amendment among other things empowered the councils to initiate water supply projects.⁵⁹

According to Helen Robinson the councils were allocated an average of £300 per year in government subsidies between 1901 and 1907, with considerable fluctuation between some years.⁶⁰ As the number of councils started at 19 and soon increased to 24, this funding obviously did not go far.⁶¹ To supplement these meagre funds, Councils were empowered to impose a tenement tax on houses in Maori villages and fines upon Maori who broke by-laws. They had the status of a 'local authority' under the Dog Registration Act 1880, allowing them to register dogs, collect registration fees, and fine owners of unregistered dogs. Councils could bring those Maori who refused to pay fines before the Magistrate's Court.⁶²

Most of the inhabited parts of Taihape Inquiry District lay within the Kurahaupo Maori Council District (see Figure 10.1 below). The minutes of the council kept from 1906 to 1917 are available at Archives New Zealand. As the minutes were kept in te reo Maori, the Waitangi Tribunal Unit had a summary translation prepared for the researcher. The summary records the dates and places of meetings and who attended, and briefly outlines the main topics of discussion. Much of the detail of the discussion is omitted, however. It is this summary that was used in preparing this report.

The northern half of the inquiry district lay within the Tongariro Maori Council District, and for some years and the status of Moawhango township caused problems. Moawhango was technically in Tongariro although the residents identified with Kurahaupo.⁶³ In 1906 Taiuru Te Rango from the Moawhango area was elected to the Kurahaupo Maori Council but in 1909 council Chairman Taraua Marumaruru suggested that Te Rango should step down from the council, in part because Moawhango was outside the district.⁶⁴ In 1911 a large portion of the Tongariro District was transferred to Kurahaupo.⁶⁵ Although Moawhango still lay just outside the council's district this fact seems to have been generally ignored.

⁵⁹ AJHR, 1903, G-1, pp 2, 4

⁶⁰ Robinson, Wai 898, A71, p 197

⁶¹ Lange, pp 189-191

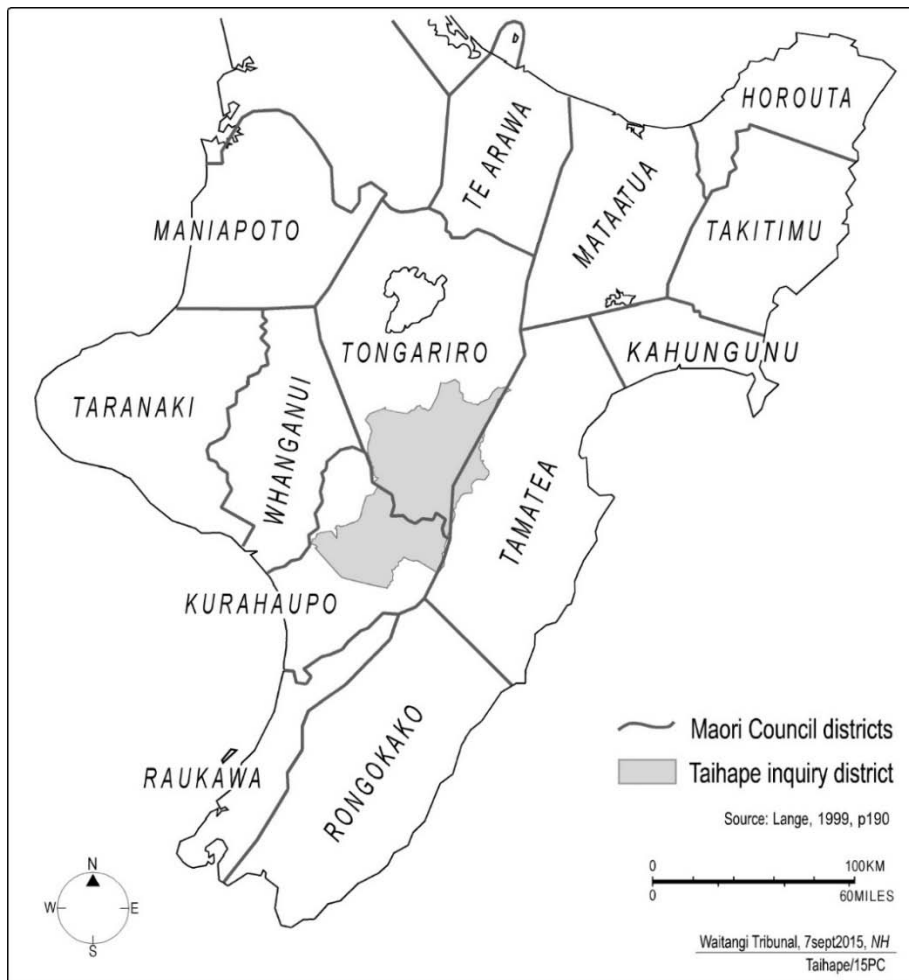
⁶² Robinson, Wai 898, A71, p 173

⁶³ The minutes of the Tongariro Maori Council were not consulted in research for this report.

⁶⁴ Kurahaupo Minutes, 27 February 1906, p 4 and 6 February 1909, p 78 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁶⁵ *NZ Gazette*, 11 May 1911, p 1672

Figure 10.1: Maori Council borders, ca 1901-1910



Note: The Kurahaupo boundaries were extended north in 1911 to include part of the Tongariro district

Twelve members were elected to the Kurahaupo Maori Council in March 1901, including Pene Pirere of Rata.⁶⁶ The council had its first meeting at Parawanui on 27 July 1901. According to the *Wanganui Herald*, council members ‘proved themselves men of more than ordinary ability, and quite able to hold their own in any matter of debate or criticism’.⁶⁷

One of the first actions of the Kurahaupo Maori Council was to place newspaper advertisements notifying Maori dog-owners that the council was henceforth responsible for dog registration and collecting dog taxes.⁶⁸ Dog taxes introduced in the 1890s had proved unpopular with Maori and the transfer of administrative responsibility to Maori councils aimed to diminish opposition and

⁶⁶ *Manawatu Times*, 13 March 1901, p 2

⁶⁷ *Wanganui Herald*, 30 July 1901, p 2

⁶⁸ See, for example, *Wanganui Herald*, 13 December 1901, p 3

provide a source of funding for the work of the councils. Because the Kurahaupo Council had little other funding much of its time was occupied with dog-tax matters.

Under the Maori Councils Act the Health Department's sanitary inspectors were charged with working with Maori Councils. In 1904 Ererua Te Kahu was appointed to the position for the Kurahaupo, Whanganui, and Taranaki districts.⁶⁹ According to Derek Dow the sanitary inspectors were appointed primarily because of their mana and had no formal medical training apart from a short training course conducted in 1907.⁷⁰ No information could be found in government records or in the English language press about Te Kahu's activities in this role and little information was published in English about the Kurahaupo Maori Council in general. Te Kahu became council chairman in 1912 after the government laid off all the remaining sanitary inspectors. He held the position until his death in 1916.⁷¹

As noted, by-laws issued by Maori Councils could cover a range of matters. A set of model by-laws were drawn up by the Te Aute College Students' Association and further developed by the Horouta Maori Council which was chaired by Apirana Ngata. These generic by-laws were adopted, sometimes with amendments, by most other Maori councils.⁷² In 1904 the Kurahaupo Council passed a by-law of its own which was gazetted in July.⁷³ The by-law prohibited anyone from acting as a tohunga within the district without a license from council. Even with a license the activities of tohunga were greatly restricted. They could not 'hinder or prevent the attendance of a duly qualified medical practitioner on any patient under his care'. Neither could they 'allow (or even cause to allow) any patient under his treatment to bathe in cold water'.⁷⁴ The latter was considered a particularly dangerous remedy; in April 1904 an alleged East Coast tohunga, Matene Kapau, was convicted of manslaughter following the death of a patient he had immersed in cold water.⁷⁵

The *Oamaru Mail*, which for some reason took a great interest in the Kurahaupo by-law, described the penalties imposed for breaching the by-law as 'severe'; 'Any person calling together a meeting in connection with the practices of a tohunga will be liable to a penalty of £25, and will be liable to a further penalty of 5s for each day, or part of a day, he attends such meetings'.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ *NZ Gazette*, 7 July 1904, p 1695. Under the Maori Council's Act the sanitary inspectors were rather confusingly called 'health inspectors'.

⁷⁰ Dow, *Maori Health*, p 127

⁷¹ Kurahaupo Maori Council minutes, pp 130, 221-222 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁷² Lange, *May the People Live*, p 191

⁷³ *NZ Gazette*, 7 July 1904, pp 1696-1697

⁷⁴ *NZ Gazette*, 7 July 1904, p 1697

⁷⁵ *Wanganui Herald*, 28 April 1904, p 5

⁷⁶ *Oamaru Mail*, 12 July 1904, p 4

The reasons for the by-law are unclear. The council's minutes prior to 1906 are no longer available but there do not appear to be any press reports of tohunga activity within its district during 1903 or early 1904. There were, however, reports of tohunga practising in Taranaki. The Horouta Maori Council passed an identical by-law at the same time – the Kapau case was then under way – and the Kurahaupo Council may have been influenced by this.⁷⁷ There is no evidence that the Kurahaupo Maori Council ever acted against tohunga in its district.

Minutes from the Kurahaupo Maori Council are available from 1906, although they are generally very brief. The minutes were recorded in Te Reo and were translated for this report. Much of the business of the council seemed to revolve around dog registration – understandably given this was an important source of income. The council also generated income from the fines it levied for various breaches such as those relating to the liquor laws. At the July 1906 meeting Taraua Marumarū noted that one role of the council was to collect income so they would have funds to spend on meeting houses, marae, drinking water, and other health improvement measures.⁷⁸

Enforcing the liquor laws and controlling alcohol were common themes for the council and Taraua Marumarū urged the members to try to suppress the consumption of alcohol.⁷⁹ Fines for drunkenness were levied by marae committees and were then paid to the council. In 1913, however, Tautari Taramana was twice convicted for drunkenness and refused to pay his fines. He was brought before the Council, who conducted their own trial of the case. The Council convicted and fined him.⁸⁰

Maori birth and deaths generally went unregistered in the nineteenth century. In an attempt to improve the situation the Maori Councils Act made councils responsible for registration. There are no surviving records of the Kurahaupo Maori Council actual records of births and deaths but Council members appear to have taken this duty seriously.⁸¹ At the Council's July 1906 meeting, Taraua Marumarū urged the registration of births and deaths.⁸² Members reported on birth and death registrations to the committee from time to time but it appears that communities did not always co-operate. In April 1912 the committee passed a motion that the Maori Councils Act

⁷⁷ *NZ Gazette*, 7 July 1904, p 1696

⁷⁸ Kurahaupo Minutes, 24 July 1906, p 18 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁷⁹ Kurahaupo Minutes, 24 May 1906, p 20 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁸⁰ Kurahaupo Minutes, 31 July 1913 and 10 December 1913, pp 184, 190-204 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁸¹ Lange, pp 236-238

⁸² Kurahaupo Minutes, 24 July 1906, p 18 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

should provide for fines for non-registration.⁸³ However this motion soon became redundant as the government transferred the registration duty to appointed Maori registrars later that year.⁸⁴

The councils were initially seen as having a positive effect. Pomare saw marae committees in particular as playing a crucial role in the improvement of Maori health and living standards, and urged sanitary inspectors to work with them.⁸⁵ During the first decade after the passing of the Maori Councils Act, Members of the House of Representatives, both Maori and Pakeha, regularly praised the improvement in the condition of Maori villages, which they attributed to the Act.⁸⁶ Gilbert Mair, Superintendent of Maori Councils, reported to the Native Minister in 1903 that:

I can state emphatically that great good has already resulted from the establishment of the Councils. Some of the Native villages are now models of cleanliness and neatness. The unsightly unsanitary old whares are gradually being replaced by wooden buildings. Greater attention is bestowed on the water-supply, sleeping-apartments, fencing-out pigs and other animals from the villages, the disposal of ordure and dead animals, payment of the dog-tax, a stricter supervision over the supplying of spirits in the kaingas or tobacco to children, the interment of the dead within a reasonable time and the consequent saving of waste and impoverishment through prolonged tangis, the discontinuance of eating putrid food, and a better attendance at the schools.⁸⁷

With respect to Kurahaupo, however, the census sub-enumerator for the Rangitikei County in 1906 was not impressed. 'The Maori Council and the Village committees in this part are not doing what they ought to do. In many cases they, by abusing the rules, are more discouragement to the rest of the community than otherwise.'⁸⁸ The unnamed official was likely referring to unauthorised expenditure by the Council's first Chairman, Te Raika Kereama. At its meetings during 1906 and 1907 the council grappled with the issue of the misspent funds and how they were to be repaid.⁸⁹

Others were more positive about the work of the council and village committees. In 1908 Rangipouri Marumarū, registrar for the Kurahaupo Maori Council, told reporters that 'he had

⁸³ Kurahaupo Minutes, 29 April 1912, p 136 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁸⁴ Lange, pp 236-238

⁸⁵ AJHR, 1903, H-31, p 66

⁸⁶ NZPD, 1903, vol 125, pp 380-1; NZPD, 1903, vol 127, pp 513-14, 519, 520; NZPD, 1904, vol 129, p580; NZPD, 1908, vol 144, p275; cited by Robinson, wai 898, A71, p 188

⁸⁷ AJHR, 1903, G1, p1

⁸⁸ AJHR 1906, H26a, p 20

⁸⁹ Kurahaupo Maori Council minutes, pp 2-3, 6=7. 15=17 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

noticed a general improvement in the condition of his people, as well as an increase of industry... There was very little drinking in the district, and the old Maoris were the worst sinners in this respect'.⁹⁰ Marumaru did not specifically attribute the change to the work of the council but that was presumably his intention.

In 1909 the Department of Public Health reported that, nationwide, 1203 Maori houses and whare had been destroyed as unfit for habitation, 2103 new houses and 301 new whare had been erected, and over 1000 pit privies installed under the 1900 legislative provisions.⁹¹ There is no information as to how much of this work was carried out within the Taihape inquiry district. However, at a meeting in August 1912 the Kurahaupo Maori Council received reports which appeared to be on progress in erecting wooden houses and toilets in the north of the inquiry district, at Whangaehu, Raketapauma and Hihitahi.⁹²

The initial glow of success enjoyed by the councils soon faded. Inadequate government funding and various other frustrations took their toll. Lange notes that after 1912 the disappearance of the Maori Health Officers and Sanitary Inspectors, who did so much to support the work of the councils, was a major blow to their functioning. The Kurahaupo Maori Council appears to have remained fairly active until 1914, generally meeting at least twice a year. Some cracks were showing by 1909, however, with complaints that some members were not pulling their weight. The Council met only once in 1910 and 1911, possibly due to the illness of the Chairman, Taraua Marumaru, who died in 1911.⁹³ In 1909 Rangipouri Marumaru was elected to the Council and became its secretary in 1912, only to resign later that year.⁹⁴ He was subsequently taken to court for misappropriation of funds and agreed to pay restitution.⁹⁵

The council met a number of times in 1913, perhaps because of this upheaval, but met only once in 1914 due to failure to get a quorum. The council met in May and December 1915 (although meetings had to be postponed twice due to failure to attain a quorum) but did not meet again until January 1917. By then the Chairman had died and a new Chairman, Hue Te Huri, was elected. Te Huri was killed three months later when a cartload of timber fell on him while

⁹⁰ *Dominion*, 15 July 1908, p 8

⁹¹ Mark Krivan, 'The Department of Maori Affairs Housing Programme, 1935-1967', MA thesis in History, Massey University, 1990, p 13

⁹² Kurahaupo Maori Council minutes, 8 August 1912, p 142 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁹³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 30 December 1911, p 4

⁹⁴ Kurahaupo Minutes, 24 December 1909, p 110; 29 February 1912, p 130; 20 January 1913, p 154 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

⁹⁵ *Manawatu Times*, 27 May 1913, Page 6; *Wanganui Herald*, 6 September 1913, p 5

crossing the Rangitikei River.⁹⁶ The recorded minutes peter out after that so the ultimate fate of the first incarnation of the Kurahaupo Maori Council is unknown. However the fact that it was revived in the 1920s indicates that it probably faded away by the end of 1917.

Rebecca Lau in a 1996 thesis notes the ‘rapid decline’ in Maori mortality between 1890 and 1910. She attributes this to the work of public health officials such as Pomare working in conjunction with Maori communities to improve water supplies and sanitation.⁹⁷ Lange is generally positive about the work of the Maori councils and notes that some continued for some time after the government cutbacks between 1909 and 1912.⁹⁸ The Kurahaupo Council was clearly in this category, indicating that it was able to sustain enthusiasm on the part of its members. The council minutes indicate that some village committees continued to operate until at least 1909. There is, however, a lack of information as to what extent the Kurahaupo Maori Council was able to help improve Maori well-being within its rohe.

Health Services

Health services gradually improved within the Taihape inquiry district as the Pakeha population increased, particularly after the completion of the North Island main trunk railway. By 1904 Taihape town had possibly its first doctor, Henry Monk. Doctors were also based at Mangaweka (Robert Turnbull) and at Kimbolton at the south eastern tip of the inquiry district. John Smith (see Chapter 10) was still practising in Hunterville.⁹⁹ Monk had gone by 1910 but Taihape had two new doctors by then.¹⁰⁰ The town acquired additional doctors with the opening of Taihape Hospital the following year.

Taihape Hospital

In 1904 the residents of Taihape began agitating in earnest for what was termed a ‘cottage hospital’ – a small hospital providing a limited range of facilities. A public meeting in February resolved to set up a Board of Trustees for such an institution, to raise funds, and to clear suitable land.¹⁰¹ The local MHR, Remington, advocated for the proposal in Parliament in August, but the Wanganui Hospital Board rejected the idea on several occasions over the next few years.¹⁰² In December 1904 the board was influenced by a letter from the Inspector-general of Hospitals, who considered the large hospital in Wanganui to be easily accessible given the recently-opened

⁹⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 12 April 1917, p 4

⁹⁷ Lau, Rebecca Lau, ‘Trends and differentials between Maori and non-Maori : infant and child mortality, 1951-1991’ MSocSci thesis, University of Waikato, 1996, p 14

⁹⁸ Lange, pp 225-227

⁹⁹ *New Zealand Gazette* 1904, pp

¹⁰⁰ *New Zealand Gazette* 1910, pp *New Zealand Gazette* 1914, pp

¹⁰¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 March 1904, p 5

¹⁰² *Wanganui Herald*, 19 August 1904, p 5

rail link.¹⁰³ Further impetus was taken from the hospital campaign when Ruanui maternity home opened in 1907, as reported in the *Wanganui Chronicle*.

Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Studholme, of Ruanui, have presented to Taihape a fully-equipped maternity home, and are paying the salaries of the matron and staff, as well as all expenses incurred in running the institution over and above the fees received. The founders have no desire to make the hospital a charitable institution, and therefore a fixed charge has been made for each patient, so that it is hoped the home will be to a great extent self-supporting. Such an institution has been greatly required, especially when the scattered nature of settlement around Taihape is remembered, with the attendant difficulties farmers' wives experience in procuring the necessary medical and nursing attendance.¹⁰⁴

In 1907 Thomas Valintine became the new Inspector-general of Hospitals. Valintine was opposed to the idea of cottage hospitals and this led to the hospital board continuing to reject proposals from the Taihape community.¹⁰⁵ After several petitions and representations on the issue the hospital board decisively rejected a hospital for Taihape at its April 1908 meeting.¹⁰⁶ Undeterred, the residents sent a delegation to Health Minister George Fowlds and again approached the hospital board in June, only to be rejected once more.¹⁰⁷

Finally, however, the residents converted Dr Valintine to their cause and he attended the Wanganui Hospital Board's January 1909 meeting to support it. The Board voted to establish a hospital on the condition that the community contribute significantly towards the cost of the project. The Board of Trustees had long proposed a significant community contribution so this condition merely reinforced that undertaking.¹⁰⁸ In July 1909 the board directed its architect to prepare plans for an eight-bed hospital in Taihape.¹⁰⁹ The hospital was ready for opening by May 1911 and the new doctor, Dr Boyd, arrived in April and began his practice, it being standard at the time for hospital doctors to also be in private practice.¹¹⁰

Taihape Hospital opened on 18 May 1911. Health Minister Fowlds reminded those present that any serious cases would still be treated at Wanganui Hospital. Festivities included entertainment by a 'Maori haka troupe' and a parade which included 'a troupe of Maori poi dancers'.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 8 December 1904, p 7

¹⁰⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 10 May 1907, p 4

¹⁰⁵ *Wanganui Herald*, 9 October 1907, p 7

¹⁰⁶ *Wanganui Herald*, 8 April 1908, p 7

¹⁰⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 18 June 1908, p 3

¹⁰⁸ *Wanganui Herald*, 14 January 1909, p 7

¹⁰⁹ *Wanganui Herald*, 14 July 1909, p 7

¹¹⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 May 1911, p 8

¹¹¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 18 May 1911 p 7, 19 May 1911, p 5

Otherwise, however, little evidence can be found of Maori involvement with or use of the hospital in its early years. Derek Dow argues that evidence on Maori hospital use in the early twentieth century is patchy at best and the available evidence indicates that Maori admissions were relatively uncommon.¹¹² One reason for this was that Maori viewed hospitals as a place people went to die – a prejudice that, in the nineteenth century at least, had some basis. But according to Peter Buck, writing in 1906, the negative attitudes persisted into the twentieth century despite improved hygiene and medical practices.

The Natives have a strong prejudice against European hospitals. Behind the barriers of hospital-wards and behind the barrier of speech they know not what is going on. Therefore they imagine.¹¹³

There was, however, another side to the coin – a prejudice on the part of hospital boards against admitting Maori patients. The evidence indicates that this prejudice was financial rather than racial. Because Maori land was rarely rated, hospitals were seen as being funded and maintained largely by Pakeha rates. Because Maori were not perceived as making a contribution, hospitals were unwilling to allow Maori access unless they were able to pay the fees normally levied on non-indigent patients. This policy obviously hit those Maori – probably the great majority - who were unable to afford the fees. This conundrum was not fully resolved until the passing of the Social Security Act 1938.¹¹⁴

There is, however, evidence that at least some Maori used Taihape Hospital in its early years. In 1914, five Maori were admitted to the hospital following an outbreak of typhoid (see Chapter 10). Four survived, as did three of the four cases treated privately.¹¹⁵

Native and District Nurses

Until the second decade of the twentieth century trained nurses generally operated in urban areas usually within hospitals. The 1903 Register of Nurses lists none within the Taihape inquiry district, the nearest being in Napier and Wanganui¹¹⁶ Nurses were based in Taihape and Marton by 1910, and Taihape Hospital had two nurses when it opened the following year.¹¹⁷

The government initiated a scheme to train Maori nurses in 1898, when two ‘Maori probationers’ were employed at Napier Hospital. Additional Maori nurses were trained in other hospitals

¹¹² Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 102-110

¹¹³ AJHR 1906, H31, pp

¹¹⁴ Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 102-110, Lange, 1999, pp 233-235

¹¹⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 November 1914, p 3

¹¹⁶ *NZ Gazette* 1903, pp 192-198

¹¹⁷ *NZ Gazette* 1910, pp 403-428; *NZ Gazette* 1913, pp 405-445

around the country in subsequent years, generally with Education Department funding.¹¹⁸ A Maori probationer was appointed to Wanganui Hospital in 1908 but the Hospital Board was largely unsympathetic to the scheme. In 1912 when the Health Department asked the board to keep a vacancy open for a Maori probationer the request ‘did not seem to meet with much favour’.¹¹⁹ The Palmerston North Hospital Board was more sympathetic and in 1912 appointed its second Maori probationer. The *Wanganui Chronicle* said the decision ‘will please the natives of the district, who are in need of good trained nurses’.¹²⁰ A few of the trainees stayed on at hospitals but in general Maori nurses were expected to return to their communities after training as ‘health missionaries’.¹²¹ When Wanganui Hospital’s first Maori recruit, Maud Mataira, finished her training in 1911 she was appointed as a Native Health Nurse in the far north.¹²²

In parallel with these developments came the ‘backblocks’ district nursing scheme. Thomas Valentine was formerly a rural GP and was keen to see an expansion of nursing into rural areas once he became Inspector-general of Hospitals. In 1909 he inaugurated a district nursing scheme under which the government subsidised itinerant nurses to operate in rural areas. Two years later the scheme was extended to district nursing services – the Native Health Nursing scheme, aimed specifically at Maori.¹²³ The gradual expansion of the Native Health Nursing scheme over the following years ran into resistance from the medical profession, concerned about the competition they might provide to the subsidised doctors known as Native Medical Officers (see chapter 10).¹²⁴ The NMO scheme did not expand in the twentieth century despite the increase in Maori population. As in the nineteenth century, there is no apparent evidence that NMOs provided services within the Taihape inquiry district in the twentieth.

Those running the Native Health Nursing scheme attempted to recruit Maori in addition to Pakeha nurses but often struggled to do so. Too few Maori were being trained – sometimes, as noted above, due to hospital board resistance – and not all those who trained completed their courses or became sufficiently skilled to work unsupervised.¹²⁵ Furthermore the government imposed a minimum age for trainees of 21, which could prove a major barrier to recruitment.¹²⁶ An additional problem, according to the Health Department, was that ‘the Native nurses are not

¹¹⁸ Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 130-131

¹¹⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 January 1908, p 7 and 18 July 1912, p 6

¹²⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 August 1912, p 8

¹²¹ Dow, *Maori Health*, p 131

¹²² Lange, p 174

¹²³ Lange, p 174; Dow, *Maori Health*, p 131

¹²⁴ Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 131-133

¹²⁵ Lange, pp 167-168; Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 133-135

¹²⁶ *Manawatu Times*, 13 September 1918, p 6

so successful in dealing with their own people as the pakeha nurse, to whose instructions more attention is usually paid.¹²⁷

It is not clear that any district or Native Health nurses worked within the Taihape inquiry district before the 1920s. A District Nurse League was established in Wanganui in 1910 to raise funds to provide district nursing services.¹²⁸ A district nurse was appointed to Marton in September 1913 with a salary of £120 after the Health Department agreed to a subsidy of up to £100. It is not known if her work extended further north but she was kept busy and was reported, for example, to have made 84 visits in February 1914.¹²⁹

Maori were not always convinced of the value of district nurses. In May 1909 Dr James Mason, head of the Department of Public Health, attended a meeting of the Kurahaupo Maori Council. Mason said he was particularly concerned about child health and suggested that the Council put £10 per year towards the salary of a district nurse. However Mason met resistance from the council chair because of the sum of money involved.¹³⁰

By 1919 there were 20 Native Health Nurses nationwide. Those located nearest the Taihape inquiry district were based in Taupo and Otaki.¹³¹ In March 1915 the *Wanganui Chronicle* reported that ‘a trained nurse with special knowledge of the Maoris is to be sent to all paha in the district’ following a report from the Health Inspector. The district in question was that covered by the Wanganui Hospital Board, which included the Taihape inquiry district.¹³²

Schools and Health

Schools, where children spent several hours a day in close proximity in small classrooms, were not always the healthiest of places. According to Colin McGeorge, ‘[c]rowded schools (the Department deemed 10 square feet per child sufficient), primitive lavatories and contaminated water all helped spread infectious diseases.’¹³³ During outbreaks of disease and epidemic, attendance rates fell due to ill children not coming to school and because parents kept children who were well at home to avoid infection.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ AJHR 1923, H31, p

¹²⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 4 June 1910, p 4

¹²⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, Issue 19900, 18 September 1913, p 6; 9 April 1914, p 6; 19 June 1913, p 2

¹³⁰ Kurahaupo Minutes, 18 May 1909, p 88 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

¹³¹ AJHR 1920, H31, p 10

¹³² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 March 1915, p 2

¹³³ Colin McGeorge, ‘Childhood’s Sole Serious Business: The Long Haul to Full School Attendance’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 40, 1 (2006), p.30

¹³⁴ McGeorge, p 30

School inspectors were aware of the dangers that infectious diseases might be spread at school and made sanitation a part of their regular school inspections. In 1912 the government established a system of medical inspection of schools under the administration of the Department of Education. The department appointed four medical officers but the bulk of the work of inspection was carried out by teachers in the early years. All 8-9 year old children had compulsory health checks and teachers referred some to the doctor. In 1912 Dr Elizabeth Gunn was appointed as medical officer to the Wanganui and surrounding districts, a role she held for two decades. In 1916 seven nurses were appointed in the district to give advice in the home on diet, hygiene, clothing, and to treat conditions like scabies and head lice.¹³⁵

School committees also got involved in preventative measures from time to time. McGeorge writes that some school committees fumigated schools, as 'it was easier to burn sulphur than to scrub a school or to use carbolic sprays as medical officers recommended'. He notes, however, that the standard practice 'was simply to close a school until an epidemic had run its course'.¹³⁶ Committees and teachers preferred to close a school in such circumstances even if not strictly warranted, as for some decades the head teacher salary and teacher numbers were affected by average attendance. If the school was kept open and pupils stayed home due to illness, school resourcing suffered.¹³⁷ The decision to close a school during outbreaks of infectious diseases needed the approval of the education board. In 1915 the school committee closed Mangaweka School due to a measles epidemic. The Wanganui Education Board ordered its reopening and the school committee responded by resigning in protest.¹³⁸

In the early 1890s outbreaks of croup, influenza and measles closed Ohingaiti School on several occasions.¹³⁹ Whooping cough closed Poukiore School for nine weeks in 1903.¹⁴⁰ In 1920 Rata School closed during an influenza outbreak.¹⁴¹ During the influenza outbreak of November 1918 (discussed below) the Wanganui Education Board initially ordered the closing of only those schools on the main trunk railway line, although the restriction was soon extended to all

¹³⁵ Wanganui Newspapers, *Wanganui Education Board Celebrates 100 years, 1878-1978, special souvenir supplement*, Wanganui Newspapers, Wanganui, 1978, p 35

¹³⁶ McGeorge, p.30

¹³⁷ McGeorge, p.30

¹³⁸ *Mangaweka School 75th jubilee, 1849-1969*, Meteor Printers, Wanganui, 1969, no page numbering

¹³⁹ *Ohingaiti School 75th Jubilee Reunion*, Ohingaiti School Jubilee Committee, Ohingaiti, 1967, no page numbers

¹⁴⁰ *Hunterville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1887-1987*, 1987, p.31

¹⁴¹ Murray Haywood, *Rata, in the heart of the Rangitikei*, M. Haywood, Hamilton, 2003, p.103

schools.¹⁴² Taihape District High and Winiata Schools closed on 7 November and did not reopen until the following February.¹⁴³

Even when schools did not close, epidemics could severely deplete attendance. Measles swept through Winiata School in May 1915 and some days half the pupils were absent. The teacher eventually succumbed and the school had to close for two weeks in June. The school was hit by another measles outbreak in October 1920.¹⁴⁴ But the condition that caused the most controversy with respect to schools in the Wanganui Education Board district was the skin disease commonly called 'hakehake' (or occasionally 'hakihaki').

The 'Hakehake' Controversy of 1913

As Maori increasingly attended schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was noticed that children commonly suffered from skin complaints, often called 'hakehake' or 'the Maori itch'. According to Lange the disease probably resulted from insufficient washing, particularly in the winter. It was so common that many Maori considered it normal until drawn to their attention by school teachers.¹⁴⁵ The disease perplexed some medical people. In 1932 Dr Elizabeth Gunn asked rhetorically in a memorandum: 'What is this skin disease the Maoris suffer from?' She called it 'scabies' but considered it different from the 'Pakeha scabies' because it appeared to be non-infectious. From her observations Pakeha children in native schools rarely seemed to catch it.¹⁴⁶

If the disease was non-infectious this was not widely known, for Pakeha parents on occasions expressed concern resulting in Maori children being sent home from school. In October 1912 the teacher at Winiata side school sent three of the Maori children home with 'instructions for treatment' of skin disease. A Pakeha family had complained and sent their children to Taihape School.¹⁴⁷ 'Instructions for treatment' generally meant a hot bath and the application of sulphur ointment.¹⁴⁸ This does not appear to be a common incident, although the teacher referred to skin disease a decade later as a reason for pupil absences and the school committee temporarily

¹⁴² *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 8 November 1918, p 7; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 November 1918, p 1

¹⁴³ Taihape School Log Book, 7 November 1918, 4 February 1919, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁴⁴ Winiata Log Book, 7 May to 7 June 1915 and 19-29 October 1920, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁴⁵ Lange, pp 31-32

¹⁴⁶ Dr Elizabeth Gunn to Director, School Hygiene Division, Department of Health, 17 October 1932, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

¹⁴⁷ Winiata School log book, 19 October 1912, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁴⁸ Lange, p 32

closed the school for three weeks due to the 'Maori itch'.¹⁴⁹ Two years later in 1925 a Maori girl was again sent home due to skin disease.¹⁵⁰

Winiata is used here as an example because of the rare survival of log books from the school. Similar events no doubt occurred at other schools in the Taihape inquiry district. In 1913 many Maori children in the Wanganui Education Board district were excluded from schools as a matter of policy. This came about as a result of the smallpox scare of that year although the exclusion was really about hakehake.

In May 1913 a Mormon missionary brought smallpox to Northland resulting in a smallpox outbreak near Whangarei. The disease appears to have come to New Zealand via Sydney, which was experiencing smallpox at that time. This knowledge did not prevent the press from referring to the outbreak as the 'Maori epidemic' and race relations became strained during the year.¹⁵¹ In the North Island the disease spread south as far as the King Country although there was for a while uncertainty as to whether it was smallpox or chicken pox.¹⁵² By July the authorities seemed certain it was smallpox and invoked health regulations preventing Maori in the Auckland region from travelling unless they could produce evidence of vaccination.¹⁵³ These restrictions soon became more general.¹⁵⁴ On 15 July the *Manawatu Standard* reported that a number of Maori from Mataroa, near Taihape, were detained to be vaccinated on arrival in Marton. 'Some complied, but others refused and were allowed after inspection by the health inspector to proceed.'¹⁵⁵ Doctors were appointed official public vaccinators in the Wanganui Hospital Board region, including those based in Hunterville, Mangaweka, and Taihape.¹⁵⁶

Schools were singled out for attention. On 18 July the *New Zealand Herald* reported that the Auckland Education Board had instructed teachers 'to exclude all Maori and half-caste children until they can present certificates of successful vaccination'.¹⁵⁷ A week later the press reported that around 20 country schools in the Auckland region had been forced to close because so many Maori children had been excluded from school.¹⁵⁸ The Wanganui Education Board soon

¹⁴⁹ Winiata School log book, 9, 16, 19, 27 June, 17 July 1922, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁵⁰ Winiata School log book, 13 April 1925, Archives NZ Wellington, 'School Records – Taihape School 1896-1927', item R21913792, ABDV W3571 943/

¹⁵¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 12 July 1913, p 8

¹⁵² Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy, 1840-1940*, VUW Press, 1999, p 139ft

¹⁵³ *Press*, 12 July 1913, p 12; *Northern Advocate*, 10 July 1913, p 5

¹⁵⁴ *Dominion*, 24 July 1913, Page 8

¹⁵⁵ *Manawatu Standard*, 15 July 1913, Page 5

¹⁵⁶ *Wanganui Herald*, 15 July 1913, Page 5

¹⁵⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 18 July 1913, Page 8

¹⁵⁸ *Dominion*, 24 July 1913, Page 8

got involved, resolving that ‘teachers should be informed that Maoris or children living with Maoris should be vaccinated or prevented from attending school until vaccinated’. The press reported that the Board passed an additional resolution following a report from the chief inspector of schools for the region:

Vaccination is going on to a considerable extent [in Wanganui], special attention being paid to Maoris. The Education Board this evening took the matter up seriously. The chief inspector's report called attention to disgraceful personal uncleanliness in a Native family attending one of the schools, and it became a question, said the report, whether the homes of all Native children in attendance at schools should not be periodically inspected by the Health Officer. The Board passed the following resolution ‘That the Education Department should be informed that the Board intends to take steps to refuse to admit Maori children to schools in its district unless satisfied by the Health Department or otherwise that children come in a healthy state.’

The chairman said he would never dream of drawing the colour-line, but he considered the prevailing epidemic came from the Maoris and was contracted by children at school. Maoris, unlike Europeans would not go to a doctor when affected.¹⁵⁹

The Wanganui Board thus went further than education boards elsewhere by targeting Maori for general attention rather than focussing just on vaccination. On 21 July 1913 the Board’s secretary wrote to inform the Education Department of the resolution, although the wording used was slightly different than reported in the press. The words ‘satisfied...that children come in a healthy state’ were replaced by ‘satisfied...that the houses of the children are in a sanitary condition’.¹⁶⁰

It was at this point that what had been a discussion about smallpox prevention dramatically changed tack. On 27 July 1913 a parent with children at the Okaiawa School near Hawera (and thus well outside the Taihape inquiry district) wrote to the Wanganui Education Board alleging his children and others had contracted the ‘Maori itch’ from children at the school. He called on the Board to take action to eliminate the problem or to separate Maori from Pakeha children at school.¹⁶¹ Fred Pirani, the Board’s Chairman based in Feilding, immediately wrote to the Minister of Education enclosing a copy of the letter. This case of the ‘loathsome disease of hakehake’ required immediate attention he said. Pirani claimed that schools with a high proportion of

¹⁵⁹ *Star*, 17 July 1913, p 1

¹⁶⁰ Secretary, Wanganui Education Board to Secretary, Education Department, 21 July 1913, Archives NZ Auckland. ‘Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937’, item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

¹⁶¹ Robert Johns to Wanganui Education Board, 27 July 1913, Archives NZ Auckland. ‘Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937’, item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

Maori pupils were often more crowded than others, making it impossible to isolate Maori children from 'those of more cleanly habits'. He cited Te Akarua School near Feilding as an example. There is no evidence he was referring to schools within the Taihape inquiry district but the board's resolution at its July meeting certainly applied to those schools.

A great deal is heard about the work the Health Department is doing amongst the Maoris, but I cannot say that that applies to this district, and the determination of the Wanganui Education Board to exclude native children from the schools unless proof that their homes are in a sanitary state is forthcoming, is fully justified by the facts.¹⁶²

Thus a resolution supposedly passed to deal with the threat of smallpox suddenly seemed to be connected with other health issues. The Wanganui Education Board then issued a circular to all schools under its control as reported in the *Feilding Star* of 20 September 1913:

A further step in the right direction has been taken by the Chairman of the Board, who has just issued to the headmasters of the schools in the Wanganui educational district a circular dealing with Maori pupils. The circular points out that the fact had been brought prominently before the Board lately that some Maori pupils were attending primary schools in an unhealthy condition, and that others were not sent in such a cleanly state as was desirable.

The *Star* went on to quote at length from the circular:

'This is a serious menace to members of the community who are free from disease, so it is most necessary that every care should be taken to prevent the continuance of that state of affairs.' In this connection, teachers are reminded of the powers conferred on them by section 146 of the Education Act: 'It shall be lawful for the teacher of every school to expel or forbid the attendance of any child for want of cleanliness, or who may be likely to communicate any contagious disease, or who, from gross misconduct or incorrigible disobedience, may be considered an injurious or dangerous example to the other scholars.' Then comes the direction in the circular: 'The Board desires that you should take all steps possible to assure yourself that your pupils are in a cleanly and healthy state. In regard to Maori children, especially, every endeavour should be made to ascertain that their homes are such as to justify the teacher in allowing them to attend school. Of course, it is not expected that the teacher should himself go out of his way to obtain information in regard to the last-mentioned matter as would justify this action; but if there are grounds for believing that an unhealthy state of things exists, a

¹⁶² Chairman, Wanganui Education Board to James Allen, Minister of Education, 31 July 1913, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

report should be made to the truant officer (Mr C. J. Skinner), who will make the necessary investigations to enable you to take action.¹⁶³

On receiving Pirani's letter at the end of July 1913 the Minister of Education referred the matter to his department, who sought comment from William Bird, the Inspector of Native Schools. Bird's report stated that 'Hake-hake is not a disease peculiar to Maoris. The word is simply the Maori for "itch" or scabies, which is found quite commonly among Europeans of dirty habits, especially in crowded cities like London.' Bird said that, although the disease was infectious, he had never heard of a case of a Pakeha child catching it from a Maori child in a native school. He claimed the disease was not as serious as often thought and was relatively easily dealt with. In severe cases teachers were legally entitled to send a child home and 'the parents are required to see the disease is attended to'. He recommended this course of action in cases like Okaiawa School.¹⁶⁴

No evidence was found in research for this report that Maori children at schools within the Taihape inquiry district were excluded from school as a result of the Wanganui Education Board's July 1913 resolution. However in August 1914 truant officer Skinner claimed that 'last year Rata was the only place that the Maoris had a clean bill of health'.¹⁶⁵ As noted in the education section of this report, Rata School near Hunterville generally had a reasonable proportion of Maori pupils. Skinner's letter implies that every school in the board's district with Maori pupils (other than Rata) was affected by hakehake. This would obviously include schools in the inquiry district.

However it was at a school not far outside the inquiry district that things came to a head. On 7 September 1913 the Chairman of the Raetihi School Committee wrote to the Wanganui Education Board after parents approached the committee asking for Maori children to be banned from the school. The committee passed a resolution calling for a separate Maori school to be established, or if that was not possible for the Health Department to ensure that Maori houses were kept in a 'clean and sanitary condition'.¹⁶⁶ A week later Raetihi Maori wrote to the

¹⁶³ *Feilding Star*, 20 September 1913, p 2

¹⁶⁴ William Bird to Secretary of Education, 18 August 1913, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

¹⁶⁵ Skinner, Truant Officer to Wanganui Education Board, 6 August 1914, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1. The files from school health inspectors prior for 1913 could not be located for this report.

¹⁶⁶ Chairman Raetihi School Committee to Wanganui Education Board, 7 September 1913, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

Inspector of Native Schools requesting a native school. They claimed their children had been excluded from Raetihi School for two months.¹⁶⁷

During September 1913 the Wanganui Education Board's resolution and the controversy at Raetihi were aired in the press.¹⁶⁸ Eastern Maori MHR Apirana Ngata raised the issue in Parliament. He noted the Education Board's shift of emphasis from smallpox to hakehake.

The Education Board there (in Wanganui) has taken advantage of the epidemic in a district a little farther north....to say to the Maori children in the Wanganui district: 'you are dirty; you have hakehake; you have the itch; you will affect our European children; it is not desirable that you should attend our schools; it is time you had separate schools.' That is the view held by the Wanganui Education Board, or by settlers in the district...I say it is not for the Education Board in the Wanganui District, or in any other district, to say to the children, 'You are dirty, and shall be excluded from our schools.' There is something else behind that, and it is time the Minister of Education looked seriously into the matter. It is simply the beginning of an attempt on the part of the Education Boards to compel the Maori children to have separate institutions.¹⁶⁹

A week later Ngata followed the matter up more formally by asking Education Minister James Allen '[w]hether his attention had been drawn to the action of the Wanganui Education Board, which, it is reported, has determined to exclude Native children from the schools under the control of the Board, on the ground that their presence is a menace to health?'¹⁷⁰

In his reply Allen said: 'By section 146 of the Act it is lawful for the teacher of any school to expel or forbid the attendance of any child for want of cleanliness, or who may be likely to communicate any contagious disease. This, however, does not authorize wholesale exclusion.' Allen undertook to have inquiries made into the matter.¹⁷¹

No evidence was found in research for this report whether or not the Minister's promised inquiries took place or whether the Wanganui Education Board softened its stance. It must have done so, for the issue seems to have simply faded away. It was, however, briefly reignited in August 1914 when truant officer Skinner wrote to the Wanganui Education Board on the subject of the prevalence of hakehake in winter, a disease he considered infectious. While otherwise

¹⁶⁷ Tuatini Te Ngaihoe and 29 others to Inspector of Native Schools, 15 September 1913, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

¹⁶⁸ For example, *Auckland Star*, 22 September 1913, p 2

¹⁶⁹ NZPD 1913, vol. 165, pp 220-221

¹⁷⁰ NZPD 1913, vol. 165, p.358

¹⁷¹ NZPD 1913, vol. 165, p.358

reasonable in tone, Skinner's letter included some racist invective. 'But you can take for granted where there are Maoris there is dirt and filth and of course hake follows'. More striking was his suggested solution to the problem – separate schools for Maori.¹⁷² Skinner's letter eventually ended up with the Education Department and, as earlier, it was forwarded to William Bird for comment. Bird repeated his previous remarks concerning the limited infectiousness of hakehake and pointed out the impracticality of establishing a segregated education system.¹⁷³ In this case the controversy was kept from the press.

The events of 1913 put a strain on the country's race relations. Maori cannot have been happy at being singled out for attention, particularly when living nowhere near the zone in which smallpox was present. Neither can they have been happy at having their children excluded from schools. Bird summed up events in his annual report for 1913:

The apparent susceptibility of the Maoris to the disease [smallpox] caused a great deal of alarm amongst the Europeans in the districts affected, and, even in localities where there was no sign whatever of the epidemic, the Maori children were indiscriminately forbidden to attend school.

A more serious effect, so far as the education of Maori children is concerned, has been the intensification of the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Maori in many parts of the North Island, and even in some parts of the South. This has led in some cases to an attempt on the part of local authorities to turn the Maori children out of school, which has in some places actually been accomplished. Probably in none of these cases is the number of Maori children concerned sufficient to maintain a separate school, even if the Government were inclined to reverse the hitherto invariable policy of treating both races alike, and it follows that these children are reduced to the position of outcasts. This question is one, therefore, that demands the earnest consideration of the authorities.¹⁷⁴

The effect of the affair on schools in the Taihape inquiry district is unclear, but in the country overall there was a drop in the proportion of Maori children enrolled in general (as opposed to native) schools. It took a decade for enrolments to return to their previous level.¹⁷⁵ It is doubtful that events had a positive effect on Maori health.

¹⁷² Skinner, Truant Officer, to Wanganui Education Board, 6 August 1914, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

¹⁷³ William Bird to Secretary of Education, 1 October 1914, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

¹⁷⁴ *AJHR*, 1914, E-3, p.13, 'Report of Inspectors: concluding remarks'

¹⁷⁵ Christoffel, *Wai* 898, A27, p 29

Chapter 11: From the Influenza Pandemic to World War Two

Introduction

This chapter outlines health services provided to Maori in the Taihape inquiry district from the onset of the influenza pandemic in November 1918 until World War Two.

By the 1920s it was clear that the apparent revival of the Maori population shown by the five-yearly census was genuine. In 1896 just over 42,000 Maori were recorded in the census. By 1921 the figure had risen to nearly 57,000, a healthy increase of 35 percent in 25 years. Although the census was known to be unreliable, the general upward trend was convincing. As outlined in Chapter 8, from 1926 the Maori census became more robust, with Maori households filling out their own census forms rather than being counted by enumerators. That year the census recorded 69,780 Maori. While Maori population data became gradually more reliable from 1926, the collection of Maori health data still had a long way to go. According to Derek Dow (citing Lange), an estimated 30 percent of Maori deaths were still unregistered in 1930.¹⁷⁶

It is difficult to assess Maori population trends in the inquiry district after World War One without undertaking detailed analysis of census data (this is possible from 1926). Although the population figures became more reliable, the recorded Maori population of Rangitikei County is not a useful proxy for the population of the Taihape inquiry district in the 1920s and 1930s. The establishment of the Ratana pa near Turakina in the 1920s resulted in large population fluctuations as Maori moved into and out of the area. By 1925 the community at Ratana pa had grown so large that the village was trying to establish its own 'borough council'.¹⁷⁷ The 1926 census showed an increase in the Maori population in Rangitikei from 599 (recorded under the old census system in 1921) to 2142. Some of this increase was undoubtedly due to more reliable counting, but most is presumably the result of the 'Ratana effect'. By 1936 the recorded Maori population of Rangitikei County had fallen nearly 700 to 1445 – again presumably due to people leaving Ratana Pa. In 1936 the recorded Maori population of Ratana Township was still 665, which was 46 percent of the Maori population of Rangitikei County.

Ratana pa also dominated any discussion on Maori health in the Rangitikei and nearby districts in this period. The large number of people moving there in a short space of time put considerable pressure on infrastructure, resulting in inadequate water supplies and sewage disposal. The

¹⁷⁶ Dow, 1999, p 207

¹⁷⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 23 June 1925, p 7

township was subject to regular outbreaks of disease, including typhoid.¹⁷⁸ People moving to and from Ratana pa were also considered by health officials to spread disease.¹⁷⁹ Turakina is outside the Taihape inquiry district, but the considerable focus on Ratana pa by medical people, health officials, and the Kurahaupo Maori Council means that conditions at the pa tended to overshadow other Maori health issues in the inquiry district in the 1920s and 1930s. According to claimant informants, Maori from within the inquiry district were, and continue to be, extensively involved in the Ratana movement.¹⁸⁰

Black November

As World War One wound down a virulent strain of influenza, inaccurately dubbed ‘the Spanish flu’, was spreading around the world. Influenza had been common during the war, spread by troops confined in close proximity who then returned home, stopping at various ports on the way. In September 1918 a relatively mild form of influenza was reported to have hospitalised about 550 returned soldiers at the Trentham and Featherston army camps.¹⁸¹ However the ‘Spanish flu’ was a far more deadly strain. By the time the pandemic died out in 1919 it is thought, by modern estimates, to have killed at least 20 million people world-wide, although many assessments put the toll considerably higher.¹⁸²

Geoffrey Rice estimates that the Spanish flu killed over 8,000 people in New Zealand, with most dying in November 1918. This equates to around 0.7 percent of the national population at the time.¹⁸³ The worst affected areas were the four main cities, which contained the largest concentrations of population. Yet despite the fact that few Maori lived in the cities, the pandemic had a significant effect on Maori. The official Maori death toll published in a 1919 Health Department report was 1,130, based on registered deaths. This in itself is over two percent of the Maori population. But Rice has shown that officials made mistakes in collecting the figures, mainly by ignoring deaths registered after 31 December 1918. He thus corrects the official figure to 1,679. In addition, as was well-known at the time, many Maori deaths went unregistered, particularly when they occurred in remote areas or areas of residual suspicion of the government. Rice attempts to correct for this undercount by utilising newspaper reports of Maori deaths from influenza. In parts of the country the number of Maori deaths reported in the newspapers was well in excess of those registered. Rice’s final estimate, which he admits

¹⁷⁸ *Auckland Star*, 31 May 1926, p 17

¹⁷⁹ AJHR 1926, H31, p 43

¹⁸⁰ Personal communication, Barbara Ball and Moira Raukawa-Haskell, 26 February 2016.

¹⁸¹ *Manawatu Times*, 27 September 1918, p 4

¹⁸² Stanford University, ‘The Influenza Pandemic of 1918’, <https://virus.stanford.edu/uda/>

¹⁸³ Geoffrey Rice, *Black November: The 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand*, 2005 edition, p 203. Rice’s estimate is actually 8,573 but he includes 322 troops who died overseas in this total.

probably still understates the true figure, is 2,160 Maori deaths – over four percent of the Maori population at the time.¹⁸⁴

The ‘Spanish flu’ spread quickly via transport networks. In 1918 the most popular way of getting around the country was by rail. There were two daily passenger services each day in either direction along the North Island main trunk line carrying many hundreds of passengers a day. It is therefore not surprising that the spread of the Spanish flu from Auckland to the rest of the country followed the main railway routes to a large extent.¹⁸⁵ In fact Ohakune and Taihape were among the first small towns to be affected. Rice speculates that this was because of the importance of these towns in the rail network. Ohakune, which was badly hit, was ‘the headquarters of the district traffic manager for the whole central section of the line between Marton and Frankton, which meant that all trains had to stop there, whatever the time, day or night’.¹⁸⁶ On 7 November the *Wanganui Chronicle* reported that the epidemic was ‘spreading rapidly in the Main Trunk districts, and several hundred cases are reported. Palmerston North, Feilding, Marton, Taihape, and Ohakune districts have all been badly hit, and many of the business firms find it difficult to carry on’.¹⁸⁷ On 9 November the paper reported deaths at Taihape Hospital.¹⁸⁸

The government was well aware that Maori communities were particularly badly hit by the Spanish flu, as shown by this report from 18 November 1918:

The epidemic appears to be levying a sad toll from the native race. Information received as regarding the Maori districts is of a somewhat disastrous character. It has now been resolved to prohibit all tangis and to order those who have assembled for them to at once return to their homes. The Minister for Railways has also been requested to refuse passage by railway to persons who are proceeding to tangis, and the necessary regulation will be issued at once by the health authorities to prohibit Maoris for tangis travelling either by railway or steamer or any other vehicle. It is not, however, intended to interfere in any way with natives of the native race who wish to travel for ordinary business purposes.¹⁸⁹

In mid-December the press reported 60 influenza deaths in Taihape borough and five in Hunterville.¹⁹⁰ However this figure may have been exaggerated by including all deaths recorded

¹⁸⁴ Rice, *Black November*, pp 159-161

¹⁸⁵ Rice, *Black November*, pp 189, 193

¹⁸⁶ Rice, *Black November*, p 215

¹⁸⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 7 November 1918, p 5

¹⁸⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 November 1918, p 4

¹⁸⁹ *Wanganui Herald*, 18 November 1918, p 5

¹⁹⁰ *Feilding Star*, 12 December 1918, p 2

at Taihape Hospital rather than just residents of the district. The hospital took patients from further afield, including Ohakune, which had no hospital. Rice's figure for Taihape deaths is 37, with seven deaths in Hunterville and 21 in Rangitikei County.¹⁹¹ Interestingly the press was still commenting on the inaccuracy and incompleteness of the official figures for the Rangitikei district as late as February 1919.¹⁹² This backs up Rice's criticism of the counting methodology used by the Epidemic Commission.

Only one registered Maori death was recorded by the Commission for Rangitikei County, including Taihape borough and Hunterville.¹⁹³ However it can be seen from press reports that this figure is highly questionable. On 2 December 1918 the following report appeared in the *Feilding Star*:

On Sunday morning Mr J. W. Bramwell, Hospital Board representative, accompanied by the Mayor of Feilding, motored to the Onepuhi Maori meeting house [near Marton], which is equipped as a temporary hospital to cope with the many serious cases of influenza amongst the natives living along the banks of the Rangitikei river.¹⁹⁴

The following day the *Horowhenua Chronicle* reported that the influenza epidemic 'has taken a hold among the Maoris in the Rangitikei district and two medical orderlies were despatched from Wellington to that district on Saturday evening to assist in dealing with the outbreak'.¹⁹⁵ It is not clear that these stories refer to Maori living in the Taihape inquiry district. Neither story mentioned deaths but a report from a district health inspector to the Wanganui Hospital Board later that month did (emphasis added):

A large number of the pahs had been visited, and in connection with this work it is impossible to speak too highly of the work of Mr McGregor and Dr Mitchell, for without their aid the death toll, *which has been very high*, would undoubtedly have been higher. Most of the pahs in the Waitotara, Wanganui and Rangitikei counties were visited. Although meetings and tangis were prohibited, and for the most part the Natives loyally obeyed, there was one marked exception.¹⁹⁶

The registered Maori death figure for the Waitotara and Wanganui counties was 10 deaths in each county, along with the one in Rangitikei. It seems likely from the inspector's report, referring to a 'very high' death toll, that the actual toll in all these counties was somewhat higher.

¹⁹¹ Rice, *Black November*, p 288

¹⁹² *Wanganui Chronicle* 1 February 1919, p 9

¹⁹³ Rice, *Black November*, p 288

¹⁹⁴ *Feilding Star*, 2 December 1918, p 3

¹⁹⁵ *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 3 December 1918, p 2

¹⁹⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 December 1918, p 5. The 'exception' referred to was outside the inquiry district.

In February 1919 the *Wanganui Chronicle* summarised figures from the pandemic for much of the Wanganui Hospital Board District, which included the three counties listed above. The newspaper stated:

In the main, the above figures deal with Europeans. Up to the present no figures are available to show how the epidemic dealt with the native population in the back country. A few of the native cases which were dealt with in Wanganui are included in the above statement. It is a matter of great difficulty to obtain information with regard to the deaths of natives in the back country, as the registration of deaths is not as rigidly enforced as it should be.

The *Chronicle* is perhaps exaggerating here, for Rice considered that Maori influenza deaths in Southern Taranaki, which included Waitotara, were accurately recorded – mainly because registrations were initiated proactively by police and relief workers.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand Rice estimated from newspaper reports that there were 20 Maori influenza deaths in the Rangitikei district rather than the one reported. It should be noted in this context, however, that the district in question was not solely Rangitikei County. Significantly it included the Oroua County around Feilding, which had a reasonably substantial Maori population (280 in the 1916 census compared with 606 in Rangitikei).¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, as noted elsewhere, Rangitikei County included large areas outside of the Taihape inquiry district (see Figure 2 in the introductory chapter to this report). The report quoted above referring to ‘serious cases of influenza amongst the natives living along the banks of the Rangitikei river’ appears to be referring mainly to the lower reaches of the river between Marton and its mouth near Tangimoana. This is presumably why a temporary hospital was sited at Onepuhi (outside of the Taihape inquiry district) rather than further north.

The evidence is inconclusive, but it appears that Maori in the Taihape inquiry district were less severely affected than Maori in much of New Zealand by the 1918 influenza pandemic – and possibly no more severely than Pakeha in the district. Rice’s figure of 22 Maori deaths per 1000 population in the Rangitikei region is just over half his national estimate for Maori of 42.3 deaths per 1000. Furthermore it appears likely that many, if not most, of the Maori deaths that Rice attributed to the ‘Rangitikei region’ occurred outside of the inquiry district.

Rice does not provide an estimate for ‘European’ deaths in the ‘Rangitikei region’. He does, however, estimate separate death rates for the rural part of Rangitikei County and for its internal boroughs. There were few European deaths in rural Rangitikei but many in Hunterville and

¹⁹⁷ Rice, *Black November*, p 161

¹⁹⁸ AJHR 1917, H39a, p 6

Taihape. Rice's estimate for the 'European' death rate in Taihape Borough is 19.2 per 1000.¹⁹⁹ This is over three times the national average for Europeans, and close to Rice's adjusted figure for Maori in the Rangitikei region.²⁰⁰ It appears that the almost complete absence of Maori from Taihape saved them from the worst ravages of the Spanish flu. In December 1918 the press referred to cases of influenza at Winiata and Ohutu, Maori villages south of Taihape, but made no mention of deaths there.²⁰¹

Renewed Health Efforts

Maori health initiatives went into decline after the general government cutbacks to public health that began in 1909. Maori health and hygiene measures, and public health in general, were further neglected during the war. However the influenza pandemic provided a wake-up call leading to a revival of public health measures and a renewed focus on Maori health.

In December 1918 the government appointed a royal commission to inquire into the influenza pandemic. The commission's 1919 report was critical of the Department of Health, resulting in a reorganisation of the department through the Health Act 1920.²⁰² The new act divided the department into seven distinct divisions, including divisions of 'Maori Hygiene' and 'Public Hygiene'. Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) was appointed 'Health Officer to the Maoris' (later 'Director of Maori Hygiene') in the new structure. He subsequently appointed regional Native Health Inspectors and additional Native Health Nurses.

Parliament amended the Maori Councils Act to try and revive the councils, by then largely moribund. Councils were specifically charged with dealing with Maori health and placed under Health Department rather than Native Department administration. The new councils had seven members each, rather than 12 as previously. The village committees, of which there were commonly a dozen or so in each council region, continued to have three to five members as before.²⁰³

Sanitation, inoculation and education

Sanitation, including drainage, sewage disposal and water supply, were known to be associated with infectious diseases such as typhoid. As was outlined in Chapter 11, an important role of Native Sanitary Officers, Maori Councils and Village Committees in the early twentieth century was to try and improve sanitation. Lange notes that customary practices and beliefs were

¹⁹⁹ Rice, *Black November*, p 288

²⁰⁰ Rice, *Black November*, p 288

²⁰¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 December 1918, Page 8

²⁰² Rice, pp 240-255

²⁰³ Dow, 1999, p 150; Robinson, Wai 898, A31, p 116

something of a barrier to improvement, as was lack of government funding.²⁰⁴ Sanitation and housing conditions remained significant problems in the 1920s and was an important part of the role of the health inspectors and revived Maori councils.

Buck needed to recruit new Maori sanitary inspectors, as they had all been laid off by 1913. This time younger more educated men were appointed and renamed Native Health Inspectors, of which there were never more than four. Their work was supplemented by that of the general health inspectors, who also inspected Maori kainga.²⁰⁵ Takiwaiora ('Taki') Hooper was appointed Native Health Inspector for the 'West Coast Maori District', which included the Taihape inquiry district.²⁰⁶ Hooper had no formal medical training but he helped administer inoculations as he travelled around his large district. He was based in Wanganui and his area of responsibility went from Levin to southern Taranaki. He was thus constantly on the move. Hooper was in regular contact with long-serving Health Department Inspector Pargeter (who until 1920 was employed by the Wanganui Hospital Board), and the Rangitikei District Council's Health Inspector C Schauer.

In July 1925 Hooper and Schauer visited Opaea Pa near Taihape. Hooper subsequently wrote to one of the principal residents with instructions for improvements to be carried out before a further inspection a month later. 'The dwellings were in a delapidated (sic) state and their surroundings very unsanitary. The privies are not properly arranged, and drainage is very bad indeed'.²⁰⁷

Hooper was required to keep a log of his activities but the entries were often frustratingly brief, such as 'attended to various Maori matters' or (more often) 'complaints'. But his main duties were inspecting dwellings, administering inoculations, and liaising with Maori communities on health matters. Inoculation could be a time-consuming task as repeat visits were often required to administer booster shots. Hooper's visits into the Taihape inquiry district were only occasional, and his work more commonly took him into the villages along the Wanganui River or to the ever-troublesome Ratana Pa.

Although no Native Health Nurse was based in the Taihape inquiry district, the nurses based in Otaki and Wanganui worked within the district on occasions. This was made easier in the 1920s with more reliable motor vehicles and better roads. For example in November 1927 Nurse

²⁰⁴ Lange, pp 153-154

²⁰⁵ Robinson, Wai 898, A31, p 115

²⁰⁶ Dow, 1999, p 156

²⁰⁷ Hooper, Native Inspector of Health, to ? Rauhihi, Opaea Pa, 21 July 1925, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

Wereta from Otaki travelled with Hooper, Schauer, and Robert Shore, a Health Department doctor, to Winiata and Utiku to inspect houses. Hooper recorded: 'made general inspection of Maoris and Pakehas homes – Maori homes clean – better than Pakehas'. He then travelled to Turangarere where he provided typhoid inoculations and met with 'prominent Maoris'.²⁰⁸

Typhoid was primarily spread by contaminated food and water. Vaccines were first developed in 1896 but routine inoculations in Maori communities were not instituted until the 1920s. At that time the Maori death rate from typhoid was estimated to be around 100 times that for Pakeha and dealing with typhoid remained a significant problem for Maori health into the 1930s. Until the effects of sanitary improvements made their mark, Maori were commonly immunised against typhoid on a large scale, usually with the assistance of Native Health Nurses.²⁰⁹

On 1 December 1927 Hooper met with Shore, Schauer, and Nurse Wereta at Mataroa from whence they travelled to 'Steadman's Shearing Shed'. There they inoculated 14 people and discovered a case of typhoid – an 18 year old Maori youth who later died in Taihape Hospital. Hooper then travelled to Raketepauma and the next day to Turangarere to arrange further inoculation visits. In mid-December Hooper hired Wirihana Winiata's car and 'his valuable services' (presumably as a driver) to carry out an extensive inoculation tour of the Taihape district over several days. He and Nurse Wereta inoculated 39 people at Moawhango, 26 at Turangarere, and lesser numbers at Winiata, Utiku, Ngaurukehu ('Steadman's Station'), Ruanui, and Raketepauma.²¹⁰

On 19 December 1927 Hooper travelled with Nurse Wereta to Moawhango to administer inoculations. The following day they carried out inoculations in the Turangarere and Raketepauma district but were prevented from reaching Ruanui and Tapuwae due to slips closing the road.²¹¹ This hectic round of inoculations over, Hooper returned to more routine duties and his log book reverted to recording little detail. He paid only occasional visits to the inquiry district during 1928, in one case visiting Maori patients at Taihape Hospital. In early 1929 he advised those planning a large hui in Moawhango that they should comply with the Maori Council instructions and not use the meeting house until certain renovations were made. In

²⁰⁸ T Hooper 'Work done and itinerary – West Coast Maori District', Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Native health - Inspector TRT Hooper 1927-1931', item R20957929, ABDZ 16163 H1 1376/ 194/2/3 13941

²⁰⁹ Dow, 1999, pp 190-192

²¹⁰ T Hooper 'Work done and itinerary – West Coast Maori District', Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Native health - Inspector TRT Hooper 1927-1931', item R20957929, ABDZ 16163 H1 1376/ 194/2/3 13941

²¹¹ T Hooper 'Work done and itinerary – West Coast Maori District', Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Native health - Inspector TRT Hooper 1927-1931', item R20957929, ABDZ 16163 H1 1376/ 194/2/3 13941

October on a visit to Raketepauma he obtained medicines from Taihape to treat symptoms of a mild outbreak of influenza.²¹²

Maori were badly hit by the Great Depression of the early 1930s. The quality of Maori health data remained inadequate, but health officials were concerned at a recorded rise in Maori infant mortality between 1929 and 1932. They therefore sent a memorandum to all Native Health Nurses advising them on infant health measures - particularly for children beyond the age of one month, being the age when Maori children were most at risk.²¹³

By 1930 Emily Beswick, a Pakeha, was serving as Native Health Nurse for the Wanganui district.²¹⁴ During 1931 she was particularly active within the Taihape inquiry district. Her work demonstrated that typhoid inoculations were just a small part of the work of native health nurses. In March Beswick gave health lectures in a number of townships including Rata, where 28 turned up ('mostly men'), Turangarere (19 attendees) and Winiata. She was invited to lecture at several large Maori gatherings planned for later in the year.²¹⁵ In June Beswick visited Turangarere (including the school), Utiku and Winiata, where she lectured and also gave individual talks to mothers on infant feeding and other health matters.²¹⁶

In August 1931 Nurse Beswick embarked on another extensive tour of 'Maori pas' and provided a detailed report which illustrates the strongly educational role of the Native District Nurse. Her first stop in the Taihape inquiry district was Rata, where she arrived in the afternoon. She lectured on health at the local school, gave a talk to mothers on infant care, and advised a group of men on tuberculosis prevention. She then caught the train to Utiku 'where three women were waiting at a house for advice and assistance for a girl of 16 years with an illegitimate child and nowhere to take it'.

The next day Nurse Beswick walked to Winiata, visiting 10 homes on the way, then gave a 'little lecture' to eight children and an evening talk to seven adults. The following day she visited more houses in Winiata and Moawhango, where she gave an evening lecture on tuberculosis and infant care. About 30 adults attended 'and were very interested and asked questions'. The following

²¹² T Hooper 'Work done and itinerary - West Coast Maori District', Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Native health - Inspector TRT Hooper 1927-1931', item R20957929, ABDZ 16163 H1 1376/ 194/2/3 13941

²¹³ Memo, Director General of Health to District Nurses to Maoris, 27 October 1932, Archives NZ Auckland. 'Maori Schools - Policy - Epidemics among and cleanliness of Maori: reports on health of Maori 1913-1937', item R20390827 BAAA 1001 A440 103 / a 44/1/32 1

²¹⁴ Alexandra McKegg, 'The Maori Health Nursing Scheme: An Experiment in Autonomous Health Care', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 26, no. 2, October 1992, p 156

²¹⁵ Native Health Nurse, Wanganui, Report for March 1931, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Native Health - Wanganui', item R20957928, ADBZ 16163 H1 1377 / 194/2/25 13962

²¹⁶ Native Health Nurse, Wanganui, Report for June, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Native Health - Wanganui', item R20957928, ADBZ 16163 H1 1377 / 194/2/25 13962

morning she undertook more home visits before returning to Wanganui after a night in Taihape.²¹⁷ By 1938 the Health Department was employing 49 ‘District Nurses to Natives’, but it is not clear to what extent these were regularly employed within the Taihape inquiry district.²¹⁸

The role of Native Health Inspector was largely done away with in 1931 as part of another reorganisation of Maori health services.²¹⁹ In August 1929 the Rangitikei County Council appointed James Swain as Health Inspector for the county north of Hunterville. His area of responsibility thus lay almost entirely within the Taihape inquiry district. In his first three-monthly report Swain recorded that ‘sanitary inspection of Maori Pahs, septic tanks and drainage systems has received my attention’. Over the next three years Swain recorded inspections of ‘scattered Maori premises’ and in one case ‘places where Maoris congregate’ but found nothing of note to report. He recorded no significant outbreaks of infectious diseases in the district in the early 1930s.²²⁰ Swain’s appointment seems to have been terminated in 1933 and for the rest of the 1930s a Health Inspector was appointed to deal with the entire Rangitikei County. All the inspector’s activities relating to Maori health during this period were associated with Ratana Pa and the general Turakina area.²²¹

Dow’s assessment is that health inspectors were relatively unsuccessful during the 1920s and 1930s in improving sanitation and housing conditions in Maori settlements, particularly with the increase in Maori poverty during the Depression coupled with government cutbacks.²²² The other part of the 1920 reforms, the revival of Maori councils, was also a fairly ineffective measure.

Kurahaupo Maori Council 1920-1925

The revived Maori Councils remained under-funded. Furthermore the power to collect the dog tax was transferred to local authorities, resulting in Maori councils losing a major source of revenue. In September 1926 the Secretary of the Kurahaupo Maori Council wrote to Buck as Director of Maori Hygiene protesting the removal of the dog tax function from their

²¹⁷ Beswick report to Health Department, 8 September 1931, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Hygiene – Native Health – Wanganui’, item R20957928, ADBZ 16163 H1 1377 / 194/2/25 13962

²¹⁸ AJHR 1938, H31, p 46

²¹⁹ Dow, 1999, p 187

²²⁰ Archives Central, Feilding, RDC 00087 : 7 : 3/S/10, Swain - James Morton – Health Inspector, 1929-1933

²²¹ Archives Central, Feilding, RDC 00087 : 15 : 7/H/2, Health Inspector – Mr WF DeRoo, 1935-1937; RDC 00087 : 18 : 8/S/9, Steele William J – Health Inspector, 1937-1939

²²² Dow, 1999, pp 186-187

jurisdiction. He received a sympathetic response from Buck who was, however, powerless to act.²²³

The process for appointing council members was somewhat opaque but it does not appear to have involved formal elections. Membership instead seems to have been negotiated between local Maori and Health Department officials. In May 1920 Buck wrote to former Kurahaupo Maori Council secretary Rangi Marumaru, based in Rata, seeking the address of the former Chairman Te Raika Kereama. Buck said he hoped to revive the council under younger leadership.²²⁴ In response Marumaru submitted to Buck a list of proposed council members who, he said, intended to call a council meeting soon.²²⁵ Seven council members were eventually gazetted from Marumaru's list of names.

A council meeting was called for early 1921 but only two members showed up. Despite the apparent lack of interest Marumaru suggested that Buck appoint Hohepa Hawira as Chair of the Council and this was done.²²⁶ Later in 1921 Hawira submitted lists of names for committees, including Rata and Mangaweka, Utiku and Winiata, and Moawhango and Opaea. The last of these caused problems because Moawhango was outside the district although Horima Hakopa, a member of the Council, himself lived there. Moawhango appears to have continued to be treated as if it was part of the district and Hakopa was gazetted as a member of the Council.²²⁷

The revived Kurahaupo Maori Council does not appear to have been particularly active in the early 1920s. In April 1922 Rangi Marumaru wrote to Buck volunteering his services as an unpaid sanitary inspector. He said the Council was 'very slow in doing its work' and expressed concern about the state of health in the district. 'I view with alarm the increasing practise of the liquor traffic in my District, the unsanitary conditions most of the pahs are in, and the heavy presence of the Haki [sic] among the people, and the advent of the venereal disease.'²²⁸ Buck replied that he was unable to make the requested appointment and suggested ways in which Rangi Marumaru

²²³ Secretary, Kurahaupo Maori Council to Director, Maori Hygiene, 12 September 1926 and Director, Maori Hygiene to Hoera Marumaru, 5 October 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²²⁴ Buck to Rangi Marumaru, 10 June 1920, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²²⁵ Rangi Marumaru to Buck, 20 August 1920, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²²⁶ Letters to and from Peter Buck, 22 and 26 August 1920, 7 September 1920, 22 February 1921, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²²⁷ Hakopa to Health Department, 4 August 1921, Buck to Hakopa, 10 August 1921, Buck to Native Department, 11 August 1921, Hakopa to Buck, 8 September 1921, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²²⁸ Rangi Marumaru to Buck, 26 April 1921, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

might be able to work with the council, including through his brother and council member Joe Marumaru.²²⁹

In the meantime the Ratana movement was gathering steam and was organising a large gathering for Christmas 1921 near Turakina. Dr Monk, the Medical Officer of Health for the Wanganui District, wrote to the Kurahaupo Maori Council about the possible health consequences of a gathering likely to involve several thousand people.²³⁰ It appears that the expected attendance failed to eventuate but Ratana activities continued to raise health concerns.

Kurahaupo Maori Council 1925-1941

By 1925 the Kurahaupo Council appeared to have again ceased functioning. That October Maori Health Inspector Taki Hooper alerted Buck that Ratana's followers were claiming they had a registered Maori Council. In 1926 Hooper informed Buck that local people wished to revive the Kurahaupo Maori Council to combat the Ratana influence.²³¹ Health officials were keen to appoint a more able and better-led council than before, and to ensure that none of the members had Ratana connections. Buck wrote to Hooper seeking nominees for the new Council and several new members were eventually gazetted. Hohepa Hawira was sacked, as the Council had achieved little under his Chairmanship. Hooper wrote of a 'revival' of the Council so as to return it to its former mana.²³²

Wilson Winiata of Utiku was among the new appointees to the Council. The status of Horima Hakopa of Moawhango caused the usual jurisdictional problems. Hooper successfully pleaded for him to be retained as a council member due to his reputed intelligence and 'progressive' views.²³³ The new Kurahaupo Council had its first meeting on 8 September 1926.²³⁴ The Council was concerned about the workload placed on Hooper, who had a huge area to cover, and suggested that a second Sanitary Inspector might be appointed. They even had a candidate in

²²⁹ Buck to Rangi Marumaru, 1 May 1922, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³⁰ Monk to Hawira (undated); Monk to Buck, 13 December 1921 and 20 December 1921, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³¹ Dow, 1999, p 156

²³² Hooper to Buck, 11 May 1926 and 12 May 1926, Buck to Hooper, 12 May 1926, Director of Maori Hygiene to Hooper, 11 June 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³³ Hooper to Director of Maori Hygiene, 24 June 1926, Director of Maori Hygiene to Hooper, 30 June 1926, Hooper to Director of Maori Hygiene, 9 July 1926, Director of Maori Hygiene to Secretary Native Department, 13 July 1926, Director of Maori Hygiene to Hooper, 17 July 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³⁴ Hooper to Director of Maori Hygiene, 8 September 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

mind – a local clergyman.²³⁵ In response a Health Department official pointed out that ‘you are almost surrounded by Pakeha Inspectors and you can at all times requisition their services if need be’.²³⁶

Health officials were keen that the Council should have the power to deal with the Ratana Movement which, according to the Council Secretary, ‘is very much against having anything to do with the Kurahaupo Council or any other council’.²³⁷ Officials therefore sent to the Council a set of suggested by-laws for approval, noting that other councils had already accepted these. Council members had questions about aspects of the bylaws but soon approved them.²³⁸ The Council wanted the new bylaws in place by Christmas when Ratana was planning a ‘monster hui’. They were hoping for a ‘test case’ by which they could bring the movement into line.²³⁹ Buck agreed and tried to have the regulations gazetted in time for Christmas. He wrote that ‘the Council has just been reorganised and is working splendidly’.²⁴⁰

Despite the efforts of the Council and Buck the bylaws were not gazetted until early January 1927. Few of these bylaws were particularly relevant to health. In the main they were about controlling people’s behaviour and providing additional sources of revenue for council activities. The Council could, for example, impose penalties for bad language and charge movie-show proprietors a license fee. Some provisions were more obviously aimed at the Ratana movement. In particular the Council could fine the organisers of a hui or gathering held without its permission. This latter bylaw had potential health implications as large hui were considered a major vector for the spread of infectious diseases.²⁴¹

Despite these new bylaws, gaps remained in the powers available to councils through the generic bylaws that applied to all councils. In March 1927 the secretary of the Kurahaupo Maori Council wrote to Hooper asking about general bylaws relating to drainage as ‘my Council wishes to take proceedings against a certain person’. Hooper responded that there did not appear to be any

²³⁵ Secretary, Kurahaupo Maori Council to Director of Maori Hygiene, 15 October 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³⁶ Illegible for Director of Maori Hygiene to Secretary, Kurahaupo Maori Council, 22 October 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³⁷ Secretary, Kurahaupo Maori Council to Buck, 29 November 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³⁸ Kurahaupo Maori Council to Buck, 12 November and 22 November 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²³⁹ Secretary, Kurahaupo Maori Council to Buck, 29 November 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²⁴⁰ Buck to Under-secretary, Native Department, 26 November 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Kurahaupo Maori Council Bylaws 1926-1941’, item R11187734, ACIH 18593 W1369 MAW1369 18/ 26/3/10

²⁴¹ *NZ Gazette*, 20 January 1927, p 157

relevant drainage bylaws.²⁴² He then wrote to Buck to see if the obvious oversight could be rectified.²⁴³ Nothing seems to have happened.

As well as using the stick, officials also attempted to use the carrot by offering Ratana Pa its own village committee and a representative on the Kurahaupo council.²⁴⁴ This approach had no success and it does not appear the Council's new bylaws were particularly effective in dealing with the Ratana movement either. A new Council membership was appointed in June 1933.²⁴⁵ The following April the Medical Officer of Health for the Wellington region described the Kurahaupo Maori Council as 'very moribund'. 'The existence of the Ratana movement whose headquarters are in their district renders any effective activity quite impossible'.²⁴⁶

During 1936 and 1937 there was an attempt to yet again revive the Kurahaupo Council so it could appoint a Village Committee requested for Kakariki near Marton. However the Medical Officer of Health for the district considered such efforts fruitless. 'I am of the opinion that little good would be served by attempting at the present time to revive this council. To my personal knowledge no Council meeting has been held, nor any other sign of activity shown since 1930.' The Chairman had resigned since moving to Wanganui and the Medical Officer was unable to find a candidate interested in taking on the position unless the Council's powers were significantly strengthened.²⁴⁷

The Kurahaupo Maori Council therefore continued to lie dormant, as it apparently had done since around 1930. The Ratana movement had the last laugh. In early September 1940 Duncan Cook, the Medical Officer of Health for Palmerston North, attended two meetings at Ratana Pa and subsequently reported to his superiors that

...my advice was sought with respect to the formation of a special Komiti Marae with proper legal authority under the supervision of the Department. I advised the formation of a Komiti Marae with power and duties similar to those of the Maori Councils Act. However, as the

²⁴² Secretary, Kurahaupo Native Council to Hooper, 18 March 1927 and Hooper to Secretary, 12 April 1927, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Kurahaupo Maori Council Bylaws 1926-1941', item R11187734, ACIH 18593 W1369 MAW1369 18/ 26/3/10

²⁴³ Hooper to Medical Officer of Health, 20 April 1927, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1926-1935', item R20053755, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3258

²⁴⁴ Health Inspector Pargeter to Medical Officer of Health, 7 December 1926, and Director of Maori Hygiene to Secretary, Native Department, 15 December 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²⁴⁵ *NZ Gazette*, 15 June 1933, p 1617

²⁴⁶ Medical Officer of Health, Wellington to Director-general of Health, 9 June 1934, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1926-1935', item R20053755, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3258

²⁴⁷ Medical Officer of Health, Wellington to Director-general of Health, 18 March 1937, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1935-1941, item R20953757, ADBZ 16163 H1 1997 / 121/22 13349

Kurahaupo Maori Council does not exist it will be necessary to reappoint its members and at the same time appoint a Komiti Marae for Ratana Pa to function under it.²⁴⁸

Cook therefore forwarded a list of seven members for the Kurahaupo Maori Council and five members for the Komiti Marae for Ratana Pa. All were Ratana followers. The Council was to be reconstituted solely for the purpose of appointing the Ratana Village Committee.²⁴⁹ The new membership of the Council was gazetted on 3 October 1940.²⁵⁰ The Ratana movement had completed a takeover of the Kurahaupo Maori Council, which afterwards ceased to function aside from the Komiti Marae at Ratana Pa.

Taihape Hospital after the pandemic

Taihape 'Cottage' Hospital, which opened in 1911, was put under severe strain during the 1918 influenza pandemic. Ohakune and Raetihi, which had no hospital, were badly hit by influenza and many patients were sent from there to Taihape (which was itself badly affected). Things were not helped when a number of people were injured in a rail accident on the main trunk line in early November.²⁵¹ Several people made allegations about the standard of care at the hospital at this time, including the quantity and quality of food provided to patients and staff. The Mayor of Taihape said the hospital was 'scandalously understaffed'.²⁵² In January 1919 the Wanganui Hospital Board held an inquiry into the various allegations, which did not seem to involve Maori patients. The Board held, by a small majority, that the allegations were unfounded.²⁵³ The Taihape representative on the Hospital Board called for a government inquiry but the issue went no further.²⁵⁴

In the wake of the problems encountered with Taihape Hospital during the pandemic the Wanganui Hospital Board agreed to measures to expand its capacity. In March 1919 a Board committee recommended appointing a Dunedin doctor as a full-time Medical Superintendent (meaning that, unlike other doctors at the hospital, he would not be involved in private general practice).²⁵⁵ In July 1920 the Board agreed to plans to double the hospital's capacity to 16 beds.²⁵⁶

²⁴⁸ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to Director-General of Health, 11 September 1940, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1935-1941, item R20953757, ADBZ 16163 H1 1997 / 121/22 13349

²⁴⁹ Correspondence 13 September 1940 to 3 February 1941, 'Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1935-1941, item R20953757, ADBZ 16163 H1 1997 / 121/22 13349 and Correspondence 20 September 1940 to 3 February 1941, 'Kurahaupo Maori Council Bylaws 1926-1941', item R11187734, ACIH 18593 W1369 MAW1369 18/ 26/3/10

²⁵⁰ *NZ Gazette*, 3 October 1940, p 2571

²⁵¹ *Wanganui Herald*, 13 November 1918, p 4

²⁵² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 December 1918, p 5

²⁵³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 January 1919, p 5

²⁵⁴ *Auckland Star*, 30 January 1919, p 7

²⁵⁵ *Wanganui Herald*, 19 March 1919, p 7

²⁵⁶ *Wanganui Herald*, 21 July 1920, p 6

Around that time came calls to convert Taihape from a 'cottage' hospital to a 'base' hospital for the region.²⁵⁷ Those attending a Taihape public meeting in October 1920 passed a resolution calling for Taihape to be a base hospital and the Borough Council passed a similar resolution which it forwarded to the Minister of Public Health. The Minister responded that Taihape would probably become a base hospital in time, 'but that time has not yet arrived'.²⁵⁸

The Taihape district continued to grow, and by 1926 the census recorded 2423 people residing in Taihape Borough - 60 percent above its 2013 population. In June 1922 the Chairman of the Wanganui Hospital Board claimed that Taihape Hospital was so crowded that nurses were sleeping on stretchers over the baths.²⁵⁹ Further additions to the hospital followed and it could no longer be called a cottage hospital. In March 1923 the *New Zealand Herald* reported that Taihape Hospital

...has so grown in size that it would appear that the day is not far distant when it will be the chief hospital in a new hospital district. It began as a cottage hospital with eight beds, and it now has accommodation for 44 patients. Until the Raetihi Hospital was opened a few months ago, it was the only hospital between Taumarunui and Marton. Its growth has been rapid, but the growth has never anticipated the need. A nurses' home, costing £8000, is to be erected almost immediately. A motor ambulance is now running in connection with the hospital, a carnival to provide funds for the purchase of the vehicle having made a net profit of the splendid sum of £1500. An X-ray department is now being erected. The hospital occupies a magnificent sight on the slope on the eastern side of the town.²⁶⁰

In fact the cost of the nurse's home was revised to £6500 following intervention from the Director-General of Health, and Health Minister Maui Pomare laid the foundation stone in September 1923.²⁶¹ The *Herald* was also over-optimistic about Taihape becoming 'the chief hospital in a new hospital district'. The hospital expanded a little after 1923 and by 1930 it had 52 beds.²⁶² In 1925 a 10-bed private hospital, 'Huia Street Hospital', further supplemented

²⁵⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 February 1919, p 6; and 24 April 1919, p 5; *Feilding Star*, 23 December 1920, p 2

²⁵⁸ Secretary, Hospital Saturday Committee Taihape to Clerk, Rangitikei Country Council, 5 October 1920, Archives Central, Feilding, RDC 00046 : 7 : 47, Taihape Hospital, 1920-1920; Minister of Public Health to Town Clerk, Taihape, 26 October 1920, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wanganui Hospital Board – Reports 1921-1940', R20963652 ADBZ 16163 H1 1314 / 74/1/5 11189

²⁵⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 June 1922, p 6

²⁶⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 7 March 1923, p 3

²⁶¹ *Northern Advocate*, 22 September 1923, p 5; R. E. Wright-St Clair, *Caring for People: Wanganui Hospital Board 1885-1985*, based on research by Lenore Stewart, Wanganui Hospital Board Centennial Celebrations Committee, Wanganui, 1987, p 70

²⁶² Wanganui Hospital Board Report, 18 June 1934, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wanganui Hospital Board – Reports 1921-1940', R20963652 ADBZ 16163 H1 1314 / 74/1/5 11189

the town's hospital bed numbers.²⁶³ But the borough's population subsequently declined just as the Depression arrived.

In 1931 the government cut hospital funding and imposed an immediate cutback of £8500 per annum on the Wanganui Hospital Board. The Board resolved to exclude all able bodied men and their dependents from 'charitable aid' from 1 May 1931. This measure affected all those, including Maori, who might otherwise have qualified for free hospital care due to low income or straightened circumstances. The Board closed a 30-bed ward at Wanganui Hospital and laid off 17 staff including eight nurses.²⁶⁴ It also discussed major cutbacks at Taihape Hospital, or even closing the hospital altogether, causing the Taihape mayor to call a public meeting.²⁶⁵ Taihape Hospital survived the threatened closure but the effects of the decline in the district's population were noticed by the hospital inspectors. In 1933, the inspector reported that the hospital had unused facilities. In particular the nurse's home built less than a decade earlier was 'far too large for the needs of the hospital'²⁶⁶.

Taihape Hospital was twice the subject of minor scandals during the 1930s. In May 1930 the hospital made the national press after three doctors resigned over an internal dispute with the matron and cutbacks by the Wanganui Hospital Board.²⁶⁷ In 1939 eight former patients complained about several matters including the parsimonious attitude to patient's food and the 'overbearing' manner of the matron. The Wanganui Hospital Board put the matron on extended leave and ordered more generous breakfasts and dinners be supplied.²⁶⁸ The list of those who complained did not include any Maori names.

Maori in Taihape Hospital

Maori receive little mention in the official Taihape Hospital files. A rare – possibly almost unique - example was an April 1926 hospital inspection report that mentioned a Maori tuberculosis patient 'who had been in the hospital on several occasions'.²⁶⁹ However other sources indicate that Maori commonly used the hospital, either because they qualified as 'indigent' or could afford

²⁶³ Medical Officer of Health to Director, Division of Nursing, 22 June 1925, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Private Hospital - "Huia", Taihape 1924-1963', item R20963090 ADBZ 16163 H1 1195 / 6/6/174 36019

²⁶⁴ *Press*, 23 April 1931, p 7

²⁶⁵ Taihape Mayor to W J Rogers, Wanganui, 25 May 1931, Archives Central, Feilding, 'Heath Board – Hospitals-Health Watch 1931 – 1989'

²⁶⁶ Taihape Hospital inspection report, 17 August 1933, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wanganui Hospital Board - Taihape Hospital- Inspection Reports 1921-1968', item R20964340, ADBZ 16163 H1 1259 / 92/42/2 45535

²⁶⁷ *Evening Post*, 30 May 1930, p 11

²⁶⁸ A Young and 7 others to T C Kinkaid, 16 September 1939; Report of Special Committee, 18 October 1939, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wanganui Hospital Board - Taihape Hospital – General 1939', R20964339 ADBZ 16163 H1 1259 92/42 45534

²⁶⁹ Taihape Hospital inspection report, 19 April 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wanganui Hospital Board - Taihape Hospital- Inspection Reports 1921-1968', item R20964340, ADBZ 16163 H1 1259 / 92/42/2 45535

the hospital fees. (These fees were fairly steep, amounting to £3 3s per week in the early 1920s, more than many families would have earned at the time.)²⁷⁰ On 1 December 1927, Taki Hooper reported that an 18 year old Maori youth had died of typhoid in Taihape Hospital. The following January he reported on Maori patients in Taihape Hospital with influenza. In May 1928 he visited three Maori from Utiku in the hospital with pneumonia.²⁷¹

In September 1935 the *New Zealand Herald* reported that 10 Maori children were admitted to Taihape Hospital within the space of a few days. The *Herald* story implied that Maori parents in the district had suddenly become very cautious. The Coroner had just undertaken an inquest into the death of a seven year old Maori girl from Moawhango following a ruptured appendix. The father had not sought medical help because he did not realise how ill his daughter was.²⁷²

The *Herald* report was unusual, for the press did not generally report on the ethnicity of people admitted to Taihape Hospital unless as a result of an accident. In 1926, for example, a Maori passenger was taken to Taihape hospital after a car crash.²⁷³ In 1929 the Pohe family had an accident-prone year, with nine year old Teuta Pohe breaking both arms falling off a bridge and Heperi Pohe being admitted to hospital with non-serious injuries after his horse was hit by a car.²⁷⁴ Also in 1929 A R Potaka from Utiku ended up in Taihape Hospital due to a motor bike accident.²⁷⁵ That Guy Fawkes Day a 'Maori known as Stone' blew off two fingers in a fireworks accident at Moawhango and was admitted to hospital.²⁷⁶

In other reported accidents, in 1937 a toddler was admitted to Taihape Hospital after her arm got stuck in the wringer of an electric washing machine and in February 1939 a Maori motor cyclist was hospitalised after an accident in Taihape.²⁷⁷ The point here is not to show that Maori were particularly accident-prone – the newspapers daily reported numerous Pakeha being admitted to hospital following accidents – but that Maori appeared to be readily admitted to the Taihape Hospital long before free hospital care was introduced in July 1939.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 June 1922, p 6

²⁷¹ T Hooper 'Work done and itinerary – West Coast Maori District', Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Native health - Inspector TRT Hooper 1927-1931', item R20957929, ABDZ 16163 H1 1376/ 194/2/3 13941

²⁷² *New Zealand Herald*, 18 September 1935, p 14

²⁷³ *Auckland Star*, 13 December 1926, p 8

²⁷⁴ *Auckland Star*, 28 May 1929, p 9; *New Zealand Herald*, 16 July 1929, p 8

²⁷⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 June 1929, p 12

²⁷⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 7 November 1929, p 1

²⁷⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 17 July 1937, p 14 and 25 February 1939, p 12

²⁷⁸ Social Security Act 1938, sections 79, 90-92

The School Health Service and Dental Clinics

The School Health Service was established in 1912 and was transferred to Health Department administration in 1920. The service was increasingly active during the 1920s and 1930s but little information is available as to the work of the service within the Taihape inquiry district. The native school system was traditionally very active on the health front, with teachers often carrying out medical duties and dispensing medicines. In 1944 Moawhango School became a native school but no evidence was found in research for this report of Moawhango Maori School providing medical services to the community.

In 1940 the School Hygiene Division collated information on 79,466 school pupils who were given full medical examinations during 1939, broken down by ethnicity. The examinations showed surprisingly little difference between Maori and Pakeha pupils, with some prominent exceptions. The main one of these was scabies ('hakehake'), which was present in more than one in six Maori children examined. Only 0.3 percent of Pakeha were diagnosed with scabies.²⁷⁹ Other major differences related to dental health. More than one in six Maori pupils were considered to have a perfect set of teeth, compared with less than one in twenty Pakeha. At the other end of the scale, however, over half of Maori examined had dental caries compared with 30 percent of Pakeha.

In earlier decades the state of children's teeth was considerably worse than indicated by these figures. The school dental service was established in 1919 but it took some years for it to have any impact in the Taihape inquiry district. In 1920, when the dental service was put under Health Department control, the service comprised just six dental surgeons, one of whom was based in Wanganui.²⁸⁰ Dental clinics were gradually established around the country over the next decade although the substantial contribution required by communities towards the clinics provided a significant barrier in many districts.

In the meantime teeth were checked as part of school medical inspections. Dr Elizabeth Gunn carried out these inspections within the Wanganui Education Board district. According to a school centennial publication, Dr Gunn would visit schools to check hair, ears, eyes and teeth. Several pupils recalled the way she would use 'a spatula to knock or lever the offending tooth from its mooring'.²⁸¹ Toothbrush drill was introduced into schools to improve dental health and

²⁷⁹ Annual Report, Division of School Hygiene, 20 March 1940, Archives New Zealand Wellington, 'Annual Report 1939-1940', item R20961796, ADBZ 16163 H1 1303 / 35/3/181 9434

²⁸⁰ Wanganui Newspapers, *Wanganui Education Board Celebrates 100 years, 1878-1978, special souvenir supplement*, Wanganui, 1978, p 35

²⁸¹ *Huntermville Consolidated Schools Centennial*, 1987, p.43

the training of dental nurses began in 1921. Several nurses from the first class were appointed to positions within the Wanganui Education Board's area.²⁸²

From 1923 a dental nurse provided a mobile service within the inquiry district. She reportedly did a circuit between Taihape, Hunterville, and Mangaweka Schools, and also rode to some smaller rural schools with all her equipment on horseback. She appears to have operated in primitive conditions. In Hunterville she would set up her equipment in a clinic based in the back of a shop. 'Water had to be carried in a watering can from a tank in the back yard. A small primus was used for sterilisation and a larger one for heating water. Columns of black smoke from both these appliances reached up to the ceiling'.²⁸³

In 1927 a householders' meeting in Hunterville discussed raising money for a proper building for the dental clinic. The schools in the vicinity (Putorino, Rata, Silverhope, Ohingaiti, Mangaonoho, Otairi, Poukiore, Rata Iti, and Rewa) were asked to contribute and it was also decided to ask families to pay 5/- per child receiving treatment. The dental clinic was built in 1930.²⁸⁴ Some of the schools involved, in particular Rata, had a significant proportion of Maori pupils.

The Mangaweka School clinic was built in 1928 as part of the rebuilding of the school after it burned down in 1926. Other schools in the Taihape inquiry district, including Rangiwahia School, also had dental clinics.²⁸⁵ However no evidence was found that pupils at schools with a high proportion of Maori pupils, such as Moawhango and Turangarere, had easy access to dental clinics. They presumably had to travel to Taihape District High School, which had a dental clinic by 1930.²⁸⁶

Figures collected by the school dental service indicate that its activities had a significant impact on the state of children's teeth. Teeth were commonly found by school dental nurses to be in such a bad state that they had to be extracted rather than repaired with fillings. In 1925, 73 teeth were extracted for every 100 fillings done by dental nurses in the Wanganui Education Board

²⁸² *Wanganui Education Board Celebrates 100 years, 1878-1978*, p 38

²⁸³ *Hunterville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1887-1987*, 1987, p.43

²⁸⁴ *Hunterville Consolidated Schools Centennial 1887-1987*, 1987, p.43

²⁸⁵ *Rangiwahia's first 75 Years, 1886-1961*, 75th Jubilee Committee, Feilding, 1961, p.32

²⁸⁶ *The Diamond Jubilee of the Taihape District High School, 1896-1956*, Taihape District High School Jubilee Committee, Taihape, 1956, pp 16-18; Robertson, *Taihape on a Saturday night*, p 84

district (which included the Taihape inquiry district). In 1933, 17.4 teeth were extracted per 100 fillings.²⁸⁷ The rate of extraction was still high but it had fallen considerably.

²⁸⁷ Wanganui Newspapers, *Wanganui Education Board Celebrates 100 years, 1878-1978, special souvenir supplement*, Wanganui Newspapers, Wanganui, 1978, p 38

Chapter 12: Health 1940 to 1970

Introduction

In 1940, as part of a project commemorating the centenary of the Treaty of Waitangi, the government produced a book titled *The Maori People Today*. One of the contributing articles was by Dr Harold Turbott who worked for many years as a Medical Officer of Health in districts with large Maori populations.²⁸⁸ Turbott's article was a mixture of optimism and pessimism. On the optimistic side he pointed to the high Maori birth rate which, because it far outstripped the death rate, resulted in a steady increase in Maori population. This increase continued - the Maori population was recorded in the 1936 census as over 94,000 and by 1951 the Maori census population had grown to over 134,000.

On the negative side Turbott pointed to a stubbornly high Maori death rate compared with Pakeha and cited the main causes – infant mortality, tuberculosis, typhoid, dysentery and respiratory diseases. Maori remained vulnerable to contagious diseases including measles, mumps, chickenpox and whooping cough. Preventable diseases such as scabies were rife. Housing, rubbish and sewage disposal, drainage and water supply remained inadequate and were a constant threat to health.²⁸⁹ Government measures over the previous 40 years had made some progress – Turbott specifically singled out the work of the district health nurses – but there was still a long way to go.

Yet despite this pessimistic picture the post-war decades saw significant improvements in Maori health. In the 45 years between 1936 and 1981, estimated Maori male life expectancy increased by 19 years (or over 40 percent), from 46 to 65. Maori female life expectancy increased by 23 years (50 percent) over the same period, from 46 to 69 years. The gap between Maori and Pakeha closed significantly.²⁹⁰ Between 1945 and 1976 deaths from infectious and diarrhoea-related diseases decreased by 97 percent for Maori aged under 45, and 80 percent for those over 45.²⁹¹ The Maori infant mortality rate plummeted from the early 1950s.²⁹²

The reasons for these improvements were multifaceted. As is outlined later, some improvements related to medical practice and the development of new drugs – in particular the use of

²⁸⁸ H B Turbott, 'Health and Social Welfare' in I L G Sutherland (ed), *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*, Oxford University Press, 1940

²⁸⁹ Turbott, pp 230-237

²⁹⁰ Alistair Woodward and Tony Blakely, *The Healthy Country? A History of Life and Death in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, 2014, p 144

²⁹¹ Woodward and Blakely, *The Healthy Country?* p 152

²⁹² Woodward and Blakely, *The Healthy Country?* p 144

antibiotics in treating disease and infection. Access to medical services greatly improved. The Social Security Act 1938 and its amendments resulted in a variety of free and subsidised medical services gradually becoming universally available.

Maori health benefitted from other developments. Rural districts could no longer provide the jobs and housing needed for a rapidly growing Maori population, which more than doubled between 1945 and 1966. As a result Maori increasingly moved into the larger towns and cities where jobs were readily available, health services were more easily accessible, and housing was generally of a higher standard. As outlined in Section 3 of this report, housing standards in both urban and rural areas were improved by various forms of state assistance.

In a parallel development, measures specifically aimed at Maori such as the Native Medical Officers were abolished. Maori health was to a large extent 'mainstreamed' during this period. As Charlotte Williams notes, 'Maori health needs and service were increasingly integrated into general health policy as the state expanded its control and direction of the national health system'.²⁹³ Despite this mainstreaming, some measures targeted specifically at Maori health remained in place. Much of the post-war campaign to eliminate tuberculosis was aimed at Maori and efforts to improve Maori sanitation and housing continued for some decades. This chapter first briefly outlines the changes that followed in the wake of the Social Security Act 1938. It then discusses the anti-tuberculosis campaign.

The Social Security Act 1938

A number of radical medical measures were gradually introduced as a result of the Social Security Act 1938. These made most medical services free or subsidised for the entire population. Care and treatment in mental hospitals was free of charge from April 1939, and this was extended to all public hospitals in July. In September 1939 the government introduced maternity benefits which provided services of a medical practitioner before, during and after childbirth; free treatment in any public maternity hospital; part-payment of fees payable to private maternity hospitals; and payment of nurse's fees if confined at home. In March 1941 the government introduced free out-patient care at public hospitals and in May a pharmaceutical benefit made all prescribed medicines and drugs free of charge. By the end of 1941 a system of government-subsidised GP visits had been successfully negotiated with the British Medical Association (the

²⁹³ Charlotte Williams, 'More Power to Do the Work: Maori and the Health System in the Twentieth Century', Victoria University of Wellington Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, 2007, p 19

name of the doctors union at the time). The value of the GP subsidy diminished over time due to inflation but a full subsidy was retained on other benefits until the late 1980s.²⁹⁴

The government introduced further medical benefits during the remainder of the 1940s. In 1942 it subsidised hospital physiotherapy services and in 1944 introduced district nursing and domestic assistance benefits. Laboratory diagnostic services were made free in 1946 and in 1947 free or subsidised hearing aids were provided. Also from 1947 the government met the full cost of repairing artificial limbs, and dental benefits were extended beyond those already provided by the school dental service. Free dental treatment became available to hospital outpatients and free dental treatment was provided to all children up to the age of 16.²⁹⁵

These measures marked a significant move towards the mainstreaming of Maori health services. The Native Medical Officer scheme was disestablished once GP subsidies came into effect in 1941. This meant that many Maori no longer had access to a free doctor under the medical officer scheme and instead had to pay fees to subsidised GPs.²⁹⁶ As was outlined in Chapter 11, there is no evidence that a Native Medical Officer, who was subsidised by the government to provide free services to 'indigent' Maori, was ever based within the Taihape inquiry district. A disproportionate number were based in the South Island and their numbers did not increase with the large rise in the Maori population.²⁹⁷ The 1941 changes therefore provided cheaper doctors' visits for Taihape Maori, but accessibility remained a problem. The government subsidy introduced in 1941 included transport costs for rural GPs making home visits.²⁹⁸ In practice, however, few doctors were based in the inquiry district. In 1954, for example, the Register of Medical Practitioners listed just two doctors with addresses in Taihape although doctors were also listed in Marton and Ohakune, both not far outside the inquiry district. Otherwise GP services had to be found in Wanganui and Feilding.

With hospital treatment being free from 1938, both Maori and Pakeha may have preferred to visit Taihape Hospital rather than a GP where this was feasible. This skewed incentive has plagued the New Zealand health system until the present day. As Robinson notes, the

²⁹⁴ Elizabeth Hanson, *The Politics of Social Security*, Auckland University Press, 1980, pp 119-125; 'Social Security Health Benefits' in A. H. McLintock (ed), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 1966, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 22-Apr-09, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/medical-services/page-20

²⁹⁵ 'Social Security Health Benefits' in A. H. McLintock (ed), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 1966, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/medical-services/page-20

²⁹⁶ Robinson, pp 249-250

²⁹⁷ Dow, 199, pp 173-174

²⁹⁸ 'Social Security Health Benefits' in A. H. McLintock (ed), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 1966, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/medical-services/page-20

government subsidy to GPs was not adjusted for inflation until 1971, when it was increased to \$1.25, about half the typical cost of a consultation.

The high inflation of the 1970s and early 1980s quickly eroded the value of the subsidy, until it declined to below 20% of the consultation cost. Despite this, it was not adjusted again until the mid 1980s, when the government offered to raise the subsidy in exchange for GPs capping their fees. Most GPs did not accept this arrangement. The most obvious result of the retention of the independent GP system was that doctors continued to charge fees, making their services less accessible to those on low incomes. It also kept GPs focussed on the cure of individual patients who sought their attention, rather than on improving the health of the general population through preventative health measures.²⁹⁹

Tribal Committees, District Nurses, and Inoculation

Three of the exceptions to the mainstreaming of Maori health services were the district nursing scheme, the inoculation of Maori school children for typhoid, and the continuation of Maori councils in a new guise.

The post-1920 Maori Health Councils were in theory still functioning in 1940, although in practice most were defunct. The Maori Social and Economic and Advancement Act 1945 abolished the councils and replaced them with tribal executives and committees.³⁰⁰ By 1950 there were 72 tribal executives and 430 tribal committees.³⁰¹ The executives and committees were given a variety of functions and powers, some related to health such as sanitation and water supply and others related to preserving Maori culture. Their funding came from donations and fund-raising which could, at the discretion of the government, be supplemented by the Crown on a pound for pound basis.³⁰²

The Kurahaupo native district was divided into Kurahaupo North, which consisted of that part of the former Kurahaupo district from Mangaweka northwards, and Kurahaupo South, which included the remainder of the former Kurahaupo native district. Most of the Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district resided in Kurahaupo North, which was divided into three tribal committee districts – Whiti-Tama (around Moawhango), Rangituhia (North of Taihape) and Otaihape-Utiku.³⁰³ The Minister of Maori Affairs approved the members of the committees and

²⁹⁹ Robinson, p 246

³⁰⁰ Williams, 'More Power to Do the Work', p 20

³⁰¹ AJHR 1950, G9, p 10

³⁰² Maori Social and Economic and Advancement Act 1945, sections 12 to 26

³⁰³ NZ *Gazette*, 19 August 1948

the Kurahaupo North executive in early 1949.³⁰⁴ One of the first duties of the new committees, as outlined below, was to approve the inoculation of Maori school children in their districts against typhoid. The committees appeared, initially at least, to have undertaken some work in improving water supply and sewage disposal but in later years appeared to focus largely on marae-based projects. Of the three tribal committees only Whiti-Tama (renamed 'Moawhango') remained active in the 1960s. The Moawhango committee seems to have gone out of existence around 1970.³⁰⁵

Another exception to the mainstreaming of Maori health services after 1939 was the district nursing scheme. In the early 1930s the separate roles of District Nurse and Native Health Nurse were rolled into one. Government cutbacks during the Depression limited the effectiveness of district nurses but the scheme was reinvigorated in the late 1930s, starting in 1938 with a reclassification of school nurses as district nurses to boost their number to 49.³⁰⁶ In his 1940 review of Maori Health, Turbott provided a useful overview of the work of district nurses, who he considered to be particularly effective in improving Maori health.

District nurses are charged with the task of keeping close contact with Maori homes by regular visits to settlements. These women are full-certificated nurses with general and midwifery training, most of them holding in addition the Plunket certificate and many the post-graduate diploma. Home visits are made for the purpose of detecting illness, of influencing the patient towards hospital treatment if needed, of treating minor ailments or of teaching correct bedside care if hospital aid be refused. Ante-natal advice and the teaching of baby welfare are offered as required. The nurses visit Maori schools, and native children in *pakeha* schools, supervising the pupils' health, lecturing on occasions, and carrying out annual anti-typhoid inoculations.³⁰⁷

Anti-typhoid inoculations of Maori children remained a core part of the work of district health nurses for some decades. As was outlined in the previous chapter, from the late 1920s a programme of regular inoculation against typhoid was carried out with the Taihape inquiry district. This programme was somewhat hit and miss as it required a great deal of organisation to ensure that Maori were on hand when the inoculation team visited a district. Around the same time a trial began with inoculating those who were, to some extent, a captive population – Maori

³⁰⁴ Under-secretary of Maori Affairs to Minister of Maori Affairs, 8 April 1949, Archives NZ Wellington, '[Maori Councils and Committees] Kurahaupo North TD [Tribal District] - Tribal Area, Executives and Committees 1948-1969', item R15055027, AAMK W3730 45 / 35/49/1

³⁰⁵ Secretary of Maori Affairs to Minister of Maori Affairs, 2 August 1961, Archives NZ Wellington, '[Maori Councils and Committees] Kurahaupo North TD [Tribal District] - Tribal Area, Executives and Committees 1948-1969', item R15055027, AAMK W3730 45 / 35/49/1 and 'Marae Subsidies And Maori Council - Kurahaupo North Tribal District - Moawhango Maori Committee 1963-1970', item R22157946, ABJZ 869 W4644 106 / 35/49/2/3 1

³⁰⁶ AJHR 1939, H31, p 67

³⁰⁷ Turbott, p 236

school children. The trial was conducted on the East Coast and its effect on the typhoid rate was evaluated during the 1930s. The success of the programme led to it being expanded to the rest of the country and by 1940 all Maori school children, to the extent this was possible, were inoculated against typhoid. Turbott was a champion of the programme, which he considered to greatly reduce the incidence of typhoid among Maori.³⁰⁸ Despite the apparent success of inoculation – official figures showed the rate among Maori had more than halved in a decade -- in 1937 the rate of typhoid among Maori was still 39 times that of non-Maori.³⁰⁹

The inoculation of Maori school children for typhoid continued into the 1950s on the basis that it would be necessary until sanitation substantially improved in Maori communities.³¹⁰ The Health Department did not seek parental permission for the programme but rather the general permission of tribal leaders in each district. In the late 1940s some teachers voiced discomfort with this arrangement and its legality was questioned by Crown Law. Eventually Cabinet agreed that the government would indemnify its employees (primarily district health nurses) against liability when a Māori child had been inoculated without parental consent. This was done on condition that permission for inoculation was granted by the tribal committees then being established, the ‘sustained objection of any parent’ was respected, and the indemnity was not made public.³¹¹

As Robinson notes, the indemnity arrangement would be considered highly unethical today and there was clear ethical discomfort at the time given the secrecy involved.³¹² The typhoid inoculation programme continued apace and in 1951 the Health Department reported that district health nurses inoculated 20,437 Maori school children the previous year.³¹³ Typhoid outbreaks were rare from 1950 onwards.³¹⁴

The success of the typhoid inoculation programme encouraged the government to institute inoculation for other infectious diseases, this time of the entire school population rather than singling out Maori. From the late 1950s school children were routinely immunised against

³⁰⁸ Turbott, ‘Progress in Prevention of Typhoid Fever Among Maoris’, AJHR 1940, H31, p 51

³⁰⁹ Turbott, 1940, pp 232, 247

³¹⁰ Robinson, p 262

³¹¹ Robinson, p 263

³¹² Robinson, p 263

³¹³ AJHR 1951, H31, p 38

³¹⁴ Raeburn Lange, ‘Te hauora Māori i mua – history of Māori health - Changing health, 1945 onwards’, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 5-May-14, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-hauora-maori-i-mua-history-of-maori-health/page-5

diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, and (as outlined below) tuberculosis. Smallpox vaccinations were instituted in the late 1960s.³¹⁵

Sanitation

It was accepted in health circles that the inoculation programme was a temporary fix until Maori housing and sanitation in Maori settlements could be improved. The assessment of Turbott in 1940 was that Maori housing conditions had actually gone backwards for much of the 1930s.³¹⁶ Poverty and government cutbacks had both taken their toll.

In his centennial essay, Turbott summarized the national state of Māori housing as shown by surveys conducted during the 1930s. Turbott wrote that only about half of Māori households had a safe water supply, one quarter had no adequate means of rubbish disposal, and a third had no proper toilet facilities. He claimed that more than half of Māori lived in overcrowded conditions. ‘The overcrowding is often gross, six to twelve or even more people sleeping in one room with a floor space of about 120 square feet [11 square meters] or less.’³¹⁷ By Pakeha standards more than a third of Māori housing was unfit for habitation, ‘darkness, dampness and poor ventilation being the main defects’.³¹⁸

The late 1930s saw a revival of measures to improve Maori housing and sanitation. In 1937 the Labour government commissioned a confidential report from Sylvester Lambert, the Pacific representative of the Rockefeller Foundation.³¹⁹ Lambert’s report, titled ‘Survey of the Maori Situation’, was highly critical of the standard of water supply and latrines in Maori settlements.³²⁰ In 1938 the Health Department made representations to the Minister about water supply improvements. Cabinet set aside £3000 for water supply and sanitation. All the money was spent on pit privies and further information on Maori water supply needs was sought from the medical officers.³²¹ Turbott later claimed in an unpublished autobiographical manuscript that this measure alone led to a massive decline in the incidence of typhoid amongst Maori in just a few years.³²²

³¹⁵ Robinson, p 263

³¹⁶ Turbott, ‘Progress in Prevention of Typhoid Fever Among Maoris’, AJHR 1940, H31, p 51

³¹⁷ Turbott, ‘Health and Social Welfare’, pp 138-139

³¹⁸ Turbott, ‘Health and Social Welfare’, p 243

³¹⁹ Dow, 1999, p 157

³²⁰ Dow, 1999, pp 189-190

³²¹ Director-general to unnamed (appears to be Minister of Health), 3 May 1939, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Hygiene - Maori health - Water supplies 1938-1941’, item R20957940, ADBZ 16163 H1 1992 / 194/26 7969

³²² Dr Harold Turbott cited by Derek Dow, *Safeguarding the Public Health; A History of the New Zealand Department of Health*, Victoria University Press, 1994, p 135

In 1938 Duncan Cook, the Medical Officer of Health based in Palmerston North, estimated that over half the 'Native Houses' within his district had an inadequate tank water supply. The Palmerston North health district was one of 13 administrative regions of the Health Department, these regions being unrelated to hospital board districts. The Palmerston North region extended as far as Hawkes Bay and included the Taihape inquiry district. Health Department inspectors had singled out Moawhango as one of the districts where improvements to the existing water supply were needed. The estimated cost was only £25 but no funding was available.³²³

In March 1939 regional medical officers of health met to discuss the issue of water supply to Maori households and recommended the government institute a scheme involving a £1 for £1 subsidy.³²⁴ Cabinet agreed to a five-year plan and allocated £10,000 to subsidise Maori water supplies in the 1939/40 financial year. The scheme was intended to fund both household water tanks and community water supplies. Subsequent policy papers revealed concerns that, without a community contribution, resentment would arise on the part of Maori communities not given assistance. Officials also raised concerns that water tanks provided free of charge might be sold. However the Director-General of Health indicated to the regional medical officers that contributions in labour rather than cash would be considered as a first option, particularly for communal schemes, and in more urgent cases community contributions might be waived.³²⁵

In the first year of the scheme no Maori communities were prepared to contribute cash, although in at least one case the local county council was. Maori communities instead wished to supply their contribution in labour. In a scheme already underway at Jerusalem on the Whanganui River, the labour contribution was adjudged by officials to be 'spasmodic'. Officials recommended water supply improvements at Moawhango and £25 was allocated for this purpose.³²⁶

In subsequent years the Health Department had more success in obtaining cash contributions from Maori. In 1943, for example, two Maori families residing near Taihape each applied for Health Department assistance to install 600-gallon water tanks at their respective dwellings. Both indicated they were willing to contribute to the cost. The Department consequently approved

³²³ Medical Officer of Health to Director-general of Health, 19 September 1938, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Maori health - Water supplies 1938-1941', item R20957940, ADBZ 16163 H1 1992 / 194/26 7969

³²⁴ Director-general to unnamed (appears to be Minister of Health), 3 May 1939, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Maori health - Water supplies 1938-1941', item R20957940, ADBZ 16163 H1 1992 / 194/26 7969

³²⁵ Mason (for Native Minister) to Minister of Finance, 7 June 1939; Memo from Director-general of Health to Medical Officers of Health, 22 December 1939; Director-general of Health to Solicitor General, 29 March 1940; Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Maori health - Water supplies 1938-1941', item R20957940, ADBZ 16163 H1 1992 / 194/26 7969

³²⁶ Director-general of Health to Minister of Health (and attachments), 26 February 1940, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Maori health - Water supplies 1938-1941', item R20957940, ADBZ 16163 H1 1992 / 194/26 7969

£20 to install the two tanks with the proviso that £5 was collected from each family before installation began.³²⁷

From the files it appears that 600-gallon water tanks were the standard supplied to Maori households by the Health Department. To put this in perspective it is perhaps useful to compare this with the standard that might have been expected in a modern house at the time. When a teacher's residence was near completion at Moawhango School in 1946 the teacher, Stewart McNichol, noticed that the house was supplied with two 600-gallon water tanks, the communal water supply being inaccessible. He considered 1200 gallons insufficient to supply a modern house that had a hot water system and an indoor flush toilet connected to a septic tank. McNichol therefore demanded that a supplementary source of water be found. When the family moved into the house in February 1947 there had been a drought and the house was short of water.³²⁸ Tank water could be unreliable and insufficient for modern housing needs.

Cabinet also approved further funding to provide 'tube privies' to Maori households.³²⁹ In 1941 Cook reported that the Public Works Department had completed 35 privies to be installed in the Wanganui and Marton areas, and more were on the way. It is not clear that any of these privies were to be provided to Maori households within the Taihape inquiry district.³³⁰

The tribal executives and committees established in the late 1940s had some role in sanitation and water supply work. The first meeting of the Kurahaupo North tribal executive in April 1949 discussed a proposal to assist providing water tanks to a dwelling where the existing ones had been condemned by the Health Department inspector.³³¹ However, improvements from around 1950 were largely due to a nation-wide improvement in housing standards from which Maori benefited, as is outlined in the housing section of this report.

³²⁷ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to Director-general of Health, 11 June 1943; Authority for Expenditure, 5 July 1943; Acting Director-general of Health to Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North, 15 July 1943; Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Maori health - Water supply 1941-1942 (sic)', item R20957938, ADBZ 16163 H1 1385 / 194/26 14428

³²⁸ McNichol to Director of Education, 25 September 1946; Acting Architect to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 2 October 1946, Director of Education to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 5 November 1946, Architect to Secretary, Wanganui Education Board, 6 February and 6 March 1946, McNichol to Director of Education, 6 March 1947, Architect, Wanganui Education Board to Director of Education, 12 December 1947 and 21 January 1948, Archives NZ Auckland, 'Maori Schools - Building and Site Files - Moawhango 1946-1949', item R20391675, BAAA 1001 A440 351/a 44/4 2

³²⁹ Director-general of Health to Minister of Health, 14 August 1940, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene - Privies 1938-1941', item R20957936 ADBZ 16163 H1 1329 / 194/25 11581

³³⁰ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to Director-general of Health, 4 September 1941, 'Maori Hygiene - Privies 1938-1941', item R20957936 ADBZ 16163 H1 1329 / 194/25 11581

³³¹ Matters raised by the Tribal Executive, 10 April 1949, Archives NZ Wellington, '[Maori Councils and Committees] Kurahaupo North TD [Tribal District] - Tribal Area, Executives and Committees 1948-1969', item R15055027, AAMK W3730 45 / 35/49/1

Census information

Reports on the 1945 population census provided some information on the amenities provided in Maori dwellings by county. The results showed that just seven percent of rural Maori dwellings in Rangitikei County had a flush toilet. Only 40 percent had a bathroom.³³² No figures on dwelling amenities were reported from the 1951 census.

By the mid-1950s there was still some way to go to providing decent water supplies and modern flush toilets to Maori houses, but this was gradually achieved in the Taihape inquiry district during the 1950s and 1960s. The censuses in 1956, 1961 and 1966 asked extensive questions on amenities provided in dwellings and reported the results by region and ethnicity. The questions were not always comparable between censuses but they provide useful information. It has been possible here to analyse the census results for the rural parts of Rangitikei County where most Maori within the Taihape inquiry district lived. Readers are referred to the methodology section of the introductory chapter of this report for detail on this analysis. Note that it excludes Ratana township with its significant Maori population outside of the inquiry district.

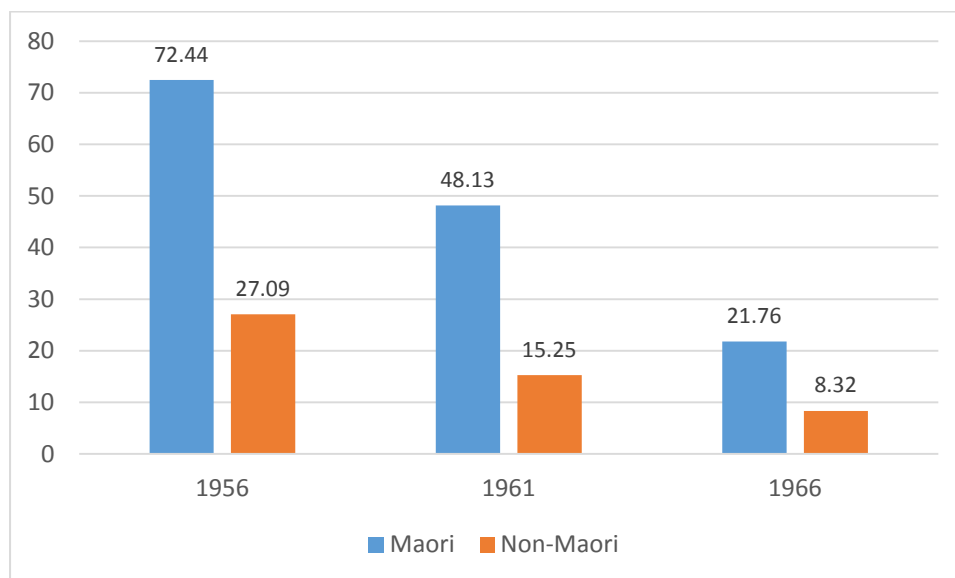
The only census in which respondents were asked whether their dwelling had a water supply was in 1961. Of 2706 rural Rangitikei County dwellings recorded in 1961, only 14 had no water supply, five of which were Maori dwellings. In Taihape Borough five dwellings had no water supply, one of which was a Maori dwelling. Maori were more likely than non-Maori in rural Rangitikei to be on a piped rather than tank water supply. In 1966, for example, 58 percent of non-Maori dwellings were supplied exclusively with tank water compared with 39 percent of Maori dwellings. It should be noted, however, that piped water supplies in rural areas were often from water sources that were not necessarily clean. In Taihape Borough the supply of piped water was almost universal in all three censuses.

The provision of flush toilets was also near universal in Taihape Borough throughout the decade. By 1961 nearly 96 percent of Taihape dwellings had a flush toilet, with little difference between Maori and Pakeha dwellings. The same did not apply in rural Rangitikei, however, as shown by Figure 12.1 below. The data shows a significant improvement during the decade 1956 to 1966 in the provision of flush toilets in rural Rangitikei. In 1956 and 1961 the figures for Rangitikei Maori were worse than the national average for Maori (67 percent of Maori dwellings had no flush toilet in 1956 and 44 percent in 1961) but equalled the national Maori average in 1966. Even in 1966, however, nearly 22 percent of the 262 Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei had no

³³² Figures calculated from Maori population census 1945. Figures are for Rangitikei County excluding Taihape and town districts.

flush toilet. Even among the non-Maori dwellings, 201 (8.3 percent) still had no flush toilet in 1966. It appears that the most reliable way to acquire these facilities, particularly in the 1950s and early 1960s, was to move to cities and towns such as Taihape, as many indeed did.

Figure 12.1: Percentage of dwellings in rural Rangitikei County without flush toilet by ethnicity, 1956-1966



Source: NZ Census of Population and Dwellings

In their 2014 book *The Healthy Country?*, Alistair Woodward and Tony Blakely characterise the post-war decades until the 1980s as the period of ‘convergence’ – when Maori made significant health gains on most fronts while the health improvements for non-Maori were relatively modest. Between 1945 and 1976 deaths from infectious and diarrhoea-related diseases decreased by 97 percent for Maori aged under 45, and 80 percent for those over 45.³³³ Such advances were undoubtedly linked to the provision of decent sanitation to Maori dwellings – particularly safe water supplies and hygienic sewage disposal. To a large extent these improvements resulted from Maori urbanisation – Maori moved to areas where decent water and sewage were generally available. However, as Figure 12.1 shows, there were significant improvements for rural Maori too, or at least for those within the Taihape inquiry district.

Taihape Hospital and Maternity Services

As was seen in Chapter 11, the rapid growth of Taihape Hospital came to a halt in the late 1920s. In 1931 the hospital was threatened with closure as a Depression retrenchment measure. The

³³³ Woodward and Blakely, *The Healthy Country?* p 152

hospital avoided the threatened closure but during the Depression and war years maintenance was neglected as were much-needed additions. In early 1945 the Taihape representative on the Wanganui Hospital Board made a surprise visit to the local hospital. His findings as reported back to the Board made the Auckland newspapers.

Danger of cross-infection existed in the Taihape Hospital because of the deplorably overcrowded condition, declared Mr. T. C. Kincaid, of Taihape, when the Wanganui Hospital Board was considering a five-year building plan. Doctors had to change in a lavatory used by all and sundry before entering the operating theatre, the roof of which was scaling. An urgent need existed for a special children's ward. Mr. Kincaid said that when he visited the hospital unannounced recently he found 21 children, most of them suffering from infectious diseases, mixed up in the men's and women's wards. The wards were a mixture of ordinary patients, serviceman, chronic cases and crying children. It was the board's duty to relieve the situation.³³⁴

The Board agreed to allocate £15,000 for improvements at Taihape Hospital, including a 16-bed children's ward, a doctors' changing room, and staff accommodation. However perhaps the most significant change at Taihape Hospital from the point of view of Maori within the Taihape district was the opening of a maternity facility at the hospital in 1951 at a cost of £10,492.³³⁵

A maternity ward had been suggested for Taihape Hospital in 1938 by a committee of inquiry into maternity services. The committee noted that Taihape had the private Ruanui maternity home with eight beds that dealt with about 95 cases per year.

Practically all the midwifery of the district is done here, and the service given is spoken well of by the women. There is no public maternity institution and no district nurse doing midwifery.

The Wanganui Hospital Board is prepared to pay £4 4s per week at the private hospital for indigent cases, but this assistance has never been asked for because the circumstances were not realized until it was too late to make application.³³⁶

The 1938 report of the committee of inquiry into maternity services is revealing for several reasons. The fact that the subsidy for indigent cases had never been requested indicates that Maori were highly unlikely to have ever used Ruanui maternity home. Furthermore there was no district nurse doing midwifery, so Maori would generally have had no outside assistance in home

³³⁴ *Auckland Star*, 16 March 1945, p 6

³³⁵ Wright-St Clair, p 71

³³⁶ AJHR 1938, H31a, pp 37-38

births. Plunket nurses had been operating in Taihape and Mangaweka from around 1914.³³⁷ However, even in the 1930s the Plunket movement was still very much focussed on providing services to Pakeha, with services to Maori still largely in the hands for district nurses.³³⁸

In 1937, over 83 percent of registered Maori births took place at home rather than in hospital, compared with 13 percent of Pakeha births. As Robinson notes, the actual rate of Maori home births was undoubtedly higher because home births were less likely to be registered.³³⁹ The Maori rate of home births within the Taihape inquiry district was likely to be near 100 percent because of the lack of affordable maternity facilities. Apart from Ruanui in Taihape, there was a three-bed private maternity home in Hunterville, which also had never been used by 'indigent' patients. Marton, just south of the inquiry district, had a private maternity home which attracted no subsidy for low-income patients, and Raetihi Hospital to the north had an 'overtaxed' maternity annex. The other main option for expectant mothers was the 'overtaxed' facility in Wanganui. The 1938 committee of inquiry into maternity services noted that the maternity facilities at Wanganui and Raetihi were increasingly used by Maori.³⁴⁰

The committee recommended improved efforts to facilitate hospital birth for Maori. The main reason for this recommendation was to reduce the Maori rate of maternal mortality, which was roughly twice the non-Maori rate at the time.³⁴¹ However a more compelling reason, with benefit of hindsight, was to help reduce the rate of Maori infant mortality, which in 1938 was four times the non-Maori rate.³⁴² The Maori rate plummeted in the two decades after World War Two. Rebecca Lau argued in her 1996 MA thesis that the main reason for the decline in neo-natal mortality was improvements in healthcare in the first two weeks of life, facilitated by the emphasis on hospital births. For post neo-natal mortality, improved Maori living conditions were the most important contributor.³⁴³

By 1947 nearly half of all Maori births took place in hospitals.³⁴⁴ The introduction of free hospital care in 1939 was obviously a significant factor in this. The Social Security Act 1938

³³⁷ *Kai Tiaki*, Vol. 18, Issue 1, January 1925, p 36, *Mangaweka and District's First 100 Years*, foreword by Alison Dorrian, Mangaweka, 1984, pp 69-71

³³⁸ Robinson, p 286

³³⁹ Robinson, p 283

³⁴⁰ AJHR 1938, H31a, pp 36-38

³⁴¹ AJHR 1938, H31a, pp 95-97

³⁴² Raeburn Lange, 'Te hauora Māori i mua – history of Māori health - Slow progress, 1920 to 1945', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 5-May-14, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-hauora-maori-i-mua-history-of-maori-health/page-4

³⁴³ Lau, 'Trends and differentials between Maori and non-Maori : infant and child mortality, 1951-1991', cited by Robinson, pp 287-288

³⁴⁴ Robinson, p 283

provided that the state would pay for all medical care and attendance required in childbirth and the fourteen days following, as well as all ante-natal and post-natal advice and care required. These benefits also applied to private maternity hospitals although did not entirely cover the fees charged.³⁴⁵ Although no figures are available, it is therefore likely that Maori within the Taihape inquiry district increasingly utilised the private maternity facilities available from Taihape, Hunterville and Marton after maternity benefits were introduced in September 1939.

In 1946 the Health Department reported that a number of private maternity hospitals had closed during the year, mainly due to a shortage of nursing and domestic staff. In many cases former private hospitals were taken over by hospital boards until suitable new facilities could be built.³⁴⁶ The newspapers at the time usually contained announcements of several births at Ruanui maternity hospital in Taihape each year, but the last of these was in November 1945.³⁴⁷ It therefore appears that Ruanui closed shortly afterwards and was taken over by the Wanganui Hospital Board. In 1946 the Board also took over the Whare Ora private hospital in Hunterville as a maternity facility.³⁴⁸

When the new maternity facility opened at Taihape Hospital in 1951 it was called the 'Ruanui Maternity Annex' after the former private hospital.³⁴⁹ The new annex had a significant effect, as 269 babies were delivered at Taihape Hospital in 1954 compared with 'about 95 cases a year' reported for Ruanui maternity home in 1938.³⁵⁰ The Taihape Hospital files provide no information as to the ethnicity of mothers utilising the hospital. However by 1959 over 90 percent of Maori births nationwide took place in hospitals so it is assumed that a rising proportion of those giving birth in Taihape Hospital during the 1950s were Maori. By 1968 over 98 percent of Maori births were in hospitals.³⁵¹ By then maternal mortality was extremely rare for both Maori and non-Maori, the rates being 0.24 and 0.12 per 1000 live births respectively.³⁵² In 1938 the official maternal mortality figures were 5.41 per 1000 live births for Maori and 2.97 for 'Europeans' – in both cases over 20 times higher than in 1968.³⁵³

³⁴⁵ Social Security Act 1938, ss 95-100

³⁴⁶ AJHR 1946, H31, p 12

³⁴⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 10 November 1945, p 1

³⁴⁸ Wright-St Clair, p 73

³⁴⁹ Wright-St Clair, p 71

³⁵⁰ Taihape Hospital inspection report, 29 November 1954, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wanganui Hospital Board - Taihape Hospital- Inspection Reports 1921-1968', item R20964340, ADBZ 16163 H1 1259 / 92/42/2 45535. Obviously the post-war baby boom would have contributed to the increased births.

³⁵¹ Robinson, p 283

³⁵² Robinson, p 171

³⁵³ AJHR 1939, H31, pp 84, 87

The Maori rate of neo-natal mortality (that is, infant deaths within a month of birth) declined significantly in the decades after World War Two. During the 1940s and 1950s a large but declining gap between Maori and non-Maori rates remained. By the late 1960s it had all but disappeared.³⁵⁴ Correlation is not causation but it seems plausible, as argued by Lau, that the dramatic shift towards hospital births for Maori was a contributing factor. Another likely effect of the move towards hospital births was to greatly diminish Maori suspicion of hospitals. They became a place commonly associated with life rather than death.

In summary, between 1938 and 1968 the proportion of Maori nationwide having hospital births increased from 17 percent to over 98 percent. This was aided by maternity benefits introduced in 1939 which provided, among other things, free public or subsidised private hospital care. Public maternity facilities were expanded, as exemplified by the opening of the Ruanui maternity annex at Taihape Hospital in the early 1950s. The results of the national reforms appeared to be a fall in maternal mortality and in falling rates of neonatal mortality, particularly among Maori.

Tuberculosis

Another measure that was an exception to the mainstreaming of Maori health services was the Health Department's major campaign against tuberculosis which began in the early 1940s. In 1940 tuberculosis (commonly shortened to 'TB') was the leading cause of death among Maori.³⁵⁵ Until the 1930s little concrete information was available about the Maori incidence of TB, although it was believed to be widespread. Early measures to combat the disease had little impact on Maori and Maori tuberculosis deaths actually increased during the 1930s thanks to the effects of the Depression.

Tuberculosis before 1940

In the late nineteenth century it was estimated that one in ten Pakeha deaths resulted from TB. Although the disease was declining internationally by the twentieth century it became a major focus of public health efforts in New Zealand. Because there was no known cure at the time the main emphasis was on preventing the spread of the disease by isolating patients, and educating people about the lifestyle factors thought to make them vulnerable. The government made pulmonary TB a notifiable disease in 1901, although there was considerable resistance to

³⁵⁴ Robinson, p 172

³⁵⁵Raeburn Lange, 'Te hauora Māori i mua – history of Māori health - Slow progress, 1920 to 1945', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 5 May 2014
www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-hauora-maori-i-mua-history-of-maori-health/page-4

notification due to social stigma.³⁵⁶ The Health Department set up Te Waikato sanatorium in 1902 and by 1910 hospital boards had established a further three sanatoria. In addition many public hospitals had a sanatorium annex. During World War One the department took over Otaki sanatorium as a facility for returned servicemen. This became a women's sanatorium after the war and the department established Pukeora Sanatorium for men in the Hawkes Bay.³⁵⁷

TB was known to be common among Maori but no reliable figures on incidence were produced until the 1930s. Linda Bryder notes that 'despite tuberculosis being rife among the Maori and already in decline among the Pakeha population, the department's anti-tuberculosis campaign was directed entirely toward Pakeha in the early twentieth century'.³⁵⁸ Maori could and did access sanatoria on occasion. A 1926 inspection report on Taihape Hospital mentioned a Maori TB patient 'who had been in the hospital on several occasions.' The report said the patient should be removed to Pukeora Sanatorium.³⁵⁹ This patient appears to have been an exception, however. Even in 1940 Dr Harold Turbott claimed that a majority of Maori were 'either averse to hospital treatment altogether, or accustomed to delaying at home through early stages till hope seems lost, then using the hospital as a last resort, often when chances of successful treatment are slight'.³⁶⁰ Turbott also noted a lack of sympathy by the health authorities with respect to Maori TB in the 1920s, perhaps due to the lack of awareness as to how serious the problem was.

Things began to change after a 1928 committee of inquiry into TB published its report. The committee concluded that 'little accurate information is available as regards the incidence of the disease in Maoris, and not much appears to be done to combat the disease among this section of the population'. It recommended research to obtain better information and measures to combat the spread of TB in Maori communities.³⁶¹ As outlined in Chapter 12, Native Health Nurse Emily Beswick gave instruction in TB prevention when lecturing in the Taihape inquiry district in 1931. Health education became an important plank of the Health Department's drive to eliminate TB.

In 1933 Turbott and others carried out a study on the East Coast into tuberculosis and found that nearly 5.7 percent of the 2000 Maori surveyed were suffering from TB. The death rate of

³⁵⁶ Linda Bryder, 'If preventable, why not prevented?: The New Zealand Response to Tuberculosis 1901 to 1940', in *A healthy Country: Essays on the Social History of Medicine in New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, p 111

³⁵⁷ Bryder, 'If preventable, why not prevented?', pp 112-113, 116-117

³⁵⁸ Bryder, 'If preventable, why not prevented?', p 116

³⁵⁹ Taihape Hospital inspection report, 19 April 1926, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wanganui Hospital Board, Taihape Hospital, Inspection reports 1921-1968', H1 Box 1259, 92/42/2

³⁶⁰ Turbott, p 236

³⁶¹ AJHR 1928, H31A, p 25

4.94 per 1000 was 10 times the Pakeha rate.³⁶² Turbott blamed the high rate on ‘overcrowding in defective houses’, poverty, and poor diet.³⁶³ Some measures were implemented in the 1930s to improve Maori housing. A 1938 report by the Board of Native Affairs stated that ‘improvement of the housing conditions of the Native race is imperative if the incidence of tuberculosis and other diseases arising from insanitary conditions is to be reduced, and the loans granted under the Native Housing Act, 1935, and the indigent housing scheme are assisting toward this end’.³⁶⁴ However, as will be seen in the section on housing, little progress was made before the 1950s.

Although no cure for TB had yet been found, by 1940 the measures to prevent the spread of infection had resulted in a significantly improved Pakeha rate of TB mortality. There was no evidence from the imperfect information available that a similar improvement had occurred for Maori. It was soon to be found, however, that even among Pakeha the incidence was greater than realised.

A renewed anti-tuberculosis campaign

During the 1930s medical staff at some hospitals reported an increase in Maori admissions for TB.³⁶⁵ This was confirmed by official rates of TB mortality which, despite the known weaknesses in the statistics, were quite striking. The recorded rates were around 15 percent higher between 1932 and 1941 than between 1927 and 1931.³⁶⁶ This no doubt reflected the debilitating effect of increased poverty during the Depression on Maori health.

The need to reduce the extremely high Māori TB rate was widely acknowledged, and in some areas was the main focus of the official anti-TB campaign.³⁶⁷ From early 1940 the government began to supply quaintly-named ‘TB hutments’ to Maori families. These portable huts were located on Maori properties and aimed to prevent those Maori who were reluctant to enter hospitals and other institutions from infecting their families. The scheme was also a response to inadequate and overcrowded Maori housing. It had been trialled on the East Coast in the mid-1930s but was only extended to the rest of the country some years later.³⁶⁸ The hutment scheme was expensive and therefore relatively small in scale. By mid-1949 just 279 hutments had been

³⁶² Bryder, p 123

³⁶³ Turbott, p 247

³⁶⁴ AJHR 1938, G10, p 12

³⁶⁵ See, for example, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 April 1937, p 17

³⁶⁶ Deborah Dunsford, ‘Seeking the Prize of Eradication: A Social History of Tuberculosis in New Zealand from World War Two to the 1970s’, PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2008, p 349

³⁶⁷ Robinson, p 256

³⁶⁸ *Auckland Star*, 16 November 1939, p 10

provided within the North Island, mainly in areas with large Maori populations.³⁶⁹ At the end of that year there were 2597 registered cases of Maori TB.³⁷⁰

Maori housing conditions and an unwillingness to enter hospital were not the only reasons for the use of hutments. In some cases there was no room for Maori TB patients, particularly with the over-crowding that occurred once hospitals became free in July 1939. In November that year the Wanganui Hospital Board learned that the government was supplying 'five or six' hutments so that Maori patients could be nursed at home and cared for by district nurses. The medical superintendent told the Board that district nurses were keeping some Maori away from hospitals because they knew of the inadequate facilities. 'There was a general lack of facilities for Maoris right through the Dominion, but the department was fully alive to the necessity for the treatment of Maori patients'.³⁷¹

In 1941 Wanganui Hospital was again reported as having 'an acute shortage' of beds for TB cases and 15-18 hutments were sent to prevent the hospital treating TB patients on ward verandahs.³⁷² In this case there is no indication that the hutments were for Maori patients only or that any of them were destined for the Taihape inquiry district. There is evidence from the files, however, that at least one Maori patient in the Taihape area occupied a hutment in 1943 and there were no doubt more.³⁷³

As noted, the provision of hutments was a relatively small programme. The main focus of the Health Department's renewed drive to eliminate TB from 1940 lay elsewhere. The department's scheme had three main planks to it: a mass screening programme; treatment of TB with drugs; and inoculation with the BCG vaccine.

The mass screening programme had its origins in the outbreak of World War Two. The dangers of the spread of TB among soldiers living in close proximity were well-known. Health officials therefore screened all armed forces recruits by X-raying their lungs, and this revealed higher than expected rates of the disease. This was additional evidence of the need for a serious campaign, and as a result a specialised TB division was founded within the Health Department in 1943.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ Dunsford, 2008, pp 227-228

³⁷⁰ AJHR 1951, H31, p 49

³⁷¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 15 December 1939, p 6

³⁷² Wright-St Clair, p 54

³⁷³ Department of Health, Palmerton North to Public Works Department, Wanganui, 8 October 1943, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Hygiene-Hutments for TB [Tuberculosis] Maoris, 1941-1945', AATC, W3456 5114, Box 43, PW34/23/1

³⁷⁴ Robinson, pp 255-257

The use of mass X-ray screening of war recruits inspired a spread in use of the technique. Taranaki was the first area targeted due to its particularly high incidence of TB, especially within the Maori population. In the early 1940s hospital boards in the region went into partnership with the Taranaki Maori Trust Board and the Health Department to provide a mobile X-ray unit located within a caravan. The Trust Board provided a grant of £2200 towards the project, the Health Department a grant of £2230. Four Taranaki hospital boards provided £280 and shared the ongoing operating costs with the government.³⁷⁵ This joint Maori-government initiative put a strong emphasis on making the programme acceptable to Maori. Screening was aimed at both Maori and Pakeha to avoid Maori feeling stigmatised. An executive committee set up to run the project was aware of the need to pay heed to Maori protocol, and a Maori technician was trained to operate the X-ray machine.³⁷⁶

Due to problems importing equipment during wartime the Taranaki project did not get underway until 1946.³⁷⁷ The screening programme was combined with a survey of Maori housing conditions due to the known connection with TB transmission. The survey revealed widespread poor housing and overcrowding.³⁷⁸ In its first 12 months of operation the unit X-rayed 6180 people, including 2154 Maori, although there do not appear to be figures on how many cases of TB the screening picked up.³⁷⁹ The Taranaki mobile X-ray unit also visited Wanganui, where local Maori organised the programme of visits.³⁸⁰ It is not clear if the unit ever carried out its work within the Taihape inquiry district.

Although the Taranaki programme was seen as successful, the government was wary of spreading mass X-ray screening too quickly as additional TB cases put further pressure on already-stretched hospital and sanatorium accommodation. The Health Department therefore initially focussed on screening at-risk groups, including health professionals and Maori communities known to have a high incidence of TB.³⁸¹ Transportable X-ray units – which could be assembled where needed then disassembled - were established in the main centres by 1952 but the Taranaki unit remained the only mobile unit.³⁸²

In the mid-1950s the Health Department, which had taken over responsibility for the screening programme, established transportable and mobile X-ray units in seven centres, in part with the

³⁷⁵ Dunsford, pp 103-104. The government provided on-going funding through a Social Security subsidy.

³⁷⁶ Dunsford, p 104

³⁷⁷ *Evening Post*, 22 August 1945, p 6; Dunsford, p 111

³⁷⁸ Dunsford, pp 107-110

³⁷⁹ Dunsford, p 113. Other screening produced one positive per 1000.

³⁸⁰ Dunsford, p 114

³⁸¹ Dunsford, pp 120-122

³⁸² Dunsford, pp 126-129

aim of reaching more remote districts. The Far North and East Coast were targeted, being areas with large Maori populations.³⁸³ However it is likely that the mobile unit based in Palmerston North provided TB screening to Maori within the Taihape inquiry district. The Wanganui Hospital Board was right behind the screening programme and in the 1960s advocated compulsory X-rays. In 1959 the Health Department reported that it X-rayed over 250,000 people that year. The mass-screening programme continued for a further decade.³⁸⁴

Screening on its own would have had only a minor effect on TB rates if not for other developments – in particular drugs that could effectively treat TB. In 1944, a patient in the United States with TB was administered a newly-discovered drug called streptomycin and was apparently cured. Other cases of successful treatment soon followed. In 1948 the British Medical Research Council conducted a large-scale clinical trial of streptomycin. Although many patients were cured, a substantial proportion relapsed, indicating they had developed resistance to the drug. Two new anti-TB drugs, thiacetazone and para-aminosalicylic acid, came on the market in 1948. When either of these agents was administered with streptomycin, cure rates rose and antibiotic resistance declined. In 1951 another new drug, isoniazid, was tested at Sea View Hospital in New York and was soon introduced for wider use. Other anti-TB drugs followed: pyrazinamide and cycloserine in 1952; ethionamide in 1956; rifampin in 1957; and ethambutol in 1962.³⁸⁵

From the account provided by Deborah Dunsford it appears that health authorities kept up with these overseas developments. The new drugs were used in New Zealand relatively soon after coming into general use abroad in the late 1940s and early 1950s.³⁸⁶ The effects were dramatic. Instead of being kept isolated from their families for long periods until their illness subsided and they were no longer infectious (assuming they survived), TB sufferers could return home to their families relatively quickly. This was especially beneficial for Maori, for whom the separation from family that confinement to a TB annex or sanatorium involved was particularly challenging.³⁸⁷ The reduced need for patients to spend long periods in institutions freed up hospital beds for those picked up in the X-ray screening programme.

³⁸³ Dunsford, p 137

³⁸⁴ Dunsford, p 133

³⁸⁵ Salmaan Keshavjee and Paul Farmer, 'Tuberculosis, Drug Resistance, and the History of Modern Medicine', *New England Journal of Medicine*, issue 367, September 2012, pp 931-936, available at www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/nejmra1205429

³⁸⁶ Dunsford, 'Seeking the Prize of Eradication', pp 90-84

³⁸⁷ Dunsford, p 94

The third plank in the Health Department's fight against TB was inoculation. The Bacillus Calmette Guerin ('BCG') vaccine was developed in the early twentieth century but health professionals around the world (including New Zealand) remained sceptical as to its efficacy. This changed after BCG was used extensively to inoculate children in the aftermath of World War Two. According to Dunsford the Health Department reversed its pre-war stance and launched a major inoculation drive.

Any lingering doubts about the mass use of BCG were overridden by the Department's view that the vaccine had a precise preventive role in the full range of anti-tuberculosis measures it was now planning. Apart from contributing to the overall goal of eliminating the disease, BCG occupied a significant niche in the years of the mass campaign against TB, by giving protection to a new generation of young people who no longer gained immunity naturally through close contact with tuberculosis.³⁸⁸

Two main groups were targeted. From 1949 the emphasis was on high-risk groups such as health professionals and those living in areas where TB was prevalent. From 1953 the BCG inoculation campaign moved to secondary schools, as the 15 to 20 age group had been shown to be particularly vulnerable to infection.³⁸⁹ With the consent of parents, pupils at participating secondary schools were administered a tuberculin test (which tested for the presence of TB) and those returning a negative result were administered the BCG vaccine. The testing and vaccination programme was running in most Health Department districts by the end of 1953. Nearly 20,000 pupils were tested in 1955, 30,000 in 1960 and nearly 40,000 in 1965. The rise in numbers reflected both an increasing secondary school population and a fall in consent refusal rates, which had started out at around 30 percent.³⁹⁰

Falling infection rates led to the ending of the BCG inoculation campaign in South Island schools in 1963, although tuberculin testing continued. Continued inoculation in the North Island was to ensure that young Maori were vaccinated.³⁹¹ BCG vaccination would therefore have been available to those Maori in the Taihape inquiry district who proceeded to secondary school, as the great majority did by 1960. However, with increasing Maori urbanisation the main focus of health officials was on Auckland, where TB infection rates remained stubbornly high compared with the rest of the country.³⁹² According to Dunsford the BCG campaign in the

³⁸⁸ Deborah Dunsford, 'Seeking the Prize of Eradication: A Social History of Tuberculosis in New Zealand from World War Two to the 1970s', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2008, p 162

³⁸⁹ Dunsford, p 164

³⁹⁰ Dunsford, pp 174-177

³⁹¹ Dunsford, p 183

³⁹² Dunsford, pp 185-186

North Island never officially ended. However responsibility for the programme was transferred to regional health boards in 1972 and BCG vaccination gradually faded out in the 1980s.³⁹³

Conclusions on tuberculosis

TB mortality for both Maori and non-Maori fell by over 95 percent between 1945 and 1976.³⁹⁴ By the 1970s Maori were still 10 times as likely to die from TB as Pakeha, but the rates were very low for both groups.³⁹⁵ In 1964 the Health Department stated that TB was no longer a significant cause of death among Maori. Twenty years earlier it had been the single main cause of death.³⁹⁶

The Health Department's three-pronged campaign of inoculation, screening and drug treatment clearly contributed to the diminishing status of TB as a significant health problem in New Zealand. However there were other factors – the continued focus on educating patients and their communities by Maori Health Nurses, free access to prescription drugs from 1941, better access to hospitals, and improved Maori housing and living standards would all have made a significant contribution. Indeed, the greatest fall in TB mortality, for both Maori and Pakeha, occurred from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s before all three planks of the Health Department programme were fully implemented.³⁹⁷

³⁹³ Dunsford, p 194

³⁹⁴ Woodward and Blakely, *The Healthy Country?* p 152

³⁹⁵ Dunsford, pp 179-180

³⁹⁶ Raeburn Lange, 'Te hauora Māori i mua – history of Māori health - Changing health, 1945 onwards', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 5-May-14

www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-hauora-maori-i-mua-history-of-maori-health/page-5

³⁹⁷ Dunsford, Appendix 1, p 349

Chapter 13: Health 1970-2013

Introduction

By the 1970s the ‘mainstreaming’ of Maori healthcare, begun in 1939, was largely complete. The rapid urbanisation of Maori between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s made GPs, hospitals, doctors, Plunket nurses and psychiatric facilities more accessible. However in the 1980s some began to advocate that health services should be more accessible to Maori.

Other changes were also underway in rural districts. Within the Taihape inquiry district the Maori population was increasingly located in the main centre of Taihape. The Pakeha population of Taihape began to decline from the mid-1960s, ending 20 years of continuous population growth in the town. As a result, the population of Taihape began to fall from the late 1970s, in common with many other small towns around New Zealand. By 2013, after over 30 years of continuous decline, the population had fallen to 1509. With the loss of people came loss of services. As was seen in Section A of this report, the local school returned to the ‘district high school’ model of the past, albeit under a different name. Changes with respect to Taihape Hospital were even more drastic.

This chapter begins by looking at the tentative retreat from the mainstreaming of Maori health services that began in the 1980s. It then looks at Maori mental health, which only came to the attention of the health profession in the 1970s. Finally the chapter outlines the changes to Taihape Hospital since the 1970s and the events that led to its closure in December 2010.

Maori and Health – A New Approach

The first Labour government set the agenda for Maori health for several decades. Health services for Maori were largely ‘mainstreamed’ under a philosophy which saw Māori as having full equality within a system which aimed to eliminate poverty and increase opportunities and living standards for all.³⁹⁸ Maori became increasingly urbanised from the late 1950s, making residual Maori-orientated amenities such as district nurses and tribal committees less relevant in respect of providing health services.

Although Maori health made substantial gains in the post-war period, research from the early 1960s increasingly showed that significant health gaps remained. The Hunn report of 1961 drew public attention to some of these disparities.³⁹⁹ More robust later research did the same. In 1980

³⁹⁸ Robinson, p 249

³⁹⁹ Dow, 1995, pp 197-200

a report by Eru Pomare, then Senior Lecturer in Medicine in the Wellington Clinical School of Medicine, drew together a wide range of statistics on Maori health for the period 1955 to 1975. His small booklet showed increasing Maori life expectancy and a shift in the pattern of deaths away from infectious disease and towards accidents, heart disease, cancer, respiratory diseases other than TB, and metabolic diseases.⁴⁰⁰ It also showed the continuation of traditional health disparities and the emergence of new ones. 'Rheumatic heart disease, high blood pressure, cancer of the cervix and stomach, respiratory disease, motor vehicle accidents, gallstones, glomerulonephritis, diabetes mellitus and many infections are each responsible for at least three times the death rate in Maori under the age of 65, compared with the remaining population'.⁴⁰¹

On-going health disparities between Maori and non-Maori led to calls for a new approach. Academic articles in the 1970s stressed the importance of cultural factors in Maori health treatment and the Maori Women's Welfare League, a strong advocate for improved Maori health since the 1950s, established a health research unit in 1977. According to Mason Durie, during the 1970s 'the importance of Maori cultural beliefs and practices to good health outcomes became part of the health agenda'.⁴⁰²

This attitudinal change gained momentum over the next decade. When the New Zealand Board of Health was established in 1983 it included a Maori Health Standing Committee in its structure which endorsed the devolution of some health services to iwi. In 1984 'three significant hui collectively contributed to a new era of Maori policy, including health policy' and the Department of Health established a Maori health project team.⁴⁰³ The department also established the Oranga Maori programme with the aim of working 'more effectively with Maori people', giving increasing recognition to different cultural perceptions of health and sickness and to 'improving cross-cultural dialogue'. To this end, the department operated a number of cultural awareness programmes and seminars.⁴⁰⁴ From the mid-1980s Maori community health workers were increasingly employed to improve the liaison between the health system and Maori.⁴⁰⁵ Durie notes that changes in the health sector 'were part of a wider movement that advocated the

⁴⁰⁰ Mason Durie, 'Maori Health Transitions 1960-1985' in Danny Keenan (ed), *Huia Histories of Maori: Nga Tabubu Koreo*, Huia, Wellington, 2012, p 264

⁴⁰¹ Preface to Eru Pomare, *Maori Standards of Health; A study of the 20 year period from 1955-1975*, Medical Research Council

⁴⁰² Durie, 'Maori Health Transitions' p 265

⁴⁰³ Durie, 'Maori Health Transitions', pp 270-271

⁴⁰⁴ *AJHR*, 1984, E-10, 'Maori Health', p.23

⁴⁰⁵ Durie, 'Maori Health Transitions', p 268

incorporation of Maori values, language, protocols and cultural advisers into departments of state'.⁴⁰⁶

The health reforms of the early 1990s introduced a 'purchaser-provider split' in which purchasing agencies – initially four Regional Health Authorities (RHAs) and eventually a single Health Funding Agency – purchased health services on a contestable basis. This opened the way for specialist iwi providers to compete for contracts to deliver health services to Maori and others. A few Maori health services had been established in the mid-1980s. With contestable funding available from the early 1990s, numerous additional Maori health initiatives were established, some offering a relatively small range of services and others a comprehensive package including primary health care. The number of Maori health providers increased from around 30 in 1993 to over 200 in 2003.⁴⁰⁷

One of the providers established under the reforms was the Otaihape Maori Komiti (now the Mokai Patea Services Trust). In the mid-1990s the Taihape Rural Health Centre (formerly Taihape Hospital) worked with the Komiti to appoint a Maori liaison health worker to help make services culturally accessible for Maori. The Taihape community health gains project was established through consultation between the Komiti, centre staff, the local community health group, and a local GP. It focused initially on respiratory problems, diabetes, nutrition, exercise and adolescent health.⁴⁰⁸ The Otaihape Maori Komiti was also involved in the formation of the Otaihape Health Trust, discussed below.

From 2001 the Labour-led Coalition Government again reformed the health system by forming District Health Boards (DHBs). Under the legislation, still in place, each DHB is required to have a formal relationship with Maori tribes located within their regional boundaries.⁴⁰⁹ The Whanganui District Health Board has a memorandum of understanding with Hauora A Iwi, an inter-tribal forum involving a confederation of six iwi, including Otaihape Iwi. The memorandum of understanding includes a provision that Hauora A Iwi will be involved in 'all governance decision-making processes that impact on Maori health'.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ Mason Durie, 'Maori Health Transitions 1860-1985', Danny Keenan, ed., *Huia Histories of Maori: Nga Tabubu Korero*, Huia, Wellington, 2012, p.266

⁴⁰⁷ Chris Cunningham and Mason Durie, 'Te Rerenga Hauora', in Kevin Dew and Peter Davis (eds), *Health and Society in Aotearoa New Zealand* (second edition), 2005, pp 217, 220, 226, Durie, 'Maori Health Transitions', p 268

⁴⁰⁸ Simon Bidwell, 'Successful Models of Rural Health Service Delivery and Community Involvement in Rural Health: International Literature Review', Centre for Rural Health: Christchurch, 2001, p 3

⁴⁰⁹ Laugesen and Gauld, p 141

⁴¹⁰ 'Memorandum of Understanding Between Hauora A Iwi and Whanganui District Health Board', 30 November 2012, available at www.wdwb.org.nz/content/page/relationships-with-maori-hauora-a-iwi/m/2787/

In 2003 the government issued its Maori Health Strategy and Implementation Plan using whanau ora as a guiding philosophy.⁴¹¹ This is not to be confused with the current Whanau Ora programme, still operating in 2015 as a cross-government work programme jointly implemented by the Ministry of Health, Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Social Development. Whanau Ora, according to the Ministry of Health, is ‘an approach that places families/whānau at the centre of service delivery, requiring the integration of health, education and social services’.⁴¹²

In Taihape the Mokai Patea Services Trust currently works with other groups to provide ‘wrap around Whanau Ora health, social and Iwi/Hapu development services to the whanau, hapu, iwi and community’. In addition to various social and iwi development services, Mokai Patea Services provides Tamariki Ora/Kaiawhina Well Child services, Kaupapa Maori Community Mental Health, midwifery, and smoking cessation programmes. Clients are referred by external agencies including Taihape Health Limited (see below), and other iwi providers or referral agencies working with whanau from the Taihape area.⁴¹³

Mental Health

Mental health was among the first areas where health professionals attempted to incorporate Maori culture into treatment regimes. In 1984 Te Roopu Awhina o Tokanui, a group of Maori nurses who were concerned that conventional hospital treatments were not always appropriate for Maori patients, helped establish the Whaiora Maori culture unit at Tokanui psychiatric hospital.⁴¹⁴ The unit was run under contract by Hauora Waikato, a Maori health provider.⁴¹⁵

The aim was to treat Maori patients using a combination of conventional psychiatric treatments and Maori cultural practices. Patients were formally welcomed into the unit along with family members; karakia accompanied treatment sessions; occupational therapy came to include kapa haka and flax weaving; and the use of Maori language became the norm. The unit employed kaumatua working alongside Maori psychiatric nurses and operating within the overall policies of the wider hospital.⁴¹⁶

Mental health represents something of an outlier with respect to Maori health statistics. Whereas most statistics showed improvements in Maori health in the post-war decades, the pattern for mental health was the opposite. For many years the only figures available were for admissions to

⁴¹¹ Cunningham and Durie, p 229

⁴¹² Ministry of Health, ‘Whanau Ora’, accessed 19 October 2015, www.health.govt.nz/our-work/populations/maori-health/whanau-ora-programme

⁴¹³ ‘Mokai Patea Services’, www.manageme.org.nz/listings/mokai-patea-services

⁴¹⁴ Durie, ‘Maori Health Transitions’, p 267

⁴¹⁵ Robinson, p 294

⁴¹⁶ Durie, ‘Maori Health Transitions’, p 267

psychiatric hospitals and until the 1970s these showed Maori admissions at much lower rates than for non-Maori. But from around 1970 Maori rates rose dramatically to soon exceed those for the rest of the population, for whom admission rates were falling. The main initial cause of the increase in Maori admissions was alcohol-related problems, with admissions quadrupling between 1970 and 1984 to reach 2.8 times the non-Maori rate. By 1992 the Maori rate for alcohol-related admissions had halved in eight years but was still twice the non-Maori rate.⁴¹⁷ On the other hand Maori admissions for psychotic illnesses continued to grow after 1984. The fourth volume of the series of Hauora reports, published in 2007, noted ‘growing disparities between Maori and non-Maori’ with respect to mental illness.⁴¹⁸

Mason Durie, in his forward to a 2008 report on Maori mental health needs, indicated continuing uncertainty as to how to interpret the pattern shown in the data.

Prior to 1970 Māori tended to be under-represented in admissions to mental hospitals. Whether that was due to poor record keeping (ethnic data was unreliably recorded), barriers to treatment, better community management and care, or a lower prevalence is not clear. In any event by 1980 there was clear evidence that Māori underrepresentation in psychiatric facilities had been reversed. However, the only data available was linked to hospital admissions so that the actual prevalence of mental health problems in whānau and in communities was still uncertain.⁴¹⁹

The relatively recent emergence of significant disparities between Maori and non-Maori coincided with moves to shift from institutional care to community treatment and care of mental illness. Tokanui Hospital, for example, was down-sized and eventually closed in 1995.⁴²⁰ As Cunningham and Durie note, the prevailing trends put significant pressure on Maori communities from the 1980s as ‘there was a cohort of people with significant disability who needed sheltered care and who could no longer depend on long-term hospitalisation. Often they moved through a series of unsatisfactory accommodation arrangements becoming part of a revolving door phenomenon with recurring brief hospital admissions’.⁴²¹

Three strategies emerged to address the trends of increasing prevalence of some disorders and the shift to community care. One strategy was to develop the Maori workforce and increase the

⁴¹⁷ Eru Pomare et al, *Hauora: Maori Standards of Health III – A study of the years 1970-1991*, Wellington School of Medicine, 1995, p 121

⁴¹⁸ B Robson and R Harris (eds), *Hauora: Maori Standards of Health IV – A study of the years 2000-2005*, Wellington, 2007, p 123

⁴¹⁹ Mason Durie, ‘Forward’ in Joanne Baxter, *Māori mental health needs profile. A review of the evidence*, Palmerston North, 2008

⁴²⁰ Robinson, p 296

⁴²¹ Cunningham and Durie, p 222

number of Maori professionals involved in mental health. For example the government introduced Maori scholarships for university courses, registrar training, clinical psychology, and mental health nursing. Another was the adoption of Maori-centred protocols in patient assessment and therapies. The third was the development of kaupapa Maori mental health services, which are generally community-based and offer assessment, treatment and/or support.⁴²²

In Taihape the Nga Iwi o Mokai Patea Services Trust currently delivers Kaupapa Maori Community Mental Health services.⁴²³ The Te Oranganui Iwi Health Authority, based in Whanganui, provides the clinical 'hub' for the Integrated Kaupapa Maori Mental Health and Addictions Service, which was established in the Whanganui District Health Board region in 2010.⁴²⁴

A mental health survey conducted in 2003/04 found that a third of Maori in minor urban centres such as Taihape had experienced at least one mental health disorder in the previous 12 months. Nearly 10 percent had experienced a significant disorder. These figures were slightly higher than those found for Maori in main and secondary urban centres. For rural Maori, 28 percent had experienced at least one mental health disorder in the previous 12 months and 6.3 percent had experienced a significant disorder. These figures highlight the importance of mental health services for Maori in some of the more isolated parts of the country where such services tend to be less available. The survey also showed that less than one in three Maori with a mental health need had any contact with mental health services. Māori with substance disorders were the group least likely to have contact with health care providers.⁴²⁵

Taihape Hospital after 1970

The 1971 census showed a slight fall in Taihape's population. Some in the community were concerned that the town's ageing hospital facilities, first established in 1911, might be forced to close. These concerns persisted despite assurances by the Medical Superintendent of Wanganui Hospital in late 1974 that 'it was not the intention of the Wanganui Hospital Board to close anything.'⁴²⁶ In fact the opposite happened. Work began on a new \$600,000 boiler house and in September 1977 the Wanganui Hospital Board accepted a tender of \$1,582,189 for

⁴²² Cunningham and Durie, p 222

⁴²³ 'Nga Iwi o Mokai Patea Services Trust', www.weka.net.nz/support/by-region/north-island/whanganui/nga-iwi-o-mokai-patea-services-trust

⁴²⁴ 'WDHB's Mental Health and Addiction Services', www.wdhb.org.nz/content/page/wdhb-s-mental-health-and-addiction-services/m/2742/

⁴²⁵ Joanne Baxter, *Māori mental health needs profile. A review of the evidence*, Palmerston North, 2008, pp 20-21, 26, 126-127

⁴²⁶ Robertson, *Taihape on a Saturday night*, p 163

reconstruction of Taihape Hospital. A new inpatients block was built and all the existing buildings apart from the theatre block and outpatients department were progressively demolished.⁴²⁷ ‘Ruanui’, the maternity facility that opened in 1951, was retained.

In September 1980 Health Minister George Gair officially opened the new hospital.⁴²⁸ By then the population of Taihape was falling and the hospital soon exceeded the district’s requirements, as outlined in the official history of the Wanganui Hospital Board, published in 1987.

The operating theatre provided in the new hospital has never been used, patients being operated on in the Wanganui Hospital and often transferred to Taihape Hospital for their post-operative nursing care. For emergency cases a helipad has been provided at Taihape Hospital by the local service clubs.⁴²⁹

The separate maternity hospital was also soon redundant. Ruanui was therefore closed for ‘reasons of economy’ and part of the hospital building was converted for maternity use.⁴³⁰ Ruanui became a rest home facility in the early 1990s.

Health Reforms

The mid-1980s saw the first of several recent reforms to the way hospitals are managed. From 1983 hospital boards began amalgamating with the Health Department’s district offices to become area health boards, which were funded using a formula based on the population of the district. In 1985 the Wanganui Hospital Board joined Palmerston North Health District to become the Manawatu-Wanganui Area Health Board.⁴³¹

In 1993 the National government implemented a major upheaval of the health system. It split funders from providers by setting up four Regional Health Authorities (RHAs) to purchase health services in their districts. The RHAs were within a few years amalgamated into a single funding authority but the funder-provider split remained. Hospitals operated like businesses and were made to compete with non-government providers (and each other) for healthcare contracts. In 2001 the new Labour government abolished the Health Funding Authority (as the four RHAs had become) and established 21 non-profit District Health Boards. These were

⁴²⁷ Walter Munro, Taihape member of Wanganui Hospital Board to newspaper editors, 16 September 1977, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00046 : 7 : 47, Taihape Hospital, 1920-1920 [it is not clear why this document is in this file]

⁴²⁸ Wright-St Clair, p 71

⁴²⁹ Wright-St Clair, p 72

⁴³⁰ Wright-St Clair, pp71-72

⁴³¹ Robinson, pp 247-248; Dow, *Safeguarding the Public Health: A History of the New Zealand Department of Health*, Victoria University Press, 1995, pp 218-221, Wright-St Clair, p 86

funded by government according to a population-based formula, which considered the socio-economic status, ethnicity and age of their populations.⁴³²

Policy changes such as population-based funding and competitive business models often made it difficult for rural hospitals to survive. There were, in any case, ongoing issues in rural areas such as depopulation, an ageing population, and the difficulty in attracting medical professionals to rural areas. As Simon Bidwell noted in 2001, changes in medicine also had an effect.

Rural hospitals once operated as smaller versions of their urban counterparts. Now, given the increasing specialisation and cost of medical care, a small rural hospital may not be able to offer anything like the range of services offered by a full service urban hospital. Governments have balked at the cost of continuing to support what they see as uneconomical institutions, and many have been threatened with closure.⁴³³

In the 1980s and 1990s numerous small public hospitals closed, amalgamated, significantly reduced their services, or were taken over by private operators or community trusts. To take some examples from the Otago district in the early 1990s, Mosgiel Public Hospital became a private rest home in 1990, Lawrence closed in 1993 and was later taken over by a community trust, Milton and Tapanui closed in 1995 and Roxburgh Hospital closed and was taken over by a community trust.⁴³⁴

Community trusts began to develop in the late 1980s in one or two locations in an attempt to retain threatened local maternity services. However, the bulk were formed after the 1993 health reforms in response to the threat of local health services being withdrawn or downsized. Trusts tended to continue to provide inpatient facilities but in addition acted as a base for the provision of other medical services to rural communities.⁴³⁵

Downsizing and closure

In the mid-1990s Taihape Hospital became the Taihape Rural Health Centre. It continued to be run by what is now the Whanganui District Health Board, but operated under a community trust model of integrated health services. By the late 1990s the hospital had 19 beds, including acute, maternity and long-term beds, but also provided space for Taihape's two GPs and other private

⁴³² Parliamentary Library, 'The New Zealand Health System Reforms', 29 April 2009, p 1; Linda Bryder. 'Hospitals - Hospital funding and patient entitlement', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13-Jul-12, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/hospitals/page-6

⁴³³ Simon Bidwell, 'Successful Models of Rural Health Service Delivery and Community Involvement in Rural Health: International Literature Review', Centre for Rural Health: Christchurch, 2001, p 3

⁴³⁴ Official Information Act response to Brendon Mills, 24 August 2012, available at www.fyi.org.nz/request/hospital_closures_since_1987

⁴³⁵ Bidwell, p 10

providers such as a podiatrist and physiotherapist. The staff nurses doubled as district nurses.⁴³⁶ In 2003 the Taihape and District Medical Trust bought the GP practice that was housed in the Taihape Rural Health Centre.⁴³⁷

By 2005 the Taihape Rural Health Centre was struggling financially and had an annual deficit of \$250,000. The Whanganui District Health Board instituted a review which proposed to merge the health centre with the local rest home Ruanui House. The Board stated that ‘the resulting facility would have about 30 beds and provide all the services offered by both, but more cheaply and efficiently’.⁴³⁸

In March 2006 the Whanganui District Health Board unveiled its plan for the future of the Taihape Rural Health Centre. It proposed a new community trust to take over governance and management of all local health service delivery. The proposal was developed in conjunction with the Taihape and District Medical Trust, the Ruanui Trust and the Otaihape Maori Komiti.⁴³⁹ Over the following two months the board held public meetings to consult on its proposal and take submissions.⁴⁴⁰ In June 2006 the Board voted in favour of the proposed merger between the Taihape and District Medical Trust and the Ruanui Trust and put the plan before the Minister of Health for approval. The proposal involved the Board spending \$2.3 million to remodel Taihape Rural Health Centre and Ruanui House, spending \$110,000 on redundancies, and a further \$100,000 on getting the new trust entity up and running.⁴⁴¹

The Otaihape Health Trust was formed on 19 June 2006 to operate the former Taihape Rural Health Centre and the Ruanui rest home through a new company, Otaihape Health Limited.⁴⁴² The company began operating in September 2007 and within two years it was struggling. In the year ending 31 July 2010 the trust ran a \$500,000 deficit, and in 2010/11 was projected to do the same. In July 2010 a public meeting was told that the trust was almost insolvent. Whanganui District Health Board chair Kate Joblin told the meeting the Board could not increase funding

⁴³⁶ Bidwell, p 13

⁴³⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 April 2005, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10923059

⁴³⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 8 February 2005, [nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10920254](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10920254)

⁴³⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 March 2006, www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10936202

⁴⁴⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 April 2006, www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10938088

⁴⁴¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 June 2006, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10940637

⁴⁴² New Zealand Companies Office, www.societies.govt.nz/cms/banner_template/CNAME

because it had its own \$6 million deficit to deal with.⁴⁴³ In November 2010 Otaihape Health Limited's directors decided they could not meet their financial and service obligations any longer and put the company into voluntary liquidation. The Whanganui District Health Board announced that the Ruanui rest home would close and alternative arrangements would be required for its 22 residents.⁴⁴⁴

Community protests soon followed the announced closure. In November 2010, around 300 Taihape residents marched through the middle of the town in protest 'over a lack of public health funding which is forcing the town's hospital to close'.⁴⁴⁵ In December a group of residents organised transport to Wellington to protest 'the demise of health services to Taihape'.⁴⁴⁶ The protesters presented a petition to Labour MP Ruth Dyson.⁴⁴⁷ Because Taihape Maori were involved at the governance level in these health services, their protest was more at an official level. Despite the rhetoric of protestors, one claimant informant indicated that 'closure was not of the hospital but of the health model that was established to provide a holistic service to the community'.⁴⁴⁸

Shortly after the closure announcement, Radio New Zealand reported that Taihape would lose its 22 rest home beds and four hospital beds. Sixty staff were to be laid off, a third of them nurses. The Whanganui District Health Board undertook to keep maternity services operating.⁴⁴⁹ The media described this as a closure of the hospital, although Taihape Hospital was not included in a Ministry of Health list of 104 public hospitals which had closed since 1987. The list was supplied in response to an August 2012 Official Information Act request.⁴⁵⁰

Although many small towns have lost their hospitals since the 1960s, when small maternity hospitals started to close, the closure of Taihape Hospital was a blow to Maori in the Taihape inquiry district. It came at a time when Maori constituted nearly 45 percent of the Taihape population.

⁴⁴³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 22 July 2010, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10998910

⁴⁴⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 November 2010, www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=11010032 and www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=11010028

⁴⁴⁵ One News, 'Residents march against hospital's closure', 19 November 2010, <http://tvnz.co.nz/health-news/residents-march-against-hospital-s-closure-3904261>, accessed 17 January 2013

⁴⁴⁶ 'Taihape make a last stand for hospital', *Central District Times*, 14 December 2010

⁴⁴⁷ Radio New Zealand, 7 December 2010, www.radionz.co.nz/news/rural/63598/taihape-residents-petition-to-keep-rest-home-open

⁴⁴⁸ Personal communication, Barbara Ball and Moira Raukawa-Haskell, 26 February 2016.

⁴⁴⁹ Radio New Zealand, 26 November 2010, www.radionz.co.nz/news/regional/62752/we-will-keep-maternity-services-in-taihape-vows-dhb

⁴⁵⁰ Official Information Act response to Brendon Mills, 24 August 2012, available at www.fyi.org.nz/request/hospital_closures_since_1987

A Focus on Primary Care

The closure of Taihape Hospital in December 2010 prompted a renewed emphasis on primary healthcare in the town. In early 2011 the Whanganui District Health Board arranged for the Whanganui Regional Primary Health Organisation (WRPHO), which already held a contract for GP services in Taihape, to expand its role.⁴⁵¹ Primary Health Organisations (PMOs) were established from the early 2000s, initially as not-for-profit providers of primary health care. Reforms instituted by the Labour-led Government enabled group medical practices, Māori and other community health providers, along with other professionals such as midwives, to group together as PMOs. They could then access health board funding based on the assessed needs of their enrolled populations. PMOs with enrolled populations identified as having high needs, such as Maori and low-income people, received more funding per person than those with lower-needs populations.⁴⁵²

WRPRO was established in 2003 as a charitable trust delivering primary health care within the Whanganui District Health Board district.⁴⁵³ From 1 March 2011 the WRPHO took over responsibility for a range of health services in Taihape.⁴⁵⁴ These included general practice, nursing services, palliative care, social work, counselling, meals-on-wheels, day carer relief, and midwifery services including post-natal stays. As a separate initiative, mobile surgical services, funded through the Ministry of Health, were available every five weeks to provide day surgery.⁴⁵⁵

In 2015 over a quarter of those enrolled with the WRPHO, by then renamed the Whanganui Regional Health Network, were Maori. The Network operates its medical centre in Taihape as Taihape Health Limited. Since 2007 PMOs serving poorer communities have been able to access additional government subsidies provided they pass these on to patients in lower fees.⁴⁵⁶ Because of the nature of the community it serves, the general practice fees charged by Taihape Health Limited are extremely low. In 2015 the maximum fee charged per consultation was \$17.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 12 April 2011, www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=11025076

⁴⁵² Michael Belgrave. 'Primary health care - Reforming the system, 1970s–2000s', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 13-Jul-12, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/primary-health-care/page-5

⁴⁵³ Whanganui Regional Primary Health Organisation website, <http://www.wrpho.org.nz/index.html>

⁴⁵⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 12 April 2011, www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=11025076

⁴⁵⁵ Terry Karatau, 'Nurse-led weekend service for Taihape', *Central District Times*, 31 May 2011, no page number, http://www.taihape.co.nz/information.php?info_id=13;

⁴⁵⁶ Parliamentary Support, 'New Zealand Health System Reforms', 2009, available at www.parliament.nz/en-nz/parl-support/research-papers/00PLSocRP09031/new-zealand-health-system-reforms

⁴⁵⁷ Whanganui Regional Primary Health Organisation website, <http://www.wrpho.org.nz/index.html>

PMOs are monitored quarterly on their progress in meeting the government's health targets, which are set annually for PMOs and DHBs. With respect to PMOs the relevant targets since at least 2011 have been 'increased immunisation', 'more heart and diabetes checks', and 'better help for smokers to quit'. These targets are of direct relevance to Maori health.

The national immunisation target in 2015 was '95 percent of eight-month-olds will have their primary course of immunisation (six weeks, three months and five months immunisation events) on time'. The quarterly progress report for the final quarter of 2014/15 included children who turned eight months between April and June 2015, were enrolled in a PHO, and who were fully immunised at that stage. The results showed that the Whanganui Regional Health Network, with an immunisation rate of 91 percent, fell short of its target and was ranked 31st out of 36 PMOs.⁴⁵⁸

The target for heart and diabetes checks was for 90 percent of the eligible population to have had their cardiovascular risk assessed in the previous five years. The quarterly progress report for the final quarter of 2014/15 showed that the Whanganui Regional Health Network met this target and was ranked 15th of 36 PMOs.⁴⁵⁹

The national target for smoking cessation was for 90 percent of patients who smoked and were seen by a health practitioner in primary care to be offered brief advice and support to quit smoking. The quarterly progress report for the final quarter of 2014/15 showed that the Whanganui Regional Health Network exceeded this target and was ranked 12th of 36 PMOs. The government set a new smoking cessation target from 1 July 2015 which shifted the focus to the entire enrolled population of smokers and not only those who visited a general practice. PHOs and practices will now have 15 months to offer brief advice and cessation support.⁴⁶⁰

The 2013 census results on smoking indicated there was still some way to go in encouraging Maori within the Taihape inquiry district to quit. Figure 13.1 below shows that those living in the inquiry district were more likely than the rest of the population to be regular smokers. Non-Maori within the inquiry district were 47 percent more likely than non-Maori elsewhere to smoke. Maori within the Taihape inquiry district had the highest smoking rates at nearly 36

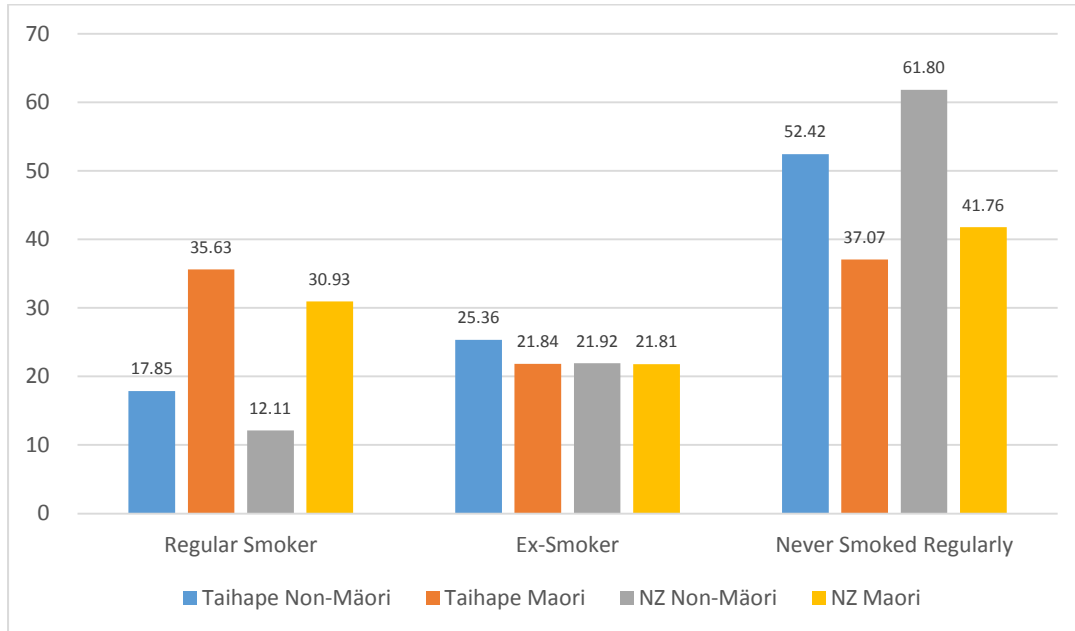
⁴⁵⁸ 'How is My PHO performing?', 2014/15 Quarter Four (April To June) Results, www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/pages/pho-q4-2014-15.pdf

⁴⁵⁹ 'How is My PHO performing?', 2014/15 Quarter Four (April To June) Results, www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/pages/pho-q4-2014-15.pdf

⁴⁶⁰ 'How is My PHO performing?', 2014/15 Quarter Four (April To June) Results, www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/pages/pho-q4-2014-15.pdf

percent and were 15 percent more likely than Maori elsewhere to smoke. The census showed little difference between the four groups with respect to those who had given up smoking.

Figure 13.1: Smoking Behaviour, Taihape Inquiry District and New Zealand by Ethnicity, 2013 Census (Percent)



Chapter 14: Conclusions on Health

This chapter outlines conclusions on the provision of healthcare to Maori in the Taihape Inquiry District. The chapter is structured around the questions on health in the Waitangi Tribunal's commission for this project which were outlined in the introductory chapter to this section of the report.

Provision of Health Services

Why and from when did the Crown become involved in providing health services for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What services did it provide or resource in public health and the primary, secondary and tertiary care sectors, including through local or special purpose authorities? How has this provision and decision making for health services in the district changed over time and how were they related to the Crown's evolving capability to make such provision?

The first significant involvement of the Crown in providing health services for Maori in the Taihape inquiry district was through the system of Maori Councils, village committees and health and sanitary inspectors instituted after 1900. The Kurahaupo Maori Council, whose district included the main inhabited parts of the inquiry district, was first elected in March 1901. The council was charged with improving health and sanitation within its rohe with the assistance of village committees. Official reports claimed that this system of councils, committee and sanitary inspectors did much to improve Maori health in the early twentieth century. However still greater improvements were hampered by a lack of government funding, in contrast to the considerable increase in government health expenditure overall after 1900.⁴⁶¹

The Kurahaupo Maori Council had faded away by 1918 and a government attempt to revive it in the 1920s failed. The revival of Native Health Inspectors was more successful despite their limited numbers. Taki Hooper, the inspector for the large area that included the Taihape inquiry district, carried out typhoid inoculations in the district in the late 1920s in conjunction with the Native Health Nurse based in Otaki. Native and district nurses do not appear to have been based in the inquiry district but those based elsewhere visited the district on occasions from 1915. In the early 1930s the Native Health Nurse based in Wanganui undertook a significant health education tour of much of the Taihape inquiry district.

⁴⁶¹ Michael Bassett, *The State in New Zealand 1840-1984: Socialism Without Doctrines?*, Auckland University Press, 1998, pp 100-102

Doctors were based in the inquiry district from the 1880s, although doctors charged fees and were thus beyond the financial reach of most Maori. In 1911 a public hospital was established in Taihape at the instigation of Pakeha settlers. The hospital was operated by the Wanganui Hospital Board. Although hospitals charged fees they could provide free treatment, subsidised by tax and ratepayers, to 'indigent' patients. No records appear to have been kept on the ethnicity of patients treated at Taihape Hospital in its early decades but there is evidence through press reports and other primary sources that Maori utilised the hospital on occasions before 1940. Treatment at Taihape Hospital was free for all patients from July 1939 under the provisions of the Social Security Act 1938.

Maternity facilities came late to the inquiry district despite the rapid expansion of such facilities nation-wide from the 1920s. No public maternity facilities were provided within the Taihape inquiry district until the Ruanui maternity annex opened at Taihape hospital in 1951. However from September 1939 general government subsidies were provided for private maternity facilities located in Hunterville and Taihape, along with other pre- and post-natal state assistance (for midwives, for example). By 1959 over 90 percent of Maori births took place in hospitals nationally.

A system of regular medical inspections in schools was instituted from 1912 and school dental clinics were established from the 1920s. A mobile dental clinic operated within the Taihape inquiry district from 1923 and school dental clinics were established in Taihape, Hunterville and Mangaweka by the 1930s. In the late 1930s the government began inoculating all Maori school children against typhoid, a programme that continued into the 1950s.

Inoculations of Maori school children were carried out by district nurses. In the early 1930s the separate roles of District Nurse and Native Health Nurse were rolled into one. In 1938 school nurses were reclassified as district nurses and maintained a strong focus on Maori health. The success of typhoid inoculation led to the introduction of other inoculations aimed at the general school population, although some, such as the anti-tuberculosis BCG vaccine, was primarily aimed at Maori. The government was concerned about the rate of TB and instituted a major TB screening and inoculation programme in the 1950s. This, coupled with drug developments which greatly improved treatment, resulted in significant falls in Maori (and non-Maori) rates of TB. However, before World War Two the government aimed its anti-TB efforts primarily at Pakeha despite anecdotal evidence that Maori were severely affected by the disease.

Health provision in New Zealand has undergone major reforms from time to time, particularly after 1938. In the decade 1939 to 1948 most services at public hospitals became free of charge. This made it difficult to control hospital costs. Various solutions were tried over the decades, including forms of population-based funding, rationing of services and, briefly during the 1990s, a separation between purchaser and provider of health services, with hospitals operating on a commercial or quasi-commercial basis.⁴⁶² During most of this period hospitals were run by appointed or elected hospital boards, which have been a constant in the system. The Whanganui District Health Board is the latest incarnation of the Wanganui Health Board first established in 1877.

Falling birth rates, declining rural populations, population-based funding, the increased sophistication (and cost) of medical equipment and procedures, and competitive models of health provision have all combined to threaten the viability of rural and small town hospitals since the late twentieth century. Many hospitals were forced to downsize, change how they operated, or to close in recent decades. Taihape Hospital was downsized from the mid-1990s and eventually closed in December 2010.

Reforms in the primary care sector have also been significant. General practitioner's fees were subsidised from 1941 and prescription medicines were made free of charge. The value of the GP subsidy was greatly eroded by inflation despite adjustments in the 1970s and 1980s. Part charges were subsequently introduced for prescription medicines to try and restrain burgeoning costs. A significant reform in the early 2000s enabled non-profit Primary Healthcare Organisations (PHOs) to provide a bundle of primary healthcare services to enrolled populations, generally within District Health Board areas. PHOs are funded on the basis of the assessed need of their enrolled populations, with certain groups, including Maori, attracting greater funding. Since 2010 the Whanganui Regional Primary Health Organisation, recently renamed the Whanganui Regional Health Network, has provided general practice, community health, and primary maternity services through Taihape Health Limited. The level of PHO funding enables the GP service to charge low fees.

Consultation

To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted or their needs directly identified as part of the decision making over the provision of health services?

⁴⁶² A small charge for hospital services was also briefly introduced in the 1990s but proved very unpopular.

In the early 1900s Maori Councils provided a vehicle for direct Maori involvement in health services, particularly with respect to sanitary improvements. The Kurahaupo Maori Council was active in the Taihape inquiry district, particularly from 1901 until 1912. A number of village committees were formed under the council. Before 1900 there was no provision for Maori consultation or participation in the provision of health services.

In the late 1920s a campaign of typhoid inoculation in the inquiry district, undertaken largely by the Native Health Inspector and Native Health Nurse, required consultation with Maori communities in the inquiry district to ensure participation. However most decision making over provision of health services in the inquiry district did not involve Maori or the identification of their needs. The main consideration in establishing a hospital in Taihape, for example, was the needs of settlers in the district. This was a consistent pattern throughout most of the twentieth century, with minor exceptions.

In the late 1940s the government facilitated the formation of tribal executives and committees under the provisions of the Maori Social and Economic and Advancement Act 1945. A tribal executive and three tribal committees were established within the Taihape inquiry district and a committee at Moawhango operated until about 1970. The committees had some health-related functions. In 1949 teachers raised questions about the ethics of inoculating Maori children against typhoid without parental permission. The government responded by instituting a system whereby general permission for inoculation in a district could be granted by tribal committees.

Since the early 1990s the Otaihape Maori Komiti (now the Mokai Patea Services Trust) has been consulted on and involved in some aspects of the provision of health services in the Taihape inquiry district. For example, in the mid-1990s the Taihape Rural Health Centre (formerly Taihape Hospital) worked with the Komiti to appoint a Maori liaison health worker to help make services culturally accessible for Maori. The Taihape community health gains project was established through consultation between the Komiti, centre staff, the local community health group, and a local GP. The Otaihape Maori Komiti was also involved in the formation of the Otaihape Health Trust, a failed attempt to keep the Taihape Rural Health Centre operating.

The Whanganui District Health Board currently has a memorandum of understanding with Hauora A Iwi, an inter-tribal forum involving a confederation of six iwi, including Otaihape Iwi. The memorandum of understanding includes a provision that Hauora A Iwi will be involved in 'all governance decision-making processes that impact on Maori health'.

Barriers and Equality of Access

What barriers or difficulties, if any, have Taihape Māori faced in accessing health services in this inquiry district? What has been the Crown (or responsible local or special purpose authority) response to this? As far as is possible from available sources, to what extent have Taihape Māori had equality of access to healthcare services in this inquiry district, including to improvements in sanitation and safe water supplies?

Isolation has been a major barrier facing Taihape Maori in accessing health services in the inquiry district. Transport to, from and within the inquiry district has often been poor despite gradual improvement of road links and the completion of the main trunk railway in 1908. This isolation made both primary and secondary health services hard to access. Although Pakeha faced similar problems, they tended to settle closer to the main transport hubs such as the railway and thus were less affected by isolation.

A ‘cottage’ hospital was established in Taihape in 1911 and was expanded to provide a wider range of services in the 1920s. But until the 1960s few Maori lived in Taihape and were thus often remote even from services provided there. In addition there were cultural and financial barriers that for a time inhibited Maori from attending hospitals and hospitals from accepting Maori as patients. Otherwise, however, little evidence was found in this report that Maori were denied equality of access to those health services that were provided. A possible exception was the private maternity homes located in Taihape and Hunterville until the late 1940s. The evidence from a 1938 inquiry into maternity services indicates that no Maori mothers utilised these homes despite subsidies provided through the Wanganui Health Board.

In more recent times the declining population of the inquiry district has provided a barrier to accessing some medical services. As medical equipment became more sophisticated and more expensive over time, and specialised staff became increasingly difficult to hire, it became hard for rural hospitals to supply a full range of facilities. When a new operating theatre opened in Taihape Hospital in the 1980s it was never used, with operations instead carried out in Wanganui or Palmerston North. Taihape Hospital was used for post-operative care, an option no longer available now the hospital has closed.

Getting decent sanitation and water supplies to Maori dwellings proved a major health challenge for much of the twentieth century. Few Maori lived in the towns and cities where communal sewage and water supply systems were gradually introduced during the century. Efforts to provide privies and water tanks to Maori households early in the century succeeded for a while,

but Maori often lacked the resources to maintain and update these facilities. The government provided minimal funding at this time. Communal water supplies could also be inadequate. In the late 1930s the Health Department adjudged the water supply at Moawhango to be urgently in need of upgrading, and eventually the government supplied the necessary funds. In the early 1940s the government implemented a pound-for-pound subsidy scheme to assist with the installation of water tanks and pit privies for Maori dwellings. Some households in the inquiry district benefited from this scheme, but facilities in Maori households remained inadequate. The 1945 population census showed that 93 percent of rural Maori dwellings in Rangitikei County, which included most of the Taihape inquiry district, had no flush toilet. Sixty percent had no bathroom. However the following two decades saw significant improvements. By 1966, 78 percent of rural Maori dwellings in Rangitikei had flush toilets. In Taihape town, where many Maori families moved to in the 1960s, flush toilets were almost universal in Maori dwellings. Few Maori dwellings in the Taihape inquiry district lacked a water supply in 1961, the only census in which this question was specifically asked.

It appears that improved sanitation for Maori in the post-war period was linked to a buoyant economy, a general improvement in housing conditions nationwide, and urbanisation. Improved sanitation and water supply provided significant health benefits. Between 1945 and 1976 deaths from infectious and diarrhoea-related diseases decreased by 97 percent for Maori aged under 45, and 80 percent for those over 45.

Maori-specific and Maori-led Initiatives

To what extent have Māori-specific and/or Māori-led health initiatives been provided, implemented and supported in this inquiry district, including Native Medical Officers, Māori health nurses, Native school health services, Māori Health Council initiatives and, more recently, iwi-based health services? How have Māori and the Crown viewed the success or otherwise of these initiatives?

No evidence was found in research for this report that Native Medical Officers – doctors paid by the government to provide free services to Maori – ever operated in the Taihape inquiry district. Native Medical Officers operated from the 1870s until the late 1930s.

In the early 1900s Maori Councils provided a vehicle for direct Maori involvement in health services, particularly with respect to sanitary improvements. The Kurahaupo Maori Council was active in the Taihape inquiry district, particularly from 1901 until 1912. A number of village committees were formed under the council. However an attempt to revive the council in the

1920s failed. The government provided little ongoing financial support for Maori councils, which contributed to their demise.

No Maori health nurses were based within the Taihape inquiry district. However nurses based outside the district, in Otaki and Wanganui, occasionally carried out duties within the inquiry district from about 1915. In the late 1920s, for example, Nurse Wereta from Otaki assisted with typhoid inoculations in the district. In the early 1930s the Native Health Nurse based in Wanganui undertook a significant health education tour of much of the inquiry district. In general, however, the inquiry district seems to have been neglected from a district nursing point of view.

Moawhango School became a native school in 1944. The native school system was traditionally active on the health front, with teachers often carrying out medical duties and dispensing medicines. However no evidence was found in research for this report of Moawhango Maori School providing medical services in the community.

Maori health was increasingly 'mainstreamed' after 1939, and separate provisions for Maori were gradually phased out. There were, however, minor exceptions. Maori tribal executives and committees were established from the late 1940s with some responsibility for health and sanitation. The district nursing scheme became more focused on Maori health. District health nurses inoculated Maori school children for typhoid with the permission of local tribal committees.

Reforms since the 1980s have resulted in a revival of Maori involvement in health service delivery. With contestable funding available from the early 1990s, numerous additional Maori health initiatives were established, some offering a relatively small range of services and others comprehensive packages including primary health care. The number of Maori health providers nation-wide increased from around 30 in 1993 to over 200 in 2003. One of the providers established under the reforms was the Otaihape Maori Komiti, which in recent years has become the Mokai Patea Services Trust. The Trust works with other groups to provide Whanau Ora health and Well Child services, Kaupapa Maori Community Mental Health, as well as other health and educational services such as smoking cessation programmes. Clients can be self-referred or are referred by external agencies including GPs from Taihape Health Limited and other iwi providers or referral agencies working with whanau from the Taihape area.

Section C: Housing

Chapter 15: Introduction to Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District

Relatively little information was located in the archives concerning Maori housing in the Taihape inquiry district. To a large extent this was because of the lack of housing programmes aimed specifically at Maori in the district.

The Urban-Rural Divide

Any examination of housing in the Taihape inquiry district needs to take into account the demographic changes that took place in the twentieth century. This means both a growing and a shifting Maori population. As was outlined in the introductory chapter to this report, a significant trend from the 1930s was the shift in population from small towns and rural districts to the town of Taihape, the only significant centre in the district. As was seen in Figures 3, 5 and 5.1, in 1936 just 12 percent of the Maori population of the inquiry district lived in Taihape. By 1966 that had increased to 29 percent, and by 2013 over 56 percent of the Maori population of the inquiry district lived in Taihape. There are therefore two parts to the story of Maori housing in the inquiry district - that relating to housing in the town of Taihape, particularly from the 1950s, and that relating to the rest of the inquiry district. The housing section of this report includes a chapter focussing solely on housing in Taihape.

Commission Questions

The Waitangi Tribunal's commission for this project included the following questions on housing:

- i. Why and from when did the Crown (or local or special purpose authorities) begin providing housing assistance for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What resources and services did it provide or resource, in particular initiatives to monitor and improve housing for Taihape Māori? How has this decision making changed over time? To what extent have general housing assistance initiatives such as state house rentals been available to Taihape Māori?

- ii. To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted about or participated in programmes to assist with housing?
- iii. What has been the importance of railway housing for Taihape Māori? What has been the impact of the sale of railway and other state housing since the 1980s on Taihape Māori?
- iv. To what extent, if any, have Taihape Māori faced barriers in being able to access housing assistance programmes implemented in the inquiry district? Do official measures reveal any disparities with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally, and if any disparities exist, what has been the Crown response?
- v. To what extent have Crown policies and planning requirements impacted on the ability of Taihape Māori communities to provide their own housing in the Taihape inquiry district? To what extent has the nature of the Māori land title system provided by the Crown impacted on the ability of Taihape Māori to obtain finance for housing, or to build housing on Māori land? How has the Crown monitored and responded to any such difficulties?

Chapter outline

Chapter 16 of this report covers the period 1880 to 1935, during which time the main government measures aimed at improving Maori housing were those put in place through the Public Health Acts and Maori Councils Act.

Chapter 17 covers the period from 1935 until the 1970s when significant state resources for the first time went into trying to improve Maori housing, with some success. The main measures came through an extensive building and lending programme operated through the Department of Maori Affairs. The primary focus of this chapter is on what is dubbed in this report ‘the rural paradox’; the standard of Maori housing in the rural parts of the Taihape inquiry district improved significantly in the decade 1956 to 1966, yet Maori Affairs building and lending was minimal except within Taihape town.

Chapter 18 focuses on housing in Taihape town. It gives an overview of government housing initiatives in the town – railways housing, local authority housing, and state rental housing – and the extent to which these forms of housing were accessed by Maori in the inquiry district, particularly once Maori began shifting to Taihape in significant numbers. The chapter includes an outline of the sale of railways and state housing in the town.

Chapter 19 discusses the Maori housing situation in the Taihape inquiry district today, utilising data derived from the 2013 population census.

Chapter 20 brings together conclusions on housing in the Taihape inquiry district and addresses in summary the questions in the Tribunal's commission.

Chapter 16: Housing 1880-1935

This chapter begins by outlining one of the central factors which inhibited Maori ability to benefit from government housing initiatives during this period, namely Maori land tenure. It then briefly outlines the main government housing initiatives during this period, Maori housing conditions, and specific government efforts to try and improve these conditions. The chapter ends with a brief look at the effect of the economic depression of the 1930s on Maori housing conditions.

Maori Land Tenure

In the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century the poor state of Maori housing was a constant theme of reports from government officials and others. Yet efforts to lessen the problem made little headway. The reasons are complex, but one factor lying at the heart of the problem was Maori land tenure.

The workings of the Native Land Court resulted in what has been called the ‘pseudo-individualisation of title’.¹ Under the Native Land Acts of 1862 and 1865 the court converted customary title to a form of title by which each individual named as an owner could sell his or her individual interest. As Alan Ward notes, ‘Ministers called this “individualisation”, but it was not a true individualisation, in the sense of an individual receiving a small farm, demarcated on the ground’. Rather, individuals received rights to a share in land which they could sell, but otherwise could, on their own, do little to develop or improve.

The problems with pseudo-individualisation were numerous. They made the land easy to sell but hard to develop as it required the agreement and co-operation of owners. Such co-operation was difficult with the ever-present possibility that individuals might sell their holdings, undermining communal projects and further fragmenting title. The problems worsened during the twentieth century as increasing numbers of offspring inherited individual interests.

Furthermore the type of title provided for Maori land did not generally provide sufficient security against which to borrow to develop land and property. To put it simply, few would lend to an individual who had only a part interest in the land in question, for land title could not be transferred to the lender if the borrower failed to meet their repayment obligations. The result of the general inability of Maori to borrow for land development was that they struggled to improve

¹ Alan Ward, ‘National Overview, Volume 1’, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1997, p 9

their land holdings to make them more productive. Building and renovating houses was equally difficult.

Various solutions to the tenure problem were attempted over the years – the setting up of Maori incorporations and district Maori Land Boards, and lending by the Native Trustee – but with little success. Partitioning land into individual holdings was one option as long as blocks were sufficiently large and of sufficient quality, which was generally not the case.²

Maori land development schemes instituted at the instigation of Native Minister Apirana Ngata from around 1930 provided one way around the tenure problem. The schemes included a significant component for building and improving Maori housing.³ However the schemes covered only a minority of the Maori population. No full development scheme was implemented within the Taihape inquiry district, although two farmers were assisted under the scheme.⁴

Land could be sold to acquire development capital, but sales further exacerbated problems of land loss. A diminishing pool of land and an inability to develop what land was left all contributed to Maori poverty. This poverty further inhibited attempts to improve Maori housing. Even when housing was improved through various government initiatives Maori often lacked the resources to maintain the property and the gains were soon lost. This was particularly the case during the 1930s Depression.

Government Housing Initiatives to 1935

Most of the housing initiatives introduced by governments before 1935 ignored Maori housing problems. In general these initiatives involved state loans to the general population on easy terms. The issue of loan security outlined above severely limited the ability of Maori to take advantage of these schemes.

Under a series of Lands for Settlement Acts beginning in 1892 the government purchased private lands for subdivision and lease to would-be settlers. The Advances to Settlers Act 1894 provided for government loans to rural settlers who owned land but had limited access to capital and were hampered by high interest rates.⁵ While Maori were not excluded from these Acts, they were generally inhibited from borrowing by lack of a single title to land. It is therefore unlikely

² Tom Bennion, 'The Maori Land Court and Maori Land Boards 1909-1952', Rangahaua Whanui National Theme P, 1997, pp 1-46

³ Krivan, 'Maori Affairs Housing Programme', pp 19-20. The account of Maori housing policy outlined here draws heavily on Krivan's excellent thesis.

⁴ Stirling and Subasic, Wai 2180, A2, p 110

⁵ Gael Fergusson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1994, p 44

that many Maori benefitted; indeed, a large proportion of the land the government purchased for subdivision for settling small farmers was Maori-owned.

In 1896 the Liberal government extended this rural legislation to the cities by buying suburban land for workmen's settlements. A worker could borrow £20 for a house and other improvements to be repaid at five percent interest over 10 years.⁶ The scheme was of limited scale and of little use to Maori, who lived almost exclusively in the country. The same applies to the Worker's Dwellings Act 1905 and Government Advances to Workers Act 1906, which operated in a similar way to the 1896 measures but on a larger scale. Even then, however, just 646 worker's dwellings were built in the suburbs under the 1905 Act. State lending under the 1906 Act petered out during World War One due to the limits placed on individual loans.⁷

In the post-war period the government faced widespread allegations of poor housing conditions in the wake of the 1918 influenza pandemic. In addition men returning from the war to start families led to a housing shortage. The government therefore ramped up its housing assistance programmes during the 1920s. The conservative Massey government was keen to see more widespread home ownership to ensure social stability, and thus focussed its efforts almost entirely on state lending. Cheap loans to returned servicemen, introduced during the war, were subsequently supplemented with a mass lending programme. The government established the State Advances Office in 1923 which was empowered to lend up to 95 percent of a property's value. By 1929 the government had lent some £16 million to almost 21,000 families and the home ownership rate rose from 36 to 49 percent in the decade after 1916.⁸

Given the scale of lending some Maori, particularly the small minority living in towns and cities, may have benefitted from expanded lending in the 1920s. In practice, however, the same problems – poverty and lack of land possessed on a single title – continued to hamper Maori efforts to improve their housing situation.

Maori Housing Conditions and the 1900 Reforms

Once the government established the Department of Public Health in 1900, officials paid more attention than previously to the state of Maori housing. The picture they painted was not a pretty one. The end of warfare and loss of land contributed to poor conditions. Villages, formerly erected on elevated sites for protection, were increasingly sited on damp low-lying ground. Refuse and sewage disposal were often non-existent and water supply was poor. Whare were

⁶ Fergusson, pp 44-45

⁷ Fergusson, pp 61-69

⁸ Belich, 2000, pp 154-155; Fergusson, pp 83-91

overcrowded and poorly ventilated.⁹ The Chief Health Officer appointed in 1900 put much of the blame on lack of money.

One serious obstacle in the way of any great sanitary reform among our Native brethren is the poverty of many. They are generally quite willing to fall in with our suggestions that they ought not to all sleep together, that the house ought to have a floor that could be easily cleaned, that they ought not to drink the water from the swamp, that they should put up a tank and catch rainwater; but the invariable answer is, “Kahore te munie”.¹⁰

There is little information available specifically on housing conditions for Maori within the Taihape inquiry district at this time. What little there is paints a variable but not entirely negative picture. James Pope, in his 1888 visit to Moawhango to investigate establishing a native school, wrote of ‘tokens of wealth and comfortable circumstances that are everywhere discernible’.¹¹ In 1888 a visitor to Moawhango wrote of ‘several well-built houses occupied by natives, and also many whares’.¹² An account in 1891 described the houses, less positively, as being of ‘wood and bark’.¹³ Another, in 1894, said the town had only one nice house inhabited by ‘an old Maori lady’, while the remainder were unpainted cottages.¹⁴ In 1901 the census enumerator for the large area that included much of the Taihape inquiry district wrote that

[t]he homes are cleanly kept and well conducted, mostly on the European Principle. The old mode of living in whares herded together is becoming a thing of the past, each head of a family having his own comfortable weatherboard house or wharepuni, in which chairs, tables, and bedsteads are extensively and properly used.¹⁵

It might perhaps be tentatively concluded from these admittedly brief and sketchy anecdotal accounts that Maori housing conditions in the Taihape inquiry district around the turn of the twentieth century were overall better than those of Maori elsewhere in the country.

Public Health Legislation and Maori Councils

As was outlined in Chapter 11, in 1900 the government instituted a campaign to try and improve Maori health and housing. Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) were appointed to senior positions in the new Department of Public Health and charged, among other things, with

⁹ Krivan, p 10

¹⁰ AJHR 1903, H31, p 13

¹¹ James Pope to Inspector-General of Schools, 27 April 1888, Archives NZ Auckland, ‘Maori Schools - Building and Site Files – Moawhango 1944-1946’, Item R20391674, BAAA 1001 A440 350/c 44/4 1

¹² *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 19 January 1888, p 3

¹³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 11 February 1891, p 3

¹⁴ *Press*, 23 February 1894, p 2

¹⁵ AJHR 1901, H26b, p 16

bringing about improvements in housing quality, water supply, and sanitation in Maori villages. They were supported by Native Sanitary inspectors and by health inspectors appointed by the Health Department, hospital boards, and local authorities. Pomare, Buck and the sanitary and health inspectors liaised with regional Maori councils and village committees appointed under the Maori Councils Act 1900. Village committees could deal with local sanitation matters such as destruction of rubbish, the repair or removal of unsanitary buildings, and the installation of water closets. From 1903 Maori Councils were empowered to initiate water supply projects.

Superintendent of Maori Councils Gilbert Mair reported to the Native Minister in 1903 that some native villages 'are now models of cleanliness and neatness. The unsightly unsanitary old whares are gradually being replaced by wooden buildings'.¹⁶ In his annual reports from 1902 Pomare provided figures on the progress of the system of officials, inspectors, and Maori councils and village committees in improving Maori housing and sanitation. By 1909, 1203 houses and whare had been destroyed as unfit for habitation, 2103 new houses and 301 new whare had been erected, and over 1000 pit privies installed.¹⁷ All this work was carried out with minimal government funding. In the main it was funded by dog taxes and fines levied for breaches of various Maori council by-laws – in other words by resources provided from within Maori communities.

At a meeting in August 1912 the Kurahaupo Maori Council received reports which appeared to be on progress in erecting wooden houses and toilets within the Taihape inquiry district at Raketapauma and Hihitahi.¹⁸ There is otherwise little information available as to how much of this work in destroying and erecting dwellings and improving sanitation was initiated by the Council and associated village committees within the inquiry district.

Mark Krivan notes that the standard of Maori housing erected under this programme was not necessarily of high quality. 'The figures may seem impressive, but the majority of the new houses lacked amenities such as washing facilities, sewerage systems, bathrooms or a water supply. New houses built of pit-sawn timber or slabs were often inferior to tradition whare because they were unlined and draughty'.¹⁹ Furthermore Maori often lacked the resources to maintain and improve their dwellings once built. The gains were therefore often soon lost.

¹⁶ AJHR, 1903, G1, p1

¹⁷ Krivan, p 13

¹⁸ Kurahaupo Maori Council minutes, 8 August 1912, p 142 (summary translation prepared by Waitangi Tribunal Unit)

¹⁹ Krivan, p 13

There is little information available as to the work of the health inspectors among Maori within the Taihape inquiry district. In March 1915 inspector Thomas Pargeter toured the Wanganui Hospital Board district and recommended that a number of Maori huts be ‘condemned as unfit for human habitation’ – although none of these were necessarily within the Taihape inquiry district.²⁰ In July 1925 Native Health Inspector Taki Hooper and the Rangitikei County Council’s health inspector visited Opaea Pa north of Taihape. Hooper subsequently wrote to one of the principal residents with instructions for improvements to be carried out before a further inspection a month later. ‘The dwellings were in a delapidated (sic) state and their surroundings very unsanitary. The privies are not properly arranged, and drainage is very bad indeed’.²¹ There is no indication on file as to whether or not these instructions were carried out.

The Effect of the Depression

The standard of Maori housing declined in the early 1930s thanks to the Depression.²² The dire state of Maori housing was hardly surprising. It has been estimated that in 1933 some 35 percent of the Maori workforce was unemployed compared with 12 percent of Pakeha.²³ The effects of high unemployment and low wages were seen in poverty and an inability to maintain and improve properties. Several small-scale regional housing surveys revealed extensive problems such as over-crowding, lack of insulation, and a severe deficiency in basic facilities such as toilets.²⁴ A 1938 survey of 80 Maori dwellings located in six settlements within Rangitikei County (but outside the Taihape inquiry district) found only 15 houses considered satisfactory for habitation. Forty-two were adjudged to be fit for demolition.²⁵

In the 1936 census nearly half of all Maori dwellings (including those in towns and cities) were calculated to have two or more people per room compared with one in 67 non-Maori dwellings. These figures are likely to under-state the problem given the on-going issue of the under-enumeration of Maori in the census at the time.²⁶ The 1936 census results classified 75 percent of rural North Island Maori dwellings as ‘huts or whares’. However in the rural parts of Rangitikei County, which included most of the Taihape inquiry district, the proportion was considerably lower at 45 percent.²⁷ By 1945 the proportion of ‘huts or whares’ occupied by Maori in rural

²⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 March 1915, p 2

²¹ Hooper, Native Inspector of Health, to [illegible] Rauhihi, Opaea Pa, 21 July 1925, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Maori Health Councils, Kurahaupo 1920-1926, item R20953756, ADBZ 16163 H1 1938 / 121/22 3259

²² Turbott, ‘Progress in Prevention of Typhoid Fever Among Maoris’, *AJHR* 1940, H31, p 51

²³ Krivan, p 28

²⁴ Krivan, pp 21-23

²⁵ Krivan, pp 22-23

²⁶ Krivan, pp 24-26

²⁷ Figures calculated from Maori population census, 1936. The figures are for counties excluding their interior boroughs and town districts.

Rangitikei had fallen slightly to 40 percent. The census that year provided some information on the amenities provided in private dwellings. It showed that just seven percent of rural Rangitikei Maori dwellings had a flush toilet and only 40 percent had a bathroom. Less than half the Maori dwellings had electric lighting.²⁸

Housing conditions also declined for Pakeha during the Depression, although to a lesser extent. Many lost their homes purchased under the Massey government's expansive lending policies. A substantial number of properties had been purchased on time payment. This was similar to a table mortgage except that time payment provided only an equitable interest in the property until the final payment.²⁹ By the early 1930s many owners were in mortgage arrears and the government introduced mortgage relief measures to keep people in their homes. Even with more lenient terms many lost their homes. When the Labour government established the State Advances Corporation in 1936 to manage the state's mortgage portfolio, the Corporation inherited 3904 properties acquired due to foreclosed mortgages.³⁰ Housing construction all but halted in the early 1930s due to economic uncertainty. The resulting housing shortage and the decline in housing standards led to new government housing initiatives aimed both at the general population but also specifically at Maori.

²⁸ Figures calculated from Maori population census, 1945. The figures are for counties excluding their interior boroughs and town districts.

²⁹ *Auckland Star*, 11 March 1924, p 8; *New Zealand Herald*, 14 August 1925, p 13

³⁰ Fergusson, pp 193-194

Chapter 17: The Paradox of Rural Housing After 1935

Introduction

In the early decades of the twentieth century measures aimed at improving Maori housing primarily used Maori community resources to achieve this aim. However from the 1930s government measures were increasingly put in place that put significant state resources behind rehousing Maori and improving the quality of housing. Many of these resources came through the Maori land development schemes implemented from 1930 and which, over time, increasingly included a housing component. By 1936 the schemes were estimated to be supporting about 15 percent of the country's Maori population.³¹

As noted in Chapter 15, no full development scheme was implemented within the Taihape inquiry district, although two farmers were assisted.³² A few houses were built in the district using Maori development scheme work gangs. In 1944, for example, a house was completed at Mangaweka and another at Ohingaiti.³³ Overall, however, development scheme housing is unlikely to have made much of an impact within the inquiry district.

In 1935 and 1938 Parliament passed Native Housing Acts which, once implemented, allowed significant borrowing by Maori for new housing and improvements. Over subsequent decades the systems put in place under these Acts helped house a rapidly growing Maori population, rehoused thousands of families whose housing was inadequate, and funded housing improvements.

This chapter begins by outlining these policy developments. It then looks at the effect of these programmes within the Taihape inquiry district and concludes that their main impact appears to have been within the town of Taihape. In the rest of the inquiry district programmes aimed specifically at Maori appear to have had limited impact. Yet at the same time census data indicates a significant improvement in the quality of Maori rural housing in the inquiry district in the decade 1956 to 1966. This phenomenon is here dubbed 'the rural paradox'.

The Native Housing Acts

In 1935 Parliament passed the Native Housing Act following pressure from Apirana Ngata over the dire state of Maori housing during the Depression. Although he resigned from Cabinet in

³¹ AJHR 1936, G10, pp 2, 10

³² Stirling and Subasic, Wai 2180, A2, p 110

³³ Aotea Maori Land Board District, Return of Housing Statistics, 30 June 1944, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Organisation - Quarterly return for government statistician - Housing Organisation 1944-1951', item R19528686, ACIH 16036 MA1 693 / 44/16/1 2

1934 following criticism of his administration of the Native Department, Ngata still had considerable mana within the coalition government. The 1935 Act vested authority in the Board of Native Affairs to advance loans to Maori from money appropriated by Parliament to be used to erect, repair or improve dwellings, install sanitation, water supply and other amenities, and to purchase and prepare land on which to build.³⁴ The Board of Native Affairs was a statutory body established in March 1935 to determine the purposes for which Maori and state money should be expended on projects to assist the Maori population. The Board was entirely Pakeha in composition until 1947.³⁵ According to Krivan 'the Act contained ample provision for the Crown to assume ownership of this land, or sell it, to recover the money advanced should the mortgagor default on his/her contract'. Furthermore the Board of Native Affairs was able to determine the amount, term and interest rate of the loan and supervise the construction process.³⁶

The Coalition government was voted out of office shortly after the Native Housing Act 1935 was passed so it was left up to the new Labour government to implement it. Labour took an active approach to try and alleviate New Zealand's housing situation. It initiated a state housing programme and also revitalised state lending by establishing the State Advances Corporation. The result was a dual system of housing assistance. The state housing programme was aimed mainly at urban Pakeha, although many Maori later benefited as they moved to the cities in the late 1950s and 1960s. The deposit and income requirements of the State Advances Corporation and its predecessors excluded low income workers and the poor – which included most Maori - from obtaining loans.³⁷

Maori could instead obtain loans from the Native Department under a separate system. At the head of the system was the Board of Native Affairs, which set policy for the Native Department to implement. The seven regional Maori Land Boards oversaw the administration of the scheme. The land board covering the Taihape inquiry district was the Aotea Maori Land Board, whose large territory bordered the King Country to the north and included the Taranaki and Whanganui districts, the volcanic plateau and most of Rangitikei County.³⁸ Land board officers

³⁴ Native Housing Act 1935

³⁵ Krivan, p 31. The board was renamed the Board of Maori Affairs in 1947.

³⁶ Krivan, p 32

³⁷ Krivan, p 28

³⁸ Krivan, Map 2.1, pp 35-36

investigated applications for loans and made recommendations but the ultimate decision rested with the Board of Native Affairs.³⁹

On the supply side the Public Works Department supervised the construction of new homes, built to six standard designs and purchased from the loans made.⁴⁰ In 1938 Parliament passed an amendment to the Native Housing Act which, among other things, authorised interest-free loans to 'indigent' Maori.⁴¹ Although this extended the scope of the scheme, by 31 March 1940 the Native Department had authorised only 635 advances under the 1935 Act. This figure includes loans for renovations and repairs and loans used to purchase existing houses rather than newly-built ones. The result was that the amount of money allocated by the Government for Maori housing was greatly underspent. In the Aotea land district just 96 loans were approved by April 1940 and the board underspent its allocated budget by 38 percent.⁴²

The reasons for the slow start to the housing programme included the requirement that the owner needed an individual title over the land on which the house was to be built. Such a title could be obtained from the Native Land Court but it was a drawn-out process. Those without land could not borrow at all unless to purchase an existing house or undertake renovations.⁴³ The level of security demanded by land board officers could also impose a barrier to approvals. In 1939 the president of the Aotea Maori Land Board expressed the view that Maori housing problems in the district often resulted from 'laziness and extravagance', an attitude which perhaps helps explain the underspend in this district.⁴⁴

Not only were few loans advanced in the five years after the passing of the Native Housing Act 1935, but the quality of houses built with these loans was generally poor. The regulations imposed a £750 limit on loans unless approved by Cabinet, compared with the £1250 limit for State Advances loans.⁴⁵ The income of applicants and the deposit they were able to scrape together in any case limited the size of loans. Builders therefore needed to scrimp on the size of the dwellings and/or on the amenities provided, resulting in either overcrowding or poor standards (or both). In 1939 the Gisborne Medical Officer of Health reported that many of the Native Department's new houses breached health standards 'in too many ways to mention' due

³⁹ Krivan, pp 34-35

⁴⁰ Krivan, p 35

⁴¹ Krivan, p 37

⁴² AJHR 1940, G10, p 61

⁴³ Krivan, p 36

⁴⁴ Correspondence to Under-secretary of Native Affairs, quoted by Krivan, pp 40-41

⁴⁵ Krivan, p 34. Supplementary borrowing through second mortgages was also available through the State Advances Corporation.

to lack of basic facilities such as toilets.⁴⁶ It was presumably assumed that these could be provided later once borrowers were better placed financially. Pressure from the Health and Public Works departments eventually resulted in minimum standards being set for new Maori housing, but these standards were not put in place until after the war.⁴⁷

All government housing programmes were severely curtailed during World War Two due to the shortage of labour and materials.⁴⁸ In 1941 the Aotea Maori Land Board managed to overcome this problem to some extent by salvaging galvanized iron from old buildings (presumably condemned) and 11 new dwellings were erected in the 1941-42 financial year as a result.⁴⁹ In 1942-43 however, just two new houses were erected and these were on development scheme land.⁵⁰ Things started to pick up in 1943-44, when the Aotea Land Board oversaw the building of 14 new dwellings thanks to salvaging second-hand materials and using Maori labour (providing Maori with building skills was another aspect of the scheme).⁵¹ The land board also continued to fund the repair and renovation of existing houses during the war. In the country overall, 2553 new houses had been provided for Maori by 31 March 1945 under the Native Housing Act, although this figure includes houses provided as part of development schemes.⁵²

In the latter stages of the war men returned home having served their tour of duty, and were given preferential access to state housing and more generous terms for housing loans than applied to the general population. Maori ex-servicemen were able to participate equally in these benefits, although the rural nature of the population meant that in the main only the rehabilitation loans were of much assistance.⁵³ No evidence was found in the files and documents consulted that any Maori from the Taihape inquiry district benefitted from these loans.

Changes from 1944

During 1944 the government made significant changes to the Maori housing scheme. It lowered the minimum deposit required to £40, lowered the threshold for annual repayments from 10 percent to 7.5 percent of the loan, and raised the loan limit to £1000.⁵⁴ Also in 1944 the Native Department took over responsibility for housing construction from the Department of Public

⁴⁶ Quoted by Krivan, p 43

⁴⁷ Krivan, pp 43-44

⁴⁸ Krivan, pp 47-48

⁴⁹ AJHR 1942, G 10, p 6

⁵⁰ AJHR 1943, G 10, p 6

⁵¹ AJHR 1944, G10, p 8

⁵² AJHR 1945, G10, p 5

⁵³ Krivan, pp 48-49

⁵⁴ Krivan, pp 49-50

Works and began applying the same standards to housing construction as applied to state houses.⁵⁵ This latter policy attracted some debate, with some criticising it as assimilationist and others as unrealistic. Cabinet Minister Eruera Tirikatene defended the policy, saying Maori should have the same standard of housing as Pakeha.⁵⁶

In the late 1940s Maori Welfare Officers were appointed under the provisions of the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945. Part of the welfare officer role was to undertake surveys of Maori housing conditions, assist loan applicants and vet their applications. This and other measures significantly sped up the loan application process.⁵⁷ By the mid-1950s the Maori Land Boards had been removed from the process to be replaced by Maori Affairs district offices, and the role of the Board of Maori Affairs was significantly reduced.⁵⁸ In 1947 a 30-year table mortgage was introduced to lower repayments for Maori borrowers and in 1948 the loan limit was raised to £1500, the same as for other borrowers. The special provisions for 'indigent' cases were also made more generous.⁵⁹ In 1950 the new National government raised the loan threshold to £2000 and in addition provided 'suspensory loans' of up to £200 – basically a gift that would be written off once the house had been continuously occupied for seven years.⁶⁰

Shortages of labour and materials continued to inhibit the Maori housing programme after the war. In order to keep up with demand for new housing during the 1950s the Department of Maori Affairs increasingly relied on private contractors for building. In the late 1950s the department shifted its lending policy towards building in towns and cities rather than in remote rural areas. Labour and materials were more readily available in urban areas, as was the employment that would help ensure the loan was repaid. Other amenities such as schools, shops, and medical services were also more accessible.⁶¹ By the 1961/62 financial year 55 percent of Maori Affairs building was in urban areas. By 1965/66 the proportion had increased to 84 percent.⁶²

With the growing Maori population many lacked land on which to build. One option was to buy land using a Maori Affairs loan, although this had to be paid off before a loan to build was granted. Another option, from 1951, was to go into a ballot for a Crown section. Maori Affairs had been buying sections to ballot since around 1950, although with little success so this was an

⁵⁵ Krivan, pp 50-51

⁵⁶ Krivan, pp 60-62

⁵⁷ Krivan, pp 67-68

⁵⁸ Krivan, pp 80-82

⁵⁹ Krivan, pp 64-67

⁶⁰ Krivan, p 76-77

⁶¹ Krivan, pp 78-79

⁶² Figures calculated from Department of Maori Affairs, *Housing Survey 1966*, p 2

option for only a few.⁶³ In the late 1950s the Labour government substantially increased the upper limit on loans and made these limits flexible depending on family size, and lowered the interest rate payable. In another policy change, substandard dwellings were demolished as soon as a new one was erected.⁶⁴ In 1959 the government allowed all potential low-income home buyers to capitalise the family benefit, a non-means tested benefit then paid to all families on a per-child basis. Families could capitalise future benefits up to a £1000 limit to put towards buying a house.⁶⁵ This was obviously greatly beneficial to Maori, who had larger than average families, and put further pressure on the Maori Affairs housing scheme.

According to the Hunn Report, released in 1961, the Maori Affairs housing programme was supplying insufficient houses to meet projected demand. Hunn recommended a 12-year programme involving increased home building, gradually tailing off in the 1970s. Maori Affairs substantially increased the number of houses it built for Maori families but suitable land was increasingly scarce. In general the department had to buy land on the open market but it also subdivided blocks of Maori land in what were known as 'group build' schemes.⁶⁶ The department tried buying unwanted Ministry of Works houses and disused state houses but in both cases the results were disappointing, resulting in just a few hundred additional houses being acquired.⁶⁷

In 1960 Maori Affairs launched an urban relocation scheme whereby families and individuals were helped to move from the country to areas where jobs and facilities were more abundant. By 31 March 1965, 399 families had been relocated under the scheme. In 1963 the department introduced another scheme which allowed married couples without children to borrow from the Maori Trustee to cover part of their housing deposit. During the 1960s the department also launched a programme to help upgrade rural dwellings.⁶⁸ Maori Affairs fell well short of the new housing targets recommended by Hunn but still managed a significant building and lending programme. In the six years 1962 to 1967 it built or acquired 5483 new houses for sale to those borrowing from the department.⁶⁹ Over the same period the State Advances Corporation made 1495 new loans for Maori housing.⁷⁰ The Maori Affairs building and lending programme

⁶³ Krivan, p 79

⁶⁴ Krivan, pp 85-87

⁶⁵ Ferguson, p 195; Krivan, p 89

⁶⁶ Krivan, p 112

⁶⁷ Krivan, p 108

⁶⁸ Krivan, p 110-111

⁶⁹ Krivan, p 108

⁷⁰ Krivan, p 117

received a further significant boost in the mid-1970s after every aspect of the programme, including family benefit capitalisation, was made more generous.⁷¹

Maori Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District

The effects of the Department of Maori Affairs housing programme in the country overall can be seen from the census figures on housing tenure. The census collected figures on Maori dwellings owned with mortgages from 1951.⁷² In 1956 some 16 percent of Maori dwellings in the rural North Island were owned with a mortgage or on time payment, indicating that significant lending had already taken place. By 1961 this figure had increased to nearly 21 percent and by 1966 was over 27 percent.⁷³ Maori were increasingly borrowing from the Department of Maori Affairs and the State Advances Corporation to buy or renovate houses.

However the picture for rural Rangitikei (which included most of the Maori population of the Taihape inquiry district) was significantly different from the national one. The following analysis collates census information on Rangitikei County excluding its internal towns. The detail of this analysis is outlined in the methodology section of the introduction to this report. Note that Ratana, with its substantial Maori population outside the inquiry district, is excluded from the figures.

Until the 1960s the Department of Maori Affairs built and financed just a handful of houses in the Taihape inquiry district. For example, in over four years between June 1944 and September 1948 the department built and financed one house in each of Moawhango, Taihape and Turangarere, and financed repairs on a house in Taihape.⁷⁴ Figure 17.1 below shows the trend in tenure of Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei in the decade 1956 to 1966. The figures show almost no change in the proportion of dwellings owned with a mortgage during the decade. In 1956 just 13 Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei were owned with a mortgage. By 1961 the number had increased to 17 and by 1966 to 18.

Figure 17.1 shows a slight fall in the proportion of rent-free Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei and a big fall in dwellings owned without a mortgage. As discussed below, this latter trend was typical of the country overall. Maori houses owned without a mortgage were in the main traditional whare built on Maori-owned land and therefore required no financing (in many cases

⁷¹ Krivan, pp 127-129

⁷² *New Zealand Official Year Book* 1990, p 165

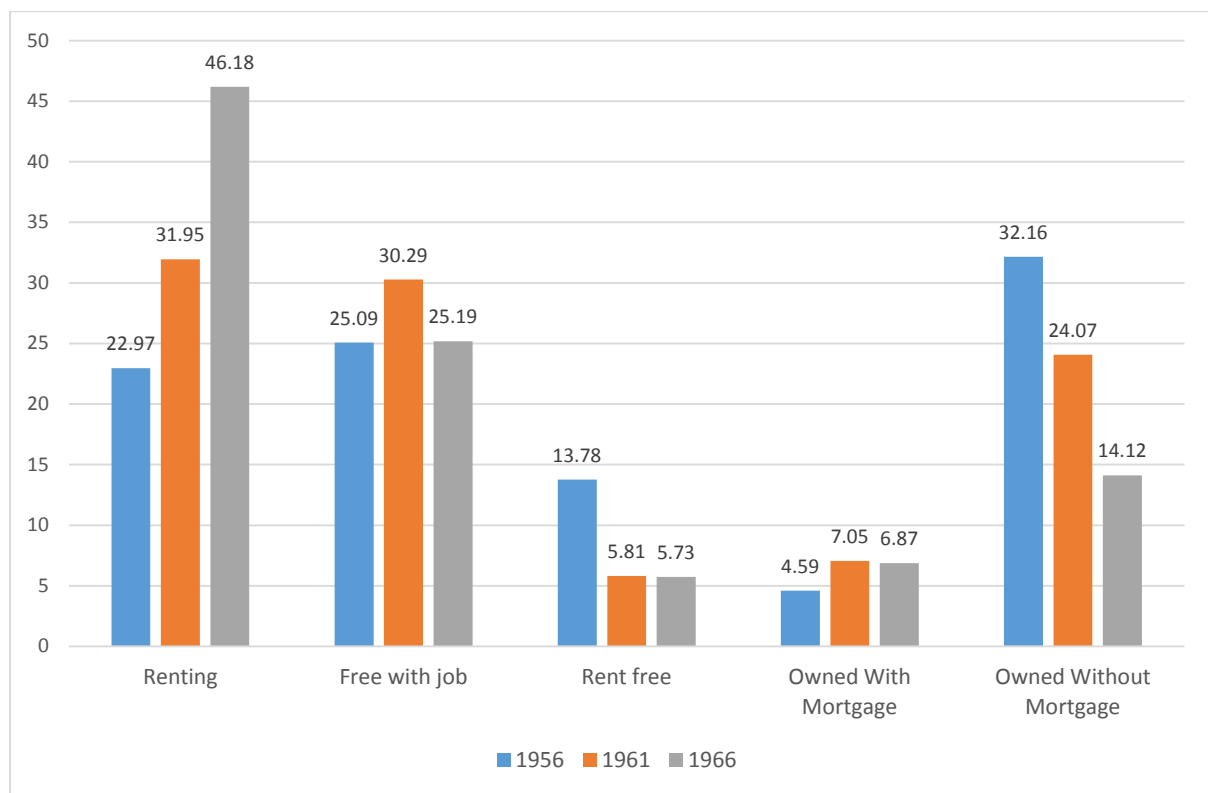
⁷³ Figures calculated from NZ Population Census 1956, 1961 and 1966, Maori Population and Dwellings. The figures are for counties excluding internal boroughs and town district.

⁷⁴ Figures from statistical returns 30 June 1944 to 30 September 1948, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Organisation - Quarterly return for government statistician - Housing Organisation 1944-1951', item R19528686, ACIH 16036 MA1 693 / 44/16/1 2

such houses also appear to have been classified as ‘rent free’, probably where the house was owned by a whanau member who was not one of the occupants. There is little analysis in the literature and official documents on this point).

What made rural Rangitikei stand out from the rest of the country was the doubling in the proportion of Maori households renting. Over the same period non-Maori housing tenure in rural Rangitikei barely changed, with a slight fall in renting and a slight rise in ownership with mortgage. Maori were not, therefore, part of a general trend in the district. It appears that many Maori households were leaving their mortgage-free whare and houses in order to rent.

Figure 17.1: Maori Housing Tenure in Rural Rangitikei (Percent), 1956-1966

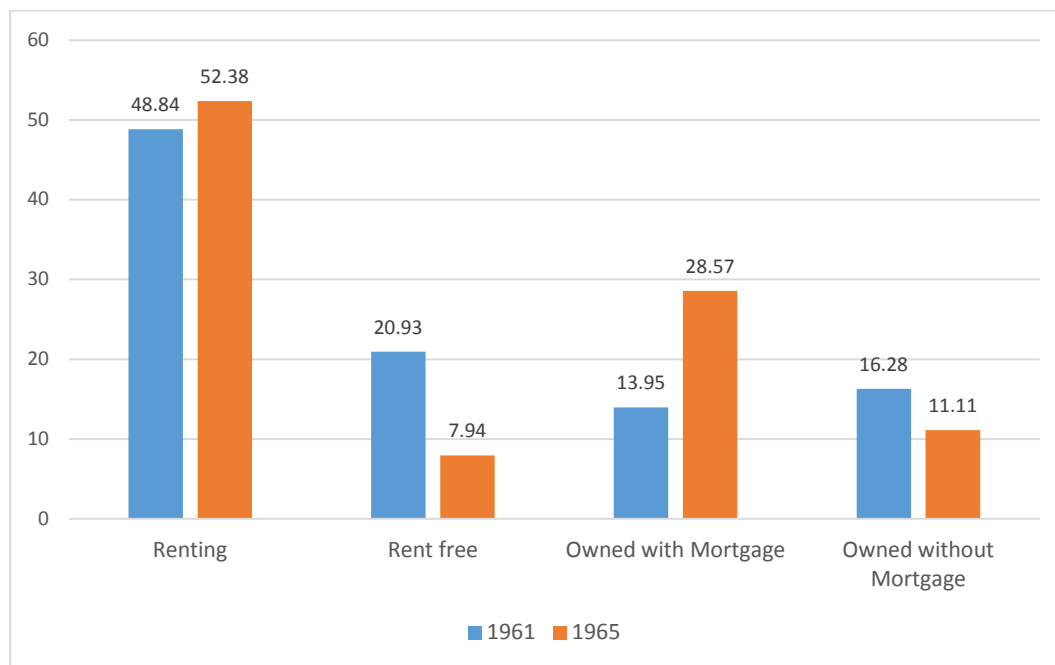


Source: Maori Census of Population and Dwellings

The picture for the borough of Taihape is different from the rest of the inquiry district. Few Maori lived there in 1956 but the 1961 census recorded 43 Maori households in private dwellings. This increased to 63 Maori dwellings in 1966. Figure 17.2 below shows that the proportion of Maori dwellings owned with a mortgage in Taihape more than doubled in five years, from 14 percent in 1961 to nearly 29 percent in 1966.

In numerical terms the figures for Taihape show a trebling in the number of Maori dwellings owned with a mortgage, from six in 1961 to 18 in 1966 - an increase of 12 properties. It appears that most or all of these were built by the Department of Maori Affairs in the early 1960s. In November 1962, for example, the Maori Affairs District Officer wrote to the District Commissioner of Works with a proposal to buy two quarter-acre sections in Taihape, one of which was owned by the Borough Council.⁷⁵ Regular purchases of sections and properties in Taihape continued until the 1980s, usually in lots of two to five per year.⁷⁶ Maori Affairs efforts to provide housing for Maori were therefore very much focussed on Taihape itself rather than on the broader Taihape inquiry district.

Figure 17.2: Maori Housing Tenure in Taihape Borough (Percent), 1961 and 1966



Source: Maori Census of Population and Dwellings

Housing Conditions 1956 to 1966

Census figures for the period 1956 to 1966 help provide a picture of changing housing conditions during the decade. Later figures are not available on a county and borough basis. In Chapter 13 it was seen that the proportion of Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei without a flush

⁷⁵ J D Gordon to District Commissioner of Works, Wanganui, 13 November 1962, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Affairs: Land for Housing – Taihape, 1962-1984', item R15961870, AATC 5114 W3457 52 / 5/65/0/16

⁷⁶ See, for example, Maori Affairs to District Commissioner of Works, 22 June 1964; Board of Maori Affairs recommendation, April 1966; Maori Housing Requirements, 1967-68, 23 February 1967; Archives NZ Wellington, 'Maori Affairs: Land for Housing – Taihape, 1962-1984', item R15961870, AATC 5114 W3457 52 / 5/65/0/16

toilet fell from over 72 percent in 1956 to under 22 percent in 1966. The gap with Pakeha closed considerably. Similar patterns can be seen with respect to other types of amenities. Figures 17.3 and 17.4 below show the proportion of Maori households in rural Rangitikei without hot water and without a bath or shower.

Figure 17.3: Percentage of Rural Rangitikei Dwellings without Hot Water by Ethnicity, 1956-1966

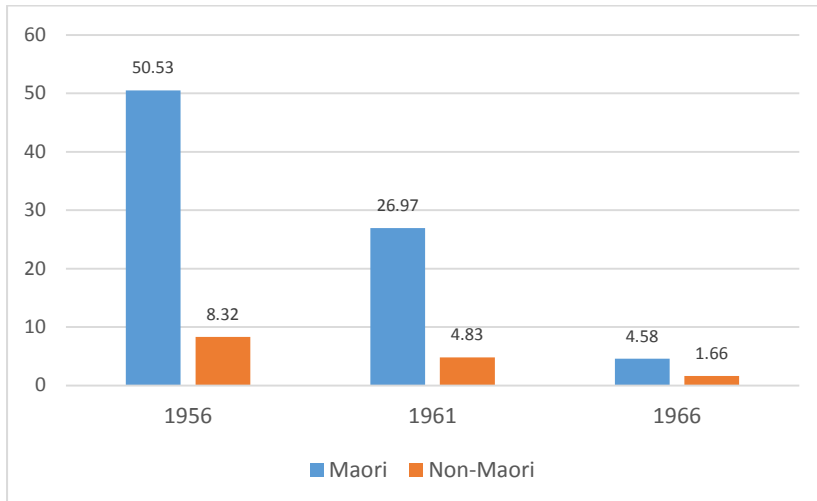
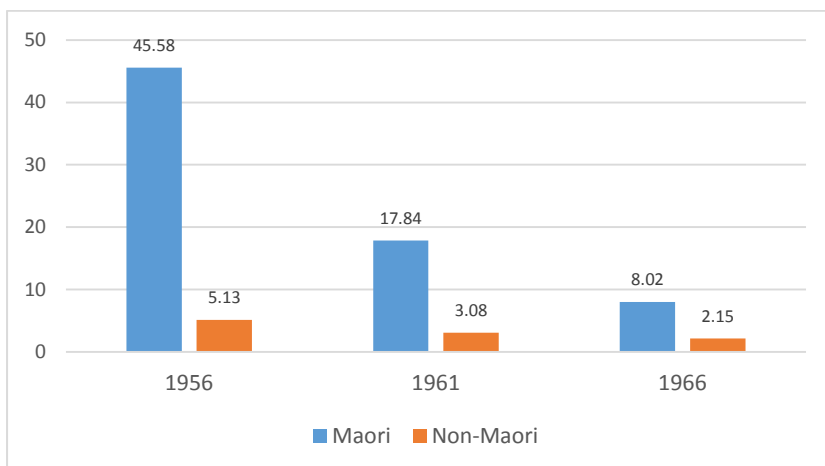


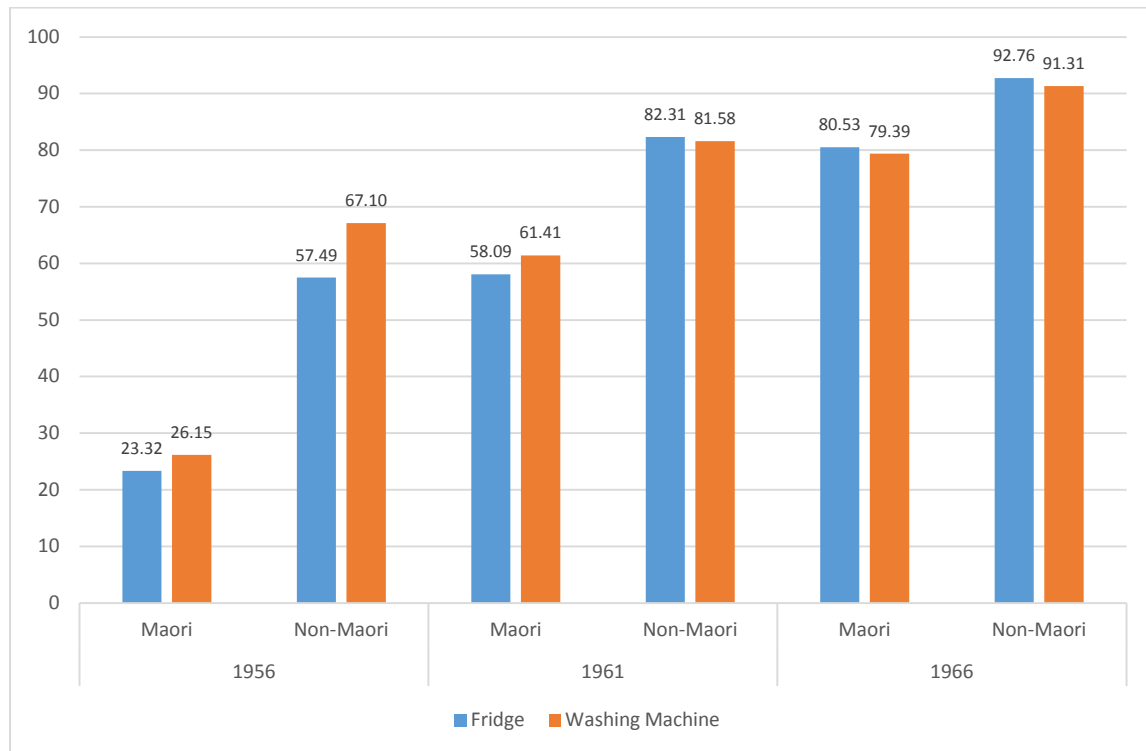
Figure 17.4: Percentage of Rural Rangitikei Dwellings without a Bath or Shower by Ethnicity, 1956-1966



In 1956 around half of rural Rangitikei Maori households had no hot water and no bath or shower. Few Pakeha households were in a similar situation. By 1966 hot water and baths/showers were almost universal in rural Rangitikei regardless of ethnicity.

Figure 17.5 below shows that only about a quarter of Maori households in rural Rangitikei had a fridge and/or washing machine in 1956. By 1966 around 80 percent had these amenities. It can be seen from the census figures that Maori in the district were around five years behind Pakeha in acquiring these modern conveniences. In 1966, for example, Maori households caught up with where Pakeha households had been in 1961.

Figure 17.5: Percentage of Rural Rangitikei Dwellings with a Fridge and Washing Machine by Ethnicity, 1956-1966

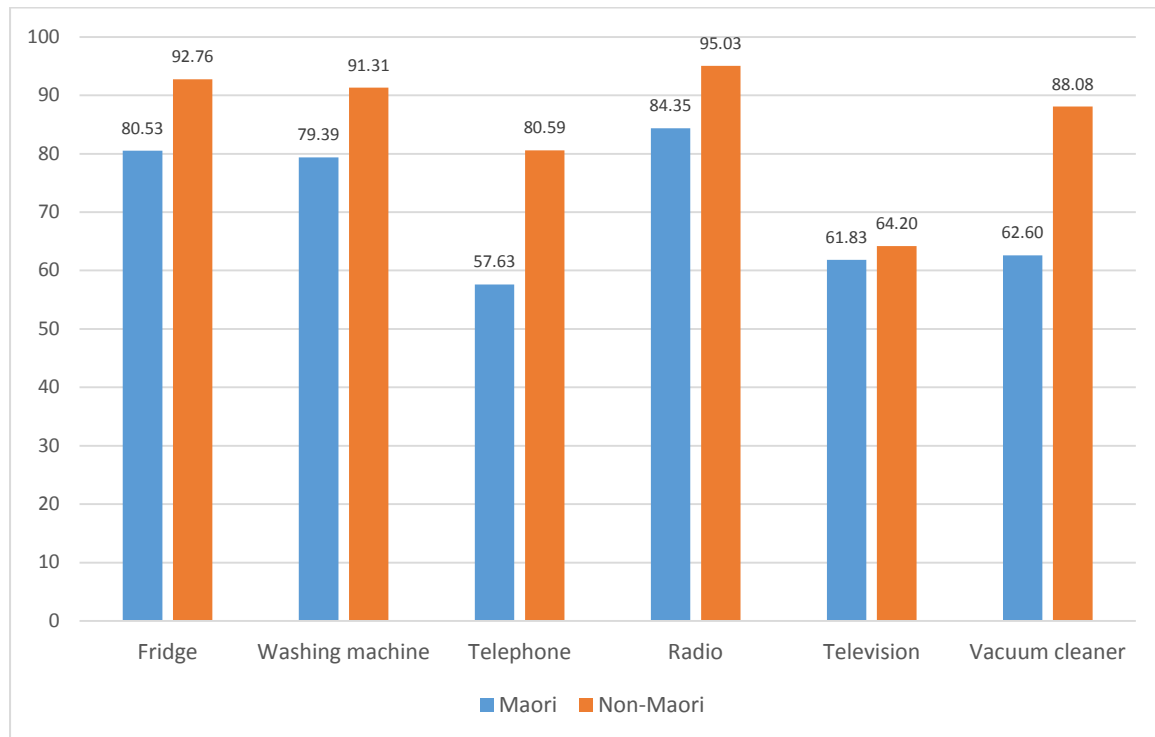


The 1966 census recorded the presence or absence of a wide range of modern conveniences in households. Figure 17.6 below shows the results for rural Rangitikei. It can be seen that Maori and Pakeha households were similar in the amenities they had in 1966, although Pakeha households were significantly more likely than Maori to have a telephone or vacuum cleaner. The smallest gap was in television ownership.

The pattern for Taihape town was rather different. Few Maori lived there in 1956 so the census figures for households are not discussed here. For Maori living in Taihape in 1961, flush toilets, baths or showers and hot water service were the norm and there was little gap between Maori and Pakeha in this respect. There was likewise little gap in the presence in houses of fridges and washing machines, with 72 percent of Maori households in Taihape having a fridge and washing

machine in 1961. Although the 1961 census showed a large gap between rural and urban Maori in the Taihape inquiry district with respect to the presence of amenities, by 1966 that gap had largely disappeared. Flush toilets remained an exception, with 22 percent of rural Rangitikei Maori households still lacking these in 1966.

Figure 17.6: Percentage of Selected Amenities in Rural Rangitikei Households by Ethnicity, 1966



It is assumed in the above discussion that the presence of basic amenities in a household is to some extent a proxy for housing quality. For example a house that lacks hot water or a bath is likely to be lacking in other respects. A house without a washing machine or fridge may not even have electricity laid on. In 1956, it appears that roughly half of rural Maori homes in the Taihape inquiry district lacked hot water or a bath/shower. Over 70 percent had no flush toilet. Only a quarter had a fridge or washing machine. A decade later all these amenities had become the norm for Maori households in the inquiry district.

It is not intended to argue here that Maori housing problems in the inquiry district had been solved by the mid-1960s. Indeed a Maori Affairs housing survey conducted in 1966 put paid to such notions. The department surveyed over 19,000 Maori homes in the North Island, including 1311 houses in the Wanganui administrative district which included 15 counties, among the

largest of which was Rangitikei.⁷⁷ The survey found that nearly 17 percent of Maori homes in the Wanganui district were ‘unsound’, nearly 33 percent were ‘overcrowded’, and 40 percent were both. Overcrowding in Wanganui was much worse than the North Island average.⁷⁸ Maori housing in the Taihape inquiry district made up only a fraction of the Wanganui district housing, so not too much should be read into the figures. What can be concluded, however, is that although there were significant improvements in housing conditions in the inquiry district in the decade 1956 to 1966, there was still some way to go.

The Rural Housing Paradox

So how did the significant improvements in housing quality outlined in the previous section come about in just a decade? It does not seem to have been a result of the major Maori housing programmes introduced from the late 1930s. These schemes involved the government building houses then selling them to Maori, who were able to buy them through government loans on favourable terms. But if the Department of Maori Affairs was a significant home builder in the Taihape inquiry district, a big increase in Maori home ownership with a mortgage would be expected. This is certainly what happened at a national level, including in the town of Taihape. But it failed to happen in the rural parts of the inquiry district. What happened instead was a significant increase in renting. The proportion of rented Maori homes in rural Rangitikei doubled from 13 to 26 percent between 1956 and 1966.

Another seeming paradox is that the number of mortgage-free Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei fell by 54 in this period, from 91 to 37. However this is consistent with what was happening in the country overall; between 1956 and 1966 the number of mortgage-free Maori dwellings in the rural North Island fell by 2040.⁷⁹ Maori appeared to be borrowing to renovate sub-standard mortgage-free dwellings, or abandoning them altogether to buy better quality homes. What made the rural parts of the Taihape inquiry district different was that Maori appeared to be abandoning mortgage-free properties in order to rent rather than buy. The number of rented Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei increased by 65 in the decade 1956 to 1966.

The Rural Housing Scheme

A plausible explanation for the rural housing paradox outlined above is the rural housing scheme initiated by the government in 1940. In 1939 Parliament passed the Rural Housing Act. Although nothing seems to have been written about this Act, it is possibly the single most significant

⁷⁷ Department of Maori Affairs, *Housing Survey 1966*, pp 6, 11

⁷⁸ *Housing Survey 1966*, pp 18-19

⁷⁹ Figure calculated from Maori Census of Population and Dwellings, 1956 and 1966. The figure is for counties excluding internal boroughs and town districts.

government measure with respect to Maori housing in the Taihape inquiry district. The Act authorised local authorities to lend to farmers to build or improve dwellings for farm workers on their property. Local authorities could raise loans to fund the scheme without a ratepayer's poll being necessary, and could borrow from the State Advances Corporation, which needed to approve all loans made.⁸⁰ Farmers could borrow up to 100 percent of the value of the property.⁸¹ Under the regulations announced for the scheme in 1940, local authorities could borrow from the Corporation at three percent interest and lend the money at 3.5 percent, well below market rates at the time.⁸² Payment could be spread over up to 35 years and no additional costs, such as valuation fees, were imposed on farmers.⁸³ A government subsidy of up to 10 percent was also available for new farm dwellings and repairs.⁸⁴ The scheme was similar to that operated under the Native Housing Act 1935, although with higher lending limits and longer repayment periods.

In 1940 Native Affairs Minister Henry Langstone specifically referred to improvements in Maori housing that would be possible through the rural housing scheme.⁸⁵ In the year to 31 March 1941 (the first full year of the scheme) 62 counties were involved, lending out approximately £51,000 to farmers.⁸⁶ But lending then largely dried up because of the war and post-war labour shortages. In 1945 the Member of Parliament for Rangitikei rhetorically asked the Minister of Housing what had become of the rural housing scheme.⁸⁷ In the year to 31 March 1950 just three counties were involved in the scheme, lending less than £16,000.⁸⁸

The buoyant rural economy of the early 1950s stimulated demand for farm labour. As a result the government revamped the rural housing scheme in 1954. The 10 percent subsidy part of the scheme was provided through a 'suspensory loan' on which no interest was payable. The suspensory loan was written off after seven years as long as the dwelling financed was used to house farm workers as intended.⁸⁹ The scheme was widely promoted through a publicity campaign that included newspaper advertisements and a bulletin distributed to all county

⁸⁰ Rural Housing Act 1939, sections 3, 7 and 9

⁸¹ *Bay of Plenty Beacon*, 13 March 1940, p 7

⁸² *Evening Post*, 1 December 1939, p 9

⁸³ *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1940, p 9

⁸⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 1 August 1940, p 11

⁸⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 31 August 1940, p 14

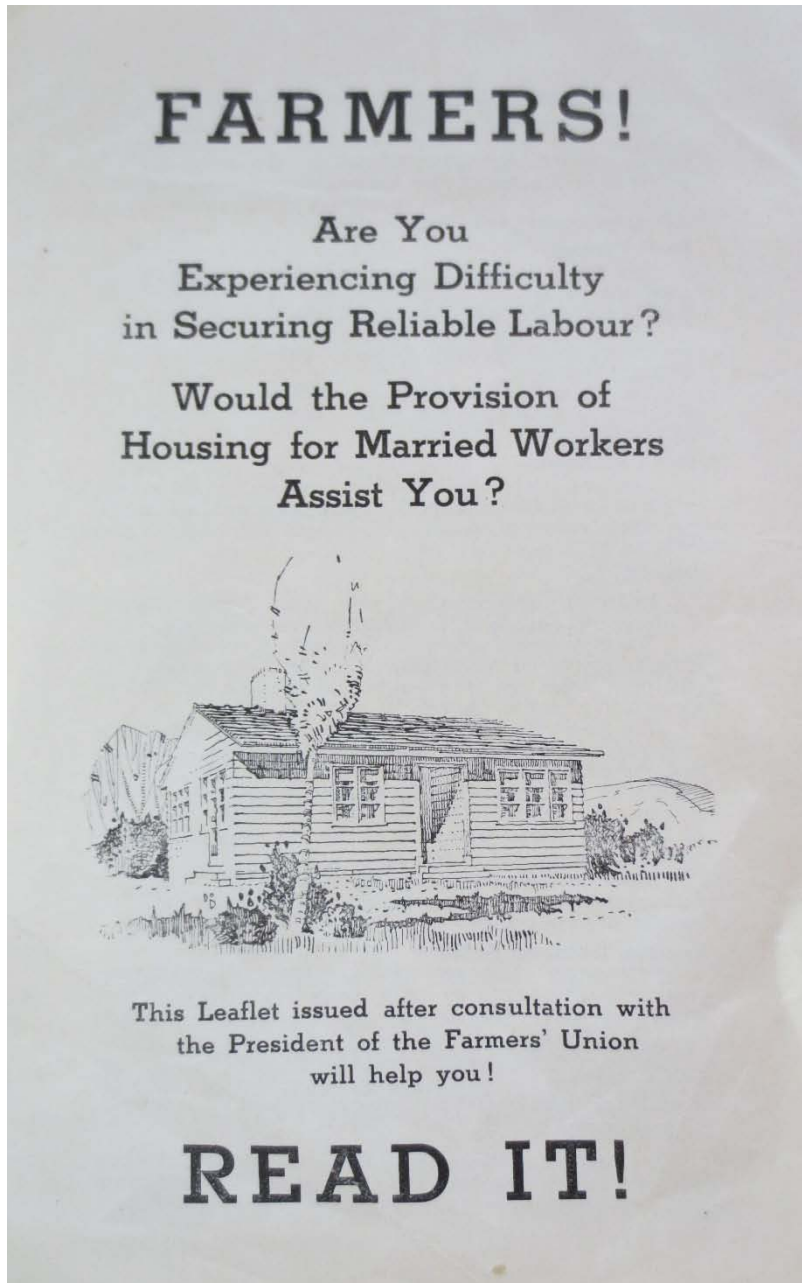
⁸⁶ General Manager, Local Authorities Loans Board, The Treasury to Secretary, Local Authorities Loans Board, 6 May 1965 (updated 1966), Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Rural housing - Consideration and proposal - General 1954-1966', item R19843098, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1 W1956 46 / 35/113 5

⁸⁷ *Evening Post*, 4 October 1945, p 6

⁸⁸ General Manager, Local Authorities Loans Board, The Treasury to Secretary, Local Authorities Loans Board, 6 May 1965 (updated 1966), Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Rural housing - Consideration and proposal - General 1954-1966', item R19843098, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1 W1956 46 / 35/113 5

⁸⁹ General Manager, Local Authorities Loans Board to Secretary to the Minister of Housing, 28 September 1954, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Rural housing - Consideration and proposal - General 1954-1966', item R19843098, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1 W1956 46 / 35/113 5

councils.⁹⁰ In 1956 the Rural Housing Act was amended to ensure that buildings constructed under the Act conformed to national housing standards for new dwellings.⁹¹ The Rural Housing Act was repealed in 1986.⁹²



The government issued this leaflet during World War Two to promote its rural housing scheme⁹³

⁹⁰ Housing Bulletin no. 3: Rural Housing, 29 September 1954, Archives NZ Wellington, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Rural housing - Consideration and proposal – General 1954-1966', item R19843098, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1 W1956 46 / 35/113 5

⁹¹ Rural Housing Amendment Act 1956, section 2

⁹² Finance Act 1986, section 3

⁹³ Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00136 : 2 : 10, Loans – Rural Housing Loan – General File, 1939-1944

In 1965 Treasury produced a report on the rural housing scheme which it updated in 1966. The report outlined the rationale behind the scheme, stating that ‘Government policy has for many years been directed at ensuring housing of a good standard in rural areas, both for farmers and their employees, with a view to countering urban drift and securing increased production’. It appears that by the 1960s it was becoming increasingly difficult for farmers to secure rural workers.

The Treasury report showed that 2050 rural houses were built under the scheme up until 31 March 1966. This is hardly an impressive result for a scheme that had been running on and off for some 26 years. However, nearly 43 percent (875) of the houses were provided in just four years, from 1962/3 to 1965/66. These new dwellings were spread across a relatively small number of counties. Treasury did not provide a detailed breakdown by county but its report listed five counties said to have made ‘considerable’ use of the scheme. One of the five counties was Rangitikei.⁹⁴ Rangitikei District Council appears to have issued loans under the Rural Housing Act from 1940 to 1944 and from 1953 to 1979.⁹⁵

The 2013 census results showed that 42 percent of Maori workers in the rural parts of the Taihape inquiry district were employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing.⁹⁶ No similar breakdown is available for the census in the period 1956 to 1966, but it seems likely that the percentage was then considerably higher. It is suggested here that many Maori agricultural workers in the inquiry district were provided with rental housing purchased by their employers using the provisions of the Rural Housing Act 1939. Such rental dwellings may have been favoured by Maori over their existing mortgage-free accommodation because of the higher quality of housing provided and proximity to their place of work. If just 65 houses were built to house Maori farm workers in rural Rangitikei from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, then this would be sufficient to explain the census trends outlined earlier. This may in turn help explain the dramatic rise in amenities such as hot water, fridges, and flushing toilets in rural Rangitikei Maori dwellings after 1956.⁹⁷

The conclusions here are somewhat speculative. But the government’s rural housing scheme, which was relaunched in the mid-1950s and made ‘considerable’ use of by the Rangitikei County

⁹⁴ General Manager, Local Authorities Loans Board, The Treasury to Secretary, Local Authorities Loans Board, 6 May 1965 (updated 1966), Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Housing Management - Rural housing - Consideration and proposal – General 1954-1966’, item R19843098, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1 W1956 46 / 35/113 5

⁹⁵ Files held at Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00136 : 2 : 10, Loans – Rural Housing Loan – General File, 1939-1944 and RDC 00065 : 43 : L/1/4, Loans – Rural Housing – General (1), 1953-1979

⁹⁶ Figure calculated from Craw, Wai 2180, A28a.

⁹⁷ As was noted above, houses built under the Act from 1965 were required to conform to national standards for new housing.

Council, seems to provide the only plausible explanation for the ‘rural paradox’ outlined in this chapter.

Maori Housing Initiatives

Some government housing initiatives in the post-war period revived a degree of Maori community participation that had been largely absent since the days of the Kurahaupo Maori Council. As outlined in the health section of this report, the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 abolished Maori Councils (most having been long defunct) and replaced them with tribal executives and committees.⁹⁸ The role of the executives and committees included housing-related functions, in particular sanitation and water supply.⁹⁹ Within the Taihape inquiry district, the Kurahaupo North tribal executive and three tribal committees were appointed in 1949. The paucity of sources on the operation of these bodies makes it difficult to determine to what extent they were involved in housing issues. The first meeting of the Kurahaupo North tribal executive in April 1949 discussed a proposal to assist providing water tanks to a dwelling where the existing ones had been condemned by the Health Department inspector.¹⁰⁰ Otherwise little evidence was found. A tribal committee remained active in the Moawhango district until around 1970.¹⁰¹

Since the 1970s the government has launched several new housing initiatives aimed at improving Maori housing and enabling new housing on multiply-owned land. During the 1970s Maori Affairs began funding kaumatua flats - housing for the elderly located on Maori land. These were funded through grants from the Special Maori Housing Fund originally established in 1938 to assist ‘indigent’ Maori.¹⁰² In July 1984 the Board of Maori Affairs approved a grant of \$145,000 to build four kaumatua flats at Winiata Marae, south of Taihape.¹⁰³ The flats were completed in

⁹⁸ Williams, ‘More Power to Do the Work’, p 20

⁹⁹ Maori Social and Economic and Advancement Act 1945, sections 12 to 26

¹⁰⁰ Matters raised by the Tribal Executive, 10 April 1949, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘[Maori Councils and Committees] Kurahaupo North TD [Tribal District] - Tribal Area, Executives and Committees 1948-1969’, item R15055027, AAMK W3730 45 / 35/49/1

¹⁰¹ Secretary of Maori Affairs to Minister of Maori Affairs, 2 August 1961, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘[Maori Councils and Committees] Kurahaupo North TD [Tribal District] - Tribal Area, Executives and Committees 1948-1969’, item R15055027, AAMK W3730 45 / 35/49/1 and ‘Marae Subsidies And Maori Council - Kurahaupo North Tribal District - Moawhango Maori Committee 1963-1970’, item R22157946, ABJZ 869 W4644 106 / 35/49/2/3 1

¹⁰² Native Housing Amendment Act 1938, s 18

¹⁰³ D R Cook, Submission to Head Office to Wanganui Office, 12 March 1984, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Accommodation - Kaumatua Flats - Flats And Housing For The Elderly - Winiata House (Taihape) 1984-1992’, item R22157132, ABJZ 869 W4644 194 / 49/3/7/12 2

March 1985 but additional work was subsequently required to tar seal the driveway and put in a proper water supply.¹⁰⁴

In 1985 the Government established the papakainga lending scheme which provided loans to individuals to build on Maori land. The take up appears to have been low – a 2011 Audit Office report found evidence of only 44 loans being issued between 2000 and 2009.¹⁰⁵ It has not been established in research for this report whether any papakainga loans were made in the Taihape inquiry district. It is noted, however, that the Rangitikei District Council currently has a policy of enabling iwi and hapu to develop papakainga housing.¹⁰⁶

Other recent government initiatives, such as Low Deposit Rural Lending established in 1994 and the Rural Housing Programme established in 2001, were focussed on three specific areas: the East Coast, the eastern Bay of Plenty, and Northland. In 2008 the Government established the Maori Demonstration Partnership Fund, although by August 2011 only four Maori groups had become involved in this project.¹⁰⁷ In 2010 the Government established the Kainga Whenua scheme in partnership with Kiwi Bank to build on multiply-owned Maori land.¹⁰⁸ In December 2014 it was reported that only 11 Kainga Whenua loans had been made in four years, although in some cases these loans appear to have been for substantial projects.¹⁰⁹

In October 2011 the government launched the Putea Maori scheme to fund housing projects on multiply-owned Maori land, to be undertaken by iwi organisations in conjunction with the Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment (MBIE). By May 2013 MBIE had allocated grant funding to Maori organisations in Northland, Bay of Plenty, Hamilton, Gisborne and Hawkes Bay.¹¹⁰ In 2014 MBIE announced further grants to four groups, none of which is based in the Taihape inquiry district.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Memo, Kaumatua Flats: Taihape, 5 December 1985; District Building Supervisor to Board of Maori Affairs, 5 February 1988; Memo, Hinemanu Marae, Taihape, 15 February 1989, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Accommodation - Kaumatua Flats - Flats And Housing For The Elderly - Winiata House (Taihape) 1984-1992', item R22157132, ABJZ 869 W4644 194 / 49/3/7/12 2

¹⁰⁵ Office of the Auditor General, 'Government Planning and Support for Housing on Maori Land', August 2011, p 29, available at www.oag.govt.nz/2011/housing-on-maori-land/docs/housing-on-maori-land.pdf

¹⁰⁶ Rangitikei District Council, 'Issues, Objectives, and Policies', p 18, www.rangitikei.govt.nz/files/general/District-Plan-Operative-Plan/District-Plan-Issues-Objectives-Policies.pdf

¹⁰⁷ Auditor General, pp 30-32

¹⁰⁸ Auditor General, p 33

¹⁰⁹ Radio NZ, 18 December 2014, www.radionz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihiri/262060/hnz-skirts-blame-over-kainga-whenua; *Bay of Plenty Times*, 27 July 2014, www.nzherald.co.nz/bay-of-plenty-times/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503343&objectid=11282889

¹¹⁰ Tiriana Turia, 24 May 2013, www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/ikaroa-rawhiti-maori-regional-housing-forum-amp-te-matapihi-he-tirohanga-mo-te-iwi-maori-hous

¹¹¹ 'SHU announces the final allocations for Pūtea Māori', 14 August 2014, www.socialhousingunit.govt.nz/news/shu-announces-the-final-allocations-for-putea-maori/

Chapter 18: Housing in Taihape Town

Introduction

Figure 5 in the introductory chapter to this report showed the significant increase in the Maori population of Taihape town after 1956. This increase was driven largely by two inter-related factors. One was the employment opportunities in the town, particularly within the Railways Department, at a time when rural employment opportunities were diminishing. The other was the Maori Affairs building and lending programme outlined in Chapter 17. It appears that most of the Maori Affairs lending within the Taihape inquiry district, until at least the mid-1960s, was to finance housing in Taihape town. The Department of Maori Affairs built around a dozen houses in Taihape in the early 1960s for sale to Maori. As a result, the proportion of Maori dwellings in Taihape owned with a mortgage more than doubled in five years, from 14 percent in 1961 to nearly 29 percent in 1966. The department continued purchasing sections in Taihape on which to build Maori housing until the 1980s.

Several mainstream housing programmes also operated in Taihape. These programmes were increasingly used by Maori as their presence in the town increased. This chapter outlines three government housing schemes that operated in Taihape for most of the twentieth century – railway housing, local authority housing, and state housing.

Railway Housing

The early years

In 1904, the year the railway reached Taihape, the Health Department reported that ‘slum dwellings are already to be found—miserable shanties crowded together on small sections—the outcome of the land speculator's desire to make the most of his investment’.¹¹² The Railways Department had by then already built 17 houses for its employees, as Taihape was intended as a significant railways service centre. The Department built a further six houses in the town by 1910.¹¹³ The rapid expansion of Taihape in subsequent decades led to a housing shortage in the town. In 1920 the Railways Department announced it planned to build a factory at Frankton near Auckland to make pre-fabricated railway cottages. Standardised materials and parts supplied from the factory were then to be transported by rail to towns with significant numbers of railway

¹¹² AJHR 1904, H31, p 41

¹¹³ Memo, District Engineer ‘Departmental Housing: Taihape’, 14 August 1978, Archives NZ Wellington, ‘Taihape: Housing 1978-1988’, item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

employees, including Taihape, where they were to be assembled into cottages.¹¹⁴ The Frankton scheme was put on hold due to a financial downturn but was re-activated once the economy picked up in late 1922.¹¹⁵ By October 1925 the Railways Department had erected 526 five-roomed cottages around the North Island from materials manufactured at Frankton. A high proportion of the completed cottages were around Auckland and the King Country but 25 were in Taihape.¹¹⁶

In 1927 the department was reported to have erected 1107 houses from the Frankton factory, including 38 in Taihape.¹¹⁷ When the factory closed in 1929 it had pre-cut some 1380 houses for erection around the North Island.¹¹⁸ It does not appear that any more were built in Taihape but a few were erected in other townships in the inquiry district - in August 1927 the *Auckland Star* reported that one of several railways houses in Mataroa had burnt down.¹¹⁹

In the early 1920s the rents for all railway cottages, including those built in earlier times, were set at one day's pay per week. This caused problems from the outset as some higher-paid workers resented paying more than the previous tenant when they moved into a railway house.¹²⁰ In addition, the quality of housing varied depending on age, with some houses being decades old and others brand new.

A commission of inquiry into the railways, which reported in 1930, concluded that the department's average rent was 'too low to enable the houses to be properly maintained and to pay depreciation, insurance, and interest on the cost'. The Railways Commission recommended an average rent increase of 33.3 percent, which it calculated would still leave the department with a significant loss. It also recommended that the rent set for each house be more closely aligned with the standard of accommodation provided.¹²¹ The government implemented an average rent increase of around 30 percent as suggested.¹²² However this increase effectively lasted only two years, as in December 1934 the Railways Department agreed to a 10 percent rent reduction backdated to 1 April 1932. Some railway employees enjoyed a significant pay-out as a result.¹²³

¹¹⁴ *Evening Post*, 27 August 1920, p 7; Ferguson, pp 93-97

¹¹⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 19 February 1923, p 8

¹¹⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 13 October 1925, p 10

¹¹⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 31 October 1927, p 10

¹¹⁸ 'Report of the Railways Commission', AJHR 1930, D4, p 19

¹¹⁹ *Auckland Star*, 16 August 1927, p 10

¹²⁰ *Evening Post*, 3 April 1924, p 9

¹²¹ 'Report of the Railways Commission', AJHR 1930, D4, p 19

¹²² *Evening Post*, 14 April 1938, p 10

¹²³ *New Zealand Herald*, 7 December 1934, p 18

It is unlikely that any of the 64 or so Taihape railway houses were rented to Maori in the 1920s or 1930s. The 1926 population census recorded just 25 Maori living in Taihape, or one percent of the borough's population. By 1951 the Maori population had risen to 91, although this was still under four percent of the Taihape population. Norman Moar estimated in the early 1950s that the railways had 200 employees in the town, so on a purely proportional basis this would equate to eight Maori railway workers at the time.¹²⁴

1950 to 1980

The Railways Department does not appear to have built any more houses in Taihape until the mid-1950s. Depression, war, and the post-war labour shortage made building difficult. The Department built a further 16 houses in Taihape (including one at Winiata) in the mid-1950s and another five by 1978. Three houses were demolished in 1977 due to their poor state, bringing the total to 82.¹²⁵ In addition to this housing, in 1958 the Department built a single men's compound in Taihape. This consisted of 36 huts intended for shift workers, plus an ablution block and a social hall. By the 1970s the compound had become run down and most of the huts were unoccupied.¹²⁶

In 1978 the Railways Department had 163 full-time employees based in Taihape.¹²⁷ It appears that railway house numbers peaked in the mid-1970s and thereafter fell. In his socio-economic scoping report for the Taihape inquiry Cleaver found evidence of 118 full-time railway employees based in Taihape in 1980. Seventeen percent had Maori surnames indicating that Maori made up a significant proportion of railways employees in the town.¹²⁸ Many Maori families occupied railway houses. This can be seen from the file documents in which staff applied for a house or for a transfer to a different house. Some of the applications were due to changed family circumstances. For example in 1971 Traffic Assistant J L Pakai applied for a railway house because he was getting married. He was occupying a hut in the staff compound and his application was received with sympathy because 'private housing is almost impossible to obtain in Taihape'.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Moar, *Origins of Taihape*, p 64

¹²⁵ Memo, District Engineer 'Departmental Housing: Taihape', 14 August 1978, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹²⁶ Minister of Railways to N Shelton MP, 15 November 1971, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 9 : 5, *Housing Initiatives, 1955-1982*

¹²⁷ Memo, District Engineer 'Departmental Housing: Taihape', 14 August 1978, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹²⁸ Cleaver, p 81

¹²⁹ District Traffic Manager to General Manager, Wanganui, 9 February 1971, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Allocations of Houses Taihape 1967-1978', item R18831904, AAEB W3199 58 / 04/2804/3 10

Some applying for a transfer did so because the poor state of the railway house they lived in was affecting their family's health. For example in July 1970 engine driver L Hepi applied to transfer to a warmer and less draughty house on medical advice due to the poor health of his children.¹³⁰ There are several similar examples on file. Maori Welfare officers were on occasions critical of the quality of railways housing. In his 1962 annual report the Welfare Officer based in Wanganui wrote that the Whangamomona and Tahora districts had probably the worst housing within the Aotea district. 'Nearly all the men folk are railway employees and they and their families live in very poor houses provided by the Railways Dept'.¹³¹ Although Whangamomona and Tahora are well outside the Taihape inquiry district, the age of the Taihape housing stock means that such observations may well have also applied there.

Until the late 1970s railway houses were relatively cheap to rent, especially in rural areas such as Taihape. Houses were divided into three categories for rental purposes, depending on age and condition. In 1978 the highest weekly rent for a rural house was \$5.50, equivalent to \$96 in 2015 using the Reserve Bank's housing inflation calculator. The highest urban rent was \$15, equivalent to \$263 in 2015.¹³² From around 1980 railway house rents were aligned with those charged by other government departments as determined by an agreement between the Combined State Unions (CSU) and the State Services Commission. This agreement set rents at 4.5 percent of the government valuation on the property for urban areas and three percent in rural areas.¹³³ These rates were nowhere near market rents as the railways continued to make substantial losses on its housing stock.¹³⁴ However, as noted above, tenants were not necessarily getting the best of quality.

Sale of railways housing

By the mid-1970s many of the 85 railway houses in Taihape were some 70 years old and becoming run-down. Three houses in Mataroa Road were demolished in early 1977 and the sections left vacant for several years while the department worked out what to do with them.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ L Paki to Locomotive Supervisor, Palmerston North, 16 July 1970, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Allocations of Houses Taihape 1967-1978', item R18831904, AAEB W3199 58 / 04/2804/3 10

¹³¹ D T Walden, Welfare Officer, Annual report for year ending 31 December 1962, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Welfare - Welfare Officers Report - Aotea 1961-1967', item R11840261, AAMK 869 W3074 1107 / a 36/29/6 6

¹³² Chief Industrial Officer, Note for Mr Trask, 10 April 1978, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Rentals of Railway Houses 1977-1979', item R16118935, AAEB W3293 117 / 16/1120/1 23

¹³³ Richard Prebble, Minister of Railways, Question for Written Answer due 7 July 1986, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Rentals of Railway Houses 1977-1979', item R16118935, AAEB W3293 117 / 16/1120/1 23

¹³⁴ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo: The North Island Main Trunk Railway and The Rohe Potae, 1870-2008', Wai 898, A20, p 249

¹³⁵ Taihape Town Clerk to Bruce Beetham MP, 31 July 1980, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

In 1978 the district engineer compiled a report on the housing stock and recommended that the 26 oldest houses be replaced in a five-year programme.¹³⁶

Two railway houses at Utiku and Ohingaiti were no longer needed by the department, the Ohingaiti house having been leased privately since 1969. Both were therefore moved to Taihape in 1980.¹³⁷ The following year the department began selling houses for removal, mainly from what was called the 'farm settlement'. In 1982 the department removed three houses and demolished the staff compound buildings to make way for track realignment in preparation for the electrification of the main trunk line.¹³⁸

By 1983 it was clear that electrification of the railway would considerably reduce the need for staff in Taihape and therefore for housing. In response to a Housing Corporation inquiry in May that year the acting Railways General Manager wrote that 'Taihape will no longer be a major headquarters for train crews once electrification is completed and this will probably mean the withdrawal from Taihape of up to 50 staff'. He estimated that the need for railway accommodation would reduce from 80 to 45 houses.¹³⁹

On top of electrification came another development. In 1982 the Railways Department became the New Zealand Railways Corporation. The new corporation had strongly commercial objectives and in 1983 began staff layoffs through voluntary redundancies. In 1986 the Corporation began a process of compulsory redundancy.¹⁴⁰ Between 1983 and 1992 the number of full-time staff employed nationally by the railways declined from around 20,000 to 5400.¹⁴¹ In 2014 KiwiRail employed about 4100 staff.¹⁴² In 1986 the Corporation decided that 90 positions would be disestablished in Taihape.¹⁴³ If Cleaver's figure of 118 staff in 1980 is correct then this would leave about 20 railways staff in Taihape by 1990.

¹³⁶ Memo, District Engineer 'Departmental Housing: Taihape', 14 August 1978, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹³⁷ Chief Civil Engineer to General Manager, New Zealand Railways, 19 September 1979, and General Manager note headed 'Housing, Taihape', 28 August 1981, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹³⁸ District Engineer to General Manager, 22 April 1982 Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹³⁹ Acting General-Manager to Manager, Housing Corporation, Palmerston North, 9 June 1983, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹⁴⁰ New Zealand Institute for the Study of Competition and Regulation Inc, 'The Privatisation of New Zealand Rail', July 1998 revised July 1999, pp 9, 48 available at www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/research-policy/wp/1999/99-10/twp99-10.pdf

¹⁴¹ Cleaver, Wai 2180, #A14, p 104

¹⁴² KiwiRail Annual Report 2014, p 18, available at [www.kiwirail.co.nz/uploads/Publications/2014%20Annual%20Report%20-%20WEB%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.kiwirail.co.nz/uploads/Publications/2014%20Annual%20Report%20-%20WEB%20(2).pdf)

¹⁴³ Extract from Group Manager's property business memo, 5 August 1986, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

The process of house sales for removal that had begun in 1977 continued during the 1980s, except that with the impending redundancies there was no longer any intention that the houses would be replaced. Instead a number of sites were sold for commercial and other uses. By 1986 three former railways housing sites in Mataroa Road were occupied by Gumboot Manor, a café still operating in 2015.¹⁴⁴ In 1987 the Mokai-Patea Kohanga Reo sought to lease or buy one of the disused houses. The Railways Corporation agreed that Maori Affairs could buy the house to lease for the kohanga reo providing the Taihape Borough Council had no objections.¹⁴⁵ As at 31 December 2011, 13 former railway housing sections in Taihape (without houses) were landbanked for possible inclusion in Treaty of Waitangi settlements.¹⁴⁶

In 1986 the management of all Railways property was placed under a single business group of the Corporation, which subsequently accelerated the sale of houses. Each house was first offered to its sitting tenants, then to the state housing organisations, and lastly to other railway staff before it was sold on the open market. By 1988 some 40 percent of the housing stock had been sold in this way.¹⁴⁷ A few railways houses remained in Taihape, as the Corporation processed several applications for housing early that year.¹⁴⁸ The Railways Corporation imposed market rents for its houses and offered tenants assistance to buy them. In 1989 the Corporation sold most of its remaining houses to a single company, Stone Key Investments Limited, in a bulk deal.¹⁴⁹ It has not been established in research for this report whether KiwiRail currently owns any railway houses in Taihape or elsewhere.

Local Authority Housing

The Workers' Dwellings Act 1906 provided for local authorities to build housing but little was done until 1913 when the government empowered local authorities to borrow money for housing. In 1920 the government made £1 million available for this purpose.¹⁵⁰ In the early 1920s the Taihape Borough Council borrowed money to build nine houses to rent to workers.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Extract from Group Manager's property business memo, 5 August 1986, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹⁴⁵ Avis Pickering to Assistant General Manager, Railways, 6 April 1987 and vice versa, 25 August 1987; Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹⁴⁶ Philip Cleaver, 'Taking Of Maori Land For Public Works In The Taihape Inquiry District', Wai 2180, A9, 2012, p 174

¹⁴⁷ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo: The North Island Main Trunk Railway and The Rohe Potae, 1870-2008', Wai 898, A20, pp 250-251

¹⁴⁸ Three applications for railways houses, March and April 1988, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Taihape: Housing 1978-1988', item R23932670, AAJM 24881 W5514 163 / 2580/37 1

¹⁴⁹ Cleaver and Sarich, 'Turongo', pp 251-252

¹⁵⁰ Ferguson, pp 69-70, 84

¹⁵¹ Town Clerk, Taihape Borough Council to Officer-in-Charge, Workers Dwelling Department, 27 April 1922, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 20 : 3, Rental Housing, 1921-1971

This brought the total number of council-owned houses to 10.¹⁵² In 1947 the council acquired five surplus buildings from the Waiouru army base to transport to sections it owned in Taihape. They were then converted for council housing.¹⁵³ Two of the resulting houses were called 'transit houses', perhaps reflecting that they were intended as temporary, although they lasted for many decades.

There was high demand for council houses, reflecting the housing shortage in Taihape for much of the twentieth century. In September 1963, for example, the Borough Council considered 17 applications for a single housing vacancy. From the application details supplied, at least three of the applicants were Maori.¹⁵⁴ Overall, however, the Taihape Borough Council was not a significant provider of housing to Maori. In 1971 two of the 15 council tenants had Maori names.¹⁵⁵ In 1980 three of the 15 tenants had Maori names, while two of the houses were rented to council employees, including the town clerk.¹⁵⁶ In August 1985, when an assessment of council rents was conducted, two of the council houses were vacant. By then the council also had 12 pensioner flats. It is unclear when these were built.¹⁵⁷

In 1985 the rents for council houses (excluding pensioner flats, which were much cheaper) ranged from \$18.50 to \$37 per week, the highest rent being for a three bedroom house.¹⁵⁸ This is equivalent to \$120 to \$240 per week in 2015 according to the Reserve Bank's housing inflation calculator. Although the population of Taihape was falling during the 1980s, when a vacant council house was advertised in June 1986 it attracted five applicants, four of whom were Maori.¹⁵⁹

The management of local authority housing in Taihape was transferred to the Rangitikei District Council after the Taihape Borough Council was disestablished in 1989. In 2015 the district council targeted all its community housing at pensioners, charging subsidised rentals. Non-pensioners were able to rent houses but the council reserved a right to charge market rents if

¹⁵² McLean and Kinkaid to Town Clerk, Taihape Borough Council, 15 August 1940, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 20 : 3, Rental Housing, 1921-1971

¹⁵³ Town Clerk, Taihape Borough Council to R Talboys, Architect, 24 July 1947, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 9 : 4, Housing Initiatives, 1947-1954

¹⁵⁴ Housing Committee Agenda, 5 September 1963, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 20 : 3, Rental Housing, 1921-1971

¹⁵⁵ Taihape Borough Council circular dated 17 August 1971, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 20 : 3, Rental Housing, 1921-1971

¹⁵⁶ Housing Inspection Report 1980, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 21 : 1, Rental Housing, 1977-1983

¹⁵⁷ Borough Houses, list of rentals, 18 August 1985, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 21 : 2, Rental Housing, 1984-1989

¹⁵⁸ Borough Houses, list of rentals, 18 August 1985, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 21 : 2, Rental Housing, 1984-1989

¹⁵⁹ Memo to Properties Committee, 27 June 1986, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 21 : 2, Rental Housing, 1984-1989

they did so.¹⁶⁰ The small number of houses owned by the Taihape Borough and Rangitikei District Councils means that council housing is unlikely to have had much impact on housing supply within the Taihape Inquiry District.

State Housing

The population of Taihape Borough fell significantly between 1926 and 1936. But it then started to increase again and did so continuously for 30 years. This steady rise in population put pressure on housing and there were constant housing shortages in Taihape until the late 1970s, when the population began to fall.

A housing shortage must have already been apparent in the late 1930s, for Taihape was singled out for inclusion in the Labour government's new state housing scheme. During 1937 officers from the Housing Department visited the town seeking around 20 sections to buy for state housing.¹⁶¹ Several houses had been built by October 1939, with the tenants initially having to use candles because housing growth caused a power shortage in the town.¹⁶² By May 1947, 27 state houses had been completed in Taihape and more were under construction.¹⁶³ However, there were ongoing complaints about housing shortages including problems finding accommodation for returned servicemen, who were given priority for state housing.¹⁶⁴ By August 1950, 49 state houses had been built in Taihape and a further five were under construction.¹⁶⁵

The National Government elected in 1949 was less sympathetic to state housing, and new construction in Taihape came to a halt for several years in the 1950s in the face of ongoing protests from the Taihape Borough Council and the local chamber of commerce.¹⁶⁶ Despite the slowdown another 11 state houses were built in Taihape during the 1950s, in theory bringing the total to 65.¹⁶⁷ However a number of state houses were sold in in the early 1950s. On taking

¹⁶⁰ Rangitikei District Council, 'Schedule of Fees and Charges, 1 July 2015 to 30 June 2016', available at www.rangitikei.govt.nz/files/general/Fees-Charges/Schedule-of-fees-and-charges-2015-2016-Updated-05-10-2015.pdf

¹⁶¹ Housing Under-Secretary to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 14 May 1937, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wellington Land District - Housing Scheme – Taihape 1937-1980', item R3952260, ABWN 6095 W5021 752 / 30/228/46 1

¹⁶² *Taihape Times*, 24 October 1939, in Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing situation – Taihape 1937-1973', item R10982286, AEFM 19224 W2060 HD1W2060 8 / 3/45

¹⁶³ Director of Housing Construction to Robert Semple, 14 May 1947, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing situation – Taihape 1937-1973', item R10982286, AEFM 19224 W2060 HD1W2060 8 / 3/45

¹⁶⁴ Rehabilitation Officer to Director, Housing Construction Department, 28 April 1947, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing situation – Taihape 1937-1973', item R10982286, AEFM 19224 W2060 HD1W2060 8 / 3/45

¹⁶⁵ Commissioner of Works to Minister of Works, 17 August 1950, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing situation – Taihape 1937-1973', item R10982286, AEFM 19224 W2060 HD1W2060 8 / 3/45

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, Taihape Borough Town Clerk to Minister of Housing, 25 July 1951, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing situation – Taihape 1937-1973', item R10982286, AEFM 19224 W2060 HD1W2060 8 / 3/45

¹⁶⁷ Acting Director Housing Construction to Taihape Town Clerk, 3 July 1952; Secretary for Minister of Housing to Commissioner of Works, 26 April 1955; District Supervisor, Housing Construction Division to Director of

office, National introduced a scheme to sell state houses to existing tenants on generous terms. By 1957 it had sold 13,300 houses under the scheme.¹⁶⁸ It is not clear how many Taihape state houses were sold, but by June 1955 all Taihape state houses occupied by railway workers had been purchased by the tenants.¹⁶⁹ A 1950 report estimated that 40 railway workers were renting non-railway houses in Taihape, so presumably a number of these were in state housing.¹⁷⁰ Assuming that other tenants also purchased their houses, the number of state houses in Taihape probably reduced during the 1950s. The sales would not, however, have affected the total housing stock in the town.

State house building in Taihape after 1960 appears to have been sporadic. In 1965 the government brought two ex-hospital sections for housing purposes.¹⁷¹ During the 1970s government departments followed the railways by building their own accommodation for employees.¹⁷² In 1974 the State Advances Corporation built four more state houses in Taihape.¹⁷³ In the late 1970s the government funded a further six state houses in the town.¹⁷⁴

Few Maori families lived in Taihape until the 1960s so they would have made little use of state housing until then. The 1956 census recorded just six Maori families in Taihape rental housing. By 1961 this had increased to 21, and in 1966 to 33. In April 1970 there were 14 applicants on the waiting list for state housing in Taihape, with nine of these classified as 'urgent'. At least four of the 14 applicants and three of the nine urgent cases appeared to be Maori.¹⁷⁵ By 1991 Maori made up a third of the Taihape population, more than twice the national average. As Maori were around a quarter of state house tenants nationally at that time, they likely constituted a majority

Housing, 8 December 1958, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing situation – Taihape 1937-1973', item R10982286, AEFM 19224 W2060 HD1W2060 8 / 3/45

¹⁶⁸ Ben Schrader, *We Call it Home: A History of State Housing in New Zealand*, Reed: Auckland, 2005, pp 46-52

¹⁶⁹ Memo, General Manager, State Advances Corporation Wellington to Head Office, 30 June 1955, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Investigation and allocation of rental houses – Taihape 1938-1974', item R19843079, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956 44 / 35/89/36 1

¹⁷⁰ Taihape Town Clerk to Manager, State Advances Corporation, 16 August 1950, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 9 : 4, Housing Initiatives, 1947-1954

¹⁷¹ District Supervisor, MOW Housing Division, Palmerston North to Chief Surveyor, Department of Lands and Survey, 27 May 1966, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Wellington: Housing Scheme - Taihape: Housing Surveys 1941-1984', item R22602312 AAMA 619 W3166 39 / 4/288

¹⁷² Taihape Town Clerk to Norman Shelton, MP, 28 September 1971, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Investigation and allocation of rental houses – Taihape 1938-1974', item R19843079, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956 44 / 35/89/36 1

¹⁷³ Memo, Resident Officer, State Advances Corporation, Wanganui to General Manager, 19 April 1974, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Investigation and allocation of rental houses – Taihape 1938-1974', item R19843079, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956 44 / 35/89/36 1

¹⁷⁴ Taihape Mayor to Bruce Beetham, MP, 26 July 1978, Archives Central Feilding, RDC 00070 : 9 : 5, Housing Initiatives, 1955-1982

¹⁷⁵ List of State House Applicants: Taihape, 22 April 1970, Archives NZ Wellington, 'Housing Management - Investigation and allocation of rental houses – Taihape 1938-1974', item R19843079, AELE 19203 W1956 SAC1W1956 44 / 35/89/36 1

of state house tenants in Taihape.¹⁷⁶ As noted below, most state houses in Taihape were sold from the mid-1990s.

Housing Policy Changes

From the mid-1950s the rentals on state houses were fixed by the ‘fair rent’ provisions of the Tenancy Act 1955. The ‘fair rent’ was based on the capital value of the property plus an allowance for improvements and outgoings such as insurance.¹⁷⁷ For a time this put standard state house rents roughly on par with those in the private sector, although many paid less because of rental abatements that took into account income and family size.¹⁷⁸ Because the fair rent provisions did not apply to private dwellings built after the passing of the 1955 Act, over time market rents became considerably higher than state house rents.¹⁷⁹

In the 1970s the third Labour government introduced income-related rents for state houses, which set rents as either a proportion of family income or at the ‘fair rent’, whichever was lower. As Schrader notes, because the fair rent was by then lower than the market rent, even high-income state tenants were getting significant rental subsidies. By 1985 state house rents were on average less than half the market rent even when an income-related rent did not apply.¹⁸⁰ The fourth Labour government therefore abolished the ‘fair rent’ regime and instead applied market rents to high income earners. Most tenants continued to pay income-related rents.¹⁸¹

In 1991 the National government abolished income-related rents for state houses, significantly increased accommodation subsidies provided to low-income private renters, and renamed these subsidies the ‘Accommodation Supplement’. From 1992 state house rents were progressively increased until they reached a market rental and state house tenants become eligible for the accommodation supplement.¹⁸² Although some state house rents had not reached market rent by 1995, it is likely that state rentals in Taihape reached that level much sooner. The population of Taihape had fallen almost 25 percent in 15 years by 1991. As in other provincial districts, rents would have followed the same downwards trajectory. There would therefore, in many cases, have been little difference between an income-related rent and a market rent for a state house in Taihape.

¹⁷⁶ Fergusson, p 266

¹⁷⁷ Tenancy Act 1955, sections 20-29; Schrader, p 63

¹⁷⁸ Schrader, p 63

¹⁷⁹ Tenancy Act 1955, section 6. By exempting new dwellings from rent-setting the government presumably wished to encourage the building of new rental properties.

¹⁸⁰ Schrader, pp 63-64

¹⁸¹ Schrader, p 64

¹⁸² Schrader, pp 65, 67, 71

In 2000 the Labour-led Government restored income-related rents and these were retained by the National-led Government after 2008. From 2000, state house tenants paid roughly 25 percent of the income of the two main earners in rent (or the market rent if that was lower) and were ineligible for the Accommodation Supplement.¹⁸³ For most this policy change meant a decrease in rent, but by July 2002 over 11 percent of state house tenants were still paying market rents.¹⁸⁴ By July 2012 tighter targeting of state housing and rising rents had reduced the proportion paying market rents to less than eight percent.¹⁸⁵ Many in this category were in areas such as Southland where rents were relatively cheap. Some tenants in Taihape may well have been in a similar situation. In the 2013 census the median reported rent paid in Taihape was \$150 per week.¹⁸⁶ This was 46 percent below the national median rent of \$280 per week.¹⁸⁷ The 2013 census showed that 123 Maori households were in rental accommodation in Taihape.

During the 1990s the government sold about 1800 state houses to tenants on favourable terms and nearly 10,000 other state houses on the open market. The government argued that depopulation ‘reduced the demand for state housing in provincial districts’ where many of the sales took place.¹⁸⁸ In 2015 Housing New Zealand Corporation owned just 11 houses in Taihape, indicating that most had been sold since the mid-1990s.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ The formula as now applied by Housing New Zealand Corporation is rather more complicated: ‘Corporation tenants are eligible to pay an income-related rent, which is set at 25 percent of their net income up to the New Zealand superannuation threshold. Fifty percent of any income above this threshold is also paid as rent, until the market rent for the property is reached’ – HNZN Annual Report 2011/12, p 14

¹⁸⁴ Housing New Zealand Annual Report, 2001/02, p 31, available at www.hnzc.co.nz/our-publications/annual-report/2001-2002-annual-report/annual-report-2001-02.pdf

¹⁸⁵ HNZN Annual Report 2011/12, p 14

¹⁸⁶ Statistics NZ, www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-a-place.aspx?request_value=14242&tabname=Housing

¹⁸⁷ Statistics NZ, stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-housing/households-who-rent.aspx

¹⁸⁸ Schrader, p 73

¹⁸⁹ Figure supplied by Housing New Zealand Corporation

Chapter 19: The Housing Situation of Taihape Maori in 2013

The 2013 Census

This chapter covers the contemporary Maori housing situation in the Taihape inquiry district, utilising data derived from the 2013 population census. The census included a number of questions relating to housing. As was outlined in Chapter 6, it is possible to approximate the Taihape inquiry district for the purposes of analysing census data. This chapter analyses 2013 census data relating to home ownership, household crowding, and dwelling type. For the purposes of this analysis, Statistics New Zealand classifies each household as ‘Maori’ or ‘non-Maori’. A household is categorised as ‘Maori’ if any member of that household is of Maori ethnicity. Otherwise it is categorised as ‘non-Maori’. A Maori dwelling is a dwelling occupied by a Maori household.¹⁹⁰

The census information on dwelling type is of least interest. It shows, not surprisingly, that those residing in the Taihape inquiry district are more likely than other New Zealanders to live in a separate house as opposed to an apartment, flat or other dwelling connected to another. (This latter category includes elderly rest homes and the like). Only seven percent of Taihape Maori dwellings and four percent of Taihape non-Maori dwellings were flats, apartments etc. This compares with nearly 15 percent of Maori dwellings and over 17 percent of non-Maori dwellings nation-wide in this category.

Household Tenure

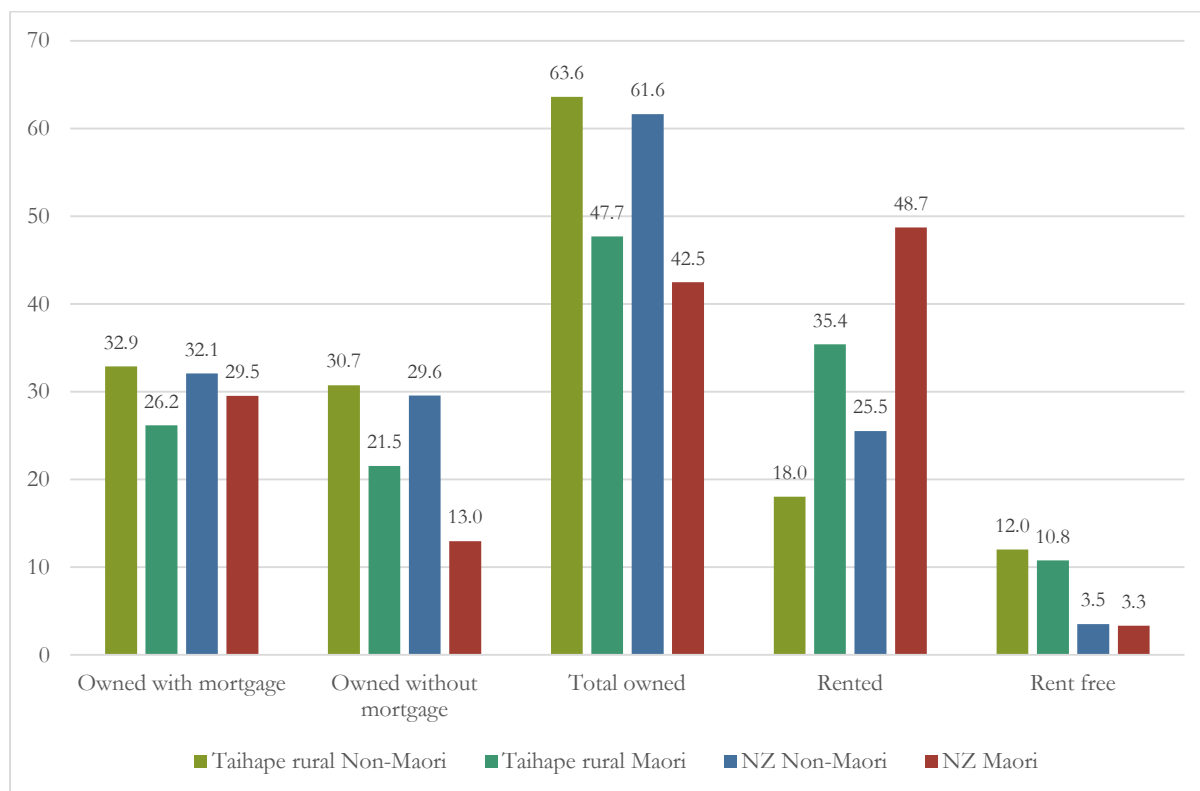
The 2013 census showed that only 41 percent of Maori dwellings in the Taihape inquiry district were owner-occupied, whether with or without a mortgage. (Owner-occupied dwellings here include properties owned by family trusts). The ownership rate was slightly below that for Maori nation-wide, at 43 percent, and well below that for non-Maori. Around 64 percent of non-Maori dwellings were owner-occupied, whether within or outside the inquiry district.

However, these figures are misleading, as they include Waiouru. Over 78 percent of the 222 occupied dwellings in Waiouru were rented, presumably by army employees posted there. Forty-five percent of dwellings in Waiouru were classified as Maori dwellings. Because Waiouru is so atypical of the inquiry district in this respect, its inclusion in the household tenure figures distorts the overall results. If we look at household tenure solely in the rural areas outside of Taihape,

¹⁹⁰ Georgie Craw, Wai 2180, A28, p 16

Hunterville, Waiouru and Mangaweka we get a slightly different picture. This is illustrated by figure 19.1 which is based on the 1044 rural dwellings in the Taihape inquiry district.¹⁹¹

Figure 19.1: Household Tenure by Ethnicity, Rural Taihape and NZ in 2013 (Percent)



Note: Rural Taihape excludes the towns of Taihape, Waiouru, Mangaweka, and Hunterville

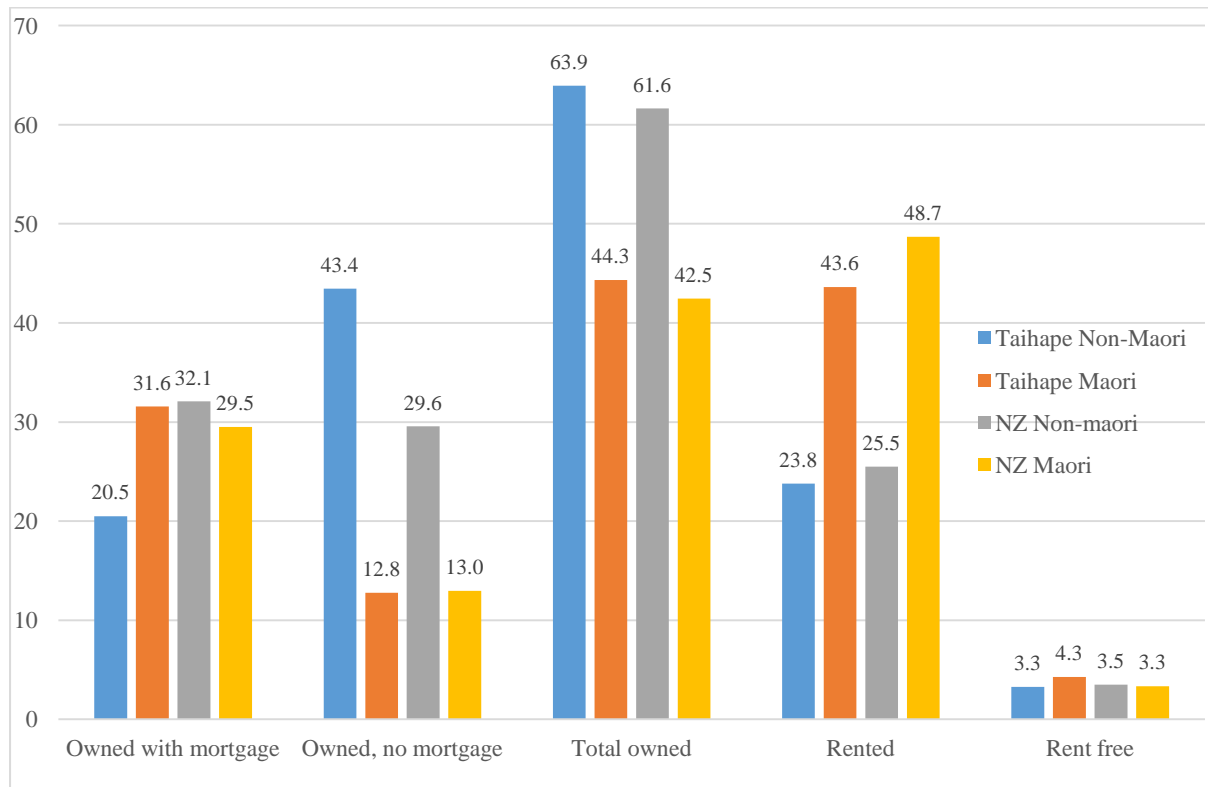
Rural Taihape residents were distinguished by significantly lower rates of renting than their counterparts elsewhere in New Zealand, and rent-free accommodation was more than three times as common as elsewhere. Home ownership rates were also higher than elsewhere due to a high proportion of dwellings owned without a mortgage. A significant gap remained between rates of Maori and rates of non-Maori home ownership however. Although it is not shown in the graph, nearly one in four non-Maori dwellings and nearly one in five Maori dwellings in rural Taihape was owned by a family trust. Family trusts are common with respect to farm ownership. In comparison, one in seven New Zealand dwellings were owned by family trusts in 2013.

Figure 19.2 shows household tenure for the 648 occupied dwellings in Taihape town, showing it had a similar profile to New Zealand as a whole. A significant exception was ownership without

¹⁹¹ Note that both Hunterville, with 42 Maori dwellings, and Mangaweka, with 12 Maori dwellings, are excluded from the analysis in this section.

a mortgage by non-Maori, which was exceptionally high in the town. In contrast to rural Taihape, only 6.5 percent of dwellings in Taihape town were held in a family trust, less than half the national rate. As elsewhere in New Zealand, Maori are significantly more likely to rent and significantly less likely to own than non-Maori.

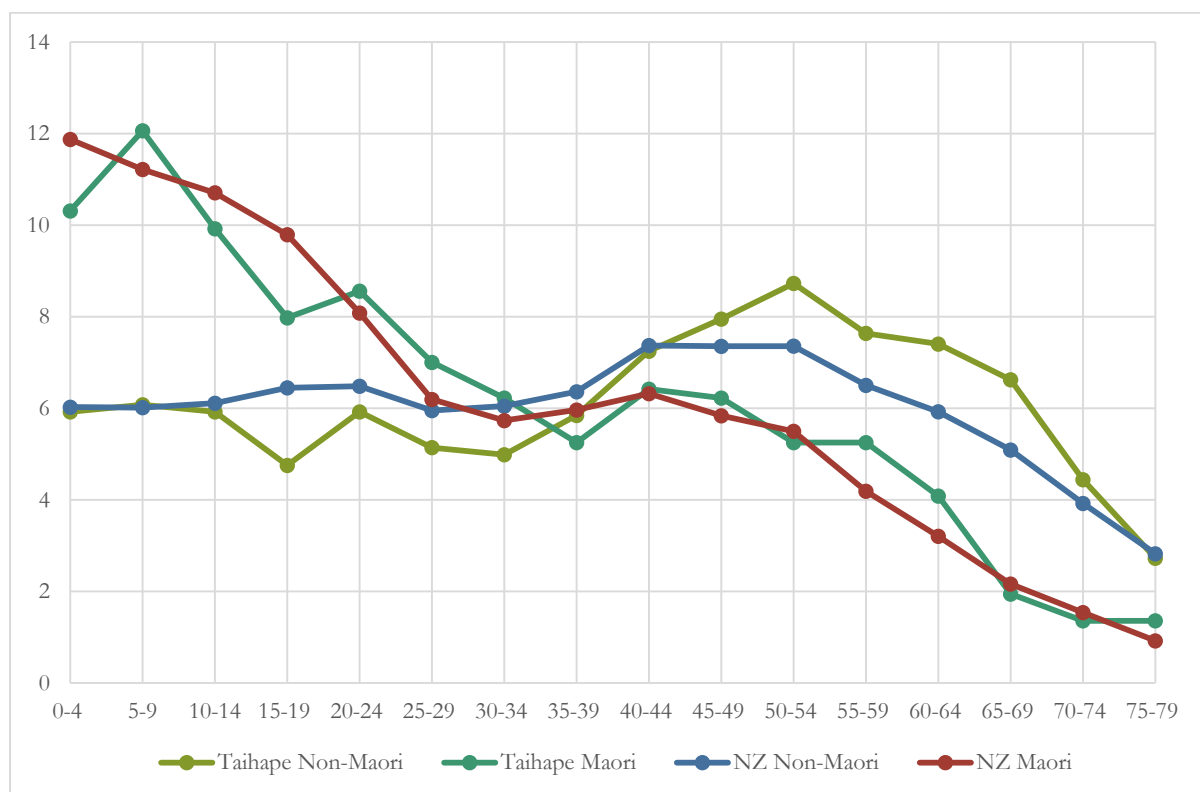
Figure 19.2: Household Tenure by Ethnicity, Taihape Town and NZ in 2013 (Percent)



Note: In Figures 19.1 and 19.2, properties owned by family trusts are included in the 'owned' categories

The main results in common from Figures 19.1 and 19.2 is that Maori were significantly *less* likely than non-Maori to live in owner-occupied mortgage-free dwellings and significantly *more* likely to rent. To some extent this is a factor of the age structure of the population, shown in Figure 19.3 below. The graph is for the whole inquiry district population, including Waiouru, as the population numbers become too small within some age groups to make a coherent graph if areas are left out. However the general point from Figure 19.3 is that non-Maori, particularly those in the inquiry district, were significantly more likely than Maori to live in households where a family member was aged over 45. Older home owners are of course most likely to be mortgage-free. At the other end of the scale, Maori were more likely to be in households where the oldest member was aged under 25, and therefore more likely to be renting.

Figure 19.3: Age by Ethnicity - Taihape Inquiry District and New Zealand in 2013 (Percent)



Household Crowding

Statistics New Zealand has produced a household crowding index based on the Canadian National Occupancy Standard (CNOS). The CNOS states that:

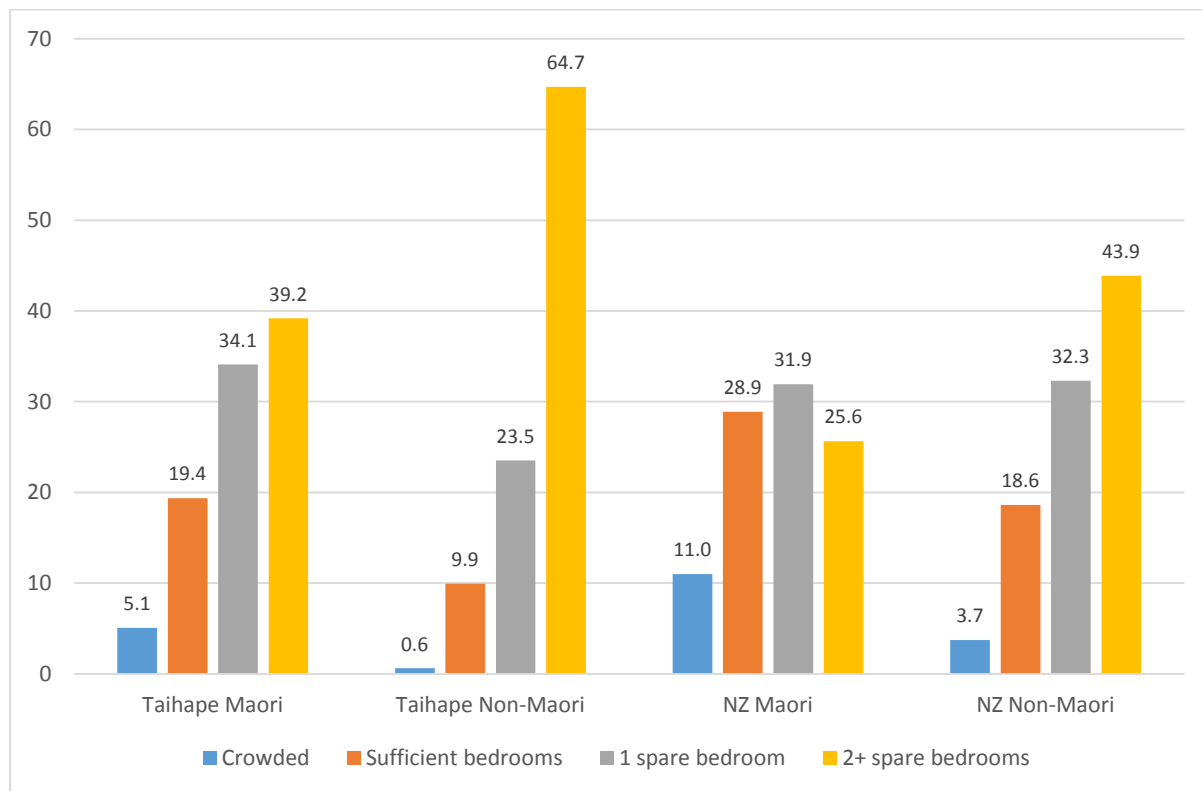
- No more than two people shall share a bedroom
- Parents or couples may share a bedroom
- Children under 5 years, either of the same sex or opposite sex may share a bedroom
- Children under 18 years of the same sex may share a bedroom
- A child aged 5 to 17 years should not share a bedroom with a child under 5 of the opposite sex
- Single adults 18 years and over and any unpaired children require a separate bedroom.¹⁹²

On the basis of the CNOS standard, Statistics New Zealand calculates for specific areas how many additional bedrooms were needed in a dwelling to meet the standard, or alternatively whether the dwelling had sufficient or excess bedrooms to meet the standard. Figure 19.4

¹⁹² Statistics New Zealand, 'Housing Quality Tables', www.stats.govt.nz/tools_and_services/nzdotstat/tables-by-subject/housing-quality-tables/crowding-occupancy-rate.aspx

compares the results for the Taihape inquiry district and New Zealand based on 2013 census results.

Figure 19.4: Household Crowding by Ethnicity, Taihape and NZ in 2013 (Percent)



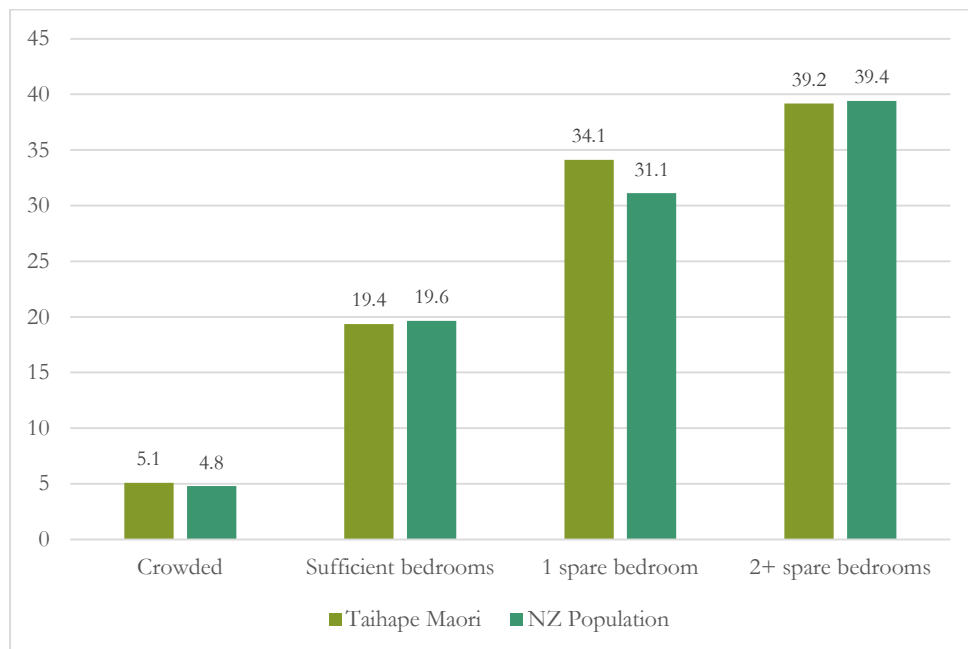
The main results that stand out from Figure 19.4 are that New Zealand Maori were three times as likely as New Zealand non-Maori to reside in crowded households, and considerably less likely to have spare bedrooms. Non-Maori in the Taihape inquiry district were considerably more likely than any of the other groups to have two or more spare bedrooms. As Figure 19.5 below shows, Maori in the Taihape inquiry district had an almost identical crowding profile to the New Zealand population overall. This is perhaps not surprising given depopulation in the district.

The 2013 census recorded 117 unoccupied dwellings in Taihape, making up 15.1 percent of total dwellings in the town.¹⁹³ It should be noted that this figure includes houses unoccupied because people are temporarily absent, on holiday for example. In 2013 the national figure for unoccupied dwellings reached an all-time high of 10.6 percent thanks to the Canterbury

¹⁹³ Statistics New Zealand, www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-a-place.aspx?request_value=14242&parent_id=14233&tabname=#14242

earthquake.¹⁹⁴ In Mangaweka 17.9 percent of dwellings were classified as unoccupied in 2013, and in the Moawhango district the figure was 13.8 percent.¹⁹⁵

Figure 19.5: Household Crowding, Taihape Maori and NZ in 2013 (Percent)



Conclusions on housing indicators

Results from the 2013 census show that Maori, whether within or outside the inquiry district, were less likely than non-Maori to live in an owner-occupied mortgage-free dwelling. They were also more likely to be renting. To some extent this was a consequence of the differing age structure of the Maori and non-Maori populations. Maori were concentrated more in the younger age groups likely to be renting and less in the older age groups who are the most likely to be mortgage-free owners.

Nearly 59 percent of rural Maori in the inquiry district were in either owner-occupied or rent-free accommodation, just below the 62 percent in the general population in these two categories. However, in Taihape town only 49 percent of Maori households were in the owned and rent-free categories, a significantly lower proportion than the general population. This was primarily because of the low level of mortgage-free home ownership, a statistic that Taihape Maori shared with Maori overall.

¹⁹⁴ Statistics New Zealand, www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/century-censuses-dwellings/unoccupied.aspx

¹⁹⁵ Statistics New Zealand, www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-a-place.aspx?request_value=14238&parent_id=14233&tabname=#

The crowding level for Maori households in the Taihape inquiry district was no greater than in New Zealand overall, with around five percent of households classified as needing additional bedrooms under the Canadian National Occupancy Standard used by Statistics New Zealand. The crowding level for non-Maori in the inquiry district, at under one percent, was a fraction of the national average. Nearly 90 percent of non-Maori occupied dwellings in the inquiry district had spare bedrooms.

The low level of household crowding in the Taihape inquiry district no doubt reflects the declining population in the district. Taihape town lost nearly 1300 people between 1976 and 2013, a decline likely shared with the broader inquiry district. A declining population frees up housing stock leading to a reduced level of household crowding. One in six houses in Taihape town were classified as unoccupied in the 2013 census.

Chapter 20: Conclusions on Housing

Introduction

The chapter is structured around the questions on housing in the Waitangi Tribunal's commission for this project which were outlined in the introduction to this section of the report. First, however, it briefly outlines one of the main findings of the housing section of this report, namely the existence of what has here been dubbed the 'rural paradox'.

The rural paradox

During the 1950s and early 1960s the proportion of Maori rural dwellings in New Zealand owned with a mortgage increased significantly and the proportion owned without a mortgage fell by a similar margin. This indicates that Maori were participating in the building and lending programme operated through the Department of Maori Affairs by leaving, or borrowing to repair, their existing dwellings. During the same period the quality of Maori housing improved significantly, as exemplified by the increasing presence of flush toilets, baths, and modern conveniences such as refrigerators and washing machines.

The quality of Maori housing likewise improved significantly in the rural parts of the Taihape inquiry district, as shown by the household census for the decade 1956 to 1966. However there was almost no increase in home ownership with a mortgage during this period despite a big decline in mortgage-free ownership. Instead the proportion of rented Maori dwellings in the rural parts of the inquiry district doubled between 1956 and 1966. It appeared that Maori in the inquiry district were enjoying significant improvements in housing quality with little help from the Department of Maori Affairs.

The evidence indicates that the reason for this apparent paradox is that Maori in the rural parts of the inquiry district were moving into rented dwellings built by farmers using loans from the government's rural housing scheme. Under the scheme, county councils could borrow government funds to lend to farmers under favourable conditions which included 100 percent loans, a low interest rate, and a government subsidy. The Rangitikei District Council was a significant participant in the scheme.

Crown Actions

Why and from when did the Crown (or local or special purpose authorities) begin providing housing assistance for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What resources and services did it provide or resource, in particular initiatives to monitor

and improve housing for Taihape Māori? How has this decision making changed over time? To what extent have general housing assistance initiatives such as state house rentals been available to Taihape Māori?

In 1900 the government instituted a campaign to try and improve Maori health and housing. Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) were appointed to senior positions in the new Department of Public Health and were charged, among other things, with bringing about improvements in housing quality, water supply, and sanitation in Maori villages.¹⁹⁶ They were supported by Native Sanitary Inspectors and by health inspectors appointed by the Health Department, hospital boards, and local authorities. Pomare, Buck and the sanitary and health inspectors liaised with regional Maori councils and village committees appointed under the Maori Councils Act 1900. Village committees could deal with local sanitation matters such as destruction of rubbish, the repair or removal of unsanitary buildings, and the installation of water closets. From 1903 Maori Councils were empowered to initiate water supply projects.

By 1909, Maori councils and village committees had overseen the destruction of 1203 houses and whare as unfit for habitation, the erection of 2103 new houses and 301 new whare, and the installation of over 1000 pit privies. It is not known how much of this work was undertaken within the Taihape inquiry district by the Kurahaupo Maori Council and its associated village committees. The government provided little funding for housing and sanitation improvements, which in the main were funded by Maori themselves through the taxes they paid to Maori councils for dog ownership and the fines they paid for transgressing Maori Council by-laws.

Much of this new housing was of poor quality and Maori often lacked the money to maintain their properties. Many of the gains made in the early 1900s were therefore soon lost, particularly during the economic depression of the 1930s. By the middle of the decade Maori housing was in many parts of the country as bad as ever. A 1938 survey of 80 Maori dwellings located near the Taihape inquiry district found only 15 houses considered habitable. Reports of similar surveys in the early 1930s led to renewed government efforts to try and improve Maori housing.

In 1935 and 1938 Parliament passed Native Housing Acts that improved the ability of Maori to borrow to buy and renovate housing. Over time the Department of Maori Affairs developed a programme, in partnership with other government departments and the private sector, to build new houses for Maori which they could then buy through loans from Maori Affairs and the State Advances Corporation. In 1944 the Native Department took over responsibility for housing

¹⁹⁶ Footnotes will not be used in this chapter when summarising material from previous chapters.

construction from the Department of Public Works and began applying the same standards to housing construction as applied to state houses. During the 1940s and 1950s the government made the Maori housing scheme more attractive. It regularly raised the upper limit for loans and extended the term over which they could be paid. The government also made its housing assistance to 'indigent' Maori more generous. In 1950 the government provided 'suspensory loans' of up to £200 to Maori borrowers – basically a gift that would be written off once the house had been continuously occupied for seven years.

In the late 1950s the government substantially increased the upper limit for Maori Affairs loans, made these limits flexible depending on family size, and lowered the interest rate payable. In 1959 the government allowed all potential low-income home buyers to capitalise the family benefit to put towards buying a house, a move that greatly benefited Maori with large families. During the 1960s the government accelerated its programme of building houses for Maori in the wake of the Hunn report and focussed its efforts more on urban areas. The Maori Affairs building and lending programme received a further significant boost in the mid-1970s when every aspect of the programme, including family benefit capitalisation, was made more generous.

However the effects of the Maori Affairs housing programme within the Taihape inquiry district appear to have been slight. This report estimates that by 1961 some 20 to 25 Maori dwellings in the district were owned with a mortgage. If all of these houses were built through the Department of Maori Affairs scheme, then this represents the building of no more than one new house per year from the late 1930s. To put this figure in perspective, the Maori population of the inquiry district appears to have more than doubled over the period 1936 to 1961.¹⁹⁷

Maori Affairs increased its building in Taihape town during the 1960s, and 18 Maori dwellings in the town were owned with a mortgage by 1966. The Department continued building in Taihape in the 1970s and 1980s, although its efforts were inhibited by the limited availability of suitable land. No evidence was found in research for this report of Maori Affairs building in the rural parts of the Taihape inquiry district after 1961. This is consistent with the Department's policy at the time, which increasingly focussed on building in urban areas.

It appears that general housing initiatives had a greater impact on Maori housing in the Taihape inquiry district than those targeted specifically at Maori. The rural housing scheme, initiated in 1939, provided government loans to local authorities to on-lend to farmers to build new housing for workers on their farms. This scheme was operated by the Rangitikei County Council in the

¹⁹⁷ The Maori population of the inquiry district, estimated from the population census, increased by 188 percent between 1936 and 1966. A 100 percent increase from 1936 to 1961 therefore seems plausible.

early 1940s and between 1953 and 1979. It is not known how many houses were built under the scheme in the county but a 1966 report concluded that the Rangitikei County Council had made more use of the scheme than almost any other county.

Rangitikei County included most of the inquiry district in which Maori resided. As noted earlier, between 1956 and 1966 the number of rented Maori dwellings in the rural parts of the county increased by 56, representing a doubling in the proportion of rented dwellings from 23 to 46 percent. This was completely out of kilter with what has happening with Maori housing in other rural districts (and in Taihape town), which showed big increases in mortgaged ownership. It seems plausible that the big increase in renting in rural Rangitikei resulted from Maori farm workers occupying houses built through the rural housing scheme.

Another significant provider of housing for Maori in the Taihape inquiry district was state rental housing. Most of this housing was built in Taihape town during the 1940s. Further building took place during the 1950s, although at the same time the government sold some of its Taihape state housing to tenants, in particular to railway workers. By the time Maori started settling in Taihape in significant numbers in the late 1950s there were 50 to 60 state houses in the town. By 1980 state house numbers had increased to around 70.

In 1986 Maori made up around 31 percent of the Taihape population. Assuming the town followed national trends the great majority of state house tenants in Taihape would by then have been Maori. The financial advantages that state house tenants enjoyed over other tenants were removed in the early 1990s but were restored in 2000. In 2015 just 11 state houses remained in Taihape due to a sales programme during the 1990s.

Consultation and participation

To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted about or participated in programmes to assist with housing?

Taihape Maori have rarely been consulted on programmes to assist with housing and have participated to only a small extent in such programmes. In the early twentieth century the Kurahaupo Maori Council was active in the inquiry district and worked with Maori communities to try and improve housing standards. The demise of the council largely ended Maori consultation and participation in housing assistance until the 1950s and 1960s, when tribal committees within the Taihape inquiry district had some input into housing in the area. The Maori Social and Economic and Advancement Act 1945 provided for tribal executives and committees whose role included housing-related functions, in particular sanitation and water

supply. Within the Taihape inquiry district, the Kurahaupo North tribal executive and three tribal committees were appointed in 1949. A tribal committee remained active in the Moawhango district until around 1970.

Since the 1970s the government has launched several new housing initiatives aimed at improving Maori housing and enabling new housing on multiply-owned land. One of these was the kaumatua housing scheme. In July 1984 the Board of Maori Affairs approved a grant of \$145,000 to build four kaumatua flats at Winiata Marae, south of Taihape. The flats were completed in March 1985 although additional work was subsequently required.

In 1985 the Government established the papakainga lending scheme which provided loans to individuals to build on Maori land. It has not been established in research for this report whether any papakainga loans were made in the Taihape inquiry district. It is noted, however, that the Rangitikei District Council has a policy of enabling iwi and hapu to develop papakainga housing.

Other recent government initiatives, such as Low Deposit Rural Lending established in 1994 and the Rural Housing Programme established in 2001, were focussed on assisting Maori in areas outside the Taihape inquiry district. No evidence was found in research for this report that Taihape Maori were consulted on or participated in more recent programmes to aid housing developments on Maori land. In 2008 the Government established the Maori Demonstration Partnership Fund, although by August 2011 only four Maori groups had become involved in this project. In 2010 the Government established the Kainga Whenua scheme in partnership with Kiwi Bank to build on multiply-owned Maori land. In December 2014 it was reported that only 11 Kainga Whenua loans had been made in four years.

In October 2011 the government launched the Putea Maori scheme to fund housing projects on multiply-owned Maori land, to be undertaken by iwi organisations in conjunction with the Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment (MBIE). To date not grants have been made to iwi organisations based in the Taihape inquiry district.

Railways and other state housing

What has been the importance of railway housing for Taihape Māori? What has been the impact of the sale of railway and other state housing since the 1980s on Taihape Māori?

The full extent to which the Railways Department employed Maori within the Taihape inquiry district has not been ascertained in research for this report. However, it is clear from the documents reviewed that significant numbers were employed by the late 1960s, if not earlier.

Almost all railways employees in the district were based in Taihape town and it appears that by 1980 around one in five Taihape railway employees was Maori.

The Railways Department built some 25 houses in Taihape in the early 1900s and similar numbers in the 1920s and 1950s. The total number of houses peaked at 85. In addition, in 1958 the Department built a hut compound providing accommodation for up to 36 shift workers and single men. Taihape had continuous housing shortages until the mid-1980s, so railway housing was an important source of accommodation. The rents were heavily subsidised which increased their attractiveness to railways employees although the standard of accommodation was not always high. From the 1960s many of the tenants of railway houses were Maori.

By the 1970s the oldest of the Taihape railways houses were becoming run-down. The Railways Department therefore demolished three houses in 1977 and began selling houses for removal in 1981, initially with the intention of replacing them. However, large scale redundancies in Taihape associated with corporatisation and the electrification of the main trunk line made replacement of railways housing stock unnecessary. In some cases the sections vacated by railway houses were taken over by commercial enterprises. By December 2011, however, 13 sites of former railways houses lay vacant as landbanked properties for Treaty settlements.

In the late 1980s most railways houses nationally were sold to tenants or on the open market. It is not known to what extent railways housing in Taihape was sold in this way although one house was offered to the Department of Maori Affairs for lease as a kohanga reo. Because few railways employees remained in the town by 1990, the main impact of the loss of railway houses was that it diminished the total stock of housing in the town. Many houses were demolished or removed, potentially contributing to housing shortages. However, the significant loss of population – Taihape lost nearly a quarter of its population between 1976 and 1991 – meant that shortage of housing was no longer a problem by the 1990s.¹⁹⁸

During the 1990s Housing New Zealand sold most of the 50 or so houses it owned in Taihape. In 2015 the Corporation owned just 11 houses in Taihape. The main impact on Maori of these sales would be to reduce the stock of cheap rental houses available in the town. However, by 2013 rents in Taihape were relatively inexpensive, with median rents about 46 percent below the national median according to the census. This indicates that cheap rental options were available in the town outside of the state housing sector. The census also showed that one in six houses in Taihape was vacant.

¹⁹⁸ Figure calculated from NZ Population Census 1976 and 1991.

Barriers and disparities

To what extent, if any, have Taihape Māori faced barriers in being able to access housing assistance programmes implemented in the inquiry district? Do official measures reveal any disparities with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally, and if any disparities exist, what has been the Crown response?

The most obvious barrier to accessing housing assistance on the part of Maori in the Taihape inquiry district was that little housing assistance was provided for most of the period 1880 to 2015. Even when the Department of Maori Affairs embarked on a significant building and lending programme in the late 1940s and 1950s it built few houses in the inquiry district. However during the 1950s and 1960s Taihape Maori employed on farms were able to access houses built under the rural housing scheme initiated in 1939.

The other main barrier faced by Taihape Maori to accessing housing assistance was that most of the assistance was provided in Taihape town where few Maori lived before the 1960s. Almost all the railway housing in the inquiry district was built in Taihape, mostly between 1900 and 1930. Most state housing in the district was similarly built in Taihape town, mainly between 1940 and 1960. The Taihape Borough Council built 15 council houses to rent at concessional rates, mainly in the 1920s and late 1940s. Most Maori Affairs building and lending in the inquiry district seems to have taken place in Taihape town from around 1960. For rural Taihape Maori whose employers did not provide housing there were few options for state assistance available.

The population census, to the extent that data is available, reveals ongoing disparities in Maori housing when compared with non-Maori of the Taihape inquiry district and with Maori and non-Maori nationally. The 1956 census revealed significant inequality. Over 72 percent of Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei (which included most of the Taihape inquiry district other than the towns) lacked a flush toilet compared with 27 percent of non-Maori dwellings. Nearly half of Maori households had no hot water and no bath or shower. Few non-Maori households were in a similar situation. Only about a quarter of Maori households had a fridge and/or washing machine compared with around 60 percent of non-Maori households. These figures for rural Rangitikei largely reflected disparities between Maori and non-Maori at a national level.

By 1966 the gap had closed considerably. Hot water and baths or showers were almost universal in rural Rangitikei regardless of ethnicity, although a gap remained. Around 80 percent of Maori households had washing machines, refrigerators, and flush toilets compared with 92 percent for non-Maori.

The 1956 and 1966 censuses show some interesting disparities with respect to dwelling tenure. In 1956 Maori dwellings in rural Rangitikei were significantly more likely than non-Maori dwellings to be mortgage-free or rent-free and significantly less likely to be rented or owned with a mortgage. By 1966 the situation had in part reversed itself, with non-Maori dwellings more likely to be mortgage-free and Maori dwellings more likely to be rented. Non-Maori dwellings were still significantly more likely to be owned with a mortgage than Maori dwellings however.

The high rate of renting in 1966 and the very low rate of ownership with a mortgage in 1956 and 1966 distinguished Taihape rural Maori from Maori nationally. However, within Taihape Borough Maori dwellings were just as likely as Maori dwellings nationally, and as non-Maori dwellings in Taihape, to be owned with a mortgage.

The 2013 census likewise revealed disparities with respect to housing tenure. In the rural parts of the inquiry district Maori were more likely than Maori in New Zealand overall to own their dwelling without a mortgage, and were significantly less likely to be renting. Taihape Maori were less likely than non-Maori within the inquiry district to own their dwelling, whether with or without a mortgage, and were significantly more likely to be renting.

By 2013 the majority of the Maori population in the Taihape inquiry district lived in Taihape town. With respect to housing tenure the town did not distinguish itself greatly from the New Zealand average, except that ownership without a mortgage by non-Maori was significantly above the national norm. Otherwise the usual disparities applied, with Maori dwellings significantly more likely to be rented than non-Maori dwellings and significantly less likely to be owned without a mortgage.

Statistics New Zealand analysed the 2013 census data using a household crowding index based on the Canadian National Occupancy Standard. It found that household crowding for Maori in the Taihape inquiry district was close to the New Zealand average. However household crowding for Maori in the inquiry district was much greater than for non-Maori in the inquiry district.

The government responded to housing disparities outlined in the Hunn report in 1961 by increasing its resources directed at Maori housing. However it was less responsive to a 1966 housing survey that showed that significant problems still existed with respect to Maori housing. Additional resources were eventually allocated in the mid-1970s through the building and lending programme operated by the department of Maori Affairs. In recent decades government efforts

have been largely focussed on improving Maori housing in rural districts and facilitating building on multiply-owned Maori land.

Effect of Crown Policies

To what extent have Crown policies and planning requirements impacted on the ability of Taihape Māori communities to provide their own housing in the Taihape inquiry district? To what extent has the nature of the Māori land title system provided by the Crown impacted on the ability of Taihape Māori to obtain finance for housing, or to build housing on Māori land? How has the Crown monitored and responded to any such difficulties?

Until the 1940s the nature of the Māori land title system provided by the Crown severely limited the ability of Taihape Māori to obtain finance for housing, or to build housing on Māori land. Maori poverty was also a significant limiting factor.

From the 1940s the barriers to Maori to obtain finance for housing were significantly reduced through the building and lending programme operated through the Department of Maori Affairs. However there was little housing development in the Taihape inquiry district through this programme until the 1960s, and then it was primarily in Taihape town rather than in rural parts of the inquiry district. This could be taken as prima facie evidence that planning requirements such as the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 were restricting Maori housing developments in the inquiry district. However a more compelling explanation is that Maori agricultural workers were able to improve their housing by renting dwellings provided under the provisions of the Rural Housing Act 1939. In the flourishing post-war economic conditions, Maori were able to access regular income through wage work which enabled them to afford to take on mortgages or to pay rent rather than rely on rent or mortgage-free housing. No evidence was found in research for this report that Crown policies and planning requirements had any impact on the ability of Taihape Māori communities to provide their own housing in the Taihape inquiry district.

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Appendix A: Research Commission

OFFICIAL

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Wai 2180

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

CONCERNING the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND the Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipō
District Inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Paul Christoffel, historian, to prepare a research report examining the Crown's provision of healthcare, education and housing to Māori of the Taihape inquiry district, with a focus on the period from 1880 to 2013, covering the following matters:
 - a) In respect of healthcare services –
 - i) Why and from when did the Crown become involved in providing health services for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What services did it provide or resource in public health and the primary, secondary and tertiary care sectors, including through local or special purpose authorities? How has this provision and decision making for health services in the district changed over time and how were they related to the Crown's evolving capability to make such provision?
 - ii) To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted or their needs directly identified as part of the decision making over the provision of health services?
 - iii) What barriers or difficulties, if any, have Taihape Māori faced in accessing health services in this inquiry district? What has been the Crown (or responsible local or special purpose authority) response to this? As far as is possible from available sources, to what extent have Taihape Māori had equality of access to healthcare services in this inquiry district, including to improvements in sanitation and safe water supplies?
 - iv) To what extent have Māori-specific and/or Māori-led health initiatives been provided, implemented and supported in this inquiry district, including Native Medical Officers, Māori health nurses, Native school health services, Māori Health Council initiatives and, more recently, iwi-based health services? How have Māori and the Crown viewed the success or otherwise of these initiatives?
 - v) What do official measures reveal about health outcomes for Māori of the Taihape inquiry district? How do these compare with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally? How has the Crown monitored

health outcomes for Māori of this district and responded to any evident disparities?

b) In respect of education services –

- i) Why and from when did the Crown become involved in providing education services for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What services did it provide or resource, especially in primary and secondary schooling and in native schools? How has this decision making changed over time?
- ii) To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted about or involved in decision making over the provision of education, including over the location, type and curriculum of schools?
- iii) To what extent has the Crown supported Māori-led education initiatives for the Taihape inquiry district, including attendance at denominational Māori boarding schools and the development of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa schools?
- iv) What barriers or difficulties, if any, have Taihape Māori faced in accessing primary and secondary schooling and other education services in this inquiry district? To what extent, if at all, was service provision for Taihape Māori affected by differing area-based priorities adopted by the Crown (or local or special purpose authorities), and with what impacts on their opportunities for participation in school decision making and involvement in school life? As far as is possible from available sources, to what extent have Taihape Māori had equality of access to education services?
- v) What do official measures reveal about educational outcomes for Māori of the Taihape inquiry district? How do these compare with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally, with particular reference to levels of school enrolment and qualifications obtained? How has the Crown monitored education outcomes for Māori of this district and responded to any evident disparities?

c) In respect of housing provision and services –

- i) Why and from when did the Crown (or local or special purpose authorities) begin providing housing assistance for or including Māori in the Taihape inquiry district? What resources and services did it provide or resource, in particular initiatives to monitor and improve housing for Taihape Māori? How has this decision making changed over time? To what extent have general housing assistance initiatives such as state house rentals been available to Taihape Māori?
- ii) To what extent have Taihape Māori been consulted about or participated in programmes to assist with housing?

- iii) What has been the importance of railway housing for Taihape Māori? What has been the impact of the sale of railway and other state housing since the 1980s on Taihape Māori?
 - iv) To what extent, if any, have Taihape Māori faced barriers in being able to access housing assistance programmes implemented in the inquiry district? Do official measures reveal any disparities with non-Māori of the district and with Māori and non-Māori nationally, and if any disparities exist, what has been the Crown response?
 - v) To what extent have Crown policies and planning requirements impacted on the ability of Taihape Māori communities to provide their own housing in the Taihape inquiry district? To what extent has the nature of the Māori land title system provided by the Crown impacted on the ability of Taihape Māori to obtain finance for housing, or to build housing on Māori land? How has the Crown monitored and responded to any such difficulties?
2. The researcher will consult with claimant groups to determine what issues they consider to be of particular significance to their claims in respect of the above matters and to access such relevant oral and documentary information as they wish to make available.
 3. The commission commenced on **11 December 2014**. A complete draft of the report is to be submitted by 31 August 2015 in order to meet the casebook deadline, and will be circulated to claimants and the Crown for comment.
 4. The commission ends on **27 November 2015**, at which time a copy of the final report must be submitted for filing in unbound form. An electronic copy of the report should also be provided in Word or Adobe Acrobat PDF format. Indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts are also to be provided as soon as practicable after the final report is filed. The report and any subsequent evidential material based on it must be filed through the Registrar.
 5. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.

The Registrar is to distribute this direction to

Paul Christoffel
 Claimant counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipō Inquiry
 Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Principal Research Analyst, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Manager Research and Inquiry Facilitation, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Inquiry Supervisor, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Inquiry Facilitator(s), Waitangi Tribunal Unit
 Solicitor General, Crown Law Office
 Director, Office of Treaty Settlements

Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust
Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri

DATED at Whanganui on this 17th day of December 2014

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'L R Harvey', written in a cursive style.

Judge L R Harvey
Presiding Officer
WAITANGI TRIBUNAL