

Wai 2200

OFFICIAL

Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District

**The social and economic experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori:
an analysis and appraisal**

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Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry (Wai 2200)

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Definitions, spellings, and abbreviations

As employed in this report, the term *Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District* refers to the district as defined by the Waitangi Tribunal. On the other hand, the term *Porirua ki Manawatu* refers to the region in a generic or non-definitional sense.

The spelling of Maori proper and place names varies considerably throughout the sources employed: wherever possible, these were checked, but it is likely that some inconsistencies remain.

The following abbreviations are employed:

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

AJLC: *Appendices, Journals of the Legislative Council*

NZPD: *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*

ANZ: Archives New Zealand

n.d: no data

n.a: not available

No: number

P and pp: page and pages

Pt: Part

Vol: Volume

£ s d: pounds, shillings, and pence

Introduction

In 1932, as Minister of Native Affairs, Ngata, when commenting on the state of Maori health in Hawke's Bay, suggested that 'the problem is an economic and social, as well as a medical one,' and went on to observe that the time when Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori enjoyed a high standard of living founded on revenues from rich lands, high wages and abundant work on farms had passed. 'Meantime,' he added, 'land resources have dwindled by sales (mostly private sales) without the Maori population having acquired command of other resources to take their place.'¹ In 1940, Sutherland concluded that 'the Maori situation is in many ways critical and urgent,' attributing the difficulties to a surge in Maori population growth, the inability of some districts to support their Maori population on Maori lands, and limited opportunities for engaging in alternative forms of employment.² Belshaw, similarly, offered a bleak assessment of the economic position of and prospects for Maori. He noted the rapid growth of the Maori population from about 1900 and the consequential expansion of the Maori workforce, and suggested that the area of land remaining in Maori ownership was 'sufficient to provide a reasonable standard of living for only a minority of the population.' The evidence, he suggested, painted 'an unambiguous picture of a people whose land resources are inadequate, so that a great and increasing majority must find other means of livelihood.' He rejected the argument that held that Maori did not require the same standard of living as Pakeha and the claim that Maori standards of living had risen appreciably over those obtaining prior to 1920.³

¹ Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Health 22 October 1932, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/24.

² I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a survey*. [Wellington? New Zealand Institute for International Affairs and New Zealand Council for Educational Research) 1940, p.21. For a biography of Sutherland, see James Ritchie, 'Sutherland. Ivan Lorin George,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography: Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Sutherland was a close associate of Ngata, and served as an adviser to the Department of Native (and later Maori) Affairs. One of his students was Ernest Beaglehole. Sutherland was critical of the findings and outcome of the 1934 Commission on Native Affairs, suggesting that Ngata's resignation had deprived Maori 'of the opportunity to share, through their leaders, in the framing and administration of Native policy.' See 'The future of the Maori,' *Press* 25 November 1937, p.10.

³ Belshaw, 'Economic circumstances,' pp.182-228. In March 1939, in an address to the Auckland branch of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand, Belshaw discussed the need to make Maori economically self-supporting, while touching upon land tenure, housing conditions, and education See 'Maori race, economic standing,' *New Zealand Herald* 31 March 1939, p.14.

Butterworth, on the other hand, offered a somewhat more optimistic assessment, suggesting from between 1935 and 1949, Maori communities ‘enjoyed a fast-rising standard of living,’ an improvement that he attributed to the First Labour Government’s commitment to full employment and equal opportunities for Maori, its policies in health, education, and housing, and its investment in the Maori land development and consolidation programmes. He also attributed the rise in living standards to welfare entitlements, enhanced educational provision (especially secondary education), and the rehabilitation programme for returned service personnel introduced in 1941.⁴ King largely followed Butterworth’s assessment, noting that some of the Maori land development schemes did increase Maori incomes and helped to revitalise Maori communities. Nevertheless, he concluded that notwithstanding the improvement in economic conditions in the late 1930s, ‘The majority of the Maori people remained ... dependent upon farming, which could not support them. Uneconomic farming sent workers into the town and cities ...’ Moreover, the majority of the Maori workforce was unskilled and lowly paid compared with non-Maori, rendering urban Maori in particular vulnerable to economic hardship and enduring lower standards of education, health, and housing.⁵ While accepting that Maori especially during the 1920s and 1930s, ‘were in a very difficult economic plight,’ living in communities ‘plagued by underemployment, poor housing, and chronic illness,’ Boast also offers a cautionary note, suggesting that care should be taken not to rely unduly on the official accounts that portrayed Maori as living in a state of depression and despondency.⁶

The claims

The consensus among historians is that, in social and economic terms, during the first three decades of the twentieth century Maori emerged as a seriously disadvantaged group, and that the genesis of the difficulties experienced lay in the large-scale transfer of land out of Maori and into Crown and settler ownership. The themes emphasised are thus those of economic disempowerment, impoverishment, and social and economic

⁴ G.V. Butterworth, ‘A rural Maori renaissance? Maori society and politics, 1920 to 1941,’ *Journal of Polynesian Studies* 81, 1, pp.160-195.

⁵ Michael King, ‘Between two worlds,’ in Geoffrey W. Rice, editor, *The Oxford history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, p.293.

⁶ Richard Boast, *Buying the land, selling the land. Governments and Maori land in the North Island 1865-1921*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 2008, p.250.

disadvantage. Those themes inform or underlie many of the claims submitted by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori.

Central to the claims are issues relating to land. Many deal with the clothing of ancestral lands with titles, the direct and indirect costs involved in that process and imposed on Maori, the imposition of a system of land rights intended to undermine collective authority and established leadership structures and to foster and facilitate alienation, the consequences for inter- and intra-iwi relationships, the loss of land, the fragmentation of ownership, the departure of people from their rohe in search of employment and accommodation, and the resultant loss of iwi identity, strength, and cohesion. Others deal with a range of other issues, among them, the purchasing methods employed by the Crown, including advance payments and orders prohibiting private alienation, the process by which lands were valued and prices set, the implications of the large-scale transfer of land into Crown and settler ownership for the capacity of iwi and hapu to engage in the commercial economy, and the reluctance of the Crown to assist them to turn to commercial account such lands as they did retain. In short, the claims relating to land cover some common themes, namely, the loss of collective control; the loss of the opportunity to exercise the full rights of ownership (including those under English law); the transfer of land, the loss of the wealth that the land represented, and the loss of the potential wealth that its development would have generated; the loss of the potential for a measure of economic sufficiency and independence; and more generally the loss of the opportunity to engage in the commercial economy (Wai #784, 1.1(g); Wai 972 #1.1(h); Wai #1482 1.1.1(c); Wai 1491 #1.1.1 (a); Wai 1497 #1.1.1(b); Wai 1618 #1.1.1(b); Wai 1619 #1.1.1(a); Wai 1640 #1.1.1(e); Wai 1729 #1.1.1(c); Wai 1944 #1.1.1(d); Wai 2031 #1.1.1(a); Wai 2131 #1.1.1(a); and Wai 2200 #1.1.034(c). Some claims, notably Wai 2031 #1.1.1(a) refer specifically to the loss of customary interests.

A second major group of issues relate to a range of social and economic policies enacted by successive governments and to the manner of their implementation. The areas most commonly cited are housing, health care, employment law and its enforcement (although in an urban rather than a rural context), social support, and the economic rehabilitation of discharged service personnel (especially veterans of World War I). With respect to housing, some claims stress the inequalities that emerged between Maori and non-Maori housing standards, and maintain that, through its housing policies

or least their implementation, the Crown sought to disperse Maori communities (Wai 972 #1.1(h)). Specific issues (both historic and contemporary) include housing standards, adequacy, design, and access to housing finance (Wai 1018 #1.1(h); Wai 2220 #1.1.034(c)). Informing many of the claims is a conviction that the Crown and its agencies failed to engage with Maori in a manner explicitly intended to allow their effective participation in the shaping, implementation, and delivery of economic and social policies of direct concern and relevance to them (Wai 784 # 1.1(g); Wai 972 #1.1(h); Wai 1482 # 1.1.1(c); Wai 1491 #1.1.1(c)).

With respect to education, the issues cited include provision, access, funding, relevancy, the suppression or discouragement of Te reo Maori and Maori knowledge customs, and culture generally, and educational achievement (Wai 1482 #1.1.1(c); Wai 1619 #1.1.1(a); Wai 2046 #1.1.1(b) and Wai 2056 #1.1.1; and Wai 2220 1.1.059(a)). With respect to health, the most commonly cited issue have to deal with life expectancy, high rates of morbidity and mortality, the relationships between health and incomes and housing (in particular), access to medical care, and the resourcing of the Maori health councils (Wai 1482 #1.1.1(c); Wai 1622 #1.1.1(b); Wai 1872 #1.1.1(b); Wai 1913 #1.1.1(b); Wai 2046 #1.1.1(b); Wai 2053 #1.1.20; Wai 2173 #1.1.1). Some claims make direct links between land loss and the loss of employment opportunities, poverty, inadequate housing, and poor health, the subsequent movement to urban centres in search of employment and accommodation (Wai 1482 #1.1.1(c); Wai 1729 #1.1.1(c); Wai 1913 #1.1.1(b); Wai 2173 #1.1.1; Wai 2220 #1.1.034(c); and Wai 2220 #1.1.059(a)). In short, they identify the long-run ramifications of large-scale land loss for the overall economic and social integrity and vitality for Maori communities: such ramifications are variously described as dispossession, displacement, division, and marginalisation, the results not solely on account of the disruption of traditional society and economy but also of actions and inactions of the Crown that served to limit or restrict or restricting participation in and access to the benefits of the developing commercial economy.

Embedded in many of the Statements of Claim (notably in Wai 1482 #1.1.1(c)) is a conviction that the Crown failed to recognise or was reluctant to respond appropriately to the particular social and economic difficulties that enveloped Porirua ki Manawatu Maori in the wake of large-scale losses of land and the potential wealth that such land

represented. As a result, it is averred, the disparities that emerged between Porirua ki Manawatu Maori and non-Maori, whether with respect to employment, housing, health, or education, persist to the present day.

Key questions and concepts

The Waitangi Tribunal defined six key commission questions, namely:

What was the extent of land and resource loss in the inquiry district and how did that impact economically on Porirua ki Manawatu Maori? To what extent did Crown acts or inaction contribute to or cause that situation?

Did Crown laws and policies provide an even playing field for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori and non-Maori economic development in the inquiry district? To what extent were Porirua ki Manawatu Maori able to contribute to, participate in, and derive benefits from the development of the region, including farm development and any other forms of development pursued in the district? Did they derive benefits comparable with those enjoyed by non-Maori?

To what extent did Porirua ki Manawatu Maori suffer economic deprivation or emerge as a significantly disadvantaged group in this inquiry district?

If Porirua ki Manawatu Maori suffered socio-economic deprivation, to what extent did Crown acts or inaction contribute to or cause that situation?

To what extent were Porirua ki Manawatu Maori able to secure access to social services? What kinds of social services did the Crown provide (or fail to provide), and with what effects? How did this compare to that secured by non-Maori? (This should include health, education, housing, employment, income, wealth, internal migration, and other indicators).

To what extent were Porirua ki Manawatu consulted in relation to the establishment and provision of social services? Was a role provided for Porirua

ki Manawatu Maori in respect to the establishment and provision of social services?

To provide a clear goal, to guide the investigation, and to assist in the selection and presentation of evidence, a working hypothesis was adopted, to the effect, broadly, that the establishment, expansion, and operation of the settler state served, through adverse engagement with a market economy and adverse engagement with the State, to isolate and segment Maori sufficiently that collectively they emerged as a socially and economically disadvantaged or marginalised group.

For the purposes of this report, therefore, a key concept is socio-economic marginalisation. Marginalisation has been described as multi-dimensional, multi-causal, historical phenomenon. Three forms are usually identified: social marginalisation in which those affected have relatively limited access to education, health services, housing, work, and income; economic marginalisation in which participation of individuals or groups in an economy is limited or from which they are practically excluded; and political marginalisation in which individuals or groups are excluded from decision-making at various levels of power. Matters of form apart, marginalisation is clearly a relational statement: it implies comparison between at least two groups employing an explicit set of criteria capable, preferably, of measurement. Accordingly, the report will, with respect to key demographic, social, and economic indicators, endeavour to compare Maori and non-Maori. It is important to note at this juncture, that such an approach carries certain risks insofar as it assumes that both Maori and non-Maori are discrete and undifferentiated groups when in fact gradations will occur within each group while extensive links (primarily through inter-marriage) may emerge. There are other risks involved, among them, assuming that the disadvantaged group lacks agency, that it is moulded and directed by external – usually at best indifferent or at worst malign – forces. Moreover, socio-economic change is a complex process: any effort to define and explain such change has to deal with the temptation to make direct links between assumed cause and assumed effect or outcome. Ngata's observations recorded above succinctly expressed the essence of the problem that the investigator must confront.

Marginalisation may be conceived and employed as both an active process and as an outcome. As an active process, marginalisation typically involves a series of complex and interrelated steps that may include political disempowerment; loss of social cohesion; loss of economic capability or the capacity of individuals and groups to select and follow pathways to well-being; loss of natural resources; loss of control over natural resources; lack of access to capital; lack of access to productivity-enhancing technology; inability to secure education, training, and skills; inability to accumulate and invest; inability to secure good housing and health; and social dependency. With respect to each of those steps, the emphasis in this report will be on definition, measurement (wherever possible), and explanation. The outcome of these ‘marginalising processes’ is usually described as socio-economic deprivation, a state defined by reference to a range of social and economic variables or indicators. This report will employ the concept of marginalisation in both major senses, that is, as both process and outcome.

The second key concept is empowerment – and its obverse, namely, disempowerment. It refers to the extent that Maori were able – or not – to develop, retain, and exercise those rights and powers best calculated in their judgement to advance their individual and collective material and cultural interests. At least two forms of empowerment are of relevance: economic empowerment, in which a group is able to advance its material interests, and legal empowerment in which that group is able to exercise its rights in such a way as to advance its interests and priorities. As in the case of marginalisation, empowerment and disempowerment are both a process and a state. The key question is whether, to what extent, and in what ways, the Crown limited or alternatively fostered the desire and capacity of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori to achieve self-sufficiency, especially economic self-sufficiency.

The third major concept that is employed is that of socio-economic status: commonly referred to SES, it is a measure of an individual’s, a family’s, or an identifiable group’s economic and social position in relation to others. Typically, such a measure is based upon the usually closely interrelated variables of employment and income, education, and health, but can also include other matters, especially assets and their intergenerational transferability. Thus, one of the major tasks in this investigation will be to identify the linkages and interactions among those variables. Hunn, in 1960,

expressed the essence of the challenge involved when he observed that ‘Better education promotes better employment, which promotes better housing, which promotes better health and social standing, which promotes better education and thus closes the circle.’⁷

Primary methods

Three main methods will be employed. The first is source or external textual criticism, a procedure in which multiple primary (especially) and secondary sources are compared in order to secure an understanding of a past event or events, process, or outcome. The second is critical textual analysis, the procedure by which individual documents are examined with respect to authorship, purpose, context, meaning, and significance. Such analysis will be of particular importance when dealing with issues such as health: much of the relevant evidence is impressionistic, fragmentary, and informed by the biases and prejudices of the (usually) Pakeha observers. The third is quantitative analysis involving mainly the construction of various data series, time series analysis, and elementary statistical analysis, including the construction of indices.

The structure of this report

The report contains nine chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the transfer of land out of Maori and into Crown and settler ownership, whether that transfer involved a simultaneous transfer of wealth, the capacity of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori to turn to productive account the lands that remained in their possession, and the whether the institutional arrangements that underpinned Maori land ownership were calculated to advance investment and development. Chapter 2 examines the efforts made by the Crown during the 1930s to encourage Porirua ki Manawatu Maori and concludes with an analysis of Maori farming enterprises in the district. That analysis is based upon the results of the two United Nations’ censuses of world agricultural production conducted in 1949-1950 and, especially, 1959-1960.

⁷ AJHR 1961, G10, p.28.

Chapter 3 deals with the assumption by the State of provision for an increasing range of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, among them, the elderly, the widowed, and the sick and disabled, and with support for families and for war veterans. It explores the debate that developed over whether State support should be made available to Maori and, if so, the extent of such support. Chapter 4 examines the entry of Maori into the paid work force. It will suggest that as New Zealand passed through various stages of economic development, from land extensive activities, to natural resource extraction, to land and capital-intensive agriculture, and to an urban and service-based economy, Maori experienced growing difficulty in securing gainful employment, the economic difficulties of the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s exposing widespread under-employment and generating large-scale unemployment. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with housing, in particular the growth of State intervention in the housing market, both directly through the provision of housing and indirectly through the provision of State financial support. Much of the discussion will centre on a comparison of the approaches adopted by the State towards Maori housing, on the one hand, and general housing, on the other.

Chapter 7 examines a range of health issues. It examines trends in morbidity, mortality, and life expectancy, access to primary medical and institutional care, and the effectiveness of the State's response to health issues. Chapter 8 deals with education, in particular, the provision of access, participation, and educational attainment. Finally, Chapter 9 employs data from 2013 census and from other official sources in an effort to establish whether and to what extent the social and economic position of Porirua ki Manawatu approaches that other sections of the community. Throughout, an effort is made to compare and assess the experience of Maori with that of other sections of the Porirua ki Manawatu community.

Difficulties encountered

An investigation that places emphasis on identifying the source, character and extent of relative social and economic deprivation raises the key question of measurement. The statistical data on which such an investigation would normally rely are, certainly for the period prior to 1945, either lacking or are fragmentary, inconsistent, and of uncertain reliability. Moreover, data relating specifically to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, are

difficult to locate. Registration of Maori marriages was not introduced until 1911 and of Maori births and deaths until 1913: recording for some years thereafter remained less than comprehensive. With respect to the censuses, enumerators employed methods that Pool described as ‘crude.’⁸ In fact, census enumerators frequently referred to difficulties in compiling accurate returns, while occasional confusion over the census forms that were to be employed also complicated the enumerators’ task. Many Maori lived in small and remote villages unknown to census enumerators; those engaged in gum digging or temporary seasonal employment or in food gathering, or who were participating in Native Land Court hearings in centres removed from their usual places of residence, generated further difficulties. Some Maori were averse to being included: thus, in 1896, Resident Magistrate Brabant, whose area of responsibility included the Whanganui, Rangitikei, Oroua, Kiwitea, and Pohangina Counties, reported ‘considerable difficulty in taking the census owing to the want of cooperation, 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.’⁹ He also drew attention to the apparent increase in the number of ‘half-castes,’ and suggested that some double-counting may have occurred, some individuals having been included in both the European and Maori census returns.¹⁰ By the time of the 1901 census, cooperation on the part of Maori with the census authorities appears to have improved appreciably.¹¹

Changing definitions presented other challenges. The *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1990* recorded that ‘It was not until the 1926 census that precise [*sic*] statistics on the Maori population were available. This was the first year that the Maori population was counted “as it stood” on one night only.’¹² The 1926 census was the first to record Maori living in urban areas. But it was also in 1926 that the Department of Statistics adopted a new definition of Maori so as to include ‘half-castes;’ ethnicity would be defined by descent and not, as previously, by ‘livelihood’ or ‘mode of living.’ How these various definitions were in fact applied remains unclear: it would appear that a

⁸ Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: a New Zealand population past, present, and projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, pp.64-68. See also ‘Counting the Maori,’ *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1990*, p.157.

⁹ AJHR 1896, H13B, p.7.

¹⁰ AJHR 1896, H13B, p.7.

¹¹ AJHR 1901, H26B, p.17.

¹² ‘Counting the Maori,’ *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1990*, p.157.

good measure of arbitrary judgement was involved. The manner in which data was presented and the geographical reporting units employed frequently varied from one census to another. County boundaries changed as established counties were divided; State agencies created a range of districts for different purposes and it proved on occasion difficult to establish whether formal districts had been declared or whether the term ‘district’ was being employed in a loosely descriptive fashion.

The key conclusion to be drawn is that the data presented in the report, notably those drawn from the pre-1951 censuses, should be regarded as indicative and illustrative of trends, and not in any sense definitive. Moreover, it was not until the census of 1951 that the same questions were asked of both Maori and Pakeha households, thus making comparative assessments possible. While the range and quality of the data collected and published improved after 1951, census questions were regularly changed and new ones introduced, with obvious implications for efforts to identify and measure long-run trends. Wherever possible, data relating specifically to the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District will be presented, but for some purposes – for example, life expectancy at birth, infant mortality, maternal mortality, and the incidence of selected diseases – national data will be employed, although tempered with such local data that may be located.

Census data, as alluded to above, are usually published on the basis of local government districts, counties until the 1980s, and, after 1989, district and city council regions. The boundaries of the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District do not conform to those established for counties and boroughs and their successors. As constituted in 1876, Manawatu County included the area from Waikanae to Rangiwahia: it was progressively dismembered into Palmerston North Borough (1877), Feilding Borough (1881), and Foxton Borough (1888), and the Manawatu, Oroua and Horowhenua Counties, while Oroua County was divided into Oroua, Kiwitea, and Pohangina Counties. Kairanga County was established in 1901.¹³ For the purposes of this inquiry, it was decided that for the county period, that is 1876 to 1989, the region for statistical analysis would be defined as the Kiwitea, Pohangina, Oroua, Manawatu, Kairanga, and

¹³ In 1884 the operation of the Counties Act was, with respect to Oroua County, suspended and the council’s powers devolved to the Manchester, Kiwitea, and Manawatu Road Boards and the Halcombe Town Board. Under section 93 of the Counties Act 1886, the road boards split away to form the Kiwitea, Pohangina, and Kairanga Counties. In 1903 the Counties Act was reinstated in what remained of Oroua County and the Manchester Road Board was dissolved accordingly.

Horowhenua Counties and their internal boroughs. It should be noted that while Kiwitea County originally formed part of Manawatu County, most of the former county lies within the Taihape Inquiry District. The region embraced by those counties and boroughs remained practically stable. Those parts of the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District not included were the lower section of the Rangitikei County and Hutt and Makara Counties: while some data, notably population, were published on the basis of ridings, it was decided, in the interests of consistency and clarity, to adhere to the region defined by the above six counties and their internal boroughs. The inclusion of Kiwitea and Pohangina Counties, it should be noted, did not pose any difficulties, very few Maori residing in either of those districts.¹⁴

The Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District now embraces, in whole or in part, four district councils, namely Rangitikei, Manawatu, Horowhenua, and Kapiti Coast, and four city councils, namely, Palmerston North, Upper Hutt, Porirua, and Wellington. Further, the Inquiry District also embraces two regional council districts, namely Manawatu-Whanganui and Wellington and for which the Department of Statistics has published regional profiles. Nevertheless, for 2018, it is possible, by employing census data for Census Area Units and mesh-blocks, to construct a demographic, social, and economic profile of both Maori and non-Maori who lived within the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District.

One further set of difficulties related to Crown records. Access to many of those required for this investigation was restricted. That necessitated separate approaches to and negotiations with the agencies responsible. Most – Te Puni Kokiri, in particular – proved cooperative and indeed anxious to assist. Others were less so, one in particular insisting that no material should be copied from files that were over 100 years old and indeed removing (it appears) some papers from the files to which access was eventually granted. Such restrictions, in this writer's judgement, constitute an unwonted and unnecessary hindrance. A good many of the restricted archival sources examined did contain personal information, often of a sensitive kind: such information has either not been employed in this report or has been used in a non-attributable manner to support general statements. That may well mean that some sections of the report have a

¹⁴ See, for example, AJHR 1901, H26B, p.16, and 1906, H26A, p.18.

‘disembodied’ or ‘discarnate’ feel, but it was essential to respect the privacy of those whose circumstances were disclosed in the Crown’s files and to abide by the conditions under which access was granted.

Relationships with other reports in the casebook

The investigation makes use of other reports prepared for the Porirua ki Manawatu district casebook and, indeed for other Inquiry Districts. The author has benefitted greatly from the insights they offered, the sources employed, the concepts advanced, the analytical methods used, and the conclusions advanced. Those reports have thus been utilised to help inform and shape the arguments and the conclusions that this report reaches.

Chapter 1: Land, wealth, and institutions

1.1 Introduction

In 1899 at the opening of the Otaki Hospital, Wi Parata wondered whether it was ‘possible that the Maoris could be kept well by a person called a doctor, if there still continued grievances which affect their preservation in other ways, if their means of maintenance – the land – was taken from them?’ Wellington’s *Evening Post* responded by noting that ‘Two years ago the ‘great heart’ of the Premier was moved to such passionate pity at the nearing prospect of a landless native people that he was ready to legislate to protect them in the possession of the poor remnants of their lands for ever.’ But, it continued, ‘the Pakeha land sharks among his following would not be denied their prey, and the Maori was abandoned to his fate ...’ Within the year, it concluded, ‘and not a day’s journey from where the native chief yesterday voiced his protest and accusation, one of the richest and fairest areas of native land [Horowhenua], comprising thousands of acres, passed from its native owners for about one-fifth of its value.’¹⁵ Thus succinctly expressed were two of the major themes that Chapter 1 explores, namely, the transfer of land and the transfer of wealth. Those transfers lay at the heart of the social and economic difficulties that had emerged by the turn of the century and which would find their fullest expression during the interwar years.

Historians are generally agreed that Maori were rendered a marginalised minority as the direct result of the pronounced loss of land through confiscation and alienation, and through a combination of Pakeha greed and duplicity and Maori cupidity. King concluded that the loss of land generated widespread impoverishment and reduced Maori to the status of ‘a rural proletariat.’¹⁶ Oliver described the loss of land as ‘asset stripping.’¹⁷ The alleged failure of the Crown to honour promises concerning the creation of reserves and to respect such reserves as were made are also regularly cited as important contributors. For Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, there is no doubt that the

¹⁵ ‘The Premier and the Native race,’ *Evening Post* 8 August 1899, p.4.

¹⁶ King, *Maori*, p.196.

¹⁷ Claudia Orange, ‘A kind of equality: Labour and the Maori people, 1935-1949,’ MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1977, p.9; M.P.K. Sorrenson, ‘Land purchase methods and their effect on Maori population, 1865-1901,’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 65, 3, 1956, pp.183-199; and W.H. Oliver, ‘100 years of the welfare state,’ in Atholl Anderson and David Green, editors, *Towards 1990: seven leading historians examine significant aspects of New Zealand history*. Wellington: GP Books, c1989, p.87.

greatest transformative economic event was the transfer of their land into Crown, company, and private ownership. The scale and rapidity of the transfer and the economic consequences for Maori were all matters of great moment. It is not proposed to examine the transfer process in full, but rather to explore two key issues, namely, whether Maori, as the owners of the lands sought by the Crown and settlers, were at all times fully empowered to deal with those lands; and, second, whether any loss of ability to exercise their full rights as owners redounded to their economic disadvantage. From those two issues, other questions flow. For example, did Maori retain sufficient land of sufficient quality as the basis for effective participation in the commercial rural economy? Were Porirua ki Manawatu Maori able to accumulate sufficient capital from land sales to turn such lands as they retained to productive account? And did the transfer of land generate a flow of capital from the Crown to Maori or did it transfer the bulk of the wealth that such lands constituted to the Crown?

1.2 Constructing a land market

Both directly and indirectly, the Crown was the chief agent of transfer, directly through the pre-emptive purchases of the period up to 1870 – achieved in respect of the key Rangitikei-Manawatu block by removing it from the jurisdiction of the Native Land Court – and through the post-titling purchases of the period from about 1870 to about 1910. The Crown also facilitated alienation, whether on its own account or by private interests, through Native land and related legislation intended both to effect the ‘individualisation’ of Maori land ownership and to construct and manage the colonial land market. Banner argued that the colonial land market, far from being ‘distributionally neutral,’ actively disadvantaged Maori, that is, that it was not a ‘free market’ in which vendor and purchaser negotiated freely.¹⁸ During the period from 1840 to 1865 – apart from a brief interlude between 1844 and 1846 under Fitzroy – the exclusion of private purchasers extinguished any prospect of establishing ‘market prices,’ thereby enabling the Crown to ‘squeeze out the full disparity between what an asset is really worth and what the seller thinks it is worth.’¹⁹ In the Auckland, Wairarapa, and Hawke’s Bay districts, the Crown acquired large tracts of land for prices

¹⁸ Stuart Banner, ‘Conquest by contract: wealth transfer and market structure in colonial New Zealand,’ *Law & Society Review* 34, 1, 2000, pp.47-96.

¹⁹ Banner, ‘Conquest by contract,’ p.58.

that ranged from about 3d to 1s per acre: after the (nominal) end of Crown pre-emption in 1865, private purchasers in Hawke's Bay paid an average price of 13.5s per acre.²⁰

The large-scale transfer of land out of the possession of the first owners constituted the heart of the colonial enterprise: in the absence of other forms of taxation (apart from customs duties and gold export duty), nineteenth century New Zealand governments relied on acquiring land as cheaply as possible and its sale to settlers at enhanced prices to finance the administration of government, the provision of public services, and the construction of public works. Maori found it difficult to present a united front to the politically organised Crown: any effort by Maori to form 'leagues' or 'combinations' in an effort to control the sale of land was vigorously resisted by the Crown.²¹ As the Crown, through the Native Land Court, after 1865, moved to clothe papatupu land with tradeable titles, to individualise ownership, and to confer upon individual owners the right of disposition, the transfer of land out of Maori ownership accelerated, some 11 million acres in the North Island passing into settler ownership by the end of the century.²² Maori were required to meet the usually heavy transactional costs, direct and indirect, that is, the costs of proving ownership, defending interests, securing titles, and meeting stamp duties, all with limited ability to recover those costs by adjusting prices.

The Crown never fully and permanently relinquished pre-emption. Rather, it returned in the Immigration and Public Works Act Amendment Act 1871 and the Government Native Land Purchases Act 1877, both containing provisions that allowed the Crown to exclude private competitors, while section 33 of the Native Land Administration Act 1886 rendered it unlawful for any private individual to acquire land from Maori, as did section 117 of the Native Land Court Act 1894. Private purchasing was again allowed under the Native Land Act 1909, but the Crown retained the power to issue 'Orders prohibiting private alienation,' a power that it employed liberally. To supplement what Maori termed 'purchasing by proclamation,' the Crown also acquired the right to

²⁰ Banner, 'Conquest by contract,' pp.59-60.

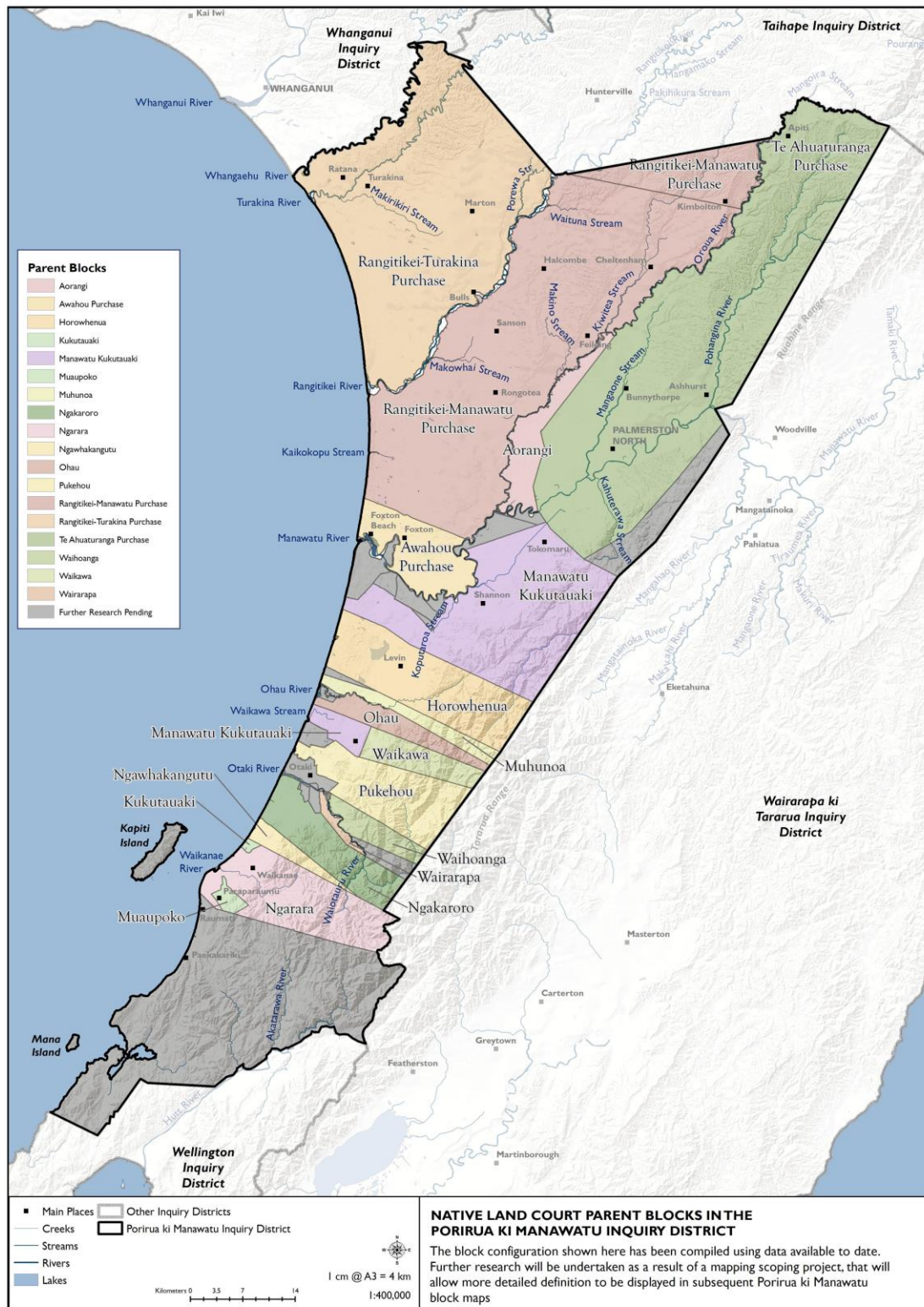
²¹ Banner, 'Conquest by contract,' p.61. See also T.J. Hearn, 'One past, many histories: tribal land and politics in the nineteenth century,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Watangi Tribunal, 2015, pp.122-126.

²² Banner, 'Conquest by contract,' p.70. For a summary of Crown land purchasing, see D.M. Loveridge, 'The development of Crown policy on the purchase of Maori lands, 1865-1910: a preliminary survey,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Law Office, 2004.

acquire individual interests, termed by Maori ‘purchasing by attrition.’ In short, both the scale of the transfer of land out of Maori ownership and the means whereby that transfer was effected were key contributors to the disparities in wealth and the contrasts in material standards of living between Maori and Pakeha that had begun to emerge by 1900 and that would assume major proportions during the first five decades of the twentieth century.

1.2.1 The alienation of the Porirua ki Manawatu lands

As for indigenous peoples in all the so-called ‘regions of recent settlement,’ lands owned by Maori and the natural resources that they supported or generated, constituted their major source of wealth. In New Zealand, again as in all other regions of recent settlement, the transfer of land out of indigenous ownership was eagerly sought by State and settler alike: the conversion of natural resources, primarily land, into sources of output was the driver of economic development in settler economies. But transfer raised several key issues prominent amongst which was that of price: how were prices to be established for a resource of great economic and spiritual value to Maori and of great potential economic value for those who would possess it. The transfer of the lands of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori into Crown and private ownership has been examined in a number of reports. All that is offered here is a brief summary.



Map reproduced courtesy of Crown Forestry Rental Trust

Map 1.1: Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District: the parent blocks

It will be recalled that Crown purchasing in the Inquiry District fell into two major phases. The first covered the period from about 1850 to about 1870 and was distinguished by the (mostly) large-scale pre-emptive purchases as a result of which most of the land lying to the north of the Manawatu River had, by 1870, passed out of Maori ownership. Such large-scale transfers – notably of the Te Ahuturanga and Rangitikei-Manawatu blocks – meant the practical displacement of Maori economic activity, actual and potential. The second phase embraced the years from about 1875 to about 1910: included within this period was the alienation of the bulk of the Horowhenua block.²³ Purchasing by the Crown and by private interests followed the judicial determination of title survey, and the definition of interests. By 1910 the bulk of the land lying to the south of the Manawatu River had thus also passed out of Maori ownership into the hands of the Crown and the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company, together with those of a number of private purchasers.

The difficulties and costs (that is, separate from the matter of price) associated with the Rangitikei-Manawatu transaction appear to have persuaded the Government finally to abandon what McLean termed the ‘system of government purchases:’ rather, efforts to purchase land from Maori would follow judicial determination of ownership, survey, definition of interests, and negotiations with settled owners.²⁴ That new or, more accurately perhaps, modified approach was applied to the lands lying to the south of the Manawatu River. Such purchases formed part of the Fox-Vogel Government’s plan to reinvigorate a stagnating colonial economy (and also improve internal security) through extensive capital borrowing and investment in large-scale assisted immigration and in transport and communications. The plan envisaged the large-scale purchase of lands in Maori ownership and their resale to settlers. Section 42 of the Immigration and Public Works Act Amendment Act 1871 in fact empowered the Crown to enter into negotiations with Maori for the purchase of land prior to adjudication by the Native Land Court. Section 42 also allowed the Crown to impose restrictions on private alienation in respect of those blocks for the purchase or lease of which it had entered into negotiations.

²³ For the Horowhenua block, see Jane Luiten with Kesaia Walker, ‘Muaupoko land alienation and political engagement report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2015; and Grant Young, ‘Muaupoko land alienation report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2015.

²⁴ For McLean’s comments, see NZPD 1870, Vol.7, pp.519-521.

According to Native Minister McLean, the power to impose restrictions was essential if the ‘public interest’ were to be defended against ‘speculators.’ Moreover, he claimed, the Crown alone, could ensure ‘colonization upon a systematic plan,’ at the same time recording that ‘the government in no case completed the purchase of any land until the necessary preliminaries had been gone through in the Native Land Court.’²⁵ It should also be noted that the Native Land Act 1873 finally eliminated the possibility that land titles might be issued to named tribes, firmly established the principle of individual ownership, and encouraged the creation of a rudimentary land share market. Section 107 of the same Act, dealing with inchoate agreements for sale and purchase, empowered the Native Land Court to initiate an investigation of title to and interests in any block, while section 6 of the Native Land Act Amendment Act 1877 authorised the Native Minister to apply to the Native Land Court for a definition of the Crown’s interests in any block and their vestment in the Crown. The power of the Crown to exclude private purchasers was strengthened by section 2 of the Native Land Purchases Act 1877. As a result of these various enactments, the Crown acquired a number of key purchasing tools, among them, the right to initiate negotiations for purchase before title had been determined and relative interests defined; the power to acquire individual interests; the power to exclude competition from private purchasers; the power to have the blocks that it sought brought before the Native Land Court; and the power to have its interests in any block defined and excised. In short, the ability on the part of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori to negotiate with respect to their land had been significantly compromised.

The Crown employed these tools as it set out to acquire the lands that lay between Waikanae and the Manawatu River. By 1878, over 280,000 acres were covered by ‘notifications’ to purchase, and by 1885 the Crown had acquired over 158,000 acres of the Horowhenua lands.²⁶ A map setting out the blocks over which the Crown had imposed notifications of intention to purchase was included in Woods *et al* and a modified version is included here as Map 1.2.²⁷ As the Government’s financial position deteriorated through the 1880s, proclamations were withdrawn and negotiations for

²⁵ NZPD 1870, Vol. 9, p.23 and 1873, Vol.15, p.1243.

²⁶ ‘Lands purchased from Natives and leased in North Island,’ AJHR 1885, C7, pp.13-24.

²⁷ Woods, ‘Environmental and natural resource issues report,’ p.109.

purchase were relinquished in respect of 11 blocks in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, while others from which the Crown had its interests excised reverted to their original owners. But by that stage the Crown had acquired most of what it had most eagerly sought. More modest purchases, notably in the Horowhenua block, continued into the twentieth century.

1.2.2 The ‘stocktakes’ of 1885 and 1891

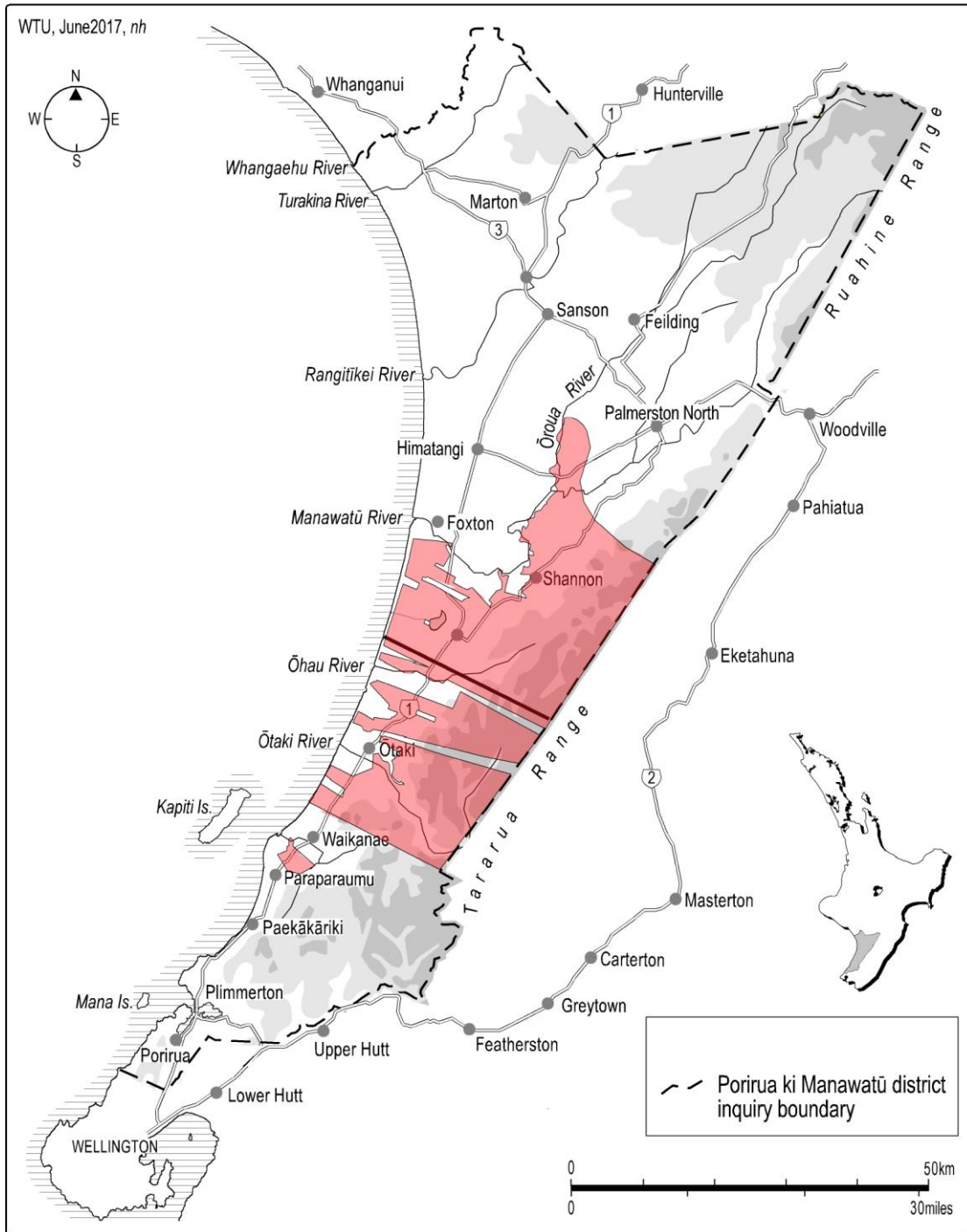
Two ‘stocktakes’ of lands owned by Maori offer some insights into the progress of titling and alienation. The first, prepared in 1885, summarised the area of papatupu land, and the area that had passed through the Native Land Court and was held as inalienable. The same return offered what was described as a ‘General return of Native reserves,’ but the names and localities listed were imprecise. In addition to the lands detailed in Table 1.1, Maori held a further 11,000 acres, the Himatangi block, under the Himatangi Crown Grants Act 1877. According to that return, just 11,462 acres remained as papatupu land, while Maori held 187,050 acres described as ‘inalienable’ and 4,375 acres in the form of reserves. It would thus appear that by 1885, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori retained just under 203,000 acres.

Table 1.1: Papatupu lands, inalienable lands, and lands held as reserves, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1885

Counties	Papatupu: acres	Passed through Native Land Court and held as inalienable: acres	Inalienable and other reserves under section 4/1878¹
Oroua	-	1680	-
Manawatu	9600	6315	1575
Horowhenua	1862	179055	2800
Total	11462	187050	4375

¹ Section 4 of the Government Native Land Purchase Act Amendment Act 1878 authorised the Crown to issue Crown grants for reserves made under land purchase agreements. The blocks concerned were Manawatu-Kukutauaki 4A (650 acres), 4C (1,000 acres) acres, and 4E (1,000 acres); Muhunua 4 (100 acres); Waihoanga 4 (50 acres); and Ahuaturanga (1,575 acres).

Source: AJHR 1886, G15



Adapted from a map prepared by Crown Forestry Rental Trust

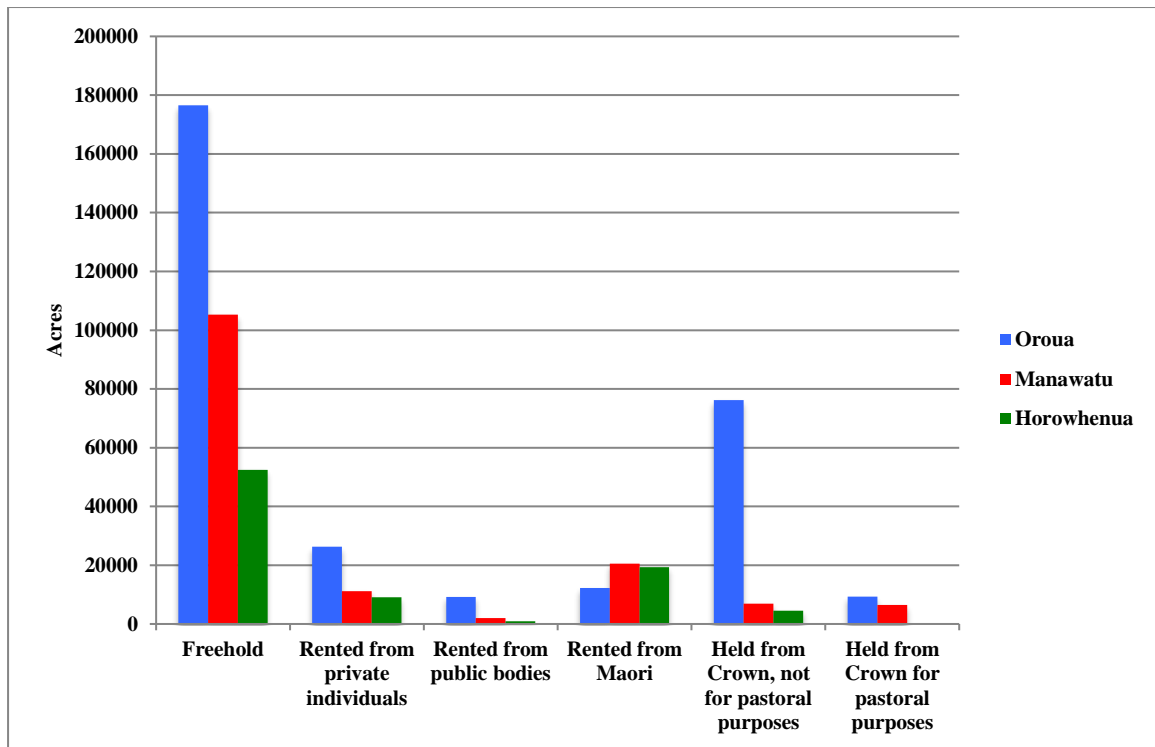
Map 1.2: The Horowhenua lands over which the Crown imposed orders restricting private alienation, 1874 to 1878

A second ‘stocktake’ of the land remaining in Maori ownership was published 1891.²⁸ Essentially, it grouped those lands into three main classes. The first included ‘tribal lands not passed through Native Land Court and not leased to Pakeha:’ all such land within the Porirua ki Manawatu district had been clothed with titles. The second class included those lands that had passed through the Native Land Court but which had been leased to Pakeha. In the Hawke’s Bay ‘District,’ a total of 1,285,557 acres had been leased, while in the Wellington ‘District’ the leased area aggregated 679,820 acres. Of that latter area, an estimated 55,572 acres lay within the Porirua Ki Manawatu Inquiry District. The third class included ‘lands passed through the Native Land Court and retained by Maori for personal occupation.’ In the Porirua ki Manawatu district, those lands aggregated an estimated 103,200 acres of which 85,847 acres were in six blocks, namely, Aorangi (6,980 acres), Tuwhakatupua (4,499 acres), Horowhenua (47,049 acres), Ohau (5,791 acres), Muhunoa 1,499 acres, and Ngarara West (20,029 acres).

1.2.3 The tenurial status of lands in Porirua ki Manawatu, 1891

The census of 1891 offered details, county by county, of the status of land, that is, whether freehold, rented from private individuals, rented from public bodies, rented from Maori, held from the Crown, and rented from the Crown. Graph 1.1 sets out the details for the then three counties of Oroua, Manawatu, and Horowhenua. The bulk of the land was by 1891 in private ownership, while a substantial proportion was held from the Crown under the system of deferred payments or as small grazing runs along the coast northwards from the Manawatu River. The area rented from Maori totalled 52,039 acres.

²⁸ AJHR 1891, Session II, G10.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1891*

Graph 1.1: The tenurial status of land (acres), Porirua ki Manawatu, 1891

1.2.4 ‘Native lands suitable for settlement’

The ‘stocktakes’ of 1885 and 1891 offer little guidance as to the quality of the lands retained by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. Two returns, one published in 1906 and the second in 1907, offer a little more detail. The first was published in the *Appendices to the Journals of the Legislative Council*: it purported to show all the ‘unproductive’ land, in blocks of 1,000 acres and over in Maori ownership in the North Island at that date. Most of those in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District were held in multiple ownership, most were described as ‘occupied and productive,’ although a number were described as only part suited or as unsuitable for close settlement. The largest blocks were Manawatu-Kukutauaki 7D with 6,284 and 206 owners; Horowhenua B41 of 5,722 acres and 190 owners; Ohau 3 of 4,296 acres and 183 owners; Reureu of 4,096 acres and 495 owners; and Himatangi of 10,873 acres and 168 owners. That the blocks were mostly ‘occupied and productive’ did not, apparently, disqualify them from being designated as ‘unproductive’ and ‘fit for close settlement.’²⁹ It does not seem

²⁹ AJLC 1906, Session II, No.5.

unreasonable to conclude that the area of land in Maori ownership and suitable for settlement stood at about 50,000 acres.

Subsequently, the Department of Lands and Survey prepared for the 1907 Native Land Commission an amended list entitled ‘Native lands in the North Island suitable for settlement.’ it appears to have included all blocks deemed to be ‘suitable.’ In the Porirua ki Manawatu district just Ngarara West C4 of 3,777 acres, was classified as ‘readily available.’ The remaining blocks, with a total area of 52,479 acres, were described as ‘occupied and productive’ and as ‘encumbered by dealings &c,’ that is, presumably, leased or mortgaged. Table 1.2 sets out the blocks and their areas: if all blocks deemed suitable for settlement are included, the total area retained by Maori and suitable for farming purposes rises to about 56,000 acres.

Table 1.2: Blocks deemed suitable for settlement, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1906 and 1907

Blocks	1906: acres	Owners	1907: acres	Status 1907
Tuwahakaturua	2000	147	2024	Encumbered
Manawatu-Kukutauaki 7D	6284	206	6284	Encumbered
Horowhenua B 41	5722	190	7215	Encumbered
Horowhenua B42	-	193	2158	Encumbered
Horowhenua 9A & 9B	-	30	1047	Encumbered
Muhunua	1628	48	1628	Encumbered
Ohau 3	4296	183	4296	Encumbered
Manawatu-Kukutauaki 4	2248	163	2248	Encumbered
Wairongomai	1493	318	1493	Encumbered
Pukehou 4	1400		1400	Encumbered
Reureu	4096	495	4096	Encumbered
Aorangi	2840	238	2840	Encumbered
Section 387 Te Kawau SD	1473	1	1473	Encumbered
Section 334 Te Kawau SD	1100	) 115	1100	Encumbered
Section 335 Te Kawau SD	1078	)	1078	Encumbered
Himatangi	10873	168	10873	Encumbered
Rerengohau	-	4	1226	Encumbered
Ngarara West C4	-		3777	Available
Totals	46531		56256	

Source: AJLC 1906 Session II, No.5; and ANZ Wellington ACIH 16085 MA78/13/21b

1.2.5 The matter of ‘reserves’

The ‘reserves’ agreed to by the Wellington Provincial Government upon the acquisition of the Rangitikei-Manawatu blocks and as extended by the General Government as it sought to secure quiet possession of the block have been covered in several reports. Husbands offers a detailed account of the fate of the ‘reserves’ set apart for Ngati Raukawa.³⁰ With respect to the 7,526-acre Upper Aorangi or Aorangi 1 block, he recorded that by 1877, Ngati Kauwhata had sold almost 847 acres, mostly to cover surveying costs and the costs of defending the iwi’s claim to the Rangitikei-Manawatu block. By 1892, it had sold almost half of the Upper Aorangi’s original area, mostly to private purchasers and at prices, as Husbands observed, ‘more than the Crown was usually willing to offer.’³¹ Husbands also examined the disposal of the reserves and lands restricted from purchase in the area south of the Manawatu River. Between December 1874 and December 1881, the Crown acquired 141,330 acres of Ngati Raukawa lands, while between 1876 and 1893 private purchasers acquired a further 39,113 acres of which the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company secured 25,256 acres. Reserves for Ngati Raukawa included lands declared inalienable during the title investigation process, and lands declared to be reserves as part of the Crown purchasing process. In 19 of the blocks that the Crown secured, the owners retained land: of the total area of 127,056 acres involved, the Crown acquired 85,897 acres, while the owners retained 41,159 acres or 32.4 per cent. Husbands noted that the lands retained included extensive mahinga kai and, in the case of the Manawatu Kukutauaki 4 reserves, portions of the sea coast.³²

With respect to the 4,521-acre Waikawa Reserve, Ihakara’s Reserve, the Kaihinu blocks, and the Wairarapa and Waihoanga reserves, a reasonably clear pattern emerged in which the reserves were partitioned at considerable cost, usually into small sections with multiple owners and often at the cost of dissension among owners over size, siting, and boundaries. In those sections the Crown acquired substantial areas, while additional

³⁰ Paul Husbands, ‘Maori aspirations, Crown responses, and reserves 1840 to 2000,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2018, pp.206-211.

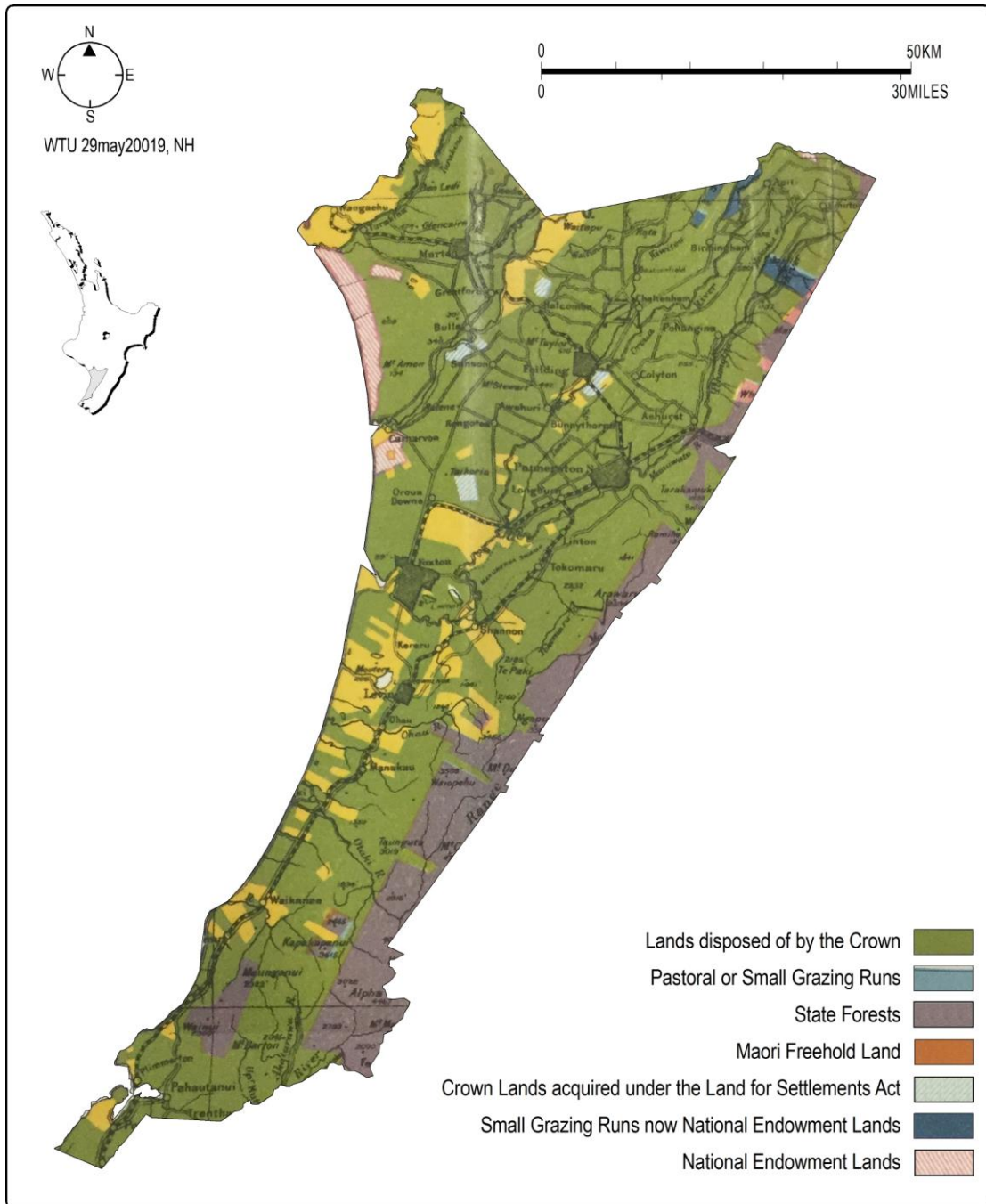
³¹ Husbands, ‘Maori aspirations,’ p.208.

³² Husbands, ‘Maori aspirations,’ p.281.

areas passed into private ownership once restrictions on alienation were removed, notably by section 207 of the Native Land Act 1909. Several private purchasers managed to enlarge existing properties while others acquired substantial properties, among them Wellington lawyer P.E. Baldwin and H.C. Easton. The latter's 2,991-acre Te Ruawa Station was subdivided into 11 units and offered for sale in mid-1920: five were purchased at an average price of £61.8 per acre.³³ Among the original Maori owners, several families also managed to acquire substantial properties. The small size of many of the partitions created and the establishment of narrow and elongated 'string sections' rendered them unlikely to have constituted the basis for commercial farm units.³⁴

³³ 'Easton land sale,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 16 June 1920, p.3.

³⁴ For example, the 43-acre Manawatu-Kukutauaki 4B3 S.2 was 6,700 metres long but 122 metres wide at its widest point, while 4B4C of 37 acres was 5,700 metres long and a frontage of 61 metres. See Husbands, 'Maori aspirations,' p.350.



Source: AJHR 1910, C1

Map 1.3: The state of land tenure, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 1909-1910

1.2.6 The state of land ownership, c1909

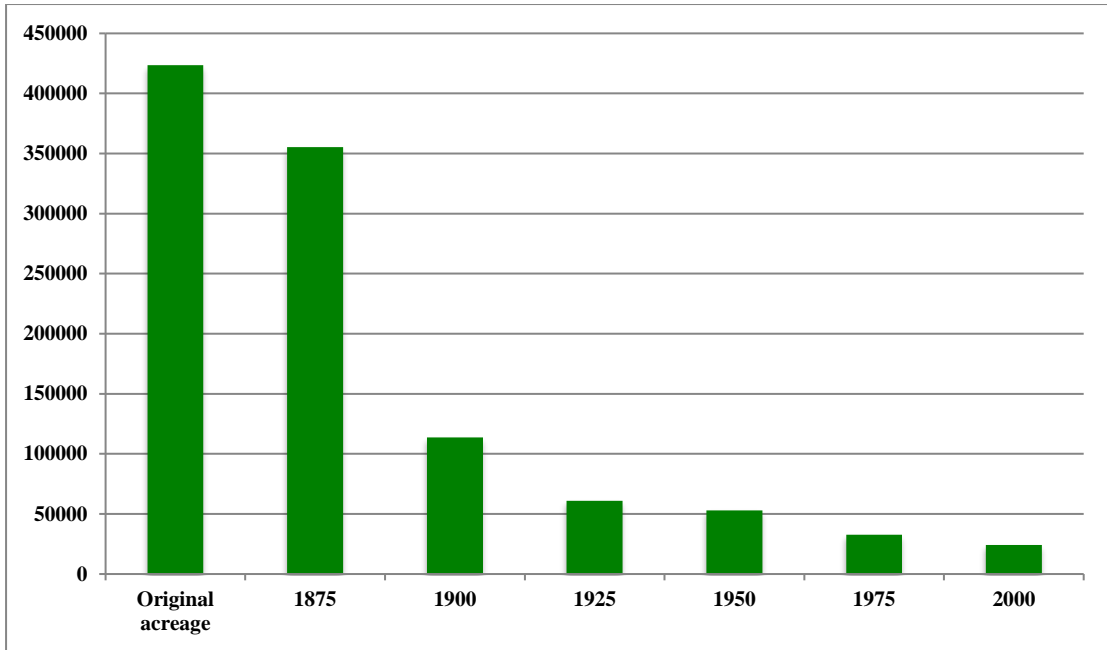
Data series detailing the scale and course of land alienation in Porirua ki Manawatu, similar to those prepared for a number of other inquiry districts, are not available. On the other hand, several maps do offer useful visual summaries.³⁵ Map 1.3 is part of a map showing land tenure in the North Island in 1908-1909.³⁶ By that stage, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori retained two classes of land, small areas of land originally set aside as ‘reserves’ or that had been retained by their owners, and some larger blocks, largely in the Horowhenua and located largely along the western seaboard.

1.2.7 Land remaining in Maori ownership

The report prepared by Walghan Partners summarises the alienation of Maori-owned land to 2000, although it deals with the blocks from the time at which the titles were created (‘original acreage’) and hence excludes the pre-emptive purchases. Graph 1.2 summarises the area that remained in Maori ownership at 25-year intervals: it is apparent that by 1900, the bulk of land in the Inquiry District had passed in to settler ownership. Of an ‘original acreage’ area of 423,642 acres, 83.9 per cent remained in Maori ownership in 1875 but just 26.8 per cent in 1900 and 14.4 per cent in 1925. Graph 1.3 summarises the mode of alienation, the Crown and private interests each acquiring 47 per cent of the ‘original acreage.’

³⁵ Some of these are reproduced in Vaughan Wood and others, ‘Environmental and natural resource issues report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017, Chapter 4.

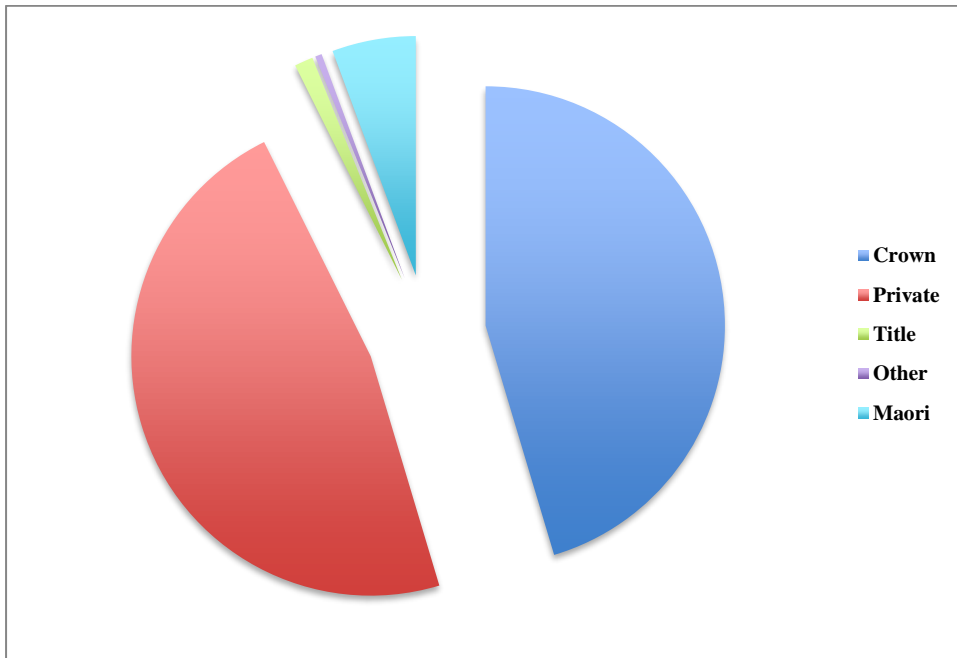
³⁶ AJHR 1909, Session II, C1.



‘Original acreage’ refers to the area established by survey at the dates upon which the parent blocks were created.

Source: Walghan Partners, ‘Block research narratives, Vol.1,’ p.354

Graph 1.2: Area (acres) remaining in Maori ownership, Porirua ki Manawatu, selected dates



Source: Walghan Partners, ‘Block research narratives, Vol.1,’ p.355

Graph 1.3: Mode of alienation by acreage, Porirua ki Manawatu, to 2000

A range of sources thus makes it clear that in the 50 years from 1860 to 1910, the bulk of the land once owned by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori had passed into Crown and settler ownership to form the basis of a productive and largely prosperous agro-pastoral economy. The number of farm holdings in the six counties of Oroua, Kiwitea, Pohangina, Kairanga, Manawatu, and Horowhenua increased rapidly between 1878 and 1895 as Crown and ‘railway’ lands were opened for settlement, the indigenous vegetation cleared, and the area in sown pasture expanded. By 1915, some 72 per cent of the total area of the six counties was ‘in occupation.’³⁷ One of the key questions that emerges is whether Maori secured a ‘fair’ price for their lands and, especially, whether that price was sufficient to allow them to invest in commercial development of the lands that they retained. A second major question is whether Maori retained sufficient land to enable them to participate fully into the commercial economy.

1.3 Values and prices

1.3.1 Crown purchases, Crown prices

How the Crown established values and thus the prices that it was prepared to pay for Maori-owned lands is a matter of great importance. As noted above, the Government (both provincial and general) depended heavily for its income upon revenues arising from the sale or leasing of land and that it thus sought to keep to a minimum the prices that it was prepared to pay for land purchased. Hawke and Lattimore argued that the difference between the Crown’s buying and selling prices was insufficient evidence of the exploitation of Maori.³⁸ Elsewhere, Hawke argued that the low prices paid to Maori for their land constituted their contribution to the growth of the new economy, while the higher prices paid by settlers to the Crown represented their contribution. Maori made their contribution by not receiving the ‘actual’ value of their land, while settlers paid more than the actual value.³⁹ How the Crown established ‘actual values’ was not

³⁷ See Graphs 4.4 and 4.5 in V. Wood and others, ‘Environmental and natural resource issues report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017, pp.120 -121.

³⁸ G.R. Hawke & Ralph Lattimore, *Visionaries, farmers, & markets: an economic history of New Zealand agriculture*. Wellington: New Zealand Trade Consortium, 1999, p.11.

³⁹ G.R. Hawke, ‘Evidence concerning economic history issues,’ (2000) Wai 686 #01, paras 41-42, quoted in Bryan Gilling, ‘Lands, funds, and resources: aspects of the economic history of Maori in Wairarapa ki Taraura since 1840,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p.277.

explained, nor whether the ‘contribution’ made by Maori was understood, accepted, and voluntary.

In the case of lands in Te Rohe Potae, for example, the Crown estimated the gross return, and its gross and net profits from land sales and, on the basis thus established, calculated the *maximum* prices that it was prepared to pay the original owners. For 13 major blocks, it estimated the gross return from sales at £230,972, the gross profit at £131,831, and its net profit at £74,087.⁴⁰ In the course of an 1878 inquiry into land purchasing in the Whanganui district, the Under Secretary of the Native Office noted that it had been ‘the custom of the Land Purchase Department to pay 5s per acre flat land and 1/6 per acre for mountainous country.’ Land purchase officers were required to operate within those limits.⁴¹ Price maxima appear to have been set on the basis of recommendations offered by surveyors and the Crown’s land purchase officers, with upper limits fixed by the Surveyor General and the Native Minister.⁴² Pressed over that matter before the Legislative Council’s 1879 Native Expenditure Committee, former Native Minister John Sheehan acknowledged that in fact surveyors and land purchase officers ‘cannot tell the actual commercial value.’ While he conceded that it would be inadvisable on all occasions to rely upon the reports of land purchase officers, he resisted a suggestion that reports on land value should be prepared by ‘two or more competent persons specially appointed ...’⁴³ That same committee pressed Wellington Province’s Chief Surveyor on the same matter. He claimed to ‘know something of the value of land in this province,’ but conceded that he had never been a farmer, that he had never been employed as an arbitrator in the matter of land, and that he had only ever valued land for the Crown.⁴⁴

As a result of its investigations, the Native Expenditure Committee concluded that

⁴⁰ Hearn, ‘Maori economic development,’ p.184. The data were taken from Leanne Boulton, ‘Land alienation in Rohe Potae Inquiry District,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2011. See ANZ Wellington AEBE 15807 LE1/147 1878/144.

⁴¹ ANZ Wellington AEBE 18507 Le 1 1878/144. Cited in T.J. Hearn, ‘“Creating a public estate:” Crown land purchasing in the Whanganui Inquiry District, 1865-2000,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2007, p.147.

⁴² ANZ Wellington AEBE 15807 LE1/147 1878/144. See also AJLC 1879, Session II, No.6, p.3.

⁴³ AJLC 1879, Session II, No.6, pp.3-4.

⁴⁴ AJLC 1879, Session II, No.6, p.9.

The present system of acquiring Native lands is attended with such serious disadvantages that it is expedient it should cease absolutely. They are of opinion that the Land Purchase Department should be abolished, and that the Government, while continuing to exercise a control over the sale of Native lands, should henceforth do so for the benefit of the Natives, and not at all with the view of deriving any profit from such sales.⁴⁵

In the Legislative Council in 1883 the Government was asked whether it intended to implement the recommendations of the Native Expenditure Committee: it received a non-committal response.⁴⁶

The Committee's investigations had again made it clear that the 'free market' did not determine land values, and the Crown's decision to resist efforts to have prices for Maori freehold land set by valuation. That latter step awaited the passage of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905: section 25 provided that the Crown could not purchase land for less than its capital value as assessed under the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896. It subsequently became apparent that the valuation criteria applied to Maori freehold land differed from those applied to general land, but by that stage the bulk of the land owned by Maori in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District had passed in to Crown and settler ownership. It is quite clear that the Crown's primary objective was to secure land at the lowest possible price with a view to transferring it to settlers on terms and conditions that encouraged permanent settlement and productive development, but at the same time generating sufficient revenue to allow the Crown to recover its costs and to invest in public works and other areas of Government expenditure.

For the estimated 250,000 acres of the Te Ahuaturanga block, the Crown paid £12,000, or, as the *Wellington Independent* observed, 'the merely nominal price' of 11.5d per acre.⁴⁷ For the 250,000-acre Rangitikei-Manawatu block, the Crown paid £25,000 or 2s per acre. The 1,647 sellers who signed the deed received an *average* of just over £15. Even then, an appreciable proportion of the proceeds was allocated to 'sellers' who did not reside in Porirua ki Manawatu and whose connections with the block appear tenuous.

⁴⁵ AJLC 1879, Session II, No.6, p.ii.

⁴⁶ NZPD 1883, Vol.44, pp.489-490.

⁴⁷ 'The West Coast,' *Wellington Independent* 7 June 1864, p.2.

Table 1.4 sets out completed and incomplete Crown purchases in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District for the period from 1874 to 1877. Included in the blocks on which advances had been made was Horowhenua: Booth recorded that the advances amounted to £64 16s, but that ‘Majority of claimants now wish to retain the property in their own hands,’ and that he would recover the advances through the lessee (H. McDonald) of part of the block. For all the blocks included under ‘Advances made,’ Booth noted that difficulties stood in the way of completing purchase.⁴⁸

Table 1.4: Crown purchases in Porirua ki Manawatu, to June 1877

	Acres	Average per acre: s
<i>Completed purchases</i>		
Waikanae	40675	1.78
Otaki	51059	2.76
Manawatu	11962	4.72
<i>Negotiations under way</i>		
Waikanae	-	-
Otaki	33976	3.96
Manawatu	83592	3.16
<i>Advances made</i>		
Waikanae	-	-
Otaki	8414	-
Manawatu	61762	-

Source: AJHR 1877, G7, pp.18-21

Over the period from 1872 to 1907, the Crown acquired 69 blocks aggregating just 194,313 acres, that is, excluding 13 blocks acquired on Kapiti Island. It paid £58,047.5 or 5.97s per acre. If the Kapiti Island blocks are included, the Crown acquired 82 blocks with an aggregate area of 197,100 acres. The purchase price amounted to just under £66,499 or an average of 6.7s per acre.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ AJHR 1877, G7, pp.22-23.

⁴⁹ See Young, ‘Muaupoko land alienation report.’

1.3.2 Restrictions on alienation and prices

In evidence presented to the Native Affairs Committee during its consideration, in 1899, of Seddon's proposed Native Lands Settlement and Administration Bill, Hone Heke Ngapuha noted that the lands along the North Island Main Trunk railway that the Crown had acquired for £200,000 had been valued at £800,000. Through the restrictions on alienation, he claimed, the Government had imposed 'a tax directly on Native lands.' He went on to suggest that 'there are many tracts of Native land which the Crown has purchased for 5s per acre, and for which the Maoris, if it had been competent for them to avail themselves of the outside market, could have obtained from £1 10s to £2 per acre ...'⁵⁰

The 1907 Native Land Commission was similarly very critical of the Crown's practice of imposing restrictions on alienation. It claimed that prior to 1905, no machinery had been established by law to determine the minimum price that the Crown was prepared to offer Maori.⁵¹ With reference to the Whanganui district, the Commission noted that between 1881 and 1907 the Crown acquired some 1.273 million acres at a cost of £273,340, an average of about 4s per acre (out of which Court fees, agents' costs, and survey charges had to be met), the direct outcome of restrictions on private alienation.⁵² For Te Rohe Potae, the Commission reached similar conclusions: for 687,769 acres acquired by August 1906, the Crown had paid an average of 4.23s per acre. 'The Crown,' it recorded, 'bought on its own terms; it had no competition to fear; the owners had no standard of comparison in their midst, such as the rents of land under lease or profits from farming might have afforded; they had been reduced by cost of litigation and surveys, by the lack of any other source of revenue, to accept any price at all for their lands ... The price was ... below the value. It was the best possible bargain for the State.'⁵³

Under the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905, the Crown acquired a further 65,446 acres in Te Rohe Potae at average of 9.9s per acre: it seems unlikely that the increase in the

⁵⁰ AJHR 1899, I3A, p.9.

⁵¹ The reference to 1905 was to section 25 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 under which the Crown was required to pay not less than the value of the land as established under the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896.

⁵² AJHR 1907, G1A, pp.15-16.

⁵³ AJHR 1907, G1B, p.4.

average price that followed the enactment of section 25 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 constituted a useful measure of the extent to which the earlier average represented a major transfer of wealth to the Crown. In order to facilitate purchase by the Crown for settlement purposes, the Valuation Department discounted the value of lands owned by Maori up to 25 per cent: the practice of discounting continued well into the twentieth century.⁵⁴

Some idea of the value that private purchasers were prepared to pay can be deduced for the rentals negotiated between Maori and Pakeha for Te Rohe Potae blocks. Rentals were commonly set at five percent of the unimproved value of the lands involved: a rental of 1s per acre per annum indicated an unimproved value of £1 per acre. Rentals for almost 181,000 acres of lands leased by Te Rohe Potae Maori to Pakeha during the period from 1904 to 1909 ranged from 3d to over 3s per acre. Analysis revealed that almost 46 per cent of that area was leased for 1s per acre, implying an unimproved value of £1 per acre, while a further 24 per cent was leased at 1s 6d per acre, implying an unimproved value of £1 10s per acre. Those implied unimproved values contrast sharply with the average of 4.23s per acre the Crown paid for Te Rohe Potae lands up to 1906 and the average of 9.9s per acre following the passage of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905.⁵⁵

1.3.3 Crown lands, private buyers

Details of Crown land sales in Porirua ki Manawatu are not readily available. Reports of some Crown land sales were published in the press and this section presents some of the details. It is important to note that a trigonometrical survey of all the Crown lands of the district had been completed by 1873 so that every section offered for sale had defined and recorded boundaries and provision for road access: selection before survey had given way to selection after survey, a key to the rapid establishment of farm holdings that followed in the wake of the land sales. Moreover, potential buyers were presented with information as to location, vegetative cover, soil quality, and agricultural potential. Subdivision and settlement were, in short, planned.

⁵⁴ See, for example, the report of the Valuation of Land Commission, in AJHR 1915, B17.

⁵⁵ See Hearn, 'Maori economic development in Te Rohe Potae,' pp.197-199.

In April 1873, 36,600 acres in the Carnarvon and Sandon districts were offered for selection: the upset price was set at 20s per acre for sections that ranged from 100 to 640 acres. This particular sale included a number of sections that settlers for many years had rented from Maori. The upset price of 'pastoral section' was 7s 6d per acre.⁵⁶ The sale was described as a 'great and unexampled success,' some five-sixths of the offering being purchased 'at far above the upset price.' Some of the agricultural land fetched around £2 per acre. The *Evening Post* insisted that that 'gratifying result' was attributable 'almost entirely to the wise and enlightened policy of developing the internal resources of the Province, and holding out the inducement to land buyers of ready access to their property and the means of transit for their produce, by the construction of roads and bridges ...'⁵⁷ Further sales in May brought the total area sold in the two months of April and May 1873 to 38,699 acres, located mostly in the Manawatu district, some on the system of deferred payments that had been introduced in the Province of Wellington in November 1872.⁵⁸ Further large sales of town, suburban and rural sections took place in April 1874 and in February 1875.⁵⁹ In September 1875, some 11,000 acres of Crown lands in the Waikanae district were offered for sale, and in April and September 1876 in the Manawatu district. The April 1876 sales yielded prices for rural sections considerably in advance of the upset price of £1 per acre, and in fact prices ranged from £1 10s per acre to as high as £5 per acre.⁶⁰

1.3.4 Private buyers, private prices

Between 1873 and 1885, private buyers made just a few direct purchases from Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. Alexander McDonald acquired 1,612 acres in Aorangi at an average price of just over £1 per acre.⁶¹ By November 1883, 6,668 acres of Aorangi 2 had been sold to private purchasers: whereas the Government had endeavoured for many years to acquire the block at 4s per acre, privately it fetched an average price of 35s per acre.⁶² James Bull purchased 724 acres at £3 per acre and Hugh Fraser 100

⁵⁶ Untitled, *Evening Post* 26 March 1873, p.2.

⁵⁷ Untitled, *Evening Post* 18 April 1873, p.2.

⁵⁸ Untitled, *Evening Post* 18 July 1873, p.2.

⁵⁹ 'The coming land sale,' *Evening Post* 2 April 1874, p.2; and 'The coming Crown lands sale,' *Evening Post* 13 February 1875, p.2.

⁶⁰ 'The approaching sale of Crown lands,' *Evening Post* 1 September 1875, p.2; Untitled, *Evening Post* 20 April 1876, p.2; and Untitled, *Evening Post* 17 August 1876, p.4.

⁶¹ AJHR 1883, G6.

⁶² 'Native Land Court,' *Manawatu Standard* 30 November 1883, pp.2 and 3.

acres at £3 7s 5d per acre. By 1883, James Gear and Isabella Ling had acquired 2,075 acres at £1 per acre.⁶³ Husbands's account of the alienation of the Upper Aorangi or Aorangi 1 block includes a table showing alienations of various sections into which the block had been subdivided. It contains details of acreages and total price paid for sections sold between 1873 and 1892, although most of the sales took place between 1873 and 1885. From the data included, the rates per acre can readily be calculated and they are set out in Table 1.5. With one exception, all the sales were, as noted, made to private individuals: the sale to the Crown is listed first: it was a 13.5-acre strip of land (Aorangi 2) acquired for railway purposes. It should be noted that some individuals, notably Alexander McDonald, acquired several sections at different times. Some considerable variation notwithstanding, it is very clear that private purchasers paid prices well in excess of the average price per acre paid by the Crown.

⁶³ AJHR 1883, G6.

Table 1.5: Sales of sections in Upper Aorangi block, 1873 to 1892

Acres sold	Price paid: £	Price paid per acre: £
13.5	16 17 6	1.5
660	660 0 0	1.0
324	324 10 0	1.03
400	1200 0 0	3.0
55	200 0 0	3.64
456	1368 0 0	3.0
268	804 0 0	3.0
400	800 0 0	2.0
100	300 0 0	3.0
100.6	200 0 0	2.98
58.6	117 0 0	1.99
368.5	368 0 0	0.99
62	186 0 0	3.0
131.25	394 0 0	3.0
108	10 0	1.11
50	150 0 0	3.0
12	48 0 0	4.0
42	168 0 0	4.0
93.2	370 0 0	3.97
50.7	256 0 0	5.05
111	333 0 0	3.0
62	157 0 0	2.53
80.2	200 0 0	2.49
55	240 0 0	4.36
100	300 0 0	3.0
55	357 10 0	6.5
130	500 0 0	3.85

Source: Husbands, 'Maori aspirations,' p.210

On the other hand, the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company, established in 1881 following the Government's decision not to proceed with the construction of a railway line from Wellington to Palmerston North and following the passage of the Railways Construction and Land Act 1881, set out to secure grants of Crown lands and to purchase Maori lands as key components of its financing plans.⁶⁴ The Crown allocated blocks with an aggregate area of 210,502 acres to the Company (the 'allocated

⁶⁴ Under Part V of the Railways Construction and Land Act 1881, the value of Crown lands granted to a private railways company could not exceed 30 per cent of the cost of construction. The Company had two categories of lands, namely, those awarded to it by the Crown (the 'allocated land'), and those it acquired privately (the 'purchased lands'). At various times, by auction or private contract, it disposed of land to the value of £188,645.

lands’): 10,000 acres lay to the north of the Manawatu River, while 78,800 acres lay to the south of the Inquiry District, leaving 131,702 acres within the Horowhenua district open to selection. The Company also purchased in Manawatu-Kukutauaki, 24,849 acres from Maori at 12.4s per acre, the total price of £15,421 exceeding the property tax valuation of £13,740.⁶⁵ By 1889, the company owned 179,239 acres valued at £247,698 – or an average of 27.6s per acre – making it one of seven companies whose New Zealand land holdings exceeded 150,000 acres.⁶⁶ Bassett and Kay suggested that by transferring Crown lands to the Company, the Crown ‘effectively subsidised the Company’s costs with large grants of Crown lands for on-sale to settlers.’⁶⁷ In fact, insofar as the Crown lands were concerned, the Company was effectively subsidised by their original Maori owners.

1.3.5 Private purchases of ‘railway’ lands

Full details of the area of the land sold by the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company were not located, but those available indicated that the company secured a healthy return on its investment. For example, in 1888, 998 acres of rural land at Ohau sold for an average of £3 10 9 per acre;⁶⁸ in 1889, 7,244 acres of rural land for £11,174 or an average of £1 10s 10d per acre’ and 2,995 acres of rural land for an average of £2 6s per acre;⁶⁹ and in 1890 it sold 14,135 acres of mostly rural land for £1 11s 2d per acre.⁷⁰ In 1898, the Company recorded that it had sold most of its ‘purchased lands’ for what it termed ‘a large profit on the cost,’ while a good deal of the ‘allocated lands’ had been sold ‘for but little more than the original value and expenditure thereon to the date of sale.’⁷¹

⁶⁵ Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company, Annual Report, 1898, in ANZ Wellington ADQD 17422 W2278/8 1900/2117; and AJHR 1886, G6.

⁶⁶ AJHR 1890, B15, p.26.

⁶⁷ Heather Bassett and Richard Kay, ‘Public works issues,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2018, p.235.

⁶⁸ ‘The Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company’s land sale,’ *Evening Post* 18 February 1888, p.2.

⁶⁹ ‘Another great railway land sale,’ *Evening Post* 9 February 1889, p.2.

⁷⁰ ‘Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company,’ *Evening Post* 4 February 1890, p.2.

⁷¹ Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company, Annual Report, 1898, in ANZ Wellington ADQD 17422 W2278/8 1900/2117. See also F.S. Simcox, *Otaki: the town and the district*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1952, p.93.

1.3.6 Rents and market values

Some indication of the prices that private purchasers would have been prepared to pay for Maori-owned lands in Porirua ki Manawatu can be gained from the rents that Pakeha lessees agreed to pay. Rentals were usually set at five per cent of the unimproved value and hence can be employed to calculate likely purchase prices: thus at five per cent, a rental of 1s per acre yielded an unimproved value of £1 per acre. It was noted above that the rents for 33 blocks in Porirua ki Manawatu were extracted from the 1891 stocktake of lands in Maori ownership. The 33 blocks had an aggregate area of 21,586 acres and yielded a total annual rent of £3,582 or an average of 3.3s per acre, thus giving an unimproved value of £3 3s per acre. The results are imprecise but they offer some indication of the likely relationship between the price paid by the Crown for Maori-owned lands and the prices those same lands would have fetched from private purchasers. It is worthwhile noting that the suggested £3.3 per acre sits comfortably within the range of prices paid by purchasers of lands in the Upper Aorangi blocks (see Table 1.5 above).

1.3.7 Property tax valuations and market prices

One further set of data offers some insights into the relationship between Crown purchase prices and market prices. The Property Assessment Act 1879 introduced a broad-based property tax.⁷² By section 24 of that Act, the basis of assessment was defined as ‘the sum ... [that the property or interest therein] might be expected to bring if offered at public auction for cash.’ This new tax remained in force until 1891 when the Liberal Government introduced a new land and income tax based on the unimproved value of land. Under section 26 of the Act, ‘All property of Maoris’ was exempt from the taxation, although under section 28 the interests of Pakeha occupiers of Maori land were assessable and taxable. Property tax valuations are available for some blocks owned by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. The 1891 stocktake listed the property tax valuations of blocks that had passed through the Native Land Court and remained in Maori ownership. It is thus possible to compare the average prices paid by the Crown for portions of those blocks with the average property tax (market valuation) of those portions that Maori had retained. The comparisons need to be treated with care

⁷² This section is based in part on Hearn, ‘Maori economic development,’ pp.212-215.

given, on the one hand, that the Crown's purchases were largely conducted during the 1870s and the early 1880s and, on the other hand, the fact that the property tax valuations were those for 1891. Moreover, it is possible that Maori retained the best portions of the blocks involved. It is suggested, nevertheless, that the comparisons do offer some further insight into the likely relationship between the prices paid by the Crown and the prices that Maori might have secured on the open market.

Table 1.6: Crown purchase prices and property tax valuations, per acre, for five Porirua ki Manawatu blocks

Blocks	Crown purchase rate per acre: decimal shillings	Property tax valuation rate per acre 1891: decimal shillings
Muhunoa	3.1	41.9
Ohau	2.9	44.3
Pukehou	2.6	41.2
Manawatu-Kukutauaki	2.9	35.1
Horowhenua	13.0	16.1

Source: AJHR 1891, Session II, G10

For subdivisions of the five blocks the Crown paid for 62,674 acres a total of £18,913 or an average of 6.04s per acre. The 56,330 acres that Maori retained in 1891 in the same five parent blocks had an average property tax valuation per acre of 21s.

It is worthwhile recording here that, for lands acquired under the Lands for Settlement Acts, the Crown paid per acre rates that were just below or appreciably over the property-tax valuation rate per acre.⁷³ It is also worthwhile noting that in 1905 the Government toyed with the idea of employing property-tax valuations as the basis upon which it would set prices for lands in Maori ownership. In the course of a debate on the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905, Premier Seddon claimed that he 'would be quite willing to provide that land should not be bought [from Maori] at less than the land-tax value,' adding that he 'did not desire to take anything from the Natives excepting at fair value ...'⁷⁴ The Act (section 25) in fact provided that the Crown could not purchase Maori-owned land for less than the capital value assessed under the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896. By 1905, the Crown had largely completed its land

⁷³ See Table 4.4 in Hearn, 'Maori economic development,' p.214.

⁷⁴ NZPD 1905, Vol.135, p.773.

purchasing in Porirua ki Manawatu, while, in any case, Government valuations of Native freehold land were, as noted, discounted.

1.3.8 A ‘sufficiency’ of land?

At an early stage, the Crown recognised that it had an obligation to ensure that Maori retained ‘sufficient’ land. The difficulty lay in deciding what ‘sufficient’ meant – sufficient for their ‘maintenance and subsistence’ or sufficient to enable them to participate fully in the commercial economy? In the first place, the Crown devised several ‘protective mechanisms,’ among them, reserves for Maori, and restrictions on the alienability of land in Maori ownership. The protracted controversy over the setting apart of reserves in the Rangitikei-Manawatu block has been well traversed, but it is of interest to note that Featherston proposed that a mere 3,361 acres should be set apart, an area increased by the Native Land Court and by Native Minister McLean to a total of 23,967 acres.⁷⁵ There was little doubt where Featherston stood on the issue of ‘sufficiency,’ while McLean indicated that ‘the chief object of the Government should be to settle upon the natives ... a certain sufficient quantity of land which would be a permanent home for them, on which they would feel safe and secure against subsequent changes or removal ...’⁷⁶ Again, it appears, such a notion of ‘sufficiency’ appears to have little to do with commercial adequacy.

Sections 21 to 32 of the Native Land Act 1873 required the Crown to set apart for Maori ‘a sufficient quantity of land,’ but those provisions appear not to have been fully implemented. That section 24 defined sufficiency as not less than 50 acres per person may have acted as a deterrent. The Native Land Act 1873 was repealed by the Native Land Court Act 1886. Further, the large-scale acquisition of land in Porirua ki Manawatu during the 1870s and early 1880s was accompanied by the reservation (under section 4 of the Government of the Government Native Land Purchases Act Amendment Act 1878) for sellers of just 4,375 acres. Creating reserves was more about facilitating purchase by the Crown and rather less about the participation of Maori in the commercial economy.

⁷⁵ AJHR 1872, F8.

⁷⁶ NZPD 1873, Vol.14, p.604.

Neither the Native Land Court Act 1880 nor the Native Land Court Act 1886 dealt with the matter of sufficiency, although section 13 of the Native Land Court Act 1886 Amendment Act 1888 empowered the Court, when investigating titles, ‘to ascertain as to each owner whether he has a sufficiency of inalienable land for his support, and shall out of the land the subject of any such order, declare to be inalienable so much and such parts as shall be necessary for the support of any owner not shown to be possessed of such sufficiency.’ The Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act 1893 re-defined sufficiency to mean (per capita) 25 acres of first-class land, 50 acres of second-class land, or 100 acres of third-class land. For Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, such provisions were of little value, most lands in the Inquiry District having been clothed with titles.

The debate over ‘sufficiency’ continued in to the first two decades of the twentieth century, but without any clear resolution. Evidence presented by the Horowhenua County Council to the 1933 Native Rates Commission 1933 offered an interesting perspective. According to that evidence, 97 per cent of the rates were levied on land owned and occupied by Europeans and on Maori land occupied by Europeans, and a mere three per cent on lands owned and occupied by Maori.⁷⁷ In the course of a discussion over rates charging orders, the County’s solicitor observed that much of the Maori land in the county was not capable of generating sufficient income to pay rates. He went to observe that ‘the individual pieces of Native land are very small. In fact, I do not think there is one block left in the county that would justify the appointment of a receiver to administer it.’ Unpaid Maori rates in any case constituted a declining problem as land was sold. Thus ‘I should say that the amount of Native land owned by natives [*sic*] today would not be more than half what it was twenty years ago ... In this immediate district until 1908 the whole of Horowhenua 11B41 was community lands. The titles have since been individualised and are all in the occupation of Europeans. The question of rating there has practically been solved.’⁷⁸ It is also of interest to note that the Chair of the Commission recorded that ‘In these particularly stressful times, it is wonderful how the Natives in some districts ... are managing to exist on their little

⁷⁷ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16093 MA86 1/2, quoted in Suzanne Woodley, ‘Local government issues report,’ research report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington, 2017, p. 471.

⁷⁸ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16093 MA86 1/2, quoted in Woodley, ‘Local government issues report,’ p. 474.

plots of land.⁷⁹ By 1940 it was clear that the primary sector could no longer absorb a growing Maori workforce. Thus Belshaw estimated that by that date some 25 to 40 per cent of rural Maori possessed insufficient land to afford a reasonable standard of living. No evidence was located that would suggest that his estimate did not also apply to the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. Indeed, the scale of land alienation in the Inquiry District may well have meant that Belshaw's estimate was conservative.

1.4 Land sale, land rents, and the development of land

The establishment and expansion of a capitalist economy, and notably commercial farming, in New Zealand required access to capital: given the limited development of domestic sources of development credit, successive provincial and general governments borrowed heavily in the London capital market to finance immigration, public works, and after 1890 land settlement and development. Some forms of enterprise, notably extensive pastoral farming were financed by English woollen textile companies or from profits derived from the Australian pastoral industry, or by (initially small) stock and station agencies (behind whom stood the banks), while land development companies, financed privately in the United Kingdom, acquired large tracts of land for development purposes. Most small settlers relied on family resources, the wealth acquired through gold mining, and various forms of land tenure intended to facilitate settlement by allowing selectors to devote their scarce capital resources to developing land, building farm infrastructure, and acquiring stock.

The Liberal Government of the period from 1891 to 1912 determined that New Zealand should take full advantage of an export-led economic recovery after the mixed fortunes of the 1880s, set out to accelerate the transformation of a land- and capital-extensive agrarian sector into a land- and capital-intensive production system in which small farmers owning or leasing land from the State would dominate. One of its most important measures was the Advances to Settlers Act 1894, a measure generally regarded as a key to the success of the Liberal Government's land settlement

⁷⁹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16093 MA86 1/2, quoted in Woodley, 'Local government issues report,' p.478.

programme.⁸⁰ Maori were not excluded from the Act, but Native freehold land was not included in the nine classes of land deemed to constitute acceptable security for mortgage advances. Few Maori could offer such security. Under the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, State participation in the economy expanded rapidly, especially upon the establishment, in 1906, within the Government Advances to Settlers Office, a Government Advances to Workers Branch.

1.4.1 Rents, land sales, and the accumulation of capital

Some historians have suggested that given the acreage under lease, Maori should have been able to accumulate sufficient funds for reinvestment in land development. Loveridge, for example, claimed that section 16 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 ‘did a great deal to make Maori land accessible to Europeans, and along the way must have generated a substantial amount of income for the owners ...’⁸¹ Other historians are far less certain. Murton, in his report on the Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki people of Poverty Bay, concluded that Maori could not have subsisted on rental incomes alone.⁸² Boast, in his analysis of leasing in the Mohaka-Waikare district in Hawke’s Bay arrived at much the same conclusion.⁸³ He also noted that social and economic surveys of Maori communities undertaken in the 1930s indicated ‘that owning land had little bearing on income and well-being.’⁸⁴ Comprehensive data for the Porirua ki Manawatu district were not located, but such as were located, drawn from housing surveys and the applications of Maori for assistance under the Native Housing Act 1935 indicates that income from rents constituted a minor portion of very modest household incomes.

In 1940, Belshaw estimated that, while it was difficult to estimate the total income Maori received from rentals, it was doubtful that it exceeded, in 1939, £3 per head of

⁸⁰ See Neil Quigley, ‘The mortgage market in New Zealand and the origins of the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894,’ *New Zealand Economic Papers* 23, 1, 1989, pp.51-79; and Brooking, *Lands for the people?*, p.121.

⁸¹ D.M. Loveridge, ‘“The bane of the Native race:” the problem of “unused Maori lands in King Country during the first decade of the twentieth century,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Law Office, 2012, p.81. See also p.127.

⁸² Brian Murton, ‘Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki 1860-1960: the economic and social experience of a people: a report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2001.

⁸³ Richard Boast, ‘The Mohaka-Waikare confiscation: consolidated report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1995.

⁸⁴ Boast, *Buying the land. Selling the land*, p.274.

the Maori population.⁸⁵ The Beagleholes concluded that few Otaki Maori received derived any substantial income from land rents.⁸⁶ Macrae's more recent analysis supported Belshaw's conclusion. He noted that rents were a function of rents per acre and thus of the quality and location of the land concerned, the size of the blocks, the number of owners, and the distribution of shares among owners. He suggested that if the average block were 300 acres and the average share ratio was 1/10th, then the mean income in 1900-1920 would have been £7.5 per annum. The modal value of rents would have been considerably less, while the average share value was declining as the population grew, 'and hence it was realistic for Belshaw to state the average rental income as £3 in 1939.'⁸⁷

Maori were frequently exhorted by the Crown and the colonial press to lease their lands and invest the accumulated rentals in such of their lands as they desired to retain and develop. In 1911, for example, the *Dominion* published an article that attacked Ngata and Carroll for 'building up a Maori landlord caste which will grow rich on the exertions of the white man.' It went on to claim that given a rental value of 1s 6d per acre per annum, the four million acres remaining in Maori ownership and 'profitably occupied' by lessees would yield to each Maori 'the very nice income of £150 per year – not a bad income; this to be received by people who profess to be so poor that they cannot pay rates, and who draw a larger proportion of old age pensions and hospitals and charitable aid expenditure than any other section of the community.'⁸⁸ The article failed to mention that the bulk of the land remaining in Maori ownership was mountainous, hilly, swampy and otherwise of little commercial value.

An alternative suggestion was that the Crown should 'take over' all Maori-owned lands and lease them 'in the interests of the owners.' Both suggestions invariably evoked claims that the Crown was encouraging Maori to become 'great landlords,' to form 'the landocracy of the colony.'⁸⁹ It was an odd argument given that the Government from 1877 through to about 1920 introduced a wide range of leasehold tenures the general

⁸⁵ Belshaw, 'Maori economic circumstances,' p.191.

⁸⁶ Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some modern Maoris*, p.18.

⁸⁷ See J.A. Macrae, 'A study in the application of economic analysis to social issues: the Maori and the New Zealand economy', PhD Thesis, University of London, 1975, p.142.

⁸⁸ 'Native lands. Elastic figures,' *Dominion* 4 November 1911, p.4.

⁸⁹ 'The Government's native lands policy,' *Auckland Star* 24 May 1898, p.4.

purposes of which were to facilitate entry in to land settlement and to allow lessees to devote scarce capital resources to land development, the acquisition of stock and machinery, and the construction of fences and buildings.⁹⁰

It was Ngata who challenged the ‘legend’ that the Maori was a ‘bloated landlord.’ In 1928 he recorded that

although 4,000,000 acres of ‘native’ land existed, the average native’s interest in land which he could profitably use was much below the 50 acres set as a standard by the Native Land Court: probably it was not above 25 acres. In some districts ... it was represented by a dozen or two rows of kumara plants in the tribal plantations. The fact was that many natives were landless or almost so. In the past a number had lived on rents or the proceeds of the sale of their land, but although his hearers might not believe it, a larger number had lived by the sweat of their brow. It would be interesting if an estimate could be made of the Maori contribution to the economic progress of New Zealand. The pakeha pioneer was widely praised for carving out a home for himself from the bush, but the man who helped him, who felled bush, burned off, sowed after the burn and split and packed posts, and put up fences, was not in the picture: he was the Maori.⁹¹

As noted above, the census of 1891 recorded by county the area leased by Maori. The 1891 ‘stocktake’ of lands in Maori ownership listed, by land district, the blocks that had passed through the Native Land Court and been leased by their Maori owners. Details were abstracted for 34 blocks for which rents were given: they had an aggregate area of 21,586 acres for which the total rent payable per annum was £3,582. In per acre terms, the average annual rent per acre amounted to just over 3.3s. The average size of the 34 blocks was 634.9 acres: in turn that meant an annual rental return of just over £105 for distribution among multiple owners.⁹²

If an average rent of 3.3s per acre per annum is applied to the 52,039 acres of Maori-owned land in the three counties of Oroua, Manawatu, and Horowhenua recorded by the census of 1891 as under lease, then the gross annual rental amounted to £8,586. The 1891 census recorded the Maori population of the three counties, including ‘half-castes’ living as members of iwi, as 1,173. On that basis, the gross annual per capita income

⁹⁰ This section draws on Hearn, ‘Maori economic development in Te Rohe Potae,’ Chapter 3.

⁹¹ ‘Maori aspirations,’ *New Zealand Herald* 28 August 1928, p.11. Interestingly, in the course of his address, Ngata also touched on the movement of Maori to the urban areas, notably Auckland, observing that ‘A process of disinheritance of tribal elements was going on ...’

⁹² The data are drawn from AJHR 1891, Session II, G10.

from rents stood at £7.3 per annum. In short, renting land appears unlikely to have allowed owners to accumulate capital for re-investment: rather, the evidence suggests that the rewards of leasing flowed from lessor to lessee.

Similar general observations hold true with respect to the sale of land. There is little if any evidence that would suggest that the sale of land allowed Maori to secure capital resources sufficient for them to reinvest, turn their remaining lands to productive account, and engage fully in the new economy. Historians appear largely agreed that Maori did not. Brooking, for example, calculated that the Liberal Government purchased 3.2 million acres of Maori-owned land for £1,010,140 – an average of 6s 4d per acre – while the Reform Government purchased one million acres for £2,505,473, an average of just under 21s per acre (the larger sum per acre reflecting, certainly in part, land price inflation).⁹³ Between 1891 and 1920, the Crown thus acquired some 4.2 million acres of land from Maori for £3,515,613, from which had to be deducted the costs of securing title. As Boast observed, given a population of some 40,000 in 1890, each individual would have received £87 10s, ‘this being the *total* [gross?] compensation per head for the next thirty years.’⁹⁴ The renewed growth of the Maori population from about 1890 meant that the average was in fact appreciably lower. Boast thus concluded that ‘Selling land to the Crown simply cannot have generated significant capital for reinvestment, or indeed generated for the overwhelming majority [of Maori] anything deserving the name of capital at all ...’⁹⁵ Not all historians are entirely in accord with that assessment. Loveridge, in his discussion of what he termed ‘the problem of unused Maori land in Te Rohe Potae’ during the first decade of the twentieth century, suggested that Te Rohe Potae Maori received £145,384 for the lands sold during the 1890s and a further £32,304 from sales completed under the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905. ‘Little of this,’ he observed, ‘seems to have been invested in land or commercial development.’⁹⁶

⁹³ Tom Brooking, ‘“Busting up” the greatest estate of all: Liberal Maori land policy, 1891-1911,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 26, 1, 1992, p.78.

⁹⁴ Boast, *Buying the land, selling the land*, p.39.

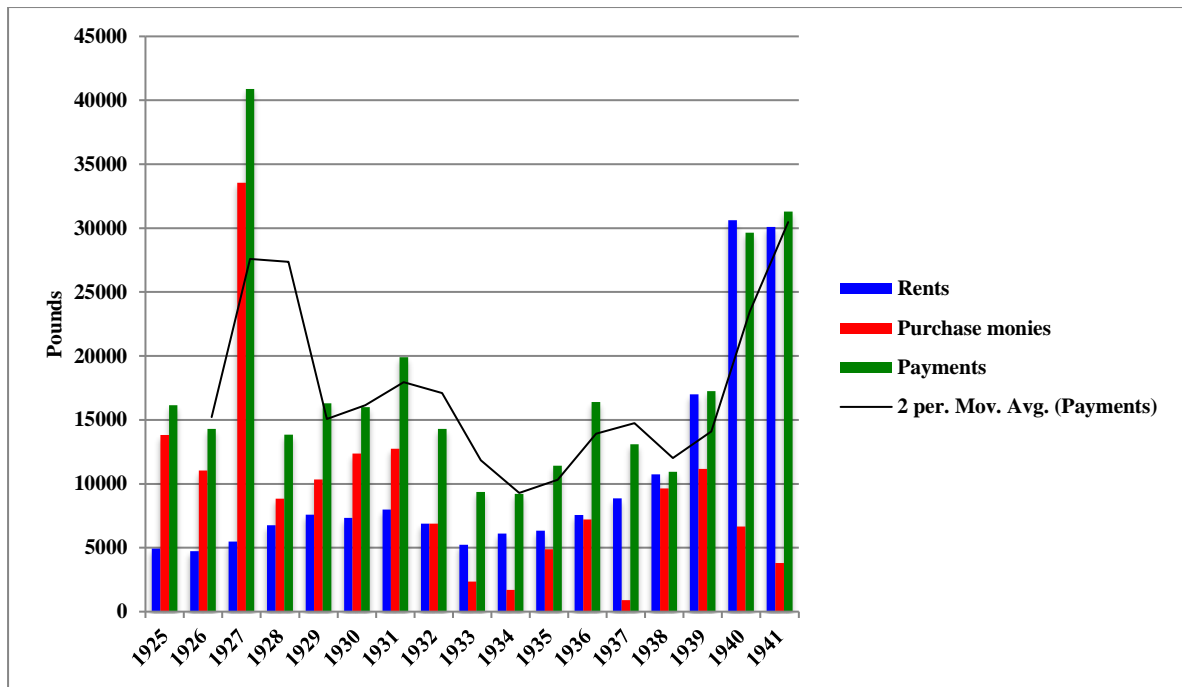
⁹⁵ Boast, *Buying the land, selling the land*, p.40.

⁹⁶ D.M. Loveridge, ‘“The bane of the Native race:” the problem of unused Maori land in King Country during the first decade of the 20th century,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Law Office, 2012, p.21.

1.4.2 Ikaroa Maori Land Board

With respect to estimating the sums that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori may have received from land sales and rents, the published data do not offer much assistance. A partial exception is the annual accounts of the Ikaroa Maori Land Board. It received the proceeds of land sales and in many (but not all cases) rents and disbursed them (less commissions) among beneficiaries. Graph 1.4 sets out for the period from 1925 to 1941 the sums that the Board received from rents and royalties (very largely the former) and from land sales and compensation for land taken (again, very largely the former). It will be noted that rental payments declined during the 1930s, partly as the result of Government efforts to maintain settlers on their holdings. The Native Purposes Act (section 115), the National Expenditure Adjustment Act 1932 (Part III), the Finance Act 1932 (section 60), and the Mortgagors and Tenants' Relief Act 1932 all contained provisions that resulted in a reduction in the rents and interest due to beneficiaries. Moreover, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board experienced considerable difficulty in collecting rentals due on leased land and interest on monies invested on behalf of beneficiaries. 'This short collection of rents and interest,' noted the Board in 1937, 'has worked much hardship upon the Maori people during the past few years.'⁹⁷ Rental returns did not recover strongly until the later 1930s. The proceeds from land sales also fell sharply during the 1930s, and recovered towards the end of the decade before falling again. The amount and course of disbursements to beneficiaries, as expected, followed closely the revenues arising from rents and land sales.

⁹⁷ AJHR 1937, G9, p.11.



Source: AJHR 1925 to 1941, B1

Graph 1.4: Rents and purchase monies paid to and payments made to beneficiaries by the Ikaroa Maori Land Board, 1925 to 1941

1.5 The cost of land development

One of the major difficulties that besets this debate is the lack of clear evidence as to the capital costs involved in the transformation of bush, swamp, and fern land in to productive farms, and as to the years that elapsed before settlers no longer found it necessary to seek external sources of income. An analysis of such data as were available for improved farm settlements established in Te Rohe Potae under the Lands Improvements and Native Lands Acquisition Act 1894 offered some insights.⁹⁸ For five such settlements established in 1909-1910, Crown grants were made available to settlers of 30s per acre for bush-felling and 10s per acre for grass sowing. In addition, a grant of £50 was available to meet the costs of building and fencing, while employment on public works was also made available (on road works funded by the Government under the Government Loans to Local Bodies Act 1886).⁹⁹ The published data indicated that the State contributed £2.6 per acre for clearing and grassing and that grants for construction costs approached the limit of £50 per selector: stock represented

⁹⁸ See Hearn, 'Maori economic development,' pp.342-350.

⁹⁹ More details are set out in Hearn, 'Maori economic development,' pp.342-352.

an additional cost, estimated at £44 per holding, while, as noted, selectors were also provided with off-farm employment. By 1914, the total value of improvements per grassed acre of the improved farm settlements had reached £5.31, a figure that appears as a reasonable indication of the costs involved with converting unimproved land in to productive farms. If such were in fact the case, then the *gross* sum of £66,499 paid by the Crown for land acquired in Porirua ki Manawatu between 1872 and 1907 perhaps allowed vendors to develop, at say £2.6 per acre, about 25,600 acres, or at £5.31 per acre some 12,500 acres. From that gross sum of £66,499 titling, survey, and partition costs had to be deducted.

It is worth recording here that Part I of the Lands Improvement and Native Land Acquisition Act 1894 provided (section 4) that ‘Any number of persons comprising an association formed in accordance with regulations made under this Act may, by agreement with the Minister [of Lands], settle upon any Crown lands for the purpose of clearing or otherwise improving the same ...’ and to so with the assistance of advances made by the Crown. At first sight, at least, section 4 may well have held appeal to and to have assisted Maori to develop collectively held lands, but by section 11, ‘Native lands’ were expressly excluded from Part I.

1.5.1 Measuring investment in land development, 1910-1912

As will be demonstrated below, the evidence relating to those few Maori farmers who sought assistance under Ngata’s land development programme struggled not merely with small holdings but with low productivity pasture and stock and inadequate farm infrastructure in the form of fences, drains, and buildings. The results of under-investment were plain. In fact, the comparative lack of investment in lands occupied by Maori had long been apparent. Table 1.7 is based on data extracted from the valuation rolls for Horowhenua County. The rolls included summaries, by ridings, for ridings, (except Te Horo riding, in this instance) of the unimproved, value of improvements, and capital values of lands in Maori and Pakeha *occupation*.¹⁰⁰ Table 1.7 suggests very marked disparities between the values of land in Pakeha occupation and those in Maori occupation.

¹⁰⁰ The valuation rolls were constructed for local body rating purposes. The ownership of land was not included in the summaries.

Table 1.7: Valuation summaries, ridings, Horowhenua County, 1910-1912

	Capital value	Unimproved value	Value of improvements
Tokomaru Riding 31 March 1912			
<i>European occupation</i>	720508	552051	168457
<i>Maori occupation</i>	3082	2710	372
Wirokino Riding 31 March 1912			
<i>European occupation</i>	962469	753644	208825
<i>Maori occupation</i>	7912	7599	313
Otaki Riding 31 March 1910			
<i>European occupation</i>	460224	309414	150830
<i>Maori occupation</i>	1973	1642	331

Source: ANZ Wellington AFHQ 19340 W1086 V-WROLLS 161 3/23 Parts 1 and 2; 164 3/24 Parts 1 and 2; 172 3/25 Parts 1 and 2; and 175 3/26

The 1911 census gave the Maori population of Porirua ki Manawatu as 1,923 and the non-Maori population (including ‘half-castes’) as 22,568.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, the 1911 Census did not provide the distribution of Maori by ridings, while as noted above, valuation data were not located for Te Horo riding. Had all the data been available, it would have been possible to calculate comparative investment rates per capita, together with an index investment. The latter would have been reached by calculating the Maori rate per capita as a percentage of the non-Maori rate per acre: an index of 100 would have meant a similar rate of investment, an index of under 100 would have meant that Maori had invested (or had been able to invest) less than non-Maori, while an index of over 100 would have meant the reverse. The best that can be achieved is to take the results for the three ridings as an *approximation* of the rates for the county as a whole: in such case the rate of investment per capita for Maori was £0.53 and that for non-Maori £23.4. The marked difference, it is suggested, was a rough indication of the extent to which Maori farms were ‘underdeveloped,’ and a measure of the outcome of inadequate land and lack of access to development capital, as well as a range of other

¹⁰¹ Oroua, Kiwitea, Pohangina, Kairanga, Manawatu, and Horowhenua Counties (and town districts), but excluding urban areas.

factors that included poor levels of education and educational achievement, and lack of access to the State-funded extension and advisory services offered through the Department of Agriculture.

As a further illustration, some of the valuation data for two blocks (Ohau 3 and Horowhenua 11) in the Wirokino Riding were extracted and they are presented in Table 1.8. It is apparent that most of the improvements comprised fencing, clearance, and grassing, that is, improvements that required the investment of labour rather than of capital.

Table 1.8: Valuation data for selected lands occupied by Maori, Wirokino Riding, Horowhenua County, 1912

Area: acres	Capital value	Value of improvements	Buildings	Fencing	Clearing: acres	Clearing : value	Grassing: acres	Grassing: value
52	1263	298	210	15	26	40	26	16
27	693	193	50	15	25	36	25	12
10	205	28	-	10	10	18	10	5
24	574	130	15	15	20	30	20	10
6	96	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	260	100	50	10	10	15	10	5
3	103	55	40	5	2	3	2	1
10	223	63	-	13	10	15	10	5
9	202	58	-	13	9	14	9	5
9	209	63	-	18	9	14	9	5
53	675	135	15	10	25	38	25	12
21	300	95	-	10	10	10	10	5
23	500	135	-	20	23	35	22	11
16	355	90	-	20	14	21	14	9
36	910	365	160	40	33	50	30	15
4	69	5	-	5	-	-	-	-

Source: ANZ Wellington AFHQ 19340 W1086 V-WROLLS 164 3/24 Parts 1 and 2

1.6 Maori and access to State lending agencies

The evidence presented thus far suggests that from rents and purchase monies, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were unlikely to have accumulated capital sufficient to turn their remaining lands to productive account, more especially so as commercial farming – dairying in particular – developed in to an increasingly capital-intensive operation. Some historians have attributed the apparent failure of Maori to turn their lands to productive account to lack of access to credit. While important, an ability to borrow, as

the agricultural development programmes established after 1945 in Europe, Asia, and Africa plainly demonstrated, has proven to be just one factor, albeit an important one, in efforts to transform subsistence growers into commercial farmers. Nevertheless, this section focuses on the ability of Maori to borrow: a subsequent section will examine briefly the robustness or otherwise of the institutional arrangements that increasingly, post annexation, underpinned Maori land ownership.

It is important to record that the Crown for many years sought to limit or at least to control the ability of Maori to mortgage land. Thus section 4 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1878 provided that ‘It shall not be lawful for any person to pay any sum of money by way of mortgage on any land held by a Native under memorial of ownership or Crown grant.’ Almost alone, in the Legislative Council, G.M. Waterhouse criticised the provision, but it remained in force until the Act was repealed by the Native Land Court Act 1886.¹⁰² Subsequently, several Acts included provisions that were intended to allow some Maori to borrow from State lending departments. Section 6 of the Native Land Laws Amendment Act 1897 provided that any Maori ‘owning land in severalty’ could do so provided that he possessed in addition to the land which he proposed to mortgage ‘other land sufficient for his maintenance.’ Very few applications were lodged under that provision and the Act was repealed in 1909.

Section 18 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 empowered the Minister of Lands to advance by way of mortgage ‘to the owners, or registered proprietors in the case of a body corporate, of any land owned by Maoris any sum not exceeding one-third of its unimproved value for the purpose of ‘stocking, improving, or farming the same ...’ Carroll claimed that section 18 represented an alternative to the advances to settlers scheme.¹⁰³ The Act was repealed by the Native Land Act 1909. Under Part II (section 60(1)) of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907, a Maori lessee of any land set apart by the Crown for occupation by Maori could borrow from any State lending department for ‘farming, stocking, and improving the land subject to his lease.’ Part II reappeared as Part XIV of the Native Land Act 1909 but shorn of section 60(1). No land in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District was set apart under Part II or Part XIV. It is

¹⁰² For Waterhouse’s comments, see NZPD 1878, Vol.30, p.1225.

¹⁰³ NZPD 1905, Vol.135, p.705.

worthwhile recording here that the Public Trustee was averse to lending to Maori on the security of the land unless such land were leased to Pakeha.

1.6.1 Government Advances to Settlers

The Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894 is widely credited with ensuring the success of the Liberal Government's ambitious land settlement programme and to have facilitated the restructuring of the pastoral sector in particular following the introduction of marine refrigeration.¹⁰⁴ Settlers in the Otaki Electorate were quick to utilise the provisions of the Act: a 1896 return recorded that 50 loans with an aggregate value of £20,595 had been granted, seven with a total value of £3,775 had been declined, while a further 11 with a total value of £4,700 had been granted but declined by the applicants.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately for Maori, section 25 of the Act did not include Native freehold land among the classes of land deemed suitable as security for advances.¹⁰⁶ In 1906, Paratene Ngata informed Prime Minister Ward that 'we have felt the want of good negotiable titles, and we want financial assistance ... under the Government Advances to Settlers Act ...' Maori required, too, 'industrial education ...' Ward offered little more than bland assurances, while suggesting that 'As to the dissatisfaction of the past and the blame which they said had been levelled at the Maori people for the non-productive condition of their lands, "we shall leave all that behind and we shall look forward to a new condition of affairs."' He did indicate that legislation would be introduced that 'would give the opportunity desired by those natives who wanted to settle on the land.'¹⁰⁷ Section 18 of the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1906 did not nominate Native freehold land among the 13 classes of land deemed to constitute suitable security.¹⁰⁸ Nor did the Maori Land Claims Adjustment and Land Laws Amendment Act 1906 contain anything of relevance. In 1908, Ngata sought to have lands leased by Maori from Maori land boards included: his effort to have an appropriate amendment included in the Government Advances to Settlers Amendment Act 1908 was rejected.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, T.W.H. Brooking, *Lands for the people? The Highland Clearances and the colonisation of New Zealand*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1996.

¹⁰⁵ AJHR 1896, B13A, p.4. Unfortunately, subsequent summaries were offered on the basis of provincial districts.

¹⁰⁶ Apart, that is, from Native land held on lease under the West Coast Settlement Reserves Act 1892.

¹⁰⁷ "The captain of our canoe," *Evening Post* 4 September 1906, p.2.

¹⁰⁸ It did add to the list land held under lease from a Maori district land board.

The Native Land Act 1909 contained several provisions relating to borrowing by Maori land owners from State lending agencies, specifically the Public Trust, the Government Insurance Department, and the New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Office. The difficulty remained that the latter could not accept Native freehold land as security. In any case, Maori would have encountered considerable resistance to efforts to borrow from that agency. Hence, in 1908, Maori pressed for the establishment of a separate 'Maori Advances to Settlers Branch.' Wiremu Pere (MLC) offered an alternative: in an address to the Maori Congress in July 1908, he proposed that the Government should be asked to borrow £500,000 'to assist the Maoris, on the Advances to Settlers system, to carry on their farms after Pakeha methods ...' He went on to suggest that the Government

might say that it could not lend the Maoris money, because they had not proper titles to their land. In that case they would not be able to do anything, for it took long years to establish titles to Native land, and in the meantime no adequate farming operations could be carried on. In the midst of these disabilities there was the cry 'Send your children to school.' The children were sent to school, and while they were there, learning European studies, their parents leased the lands for terms of 40 years, and there was no land for the children to farm until they were old men.¹⁰⁹

The Government declined to accede to that proposal, Premier Ward claiming that adequate provision for Maori had been made and that he would see that they 'received fair treatment.'¹¹⁰ During the Maori Congress held in July 1908, Wi Pere proposed that the Government borrow £500,000 'to assist the Maoris, on the Advances to Settlers system, to carry on their farms after Pakeha methods.' He went on to observe that the Government 'might say that it could not lend the Maoris money, because they had not proper titles to their lands. In that case they would not be able to do anything, for it took long years to establish titles to Native land, and in the meantime no adequate farming operations could be carried on.'¹¹¹ Wi Pere had clearly identified the Gordian knot that successive Governments had tied.

¹⁰⁹ 'Maori Congress,' *Dominion* 16 July 1908, p.8.

¹¹⁰ 'Advances to Maori farmers,' *Wanganui Herald* 28 July 1908, p.8.

¹¹¹ 'Maori Congress,' *Dominion* 16 July 1908, p.8.

Ngata took the matter up in the House. Quoting the 1907 Native Land Commission to the effect that ‘The necessity of assisting the Maori to settle his own lands was never properly recognised,’ he sought to have a clause inserted in the Government Advances to Settlers Amendment Act 1908 that would have amended section 18 of the parent Act. The proposed amendment provided for the inclusion of another class of land among those that qualified as security, namely, ‘Land held under a lease from a Maori Land Board under “The Native Land Settlement Act 1907” whether such land is vested in the Board or is land for the owners of which the Board is agent for the purpose of leasing ...’¹¹² Ngata claimed that ‘In dealing with the Native lands ... [Parliament’s] paramount consideration is not so much what shall be done with the portion to be reserved for the use, occupation, and maintenance of the Maoris as what shall be done with the portion which is made available for general settlement.’ Maori should have ‘good workable titles’ and be encouraged and assisted to utilise their lands.¹¹³ The Government simply claimed that there already existed power under the law to assist Maori and that there was, therefore, no need for the special clause that Ngata had proposed.

In 1923, during the second reading debate on the State Advances Amendment Act 1923, Ngata proposed that the State should supplement the funds of the Native Trust Office: if this were not done, he suggested, ‘the question might well be asked: “What has the Government done for the Maoris?”’¹¹⁴ Coates (Minister of Native Affairs) indicated, a few days later, that the Government had the matter ‘under consideration,’ that Cabinet ‘was considering the opening of the State Advances Department to Maoris *where they had a title* [emphasis added] to assist and encourage them in the farming of their own land. It was also considering giving them the opportunity of borrowing for both housing and farming purposes under the Act just passed ...’ His observations at least constituted a clear recognition of the difficulties that Native land law and State lending policies had created for Maori.¹¹⁵

¹¹² NZPD 1908, Vol.145, p.721.

¹¹³ NZPD 1908, Vol.145, p.717.

¹¹⁴ ‘State advances,’ *Stratford Evening Post* 10 July 1923, p.3.

¹¹⁵ ‘Aiding Maori farmers,’ *New Zealand Herald* 27 July 1923, p.10.

Such promising statements notwithstanding, the view widely held within Government, Treasury notably, was that Maori should use rather than dissipate (as was commonly claimed) ‘Maori money,’ that is, the monies believed to arise out of land sales, rents, and royalties. By 1929, only 53 Maori throughout New Zealand had secured loans from the State Advances Office: the total sum involved was a mere £15,677 or £296 per borrower. By that date, the Office had made 25,268 loans with a value of £16.472 million, or an average loan value of £652.¹¹⁶ No evidence was located to suggest that any Porirua ki Manawatu Maori had secured, by March 1929, an advance through the State Advances Office.

Ngata was not especially enamoured of the idea that Maori should look to borrow ‘Maori money.’ In August 1928, for example, in the course of a public address held under the auspices of the Auckland Institute, he suggested that ‘It was regrettable that the money so far used to settle natives upon the land had come entirely from a Maori fund. The Government had been asked to contribute, but had not yet done so; no doubt it was waiting until the fund was exhausted.’¹¹⁷ In 1929, East Coast Maori, pressing the Government for financial assistance to settle and farm Maori-owned land, noted that the funds controlled by the Native Trustee and the Maori land boards for lending to Maori were practically exhausted: their funds, they noted, had been provided from Maori sources. They also claimed that the State Advances Office was ‘not suited to the peculiarities of the race’ and that they would prefer that finance should be made available through the Native Trust Office and the Maori land boards.¹¹⁸ In July 1929, in the House, Ngata vigorously attacked ‘the practice of the State in not making advances to Native settlers,’ adding that Maori could not be expected to pay rates ‘until that state of affairs had been remedied.’ Noting that the Native Trust Office had extended assistance, he went on to insist that ‘let not the House flatter itself. It is not State money but wholly Maori money. The State has not put one penny into the advances to Maori.’ He later added that ‘Theoretically, the Maoris had all the rights of the pakeha in respect to State advances: practically they had none.’¹¹⁹ Ngata would

¹¹⁶ Superintendent, State Advances Office to Under Secretary Native Affairs 23 August 1929 in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1466 1928/576, cited in T.J. Hearn, ‘Heretaunga Maori and the Crown,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2008, p.367.

¹¹⁷ ‘Maori aspirations,’ *New Zealand Herald* 28 August 1928, p.11.

¹¹⁸ ‘Maori farming. Financial aid asked,’ *Auckland Star* 4 March 1929, p.19.

¹¹⁹ ‘Native settlers. No advances by Government,’ *Otago Daily Times* 19 July 1929, p.12. See also ‘Welfare of Maoris. Preservation of the race,’ *New Zealand Herald* 19 July 1929, p.15.

finally decide that the best option for cutting the Gordian knot of Maori land titles and access to development funding was to ‘step over’ title difficulties by encouraging the State to invest directly in to the development of Maori land. But that would prove to be of very limited assistance to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, a matter that is taken up below.

1.6.2 Restricting the access of Maori to ‘Maori money’

It would be unwise to assume that those Maori who chose to sell or lease their land had control of the funds so generated. In fact, they did not always receive those monies, at least for protracted periods during which their monies were at considerable risk. It did not prove possible to examine this matter in any depth as it related to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, although one example serves to illustrate the difficulties and dangers involved.

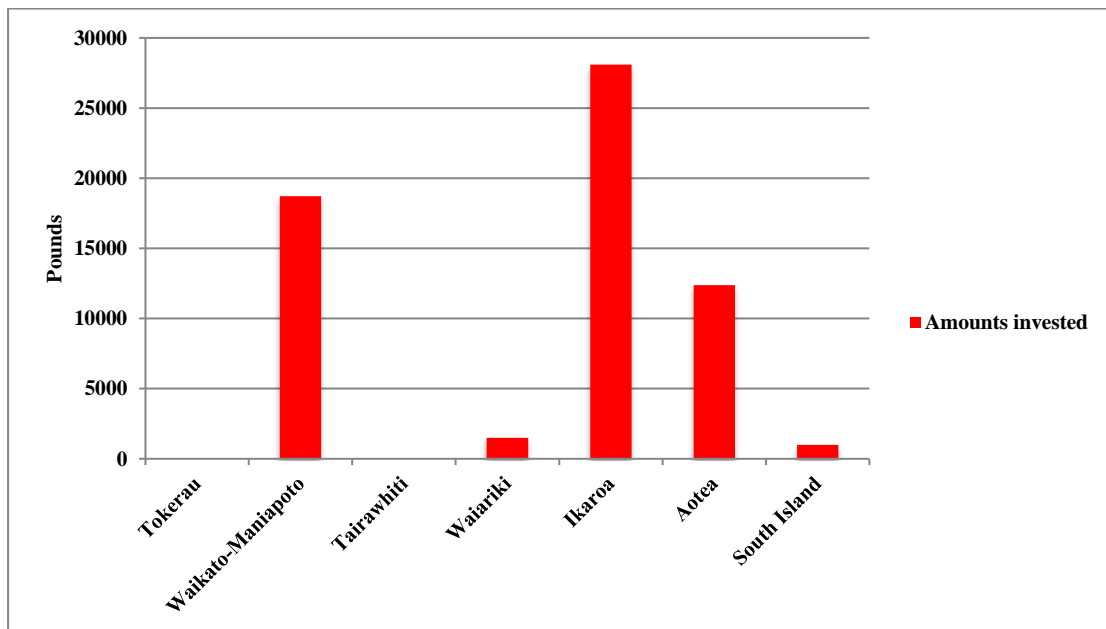
Under section 226(1) of the Native Land Act 1909, a Maori land board could order – without consulting or securing the agreement of those concerned – that ‘the money so arising from the sale or mortgage [of any Native land], or any part of that money, shall be paid by the purchasers or lenders to the Board ... instead of to the sellers or borrowers.’ Section 226(2) provided that a board could expend such monies ‘in pursuance of the intent of the sellers or borrowers in that behalf, and the residue (if any) shall be paid to the sellers or borrowers.’ Section 226 was repealed and replaced by section 92 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1913. Section 92(1) provided that

In any case in which the tribunal hearing an application for confirmation [of an alienation] considers that it is not in the interest of the Native alienating that the money payable on such alienation, or any unpaid balance thereof, shall be actually paid to the Native entitled thereto or paid immediately to him, it may require the same to be paid to the Board or to the Public [later Native] Trustee.

Section 92(2) empowered a board to invest such monies ‘for the benefit of such Native.’ Again, the Act did not require a board to consult or secure the agreement of any ‘such Native.’

Graph 1.5 sets out the sums invested, under section 92, by the Maori land boards, as at 31 March 1929. It is clear that the Ikaroa Maori Land Board was especially disposed to retain monies due to Maori and invest the same. The issue thus becomes one of how it

chose to invest those monies. Prior to 1921, the board generally chose to lend to Pakeha, businesses, farmers, and individuals. ‘Maori money’ was not advanced to Maori. In an earlier report, it was noted that Maori objected to the involuntary detention of their monies and to their placement. But in 1922 the Minister of Native Affairs was advised that such matters were wholly within the discretion of a board and that ‘it would not be wise to interfere unless something radically wrong is shown.’¹²⁰ It is of interest to note here that the Native Trustee was unhappy over the lending practices of the Maori land boards under section 92. In 1926, the Deputy Native Trustee noted that lending principally to Pakeha contrasted with the policy that underpinned his operations, namely, that monies belonging to Maori were to be made available for lending to Maori by way of mortgage.¹²¹



Source: ANZ Wellington MA1/708 49/18 Part 1

Graph 1.5: Amounts invested by Maori land boards per section 92, Native Land Amendment Act 1913, as at 31 March 1929

¹²⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 18 February 1922, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1439 1928/114, cited in T.J. Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown in Te Rohe Potae c1900 to c1935,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2011, p.639.

¹²¹ Deputy Native Trustee to Native Trustee 7 September 1926, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1466 1928/576, cited in Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown,’ p.665.

1.6.3 ‘Maori money’ and the operation of section 281 of the Native Land Act 1931

Section 181 of the Native Land Act, empowering Maori land boards to retain, on confirmation of an alienation, monies due to Maori vendors, consolidated section 92 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1913 and its subsequent amendments.¹²² In 1936, Hare Hare Te Hatete, the owner of several small blocks in the Manakau district sold one block, only for the Ikaroa Maori Land Board to retain the proceeds. He turned to a local storekeeper to whom he assigned his entire cream cheque: when the latter (known to be disposed to assisting Maori) sold his business, Hare Hare Te Hatete appealed to the Government for assistance to have released the £140 that the Board held.¹²³ According to the Prime Minister, no doubt advised by the Board, the monies were ‘capital moneys,’ and that under ‘Native custom’ they belonged not only to Te Hatete but also to his successors. ‘In the interests of the successors,’ he was advised, ‘the Board requires this money to be expended in creating some permanent asset – such as land improvements, buildings etc ...’¹²⁴ In order to secure the finance he required to continue *improving* his farm, Te Hatete agreed, in 1938, to allow the inclusion of his 28 acres in to the Manawatu Development Scheme. The Board of Native Affairs, in September 1938, approved a £757 development proposal ‘subject to the £140 held by the Ikaroa Board being paid in reduction of development advances.’ The Board refused: in its view the land could be rendered ‘an economical proposition without the use of this money, and in any case the Board, announced its Registrar, ‘is opposed to the principle of using Section 281 money in this way.’¹²⁵ Unfortunately, he did not elaborate on what he meant by the phrase ‘in this way.’ The Board of Native Affairs, in October 1938, deleted the requirement that the Ikaroa Maori Land Board release the £140. For its part, the latter claimed that ‘the money will be held against any emergency that may arise in the future ... at some future date the unit may be in need of a sum of ready money and it feels that in the circumstances the money should remain available

¹²² See also section 26 of the Native Trustee Act 1920; section 2 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1921; sections 3 and 8 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1922; section 3 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1925; and section 18 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1927.

¹²³ Hare Hare Te Hatete, Manakau to Prime Minister 19 November 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/303 15/6/70.

¹²⁴ Prime Minister to Hare Hare Te Hatete 14 January 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/303 15/6/70.

¹²⁵ Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 12 September 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/303 15/6/70.

to him.’¹²⁶ Te Hatete’s land was gazetted as part of the Manawatu Development Scheme in December 1938.¹²⁷

It is presumed that the Board invested the £140, but that exposed the owners of such monies to the risk of loss as another case involving the Ikaroa Maori land Board made very clear. In this second case, the Board invested £200, on behalf of the person to whom purchase monies of £220 were due, together with an additional £500 (belonging to another Maori) on a property ‘close to Wellington.’ The mortgagor defaulted, the Board concluding that ‘the debtor is a man of straw and it would be useless trying to enforce the judgment.’ But it also emerged that the property involved was worth a mere £250.¹²⁸ Until the Board took over and sold the property, the prospect of any repayment appeared bleak. Unsurprisingly, the person concerned complained that the monies had been invested without her knowledge or consent, that an inspection of the property the subject of the mortgage would have shown that it was unsuitable for the investment of trust funds, and that the mortgagor had – in 1931 – abandoned the property. The Board declined to release to her any part of the monies involved, apparently in the hope that the property might be sold for a sum approaching the mortgage, but not apparently the interest that had accumulated over six years. The complainant and her husband were running a small dairy herd, maintained a family of 14 children one of whom suffered from tuberculosis, and resided in an old four-roomed cottage that the local health inspector wished to condemn. The family had applied for assistance under the Native Housing Act 1935 but had been advised that approval was contingent upon the release of the monies owed.¹²⁹

Asked to comment upon a petition presented, in 1937, to the House of Representatives, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs recorded that the Ikaroa Maori Land Board was of the view that ‘as the investment has failed ... the loss must lie where it falls i.e. on the Native, and has refused to pay the money over

¹²⁶ Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 September 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/303 15/6/70.

¹²⁷ ‘Including Additional Land in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 92, 15 December 1939, p.2786.

¹²⁸ Acting Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 6 June 1935, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/91 5/8/9.

¹²⁹ See petition in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/91 5/8/9.

...¹³⁰ The petitioner did have the option of suing the Board, but the obvious remedy was for the Minister of Native Affairs to direct the Board under section 281(7) of the Native Land Act 1931. The petition was referred to the Government for ‘favourable consideration.’ In fact, the petitioner had been granted a housing loan and hence the Under Secretary of Native Affairs suggested that, subject this time to her agreement, the monies held by the Board be applied to that loan (on which she was paying interest).¹³¹ In the event, 14 years after the original sale of land, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board was advised that the Minister of Native Affairs would issue a direction under section 281(7) ‘unless the Board should show some valid objection ...’¹³² The Board chose ‘submit to the direction ...’ It is not clear whether accumulated interest was ever paid.

The two cases illustrated the manner in which a Maori land board could, without the consent of the owner involved, retain monies due; its power to invest that money, apparently without doing due diligence, and again without the consent of the owner; and its disposition to transfer responsibility for any losses incurred on to the owner. Treasury’s insistence that Maori should first use ‘Maori money’ for land development and housing before turning to the State was seriously flawed. Finally, the two cases illustrate well the consequence of what amounted to the effective disempowerment of the Maori involved.

1.6.4 ‘Maori money’ and mortgage lending by the Maori land boards

Apart from section 92 monies, the Maori land boards derived their income largely from commissions charged on the transactions involving the sale, purchase, and lease of lands and allied natural resources owned by Maori, and from the interest derived from such monies as they retained or were unable, for one reason or another, to disburse. The provisions of section 92 were extended and consolidated as section 281 of the Native Land Act 1931. Under section 19 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land

¹³⁰ It should be noted that in 1933, on the direction of the Minister of Native Affairs, the Board paid over £20, leaving the sum outstanding at £180, plus interest. See Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Clerk, Native Affairs Committee 5 September 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/91 5/8/9.

¹³¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Stead and Prichard, Waitara 26 September 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/91 5/8/9.

¹³² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to President, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board 8 August 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/91 5/8/9.

Claims Adjustment Act 1922 (later section 99 of the Native Land Act 1931), a Maori land board, with the consent of the Native Minister, could ‘advance moneys upon mortgage either for itself or on behalf of Natives.’ Section 8 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1926 was more explicit: section 8(d) allowed boards, again with the consent of the Native Minister, to make advances out of their own resources ‘For the farming, improvement, or settlement of any Native freehold land.’ Increasingly, the boards were being required to shift their activities from managing the redistribution of land from Maori to settlers and from administering Maori lands held under trust in favour of supporting actively Maori economic development. Several important matters arose: first, whether the boards would be permitted to retain monies derived from commissions; second, how long the boards could rely on such sources; third, how they chose to advance monies; and, fourth, and whether Porirua ki Manawatu Maori benefited.

In response to a proposal that originated with the Audit Office, the National Efficiency Board investigated the retention by the Maori land boards of their accumulated commission funds.¹³³ Under section 37 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1913, all administrative expenses incurred by a Maori land board were to be met out of moneys appropriated by Parliament. The National Efficiency Board noted that the boards’ accumulated commission funds stood at £50,000, while their administrative costs were a charge against the Consolidated Fund. It recommended that the existing commission monies and all future commission monies – estimated at £10,000 per annum – should be treated as revenue and paid in to the Consolidated Fund. It went further and recommended that all unclaimed rents and royalties, estimated at £250,000, should be brought under the Unclaimed Monies Act 1898 and paid in to the Consolidated Fund. William Herries was opposed: noting that all the monies concerned had been paid over to the Native Trustee, he predicted that if Treasury secured them ‘the whole scheme of the Native Trustee would be destroyed ... These are Native moneys and should be used for Native purposes.’¹³⁴

¹³³ The National Efficiency Board was appointed in February 1917 and charged with conducting investigations under 27 heads of inquiry. Such investigations were to be undertaken ‘With a view to enable the Government to make provision for the organization and development of industries, for the enforcement of public and private economy, and generally for increasing national efficiency ...’ See AJHR 1917, H43, pp.17-19.

¹³⁴ W.H. Herries, note dated 3 November 1921, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/225 1/204.

The matter was not dealt with in 1921 and hence Treasury, in March 1922, advised the Minister of Finance that the Consolidated Fund was ‘justly entitled to recouplement’ of the £50,000.¹³⁵ Cabinet referred the matter to the Attorney-General: in turn, he suggested that while it was not intended to interfere with the monies held upon trust nor, ‘at present,’ with unclaimed rents and royalties, the commissions earned by the boards belonged to the Crown.¹³⁶ Native Minister Coates sought the views of both the Under Secretary of Native Affairs and Herries: the former made clear his opposition while the latter repeated his stance while adding that lending through the Native Trust Office would mean that ‘the State Advances Department will be relieved ...’¹³⁷ Cabinet, on 8 May 1922, decided not to take any action. The matter surfaced again in 1923 when legislation was prepared to amend section 37 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1913. Section 16 of the Finance Act 1923 thus provided that the boards’ administrative expenses, on the requisition of the Minister of Native Affairs, could be made a charge upon the boards’ funds. Section 16 was replaced by section 4 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1924. Only strong opposition had ensured that even ‘Maori money’ remained available for lending to Maori.

As at 31 December 1926, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board had made 18 mortgage advances with an aggregate value of £37,018: six advances had been made to Maori, and the remainder made to Pakeha, including the Akatarawa Sawmilling Company. Of those 18 mortgage advances, 14 with a total value of £23,682 were held under section 92 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1913, that is, out of monies retained from Maori vendors. Three, with a value of £8,658, represented purchase money allowed to remain on mortgage, while six with a total value of £4,498 had been advanced out of Board funds under section 19 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1922. Section 19 empowered Maori land boards ‘to advance moneys on mortgage either for itself or on behalf of Natives ...’ It did not offer any other directions. Significantly, the Board had not made any advances under section 8 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1926: section 8

¹³⁵ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 3 March 1922, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/225 1/204.

¹³⁶ Attorney-General to Chief Law Draughtsman 19 March 1922, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/225 1/204.

¹³⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 7 April 1922, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/225 1/204.

empowered a board, ‘out of its account moneys,’ to make advances in respect of Native freehold land. By the end of June 1927, the number of mortgagors stood at 23 and the amount advanced at £41,768: again, no advances had been made under section 8.¹³⁸ One of the additional loans, for £1,400, was secured against Rangitikei-Manawatu B2 and B3; a second, of £450, was secured against Manawatu-Kukutauaki 4B2B2; a third, of £350, had been made to allow the mortgagor to erect a house in Plimmerton; and a fourth, of £250, was secured against a section in Takapuwahia. Those new loans suggested a shift in the Board’s lending policy, although the assistance extended to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori remained minimal. In short, ‘Maori monies,’ it seems, were being very largely employed to finance Pakeha enterprise and consumption (house construction). Moreover, board lending slowed as the end of the 1920s approached.

Table 1.8 sets out the advances made to Maori by the Maori land boards to the end of March 1929. By the end of March 1929, collectively the boards had advanced, evidently under all headings, £121,615, including £17,950 by the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board. Of the 19 advances made by the latter, just five were to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, including one in Takapuwahia Township.¹³⁹

Table 1.8 also suggests that the boards operated rather different lending policies. In a 1932 report, Treasury recorded that as at 31 March 1932, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board held 44 mortgages, the principal involved aggregating £47,970. ‘The unusual feature ...’ the report noted, ‘is that several large advances have been made to Europeans. One loan of £9,135, for example, was made to a professional man in Wellington on the security of a property comprising a city “flat.” We consider that the policy of the Boards should be to lend moneys to Maori for farming purposes only ...’¹⁴⁰ The Commission of Inquiry into Native Affairs also drew attention to the lending conducted by the Ikaroa Maori Land Board: it found that by the end of March 1934, the Board had advanced £16,249 to Maori and £25,385 to Pakeha mortgagors.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1.

¹³⁹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1.

¹⁴⁰ ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/378 52/713.

¹⁴¹ AJHR 1934, G11, pp.23-24.

Table 1.8: Advances to Maori made by the Maori land boards, to 31 March 1929 and 31 March 1931

Boards	Area of security: Acres 1929	Amount advanced 1929: £	Number of advances: 1931	Amount advanced 1931: £
Tokerau	8789	23234	120	43900
Waikato-Maniapoto	758	2106	48	16899
Tairawhiti	19034	52059	81	62349 ¹
Wairiki	18684	14846	94	27073
Aotea	2114	7725	20	11710
Ikaroa	4774	17950	28	16198
South Island	658	3695	8	4170
Totals	54811	121615	399	182299

¹ Includes £9,800 to East Coast Commissioner

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1

There is, in fact, some evidence to suggest that the Ikaroa Maori Land Board *may* have entertained misgivings over advancing monies to Maori. In July 1934, the Board resolved to invest £5,000 in stocks, funds, and other securities bearing ‘the highest interest return per one hundred pounds invested.’¹⁴² Under section 17(6)(a) of the Native Land Amendment Act 1932, control over the investment of such monies rested with the Native Land Settlement Board. The ‘surplus’ monies of the Maori land boards were invested in the Native Trustee’s Common Fund (at 3.5 per cent). The Ikaroa Board was one of two that were averse to placing any monies with the Native Trustee and its resolution was intended to prevent the transfer of the £5,000 in to the Common Fund and thus for lending to Maori. The Native Land Settlement Board was advised that the Ikaroa Board’s resolution ‘will not help the Maoris in their settlement on the land ...’ and hence approval was not given.¹⁴³ The Ikaroa Board renewed its effort in December 1934, whereupon the Native Land Settlement Board directed that the money should be lodged in the Native Trustee’s account, much to the irritation, it might be added, of the Board’s president.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/717 49/14/6.

¹⁴³ ‘Native Land Settlement Board,’ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/717 49/14/6.

¹⁴⁴ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Ikaroa Maori Land Board 14 December 1934, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/717 49/14/6; and President, Ikaroa Maori land Board to Registrar, Native Land Court, Wellington 12 December 1934, in ACIH 16036 MA1/717 49/14/6.

The matter is raised here since it suggests that there is much still to be established about how the boards managed the funds at their disposal and their implications for those Maori desirous of developing their lands and financing their farming operations. The most that can be said presently is that few Maori landowners in Porirua ki Manawatu appear to have benefited. On the other hand, the limited data available suggest that the Ikaroa Maori Land Board continued during the 1920s to amend its lending policy. As at the end of March 1940, it held 52 outstanding mortgage advances of which all but four had been made to Maori. In the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District there were 18 outstanding loans: most were for rural properties, but one in respect of a section in Plimmerton and two in Takapuwahia Township.¹⁴⁵ In short, the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board made only a very limited contribution towards either to the development of Maori-owned land or to the housing of Maori. The advances made by the Maori land boards and the Native Trust Office were at best modest compared with the 21,704 farm loans, aggregating £25,326,792, held by the State Advances Corporation at the end of March 1940. The Corporation held an additional 44,778 residential loans, aggregating £26,067,408.

1.6.5 Native Trust Office

To the financial assistance rendered Maori by the Maori land boards has to be added that made available through the Native Trust Office. In 1915, Native Minister Herries announced that the Government intended to establish an office of Native Trustee and to empower it to advance monies – again generated by the Maori land boards – to assist both Maori landowners and the tenants of Maori-owned lands, those ‘who are at the present moment are unable through defects ... in our law to borrow money from the Advances to Settlers, and other lending Departments.’¹⁴⁶ It was not until 1920 that a Bill was finally introduced in to Parliament: on that occasion Herries observed that ‘We owe a debt to the natives, to try to provide some means by which they may finance themselves ...’¹⁴⁷ Section 21 of the Native Trust Act 1920 specified the classes of security required: section 21(c) and (d) authorised the Native Trustee to invest

¹⁴⁵ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 2.

¹⁴⁶ NZPD 1915, Vol 174, p.621.

¹⁴⁷ NZPD 1920, Vol.187, pp.965-968.

In advances secured by the mortgage of any freehold or leasehold interest in any Native freehold land in respect of which a partition order has been duly made, or in any Native land vested in or administered by any Maori Land Board, or in any Native freehold land vested in the incorporated owners thereof, to an amount not exceeding in any case three-fifths of the estimated value of the security according to a valuation approved by the Board; or

In advances secured by the first mortgage of any land held in fee-simple in New Zealand in New Zealand, to an amount not exceeding three-fifths of the estimated value thereof ...

Although intended primarily to encourage and assist Maori to engage in ‘practical farming,’ the Native Trustee was also empowered to advance monies by way of mortgage to Pakeha lessees of Maori-owned land, a provision to which Ngata unsuccessfully objected.¹⁴⁸

In 1923, and acting on behalf of all Maori Members of Parliament, Ngata pressed the Government to supplement the funds of the Native Trust Office with monies from the State Advances Office. On establishment, he noted, the Native Trustee had just £25,000, compared with the State Advances Department the capital of which was to be increased to £20m. Of that latter sum, he added, £250,000 would be ‘too high an estimate’ of the amount that Maori would secure. All that the Government had done was to appoint ‘a man to administer for the Maoris their own money,’ that is, commissions and the undistributed proceeds of land sales and undistributed rents. Ngata was also anxious that the Native Trustee should retain any profits generated by his activities (£14,485 by way of interest in 1922-1923), and that before such monies were ‘touched by the Minister of Finance, the requirements of the Natives should be properly provided for.’¹⁴⁹ As noted above, Minister of Native Affairs Coates acknowledged that the State Advances Office, ‘rightly or wrongly looked upon the Native Office as one which should make advances.’ He did indicate that the Government was considering the matter of advances to Maori through the State Advances Office, that is, to those Maori farming their own lands and possessing secure titles. It was, he added, also considering placing some monies from the Office at the disposal of the Native Trust

¹⁴⁸ See ‘Native Trust Office,’ *Evening Post* 8 April 1921, p.8; and ‘Native lands and funds,’ *Evening Post* 9 December 1921, p.7.

¹⁴⁹ NZPD 1923, Vol.200, pp.824-828. See also ‘Money for Maoris,’ *Evening Post* 10 July 1923, p.6; and ‘Advances to Native,’ *New Zealand Herald* 11 July 1923, p.8.

Office.¹⁵⁰ The Government, noted Burdon, failed to act on Ngata's challenge to round up the funds available to the Native Trustee from 'the three quarters of a million of Maori money ... up to a round million.'¹⁵¹

In short, the establishment of the Native Trust Office encouraged other State lending agencies to re-direct Maori applicants accordingly. In 1926, Ngata observed that 'in practice, the resources of the State Advances Department are no longer available, and they have not been for some time past available, to Maori farmers.'¹⁵² Lending by the Native Trustee, while always modest, grew rapidly, the aggregate amount advanced reaching £204,320 in 1924-1925. Thereafter, the Native Trustee's sources of revenue declined, to a point at which he was obliged to seek financial assistance from the Government. In October 1926 the Government made a grant of £42,000, while a further £100,000 was made available under section 6 of the Finance Act 1930 (No.2). By 1932, the Native Trustee was practically bereft of funds and unable to repay those grants. At the end of March 1934, 476 mortgagees (mostly Maori) had borrowed a total of £678,225 from the Native Trustee.

Table 1.9 summarises some details of Native Trust mortgages as at the end of March 1932. A significant proportion of the advances made, namely 29.2 per cent, had been made in the Ikaroa Maori Land District. The 1934 Commission into Native Affairs recorded that advances had been made to 120 mortgagors in that district, a total of £181,924 or 26.8 per cent of the total made available.¹⁵³ No details were located as to whom or for what purposes those loans were made, although the bulk of the advances appear to have been made in connection with the stations under the Native Trustee's management.¹⁵⁴ Ferguson recorded that in 'some cases' those who borrowed from the Native Trustee used the monies to improve or replace existing housing.¹⁵⁵ Whether those 'some' included any Porirua ki Manawatu Maori was not established. It is worthwhile noting here that at the end of March 1934, current advances made by the State Advances Office on freehold and leasehold land aggregated £23,332,852 to

¹⁵⁰ See 'Loans to Maori farmers,' *Auckland Star* 26 July 1923, p.9.

¹⁵¹ Burdon, *The new dominion*, p.278.

¹⁵² NZPD 1927, Vol.211, p.291.

¹⁵³ AJHR 1934, G11, p.136. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, Native Trustee to Native Minister 18 January 1929, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1466 1928/576, cited in Hearn, 'Maori, land, and the Crown,' p.665.

¹⁵⁵ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.99.

29,520 settlers, together with 23,739 advances to workers with an aggregate value of £14,606,506.¹⁵⁶

Table 1.9: Native Trust Office mortgages at 31 March 1932¹

Maori land districts	Principal due
Tokerau	7849
Waikato-Maniapoto	25265
Tairāwhiti	131142
Wairiki	31215
Aotea	133271
Ikaroa	144920
South Island	21988
Totals	495650

¹ Excludes advances to Pakeha and charging orders

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1

1.7 Taxing equitably?

One matter that did not prove possible to investigate is whether and if so to what extent and with what consequences Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were adversely affected by the way in which the Crown chose to interpret and apply the land tax. It is raised here since Hone Heke Ngapua, in his evidence before the 1905 Porirua and Otaki Trusts Commission referred to taxation as one of the issues that was undermining the relationship between Porirua ki Manawatu Maori and the Crown (see below). The issue was explored with reference to Maori-owned land in Te Rohe Potae and this brief section draws largely upon that material.¹⁵⁷

New Zealand, until 1917, applied two taxes to land, namely, the ordinary land tax and (per the Land and Income Tax Act 1891) the graduated land tax: in 1917 a single progressive tax was introduced. For Maori, the difficulties centred on the ordinary land tax payable on lands held under trust, specifically the practice of the Commissioner of Taxes of applying a law devised for Pakeha trusts with a small number of owners to Maori trusts with perhaps several hundred owners. In the latter case, although the

¹⁵⁶ AJHR 1934, B13, p.3.

¹⁵⁷ T.J. Hearn, 'Maori, land, and the Crown in Te Rohe Potae c1900 to c1935,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2011, Chapter 18.

beneficiaries might have held interests otherwise exempt from taxation, the trusts were treated as single entities, and taxed accordingly. In 1904, the Public Trustee advised Parliament that ‘the land tax falls heavily on Natives where a large grant is held in trust for many owners. In such cases,’ he added, ‘the amount of land-tax paid by each Native is out of all proportion to his small income or interest in the reserve.’ He called for an alteration in the practice adopted by the Commissioner of Taxes.¹⁵⁸ The inequity involved increased as land values rose but rentals remained fixed.

The representations of the Public Trustee and of West Coast Settlement Reserves Commission notwithstanding, the Commissioner of Taxes declined to alter his practice.¹⁵⁹ The problem was especially apparent in the case of lands vested in the Maori district land boards under the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 and the Native Land Act 1909. As at the end of March 1912, just 16,304 acres were vested in the Ikaroa Maori Land Board under Part XIV of the Native Land Act (formerly Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907), and 1,742 acres under Part XV of the Native Land Act 1909.¹⁶⁰ More generally, vesting had created a liability for tax where previously none would have existed. The Maori land boards protested again in 1917 following the replacement of the ordinary land tax and the graduated land tax with a single progressive tax on unimproved values, the scale ranging from 1d to 7d in the £.¹⁶¹ The change had major implications for lands owned by Maori. Thus the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land Board complained, with respect to the Native townships under its control, that once the taxes had been paid, owners would receive little in the way of benefit from the rental income. In December 1918, in the House, Ngata, having expressed concern over the taxing of the Mangatu block, insisted that ‘The question of taxation of native land held under lease to Europeans, and more particularly native lands vested in trustees, required attention.’¹⁶²

The difficulties thus involved both lands leased by Maori to Pakeha and lands vested in Maori land boards. Lands owned by Maori in Porirua ki Manawatu and leased to

¹⁵⁸ AJHR 1904, I3A, p.14.

¹⁵⁹ For the West Coast Settlement Reserves Commission, see AJHR 1906, Session I, G2.

¹⁶⁰ AJHR 1912, G9, p.4. A further 8,412 acres had been vested under Part XVI: Native Land for Native Settlement.

¹⁶¹ In addition, a ‘super-tax of 50 per cent was applied, although reduced to 33.3 and thence to 10 per cent before being abolished in 1924.

¹⁶² ‘Taxation of Native land,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 3 December 1918, p.3.

Pakeha would also have been taxed as a whole: should individual interests have been taxed, then in all likelihood, given the exemption allowed, no tax would have been payable. The evidence from other districts clearly indicated that the imposition of the land tax and the super-tax was absorbing a significant proportion of the rental income, the owners being entrapped by long-term, low and fixed rentals on the one hand and appreciating land values on the other.¹⁶³ There is no reason to suppose that the same difficulties affected those Porirua ki Manawatu Maori who had leased their lands to Pakeha.

In 1921, in the House, Ngata again raised the matter of the operation of the land tax provisions of the Finance Act 1917, complaining that while the Minister of Finance had assured the Maori members that no alteration would be made in the way in which Maori-owned land was taxed, such had not proven to be the case. His concern centred now on the combination of the land tax with the graduated tax so that for the first time Maori-owned land was rendered subject to the graduated tax. As a result, he claimed, the tax on Mangatu Estate was assessed at £4,548, while the rental income amounted to £5,900 – leaving the trustees with an income of £1,400 with which to pay interest on a loan of £50,000 secured from the Public Trustee to subdivide and road the property. He proposed that the Government should place a limit on the amount of tax that Native leases should be required to pay.¹⁶⁴

The Commissioner of Taxes was unmoved, Ngata's representations and the continuing protests and representations of the Maori land boards and of the Maori Chiefs and Tribes assembled at Waitangi in March 1922 notwithstanding. The Under Secretary of Native Affairs advised his Minister that 'The position of Native taxpayers is becoming acute ... as the land tax in many cases absorbs the bulk of the rent payable to Natives.'¹⁶⁵ While that appears to have applied with particular force to Native township lands in which land values had risen several-fold, the problem appears to have been less acute in the case of rural land leased to Pakeha. Nevertheless, in the Waikato-Maniapoto

¹⁶³ See G. Graham, Auckland to A.T. Ngata 14 June 1921, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/378 19/1/500 Part 1. Cited in Hearn, 'Maori, land and the Crown,' p.802.

¹⁶⁴ 'More tax than rent,' *Evening Post* 9 November 1921, p.9.

¹⁶⁵ See Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 30 May 1922, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/378 19/1/500 Part 1. Cited in Hearn, 'Maori, land and the Crown,' p.803.

Maori Land District, in nine of 34 subdivisions in Rangitoto-Tuhua, the land tax payable exceeded eight per cent of the annual rentals.¹⁶⁶

In 1922, Maori presented Parliament with 46 petitions dealing with land taxation. They were supported by the Under Secretary of Native Affairs. The matter was considered by the 1922 Taxation Select Committee: it acknowledged that ‘an injustice has been inflicted on the Natives,’ but then claimed that it had had insufficient time to investigate the matter closely.¹⁶⁷ The Native Affairs Select Committee, on the other hand, did investigate more closely. Its report included details relating to the Palmerston North Maori Reserves: with a Government unimproved value of £38,466 and a total annual rental of £1,078, the tax payable was £307 or 28.5 per cent of the value of the rental income.¹⁶⁸ The outcome was section 71 of the Land and Income Tax Act 1923: it provided that ‘no Native shall, for any year of assessment, be chargeable with an amount of land-tax in respect of his interest in Native land in excess of one-fourth of the total revenue derived or derivable from that land ...’ The alternative, that of taxing individual owners’ interests, was considered in 1925 but not pursued. On the other hand, the Commissioner of Taxes did agree that ‘in view of the common ownership of Native land and the small amount of each of the numerous owners, any land tax above ten per cent of the annual rental received appears to be excessive.’¹⁶⁹ Section 4 of the Land and Income Tax Assessment Act 1926 reduced that 25 per cent to not more than ten per cent.

It is worthwhile noting here that Rodwell, having investigated the incidence of taxation during 1929-1930, concluded that small farmers paid very little tax. On the basis of the tax returns for that year and a total unimproved value of ‘country and farming lands’ of £169m, total exemptions of £69m had been allowed, while the tax assessed on the balance of £98 amounted to £700,000. ‘Whatever the distribution,’ he suggested, ‘a total tax of £700,000 on the farming lands of the Dominion cannot normally be called onerous.’ Of 50,000 tax returns submitted in respect of rural lands, exemptions reduced the number to some 30,000 and of that number some 25,000 were assessed at less than

¹⁶⁶ Hearn, ‘Maori, land and the Crown,’ p.806.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Burden on land,’ *Evening Post* 10 August 1922, p.5.

¹⁶⁸ AJHR 1922, I3A, p.4.

¹⁶⁹ Commissioner, Taxes to Minister, Finance 24 November 1925, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/378 19/1/500 Part 1. Cited in Hearn, ‘Maori, land and the Crown,’ p.817.

£11 each. ‘All but a few farmers,’ he observed, ‘escaped any taxation which could be called burdensome ...’¹⁷⁰

A combination of long-term low and fixed rentals, appreciating land values, and an accelerating fragmentation of ownership, together with the aggregation of individual interest in blocks of land or trusts for taxation purposes, thus served to disadvantage those Maori land owners who had leased their lands or whose lands were held in trust. The Palmerston North Maori Reserves apart, it did not prove possible to establish the extent to which Porirua ki Maori land-owners were affected, although Ngapua’s comments noted above suggests that at least some were.

1.8 Creating the institutional foundations for enterprise and investment?

The most frequently cited reason for the reluctance of both private and State agencies to advance monies on mortgage to Maori was the state of Maori freehold land titles.¹⁷¹ Economic historians, in fact, have long recognised the importance of institutional arrangements for stimulating, shaping, and facilitating economic growth and change. The central argument is that a coherent, stable, and transparent institutional framework is an essential pre-condition for agricultural development and indeed for economic development in general.¹⁷² On the other hand, it is worthwhile noting here that Merrill concluded that the strong Maori economic growth of the period from 1840 to 1860 demonstrated the capacity and willingness of Maori to accumulate capital and invest in their enterprises, and that kinship groups, far from inhibiting growth and change, played a key role in encouraging expansion. In other words, collective control and collective action were not inimical to economic development.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ H.R. Rodwell, ‘Taxation, grants, and subsidies in relation to farming,’ in H. Belshaw et al., editors, *Agricultural organisation in New Zealand: a survey of land utilisation, farm organisation, finance and marketing*. Melbourne: Institute of Public Relations, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs 1926, p.219. Quoted in Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown,’ pp.818-819.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, Memorandum for Minister, Maori Affairs 14 December 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/2 1/1/41 Part 2.

¹⁷² See, for example, Bruce F. Johnston and John W. Mellor, ‘The role of agriculture in economic development,’ *American Economic Review* 51, 4, 1961, pp.566-593; and Juan R. De Laiglesia, ‘Do institutions block agricultural development in Africa?’ OECD Development Centre, *Policy Insights* 17, April 2006. This section is based on Hearn, ‘Maori economic development,’ Chapter 8.

¹⁷³ Robert S. Merrill. ‘Social and cultural influences on economic growth: the case of the Maori,’ *Journal of Economic History* 14, 4, 1954, pp.401-408.

But that was not the assumption upon which the Crown approached Maori land ownership. Rather, it believed that in order to participate fully in the colonial commercial economy, Maori had to abandon their ‘communal’ ways, in particular, the collective ownership, control, and utilisation of the key resource of land. The annexation of New Zealand thus brought face to face two very different property resource regimes, the one based on collective ownership, collective responsibility, and shared decision-making, the other based on the concept of private property with its attendant incidents of ownership. In colonial and indeed post-colonial New Zealand, the highest political, social, and economic importance was ascribed to the establishment of small, owner-occupied farm holdings (even if the outcome failed to support fully the ideology and the rhetoric deployed). Embedded in that ideology was the conviction that the small holding, combining as it did, the power of disposition, the right to use, and the right to the income, was the most efficient and market-responsive form of agrarian organisation, and one, moreover, that offered the best prospect of capital gain.

The conviction that Maori had to abandon their ‘communal’ ways and adopt ‘individualistically-oriented growth’ if they were to survive and prosper in the nascent colonial economy underpinned and informed the otherwise complex course charted by nineteenth and early twentieth century Maori land legislation.¹⁷⁴ The key objectives of the legal regime devised included clothing all lands with titles and ‘individualising’ ownership, although less with assisting Maori to turn their lands to productive account than with facilitating its transfer from Maori in to settler ownership. One of the key questions that arises is whether the Crown endeavoured to ensure that those Maori who retained land, whether collectively or individually, did so under terms and conditions that encouraged productive use and investment. The evidence is plain: in sharp contradistinction to the manner in which it chose to survey, subdivide, and dispose of Crown lands to Pakeha settlers in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, the Crown did not. The Native Land Court was not charged with ensuring the orderly subdivision of Maori-owned lands but rather with ‘defining and declaring’ the rights of Maori to their ancestral lands and to assimilate such ownership ‘as nearly as possible to the ownership of land according to British law.’¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Robert S. Merrill, ‘Social and cultural influences on economic growth: the case of the Maori,’ *Journal of Economic History* 14, 4, 1954, pp.401-408.

¹⁷⁵ See Preamble to the Native Lands Act 1862.

The 1907 Native Land Commission thus inveighed against what it termed the ‘minute subdivision’ of Maori-owned land, while in 1930, Treasury offered some scathing criticism of the manner in which the Native Land Court had dealt with partitioning and the attendant survey costs, the Secretary advising his Minister that ‘Unquestionably the discretion exercised by the court [with respect to partitioning] ... has been divorced from commercial responsibility, and not subject to such ordinary precautions as deposits [for survey costs], or the economic capacity of the land in question.’¹⁷⁶ Requests by Maori, including Ngati Raukawa, for a more orderly system of partitioning, went largely unheeded. The Tokaanu hui, convened by Ngati Tuwharetoa and attended by Maori from Otaki, agreed that

the Government should perfect a system settling the Maoris themselves upon their own land. If the ordinary procedure by partition and individualisation were found too cumbersome, then some administrative body should intervene, take over the areas, subdivide to suitable allotments, and lease to suitable farmers, giving preference to Maori owners.¹⁷⁷

Furthermore, the Crown assumed that Maori would not require land for commercial purpose: it considered that its primary, if not its sole, duty was to ensure that Maori retained sufficient for their ‘maintenance and subsistence.’ It is worthwhile noting here that the recommendation of the 1907 Native Land Commission that substantial areas of land should be reserved for Maori farming, as distinct from maintenance and subsistence, challenged that assumption. While Part II of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 provided accordingly, implementation was left to the discretion of the Crown: it was a discretion that, with the exception of the Tairāwhiti and Waiariki Maori Land Districts, it chose largely not to exercise.¹⁷⁸ The Commission did not investigate the land south of the Manawatu River for the very good reason that by that stage only a comparatively small area remained in Maori ownership.

¹⁷⁶ AJHR 1907, G1C, p.13; and 1932, G7, p.1.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Tokaanu Maori conference,’ *Auckland Star* 17 April 1909, p.5.

¹⁷⁸ The Native Land Commission, with the exception of Rangitikei County, did not investigate the lands within the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. With respect to that county, it dealt with 56,643 acres and recommended that 8,992 acres should be set apart for occupation by Maori. See AJHR 1908, G1B, p.1.

1.8.1 ‘Individualising’ Maori land ownership?

Production required investment, investment required defined and stable land titles. That core assumption shaped the Crown’s approach to the subdivision and settlement of its lands. Lands were surveyed in to what were expected to be sustainable units, lands were offered either for sale or for lease on a range of tenures that offered security of occupation. In Otago, for example, lands required for agricultural settlement were declared to constitute ‘hundreds,’ were surveyed, and then offered for purchase either for cash or on a system of deferred payments. When the pastoral leases of the Otago interior began to expire during the later 1870s, the Crown Lands Department excised most of the land deemed suitable for small-farm settlement and offered it for selection on a range of tenures, and subdivided the remaining land in to what it believed would constitute sustainable small grazing runs. Its approach embodied some of the principles of contemporary land economy. Maori land boards adopted similar approaches to the settlement of the lands vested in them under the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 and the Native Land Act 1909.

The Native Land Court, on the other hand, was a legal institution charged principally with investigating Maori claims to land, awarding titles, partitioning blocks, defining interests, and establishing succession. The Court’s primary function, declared the Native Department’s Under Secretary in his evidence tendered to the 1891 Native Land Laws Commission, ‘was to enable alienation for settlement.’¹⁷⁹ ‘Individualisation’ of Maori land ownership was not undertaken to release Maori entrepreneurial ambitions but to facilitate the transfer of land out of Maori ownership. The Native Land Court was certainly not an agency either charged with or capable of ensuring that the subdivision of collectively owned land was shaped towards supporting Maori economic interests and needs. Indeed, the assumption embedded in Native land law was that Maori did not require land for commercial purposes but rather than they retained ‘sufficient’ for their ‘maintenance and subsistence.’

¹⁷⁹ AJHR 1891, G1, p.145.

1.8.2 Inappropriate and excessive subdivision

It was not that the Crown did not recognise the difficulties that individualisation of titles was creating, as Premier Ward made clear in his 1906 Financial Statement.¹⁸⁰ In its first general report, the 1907 Native Land Commission concluded that ‘the minute subdivision of land is not in the interest of the Maori people as whole; that it is in many cases unnecessary, in some merely wasteful.’¹⁸¹ Well might Ngata record, with reference to the Tokerau Maori Land District, that the lands had ‘been very closely and unwisely partitioned – we [the Native Land Commission] found we had to deal with 1,274 different sections, and the same people occur in dozens of little pieces all over the country, like volcanic ejecta spewed out of an irresponsible and devilish legal volcano.’¹⁸²

The Commission’s observations appear to have passed largely unheeded: the Crown’s interest in its findings centred on identifying those lands that it could vest in the Maori district land boards for leasing and for sale. Similarly, the views of Maori appear to have been ignored. The pan-tribal hui at Tokaanu in 1909 – attended by Maori from Otaki – sought to impress upon the Crown the collective desire for the rational and orderly subdivision of land into workable holdings appears similarly to have been ignored.¹⁸³ But the Liberal and Reform Governments remained focussed upon completing the transformation of Maori-owned land into a marketable or transferable commodity, and on facilitating and expediting its alienation, and not on working with Maori to devise partitioning and succession practices that might have allowed Maori more systematically to turn their lands to productive account. Maori were thus left stranded in what might be termed a state of ‘pseudo-individualisation,’ in which, complained Te Rohe Potae’s Arthur Ormsby in 1907, ‘A title good enough to buy is a title not good enough to mortgage.’¹⁸⁴ Section 117 of the Native Land Act 1909 did charge the Native Land Court with laying out road lines on lands that had been partitioned, while section 118 required it to ‘so to exercise its jurisdiction ... as to avoid,

¹⁸⁰ AJHR 1906, B6, p.xiv.

¹⁸¹ AJHR 1907, G1C, p.13.

¹⁸² See M.P.K. Sorrenson, editor, *Na to hoa aroha – from your dear friend: the correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986-1988, Volume 1, p.69.

¹⁸³ See, for example, ‘Tokaanu Maori conference,’ *Auckland Star* 17 April 1909, p.5.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Government dealings with Maori lands,’ *King Country Chronicle* 7 June 1907, p.2, quoted in Hearn, ‘Maori economic development,’ p.383.

so far as practicable ... the subdivision of any land into areas which, because of their smallness, or their configuration, or for any other reason, are unsuitable for separate ownership or occupation.’ Section 188 did not specifically direct the Court to encourage or direct subdivision in to economic farm holdings. In short, as more and more land passed out of Maori ownership and as the Maori population recovered from the losses of the nineteenth century, ‘individualisation’ receded as an attainable goal.

It is of interest to record here that in 1931 the Manakau branch of the New Zealand Farmers’ Union drew attention to the state of Maori land titles. Most of the land lying to the south of Levin, it recorded, had been surveyed in strips running from the coast to the hills in an effort to preserve access to the hills for hunting and to the sea for the gathering of kaimoana. Such strips were of little value to either Maori or Pakeha, and some scheme, it suggested, should be devised to reorganise land holdings and to bring the land involved in to production.¹⁸⁵

1.8.3 Title congestion: the Horowhenua consolidation scheme

The outcome of excessive partitioning, fragmented ownership, and title congestion – in a context of quickening Maori population growth – was clearly apparent in the Horowhenua XI or Taueki consolidation scheme, one of the few attempted by the Department of Maori Affairs in Porirua ki Manawatu. ‘Consolidation,’ Ngata remarked in 1928, ‘is not a panacea, though politicians were inclined to regard it as such, but it would undo much past mischief and provide at least some of the people with a new lease of life on the remnants of their former lands still belonging to them.’¹⁸⁶ His remarks applied neatly to the Horowhenua XIB.

On 7 March 1946, the Minister of Native Affairs applied to the Native Land Court to prepare a scheme of consolidation involving the lands belonging to the Taueki whanau, lands that the owners desirous of farming provided consolidation were first implemented. ‘It is desirable,’ the Under Secretary advised the Minister of Native Affairs, ‘that consolidation of their interests be undertaken to ameliorate the condition of members of the family and to provide them with homes and farms,’ an observation

¹⁸⁵ ‘Plight of the Maoris,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 11 November 1931, p.3.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Maori aspirations,’ *New Zealand Herald* 28 August 1928, p.11.

that summarised the outcome of more than half a century of land sales, injudicious partitioning, and population growth. ‘At present, he added, ‘they have just a number of scattered interests more or less useless to them.’¹⁸⁷ The blocks involved were all subdivisions of Horowhenua XIB together with Horowhenua 3E1.¹⁸⁸ The existing titles, the Minister of Maori Affairs was advised, ‘are so complicated that no individual member of the family has a compact area sufficient for an economic farm.’

In its final form, the Horowhenua Consolidation Scheme comprised just over 968 acres, an area described as ‘the principal remaining area of the ancestral lands of the Muaupoko tribe, the descendants of Kupe, who have occupied the Horowhenua district for centuries ...’¹⁸⁹ The 968 acres included 300 acres of ‘rich dairy land’ and 650 acres of ‘fair sheep farming land,’ the balance being sand dunes. Practically the whole had been leased to Pakeha for many years, the rents being paid to and apparently retained in part by the Ikaroa Maori Land Board: certainly, the Department of Maori Affairs recorded that the rents would be employed to defray yet another round of survey costs (although wherever possible original partition boundaries had been followed). According to Judge Whitehead, ‘Individual owners possessing sufficient interests have been located in blocks forming economic farming units and in other cases a family group has been located in such an area as can be economically farmed by one member of the group. The balance shares have been located in blocks suitable for leasing for sheep farming purposes.’ The owners had indicated their acceptance of the scheme on the condition that the Crown did not resume part of the land for the site of a tuberculosis sanatorium. In a memorandum for the Minister of Native Affairs, the Under Secretary noted that the family involved

is one of the last families of the Muaupoko tribe to retain any worthwhile lands after a continuous occupation of some centuries, and they have waited a number of years for the expiry of leases to enable them to have their interests consolidated and the lands made available to those members of the family who wish to engage in farming for themselves.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 5 March 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/584 29/7/4.

¹⁸⁸ See ‘Prohibiting alienation of certain Native Land or Land owned by Natives,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 32, 16 May 1946, p.678.

¹⁸⁹ Judge A.A. Whitehead, Native Land Court to Minister, Native Affairs 23 September 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/584 29/7/4/1.

¹⁹⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 3 October 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/584 29/7/4/1.

The Under Secretary elsewhere recorded that

some of these families are living under conditions which are not at all conducive to the health and welfare of their children and it is felt that they should at least be given a chance to rehabilitate themselves by making use of their own property.¹⁹¹

By almost any measure, that was a remarkable conclusion to have reached, and not least for the links that it sketched among land loss, title confusion, and welfare.

Table 1.10 sets out the scheme. Several comments are warranted: first, the scheme created six small dairy farms for the five branches of the family; second, multiple ownership was not entirely eliminated; and third, Horowhenua A6A and A6B served as ‘sinker blocks,’ that is, blocks to which values not allocated to other areas were assigned. By April 1948, the scheme had not been implemented owing to the continuing hesitation on the part of the Western Hospital Districts Joint Sanatorium Committee over a site, a matter described by the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs as ‘intolerable.’ For their part, the family concerned accused the Department of a breach of faith. In the Under Secretary’s view, the scheme should be approved and the Committee advised that any proposal to acquire part of the land would be rejected.¹⁹² The Minister agreed, the Department of Health advised the Committee to abandon its efforts, and approval of the scheme was gazetted in May 1948.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to S.B. Read, Levin 9 July 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/584 29/7/4.

¹⁹² Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 7 April 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/584 29/7/4.

¹⁹³ ‘Taueki Consolidation Scheme approved,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 30, 27 May 1948, p.621. For a fuller discussion of the Horowhenua consolidation scheme, see Jane Luiten with Kesaia Walker, ‘Muaupoko land alienation and political engagement report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2015, pp.370-382.

Table 1.10: Horowhenua consolidation scheme: proposed new titles in Horowhenua block

New title	Acres	Owners	Remarks
<i>A1A</i>	<i>57 3 04</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Suitable as a dairy farm</i>
<i>A1B</i>	<i>43 2 24</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Suitable as a dairy farm</i>
<i>A2A</i>	<i>43 0 11</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Suitable as a dairy farm</i>
A2B	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2C	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2D	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2E	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2F	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2G	1 2 04	6	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2H	1 2 04	4	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2I	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2J	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
A2K	1 2 04	1	Ideal building site; would sell readily
<i>A3A</i>	<i>43 0 00</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>Suitable as a dairy farm</i>
A3B	1 2 04	6	Good building site
A3C	1 2 04	6	Good building site
A3D	1 2 04	1	Good building site; would sell readily
A3E	1 2 04	1	Good building site; would see readily
<i>A4</i>	<i>56 2 24</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Suitable as a dairy farm</i>
A5A	6 2 10	11	
A5B	1 0 00	1	
A5C	0 3 20	1	
A5D	1 2 03	4	
A5E	1 0 00	6	
A5D	48 3 24	11	<i>Suitable as a dairy farm</i>
A5G	0 0 03		Urupa
A6A	232 2 24	20	Leased
A6B	443 3 31	22	To be leased

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/584 29/7/4/1

1.8.4 The prospect of expropriation

Maori landowners faced at least one other source of uncertainty, namely, the risk of compulsory acquisition of their land by the Government. What was known as the ‘Kuku war’ was a particular case in point. The controversy had its origins in the Government’s decision to proceed with the Hutt Valley Development Scheme and to re-locate local market gardeners.¹⁹⁴ On 22 June 1939, the Government, apparently without advising those affected, issued a proclamation (under the Public Works Act) under which it

¹⁹⁴ Dreaver, *Horowhenua County and its people*, pp.284-286.

proposed to take 1,650 acres of land in the Kuku district (between Manakau and Ohau) for market gardening purposes.¹⁹⁵ Some 800 acres were in Maori ownership while the block also included a portion of a soldiers' settlement.¹⁹⁶ Some of the land was used periodically by Chinese market gardeners.¹⁹⁷ The unannounced proclamation had been intended to thwart speculators and price gouging. 'It was not unknown,' Prime Minister Savage would later comment, 'that there were people in the country farming the farmers as well as the land.'¹⁹⁸

The Kuku settlers affected numbered 23, including returned soldier settlers who in 1919 had taken up small sections formerly part of a private estate, 'together with a number of natives,' in fact, members of Tukorehe and Ngati Te Rangi. The settlers involved insisted that they had established their farms in the expectation of being able to hand them down to the sons, the latter for years having accepted less than 'full wages' as the land had been brought in to production. Further, resumption of the land and its conversion to market gardening would imperil the financial viability of the Kuku-Manakau Dairy Company. A protest meeting held in Ohau on 3 July and attended by some 300 persons, among them 'representatives of the Maori race,' was treated to some inflated rhetoric, the proposal being variously described as 'a tragedy, to be compared with piracy, the work of a kelly gang, a grave injustice, not British fair play, an outrage, and the first step towards socialisation of the land ...' Others suggested that by settling on and developing the land they had fulfilled a contract with the Government that had placed them on it as discharged soldiers. For the Maori in attendance, Ruihi Wehipeihana indicated that they were prepared to go as far as the Privy Council, 'because it meant the taking of some of the tribal lands.'¹⁹⁹ The proposal generated a great deal of angry opposition from a range of local organisations that included the Horowhenua A&P Association, the Levin Returned Soldiers' Association, the Horowhenua County Council, the Farmers' Union, the South African War Veterans' Association, and the Ohau Women's Division of the Farmers' Union.²⁰⁰ But also

¹⁹⁵ 'Settlers "up in arms,"' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 3 July 1939, p.8. See also 'Market gardens scheme,' *Otahi Mail* 3 July 1939, p.2.

¹⁹⁶ See 'The Kuku,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 15 February 1919, p.2.

¹⁹⁷ 'Visit by Hutt growers,' *Evening Post* 7 July 1939, p.15.

¹⁹⁸ 'No further action,' *Evening Post* 11 July 1939, p.15.

¹⁹⁹ 'Settlers resent Government action,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 4 July 1939, p.7. See also 'Land at Kuku,' *Evening Post* 4 July 1939, p.10; and 'Fight to end,' *Evening Post* 5 July 1939, p.12.

²⁰⁰ 'Settlers resent Government action,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 4 July 1939, p.7; and 'Taking of Kuku land,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 10 July 1939, p.4.

opposed to the plan were the market gardeners of the Hutt Valley: in their judgement, the Kuku lands generally, while suitable for dairying, were not suitable for market gardening, at least without expensive drainage and improvement.²⁰¹

The Government defended its plan, claiming that 500 people would be placed on the land where just one fifth of that number then resided and that the new market gardens would supply the Wellington market – before adding that ‘We propose to provide for 500, but I do not suppose we will stop at that.’²⁰² In fact, the Government planned to settle 100 families on the block, and to provide them with houses, schools, and other community facilities.²⁰³ The issue was raised in Parliament where claims were made that the Kuku settlers were being “cuckooed” out of their homes,’ and that the Government’s plan was one step in its march towards the ‘socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange ...’²⁰⁴ The plan, it claimed, struck at the very ‘roots of small settlement’ in New Zealand.²⁰⁵ A deputation of Kuku settlers, including several Maori, met Prime Minister Savage and several other Ministers on 11 July and received an assurance that the land would not be taken, disavowing any intention on the part of the Government to taking the land compulsorily.²⁰⁶ The displaced Hutt Valley market gardeners, including Chinese gardeners, thus moved not to the Kuku lands but to the Wairarapa and to the Otaki district.²⁰⁷

1.9 Valuations, securities and borrowing

Excessive subdivision and title fragmentation thus made it difficult for Maori to offer land as security for advances. Those difficulties were compounded, as noted briefly above, by the manner in which the Government Valuation Department chose to value

²⁰¹ ‘Hutt Valley gardeners opposed,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 4 July 1939, p.7. See also ‘Producers join against land seizure,’ *Otaki Mail* 10 July 1939, p.4.

²⁰² ‘Providing for 500 people,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 4 July 1939, p.7.

²⁰³ ‘Market gardens scheme,’ *Otaki Mail* 3 July 1939, p.2.

²⁰⁴ NZPD 254, 1939, pp.175 and 482.

²⁰⁵ NZPD 1939, Vol.254, p.175. See also ‘Question of equity,’ *Evening Post* 7 July 1939, p.15.

²⁰⁶ ‘Kuku land not to be taken,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 11 July 1939, p.5. See also ‘The retreat from Kuku,’ *Evening Post* 11 July 1939, p.8; ‘No further action,’ *Evening Post* 11 July 1939, p.15. A ‘poem’ dealing with the matter appeared in ‘Whose Kuku now?’ *Auckland Star* 10 July 1939, p.6. It began ‘There’s stir in Otaki, a hum in Levin/For the Battle of Kuku’s about to begin ...’

²⁰⁷ See John H. Bradbury, ‘Otaki – its growth and development,’ MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1971, pp.28 and 38-39; and Alex McLellan, ‘Market gardening in Otaki,’ *Historical Journal, Otaki Historical Society* 5, 1982, p.62.

land in Maori ownership. The matter assumes some importance given section 25 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 that required the Crown to pay for land acquired from Maori not less than the capital value as assessed under the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896. Crown purchases of land from Porirua ki Manawatu Maori slowed after 1900: nevertheless, when the adequacy of consideration (as part of the confirmation process), the Maori land boards relied on government valuations. Further, the Department and Board of Native Affairs employed such valuations when dealing with applications for financial assistance under the Maori land development programme. How Government valuations were established was thus a matter of considerable importance.

Maori had long expressed concern over how the Crown arrived at prices for the lands that it wished to purchase and indeed sought to participate in the process or to appoint independent advisors to provide ‘fair’ valuations. The Crown rebuffed such proposals. On the other hand, section 6 of the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act 1893 provided for the establishment of a ‘Native land-purchase board,’ such board, among other things, to establish the value of the lands that it wished to acquire, such value ‘to be fixed by three independent persons, one to be appointed by the Board, one by the Native owners of the land proposed to be purchased ... and the third by the two persons so appointed ...’ The Surveyor-General noted that proceedings under the Act would mean that ‘Govt would have to pay a much larger price ...’²⁰⁸ To provide a basis upon which the advances to settlers scheme could proceed, Parliament passed the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896: as noted above, valuations prepared under that Act constituted, under section 25 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 (and section 372 of the Native Land Act 1909) , the minimum price that the Crown was required to pay for lands purchased.

While that may have appeared to introduce a degree of consistency and equity in to the land purchasing process, certain difficulties were soon apparent. The Valuation Department applied different criteria when valuing for purchase land in Maori and Pakeha ownership, specifically by reducing the value of the former by up to 25 per cent

²⁰⁸ See Leanne Boulton, ‘Land alienation in the Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, pp.353-354.

– and hence the price paid. The grounds cited were the higher transaction costs generated by title complexities and multiple ownership. Further, in 1907, Native Minister Carroll could refer to a ‘rule’ by which ‘the price of Native land should be estimated at least 15 percent under that of any other,’ on the grounds that the Crown had helped to increase the value of the land by expenditure on public works.’²⁰⁹ Quite why that ‘rule’ did not apply to all such land, he did not say. It is also important to note that valuations under the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896 were not conducted to establish ‘market prices’ but rather to assist local authorities to levy rates. In effect, linking capital values with purchase prices forged a link between valuations for the purposes of taxation and purchase prices.

The implication of that link became fully apparent in 1915 when the Valuer General informed the Commission on the Valuation of Land that valuations of unimproved lands – including practically all Native freehold land – were ‘held down’ in order to assist the Crown’s land acquisition and settlement programme. The Crown, he declared, could not afford to purchase lands at market prices.²¹⁰ If the practice of ‘holding down’ valuations applied to all lands, a further practice applied only to lands in Maori ownership, namely, discounting the value of unimproved land owned by Maori by between 20 and 25 per cent compared with the value of unimproved land held by Pakeha. The rationale for that practice was cited as the additional costs involved in acquiring the former, that is, the cost of having any alienations of restrictions removed (until the passage of the Native Land Act 1909), calling meetings of assembled owners, locating all owners, establishing ‘other lands,’ the charges imposed by lawyers, agents, and interpreters, and the costs of confirmation hearings. In effect, it seems, valuations ‘held down’ to assist the Crown’s settlement programme were further discounted to take in to account the high transaction costs arising from complex and uncertain titles and multiple ownership. Although the Valuer-General regularly insisted that tenure should not be taken in to account when valuations were prepared and that he was ‘going to insist upon the department getting rid of ... [the] idea’ that a difference existed

²⁰⁹ NZPD 1907, Vol.140, p.396.

²¹⁰ AJHR 1915, B17B, p.16.

between Maori and general lands, the practice of discounting valuations of the former continued in to the 1920s.²¹¹

It was not possible for the purposes of this inquiry to investigate these issues with reference to the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, but there is no reason to suppose that Maori vendors and borrowers were any less adversely affected than those in any other district.

1.10 Local authorities, rates, and services

One other issue that was not fully investigated centred on the rating policies of local authorities and whether the services that they were constituted to fund and supply were delivered to all residents. Those services included roads, water supply, drainage, sanitation, and electrification. The convoluted history of the Otaki Borough's rating difficulties has been fully explored by Woodley and only a brief account is presented here to highlight some of the issues involved.²¹² The borough was established following a poll conducted in January 1921: 291 persons voted for and 121 voted against incorporation, those opposed including many Maori who feared, despite assurances to the contrary, that rates would rise appreciably. The borough quickly found itself mired in financial difficulties the proximate origins of which lay in the decision of its council to borrow heavily, £44,200 between 1921 and 1924, to finance the construction of a 'disastrous' drainage and sewerage scheme that by 1925 had been practically abandoned.²¹³ To finance those loans, the council sharply increased the rates levied on the unimproved rather than capital values: Dreaver noted that such a rating system meant that land was rated irrespective of whether it benefited from the services provided and recorded that only a small portion of Maori-owned land within the borough was served by the new water and drainage schemes.²¹⁴ Moreover, some serious doubts existed more generally over the state of Maori land titles, the accuracy of the

²¹¹ Proceedings of the Conference of Valuers of Valuation Department, Wellington, 1911, in ANZ Wellington AAVI W3486/29 19/7 Alternative number 4118. See also Bruce Stirling, *Te Urewera valuation issues*. Wellington, 2005, pp.39ff.

²¹² Suzanne Woodley, 'Local government issues report,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017, pp.304-372. The following notes are drawn from that report.

²¹³ Anthony Dreaver, *Horowhenua County and its people: a centennial history*. Levin: Dunmore Books for Horowhenua County Council, 1984, pp.225-226.

²¹⁴ Dreaver, *Horowhenua County*, p.227.

valuation rolls on which rates were based, and over whether much of the land owned by Maori should have been rated at all.

Employing loan monies, the Otaki Borough Council promptly embarked upon the installation of schemes for sewerage and water reticulation. Serious financial difficulties quickly emerged and led to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to examine a wide range of matters that included whether the borough should be abolished, whether its boundaries should be altered and, if so, whether any financial adjustments should be made, whether the borough should be divided in to wards, the valuation of land for rating purposes, levying of special rates and the exclusion of lands unlikely to benefit from such rates, and the practicality of a system of differential rating. It is worthwhile noting here that the expenditure of locally raised taxes on services of local benefit is a theme that runs through a great deal of the history of local government in New Zealand: it was a prominent motive informing the many ‘separatist’ movements that resulted in the formation of new provinces, new road boards, and new county councils. It also informed many of the petitions that sought exclusion of one district or another from particular local authorities, including the successful efforts in 1925 and 1926 by Pakeha farmers to have their lands excluded from Otaki Borough. The Valuer-General, in his evidence to the 1928 Commission of Inquiry re Borough of Otaki, questioned the inclusion in the borough of farm lands which could make little use of the proposed services, and noted that ‘a greater measure of justice could have been given by excluding such lands from the special rating areas.’ He added that

The troubles that the Commission were investigating ... were, to a great extent, attributable to the levying of special rates for special services on the same basis as general rates, which were, or should have been, restricted to those purposes that were wholly of community value.²¹⁵

G.P. Shepherd, instructed by the Native Minister, appeared before the Commission and argued that the constitution of Otaki ‘imposed a real burden’ on Maori lands ‘consequent upon the increased administrative costs, and the extension of the town roads, streets, and other conveniences of life which were of more benefit to the pakeha

²¹⁵ ‘Rating burden,’ *Evening Post* 19 May 1928, p.6, quoted in Woodley, *Local government issues*, pp.348-349. For the Commission’s report, see AJHR 1928, H28.

than to the Natives.²¹⁶ Rere Nikitini informed the Commission that he was ‘perfectly certain that the Maoris would favour any remedy for overcoming the discrepancies in the borough from which the Maoris had received no benefits.’²¹⁷ For its part, the Borough Council focussed practically solely on the recovery of past and the payment of future rates. It also claimed that Maori had been ‘well posted’ about the various loan proposals, that ‘un-financial Natives ratepayers had a vote, and the loan proposals were carried by a large majority.’²¹⁸ A ‘majority’ of whom, he did not say, or at least the report did not record his saying so.

In its report, the Commission concluded that the Otaki Borough Council had ‘embarked by way of special loans upon costly and ill-conceived schemes for waterworks and sewerage, far in excess of the borough’s requirements.’ While water was ‘readily available in every part of the Borough,’ the sewerage scheme served mainly its central portion and that the Council should therefore have established a special rating area to include only the properties that the proposed works would serve. The Council had declared the entire borough to be a special rating district. Indeed, the Commission referred to ‘The great, and to some extent useless, cost and the present pathetic position of the sewerage scheme ...’ If the scheme were to be completed, it observed, ‘the moneys raised should be charge only upon the lands within the area to be served.’²¹⁹ The Commission thus concluded that it was ‘desirable that lands in the borough which will not be benefited or served by special works should be excluded from the rating-area in respect of loans and charges in connection with such works, which loans and charges should be secured by special rate over such rateable property within the borough as will be benefited or served thereby.’²²⁰

With respect to the rates owed by Maori, the Otaki Borough Council finally agreed to accept 25 per cent of the value of outstanding Maori rates as at 31 March 1928, plus costs in connection with liens and applications provided that all unoccupied Maori land

²¹⁶ ‘News of the day: Native rating problem,’ *Evening Post* 10 May 1928, p.10, quoted in Woodley, *Local government issues*, p.350.

²¹⁷ ‘Native rating. Otaki problem,’ *Evening Post* 11 May 1928, p.14, quoted in Woodley, *Local government issues*, p.351.

²¹⁸ ‘Rating burden. Otaki’s problem,’ *Evening Post* 16 May 1928, p.6, ‘Native rating. Otaki problem,’ quoted in Woodley, ‘Local government issues,’ p.352. Woodley (p.361) also noted that Maori, fearing excessive rate rises, had not voted for the establishment of the borough.

²¹⁹ AJHR 1928, H28, p.7.

²²⁰ AJHR 1928, H28, p.15.

were vested in the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board.²²¹ The latter would have wide powers of administration and alienation and would apply all revenues to the payment of future rates. Whether Maori agreed to this proposed arrangement is not clear. The Commission recommended accordingly, and section 32 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1928 empowered the Crown to vest in the Board such Maori-owned but unoccupied lands on which rates remained outstanding as at 31 March 1928. Such lands would be held in trust for the beneficial owners, but the Board could lease, sell, exchange, mortgage, or re-vest the blocks concerned.²²² The 135 blocks concerned were vested in the Board in December 1929: their aggregate value of £18,895 constituted 80 per cent by value of all Maori land within Otaki Borough.

Whether the difficulties exposed by the Commission, that is, the implications of the various rating systems available to local authorities, the establishment of special rating districts, and the provision of services, applied to other local authorities in Porirua ki Manawatu, were matters that were not established. Some evidence suggests that county councils were inclined to devote their resources to the needs of their Pakeha ratepayers. In evidence presented to the Native Rating Commission of 1933, the Horowhenua County Council indicated that the county had been ‘developed by means of special loans,’ that Maori had received facilities in the form of roads to give access to their properties, that ‘practically all Native properties have reasonable access provided.’²²³ It is unlikely that those Maori landowners attempting to develop their Ohau 3 lands in to dairy farms would have agreed, but then the Commission did not seek, as far as could be determined, evidence from Maori. In 1934, the County Clerk indicated that there were 77 special rating districts in Horowhenua County.²²⁴ Sections 10 and 11 of the Local Bodies’ Loans Act 1913 stipulated that special loans could be raised only after a minimum of 60 per cent poll of the ratepayers affected had agreed: whether Maori landowners were involved in such polls was not established. Woodley concluded that ‘The impression gained from examining the records of the various road boards, county

²²¹ The Crown settled with other local authorities on the basis of a maximum of 25 per cent of outstanding rates.

²²² Woodley offers a fuller discussion of section 32. See Woodley, ‘Local government issues,’ pp.356-359. A full list of the blocks was published in the *New Zealand Gazette* 12 December 1929, p.330.

²²³ Woodley, ‘Local government issues,’ p.476.

²²⁴ Woodley, ‘Local government issues,’ p.478.

councils, towns and boroughs of the inquiry district is that the provision of services for Maori was not a priority for these local authorities.’²²⁵ Even in the late 1950s, Takapuwahia lacked a proper drainage and sewerage scheme, water supply and satisfactory roads.²²⁶ Woodley also noted that in the 1960s and 1970s, when the Otaki Borough and Horowhenua County Councils initiated the expropriation of Maori land, ‘it was apparent that many of the blocks did not have adequate road access. Many of the blocks were also undeveloped and unoccupied so were not provided with water and electric power. Despite this, such sections were expected to support the payment of rates.’²²⁷

The Oroua County Council’s response to the efforts of Te Reu Reu Maori to develop their lands into dairy farms also merit mention. Husbands noted that once relative interests in Te Reureu 1, 2, and 3 had been defined, the owners of Te Reureu 1 decided to invest in dairy farming. What distinguished that development was the collective decision to dispose of all existing stock and to establish a single dairying scheme with its own creamery.²²⁸ In 1914, Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae thus established the Reureu Dairy Farmers’ Union: chaired by T.F. Iwikau, the scheme was established for and managed by Maori. The Union also sought the assistance of a Government dairy expert over the grading of butterfat and ‘to inform the Natives as to the best and latest methods to acquire successful dairying,’ and decided to press the Oroua County Council to improve the Te Reureu’s roads.²²⁹ Husbands records that the council declined to assist, its chairman noting that he did not consider it ‘fair’ to ask the council to construct a road through a block that had never paid rates.²³⁰ Te Reureu Maori constructed the roads themselves, with some limited assistance (apparently) from the council and from Pakeha landowners who also stood to benefit.²³¹ Contemporary

²²⁵ Woodley, ‘Local government issues,’ p.825.

²²⁶ Woodley, ‘Local government issues,’ p.826, quoting Prime Minister to Minister, Works 12 June 1959, in ANZ Wellington ABJZ 869 W4633/53 19/8/5 Part 1.

²²⁷ Woodley, ‘Local government issues,’ p.826.

²²⁸ These notes are taken from Paul Husbands, ‘Maori aspirations, Crown response and reserves,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2018, pp.543-548.

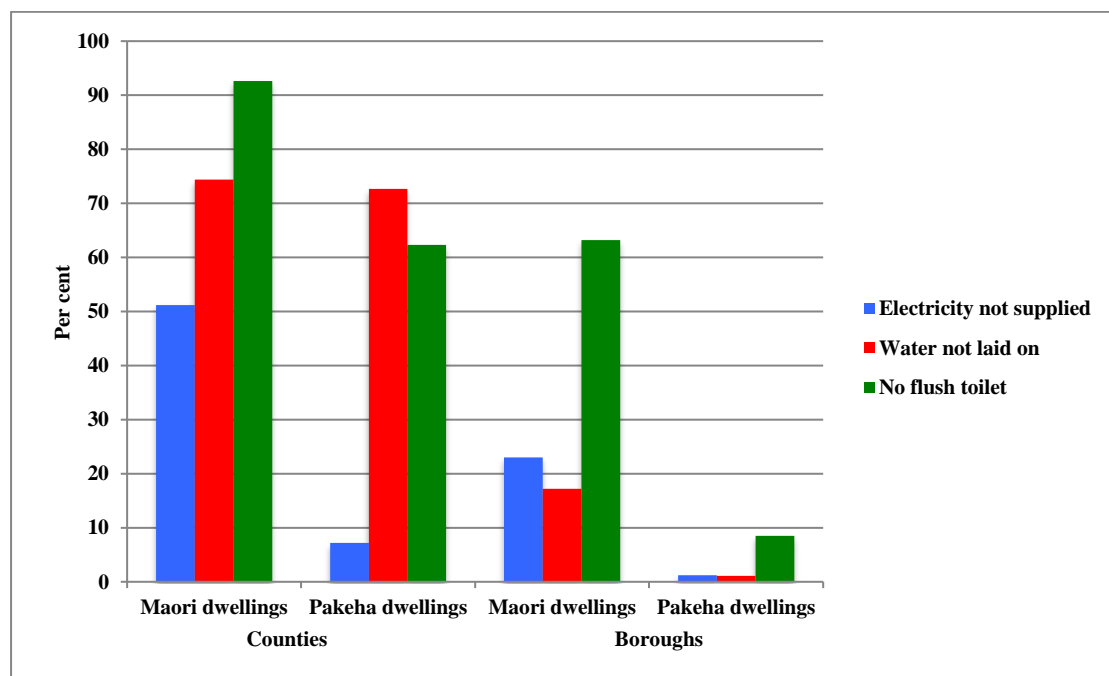
²²⁹ ‘Meeting of Natives. A policy of self-help,’ *Feilding Star* 11 June 1914, p.1.

²³⁰ Husbands, ‘Maori aspirations,’ p.545, citing ‘Oroua County Council: today’s monthly meeting,’ *Feilding Star* 6 June 1914, p.4.

²³¹ The *Wanganui Chronicle* recorded that an offer of assistance made by a member of the Oroua County Council was declined. See ‘Local and general’ in *Hawera and Normanby Star* 11 July 1914, p.4. Those involved evidently suggested that, once they had completed road-making, they would reconstruct the Onepuhi bridge ‘for if they waited for the Council to do so they would have to wait until the Day of Judgment.’ See ‘The Reureu block,’ *Manawatu Times* 28 July 1914, p.2.

accounts indicate that the owners of the reserve invested in modern plant and machinery. Husbands observed that despite their efforts, the owners of Te Reureu ‘continued to be hamstrung by an imposed Native land title system that was intended to facilitate land alienation, rather than foster economic development. They also continued to be hindered by problems of access caused by the inadequacy or absence of necessary infrastructure.’²³²

One other source casts some light on the provision of services by local authorities. Graph 1.6 sets out some details of amenities for Maori and Pakeha dwellings in Porirua ki Manawatu in 1945. It should be noted that, with respect to Maori dwellings, a small number of temporary dwellings was excluded from the census count. It is clear that an appreciably higher proportion of Maori in rural districts remained without electricity in 1945, important given the significance of rural reticulation for the scale, efficiency, and labour productivity of dairy farms. In the urban centres, Maori dwellings were significantly less well serviced with respect to the supply of electricity, the supply of water, and (assuming that the presence of flush toilets was a useful indicator) connection to municipal sewage systems.



Source: Census of New Zealand 1945

Graph 1.6: Amenities, Maori and Pakeha rural and urban dwellings, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1945

²³² Husbands, ‘Maori aspirations,’ p.548.

1.11 Conclusions

Writing in 1978, the Australian economic historian W.A. Sinclair suggested that in the regions of recent settlement where land was abundant, economic development involved the transformation of that land (and associated natural resources) into sources of output, that is, the food and industrial raw material requirements of the expanding and industrialising countries of Europe.²³³ The regions were not ‘empty’ (although Hobson, in 1840, declared the Middle Island to be *terra nullius*) and hence their occupation and development required either the forcible removal of their indigenous inhabitants or the negotiated transfer of their lands into Crown and settler ownership. Both approaches were employed in New Zealand, in the form of the wars of the 1860s and the large-scale confiscations of land that followed, and through the transformation of collectively owned land, a source of spiritual as well as material sustenance, into a marketable and transferable commodity.

Confiscation or forcible large-scale clearance was not employed in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District: rather, the transfer of land from Maori into settler ownership was accomplished primarily by Crown purchasing either in advance of or after ownership had been defined and the land clothed with what the Crown deemed to be a legal title. In practice, pre-title and post-title purchasing were essentially preemptive in character. The former was intended to minimise the transactional costs that the acquisition of land entailed, to forestall the likelihood of protracted legal disputes among rival claimants to ownership, and to control prices by excluding potential private competitors. The latter was intended to minimise the prospect of conflict among rival claimant groups, to impose on claimants the costs of title determination and survey, and, through the use of additional legal devices, to control prices through the exclusion of private competitors.

Both approaches shared a single and key objective, namely, to forestall the development of a colonial land market in which prices would be set by the Crown rather than by negotiation between vendors and purchasers. Otherwise lacking comprehensive and effective taxing powers, the Crown determined, on the one hand, to secure to itself as

²³³ W.A. Sinclair, *The process of economic development in Europe*. Melbourne: Cheshire, 1976, p.1.

great a proportion as possible of the potential market value of the land and, on the other, to promote its rapid development under settler occupation and ownership and hence its taxable (including rateable) potential. Both approaches effectively disempowered Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, depriving them of the ability to exercise the full rights of ownership, circumscribing their ability to realise the value of their assets and hence to accumulate and invest, and thus setting in train changes the adverse character of which would finally become manifest during the 1920s and 1930s.

The deleterious consequences of the changes thus set in motion may have been mitigated had the Crown seen fit to ensure that Maori retained sufficient land of sufficient quality to engage effectively in the commercial economy and had it worked with Maori in an effort to ensure that they retained such land under conditions that allowed Maori enterprise to flourish. Rather, from the outset the Crown maintained a singular and unwavering focus on its separate needs and those of settlers. That focus and the key assumption that underlay it, that Maori would only ever constitute a semi-subsistence and semi-engaged rural proletariat, combined with the Crown's determined pursuit of the 'individualisation' of ownership, the post-1900 renewed Maori population growth, and a continually diminishing land resource to generate for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori a land titling system that was chaotic at worst and fragile at best and a system that discouraged enterprise and investment.

Chapter 2: Land development or a development deficit?

2.1 Introduction

In October 1937, the Native Department's Under Secretary made clear his conviction that Pakeha had 'a duty and responsibility to Maori ...,' noted the 'remarkable aptitude in assimilating our culture' that Maori had displayed in the early stages of New Zealand's post-annexation colonisation, and lamented the fact that such early promise had not materialised. He went on to suggest that it was evident that our 'legislators have viewed the continued existence of the Maori as being indissolubly connected and concerned with his land ... The land of the Maori may therefore be looked to provide for his economic advancement ...'²³⁴ That presupposed that Maori retained sufficient land capable of development.

Ngata's Maori land development constituted the first systematic effort on the part of the Crown to promote and support Maori economic development, in effect to re-capitalise Maori communities that had largely lost their 'natural' capital. Opinions among historians on the success of Ngata's initiative vary widely. Macrae, for example, concluded that there was little evidence to support any claim that the Maori land development programme generated rising farm incomes. The evidence he presented certainly indicated that the position of the average Maori farmer and farm employee scarcely improved between 1925/26 and 1934/35.²³⁵ In fact, by the latter date the Maori land development programme had barely begun and hence it was not too surprising that average nominal incomes had not lifted: given, though, the sharp fall in consumer prices during the early 1930s, average real incomes probably did improve. Coleman *et al*, on the other hand, concluded that the Maori land development programme 'proved successful at improving the commercialization of Maori agriculture.' They went on to add that while the farms created 'proved to be smaller, less livestock intensive, and less productive than most European farms, the programme was instrumental in raising

²³⁴ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to E. Earle Vaile, Auckland 7 October 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/650 36/1 Part 1.

²³⁵ Macrae, 'A study in the application of economic analysis to social issues,' p.24.

incomes at a time when Maori were overwhelmingly poor and rural, and represented a significant step towards the transformation of the Maori economy.²³⁶

While then the Maori land development programme has been subjected to rigorous and often highly critical scrutiny, there seems to be little doubt that it did assist in ameliorating Maori standards of living during the 1930s, that it did assist some Maori communities to develop valuable capital and productive assets, and that it did assist many individual Maori farmers to turn their lands to productive account. The issue explored in this chapter is whether and to what extent the Crown assisted Porirua ki Manawatu Maori to transform their remaining natural resources in to sources of output, or whether those efforts served rather to expose what might best be termed an economic development deficit. It is not proposed to examine in detail the land development schemes established in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District: that has been done by Lange and Fitzgerald *et al.*²³⁷ Rather, the focus here is on some broader issues and their implications, in particular, on the manner in which previous land loss served to deny such benefits as the Maori land development programme offered. A final section will examine the results of the censuses of Maori agriculture conducted in 1949-1950 and in 1959-1960.

2.2 Maori engagement in the west coast agro-pastoral industry

It will be helpful, first, to explore briefly the entry of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori into the agro-pastoral industry. They made a promising start, the limited evidence available indicating that Otaki Maori, in particular, at an early stage post-annexation, modified existing production systems to respond to the commercial opportunities presented by the growing Pakeha population around Te Whanganui-a-Tara. In doing so, they played an important if not critical role in the early economic history of Wellington, supplying settlers until competition from Pakeha producers in the Wairarapa proved to be too

²³⁶ Andrew Coleman, Sylvia Dixon, and David Maré, *Maori economic development – glimpses from statistical sources*. Motu Working Paper 05-13, Motu economic and public policy research, September 2005, p.15.

²³⁷ Raeburn Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2000; and Eljohn Fitzgerald and others, 'Ngati Rauakwa: rangatiratanga and kawanatanga: land management and land loss from the 1890s to 2000,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017.

great. Concurrently, the entry of graziers offered a new form of income, rents from lands leased for pastoral purposes. The transformation of Maori from producers into rentiers generated friction among hapu and compromised their individual and collective ability to withstand the land purchasers in the form, chiefly of the Wellington Provincial Government.²³⁸ The latter, anxious to extend its control of the lands of the province and to fund the construction of public works, set out to acquire as much land as possible land and at the cheapest price possible, and to sell such land at advanced prices. Just how Porirua ki Manawatu Maori deployed the injection of capital that the land sales represented has still to be established, but there is some evidence that some at least was directed in to the agro-pastoral sector, notably sheep-farming. Again, there are major difficulties in respect of data and in respect of records not located. With respect to the latter, for example, it was hoped to chart the timing and scale of entry by Maori in to dairying through the annual returns of shareholders in dairy cooperatives: few such returns were located. On the other hand, the annual sheep returns published in the AJHR do offer an opportunity to gauge participation by Maori in that branch of commercial pastoral farming.

2.2.1 Sheep farming

According to Patterson, by about 1850 pastoralists had made their appearance on the west coast of the lower North Island and that within a period of some 15 years ‘isolated pastoral cantonments were the characteristic units of settlement in the southern North Island out-districts ...’²³⁹ Those engaged in the industry negotiated terms with the Maori owners, the first leases being concluded during the 1840s: the pastoralists thus introduced the concept of leasing while alerting Maori to the fact that their lands had a monetary value that could be realised.

²³⁸ Stone suggested, with respect to Hauraki Maori, that ‘the most revolutionary change was the appearance of ‘unearned income: arising out of financial agreements arrived at with either settlers or the Crown. This was the source of greatest social disruption.’ Rangatira, he suggested, ‘were shaken free from their kinship roots as they became the recipients and (sometimes unsupervised) distributors of money earned in ways that had no connection with cooperative labour.’ Such payments ‘bypassed the usual network of reciprocal labour and social relationships of which chiefs had once been an integral part.’ See Stone, ‘The impoverishment,’ p.71.

²³⁹ Brad Patterson, ‘Laagers in the wilderness: the origins of pastoralism in the southern North Island districts, 1840-1855,’ *Stout Centre Review* April 1991, p.8. See also T.J. Hearn, ‘One past, many histories: tribal land and politics in the nineteenth century,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2015, Chapter 3.

In addition to leasing land, some Maori also decided to enter directly in to sheep farming. Butterworth suggested that, unfamiliar with stock-raising, ‘Maori experiments with stock farming tended to be failures.’²⁴⁰ The evidence is mixed: in some regions, among them the East Coast, a number of Maori ran successful sheep-farming enterprises.²⁴¹ In Te Rohe Potae by 1891, Maori had entered in to co-partnerships with Pakeha pastoralists, while reports indicated that they were ‘going properly in to the sheep business,’ displaying a grasp of livestock health requirements and stock management.²⁴² On the other hand, Husbards and Mitchell recorded that after 1890, the Te Rohe Potae Maori sheep industry appeared ‘to have fallen into a near terminal decline ...’ while noting that the data for ‘Maori land sown in grass per capita’ indicated an ‘almost total failure of Maori to develop pastoral lands.’²⁴³ Gilling reached the same conclusion: for the Wairarapa ki Tararua Inquiry District, the available data revealed what Gilling summarised as ‘the almost complete failure of Maori to enter the pastoral industry that dominated Wairarapa in the nineteenth century ...’²⁴⁴ The high point was around the turn of the century, participation then declining sharply.

For each year from 1880 to 1930, official annual sheep returns, compiled by county, were published in the AJHR: they listed all sheep owners and the number of stock they owned, and thus offer a means of tracking Maori entry in to (and exit) from sheep-farming. Maori sheep-owners were identified according to name and hence it is possible that their numbers have been underestimated. It should also be borne in mind that although the flocks appear under the names of individuals, they may have been owned by whanau or hapu. Graph 2.1 sets out the number of flock-owners in Porirua ki Manawatu at five-yearly intervals between 1885 and 1930. It suggests that Maori participation expanded through to 1895 only to contract so that by 1915 participation had practically ceased. Moreover, the average size of flocks owned by Maori was

²⁴⁰ G.V. Butterworth, *Nga Take i Neke ai te Maori: Maori mobility*. Wellington: Ministry of Maori Affairs, 1991, pp.20-21.

²⁴¹ Boast, *Buying the land, selling the land*, pp.286-287.

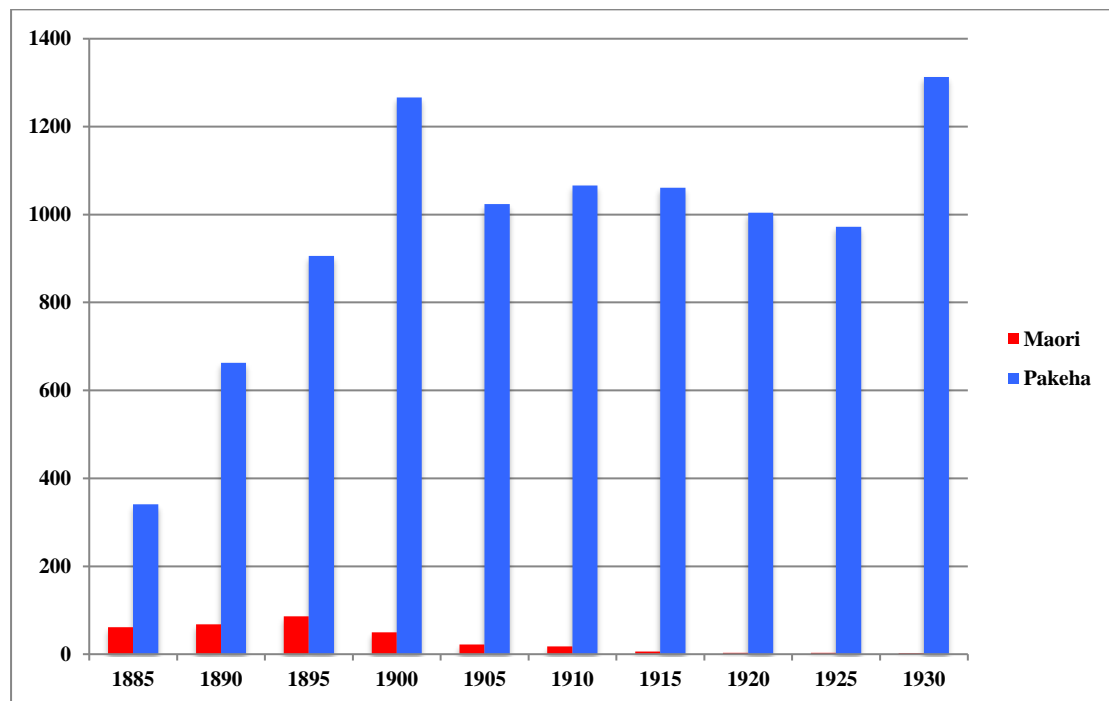
²⁴² T.J Hearn, ‘Maori economic development in Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District, c.1885 to c.2006,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.467.

²⁴³ Paul Husbards and James Mitchell, ‘The Native Land Court, land titles, and Crown purchasing in the Rohe Potae district 1866-1907,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p.512.

²⁴⁴ Bryan Gilling, ‘Lands, funds, and resources. Aspects of the economic history of Maori in Wairarapa ki Tararua since 1840,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, pp.173-174.

consistently and significantly smaller than those owned by Pakeha, suggesting constraints in the form of the area of land available and/or pasture productivity. As the number of Maori flock-owners contracted, the average flock size increased (until 1920 when it showed a modest decline), suggesting that the departure of smaller flock-owners left a very small number with modest-sized flocks.

The censuses also offered some estimates of both the area in sown grasses and the number of sheep in Maori ownership. The area in sown grasses increased from 13,781 acres in 1901 to 15,827 acres in 1906, but then contracted to 12,863 acres in 1911. That contraction was paralleled by a fall in the number of sheep owned, from 15,036 in 1901 (down from 25,845 in 1891) to 12,693 in 1911. Not too much reliance should be placed on those figures, but they are not inconsistent with the trends indicated by Graph 2.1, again suggesting that the participation of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori in commercial sheep farming began to wane during the first decade of the new century.



Sources: AJHR 1886, H8; 1891, Session 2, H15A; 1896, H23; 1901, H23; 1911, H23; 1916, H23; 1921, Session 2, H23B; 1926, H23B; and 1930, H23B

Graph 2.1: Maori and Pakeha flock-owners, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1885 to 1930

2.2.2 The dairying industry

Tracking the entry of Maori in to dairy farming is even more difficult. Husbands and Mitchell suggested, with respect to Te Rohe Potae, that few Maori were apparently able to convert their land to dairying and were unable to participate in the rapid growth of the industry that took place after 1900. Some did, but Maori dairy farming remained modest in scale.²⁴⁵ It is worthwhile noting, on the other hand, that in 1931, the *Auckland Star* reported – with perhaps pardonable exaggeration – that ‘Hundreds of native farmers throughout the King Country, with dairy herds averaging from 20 to 80 cows ... have made good.’²⁴⁶ The fact is that the history of Maori dairy farming remains largely unknown apart, that is, from occasional comments: in 1916 the census enumerator for the counties of Hutt, Makara, Horowhenua, Kairanga, Manawatu, Oroua, Pohangina, and Kiwitea, for example, noted that ‘many Maori are taking an active part in the dairy industry.’²⁴⁷ Of interest, too, is a report presented by Native nurse Beetham to the Hawera Hospital Board: in 1912, she reported that ‘The people are desirous of possessing their own kaingas and land, anxious to milk and to work the land in the pakeha manner.’²⁴⁸ It is possible that the entry of Maori into the dairying industry carried major implications: by offering a land-intensive alternative to sheep-rearing and scope for whole-of family effort, it appears to have encouraged the partitioning of land, a gradual move towards dispersed settlement, and a move from communal to family living arrangements. Estimates suggest that a herd of five cows in milk was, in the absence of machine milking, sufficient to transform families practically in to fulltime dairy workers, that is to say, that all members of the household constituted essential components of the farm economy.

What is known is that the dairy industry in Porirua ki Manawatu expanded rapidly following the introduction of marine refrigeration and, in 1885, centrifugal separators in dairy processing plants. That expansion was supported by major gains in the productivity of land, stock, labour, and capital employed, improvements in roads and transport, and the growth of the dairy cooperative movement. Graph 2.2 sets out, by both cooperative and proprietary dairy companies, the number of suppliers in 1934-

²⁴⁵ Husbands and Mitchell, ‘The Native Land Court, pp.515-516.

²⁴⁶ ‘Maori farmers,’ *Auckland Star* 10 April 1931, p.3.

²⁴⁷ Census 1916, Appendix A – Maori census, p.xii.

²⁴⁸ Untitled, *Horowhenua Chronicle* 30 October 1912, p.2.

1935: it also makes clear the widespread distribution of the industry throughout Porirua ki Manawatu.²⁴⁹ Among them was the Levin Cooperative Dairy Company. It had 17 suppliers when it opened in 1899. By 1925-1926 it had 412 suppliers who, in that year, supplied 1,722,793lbs of butterfat.²⁵⁰ A decade later, in 1935-1936, it had 560 suppliers who supplied 3,793,154lbs of butterfat.²⁵¹ The average quantity of butterfat per supplier thus increased over a period of ten years from 4181.5lbs to 6773.5lbs or almost 62 per cent, testament to changes in the scale and productivity of and thus investment in individual dairy enterprises. Successful dairying in fact required increasingly a relatively high level of technical expertise, access to capital, and access to technical advice and expertise.

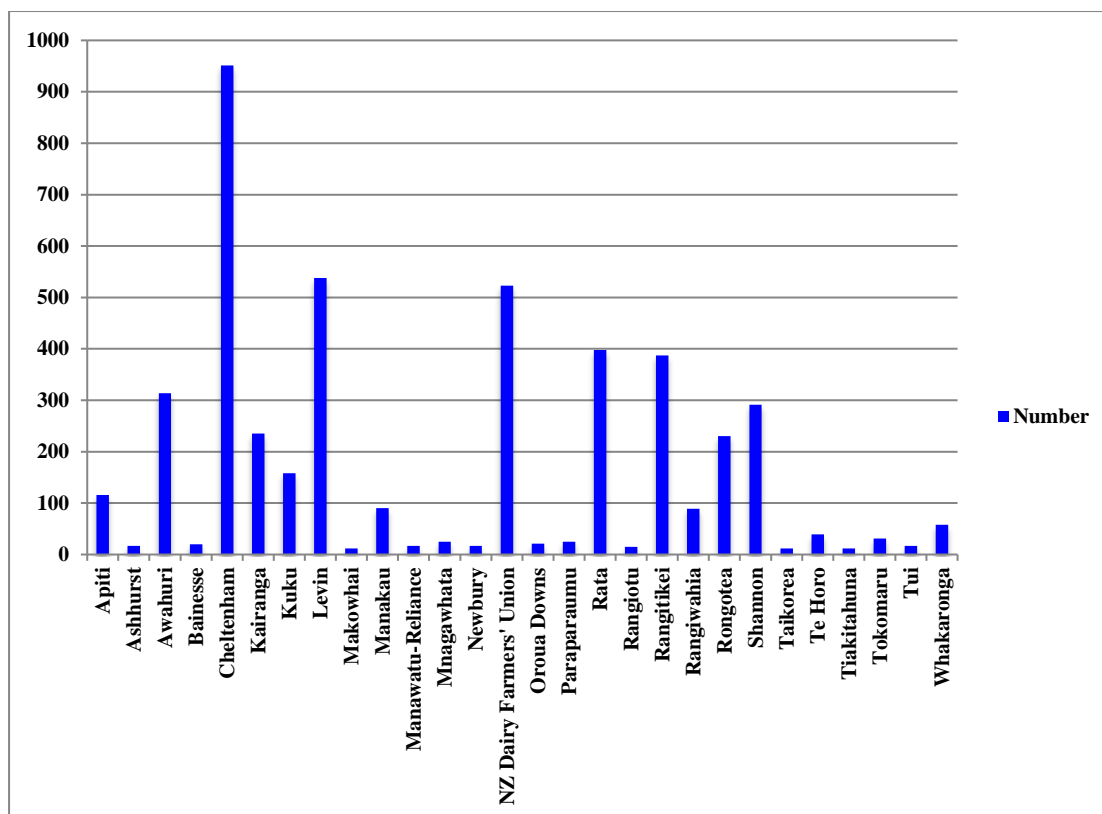
It was hoped that the memoranda of association and lists of shareholders normally filed by companies would offer some insights into the entry of Maori into dairying and the extent of their participation. Under the cooperative model, shareholders held shares proportionate to their supply: few records were located. On the other hand, it is known that Ruihi Wehipeihana and Tumeke Wehipeihana on a number of occasions served as directors of the Kuku Dairy Company, suggesting a degree of involvement still to be fully established.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ The data were prepared for the Executive Commission of Agriculture in support of its plans for dairy company amalgamations. The data did not distinguish between Maori and Pakeha suppliers.

²⁵⁰ 'Levin Dairy Company,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 23 July 1926, p.2.

²⁵¹ 'Levin Dairy Company,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 4 July 1936, p.3.

²⁵² See, for example, 'Kuku dairy company,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 5 August 1919, p.3. In 1939, the Otaki Mail named the Wehipeihana family as 'among the largest owners on this coast.' See 'Protest from Ohau,' *Otaki Mail* 5 July 1939.



Note: Not shown is the Otaki Dairy Company: it was a private concern.

Source: Executive Commission of Agriculture, 'Report on economic survey of dairying industry in Manawatu-Rangitikei area, 1936,' Wellington: Government Printer, 1936, Tables 1 and V. Copy in ANZ Wellington AEFW W1577 1/7

Graph 2.2: Rangitikei-Manawatu dairy companies by number of suppliers, 1934-1935

2.3 Subsistence farming

It will also be helpful to try to establish the extent of subsistence farming among Porirua ki Manawatu Maori.²⁵³ The presence of subsistence or self-sufficiency farming in which little if any surplus is available for trade may indicate that those involved are not or are only partially or fitfully integrated into the commercial economy. Evidence relating to the persistence of such farming in the Porirua ki Manawatu is sparse, but the

²⁵³ There is every reason to treat with considerable care the census returns that deal with Maori farming. Just prior to the 1911 census, for example, considerable discussion took place over which schedules to employ. The Department of Native Affairs was asked to collect the data and, accordingly, it devised its own schedule, whereas on previous occasions the Department of Statistics had collected data from Pakeha and Maori on the same schedule. The schedules differed considerably, and enumerators were clearly perplexed as to which to employ. A proclamation was issued, on 23 March 1911, under section 33 of the Census and Statistics Act 1910, the effect of which was to require enumerators to use the schedule employed by the Department of Agriculture. See ANZ Wellington ADTO 18998 STATS1/20 18/1/60.

potato blight of 1905-1906 offers some limited insights. Lange, for example, suggested that the blight, the pleas made to the Government, and the latter's decision to distribute supplies of blight-resistant seed potatoes, 'demonstrated the precarious economic foothold of many Maori communities in the rural districts of what had become a prosperous region.'²⁵⁴

Harris noted by the late nineteenth century, Maori were dependent upon the potato as their staple crop, although the degree of dependency varied from district to district.²⁵⁵ The fungus responsible for the serious potato blight of 1905-1906 was *Phytophthora infestans*, also responsible for the Irish and Scots Highlands Famines of the 1840s. In fact, in New Zealand the disease was commonly referred to as the 'Irish blight' or the 'Irish rot.' The consequences of the potato crop failure for many Maori families and communities were severe. In March 1905, the *Wanganui Herald* suggested that, should the blight arrive in the district, the destruction of their crops would mean for Maori 'nothing short of a serious famine' given their dependence on the potato.²⁵⁶ In November 1905, the same journal reported that 'many of the up-river natives are in lamentably reduced straits, and practically on the verge of starvation.'²⁵⁷ The distress apparent was less marked in more settled districts where some paid work was available. Nevertheless, in May 1906, the *Manawatu Evening Standard* reported that 'the plight of many members of the native race is such as to demand, not merely to deserve, relief at the hands of the State,' suggesting that, while it was proper to assist the famine-stricken in Japan and earthquake-struck San Francisco, charity began at home. 'Reliable information' it recorded, 'has been received with respect to the scarcity of the potato in the kaingas along the west coast of this island ...'²⁵⁸

F.H. Phillips, an interpreter for the Legislative Council, having toured many Maori settlements, reported that 'The Maoris throughout the North Island are in dire need of assistance regarding a supply of potatoes for the coming winter months.'²⁵⁹ As

²⁵⁴ Lange, *The social impact*, p.80.

²⁵⁵ G.F. Harris, *Te Paraiti: the 1905-1906 potato blight epidemic in New Zealand and its effects on Maori communities*. Lower Hutt: Open Polytechnic, c2006, pp.21-22. See also R.P. Hargreaves, 'Maori agriculture after the wars,' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 69, 4, 1960, pp.354-367.

²⁵⁶ 'Potato disease and the Maoris,' *Wanganui Herald* 20 March 1905, p.4.

²⁵⁷ 'Starving Natives,' *Wanganui Herald* 30 November 1905, p.5. See also 'Help wanted,' *Wanganui Chronicle* 1 December 1905, p.4.

²⁵⁸ 'Famine stricken Maoris,' *Manawatu Evening Standard* 10 May 1906, p.4.

²⁵⁹ 'Maoris and the winter,' *New Zealand Herald* 19 May 1906, p.5.

enumerator for the Whanganui in 1906, Phillips recorded that ‘large numbers of Maoris have been forced to wander from one district to another in search of employment, whereby they may obtain means of providing themselves with food during the winter months, a necessity caused by the disastrous effects of the potato-blight and other uncontrollable evils [frosts] that have attended their cultivations.’²⁶⁰ The census sub-enumerator for Manawatu County referred to ‘the ravages of the blight’ affecting the staple food crop.²⁶¹ Ngati Parewahawaha of Ohinepuhiawe appealed to the Government for a supply of seed potatoes: according to John Sturm of Bulls, the people were living on ‘swedish turnips obtained from their European neighbours as a substitute for potatoes.’²⁶² In a numerous signed petition, Ngati Kauwhata of Awahuri also appealed for assistance. The sub-enumerator for the Kairanga district reported that ‘throughout the district the ravages of the Potato Blight is [*sic*] manifest, and at some Pahs [*sic*] their whole crops have been ruined ...’²⁶³ The sub-enumerator for the Horowhenua observed that for local Maori

their great misfortune ... [was to] have so little land on which to subsist, a very large proportion of them having no land whatever; the consequence is their plantations are very small, quite a number of persons claiming to have grown their potatoes & maize on an acre, half acre, quarter acre ... Some of the young men are engaged working in flax mills, dairying, & other European employment thus contributing towards the support of their family. Were it not for this, I am afraid many of them would fare badly this winter. Everywhere I have been from one end of the district to the other, the potato crop is a failure, in some instances I should say that about 75 per cent loss, but in no instance immune from the ravages of blight. The Natives are afraid & to me the outlook is very discouraging ...²⁶⁴

The area devoted by Maori to the cultivation of potatoes may thus serve as a useful measure of the persistence and importance of subsistence cultivation. Graph 2.3 sets out the acreage cultivated by Maori both individually and communally. While the data

²⁶⁰ AJHR 1906, Session II, H26A, p.18. For extended comments on the destruction wrought by the potato blight, see p.29. For an account of the blight of 1905-1906, see *New Zealand Official Yearbooks* 1905 and 1906.

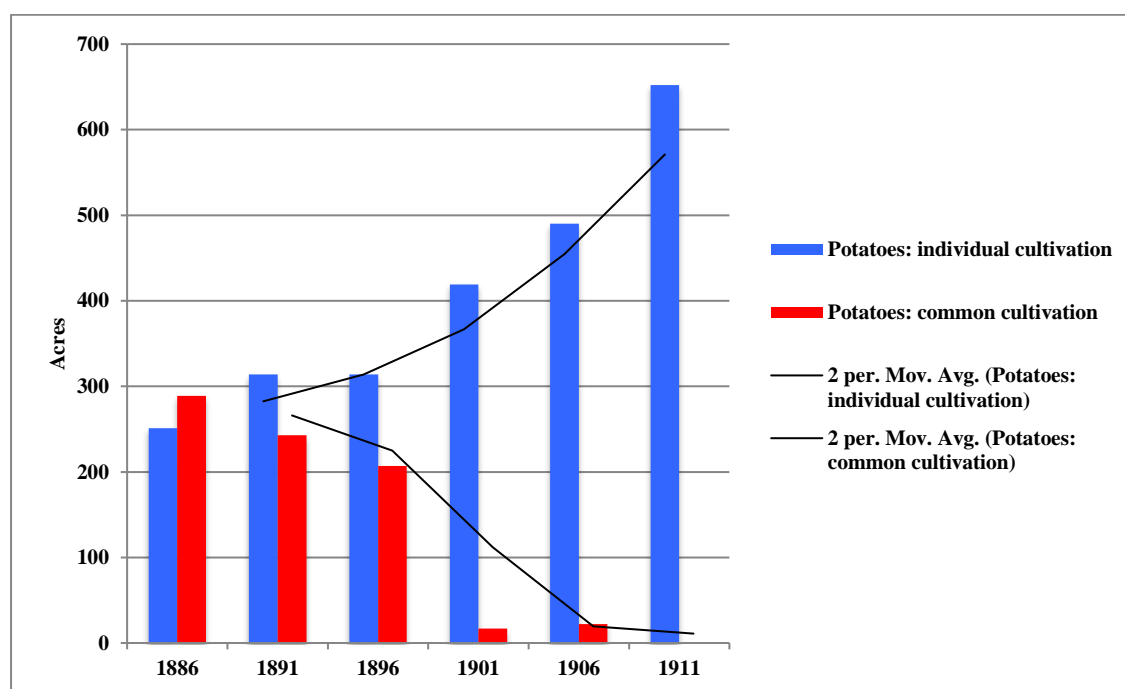
²⁶¹ Sub-enumerator, Sanson to Enumerator, Wellington, in ANZ Wellington 17 April 1906, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16056 MA23/13/18.

²⁶² John Sturm, Bulls to Minister, Native Affairs 30 July 1906, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16056 MA23/13/18.

²⁶³ Sub-enumerator, Kairanga to Enumerator, Wellington 10 April 1906, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16056 MA23/13/18.

²⁶⁴ Sub-enumerator, Horowhenua to Enumerator, Wellington 22 April 1906, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16056 MA23/13/18.

should be treated with a good deal of care, nevertheless the trends are clear.²⁶⁵ The changes are marked, a sharp increase in the area cultivated by individuals and an equally marked contraction in the area cultivated communally. The changes were most apparent in Horowhenua County where the area in common cultivation declined from 179 acres in 1886 to just two acres in 1906, while the area cultivated individually rose from a mere 14 acres in 1886 to 290 acres in 1901 before declining to 253 acres in 1911. Graph 2.3 indicates that the contraction of the area devoted to the communal cultivation of potatoes was more than offset by the expansion in the area under individual cultivation.²⁶⁶ That expansion may have indicated, in turn, the emergence of small-scale and family-based self-sufficiency farming, and, in turn, an inability to engage with the commercial economy with multiple alternative sources of income.



Source: AJHR 1886, G12; 1891 S.II, G2; 1896, H13B; 1901, H26B; 1906, S.II, H26A; and 1911, H14A

Graph 2.3: Potato cultivation by Maori, Porirua ki Manawatu district, 1886 to 1911

²⁶⁵ Hargreaves, 'Maori agriculture,' pp.354-355.

²⁶⁶ The total area under crop and farmed communally also declined sharply, from 475 acres in 1891 to 22 acres in 1906.

On a per capita basis, the area under all crops (excluding sown grasses) was remarkably steady between 1886 and 1896, namely, 1.03 acres in 1886, 1.08 acres in 1891, and 1.06 acres in 1896. The area fell to 0.95 acres in 1901 and to 0.58 acres in 1906, before recovering to 0.85 acres in 1911. Depending on soil conditions, climate, agricultural practices, and the type of crop grown, the area required per capita for subsistence farming ranges between 0.25 and ten acres. In turn, that suggests that the farming conducted by Maori in Porirua ki Manawatu at least until 1911 and probably well beyond could be classified as subsistence agriculture. The census returns also included some estimates of the area under sown grasses: on a per capita basis, that area never exceeded 10.0 acres, suggesting that animal husbandry formed part of the subsistence farming enterprise. On the other hand, the evidence presented above indicates that some Maori gained entry in to commercial sheep farming, while of 2,731 cattle owned by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori in 1911, 1,083 were described as ‘dairy cows,’ suggesting a developing presence in the dairy industry.²⁶⁷

Although the evidence is again limited, such as is available suggests that traditional food gathering, as an integral component of a subsistence economy, remained important in Porirua ki Manawatu, at least until the 1930s. The customary use of natural resources is covered in Chapter 3 of the *Environmental and natural resource issues report*.²⁶⁸ It makes clear that the environmental diversity of the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District produced a wide variety of seasonally available resources of value to Maori, especially freshwater and marine fisheries, birds, and plant materials. A number of Pakeha observers commented on the particular importance of the freshwater fishery and the associated birdlife, especially in the Horowhenua.²⁶⁹ But traditional food gathering was under gathering threat, increasingly limited by the transfer of land out of Maori ownership, the clearance of the forest, the drainage of the wetlands, river control works, and pollution. So much was evident in the compensation awarded to Maori for the destruction of the Kopane-Rongotea eeling reserves and in their later (unsuccessful) efforts to secure compensation for the drainage of Taonui Swamp and the loss of its eel

²⁶⁷ The details relating to area under cultivation and stock held can be found in AJHR 1886, G12; 1891 Session II G2; 1896 H13B; 1901 H26B; 1906 Session II H26; and 1911 H14A.

²⁶⁸ Vaughan Wood, et al. *Environmental and natural resource issues report*, commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017.

²⁶⁹ See, for example, G.L. Adkin, *Horowhenua: its Maori place-names & their topographic & historical background*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1948; James Wilson, *Early Rangitikei*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1914.

fishery. It is of interest to note that, in his evidence concerning the latter claim, Wi Mahuri noted that the loss of the fishery meant that Maori now had ‘to go to the butchers to get food now,’ at a greatly increased cost.²⁷⁰ In other words, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were being drawn ineluctably in to the commercial economy. During the 1930s, especially, Maori sought to gain exemption from restrictions on traditional food sources, and entered protests against habitat destruction through draining, clearance, and pollution.

Collectively, the data relating to sheep farming, dairying, and potato cultivation suggest several tentative conclusions: first, that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were moving out of sheep rearing and wool production based upon unimproved grass, fern, and scrub land; second, a concomitant expansion of subsistence farming, combined with some casual and intermittent employment, and the continuation of traditional food gathering; and third, a tentative move into dairying, a form of farming that required investment in pastures and farm infrastructure. Such assessments are not inconsistent with Pool’s conclusion that large-scale land transfer compelled Maori to shift from extensive land-use to intensive subsistence farming and thence into casual wage employment.²⁷¹

2.4 An economic survey of Maori

As a first step in examining the land development programme in Porirua ki Manawatu, it will be useful to consider first Ngata’s proposal for an economic survey of Maori. In mid-July 1929, in a major address to the House of Representatives, Ngata (as Minister of Native Affairs) dealt with the relationships between Maori and the Crown and what he termed ‘a general survey of the Native question ...’²⁷² He noted that ‘the present unemployment has brought about the most distressful conditions amongst the Maori people,’ and suggested that New Zealand had largely passed through ‘the pioneering stage,’ a stage to which Maori had made a major if largely unacknowledged contribution. In short, the unemployment that Maori were experiencing was structural in nature. But Maori, rather than complaining, had ‘simply stepped back half a

²⁷⁰ Native Land Court, Whanganui Minute Book 37/89, quoted in Wood et al. ‘Environmental and natural issues report,’ p.215.

²⁷¹ See Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: a New Zealand population past present & projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, Chapters 4 and 5.

²⁷² NZPD 1929, Vol.221, p.483.

generation, tightened up their belts, and fallen back upon the natural food resources of this country ...'²⁷³ Poor housing conditions, and the employment of Maori girls by market gardeners at minimal rates (including Otaki's market gardens) were among the matters he raised. What was required, he announced, 'was 'a complete stocktaking of the Maori people, and, above all, an economic survey – a survey of their living-conditions ...' He went on to suggest that his informal survey of conditions in a number of districts had led him to conclude that Maori recognised 'that the ultimate solution of our economic difficulties is to get back to production from the land.'²⁷⁴ But development, he added, would require access to State funds.

Towards the end of July 1929, Ngata defined the objective of his proposed survey as to establish 'the present position' of all Maori with respect to '1. Their villages and habitations, with noted on sanitary conditions; 2. Their land holdings and how the same are utilised, with details of such farming occupations as they are engaged in; 3. Their social and economic conditions; [and] 4. Their moral and religious conditions.' The proposed survey would also include a detailed population count, an agricultural census, and, in the light of the 'anxiety' over the employment of Maori on market gardens, an assessment of occupations and employment. 'The ultimate aim,' he noted, 'is to discover where and how best to direct the efforts of the Department to the solution of the Native problem not only in regard to land but generally.'²⁷⁵

2.4.1 Maori economic development in Porirua ki Manawatu

Just over a year later, in September 1930, Ngata assured Parliament that economic surveys of Maori were underway, that they 'would not be a perfunctory work ... The idea of making the surveys,' he added, 'was to ascertain how the Maoris were living, what lands they had, how the land was occupied, and in what directions it might be possible to help the Maoris.' Former Native Land Court Judge R.C. Sim had been asked to 'lay the foundations for the work as regards the Manawatu district – that was the

²⁷³ NZPD 1929, Vol.221, p.485.

²⁷⁴ NZPD 1929, Vol.221, p.490. In the course of his comments, Ngata described Condliffe's assessment of the contribution of Maori to New Zealand's economic welfare as the 'museum view' of Maori: Condliffe, claiming that he had cited Maori art and song but overlooked the important contribution of labour. See also 'The Native race,' *Evening Post* 19 July 1929, p.10.

²⁷⁵ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 July 1929, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

district between Wellington and Foxton.²⁷⁶ In fact, the Otaki district was the first to which survey was directed. The reasons, according to Sim (Native Economic Survey Officer) were, first, that Otaki was the centre of a ‘considerable’ Maori population; second, that the Maori residents had ‘undergone the vicissitudes of contact with the Europeans from the early days, of the consequent alienation of the greater part of their lands, and of the difficult problem of adapting themselves, within a relatively short period, to the changed conditions of existence;’ and, third, ‘that some of them find themselves unable to solve the problem, and are living poorly, in insanitary houses, under uneconomic conditions, and with barely sufficient means of subsistence.’²⁷⁷

Sim’s first step was to identify the lands between the Waikanae and Manawatu Rivers that remained in Maori ownership. The file contains a list of the blocks ‘bordering on the sea coast:’ it is not entirely clear that all lands between the two rivers were included, and indeed, Sim himself noted that he continued to investigate three blocks.²⁷⁸ His summary for the area between the Otaki and Manawatu Rivers did not produce a consistent set of data, while the accompanying searches containing full details of ownership of the blocks involved were not included in the file. A note at the foot of the summary referred to a schedule showing the subdivisions and their owners of ‘the other blocks up to the Manawatu River.’ This schedule was also not included in the file. Sim recorded that it was ‘unfortunate that neither the Land Transfer Office nor the Native Land Court can by itself supply a complete record of both ownership and dealings, thus necessitating a search of both sets of records. He added that

In the work done I have kept in view what has long been regarded as a very desirable but almost insuperable undertaking, the compilation of a kind of Maori Domesday Book, recording in alphabetical order the name of each Maori, his place of residence, his tribe, and the areas owned by him in the various sections and blocks. This will take some time and will not be easy, but if once completed for one district it will serve as a basis and example for other districts.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ NZPD 1930, Vol.225, pp.709-710.

²⁷⁷ Native Economic Survey Officer, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 19 December 1930, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

²⁷⁸ Native Economic Survey Officer, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 19 December 1930, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

²⁷⁹ Native Economic Survey Officer, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 19 December 1930, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

Finally, he noted that Maori owned many small sections in Otaki Town District but, that on account of unpaid rates, many had been vested in the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board for administration under section 32 of the Native Land Act and Native Land Claims Adjustment Amendment Act 1928. The Board was encountering difficulty in leasing the sections at a rate that would cover rates.²⁸⁰

In brief, Sim's report indicated that some blocks, notably Pukehou and Muhunua had been partitioned and re-partitioned and that many subdivisions had been sold and some leased to Pakeha. For Manawatu-Kukutauaki and Horowhenua, he recorded that a complete search of hundreds of subdivisions, owners, and registered dealings was in preparation. In June 1931, he produced, for a list of blocks that was not located, 'a complete record of titles' except survey liens. The information recorded included subdivisions sold, leased, or mortgaged as registered on Land Transfer or recorded in the Maori Land Board Office.²⁸¹

Ngata was quick to recognise the difficulties that the Government would likely encounter in Porirua ki Manawatu. In his evidence to the National Expenditure Commission in 1932, in which he defended an allocation in Vote: Native of £400 (of which the Maori Purposes Fund would meet about half) for an economic survey of Maori, he observed that

Our most difficult districts are those which are closely settled, Manawatu, Hawke's Bay, and the Wairarapa. They have been settled for a long time and we are experiencing difficulty there. In any period of distress it is just as difficult to know what to do with our people there as with pakeha in the cities and towns ... The whole trouble is that the work [land development] is at one end [of the country] and the population that needs it is at the other and they will not come together and that is our difficulty with a number of our people who are living around Otaki, Levin, and Foxton ... and that is why we should have experts to make a thorough survey of their land and so on to see what steps should be taken to arrive at a permanent solution.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Section 32 gave effect to the recommendations of the 1928 Commission of Inquiry into Otaki Borough (see AJHR 1928, H28). The Ikaroa District Maori Land Board was empowered to sell, lease, mortgage, or exchange any of the sections vested in it. A list of the sections vested can be found in *New Zealand Gazette* 83, 12 December 1929, p.3230.

²⁸¹ Native Economic Survey Officer, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 23 June 1931, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

²⁸² ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/337 52/713.

Little more was heard of the proposed survey until January 1936 when the Minister of Finance reminded the Minister of Native Affairs of a recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee, to the effect that ‘an investigation be made into the economic and cultural conditions of the Maoris ...’ The Committee also noted that while the sum of £230 had appeared in the Native Department’s estimates for 1934-1935, to cover the cost of an economic survey of Maori, no provision had been made in the estimates for 1935-1936. Since the item, in its view served ‘a useful purpose,’ the Committee recommended its restoration.²⁸³ To Ngata’s original objectives, Native Minister Savage added ‘The Maori income from rents, Trust Funds, and other sources,’ and proposed, with respect to the social and economic conditions of Maori, ‘special reference to those Maoris who are domiciled in towns, boroughs, and cities.’ The cost of such a survey, he suggested, would not be less than £4,500.²⁸⁴ In January 1937, the Minister of Finance suggested that the matter should be referred to an inter-departmental committee (Treasury, Health, Education, Native, and Census Office, and the recently appointed Director of the Bureau of Social Science). Once that committee had completed its deliberations, a decision could then be made on whether to proceed.²⁸⁵ Nothing more was heard of the proposal.

2.5 Maori land development: regional allocations of development funds

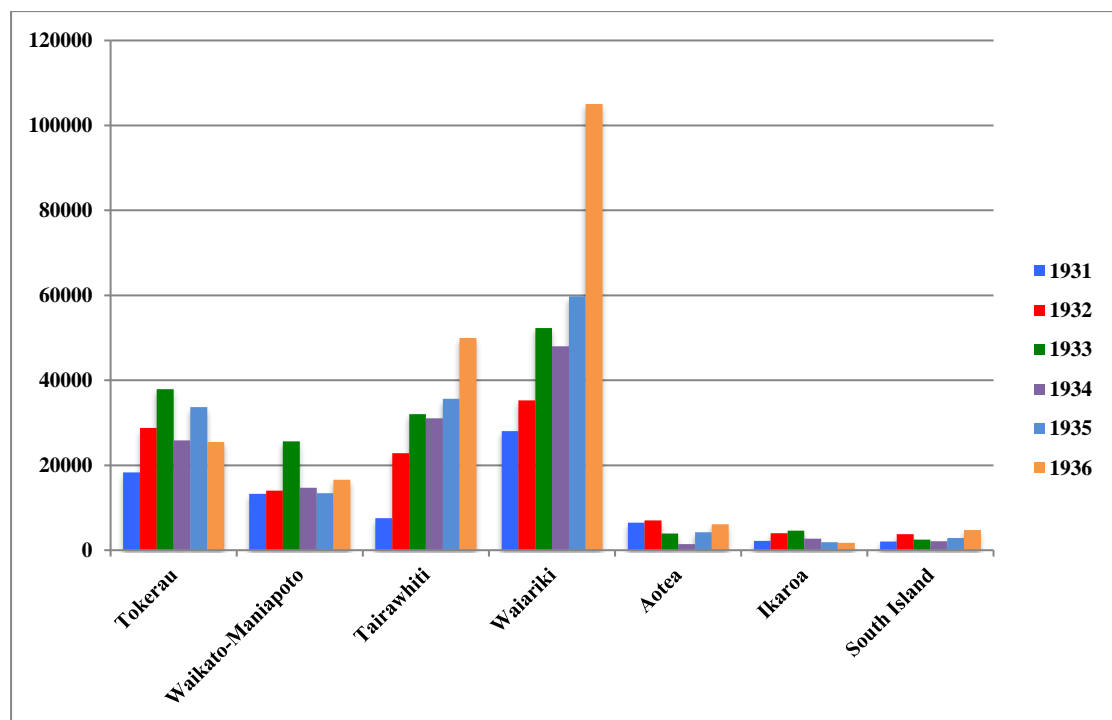
It will be helpful, first, to sketch the regional dimensions of the State’s investment in the Maori land development programme. Graph 2.4 depicts, by the Maori land districts, the annual regional allocations ‘for rendering fit for settlement lands included in development schemes ...’ For the period from 1937 to 1940, the appropriations were for the Ikaroa and South Island Districts combined and hence less useful for present purposes. It should be noted that Graph 2.4 does not include subsidies on relief works carried out on development schemes, nor on unemployment contracts on lands not within development schemes. What the graph does make clear is that the Ikaroa Maori Land District secured a very small proportion, in fact, just 2.0 per cent, of the total allocated over the six-year period. The bulk of the funding (39.1 per cent) went to the

²⁸³ Minister, Finance to Minister Native Affairs 28 January 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

²⁸⁴ Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Finance 22 July 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

²⁸⁵ Minister, Finance to Minister, Native Affairs 11 January 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1491 1929/353.

Waiariki Maori Land District. Map 2.1 also makes it clear the regional concentration of land development schemes. It is convenient to note here that, in 1949-1950, the Government decided to expand the Maori land development programme by bringing in to production an additional 200,000 acres of Maori-owned land. Of those 200,000 acres, 30,000 acres were in the Tokerau Maori Land District, 20,000 acres in Waikato-Maniapoto, 100,000 acres in Aotea, and 50,000 acres in Waiariki. Those four districts were considered to offer the ‘most attractive’ development proposals; the Ikaroa Maori Land District did not feature in those proposals.²⁸⁶



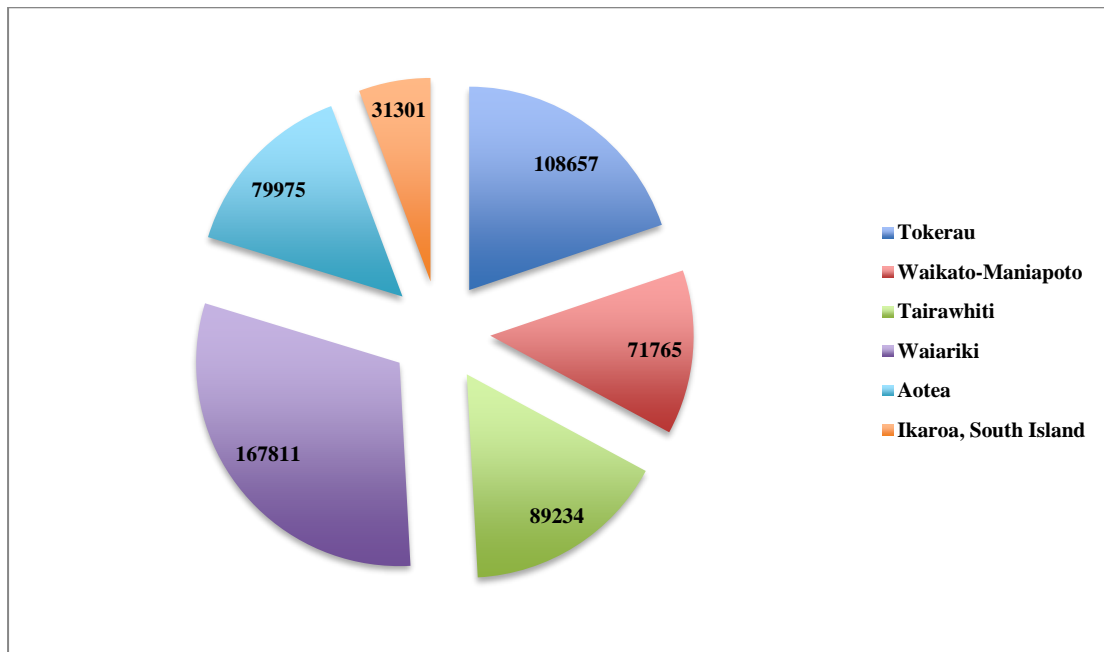
Source: AJHR 1931, B7; 1932, B7; 1933-1937, B7A

Graph 2.4: Maori land development: annual allocations (£) by Maori land districts, 1930 to 1937

A summary of the Maori land programme as at 31 March 1953 is depicted in Graph 2.5. Lands under control in the Ikaroa and South Island Maori Land Districts aggregated 31,301 acres, or 5.7 per cent of the national total. They were divided in to 28 settlers’ farm, or 1.9 per cent of the national total of 1,470. With respect to Porirua ki Manawatu,

²⁸⁶ ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/257 40/116/1.

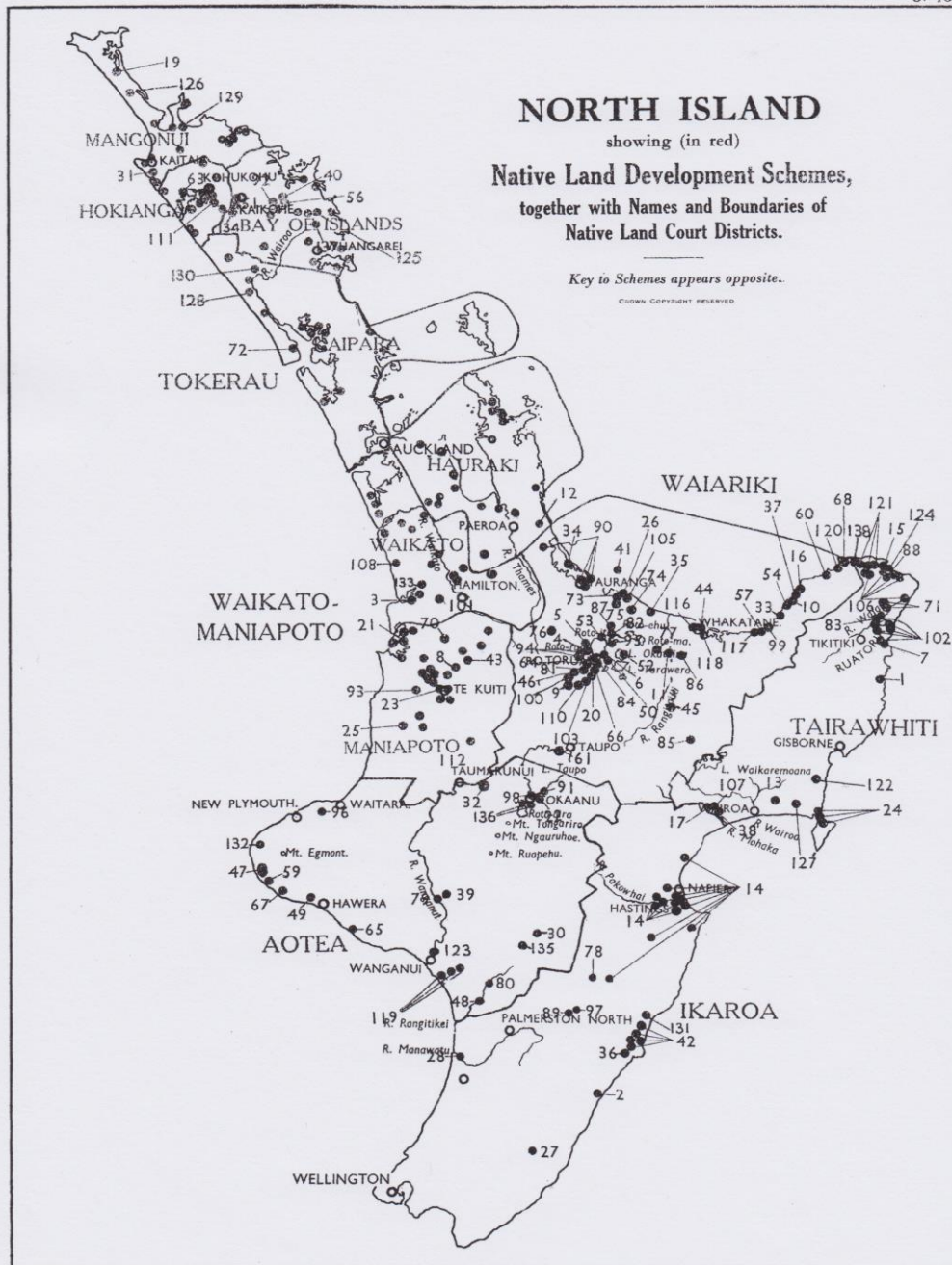
the Department of Maori Affairs maintained control of a mere 1,012 acres that supported seven units running 253 cows in milk on 639 acres. The seven farms supported 45 persons.²⁸⁷



Source: AJHR 1953, G9, pp.16-17

Graph 2.5: Acres under the control of the Department of Maori Affairs, by Maori land district, as at 31 March 1953

²⁸⁷ AJHR 1953, G9, pp.16-17.



Source: AJHR 1939, G10, p.76

Map 2.1: The regional distribution of the North Island Maori land development schemes, 1939

2.6 Land development in Porirua ki Manawatu

The Manawatu Development Scheme (Map 2.2) gained Cabinet approval in September 1930: little immediate action followed. In September 1931, L.H. Atkins (of Manakau) advised W.H. Field (MHR Otaki) that Maori 'were fast becoming impoverished to a serious extent ... and a regrettable feature is that they are letting their homes to fall into a state of disrepair ... Most of them are dairying and have reduced the productivity of their farms by not top-dressing ...'²⁸⁸ A few weeks later, in November 1931, the Manakau branch of the Farmers' Union voiced its concern over the state of Maori farming in its district. The authors of the report estimated that those Maori engaged in dairying were securing production fully 50 per cent less than their Pakeha counterparts off similar lands and that in fact the productive capacity of their lands was declining. They noted in particular that 'Inability or indifference in making the most of their holdings has brought the natives to a position where they have neither the inclination nor the wherewithal to guard against a state of homelessness which is quickly becoming evident.' At the same time, they acknowledged that Maori retained insufficient land to support succeeding generations. Some Maori landowners had approached the Horowhenua Intermediate Rural Credits' Association for assistance, 'but perhaps there were a dozen living on one farm, and it was difficult for this body, under its regulations, to meet their wants.' There was, it was noted, 'no system at present in existence for the financing of Native land-owners in general.' The Association briefly canvassed the idea, in the absence of any other initiative, of assisting Maori to consolidate their land interests. Finally, the report described the poverty that 'many' Maori in the district were enduring and 'some appalling instances of overcrowding of habitations ...' The Manakau branch pressed the provincial executive to draw the attention of the Government to the difficulties 'and awaken them to their responsibilities in a manner which, it was believed, would assume grave proportions if not immediately taken in hand.'²⁸⁹

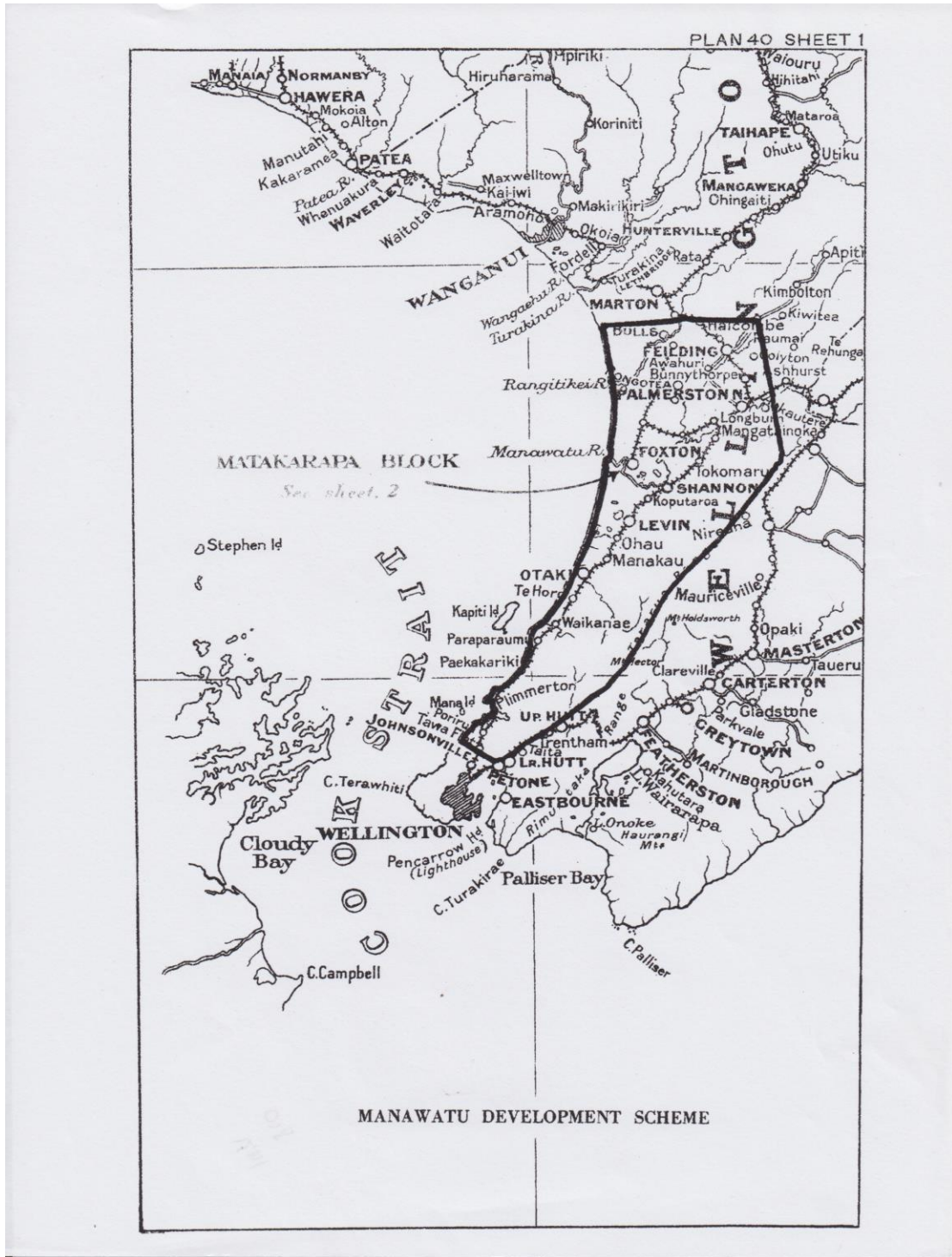
Commenting on Atkins's letter, Ngata recorded that

²⁸⁸ Atkins to Field 9 September 1931, cited in Fitzgerald et al, 'Ngati Raukawa,' p.177.

²⁸⁹ See 'Maori farmers,' *Evening Post* 9 November 1931, p.10; 'Plight of the Maoris,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 11 November 1931, p.3; and 'Maoris in Horowhenua,' *Manawatu Standard* 10 November 1931, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/11/13.

I have been prepared since the beginning of last year to apply the provisions of section 23 of the Native Land Act &c 1929 to such Native owned areas in the Manawatu district as would be found suitable. Nothing was done last year [1930] as the Natives in the district were suspicious of the legislation and the intentions of the Department. Another attempt was made this year ... The Department's difficulty is to make contact with the areas that should have assistance ... Although the financial provision seems limited it is probable that once a beginning is made in districts around Manakau, Ohau, and Levin, further finance could be made available.²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰ Minister, Native Affairs to W.H. Field 30 September 1931, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.



Source: AJHR 1931, G10

Map 2.2: The Manawatu Development Scheme, 1931

That same month, September 1931, Ngata noted, with respect to the Manawatu-Horowhenua district, that it ‘looks as if the idea of a group settlement in the ordinary sense is not suitable.’ Rather, the £2,200 that Cabinet had approved for ‘Manawatu Native Lands Development’ would be employed to assist individual Maori farmers who had small holdings suitable for dairying and where ‘the provision of a few cows, manuring of pastures, and a little cropping will enable a small beginning to be made.’²⁹¹ Ngata, it would seem, was not at all optimistic over the prospects for fostering Maori farming in Porirua ki Manawatu, in part reflecting the Crown’s aversion to dealing with encumbered (leased) lands: dealing with lands in multiple ownership or holdings that comprised lands part owned and part rented posed sufficient challenges without the additional costs and delays that compensating lessees would have entailed.

In similar vein, Ngata advised the Foxton Chamber of Commerce that while it was intended to apply some funds to the Manawatu district, ‘the sum at my disposal is so small that it will only be sufficient for making a commencement and cannot be used for the purpose of relieving unemployment, except as it may incidentally do so.’²⁹² Nevertheless, in response to the Chamber’s representations and those of the Foxton Unemployment Committee, the latter having ‘a good number of registered Natives on ... [its] books,’ the Department of Native Affairs did undertake, through the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board, to establish a ‘group settlement,’ namely the Matararapa Development Scheme.²⁹³ According to the Foxton Chamber of Commerce, as reported in May 1931, Maori at Motuiti and Matararapa ‘had a few months ago been reduced to the lowest levels of poverty.’²⁹⁴ Nine subdivisions of Matararapa aggregating 272 acres – covered with ti-trees, gorse, and tussock and subject to periodic inundation by the Manawatu River – were gazetted in August 1931.²⁹⁵ The Department of Native Affairs did investigate other blocks, among them Te Rerengaohau, Papangaio, and Manawatu-

²⁹¹ Minister, Native Affairs to Editor, *Levin Daily Chronicle* 12 September 1931, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

²⁹² Minister, Native Affairs to Secretary, Foxton Chamber of Commerce 9 June 1931, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

²⁹³ ‘Cultivating Native lands,’ *Manawatu Herald* 9 May 1931; and Secretary, Foxton Unemployment Committee to Minister, Native Affairs 5 May 1931, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

²⁹⁴ ‘Cultivating Native lands,’ *Manawatu Herald* 9 May 1931, copy in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

²⁹⁵ ‘Manawatu development scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 58, 6 August 1931, p.2222. Further blocks were added subsequently.

Kukutauaki 7E (and subdivisions). The first was rejected as ‘entirely unsuitable for development,’ and the last as mostly unsuitable. Ohau 3 was also inspected: unable to secure access to capital, the owners of the latter had leased the land to Pakeha who had failed to maintain it. Their efforts to develop four small farms had again been hampered by lack of access to capital, the small scale of their farming operations not allowing them to finance greatly needed improvements out of their net incomes.²⁹⁶

Ngata’s hope was that the Matararapa scheme would encourage other Maori to participate in the development scheme.²⁹⁷ He took a close interest in the Manawatu-Horowhenua, but clearly entertained misgivings about the prospects, noting the small sections involved and the unsuitability of much of the land for dairying. He insisted on the ‘closest examination of the title position and occupation arrangements,’ recording that ‘The Manawatu is an old settled district that is bound to have complicated problems and the Department’s policy in relation thereto must be one of caution.’²⁹⁸ By May 1932, 11 farmers had expressed interest in seeking financial assistance. Collectively, they sought £1,509 or an average of just over £137, mostly for fertiliser, grass seed, fencing materials, stock, and implements, strongly suggesting that the farms, for the lack of modest capital, were under-developed and the farmers seriously under-resourced. Ngata approved advances for ten for a total of £1,312, while £1,048 was also approved for Matararapa.²⁹⁹ In June 1932, a further 13 blocks were gazetted, namely, Manawatu-Kukutauaki 4E3 subdivisions, Ohau 3 subdivisions, and Pukehou 4G subdivisions: the total area involved was 453 acres.³⁰⁰ A small number of blocks was gazetted between 1936 and 1940.

Some requests for inclusion in the Manawatu Development Scheme were declined on the grounds that available funds had all been committed. Among the proposals rejected, in 1933, were Horowhenua 9A10 and three subdivisions of Himatangi 2A. The Native

²⁹⁶ See J.H. Flowers, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 March 1932, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

²⁹⁷ Minister, Native Affairs to W.H. Field 5 November 1931, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

²⁹⁸ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 28 April 1932, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1432/b 66/3/1/ Part 2.

²⁹⁹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 25 May 1932, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1432/a 66/3/1 Part 1.

³⁰⁰ ‘Including Additional Lands in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 39, 2 June 1932, p.1402. See also AJHR 1933, G10, p.42.

Land Settlement Board, in 1934, considered the inclusion of the Himatangi subdivisions but decided against taking any action. It was 1936 before the Himatangi proposal was again considered. By that time, the leases of several other sections owned by members of the same family were about to expire, and hence a proposal was floated that envisaged the development, using unemployed Maori labourers, of all the sections and their settlement by seven families. It would be, J.H. Flowers advised Wellington's Registrar, 'a matter for regret if these areas passed into European hands for a long time when native land for settlement is difficult to find in this district.'³⁰¹ For its part, the Board of Native Affairs indicated that it was not prepared to approve the development of the entire area involved for a single occupier but that it would reconsider the matter if the owners were prepared to hand the land over to the Department of Native Affairs for development, subdivision, and settlement. Over one of the blocks a £2,000 mortgage was in place and it was re-leased, but four other subdivisions of Himatangi 2A, with a total area of 572 acres, were proposed for inclusion. Five farms would be established, each carrying between 30 and 35 cows. Expenditure of £3,336 over four years was approved. Development of the land was expected to 'provide reproductive work which should materially relieve the unemployment situation at Foxton and Himatangi.'³⁰² In fact, just two subdivisions of Himatangi 2A with total area of 258 acres, were gazetted.³⁰³

Other efforts were made to identify other blocks that might be suitable for development, notably in the Levin district, but they had at least as much to do with what was termed the 'better utilisation of Maori relief labour in the Levin district' as to encourage Maori in to farming. In 1937, for example, four small areas (under 55 acres) were identified of which three had been leased: on one of the blocks, the lessee had not paid any rent for 19 years.³⁰⁴ In 1938, the Board of Native Affairs considered (and approved) the inclusion of Horowhenua 9A10A and three other blocks with an aggregate area of 240 acres: improvements amounted to just £170, a family of 12 living in an old shed

³⁰¹ J.H. Flowers to Registrar, Wellington 8 September 1936, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

³⁰² Paper considered by the Board of Native Affairs, 1938, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1491/c 66/3 Part 1.

³⁰³ Including Additional Lands in the Manawatu Development Scheme,' *New Zealand Gazette* 66, 8 September 1938, p.2008.

³⁰⁴ Chief Supervisor, Native Affairs to Registrar, Ikaroa Maori Land Board 14 December 1937, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1432/a 66/3/1 Part 1.

described as ‘not fit for habitation.’ The principal owner did receive rents, but a mere £27 per annum. Once the formal consent of all owners had been secured, in 1938, the four blocks were gazetted as part of the Manawatu Development scheme.³⁰⁵ Of the proposed expenditure of £793, £450 was allocated to the construction of a new house, £130 to the purchase of livestock, and the balance to the development of the land.

During 1938 and 1939, a number of other sections was gazetted as part of the scheme, among them, 43 acres in the Puketotara block;³⁰⁶ two Manawatu-Kukutauaki 4E3 sections with a total area of 50 acres;³⁰⁷ Himatangi 2A5B of 63 acres;³⁰⁸ Himatangi 2A4 and 2A6 with a combined area of 254 acres and Himatangi 2A2B to 2A2F, with a total area of 159 acres.³⁰⁹ In 1939, the owners of Manawatu-Kukutauaki 3, sections 2A1B, 2A3, 2E5, and 2B1, applied to have the lands brought under development, a total of some 95 acres, and owned, respectively, by one, two, 22, and 30 persons (plus minors and successors). The blocks had an aggregate value of £1,115, although 46 acres remained in swamp and bush. A six-room dwelling, constructed in 1880, stood upon the property: its condition was described as ‘bad.’ The valuer’s report recorded that the land had never been farmed and that the Pakeha neighbours had ‘taken advantage of this and ... secured grazing leases.’³¹⁰ The land, under the management of a single unit, was expected to carry 50 cows and 30 ewes. The Board of Native Affairs approved expenditure of £1,020, principally on livestock and a new house. The blocks were gazetted in June 1939.³¹¹ A small number of additional blocks was gazetted during the 1940s and early 1950s.

Of particular interest was Rangitikei Manawatu B4 of 246 acres. The block had been leased to a Pakeha farmer until 1947: in 1945-1946, he milked 80 cows and produced

³⁰⁵ ‘Including Additional Lands in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 16, 10 March 1938, p.442.

³⁰⁶ ‘Including Additional Lands in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 66, 8 September 1938, p.2008.

³⁰⁷ ‘Including Additional Lands in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 77, 20 October 1938, p.2261.

³⁰⁸ ‘Including Additional Lands in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 92, 15 December 1938, p.2786.

³⁰⁹ ‘Including Additional Lands in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 4, 26 January 1939, p.88.

³¹⁰ Valuer’s report, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1431/d 66/3 Part 2.

³¹¹ ‘Including Additional Land in the Manawatu Development Scheme,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 45, 15 June 1939, p.1839.

16,399 lbs of butterfat. The owners were willing to transfer sufficient of the block to two Maori ex-servicemen (relatives of the owners) so that each secured an economic farm. The two A-grade men concerned applied for rehabilitation loans: their applications were declined by the Rehabilitation Board on the grounds that the applicants could not meet the tenurial requirements it had laid down (the freehold or a lease with full compensation for improvements). Rather, the Board of Maori Affairs approved of gazetting under Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936: one consequence was the settlers concerned had to meet higher interest rate charges than those charged on rehabilitation loans.³¹²

By 1940, 16 ‘units’ – together with 29 labourers and 142 dependants – in the Manawatu Development Scheme were being assisted. By 1948, the number of units remained at 16.³¹³ Some of the reasons have already been suggested, namely, the limited area of Maori-owned land suitable for development, and the fact that much of what they did retain had been leased. But a key reason lay in the marginal economic character of the holdings that were established under the Maori land development programme. The 16 units noted above produced in 1940 a total of 50,105lbs of butterfat or an average of 3,131.6lbs. Table 2.1 deals specifically with Matararapa over the period from 1942 to 1946. In 1939-1940, the Department of Native Affairs decided to subdivide Matararapa into four dairy units each of approximately 35 acres. It was envisaged that each would support a herd of 28 to 30 cows.³¹⁴ Table 2.1 indicates that average butterfat production per unit reached a maximum of 6,135lbs and then only after the number of units fell to two. It will also be noted that once the Department of Native Affairs had taken its share of the ‘cream cheque’ (to repay development costs), the average income per unit was at best modest. By way of comparison, the Minimum Wage Amendment Act 1950 set the *minimum* wages for males at £1 7s 4d per day if paid by the day and £6 11s 8d per week ‘in all other cases.’ Those rates over a 52-week year yielded incomes of approximately £355 and £342 respectively.

³¹² This matter is explored in T.J. Hearn, ‘The economic rehabilitation of Maori military veterans,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018.

³¹³ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1432/a 66/3/1 Part 1.

³¹⁴ Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 5 November 1940, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1432/a 66/3/1 Part 1.

Table 2.1: Matararapa: average butterfat production and returns, 1942-1946

	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46
Units	3	3	2	2
Total butterfat: lbs	14299	8781	10395	12270
Average butterfat: lbs	4766	2927	5198	6135
Total proceeds: £	978	677	816	1109
Average proceeds: £	326	226	408	555
Native Affairs' average share	163	111	217	276
Units' average income	163	115	191	279

Source: ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1432/a 66/3/1 Part 1

Another comparison is instructive. The Dairy Industry Commission of 1934 assembled a great deal of statistical data relating to the dairy industry by region. It concluded that if a fully commercial dairy farm were 'required to pay full interest at 5 per cent on total capital at Government valuation in respect of land and fixed improvements, and on the assessed value of stock, plant, equipment, and all other improvements after meeting all costs connected with the farm, including the maintenance of production,' then the per-acre production required was 175lbs of butterfat or better, or, the Commission added, a herd of not fewer than 70 cows. Table 2.2 sets out some selected dairy farm production characteristics for the Manawatu region.³¹⁵ Manawatu dairy farms were appreciably smaller on average than all North Island dairy farms, but in terms of two key productivity indicators, namely, average butterfat per acre and average butterfat per cow, the performance of the Manawatu dairy farms surpassed the North Island average. Further, the value of butterfat per acre exceeded the North Island average by a significant margin. The average butterfat produced per farm stood at 13,947lbs, more than twice that secured by the two Matararapa units in 1945-1946, that is, more than ten years later.

³¹⁵ The region was not defined, but was distinguished from the Whanganui and Wairarapa regions and hence appears to have encompassed the lower west coast districts of the North Island.

Table 2.2: Selected production characteristics of dairy farms in the Manawatu district and the North Island, 1934

Characteristics	Manawatu	North Island
Number of farms surveyed	73	550
Number of cows	3754	31636
Average cows per 100 acres	49.4	46.4
Average area per farm: acres	104.1	124.09
Average number of cows per farm	51.42	57.52
Average butterfat per farm: lbs	13947	14610
Average butterfat per acre: lbs	133.944	117.73
Average butterfat per cow: lbs	271.2	254.0
Value of butterfat per acre at 9.25d per lb	£5.163	£4.538

Source: AJHR 1934, H30, pp.191-196

The few applications lodged by Porirua ki Manawatu dairy farmers for assistance under Ngata's land development programme suggest that most farms were small and carried small and poor-producing herds on poor pastures, and that the farms mostly lacked adequate fences, plant, and machinery. They also suggest that some farmers were leasing or otherwise occupying lands with the consent of co-owners, circumstances unlikely to encourage investment or support applications for financial assistance. The very modest returns secured by most Porirua ki Manawatu Maori dairy farmers combined with lack of access to capital and (it appears) to external advice restricted their ability to invest in productivity-enhancing new technology and to increase their scale of operation.

As part of a review of Maori land development policy conducted during the late 1940s, the Board of Maori Affairs decided that holdings in future would not constitute less than 'an economic unit,' where such a unit was defined as one that met all costs and produced sufficient to maintain an occupier and his family independent of off-farm work. An economic unit had therefore to be capable of carrying 40 to 45 cows and producing 10,000 to 12,000lbs of butterfat per annum and of carrying replacement stock. In 1953, the Board defined an economic dairy unit as one capable of producing 12,000 lbs of butterfat per annum and capable of carrying replacement stock.³¹⁶ It went on to acknowledge that many development holdings were too small, that during the

³¹⁶ Paper prepared for the Board of Maori Affairs, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1315/a 60/1 Part 5. Cited in Hearn, 'Land titles,' p.334.

period from 1931 to 1940 in particular many farmers had been settled on farms capable of carrying just 15 to 20 cows. Nevertheless, it concluded, such holdings were ‘better than nothing’ and that ‘the revenue from such a property was in those days a 100% improvement on the then existing conditions in most Maori communities.’³¹⁷ An inspection of several surviving Porirua ki Manawatu ‘unit’ files suggests that that assessment was overly generous, the holdings involved being mostly small, supporting small dairy herds, and indebted. Indeed, two were described as ‘uneconomic’ even if fully developed or unable to justify the level of investment required.³¹⁸

2.7 Market gardening

In 1935 a parliamentary delegation toured the Otaki district and noted that many small areas of Maori-owned land were idle while others had been leased by Chinese and Italian market gardeners.³¹⁹ A further investigation indicated that the land was suitable for small fruit production.³²⁰ Development of such small areas was seen as an alternative for a district without large tracts of land that might have been gazetted as development schemes. It was also an alternative in districts where Maori unemployment remained high, and where relief work – greatly preferred over the payment of sustenance to unemployed Maori – was in short supply. In September 1935, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board reminded the Under Secretary of Native Affairs that a large area in Otaki borough had been vested in it under section 32 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1931 for non-payment of rates. Most of the blocks had been leased to Chinese market gardeners. The difficulty, according to the Board’s registrar was that owing to what he termed ‘ambitious planning and injudicious spending,’ the borough was ‘extremely highly rated,’ so that only ‘in rare instances is the rental derived from the various lands in excess of the amount of rates levied, with the result that the owners of the land receive no benefit therefrom.’ What he envisaged as an alternative to that state of affairs was a

³¹⁷ Paper prepared for the Board of Maori Affairs, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1315/a 60/1 Part 5. Cited in Hearn, ‘Land titles,’ p.333.

³¹⁸ These files are all restricted: they are ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/302 15/6/10; 15/6/39; 15/6/41; 15/6/42; and 15/6/70.

³¹⁹ Notes of inspection at Otaki, 16 June 1935, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/a 30/3/42.

³²⁰ See ACIH 16036 MA1/636 31/1/9 and ACIH 16036 MAW2490/22 31/1/9 Part 1.

development scheme based on the production of small fruits.³²¹ A few weeks later, in October 1935, the Department of Agriculture suggested that the ‘Otaki lands’ could support commercial small fruit production.³²² There the matter appears to have rested, but in 1937 the Native Department’s Chief Supervisor proposed a scheme in which some 30 unemployed Maori would be assisted to commence vegetable growing on their own lands: such a development would allow Maori to be shifted off the unemployment register while having the added benefit of discouraging Maori girls from having to work for Chinese market gardeners.³²³ The Ikaroa Board’s Registrar supported the proposal, although it would require, he suggested, ‘the backing of the Government ...’³²⁴ J.H. Flowers was similarly supportive, noting that ‘In this district there are no large tracts of land available for development, the holdings are small and the number of owners large and in many cases the land is encumbered and would not be acceptable for development purposes.’ Interestingly, he suggested that a number of Maori had made their living from land until the advent of Unemployment Scheme No.5 and its offer of ‘steady and easy money ...’ He also noted that some Maori had worked for Chinese gardeners and suggested if the proposed scheme were initiated, a shortage of labour would compel the latter to pay ‘decent wages.’³²⁵ Perhaps, it was not too surprising that some Maori had opted for relief work, nor that the Department of Maori Affairs was keen to shift Maori off sustenance.

The Department of Labour supported the scheme and approved the initial costs being met out of the grant that the Department of Native Affairs received from the Employment Promotion Fund.³²⁶ The stipulations were that the scheme was to engage only registered unemployed Maori and that it generate a saving for that Fund. It appears that just six persons in the entire Manawatu district were assisted under this ‘scheme’ – in the form of advances for the purchase of seed and fertilisers, and of ploughing, and

³²¹ Registrar, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 17 September 1935, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³²² Director-General, Agriculture to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 14 October 1935, in ANZ Wellington MAW2490/22 31/1/9 Part 1.

³²³ Chief Supervisor, Native Department to Under Secretary, Native Department 4 May 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³²⁴ Registrar, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 1 June 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³²⁵ J.H. Flowers, Ikaroa District Native Land Court and Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 7 June 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³²⁶ Secretary, Department of Labour to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

an advance ‘considerably less than their sustenance allocations ...’ The results were indifferent and the men involved in the experiment abandoned their efforts. The scheme was, according to the Board’s Registrar, ‘not organised to any extent and was never vigorously prosecuted.’³²⁷

In 1939, Judge Shepherd proposed a larger scheme. He had, he recorded, been trying for many years to find permanent or at least some ‘stable means of livelihood’ for Maori who resided in or near ‘populous European centres.’ Otaki was such centre where, to his concern, Maori females were employed by ‘Asiatic’ market gardeners – ‘with the attendant evils that we all know exist.’ In his view, steps should be taken to establish Maori on their own small holdings as independent market gardeners. There were, he noted, ‘ample small areas’ in Otaki, Ohau, and Waikanae districts: what was required was a start-up fund of £1,000 to provide seeds and fertilisers, while the Department of Native Affairs could offer supervision and guidance. He was convinced that ‘Native Land Development as we know it will never find a place for the people whom its hoped the gardening schemes will benefit – besides the fact that the gardening scheme requires infinitely more labour and produces a correspondingly greater return per acre of land uses.’³²⁸

At that stage, November 1939, 43 Maori in the Otaki district were eligible for employment promotion work, while in the previous four years the Department had expended £4,465 on employment promotion in and about Otaki.³²⁹ Registrar Fordham noted that no development schemes had been established in the area and, owing to indigent circumstances of Maori, no housing loans had been approved.³³⁰ Shepherd employed Ikaroa Maori Land Bboard funds to start a small pilot project, but the growers lost interest and the Department of Native Affairs expressed reluctance over starting a large scheme. Several months later, the Under Secretary indicated that the Minister of Native Affairs proposed to visit the district, that a previous effort to establish a market

³²⁷ Registrar, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 10 November 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³²⁸ President, Native Land Court, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 9 October 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31 18 32.

³²⁹ Relief work was no longer provided through the Unemployment Board in conjunction with local authorities, but under the Native Department’s unemployment scheme.

³³⁰ Registrar, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 15 November 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

gardening scheme had failed, that the Otaki people were ‘already experienced and expert market gardeners,’ and that ‘cleaning up the Tainui Pa area ... [was] quite within the capacity of the residents.’³³¹ The matter lapsed.

In 1942, in response to suggestions that emanated from the Department of Agriculture, the Board of Native Affairs discussed the development of horticulture among Maori. Its response was cautious, informed by considerable losses incurred by the Department of Lands and Survey in its efforts to encourage and assist World War I discharged service personnel to take up market gardening. Further, efforts made by the Department of Native Affairs to encourage Maori similarly during the 1930s had also failed. Such hesitations notwithstanding, the Department of Native Affairs had decided, by mid-1943, actively to encourage Maori to enter the industry. It appointed a chief horticulturist with a view to encouraging Maori to diversify their domestic vegetable production, especially the approximately 2,000 ‘units’ settled under the Maori land development programme, and to undertake the production of vegetables, small fruits, and flowers notwithstanding what the Department’s Under Secretary described as ‘the precarious nature of market gardening for profit ...’ In fact, the Department was clearly keen to encourage Maori women to abandon labouring for ‘Asiatic’ market gardeners in favour of developing their own family holdings: sound economic analysis of the commercial prospects appeared to be a secondary consideration.³³²

The Department’s horticultural activities expanded rapidly, although the original objective appears to have had more to do with improving ‘the standard of living by promoting a higher appreciation of home values’ than establishing a commercially sustainable industry. The Board of Native Affairs added that ‘Coincident with home beautification, attention is being given to production of vegetables for home consumption and the utilization of small areas in commercial small-fruit culture and flower-growing.’ To encourage such development, the Department of Native Affairs acted as agent for the growers, and offered instruction and assistance in growing and marketing (at no direct cost). Considerable expansion of intensive production took

³³¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Wellington, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³³² ‘Horticulture amongst Maoris,’ Native Department circular 4 June 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/21 31/1/1 Part 1.

place in Tauranga, Gisborne, and Wairoa districts.³³³ Funding was made available under the Land for Settlements Account (Vote Native land settlement – including advances to occupiers and development of lands not included in development schemes), and under the Consolidated Fund Vote Native (for research regarding horticulture and shelter belts and for sand dune reclamation). The Maori land boards could make advances under section 100 of the Native Land Act 1931.

In June 1943, the Department of Native Affairs convened a meeting in Otaki in an effort to interest Maori in horticulture; some 20 Maori attended. The latter were advised that ‘the position’ in Otaki was causing the Native Minister ‘much concern.’ The ‘position’ appeared to relate to non-payment of rates. According to Hone McMillan, earlier efforts to encourage Maori to enter the industry had foundered on the Ikaroa Maori Land Board’s insistence that it control the revenues. Several issues arose in the course of the meeting, among them, the position of the Otaki borough lands vested in the Board and the state of Maori housing.³³⁴ Towards the end of December 1943, the Chief Horticulturist reported that some progress had been made, eight Maori commencing operations on previously unused land.³³⁵

In May 1945, the Department’s Horticulturist (G.H. McIndoe) inspected the Otaki vested lands: the small size and isolation of the blocks, together with recurring thefts of crops, were deterrents to use, but the greatest difficulty lay in the abundance of employment in existing gardens at what were described as ‘highly remunerative rates.’ There was, he reported, more scope for development around Tainui Pa, but ‘the past history of the Tainui people does not inspire confidence.’ The Department appears to have already decided to utilise a section the lease of which was due to expire ‘as a commercial proposition with the purpose of demonstrating and encouraging small-holding operations in that locality to flower and vegetable growing.’³³⁶ A few weeks later, in June 1945, the Department of Native Affairs reported that in the Otaki area only a small area suitable for horticulture was not in ‘economic use,’ and that that area

³³³ AJHR 1946, G10, pp.4-5.

³³⁴ Minutes of meeting at Otaki on 18 June 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/21 31/1/1 Part 1.

³³⁵ Chief Horticulturist to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 20 December 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/21 31/1/1 Part 1.

³³⁶ Horticulturist, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 23 May 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

consisted of small and dispersed sections, too small for individual cropping and unsuitable for working as a single unit. Further, concluded the Department's horticulturist, 'Reliable Maoris capable of taking charge of any such project are engaged in ventures on their own account and would not be available.'³³⁷

When it became apparent that one of the major factors deterring Maori from taking up market gardening was the cost of equipping small sections, and that there were prospects for developing market gardening in the Himatangi area and on the Matarapa scheme, the demonstration unit evolved in to a base farm that would also provide the necessary machinery to other growers. McIndoe was in no doubt that restricting the scheme to just the one section meant the possibility of improving the conditions of Otaki and Levin Maori was 'very remote.'³³⁸ A decision was made accordingly but made contingent upon a survey to establish the lands available within the Otaki-Levin, Poroutawhao-Foxton, and Shannon areas and the willingness of the owners concerned to engage in market gardening.³³⁹ At that stage, some 11 Maori (seven in the Levin-Ohau-Kuku-Hokio area and four in Otaki) were engaged in producing vegetables and flowers.

In December 1946, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs agreed to the use of Moutere 8A for horticultural purposes 'to demonstrate to Maoris that the Department has an organisation capable of engaging in that industry and of instructing and guiding them in both labouring in and owning and working market gardens.'³⁴⁰ A few months later, in April 1947, departmental officials met Maori in Otaki. On that occasion, Shepherd claimed that he had saved the lands of Otaki Maori from being sold for non-payment of rates, and that he had succeeded in having them vested in the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board. He also claimed that both he and Judge Whitehead had endeavoured to interest Maori in market gardening but without success. The people, he suggested, 'were more vocal than active' but a fresh effort would be made.³⁴¹ In August 1947, the

³³⁷ Horticulturist, Hastings to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 21 June 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/636 31/1/2.

³³⁸ Horticulturist, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 11 December 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³³⁹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Horticulturist, Native Affairs 23 December 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³⁴⁰ Memorandum, Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Horticulturist 23 December 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/636 31/1/4.

³⁴¹ Notes of meeting held on 9 April 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

Board of Native Affairs agreed that Moutere 8A (4.25 acres) should be brought under the provisions of Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, and that a demonstration garden should be established on the site. The estimated cost was £2,415.³⁴² In October of 1947, the Board also agreed, conditional upon the Minister of Native Affairs approving under section 107 of the Native Land Act 1931, that the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board could invest up to £2,000 ‘in the business of general agricultural and farming contractors and agents ...’³⁴³ Finally, in December 1947, the Board approved the purchase (for £784) of Moutere 8A from the Native Trustee (as mortgagee).³⁴⁴

Initial reports were encouraging as the demonstration garden was brought in to production and more Maori growers entered the industry.³⁴⁵ A dwelling for a resident horticulturist was erected in 1949, other buildings were acquired, and some fencing and drainage work was undertaken, one acre was established in raspberries, and 0.5 acres in gooseberries, while the remainder of the nursery was used to produce seasonal crops and to supply plants to growers in the Manawatu, Wairarapa, and Whanganui-Raetihi districts. But poor soil fertility after years of heavy cropping, high labour costs, and poor crops emerged as major difficulties, while the number of Maori growers in the district was considered too small to justify maintaining the venture.

In February 1949, the Department’s Horticulturist reported that Otaki was ‘being worked under great difficulties, not the least of which was the disinclination of the Maoris to undertake personal responsibility in cropping.’ Nevertheless, he recorded, a number of people between Waikanae and Waitarere were growing small crops of various kinds.³⁴⁶ In March 1949 he reported that ‘good progress’ was being made in the Otaki area, Maori smallholders evidently taking advantage of the service offered and

³⁴² Board of Native Affairs, ‘Horticultural activities – Otaki,’ in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³⁴³ Board of Native Affairs, ‘Ikaroa District Maori Land Board authority to carry on business of agricultural and farming contractors,’ in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2. The authority allowing the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to engage in the business as agricultural contractors was issued on 28 October 1947.

³⁴⁴ Board of Native Affairs, ‘Manawatu development scheme,’ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³⁴⁵ See, for example, Horticulturist, Auckland to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 12 February 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³⁴⁶ Horticulturist to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 11 February 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/636 31/1/2.

producing vegetables, cut flowers, while improving their own ‘domestic dietary range.’ He recorded that some 20 new growers had either entered or were about to enter production. One family, with 1.5 acres, another with two acres, and another with 0.75 acres – spare time work – but securing reasonable net returns.³⁴⁷ By the close of 1949, the financial position of the Otaki Nursery was generating some concern: accumulated losses already amounted to £1,179.³⁴⁸ In March 1950, the Department’s Director of Maori Land Settlement recommended that the property should be offered for sale, with the added bonus of allowing the horticulturist stationed in Otaki to spend more time promoting horticulture throughout the district.³⁴⁹ Subdivision into building sections was considered but rejected. In 1951, the Board of Maori Affairs decided that the project should be wound up and the assets disposed of, and that Moutere 8A should be offered for sale: by that stage there were just Maori 18 growers, including six in Otaki, two in Hautere, five in Waikanae, and five in Levin and Hokio. The total area under crop was 59 acres. The nursery had a book value of £3,370 and was sold for £5,250.³⁵⁰

2.8 Measuring under-development, 1936

The valuation roll summaries at 31 March 1936 for the four ridings of Horowhenua County offer some insights in to comparative ability of Pakeha and Maori to invest in their properties that they either owned or leased. Table 2.3 sets out the relevant data.

³⁴⁷ Horticulturist, Auckland to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 9 March 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/636 31/1/2.

³⁴⁸ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrar, Wellington 18 November 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³⁴⁹ Director of Maori Land Settlement to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 15 March 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

³⁵⁰ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/636 31/1/9.

Table 2.3: Valuations (£) and population, Horowhenua County ridings, 1936

	Unimproved value	Value of Improvements	Capital value	Population
<i>Otaki</i>				
Maori	12615	4425	17040	280
Pakeha	412020	225712	637732	787
<i>Te Horo</i>				
Maori	15980	6535	22515	130
Pakeha	417116	293430	710546	1106
<i>Tokomaru</i>				
Maori	4110	1160	5270	48
Pakeha	919428	419146	1338574	1500
<i>Wirokino</i>				
Maori	73084	31767	104851	724
Pakeha	1318606	747926	2066532	2703
<i>Totals</i>				
Maori	105789	43887	149676	1182
Pakeha	3067170	1686214	4753384	6096

Source: ANZ Wellington AFHQ 19340 W1086 V-ROLLS 162 3/23; 165 3/24; 173 3/25; and 176 3/26

Table 2.4, based on the data presented in Table 2.3, sets out the per capita values. The index (last column) represents the value of improvements of rateable lands occupied by Maori as a percentage of the value of rateable lands occupied by Pakeha. An index of 100 would mean that, on a per capita basis, the value of improvements was equal; an index above 100 would mean that, on a per capita basis, the value of improvements of rateable lands occupied by Maori exceeded that of rateable lands occupied by Pakeha; while an index with a value of less than 100 would mean the reverse. Table 2.4 suggests that, for Horowhenua County as a whole, the value of improvements in respect of lands occupied by Pakeha was 7.5 times as great as that in respect of lands occupied by Maori.

Table 2.4: Value of improvements per capita, Horowhenua County ridings, 1936

Ridings	Value of improvements per capita, Maori: £	Value of improvements per capita, Pakeha: £	Index: Maori as a proportion of Pakeha
Otaki	15.8	286.7	5.5
Te Horo	50.3	265.3	19.0
Tokomaru	24.2	279.4	8.7
Wirokino	43.9	276.7	15.9
Total county	37.1	276.6	13.4

2.9 Maori and Pakeha farming: a statistical profile 1950 and 1960

Prior to World War II, the International Institute of Agriculture (founded in Rome in 1905 and dissolved in 1946) sponsored worldwide censuses of agriculture. New Zealand participated in the 1930 census. Subsequently, the censuses were promoted by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, with censuses conducted in 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010. In New Zealand the censuses were undertaken by the Department of Statistics: it participated in the 1930 census but whatever results it produced were not located. It did not participate in the 1940 round but did so in the 1949-1950 and 1959-1960 census. Most importantly, the reports comprised a section that covered all agricultural holdings and a second section that dealt solely with Maori holdings. The former were presented on the basis of counties and the latter on the basis of groups of counties.³⁵¹ Both the 1949-1950 census and the 1959-1960 census grouped the Oroua, Manawatu, Kairanga, Horowhenua, Dannevirke, Woodville, and Pahiatua Counties in to the ‘Manawatu regional area.’ The effect of inclusion of the last three counties on the data presented in Table 2.5 is unknown, but it seems reasonable to assume that the relationship between Maori and all farms remained approximately the same.

The summaries offered by the two censuses are not directly comparable: that for 1949-1950 defined as holding as an area of over one acre located outside boroughs, while that for 1959-1960 defined it as one of over ten acres and located outside a borough: that change of definition is likely to have had marked implication for the summaries

³⁵¹ An effort to locate the county summaries was unsuccessful.

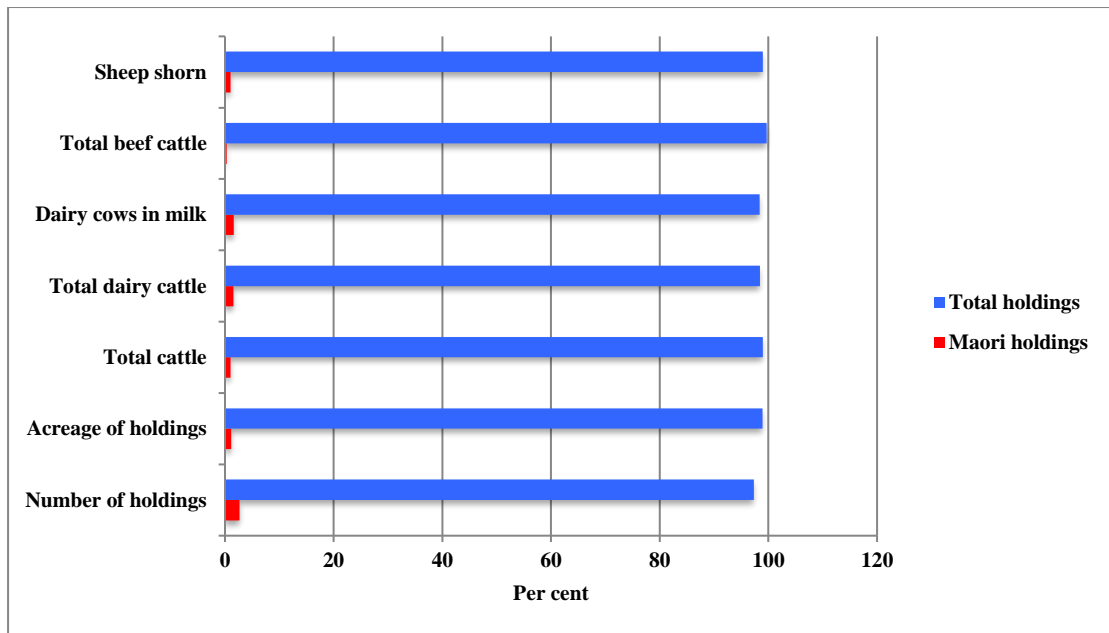
dealing with Maori holdings. As noted, each census included a separate section relating to Maori holdings: for the 1949-1950 census, the details relating to those holdings were also included in the tables covering all holdings; it is unclear whether that was so for the 1959-1960 census. Finally, the 1959-1960 census defined a 'Maori holding' as 'one occupied by a full blooded, three-quarter, or half-caste Maori.'

Table 2.5 sets out the key data offered by the two censuses. The effect of a change in the definition of a 'holding' is clearly apparent in the total number of holdings and in the number of Maori holdings. That definitional change renders it difficult to gauge what changes took place through the 1950s. Graph 2.6 thus sets out for the 1959-1960 census the proportionate shares of the seven variables. Maori presence in the region's primary sector appears to have reached, by 1960, minimal levels (and not greatly different from the position in 1949-1950 despite the change in the definition of a holding).

Table 2.5: Results of the census of agriculture for the 'Manawatu' region: 1949-1950 and 1959-1960

	All 1949-1950	Maori 1949-1950	All 1959-1960	Maori 1959-1960
Number of holdings	5268	146	4441	118
Acreage of holdings	1112946	14997	1188402	13198
Total cattle	303299	4992	357674	3675
Total dairy cattle	205153	3814	201749	3168
Dairy cows in milk	132205	2331	129221	2059
Total beef cattle	98146	1178	155925	507
Sheep shorn	1651882	13533	2220796	22543

Source: Department of Statistics, *Final report on the New Zealand census of farm production 1949-1950*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1956; and Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963



Source: Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963

Graph 2.6: Shares of seven variables, all holdings and Maori holdings, 'Manawatu' regional area, 1959-1960

2.9.1 Numbers of holdings by type groups, 1959-1960

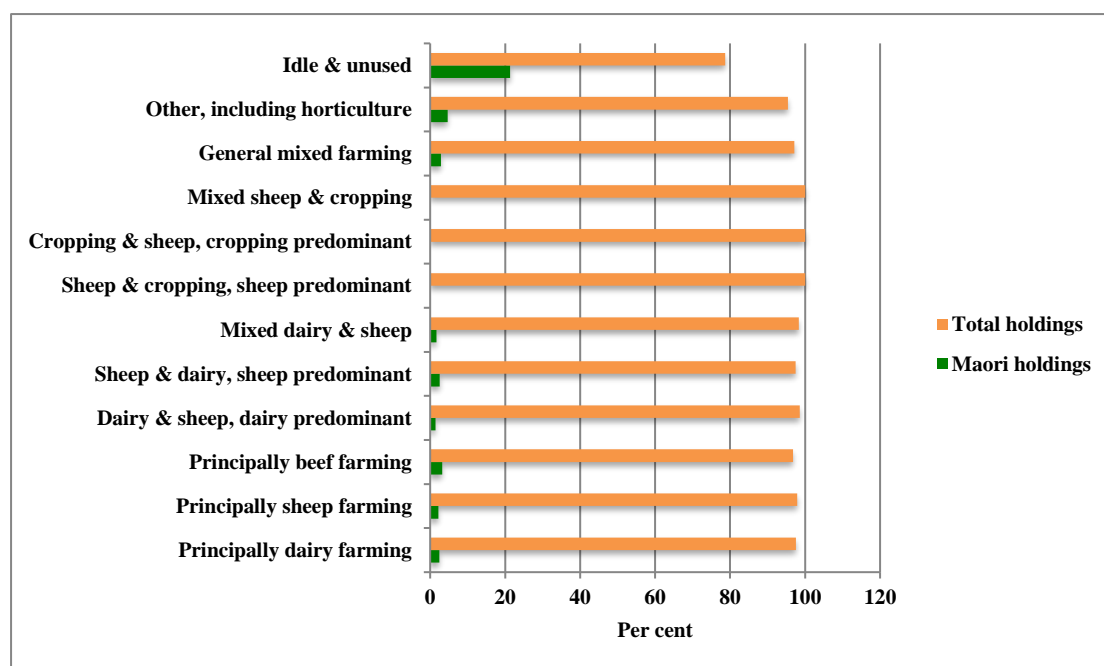
Both censuses offered details of the numbers and acreages of what were termed 'type groups.' The 1959-1960 census offered clear definitions of each type and hence Table 2.6 sets out the details for that year, while Graph 2.7 depicts the proportionate shares. Of 4,441 holdings, Maori holdings accounted for just 2.65 per cent. It will be noted that of 75 idle and unused holdings of over ten acres and located outside boroughs, 21.3 per cent were held by Maori.

Table 2.6: Numbers of holdings by type groups, ‘Manawatu’ region, 1959-1960

	All holdings	Maori holdings
Principally dairy farming	1920	47
Principally sheep farming	1733	38
Principally beef farming	62	2
Dairy and sheep, dairy predominant	137	2
Sheep and dairy, sheep predominant	117	3
Mixed dairy and sheep	121	2
Sheep and cropping, sheep predominant	70	-
Cropping and sheep, cropping predominant	13	-
Mixed sheep and cropping	8	-
General mixed farming	35	1
Other (including horticulture)	150	7
Idle and unused	75	16
Totals	4441	118

Principally = 75 per cent or more; predominant = 50 to 75 per cent; mixed = approximately equal; and general mixed = three or more types, none predominant

Source: Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963



Source: Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963

Graph 2.7: Shares of holdings by farming type, Maori holdings and all holdings, ‘Manawatu’ regional area, 1959-1960

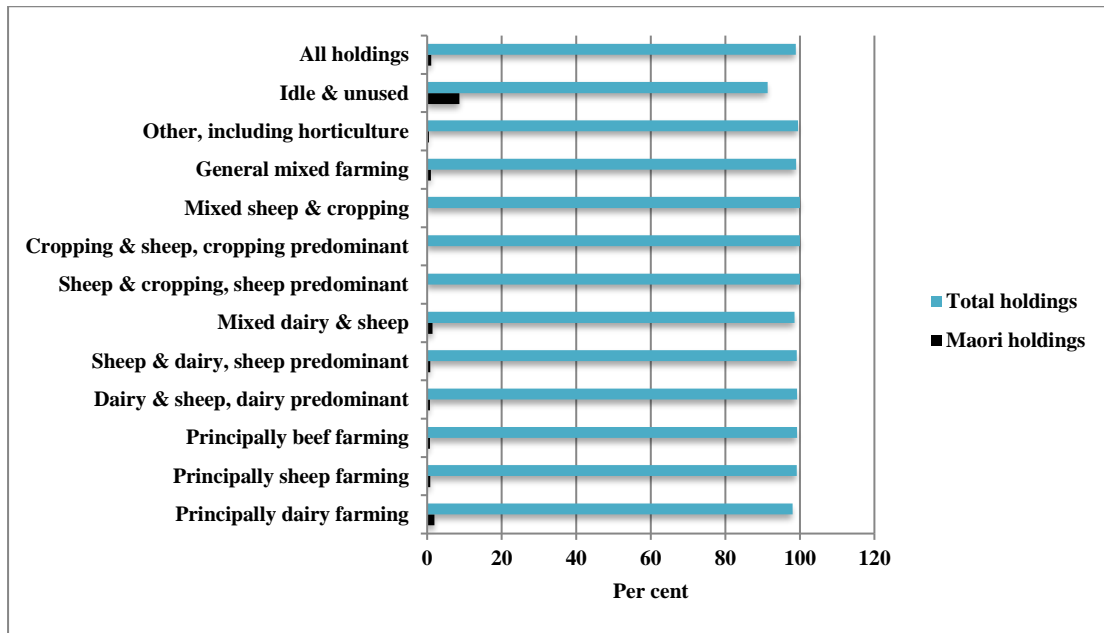
2.9.2 Acreages of holdings by type group, 1959-1960

Table 2.7 sets out details of acreage of holdings by type groups, while Graph 2.8 presents the same information in terms of proportions. The 118 Maori holdings accounted for just 1.11 per cent of the total acreage involved.

Table 2.7: Acreages of holdings by type groups, 'Manawatu' region, 1959-1960

	All holdings: total acres	Maori holdings: total acres
Principally dairy farming	219971	4293
Principally sheep farming	757379	6442
Principally beef farming	21506	152
Dairy and sheep, dairy predominant	28352	208
Sheep and dairy, sheep predominant	34377	288
Mixed dairy and sheep	27326	399
Sheep and cropping, sheep predominant	21667	-
Cropping and sheep, cropping predominant	1343	-
Mixed sheep and cropping	1514	-
General mixed farming	18066	182
Other (including horticulture, timber)	45326	229
Idle and unused	11575	1005
Totals	1188402	13198

Source: Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963

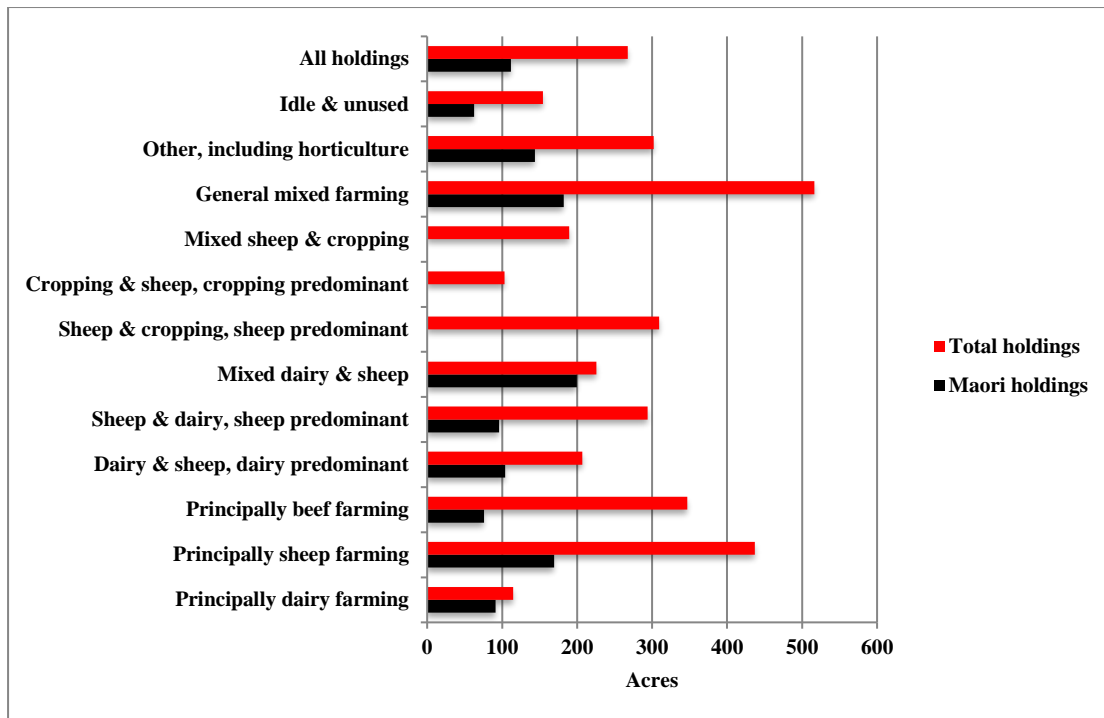


Source: Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963

Graph 2.8: Shares of acreage by farming type, Maori holdings and all holdings, 'Manawatu' regional area, 1959-1960

2.9.3 Average sizes, Maori holdings and all holdings, 1959-1960

Graph 2.9 makes it plain that in all types, the average size of Maori holdings was appreciably smaller than that of all holdings. Overall, the average size of the former was 111.8 acres and of the latter 267.6 acres.



Source: Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963

Graph 2.9: Average size (acres) of Maori and total holdings by type, ‘Manawatu’ regional area, 1959-1960

2.9.4 Average size of herds and flocks

The published returns also allow the calculation of average herd and flock sizes. Consistent with the appreciably smaller average size of holdings, the average size of herds of cows on principally dairy farms was 56 for all holdings but 38 for Maori holdings. With respect to sheep shorn, the average size of flocks on principally sheep farms was 1,085 for all holdings and 509 for Maori holdings. Maori agricultural holdings were, on average, considerably smaller than all holdings and they carried appreciably smaller herd and flocks. The census did not include any data that might have offered some insight in to the gross and net revenues generated by all and Maori holdings.

2.9.5 Relative productivity, 1959-1960

The data presented offer few clues to comparative levels of productivity, but it is possible to calculate the number of dairy cows per acre on principally dairy farms and the number of sheep shorn per acre on principally sheep farms. It was in those two

categories that most Maori holdings were concentrated. In brief, the number of Maori and total holdings in the two categories selected may have varied widely, but the former, in terms of stock carried per acre, slightly shaded total holdings.

Table 2.8: Two measures of relative productivity, Maori and total holdings, ‘Manawatu’ regional area, 1959-1960

	Maori holdings	All holdings
Dairy cows in milk per acre, principally dairy farms	2.40	2.05
Sheep shorn per acre, principally sheep farms	3.0	2.48

Source: Department of Statistics, *Report on the Census of Agriculture of New Zealand for the year 1959-1960*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1963

2.10 Conclusions

Although the primary record dealing with the Crown’s efforts to encourage and support the development of Maori farming in the Manawatu and Horowhenua districts is limited, there is sufficient to allow some general conclusions to be drawn. First, it is clear that such had been the scale of transfer of land out of Maori ownership that Maori retained insufficient land and insufficient land of the appropriate quality to allow the development of fully commercial farming and dairy farming in particular. Second, those who did try to turn their lands to productive account were unable to secure access to development capital. Some of the dairy processing companies did assist, but that appears to have been sufficient only to finance current operations rather than investment in the development of land and the acquisition of higher productivity stock. Third, it is clear that, unable to finance development, some owners at least leased land to Pakeha: reports that many of the latter exploited the land involved suggest that the leases were inadequately constituted and/or that they were inadequately policed and the conditions enforced. Further, 21- and 42-year leases, the common terms, effectively removed the lands concerned from the control of their owners for one or two generations.

The fourth conclusion suggested by the evidence is that most Maori retained or controlled only small blocks, and that both gross production (of butterfat) and gross

returns were low. The fifth conclusion is that the evidence drawn from the applications lodged by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori for development assistance evidence pointed to the fragility of the institutional arrangements that underlay Maori ownership. A good many of the 'holdings' comprised multiply-owned sections and sections leased (or held rent-free): as suggested in Chapter 1, tenurial insecurity discourages incentive and investment. The sixth conclusion is that Maori agricultural holdings were markedly undeveloped and markedly under-capitalised and that they were characterised by low production and low productivity, whether of land, labour, or capital. The Maori land development programme emphasised agricultural development essentially through labour-intensive, capital-saving techniques: while that was consistent with the avowed objective of absorbing as many unemployed Maori as possible, fully commercial production in a competitive economic environment required a move to capital-intensive, labour-saving techniques. It was that transition that many Maori farmers appear to have been unable to make.

A more general conclusion can also be drawn, namely, that economic travails of the 1920s and 1930s exposed the economic and social consequences for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori of large-scale land loss over the preceding decades. When the Government decided to assist Maori communities in an effort to establish a firm economic foundation, the key resource had largely passed out of Maori ownership. The outcome, for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, was the emergence of a small and relatively under-developed primary sector resting on an uncertain institutional foundation. The following chapters explore some of the social and economic ramifications.

Chapter 3: Disadvantaging the disadvantaged? Maori and social support, 1898 to 1951

3.1 Introduction

One of the major social and economic implications for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori of the far-reaching transfer of land out of their ownership proved difficult to investigate, namely, their ability to support its disabled, widowed, and elderly members. The evidence, from the 1920s and 1930s especially, plainly indicates that the region's Maori people, as their numbers recovered and began to expand, experienced growing pressures from, on the one hand, an inability to develop such lands as remained to them, and, on the other, uncertain employment and incomes. Such pressures were manifested in, among other things, deteriorating housing conditions (see below); the inability of many Maori to gain entry in to the employment market; the emergence of seasonally employed, low paid, and mobile Maori work groups; the persistence of subsistence cultivation side by side with a semi-commercialised and poorly performing agricultural sector; low participation in formal education; and poor health and inability to meet hospital fees.

Deteriorating economic conditions through the 1920s, the so-called 'Indian summer' of 1928-1930 apart, served to expose underlying secular weaknesses in the Maori economy that would coalesce in widespread impoverishment during the 1930s.³⁵² As the economic pressures on Maori communities intensified after 1900, they turned increasingly to the State for such support as was being made generally available. But for Maori in particular, a very clear link would emerge between the social entitlements and housing improvement. Those pressures served to bring Maori, many for the first time, in to close contact with the State but at a time when there was no agency dedicated to dealing with and advocating for Maori. The Department of Native Affairs had been disestablished in 1893: when re-established, in 1906, it focussed on land matters and remained so focused until, in 1936, it assumed responsibility for Maori housing. In effect, responsibility for the administration of matters of importance to Maori were 'mainstreamed,' entrusted to agencies and administrators who, the evidence suggests,

³⁵² For a recent history of the the 1930s, see Malcolm McKinnon, *The broken decade: prosperity, depression and recovery in New Zealand, 1928-1939*. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016.

possessed limited understanding of or were largely uninterested in Maori circumstances, Maori customs, and Maori needs. Although some of those administrators would express 'discomfort' over dealing with Maori, the agencies involved, notably the Old-age Pensions Department, insisted on gaining and exercising the fullest control over the relevant areas of public policy.

Chapter 3 thus offers a brief account of the range and course of social legislation from about the turn of the twentieth century and explores, with particular reference to the elderly and the widowed, and the unemployed among Maori, the response of the State to Maori needs. Several key issues are explored, namely, whether Maori enjoyed equality of access to the entitlements otherwise available to all other citizens; whether Maori enjoyed equality of process, that is, whether the policy or policies dealing with social welfare entitlements were implemented in a manner consistent with the relevant law and fair and in an even-handed manner; and, third, equality of outcomes, that is, whether Maori secured benefits, in terms of number and value, that were comparable to those secured by all others. A fourth issue centres on the relationship between social welfare entitlements and the ability of Maori to secure access to other State-supported programmes, notably, housing.

Lack of comprehensive and consistent data presents the usual difficulties. Pre-1945 pension rolls and other records appear to have been lost. Fire has destroyed many Government archives, others exhibit fire and water damage, others were destroyed deliberately or have been lost, and still others disappeared in what Strachan described as 'unknown circumstances.' Among the latter were the files of the Pensions Department.³⁵³ Complicating matters further is the fact that data published in the *Appendices, Journals of the House of Representatives*, offer only limited assistance. Further, the relevant records of the Resident Magistrate's Courts in Porirua ki Manawatu, notably investigation books and letter-books, were not located, while contemporary newspaper reports offered very limited assistance. There is, nevertheless, just sufficient to allow some analysis to proceed and to establish the basis from which some useful conclusions can be drawn. It will be helpful, first, to review briefly the

³⁵³ S.R. Strachan, 'Archives for New Zealand social history,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 12, 1, 1979, p,90.

literature relating to the history of the State and social entitlements before examining, as far as the data allowed, the manner in which Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were treated.

3.2 The State, social support, and Maori: existing literature

There is a large body of literature dealing with the emergence and expansion of State-funded social welfare provision in New Zealand.³⁵⁴ One of the major themes that emerges is whether the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 marked the beginning of a broadly based social welfare programme. Condliffe, for example, described the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 as Seddon's 'crowning achievement' and one 'that marked the end of the first era of state socialism and ushered in the humanitarian trend which subsequently proved to be the most characteristic expression of New Zealand public opinion.'³⁵⁵ The *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* claimed that 'Social Security in New Zealand may be regarded as having originated with the passing of the Old-age Pensions Act of 1898 ... The measure was the first of its kind in any British country and was the foundation stone of the welfare state.'³⁵⁶ Similarly, Gustafson, in his biography of Savage, described the Act as 'laying the foundation stone of New Zealand's social welfare system.'³⁵⁷

That 'progressive' interpretation of the course of social welfare legislation in New Zealand has not gone unchallenged. Oliver, for example, suggested that the Liberal Government of 1890-1912 was much more interested in social discipline and economic efficiency than in comprehensive welfare reform. He also suggested that the implementation of the Act and the outcomes achieved would repay close examination.³⁵⁸ Hanson observed that while often narrow and restricted in scope, those

³⁵⁴ For a survey of the range of social needs that had been recognised by 1914 and the major measures enacted in response, see W.H. Oliver, 'The origins and growth of the welfare state,' in A.D. Trlin, editor, *Social welfare and New Zealand society*. Wellington: Methuen, 1977, pp.1-28.

³⁵⁵ J.B. Condliffe, *New Zealand in the making: a study of economic and social development*. Second edition, London, 1959, pp.223-234. See also J.B. Condliffe, *The welfare state in New Zealand*. London, 1959, pp.284 and 298.

³⁵⁶ G.J.B[rocklehurst], 'Social Security,' in A.H. McLintock, editor, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. Wellington, 1966, Volume III, p.269.

³⁵⁷ B. Gustafson, *From the cradle to the grave. A biography of Michael Joseph Savage*. Auckland, 1988, p.75.

³⁵⁸ W.H. Oliver, 'Social policy in the Liberal period,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 13,1, 1979, pp.25-33.

measures did establish the principle that the State had a responsibility for the welfare of its people, whereas Hamer concluded that the Liberal Government did not advocate ‘anything remotely resembling what later became known as the “Welfare State.”’³⁵⁹ Gaynor Whyte suggested that ‘old’ rather than ‘new’ ideas dominated in respect of old-age pension and its administration.³⁶⁰ Thomson concluded that the passage of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 involved for turn of the century New Zealanders ‘a long, slow and troubled search for a way to protect a vision of themselves as the self-made and self-reliant and yet meet a real and growing need,’ and that the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 offered ‘a decidedly meagre and morals-bound pension, with a strong emphasis upon distinguishing between the deserving and undeserving.’³⁶¹ Seddon’s biographer has offered a more balanced assessment of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898, on the one hand describing it as ‘progressive and advanced by the standards of 1898,’ but on the other noting that ‘the consensus amongst historians of New Zealand welfare’ to the effect that it was ‘punitive,’ ‘disciplinarian,’ and characterised by ‘pervading meanness.’³⁶²

With some notable and important exceptions, much of the existing literature offers only passing reference to Maori. Sutch, in 1966, suggested that ‘The Old-age Pension Act of 1898 is not one in which present-day New Zealanders can take much pride,’ although he described it ‘as a beginning of the non-contributory system.’ On the other hand, he noted that the Act and its administration ‘weighed against the Maoris,’ as they found great difficulty in proving age and because most had shares in ancestral land ‘and were deemed to get income from it, even though it yielded none and could not be sold.’³⁶³ Whyte, in her examination of the administration of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898, as it related to Maori, claimed that the Registrar of Pensions quickly sought ‘to undermine the principle of equal eligibility.’³⁶⁴ McClure recorded that among the magistrates

³⁵⁹ Elizabeth Hanson, *The politics of social security: the 1938 Act and some later developments*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1980, pp.11-12; and D. Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: the years in power, 1891-1912*. Auckland, 1988, p.66.

³⁶⁰ Gaynor Whyte, ‘Old-age pensions in New Zealand, 1898-1938,’ MA Thesis, Massey University, 1993.

³⁶¹ David Thomson, ‘Taking the long view on pensions,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 32, 2, 1998, pp.118-119.

³⁶² T.W.H. Brooking, *Richard Seddon: King of God’s own: the life and times of New Zealand’s longest-serving prime minister*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2014, pp.174 and 384.

³⁶³ W.B. Sutch, *The quest for security in New Zealand, 1840 to 1966*. Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp.92-93.

³⁶⁴ Whyte, ‘Old-age pensions in New Zealand, 1898-1938,’ pp.126 and 132.

responsible for hearing applications for old-age pensions, some ‘undertook extensive research, some dismissed Maori claims categorically, some judged Maori poverty from appearance rather than land ownership, and some followed the direction from head office to limit Maori pensions in any way possible ...’³⁶⁵ Hanson and Tennant similarly claimed that the Act’s administration was racially biased.³⁶⁶

3.3 Elderly Maori, elderly Pakeha, 1896 to 1951

It will be helpful to set out briefly the size of the Maori and Pakeha populations aged 65 years and over as measured by the censuses. It should be borne in mind that, at least until 1921, Maori were under-enumerated, and that the definition of Maori changed in 1926 to include all ‘half-castes.’ Table 3.1 summarises the position for Porirua ki Manawatu. The 75 Maori aged over 65 years in 1916 represented 4.3 per cent of the total Maori population, while the 1,621 Pakeha represented 7.3 per cent of the total Pakeha population. The corresponding proportions for 1951 were 2.3 and 26.2, pointing to the post 1900 recovery of Maori population numbers and the pre-1951 ageing of the Pakeha population.

Table 3.1: Numbers of Maori and Pakeha aged 65 years and over, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1916 to 1951

Census year	Maori	Pakeha
1916	75	1621
1921	59	2111
1926	78	2503
1936	93	3676
1945	98	6006
1951	75	6725

Source: Censuses of New Zealand

³⁶⁵ Margaret McClure, *A civilised community: a history of security in New Zealand, 1898 to 1998*. Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1998, p.26.

³⁶⁶ Hanson, *The politics of social security*, pp.162-163; and Margaret Tennant, *Paupers & providers: charitable aid in New Zealand*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs and Allen & Unwin, 1989, p.99.

3.4 Pensions for the aged

Pensions for the aged were vigorously debated during the 1890s, prompted in part by a growing number of those who had arrived as gold seekers during the 1860s. In 1894 a parliamentary committee – the Old-age Pensions Committee, described by Brooking as ‘largely made up of left-leaning Liberals from the Labour faction’ – investigated the matter and brought down a report that proposed that the State establish a pension scheme for men and women ‘if a practicable method for providing the necessary funds can be devised.’³⁶⁷ It envisaged a universal, non-contributory scheme available to all over 65 years provided they met certain ‘moral’ tests. It recommended the appointment of a royal commission to conduct a full investigation.³⁶⁸ Neither the Committee’s report nor the evidence it considered made any reference to Maori. The population data it employed related only to Pakeha. No action was taken, Ward having already made it clear in his Financial Statement that such a scheme ‘would not only necessitate a greatly increased taxation, but would also add disproportionately to the burdens of those least able to bear such increase.’³⁶⁹

Seddon, on the other hand, in his Financial Statement for 1896 indicated that the Government would ask the House to support a scheme in principle, while noting that it would cost an estimated £200,000 per year, such sum to be raised by way of taxation.³⁷⁰ An Old-age Pensions Bill was introduced in to the house in 1896: it was the subject of a protracted and often acrimonious debate, generating on the part of the Opposition what the *Evening Post* described as ‘one of the most determined stonewalls’ in Parliament’s history.³⁷¹ The Bill proposed that ‘every [emphasis added] person who at any time after the coming in to operation of this Act attains the full age of *sixty-five* years or upwards shall thereafter be entitled to a pension of *ten* shillings per week for the rest of his life.’ Applicants were to have resided in the colony for not less than 20 years and to have an income that did not exceed £50 per year. The Bill did not specify any property or moral tests. During its committee stages, the income limit of £50 was excised and Seddon abandoned the Bill.

³⁶⁷ See Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, p.162.

³⁶⁸ AJHR 1894, I11, p.1.

³⁶⁹ AJHR 1894, B6, p.xix.

³⁷⁰ NZPD 1896, Vol.3, p.170.

³⁷¹ ‘The business of Parliament,’ *Evening Post* 26 September 1898, p.4.

The Government did, though, secure support for an alternative measure, the Registration of Peoples' Claims Act 1896. It incorporated much of the Old-age Pensions Bill and provided that every person 'claiming to be entitled to a pension certificate' under the Act should, by 1 March 1897 (extended to 31 July 1897), deliver his claim to the deputy registrar of pensions in one of the pension districts in to which the country would be divided.³⁷² The first schedule to the Act set out the form of the pension claim and, among other matters, required a claimant to specify the place and date of birth. The outcome was that 8,010 persons registered a claim: of that total, 5,584 were described as admitted, 975 as rejected, 875 as postponed, and 576 as 'unadjusted.'³⁷³ No indication was given as to whether those returns included any Maori claimants, but the estimates of the numbers of people qualifying by age alone made it clear that Maori were not included.³⁷⁴

In his Financial Statement for 1897, Seddon took 10,000 as the number who would qualify and estimated the annual cost as £260,000. That estimate ignored the continued growth of the numbers aged over 65. He again insisted that a universal scheme 'would involve too great an expenditure,' and indeed proposed limiting the annual allocation for old-age pensions to £120,000, and setting the qualifying criteria accordingly.³⁷⁵ In 1897 the Government introduced a new Old-age Pensions Bill: considerably modified during the committee stages, it introduced a series of both asset and moral tests, but made no particular reference to land or interests in land owned by Maori. In the course of the debate, A.W. Hogg referred to 'old colonists who have been wearing their lives out in the hard service of their adopted country; whose hair has become whitened by long years of anxious toil, and whose skins are furrowed with care and tanned and roughened with exposure, and who are now unable to bear their own part in the battle of life ...'³⁷⁶ It was a description that appeared to exclude Maori from the ranks of the deserving. The inclusion of Maori in the scheme did rate brief discussion. W.C. Buchanan (MHR Wairarapa) suggested that 'if Maoris were to participate in the

³⁷² Section 3 of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 empowered the Governor 'to divide the colony into such districts, with such names and boundaries as he thinks fit.' Initially, 72 such districts were established, each with a deputy registrar and all answering to the Registrar of Old-age Pensions.

³⁷³ AJHR Session II, 1897, H18.

³⁷⁴ See, for example, AJHR 1896, H37.

³⁷⁵ NZPD 1897, Vols.97-98, p.446.

³⁷⁶ NZPD 1897, Vol.99, p.19.

pensions scheme, it would be practically impossible to ascertain how far they were affected by the disqualifications prescribed by the Act.³⁷⁷ It was Seddon who moved, successfully, that the Act would apply to Maori ‘provided that corroborative evidence as to age be produced to the satisfaction of a Stipendiary Magistrate.’³⁷⁸ Seddon would have been well aware that Maori would find adducing such evidence very difficult. In the event, the Act did not proceed through the Legislative Council.

In 1898, Seddon tried again while making clear his opposition to a universal pension and to funding any scheme out of special taxation. During the second reading debate, J.C. Wason (MHR Selwyn) described the inclusion of Maori in the Bill as ‘a new departure,’ that they constituted ‘an unknown and indefinite quantity. There is not one of us here who, if some thousands of aged Maoris were paraded before us, could tell their ages ... and they probably cannot tell themselves.’ He went on:

Are they the deserving colonists who by their skill have assisted to open up the country, and who have borne the burdens of the country? No, they are not. It is one of the brightest features of New Zealand life the way in which we have treated the Maoris. We have made reserves of land for them, and we have given them special representation in this House, and we have done everything to promote their prosperity; but we must be just to our kith and kin before we can afford to be generous in this haphazard fashion. The Maoris already have large areas of land in respect to which their titles have been individualised, and many of them are comparatively wealthy.³⁷⁹

The Bill as introduced made no reference to land or interests in land owned by Maori. Clause 10 specified that ‘All real and personal property owned by any person shall, to the extent of his beneficial estate or interest therein, be deemed to be his accumulated property.’ after the deduction of all charges and encumbrances and the sum of £52, the residuum would be the ‘net capital value of all his accumulated property.’ It was George Hutchinson (MHR Patea) who, during the Bill’s committee stages, moved the insertion of a new clause that provided for the assessment of property owned by Maori claimants. Seddon intimated that he would accept the new clause. A lengthy debate followed: unfortunately it was not recorded, but press reports indicated that it centred on what were regarded as the difficulties of defining individual interests in Maori-owned land.

³⁷⁷ ‘Parliamentary gossip,’ *Auckland Star* 1 December 1897, p.2.

³⁷⁸ ‘Evening sitting,’ *Evening Post* 1 December 1897, p.6.

³⁷⁹ NZPD 1898, Vol.103, pp.670-671.

One member (Robert Thompson, MHR Marsden) suggested that pensions should only be granted to landless Maori. At Seddon's request – and promising to have a new clause drafted – Hutchinson withdrew his proposed amendment.³⁸⁰ The next day, 29 September 1898, Seddon claimed that Maori members 'were averse to Maoris coming within the Bill, and his present intention was not to extend the pensions to them.'³⁸¹ A day later, Hutchison asked for a return that set out the number of Maori aged 65 years, together with a list of Maori in receipt of pensions and the amounts payable. Seddon insisted that it was impossible to ascertain the ages of Maori over 65 years.³⁸²

Again the question was raised as to whether Maori should or in fact wished to be included. Wi Pere (MHR Eastern Maori) moved to have all reference to Maori excised, suggesting rather that it would be better to give poor Maori land than to give them a pension. In his view, Maori should be provided under the Civil List Act 1863. Kaihau (MHR Western Maori), on the other hand, observed that land could not be worked by Maori who were 65, at the same time declaring that Maori should be placed on an equal footing with Pakeha.³⁸³ Wi Pere withdrew his amendment, but George Hutchison renewed it with the clear objective of excluding Maori entirely from the proposed old-age pension scheme. At that point, Seddon claimed that 'the good feeling now existing in the colony between the natives and Europeans should not be strained by making any distinction between them as to the right to old-age pensions.' After some debate that was neither recorded nor reported, Hutchison's amendment was rejected by 54 votes to 21. Seddon then successfully moved the insertion of the words 'moneys other than,' so that clause 63(1) provided that the Act would not apply to Maori 'to whom moneys other than pensions are paid' under the Civil List Act 1863.³⁸⁴ Attention turned to clause 64: it provided that the Act would apply to Maori 'Provided that an investigation of any such Native's pension-claim his evidence as to his age shall be required to be corroborated to the satisfaction of the Stipendiary Magistrate.' Monk (MHR Waitemata) moved, unsuccessfully, to have the words 'but in dealing with such claimants their social and domestic customs shall not be considered detrimental, the

³⁸⁰ 'The Old-age Pension Bill,' *Evening Post* 29 September 1898, p.2.

³⁸¹ 'Old-age Pensions,' *Auckland Star* 30 September 1898, p.2.

³⁸² 'The session,' *Auckland Star* 1 October 1898, p.2.

³⁸³ 'House of Representatives,' *Press* 7 October 1898, p.5.

³⁸⁴ NZPD 1898, Vol. 104, pp.549-550. See also 'Old-age pensions,' *Auckland Star* 7 October 1898, p.7; 'Old-age pensions,' *Evening Post* 7 October 1898, p.2; and 'House of Representatives,' *Press* 7 October 1898, p.5.

provisions of the Act to the contrary notwithstanding' inserted.³⁸⁵ The object, he claimed, was to deal with such cases as Maori married according to Maori custom. Seddon claimed that the proposed amendment was too broad and suggested that 'It might be claimed that drunkenness was native.'³⁸⁶ A new clause (64A) was inserted, and it emerged as section 66 of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898.

Stone-walling tactics on the part of the Opposition notwithstanding, the Old-age Pensions Bill thus passed to the Legislative Council where H.K. Taiaroa (Otago) acknowledged that, after having listened to representations from both (South Island) Maori and Pakeha, he had decided to change the position he had taken in 1897 and would now support the Bill.³⁸⁷ That decision earned him a rebuke from those sections of the press opposed to the passage of the Bill on the grounds that it constituted 'a debased form of charitable aid,' that its 'system of discrimination is full of ridiculous anomalies,' and that it lacked any 'financial foundation whatever.'³⁸⁸

Essentially, the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 did not provide a universal pension but rather a small annually renewable means-tested pension. It was not intended to meet the needs of the elderly in need so much as those of 'deserving persons' who met the qualifying criteria set out in section 8 of the Act, that is, with respect to age, residency, assets, and moral worth. Initially, it provided for a payment of £18 per person per annum, that sum being reduced £1 for £1 of income above £34, and £1 for every £15 of accumulated property with a value of over £50. The residential qualification was set at 25 years and applicants were required to meet a range of moral tests. It is of interest to note here that in 1893 the Department of Labour conducted a survey of working class families in an effort to identify 'expenditure patterns.'³⁸⁹ To establish the average resources required per adult, total income was divided by 'adult equivalents' where the first adult had a value of 1, the second and subsequent 0.6, and children a value each of 0.3. Thus, at the maximum rate of £18 per annum, a pensioner would receive 43 per cent of the average resources available to each adult equivalent of the 106 households

³⁸⁵ NZPD 1898, Vol. 104, p.550.

³⁸⁶ 'House of Representatives,' *Press* 7 October 1898, p.5.

³⁸⁷ NZPD 1898, Vol.105, pp.199-200. The *Nelson Evening Mail* calculated that the speeches delivered during the Bill's committee stages numbered 1,415, including 168 by Seddon. See 'Garrulous legislators,' *Nelson Evening Mail* 8 October 1898, p.2.

³⁸⁸ See, for example, 'From Parliament to people,' *Evening Post* 21 October 1898, p.4.

³⁸⁹ AJHR 1893, H10, pp.40-51.

surveyed. Given the small number of households involved and the *ad hoc* method of their selection, the results should be treated with some caution, but they make it reasonably clear that the *full* pension offered little more than the barest of sustenance and support.

Beginning with the Old-age Pensions Amendment Act 1902, the qualifying criteria were several times modified prior to the passage of the Social Security Act 1938, notably with respect to income levels, ages, the calculation of net capital values, and net capital value limits. Such changes applied to all applicants and do not appear to have any particular implications for Maori applicants. It should be noted that section 4 of the Old-age Pensions Amendment Act 1911 lowered the qualifying age for a male to 60 years and for a female to 55 years where either was the parent of two or more children under 14 years and who were dependent upon her/him. The amount of such pension was as prescribed by the parent Act, although a magistrate could add up to £13 per annum 'having regard to the circumstances of the case ...' Otherwise the qualifying age was 65 for males and 60 for females. Further, a sharp increase was allowed in the standard property exemption, from £50 to £500. The number of new claims rose sharply and by 1950, nearly 48 per cent of the 60 and over age group was in receipt of the old-age pension, up from 33 percent in 1933.

3.5 Old-age pensions in force, 1901 to 1939

Under the Old-age Pensions Act 1898, Maori were entitled to apply for a benefit. The question was whether equality of access would be matched by equality of process or treatment. The unexpectedly large response to the introduction of the old-age pension scheme, belying the assumptions upon which it had been founded, soon occasioned some alarm among those entrusted with its administration. 'Beyond question,' asserted the *Evening Star* in August 1902, 'the pensions list is growing with most unreasonable rapidity.'³⁹⁰ It was an interesting response given the contemporary discussion of demographic trends in the colony, notably the long stable birth-rate and the growing proportion of those aged over 65 years. Indeed, H.W. Segar, the president of the

³⁹⁰ 'Old-age pensions,' *Evening Star* 20 August 1902, p.1.

Auckland Institute suggested, in 1900, that ‘so far the probable cost [of the old-age pension] had not been counted.’³⁹¹

The initial response of Maori to the old-age pensions programme was such that, in February 1900, Pensions Registrar Mason proposed that an inquiry into the working of the Act among Maori should be undertaken: the needs of Maori, he claimed, ‘owing to their communistic customs, are different from those of Europeans, and whose inclusion in the benefits of the Act on equal terms may possibly be regarded as a matter for re-consideration.’³⁹² Treasury was not impressed with that proposal, but the Colonial Treasurer directed that where Maori applicants were concerned, ‘special consideration should be given to the qualifications in respect of age, and also in respect of property ...’³⁹³

Accordingly, Mason instructed all deputy-registrars ‘to take special pains’ when assessing applications lodged by Maori.³⁹⁴ That raised some concern on the part of the Department of Justice, citing ‘friction’ were any action taken that usurped the jurisdiction of magistrates. ‘The investigation of pension claims,’ observed its Under-Secretary F.G.B. Waldegrave, ‘is a judicial proceeding, and it is a constitutional rule of the highest importance that the Magistracy, in the performance of its judicial functions, shall be absolutely free from interference by the Executive Government.’ On the other hand, he was not averse to deputy registrars taking ‘especial pains’ to ensure that Maori claimants submitted the fullest possible information concerning age and property. Where they considered such evidence to be inadequate, they could oppose the award of a grant.³⁹⁵ Successive registrars or commissioners of pensions in fact would display a particular concern for the public purse. They thus sought to secure a greater measure of

³⁹¹ ‘Population in New Zealand,’ *New Zealand Herald* 5 June 1900, p.6. See also ‘The increase of the aged in New Zealand,’ *Press* 8 July 1902, p.4. The latter suggested that ‘The most startling fact in the information disclosed in the late census ... is the extraordinary and rapid increase of aged people in the colony as time goes on.’ Whereas those aged 65 and over represented just 0.86 of the (Pakeha) population in 1867, by 1891 that proportion had reached 2.29 and by 1901 4.06. That accelerating rate reflected the age structure of the immigrants of the 1860s and 1870s.

³⁹² Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Secretary to the Treasury 26 February 1900, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

³⁹³ Secretary, Treasury to Under Secretary, Justice 26 March 1900, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

³⁹⁴ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to deputy registrars 6 April 1900, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

³⁹⁵ Under Secretary, Justice to Secretary to the Treasury 27 March 1900, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

centralised control over the award of pensions and their renewal, to reduce the number of elderly in receipt of the pension, to restrain the rate of increase in the number of pensioners by distinguishing between the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving poor,’ and to prevent fraud.

Maori in particular would bear the brunt of the Government’s punitive approach to the administration of the old-age scheme, especially once it was realised that far from dying out, as widely expected, Maori population numbers were showing signs of recovery. The first signs of concern emerged in August 1899 when Herries requested a return showing the number of Maori and ‘half-castes’ who had applied for and been granted the old-age pension. That return indicated that 1,311 had applied (59.7 per cent of whom were males), while 584 had been granted: whether the remaining applications had been rejected or were awaiting processing was not stated.³⁹⁶ By 1901 it was apparent that some 65 per cent of those Maori eligible by age were on the pension roll, compared with 36 per cent of eligible Pakeha. ‘The reason,’ claimed Segar, ‘was obvious, the Maoris were in the stationary state [births equalled deaths].’³⁹⁷ The Government does not appear to have grasped Segar’s point, Seddon certainly expressing regret over Parliament’s decision to include Maori with the scheme’s ambit and indeed contemplated amending the law.³⁹⁸

Graph 3.1 sets out the number of old-age pensions in force at the end of March of each year for both Maori and Pakeha over the period from 1901 to 1939. The decline in the number of both Pakeha and Maori pensions during the first half of the decade after 1900 reflected the greatly increased measure of control over the award of pension certificates bestowed on the Registrar by the regulations under the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 issued in February 1903. The Registrar never tired of making plain his zeal for strict administration and economy: as a result, the number of new pensions granted fell from 43 per cent of those eligible by age and residence for the year ended 31 March 1902 to

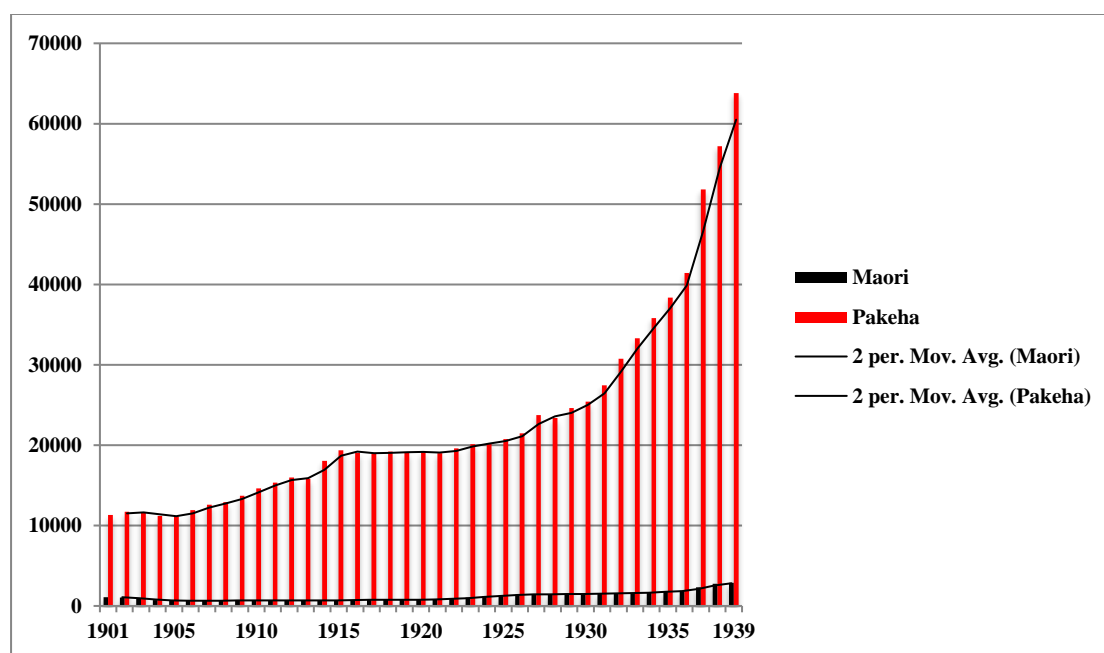
³⁹⁶ AJHR 1899, H18A.

³⁹⁷ ‘Population in New Zealand,’ *New Zealand Herald* 5 June 1900, p.6. The 1901 Maori census indicated that the population had increased appreciably since 1896, an outcome that the *Evening Star* described as ‘One of the most satisfactory results’ of the census, although in part the result of improved enumeration. See, ‘The Maori census,’ *Evening Star* 21 January 1902, p.1.

³⁹⁸ Seddon to Reeves 14 February 1901, quoted in Marcia Stenson, ‘Social legislation in New Zealand,’ MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1962, p.87. Cited in Margaret McClure, *A civilised community: a history of social security in New Zealand, 1898-1998*. Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1998, p.26.

27 per cent for the year ended 31 March 1904. The actual number of pensions granted also fell, from 1,694 in 1902 to 1,063 two years later.³⁹⁹ Registrar Smith was clearly delighted, as indeed was Prime Minister Seddon.⁴⁰⁰

By the end of March 1905, 1,788 pensioners had been removed from the pension roll for reasons other than death.⁴⁰¹ That decline soon gave way to a steady rise in the number of Pakeha old-age pensions, the number then stabilising during World War I before beginning a sustained rise from about 1920. The number of Maori pensioners increased at a significantly slower rate, although the number rose from 1,134 in 1931 to 3,096 in 1938. The slower growth in the number of Maori old-age pensioners reflects, in part, differences in age structures between the two population subsets, while marked increases in the standard property exemption favoured greater Pakeha participation in the scheme.



Sources: AJHR, 1899 to 1909, H18; 1910 to 1912, F9; and 1913 to 1939

Graph 3.1: Number of old-age pensions in force, Maori and Pakeha, as at the end of March, 1900 to 1939

³⁹⁹ AJHR 1904, H18, p.1.

⁴⁰⁰ Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, p.283

⁴⁰¹ AJHR 1905, H18, p.1. See Oliver, 'The origins and growth of the welfare state,' p.11.

3.6 Administering the old-age pension scheme

Given the early concerns that emerged over the number of Maori applying for a pension under the Old-age Pensions Act 1898, the key issue for Maori was the manner in which the Government, through its Commissioner of Pensions, would interpret and administer the law. Several matters quickly assumed prominence.

3.6.1 Assessing ages

Incorrect assessment of age was believed to be one of the main factors behind the unexpectedly high numbers of Maori who applied for the old-age pension. As Deputy Commissioner of Pensions, George Fache, in 1911, attempted to block altogether pension applications from Maori by insisting that claimants offer ‘absolutely convincing evidence’ of age, and to do so before any claim form was even issued.⁴⁰² In effect, that would have usurped the role of magistrates. Maori certainly encountered particular difficulties in proving age: registration of Maori births, deaths, and marriages was not made compulsory until 1 April 1913, and even then under-registration continued for some years.⁴⁰³ Officials were instructed to take all possible steps to verify ages, and recourse was had to a variety of means, among them, requiring applicants to submit details of their whakapapa, affirming under oath, and citing the support of reputable persons. The latter were almost invariably Pakeha and many Maori had had only limited contact with Pakeha, reputable or otherwise.

Similar difficulties arose over the matter of ‘moral’ or ‘character tests.’ Whanganui’s magistrate, H.E. Kenny, noted (in June 1899) that when it came to assessing character he rejected ‘native evidence’ in favour of that proffered by a clergyman, a justice of the peace, a policeman, or a ‘well-known & trustworthy European settler.’⁴⁰⁴ In May 1903, the Registrar of Pensions suggested to his deputy registrars that judges of the Native Land Court and ‘the white Presidents of Maori Councils’ be asked to assist Maori

⁴⁰² Whyte, ‘Old-age pensions,’ pp.128-129. By the Old-age Pensions Amendment Act 1908, the Registrar of Old-age Pensions was re-designated the Commissioner of Pensions and Deputy Registrars as Registrars.

⁴⁰³ Under the Births and Deaths Registration Amendment Act 1912.

⁴⁰⁴ Magistrate, Whanganui to Registrar, Old-age Pensions 14 June 1899, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

claimants to complete their application forms.⁴⁰⁵ Seddon approved that suggestion: whether it was carried in to effect was not established.

3.6.2 Discomforted magistrates

Within two years of the scheme's implementation, magistrates were expressing some discomfort over dealing with Maori applicants. Thus Magistrate W.R. Haselden of Wellington, before the 1901 Old-age Pensions Regulations Committee, insisted that Maori claims presented 'great difficulty' when it came to establishing whether they had land, their age, and their character. The chairman of that committee asked a bizarre question, namely, whether it would be possible to secure 'confirmatory evidence from the immigration records about them.'⁴⁰⁶ Haselden claimed that neither the Native Office nor the Land Registry could offer much assistance.⁴⁰⁷ One matter was established, namely, that Maori applicants had to find their own interpreter the cost of which came out of the pension claim. Haselden acknowledged that he felt uncomfortable dealing with Maori claimants partly, it seemed, because he did not have full confidence in the interpreters. He was reminded that clause 33 of the Regulations provided that 'It shall be the duty of every Government officer having the requisite knowledge of the Maori language to assist Maoris in preparing their pension-claims and income and property statements and to give the aforesaid certificate without fee.' Haselden had not been assigned an official interpreter.⁴⁰⁸ The law, it seemed, was not being administered in the manner required by the Act. Several magistrates simply proposed the complete exclusion of Maori from the Act.⁴⁰⁹

While officials complained of the difficulties, with respect to Maori, that they encountered in implementing the old-age pension scheme, they expressed little interest in those that confronted Maori when lodging applications for a pension or for renewals. It was apparent from an early stage that many struggled to understand what information they were required to supply, what they had to prove, and how proof was to be adduced. Many of the claimants were very old, many had had very limited contact with Pakeha

⁴⁰⁵ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to deputy registrars 29 May 1903, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴⁰⁶ AJHR 1901, I10, p.4.

⁴⁰⁷ AJHR 1901, I10, p.4.

⁴⁰⁸ AJHR 1901, I10, p.5.

⁴⁰⁹ Whyte, 'Old-age pensions,' pp.48-49.

let alone Pakeha officialdom, and the deputy registrars of pensions seemed either unable or not disposed to assist. Some magistrates requested that interpreters be provided, that is, officials whose task it would be to advise claimants and assist them to prepare their cases. Perhaps, suggested, Whanganui's magistrate, the Native land purchase officers could fulfil that role.⁴¹⁰ The suggestion that an official be appointed to assist magistrates found its way to the Colonial Treasurer: he concluded, after 'having carefully considered the matter,' that it was 'undesirable for the Government to make such an appointment.'⁴¹¹ The Secretary to the Treasury offered no explanation for the decision. On the other hand, in September 1899, the Colonial Treasurer did direct that all claims lodged by Maori should be referred to native land purchase officers.⁴¹² A month later, he directed deputy registrars to submit all claims to the registrars of the Native Land Court before consulting the latter.⁴¹³ In short, the resources of the State would be brought to bear in order to assist magistrates but not Maori applicants.

3.6.3 Fraud or destitution?

The unexpectedly large response to the scheme led one journal to suggest that the administration of the Old-age Pensions Act admitted 'of a very large amount of fraud.' The available statistics, it insisted, notably the significantly larger number of people who had secured a pension and the significantly greater cost to the Government than Seddon had originally predicted, supported its claim. Why it was assumed that Seddon's original estimates had been even approximately correct, it did not say. Of particular concern was the fact that of those aged 65 and over in 1899-1900, 41.6 per cent were in receipt of a pension. That figure rose to 42.6 per cent before declining slightly in the following year to 41.0 per cent. 'These figures,' the journal claimed, 'suggest reflection of a disconcerting and disappointing kind – of a very alarming kind,

⁴¹⁰ Magistrate, Whanganui to Registrar, Old-age Pensions 14 June 1899, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴¹¹ Secretary to the Treasury to H.E. Kenny, Whanganui 28 June 1899, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴¹² Registrar, Old-age Pensions to deputy registrars 6 September 1899, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴¹³ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to deputy registrars 19 October 1899, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

indeed.’ To what, it asked, was the increase in numbers receiving the pension attributable to fraud ‘or to an entirely unexpected amount of poverty in the colony?’

It left the question unanswered, but went on to claim that ‘the percentage of persons among the Maoris receiving pensions is enormously in excess of that of the Europeans.’ Whereas Maori constituted five per cent of the colony’s population, pensions awarded to them accounted for ten per cent of the cost. ‘There is,’ it conceded, ‘no doubt a good deal of destitution among the landless aged Maori population, but yet not sufficient to account for the numbers receiving relief under the Old-age Pensions Act. That there is fraud, and fraud of a gigantic and shameless kind, is clear ...’⁴¹⁴ The *Wanganui Herald* was also certain that a large number of Maori had secured pensions fraudulently, specifically by ‘having divested themselves of their land ...’⁴¹⁵ No evidence was offered.⁴¹⁶

The Old-age Pensions Amendment Act 1902, intended to subject applications to more rigorous scrutiny, was the Government’s response to the supposed widespread ‘abuse’ of the scheme. Section 2 empowered a magistrate to refuse any application in which he suspected fraudulent misrepresentation, while section 3 empowered the Registrar to seek a re-hearing where he had reason to believe that a pension certificate had been obtained improperly. Section 4 allowed a magistrate to review at any time the grant of a pension certificate. In his report for the year ended 31 March 1903, the Registrar of Old-age Pensions complained about the ‘numerous’ instances in which individuals had (allegedly) secured pensions through ‘fraud and misrepresentation ...’ He went on to add that, to prevent that practice, he had devised a new system of examination. Under the regulations issued in February 1903, applicants were required to complete a new claim form and to appear before a deputy registrar before their case was considered by a Stipendiary Magistrate.⁴¹⁷ Again, it seems, the Registrar was determined to gain as much control as possible of the administrative process.

⁴¹⁴ ‘Old-age pensions,’ *Tuapeka Times* 1 October 1902, p.2.

⁴¹⁵ ‘Old-age pensions,’ *Wanganui Herald* 11 September 1902, p.2.

⁴¹⁶ A survey of PapersPast utilising the words ‘Maori old-age pension fraud’ failed to disclose any prosecution for alleged pension fraud, least of all during the early years of the scheme when the country’s newspapers readily published reports of such prosecutions.

⁴¹⁷ AJHR 1903, H18, p.1. Those applying for the renewal of their pensions were required to submit to the same procedure.

3.6.4 ‘An opportunity of doing their utmost’

In September 1902, the Registrar of Pensions insisted that ‘a large number’ of Maori pensioners did not in fact require the pension, citing their ‘neglect’ to draw their pension instalments promptly from ‘the various Money-Order Offices.’ That many Maori in remote settlements did not have ready access to such offices appears to have eluded him. He thus instructed his deputy registrars to ‘take a careful note of each native pensioner’ and in those cases in which they were certain that pensions were not required to inform magistrates accordingly when applications for renewal were being considered. Magistrates, he hoped, would ‘pay due attention to your representations ... and might refuse to grant a renewal.’⁴¹⁸ A few months later, in April 1903, he informed his deputy registrars that ‘The Government’ had issued instructions to the effect that, where any doubt existed over the qualifications of Maori applicants for the old-age pension, they were to oppose any grant. He went further, suggesting that where applicants were eligible for but did not require pensions ‘The question arises whether it is preferable not to grant pensions to this class rather than the whole race should suffer.’⁴¹⁹

In that same month, April 1903, representatives of the country’s Maori councils convened: Rere Neketini represented the Raukawa Maori Council and Te Raika the Kurahaupo Maori Council. As Superintendent of the Councils (a position he had assumed in March 1903), Gilbert Mair reported that, among other matters, the question of old-age pensions was discussed. On that matter, Seddon had evidently despatched a telegram to the conference, while the Registrar of Pensions addressed the meeting: the essence of their comments was to the effect that ‘certain old-age Maori pensioners were being defrauded of their pensions by other Natives ...’ Those assembled representatives thus decided that

1. Wherever, through age or other infirmities, applicants for old-age pensions are unable to appear in person before the Stipendiary Magistrate, that officer may refer Maori applications to the Maori Council of the district in which the applicants reside for full inquiry and report as to the *bona fides* of each

⁴¹⁸ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to deputy registrars 1 September 1902, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴¹⁹ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to deputy registrars 17 April 1903, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

applicant, and whether certificates or renewal certificates should be issued to them.

2. In cases where old-age pensioners are unable to appear personally to receive their pensions, the Maori Council where such pensioners are resident may be empowered under regulations to undertake the payment of same.

3. In any case when an old-age pensioner is living in a place unfit for human habitation, the Registrar may, on the report of the Chairman of any Maori Council and after due inquiry, direct that a portion of the pension may be employed in improving the residence of the pensioner or in building a better residence for the same.

4. If the Government ever contemplate depriving the aged Maoris of their pensions, this Conference of delegates earnestly begs the Government to stay its hand till the Maori Councils have had an opportunity of doing their utmost to remedy any existing abuses ...⁴²⁰

The representatives offered a short summary, namely, ‘That power be given to the Maori Councils to exercise some supervision in order that the old-age pensioners may receive their duly authorised pensions without deduction of any kind.’⁴²¹ The summary and the recommendations clearly reflected a concern that Maori could be excluded from the old-age pension scheme entirely or that the pensions paid to Maori could be reduced. As importantly, the Maori Councils generally – and the Raukawa Maori Council in particular – were clearly keen to forge a partnership with the Crown over the delivery of social services, in this instance, pension entitlements. But of considerable significance, too, was the linking of pensions with housing improvements, and the desire of the councils to play a role in effecting improvements: another 35 years would pass before Maori old-age pensioners could assign their pensions in part or in whole against advances for housing purposes (see below). That the matter was raised suggested that significant housing difficulties had emerged by the turn of the century, if not a good deal earlier. It is worthwhile noting that the Maori Councils Amendment Act 1903 made no reference to the administration of the old-age pension, nor was the matter discussed during the 1911 general conference of Maori councils. Rere Neketini again represented the Raukawa Maori Council, while Taraua Marumaruru represented the Kurahaupo Maori Council. The focus of the discussions was on the survival of the councils and the ‘measure of local self-government’ that they offered. The Councils did not list assisting the Registrar of Pensions as one of their achievements and the matter of pensions appears not otherwise to have been discussed.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ AJHR 1903, G1, p.4.

⁴²¹ AJHR 1903, G1, p.3.

⁴²² See AJHR 1911, G3.

In September 1903, the Registrar of Pensions claimed that the number of Maori on the pension roll was ‘out of all proportion to the native population’ and that he would ‘warmly’ support efforts to oppose the grant of new applications or renewals to those deemed to be ‘not actually in want ...’⁴²³ He certainly maintained a close watch on applications by Maori, demanding an explanation for any increase that he considered anomalous, unusual, or ‘abnormal.’ In November 1903, he reminded the chairmen of the Maori Councils of the proceedings of the April conference. The chairman of the Raukawa Maori Council did suggest that several Maori in his district were receiving the pension although not in need while others were in breach of section 8(6) of the Old-age Pensions Act, spending their money on ‘drink.’ Otaki’s deputy registrar was asked to ‘take every opportunity of ridding the pension rolls of those who fail to comply ... and by their conduct reflect discredit upon deserving recipients of the pension. The eligible portion of the population,’ he added, ‘must be protected.’⁴²⁴ The Registrar’s evident desire to employ the Maori councils as policing agents was hardly consistent with their desire to engage more broadly in the delivery of social services. Indeed, the prospect was raised in 1903 of Maori being excluded from the scheme altogether, while deputy registrars were commended where they succeeded in halting the rise in numbers on the rolls.⁴²⁵

3.6.5 ‘From all appearances’

Of all the difficulties confronting both applicants and officials, that of defining interests in land (especially land in customary ownership), and income from land, rents, and royalties proved the least tractable. Section 66 of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 directed a magistrate, when dealing with an application lodged by a Maori, to follow certain rules with respect to the ‘rights or property held or enjoyed otherwise than under defined legal title,’ namely:

⁴²³ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Deputy Registrar, Marton 29 September 1903, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴²⁴ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Deputy Registrar, Otaki 13 November 1903, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴²⁵ See, for example, Registrar, Pensions to Deputy Registrar, Russell 12 September 1903; and Registrar, Pensions to Deputy Registrar, Rotorua 3 October 1903, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SSW1944 OAP190/N4.

In respect of ‘income,’ any customary rights used or capable of being used in respect of land the title to which has not been ascertained, but which is enjoyed or capable of enjoyment, shall be assessed and determined by such evidence and in such manner as the Stipendiary Magistrate shall in his discretion consider proper;

In respect of ‘accumulated property,’ the interest in land or other property held or enjoyed under Native custom, or in any way other than by defined legal title, shall be assessed and determined by the Stipendiary Magistrate in manner aforesaid, with the view of arriving as nearly as may be at a decision as to the net capital value thereof for the purposes of this Act, and the decision of the Stipendiary Magistrate therein shall be final.

Quite how magistrates were to establish either the actual or the potential income arising from customary rights was not specified. With respect to ‘accumulated property,’ towards the end of 1899 the Registrar of Old-age Pensions decided that all applications should be referred to the Native Land Court so that checks on interests in land could be made and valuations established. The assumption was that Maori land titles were sufficiently robust and complete to allow such checks to be made. In fact, such was far from the case, and the Native Land Court would soon prove unable to offer effective assistance in determining the owners of many papatupu blocks, quite apart from establishing their proportionate shares and the value of those shares. The use of aliases by many Maori hardly simplified matters.

Hence, in 1902, Auckland’s Registrar made it clear that the Court did not maintain an alphabetical listing of owners.⁴²⁶ It is worth noting here that the valuation rolls, frequently employed by the Pensions Department with respect to Pakeha applicants, usually failed to list the names of Maori owners. In 1905, Hone Heke Ngapua proposed, during the course of remarks on the old-age pension scheme, that the Government should establish which Maori possessed sufficient land to disqualify them from receiving the pension.⁴²⁷ In 1908, William Herries claimed that the preparation of ‘some sort of Domesday Book’ should be undertaken.⁴²⁸ In 1911, the Pensions Department again expressed frustration over the apparent inability of the Native Land

⁴²⁶ In Deputy Commissioner, Pension to Commissioner, Pensions 10 October 1911, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴²⁷ NZPD 1905, Vol. 132, p.395.

⁴²⁸ NZPD 1908, Vol.144, p.268.

Court to furnish the required details and indeed suggested that the preparation of an alphabetical list was surely a ‘surmountable’ undertaking.⁴²⁹

Frustrated by the apparent inability of the Native Land Court to assist, the Registrar of Pensions, in April 1903, issued instructions to the effect that where Maori applicants ‘own land, and are, from all appearances, not in want ...’ deputy registrars were to oppose strongly the granting of pensions.⁴³⁰ The terminology employed ‘from all appearances’ suggested that a less than robust process would suffice. Where magistrates considered that Maori applicants had undervalued their lands, grants were withheld.⁴³¹ Smith continued to express his frustration, in April 1904 lamenting ‘that a claimant has merely to say he has no land, and there is no means of disproving the statement.’ In a letter to Russell’s Magistrate R.S. Florance, Smith claimed that so unsatisfactory was the position that the Government was still ‘seriously considering’ whether Maori should continue to participate in the Old-age Pensions Scheme.⁴³² While not supporting exclusion, he remained bothered, in particular by the matter of age, insisting that applicants present ‘conclusive proof’ of age, but without specifying the nature of such proof.⁴³³ Smith was careful not to issue any directives but the import of his observations was perfectly clear. Again, in October 1905, he complained that the Native Land Court was only able to supply details of interests where the name and number of the block were known. And ‘Therein lies the uncertainty of the true position of native claimants,’ so that any steps taken to keep off the books those who did not appear to be in need would have Smith’s ‘firm support.’ He carefully noted that two magistrates had decided, since the passage of the Old-age Pensions Act 1905, that £18 (rather than the full pension of £26) was sufficient by way of an old-age pension for Maori and that he had ‘accordingly granted that amount as the maximum.’⁴³⁴ Other magistrates had evidently decided that the mere possession of property was sufficient to disqualify a

⁴²⁹ Deputy Commissioner, Pension to Commissioner, Pensions 10 October 1911, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴³⁰ Registrar, Pensions to Deputy Registrars, Pensions 17 April 1903, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SSW1944 OAP190/N4.

⁴³¹ Registrar, Pensions to Deputy Registrar, Raglan 18 July 1903, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SSW1944 OAP190/N4.

⁴³² Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Stipendiary Magistrate, Russell 26 April 1904, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴³³ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Stipendiary Magistrate, Russell 26 April 1904, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴³⁴ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Deputy Registrar, Rotorua 9 October 1905, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

Maori claimant. Further, Smith opined that if an applicant were destitute and landless, a magistrate should be asked to recommend an allowance out of the Civil List.⁴³⁵

Establishing the value of lands and especially the value of individual interests in land in Maori ownership generally proved difficult. As noted, section 66 of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 required a magistrate to establish ‘the net capital value’ of such interests in land. In 1911, the Commissioner of Pensions expressed concern over the apparent ‘undervaluing’ of Maori freehold land. In fact, (as noted in Chapter 1) the practice of the Surveyor General, the Native Land Purchase Department, and, following the passage of the Government Valuation of Land Act 1896, the Valuation Department, had been to discount the value of lands owned by Maori. Justification was found in the ‘tenure difficulties’ often associated with such land, although in 1907 Native Minister Carroll referred to a ‘rule’ by which ‘the price of Native land should be estimated at least 15 percent under that of any other,’ on the grounds, he indicated, that the Crown had helped to increase the value of the land by expenditure on public works.⁴³⁶ Further, in 1915, the Valuer General acknowledged that valuations of unimproved lands were ‘held down’ in order to assist the Crown’s land acquisition and settlement programme.⁴³⁷ In effect, lands owned by Maori appear to have suffered from a double discounting. The Commissioner of Pensions’ complaint appears to have originated in the Crown’s own valuation practices.

In April 1913, the Commissioner of Pensions declared that ‘it is almost hopeless to obtain the true position as to the ownership of land in any Maori claim ...’⁴³⁸ Nevertheless, section 66 of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 reappeared as section 72 of the Pensions Act 1913. Instituting proceedings against those Maori who had not declared all their land interests under section 47 of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 was considered, but that possible course of action encountered section 423 of the Native Land Act 1909: the latter provided that no beneficial freehold interest in Maori land could be taken in execution or otherwise made available for the payment of debts or

⁴³⁵ Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Deputy Registrar, Waipawa 1 November 1905, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SS7W1844/16 OAP 190/N4.

⁴³⁶ NZPD 1907, Vol.140, p.396.

⁴³⁷ AJHR 1915, B17B, p.16. See also Proceedings of the Conference of Valuers of Valuation Department, Wellington, 1911, in ANZ Wellington AAVI W3486/55 19/7.

⁴³⁸ Commissioner, Pensions to Registrar of Pensions, Napier 4 April 1913, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

liabilities.⁴³⁹ It was thus easier for magistrates simply to reduce all pensions. In any case, some claimed that both old-age and widows' pensions were benefiting younger relatives or being used for the good of their hapu.⁴⁴⁰ That applicants might possess interests in blocks that could not be let, sold, or farmed appeared to have been of little moment, as indeed was the fact that during the 1920s and 1930 in particular, many lessees of Maori freehold land failed to pay rents.

3.6.6 Reducing entitlements

In practice, many – but not all – magistrates thus reduced the pension payable to a Maori pensioner from £18 to £12 per annum, that is, by a third. In 1905, when the annual maximum was raised from £18 to £26, that payable to those Maori to whom it was awarded was raised from £12 to £18 per annum. According to Whyte, the reduction was applied irrespective of the financial position of applicants.⁴⁴¹ In other words, it was a rule of administrative convenience and one applied strictly on a racial basis. It was also a policy for which there was no legislative authority, but was one that an estimated four of every ten magistrates had implemented by 1907.⁴⁴² While, then, some magistrates declined to draw any distinction between Maori and Pakeha applicants, the average pension paid to Pakeha stood at almost £25 in 1906, but that to Maori at just over £16. In 1908, Ngata took the matter up with the Minister for Pensions and with the Prime Minister but without success. The Registrar of Old-age Pensions continued to press all magistrates to reduce the pensions awarded to Maori, although a few continued to insist that there was no statutory basis for any reduction.

In 1924, Maui Pomare recorded his concerns over the practice of reducing pensions.⁴⁴³ Subsequently, the Commissioner of Pensions prepared a lengthy memorandum for his Minister in which he recorded that

⁴³⁹ Assistant Law Officer to Commissioner, Pensions 23 May 1913, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴⁴⁰ Commissioner, Pensions to Registrar of Pensions, Napier 4 April 1913, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴⁴¹ Whyte, 'Old-age Pensions,' p.92.

⁴⁴² 'Amounts granted to Natives by Magistrates,' Registrar, Old-age Pensions to Prime Minister 28 November 1907, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7 9/9/1 Part 2. Cited in Whyte, 'Old-age pensions,' p.93.

⁴⁴³ M. Pomare to Minister, Native Affairs 26 August 1924, and M. Pomare to Minister, Native Affairs 24 October 1924, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

The great difficulty in regard to the ownership of native land is that there are no known means whereby the Department can check the statements of applicants. Many natives have several names and are owners in more than one block and unless the name of the block is supplied the Native Department refuses, because it says it is unable to supply any information; and when ownership is disclosed, it is next to impossible to get the true valuation from Government records for several reasons, the main one being that the valuations are not traceable, and if they are, there are varying valuations for different sections of the blocks.⁴⁴⁴

These complaints appear curious given the ability of the Maori land boards or agents acting for alienees, when confirming alienations, readily to assemble detailed lists of owners, the extent of their interests – including interests in ‘other lands’ – and the value of those interests. The Commissioner went on to defend the practice by citing section 72 of the Pensions Act 1913 and setting out the procedure followed in respect of applications lodged by Maori. Checks, he noted, were made with the Native Land Court but that ‘it is pure gamble as to what information we get ...’ while many Maori either did not know or professed not to know the details of their interests. Some magistrates therefore had reduced pensions, both new and renewed, but others had not.⁴⁴⁵

The Commissioner of Pensions thus decided that in the application of the law ‘uniformity’ was required. Under the Pensions Amendment Act 1925, decisions over pension renewal were to be made by the Commissioner of Pensions: the desired ‘uniformity’ was to be secured by reducing the old-age pension unless an applicant could prove that had s/he had no interest in land. That applicants might not know that they possessed interest was evidently not, for the Commissioner, a matter of concern. Where an applicant could not adduce such proof, then the pension would be paid at the rate of 75 per cent of the statutory maximum. On the other hand, an applicant who could demonstrate that s/he was living in Pakeha fashion and paying rent or was landless would receive the full pension.⁴⁴⁶ He also decided that a similar reduction should apply to a widow and her children where they had interests in Maori land and were ‘living

⁴⁴⁴ Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 13 September 1924, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 13 September 1924, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴⁴⁶ Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 27 May 1926, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SSW2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2. Commissioner George Fache had planned to use section 72 of the Pensions Act 1913 to reduce the pension payable to Maori to 71 per cent of the maximum rate of £45 10s, that is, £32 6s.

Maori fashion.’ The reason, he claimed was ‘that it is impossible to discover what their interests really are.’⁴⁴⁷ That appears to have been a criticism of the administrative failings of the Native Land Court, if not of the original decision to initiate and sustain two separate systems of land titling. Elderly and widowed Maori were evidently to carry the cost of those failings.

The policy took effect from 1 April 1926 and evoked challenges by, among others, Maui Pomare who demanded to know why ‘an arbitrary (and possibly unjustifiable) reduction should be made among Maori old-age pensions.’⁴⁴⁸ The matter does not appear to have been raised in Parliament nor discussed widely in the press. The Commissioner pressed further, proposing that applicants produce ‘a certificate of landlessness’ prepared by the Native Land Court.⁴⁴⁹ Whyte recorded that that proposal was adopted.⁴⁵⁰ Section 72 reappeared again as section 92 in the Pensions Act 1926 and became, McClure recorded, ‘the “fictional” means whereby the Department maintained a lower pension for Maori.’⁴⁵¹ Unfortunately, the published data relating to pensions offer global summaries of expenditure, rendering it impossible to calculate the average value of pensions awarded to Maori and Pakeha respectively. The evidence is clear nevertheless that, as Whyte concluded, prior to 1936 most Maori received reduced pensions.⁴⁵² Certainly, that was the case in Porirua ki Manawatu (see below).

3.6.7 Fraud and the cancellation of old-age pensions

One other matter merits brief discussion, namely the frequent claims made that some Maori secured old-age pensions through misrepresentation, incomplete information, or

⁴⁴⁷ Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 27 May 1926, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SSW2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴⁴⁸ Pomare to Minister, Pensions 20 January 1927, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SSW2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2. See also Minister, Pensions to Maui Pomare 16 February 1927, Maui Pomare to Minister, Native Affairs 6 April 1927, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SSW2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

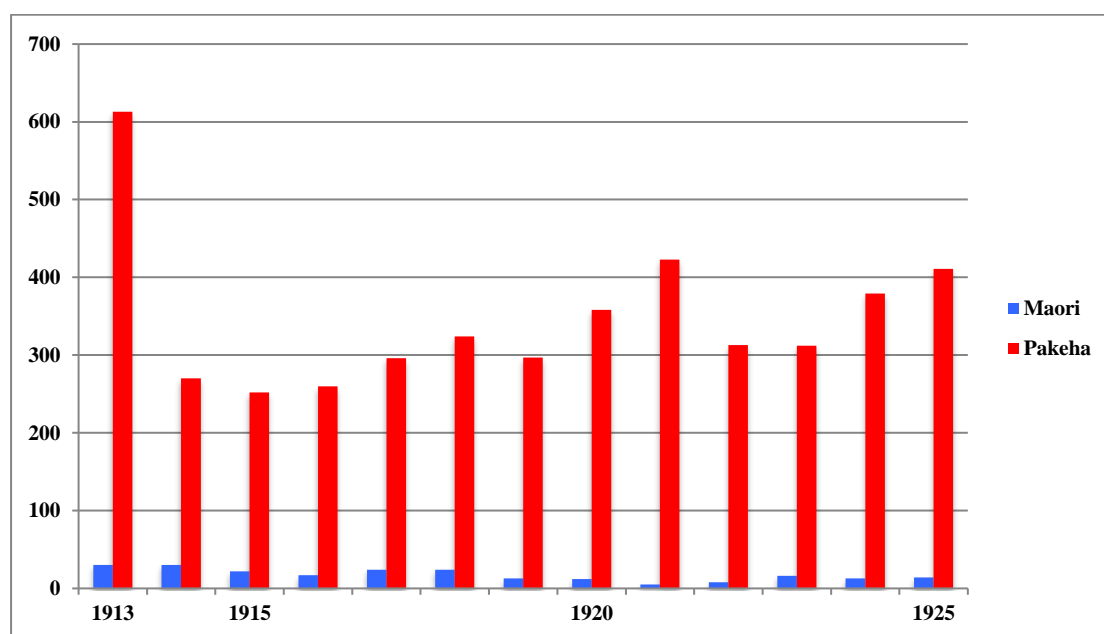
⁴⁴⁹ Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 10 February 1927, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SSW2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁴⁵⁰ Whyte, ‘Old-age pensions,’ p.188. In 1898, Carroll had introduced ‘The Landless Natives Act 1898.’ Clause 4 had provided that any Maori who considered that he held insufficient land for the ‘reasonable support of himself and his dependents,’ could apply to a Board of Commissioners (to be established under the Act) for a ‘Landless Certificate.’ The Bill was not passed. Neither the Native Land Act 1909 nor the Native Land Amendment Act 1913 contained any provisions relating to the issue of ‘landless certificates.’

⁴⁵¹ Secretary, Native Department to Secretary, Treasury 1 November 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490 36/23. Cited in McClure, *A civilised community*, p.44.

⁴⁵² Whyte, ‘Old-age pensions,’ p.225.

outright fraud. Published data relating to the cancellation (for reasons other than death) of old-age pensions that distinguish between Pakeha and Maori are available from the end of March 1913 to the end of March 1925. The reasons for cancellation were not recorded. Graph 3.2 sets out the details: the number of old-age pensions granted to Maori and cancelled was clearly very small.



Source: AJHR H18

Graph 3.2: Cancellations of old-age pensions, 1912 to 1925

Table 3.2 sets out the number of cancellations – from all causes – as a proportion of the number of pensions, Maori and Pakeha, in force as at 31 March of each year. It indicates that the rate of cancellation among Maori was appreciably higher than that among Pakeha over the years from 1912 to 1977, before dipping below the latter for most of the rest of the period under review. There is, in short, little to suggest that Maori were any more disposed to claim pensions to which they were not entitled than any other sector of the community.

Table 3.2: Pensions cancelled as a proportion of pensions in force, Maori and Pakeha, 1912 to 1925

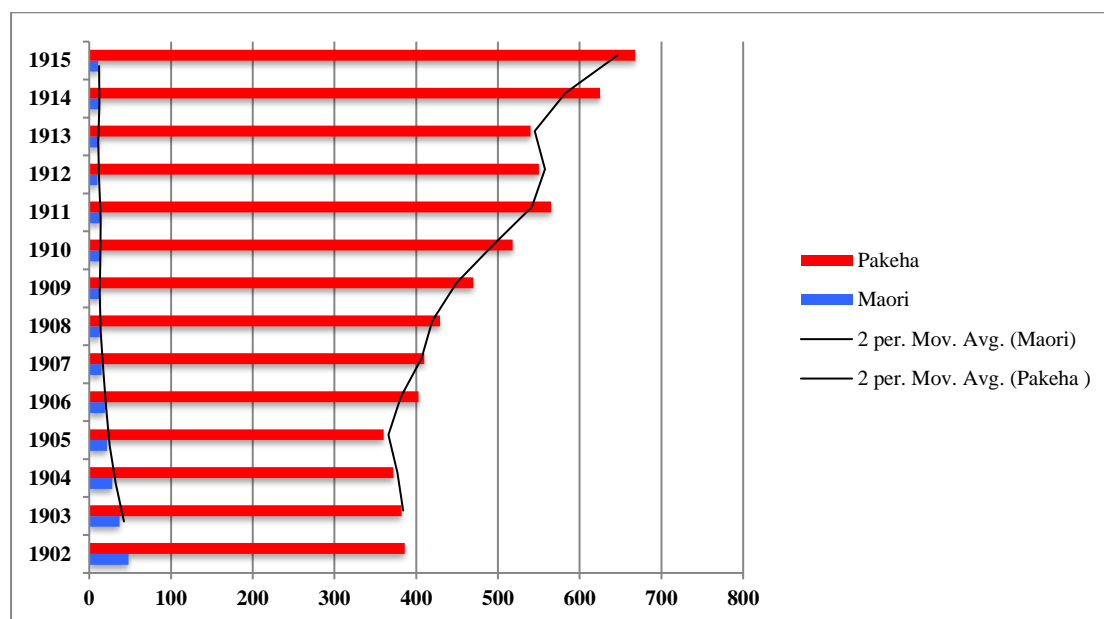
Pensions in force	Maori pensions in force	Maori cancellations per 100	Pakeha pensions in force	Pakeha cancellations per 100
1912	665	4.51	15984	3.84
1913	679	4.41	15830	1.71
1914	671	3.28	18050	1.40
1915	697	2.44	19352	1.34
1916	747	3.21	19057	1.55
1917	756	3.17	18941	1.71
1918	773	1.68	19187	1.55
1919	773	1.55	19099	1.87
1920	795	0.63	19198	2.20
1921	838	0.95	18999	1.65
1922	904	1.77	19587	1.59
1923	1046	1.24	20135	1.88
1924	1211	1.16	20257	2.03

Source: AJHR H18

3.7 Old-age pensions in Porirua ki Manawatu

Evidence suggests that the policies set out above played out within the four pension districts in Porirua ki Manawatu, that is, the Feilding, Marton, Otaki, and Palmerston North pension districts. Table 3.1 set out the number of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori and Pakeha aged over 65 years from 1916 to 1951. Graph 3.3 sets out, for the period from 1901 to 1915, details of the Maori and Pakeha old-age pensions in force at the end of March of each year in the four pension districts of Feilding, Marton, Otaki, and Palmerston North. The number of Maori pensioners in the four pension districts fell from 48 in 1902 to just 22 by 1905, a decline of 58.3 per cent. The number of Pakeha on the roll fell from 386 to 360 over the same period, a decline of 7.2 per cent. What is more remarkable is that the number of Maori on the roll never recovered and in fact continued a slow decline to just 11 in 1915 (the last year for which published data are available), while the number of Pakeha on the roll rose from 360 in 1905 to 668 in 1915, an increase of 85.6 percent over ten years. Smith's declaration that 'sentiment must not be allowed to play any part in the administration of an old-age pension

scheme' appears to have applied with particular force to Maori.⁴⁵³ The 11 Maori old-age pensioners in 1915 represented 14.7 per cent of those aged over 65 years as recorded by the 1916 census. The 668 non-Maori pensions in force represented 34.9 per cent of the comparable non-Maori population.



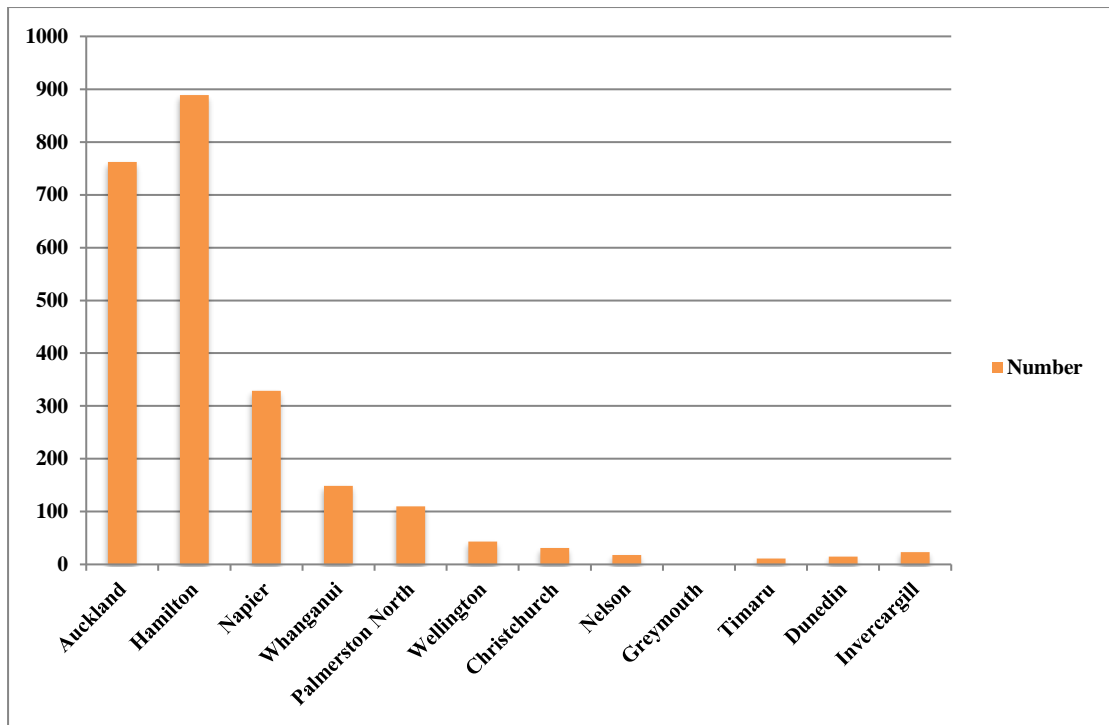
Sources: AJHR1899-1909 and 1913-1915, H18, and 1910-1912, F9

Graph 3.3: Number of Maori and Pakeha old-age pensions in force in the pension districts of Feilding, Marton, Otaki, and Palmerston North, 1902 to 1915

3.7.1 Porirua ki Manawatu: the position in 1937 and 1943

Occasionally some useful data and data summaries are located in other departmental files and Graph 3.4 is based on a summary included in one such file. It sets out the number of Maori age-old pensioners by pension districts as at 31 May 1937: the Palmerston North pension district embraced the Kiwitea, Oroua, Pohangina, Manawatu, Kairanga, and Horowhenua Counties. It had 110 or 4.6 per cent of the New Zealand total of Maori old-age pensioners.

⁴⁵³ AJHR 1905, H18, p.11.



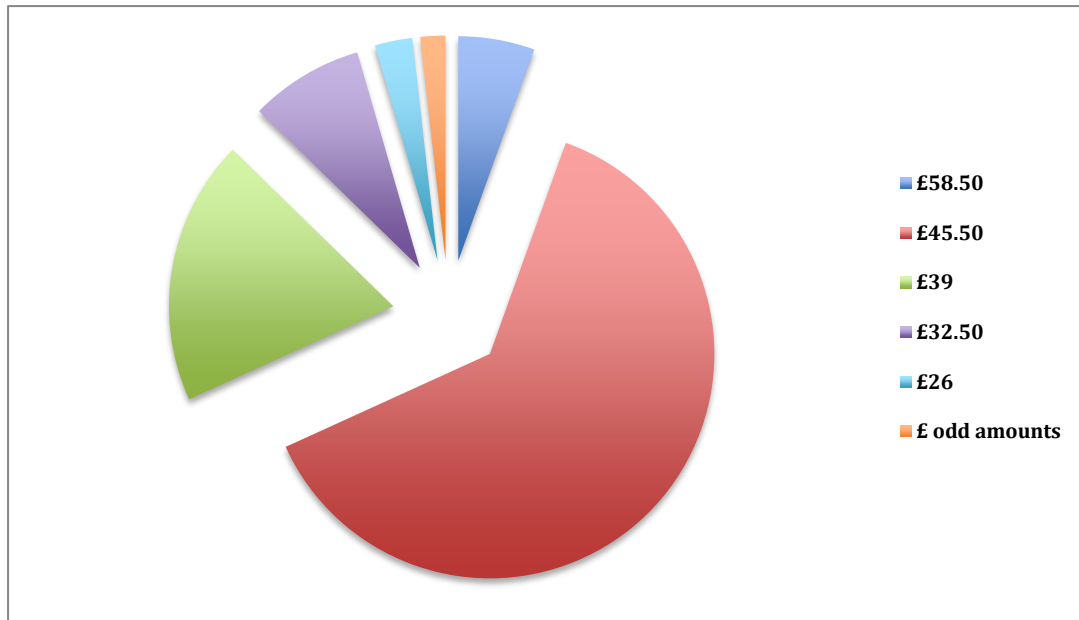
Source: ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1

Graph 3.4: Number of Maori old-age pensioners by pension districts, 31 May 1937

Graph 3.5 sets out, for the Palmerston North pension district, the distribution of pensioners by pensions payable. Just six or 5.5 per cent secured (compared with seven per cent for the country as a whole) the full rate, while 62.7 per cent secured a pension over a fifth lower. Those whose pensions were included in ‘Odd amounts’ received less than £45 10s per annum and indeed three were in receipt of £26 or 44.4 per cent of the full rate.

Of the 110 old-age pensioners, 90 received between £39 and £45 10s per annum. Alternatively, they secured from 15s to 17s 6d per week or some £3 5s to £3 15s per calendar month. In November 1936, the Court of Arbitration issued a general order that fixed basic weekly rates of wages for adult male and female workers at £3 16s and £1 16s respectively, or £197 12s and £93 12s per annum respectively.

It is of interest to note here that if all 2,318 Maori on the old-age pension roll as at the end of May 1937, were paid the full pension, the estimated annual cost was just £30,000.⁴⁵⁴



Source: ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3

Graph 3.5: Distribution of Maori old-age pensions, Palmerston North Pension District, 31 May 1937

3.8 The Civil List

The desire of the Registrar of Pensions, in 1905, to shift responsibility for the support of destitute and landless elderly Maori on to the Civil List was noted above. The Civil List Act 1863 provided for the annual payment to the Crown, out of ‘Taxes Duties Rates and Imposts,’ of £27,500: included in that sum was £7,000 for ‘Native purposes.’ Section 10(1) of the Old-age Pensions Amendment Act 1901 empowered a magistrate, where he considered it ‘more advantageous to the [Maori] applicant to receive an allowance out of the moneys appropriated for Native purposes under “The Civil List Act 1863,”’ to refer an application to the Native Minister ‘with such recommendation as he thinks fit to make.’ Liberal use appears to have been made of that provision for,

⁴⁵⁴ ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

in 1913, during the debate on the Pensions Bill, Ngata drew attention to what he described as ‘a blot upon the old-age pension scheme,’ namely, ‘the conditional manner in which old-age pensions are granted to aged Maoris.’ With respect to section 10(1) of the Old-age Pensions Amendment Act 1901, Ngata claimed that magistrates ‘imagine that this Native Civil List is of the size of the Consolidated Fund.’ He went on:

There are numerous other calls upon the Native Civil List ... If you have magistrates in all parts of the North Island pelting the Native Department with recommendations to grant So-and-so a Native Civil List pension instead of an old-age pension, the Native Minister knows he cannot possibly agree to one-tenth of the recommendations that are made; and yet at the same time I rather suspect that the Magistrate, for fear of over-loading the old-age pension fund, and thinking that there is an elastic fund in charge of the Native Minister to meet the recommendation, nevertheless makes it.

In Ngata’s view

The Magistrate should concern himself with the granting of the old-age pension upon the conditions set out in the Act, with the special provision relating to the property qualification of Maoris; and, as regards accumulated property, the definition ... is a sufficient bar to the large majority of Natives from ever being entitled to the old-age pension, whether their property is remunerative or not – whether it is producing revenue or not ... That is a sufficient bar, and there should not be added to that a further bar by throwing upon the Magistrate the responsibility of recommending to the Minister that instead of an old-age pension the Maori should receive a pension from the Native Minister ... I want the Minister to look carefully into this matter, so as not to give Magistrates a chance of side-tracking a really genuine application from a deserving aged Maori for an ordinary old-age pension instead of a Native Civil List pension.⁴⁵⁵

Ngata was supported by Coates: the applications of many Maori he had assisted had been referred to the Native Civil List ‘and nothing was done, and nothing could be done; and, in any case, we all know how fast and furious the Native Department is ...’⁴⁵⁶ Section 74 of the Old-age Pensions Act 1908, which empowered a magistrate to recommend an allowance under the Civil List Act 1908, did not reappear in the Pensions Act 1913. If the claims advanced by Coates applied more widely, then it seems reasonable to conclude that the applications of many Maori for old-age pensions were

⁴⁵⁵ NZPD 1913, Vol.163, p.110.

⁴⁵⁶ NZPD 1913, Vol.163, p.111.

bounced back and forth among magistrates, the Registrar of Pensions, and the Native Minister and were lost.

3.9 The National Provident Fund

The National Provident Act 1910, otherwise ‘An Act to encourage the Making of Provision against Destitution arising from Old-age, Sickness, Widowhood, and Orphanage,’ came in to effect on 1 January 1911. Any person resident in New Zealand, aged from 16 to 45 years, and whose income did not exceed £200 per annum could register as a contributor. The scheme provided for the payment of weekly pensions at the rates of 10s, 20s, 30s, and 40s: the rate paid depended upon the rate of weekly contributions. By the end of 1949, 146,987 persons had contributed to the National Provident Fund, but 123,172 had withdrawn, leaving a net total of 23,815 contributors as at that date. The published reports make no reference to Maori as contributors.

3.10 Widows’ pensions

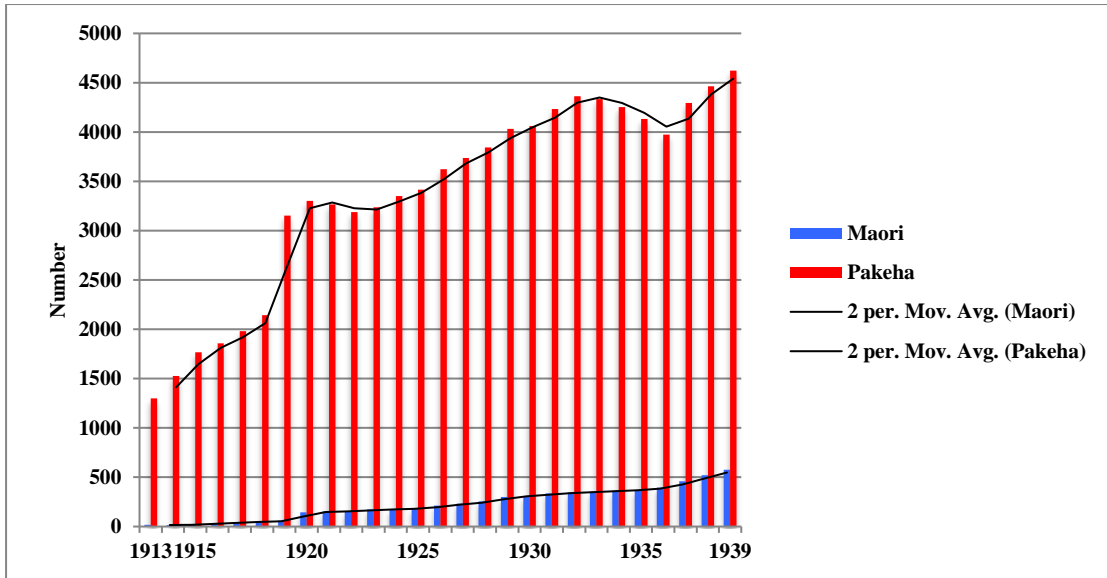
The Widows’ Pensions Act 1911 came in to force on 1 January 1912 and was administered by the Commissioner of Old-age Pensions and registrars of old-age pensions. Section 5 specified the children to whom the Act did not apply: they included any child over 14 years, ‘any illegitimate child, unless legitimated by the subsequent marriage of the parents,’ any adopted child, any child born outside of New Zealand, and any child born in New Zealand unless his/her mother had resided in New Zealand for at least six months prior to birth. The term ‘marriage’ was not defined, although the Pensions Department appears to have followed the Native Land Act 1909 that, for the purposes of property transmission, recognised customary marriages. Section 6 specified the moral tests that an applicant was required to meet, namely ‘sober habits’ and ‘good moral character.’ Section 7 set out the pension rates, namely, £12 per annum for a widow and one child, £18 per annum for a widow and two children, £24 for a widow and three children, and £30 per annum for a widow and more than three children. The rates abated by £1 for every pound by which a widow’s annual income – set at £100 per annum from all sources – exceeded £30. Applications were to be submitted to district registrars and heard and determined by a magistrate. In short, the procedure paralleled that for old-age pensions. Section 18 provided that a pension could be paid

‘to any clergyman, Justice of the Peace, or other reputable person ... for the benefit of the pensioner or her children,’ with or without the consent of the pensioner, and wherever the Commissioner of Pensions was ‘satisfied that it is expedient to do so, having regard to the age, infirmity, or improvidence of the pensioner, or any other special circumstances.’ The monies would be expended as the agent determined. Section 32 excluded aliens and Chinese ‘or other Asiatics’ whether naturalized or not and whether British subjects by birth or not – but not Maori.⁴⁵⁷

Graph 3.6 sets out the number of widows on the pension roll as at the end of March in each year. The number of Maori widows was modest and increased only slowly through the period. Almost certainly, the contrast between the two series reflects, in significant measure, important differences between the age structures of the two groups. The question is whether other factors in addition to differences in age structure were in play. With respect to the definition of a ‘widow,’ the Widows’ Pensions Act 1911 was silent on the matter. It is worth recording here that the question of whether Maori married according to traditional custom qualified under the War Pensions Act 1915 to receive a pension. European law, with the exception of the Native Land Act 1909 (section 140(5)), and then for the purposes of property transmission, did not recognise customary marriages. Ngata was adamant that ‘Our law-courts will define the word “widow” to be the wife, legally married according to the civil law of the country, of the soldier.’⁴⁵⁸ The outcome of Ngata’s representations was the insertion of a new section into the Act. Section 8 provided that where an application was made in respect of the death or disablement of a Maori serviceman, ‘a Native woman who has been married to such member in accordance with Native custom and whose marriage is subsisting at the time of his death or disablement shall be deemed to be his wife within the meaning of this Act, and the children of such marriage shall be deemed to be his legitimate children.’

⁴⁵⁷ These provisions were continued by *Part II: Widows of the Pensions Act 1913*.

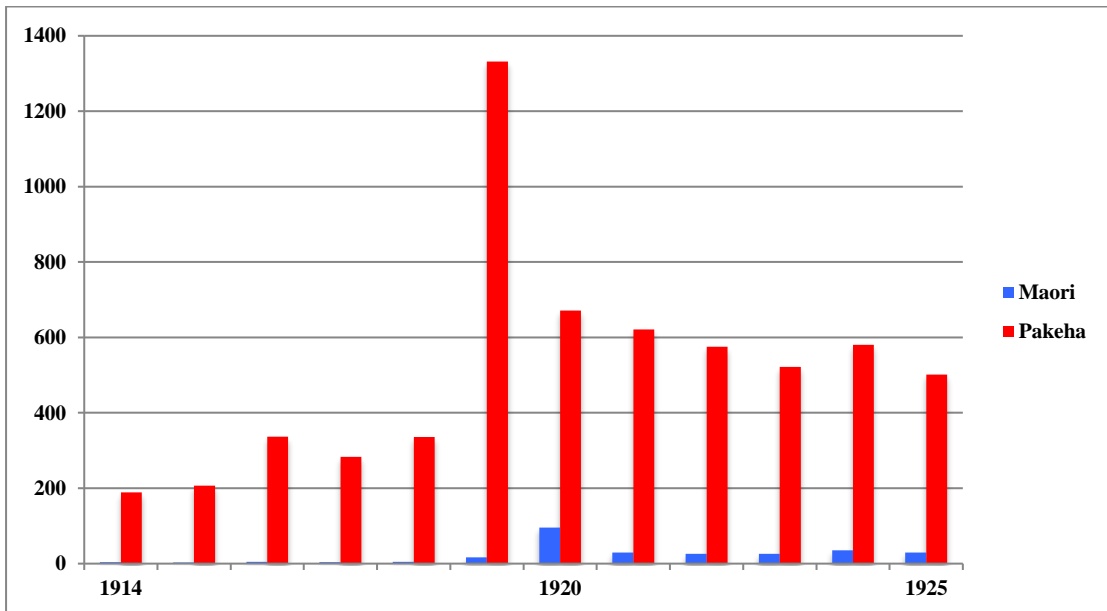
⁴⁵⁸ NZPD 1915, Vol.172, p.447.



Source: AJHR H18

Graph 3.6: Number of Maori and Pakeha widows on the pension roll, 1913 to 1939

Graph 3.7 sets out, for Maori and Pakeha separately, the numbers of widows' pensions cancelled for a range of reasons other than death from the end of March 1913 to the end of March 1925. The 1919 spike in the number of cancellations almost certainly reflected the re-marriage of women rendered widows by the First World War.



Source: AJHR H18

Graph 3.7: Widows' pensions cancelled, 1912 to 1925

Details of the number receiving the widows' pension in the four pension districts of Feilding, Marton, Otaki, and Palmerston North, were published only for the years ending 31 March 1913 and 1914: in the former year, of 55 pensions in force, just one was held by a Maori widow; in the latter year, the corresponding figures were 59 and one.⁴⁵⁹ It was noted above that pensions paid to Maori widows were reduced in line with the old-age pensions.

Some further details were located of the pensions awarded to Porirua ki Manawatu widows over the period from 1919 to 1932. Table 3.3 lists 14 widows to whom pensions were granted, together with the number of children involved and the awards per annum.

Table 3.3: Pensions awarded to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori widows, 1919 to 1932

Widows	Year awarded	Children: number	Award per annum: £s
1	1919	7	90 0 0
2	1919	3	42 0 0
3	1919	5	66 0 0
4	1921	5	117 0 0
5	1922	7	156 0 0
6	1923	3	65 0 0
7	1928	2	58 10 0
8	1929	4	97 10 0
9	1930	3	36 0 0
10	1930	3	78 0 0
11	1930	1	39 0 0
12	1931	2	78 0 0
13	1932	2	50 14 0
14	1932	2	58 10 0

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1234 1920/137

As at the end of May 1937, of 24 Maori widows in the Palmerston North pension District in receipt of widows' pensions, just three received the full pension, 16 received pensions that had been reduced under section 92, and five received pensions that had been reduced for 'other reasons.' As at the end of May 1937, nationally 474 Maori widows were in receipt of the widows' pension. If all were paid the full rate, the

⁴⁵⁹ AJHR 1913, H18; and ANZ Wellington ADBO 16143 SSW1844/1 A50(A).

additional annual cost was estimated at just £2,000.⁴⁶⁰ It should also be noted that those 24 represented just 27.6 per cent of the 87 Maori widows in Porirua ki Manawatu recorded by the 1936 census.

3.11 Epidemic pensions

In February 1919, as the some of the consequences of the pandemic emerged, the Government decided that the Department of Native Affairs ‘should enquire into all cases of distress owing to the influenza among the Maoris.’⁴⁶¹ The results of that inquiry were not located, but subsequently the Government decided to introduce a ‘special’ scheme for those left orphaned and widowed by the influenza pandemic: the relief of orphaned children would be administered by the Minister of Education (responsible for the Infant Life Protection Act 1907); widows without children would not be assisted; widows with children would receive for each boy under 16 and each girl under 18 and not in employment 10s 6d per week or lesser sum, and up to 25s per week for each widowed mother; widowers with children would only be assisted where such assistance was necessary to keep the home together for the benefit of the children, the assistance to be up to 25s per week unless in regular employment and earning £3 10s per week or more; and Maori orphans, widows and widowers would be dealt with by the Department of Native Affairs. ‘The Government desires,’ announced the Minister of Public Health, ‘the scheme to be administered on reasonably humanitarian and lines and in a sympathetic manner.’⁴⁶²

The Department of Health directed the country’s hospital boards to implement the scheme through their hospital and charitable aid boards. By May 1919, the Manawatu Hospital Board was paying out over £360 per month.⁴⁶³ The allowance was in addition to the ‘ordinary’ widow’s pension, a matter that generated a heated debate in Parliament in October 1919: the Government struggled to maintain its claim that there was ‘great difference between the case of an ordinary widow and of an epidemic widow.’ As Minister in Charge of Pensions, W.H. Herries did not explain the substance of that

⁴⁶⁰ ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁴⁶¹ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 1 February 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁶² Minister, Public Health Circular 391, 8 February 1919, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1234 1920/137. See also ‘Epidemic pensions,’ *Dominion* 3 February 1919, p.4.

⁴⁶³ ‘Manawatu Hospital Board,’ *Dominion* 9 May 1919, p.2.

‘difference.’⁴⁶⁴ In 1922, Cabinet had decided that the Pensions Department would be responsible for all pensions, and hence Treasury recommended that full control of epidemic pensions should rest with that Department.⁴⁶⁵ The Department of Native Affairs continued to verify Maori claims to assistance: it appears to have monitored carefully the circumstances of each recipient, noting any re-marriage, acquisition of land, deaths of children, and children reaching working age. It also monitored the goods supplied.

The Commissioner of Pensions was not satisfied with that arrangement and hence, in August 1923, he proposed that the Department of Native Affairs assume the entire responsibility for epidemic pensions where Maori were concerned and the costs made a charge against the Civil List. The Department of Native Affairs was willing to assume responsibility for the pensions ‘provided Treasury would provide the funds necessary for their payment.’⁴⁶⁶ The Minister of Native Affairs, noting that within a few years epidemic allowances would no longer be payable, preferred the existing arrangement.⁴⁶⁷ The number of epidemic pensions in force stood at 939 as at 31 March 1920. They had an average annual value of £83. Thereafter, the number declined steadily, reaching 160 by the end of March 1930: the last such pension was cancelled in 1938.⁴⁶⁸

No evidence was located that would suggest that Maori did not have access to the epidemic pension or that Maori epidemic widows received a smaller allowance than their Pakeha counterparts. On the other hand, the evidence indicates that very few Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were assisted under this scheme. Evidence relating to one case was located: it is reproduced here for the insights that it offers. The circumstances of the family concerned were passed on to the Department of Native Affairs by Otaki MHR, W.H. Field in March 1919, several months after the death of a husband and

⁴⁶⁴ ‘Pensions system,’ *Sun* 8 October 1919, Supplement, p.7.

⁴⁶⁵ Secretary, Treasurer to Minister, Finance 13 October 1923, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/347 52/313.

⁴⁶⁶ Under Secretary, Native Department to Secretary, Treasury 4 October 1923, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/347 52/313.

⁴⁶⁷ Minister, Native Affairs, memorandum for Cabinet 17 October 1923, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/347 52/313.

⁴⁶⁸ AJHR 1939, H18, p.8.

father of five children (all under the age of eight years).⁴⁶⁹ The Otaihanga (Waikanae) widow and her children, although living rent free, were without income, were in substantial debt to local stores, were in want of adequate clothing and had at times depended on the generosity of neighbours for food.⁴⁷⁰ After a report on the family's condition from the local constable, a 'small sum' for clothing and a monthly allowance of £3 10s was approved by the Minister of Native Affairs. And yet Field was informed that 'The authorities refuse to do anything for these unhappy people because the mother and father were not married according to European custom.'⁴⁷¹ In April, Field again pressed the Minister of Native Affairs over the matter, noting that the couple had been married according to Native custom and had lived together as man and wife. 'It is to my mind monstrous,' he insisted, 'that aid should be withheld from natives on this account. There is no compulsion whatever upon natives to go through a European marriage ceremony, and Maori marriages such as the one in question are of course recognised by the Native Land Court.'⁴⁷²

When no such financial support had been received by 22 April 1919 the case was followed up by the constable.⁴⁷³ Finally in mid-May, a £1 payment was made by the Department of Native Affairs to the widow, and an arrangement established with the local storekeeper to keep the family supplied with rations and the children in clothes.⁴⁷⁴ Field continued to monitor and advocate for the family over the following year, while the constable mediated between the family and the Department of Native Affairs. By late June, there was still no confirmation that the family was in receipt of their £3 10s monthly allowance, but by this time they had received £17 5s of food and necessary clothing from the Waikanae Co-operative Store.⁴⁷⁵ The last payment for supplies to the

⁴⁶⁹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Constable Satherley, Otaki 14 March 1919; and W.H. Field, Otaki to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 22 March 1920, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁷⁰ W.H. Field to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 8 April 1919; Constable Satherley, Otaki to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 22 April 1919, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁷¹ W.H. Field to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 8 April 1919, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁷² W.H. Field to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 8 April 1919, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁷³ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Public Health Department 29 March 1919; Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Constable Satherley, Otaki 15 April 1919; and Constable Satherley, Otaki to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 22 April 1919, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁷⁴ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Constable Satherley, Otaki 17 May 1919; and Constable Satherley, Otaki to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 20 May 1919, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁷⁵ W.H. Field to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 30 June 1919, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

family from the store was made by the Department of Native Affairs from the Public Health Vote in March 1920, a year after their circumstances were first reported.⁴⁷⁶

Generalising upon the basis of a single case is somewhat hazardous, but the evidence accords that relating to old-age and widows' pensions, notably, the disposition of State agencies to approach Maori through the prism of laws and procedures designed for Pakeha. The matter of customary marriage, for example, would re-surface during the establishment and administration of the economic rehabilitation programme for those who had served in New Zealand's armed forces during the World War 1. The apparently tardy response on the part of the Department of Native Affairs was not at all unusual for an agency of the State with a singular if not exclusive focus upon the acquisition of Maori-owned land for the purpose of settling discharged service personnel. It would not be until the early 1940s, and then partly at least in response to the establishment and rapid growth of the Maori War Effort Organisation, that the Department of Native Affairs began to shift its focus from land purchase and land development to Maori welfare. Finally, the partial dependence of the family concerned upon neighbours for food points – in concert with the small number of elderly and widowed Porirua ki Manawatu Maori – to the responsibility that, in the absence of carefully designed and carefully implemented support programmes, whanau and hapu were obliged to accept.

3.12 A failure to rehabilitate?

One of the largest social support programmes instituted in early twentieth century New Zealand was that prepared to assist the economic rehabilitation of those who served in New Zealand's armed forces during World War I.⁴⁷⁷ Of 2,259 men the addresses of whose next of kin are known, 74 were drawn from the Oroua, Manawatu, Kairanga, and (mostly) Horowhenua Counties. It is worth recording that 30 Porirua ki Manawatu members of the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion were accorded a civic welcome in Levin upon their return in April 1919. Among their number were Captain Henare Tahiwī of Otaki, Lieutenant Hohepa Jacob of Levin, Lieutenant Horo Karauti of Manakau, and

⁴⁷⁶ W.H. Field to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 22 March 1920, in ANZ Wellington 16036 MA1/1198 1919/72.

⁴⁷⁷ T.J. Hearn, 'The economic rehabilitation of Maori military veterans,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018.

Sergeant Whetu Wehipeihana of Ohau. Further receptions were planned for Hokio, Muhunua, Kuku, and Otaki.⁴⁷⁸

The rehabilitation programme, intended to facilitate the re-entry of thousands of (mostly) men back in to civilian life, was administered by a Repatriation Board, a Repatriation Department, four (main centre based) District Repatriation Boards, and a large number of local repatriation committees. After some debate, the Government decided that a Maori member should be appointed to the local repatriation committees, and in Porirua ki Manawatu Lieutenants Karauti and Carkeek served, respectively, on the committees based in Levin and Palmerston North.⁴⁷⁹ The Rehabilitation Department was closed down in December 1922 and its remaining functions merged in to the work of other relevant State agencies.

The rehabilitation programme centred on land settlement (primarily through the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915), placement in employment, and financial assistance for a range of purposes that included farm development, the purchase of existing and the construction of new homes, business loans, and education. By the end of May 1921, 3,638 veterans had been settled on Crown sections, 5,403 had been assisted to acquire private lands, while 9,921 had been assisted to construct or purchase homes.⁴⁸⁰ By the end of June 1922, business loans totalled £1.135m, grants for training £388,348, while 27,658 veterans had been placed in employment.⁴⁸¹ In 1921, the Department of Lands and Survey estimated that some 43 per cent of the Expeditionary Force had received some form of assistance, while the Repatriation Department had assisted a further 31 per cent ‘in various directions to obtain employment.’⁴⁸² If those estimates were accurate, then almost three-quarters of those who returned to New Zealand secured some form of assistance.

⁴⁷⁸ ‘Maori Battalion returns,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 10 April 1919, p.3.

⁴⁷⁹ In the absence of a fully developed and functioning bureaucracy, early twentieth century governments relied on local and voluntary committees to generate information, offer recommendations, and implement particular programmes: the rehabilitation programme instituted in 1915 and the unemployment programme initiated in 1930, for example, both relied on such committees.

⁴⁸⁰ AJHR 1921, Session II, C9, p.2.

⁴⁸¹ AJHR 1922, H30, p.4.

⁴⁸² AJHR 1921, Session II, C9, p.2.

The Reform Government insisted that discharged Maori service personnel had, under the law, equal access to all rehabilitation benefits and services, but few in fact secured any benefits at all. Gould records that by the end of March 1924, 10,552 men had been settled on 9,635 farms and that as of that date 9,351 men held 8,484 farms. Further, he identified 61 Maori veterans who ‘participated actively’ in the land settlement programme: of that number, 41 secured farms while another eight secured farm-related financial assistance. Among the latter were Piri Ellison and Rau Parata: they obtained mortgage finance to acquire private freehold land near Waikanae.⁴⁸³ Just one Maori veteran appears to have secured the lease of a section on the Kairanga Soldier Settlement.⁴⁸⁴ An inspection of the minute books of the North Auckland Land Board revealed that very few Maori veterans secured farms or farm-related financial assistance. A number of soldier settlements were established in Porirua ki Manawatu, but no evidence was located that would indicate any Maori veterans either applied for or secured a section. Given the fact that over 80 per cent of those Maori who served in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion were drawn from farm-based work, labouring, and construction, it is perhaps surprising that a larger number were not assisted to settle on the land and/or to develop such land as they may have possessed or leased.⁴⁸⁵ It should be noted that the proportion of Maori residing in rural districts stood at 84 per cent in 1926, ten per cent in the 24 main urban centres, and the balance in small towns.⁴⁸⁶

The same was true of loans to purchase existing or to construct new homes. In all, some 12,000 individuals were assisted, but among that number were few Maori. Gould located in the minute books of the Wellington Land Board the names of just three Maori veterans who secured housing assistance in the Wellington Land Board district.⁴⁸⁷ Again, a similar pattern emerged in North Auckland (including Auckland City).

⁴⁸³ Ashley Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko: repatriation and land settlement for Maori soldiers in New Zealand after the First World War,’ *War & Society* 28, 2, 2009, pp.54 and 68.

⁴⁸⁴ Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko,’ p.81.

⁴⁸⁵ The estimate of 83 per cent was offered by Erin Keenan, ‘A Maori Battalion: the Pioneer Battalion, leisure and identity, 1914-1919,’ BA Hons research essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007, pp.13 and 41-42. She established the occupations of 1,884 men, including those Pakeha who enlisted and/or served in the Battalion.

⁴⁸⁶ Ian Pool, *Te iwi Maori: a New Zealand population, past, present & projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p.123.

⁴⁸⁷ Gould, ‘From taiaha to ko,’ p.69.

Roche's analysis of the repatriation programme in Palmerston North revealed that 56 veterans secured housing loans. Not one Maori veteran was among their number.⁴⁸⁸

3.12.1 War pensions

While the history of war pensions in New Zealand has attracted considerable attention from historians, less well explored is how qualifying Maori veterans fared.⁴⁸⁹ Parsons noted that war pensions provided for 'a moderate income.' Thus, fully disabled veterans received between £104 and £169, depending on rank, and when allowances for wives and children were added, those veterans received (prior to 1924) an annual pension of £234, that is, approaching the annual incomes of skilled tradesmen.⁴⁹⁰

A total of 2,227 Maori and 458 Pacific Islanders served in the Maori Pioneer Battalion, while others served in other units. In an effort to establish how many Maori veterans were granted war pensions, two rolls compiled by the Director-General of Medical Services were examined.⁴⁹¹ These lists were compared with the entries on He Tau Taumata Rau, the Online Cenotaph: 56 Maori veterans were found to be in receipt of war pensions in 1920. On the other hand, according to Pugsley, of those 2,685 Maori and Pacific Islanders who served in the Maori Pioneer Battalion, 734 were wounded, that is, 27.3 per cent.⁴⁹² At least 95 of those who served were drawn from the Porirua ki Manawatu district (including Rangitikei County), 59 from Horowhenua County alone. It seems reasonable to suppose that 25 of those men sustained wounds, but a check of the Pension Roll for the Wellington Military District located just 23 for the

⁴⁸⁸ Michael Roche, 'Houses not farms: housing loans for soldier settlement in Palmerston North, New Zealand 1918-1931: inverting the rural mythology,' in Guenter Lehmann and David Nichols, editors, *The 21st century: past/present/future: proceedings from the 7th Australasian urban history/planning history conference 2004*, pp.334-349; and personal communication.

⁴⁸⁹ This section is based on T.J.Hearn, 'The economic rehabilitation of Maori military veterans,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018, pp.213-226. See also Stephen Uttley, 'The development of war pensions policy,' *British Review of New Zealand Studies* 7, December 1994, pp.33-48; David Thomson, *A world without welfare: New Zealand's colonial experiment*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998; and Margaret McClure, *A civilised community: a history of security in New Zealand, 1898 to 1998*. Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1998.

⁴⁹⁰ Gwen Parsons, 'Challenging enduring home front myths: jingoistic civilians and neglected soldiers,' in David Monger, Sarah Murray, and Katie Pickles, editors, *Endurance and the First World War: experiences and legacies in New Zealand and Australia*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, pp.80-81.

⁴⁹¹ Details are set out in Hearn, 'Economic rehabilitation,' p.227.

⁴⁹² Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu A Tu: the Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*. Auckland: Reed, 1995, and Auckland: Libro International, 2015, p.81.

entire district. Just one, Rangi Paki of Rangiotu, resided in the Porirua ki Manawatu district. The data suggest that few Maori veterans, certainly few in Porirua ki Manawatu, secured war pensions that may have assisted in their successful rehabilitation. It is of interest to record that in 1929, the Levin branch of the Returned Soldiers' Association reported on its efforts to assist veterans in distress. Among them were two Maori: the first had been discharged fit but fell in to ill-health: the Branch had endeavoured for five years to secure a pension for him. The second had also been discharged fit. The Patriotic Society had managed to extract sufficient funds from the War Funds Council to support both men for a year.⁴⁹³

In 1952, the Department of Native Affairs conducted a survey of Maori veterans of World War I: a total of 567 veterans were interviewed with a view to determining whether they had applied for assistance from various boards, whether they were in receipt of any State assistance, the state of their health, and their 'present requirements.' Of those 567, 330 or 58.2 per cent indicated that no assistance was required, a proportion that rose to 70 per cent in the case of the Ikaroa district (excluding the South Island). Of 57 veterans in the latter, eight indicated that they required (unspecified) assistance with housing. The return included 14 men who resided within the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District: living conditions in the case of four were described as 'fair' and those of three as 'deplorable.' Several were in paid employment, one did not qualify for assistance on account of his wife's earnings, while another had lost a sickness benefit when his wife commenced earning wages. Of the 14 men, the health of 13 was described as 'poor.'⁴⁹⁴

One other matter relating to war pensions merits mention. Under the War Pensions Act 1915, women aged 50 and over and men aged 55 and over whose sons had been killed or disabled were able to claim a pension if they were to any extent dependent upon that son's earnings prior to enlistment or were likely to have been so in the future. As at the end of March 1920, of a total of 34,571 war pensions, 5,705 (16.5 per cent) were paid to the parents 'and other dependants' of deceased service personnel. That number stood at 5,587 as at the end of March 1930 (4,920 parents, 551 guardians, and 116 others),

⁴⁹³ 'Returned soldiers' interests,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 10 June 1929, p.7.

⁴⁹⁴ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/182 19/1/387.

and at a much higher 26.9 per cent, reflecting the sharp contraction during the 1920s of the number of ex-service personnel on temporary pensions. Whether the parents of any Maori soldiers killed or disabled were granted such pensions has not been established.

The evidence dealing with the economic rehabilitation of those who served in New Zealand's armed forces during World War I suggests that the administration of the post-World War I rehabilitation scheme neither recognised nor sought to meet the specific needs of Maori veterans. Many Maori veterans appear to have decided that the rehabilitation programme was not intended for them: in turn, that may have reflected the extent to which Maori generally felt disengaged and or excluded from the wider economy and society.⁴⁹⁵ The Reform Government, at least until the sharp recession of 1921 and the consequential financial difficulties that ensnared many soldier settlers, remained focussed on acquiring as much of the land as possible that remained in Maori ownership. Assisting a people whose destiny it was widely believed to be one of minor economic importance was not high on the Government's list of priorities. Its practically complete rejection of suggestions that the Crown 'ear-mark' portions of land acquired from Maori and others for Maori soldier settlement, and that it release for Maori veterans Maori-owned land vested in the various Maori land boards was a clear indication of its lack of interest and its (apparently) unwavering conviction that a rehabilitation programme designed with the needs of the dominant majority to the fore served the interests of all. Moreover, the evidence suggests that some State agencies positively discriminated against Maori veterans, foremost among them being the Department of Lands and Survey. That was significant given the control that that agency exercised over the central elements of the rehabilitation programme. It is also important to recognise that the state of Maori land titles contributed to the difficulties. While many Maori veterans held interests in land, few could meet the key qualification for financial assistance, namely, the possession of land in fee simple.⁴⁹⁶ That the rehabilitation programme implemented in the wake of World War II made separate and,

⁴⁹⁵ Ngata suggested that for many Maori, especially in Northland, Waikato, Taranaki, and the Bay of Plenty, the loss of land had generated bitterness and distrust, and encouraged a lapse into apathy. See A.T. Ngata, 'Land settlement,' in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, pp.96-154. In 1909, Scholefield described a people living in a demoralised and disorganised state. See G.H. Scholefield, *New Zealand in evolution, industrial, economic, and political*. London: Unwin, 1909, Chapter XXIV. The pandemic of 1918 also served to demoralise many Maori communities through, in particular, the toll it took of adult males.

⁴⁹⁶ These matters are explored more fully in Hearn, 'The economic rehabilitation of Maori military veterans,' especially pp.248-259.

to some extent, tailored (but not preferential) provision for Maori veterans was firmly anchored in a desire to avoid the difficulties and failures associated with its predecessor.

3.13 Family allowances

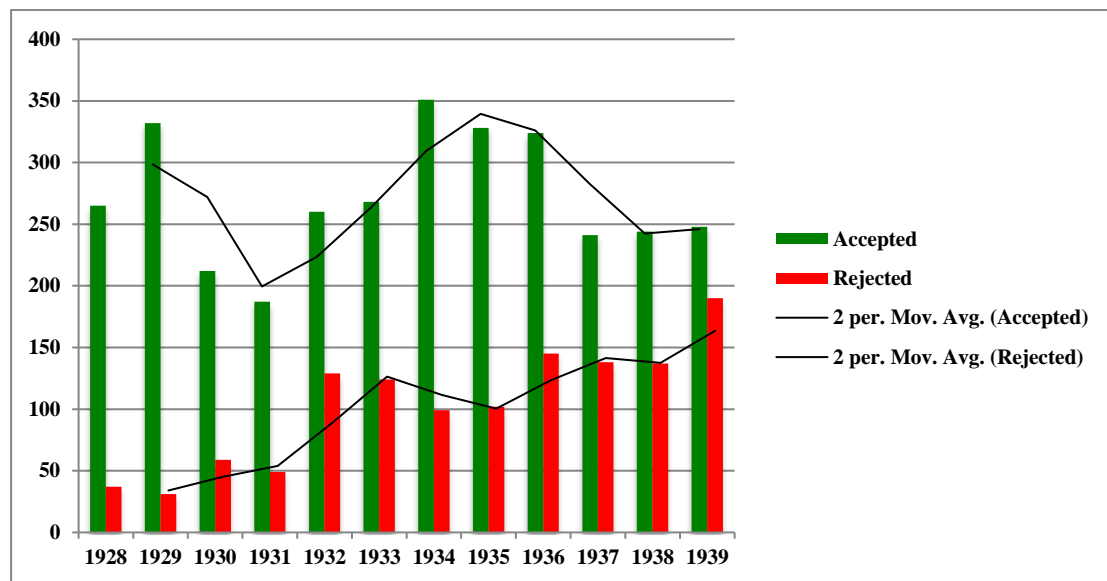
The Family Allowances Act 1926 recognised the cost of raising a large family and that award wages were based upon a family unit of four. Under the Act (in force from 1 April 1927), a father of three or more children under 15 years of age could apply for an allowance for each child in excess of two at the rate of 2s per week. The average weekly income from all sources of the family of an applicant (applicant, wife living with him, and children under 15 years), including any allowance under the Act, could not exceed £4, plus 2s for each child in excess of two.⁴⁹⁷ All allowances were paid to the wife of the applicant and were to be applied towards the maintenance or education of the children. In this instance, no distinction was drawn between Maori and Pakeha. Family allowances were paid to Maori on the same scale as those to Pakeha, although, during the 1940s in particular, that policy was subject to considerable public criticism amid familiar claims of misuse and that payments were resulting in the ‘demoralisation’ of Maori communities. Investigations indicated that claims of misuse were considerably overstated and that similar criticism could be made of some Pakeha families in receipt of the allowance.⁴⁹⁸ Under the Social Security Act 1938, the weekly allowance for each child in excess of two was increased to 4s, while under the Social Security Amendment Act 1945 a universal family benefit was introduced and payment made directly to mothers. In 1953, the Chairman of the Social Security Commission suggested that ‘The evident improvement in health and general well-being of Maori children since the introduction of the universal family benefit is possibly a reflection of the increased family incomes.’⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁷ ‘Child’ included stepchild, child legally adopted, a child not a member of applicant’s family but being maintained by him, a child born out of wedlock, a child of an alien or ‘Asiatic’ whether naturalised or not or whether a British subject by birth or not.

⁴⁹⁸ See, for example, Chairman, Social Security Commission to Minister, Social Security 2 August 1950; and Chairman, Social Security Commission to Minister, Social Security 16 October 1953, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS W2756 9/9/1 Part 5.

⁴⁹⁹ Chairman, Social Security Commission to Minister, Social Security 16 October 1953, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS W2756 9/9/1 Part 5.

Graph 3.8 sets out for the period from 1928 to 1939 new claims lodged by Maori under the Family Allowances Act 1926. The high rate of acceptance of new claims during the latter half of the 1920s and first half of the 1930s reflected the financial pressures under which many Maori laboured, while the rising rate of rejection apparent from about 1936 suggests that family incomes were improving as the land development programme gained momentum and as the economy and with it employment prospects generally improved.



Source: AJHR H18

Graph 3.8: New claims lodged by Maori under the Family Allowances Act 1926

As in the case of social welfare entitlements generally, the administration of the family allowances scheme relied heavily upon the police. The latter held the application forms and the evidence indicates that they declined to make them available to those Maori married according to Maori custom. If they succeeded in submitting applications, Maori confronted further difficulties. In 1927, the Commissioner of Pensions complained that his department was experiencing considerable difficulty in obtaining proof of birth and parentage. The Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages was unable to assist and hence recourse was had to baptismal and the Native village school records. Whether any Maori families were disadvantaged as result is not clear. On the other hand, the alleged misuse of family allowances by Maori was the subject of a great deal of press

comment.⁵⁰⁰ The Native Minister's private secretary, in 1943, suggested that the complaints had some basis but advised his Minister that social security had 'been a boon to a great many of the people who, through no fault of their own, have been living under distressful conditions, and care must be taken that in any move to check the abuses complained of no injustice is done to those people who are deserving of the benefit.'⁵⁰¹ It is not clear whether Maori families were singled out over this matter or whether any family allowances were cancelled, but the matter was of some importance, contributing as it did to a cluster of beliefs that Maori neither required nor merited the same levels of assistance available to all other citizens.

3.14 The Pensions Amendment Act 1936

From 1926 when, under the Pensions Act 1926, control of the pension renewal process passed from magistrates to the Commissioner of Pensions, the practice was to pay Maori old-age pensioners a maximum old-age of £32 10s per annum, £13 (or 28.6 per cent) less than the prescribed maximum for all other old-age pensioners. Further, Maori widows were assessed on a basis 25 per cent lower than pensions granted to Pakeha widows. The only legal authority was section 92: the practice of the Commissioner of Pensions was to reduce all pensions awarded Maori unless an applicant could establish that s/he possessed no land other than under defined legal title or the extent of such interests so that the value could be established. Certificates completed by the Native Land Court were required and, he conceded, they were not easy to obtain.

Section 4 of the Pensions Amendment Act 1936 provided that, when computing the capital value of accumulated property, certain classes of property were to be excluded. Section 4(1)(a) thus excluded an applicant's 'interest in any land (including his interest under any mortgage of any estate or interest in land).' Consequently, section 92(b) of the Pensions Act 1926 dealing with 'accumulated property' was of no effect. But section 92(a) remained and allowed reductions in pensions to be made where an applicant held customary rights, although by that stage little customary land remained. The Minister of Pensions was thus advised that 'in a great proportion of cases there is

⁵⁰⁰ See, for example, 'Abuse of social security,' *Dannevirke Evening News* 4 November 1943, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/129 36/23 Part 3.

⁵⁰¹ Private Secretary to Minister, Native Affairs 5 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/129 36/23 Part 3.

no legal authority for continuing to pay reduced pensions.’⁵⁰² Nevertheless, payment of reduced rates continued. As at the end of May 1937, 2,380 Maori were on the old-age pension roll: of that total 2,213 almost 93 per cent were paid at reduced rates, while 429 of 474 Maori widows (90.5 per cent) were paid at rates below the ordinary maxima.

The Te Akarana Maori Association pressed for what it described as ‘a more liberal and sympathetic administration than as now applied ...’⁵⁰³ In 1937, the Association, together with the Maori Returned Soldiers’ Association and the Maori Labour Representation Committee, raised with the Minister of Pensions a number of matters of concern, among them, that of reduced pensions. The Minister merely recited section 92 of the Pensions Act 1926, and set out existing practice. He did indicate that where a judge of the Native Land Court could furnish a certificate setting out the precise interests held by an applicant and the revenue derived therefrom, the Commissioner was ‘prepared to review the amount of pension.’⁵⁰⁴ Further, he conceded that the appointment of storekeepers as agents for Maori pensioners was ‘not an ideal arrangement,’ while declining a request that pension application forms should be printed in Maori on the grounds that ‘a responsible European’ was required to certify that applicants understood the content of their applications (the reverse did not seem to apply), and noting that the employment of Maori clerks in the Pensions Department was a matter for the Public Services Commissioners.⁵⁰⁵ The representations suggested considerable dissatisfaction over the administration of the old-age pensions scheme as it affected Maori. It is worthwhile noting here that in 1937 the Maori and Pakeha Federation urged the Government to authorise licensed interpreters (first grade) to certify applications lodged by Maori, and to require Government departments to supply all the necessary information required to complete applications.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰² Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 18 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington 16141 SSW2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵⁰³ Assistant Hon. Secretary, Te Akarana Maori Association to Minister, Native Affairs 21 July 1930, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2. The Association was particularly active in this matter. See, for example, ‘The aged Maori,’ *Auckland Star* 23 July 1929, copy in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 2.

⁵⁰⁴ Minister, Pensions to Secretary, Te Akarana Maori Association, Auckland 2 March 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵⁰⁵ Minister, Pensions to Secretary, Te Akarana Maori Association 2 March 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵⁰⁶ Hon Secretary, Maori and Pakeha Federation to Minister, Education 12 February 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

As at 31 March 1937, of 2,318 Maori on the old-age pension roll just 161 were in receipt of the full rate. The average pension paid to the 2,157 receiving less than the full rate was £44 6s 8d. The estimated cost of bringing all up to the full rate the number who at 31 May 1937 were receiving less than the full rate was £30,000, or 1.74 per cent of the £1,718,601 paid out to old-age pensioners in 1936-1937. At the same date, 31 May 1937, 458 Maori widows were on the pension roll: to bring all up to the full rate would cost an average of £3 9s 10 per person or, for the 474 on the roll as at the end of May 1937, an estimated £2,000. That latter sum represented 0.64 per cent of the total paid as widows' pensions in 1936-1937.

Concurrently, the Native Department expressed concern over the number and cost of record searches that the Native Land Court was required to conduct: while that work had, prior to the passage of the Pensions Amendment Act 1936, been considerable, it had expanded sharply since given that eligibility was now based not on the value of interests in land but on income. Rents, the Commissioner of Pensions was advised, were not necessarily paid through the Maori land boards, rendering it impossible for registrars to issue the required certificates as to income. The Native Department's Under Secretary took the opportunity to remind the Commissioner that section 92 of the Pensions Act 1936 'is almost a dead letter as there is very little customary land left in New Zealand today.'⁵⁰⁷ The Native and Pensions Departments reached an accommodation of sorts by which the latter accepted a certificate to the effect that the value of interests in land did not exceed 'a specified figure' and that income from land was less than a specified amount without, as the Commissioner of Pensions expressed it, 'requiring that the interests be "particularised."'”⁵⁰⁸

It is not immediately clear how that reduced the administrative costs of the existing procedure. But in any case, Judge Harvey made it plain that he was not prepared to complete detailed certificates in respect of Maori applicants in the Ikaroa Maori Land District, although he was prepared to certify that, in respect of any applicants, neither the income nor the landed interests exceeded certain limits. Interestingly, Harvey

⁵⁰⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Commissioner, Pensions 7 June 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3. As at 31 March 1919, just 2,676 acres of papatupu land remained in Wellington Province and 15,975 acres in New Zealand as a whole.

⁵⁰⁸ Commissioner, Pensions to Registrars, Pensions 2 March 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

suggested that in few cases would those limits approach those specified by the Pensions Act 1926.⁵⁰⁹ That suggestion was adopted.⁵¹⁰

The continued payment of reduced pension rates to both elderly and widowed Maori required some other justification. The Commissioner of Pensions revived an old claim that the reduced pension reflected that fact that ‘Maori undoubtedly has a lower standard of living than the European and his needs are fewer.’ The communal lifestyle and the belief that much of the pension ended up supporting the younger generation also made it necessary to reduce the pension.⁵¹¹ The evidence for such assertions was not disclosed, while it does not appear to have occurred to either the Commissioner or the Minister of Pensions that the lower standard of living endured by elderly Maori may have been the outcome, in part, of those very reductions. The Commissioner’s claim was a classic example of deductive reasoning. For its part, the Government, through Minister for Pensions W.E Parry insisted that ‘The Government sees that the Maori gets equal treatment with the pakeha in all its social legislation.’⁵¹² He offered no comment over the administration of that legislation. The Labour Government did consider amending those sections of the Pensions Act 1926 that bore upon Maori, but Treasury again claimed that since the Maori standard of living was lower than that of Pakeha, they did not have the same needs.⁵¹³

3.14.1 Judge Harvey intervenes, again

In March 1938, Judge Harvey, having discovered that a Maori applicant had been awarded £3 15s 10d per month, again weighed in to the debate. Should the Pensions Department, he informed the Native Department’s Under Secretary, have decided to continue the ‘injustices of the past ... [then] some drastic action should be taken.’ Harvey was distinctly averse to being held responsible for reduced awards, not least

⁵⁰⁹ In Under Secretary, Native Department to Commissioner, Pensions 28 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3. For Harvey’s original letter of 9 July 1937, see ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/128 36/23 Part 1. For examples of the manner in which Harvey dealt with Maori old-age and widow pensioners, see Native Land Court, Otaki Minute Book 60/185-186.

⁵¹⁰ Commissioner, Pensions to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 16 March 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵¹¹ Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 18 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington 16141 SSW2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵¹² ‘General news,’ *Press* 13 August 1937, p.10.

⁵¹³ Assistant Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 20 September 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/128 36/23 Part 1.

since, in the particular case before him, neither the Pensions Department nor the magistrate had in fact sought to establish the applicant's income. 'Just how did the Pensions Department,' he asked, 'satisfy itself that ... [x's] income was (say) £68 per annum when they fixed the amount he was entitled to at £3 15 10 per month?' He went on to indicate that he 'only too glad to help remedy the injustices of the past ... but I am not going to be made an integral part of a policy of depriving new applicants of what they are justly and manifestly entitled to.'⁵¹⁴

The Commissioner of Pensions claimed that Harvey was labouring under a 'misapprehension,' dismissing any suggestion that there had been any change in policy. The position remained that already reached, namely, that all a judge was required to issue was certificate stating that the total value of an applicant's interests in land did not exceed a specified amount and that his income did not exceed a specified sum. All he would concede was that 'the whole question of pensions to Maoris' had been placed before the Minister of Pensions.⁵¹⁵ That may have been so, but in August 1938, Parry made it clear that 'a reduced amount may be granted where the evidence respecting interests in native land is inconclusive.'⁵¹⁶ Where the responsibility for the presentation of 'conclusive' evidence lay, he did not say, but Maori applicants were clearly expected to carry the cost.

It emerged that some magistrates were not prepared to ignore section 92 at establishment unless the original application for a pension were accompanied by a certificate from the Native Land Court. But others were as adamant that they would not distinguish between Pakeha and Maori applicants, that all would be granted pensions at the full rate.⁵¹⁷ The apparent confusion clearly concerned Judge Harvey, informing one magistrate that section 92 was irrelevant 'because it is common knowledge that there is no revenue producing customary land in New Zealand now: there has been none for many years.' He added that

⁵¹⁴ Judge Harvey, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Department 3 March 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵¹⁵ Commissioner, Pensions to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 16 March 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵¹⁶ Minister, Pensions to Bob Tutaki, Hastings 1 August 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵¹⁷ Registrar, Napier to Commissioner, Pensions 4 November 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

I am prepared to give a general certificate to that effect from my district which extends from the Mohaka River to Stewart Island and the Chatham Islands, if such a certificate would assist the Magistrates in putting an end to what seems to me after making enquiries regarding practice over the whole of my districts, a studied form of oppression by the Pensions Department, and an unmistakeable drawing of the colour line. I have no functions in the matter of pensions, and have interests myself in that respect only because it controls in so many cases our attempts at improving the housing and living conditions of the Maori.⁵¹⁸

Harvey raised the issue again, in October 1938. He thus advised the Native Department's Under Secretary that

I think it is not going too far to say that Maoris have for years been deprived of their just dues by the action of the [Pensions] Commissioner in failing to supply the Magistrates with reasonably accurate available information regarding the financial status of applicants. One might even go to the length of saying that the Pensions Department has studiously cultivated a condition of doubt in the minds of Magistrates in order that it might invoke the dead letter of Section 92 to deprive Maoris of their rights simply because they are Maoris.

The attention of the Minister of Native Affairs, he suggested, should be drawn 'to what can be described as a blot on the record of many Administrations.' While section 92 was not included in the Social Security Act 1938, he added, the Government should immediately review every pension that had been reduced.⁵¹⁹ The Minister of Social Security simply reminded Harvey that

Having regard to the fact that most Maori live in a Pa in communal fashion and have not the living expenses to meet as compared with Europeans, the Commission considers it has authority to grant reduced benefits under Section 72 of the Social Security Act, and in view of all the circumstances it would seem that there is some justification for such a procedure. I may say that the policy as set out by the Commission appears to be a reasonable one to follow.⁵²⁰

Interestingly, the Commissioner of Pensions recorded that, with respect to Harvey's suggestion that all reduced pensions should be reviewed, it was not his Department's

⁵¹⁸ Judge Harvey, Hastings to Stipendiary Magistrate, Napier 21 September 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵¹⁹ Judge Harvey, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 25 October 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵²⁰ Minister, Social Security to Judge Harvey 7 November 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/2.

practice to communicate with magistrates over the interpretation of the law, and that in any case the present was not a suitable time for initiating any action along the lines suggested. That was a matter for the Social Security Commission.⁵²¹

The views expressed by Judge Harvey and others formed part of the debates that preceded the passage of the Social Security Act 1938. One other matter of direct concern to Maori was housing. In August 1937, the Native Minister raised the matter of 'indigent housing' with the Minister of Pensions, noting that on investigating applications made for housing grants he had discovered that the pensions payable to Maori had been reduced by 5s per week, 'presumably for the reason that they have no rent to pay or that they are living under somewhat primitive circumstances. This,' he noted, 'is making it practically impossible for the Maori to pay out of his or her pension minimum charges for the most simple of dwellings. By erecting dwellings and requiring repayment of advances,' he added, 'we are putting them on much the same level as the Pakeha pensioner ... Paying identical pensions would enable Maori pensioners to repay their loans.'⁵²² By late 1937, a widespread expectation had emerged among Maori that the Government was proposing, with immediate effect, to raise the 'Native' pension from £3 15 10 per month to £4 15 or £4 17 6. That expectation was clearly influencing the decision-making of many pensioners over housing matters. For the Minister of Native Affairs, Langstone suggested to the Minister for Pensions 'that this increase would be necessary to enable Native pensioners to repay housing loans.'⁵²³ The existing reduced pension had proved in many cases to be insufficient, certainly insofar as 'indigent Maori' – who were largely but not solely, old-age pensioners – were concerned. Raising the rate, conversely, was clearly expected to enable 'indigent' pensioners to effect some improvements in their living conditions.

Langstone's suggestion prompted a debate that is worth exploring for the perceptions and attitudes that it exposed. It was H. Digby Smith who, as Commissioner of Pensions, was first to define his position. He began by reciting section 66 of the Old-age Pensions

⁵²¹ Commissioner, Pensions to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 7 December 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵²² Langstone for the Native Minister to Minister, Pensions 19 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1. Most Maori may not have paid rent but they were required to pay rates.

⁵²³ Langstone for the Native Minister to Minister, Pensions 19 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

Act 1898, noting that it applied to old-age and widows' pensions but not to other benefits under the Pensions Act 1926, notably, invalids' pensions. Smith claimed that

It is apparent that from the initiation of the legislation there was a full realisation of the problem presented by the Maori, with his customary rights in land, his lower living standard, and his communal mode of life, benefiting under the Act on the same footing as a European, and from the outset magistrates dealing with pension claims availed themselves of the section of the Act ... and granted pensions on a lower scale than those granted to Europeans.

Smith acknowledged that it was upon the Commissioner securing, in 1926, power over the annual pension renewal process that the practice was adopted whereby Maori were paid a maximum of £32 10s per annum, that is, £13 less than the statutory maximum.⁵²⁴ Contemporaneously the decision was taken to assess widows' pensions on a basis 25 per cent lower than pensions paid to European widows. The only legal authority, he conceded, was section 92 of the Pensions Act 1926. Pensions were increased, he added, where a pensioner could present a certificate from the Native Land Court to the effect that s/he was landless, certificates which, he conceded, 'are not easily obtained ...'⁵²⁵ Smith then suggested that section 4(1)(a) of the Pensions Amendment Act 1936 'materially changed' the position, but then acknowledged that section 4(1)(b) still allowed reductions to be made. On the other hand, the land development and consolidation programmes had practically eliminated customary land so that 'in a great proportion of cases there is no legal authority for continuing to pay reduced pensions.' But, reiterating familiar arguments, he concluded

- (1) The Maori undoubtedly has a lower standard of living than the European and his needs are fewer.
- (2) In some areas natives are still living in communal style, and there can be no guarantee that the pensioner alone benefits from his pension.
- (3) The fact of a Maori having an income from Government sources is known to lead not infrequently to needy or lazy natives making their home with him, whether he is living in a Maori community or not.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ It should be noted that section 3(3) of the Pensions Amendment Act 1936 empowered magistrates, 'having regard to the circumstances of the case,' to increase old-age pensions by an amount not exceeding £13 per annum.

⁵²⁵ Commissioner, Pensions to Minister, Pensions 18 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵²⁶ Commissioner of Pensions to Minister of Pensions 18 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

Smith appeared oblivious to the assumptions on which he had based his views. It is worthwhile noting that the files consulted disclosed no evidence that would suggest that a systematic effort of any kind had been made to establish whether (2) and (3) were soundly based. The matter was discussed in Cabinet early in September 1937 and the views of Treasury sought. The latter estimated the increased cost per annum at £32,000 (£30,000 in respect of the old-age pension, and £2,000 in respect of the widows' pension). Superficially, Treasury suggested, 'it may appear equitable' to pay the same pensions to Maori and Pakeha, 'but in this matter questions of equity should be decided having regard to the circumstances, the needs and outlook on life of the individuals concerned.' It appears that 'equity,' where Maori were concerned, had acquired a certain elasticity or conditionality. Treasury proceeded to suggest that it was generally recognised – by whom and on what basis it did not say – that [emphasis added] *'the needs of the average Maori are less than those of the average European, or ... the living standard of the Maori is lower – and after all, the object of these pensions is to maintain standards rather than to raise them.'* The Secretary to the Treasury added, 'there is the danger of encouraging irresponsibility in regard to general conduct and family matters. It is well known that the Maori – the pa Maori anyway – shares his wealth and it may be that the increase contemplated may be appropriated by persons other than those from whom the Government intended.'⁵²⁷ The phrase, 'to maintain standards rather than to raise them,' suggested that Treasury was content to allow Maori to continue to endure a lower standard of living than Pakeha. Nor is it clear what objection Treasury had to pensioners sharing their 'wealth.' As has been suggested, such 'sharing' appears to have been one means by which Maori communities endeavoured to deal with financial hardship. Such sharing emerged in other contexts, notably housing (see below).

It was left to the Native Department's Under Secretary to insist – many years after the practice of reducing pensions payable to Maori elderly and widows had become entrenched – that 'there must not be any differentiation between Maori and Pakeha unless under, or pursuant to, statutory authority,' and then to ask on the basis of what statutory authority reductions had been made. That practically all Maori land had been clothed with titles rendered section 92 inoperative such that its repeal would not

⁵²⁷ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 20 September 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

materially alter the law. There was, he insisted, no legal power to differentiate between Maori and Pakeha and any wish to do so would require explicit statutory authority. In a further rejection of the views of the Commissioner of Pensions and the Secretary to the Treasury, he insisted that if reductions were to be made on account of needs and standard of living, then each individual's circumstances would have to be investigated closely and an agent appointed if necessary. Clearly, he at least was not prepared to rely on anecdotal evidence. He concluded by observing that

I do not think that the matter of the difference in the living standards of Maoris and Europeans should be considered in relation to Old-age Pensions. The weekly payment to a pensioner is not more than sufficient to provide for a very frugal standard of living and communal sharing, if it does exist, will not go very far ... the matter of the amount of the pension is of importance at the moment in view of the attempts being made by this Department to improve the standard of living and housing conditions of the Maori.

He did observe that the amount payable as widows' pensions and invalids' benefits might be such as to encourage 'extravagance.'⁵²⁸ Quite why invalids and widows were evidently prone to indulging in 'extravagances,' he did not say.

In January 1938, the Native Department's Under Secretary again pressed to have the rate of the old-age pension paid to Maori increased to the 'European' level, at least for those to whom housing advances had been or would be made.⁵²⁹ He was supported by some registrars who claimed to have 'repeatedly pointed out' to the Commissioner of Pensions that he had no legal basis for the reduction: only income from papatupu land was relevant. The Tairāwhiti District Maori Land Board's Registrar insisted that

As there are now practically no Maori enjoying or capable of enjoying customary rights in such lands, the use of ... Section [92] as a pretended authority for reducing Maori Pensions to a rate below the appropriate scale is clearly improper. The excuse put forward by the Pensions Department is that Maoris, owing to their lower standard of living, do not require as much assistance as Europeans. This may be a fact but it is considered that it is the duty

⁵²⁸ Under Secretary, Native Department to Secretary to Treasury 1 November 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

⁵²⁹ Under Secretary, Native Department to Commissioner, Pensions 24 January 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1. In its annual report for 1937-1938, the Department of Native Affairs nevertheless recorded that the differentiation between Maori and Pakeha was based on uncertainty of determining Maori interests in land and the income derived therefrom. See AJHR 1938, G9, p.11.

of the Commissioner of Pensions to obtain statutory authority instead of hoodwinking himself and the Registrars that such statutory authority is already available. Provision exists for pensions to be increased by Magistrates under Section 3(3) of the 1936 Act. There is no jurisdiction, other than in Sec.96 for any reduction of the prescribed rate of £58 10s.⁵³⁰

Pressure for repeal intensified. In August 1938, Harvey's irritation was manifest, dismissing as 'pernicious sophistry' some of the claims emanating from the Department of Pensions, and accusing it of offering 'utter bunkum probably with the idea of covering up the maladministration of ... [the] Department and shifting the blame on to us.' Harvey was clearly contemptuous of claims that Maori and Pakeha were treated alike. He insisted that magistrates had no authority to set the pension for Maori at a lower rate than prescribed by law merely because a Maori applicant was 'presumed to be following a lower standard of living than any European.' He recorded that what little papatupu land remained in the Ikaroa Maori land district yielded no income, and claimed that any evidence he adduced contradicting the basis on which a magistrate had made an award amounted to a revision of the original decision. Finally, he asserted that the magistrate in question 'did not act judicially but merely capriciously.' The Native Land Court, he concluded, had no functions under the Pensions Act and that if magistrates had been acting upon the advice of Pensions Department clerks, then it was for that Department to rectify matters 'or for the clerks to act more honestly and efficiently.' With an eye on the pending legislation, he insisted that the Department of Pensions

should be left to stew in their own juices and to justify their past policy and present outlook. The question is going to be asked of them and they should be left to make their answer without being permitted to drag us in in any way. They have differentiated between Maoris and Europeans in the past as an act of their administration and they must not be allowed to wriggle out of the consequences by putting the blame on poor old Cinderella – the Native Department.⁵³¹

⁵³⁰ Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 7 February 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

⁵³¹ Judge Harvey, Picton to Registrar, Wellington 25 August 1938, ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/128 36/23 Part 1. Registrar Fordham conveyed the essence of Harvey's observations to the Under Secretary See Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 9 September 1938, ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/128 36/23 Part 1.

Once aware that section 92 would not be included in the new legislation dealing with social welfare entitlements, Judge Harvey proposed that every pension reduced under section 92 should be reviewed.⁵³²

3.14.2 The Social Security Act 1938

The depression of the 1930s exposed the limitations and weaknesses of the various social support schemes in place and helped usher in more comprehensive measures that passed under the rubric of ‘social security.’ New Zealand’s Social Security Act 1938, Hanson suggested, ‘provided the most comprehensive interpretation of social security at that time.’⁵³³ The Act provided for universal superannuation or a taxable payment to everyone over 60 provided s/he met certain residency, income, property, and character tests. The basic rate, payable to all, was set at £78 per annum. Section 17 provided for deductions from that rate in respect of other income and accumulated property, although the previous specific reference to Maori no longer appeared. The Act thus did not distinguish between Maori and non-Maori, but section 72 allowed the Social Security Commission to reduce the rate of any benefit (other than superannuation) if it considered that payment of a maximum benefit was not necessary for the maintenance of the beneficiary.

Table 3.4 sets out the full rates of benefits and the rates payable to Maori for the period from 1923 to 1952. Although full benefits were apparently payable from 1939, in fact several years elapsed before they were paid to all Maori.

In April 1939, the Social Security Commission asked whether existing practice of reducing entitlements payable to Maori should continue ‘as a matter of policy.’ It estimated that the cost of bringing all pensions payable to Maori up to the standard rates at £55,000, but added that it did

not consider that the cost of same should greatly influence the decision, but more the factor whether the individual Maori living in his Native communal state needs the increase and will thus benefit himself or whether other Maoris, not having any claim on the State, will receive the increased amount instead.

⁵³² Judge Harvey, Ikaroa Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 25 October 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/1 Part 3.

⁵³³ Hanson, *The politics of social security*, p.21.

The whole question is fraught with difficulties and [is] not so easy of solution as merely to state that the Maori should share equally with his European brother.⁵³⁴

Pakeha discomfort with Maori ‘communalism’ long persisted: the Commission was, certainly at that stage, of the view that the Social Security Act 1938 had not materially changed the position, that it ‘consider’ awarding the full rate to Maori living as Pakeha, and that it would continue to employ its powers under section 72(2) of the Social Security Act 1938.⁵³⁵

Table 3.4: Full benefits and benefits payable to Maori, 1923 to 1939

	Full rate per annum: £	Rate paid to Maori per annum: £
<i>Old-age</i>		
1923	45 10 0	26 0 0 - or 32 10 0
1930	45 10 0	26 0 0 - or 32 10 0
1935	45 10 0	26 0 0 - or 32 10 0
1939	78 0 0	78 0 0
<i>Widows</i>		
1923	52 0 0 (1 dependent child plus £26 for each additional child)	39 0 0 (1 dependent child plus 19 10 0 for each additional child)
1930	52 0 0 (1 dependent child plus £26 for each additional child)	39 0 0 (1 dependent child plus 19 10 0 for each additional child)
1935	52 0 0 (1 dependent child plus £26 for each additional child)	39 0 0 (1 dependent child plus 19 10 0 for each additional child)
1939	65 0 0 (1 dependent child plus £26 for each additional child)	65 0 0 (1 dependent child plus £26 for each additional child)
<i>Family allowance</i>		
1923	No provision	No provision
1926	2s per week for each child in excess of two	2s per week for each child in excess of two
1935	Same as above	Same as above
1939	4s per week for each child in excess of two	4s per week for each child in excess of two

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/2

⁵³⁴ ‘Benefits to Maoris,’ Chairman, Social Security Commission 16 June 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁵³⁵ Director, Social Security to Registrar, Whangarei 26 July 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

The Under Secretary of Native Affairs weighed in to the debate, asking the Social Security Commission to define what it meant by ‘the standard of European living ...’⁵³⁶ Judge Harvey also sought answers from the Minister of Native Affairs, noting that his frequent letters on the matter had frequently remained unanswered or that ‘the reply has quite obviously something other than the truth as its foundation.’ With reference to a number of specific cases, he challenged the Native Minister to explain the use of section 72(2) and to indicate whether in fact the Commission should have the discretion to reduce pension awards. He insisted that the Commission routinely reduced pensions awarded to Maori, only increasing them under ‘special circumstances.’ He concluded his letter by reciting a ‘precedent’ attributed to a former judge – ‘I’ll hear no facts or argument/I’ll hear no further plea/ I have the jurisdiction/ And that’s enough for me.’⁵³⁷ Acting Native Minister Langstone did no more than promise to take the matter up with the Minister of Social Security.⁵³⁸ All that the latter could do was to assure Harvey that as each pension came up for renewal an investigation would be conducted, at the same time defending the Commission’s use of section 72(2) as ‘reasonable.’⁵³⁹

In 1939, the Ikaroa District’s Registrar Fordham set out his views to the Under Secretary of Native Affairs on the requirement that particulars of living conditions had to be supplied by Maori applicants. His criticism centred on section 72(2) of the Social Security Act 1938 and the apparent inclination of the Social Security Commission to interpret it

as raising a prima facie presumption that such recipients of benefits are living at a lower standard than the white man. Thus once again we are confronted with a pure question of policy with however this difference: that under the Pension Act [1926] there was no legal justification for paying the lower rate, while under the Social Security Act there is express provision for such contingency in the discretionary section ... quoted. The Maori therefore is entirely in the hands of the Commission and must accept without question whatever sum he is awarded.

⁵³⁶ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Social Security 29 September 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁵³⁷ Judge Harvey, Rotorua to Acting Native Minister 3 October 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁵³⁸ Acting Native Minister to Judge Harvey, Rotorua 9 October 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁵³⁹ Minister of Social Security to Registrar, Rotorua 7 November 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

Fordham proposed that the Under Secretary approach the Director of Pensions and establish the conditions with which Maori were required to comply in order to secure payment at the full rate 'to which all are most certainly morally entitled.'⁵⁴⁰ The Under Secretary complied, but the response is unlikely to have assuaged the concerns raised.⁵⁴¹ The Director indicated that the Commission was reviewing awards as they fell due for renewal, and then recited section 72 (2) of the Social Security Act 1938 and the power it conferred upon the Social Security Commission to reduce awards where it considered that the maximum benefit was not necessary for the maintenance of the beneficiary.⁵⁴² In short, Registrar Fordham may well have felt that his charges had been well founded.

Ngata, too made his views known. In 1939, he criticised the requirement that Maori satisfy a magistrate that they were not receiving revenue from land. He proposed that all Maori should be awarded the basic rate of £78 per annum rather than £65 usually granted unless it were demonstrated that applicants were receiving revenue.⁵⁴³ He noted, with respect to repayments for housing advances, that the Department of Native Affairs was demanding a large proportion of the pension, thereby compounding the difficulties for Maori pensioners. He insisted that comparatively few Maori were in receipt of rental income.⁵⁴⁴

Although then committed to the principle of equality and full citizenship for Maori, the Labour Government's Social Security Act 1938 did not immediately bestow equal benefits upon Maori. In practice, section 72 allowed the continuation of the long-established practice of awarding lower rates to Maori. The rationale remained the same, namely, that the living costs of Maori individuals were lower than those of Pakeha, that Maori had lower expectations, and that Maori pensioners were disposed to share with whanau. Benefit levels for all were in fact contingent upon income and the Department of Social Security thus set out to devise new ways of establishing the incomes Maori

⁵⁴⁰ Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 July 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/128 36/23 Part 1.

⁵⁴¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director, Pensions 29 September 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/128 36/23 Part 1.

⁵⁴² Director, Pensions to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 20 December 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/128 36/23 Part 1.

⁵⁴³ NZPD 1939, Vol.254, p.729.

⁵⁴⁴ NZPD 1939, Vol.256, p.17.

derived from rents, royalties, and wages.⁵⁴⁵ One of the issues raised was whether the rents and royalties many Maori had paid in to an account with a view to acquiring a home or discharging mortgages were to be considered as income.⁵⁴⁶ In September 1941, the Department of Social Security ‘instructed registrars to assess Maori eligibility for the full pension according to the standard of the applicant’s dwelling and according to whether a person was maintaining “impecunious and lazy relatives.”’ Maori ‘living like a European’ – that is, living in fully serviced and relatively decent houses in urban centres – might qualify for the full pension.⁵⁴⁷ District checklists of beneficiaries and their dependants clearly recorded the different benefit rates according to race.⁵⁴⁸

In August 1940, Tirikatene and Paikea met Minister of Finance Walter Nash when it was agreed that the principle that applied to the granting of benefits ‘should be complete equality of Maori and Pakeha;’ that full inquiry as to property and other income would be made for Maori as for Pakeha, the Commission to employ the same principles; and that benefits paid were to be applied to meet the needs of the applicants and ‘for their dependents for whom the Act provides.’⁵⁴⁹ That did not appear to advance matters and hence, in December 1940, a deputation led by Tirakatene informed the Minister of Social Security that in its view Maori had long been ‘victimised’ and accordingly entered a protest against reduced social security payments, especially old-age pensions. The Government’s position was still ‘that where Maori were living in a communal fashion the cost of living was not so high.’⁵⁵⁰ Again, no evidence was adduced for that conclusion.

Complaints of ‘unjust discrimination’ thus persisted.⁵⁵¹ In 1941, the Department of Social Security ruled that ‘full inquiry’ had to be made in to the living conditions of

⁵⁴⁵ Registrar, Social Security to Director, Monetary Benefits Division 8 August 1940, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS W2756 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁴⁶ Registrar, Social Security to Director, Monetary Benefits Division 8 August 1940, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS W2756 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁴⁷ Circular 135, September 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/1 Part 4. Cited in McClure, *A civilised community*, pp.112-113.

⁵⁴⁸ See also Hanson, *The politics of social security*, p.163.

⁵⁴⁹ Minister, Finance to Minister, Social Security 5 August 1940, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁵⁵⁰ In ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4. See also, Minister, Social Security to E.T. Tirikatene 19 November 1940, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁵⁵¹ See, for example, Chairman, Arawa to Trust Board to Commissioner, Pensions 5 May 1942, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS W2756 9/9/1 Part 4.

any Maori applicant for age and widows' pensions, a decision that generated some concern given that most Maori continued to live in rural districts. As it was, some districts were still relying on the police to gather the necessary information. One proposal was that Maori living in towns should receive the full benefit and all those living in rural areas a reduced benefit.⁵⁵² The Department ignored the suggestion.⁵⁵³ In May 1942, H. Tai Mitchell, writing as Chairman of the Arawa Trust Board to the Commissioner of Pensions, noted that those receiving less than full benefits felt 'the shame of being discriminated against despite the provision of equality solemnly pledged to the Maori People by Britain under the Treaty of Waitangi.'⁵⁵⁴ Subsequent correspondence suggests that the Department of Social Security did not contemplate adjusting all old-age and widows' pensions: rather, decisions about the rates payable in respect of both new grants and renewals would continue to take in to account the living conditions of the applicants. Reduced pensions were still envisaged where (unspecified) living conditions indicated.⁵⁵⁵ Considerable confusion reigned, for a draft of a new set of instructions, prepared in October 1943, indicated that on both grant and renewal, registrars were to recommend payment of the full rate unless the applicant 'had impecunious natives living on him ...' The draft noted that 'The living conditions otherwise (e.g. the nature of dwelling etc) are not to be taken in to account in arriving at the rate of benefit payable.' Registrars were also asked to submit reports in all cases in which reduced pensions were being paid.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, by late 1943, the only test that was to be applied was 'Has the beneficiary any impecunious natives living on him?' Registrars were advised that, in the absence of any related evidence, they were to recommend full pensions.⁵⁵⁷

By October 1943, the Department of Social Security had evidently come to realise that the cost of obtaining reports on every applicant would be costly and unlikely to yield

⁵⁵² Registrar, Gisborne to Assistant Director, Social Security 7 October 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁵³ Assistant Director, Social Security to Registrar, Gisborne 10 October 1941, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁵⁴ Chairman, Arawa Trust Board to Commissioner, Pensions 5 May 1942, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁵⁵ See, for example, Director, Social Security Department to Registrar, Gisborne 6 January 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁵⁶ ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁵⁷ Note for Commissioner, Pensions 26 October 1943, and Circular for Registrars 2 December 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

savings that would justify the cost. The decision was taken to award full benefit rates to all Maori and instructions to that effect were issued in November 1943.⁵⁵⁸ That allowed the Minister to claim that ‘In general there is no differentiation between the European and Maori applicants and the basic rates of benefit are the same.’⁵⁵⁹ The *New Zealand Herald* claimed that

The equality principle has been strictly applied in the payment of monetary benefits under the Social Security Act, with the result that Maoris have received relatively more than any other large class of the community, having regard to their standard of living, and having contributed less. In particular, the present provision for family allowances ... is so framed that practically all native families with children are believed to be drawing it.⁵⁶⁰

In the course of a speech delivered at Waimana on 7 June 1944, the Minister in Charge of Social Security, observed that

The Maori people are today on an equal footing with the Pakeha. The Maori has equality under social security sickness and health benefits, equal wages, equal treatment in war pensions and rehabilitation. The Maori has his representation in the Parliament of his country, and a say in the laws that are made. In that way equality is established in our country as between Pakeha and Maori.⁵⁶¹

Five years later, November 1949, the Chairman of the Social Security Commission advised the Minister of Finance that there was ‘now in practice no discrimination between Maori and European as far as the administration of Social Security monetary benefits is concerned.’⁵⁶²

3.15 Pensions paid to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, 1941-1942

By July 1941, nationally 3,491 Maori were in receipt of the old-age pension.⁵⁶³ Table 3.5 is based on a handwritten summary of reduced pensions in force in 1943 and indicates that 1,257 old-age pensions awarded Maori were still being paid at a reduced

⁵⁵⁸ ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁵⁹ Minister, Pensions to Sullivan, MP 2 December 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS W2756 9/9/1 Part 4.

⁵⁶⁰ ‘The Maoris,’ *New Zealand Herald* 7 January 1943, p.4.

⁵⁶¹ Copy in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 5.

⁵⁶² Chairman, Social Security Commission to Minister, Finance 24 November 1949, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁵⁶³ ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4.

rate.⁵⁶⁴ Those 1,257 represented 36 per cent of those in force two years earlier. Nineteen Maori old-age pensioners and six widows were still, at the end of the 1943, receiving reduced pensions. In the Palmerston North pension district, 19 Maori old-age pensioners and four Maori widows were still receiving reduced pensions. One further summary was located: it dealt with pensions payable to ‘Otaki’ Maori and indicated that the average pension paid to 26 old-age pensioners was £72 per annum, still short of the full pension (1939) of £78.

Table 3.5: Number of reduced pensions paid to Maori in force, 1 November 1943

Pension districts	Old-age	Widows
Whangarei	254	70
Auckland	44	16
Paeroa	37	7
Hamilton	69	15
Rotorua	374	36
Gisborne	323	52
Napier	14	6
New Plymouth	59	11
Whanganui	36	6
Palmerston North	19	6
Masterton	6	1
Wellington	1	2
Nelson	1	-
Blenheim	1	-
Christchurch	10	-
Grey	2	-
Timaru	6	-
Dunedin	1	-
Invercargill	-	-
Totals	1257	228

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4

⁵⁶⁴ The summary was located in a Department of Social Security file, namely, ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4. In March 1944, the Parliamentary Committee of the Maori War Effort, noting that, on account of the presence of ‘the large number of pakeha names,’ details of the number of Maori beneficiaries by type of pension could not be obtained. In response to allegations that pensions paid to Maori were not being employed for their intended purpose, the Maori War Effort Organisation proposed, through its recruiting and liaison officers, to prepare a list. On the grounds of privacy and confidentiality, the Minister of Social Security issued an instruction to the effect that no such list was to be prepared. See Minister, Social Security to Hon E.T. Tirikatene 6 April 1944, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 5.

3.16 Conclusions

Although widely varying appraisals are offered of the historical significance and of the tenor of the Old-age Pensions Act 1898, one conclusion is reasonably clear, namely, that, with respect to Maori, it contained provisions that, in the hands of the administrative agency charged with its implementation, allowed considerable latitude in interpretation and administration. While both Liberal and Reform Governments proclaimed equal access under the law, whether to social support, state-funded financial assistance, education, housing, and rehabilitation support for military veterans, the framing of the relevant legislation, and especially the requirements specified, often served to exclude most Maori from the opportunities or benefits offered. Moreover, equal access under the law, to have practical meaning and effect, had to be accompanied by equality of process or equality of treatment. It was in applying the law that many magistrates and the Pensions Department, ironically citing deficiencies in the Crown's own land valuation and Maori land title registration systems, chose not to follow the requirements of the Act and investigate the circumstances of each individual applicant, but to impose a standard race-based reduction in the entitlements to which approved applicants were otherwise entitled. That simplistic and encompassing solution may have satisfied a bureaucratic desire for uniformity, efficiency, and economy: it did not fulfil the proclaimed equality under the law, nor did it respect the requirement of the Act that the application of 'any aboriginal native' should be dealt with on its merits. Similar considerations applied to the manner in which the widows' pension was administered.

In order to satisfy its desire for consistency in decision-making and for 'economy,' the Department of Pensions successfully wrested control of the annual pension renewal process from the courts. That allowed it, with the endorsement of Treasury, to give practically full reign to its convictions that a people who lived 'communistically' did not require State support, that Maori were accustomed and should remain accustomed to a lower standard of living, and that Maori would remain economically marginalised and thus less than full contributors to the State's revenues and hence less deserving of its undiluted benevolence. The convictions that shaped the approach of the Pensions Department to Maori emerged in other areas of State social and economic activity, in

unemployment, housing, and education: it is to those areas that subsequent chapters turn.

Chapter 4: Maori employment and unemployment, incomes and wealth

4.1 Introduction

The character of the engagement of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori with the colonial economy was shaped largely by the extent to which they were able to retain ownership and control of their lands. Chapter 2 suggested that where they retained sufficient land, some communities endeavoured to construct and sustain separate if not entirely independent hapu-based economies that combined entry in to commercial pastoral farming and the leasing of lands not immediately required. For others, the contemporaneous expansion of Pakeha settlement, the construction of public works, the drainage and clearance of land, and the rapid rate of new farm formation offered alternative opportunities for engagement in the emerging provincial economy. By about the turn of the century, the evidence indicates that far-reaching changes were under way, changes that were driven in large measure by the large-scale transfer of land out of Maori ownership during the 1870s and early 1880s, and apparent in their growing withdrawal from commercial sheep farming, the partitioning of collectively owned lands and the accompanying revival and expansion subsistence farming and food gathering, and entry into low-paid seasonal and casual work.

By about 1900, therefore, most Porirua ki Manawatu Maori communities confronted a choice between finding a substitute for commercial sheep farming, relying upon subsistence cultivation and food gathering, entering the paid labour force, or combining elements of all three as need dictated or circumstance or opportunity allowed. Chapter 4 will focus on the efforts made by Maori to secure paid employment; the character and distribution of occupations; the interrelated issues of exposure to economic structural change, under-employment, and unemployment; the emergence of a Maori-dominated rural precariat; and the Crown's responses to Maori labour conditions and unemployment. It will suggest that, as the close of the 1930s approached, the conditions had been established in Porirua ki Manawatu, as elsewhere in New Zealand, for what has been aptly described as 'a great shaking loose of migrants from the countryside,' an accelerating movement of Maori from poorly resourced, poorly

serviced, and increasingly congested rural settlements into the towns and, especially, into the larger metropolitan centres.⁵⁶⁵

4.2 First entry

The evidence relating to the entry of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori in to the commercial economy and the paid workforce is scanty. There is just sufficient to suggest that the one-off injections of capital arising from the sales of land of the 1860s and 1870s may have served to restrict rather than advance Maori economic development. Certainly, from about 1870, some Maori did secure paid employment. In 1870, for example, Maori were engaged on contract to construct the roads from Ngawhakaraua to Oroua Bridge, and from the latter to Foxton.⁵⁶⁶ In 1872, it was reported that during the summer months ‘a great number of Maoris from Foxton and Oroua and those neighbourhoods, and a few from Otaki, obtained employment on the Government road and tramway.’⁵⁶⁷ In 1873, members of Ngati Kauwhata were engaged to fell and clear bush along a two-kilometre stretch of road line.⁵⁶⁸ By the end of June 1875, Maori had received £2,834 for their work in the Manawatu, all others engaged having received £27,470. Maori received no payment during the following year.⁵⁶⁹ Such employment was intended to aid in the ‘pacification’ of Maori and to strengthen internal security through encouraging Pakeha settlement.

Employment in public works appears to have been irregular and temporary. Further, indications were emerging of a growing reliance on income from the sale of land. In 1872, for example, Resident Magistrate Willis recorded that while at Reureu and Pourewa, Maori were engaged in sheep-farming, little was being done elsewhere, while ‘At Otaki, the crops grown hardly suffice for themselves, leaving them very short of provisions previous to harvest.’⁵⁷⁰ In 1874, Willis noted that ‘The money that has been paid to the Maoris for their land has kept them from want, and there has been less

⁵⁶⁵ Richard Bedford, Robert Didham, and Manying Ip, ‘The changing spatial and social contexts for Chinese-Maori interaction 1920s-1980, in Manying Ip, editor, *The dragon & and the taniwha: Maori & Chinese in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press 2009, p.107.

⁵⁶⁶ AJHR 1870, A17, pp.37-40. See also 1870, A17A, p.4.

⁵⁶⁷ AJHR 1872, F3, p.16.

⁵⁶⁸ AJHR 1873, E6, p.5.

⁵⁶⁹ AJHR 1876, E1, p.14.

⁵⁷⁰ AJHR 1872, F3, p.16.

agriculture amongst them than in former years.⁵⁷¹ Again, in 1876, he recorded that ‘Considerable quantities of land belonging to Maoris have passed into the occupation of Europeans by sale or lease, the latter being the most advantageous use to which the Maoris seem capable of putting their land.’⁵⁷² In 1877, Robert Ward recorded that Ngati Kauwhata, at Awahuri, had secured Crown grants for 6,250 acres out of the Rangitikei-Manawatu block, land on which they had settled 34 Pakeha families, chiefly on leases for 21 years, in some cases with a purchasing clause. It was also looking forward to securing titles to the remainder of its land, some 10,000 acres on the south side of Oroua River, land for which a large number of Pakeha had lodged applications to lease. The block was considered sufficient to settle from 50 to 80 families on 100 to 200-acre sections.⁵⁷³ Ohinepuhiawe, where Maori used to produce their own foodstuffs, were living off rents, while those at Otaki who had been looking forward to advances on land were expressing sharp disappointment over the decision of the Government to halt the practice of tamana.⁵⁷⁴ Such observations, limited and partial as they are, suggest that the rents and the proceeds of land sales were displacing the traditional economy and encouraging some Maori at least to favour consumption over accumulation and investment.

From about 1880 more frequent references can be found to the entry of Maori into the paid workforce, suggesting that the effects, beneficial or otherwise, of the land sales proved temporary. By the end of the 1870s, Maori were employed in the extractive industries, that is, bush-felling and flax milling; in land development following Crown land sales, that is, in clearing, fencing and draining Pakeha settlers; in seasonal work; and in public works. In 1880, Robert Ward, the resident magistrate stationed in Marton, reported that Maori ‘have now settled down quietly to work on their farms or kaingas, or for their European neighbours; the many disturbing questions as to land are now settled ...’ He also noted that a ‘considerable portion’ of the inland route between Foxton and Otaki was being constructed by Maori, many having ‘taken contracts from the Manawatu County Council ...’⁵⁷⁵ The Manawatu-Horowhenua districts appear then to have lost their status as a ‘Native district,’ but by that stage it was reasonably clear

⁵⁷¹ AJHR 1874, G2, p.23.

⁵⁷² AJHR 1876, G1, p.36.

⁵⁷³ AJHR 1877, G1, p.20.

⁵⁷⁴ AJHR 1877, G1, p.21.

⁵⁷⁵ AJHR 1880, G4, p.13.

that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were beginning to constitute a paid rural workforce, although much of the work was unskilled, and casual, intermittent, or seasonal in nature. Entry into the skilled trades, on the other hand, appears to have been limited: an 1882 report referred to just two Maori carpenters in the ‘Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Otaki’ districts.⁵⁷⁶

Little appears to have been established regarding post-1900 Maori employment in Porirua ki Manawatu. The reports of the census enumerators for 1901, 1906, and 1911 recorded that a few Maori were learning trades or working in offices, and that just a small number was engaged in professional occupations, namely, as licensed interpreters, teachers, and nurses, while others were seeking employment on farms, road-making, flax-milling, and in shepherding.⁵⁷⁷ In 1906, the sub-enumerator for the Oroua district reported that their principal work was ‘in connection with their farms and a good many of them go out shearing in the season, and a few of them do odd [sic] jobs for white people when they are not busy [sic] at their own work.’⁵⁷⁸ In 1911 it was reported that ‘numbers were going in for farming, while others have found employment as labourers, mechanics &c. Not a few of the young lads have taken up clerical work.’⁵⁷⁹ Just one or two had entered business, among them, Hakaraia Te Whena, a former farmer who, in 1897, owned the 17-roomed Central Hotel in Otaki.⁵⁸⁰

Nevertheless, such evidence as is available suggests that many if not most Porirua ki Manawatu Maori continued to secure low-paid and largely unskilled or semi-skilled seasonal work in the primary sector, notably in market gardening, and to combine such employment with subsistence agriculture. Keesing’s account of the emergence of what he termed ‘subsistence affluence’ in the North Island’s East Coast districts, appears to have applied also to Porirua ki Manawatu.⁵⁸¹ The fact that a good many Porirua ki Manawatu Maori who registered as unemployed after 1930 but who had not previously

⁵⁷⁶ AJHR 1882, G1, p.12.

⁵⁷⁷ AJHR 1901, H26B, p.16.

⁵⁷⁸ Sub-enumerator, Oroua to Enumerator, Wellington 12 April 1906 in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16056 MA23/13/18.

⁵⁷⁹ AJHR 1911, H14A, p.17.

⁵⁸⁰ Otherwise Zacharia Bevan of Ngati Wehi Wehi, born in Otaki in 1842. He married Mere Ruiha Hakaraia who, as Mary Bevan, signed the 1893 Suffrage Petition.

⁵⁸¹ Felix Keesing, *The changing Maori*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons, 1928; and Felix Keesing, ‘Maori progression on the East Coast,’ *Te Wananga, Journal of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research* 1, 1, 1929.

been engaged in the workforce, would tend to support Keesing's conclusions. Further, it was the continued existence of a substantial subsistence sector that the Government employed to justify reducing the social entitlements payable to Maori. In short, the evidence points to a Maori workforce that remained, by 1930, largely unskilled and dependent upon low-paid seasonal and casual employment, and subsistence agriculture and traditional food gathering where land sales, land clearance, and land drainage works had not proved obstructive or destructive.

It is of interest to note here that a photograph of the staff of the Manawatu Knitting Mills (established in 1884), taken in 1930 does not appear to include a single Maori employee. While the names of all those included are not available, those given similarly do not appear to include any of Maori origin.⁵⁸²

4.3 The industrial distribution of Maori occupations, 1926 to 1951

With respect to Maori occupations and employment, the censuses offer little assistance. Those of 1926, 1936, 1945, and 1951 did contain some details of Maori employment but on a national and provincial basis. Thompson re-worked the published data to estimate the subdivision of the total Maori workforce by industry for the census years 1926, 1936, 1945, and 1951.⁵⁸³ Tables 4.1 and 4.2 employ Thompson's estimates. It is important to bear in mind that they do not summarise employment but the industrial distribution of occupations as listed by those Maori who participated in the census. Table 4.1 indicates that a very large proportion of Maori listed occupations fell within 'agriculture,' notably as farm labourers. That proportion shrank markedly over the period from 1926 to 1951 and did so despite, it is worth noting, the establishment of the Maori land development programme. The proportion listing manufacturing and construction related occupations, on the other hand, rose appreciably, shifts consistent with the growing movement of Maori into the country's urban centres. The sharp increase in construction-related occupations between 1926 and 1936 almost certainly reflects engagement of Maori in relief works and notably in road construction.

⁵⁸² The photograph can be found on <https://manawatuheritage.pncc.govt.nz>

⁵⁸³ B.J.G. Thompson, 'The Maori workforce by industry, 1945-1926,' *VUW Working Papers in Economic History* 78/4, Wellington, November 1978.

Table 4.1: Estimated distribution (per percent) of the Maori male workforce by industry, 1926 to 1951¹

	1926	1936	1945	1951
Agriculture	63.6	57.9	44.6	35.3
Forestry, fishing, hunting	11.1	5.4	5.3	4.1
Mining and quarrying	1.0	0.7	2.2	2.5
Manufacturing	7.6	4.6	19.6	24.1
Construction	8.8	26.2	13.0	14.7
Electricity &c	0.2	0.1	0.9	1.4
Trade	0.8	0.6	1.5	2.4
Finance &c	0.1	0.03	0.04	0.3
Transport &c	4.7	2.6	8.1	9.9
Government services	0.3	0.4	2.9	2.4
C, B, and R services ²	1.5	1.1	1.4	2.1
Personal services	0.2	0.2	0.3	) 0.7
Private domestic service	0.1	0.1	0.1)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	17424	21838	23132	25073

¹ Not specified not included ²C, B, R = unpaid or voluntary work

Source: Thompson, 'The Maori workforce by industry,' p.37

Table 4.2 sets out the industrial distribution of occupations listed by females. The importance of agriculture is again apparent, although the contraction was even more marked than in the case of males. On the other hand, the redistribution towards 'C, B, and R services' and 'personal services' was also marked.

Table 4.2: Estimated distribution (per percent) of the Maori female workforce by industry, 1926 to 1951¹

	1926	1936	1945	1951
Agriculture	62.0	60.5	25.6	14.1
Forestry, fishing, hunting	8.3	2.4	1.1	0.5
Mining and quarrying	-	-	0.05	0.03
Manufacturing	1.6	2.8	13.0	22.4
Construction	-	-	0.2	0.3
Electricity &c	-	-	-	0.2
Trade	0.9	0.9	3.4	3.2
Finance &c	0.07	-	0.2	0.5
Transport &c	0.8	0.4	2.6	4.2
Government services	0.2	-	4.3	2.3
C, B, and R services ²	5.2	5.4	13.9	25.5
Personal services	6.1	4.0	18.6	) 26.8
Private domestic service	14.9	23.5	17.1) -
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	2895	2963	4224	6604

¹ Not specified not included ² CBR = unpaid or voluntary work

Source: Thompson, 'The Maori workforce by industry,' p.37

Both tables suggest that until 1945, the industrial distribution of Maori by occupation was markedly bi-polar in character, males falling very largely in to agriculture and (apparently) construction, and females in to agriculture and private domestic service. That bi-polarity distinguished the industrial distribution of Maori male and female occupations from that of their Pakeha counterparts. In general terms, the available data suggests that engagement by Maori in the paid workforce was limited in both scale and character and vulnerable to both secular or long-run economic change and short-run economic fluctuations. That vulnerability would be exposed during the economic crisis of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

4.4 Unemployment in the 1920s

There is an extensive theoretical and empirical literature that deals with marginalisation and unemployment and with the consequences – economic, psychological, and health – that often accompany long-term (as distinguished from short-term or 'frictional')

unemployment. Long-term unemployment is often employed as a marker of those with poor or low levels of education and who possess few qualifications or marketable skills, while under-employment, that is, employment in part-time, intermittent, or casual work, is similarly regarded as a marker of workforce marginalisation. The structure of Maori employment and the incidence of unemployment and under-employment can thus shed light on the nature of Maori involvement in the commercial economy, relative incomes, and life chances.

Writing in 1933, Belshaw suggested that unemployment in post-1918 New Zealand could be considered in terms of three periods, the first from 1919 to 1926, during which unemployment was comparatively low; the second from 1926 to 1929 when unemployment rose appreciably ‘owing to the operation of certain permanent and semi-permanent factors;’ and the third from 1930 when the numbers of unemployed increased sharply.⁵⁸⁴ Between 1919 and 1926 the Department of Labour ‘assisted to employment’ an average of 3,864 persons each year, the number then increasing sharply to reach 16,363 in the year ending 31 March 1929. The numbers employed by the Department of Public Works, a well-established response by the State to rising unemployment, also rose, from 8,156 in March 1922 to 13,694 in March 1929.⁵⁸⁵ Some of the unemployment reflected the seasonal character of much of the work available in districts dependent largely on their primary and primary processing industries. At the end of July 1929, the number on Palmerston North’s unemployment register stood at 86 of whom 64 were listed as ‘labourers.’ The increase in the numbers of unemployed from the mid-1920s onwards, Belshaw attributed to the substitution of capital (machinery) for labour, especially in the agricultural and pastoral industries, to the decline of natural resource-based industries such as milling and flax harvesting, and to a slump in building.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ Horace Belshaw, ‘Post-war unemployment and unemployment policy in New Zealand,’ *Economic Record* 9, 1-2, 1934, pp.58-75.

⁵⁸⁵ AJHR 1929, H11B, p.26.

⁵⁸⁶ See also John Martin, *Holding the balance: a history of New Zealand’s Department of Labour 1891-1995*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1996.

4.4.1 Charitable aid

It was to the hospital and charitable aid boards that those in need turned for support and assistance before the Government assumed full responsibility for dealing with unemployment. Under the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act 1909, the existing hospital board districts were reconstituted in to 36 districts. The Palmerston North Hospital District included the Kiwitea, Pohangina, Oroua, Manawatu, and Kairanga Counties. Elections to the Palmerston North Hospital and Charitable Aid Board took place in November 1909: the members – whose number did not include any Maori – were drawn from local borough and county councils.⁵⁸⁷ Horowhenua County local authorities were unhappy with their inclusion within the Wellington Hospital Board District and sought inclusion in the Palmerston North district.⁵⁸⁸ A protracted debate followed, and it was not until 1917-1918 that the matter was resolved and the Palmerston North Hospital and Charitable Aid Board District enlarged accordingly.

For financial assistance relief during the early decades of the twentieth century, the poor, the homeless, the disabled, and the unemployed relied on charitable aid delivered, primarily, through those boards. As unemployment rose during the 1920s, the boards, and the local authorities that provided the funding, came under growing pressure. Dalley surveyed the approach of the Palmerston North Hospital Board to charitable aid during the period from 1925 to 1938, although she did not explore the participation of Maori in the scheme. Further, the attitude of the board's 'relieving officer' to Maori was not discussed.⁵⁸⁹ Whether Maori were regarded as among the 'deserving poor,' that is, the aged, the infirm, widows, and deserted wives, or the 'underserving poor,' namely, paupers, drunkards, those not disposed to assist themselves, and those not normally resident in the Board's district, remains unclear. It is of interest to record here that in November 1931 the Board reported that it 'so far ... [it] had on record no cases of extreme distress amongst the Maori' of Horowhenua and Manawatu. The Board's chairman and secretary had recently visited Maori settlements near Foxton 'and had observed that the occupants were on the poverty line but against this it had to be remembered that the Maori could live on next to nothing – in any case they had natural

⁵⁸⁷ 'Hospital and Charitable Aid Boards,' *Evening Post* 25 November 1909, p.3.

⁵⁸⁸ 'Hospital districts,' *Evening Post* 4 April 1913, p.3.

⁵⁸⁹ Bronwyn Dalley, 'A question of responsibility – the Palmerston North Hospital Board and charitable relief, 1925-1938,' BA Hons research essay, Massey University, 1985.

food supplies at their command.⁵⁹⁰ Further, in 1934, the Under Secretary of the Native Department complained, with respect to the granting of charitable aid, that some hospital boards discriminated against Maori on the grounds that his department was responsible for all cases of indigency among Maori. He pressed the Director-General to ensure that Maori and Pakeha were treated alike.⁵⁹¹ Medical officers of health were instructed accordingly, although claims continued to be made that charitable aid boards denied any responsibility for Maori.⁵⁹²

It is worthwhile noting here that a large proportion of the £7,000 annually set aside by the Government for Maori needs (the Civil List) was, by 1930, being distributed as charitable relief, that is, food and clothing: the amount thus expended rose from £2,680 in 1930-31 to £3,204 in 1931-1932 to £3,405 in 1932-1933.⁵⁹³ By 1934, grants were restricted to cases of extreme poverty coupled with physical disability. Given that aid was made available only ‘to the most necessitous cases,’ the Department of Native Affairs was keen to remind the Department of Health that, with respect to the granting of charitable aid, ‘Maori should receive equal consideration.’⁵⁹⁴ In April 1935, the Director-General of Health thus made it perfectly clear that ‘it is regarded as the function and duty of a Hospital Board to afford relief to Maoris in indigent circumstances.’⁵⁹⁵

What Dalley does make clear is that the Palmerston North Hospital Board was increasingly averse to assisting those rendered unemployed, an aversion that deepened as unemployment began to rise from about 1925 onwards and as it became clear that the growing numbers of unemployed reflected more than the usual seasonal fluctuations in employment.⁵⁹⁶ The number of applicants for charitable aid, the rate of rejection, and

⁵⁹⁰ ‘Maoris and distress,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 10 November 1931, p.4.

⁵⁹¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director-General, Health 26 November 1934, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1377 194/10.

⁵⁹² See, for example, Medical Officer of Health to Director-General of Health 20 December 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/ 1279 194/1/24 Alt No.8458

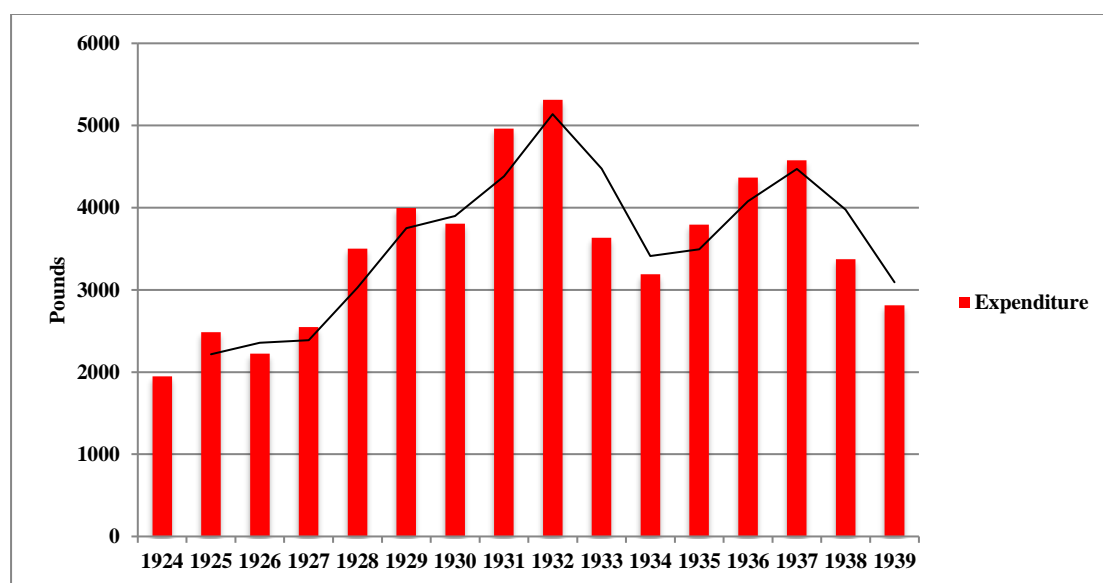
⁵⁹³ AJHR 1931, B1 [Pt 1], p.73; 1932, B1 [Pt 1], p.63; and 1933, B1 [Pt 1], p.56.

⁵⁹⁴ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director-General, Health 26 November 1934, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1377 194/10.

⁵⁹⁵ Director-General, Health to Medical Officers, Health 15 April 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24.

⁵⁹⁶ In 1929, the Hospital Boards’ Conference, meeting in Palmerston North, resolved ‘That ... the total cost of granting relief to the unemployed should be borne by the Government from the Consolidated Fund ...’ See ‘Advent of poverty,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 14 March 1929, p.8.

whether Maori were afforded relief similar to that offered others, are all matters that have still to be established. The published statistical data do make clear the Board's expenditure on outdoor relief. Graph 4.1 indicates that peak expenditure was reached in 1932 when it accounted for 7.8 per cent of the Board's total expenditure. The contraction in expenditure in 1933 and 1934 marks the assumption by the State, following agreements reached in 1932 and 1933 with the hospital boards and under which the State assumed responsibility for the able-bodied unemployed (that is, excluding those unable to work) rather than any decline in overall unemployment in the Board's district.⁵⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the Palmerston North Hospital and Charitable Aid Board continued to extend some assistance to the unemployed, notably by supplementing, albeit reluctantly, the sustenance payment scheme introduced in 1934.⁵⁹⁸



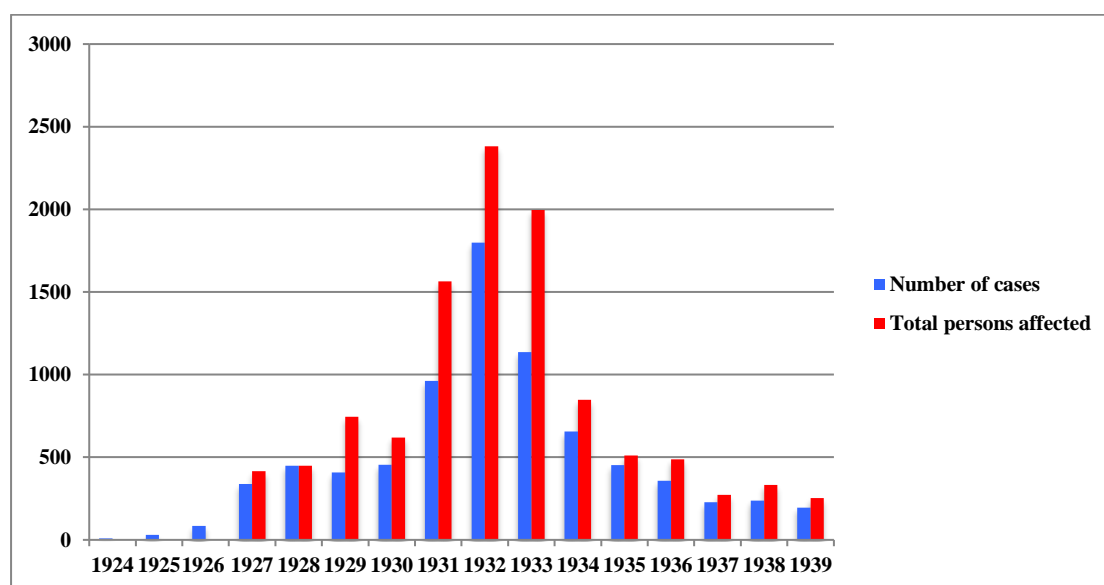
Source: Department of Health: Appendices to the annual report of the Director-General of Health, 1923 to 1939

Graph 4.1: Palmerston North Hospital and Charitable Aid Board: expenditure (£) on outdoor charitable relief, 1 April 1923 to 31 March 1939

⁵⁹⁷ For a discussion of the negotiations between the Hospital Boards' Association and the Government over this matter, see B.T. Roberston, 'The tyranny of circumstances: response to unemployment in New Zealand, 1925-1935,' PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 1978. Those classified as unable to work were the 'Class C' men.

⁵⁹⁸ Dalley, 'A question of responsibility,' pp.46-47.

Graph 4.2 sets out number of breadwinners who had been rendered unemployed and the number of persons affected, together with the total number of cases and the total number of persons affected. In terms of unemployment, the depth of the depression was reached in 1932, the number of unemployed assisted by the Board then declining markedly as relief and employment promotion programmes were instituted and as economic conditions improved during the second half of the 1930s.



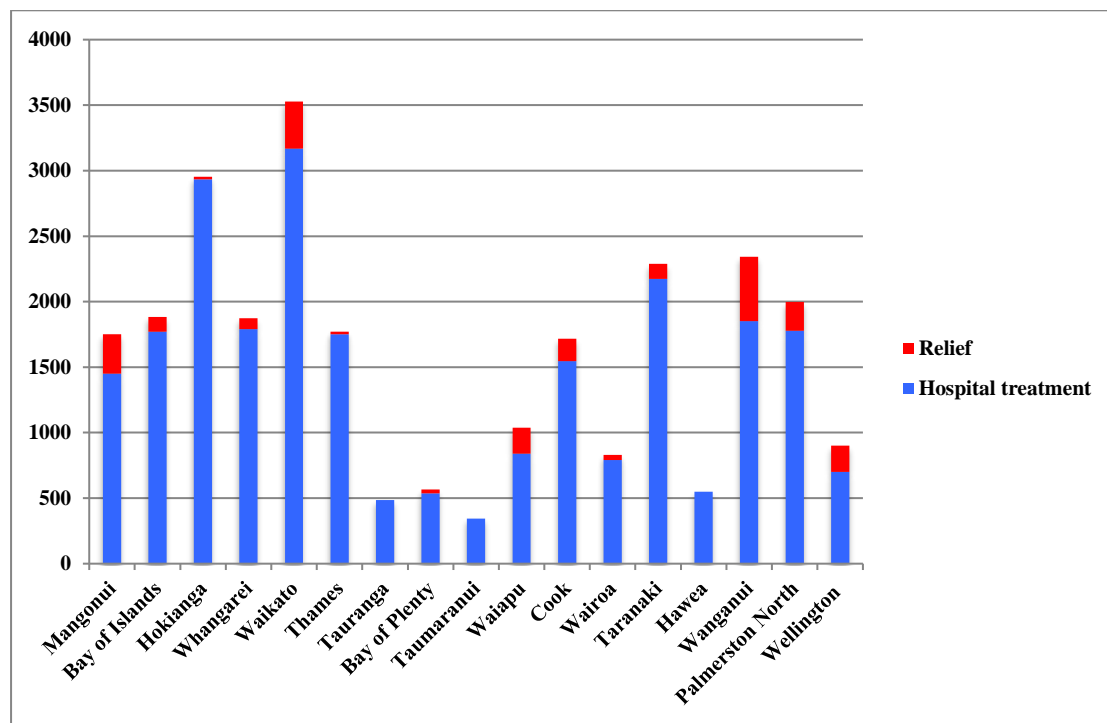
Source: Department of Health: Appendices to the annual report of the Director-General of Health, 1923 to 1939

Graph 4.2: Number of persons rendered unemployed and total persons affected and assisted by the Palmerston North Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, 1924 to 1939

As noted, few details were located dealing with the charitable aid allocated to Maori by the Palmerston North Hospital and Charitable Aid Board. For the year ended 31 March 1932, the country's hospital boards collectively spent £2,589 on charitable relief for Maori. Graph 4.3 sets out the details by those boards that furnished returns. The Palmerston North Hospital Board spent £220 on relief, some 8.5 percent of the total despite the five counties involved having just 3.2 per cent of the country's total 1926 Maori population (including 'half-castes').⁵⁹⁹ The total spent on charitable aid by the

⁵⁹⁹ Secretary, Hospital Boards' Association of New Zealand to Secretary, Health 7 October 1932, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24.

Board in the year to the end of March 1932 was £5,313, so that the £220 spent on charitable aid to Maori represented 4.1 per cent of the total. In short, although the 1926 Maori population of 2,125 constituted 3.8 per cent of the Board's total population of 55,370, assistance appears to have been distributed more or less proportionately.



Source: ANZ Wellington ABDZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24

Graph 4.3: Expenditure on hospital treatment and relief for Maori, North Island hospital and charitable aid boards, year ending 31 March 1932

4.5 Unemployment in the 1930s

An expectation on the part of the Government that the 'downturn' would be no worse than those experienced earlier during the 1920s proved to be ill-founded as during 1930 the construction industry contracted, consumer sales declined, lending by State agencies fell, and imports, commodity prices and exports all fell markedly. The Government's response was to retrench or 'adjust,' expenditure on public works, public sector employment and public sector wages and salaries being the first major casualties. Major cuts in social services and social entitlements followed. Unemployment rose

rapidly during 1931 and would assume unprecedented proportions among the most vulnerable sectors of the workforce among whom Maori featured prominently.

That more than half of the Maori male workforce was described, by the Unemployment Board in 1932, as unemployed, was a clear indication that the problem was structural in character. Ngata and the Unemployment Board recognised as much. In mid-July 1929, in a major address to the House of Representatives, Ngata (as Minister of Native Affairs) dealt with the relationships between Maori and the Crown and what he termed ‘a general survey of the Native question ...’⁶⁰⁰ He noted that ‘the present unemployment has brought about the most distressful conditions amongst the Maori people,’ and suggested that New Zealand had largely passed through ‘the pioneering stage,’ a stage to which Maori had made a major if largely unacknowledged contribution. Elsewhere, Ngata was recorded as having noted that ‘The rough work [of pioneering] had been done, and it had been done mostly by the Maori people.’ That large numbers of Maori were out of work reflected the practical end of the pioneering stage of New Zealand’s development. But while Maori had overcome previous recessions ‘by tightening up their belts, going back half a generation and living on shell-fish ... the trouble today was that people could not move back in the same way.’⁶⁰¹ In short, unemployment among Maori was structural in nature and its solution demanded different approaches.

The Unemployment Board itself recognised that those difficulties reflected structural changes in the New Zealand economy, among them, in the primary sector, the ending of the pioneer phase of development and a shift from a labour-intensive and capital-saving to a labour-saving and capital-intensive phase of development. In 1932, it observed that

During the past forty years the Dominion was in active process of development. Hundreds of thousands of acres required clearing of bush, grassing, and fencing; the extensive public works were in progress. Maori found ready to their hand ample work of a kind that suited them, and incidentally they played a material part in making possible the settlement and development of large areas of country now richly productive in the occupation of Europeans ... Unfortunately, for the Maoris, the completion of the major settlement and development activities has coincided with the present economic depression. The work upon which they had

⁶⁰⁰ NZPD 1929, Vol.221, p.483.

⁶⁰¹ ‘The Native race,’ *Evening Post* 19 July 1929, p.10.

become accustomed to depend for livelihood has disappeared. The prevailing conditions have closed all alternative channels of unemployment.⁶⁰²

4.5.1 Unemployment in Porirua ki Manawatu

By 1925 significant unemployment had begun to emerge in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. Thus, in Palmerston North, in the first week of July 1926, 160 men (with 276 dependants) sought work.⁶⁰³ Many of the unemployed, largely unskilled labourers, were subsequently engaged by local power boards then in the course of extending their power distribution networks and by central and local authorities on road, rail, and bridge projects. Towards the end of the decade the unemployment position was increasingly acute, aggravated by those same local authorities discharging workers as their financial circumstances deteriorated.⁶⁰⁴

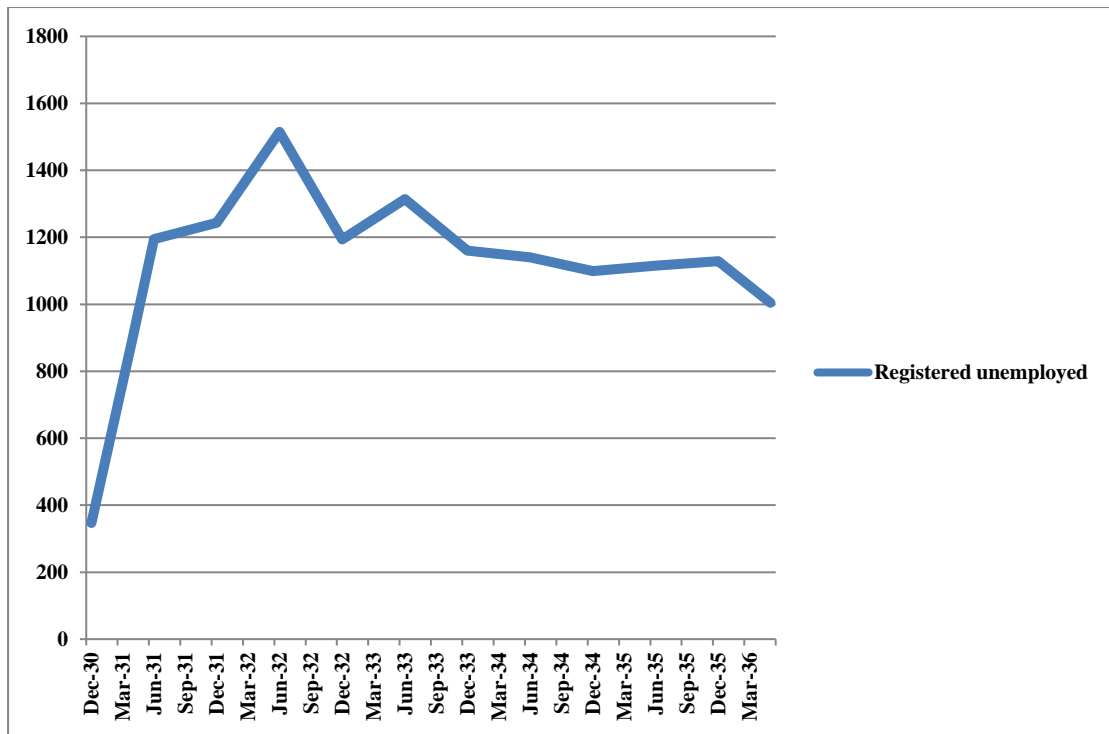
Graph 4.4 sets out the number of persons remaining on the register of the Government's Palmerston North employment bureau over the period from 1930 to 1936. By May 1931, the Palmerston North Unemployment Committee (under Scheme 5) had placed 1,057 men in work, including 379 with drainage boards, 388 on road works, 173 in Palmerston North civic works, 146 in improving school properties, and 18 at Massey College where they were engaged in experimental work with flax. A further 88 were employed on farms under Scheme 4A.⁶⁰⁵ The numbers rapidly reached a peak, 1,515 in June 1932, and then began a slow decline, although appearing to accelerate after 1935 as the economy recovered.

⁶⁰² AJHR 1932, H35, p.8.

⁶⁰³ 'Easier in Manawatu,' *Evening Post* 7 July 1926, p.9.

⁶⁰⁴ See, for example, 'Want of work,' *Evening Post* 7 September 1929, p.10.

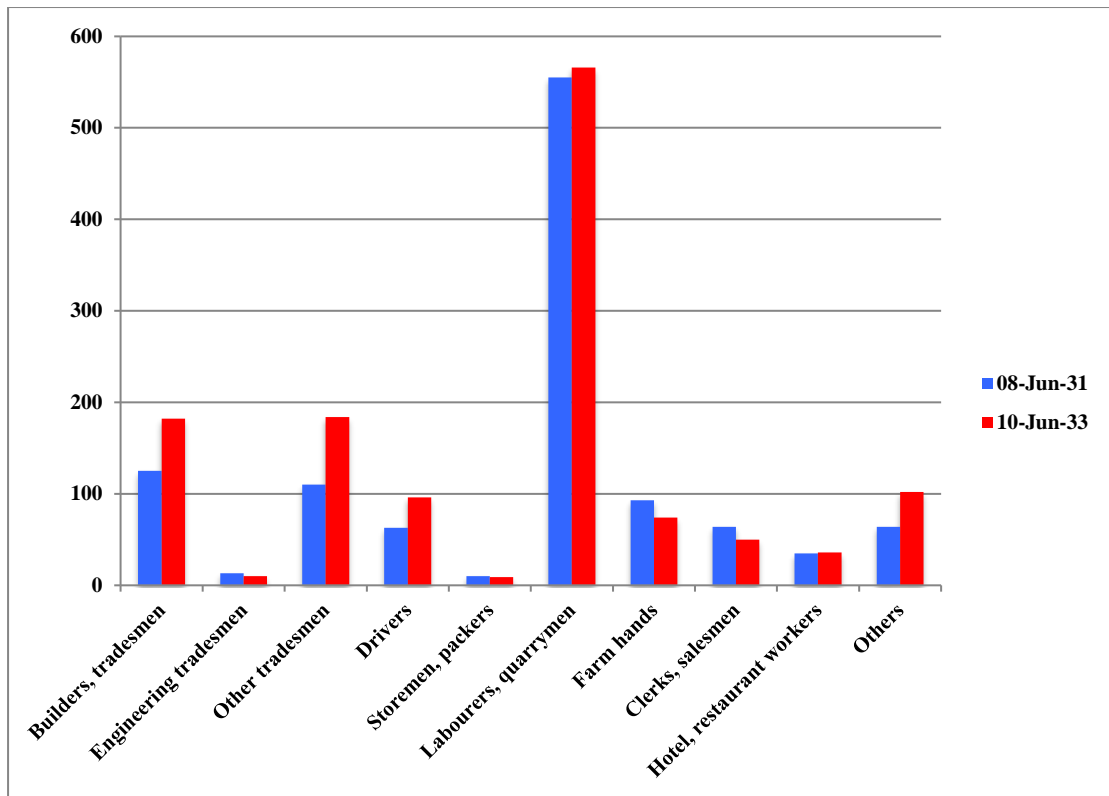
⁶⁰⁵ 'Useful work,' *Evening Post* 26 May 1931, p.3; and 'Finding work,' *Evening Post* 4 June 1931, p.12.



Source: AJHR H35

Graph 4.4: Number remaining on register of Government Employment Bureau, Palmerston North, December 1930 to March 1936

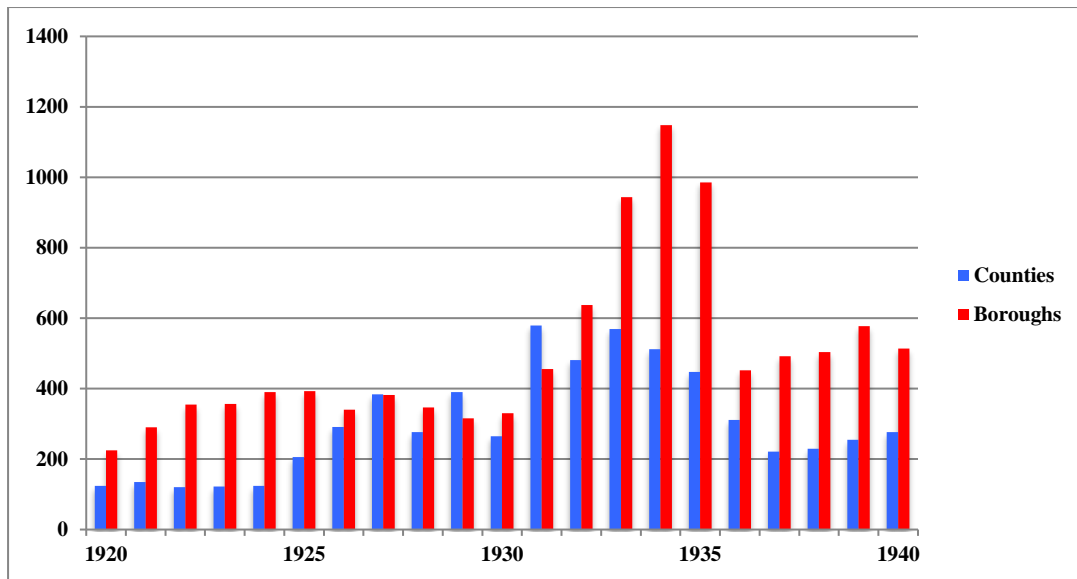
Graph 4.5 sets out the occupations of those remaining on the Palmerston North register in June 1931 and again in June 1933, and thus encompassing the period of highest unemployment. Tradesmen, drivers, farm hands, but especially labourers (there were few quarrymen involved) were those most directly affected.



Source: *Monthly Abstract of Statistics*

Graph 4.5: Occupations of those registered with the Government Employment Bureau, Palmerston North, 1931 and 1933

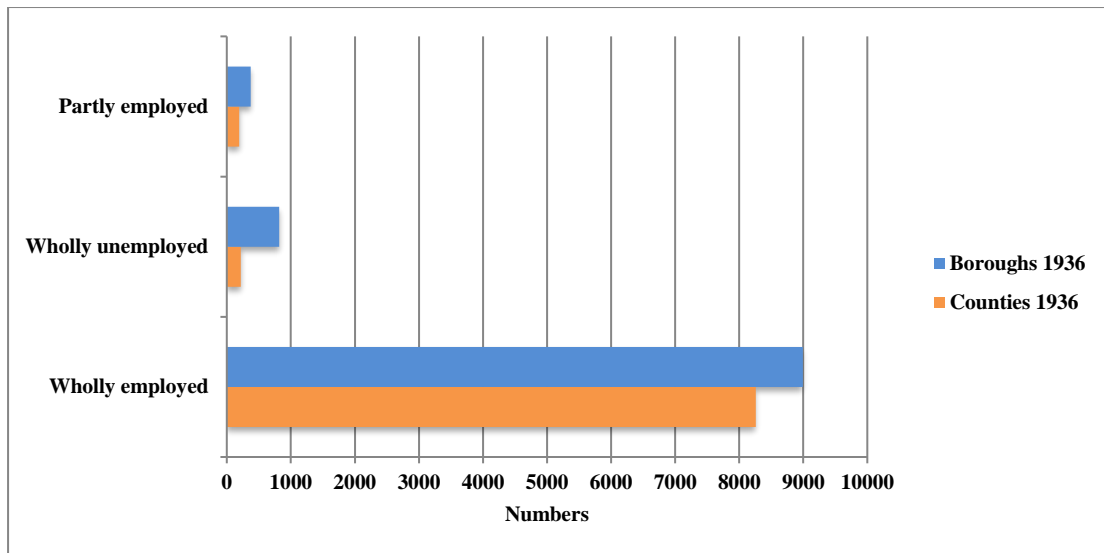
Most of the unemployed in Porirua ki Manawatu were offered relief work under Scheme 5. That scheme was implemented through local authorities and hence the number of persons employed by those authorities offers a useful summary of the scale and course of regional unemployment. Graph 4.6 sets out the number of persons employed (both temporary and permanent) by Porirua ki Manawatu county and borough councils over the period from 1920 to 1940.



Source: *Statistics of New Zealand and Local authorities handbooks*

Graph 4.6: Total permanent and temporary workers engaged by Porirua ki Manawatu county and borough councils, 1920 to 1940

The 1936 census included a section on unemployment, although it dealt only with Pakeha. Graph 4.7 sets out the details for Porirua ki Manawatu Pakeha males and suggests that, by 1936, unemployment was very largely limited to the district's urban centres. If the three categories of 'fully employed,' 'wholly unemployed,' and 'partly unemployed,' are aggregated, then in the six counties those described as 'wholly unemployed' constituted 2.5 per cent, although that proportion rose to 4.0 per cent in the case of Horowhenua County. For the six boroughs and the Rongotea Town District, those 'wholly unemployed' represented 8.0 per cent of the total: that proportion varied considerably, from 13.9 per cent the case of Foxton, to 11.2 per cent in Otaki, and to 9.0 per cent in Levin. Unemployment among females had reached minor proportions by 1936.



Source: Census of New Zealand 1936

Graph 4.7: The employment status of the Porirua ki Manawatu workforce, 1936

4.6 Maori unemployment in Porirua ki Manawatu

The sources for the above graphs did not distinguish between Maori and Pakeha, but various sources make it plain that unemployment among Porirua ki Manawatu Maori was especially high. In 1932, the Department of Native Affairs recorded that ‘Everywhere the depression and unemployment were pressing heavily on the Maoris of Manawatu.’⁶⁰⁶ In an effort to measure Maori unemployment, Macrae and Sinclair defined the unemployed as males aged from 16 to 64 and females from 16 to 60 years who were actively seeking work or desirous of fulltime employment but who could not find it. They estimated that the total Maori work force numbered 21,000 in 1933, that is, at the height of unemployment. Using census data, they estimated that some 3,000 were engaged in non-agricultural activities and the balance in primary production. Of that 18,000, a quarter was assumed to be engaged in farming independently of the Maori land development programme or occupied in jobs such as fishing, while another 5,000 were assumed to be engaged in the land development programme and related assisted employment. On that basis, Macrae and Sinclair arrived at 8,500 as ‘the absolute maximum for Maori male unemployed.’⁶⁰⁷ That yielded an unemployment rate among

⁶⁰⁶ AJHR 1932, G10, p.49.

⁶⁰⁷ John Macrae and Keith Sinclair, ‘Unemployment in New Zealand during the depression of the later 1920s and early 1930s,’ *Australian Economic History Review* XV, March 1975, p.43.

Maori males of 40 per cent. Greater difficulties were encountered in efforts to estimate the number of Maori females unemployed, but they suggested a rate of 35 per cent or 1,700 women unemployed out of a labour force of 4,800 (based on a total potential labour force of 18,400 and a labour force participation rate of 26 per cent).

Table 4.3 applies those unemployment rates of 40 and 35 per cent to the number of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori in the relevant age ranges as recorded by the 1936 census.

Table 4.3: Estimates of numbers of unemployed Maori males and females, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1933

	Males aged 15 to 65	Males unemployed	Females aged 15 to 65	Females unemployed
Counties	546	218	452	158
Boroughs	149	60	167	58
Totals	695	278	619	216

4.7 Administering unemployment assistance

As suggested above, the Reform Government and its United successor were reluctant, certainly initially, to recognise that the growing numbers of unemployed represented not frictional and temporary unemployment but structural and long-term unemployment. Thus, in 1929, Prime Minister Ward claimed that unemployment certainly existed, but only in certain resource-based industries (timber, gum, and flax) and where labour was being replaced by capital, conclusions very similar to those that, by 1929, the Unemployment Committee had reached.⁶⁰⁸ The Department of Labour concurred and hence the Government did no more than provide temporary ‘relief work’ through such departments as Public Works, Railways, and the State Forest Service. A sharp and unexpected increase in the number of registered unemployed during the second half of 1929 forced a reappraisal: the second report of the Unemployment Committee, published in January 1930, embodied a more sober assessment of the scale

⁶⁰⁸ See AJHR 1929, H11B. For a useful analysis, see R.T. Robertson, ‘Government responses to unemployment in New Zealand, 1929-1935,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 16,1, 1982, pp.21-38. The following sections are based on this article.

and genesis of unemployment, although it was not until November 1930 that the Government acted on one of its major recommendations and appointed an unemployment board. Until its appointment, the Government maintained that unemployment reflected (largely) failings on the part of those concerned, and insisted that the problem would be of short duration. Temporary relief work remained the Government's major response.

Under the Unemployment Act 1930, an unemployment fund was established, funded, in part, by an annual levy of 30s on all males, aged 20 years and over, while the Unemployment Board was charged with investigating new avenues of employment and providing relief work to Pakeha males aged 20 years and over. Under section 7(1)(c), Maori males (as defined by the Native Land Act 1909) could elect to become a contributor to the Unemployment Fund, but only with the consent of the Unemployment Board.⁶⁰⁹ Underlying that provision appears to have been a concern that registering Maori would discourage subsistence agriculture and traditional food gathering or, in other words, generate costs that might not otherwise have had to be met. Applications were quickly forthcoming and by the end of March 1931, 1,827 Maori had been accepted as contributors.⁶¹⁰ By the end of October 1932, the number stood at 8,000 and that meant, according to the Board, that *more than half* of the 15,000 Maori and mixed race males aged between 20 and 64 years, were looking to the Unemployment Board for relief.⁶¹¹ By the end of 1933 the number stood at 11,850, or 79 per cent, and at 13,000 in 1935 or 86.7 per cent. At that latter date, 1,225 of the 13,000 Maori registered resided within the Ikaroa Maori Land District. Subsequently, Macrae estimated that 53 per cent of the Maori adult male population in 1932 had registered, the proportion then rising sharply to reach 85 per cent by 1937. By way of comparison, just 12 per cent of Pakeha adult males were registered as unemployed in 1933, that is, at the depth of the employment crisis.⁶¹² As discussed below, those wide variations attracted some interesting comment.

⁶⁰⁹ See also section 9(1)(c) of the Unemployment Amendment Act 1931.

⁶¹⁰ AJHR 1931, H35, p.5.

⁶¹¹ AJHR 1932, H35, p.8.

⁶¹² Macrae, 'The application of economic analysis,' p.173.

The Board introduced three employment schemes none of which was successful, but while it proposed paying sustenance to unemployed workers rather than offering work, the Government demurred, compelling the Board to devise other work schemes to deal with a problem of growing magnitude. The first schemes were Nos 4 and 5: the former subsidised farm labour but engaged only a small number, while the latter, conducted in association with local authorities, offered rationed relief work until rapidly rising numbers of unemployed forced its suspension at the end of March 1931. In April 1931, the rate of pay for single men was reduced from 14s to 9s per day while that for married men was reduced by 1s 6d to 12s 6d. Robertson also noted that further rationing was introduced, those on Scheme 5 having to accept a stand-down of one week in every four.⁶¹³ In a further attempt to reduce costs, the Unemployment Board cut the allocations to local authorities and so compelled the latter to ration further the supply of work by standing men down and reducing the number of days of work per week. Following the riots in Dunedin and Auckland in January and April 1932, the stand-down week was abolished and a new scale of rationing was introduced, but daily rates were again reduced, this time to 10s for married men and 7s 6d for single men. In November 1932, the Unemployment Board reduced allocations to local bodies by a further ten percent, and placed greater restrictions on seasonal workers. It did, on the other hand, introduce and operate itself some new schemes in 1932 and 1933, namely, the modestly successful building scheme, the largely unsuccessful gold mining scheme, and the small farms scheme.

The last was intended to settle the unemployed on the land and to that end Parliament enacted the Small Farms (Relief of Unemployment) Act 1932. Selection was limited to ‘approved persons,’ defined by the Act as those ‘registered as unemployed for the purposes of the Unemployment Act 1930’ and others who the Unemployment Board considered ‘suitable for employment in rural occupations.’ It will be recalled that Maori males could become contributors to the Unemployment Fund (and pay the standard levy of 30s per annum) but only with the consent of the Unemployment Board.⁶¹⁴ In the event, comparatively few men were settled under the scheme. The three schemes collectively engaged, in September 1934, over 18,000 of the more than 74,000

⁶¹³ Robertson ‘Government responses,’ pp.27-28.

⁶¹⁴ See section 7(1)(c) of the Unemployment Act 1930.

unemployed men. The Unemployment Board, in concert with the Department of Public Works also instituted, in 1932, work camps for single men, a singularly unpopular option. Hence during 1934, the Unemployment Board finally instituted a scheme of sustenance payments and began to phase out Scheme No.5, reducing the pressure on local bodies accordingly.⁶¹⁵ In September 1935, the Government finally moved to formulate a new unemployment policy, intended, as Robertson noted, to ‘provide both short term benefit and a long range plan of national works, financed jointly from loan money and the Unemployment Fund.’⁶¹⁶ Further, in another marked change, the Government, in 1935, increased its allocations to local authorities and increased relief rates of pay. The Unemployment Act 1930 was repealed and replaced with the Employment Promotion Act 1936: it embodied a different understanding of and approach to dealing with unemployment.

4.7.1 Dealing with Porirua ki Manawatu Maori unemployment

It was Ngata Apirana who seized the opportunity to link the relief of Maori unemployment with the development of such land as Maori retained. He proposed that relief support for Maori should be channelled in to his land development programme to provide employment, offer some financial support to Maori communities struggling with land loss, under-development, and secular changes in the employment market, and to establish the basis for growth of the Maori rural economy.⁶¹⁷ That linkage constituted the first effort by the State to assist, directly, Maori economic development. Ngata’s land development programme had four main elements, namely, the reorganisation of Maori land titles through consolidation, the settlement of unpaid rates and survey liens then encumbrances of a great deal of the land that remained in Maori ownership, the use of State resources to prepare land for subdivision and settlement, and to settle Maori farmers on individual holdings with appropriate finance and supervision. But not all Maori communities would benefit from the programme. As Butterworth observed, ‘Unfortunately, many communities lacked land, or Ngata, because of lack of finance or doubts about the ability of the local community to meet the demands of land

⁶¹⁵ Ngata described the No.5 scheme as ‘a device of the Devil so far as the Maori race is concerned.’ In his view, it encouraged dependency. See ‘Maoris and the farm test,’ *Evening Post* 3 April 1933, p.6.

⁶¹⁶ Robertson, ‘Government responses,’ p.36.

⁶¹⁷ For a recent account of the Depression, see Malcolm McKinnon, *The broken decade: prosperity, depression, and recovery in New Zealand, 1928-39*. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016.

development, did not establish schemes in their areas. These had to endure the worst effects of the Depression ...’⁶¹⁸ As was noted in Chapter 2, Porirua ki Manawatu was among those regions in which Ngata’s land development programme, largely on account of the earlier large-scale transfer of land out of Maori ownership, but partly because a good deal of that they had retained had been encumbered with leases, was of minor significance. Porirua ki Manawatu Maori had thus to rely on the Government’s approach to and efforts to deal with unemployment.

In April 1931, the Unemployment Board resolved, ‘That, owing to the difficulty of the Unemployment Board and local committees in dealing with unemployed Natives who have been admitted as contributors to the Unemployment Fund in the Maori districts of New Zealand,’ to recommend that the Government make a grant of £10,000 ‘to supplement the funds at the disposal of the Native Department in the relief of unemployed Maoris ...’ Behind the decision of the Board to make a £10,000 grant to supplement the funds at the disposal of the Department was a concern that Pakeha unemployment committees would find it difficult to deal ‘efficiently’ with unemployed Maori. Such a grant would relieve those committees of that responsibility.⁶¹⁹ In May 1931, the Government approved the grant ‘subject to the provision that the men are engaged on development work in the country and that the amount of assistance does not exceed that provided for under Scheme No.5 ...’⁶²⁰ The arrangement would endure until the end of September 1931. The Government agreed and subsequently established a Native Land Settlement Board. Thus, unemployment relief was linked directly with Ngata’s Maori land development programme.⁶²¹ ‘The object of the new policy,’ the Board declared, ‘is to serve a dual purpose in meeting the immediate need of relief by expending the money on the development of land already owned by Maoris in order that they may become self-supporting settlers.’⁶²² The arrangement was continued: thus in June 1934, the Unemployment Board approved a grant of £75,000 to the Native Land Settlement Board to cover the year up to 31 March 1935. For its part, that Board had ‘undertaken so to frame its policy of expenditure as to afford the greatest measure of

⁶¹⁸ See G.V. Butterworth, ‘A rural Maori renaissance? Maori society and politics 1920 to 1951,’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81, 2, 1972, p.179.

⁶¹⁹ Unemployment Commissioner to Minister, Finance 30 April 1931, in ANZ Wellington ADAV 16028 A5/22 56/38.

⁶²⁰ Extracts from meetings of Unemployment Board, in ANZ Wellington ADAV 16028 A5/22 56/38.

⁶²¹ AJHR 1932, H35, p.22.

⁶²² AJHR 1933, H35, p.5.

relief to unemployed Maoris, with the object of releasing the Unemployment Board ... from the expenditure of a like amount in relief to unemployed Natives.’⁶²³

That decision of the Unemployment Board held major implications for those regions where the scarcity of land in Maori ownership meant that few development schemes were possible and where, it appears, few Maori had been able to turn such lands as they retained to productive account. In those regions – prominent among which was Porirua ki Manawatu – the Unemployment Board thus found it necessary to offer alternative forms of relief assistance. In turn, that meant that unemployed Maori came under the purview of the local unemployment committees. The committees were charged with working with local authorities to find work for the unemployed and with the expenditure of funds allocated by the Unemployment Board. It did not prove possible to investigate fully the establishment, composition, and operation of these committees, although Dreaver recorded that its members included Levin’s town’s deputy-mayor, with others drawn from the Farmers’ Union, the Returned Services’ Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Post Office and the New Zealand Labour Party. He also claimed that Maori ‘did not qualify for relief work, partly because Apirana Ngata had persuaded the government that state funds were better spent on his schemes to develop Maori land. Many still lived on Maori land where traditional food-gathering was still practised, and they had not previously been full-time wage-earners.’⁶²⁴ Some evidence relating to the Levin Unemployment Committee was located and is presented in the following sections.

4.7.2 The Levin Unemployment Committee and Maori

Such was the scale of unemployment generally and of Maori in particular in the Horowhenua district that the Committee (or some members thereof), in August 1932, raised concerns over the fact that Maori were being permitted to join the Unemployment Fund. The adequacy of the investigation into individual circumstances conducted by the Department of Native Affairs was challenged and claims followed that Maori were wrongly being permitted to register.⁶²⁵ By September 1932, 23 Maori

⁶²³ Minister, Employment to Minister, Finance 27 June 1934, in ANZ Wellington ADAV 16028 A5/22 56/38.

⁶²⁴ Dreaver, *Levin*, pp.194-195.

⁶²⁵ ‘Unemployment relief,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 24 August 1932, p.6.

were engaged on relief works, while another 22 had registered as unemployed. Of those 22, four did not list any income arising from wages, land or rent, while the others appear to have had very small incomes, that is, less than £1 per week. The additional 22 men posed a difficulty for the Committee: it claimed to lack sufficient funds to support those men already employed, and hence three courses of action were considered, first that an effort be made to secure an additional allocation; second, that a separate allocation should be made for Maori; and, third, that the Native Land Court or the Department of Native Affairs assume responsibility for unemployed Maori. The Committee decided to ask the Department to send a representative to ‘go into the question of Native relief.’⁶²⁶ The separatist approach suggested is of interest, not least since other similar proposals were being aired in the district for separate maternity and tuberculosis care. It was also in September that the Committee met a number of Maori who proposed the appointment of J. Hopa Heremaia and Tuiti Makitanara, reflecting some feeling that Maori were being treated less than fairly.⁶²⁷ The concern was not without some foundation for a few weeks later, in October 1932, the Unemployment Board concluded that ‘a stage had been reached when the strictest investigation must be made into all cases of Natives applying for relief work; and that the communal life gave them an advantage over Pakehas ...’⁶²⁸

That same month, October 1932, the Under Secretary of the Native Department met the Levin Unemployment Committee: he undertook the trip, it was reported, ‘to look after the interests of the Maoris and to see that he [sic] got his rights.’ The Committee insisted that no Maori had been refused relief work simply because he was Maori. The only distinction that had been made was where Maoris had their own land and did not have to pay rent or had other means of obtaining a living: in such cases they had not received the same amount of relief work as other men. The Under Secretary, while optimistic that the Maori land development scheme would prove successful, noted that the Department had no such scheme in force in the Horowhenua and that unemployed Maori would have to be treated under the ‘ordinary scheme.’⁶²⁹ At that stage 32 Maori were on the Levin Committee’s register and 26 were receiving relief pay, ‘these being

⁶²⁶ ‘Distress among Maoris,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 21 September 1932, p.5.

⁶²⁷ ‘Distress among Maoris,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 21 September 1932, p.5.

⁶²⁸ ‘Unemployment relief,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 October 1932, p.3.

⁶²⁹ ‘Unemployment relief,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 October 1932, p.3. See also ‘Relief of Maoris,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 January 1933, p.4.

the most necessitous cases.’ The average pay was £5 10s per man per month.⁶³⁰ It was also in October 1932 that Horowhenua Maori sought representation on the Levin Unemployment Committee: by six votes to four, the Committee decided to ask Maori to nominate one representative rather than the two sought.⁶³¹

A few weeks later, in November 1932, a deputation of some 200 men waited on the Ministers of Justice and Employment. Among them was Thomas Gregan of Levin and Manawatu who ‘spoke strongly on the question of discrimination for relief purposes as between the pakeha and the Maori, urging that such an attitude was quite wrong, and had already led to serious consequences. The excuse that Maoris were getting rents from their land was a mere quibble ... in view of the small amounts received in that way.’ In a curiously worded response, the Government claimed to be ‘unaware of any unfair discrimination between Maori and pakeha ...’⁶³² For their part, the Foxton and Shannon Unemployment Committees denied any discrimination.⁶³³ In January 1933, the Levin Unemployment Committee proposed to the Unemployment Board that it separate the grants made for Maori from those made for Pakeha. In a reference, it appears, to the funds transferred by the Unemployment Board to the Department of Native Affairs for the land development programme, it noted that such separation had been implemented in other districts. The Board’s Commissioner made it plain that ‘that scheme would not be possible in this district at present ...’⁶³⁴

Complaints continued to be voiced that Maori were not being treated fairly. In March 1933, during a long debate on unemployment in the House, Tirikatene complained that, with respect to unemployment relief, ‘the Maori worker was under one class of law and the pakeha under another.’⁶³⁵ The pressure on Maori, certainly in the Horowhenua, intensified as the Unemployment Board reduced its allocation to the Levin Unemployment Committee and as anxiety mounted that unemployment would rise as the winter of 1933 approached. On 17 January 1933, 222 men were employed on Schemes 4A (4A – and 4B – offered subsidised work on farms) and 5 (work in urban

⁶³⁰ ‘Unemployment relief,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 October 1932, p.3.

⁶³¹ ‘Unemployment relief,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 October 1932, p.3.

⁶³² ‘United voice,’ *Evening Post* 22 November 1932, p.8.

⁶³³ ‘Unemployment relief,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 October 1932, p.3.

⁶³⁴ ‘Relief of Maoris,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 January 1933, p.4.

⁶³⁵ ‘“Talked out,”’ *Evening Post* 8 March 1933, p.5.

centres) in Levin and ‘over the fence’ in Horowhenua County; the number stood at 227 on 28 February, but had reached 251 by 28 March.⁶³⁶ The number would reach 338 by the end of July 1933 before starting to decline.⁶³⁷ A reduction in district allocations meant that relief rates were adjusted accordingly. The matter was debated by the Levin Unemployment Committee at its meeting on 27 March 1933: the committee decided to allocate work ‘strictly on a percentage basis on the classification by the Unemployment Board, to apply to the Maori and Pakeha alike.’⁶³⁸

4.7.3 ‘A sense of injustice’

That decision evoked some strong opposition in the form of a petition from 112 relief workers, support for ‘equality’ for Maori and Pakeha expressed by a large public meeting held in Levin on 7 April 1933 (including ‘a good representation of Maoris’) and a counter petition signed by 121, including an estimated 40 Maori.⁶³⁹

In the course of the public meeting, the president of the Levin Relief Workers’ Association (Thomas Gregan) claimed that relief work was not being allocated fairly between Maori and Pakeha. When, he noted, the Levin Unemployment Committee applied for its allocation of funds from the Unemployment Board, it did not distinguish between Maori and Pakeha, but Maori were subsequently ‘penalised,’ evidently by being allocated less work with the result that they received lower payments. In short, the full relief rates notwithstanding, what the unemployed actually received was contingent upon the allocation made by the Unemployment Board: where that allocation was less than required to meet the full rate, then the latter was reduced proportionately. In Gregan’s view, the allocation of work was a task for the central authorities. The Unemployment Board declined to entertain that proposal and hence Gregan, in the Levin Unemployment Committee, had moved ‘That the allocation for the Levin district be allotted strictly on a percentage basis on the classification by the Unemployment Board, to apply to Maori and Pakeha alike.’ The result would have been

⁶³⁶ ‘Men on relief works,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 18 January 1933, p.5; ‘Unemployment relief. Levin and district returns,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 6 March 1933, p.3; ‘Men on relief works,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 30 March 1933, p.7.

⁶³⁷ ‘Levin Unemployment Committee,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 27 July 1933, p.8 and ‘Men on relief works,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 4 October 1933, p.4.

⁶³⁸ ‘Equality principle in relief work,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 11 April 1933, p.7.

⁶³⁹ For a report of the meeting, see ‘Relief problems,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 8 April 1933, p.7.

that single men (Class A) received 11s 3d weekly; men with up to two children (Class B) 24s 4d; and men with three and more children 31s 10d.

In the course of the meeting, Father O’Riordan of Otaki and the Superintendent of the Catholic Southern Maori Mission, invoking both the Treaty of Waitangi and the service of Maori during World War I, rejected the argument that the ‘social standard’ of Maori was lower than that of Pakeha and that their requirements were therefore proportionately less. In other words, it appeared relief work and thus payments were not being allocated on ‘a percentage basis’ but reduced in the case of Maori on account of their ‘communal’ lifestyle, their lower standard of living, their alternative sources of income, and the belief that many claiming relief had not previously been in the paid workforce. Maori, O’Riordan noted, were not receiving the rents to which they were entitled and that in fact some Maori, out of consideration for the difficulties that some Pakeha lessees faced, had foregone their rents for up to four years. He rejected claims that Maori were not workers, insisted that on the arrival of the depression Maori were the first to lose their employment, and concluded by observing that young Maori children in the district were dying of malnutrition. He alleged further that ‘the health of the Maoris had been neglected by the various Departments of State that had had charge of their welfare.’ He concluded by insisting that ‘The condition of the Natives in this district and Otaki and round about was appalling ...’⁶⁴⁰

Rangi Williams made clear his anger at the treatment meted out to Maori by the Levin Unemployment Committee, making it clear that Maori had been left ‘with a sense of injustice ...’ The meeting affirmed - ‘practically unanimously’ – that it stood ‘for equality of treatment of relief workers, without distinction as to colour or creed.’⁶⁴¹ At that stage, the number of relief workers registered with the Levin Unemployment Committee stood at 251: the number of Maori was not specified but appears to have been about 40, attesting to an appreciably higher rate of unemployment among Maori.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴⁰ Relief problems,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 8 April 1933, p.7.

⁶⁴¹ Relief problems,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 8 April 1933, p.7.

⁶⁴² Relief problems,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 8 April 1933, p.7; and ‘Equality principle in relief work,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 11 April 1933, p.7.

4.7.4 'A foot of dried eel'

The matter was debated at length by the Levin Unemployment Committee during a special meeting held on 10 April 1933. The 112 signatories to the petition seeking rescindment of the decision to adopt the 'percentage system,' claimed that Maori relief workers had advantages over Pakeha in that most they lived rent-free and had sufficient land to supplement materially their income; that all Pakeha relief workers paid rent and failure to pay meant losing their homes; that 'in a large number of cases Natives are in receipt of rents and these are not taken into consideration on the allocation of relief pay;' that a Maori could obtain relief work immediately on the payment of one levy of 5s whereas a Pakeha had to have paid all arrears before being entitled to receive relief wages; and 'that if the state of affairs since passing the resolution were allowed to continue, the married man with a family would be faced with starvation.' After a protracted debate, the committee decided to let the new system remain on trial basis for a further four weeks. It was noted that 221 men were on the No 5 Scheme, including about 90 in Horowhenua County. Of the total some 40 were Maori.⁶⁴³

The debate exposed some strongly held views: a deputation of relief workers claimed that the Committee was endeavouring to reduce Pakeha to the same standard of living as Maori, that there were many Maori on relief works who had never previously worked, that some Maori at least were disposed to 'misuse' the wages paid, and that Maori children were accustomed to taking in their pockets to school 'a foot of dried eel' for lunch. The last was a clearly a reference to the supposed ability of Maori to 'live off the land.' Efforts to have the motion for rescission rejected on procedural grounds failed, while J.H. Taylor, strongly opposed to any discrimination, insisted that 'If there is any class that ever been robbed by the white race, it is the Maori.' There was, he insisted, no legal basis for any discrimination. After further heated exchanges, including criticism of the Committee's overseer and certifying officer, the matter was deferred for a month.⁶⁴⁴

It is useful to note at this juncture that according to the 1936 Census, of 298 dwellings (excluding nine 'not specified') occupied by Maori in Porirua ki Manawatu, 23.8 per

⁶⁴³ 'Equality principle in relief work,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 11 April 1933, p.7.

⁶⁴⁴ 'Equality principle in relief work,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 11 April 1933, p.7.

cent were rented. Of 182 dwellings in Horowhenua County 46 or 25.3 per cent were rented.

The Levin Unemployment Committee met again in May 1933 when it considered a circular from the Unemployment Board ‘directing that full consideration be given to the financial resources of Native Applicants for relief so that only such relief is granted to the applicant as may be justified by his needs and circumstances.’ Some members of the Levin Unemployment Committee launched another bid to have the March decision overturned, but the Committee decided to appoint a special committee to be known as the ‘allocation committee’ of three members one of whom would be nominated by the Raukawa District Maori Council. Its task would be to investigate each applicant under Scheme 5 ‘and to allocate on the rational basis such relief as the circumstances of each case may fairly warrant.’⁶⁴⁵ The Raukawa Maori Council nominated J.R. McMillan.

4.7.5 ‘Suffering from malnutrition’

The controversy did not end there. In September 1933, the National Union of Unemployed considered ‘the unjust discrimination in the treatment given the Maori relief worker compared with the treatment given to the pakeha,’ and asked the Government to ‘to remedy this state of affairs.’⁶⁴⁶ The union appears to have led a deputation to the Minister of Employment on behalf of unemployed Maori in the Horowhenua. It alleged that the allocation of relief work to Maori was being reduced and hence lower payments made. The Levin Unemployment Committee, it added, had founded its actions on the grounds that Maori drew rental income and had a cheaper lifestyle, grounds rejected as unfair. According to the deputation, Pakeha lessees were often not paying rents, the former communal lifestyle of Maori had broken down, and natural food supplies had been seriously reduced. The outcome was widespread malnutrition among Maori children.

A few months later, in a letter published in the *Evening Post* in December 1933, Thomas Gregan (as Vice-President of the National Union of Unemployed) reported that the deputation had made clear to the Minister of Employment that the conditions under

⁶⁴⁵ ‘Unemployment relief,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 10 May 1933, p.5.

⁶⁴⁶ ‘The unemployed,’ *Evening Post* 13 September 1933, p.14.

which many Maori subsisted were ‘intolerable,’ that Maori were being treated unfairly, that there was no work whereby they could augment the small relief pay, ‘that their natural food supply had been destroyed by the march of civilisation ... and that many of the Natives were suffering from malnutrition.’⁶⁴⁷ The union pressed for an end to discrimination. It was claimed that individual Maori were receiving £1 per week, irrespective of the number of children over three, whereas in Levin Pakeha with three children and over were receiving 33s 9d per week. The position of relief workers in Levin was described as ‘very serious.’ The Minister of Employment undertook to take the matter up with the Unemployment Board and have an officer visit Foxton and Shannon, as well as Levin, to report on conditions.⁶⁴⁸

A copy of that report was not located, but the Director-General of Health advised the Unemployment Board that the poor living conditions and inadequate nutrition that undoubtedly existed were the outcome not only of ‘the present hard times’ but also of more ‘fundamental causes, such as the inability of Maori to adapt himself satisfactorily to the demands of Pakeha life, more particularly with regard to utilising properly what facilities he has for maintaining good nutrition in his family.’⁶⁴⁹ Interestingly, Otaki’s town clerk, responsible for the administration of unemployment relief, claimed that unemployment payments meant that most Maori were ‘far better off than in normal times.’⁶⁵⁰ If that were so, then the comment casts considerable light on pre-depression employment and incomes. Further, if it were so, then the Director-General’s comments take on particular significance.

4.7.6 ‘Sufferers from economic pressure’

In February 1934, during a public meeting, Levin’s mayor acknowledged that, for reasons unknown to him, the Unemployment Board had established ‘a special rate of pay for Maori.’ He also acknowledged that it was not possible for a man with four children to survive on 15s per week. Gregan now claimed that ‘over the month the Native relief rates worked out at 7s 6d a week for a Maori with two children; and 15s a

⁶⁴⁷ ‘Relief work. Country and town,’ *Evening Post* 21 December 1933, p.18.

⁶⁴⁸ ‘Relief work. Provision for Maoris,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 18 December 1933, p.8.

⁶⁴⁹ Director-General, Health to Commissioner, Unemployment 24 January 1934, in ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

⁶⁵⁰ MOH Wellington to Director-General, Health 30 November 1934, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

week for one with three or more children, being no higher even if he had 20 children.’⁶⁵¹ Subsequently, in January 1935, the Unemployment Board acknowledged that it found difficulty granting relief to the large number of Maori applicants in Otaki ‘without prejudicing the relief for which the European unemployed in that locality are eligible.’ The Commissioner recited the familiar argument that Maori needed less relief than Pakeha since they lived rent-free and had access to communal food supplies.⁶⁵²

During that same meeting, some details were presented as to the number of unemployed registered with the Levin Unemployment Committee and the rates of relief. They are set out in Table 4.4 where Class A consisted of single men, Class B of married men with up to two children, and Class C of married men with three or more children. The months selected were described as ‘typical.’ The table indicates that unemployment increased during the winter months, and that the number in January 1934 was 2.5 times higher than the number recorded for January 1932. The rates appear to be those paid to Pakeha unemployed and to have been for a full week’s work: full-time relief work was not always available and hence actual payments were adjusted accordingly.

⁶⁵¹ ‘Sufferers from economic pressure,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 20 February 1934, p.3.

⁶⁵² Commissioner, Unemployment to Director-General, Health 3 January 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

Table 4.4: Unemployment as recorded by the Levin Unemployment Committee, selected months, 1932 to 1934

Month and year	Class	Number of men	Rate per week
January 1932	A	7	9 0
	B	38	1 2 8
	C	21	1 16 9
May 1932	A	22	10 6
	B	80	1 6 11
	C	41	2 3 10
September 1932	A	63	16 7
	B	112	1 14 11
	C	49	2 6 10
January 1933	A	23	14 8
	B	123	1 8 4
	C	42	1 19 10
May 1933	A	70	12 6
	B	146	1 5 8
	C	62	1 14 2
September 1933	A	72	12 8
	B	139	1 7 6
	C	65	1 16 6
January 1934	A	5	7 6
	B	111	1 3 4
	C	51	1 9 2

Source: *Horowhenua Chronicle* 20 February 1934, p.3

During the debate on the Unemployment Bill in 1934, Savage asked ‘what was the justification for having one rate for the pakeha and one for the Maori, and one for the country and one for the cities.’⁶⁵³ Tirikatene indicated that, under the Bill, Maori would be required to pay taxes on income other than wages and salaries. ‘Maoris,’ he indicated, ‘had no objection to being treated in the same way as Europeans in the matter of taxation, provided they received equal benefits. At the present time,’ he added, ‘the Maoris were not receiving the same measure of relief as their pakeha brothers.’ Langstone [then MHR for Waimarino) added that ‘At present there was a serious difference between the Maori and pakeha allocations, and many of the Maoris were suffering very greatly.’⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵³ ‘Relief rates,’ *Evening Post* 20 July 1934, p.8. See also NZPD 1934, Vol.238, pp.592-593.

⁶⁵⁴ ‘Maoris’ share unemployment taxes,’ *Evening Post* 30 October 1934, p.14.

Table 4.5 sets out the weekly rates payable to the unemployed in January 1935. The nominal rates varied according to marital status and number of children. They also varied among the centres according to population size, while the actual payments received by the unemployed were adjusted in line with allocations, according to the amount of relief work available, on the manner in which local unemployment committees apportioned the available work, and on the ethnicity and living circumstances of the men involved. The evidence seems reasonably clear that the Levin Unemployment Committee, in attempting to deal with a less than adequate allocation of relief work monies, allocated a disproportionate share of the available work to unemployed Pakeha. The Committee was dissolved in August 1936. It is of interest to note here that subsequently, in 1946, the Beagleholes recorded that during the 1930s, Maoris had been ‘expected to support their families on pitifully inadequate sums. Some allege,’ they added, ‘that the pakeha unemployed were receiving preferential treatment not only in amounts of payments but also in what jobs were available.’⁶⁵⁵

Table 4.5: Weekly rates (£) payable to unemployed males, January 1935

Categories	Four main urban centres	Secondary cities and towns	Smaller centres
Single man	14 0	12 0	9 6
Married man with wife only	1 4 0	1 1 0	18 0
Married man with wife and one child	1 8 0	1 5 0	1 2 0
Married man with wife and 2 children	1 12 0	1 9 0	1 6 0
Married man with wife and three children	1 16 0	1 13 0	1 10 0
Married man with wife and four children	1 18 0	1 15 0	1 12 0
Married man with wife and five children	2 0 0	1 17 0	1 14 0
Married man with wife and six children	2 2 0	1 19 0	1 16 0
Married man with wife and seven or more children	2 4 0	2 1 0	1 18 0

Source: AJHR 1935, H35, p.18

⁶⁵⁵ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.40.

4.8 Relief through work or sustenance?

Although nationally unemployment began to contract from about 1933, it remained stubbornly high in Porirua ki Manawatu, and especially among Maori. For 1936, Macrae estimated that nationally 6,498 Maori were engaged in publicly funded relief work, that is, 30 per cent of the estimated Maori male workforce.⁶⁵⁶ Belshaw, in 1938, estimated that 25 per cent of the Maori male workforce was engaged in various employment schemes.⁶⁵⁷ In 1936 it was recorded that ‘Unemployment among the Maoris in the Manawatu district has been acute ...’⁶⁵⁸ According to the Department of Native Affairs, in 1935-1936 assistance had been rendered to 202 unemployed Maori (with 519 dependants) in the form of work on employment schemes other than Maori land development in the ‘Manawatu’ district.⁶⁵⁹ The Department went on to note that

Owing to the local body authorities in the Manawatu being unable to find sufficient work of a useful nature for the registered unemployed Natives within their boundaries, an agreement was made whereby all Maoris in these localities were to be provided with work by this Department. This responsibility of absorbing Maoris on contracts has occasioned difficulties peculiar to this district alone, inasmuch as there are no unalienated Native lands now available. Thus the contracts have had to be arranged on leased lands, and it has not been possible to evoke a personal interest in the farming activities such as is obtained on other schemes where the Maoris are developing their own lands. Indeed, in many instances preference to return to the Unemployment No 5 Scheme has been shown.⁶⁶⁰

In short, unemployed Maori were being engaged to improve Maori-owned lands that were occupied by Pakeha leaseholders. The latter secured the major gains, in part through increased production, and in part through the enhanced value of improvements and thus, where leases so provided, enhanced compensation for improvements at termination. Further, where rents were based on the unimproved values, as was commonly the case, the value of improvements did not flow through in to enhanced rents.

⁶⁵⁶ Macrae, ‘The application of economic analysis,’ p.174.

⁶⁵⁷ Belshaw, ‘Economic circumstances,’ p.198.

⁶⁵⁸ AJHR 1936, G10, p.37. See also AJHR 1937, G10, p.74.

⁶⁵⁹ AJHR 1936, G10, pp.36- 37. See also AJHR 1937, G10, p.74.

⁶⁶⁰ AJHR 1936, G10, p.36.

In 1937, it was again recorded that there was ‘practically no undeveloped accessible land [in Maori ownership], and the only work offering is on lands leased to Europeans.’⁶⁶¹ A.F. Blackburn estimated that Maori relief conducted in the Horowhenua had been divided about equally between Maori-occupied land and Maori land leased to Pakeha farmers. For 1937-1938, the number of ‘Manawatu Maori’ to whom assistance was extended was 134, and in 1938-1939, 60.⁶⁶² That suggested some considerable improvement in the rate of unemployment among Maori as the economy recovered during the second half of the 1930s. Blackburn’s hope was that some at least of the leased lands would return to full Maori control.⁶⁶³ The apparent reluctance of unemployed Maori to accept work on leased lands was perhaps not too surprising given that lessees would harvest the fruits of their labours.

As Scheme 5 was wound down, the Department of Labour advised the Government that ‘Sufficient work of a desirable nature will not be available in all districts,’ so that sustenance would have to be provided for a large number of Maori, however ‘undesirable’ that might prove to be. The Department of Labour thus proposed ‘a special reduced scale’ for all Maori.⁶⁶⁴ In fact, several scales appear to have been proposed, but in 1936, the Labour Government decided that ‘in all matters affecting employment provided by the State or relief granted because of unemployment, the Maori shall be treated on the same basis as the Pakeha.’ Some 2,000 Maori were then employed under Scheme 5, while some 3,000 men were receiving unemployment relief through the Board of Native Affairs.⁶⁶⁵

Weekly relief (Scheme 5) rates for non-Maori were raised as from 1 June 1936. In his Financial Statement, Minister of Finance Walter Nash observed that

Everyone must recognize that under any rational economic order every person willing to work is entitled to the things necessary for a reasonable standard of

⁶⁶¹ AJHR 1937, G10, p.74.

⁶⁶² AJHR 1938 G10, p.75 and 1939, G10, p.58.

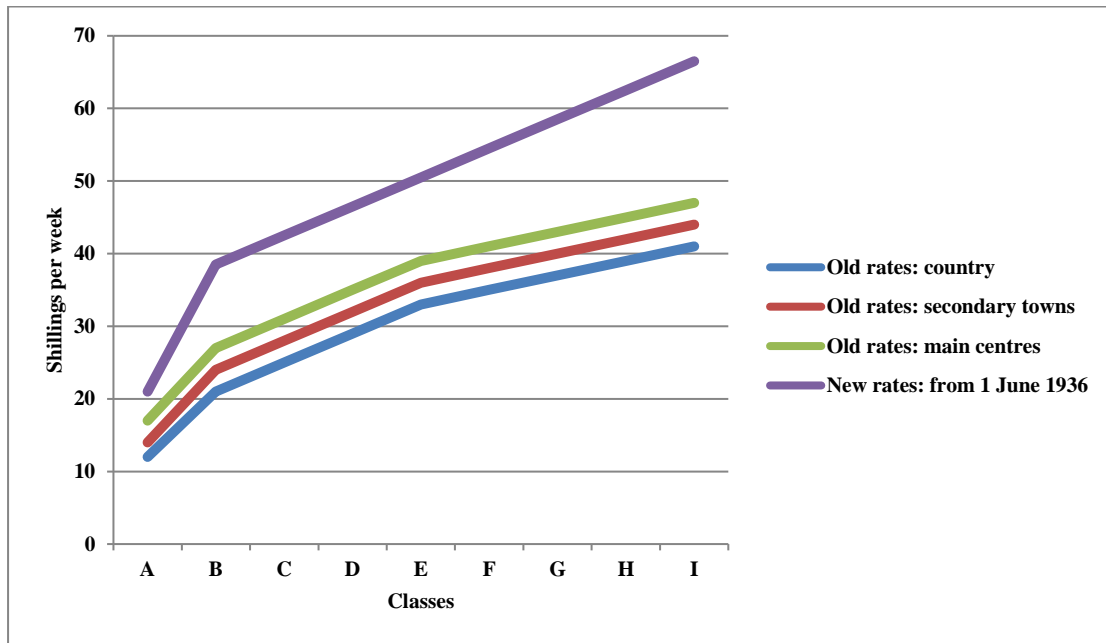
⁶⁶³ A.F. Blackburn to Under Secretary, Native Department 4 May 1937, in ANZ Wellington MAW2490/22 31/1/9 Part 1.

⁶⁶⁴ Memorandum, Native Minister to Prime Minister 6 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADAV 16028 A5/22 56/38.

⁶⁶⁵ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/312 17/4 Part 4.

living. If science, power, and the machine displace human labour, then social [.] economic and financial procedure must be adjusted to the new conditions.⁶⁶⁶

Graph 4.9 sets out the details: the rates of increase on existing rates ranged between 24 and 43 per cent.

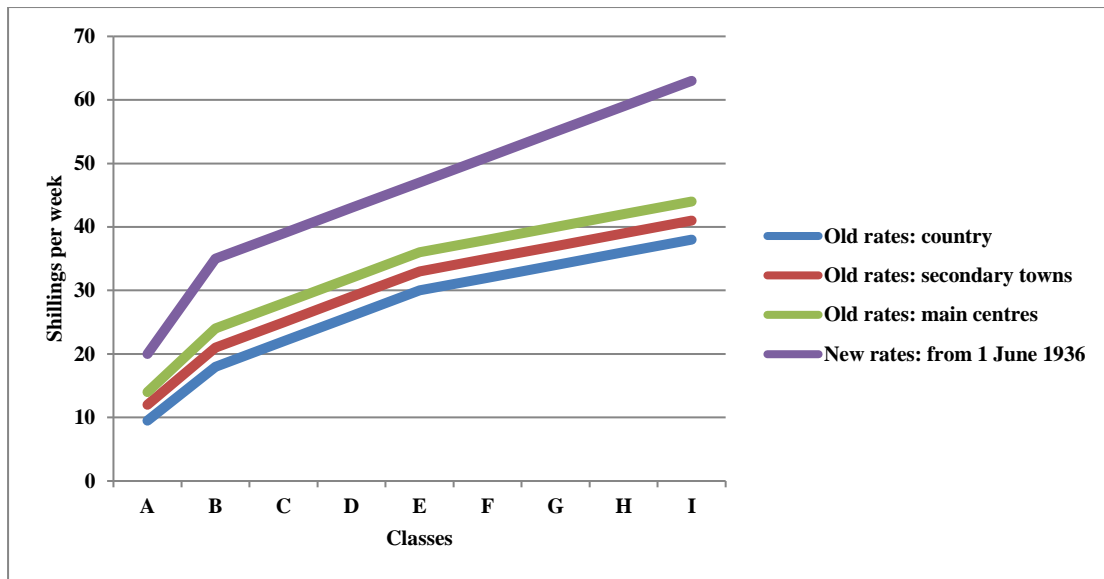


Source: AJHR 1937, H11A, p.7

Graph 4.9: Weekly relief rates for non-Maori prior to and following 1 June 1936

Sustenance rates were raised as from 30 November 1936. Graph 4.10 sets out the details: the rates of increase ranged between 31 and 46 per cent.

⁶⁶⁶ AJHR 1936, B6, p.6.

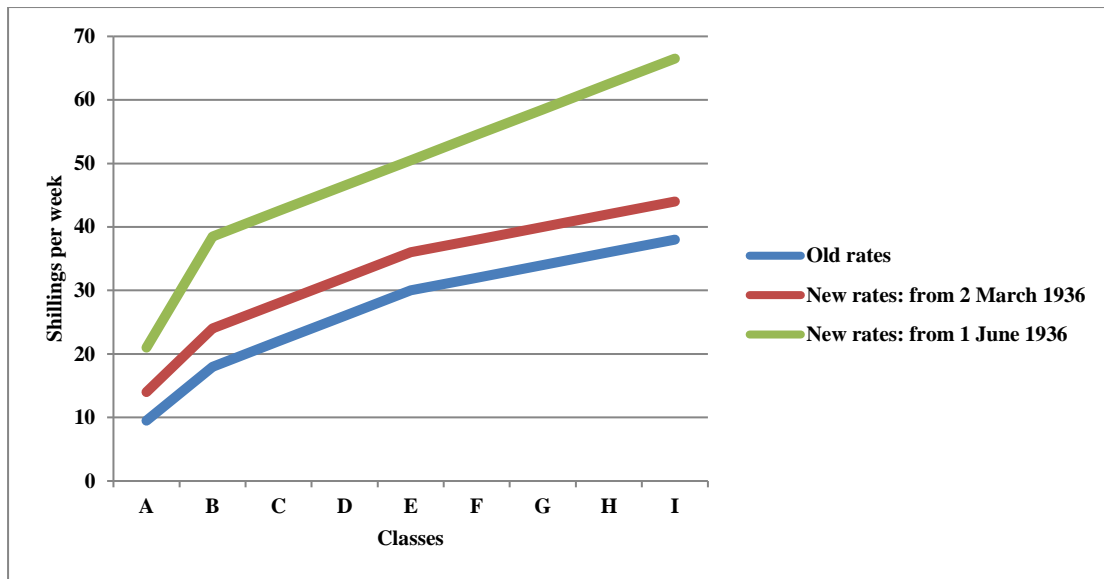


Source: AJHR 1937, H11A, p.7

Graph 4.10: Weekly sustenance rates for non-Maori prior to and following 1 June 1936

Finally, Graph 4.11 sets out the weekly relief (Scheme 5) rates for Maori up to 2 March 1936, for the period between 2 March and 1 June 1936, and those that applied from 1 June 1936. The increases ranged between 68 per cent for Class E and 121 per cent for Class A, while the average increase over the old rates amounted to 21.75s per man per week. That increase, suggested Macrae, was the major reason for the subsequent sharp increase in the number of Maori registered as unemployed. He also noted that the increases were followed by a contraction in subsistence agriculture and food gathering, by a rise in complaints over the alleged misuse of relief/sustenance payments, and by complaints that cheap Maori labour was no longer available for rural work.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁷ Macrae, 'The application of economic analysis,' p.167. See also Brian Murton, 'Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki 1860-1960: the economic and social experience of a people,' commissioned research report prepared for the Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki Claims Committee, 2001, p.428.



Source: AJHR 1937, H11A, p.7

Graph 4.11: Weekly relief rates for ‘Pa Maori’ to 2 March 1936, from 2 March to 1 June 1936, and from 1 June 1936

Unemployment among Maori remained of concern. In August 1936, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs claimed that there was ‘a continual striving’ to secure ‘the most favourably situated’ form of relief, namely, sustenance. Failing sustenance, Maori preferred relief work under Scheme 5 to the piece-work contract system, although the Department of Native Affairs regarded the last as ‘the correct procedure in the interests of the country and the race ...’ It proposed an adjustment of rates to render sustenance the least attractive and piece-work contracts as the most preferred option. The matter was complicated by the growing inability of local authorities to offer work under Scheme 5.⁶⁶⁸ It was also complicated by growing criticism of the payment of sustenance, namely, that some Maori at least preferred to accept sustenance rather than any work offered, that such payments were encouraging a drift to the towns where work was scarce and thus sustenance more easily obtained, and reports that Maori in receipt of sustenance were misusing their monies. By October 1936, an estimated 3,500 Maori were employed by the Department of Native Affairs on development schemes and private contracts; 2,067 were assisted by the Department of Labour under Scheme 5, 154 on other schemes, and 357 on sustenance, a total of 2,578; while the Departments

⁶⁶⁸ Secretary, Labour to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 24 August 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/312 17/4 Part 4.

of Public Works and Forestry employed a further 420, making a grand (estimated) total of 6,498. A small number of unemployed Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were paid sustenance.

In July 1937, the Department made it clear that Maori would only be granted Scheme 5 relief work or sustenance where no unemployment relief contracts were available. It was adamant that 'All unemployed Maoris should be used for the development of Native lands, the object being to increase production and to effect successful and permanent settlement.' The exception was housing, the Department announcing that 'The utilisation of unemployed Maoris as builders' labourers on the erection, renovation, and painting of houses for indigent Natives ... can now be regarded as ranking in importance with land development ...' Unemployed Maori could also be employed 'cleaning up communal lands around the villages ...'⁶⁶⁹

The Government was clearly averse to paying sustenance to Maori.⁶⁷⁰ In March 1937, in response to some public criticism over the payment of and complaints about alleged 'misuse' of sustenance by Maori, a meeting of representatives of the Departments of Labour, Treasury, and Native Affairs recommended payment by coupons.⁶⁷¹ The system came in to force on 9 August 1937: it was not applied to Pakeha. The Minister of Native Affairs suggested that 'Equality of treatment ... is all very well in principle,' and went on to claim that some action had to be taken to ensure that dependents were protected, including those of men who did not consume 'intoxicating liquors.' The Department of Native Affairs, he advised the Prime Minister, 'wholeheartedly endorsed' the part coupon scheme.⁶⁷² The Department of Labour proposed to extend the scheme to Maori employed under the Employment Promotion Fund. 'So far as the Natives are concerned,' he informed the Secretary of the Raglan Labour Committee, 'the principle of differentiation is not new and in each case it was initiated and maintained so as to save the Native from himself or from being exploited by

⁶⁶⁹ Native Affairs, Circular 1937/70, 20 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/268 40/544/9.

⁶⁷⁰ Memorandum for Minister, Labour 16 March 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADAV 16028 A5/22 56/38.

⁶⁷¹ See, for example, 'Abuse of relief,' Dominion 4 March 1937, and 'Maori spending,' *Bay of Plenty Press* 16 July 1937. Copies in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/312 17/4 Part 5; and Meeting at Labour Department 4 March 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/312 17/4 Part 5.

⁶⁷² Minister, Native Affairs to Prime Minister 6 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADAV 16028 A5/22 56/38.

unscrupulous Europeans,' and added that 'The principle of equality of status of both races is correct in theory ...'⁶⁷³

In December 1938, the Department of Native Affairs sought an additional grant of £50,000 from the Employment Promotion Fund to carry it through to the end of the financial year. For 1937-1938, the Department expended £350,000 and that sum was granted for 1938-1939. It appeared that an improvement in economic conditions had not been matched by any improvement in Maori unemployment. Between April and November 1938, the number of Maori employed by the Department of Native Affairs whose wages were subsidised rose from 3,023 to 4,888, most notably among those employed on development schemes (from 1,801 to 3,211) and on Maori housing schemes (from 243 to 492). Treasury agreed that an additional £50,000 would be required, but the Employment Promotion Fund was fully committed and was, in case, due to be abolished after 31 March 1939. The only remedy, in its view, was to delay any new development schemes until the matter of funding was clarified, and that existing schemes and other activities should be 'tapered off so as to bring the expenditure within the allocation ...'⁶⁷⁴

The Employment Promotion Fund thus ceased making large grants towards the Maori land development programme and large numbers of Maori registered for sustenance. From 1 April 1939, sustenance was replaced, under the Social Security Act 1938, by the unemployment benefit. Subsidised work was made available, although Martin suggested that the problem of unemployment faded with the introduction of wartime man-powering.⁶⁷⁵ As part of the war effort, the Government adopted wide-ranging manpower controls, and both male and female unemployment declined to insignificant levels. In any case, by 1940 it was becoming increasingly clear that Maori retained insufficient land to support their commercial aspirations, and that many would have to move in to the country's towns and cities and in to new forms of employment, in short, to exchange semi-subsistence and rural under- and unemployment for urban wage

⁶⁷³ Minister, Native Affairs to Secretary, Raglan Labour Committee 15 October 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADAV 16028 A5/22 56/38.

⁶⁷⁴ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 9 January 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/268 40/544/9.

⁶⁷⁵ Martin, *Holding the balance* , p.211.

labour.⁶⁷⁶ A 1945 report on the future employment of Maori, rejected the further development of a large rural Maori population dependent upon subsistence farming and social welfare payments, and concluded that ‘the time has now arrived to prepare and carry into effect plans for the ultimate full absorption of the Maori into employment.’⁶⁷⁷

4.9 Contributors, contracts, and subsidies: some regional aspects

One further aspect of Government measures to assist the unemployed merits brief examination. The 1934 Commission on Native Affairs examined unemployment relief expenditure under Scheme 4B and under what it termed the ‘Maori grant,’ that is the grant made by the Unemployment Board to the Department of Native Affairs. Ngata employed those monies to subsidise employment contracts involving relief workers. The system was certainly employed to assist unemployed Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. The amount of the subsidy granted ranged between 25 and 50 per cent of the contract price prior to the end of March 1933 and up to 100 per cent thereafter. Under Scheme 4B, for the period from 1 May 1931 to the end of October 1933, expenditure by the Unemployment Board on 13,160 men aggregated £104,870 or an average per man of £9 19 4. Under the ‘Maori grant,’ expenditure amounted to £113,948 on 13,160 men or an average of £8 13 2.⁶⁷⁸

The Commission was evidently impressed with the lower average cost under the ‘Maori grant,’ and indeed ‘congratulated’ Ngata on the achievement. It went on to record that ‘By reason of a difference in living standards, the lower average amount received under the Maori grant may have ensured, relatively, a higher level of sustenance than the higher average amount received under Scheme 4B.’⁶⁷⁹ The Commission did not elaborate on that point, least of all upon one possible implication, namely, that contract rates paid to Maori should have been lowered accordingly: such a suggestion would have at least been in line with Treasury’s views on old-age and widows’ pension rates, namely, that lower standards of living merited lower entitlements since the purpose of the latter, after all, was not to raise but to maintain existing standards. What the Commission did conclude was that ‘it would appear that the administration of Maori

⁶⁷⁶ Belshaw, ‘Maori economic circumstances,’ pp.190-191.

⁶⁷⁷ In ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/636/a 17/1 Part 1.

⁶⁷⁸ The number of men appear to have meant number of contracts.

⁶⁷⁹ AJHR 1934, G11, p.34.

unemployment relief was partial and that a number of Natives in particular districts were being assisted at the expense of Natives in other districts who did not have the relief granted to them that they should have had on a fair and equal distribution of relief.⁶⁸⁰ It did suggest that the data should be regarded with care, but nevertheless described the authorisations as ‘a good guide to the distribution of relief and the best guide to the intention of the distribution.’⁶⁸¹

Table 4.6 sets out some details of subsidies on unemployment contracts and suggests that Maori in the Ikaroa Maori Land District, while constituting 10.3 per cent of the Maori contributors to the Unemployment Fund, secured just 0.33 per cent of the total subsidies authorised. Total subsidies per Maori contributor to the Unemployment Fund thus ranged from £18.6 for Tairawhiti and £17.01 for Waiariki, to a mere £0.33 (6s 8d) for Ikaroa and £1.02 for the South Island. The average subsidy per contributor was £10.0. Whether the Commission was suggesting some deliberate bias in regional allocation of relief support is not entirely clear. It seems at least likely that the distribution reflected the type and availability of work that could be subsidised.

Table 4.6: Subsidies on unemployment relief contracts for Maori to 1934

Land districts	Maori contributors to Unemployment Fund	Scheme subsidies authorised: £	Private subsidies authorised: £	Total subsidies authorised: £
Tokerau	3200	23692	691	24383
Waikato-Maniapoto	1600	4800	137	4937
Waiariki	2450	40386	1298	41684
Tairawhiti	2375	14693	29378	44341
Aotea	600	640	1730	2370
Ikaroa	1225	262	145	407
South Island	400	-	408	408
Totals	11850	84473	33787	118530

Source: AJHR 1934, G11, p.59

A summary of expenditure on the Maori land development schemes for 1934-1935 revealed the same regional pattern: schemes in the Waiariki Maori Land District accounted for 49.8 per cent of net expenditure, while the Ikaroa and South Island Maori

⁶⁸⁰ AJHR 1934, G11, p.59.

⁶⁸¹ AJHR 1934, G11, pp.59-61.

Land Districts together accounted for 2.8 per cent.⁶⁸² Again, that reflected the availability of land suitable for development than some deliberate regional bias.

The position of the Ikaroa Maori Land District as disclosed by the Commission did not improve. For 1934-1935, the Unemployment Board made a grant of £75,000 to the Native Land Settlement Board. Table 4.7 sets out some details of the allocations by Maori land board district. As at the end of March 1935, the Native Land Settlement Board had approved 1,640 land development schemes and 340 private contracts. With respect to scheme subsidies, the bulk of the £58,087 allocated had gone to the Tokerau and Waiariki Maori Land Districts and just £3,596 to the entire Ikaroa and South Island Maori Land Districts. Private subsidies, amounting in total to £29,101, on the other hand, were concentrated in the Tairāwhiti Maori Land District, while substantial sums were also granted to the East Coast Commissioner and the Native Trustee. Of the total of £87,188 allocated for that year, the Ikaroa and South Island Maori Land Districts secured just £4,228 or 4.8 per cent. The allocation for the Ikaroa Maori Land District included £406 for the Porirua ki Manawatu District, comprising £256 on the Manawatu development scheme and £150 on one 'unit.' The bulk of Ikaroa's allocation went to the Native Trustee for the Motuweka, Aohanga, and Tiratu Stations.⁶⁸³ In short, the Native Land Settlement Board allocated its unemployment funds to those districts in which the Department of Native Affairs was establishing and running land development schemes. So far as unemployment relief through land development was concerned, the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District secured minimal benefit, one of the long-run consequences of the earlier land loss.

⁶⁸² AJHR 1935, G10, pp.24-26.

⁶⁸³ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/311 17/4 Part 3.

Table 4.7: Allocation of unemployment grant (£) by the Native Land Settlement Board, 1934-1935

Maori land districts	Scheme subsidies	Private subsidies	Totals	Per cent of total
Tokerau	25650	9	25659	29.4
Waikato-Maniapoto	3157	65	3222	3.7
Tairawhiti	8485	13397	21882	25.1
Waiariki	16324	1586	17910	20.5
Aotea	875	1155	2030	2.3
Ikaroa & South Island	3596	632	4228	4.8
East Coast Commissioner	-	6646	6646	7.6
Native Trustee	-	5611	5611	6.4
Totals	58087	29101	87188	100.0

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/311 17/4 Part 3

Table 4.8 sets out the number of men employed, the total paid as wages, and the average paid. It should be noted that the main programme of work did not commence until August 1935, the wages paid thus covering at most eight months. Nevertheless, in the entire Ikaroa and South Island Maori Land Districts, just 81 men were employed: why they received an average wage significantly higher than the national average was not established.

Table 4.8: Number of men employed and wages paid, Maori land development programme, 1934-1935

Maori land districts	Number of men	Total wages: £	Average wages: £
Tokerau	1024	17971	17.55
Waikato-Maniapoto	71	1809	25.48
Tairawhiti	576	9808	17.03
Waiariki	589	14705	24.97
Aotea	99	731	7.38
Ikaroa & South Island	81	2640	32.60
Native Trustee	54	233	4.31
East Coast Commissioner	141	2020	14.32
Totals	2635	49917	18.94

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/311 17/4 Part 3

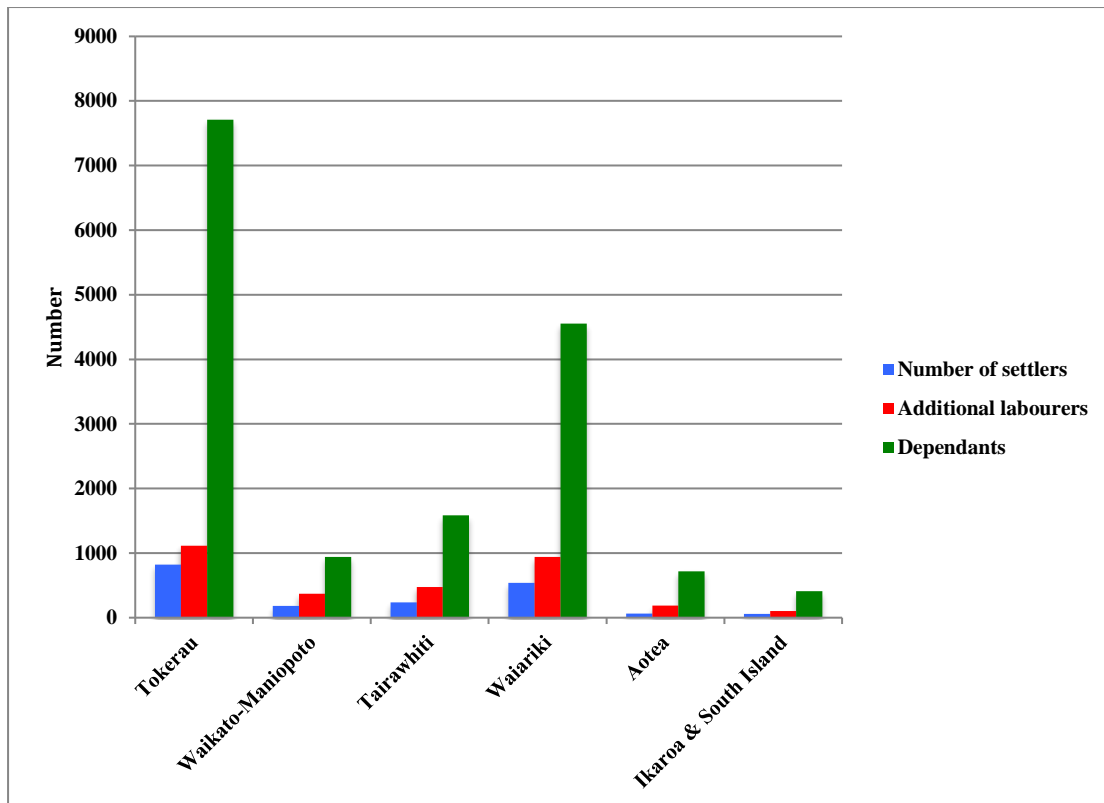
An alternative view is offered by Graph 4.12: it sets out, for the land development schemes in each Maori land district, the number of settlers in occupation, the number of additional labourers, and the number of dependants (of settlers and labourers) as at 31 March 1940. Included are employment promotion workers: they numbered 1,025 in the Tokerau Maori Land District, 414 in Waikato-Maniapoto, 774 in Waiariki, 453 in Tairāwhiti, 186 in Aotea, and just 99 in the Ikaroa and South Island Maori Land Districts. Graph 4.12 makes it clear that the Ikaroa and South Island Maori Land Districts benefited least from the Maori land development programme. The only West Coast development scheme listed was the Manawatu: the number of settlers was given as 16, the number of additional labourers as 29, and the number of dependants as 142. The regional patterns thus disclosed reflected the extent to which land in the Ikaroa Maori Land District had been transferred out of Maori ownership. In the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, the very limited area of land in Maori ownership, under owner control, and capable of development meant that the Maori land development programme barely assisted in raising Maori living standards and was unable to offset contracting employment opportunities in the region's primary sector.

One final summary is presented in Table 4.9. In 1949, the Department of Maori Affairs sought to have removed from its accounts the sums paid out as subsidies in respect of development schemes over the period from 1 April 1933 to 31 March 1949.

Table 4.9: Labour subsidies paid to development units, 1933 to 1949

Maori land districts	Amounts: £	Proportion of total
Tokerau	384901	38.6
Waikato-Maniapoto	149686	15.0
Tairāwhiti	176597	17.7
Waiariki	234783	23.5
Aotea	18406	1.8
Ikaroa and South Island	32863	3.3
Totals	998236	100.0

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/313 17/4 Part 7



Source: AJHR 1940, G10

Graph 4.12: Number of settlers, additional labourers, and dependants, Maori land development schemes by Maori land district, as at 30 March 1940

4.10 Maori youth and unemployment

The extent and duration of Maori youth unemployment proved difficult to track. The files examined did reveal concern, in 1939, on the part of the Department of Social Security, over the payment of Maori aged 16 to 20 years: evidently acceptable to pay the benefit to Maori youth ‘for a short period,’ but that there were ‘very definite reasons why unemployment benefit should not indiscriminately be available to Maori girls.’ The benefit was payable only to those who had ‘consistently worked for wages as a means of earning her livelihood, and is still prepared to do so,’ and unless she had ‘a reasonable opportunity of obtaining employment’ and could therefore be deemed ‘capable of work.’ The unemployment benefit was to be payable only with the prior approval of head office.⁶⁸⁴ It became clear that many single Maori women had applied

⁶⁸⁴ Department of Social Security, Circular memorandum SS1939/58, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

for the benefit and that some benefits had been cancelled over the protests of those affected and who ‘made comparisons with European girls in similar circumstances.’⁶⁸⁵ Despite the representations of the New Zealand Workers’ Union, the Department maintained its stance with its Minister’s approval. The latter insisted that the benefit was payable only to those who were ‘temporarily unemployed.’⁶⁸⁶ That stance had major implications for young Maori women engaged in shearing, market gardening, and other seasonal work, all areas in which Porirua ki Manawatu Maori women were employed.

4.11 Creating and sustaining a marginalised workforce

While a significant proportion of the Porirua ki Manawatu Maori workforce grappled with unemployment, others were drawn in to employment that offered poor conditions and meagre rewards. At least three key questions emerge: did the Crown recognise the ramifications for the health, comfort, and general welfare of those involved; did it evince any resolve to deal with those issues; and did it act with practical effect. These issues are explored with reference to the market gardening industry in which a significant number of Porirua ki Manawatu found employment.

It was suggested above that up to about 1951 those Maori engaged in the paid workforce remained heavily concentrated in the agricultural sector, although clear signs of major change were emerging. Agricultural workers were long denied the protection of award coverage. In 1907, the Canterbury Farm Labourers’ Union sought an award from the Industrial Court: a Board of Conciliation which investigated the claim recommended an award that covered wage rates and hours of work, and that included a preference clause for union members.⁶⁸⁷ Resistance by employers was sufficient to induce the Industrial Court to reject that recommendation, Thompson observing that ‘faced for the first time with a quasi-political decision the Court surrendered to the farmers.’⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁵ District Agent, Social Security Department, Hastings 7 August 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁶⁸⁶ Minister, Social Security to Organiser, New Zealand Workers’ Union, Hastings 14 August 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756 9/9/2.

⁶⁸⁷ This section draws on Howard Gill, ‘Legislated apathy: industrial relations in New Zealand agriculture,’ *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations* [S.I] 4, 3, November 1979, pp.7-14.

⁶⁸⁸ B.J.G. Thompson, ‘Canterbury farm labourers’ dispute 1907-1908,’ MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1967, p.194, quoted in Gill, ‘Legislated apathy,’ p.8.

Further applications for award coverage were rejected in 1919 and 1925, while from 1925 to 1929 the primary sector in its entirety was excluded from the jurisdiction of the Industrial Court.

The first legislative provision covering agricultural workers was the Agricultural Labourers Accommodation Act 1907. It was repealed by the Agricultural Workers' Act 1936, the new measure providing for a system of wage orders and for an inspectorate to enforce prescribed accommodation standards. The term 'agricultural worker' was defined to cover 'a person employed for any period exceeding one week in agricultural or horticultural or pastoral or flax-milling or saw-milling work of any kind ...' The Department of Labour was charged with the Act's administration. However carefully policy may be formulated, however carefully legislation may be framed, and however carefully regulations may be devised, effective governance depended on enforcement.

4.11.1 The Chinese and 'Asiatic' market gardeners

The history of market gardening and of Maori involvement in the industry can usefully be considered in terms of two major phases, the first involving the employment of Maori females by Chinese and 'Asiatic' market gardeners, and the second the major expansion driven by Pakeha gardeners as they responded to war provisioning needs. The controversy – moral panic might be a better description – that erupted during the 1920s over the employment of Maori females formed part of a strong anti-Chinese sentiment. That sentiment emerged at a very early stage in New Zealand's post-annexation history, gaining considerable impetus from the arrival of gold miners from the Australian colonies during the 1860s, notably the Lambing Flat field in New South Wales. Lambing Flat was the scene of the anti-Chinese riots of 1860-1861 that involved several deaths, considerable injury, and much destruction of property. The history of efforts to restrict or limit the immigration of Chinese has been well traversed. Perhaps less well known was the exclusion of Chinese 'and other Asiatics, whether naturalised or not,' from the Old-age Pensions Act 1898 (section 64(4)) and from the Widows' Pensions Act 1911 (section 32(b)), while 'An Asiatic, whether naturalised or not, or whether a British subject by birth or not' was excluded from the Family Allowances Act 1926 (section 8(1)(b)). The Chinese were denied naturalisation between 1908 and 1951. In 1926, the White New Zealand League (established in Pukekohe) initiated a

campaign intended to secure a complete ban on immigration of peoples of Asian origin, 'and a policy tending to eliminate the Asiatic as an element in the Dominion's population.'⁶⁸⁹

Such anti-Chinese sentiment formed part of a wide debate over the merits of eugenics that emerged during the late 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries.⁶⁹⁰ Several books and pamphlets on the subject were published in New Zealand, including Chapple's *The fertility of the unfit* and Barrer's *The problem of mental deficiency in New Zealand*.⁶⁹¹ Eugenics societies were established, while in 1924 Minister of Health Pomare appointed a committee to investigate 'mental defectives and sexual offenders.' It made no reference to Maori, then assumed to be facing practical extinction. Section 13 of its report dealt with immigration and was insistent that the greatest care should be taken 'to prevent the introduction of feeble-minded and other undesirable persons from overseas.'⁶⁹²

Anti-Chinese sentiment, race purity, and eugenics informed and shaped the controversy that developed over the employment of Maori females in market gardens run by Chinese and other 'Asiatics.' In May 1926, the *Otaki Mail* claimed that the Chinese, Syrians, and Indians constituted 'such a menace in the City of Auckland that the people there are not going to extend dumb tolerance any longer to them.' It cited the White New Zealand League to the effect that 'they have undersold and underlived [*sic*] the whites, in market-gardening, laundry, and fruit trade until they have captured the field.' The *Otaki Mail* noted that while just 100 Chinese were allowed in to the country in a year, 'the policy of peaceful penetration should be undoubtedly curtailed.'⁶⁹³ In 1927, Te Akarana Maori Association, concerned that young Maori in particular were being 'forced by economic circumstances to accept employment by Chinese,' initiated a campaign intended to ban such employment, prohibit 'unions' or 'liaisons' or 'illicit companionships' between Maori and Chinese, and to secure the deportation of all

⁶⁸⁹ 'Asiatic menace,' *Evening Post* 13 July 1929, p.13.

⁶⁹⁰ A useful survey of the development of that sentiment can be found in Manying Ip, editor, *The dragon & the taniwha: Maori and Chinese in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009.

⁶⁹¹ W.A. Chapple, *The fertility of the unfit*. Melbourne, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1903; and Nina Barrer, *The problem of mental deficiency in New Zealand*. Wellington: Women's Division of Federated Farmers, 1933.

⁶⁹² AJHR 1925, H31A, p.22.

⁶⁹³ 'Stemming the tide,' *Otaki Mail* 12 May 1926, p.2.

Chinese holding temporary residence permits.⁶⁹⁴ In June 1929, the Association called for ‘protective legislation’ to prevent ‘the mingling of Asiatics with Maori women,’ the deportation of Chinese holding temporary permits, and regulations ‘to control the circumstances of the employment of Maori women in Chinese market gardens ...’⁶⁹⁵ One other matter was of particular concern to the Association, namely, what it alleged to be a recruiting campaign in which Maori women were visiting Maori settlements and encouraging young women, but not men, to work in the market gardens.⁶⁹⁶ The Association was supported by the White New Zealand League and the National Council of Women.⁶⁹⁷ The last suggested that efforts should be made to raise Maori living and working conditions, and to ban ‘Asiatic’ immigration if such a ban ‘could be made legally effective, together with a gradual elimination of the resident Asiatic population.’⁶⁹⁸ The matter was debated at length through the columns of the press, often in less than edifying terms.⁶⁹⁹ While the Consul of the Republic of China in New Zealand refuted many of the claims being made, and while some sections of the press claimed that the issues were being distorted, the press generally embraced the anti-Chinese sentiments then in vogue.⁷⁰⁰

It was Ngata who, in July 1929, raised the matter in the House of Representatives, although his immediate concern appeared to lie in the conditions that Maori workers found themselves having to accept and the meagre payment – 9d an hour, he claimed – they received. Maori, he suggested, ‘are the only people who will work on gardens for the money, and the Chinese are the only people who will give the pay – or who dare give it, I suppose.’ But he also raised the matter of ‘the relations between Maori girls and the Asiatics,’ before adding that ‘there are the laws of nature, and I do not know

⁶⁹⁴ See, for example, ‘A social menace,’ *Press* 10 September 1927, p.5.

⁶⁹⁵ ‘Maoris and Chinese,’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 18 June 1929, p.10. See also “‘Menace to the race,’” *Auckland Star* 19 July 1929, p.9.

⁶⁹⁶ ‘Economic pressure and the Maori,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 July 1929, p.8.

⁶⁹⁷ For the White League’s involvement, see ‘Asiatics and Maoris,’ *Otaki Mail* 12 August 1929, p.4.

⁶⁹⁸ ‘Maori social problems,’ *Auckland Star* 26 July 1929, p.8.

⁶⁹⁹ See, for example, ‘Problems of Asiatics,’ *Auckland Star* 20 July 1929, p.11; ‘The Maoris,’ *Lyttelton Times* 20 July 1929; ‘A lesson from the Maori,’ *North Otago Times* 22 July 1929; ‘Maoris and Chinese,’ *Sun* 22 July 1929; ‘The wily Chinese,’ *Rangitikei Advocate* 23 July 1929; ‘Scathing indictment of Asiatic intrusion,’ *Sun* 26 July 1929; ‘Maoris and Asiatics,’ *Hawera Star* 30 July 1929; ‘Serious problem,’ *Franklin Times* 2 August 1929; and ‘Racial problems,’ *Taihape Daily Times* 24 August 1929.

⁷⁰⁰ For the Chinese Consul’s comments, see ‘Chinese and Maoris,’ *Sun* 22 August 1929; and ‘Racial purity,’ *Sun* 17 June 1929, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/35.

how we are going to prohibit the action of these.’⁷⁰¹ Nevertheless, he appointed a ‘special committee’ to investigate the employment of Maori on market gardens: its terms of reference required it to establish the extent to which Maori were employed ‘as servants or contractors’ of Chinese and other ‘Asiatic’ and European market gardeners; the conditions of their employment, that is, housing, payment, sanitary, and general health; whether and how many Maori females were living with Chinese or ‘Hindus’ and whether legally married; and whether, in the interests of ‘public morality,’ Maori females should be permitted to work for Chinese and Hindus.⁷⁰² The investigation was initially confined to Auckland and district, but was later expanded to include Pukekohe, Foxton, Otaki, and Whanganui.

The committee visited Otaki late in September 1929.⁷⁰³ It recorded that ‘about’ six gardens were run by Chinese and a further six by Pakeha market gardeners. The former employed between 20 and 30 Maori and considerably more during ‘the busy season,’ while the latter employed very few. ‘Practically all the Maoris employed in this district are local residents, and most of them are landlords themselves.’ In the Ohau district were ‘over’ 15 Chinese market gardens on most of which Maori were employed: at least 50 Maori, mostly females, worked on the gardens, ‘all being local residents and landowners and living in their own homes.’ The Committee visited three Chinese market gardens in the Foxton area, one of which employed four Maori males and two Maori females ‘from time to time,’ all being local residents and residing in their own homes. In general, the Committee observed, Maori were employed ‘in a casual capacity.’⁷⁰⁴ With respect to conditions of employment the committee found that at Otaki the rate of wages varied from 7s to 8s per day (eight hours or more), but for digging potatoes piece rates were paid at the rate of 1s 3d to 1s 6d per 100lb sack; at Ohau, wages were 10s per day (eight hours or more) for both males and females, and for potatoes 1s to 1s 6d per 100lb sack. At Foxton, only day wages, from 6s to 10s,

⁷⁰¹ NZPD 1929, Vol.221, p.487. See also ‘Racial purity,’ *Sun* 17 June 1929, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/35. ‘Cohabitation,’ it claimed, was ‘often due solely to the propinquity that follows employment of Maori women in Chinese gardens.’ See also ‘Maoris underpaid,’ *New Zealand Herald* 19 July 1929, p.14.

⁷⁰² The committee’s members were Auckland’s Medical Officer of Health and a representative from each of the Departments of Labour and Native Affairs. The Committee was assisted by the Department of Health’s Director of Maori Hygiene.

⁷⁰³ ‘Maori girls and Chinese,’ *Otaki Mail* 25 September 1929, p.3.

⁷⁰⁴ AJHR 1929, G11, p.2.

were paid. All Maori employed on the Otaki, Ohau, and Foxton market gardens resided in their own homes.⁷⁰⁵

With respect to Maori females living with Chinese males, six Maori had borne children to Chinese fathers; at Ohau no such cohabitation was identified. At Foxton (and Whanganui), while no instances were identified, ‘the indications are that there is a very distinct drift in that direction.’ Cohabitation involving Pakeha females ‘was fairly prevalent,’ while the Committee observed that ‘overtures did not in every case emanate from the Chinese, but that both the white girls and the Maori girls were much to blame.’⁷⁰⁶ The Committee concluded, that while the time was not opportune to prohibit the employment of Maori by Chinese and ‘Hindus,’ nevertheless it suggested that ‘as a general principle it is not in the interests of public morality that the employment of Maori girls and women by Chinese and Hindus should be permitted to take place.’⁷⁰⁷ The Committee concluded that economic considerations were involved, recording that

At the present time there is a small Maori population throughout the districts visited ... which has been forced to seek employment through stressful circumstances or their own improvidence ... The only avenue of employment open to them is employment in the market gardens, which are controlled almost entirely by Chinese and to a lesser extent by Hindus. So long as this state of affairs exists, and until other avenues of employment are available, the Committee is of opinion that the prohibition of the Maori women from working in these gardens would in many cases result in hardship. Such action would only partially deal with the matter, as the mixing could still continue – in fact, it might probably increase the temptation for females to gain a living by immoral means in a percentage of those living in the vicinity of gardens.⁷⁰⁸

The Committee had a good deal more to say about the ‘indiscriminate mingling of the lower types of the races’ and the ‘submergency (*sic*) of the Maori race similar to what has occurred in Hawaii.’ It went on to offer a series of recommendations that covered accommodation; the employment of Maori females under the age of 21 by Chinese and Hindu market gardeners unless supervised; the fixing of a minimum wage for all workers ‘paid by time wages’ and that all contracts and piecework agreements be scrutinised by ‘some responsible authority;’ and the domestic training of Maori girls. It

⁷⁰⁵ AJHR 1929, G11, p.3.

⁷⁰⁶ AJHR 1929, G11, p.4.

⁷⁰⁷ AJHR 1929, G11, p.4.

⁷⁰⁸ AJHR 1929, G11, p.5.

also recommended ‘The education of Maoris with a definite agricultural bias,’ and an acceleration of the land consolidation programme with a view to creating farmlets, small dairy farms, and, where suitable, cattle and sheep farms.⁷⁰⁹

A more sober assessment of the difficulties involved was offered by the Methodist Home Mission.

Maori women work in Chinese market gardens because there is no more suitable employment offering; very few single women accept such employment except in company with their guardians; the accusation made by the Akarana Association ... against the employers of ‘sinister purpose’ is unfair and should be withdrawn; there are very few half-caste Maori-Chinese children and most of these few have been born in wedlock; we have more trouble with various types of European profligates than with the Chinese in market gardens, for most of these gardeners are honest, hardworking men ... almost all Maori women working in market gardens are struggling to earn sufficient to purchase the necessaries of life for themselves and their dependants ...⁷¹⁰

The Mission conceded that housing conditions in the market gardens were bad ‘though not worse than those endured by the Maoris working periodically for potato growers and others.’⁷¹¹

Ngata presented the Committee’s report to the House on 8 November 1929.⁷¹² It recommended that all workers should be provided with ‘suitable accommodation,’ similar to that required under the Agricultural Labourers’ Accommodation Act 1907, and that, in the case of ‘Asiatic’ growers, the site of such accommodation should be approved by the local authority concerned and by the Department of Native Affairs.⁷¹³ Ngata continued to raise the matter, suggesting that the real issue was not Maori women working in market gardens as such, but Maori women ‘mating’ with Chinese men. Such

⁷⁰⁹ AJHR 1929, G11, pp.5-6.

⁷¹⁰ ‘An overdrawn picture,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 17 October 1929, p.5; and ‘Chinese gardeners,’ *Otaki Mail* 4 November 1929, p.2. Jennifer Hauraki suggested that ‘some Maori saw marriage to Chinese as a way of escaping the poverty and oppression decreed by colonisation.’ See Jennifer Hauraki, ‘Dynamics and identity on Maori-Chinese families: finding the necessary space in Aotearoa New Zealand,’ in Manying Ip, editor, *The dragon & the taniwha: Maori & Chinese in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009, pp.209-234.

⁷¹¹ ‘Maori women employed by Chinese,’ *Evening Post* 17 October 1929, p.10.

⁷¹² ‘Maori girls employed by Chinese,’ *Evening Post* 8 November 1929, p.10. A copy of the Committee’s report can be found in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/35.

⁷¹³ AJHR 1929, G11, p.5. Section 7 of that Act required the provision of separate sleeping accommodation for ‘Asiatic’ labourers.

liaisons, he suggested, would be almost impossible to prohibit. While some members of the House seemed to think that South Africa's approach to such matters could be adopted, Ngata was disinclined to take any such action.⁷¹⁴ Towards the end of 1930 the Department of Labour framed new regulations intended to improve the living and working conditions of Maori females employed on market gardens owned by 'Asiatics.' Importantly, the regulations required employers to provide separate living quarters for males and females.⁷¹⁵

In 1936, Te Akarana Maori Association claimed that the Government, through the Department of Labour, had 'lamentably failed' to enforce the recommendations of its own committee of inquiry. It went further and suggested that lower benefits paid to unemployed Maori meant that 'their womenfolk had to take whatever work they could get.'⁷¹⁶ It, too, had recognised the central issue, namely, that a range of factors had combined to make it increasingly difficult for many Maori to avoid having to accept meagre wages and poor living conditions. Even as economic conditions improved from about 1933 onwards, for many Maori circumstances did not improve commensurately. Moreover, they would find that employment law offered them scant protection as the debate around the engagement of Maori on market gardens moved to the conditions of employment.

Among the many pieces of important legislation introduced by the first Labour Government was the Agricultural Workers' Act 1936. Its long title explained its purpose, namely, 'An Act to make Better Provision for the Accommodation of Agricultural Workers, and to make Special Provisions with respect to the Remuneration of Workers on Dairy-farms and the Conditions of their Employment.' Part II of the Act dealt with accommodation matters, section 8 specifying that 'It shall be the duty of every employer – defined as 'every person having the control or superintendence of any farm or other place where any agricultural worker is employed' – and where agricultural workers was defined as 'a person employed for any period exceeding one week in agricultural or horticultural or pastoral or flax-milling or saw-milling work of

⁷¹⁴ 'Maori and Chinese,' *Evening Post* 5 September 1930, p.10.

⁷¹⁵ 'Inactivity criticised,' *Auckland Sun*, 25 July 1930, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/35; and 'Maoris and Asiatics,' *Auckland Star* 17 October 1930, p.8.

⁷¹⁶ See, for example, 'In Chinese gardens,' *Evening Post* 16 April 1936, p.

any kind' – 'to provide sufficient and suitable accommodation ... for all agricultural workers employed by him.' Section 9 sets out the details of the accommodation that had to be provided: they included the separation of dining and sleeping quarters; the supply of furniture, utensils, water for drinking and washing, lighting, heating, ventilation, and sanitation; and suitable provision for the storage of food and the drying of clothes. The measure was the subject of a good deal of debate, centred mostly on Part III: Special Provisions as to Employment of Dairy-farms. Whether and how the Act might recognise and provide for workers on market gardens were not matters that were raised.

4.11.2 War-time expansion and the Opiki market gardens

The second phase of the market gardening industry in Porirua ki Manawatu was associated in part with the Government's Hutt Valley Development Scheme: as noted in Chapter 1, the scheme involved the re-location of market gardeners to the Horowhenua. But the major impetus to expansion came from the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States of America and the provisioning needs of American forces.⁷¹⁷ That prompted investigation into the market garden potential of the region between Waikanae and Feilding. Nine localities were surveyed, namely, Otaki; Manakau; Ohau, where 150 acres were in market gardens; Levin, where considerable areas were being utilised on short leases and then returned to owners for grazing purposes; Shannon and Moutoa; Tokomaru and Makerua Swamp; Oroua, Aorangi, and Feilding; Maxwell's Line and Karere Lagoon; and Te Matai and Ashhurst.⁷¹⁸

It was at Opiki where much of the war-time expansion of market gardening took place, Pakeha farmers seeking to exploit an unexpected and sharp rise in demand. The living conditions that emerged at Opiki soon made it apparent that the provisions of Part II of the Agricultural Workers' Act 1936 and the regulations issued thereunder offered little support or protection to market garden workers. Early in December 1944, Palmerston North's Medical Officer of Health inspected the Opiki district. As a result, he sought the views of the Department of Labour, pointedly noting that not all the workers

⁷¹⁷ For the Hutt Valley Development Scheme, see ANZ Wellington ABOB W4261/165 150/5 Part 1, 1938-1939 and Part 2, 1939-1950.

⁷¹⁸ Report in ANZ Wellington AAFZ W5739/412/75 Ag.79/5/266 Alt. No.60680.

involved were temporary and that of the latter a majority was in fact employed for three to six months or more.⁷¹⁹ The matter, the subject also of a report by Shannon's district nurse, was discussed by the Palmerston North Hospital Board in December 1944 when the district's Medical Officer of Health insisted that the position at Opiki 'should not be tolerated in a civilised community.' Some 200 people, described as a 'moving community,' were affected, mostly Maori, and located in 14 settlements that included a number of army huts. In one settlement lived 40 Maori, while in another 20 were housed in a converted cowshed. In view of the Medical Officer of Health, 'In many instances there would not be the slightest difficulty in maintaining prosecutions under the Health Act on account of the nuisance, though it seems to me that something more is necessary.'⁷²⁰

The Horowhenua County Council claimed that it had only become aware of the difficulties when it received a complaint over overcrowding at the Opiki School. Curiously, at the same time it acknowledged that its by-laws had been ignored and that no building permits had been issued, while complaining that by allowing children, elderly parents, and other relatives to accompany them, the Maori workers involved had rendered it impossible for property owners to provide the necessary facilities. The problem of Maori housing, it insisted in what was a common contemporary refrain, was 'a national one,' but that Ministers of the Crown, though invited to inspect the settlement, had deliberately chosen not to do so. The Council then claimed that if the property owners were forced to comply with its by-laws, market garden production would 'break down' and Maori would lose their jobs. In short, it seems, the Horowhenua County Council, while aware of the conditions that had emerged, had chosen not to act, and that the Government, while also aware, had similarly chosen to turn a blind eye. Before the Palmerston North Hospital Board, Joseph Hodgens (MHR Palmerston North) suggested that the property owners concerned could at least provide

⁷¹⁹ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to Inspector of Awards, Department of Labour, Department of Labour, Palmerston North 6 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

⁷²⁰ 'Opiki housing conditions,' *Manawatu Daily Times* 12 December 1944; and 'Disgraceful housing for Maoris at Opiki,' *Manawatu Daily Times* 19 December 1944, copies in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

sanitary facilities, something they would have done had Pakeha workers been involved.⁷²¹

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Maori were viewed as a transient workforce and one for whom it would be difficult and expensive, if not unnecessary, to provide ordinary facilities. The *Manawatu Daily Times* concluded that the Horowhenua County Council had been ‘drawn into a conflict between the ideal and the real ...’ and suggested that ‘some degree of responsibility must rest upon the State.’ It was the latter, after all, that had promoted a major expansion of vegetable production and was ‘responsible for the housing of citizens as the controlling authority.’ The market gardeners themselves could not bear the cost of providing given, especially, ‘the future uncertainty of demand.’⁷²²

Palmerston North’s District Inspector of Factories conducted his own inspection and endorsed the conclusions reached by the district’s Medical Officer of Health. But he, too, ascribed some of the difficulties to the fact that extended family groups rather than workers alone had gathered on the gardens. The implication was that extended family members formed no part of the work force, although evidence would later show that children under 15 were employed both in the weekends and on school days, while other children were required to ‘mind’ siblings. He went on to note that under the Agricultural Workers’ Extension Order [1937], the Department of Labour did not have the same powers as conferred under the Shearers’ Accommodation Act 1919.⁷²³ Section 6 of that Act was the same as section 8 of the Agricultural Workers’ Act 1936. It thus appeared that the Department of Labour did have the necessary power but not the will to enforce the law.⁷²⁴

⁷²¹ ‘Opiki housing conditions,’ *Manawatu Daily Times* 12 December 1944; and ‘Disgraceful housing for Maoris at Opiki,’ *Manawatu Daily Times* 19 December 1944, copies in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1. See also ‘Conditions deplored’ and ‘Housing of workers,’ *Manawatu Evening Standard* 19 December 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

⁷²² ‘Vegetable growers’ housing,’ *Manawatu Daily Times* 14 December 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

⁷²³ District Inspector of Factories, Palmerston North to Chief Inspector Factories, Department of Labour 8 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

⁷²⁴ See Chief Clerk, Department of Labour to District Inspector of Factories, Palmerston North 8 February 1945, in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

4.11.3 Government agencies confer

The Department of Health decided to act, issuing compliance notices to 11 Pakeha market gardeners: the latter claimed that it was not possible to effect the improvements requested. That spurred the Department of Labour to call a conference to investigate and report. That conference, which involved representatives of neither the growers nor the workers (although Rangi Royal of the Department of Native Affairs attended), was held on 28 June 1945. From the discussions it emerged that some 400 Maori were located in 17 settlements; that, whereas in the initial stages of development Maori workers employed lived in tents and remained on site for up to eight weeks, as the gardens and production expanded temporary residency merged in to permanent residency despite the fact that much of the work was seasonal (October to March). Those 400 people were drawn from Ratana, Feilding, Palmerston North, and the Horowhenua. It also emerged that a large number of the Opiki children did not attend school and others did so irregularly, that hospital admissions involving residents were twice those from other rural districts, and that many residents had no alternative places of abode. The Horowhenua County Council again defended its failure to insist on full observance of its building by-laws, reciting another familiar contemporary refrain to the effect that it desired not to affect adversely the 'war effort.'

One of the solutions canvassed was that of establishing a central and properly serviced central settlement (pa), although what was termed a strong tribal committee suitably empowered to devise and enforce sanitary arrangements and facilities would be essential. Moreover, such a settlement would allow Maori to organise themselves in to a labour pool and thus exercise some control over working conditions. Perhaps for that reason growers opposed any such development, claiming rather that workers had to be located on site. Nevertheless, the concept of a central settlement garnered some support, the Department of Labour's representative opining that 'the Maori race are [*sic*] entitled to the same accommodation as their Pakeha brothers, whether this settlement is going to be one of a temporary or permanent character.' On the other hand, the Horowhenua County Council was less than enthusiastic, anxious that should market gardening contract as the war drew to a close and as workers were replaced with machines it would be left with a derelict settlement. It was also suggested that since workers were securing 'wonderful wages,' they should accept some responsibility for their own housing.

Uncertainty over the future of market gardening at Opiki pervaded the discussions, but in the expectation that some of the growers displaced by the planned expansion of State housing in Lower Hutt would find their way to Opiki, the attendees agreed to convene a second conference.⁷²⁵

That second conference was held on 5 July 1945: on that occasion three growers (and counsel) and two workers were present. Some interesting details emerged: thus one grower employed 23 workers each of whom worked an average of 72 days (presumably in a seven month season) for an average daily wage of £1 2s 6d. That yielded a total (net) wage of just £81, hardly ‘wonderful wages.’ In total, 16 growers employed 226 workers, while 182 non-workers took the total Maori population to 408. The cost of housing all 408 was estimated at between £50,000 and £60,000, and that ‘to lay out on these properties *non-productive capital* [emphasis added] to that extent would be positively uneconomic.’ Again it was acknowledged that it had been known for some years that housing conditions at Opiki were poor; that neither the Horowhenua County Council nor the Department of Health had pressed growers lest production be impeded; and that while a communal settlement was the favoured option, sufficient doubts existed over the future of an industry that had expanded to meet the demands of America’s Pacific forces. The conference thus decided to press the Government to honour a commitment made to growers that type ‘C’ huts would be provided along with privies, and ablution and cooking facilities, and to appoint a small committee to interview growers with a view to establishing the extent to which each would be prepared to assist in providing acceptable living conditions. Growers would also be asked to supply details of all labour employed during the past year, while a deputation would be organised to meet the Government.⁷²⁶

Anxiety over the future of market gardening was not entirely unjustified: while the area under crop nationally had expanded from 9,018 acres in 1939-1940 to 16,826 acres in 1944-1945, it fell steeply to 13,161 acres in 1945-1946, although stabilising

⁷²⁵ A lengthy summary of the conference can be found in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

⁷²⁶ A summary of the proceedings can be found in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

thereafter.⁷²⁷ By November 1945 several growers had exited from the Opiki market gardens industry. Further, according to Palmerston North's District Inspector of Factories, that 'It is expected that more European labour will be available in the coming season.' Quite why he expected the Maori workforce to be displaced, he did not say, but added that the Horowhenua County Council, charged with arranging the deputation, had decided to hold over further action.⁷²⁸ By January 1946, six settlements had closed down as production contracts were cancelled and in most of the others the number of employees had been significantly reduced. In fact, whereas the Maori population of Opiki had once numbered 400, by early 1946 it stood at just 100: where they had gone was not the subject of comment. In some instances, growers had effected the improvements required by the Department of Health, but in other cases they had not: given the difficulties in securing building supplies, the Department of Health decided to postpone any action for six months.⁷²⁹

It is clear that market gardening expanded rapidly at Opiki in response to wartime demands. It is also clear that growers, uncertain over the longevity of their industry, relied upon labour-intensive methods of production and minimised the investment of capital in to their enterprises; that Maori constituted a ready, mobile, unorganised and (apparently) undemanding workforce; that the Horowhenua County Council had failed to insist upon compliance with its building by-laws; and that departments of State, although aware of conditions in Opiki, had failed to act under the Health Act 1920 and the Agricultural Workers' Act 1936. Further complaints were made over the employment of Maori children on the Opiki gardens: investigations in 1946 revealed that 27 children aged from 10 to 13 years had been absent from the Opiki School for considerable periods, while just one child (on account of sickness) had been absent from Shannon School. An action was brought against one grower but failed on the grounds that no proof of employment was produced. Growers had adopted the practice of paying a family's wages to one person: since no master/servant relationship could

⁷²⁷ These estimates did not include market gardens of less than once acre or market gardens located within boroughs. The figures are taken from the *New Zealand Official Yearbook*.

⁷²⁸ District Inspector of Factories, Palmerston North to Chief Inspector of Factories, Department of Labour 9 November 1945, in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

⁷²⁹ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to District Inspector of Factories, Palmerston North 28 January 1946, in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

be established, the Department of Labour could not act.⁷³⁰ At the same time, those market gardeners who leased land had little incentive to provide any accommodation, irrespective of whether workers were temporary or permanent.

4.11.4 A failure to enforce

The Agricultural Workers' Act 1936 applied in fact only to workers in a master-servant relationship and where the workers concerned resided on their employer's property. Further, it is clear that the Department of Labour, in particular, chose not to enforce the law. In February 1939, the Minister of Labour acknowledged that his department had chosen not to act 'because they felt it would not be practicable.'⁷³¹ It is not at all clear what 'practicable' meant or implied. Whether it felt the same way about the enforcement of the Shearers' Accommodation Act 1919, he did not say. In July 1944, the *New Zealand Herald* published a description of the housing conditions endured by Maori on the Pukekohe market gardens many of which, it added, were owned by Chinese and Indians.⁷³² The article appears to have prompted the Minister of Native Affairs to advise the Minister of Labour that he was prepared to introduce legislation to meet the deficiencies apparent in the Agricultural Workers' Act 1936. In response, the Minister of Labour recited the array of difficulties involved, namely, that many if not most Maori market garden workers did not reside on the properties on which they were engaged, that the labour was supplied not by the head of a family but the family as a whole, and that workers moved from property to property, and that the Agricultural Workers' Act 1936 did not apply where the work was performed on a contract basis. He also observed that young Maori women had been found living with their 'Asiatic' employers in accommodation that met all the requirements of the law. The fact that work in the gardens was seasonal and that growers often held their lands on short term leases and without any provision for compensation for improvements were additional

⁷³⁰ District Inspector of Factories, Palmerston North to Chief Inspector of Factories, Wellington 15 May 1946; and Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories, Wellington to Assistant Secretary, Wellington Education Board 5 July 1946, in ANZ Wellington AANK W3580/947/228 10/3/261 Part 1.

⁷³¹ Notes of a meeting, Minister of Labour and Auckland Commercial Gardeners' Society Limited 16 February 1939, in ANZ Wellington AANK W4397/947/94 10/3/268.

⁷³² 'Slum houses, market garden work,' *New Zealand Herald* 11 July 1944, p.7.

difficulties.⁷³³ Twenty-six years later, the Agricultural Workers Act 1962 introduced some limited reforms.

4.12 Earning a living: the Beagleholes' study of Otaki, c.1945

In their study of 'Kowhai,' widely understood to have been Otaki, the Beagleholes included a chapter entitled 'Earning a living.'⁷³⁴ Their findings provide a useful summary of the position of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori as it had emerged by about 1945.

They first noted that Maori in the district could 'no longer rely upon the land and its utilization as a major source of income or support.' Within a radius of five miles of the Otaki post office, Maori owned 5,260 acres in 409 blocks with 1,280 owners. Of the blocks, 35.3 per cent were less than one acre in extent; 62.8 per cent were less than five acres; and 81.4 per cent less than 21 acres. Those blocks which had been rented yielded an annual rental of £2,244: shared among 402 owners, the average per person was £5 11s 8d although the range was considerably greater.⁷³⁵ With respect to rates, in 1940 the Otaki Borough Council had issued 807 assessments of which 157 were Maori with 18 percent of the town's rateable value. While rates of £848 had been levied, just £178 had been paid by 20 Maori ratepayers. Of the Maori lands vested in the Ikaroa Maori Land Board, most were homestead sites that yielded little in the way of rent, while rates were in any case a first charge on any rents that were generated.⁷³⁶ The average rate paid amounted to £8.9, more than sufficient to absorb the average annual rental income of £5 11s 8d. The Beagleholes also recorded that Maori did lease other lands, mostly poorer quality grass-covered sand-dune country or weed-infested ground suitable for sheep or cattle farming and yielding three to six shillings per acre per annum.⁷³⁷ They concluded that 'in another generation, unless some measure of land consolidation is carried out, the size of the individually owned plots of land will be so small that it will

⁷³³ Minister, Labour to Minister, Native Affairs 17 August 1944, in ANZ Wellington AANK W4397/947/94 10/3/268.

⁷³⁴ 'Kowhai' is generally understood to have been Otaki. See Anthony Dreaver, 'A window on Tainui,' *Phanzine* 17, 3, December 2011, pp.1-2.

⁷³⁵ Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some modern Maoris*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1946, p.18.

⁷³⁶ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.19.

⁷³⁷ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.20.

be no one's job to bother about them.' Each generation implied an almost exponential increase in the number of owners and a corresponding contraction in the size and value of land interests and thus in the share of any rent arising. One outcome was that few Maori engaged in commercial farming and then only on a very small scale, perhaps two or three families having taken up dairy farming.⁷³⁸

With respect to employment, the Beagleholes distinguished among permanent work, casual work and seasonal work. Those in permanent work earned between £4 and £5 per week: the Minimum Wage Act 1945 set the minimum wage for males paid weekly at £5 5s per week or £263 for a 52-week year. Casual workers earned about the same when employed but averaged about £2 10s per year, while social security payments and the contribution of working children took the average weekly family income to about £5 to £5 10s.⁷³⁹ A weekly income of £5 per week yielded an average income of £260 per annum. Some adult women worked on Chinese market gardens, earning between 7s and 8s per day, although digging potatoes allowed the more efficient among them to earn between £1 and £2 per day. But, the Beagleholes added, total sums secured by women over a year were 'probably rather small,' while none of the married women in the district were employed in jobs other than those in the gardens. Jobs for young people were few: some domestic work was available for girls, notably in the local hospital, but it was work that was generally disliked and avoided. Some young women had moved to Wellington and secured factory employment, while young men, having left school at 14 or 15, drifted from job to job without acquiring marketable skills.

The Beagleholes also dealt with support from social security benefits. They recorded that monthly benefits paid to all Otaki Maori amounted to about £3,850 per year, and weekly benefits to about £1,300 per year. Pensions paid to the elderly accounted for about half of all monthly payments and family allowances about a quarter, the balance being made up of widows', orphans', and invalids' pensions. They insisted that Maori employed their benefits wisely, observing that 'The steady purchasing power provided by social security payments helps ... to stabilize both the incomes of the families concerned and also business conditions in the district.' Further, the unemployment

⁷³⁸ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.21.

⁷³⁹ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, pp.24-25.

benefit ‘was a great help to many of the casually employed Maori men. It took up a great deal of the slack between jobs and allowed many Maori families to think in terms of a steadier weekly income than would otherwise have been possible.’ Hence, they concluded, social security payments removed from Maori ‘some of the fear of grinding poverty which has been in the past, and is still for many today, the major anxiety of their lives.’⁷⁴⁰

Later writers have largely endorsed that conclusion. Butterworth, in 1972, concluded that ‘In general, Maoris benefited more than anyone else from the increased financial provisions and services of the Welfare State that Labour built between 1935 and 1939.’⁷⁴¹ Similarly, Coleman *et al* recorded that during and after the Depression, government transfers to Maori increased ‘dramatically’ in the form of housing loans, investment in land development, entitlement to unemployment benefits, old age pensions, a family benefit, and free medical services. ‘These transfers,’ they recorded, ‘had a large beneficial effect on Maori income, and hence living standards. In rural areas they may have increased income by a third, and in all places they provided income to the poorest.’⁷⁴²

A Department of Social Security file was found to contain a summary of the social security payments made to ‘Otaki’ Maori: this is clearly the information supplied to the Beagleholes, information that they dated to December 1941. Table 4.10 sets out the details. The old-age pension paid to the 26 men and women averaged just £72 per annum, while that payable to the six widows averaged almost £84.5. Of the 155 dependent children involved, 106 were in relation to the family allowance, 15 to the sickness benefit, 13 to the unemployment benefit, and ten to the widows’ benefit.

⁷⁴⁰ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, pp.39-42.

⁷⁴¹ G.V. Butterworth, ‘A rural Maori renaissance? Maori society and politics 1920 to 1951,’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81, 2, 1972, p.180.

⁷⁴² Andrew Coleman, Sylvia Dixon, and David Maré, *Maori economic development – glimpses from statistical sources*, Motu Working Paper 05-13, 2005, p.18.

Table 4.10: 'Otaki' Maori in receipt of social entitlements, December 1941

Class of benefit	Males	Amount	Females	Amount	Total number	Total amount
<i>Monthly</i>						
Age	7	44 8 4	19	112 7 6	26	156 15 10
Widows	-	-	5	35 4 2	5	35 4 2
Orphans	-	-	11	6 10 0	1	6 10 0
Invalids	3	14 1 8	3	19 10 0	6	33 11 8
Family	-	-	20	89 5 4	20	89 5 4
Totals	10	58 10 0	48	262 17 0	58	321 7 0
Annual total						3856 4 0
<i>Weekly</i>						
Unemployment	4	7 19 0	-	-	4	7 19 0
Emergency unemployment	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sickness	6	12 4 0	1	0 5 0	7	12 9 0
Emergency sickness	1	3 18 0	3	0 15 0	4	4 13 0
Totals	11	24 1 0	4	1 0 0	15	25 1 0
Annual total						1302 12 0

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/1 Part 4

4.13 The distribution of incomes

Estimating the incomes of Maori and comparing them with Pakeha incomes is an exercise fraught with difficulty. Most of the pre-1945 data relating to Maori dealt only with the comparatively small numbers who were included in the general rather than the Maori censuses. It is known that a large proportion of Maori employed in paid work were engaged in farm work, milling, and public works, and largely as labourers. According to Macrae, the economic position of Maori relative to Pakeha deteriorated sharply between 1926 and 1936: for males the median income ratio rose from 1.09 to 1.45; for those aged 21-45 from 1.5 to 2.07; for those aged 45-65 from 1.44 to 1.70; and for those aged over 65 years from 1.51 to 2.0.⁷⁴³ Those estimates relate only to those Maori who were enumerated on standard census schedules, so that the bulk of the Maori population was not covered. There is no reason to suppose that the national trends identified by Macrae did not also apply regionally.

⁷⁴³ Macrae, *A study in the application of economic analysis to social issues*, p.22.

Macrae also presented some data that demonstrated the low standard of living for Maori compared with that for Pakeha by the end of the 1920s. He calculated that the minimum income required to support a family where that family was still engaged in growing and collecting its own food was £50 per annum in 1929 (that is, at pre-depression levels).⁷⁴⁴ He went on to establish that at an income level of £200 per annum and at the prices prevailing in 1938, the Maori subsistence sector was widely reported as having disappeared, but that at an income range of £50 to £150 very high subsistence proportions were recorded. In other words, at income levels below about £200 per annum, Maori families found it necessary to engage in subsistence cultivation and food gathering to supplement money incomes.⁷⁴⁵

4.14 The distribution of wealth

The Beagleholes offered one other conclusion. They recorded that ‘the majority of the Maoris (about 85 per cent) are unskilled and semi-skilled workers whereas the majority of the pakehas (about 82 per cent) are professionals, commercial workers, or farmers. In other words, the pakeha in the district has preferential access to the material values of the community together with the prestige and status that go with wealth and occupation.’⁷⁴⁶ Estimating the distribution of wealth presents major challenges, but one option is to employ the valuation rolls that were prepared for local body rating purposes. Unfortunately, they are not without their difficulties. First, it is important to note that real property, in the form of land and the improvements thereon, constitute only one form of material wealth. Nevertheless, in a predominantly agro-pastoral region such as Porirua ki Manawatu, land was both a major form of wealth and the means to the generation of additional wealth through both production and capital gain. Further, it is suggested that the value of improvements reflected capacity of the owners involved to accumulate and invest, and thus to enhance productive capacity. The assumption made then is that the distribution of wealth in the form of real property constituted a useful and reliable guide to the distribution of wealth generally. Second, the rolls offer summaries according to the occupation rather than the ownership of land: although,

⁷⁴⁴ Macrae, *A study in the application of economic analysis to social issues*, pp.150 and 160.

⁷⁴⁵ Macrae, *A study in the application of economic analysis to social issues*, pp.159-161. Belshaw also claimed that it was only after a Maori family secured an annual income of £200 and above that subsistence activities disappeared. See Belshaw, ‘Maori economic circumstances,’ p.210.

⁷⁴⁶ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.44.

with considerable effort, summaries based on ownership could have been prepared, occupation was considered acceptable since the area of land owned but leased by Maori was modest in extent, since leases commonly ran for 21 or 42 years, and since an appreciable proportion of leased land would eventually pass in to Pakeha ownership.

From the valuation rolls Horowhenua County details were extracted of the capital values of land in Maori and Pakeha *occupation* as at 31 March 1936, and per capita values calculated using the results of the 1936 census. It is important to note that the estimates presented are averages. Closer analysis would almost certainly indicate considerable variation within Maori communities.⁷⁴⁷ Table 4.11 indicates that the capital value of rateable lands in Pakeha occupation was six times that in Maori occupation. The data should be treated as indicative: nevertheless, and allowing for the fact that wealth is rarely evenly distributed within capitalist economies, they point to a markedly skewed distribution of wealth measured in terms of the capital value of rateable lands in occupation.

Table 4.11: Capital values, Maori and Pakeha, Horowhenua ridings and county, 31 March 1936

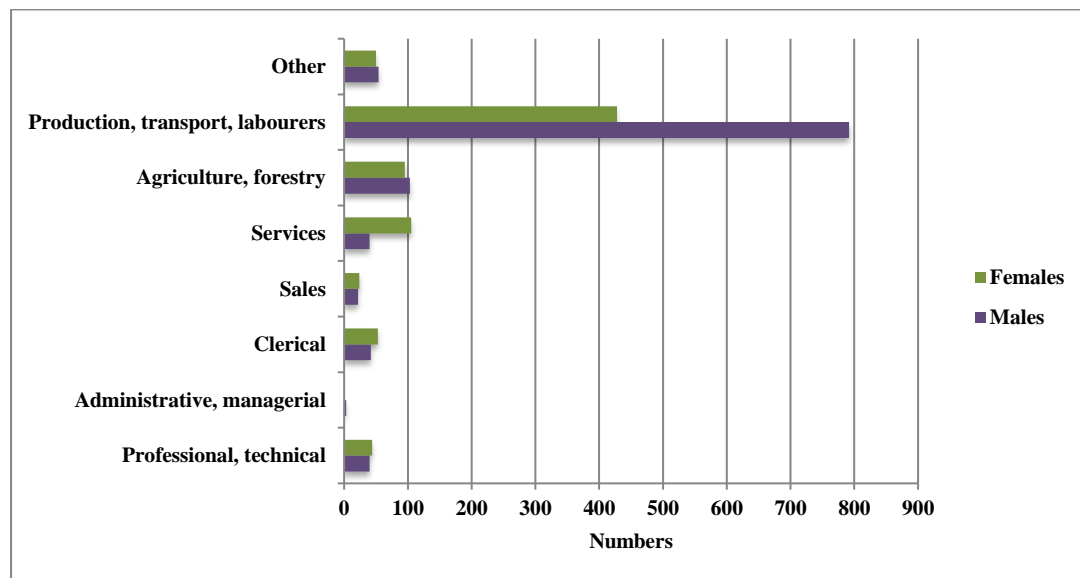
Ridings	Maori capital valuations: £	Maori per capita: £	Pakeha capital valuations: £	Pakeha per capita: £	Index
Otaki	17040	60.9	637732	810.3	7.5
Te Horo	22515	173.2	710546	642.4	27.0
Tokomaru	5270	109.8	1338574	892.4	12.3
Wirokino	104851	144.8	2066532	764.5	18.9
Totals	149676	126.6	4753384	779.8	16.2

Source: ANZ Wellington V-ROLLS AFHQ 19340 W1086 V-ROLLS/162 3/23, 3/24, 3/25 and 3/26

⁷⁴⁷ That point is well made by Boast in a short discussion of Maori class differentiation. See Richard Boast, *Buying the land, selling the land. Governments and Maori land in the North Island 1865-1921*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008, pp.262-264.

4.15 Occupations by major groups, 1971

Graph 4.13 classifies the occupations of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori by major groups by 1971.⁷⁴⁸ No longer principally engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, both males and females, were concentrated in to the category labelled ‘Production, transport, equipment operators, and transport.’ Graph 4.13 suggests that while some diversification of employment had taken place, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori had exchanged dependency in one sector, namely, ‘agriculture and forestry,’ for dependency in another, namely, ‘production, transport and labourers.’ The consequences would become apparent during the ‘economic restructuring’ of the 1980s and 1990s and unemployment among Maori men, in particular, increased sharply. Income data for Maori and non-Maori are available by counties and urban centres for 1961 and 1976, but differences in age structure between Maori and non-Maori populations meant that non-age standardised comparisons, particularly during a period of rapid Maori but slowing non-Maori population growth, would be misleading and thus are not offered here.



Source: Census of New Zealand, 1971

Graph 4.13: Occupations of Maori by major groups (per cent), Porirua ki Manawatu, 1971

⁷⁴⁸ Palmerston North City, Feilding, Foxton, Shannon, Levin, Otaki, and Waikanae. ‘Agriculture’ included animal husbandry, forestry workers, fishermen and hunters; while ‘Production, transport, labourers’ also included equipment operators.

4.16 Conclusions

By about 1900 most Porirua ki Manawatu Maori communities confronted a choice between finding a substitute for commercial sheep farming, relying upon subsistence cultivation and food gathering, entering the paid labour force, or combining elements of all three as need dictated or circumstance or opportunity allowed. Those three modes or approaches often co-existed, the balance among them changing in accord with both cyclical and secular economic changes in the broader colonial and post-colonial economy. The evidence suggests that during the period from about 1870 to about 1940, those communities passed through several phases that began with efforts to establish a large measure of economic dependence and to engage selectively with the wider economy, notably in the areas of public works construction and private (settler) farm formation. As those efforts faltered around the turn of the twentieth century, attempts to find a commercial alternative to sheep farming enjoyed only limited success, and as the rate of new farm formation contracted, semi-subsistence farming and food gathering revived and were combined with casual and seasonal employment, mostly, for men, in the primary sector and, for women, in domestic service. During the 1920s and 1930s, considerable numbers of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori men, women, and children were drawn in to the region's market garden industry in which they formed a mobile and wage-dependent rural proletariat.

The economic difficulties of the 1920s and 1930s, coinciding with the renewed growth of the Maori population and thus the expansion of the workforce, finally exposed the uncertain and unstable economic foundations on which the Inquiry District's Maori communities rested. The region's primary sector, the major driver of economic growth and employment, offered few prospects. Its growth had involved the establishment of mostly small family-owned and operated farms in which most of the post-formation labour was supplied internally, that is, from within the household, still a vital component of the farm economy before the 'decoupling' that began to emerge after about 1920. That decoupling reflected a long-term move from a labour-intensive to a capital-intensive mode of farming, apparent in the substitution of machinery for labour. The contraction of the region's few extractive industries in which some Maori had

found employment augmented the number rendered unemployed.⁷⁴⁹ That an appreciable proportion of those Porirua ki Manawatu Maori who registered as unemployed had not (apparently) previously been engaged in paid employment was a clear indication of the extent to which Maori had emerged as marginal to the commercial economy. At the heart of that marginalisation lay the large-scale transfer of land out of Maori ownership and the concentration of productive resources and regional wealth in settler hands. Porirua ki Manawatu was to the fore among those regions in which, for Maori, the social and economic consequences of large-scale land loss emerged with full force. Unemployment was one major manifestation. Another was the state of Maori living conditions and it is to those conditions that Chapter 5 turns.

⁷⁴⁹ The number of flax mills in the area from the Oroua River to Otaki, for example, declined from 85 during the period from 1898 to 1918 to just ten during the years from 1930 to 1940. See V. Wood, et al. 'Environmental and natural issues report,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017, p.217.

Chapter 5: The State, housing, and Maori to c1941

5.1 Introduction

The adequacy and quality of housing are useful and indeed sensitive indicators of the distribution of resources within a community, of the capacity to earn, accumulate and invest, of access to lending agencies, and of the operation of State housing policies. Further, Belshaw noted, with respect to Maori, that improved housing was ‘an essential part of the process of raising the standard of living, strengthening economic incentives and improving physical and mental efficiency.’⁷⁵⁰ Since about 1900 New Zealand has experienced a number of housing ‘crises:’ the debate to which they gave rise centred on a range of issues that included affordability, financing, adequacy, and standards, and on the respective roles and responsibilities of private citizens, private enterprise and the State. Chapter 5 will describe those crises and the State’s responses to them. In particular, it will compare the separate policies that were developed in respect of Maori and Pakeha, and the legislation that was enacted to deal with what were perceived to be two separate series of issues demanding separate responses. Several major themes will be examined, including the recognition and assessment of the housing difficulties confronting Maori, the ideologies that shaped and informed the Crown’s responses, the outcomes of the policies adopted, and, especially on whether Maori were treated in a manner that, when compared with that offer non-Maori, could be described as fair and equitable.

5.2 The housing of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori

Traditionally, Maori living arrangements were communal and they appeared to have remained the preferred option into the 1870s and 1880s. Nevertheless, some Maori had built substantial Pakeha-style homes, among them, Hoani Taipua in Otaki about 1877, and Hema Te Ao, also in Otaki.⁷⁵¹ In 1901, the census enumerator for the Whanganui, Rangitikei, Oroua, Kiwitea, Pohangina, Manawatu, and Horowhenua districts reported that ‘The old mode of living in whares herded together is becoming a thing of the past,

⁷⁵⁰ Horace Belshaw, ‘Economic circumstances,’ in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, pp.218-219.

⁷⁵¹ Lange, ‘The social impact of colonisation and land loss,’ p.91.

each head of a family having his own comfortable weatherboard house or wharepuni ...⁷⁵² In 1906, the census enumerator noted ‘the new substantial European-built houses,’ while the sub-enumerator for the Oroua district reported that most Maori lived in ‘warries [*sic*] or small wooden houses very often the living room and sleeping room is [*sic*] all one and then they sleep on the flore [*sic*] but not on the ground ...’⁷⁵³ In 1911, the census enumerator recorded that ‘The Maoris generally have adopted the European methods of living in houses of their own in preference to the old communistic habit of living all-together in big meeting-houses;’ while in 1916 it was recorded that Maori were living ‘in well-built houses and in European fashion.’⁷⁵⁴ Of interest, too, are the 1912 comments of the Native health nurse attached to the Hawera Hospital. ‘The pahs [*sic*],’ she reported, ‘are becoming slowly disinherited. Instead of crowded pahs, as formerly existed, we find them today thinly peopled. The Maoris themselves assert that within a few years, the pahs will be quite disinherited.’⁷⁵⁵ Such anecdotal evidence suggests that changes in Maori housing arrangements began to emerge during the 1880s and that they may have been associated with the sale of land, and the capital thus generated.

By 1930, Maori housing conditions in Porirua ki Manawatu had begun to attract growing attention and comment from a range of quarters. Some of that attention emanated from local authorities. In June 1931, for example, the Levin Borough Council considered three Maori homes. It noted that the owners of one had been directed, in 1929, to render the dwelling ‘habitable,’ but that ‘For lack of money’ had not acted. The Council decided to secure demolition orders and to sell the materials recovered ‘to cover expenses.’⁷⁵⁶ Demolition proceeded.⁷⁵⁷ The re-housing of those affected was not recorded. In 1932, for example, the Otaki Borough Council noted the ‘unsatisfactory sanitary condition’ of some Maori dwellings in the borough and the difficulty it experienced in encouraging householders to effect improvements.⁷⁵⁸ In July 1935,

⁷⁵² AJHR 1901, H26B, p.16.

⁷⁵³ Sub-enumerator, Oroua to Enumerator, Wellington 12 April 1906 in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16056 MA23/13/18.

⁷⁵⁴ AJHR 1906, H26A, pp.18 and 20; 1911, H14A, p.17; and 1917, H39A, p.3.

⁷⁵⁵ Untitled, *Horowhenua Chronicle* 30 October 1912, p.2.

⁷⁵⁶ ‘Dilapidated houses,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 2 June 1931, p.5.

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Municipal business,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 22 July 1931, p.6 and ‘Levin Borough Council,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 22 March 1932, p.6.

⁷⁵⁸ Director-General, Health to MOH Wellington 18 May 1932, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1939 121/25.

Acting Minister of Maori Affairs Robert Masters, together with Ngata, Judge Harvey, Under Secretary O.N. Campbell, Taite Te Tomo, and Kingi Taahiwi visited Otaki. Masters undertook to try to devise a 'plan for the benefit of the people of Otaki,' but whatever efforts he made ended with his Government's defeat in 1935 general elections.⁷⁵⁹

In 1936, the Levin branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union conveyed to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Health its concern over Maori housing conditions in Levin: the Director-General of Health agreed that urgent action was required but suggested that the difficulties in Levin were no greater than elsewhere.⁷⁶⁰ Another Levin resident, writing to Prime Minister Savage, insisted that the previous government, with respect to Maori health, had been 'criminally neglectful.'⁷⁶¹ In 1937 Minister of Health Peter Fraser was 'shocked' to learn of Maori housing conditions in, among other places, Otaki.⁷⁶²

The action promised in the wake of the Government delegation's visit to Otaki in 1935 appears to have been the investigation undertaken by the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board in to the market gardening potential of the Otaki borough sections vested in it under section 32 of the Native Land and Native Land Claims Amendment Act 1928: that investigation was closely related to proposals for the improvement of Tainui Pa (Ngati Kapu). In 1937, five families (27 persons) were found to occupy 'shacks' on the pa reserve (Pukekaraka 4B): the block had 32 original owners most of whom were deceased and in respect of whom succession orders had not been completed): four of the household heads were on relief work. In the vicinity of the pa lived another seven families (five of which comprised 44 persons) and again most of the dwellings were described as being beyond repair: two household heads were receiving old age pensions, one was applying for the widow's pension; three were in receipt of relief and one of sustenance: the standard of living accordingly was low. The cost of repairs to three dwellings and the construction of nine new dwellings was estimated at £4,410.

⁷⁵⁹ 'Notes of inspection at Otaki 18 June 1935,' in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

⁷⁶⁰ In ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

⁷⁶¹ G. McGregor, Levin to Prime Minister 14 April 1936, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

⁷⁶² Notes of meeting between Hospital Boards' Association and Minister, Health 5 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1339 160.

Despite the hope of the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board that the Board of Native Affairs would select the settlement as one of those on which it would focus its housing efforts, the latter was not prepared to approve that expenditure. A note on the paper considered by the Board referred to ‘Futility of permanently establishing people in an area where there is no work.’⁷⁶³ An alternative suggestion, that the Crown purchase part of the land involved and subdivide it into building sites, and that a number of Maori living ‘in houses not fit for habitation’ in Otaki be encouraged to re-locate to Tainui, appears not to have been considered.⁷⁶⁴ A survey of ten such houses in the borough had revealed that some were in a ‘wretched,’ ‘tumble down,’ or ‘hopeless’ state, and that others should be condemned and burnt (although one was described as ‘hardly worth the value of a match for ignition’). A number of the dwellings were sited on sections that had been vested in the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board.⁷⁶⁵ Should families residing in the borough be re-housed, then demolition of the vacated dwellings should follow, it was suggested, in order to prevent their re-occupation by Maori families moving in to the town.⁷⁶⁶ A year later, the Ikaroa Board’s Registrar reported that the core problem was that of finding building sections, noting that ‘the majority of Maoris in the district have little or no interests in land,’ and that ‘the great majority ... have no income other than relief wages ...’ The obvious solution, in his view, was for the Crown to purchase land and to erect ‘the indigent type of house’ for rent.⁷⁶⁷ Neither the Otaki Borough Council nor the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board was particularly supportive of such a proposal, the former preferring any housing scheme to be located outside the borough.⁷⁶⁸ Under pressure from the Minister of Native Affairs and from the local Member of Parliament, the Under Secretary sought to impress upon the Board the need

⁷⁶³ Board of Native Affairs, ‘Indigent housing – Tainui Pa, Otaki,’ in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁷⁶⁴ J.H. Flowers, Ikaroa District Maori Land Court to Registrar, Wellington 31 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁷⁶⁵ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁷⁶⁶ R.G. Anderson, Otaki to Registrar, Wellington 5 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁷⁶⁷ Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 18 November 1938, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42. It is of interest to note that Belshaw described the term ‘indigent’ as ‘an offensive and not always accurate official term.’ See Belshaw, ‘Economic circumstances,’ p.218.

⁷⁶⁸ ‘Housing scheme for Natives,’ *Otaki Mail* 18 November 1938, copy in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

for action.⁷⁶⁹ Little followed, apart, that is, from the clearance of some gorse in Tainui Pa.⁷⁷⁰

Housing conditions in other settlements were found to be seriously defective. The houses located at Kai Iwi were described as ‘dilapidated’ and lacking sanitary facilities.⁷⁷¹ At Motuiti, in 1938, a family of eight was found to be living in a small one-roomed ‘dwelling:’ one child had been hospitalized with tuberculosis. At a conference that followed soon afterwards, medical officers of health complained that the Department of Native Affairs seldom advised them about such cases: the Department insisted that it was not always possible to remedy unsatisfactory situations reported by the Department of Health since the policy was that monies advanced for housing purposes had to be recoverable and recovered, while the Special Housing Fund could meet the needs of very few. In 1939, the Under Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs conceded that the £100,000 in the Special Housing Fund was ‘totally inadequate.’ It was being expended ‘more by way of experiment than otherwise’ and that the Government had still to formulate a ‘general policy by which the whole of the Maoris could be housed.’ With respect to loans, ‘the idea was to assist Maoris who were willing to assist themselves.’ Only those with an income could be assisted and all advances were recoverable.⁷⁷² In 1944, the Oroua Downs School teacher described, for the Prime Minister, conditions at Motuiti where, he reported, some 150 Maori resided on ‘rather poor native land,’ lacked strong leadership, and suffered from ‘really disgraceful’ housing conditions.⁷⁷³ The teacher, A.E. Mills, was asked to gather information about people’s incomes.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁶⁹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to President, Ikaroa Maori land Board 30 November 1938, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

⁷⁷⁰ ‘Maori rehabilitation,’ *Otahi Mail* 9 August 1940, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

⁷⁷¹ District Nurse Scott to MOH, Palmerston North 12 September 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1144 35/4/9.

⁷⁷² Minutes of conference on Maori hygiene 7-8 June 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1155 194/8/1; and Notes of conference in office of Minister of Labour 12 July 1939, in ANZ Wellington AEFM 19224 HD1W1353/22 3/211 Part 1.

⁷⁷³ A.E. Mills, Oroua Downs to Prime Minister 26 July 1944, and Minister, Native Affairs to A.E. Mills 23 August 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

⁷⁷⁴ Minutes of conference on Maori hygiene 7-8 June 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1155 194/8/1; and Notes of conference in office of Minister of Labour 12 July 1939, in ANZ Wellington AEFM 19224 HD1W1353/22 3/211 Part 1.

The growing debate over Maori housing conditions was driven in part by disclosures over the conditions in which those Maori who had begun to move in to the country's main urban centres during the early 1930s endured, and by disclosures over the living conditions evidently prevalent on market gardens, including those in Porirua ki Manawatu. Thus, in July 1938, the *Franklin Times* described the 'deplorable conditions' Maori endured in Pukekohe, decried the high death rate among Maori infants, lambasted 'the authorities' – though aware of the conditions – for failing to take action, and noting the calls, notably those by Te Akarana Maori Association, that Maori should be directed to return to their pa.⁷⁷⁵ That 'remedy' was taken up during the Young Maori Party's conference in May 1939. Describing the conditions under which the rapidly growing numbers of young Maori moving in to Auckland were obliged to accept, James Rukutai suggested that 'There could only be one remedy – repatriation. The difficulty was that many of the people were landless.' In response to a question from Ngata, he suggested that Maori were now 'too firmly rooted in the city.'⁷⁷⁶

In 1946, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole offered a description of Maori housing in Otaki: it was based upon the results of the 1936 census and on their own 1942 survey of 62 households living in 56 houses in the borough.⁷⁷⁷ According to the census, 43.1 per cent of Maori houses had four rooms, and that compared with the survey result of 43 per cent; the corresponding figures for five and six room houses were 17.7 and 12.6 and 19.6 and 18.0 per cent respectively. In short, the census and survey results were very close. It will be recalled that the census results did not include 'temporary dwellings.' The authors noted that the number of rooms conveys little about their size: they described a 'typical four-room house' as containing one room that functioned as a kitchen-dining-sitting room and three rooms that were used as bedrooms. The average number of persons per bedroom was between two and three. According to the Manchester test, a house was overcrowded if there were more than 2.5 persons per bedroom. The authors offered an interesting comparison with Doig's survey of New Zealand dairy farmers: he found overcrowding in 2.5 per cent of 440 homes surveyed,

⁷⁷⁵ 'Deplorable conditions,' *Franklin Times* 15 July 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1. Te Akarana Maori Association was founded by G.S. Graham. See Edward Rahiri Graham and Jennifer Curnow, 'Graham, George Samuel,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara, the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

⁷⁷⁶ 'Lure of cities,' *Auckland Star* 25 May 1939, p.13.

⁷⁷⁷ Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some modern Maoris*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1946, Chapter III.

whereas the comparable figure for Otaki Maori was 87 per cent.⁷⁷⁸ Finally, they noted, first, that many houses exhibited poor standards of construction and repair with only seven per cent of dwellings in a sound condition, 15 percent were ‘defective,’ and some two-thirds were beyond repair, and that many lacked basic amenities. Most of those surveyed desired rehousing, but confronted problems of cost, a shortage of building sites (a reflection of the ‘chaotic’ state of titles and absentee owners), and an inability to service mortgage costs (reflecting the absence of rental income and the lack of permanent employment).

In short, the investigations conducted by the Ikaroa Maori Land Board and by the Beagleholes drew a dismal picture of Maori housing conditions in Otaki and its environs, a picture far removed from the more optimistic note struck by census enumerators and sub-enumerators some four decades earlier. The following section, utilising such census data as are available, offers a brief account of the growth of and changing character of the Porirua ki Manawatu Maori population, and describes the state of Maori housing generally in Porirua ki Manawatu, including some comparisons with Pakeha dwellings.⁷⁷⁹

5.3 Porirua ki Manawatu: Maori population, Maori housing stock

The data required for such exercises are neither wholly reliable nor sufficiently comprehensive, but they offer, nevertheless, some useful insights in to the origins of the serious housing difficulties that many Maori in the Inquiry District confronted.⁷⁸⁰ The following sections draw upon data drawn largely from the censuses of 1926, 1936, 1945, and 1951.

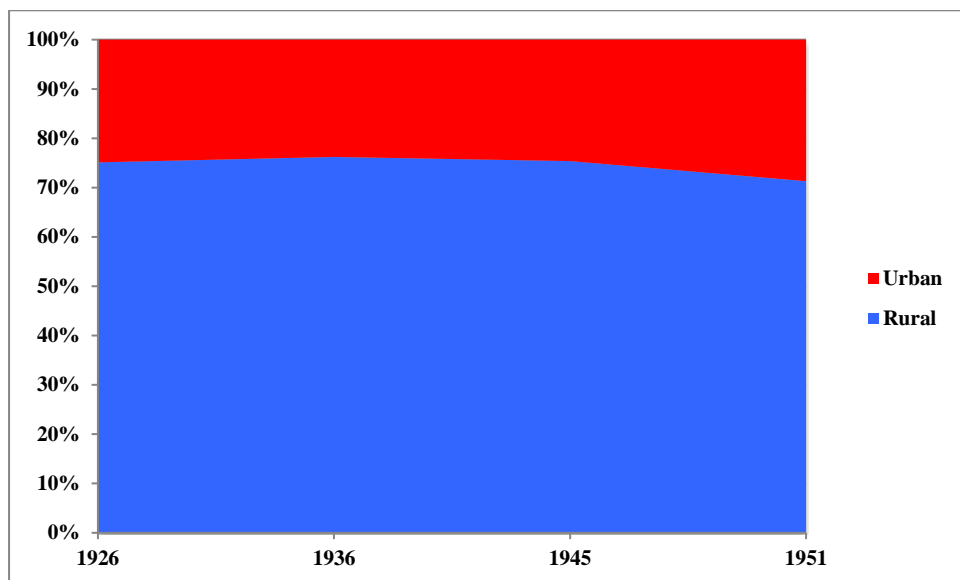
From 2,021 people in 1926, the Maori population of Porirua ki Manawatu increased to 3,213 by 1951. That increase notwithstanding, the rural-urban distribution remained stable until 1951 when the proportion residing in the urban centres rose modestly to

⁷⁷⁸ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.68; and W.T. Doig, *A survey of standards of life of New Zealand dairy-farmers*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1940, pp.38-41.

⁷⁷⁹ Porirua ki Manawatu is defined as the counties of KIWITEA, Pohangina, Oroua, Kairanga, Manawatu, and Horowhenua and their internal boroughs.

⁷⁸⁰ The Beagleholes, for example, suggested that the 1936 census did not provide accurate details regarding the tenure of Maori dwellings in Otaki. See Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, Chapter III.

28.7 per cent from 24.9 per cent in 1926. Almost 65 per cent of the increase in the Porirua ki Manawatu Maori population over the period from 1926 to 1951 was in the rural districts. A key question is thus whether the rural housing stock in particular expanded commensurately.



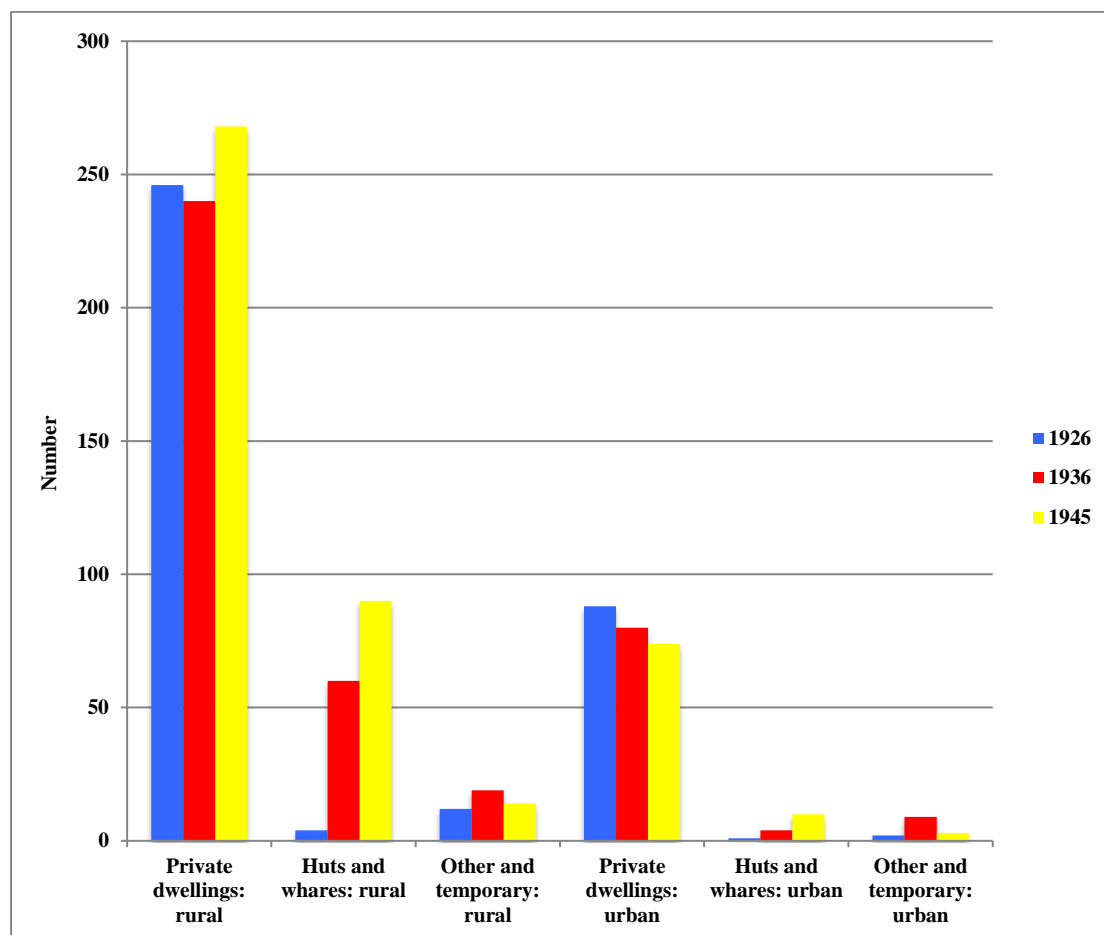
Source: Censuses of New Zealand

Graph 5.1: The rural-urban distribution of the Porirua ki Manawatu Maori population, 1926 to 1951

5.3.1 Number and nature of dwellings

Graph 5.2 sets out the number and nature of Maori and non-Maori dwellings in Porirua ki Manawatu recorded by each of the four censuses conducted between 1926 and 1951. It is not entirely clear what ‘private dwellings’ signified, but the graph indicates that the number of private dwellings actually declined between 1926 and 1936 before staging a modest recovery. On the other hand, the number of huts and whares in rural districts increased sharply between 1926 and 1936 and continued to increase between 1936 and 1945. The growth of the population thus appears not to have been matched by an expansion in the number of permanent private dwellings but to have generated an increase in the number of huts and whares and other temporary dwellings. The increase in the number of temporary dwellings marked and reflected the emergence of a serious housing shortage and an inability of many Maori to finance new home

construction. The other response to a housing shortage was the sharing of homes: its consequence was overcrowding.



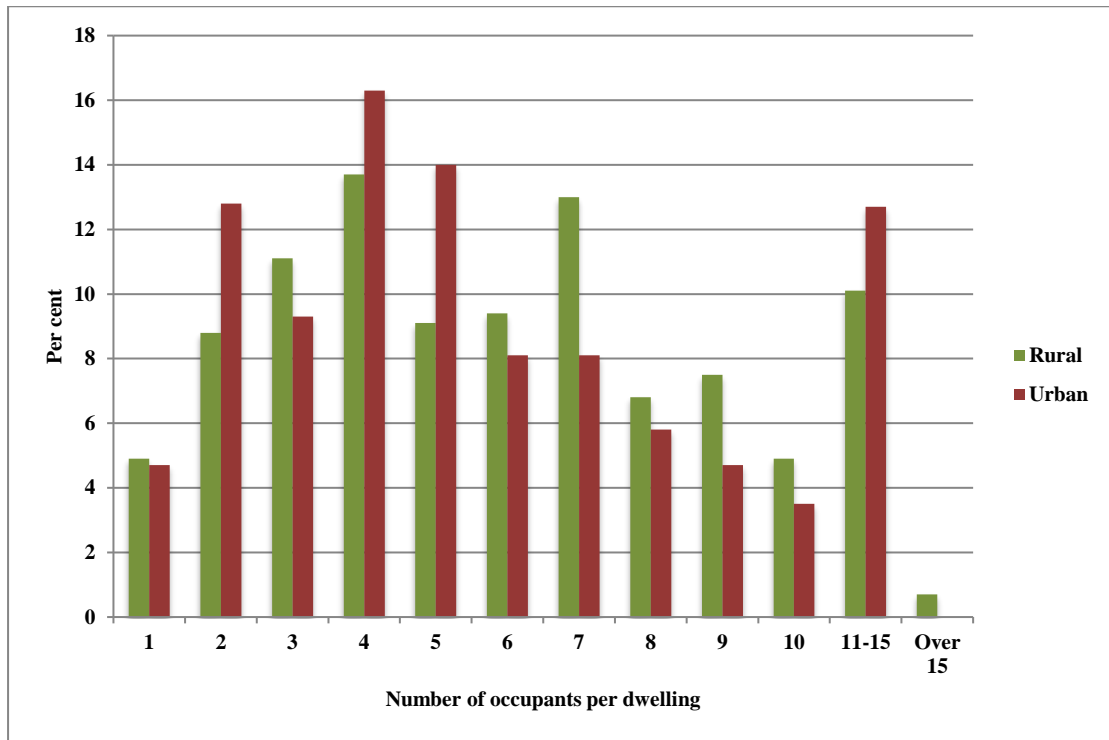
Note: The graph excludes a small number of dwellings listed as 'Not specified'

Source: Censuses of New Zealand

Graph 5.2: The Porirua ki Manawatu Maori housing stock, 1926 to 1945

5.3.2 Occupants per dwelling

Graph 5.3 sets out the number of occupants per dwelling as recorded by the 1936 census. 'Temporary dwellings' were specifically excluded, so that the census return appears to include private dwellings, huts and whares, and other dwellings (the numbers of which were small). Graph 5.3 indicates that a larger proportion of rural dwellings housed larger numbers of residents, that is, six and over.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1936*

Graph 5.3: Occupants per Maori dwelling, rural and urban, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1936

5.3.3 Persons per room

The large number of dwellings with over four occupants suggests considerable crowding. Crowding can be measured in a variety of ways, as the number of people per dwelling, the number of people per room, the number of people per bedroom, floor-space per person, and airspace per person. A widely adopted measure (although not without its limitations) is the number of persons per room.⁷⁸¹ For the purposes of Table 5.2, one person per room is regarded as ‘crowded,’ two per room as ‘overcrowded,’ and three per room as ‘grossly overcrowded.’ It is important to note that the data refer only to inhabited private dwellings: huts, whare, tents, and camps are not included. Table 5.2 indicates that nationally, overcrowding and gross overcrowding of Maori dwellings declined over the period from 1936 to 1951 although levels of both remained significantly higher than for non-Maori dwellings. Comparable regional or district data

⁷⁸¹ For a discussion, see Alison Gray, *Definitions of crowding and the effects of crowding on health: a literature review*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Policy, 2001.

are not available, but the evidence presented below makes it clear that over-crowding in Maori dwellings was similarly marked in Porirua ki Manawatu.

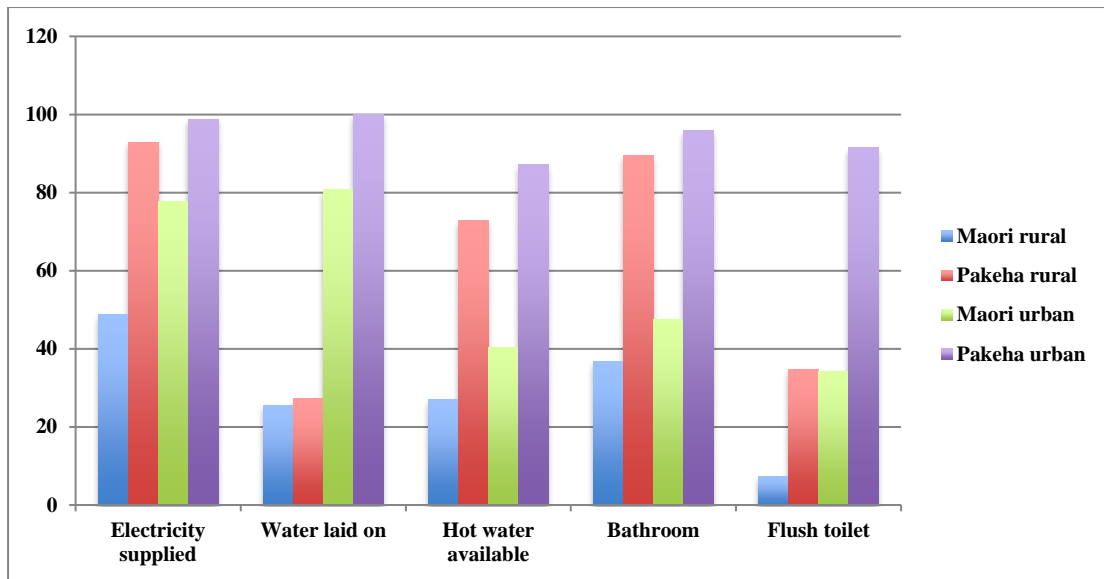
Table 5.2: Persons per room, Maori and non-Maori private dwellings, New Zealand 1936, 1945, and 1951

	1936	1945	1951
<i>Maori</i>			
Proportion with one or more	83.3	80.2	79.4
Proportion with two or more	48.4	51.6	34.3
Proportion with three or more	28.3	17.5	14.2
<i>non-Maori</i>			
One or more	28.0	34.7	31.1
Two or more	1.5	1.8	1.6
Three or more	0.2	0.2	0.2

Sources: Censuses of New Zealand

5.3.4 Amenities in private dwellings

The 1945 census included some details relating to amenities. Graph 5.4 sets out the details for 1945. It is important to note that Maori dwellings excluded temporary dwellings. Maori dwellings in the Inquiry District's urban areas appear to have been of a better standard than their rural counterparts, notably with respect to water laid on, flush toilets, and electricity supplied. But even in the urban areas, fewer than half of Maori homes had hot water, bathrooms, and flush toilets. By comparison, Pakeha urban dwellings were better serviced and equipped than their Maori counterparts, while a significantly higher proportion of the former was supplied with electricity, had hot water, and possessed a bathroom.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1945*

Graph 5.4: Maori and Pakeha dwellings, rural (counties) and urban (boroughs), Porirua ki Manawatu, possessing selected amenities (per cent) 1945

The data thus suggest that the increase in the Maori housing stock was outpaced by the growth of the Maori population and that the expanding need for accommodation was met not through the construction of new private dwellings but the erection of huts, whares, and other temporary dwellings. The growing number and size of Maori families and their position in the family life cycle placed growing pressure on that stock. A common strategy for dealing with shortage of finance, shortage of housing, shortage of building sites, and lack of access to housing finance was for extended families to share dwellings and costs. In short, the evidence suggests that through the 1920s and 1930s Maori families, unable to marshal or secure access to the financial resources required to construct new homes, resorted to huts, tents, and whare, or occupied and re-occupied defective or dilapidated and inadequately serviced dwellings. But a lack of sufficient and adequate housing was not a problem that affected Maori alone: at its heart lay a major question, namely whether the supply of sufficient and adequate housing should be left to the 'market' or whether the State had a key role to play. In fact, for Maori, there was another question that emerged, namely, whether that State had any responsibility at all for the housing of Maori.

5.4 The State and housing in New Zealand

Until about 1935, the provision of social services was, with the partial exception of health, education, and military pensions, largely left to private and voluntary organisations. Apart from setting aside hostel reserves in Auckland and in other urban centres, and indeed, constructing some hostels, the Crown certainly eschewed any involvement in Maori housing issues: its assumption was that Maori would elect not to live in the colony's developing urban centres.⁷⁸² But housing generally was viewed as the domain of private enterprise and the Crown limited its involvement accordingly. Part V of the Land Act 1885 did provide for a village settlement scheme. Those taking up sections could apply for grants of up to £20 towards building costs: by 1887, grants totalling £1,317 had been made.⁷⁸³ Further, section 13 of the Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act 1896 offered 'special provisions' with respect to workmen's homes. Skilled and semi-skilled workers generally preferred higher real wages, especially as living and building costs rose appreciably from about 1895, to direct State involvement in the housing market.⁷⁸⁴

There was one aspect of housing that did attract considerable interest on the part of the Crown, namely, the appearance of slums in the main urban centres, a development decried as the reappearance of a problem that many of New Zealand's British immigrants had sought to leave behind. Slums and the risks to public health that they were supposed to represent were dealt with in the Public Health Act 1876, and the Municipal Corporations Acts of 1886 and 1900. The last Act (sections 351 and 352) empowered councils to acquire and improve portions of boroughs deemed to be 'in an overcrowded, degraded, or insanitary condition,' a provision that combined the concerns over public health and moral turpitude. They also suggested an emergent belief that private enterprise was neither able nor disposed to meet a community's full housing needs.

⁷⁸² Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994, p.19.

⁷⁸³ AJHR 1887, C2, p.1.

⁷⁸⁴ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.45-46. See also AJHR Session II, 1912, H18.

5.4.1 Clearing slums

The bubonic scare of 1900 led directly to the Bubonic Plague Prevention Act 1900, section 4(3) of which empowered the Government to order the ‘destruction of buildings and things.’ Heightened public concern over the implications of slum dwellings for the wider community’s physical and moral health was reflected in detailed accounts of conditions in the slums of Auckland and Dunedin.⁷⁸⁵ The Municipal Corporations Act 1900 thus empowered *municipal* authorities to clear areas of slum housing (section 351) and to erect houses for workers, defined as ‘any person, male or female, who is employed in work of any kind or in manual labour’ (section 382(1)) and who was ‘employed or resident in the borough,’ (section 382(2)). Those dependent on pensions or intermittent and casual employment were excluded.

Municipal authorities proved reluctant to employ the powers so granted. It was the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919 that re-focused public attention on slum or poor housing conditions, although there remained a strong inclination to attribute responsibility to the inhabitants rather than to low incomes, high rents, exploitative landlords, and racial discrimination.⁷⁸⁶ The Minister of Public Health (G.W. Russell), on the other hand, blamed local authorities, informing Auckland’s mayor, that ‘Civic mismanagement, incompetence, and neglect are responsible for the deaths of hundreds in your city ... Clean up the filthy slums,’ was his admonition.⁷⁸⁷ In fact, a consensus was emerging to the effect that ‘The Government and the municipalities together must shoulder the responsibility.’⁷⁸⁸ The Housing Act 1919 thus set out, first, to encourage local authorities (both borough and county councils) to borrow from the State low-interest loans for slum-clearance and for the construction of dwellings. Some local

⁷⁸⁵ See, for example, ‘Dunedin’s seamy side,’ *Otago Daily Times* 3 May 1900, p.7; ‘The slums of the city,’ 5 June 1900, p.5; and ‘A tour through Dunedin’s slums,’ 8 June 1903, p.3 and 13 June 1903, p.3; and ‘The slums of Auckland,’ *New Zealand Herald* 7 August 1903, p.5; 11 August 1903, p.6; 14 August 1903, p.6; 11 September 1903, p.4; and 22 December 1903, p.8; and ‘The homes of our workers,’ *New Zealand Herald* 26 September 1903, Supplement p.1; 3 October 1903, Supplement p.1; 10 October 1903, Supplement p.1; 17 October 1903, Supplement p.1; 24 October 1903, Supplement p.1; and 31 October 1903, Supplement p.1. See also ‘The housing problem,’ *New Zealand Herald* 7 November 1903, Supplement p.1; 14 November 1903, Supplement p.1; and 28 November 1903, Supplement p.1; ‘Houses for the labouring classes,’ 26 September 1903, p.4; and ‘The housing question in Auckland,’ 18 February 1904, Supplement p.1.

⁷⁸⁶ See, for example, ‘Good out of evil. The harvest of error,’ *New Zealand Herald* 16 November 1918, supplement; and ‘In city slums,’ *New Zealand Herald* 23 November 1918, p.6.

⁷⁸⁷ ‘Minister and mayor,’ *New Zealand Herald* 30 November 1918, p.6.

⁷⁸⁸ ‘Wholesome housing,’ *New Zealand Herald* 26 November 1918, p.4.

authorities did take advantage of the offer, but rents often proved beyond the reach of those on the lowest incomes.

5.4.2 Demolishing Maori dwellings

The scare involving the bubonic plague was also reflected in growing concern over sanitary conditions in kainga and specifically their potential as sources of bacterial (typhoid and tuberculosis) and viral (influenza) diseases and led to the establishment in 1900 of territorial Maori councils. Intended also to defuse Maori campaigns for greater self-government, the councils and local committees (komiti marae) were charged with promoting the health, welfare and ‘moral well-being’ of their communities, and indeed were empowered to prepare and enforce by-laws governing housing standards and sanitation. Further, under section 65 of the Public Health Act 1900, any ‘Native settlement’ could be declared a special district for sanitation purposes, while section 18 of the Maori Councils Act 1900 provided that Maori councils could act as Maori health councils. Section 19 of the Act 1900 empowered the Native Minister to offer up to 1:1 subsidies for all monies raised by a council ‘for the purpose of doing sanitary works and generally improving the sanitary condition.’

Two Maori councils were established to cover the area that constitutes the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, namely, the Kurahaupo Maori Council, which embraced the area from just south of the Rangitikei River to Whanganui, and the Raukawa Maori Council whose area extended from just south of the Rangitikei River to the bottom of the North Island. The establishment and operation of these bodies is well covered by Lange and Woodley.⁷⁸⁹ Briefly, if Te Rangi Hiroa, the Native Health Officer in charge of a number of council districts, including Kurahaupo and Raukawa, is to be believed, then it appears that the councils took some time to grasp the full extent of the powers conferred upon them by the Act and the most effective manner of exercising those powers.⁷⁹⁰ While that may have been so, the real difficulties confronting the councils were inadequate funding, lack of administrative support, resistance from local

⁷⁸⁹ Raeburn Lange, ‘The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2000; and Suzanne Woodley, ‘Local government issues report,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017.

⁷⁹⁰ AJHR 1906, H31, pp.73-75.

authorities, and lack of government commitment and drive. Although the councils were supposed to have been funded from Government grants and subsidies, and from local rates, fines, and taxes, such grants as were made were generally small and indeed insufficient to cover even administrative costs.⁷⁹¹ No grants were made after 1909, while the councils experienced further difficulties in collecting local taxes (notably on dogs). In 1911, Ngata proposed that a royal commission should investigate the difficulties confronting the council, but to no avail.⁷⁹² Rather, responsibility for Maori health passed to the re-established Department of Native Affairs. According to Lange, after 1912 few if any public references were made either to the Maori Councils or to matters of Maori health.⁷⁹³

In the absence, then, of substantial State assistance, initial support for the councils waned such that by 1915 all 24 had lapsed practically in to a state of torpor. The Raukawa (or Otaki) Maori Council was established in 1901. It appears not to have had the services of a sanitary inspector after 1903, seriously limiting its ability to discharge its duties. Further, it failed to secure the support and cooperation of all Maori in its district and, indeed, of the established local authorities. The Kurahaupo Maori Council fared little better, although it continued to operate until about 1917. The role that borough and county councils played with respect to sanitation issues in kainga is not entirely clear. Certainly, Department of Health inspectors reported to local authorities: they covered a wide range of matters, from diseases, drains and sewerage systems, the state of houses and retail premises, to farm dairies. None of their published reports contained any reference to Maori settlements and sanitary arrangements.

In the period from 1902 to 1909, nationally, 1,236 whare were demolished, 2,103 new houses and 301 new whare were constructed, and 1,003 new toilets installed.⁷⁹⁴ The new houses appear to have lacked basic amenities while, unlined, they were also frequently unused.⁷⁹⁵ Maori were required to meet the costs involved. In 1905, Pomare identified two major difficulties, namely, 'the non-subdivision of holdings, as the

⁷⁹¹ Lange, *May the people live*, pp.145, 194-195.

⁷⁹² Lange, *May the people live*, p.183.

⁷⁹³ Lange, *May the people live*, pp.145, 194-195, and 208.

⁷⁹⁴ Raeburn Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation,' p.111. For the statistical details, see AJHR 1908, H31, p.118 and 1909, H31, p.60.

⁷⁹⁵ See P.H. Buck, *The coming of the Maori*. Second edition, Wellington: Maori Purposes Fund Board and Whitcombe & Tombs, 1950, p.135.

Natives rightly refrain from building on sections which have not been individualised,' and that of cost. With respect to the latter, he recorded that 'In many instances the Maoris have been too poor to build European houses, and I instructed our Sanitary Inspectors to see that better raupo or wiwi whares were built instead of their old ones, waiting the time when they could put up better cottages.'⁷⁹⁶ In fact, some observers expressed regret that 'old-style whares' were being demolished and replaced, certainly in the resort centres of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, by what were described as 'the most unsightly of pakeha-built houses.'⁷⁹⁷ The availability of pit-sawn timber and the growing ubiquity of corrugated iron facilitated the construction of such dwellings.⁷⁹⁸ Ferguson thus concluded that neither the Maori Councils nor Pomare as Native Health Inspector were able to make any real changes and that 'The problems within Maori villages continued to fester for the next four decades.'⁷⁹⁹

5.5 New State initiatives

By the outbreak of World War I, New Zealand Governments actively engaged in many areas of social need, notably pensions, health, mental health, and education. Oliver noted, on the other hand, that housing was 'in no sense a major public concern.' He went on to describe the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905 and the Government Advances to Workers Act 1906 as constituting 'a very meagre and ineffectual response to the high urban rents and housing scarcity of the early 1900s.'⁸⁰⁰ The passage of the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905, however ineffectual it might have been, nevertheless marked a departure in the nature of State intervention in what had long been regarded the preserve of private interests.⁸⁰¹ It also initiated a debate that continues down to the present day over, essentially, whether the State should provide housing or enable individuals to build or purchase their own homes.

⁷⁹⁶ AJHR 1905, H31, p.56.

⁷⁹⁷ 'Maori villages,' *New Zealand Times* 30 August 1904, p.3.

⁷⁹⁸ Michael King, *Maori: a photographic and social history*. Auckland: Heineman, 1983, p.93.

⁷⁹⁹ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.55.

⁸⁰⁰ W.H. Oliver, 'The origins and growth of the welfare state,' in A.D. Trlin, editor, *Social welfare and New Zealand society*. Wellington: Methuen, 1977, p.5.

⁸⁰¹ This section draws upon R.P. Hargreaves, T.J. Hearn, and S. Little, 'The state and housing in New Zealand to 1919,' *New Zealand geographer* 41, 2, 1985, pp.46-55.

5.5.1 From clearance to construction

By about 1900 evidence was beginning to emerge of an incipient shortage of housing, particularly in those urban centres of the North Island experiencing rapid population growth, notably Auckland and Wellington, growth that reflected the expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, the public service and the business of government, and accelerating movement of people from the rural districts to the urban centres and from the South Island to the North Island.⁸⁰² Although the period from 1891 to 1920 was one of rising prosperity, evidence indicates that it was unevenly distributed: real incomes of wage-earners lagged behind those of the self-employed and farmers, while unemployment ranged as high as ten per cent. Thus, evidence tendered to the 1912 Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Cost of Living suggested that the low-paid sections of the workforce had not enjoyed wage increases for some years despite rising living costs, especially rent.⁸⁰³ That was a matter of particular moment in Auckland and Wellington where large proportions of dwellings (53.6 and 64.7 per cent respectively) were rented. Also contributing to the rise in rents was the growing interest on the part of the building industry and propertied interests in responding to the demands of a growing middle class, clearly apparent in rapid suburban expansion in the main centres.⁸⁰⁴ Rising rents, in turn, discouraged landlords from efforts to clear or improve areas of poor housing.

The emergence of central-city slum housing, the threat of disease, rising rents, the supposed likelihood and dangers of moral degeneracy, and an incipient housing shortage were thus chief among the factors that led to growing calls for the State to correct the perceived imbalances of the private housing market. The Liberal Government adopted a 'homes for workmen' policy, as set out in section 13 of the Land for Settlements Act Amendment Act 1896, and early in 1897 sought to acquire land near the main urban centres. By section 6 of the Land for Settlements Acts Amendment Act 1899, the Government was empowered, 'for the purposes of providing workmen's homes,' to take land compulsorily 'within a borough having a population of not less

⁸⁰² For a discussion of the rural-urban movement, see Chapter VIII of the Report of the Royal Commission into the Cost of Living, AJHR Session II, 1912, H18, pp.lx-lxv.

⁸⁰³ AJHR 1912, Session II, H18, pp.48-49, 125-126, 183-284, and 329.

⁸⁰⁴ See, for example, AJHR 1912, Session II, H8, 1912, p.xx. See also editorial, *Otago Daily Times* 27 June 1900, p.4.

than fifteen thousand inhabitants ... or within a radius of fifteen miles from the boundary thereof ...' In the Auckland area, sections for workmen's homes were made available in Avondale and Henderson. But such land was expensive and the scheme was abandoned as attention turned to providing houses rather than settling workers on large suburban sections.⁸⁰⁵ It should also be noted that section 50 of the Land for Settlements Consolidation 1900 contained provisions as to allotments for workers' homes: section 50(3) in particular empowered the Government to make advances, up to £50, to successful applicants 'in aid of the cost of fencing and planting the allotments and building dwelling houses thereon.'

5.5.2 Houses for workers

Under the Municipal Corporations Act 1900 (Part XLI: Workers' Dwellings), councils could erect dwellings or convert existing buildings in to dwellings for occupation by workers, a worker being defined as 'every person, male or female, who is employed in work of any kind or in manual labour ...' Local authorities were empowered to construct houses, but failed to act, partly on account of the allocation of monies to drainage and sewage systems, street widening, and street lighting, and partly on account of a disinclination to compete with private developers and landlords. In response to that reluctance and increasingly concerned that avaricious landlords and rising rents could undermine some of its key reforms, notably in the area of wage reform and industrial relations, the Liberal Government decided on what Schraeder termed a 'radical' course in the form of the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905.⁸⁰⁶

That measure, which although 'radical' in the sense of heralding direct State intervention into the housing market, had three major objectives: first, to reduce rents and living costs, especially for low-income urban workers; second, to relieve overcrowding and 'the indiscriminate mixing of the sexes' with 'its? baneful effect ... upon the moral life of ... [the] country;' and, third, to restrain the demand for wage

⁸⁰⁵ AJHR 1910, B6, p.xiv. For a discussion of the 'suburban allotment' scheme, and particularly as a solution to urban housing problems, see D.A. Hamer, *The New Zealand liberals: the years of power, 1891-1912*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, pp.179-180.

⁸⁰⁶ Ben Schraeder, *We call it home: a history of state housing in New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed, 2005, p.24.

increases which, it was feared, would undermine employers.⁸⁰⁷ Seddon thus hoped that 5,000 five-roomed homes, available to rent as 10s per week or to buy as 12s 6d per week, would be promptly constructed. The Workers' Dwellings Bill attracted considerable criticism for the absence of provisions dealing with rural housing: extension to the latter would, it was argued, 'prevent the congestion of the population in the towns' and assist farmers to secure and retain labour. The Bill generated a protracted debate in the House, a debate to which, with one exception, the Maori members did not contribute and in which the one reference to Maori was purely incidental. The one exception was Hone Heke who entered a protest against the 'consideration' being extended to workers when the position of landless Maori was being ignored and when the landlessness was the result of 'legislation specially designed and carried out by Parliament.'⁸⁰⁸ His was a lone voice and easily ignored. Most of the criticism of the measure emanated from William Massey: in his view, workers should be empowered to borrow at low rates of interest for the purpose of house construction. That principle would undergird the approach of the conservative Reform, United, and United-Reform Governments to housing between 1912 and 1935.

The Workers' Dwellings Act 1905 empowered the Governor to set apart any Crown land and to 'cause to be erected buildings suitable for workers' dwellings' or to convert any buildings in to workers' dwellings: such dwellings would be offered for lease. The capital cost of such dwellings was not to exceed £300 (raised to £350 for a wooden and £400 for a brick, stone, or concrete dwelling in 1908, to £600 in 1910, and to £750 in 1914). Lessees were required to pay a rental that at five per cent per annum of the capital value was expected to cover all land and building costs and to meet rates and insurance costs. An applicant had to be a worker as defined by the Act and had to be landless, defined as not solely or jointly owning any land in fee-simple or being the tenant or occupier under a lease. A 'worker' was defined as a male or female 'who is employed in work of any kind or in manual labour, and who at the time of his

⁸⁰⁷ NZPD 1905, Vol. 135, p.80. Seddon, for example, claimed that construction of low-cost dwellings by the State would discourage workers from pursuing higher wages and thus give 'relief to the capitalist.' See NZPD 1905, Vol.135, p.84. With respect to the effect on the moral life of the community, J.A. Hanan (MHR Invercargill) claimed that 'upon the condition of the homes of the workers depends their health, moral and physical.' He insisted that action should be taken to prevent overcrowding in slum conditions as in 'so many large cities in the Homeland, where, as a consequence, crime, and drink, and vice, and all manner of loathsomeness have full and free sway.' See NZPD 1905, Vol.135, p.218.

⁸⁰⁸ The second reading debate can be found in NZPD 1905, Vol.135, pp.83-122 and 196-235, and the third reading debate on pp.758-771. Hone Heke's contribution can be found on p.763.

application is not in receipt of more than one hundred and fifty-six pounds per annum.’ Such workers – and certainly not the destitute, the criminal, and Maori - constituted part of the ‘deserving poor.’ That income limit was raised to £200 in 1906 but reduced to £175 in 1910. Under section 10, lessees could purchase the fee-simple of their dwellings, the relevant conditions being eased by the Workers’ Dwellings Act Amendment Act 1910 and section 9 of the Workers’ Dwellings Amendment Act 1914. The Reform Government (1912-1928), as noted, was far less interested in constructing homes for lease than it was in fostering private home ownership, certain that workers who took up homes ‘on the freehold principle’ made ‘better citizens and better members of the community.’⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁹ NZPD 1910, Vol.153, p.692.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF SOME OF THE HOMES ERECTED UNDER THE WORKERS' DWELLINGS ACT.



SYDENHAM, CHRISTCHURCH. RENT, £2 0s. 10d. MONTHLY, OR 9s. 5d. WEEKLY.



SYDENHAM, CHRISTCHURCH. RENT, £2 0s. 10d. MONTHLY, OR 9s. 5d. WEEKLY.

Source: AJHR 1907, H11B

Plate 5.1: Dwellings (Sydenham, Christchurch) erected under the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905

Initially few applied for the homes that were constructed, reflecting in part the high rents demanded. A total of just 126 houses was erected under the scheme and all were located in the four main centres: 35 in Auckland (Ellerslie and Otahuhu), 40 in Wellington (Petone and Coromandel Street), 31 in Christchurch (Sydenham), and 20 in Dunedin (Windle Settlement). By 1908 an additional 739 acres had been set apart under the Land for Settlements Act 1908 but still to be proclaimed under the Workers' Dwellings Act, 1905: that area was expected to support an additional 1,876 sections. Of that area, 35 acres (120 sections) constituted the proposed Loughnan Settlement in Palmerston North.⁸¹⁰ Construction under the Workers' Dwellings Act 1910 remained modest but was extended to secondary urban centres. By the end of March 1920, 688 houses had been purchased or erected – rather than the 5,000 that Seddon had envisaged – and still largely in the four main centres, although, in response to pressure exerted by farmers, a small number was erected in smaller towns. Among them were 17 in Palmerston North. The rate of construction slowed abruptly during World War I as the prices of building materials and tenders rose steeply.⁸¹¹ Although under both Acts, State provision of houses, that is, in terms of numbers, remained modest, both introduced a major policy change, the State acknowledging that it had a responsibility for the housing of particular sections of the community in demonstrable need. No evidence was located that would indicate that any Maori was able to secure a home under the Workers' Dwellings Acts of 1905 and 1914.

5.5.3 Assisting workers to construct and purchase dwellings

Following Seddon's death in June 1906, the Liberal Government under Joseph Ward lost some of the former premier's enthusiasm for State house construction and turned to encouraging individual initiative and home ownership: the role of the State was not to provide housing but to make it possible for individuals to acquire or build their own homes. Accordingly, it established a scheme offering low-interest state loans for land-owning workers who wished to erect their own homes. The Government Advances to Workers Act 1906 defined a worker as 'a person employed in manual or clerical work' whose annual income did not exceed £200 and who did not own any land other than

⁸¹⁰ AJHR 1908, H11B.

⁸¹¹ *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1920*.

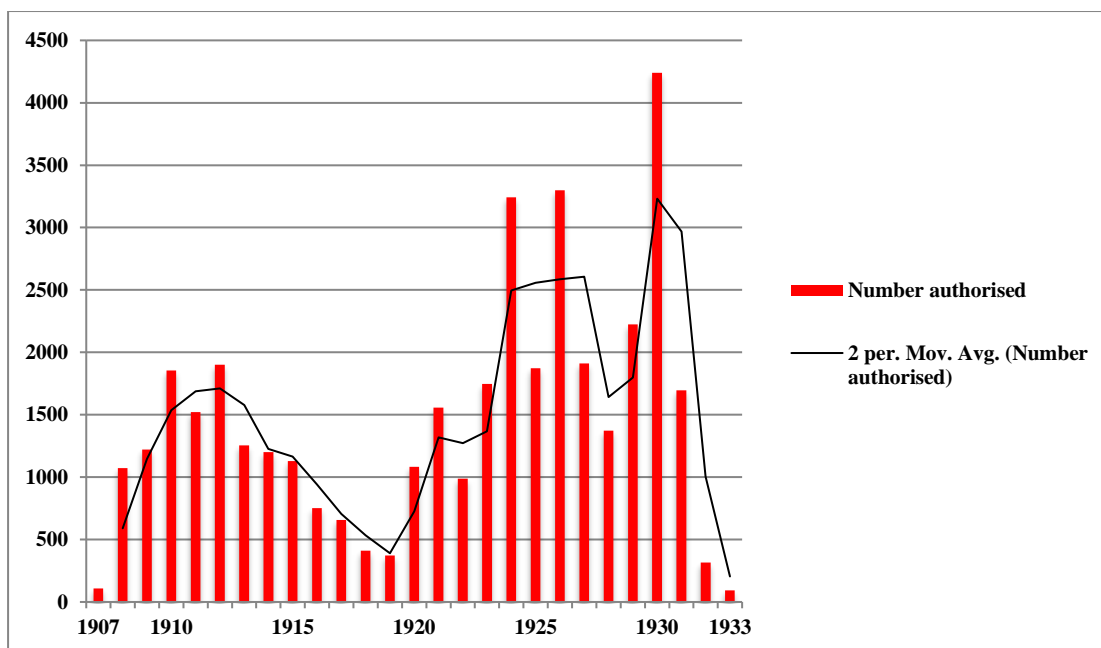
the section on which s/he proposed to build. Such persons could apply for a loan up to £350 for a term of 36.5 years at five per cent per annum, provided that no advance exceeded the value of the house to be erected or three quarters of the value of the freehold offered as security or three-quarters of the lessee's interest in a lease.

The Act secured wider political endorsement than the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905, although criticism was levelled at the exclusion of rural areas, section 3(1) limiting loans to those who desired to erect dwellings on urban or suburban land. Under *Part III: Advances to Workers* of the New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Act 1909, the operation of the Act was not limited to urban and suburban land, while under the State Advances Act 1913, the upper loan limited was increased to £450.⁸¹² Section 32 of that Act specified the various classes of land acceptable as security for advances: whilst they include Maori land that had been leased under several enactments, they did not include Maori freehold land. Effectively, the Act did not deal with the housing needs of the poor or of Maori. It is worthwhile noting that the Advances to Workers' Branch of the State Advances Office (established in 1913) supplied, free of charge, complete plans and specifications of various types of dwellings: even the smallest home, of three rooms, had a cold and hot water system and a bath, and was capable of extension.⁸¹³

An initial allocation of £200,000 was quickly increased, so that by 1910, £1,074,225 (including monies repaid and loaned again) had been advanced to workers. It was a modest sum compared with the £10,245,265 advanced to settlers. Graph 5.5 sets out the number of workers' advances made in each year (ending 31 March) from 1907 to 1933. The rapid growth in the number stimulated a boom in house construction and rapid suburban growth, especially in the four main urban centres, and property speculation. The sharp contraction in the number of advances made during World War I and the erratic course of lending during the 1920s are clearly apparent. The precipitous decline in the number of advances made during the early 1930s heralded a housing crisis that the Labour Government's State-financed construction programme inaugurated in 1936 was intended to relieve.

⁸¹² The State Advances Office was established under section 3 of the State Advances Act 1913.

⁸¹³ AJHR 1910, B13, p.4.



Source: Official New Zealand Yearbooks

Graph 5.5: Number of advances made under the Government Advances to Workers Act 1906 to 1933

What could not be established is the number of Maori who applied to the State Advances Office for financial assistance. It is known that from 1920 onwards, the State Advances Office routinely redirected applications for financial assistance to the Native Trust Office: by 1929, only 53 Maori throughout New Zealand had secured loans from the State Advances Office. The total value of those loans amounted to £15,677. By the end of March 1929, a total of 25,268 loans with an aggregate value of £16.462 million had been made.⁸¹⁴ It is assumed that the 53 loans made to Maori covered both advances to settlers and advances to workers. That Maori seeking financial assistance were routinely directed to the Native Trustee reflected an entrenched view that Maori, although tax payers – the tax paid on lands owned by Maori rising steadily from £6,661 in 1906-1907 to £10,157 in 1909-1910 – should themselves fund the development of their land and the construction of dwellings.⁸¹⁵ It was a view that persisted and helped to shape policy at least until 1939. This matter is discussed further below.

⁸¹⁴ Superintendent, State Advances Office to Under Secretary, Native Department 23 August 1929, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1466 1928/576. Cited in T.J. Hearn, 'Heretaunga Maori and the Crown,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2008, p.367.

⁸¹⁵ For tax paid from 1906-1907 to 1909-1910, see AJHR 1910, B19b.

5.6 The housing crisis of the 1920s

During World War I, as resources were re-directed in to the war effort, the construction of new dwellings contracted sharply, from a national total of 1,508 in 1911 to 685 in 1916, while the average number of persons per dwelling began to rise.⁸¹⁶ The number of empty dwellings declined accordingly, especially in the four main urban centres of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, while rents rose sharply between 1911 and 1921. A report on the cost of living in New Zealand between 1891 and 1914 estimated that rents rose nationally by 64 per cent but with higher rises in Auckland and Wellington and in the expanding secondary urban centres of the North Island.⁸¹⁷ Rent controls were instituted during the war: although intended primarily to protect and service personnel from exploitation, landlords devised various means of circumventing the regulations to pass on higher Government charges and increased taxes.

Growing overcrowding was one manifestation of the housing shortage. The Board of Health defined overcrowding as more than 1.5 per persons per room and, in 1919, concluded that there was ‘serious overcrowding dangerous to the health of the community in all the towns and suburban districts of New Zealand.’⁸¹⁸ Housing standards for large sections of population also declined: the Influenza Epidemic Commission noted that ‘considerable improvements are required in respect to the conditions in which large number of people in our cities are required to live.’ Those conditions were attributed, in part, to ‘the economic factors of short supply of decent houses and excessively high rents.’⁸¹⁹ It did inspect congested districts of the cities and concluded that conditions observed were the outcome of ‘an inheritance of wrong subdivisions of land; the continued habitation of old, dilapidated, worm-eaten, vermin-infested, and in some instances really rotten structures; the economic factors of short

⁸¹⁶ According to Prichard, voluntary and enforced war loans absorbed £68.5m. See M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An economic history of New Zealand to 1939*. Auckland & London: Collins, 1970, p.235.

⁸¹⁷ *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1915*, pp.765-815.

⁸¹⁸ Census of New Zealand 1921, *Dwellings*, p.16. The New Zealand Official Yearbook 1924 recorded that overcrowded dwellings directly affected 164,898 people or 14.9 percent of the country’s population. While overcrowded tenements affected a further 5,473 persons. Overcrowding was most acute in Wellington and Auckland, but the problem was not confined to the four main urban centres. The data do not appear to have included Maori.

⁸¹⁹ AJHR 1919, H31A, p.31.

supply of decent houses and excessively high rents, and the personal habits of uncleanliness of a proportion of the tenants.’⁸²⁰

The epidemic took a heavily disproportionate toll of Maori and yet the surnames of the witnesses who appeared before the Commission did not include any that were obviously Maori. With respect to Maori, its sole finding was the need to implement in Maori settlements section 68 of the Public Health Act 1908 as it related to sanitation. Pomare, who visited the settlements of Manakau and Kuku in November 1918, indicated that overcrowding had helped spread the disease in the Manawatu.⁸²¹ The epidemic did prompt calls for improvements in Maori housing. The *Thames Star*, for example, recorded that ‘Nowhere has the epidemic been felt more severely than in the insanitary Maori pas, where the disease has swept through like a pestilence ...’ The Department of Health’s determination to remove ‘plague spots’ from the colony’s urban centres should be matched by an equal determination with respect to Maori villages.⁸²² As the epidemic subsided, other imperatives and priorities emerged.

The 1919 Industries Select Committee, in the course of a major report on the prospects for industrial expansion, noted that ‘The unprecedented shortage of suitable houses throughout the Dominion is a pressing difficulty in town and country alike,’ and hence recommended that the State undertake a ‘comprehensive building scheme ...’ In support of its recommendation, the Committee cited the ‘stoppage’ of house construction during the war; a ‘laudable determination’ on the part of people to have better homes; the urgent necessity to clear slums in the interests of public health; the advisability of increasing the rural population by providing comfortable workers’ homes in rural districts; the rapid return of service personnel many of whom had married or who desired to marry; the ‘probability of resumed immigration; and, finally, the ‘Necessity for allaying unrest by providing a sufficient number of reasonably good homes at a moderate cost of rental; this applies especially to miners, railway men, waterside workers, city labourers, and artisans.’⁸²³ The Committee was clearly concerned over the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the unrest that had accompanied the repatriation

⁸²⁰ AJHR 1919, H31A, p.31.

⁸²¹ ‘Among the Maoris,’ *Levin Chronicle* 26 November 1918, p.3.

⁸²² ‘The Maori menace,’ *Thames Star* 30 November 1918, p.2.

⁸²³ AJHR 1919, I12, p.xxxi.

and discharge of service personnel from the British armed forces, and the slowly growing influence of the recently formed Labour Party. The only reference to Maori was in connection with the payment of rates, while (judging from surnames) no Maori witnesses appeared before the Committee.

5.6.1 Housing discharged soldiers

In 1918, the Government announced that it was its 'duty to see that full provision is made for the repatriation of our soldiers and their return to civil life.'⁸²⁴ It thus devised a rehabilitation programme that focussed on settlement on the land, vocational training, employment, and housing assistance. Wilkes and Wood described the Discharged Soldiers' Act 1915 as was 'one of the most crucial Acts of this period ... Its effect was real and considerable. Over 4,000 houses were built under this scheme between 1919 and 1924.'⁸²⁵ Fairbairn recorded that 'Thousands of ex-servicemen who had been without property before the war, obtained cheap urban housing finance through the government's open handed administration of the 1915 Discharged Soldier Settlement Act ...'⁸²⁶ Ferguson observed that the Reform Government's rehabilitation scheme was 'a solution that satisfied property interests while rewarding soldiers for their sacrifices.'⁸²⁷

The 1919 Financial Statement recorded 'the great demand for urban residential properties by returned soldiers who are engaged in town vocations.'⁸²⁸ During the first eight months of 1920, applications for assistance under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917 totalled 6,770 of which 2,515 were for the purchase of land, 3,708 were for the purchase of homes, and 547 were for the construction of houses.⁸²⁹ From October 1920, no further applications under section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917 for the purchase of

⁸²⁴ AJHR 1918, B6, p.xxvi.

⁸²⁵ Chris Wilkes and Brennon Wood, 'The social relations of housing in early New Zealand,' in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley, editors, *In the public interest: health, work, and housing in New Zealand*. Auckland: Benton Ross, 1984, p.194. The estimate of 4,000 appears to be a conflation of the numbers of loans granted for the purchase of homes and the number granted for the construction of new dwellings. It should be noted, too, that not all loan offers were accepted.

⁸²⁶ Miles Fairbairn, 'The farmers take over (1912-1930),' in Keith Sinclair, editor, *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990, p.205.

⁸²⁷ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.86.

⁸²⁸ AJHR 1919, B6, p.viii.

⁸²⁹ ANZ Wellington AEBE 18507 LE1/753 1921/206 Alt No 206.

houses (except in exceptional cases of hardship) were accepted.⁸³⁰ The discontinuance of loans for the purchase of houses was counterbalanced by an increase in applications for loans to construct houses. According to the 1925 Financial Statement, over the six years from 1 April 1919, 11,456 soldiers secured State advances towards the purchase and erection of dwellings in urban areas (that is, excluding advances to release mortgages), while 4,063 had secured advances to erect or purchase dwellings in connection with farm properties. The total cost had reached, respectively, £8.345m and £1.186m.⁸³¹ By the end of March 1926, 4,856 loans had been made for the erection of dwellings on farms, 4,420 for the erection of dwellings in urban and suburban areas, and 7,535 for the purchase of homes in urban and suburban areas.⁸³² That gave a grand total of 16,811 of which 28.9 per cent were for rural dwellings and the balance of 71.1 per cent for urban and suburban areas.

No published data relating to advances for housing purposes to Maori ex-servicemen were located, but the indications are clear that few benefitted: almost certainly few met the requirements of section 2 of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act 1917 (notably the ownership of land in fee-simple), while most Maori ex-service personnel appear to have returned to their rural homes. Roche offered a brief account of the scheme's operation in Palmerston North where loans aggregating £37,000 were made to 56 veterans to purchase and construct homes during 1918-1919.⁸³³ There does not appear to have been any Maori veterans among those 56.⁸³⁴ Moreover, section 2 was directed in part towards those who secured undeveloped Crown sections: few Maori veterans featured among that group. In short, the assumptions upon which sections 2 and 4 were based did not recognise the particular needs of Maori veterans. In the case of the North Auckland Land District – including Auckland City – between December 1920 and November 1921, 894 applications were lodged by discharged military personnel advances to construct, or alter dwellings: just one was lodged by a Maori veteran and that was refused, while four lodged applications for assistance to

⁸³⁰ Responsibility for housing was taken over by the State Advances Office.

⁸³¹ AJHR 1924, B6, p.xvi..

⁸³² AJHR 1926, C9, p.9.

⁸³³ Michael Roche, 'Houses not farms: housing loans for soldier settlement in Palmerston North, New Zealand 1918-1931: inverting the rural mythology,' in Guenter Lehmann and David Nichols, editors, *The 21st century: past/present/future: proceedings from the 7th Australasian urban history/planning history conference 2004*, pp.334-349.

⁸³⁴ Roche, personal communication.

purchase existing homes. In the minute books of the Wellington Land Board, Gould identified the names of just three Maori veterans who applied for advances to purchase existing or to construct new homes.⁸³⁵ While it is possible that Maori veterans bearing anglicised names also applied for and secured loans, the evidence is clear that few Maori ex-service personnel benefited from the financial facilities offered as part of the Reform Government's rehabilitation programme.

It is worthwhile recording here that of those who served in the Maori (Pioneer) Battalion, 95 came from the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District (including Rangitikei County), 59 from Horowhenua County alone.⁸³⁶ In 1916 the census enumerator recorded that the district that included Manawatu, Kairanga, Kiwitea, Pohangina, and Horowhenua Counties had proved to be 'a "happy hunting-ground" for the recruiting sergeant.'⁸³⁷ These men, including those from Horowhenua, were very largely drawn not from the Inquiry District's towns but from the small Maori rural settlements. Most veterans returned to those settlements. By 1945, just 12 veterans remained in Horowhenua County (together with two who had served in both world wars), with an additional four in Otaki.⁸³⁸ In short, although Maori veterans were not explicitly excluded from the operation of the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act 1915, few were able to meet the requirements for financial assistance.

5.7 The Housing Act 1919

In 1919, the Government's Housing Superintendent estimated the existing national net shortage of houses at 7,400 dwellings.⁸³⁹ The results of the 1921 census indicated that just under 15 per cent of the country's non-Maori population resided in conditions that the Board of Health regarded as 'inimical to a proper standard of health and decency.' A reduction in the number of persons per room to 1.5 would require, the census

⁸³⁵ Ashley Gould, 'From taiaha to ko: repatriation and land settlement for Maori soldiers in New Zealand after the First World War,' *War & Society* 28, 2, 2009, p.69.

⁸³⁶ T.J. Hearn, 'The economic rehabilitation of Maori military veterans,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018. p.78. Of the 59, some appear to have been Pakeha.

⁸³⁷ AJHR 1917, H39A, p.4.

⁸³⁸ Census of New Zealand, 1945. Appendix B: War Service, p.20.

⁸³⁹ AJHR 1920, H11A, p.3.

indicated, an additional 4,820 five-roomed houses, a number described as ‘a conservative statement of the housing shortage.’⁸⁴⁰

One important response on the part of the Reform Government to the post-World War I housing crisis was the Housing Act 1919: it repealed the Workers’ Dwellings Act 1910 and amendments, and section 47 of the Land for Settlements Act 1908 under which land acquired under that Act could be set apart for the purposes of the Workers’ Dwellings Act 1908. The Housing Act 1919 would serve as the statutory basis for the First Labour Government’s greatly expanded State house construction programme: it was not repealed until the passage of the Housing Act 1955.

Part I of the Act (which took the place of the Workers’ Dwellings Act 1910) applied primarily to workers whose income was limited and who did not possess a building section. Section 9 empowered the Governor to set apart any Crown land not reserved or set apart for any other purpose or land acquired under the Land for Settlements Act 1908 for the purposes of the Act. A new Housing Board, with the approval of the Minister of Labour, could ‘cause buildings to be erected on any land set apart ... for disposal by way of sale or lease ...’ Section 13 provided that ‘No person other than a worker shall be qualified to acquire a dwelling,’ and no worker whose annual income exceeded £300 (increased by £20 for each additional dependant person in excess of two). ‘Worker’ was defined to mean ‘any person employed in any capacity in any industry or calling, whether by an employer or on his own account.’

Part II of the Housing Act 1919 allowed any incorporated society of public servants in the permanent employment of the Crown to apply for assistance with respect to the formation of a village settlement or ‘garden suburb;’ Part III allowed any employer in an approved industry to apply for financial assistance to erect houses ‘for any workers permanently employed by him in connection with that industry;’ while Part IV empowered harbour boards to erect on land they owned dwellings for workers in their permanent employment. Part V amended section 60 of the Local Bodies’ Loans Act 1913 by inserting ‘The erection of workers’ dwellings pursuant to any lawful authority,’ and allowed county and borough councils to borrow money from the State Advances

⁸⁴⁰ Census of New Zealand 1921, *Dwellings*, p.17.

Office for workers' dwellings and to do so without a poll. Part VI (section 54) amended the definition of 'worker' contained in section 56 of the State Advances Act 1913 by increasing the maximum annual income to £300 in the case of a person with not more than two persons dependent upon him, with an additional £20 per additional dependent. The borrowing limit was increased to £750. Part VIII allowed banking companies to employ their funds for the purpose of providing houses for their employees. Under section 14 of the Housing Act 1919 the maximum cost to a purchaser of a dwelling constructed mostly of wood was set at £775 and at £850 'in any other case.' Those limits were raised in 1920 to £900 and £1,000 respectively and in 1925 to £1,150 and £1,250, again respectively.

The Housing Act 1919 constituted a recognition by the Reform Government that the State had a responsibility to rectify, on behalf of a defined segment of the community, a clear failure on the part of the private housing market to supply sufficient housing. Although Maori were not excluded from the ambit of the Act, the terminology and definitions employed by the legislation ensured that few would benefit. The Act was clearly intended to benefit urban-based workers with low incomes but incomes sufficient to meet mortgage repayments. It was not intended to assist the unskilled and the poor. By the end of July 1921, nationally 162 houses had been constructed, 232 were under construction, while 107 had been purchased for applicants. Work in respect of another 530 houses could not proceed on account of 'financial stringency, inability to obtain tenders etc.'⁸⁴¹ After 1921, no official reports relating to the operation of the Housing Act 1919 were published. The Reform Government's preference was to provide financial assistance to those seeking to construct or purchase homes.

5.7.1 State housing construction in the Porirua ki Manawatu

Table 5.3 sets out some details relating to the operation of the State's building programme in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, as at the end of July 1921. It should be noted that some local authorities also looked to construct housing for their own employees, among them, the Palmerston North Borough Council: it planned to build 15 houses.⁸⁴² The Council in fact applied to the Government for and secured

⁸⁴¹ AJHR 1921, H11A, p.2.

⁸⁴² 'Council's housing scheme,' *Manawatu Standard* 3 December 1919, p.5.

£10,000 (the maximum available). The Manawatu County Council applied for £2,000, the KIWITEA County Council for £7,500, and the Marton Borough Council for £1,600, all by February 1920.⁸⁴³ No evidence was located that would suggest that any Maori benefited from these local authority initiatives.

Table 5.3: Houses constructed and planned for towns in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, as at 31 July 1921

	Palmerston North	Feilding	Levin
Number built	-	-	1
Number incomplete	4	3	-
Number purchased for applicants ¹	1	2	3
Allocated but arrangements incomplete	25	3	-
Totals	30	8	4

¹ Per section 10 of the Housing Act 1919

Source: AJHR Session II 1921, H11A, p.2

5.8 The State Advances Amendment Act 1923

As noted above, the Reform Government, much like its Liberal predecessor under Ward, placed much greater store on assisting individuals to construct or purchase dwellings than on construction, whether for sale or rent. The passage of State Advances Amendment Act 1923 was expected to encourage an upsurge in applications that would largely resolve the housing difficulty. Section 4 of the Act empowered the State Advances Board to set loan terms of 20, 30, or 36.5 years ‘as in each case the Board may determine;’ section 5 increased upper annual income limit to £300, plus £25 for each dependent child or person; while section 6 extended the limit of advances to workers, that is, where the loan was for the purchase of an existing dwelling, to 95 per cent of the value of the security in the case of freehold land, or 95 per cent of the value of lessee’s interest in the lease in the case of the Leasehold. Where the loan was for the construction of a dwelling, the limit was set at 95 per cent of the cost (including land and improvements). Graph 5.3 (above) suggests only a short-lived surge in the number of advances approved by the State Advances Board.

⁸⁴³ ‘The housing scheme,’ *Otago Daily Times* 25 February 1920, p.7.

Table 5.4 sets out some details relating to the construction and purchase of houses under the Housing Act 1919 during the six years to 31 March 1925: during that period the State contributed to the erection and purchase of 33,365 dwellings. By the end of the 1920s, the State had established a major presence in the national housing market and, indeed, Oliver concluded that, by the end of that decade, it was financing nearly half of the houses constructed.⁸⁴⁴

Table 5.4: State Advances: housing related loans from 1 April 1919 to 31 March 1925

	Number	Value: £	Average value: £
<i>To build houses or purchase homes</i>			
To settlers	6145	3454093	562.1
To workers	10911	6486224	594.5
<i>To release mortgages on home properties</i>			
To settlers	2502	1346498	538.2
<i>To erect workers' dwellings</i>			
To local authorities	-	634145	-
<i>Discharged soldiers</i>			
Urban areas	11456	8345311	728.5
Farm properties	4063	1186000	291.9
<i>Railways</i>	543	465655	875.6
<i>Public Works Department</i>			
State employees	247	227640	921.6
Totals	33365	20164923	

Source: AJHR 1925, B6, pp.14-15

⁸⁴⁴ W.H. Oliver, 'The origins and growth of the welfare state,' in A.D. Trlin, editor, *Social welfare and New Zealand society*. Wellington: Methuen, 1977, p.18.

5.9 ‘By which they may finance themselves’

It was frequently asserted that Maori could have and indeed should have financed the construction of dwellings of an acceptable standard out of the proceeds of rents and royalties and land sales. Estimates of the income accruing to Maori from rents and the sale of land were discussed above and the conclusion reached that such sources of income were insufficient – even supposing that they had retained the right to control and allocate such monies – to allow Maori generally to develop the productive capacities of their remaining land. The same conclusion applies to the financing of house construction. It was also recorded that several Acts included provisions intended to allow Maori to borrow from State lending departments. Section 6 of the Native Land Laws Amendment Act 1897 provided that any Maori ‘owning land in severalty’ could do so provided that he possessed in addition to the land which he proposed to mortgage ‘other land sufficient for his maintenance.’ Very few applications were lodged under that provision and the Act was repealed in 1909. Section 18 of the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905 empowered the Minister of Lands to advance by way of mortgage ‘to the owners, or registered proprietors in the case of a body corporate, of any land owned by Maoris any sum not exceeding one-third of its unimproved value for the purpose of ‘stocking, improving, or farming the same ...’ Carroll claimed that section 18 represented an alternative to the advances to settlers scheme.⁸⁴⁵ The Act was repealed by the Native Land Act 1909. Under Part II (section 60(1)) of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907, a Maori lessee of any land set apart by the Crown for occupation by Maori could borrow from any State lending department for ‘farming, stocking, and improving the land subject to his lease.’ Part II reappeared as Part XIV of the Native Land Act 1909 but shorn of section 60(1). It is not clear whether building a dwelling was covered by ‘improving the land.’ In any case, no land in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District was set apart under Part II or Part XIV.

It was noted above that in practice Maori had only limited access to the housing loans under the Government Advances to Workers Act 1906. It was also noted that in 1923, through the State Advances Amendment Act 1923, the Reform Government eased the terms and conditions under which loans for housing purposes could be secured. The

⁸⁴⁵ NZPD 1905, Vol.135, p.705.

sole reference to the needs of Maori during that measure's second reading debate was offered by Ngata when he proposed that the funds of the Native Trust Office should be supplemented by the State: if this were not done, 'the question might well be asked: "What has the Government done for the Maoris?"'⁸⁴⁶ Coates (Minister of Native Affairs) indicated, a few days later, that the Government had the matter 'under consideration,' that Cabinet 'was considering the opening of the State Advances Department to Maoris where they had a title to assist and encourage them in the farming of their own land. It was also considering giving them the opportunity of borrowing for both housing and farming purposes under the Act just passed ...'⁸⁴⁷ Such promising statements notwithstanding, the view widely held within Government, Treasury notably, was that Maori should use rather than dissipate (as was commonly claimed) 'Maori money,' that is, the monies believed to arise out of land sales, rents, and royalties. As suggested, such sources are unlikely to have assisted Porirua ki Manawatu Maori.

With only limited access to State funding agencies, Maori had two other possible sources to which they could turn, that is, the Native Trustee and the Maori land boards. Section 21 of the Native Trust Act 1920 specified the classes of security required: section 21(c) and (d) authorised the Native Trustee to invest 'In advances secured by the mortgage of any freehold or leasehold interest in any Native freehold land in respect of which a partition order has been duly made, or in any Native land vested in or administered by any Maori Land Board, or in any Native freehold land vested in the incorporated owners thereof ...' or 'In advances secured by the first mortgage of any land held in fee-simple in New Zealand ...' By the end of March 1934, 476 mortgagees (mostly Maori) had borrowed a total of £678,225 from the Native Trustee. A significant proportion of the advances made, £181,924 (26.8 per cent) had been made to 120 mortgagors in the Ikaroa Maori Land District.⁸⁴⁸ No details were located as to whom or for what purposes those loans were made, although most appear to have been in connection with improving and working farm properties.⁸⁴⁹ Landless Maori and those with interests in multiply-owned land would have been unable to meet the requirements

⁸⁴⁶ 'State advances,' *Stratford Evening Post* 10 July 1923, p.3.

⁸⁴⁷ 'Aiding Maori farmers,' *New Zealand Herald* 27 July 1923, p.10.

⁸⁴⁸ AJHR 1934, G11, p.136. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18.

⁸⁴⁹ See, for example, Native Trustee to Native Minister 18 January 1929, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/1466 1928/576, cited in Hearn, 'Maori, land, and the Crown,' p.665.

of section 21, which required the mortgage of Maori freehold land as security for any loan. Ferguson recorded that in ‘some cases’ those who borrowed from the Native Trustee used the monies to improve or replace existing housing.⁸⁵⁰ Whether those ‘some’ included any Porirua ki Manawatu Maori was not established.

The Maori land boards were the second possible source. Under section 19 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1922, a Maori land board, with the consent of the Native Minister, could ‘advance moneys upon mortgage either for itself or on behalf of Natives.’ Section 8 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1926 was more explicit: section 8(d) allowed boards, again with the consent of the Native Minister, to make advances out of their own resources ‘For the farming, improvement, or settlement of any Native freehold land.’ By the end of March 1929, the boards had advanced collectively £121,615, including £17,950 by the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board. Of the 19 advances made by the latter board, just five were to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, including one in Takapuwahia Township.⁸⁵¹ The Commission of Inquiry into Native Affairs found that by the end of March 1934, the Board had advanced £16,249 to Maori and £25,385 to Pakeha mortgagors.⁸⁵² More details relating to these advances were located in a Native Department file. As at 31 March 1929, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board had made advances to 19 Maori of whom five had offered Porirua ki Manawatu blocks as security, namely, Manawatu Kukutauaki 4B2B2 (21 acres); Rangitikei Manawatu B2 and B3 (95 acres); Himatangi 3A2B2 (93 acres), Ohau 3Sub10E (109 acres); and Takapuwahia Township. Of some interest were loans granted to two others who offered Wellington town sections as security, suggesting that the loans had been advanced for building purposes and in fact at least one was made explicitly for that purpose (for a house at Plimmerton).⁸⁵³ Advancing monies for house construction thus appears to have been, for the Maori land boards, legally permissible.

In a 1932 report, Treasury recorded that as at 31 March 1932, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board held 44 mortgages, the principal involved aggregating £47,970. ‘The unusual

⁸⁵⁰ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.99.

⁸⁵¹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1.

⁸⁵² AJHR 1934, G11, pp.23-24.

⁸⁵³ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 1.

feature ...’ the report noted, ‘is that several large advances have been made to Europeans. One loan of £9,135, for example, was made to a professional man in Wellington on the security of a property comprising a city “flat.” We consider that the policy of the Boards should be to lend moneys to Maori for farming purposes only ...’⁸⁵⁴ A marked change in lending policy followed. As at the end of March 1940, the Ikaroa Maori Land Board had 52 outstanding mortgage advances of which all but four had been made to Maori. In the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District there were 18 outstanding loans: most were for rural properties, but one in respect of a section in Plimmerton and two in Takapuwahia Township.⁸⁵⁵ In short, the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board made only a very limited contribution towards the housing of Maori. Its investment priorities clearly lay elsewhere.

5.10 Housing Maori: other approaches

5.10.1 Maori model villages

One promising development of the 1920s was the appointment, in 1926, of a commission of inquiry to investigate the necessity or advisability of establishing model Maori villages at Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, including the construction of ‘suitable dwelling-houses.’ Finding instances of overcrowding and describing many of the buildings in existing villages to be ‘of an unsuitable type and in a dilapidated condition,’ the Commission recorded that

the demolition and improvement of buildings ... will run into several thousand pounds; but this expenditure can be spread over a period of years. The individual Natives could not be expected to immediately find much towards this, and they suggest that the Government lend them money to build on long-term loans, the repayment to be spread over a period of thirty to thirty-six years, and the loans to be free of interest. Another method would be for the Government to subsidize on buildings which replace those condemned by a competent authority ...⁸⁵⁶

Those suggestions had been modelled upon the provisions of the Workers’ Dwellings Act 1906. In 1928 the *New Zealand Herald* claimed that the commission’s

⁸⁵⁴ ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/378 52/713. That ‘professional man’ was the Native Trustee, W.E. Rawson.

⁸⁵⁵ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/708 49/18 Part 2.

⁸⁵⁶ AJHR 1927, G7.

recommendations had still to be implemented and in fact wondered whether the scheme had been forgotten.⁸⁵⁷ In 1929 that Cabinet approved a small subsidy of £500 towards house construction. Ngata described it as ‘a small beginning, but a substantial concession in principle.’⁸⁵⁸ In 1944, Sim (MHR Rotorua) claimed that nothing had been done in the two villages, an assertion to which Native Minister Mason responded by conceding that ‘the position in regard to Maori housing was melancholy. The problem of Maori housing was even greater than that of pakeha housing.’⁸⁵⁹

5.10.2 The Maori land development programme

Under the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929, the Native Minister was empowered to promote ‘the betterment and more efficient utilisation of Native land or land owned or occupied by Natives’ and to encourage Maori ‘in the promotion of agricultural pursuits and of efforts of industry and self-help ...’ Section 23(3)(a) listed the works to which funding could be applied and they included ‘the construction of buildings and other erections...’ The construction of huts and dwellings thus emerged as an important element of the Maori land development programme. The implementation and subsequent history of the programme has been examined and documented in many reports. With respect to the housing component, Krivan suggested that the land development programme was ‘significant ‘because the dwellings were built with state credit,’ that ‘a precedent for state responsibility for Maori housing had been established,’ and that Department of Native Affairs gained experience that would prove useful when implementing the Native Housing Act 1935.⁸⁶⁰

Table 5.5 sets out the number of new dwellings erected as part of the Maori land development programme to the end of March 1950. Opinions varied over the quality of these houses: on the one hand, they were described by one attendee at the 1939 Young Maori Leaders’ Conference as ‘little more than glorified cowsheds,’ while Belshaw

⁸⁵⁷ ‘Model Maori villages,’ *New Zealand Herald* 28 February 1928, p.8.

⁸⁵⁸ ‘Native settlement. Scheme of remodelling,’ *New Zealand Herald* 11 September 1929, p.12; and Ngata to Buck 2 October 1929, in Sorrenson, *Na to hoa aroha*, Vol. 1, p.250.

⁸⁵⁹ NZPD 1944, Vol. 266, p.644.

⁸⁶⁰ Mark Krivan, ‘The Department of Maori Affairs housing programme, 1935 to 1967,’ MA Thesis, Massey University, 1990, p.21.

suggested that they were ‘a marked improvement on the dwellings they replaced.’⁸⁶¹ Ngata had a very clear priority in view, namely, the development of the land, while dwellings were seen less as an investment than an added impost on land development scheme budgets. Writing to Buck in May 1930, Ngata made clear his desire to avoid ‘the danger of a Pakeha supervisor with his Pakeha standards imposing on a people just out of raupo and ponga shacks a type of dwelling far above their requirements.’ As Butterworth observed, Ngata placed great store on ‘self-reliance and frugal living.’⁸⁶² As recorded above, the Maori land development programme was of limited importance in Porirua ki Manawatu: by 1940, just 13 cottages had been erected on the Manawatu Development Scheme.

Table 5.5: New dwellings erected as part of the Maori land development programme, to 31 March 1950

Maori land districts	Number of dwellings
Tokerau	572
Waikato-Maniapoto	214
Wairaiiki	496
Tairawhiti	231
Aotea	127
Ikaroa	63
South Island	12
Total	1715

Source: AJHR 1950, G9, p.18

5.11 The State, Maori, and housing in the 1930s

Growing pressure on a dwindling land resource and a general inability to turn their remaining lands to productive and commercial account, and structural changes in the rural labour market combined to encourage a growing number of Maori, through the 1920s, to seek employment in the country’s urban centres. While the Maori population was believed to be in irreversible decline, continuing land loss was not regarded as a

⁸⁶¹ ‘Maori housing,’ *Auckland Star* 29 May 1939, p.8; and Horace Belshaw, ‘Economic circumstances,’ in I.L.H. Sutherland, I.L.H. editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, p.218.

⁸⁶² Graham Butterworth, ‘A rural Maori renaissance. Maori society and politics 1920 to 1951,’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81, 2, 1972, p.176.

particularly serious problem. But the renewed growth of the Maori population and the fact that landlessness had reached what was described as ‘the zero point’ had begun to generate intolerable living conditions. The *Auckland Star*, for example, described Maori as hanging on ‘precariously, getting what work they can, and living as best they can, in whatever quarters their pakeha neighbours allot them or have rejected themselves.’ It offered a lengthy description of a dwelling occupied by a Maori family of four engaged in digging potatoes, earning 3s 6d to 4s 6d per day per adult while the season lasted. ‘But a century ago,’ it observed, ‘the tribe of which they are descendants owned a thousand square miles of rich land, with fresh and salt water fishing rights over many a mile of river and shore.’⁸⁶³ In short, the growing movement of Maori into the country’s towns and cities, especially as it gained strength through the 1930s, served to focus some attention on the poverty that many Maori endured, both in their home districts and in the towns and cities.

That movement also generated rising alarm among in both general and local government. In 1931, for example, the Manukau County Council investigated Mangere’s ‘Maori hovels,’ with the result that landlords were instructed to effect immediate improvements.⁸⁶⁴ That same month, August 1931, the Department of Health reported that 75 per cent of Maori in the Franklin district were suffering from tuberculosis ‘owing to the conditions under which they are living.’ Their employers, ‘Asiatics,’ were castigated accordingly, while the Auckland Hospital Board insisted that responsibility for the care of Maori should be not be thrust upon local authorities and ratepayers but that the Department of Native Affairs should fund hospital places for sick and indigent Maori. It was apparent that the Board was also facing a rising demand by Maori for charitable aid: six months’ residence in a hospital district enabled Maori to seek charitable aid.⁸⁶⁵ Some local authorities made representations over the state of Maori housing to the Government, although their concern had at least as much to do with public health as it had with the degrading conditions in which many Maori lived. In any case, in response to an approach by the Pukekohe Borough Council, the Minister of Native Affairs indicated that ‘it was impracticable for the Government to embark upon an extensive programme of house building to relieve the situation. The

⁸⁶³ ‘Housing reform,’ *Auckland Star* 21 September 1935, Supplement, p.3.

⁸⁶⁴ ‘A disgrace. Mangere Maori hovels,’ *Auckland Star* 18 August 1931, p.3.

⁸⁶⁵ ‘Maori and TB in Franklin district,’ *Auckland Star* 19 August 1931, p.7.

possibility of providing better accommodation depended entirely on the financial ability of the individual concerned.’⁸⁶⁶

5.11.1 Ngata and housing for Maori

Writing to Buck in March 1934, Ngata commented that ‘If the racket concerning the Native Land Development Schemes has served no other purpose, it has certainly quickened the interest of State Departments in them as investments of State funds.’ Importantly, he went on to observe that:

I am trying to work out some method of putting our people out on to land merely to live, have better homes, cultivate in a healthier atmosphere and rear their children in the open air, without involving much capital expenditure. It has been thought out before for pakeha unemployed, resulting in the 10-acre farm, provision for a cottage, a little help in the way of fencing material and seed ... I have worked out such a scheme in the basis of the Unemployment Board lending, say £50,000 at 3%. At an average of £125 to find materials only and £20 when establishing themselves [,] 400 homes might be founded in four years. Interest payments to be met from the Native Civil List, Maori Purposes and such funds, until our people can stand a small annual payment of say, £5 a year each, working up to £10 a year. Repayments of principal could be used for extending the scheme. A cottage scheme something like this would fit in very well with many of the existing development schemes, which require casual and intermittent labour, and there is a large proportion of our people who would never fit into any farming scheme except as casual seasonal employees.⁸⁶⁷

A few months later and aware that the Government was considering ‘taking on housing,’ in August 1934, a deputation led by Ngata sought to familiarise Prime Minister Forbes with the housing needs of Maori. The urgency of those needs, Ngata suggested, reflected the fact that for the past two decades, and despite accelerating population growth, few new houses had been constructed by Maori. As recorded above, the observation certainly applied to Porirua ki Manawatu. Ngata also acknowledged that the dwellings provided through the Maori land development scheme reached only a small proportion of the Maori population.⁸⁶⁸ ‘Their claims were fairly modest,’ Ngata indicated, ‘they did not want elaborate houses, but, at the same time, they did not want

⁸⁶⁶ ‘Housing of Maoris,’ *New Zealand Herald* 23 June 1934, p.13.

⁸⁶⁷ Ngata to Buck 25 March 1934, in M.P.K. Sorrenson, editor, *Na to hoa aroha: from your dear friend. The correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925-1930*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986-1988, Volume 3, 1932.50, pp.144-145

⁸⁶⁸ By 1936, only 4 per cent of land in Maori ownership – occupied by 12 per cent of the Maori population – was under a development scheme,

the kind of cottage that was put up for the ten-acre farms; neither did they want standardised houses like workers' dwellings.' What they sought, announced Tau Henare, were loans of up to £160 that would provide three to four-bedroom homes 'without any of the conveniences such as a range or elaborate drainage, or even water – they proposed to give the shell only.' Forbes agreed that 'conditions had altered for the Maori,' and asked Ngata to prepare some detailed proposals.⁸⁶⁹

The matter was also referred to the Under Secretary of the Native Department with a request for a scheme that provided houses on the same basis 'as was provided for Pakeha workmen under the Advances to Workers plan.'⁸⁷⁰ That scheme, he noted, was intended to assist 'that section of Natives who do not own or occupy farms but who are in regular employment or have an assured income even though small.' How many persons fell in to that category and how many might require homes were unknown. Beyond offering some observations on the sources of funding and the terms and conditions of loans, the Under Secretary did not venture.⁸⁷¹ Subsequently, both the Department of Native Affairs and the Treasury, repeating an established belief, proposed that 'Maori money' should be employed to finance any such scheme.⁸⁷²

In one of his last actions as Minister of Native Affairs, Ngata raised the matter of housing for Maori in the Native Land Settlement Board: its discussions appear to have focussed on the matter of funding. 'There was,' he reported, 'general agreement that some such scheme was necessary and desirable.' He went on to record that Treasury was opposed to financing any scheme from loan monies, but that there was 'general agreement that the surplus funds of the Maori Land Boards or of the Native Trustee, available for investment, should as far as possible be utilised for building loans, under the control and direction of the Native Land Settlement Board.' The Maori Purposes Fund, and the Arawa, Tuwharetoa, and Taranaki Trust Funds were also cited as possible sources. Ngata made it clear that he doubted the effectiveness and availability at this juncture of those resources. Moreover, the Maori land boards, he suggested, had no

⁸⁶⁹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁸⁷⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 12 September 1934, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁸⁷¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 12 September 1934, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁸⁷² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 29 October 1934; and Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 18 October 1934, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3.

surplus funds, or had invested substantial sums in the Native Trustee, were preparing to write off losses, or were preparing to meet various claims for compensation. Thus the Ikaroa Maori land Board was looking to invest some £5,000 ‘as to meet with certainty claims for compensation in regard to certain leases.’ The Native Trustee, he noted, already owed the Native Land Settlement Account £100,000. In short, the resources required would have to drawn from elsewhere.⁸⁷³

In November 1934, shortly after his resignation as Minister of Native Affairs took effect, Ngata again raised the matter of funding with the Prime Minister. He made clear his opposition to a Treasury proposal that the Native Land Settlement Board should have what he termed ‘drastic powers over the investment of Maori Land Board surplus funds.’ The Government, he advised, should consult the presidents of the boards: they were, he recorded, both officers under the control of the Department of Native Affairs and ‘statutory trustees for Maori beneficiaries and the limitation of their responsibility should be very carefully considered.’ Treasury favoured ‘pooling,’ an approach that would allow the investment of funds held by one board in a housing scheme established in another. With respect to the Native Trust Office as a source of funding, it was in no position to assist, leading Ngata to conclude that

I do not think that the Government can evade responsibility for assisting with its resources the carrying out of a housing scheme for the Maori people, which has become indispensable through the operation of so many factors imposed on the race through civilisation and its standards at a time when its resources have been seriously diminished, and in some districts almost depleted by the interaction of those factors. I do not think that the Maori people will be satisfied if the housing provisions stops at the organisation of their resources without a State contribution towards at least the capital fund for advances.⁸⁷⁴

In the House of Representatives, at the end of March 1935, Ngata recorded that Maori were ‘urging that a housing scheme should be undertaken by the State,’ at the same time predicting that ‘the Treasury view would be that the expenditure should come out of Maori funds. The Maori, however, demanded that the State give them all the money required to help them out of the problem, stating at the same time that the money would

⁸⁷³ Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Finance 8 October 1934, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁸⁷⁴ Ngata to Prime Minister 3 November 1934, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

be paid back.⁸⁷⁵ At the same time, the Bishop of Aotearoa (F.A. Bennett) criticised the Department of Health for forcing Maori to demolish their ‘primitive houses and to erect rough structures of more modern materials ...’⁸⁷⁶

One possibility that Ngata canvassed was to direct unemployment funds towards housing improvement, the approach that he had successfully persuaded the Unemployment Board to adopt with respect to Maori land development. Thus, in June 1935, in a long letter addressed to the Acting Native Minister, he proposed that unemployment funds should be employed to assist Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. He noted that as Minister of Native Affairs he worked with the Unemployment Board to confine applications for assistance to districts where piece or contract work on Maori lands was available and that ‘This precluded the Department from handling relief in the old settled districts, where the land resources of the Maoris had been depleted or where the native-owned lands were in European occupation.’ Those districts included the Manawatu and in which ‘the living conditions have been getting worse and worse, and today they demand attention.’ He had, he informed the Minister, studied conditions at Otaki, ‘and I believe that they are representative of many villages in the Manawatu.’ He went on to add that

At Otaki the Unemployment Board spent last year over £1,500 on relief of Maori unemployed. No part of this expenditure is reflected in any improvements to the Maori homesteads. These are very shabby, the houses are old and for the most part unfit to live in. The small plots around the houses require intensive cultivation, and Otaki has a reputation for growing vegetables and flowers for the Wellington market. Unemployment funds can be applied with very beneficial and permanent results towards the improvement of housing, sanitation, and cultivation of small plots of land at Otaki ...

The same applied, he suggested, at Ohau, Levin, Poroutawhao, and Foxton. Porirua was ‘more difficult.’ Otherwise, the remedy for poverty, congestion of villages, and want of opportunities because of landlessness was migration.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁵ ‘Maori and Pakeha,’ *Stratford Evening Post* 8 November 1934, p.7.

⁸⁷⁶ ‘Demolition of old Maori houses,’ *Press* 16 November 1934, p.10.

⁸⁷⁷ A.T. Ngata to Acting Native Minister 11 June 1935, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/650 36/1 Part 1.

Concurrently, Ngata offered some scathing criticism of the Native Trustee and the Department of Native Affairs. 'The Maori race,' he informed the House of Representatives, 'does not trust the Native Trust organisation. It has little confidence in the Native Department, and the [Native] Land Settlement Board is too distant.' In the course of his remarks, Ngata recorded that he was not suggesting that the indigent should be assisted 'at the present time,' but rather that a beginning should be made with those Maori who could advance sufficient capital to build a house. 'There must be,' he suggested, 'a great number of Maoris living on rents who could give the Government security for a table mortgage for 15 or 20 years.' He pressed Prime Minister Forbes for an assurance that the Government would, 'in the near future,' establish a housing scheme for Maori, at the same time noting that 'such a scheme could not be operated in a limited fashion but must be put in to practice with State finances behind it.'⁸⁷⁸

That assurance was given, Forbes announcing that the time had come to assist those Maori without capital to build their own homes. The Government, he continued, did not intend to ignore the repeated requests for a housing scheme for Maori 'and provision would be made for assisting those who had some resources but not the capital sum to provide homes for themselves.'⁸⁷⁹ Some iwi took matters in to their own hands. The Arawa Trust Board, for example, in 1935, conducted its own investigations and concluded that immediate steps were required to improve the housing conditions of poorer Maori. To that end it appears to have secured a loan of £2,000 from the Local Authorities Branch of the State Advances Office to deal with the more urgent cases. The Arawa Trust Board was prepared to guarantee payment of wages where a breadwinner was disabled on account of sickness or other cause and to make arrangements for those owning land to assign portions of their rents to repay the loan.⁸⁸⁰

5.12 Towards the Native Housing Act 1935

A draft 'Native Housing Bill' was prepared, during the early months of 1935: it followed the Housing Act 1919. Coates, acting on Treasury's advice, suggested that further consideration was necessary given what he termed 'the unsatisfactory results'

⁸⁷⁸ 'Native Department administration criticised,' *Otago Daily Times* 1 April 1935, p.6. See also 'Maori and Pakeha,' *Stratford Evening Post* 8 November 1934, p.7.

⁸⁷⁹ 'Maori housing scheme,' *Press* 1 April 1935, p.12.

⁸⁸⁰ 'Maori shanties,' *Auckland Star* 27 June 1935, p.8.

of that Act. Moreover, he noted, the committee then investigating housing had received reports dealing with housing for Maori and should be left to complete its investigations.⁸⁸¹ Clause 3 of the Bill would have empowered the Board of Native Affairs (the successor to the Board of Native Land Settlement), ‘out of moneys appropriated by Parliament,’ to make advances to Maori for the construction or repair of dwellings, the installation of services, and the purchase of building sites. Treasury had continued to insist that the Department of Native Affairs ‘will be able to continue to give attention to the housing needs of Maoris ... by the utilisation of funds that are at present available for this purpose,’ by which it appears to have meant the funds allocated to the Maori land development programme. It continued to insist, too, that – at least in the interim – the funds of the Maori land boards and the Native Trustee could be utilised, an odd suggestion given its knowledge of the difficult financial position in which the latter was placed.⁸⁸²

The Coalition Government did introduce in to the House the Board of Native Affairs Bill: it was intended, through a central board and district advisory committees, ‘to decentralize control of the Native land settlement schemes ...’⁸⁸³ Langstone (MHR Waimarino) described the proposed measure as ‘innocuous’ and lamented the lack of any provision dealing with housing for Maori.⁸⁸⁴ During the debate, Maori members pressed the Government on this matter: thus Taite Te Tomo (MHR Western Maori] recorded that ‘Some Maoris are living in sack-houses, with water-tank iron for roofing, and some are forced to exist in all sorts of makeshifts to protect them from the elements.’⁸⁸⁵ Ngata noted that he and his Maori colleagues had submitted proposals for a Maori housing scheme to the Prime Minister, not he noted, immediately for indigent Maori, but for those who had some financial resources, including land rents. ‘The difficulty,’ he noted, ‘is that Treasury is very apprehensive about launching any such scheme.’⁸⁸⁶ Prime Minister Forbes acknowledged that ‘We have to acknowledge that the time has now arrived when we must go ahead with a housing scheme along with

⁸⁸¹ Minister, Finance to Minister, Native Affairs 28 September 1935, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁸⁸² Secretary, Treasury to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 3 October 1935, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁸⁸³ NZPD 1935, Vol.241, p.744.

⁸⁸⁴ NZPD 1935, Vol.241, p.748.

⁸⁸⁵ NZPD 1935, Vol.241, p.751.

⁸⁸⁶ NZPD 1935, Vol.241, p.757.

the settlement [land development] scheme ...⁸⁸⁷ But the Board of Native Affairs Act 1934-35 made no reference to housing.

5.12.1 Maori Purposes Fund Act 1934-35

In 1935 Parliament also passed the Maori Purposes Fund Act 1934-1935. The Fund was originally established under section 3 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1924 in the Native Trust Office: it drew its funds from the ‘large sums’ of un-allotted interest – otherwise known as the ‘surplus funds’ – that had accumulated in the accounts of the Maori land boards. Under the Maori Purposes Fund Act 1934-1935, a Maori Purposes Fund Board was established to administer the Fund. The Board was to employ the monies to promote ‘the health, educational, and social and economic welfare’ of Maori, and was empowered to spend monies on the installation of water supplies and sanitation and drainage works in Maori settlements, and to ‘promoting, carrying out, subsidising, or making grants or loans from the housing of Maori.’ Some small grants were made for water supply works, but its contribution to housing appears to have been limited largely to supporting the construction of carved meeting-houses rather than domestic dwellings.

5.12.2 Coates’s housing committee and policy statement

The difficulty for the Coalition Government was that Maori housing issues were part of a much larger housing crisis. The sharp contraction in the number of housing related advances made by the State Advances Office helped to propel the construction industry in to a crisis marked by a steep decline in the issue of building permits, in house construction, and in the number of apprentices entering the building trades.⁸⁸⁸ By 1935 a major housing crisis appeared to be imminent. Coates decided to appoint a committee to investigate the extent of the crisis and how it might best be resolved. Among the submissions the committee considered was one prepared by the Government Statistician: his analysis of the available data, notably those relating to uninhabited

⁸⁸⁷ NZPD 1935, Vol.241, p.762.

⁸⁸⁸ In Porirua ki Manawatu, the number of permits issued for new private dwellings fell from 248 in 1926-1927 to just 82 in 1932-1933 and did not exceed that number again until 1938-1939 when 278 were issued. Most of the permits issued were for houses in Feilding, Palmerston North, and Levin. The data were extracted from the *Local Authorities Handbook*. It should be noted that at that stage not all local authorities issued building permits.

dwelling and dwellings in course of construction, led him to the conclusion that ‘there was more than sufficient accommodation for the whole population without any person being required, through shortage of houses in the Dominion as a whole, to live in conditions coming within the Board of Health’s definition of overcrowding.’ He also noted that most counties and road districts did not issue building permits, so that estimates of the number of dwellings constructed were incomplete. The housing problem, he suggested, was essentially one of replacing substandard housing stock rather than increasing the number of dwellings. The Government Statistician also challenged the definition of over-crowding employed by the Department of Health, suggesting that such overcrowding as did occur was temporary and marked the passage of families through the family life cycle. A standard of 1.5 persons per room gave, he claimed, ‘an exaggerated idea of [housing] requirements ...’ The Government Statistician’s report contained no reference to Maori housing.⁸⁸⁹

Once his committee had reported, Coates issued a pamphlet entitled *Housing in New Zealand: an outline of policy*. ‘It will be accepted,’ he wrote, ‘by all that the welfare and happiness of any community is dependent to a considerable degree on the existence of a sufficient number of houses to accommodate the population in health and comfort. Hence it is an important object of public policy to provide accommodation for the whole population, both present and future, according to a certain recognized minimum standard.’⁸⁹⁰ He nominated the ‘classes’ interested as, first, those in stable employment who desired to become homeowners but whose incomes were too low to enable them to finance purchase. Their needs could be met by reducing building costs, providing some form of subsidy, and offering financial assistance in the form of a loan and/or guarantee. The needs of a second group, that is, those in less stable employment not desirous of becoming homeowners but whose incomes were too low to enable them to pay an ‘economic rental,’ could be met in similar fashion or by local authorities or ‘housing associations’ constructing homes. Finally, those on comfortable incomes wishing to become homeowners but who had inadequate capital with which to finance purchase could be assisted through access to ‘cheap finance.’ The responsibility of the State (as distinct from local authorities) was, in his view, to conduct a ‘census of

⁸⁸⁹ ANZ Wellington AELE 19203 SAC1/152 35/1. See also ADTO 18998 STATS 1/17 13/22/42.

⁸⁹⁰ Gordon Coates, *Housing in New Zealand: an outline of policy*, p.5.

housing accommodation,' to ensure that local authorities conducted housing surveys, and to undertake housing construction where local authorities failed to do so. Essentially, Coates, consistent with his (and Treasury's) general dislike of direct State housing provision, was promoting the English 'municipal' solution, although he acknowledged that the removal of slum housing would require direct State intervention. Nowhere in his document did he refer to Maori. In furtherance of its housing policy, the Government established the independently managed Mortgage Corporation of New Zealand and charged it with improving access to home ownership. It operated for just one year. The election of the Labour Government in 1935 ensured that both it and Coates's policy were discarded.

5.13 The Native Housing Act 1935

The views of the Department of Native Affairs and Treasury notwithstanding, the Coalition Government clearly discerned a shift in public opinion. The extinction of Maori, confidently predicted in 1907 by Walsh, had not eventuated. Nor, contrary to the expectations of Pomare and Te Rangi Hiroa, had Maori 'fused,' at least appreciably, with the 'Anglo-Saxons.'⁸⁹¹ In 1922, Te Rangi Hiroa had predicted that 'Extinction is not the fate of the Maori but absorption is his destiny.'⁸⁹² The renewed growth of the Maori population, growing awareness of the degrading housing and living conditions generally in many Maori communities, and the signs of a gradual movement of Maori into the country's urban centres, generated debate over measures best calculated to improve housing conditions. As the 1935 election campaign got under way, some candidates for general seats drew attention to the housing conditions of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. In October, R.W. Bothamley, the Democrat candidate for Otaki, claimed that 90 deaths of Maori had taken place in 28 weeks in the area between Marton and Otaki. 'The position among the Maoris in the area ... is nothing more or less than an iniquitous denial of elementary human rights and demands immediate action.'⁸⁹³ The Independent candidate for Manawatu made the same claim, namely, that deaths

⁸⁹¹ See 'The passing of the Maori,' *New Zealand Herald* 20 July, 27 July, and 3 August 1907, Supplement, p.5 in each instance. Walsh's paper was preceded by periodic discussion of the fate of Maori in the press. See, for example, 'Passing of the Maori,' *Auckland Star* 9 March 1905, p.3; *Hastings Standard* 10 March 1906, p.2; and *Wairarapa Daily Times* 19 February 1907, p.4.

⁸⁹² 'Passing of the Maori,' *New Zealand Herald* 17 October 1922, p.9.

⁸⁹³ 'Maori mortality,' *Evening Post* 30 October 1935, p.4.

among Maori had risen ‘to an alarming extent,’ a rise attributable to ‘pneumonia brought about by the result of bad housing conditions and the attendance at tangis.’⁸⁹⁴ A specially designed housing policy and programme were thus advanced as a means of enhancing and protecting public health generally and responding to the particular health needs of Maori, but also of encouraging Maori to remain in their predominantly rural communities, essentially as a rural proletariat.

A Native Housing Bill was referred to the Native Affairs Select Committee. On 25 October 1935 it returned the measure without amendment, whereupon it was that same day passed by the House through all three stages without debate.⁸⁹⁵ Again, on that same day, the Council passed the Bill through all three stages. The Leader of the Council indicated that it represented ‘the first instalment of the Government’s provision for housing the Maori people.’ Noting the assistance extended to Pakeha home-seekers through State lending agencies, he announced that ‘we are extending the right to obtain homes to our Maori people, in the same manner we have given it to the European population.’ Reflecting a debate within Government that the proposed scheme should be conducted on a ‘philanthropic,’ that is, subsidised, basis, Masters recorded that ‘This is going to be a business-like proposition, and there is no sentiment about the thing.’ Finally, he informed the Council that he had recently visited Otaki:

for the purpose of seeking conditions there, and if honourable members were to see what I saw, they would have no hesitation in voting for this Bill with a view to improving the living-conditions of the people in that part, and I have no reason to believe that the conditions there are any worse than in other parts.⁸⁹⁶

The Native Housing Act 1935 thus charged the Board of Native Affairs with making advances for the erection, alteration, improvement, or repair of dwellings, including the installation or repair of systems of lighting, heating, sanitation, water-supply ‘or other conveniences,’ and for the purchase of land or interests in land as sites for dwellings.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁴ ‘Native mortality,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 6 November 1935, p.5.

⁸⁹⁵ AJHR 1935, I3, p.8.

⁸⁹⁶ NZPD 1935, Vol.243, p.591.

⁸⁹⁷ The Board of Native Affairs was constituted under the Board of Native Affairs Act 1934-35, passed in the wake of the findings of the 1934 Commission of Inquiry into Native Affairs. It superseded the Native Land Settlement Board established under section 17 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1932. The new body was to assume responsibility for and control of the implementation of policy, to provide for continuity in administration, and to ensure the acquisition and development of the expertise required to implement, in particular, the Maori land development and, under Native Housing Act 1935, the Maori

Those wishing to build thus had to supply their own building sites. Section 4 dealt with the securities upon which advances could be made: they included a first mortgage of Maori land or of land owned by Maori; a first mortgage of any undivided interest or interests in Maori land; an assignment of proceeds of alienation of any Maori land or land owned by Maori; assignment or other disposition of any other monies payable on account of farm produce; and such other security or securities as the Board approved. Lands owned by Maori included those vested in a Maori land board, the Native Trustee, the East Coast Commissioner, or other trustee. The rate of interest was not to exceed that fixed by the Mortgage Corporation of New Zealand in respect of loans it granted. Otherwise, the Board of Native Affairs was empowered to determine the amount and term of any advance and generally to retain full control over the monies involved. Monies advanced constituted a charge against the land and the Crown could assume ownership in the event of default. In contrast to the powers of the Housing Board under the Housing Act 1919, the Act did not empower the Board to erect dwellings for lease and thus failed to deal with the needs of landless Maori or with those unable to service a mortgage.

Embodied in the Act was an assumption that most Maori were or would – perhaps should – remain rural dwellers. Many Maori, it should be noted, were suspicious and critical of urban living, Ngata for example, describing urban centres as the repository of ‘vile things.’⁸⁹⁸ In 1937, Fraser (as Minister of Health) referred to those Maori living and working in the urban centres as ‘migrant labour’ or ‘nomadic Maori,’ and in fact proposed the use of portable Public Works Department huts as temporary accommodation.⁸⁹⁹ Even Coates suggested that ‘It was far better to keep the Maoris in their natural environment, where they could catch fish, grow kumaras, and have a reasonable opportunity of education for their children, than to bring them into villages or towns.’⁹⁰⁰ The growing presence of Maori in the country’s urban centres, and their tendency to congregate in the areas of poorest housing, were phenomena neither widely understood nor appreciated.

housing programmes. It also secured a measure of control over both the Maori district land boards and the Native Trustee.

⁸⁹⁸ NZPD 1943, Vol.263, p.150.

⁸⁹⁹ Minister, Health to Minister, Native Affairs 2 February 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3.

⁹⁰⁰ NZPD 1937, Vol. 249, p.727.

5.13.1 The Housing Survey Act 1935

The Coalition Government prepared one further housing-related measure. The Housing Survey Act 1935 required the councils of every borough and the boards of every town district having not fewer than 1,000 inhabitants (as at 31 April 1934) to conduct housing surveys ‘preparatory to the Inauguration of a Dominion Housing Scheme.’ Section 3 of the Act set out the objectives as, first, establishing the extent of overcrowding of dwelling houses; second, determining the extent to which the physical condition of houses failed to ensure ‘the maintenance of a reasonable standard of health and comfort;’ and, third, estimating the number of people detrimentally affected by existing housing conditions. All completed surveys were to be delivered to the Minister of Internal Affairs.⁹⁰¹ One hundred and nineteen local authorities were required to conduct surveys of houses in their respective districts. By the end of March 1939, 115 had complied.⁹⁰² The terms of the Act excluded dwellings occupied by Maori except where they were located in boroughs and town districts as defined.

The first Labour Government, having included action in respect of Maori housing in its election manifesto, imparted fresh impetus to efforts to deal with what was clearly a major social and health problem. The Department of Native Affairs already had before it the results of H.B. Turbott’s 1933 survey of Maori housing in the Waiapu district: he found that 60 per cent of houses were ‘overcrowded,’ 50 per cent had unsafe water supplies, almost 50 per cent of pit toilets were faulty, and 33 per cent of houses had no toilets at all, while just eight per cent had a bath and 13 per cent a sink. Despite some suggestions that the Government believed reports of widespread substandard housing to be exaggerated, on 14 July 1937, the Minister of Native Affairs thus directed his Department to undertake ‘a more or less comprehensive survey of Maori housing conditions ...’⁹⁰³ The task was entrusted to the registrars of the Native Land Court districts. The total Maori population was estimated at 82,664 of whom just 8,506 (10.3 per cent) resided in the Ikaroa Maori Land District. Of those 8,506, a total of 6,830 (80.3 per cent) resided in 22 counties, 1,643 (19.3 per cent) resided in 22 cities and

⁹⁰¹ See also Statutes Amendment Act 1936, sections 33 and 34.

⁹⁰² For a summary of the results, see AJHR 1938, B6, p.7; 1939, B6, p.4; and 1939, B13, p.11.

⁹⁰³ See, for example, ‘Better homes for Maori,’ *Wairoa Star* 2 August 1937, in in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

boroughs, and the balance of 33 persons resided in three independent towns. The Under Secretary of the Native Department noted that in 1936 Pomare had carried out a survey of Maori dwellings in the vicinity of Tauranga and on the basis of his results advised his Minister that ‘it is highly probable that there will be only a small proportion of the houses, in the North Island at least, which will be entitled to be classified as satisfactory.’⁹⁰⁴

The object of the proposed survey was, the Minister of Native Affairs informed his Under-Secretary, to secure ‘a comprehensive picture of the requirements ... especially for Native Pensioners and Indigent Natives.’ The needs of Maori who had assets or who could offer ‘landed security’ were also to be taken in to account, but the first two groups were to take priority. All houses in Maori pa and villages were to be inspected as to their physical state; the number of inhabitants; the cost of repair, renovations, and additions; and the capacity of the owners to repay advances. Those entrusted with conducting the survey, preferably fluent in te reo Maori, were enjoined to act with discretion, respect, and sensitivity. With respect to the Ikaroa Maori Land District, Langstone nominated Hari Eutene of the Native Land Court in Wellington, a ‘young chief’ of Ngati Toa, Te Ati Awa, and Ngati Raukawa, to survey the districts of the west coast.⁹⁰⁵

In an effort to extract maximum value from the limited funds available, the Department of Native Affairs decided to focus its efforts on whole pa or villages, but partly with an eye to creating ‘model villages’ and demonstrating to Maori what their cooperation could help to achieve. To that end, those conducting the surveys were directed to concentrate upon those localities offering the best prospects for improvement through, especially, repair and painting. Both the Board and the Minister of Native Affairs were anxious that at least one village scheme should be undertaken in each Maori land district. The Board of Native Affairs had decided that individual applications, that is,

⁹⁰⁴ Under Secretary, Native Department to Minister, Native Department 4 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

⁹⁰⁵ Acting Native Minister to Under Secretary, Native Department 14 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1. Langstone was left in doubt over the costs a national survey would entail. See Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Acting Minister, Native Affairs 4 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

applications lodged in respect of dwellings outside pa and villages, would only be approved where there were ‘special circumstances.’⁹⁰⁶

5.14 Assigning pensions

Having determined to establish the extent of the problems associated with the housing of Maori, the Labour Government also initiated a further important step. Under the War Pensions Act 1915, the Pensions Act 1926, and the Pensions Amendment Act 1936, pensions granted under those Acts were absolutely inalienable. Thus there was no legislative provision by which a pensioner could assign the whole or any part of his pension in repayment of an advance granted under the Native Housing Act 1935. For many Maori, especially the aged, the award of a pension had offered the promise of a steady and predictable income, although the continuation of the reductions made in both the old-age and widows’ pensions posed some difficulties. In May 1937, the Under Secretary noted that the Board of Native Affairs had found it necessary, ‘in accordance with the policy of the Government,’ to accept assignments of pensions, noting that there appeared to be some doubt that the Crown was bound by the provision relating to inalienability.⁹⁰⁷

On the grounds that an assignment was not legally binding and could be revoked at will, the Department of Native Affairs pressed to have the law changed and to that end submitted to the Commissioner of Pensions a proposed amendment to section 85 of the Pensions Amendment Act 1936. The proposed amendment provided for the assignment of a pension or part thereof but only for the purposes of the Native Housing Act 1935.⁹⁰⁸ The Commissioner of Pensions insisted that the existing arrangement between the Departments of Native Affairs and Pensions worked satisfactorily and hence opposed an amendment that in his view would ‘create a precedent for further inroads into the inviolability of pensions for the benefit of private creditors ...’⁹⁰⁹ In July 1938, the

⁹⁰⁶ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Presidents, Maori district land boards 9 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁹⁰⁷ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Commissioner, Pensions 31 May 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

⁹⁰⁸ Under Secretary, Native Department to Commissioner, Pensions 14 December 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

⁹⁰⁹ Memorandum, Commissioner of Pensions 7 March 1938, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/3.

Board of Native Affairs again pressed for legislation to authorise the assignment of pensions against housing advances.⁹¹⁰ Section 69 of the Social Security Act 1938, while providing that benefits, including old age pensions, were ‘absolutely inalienable,’ also provided that the Social Security Commission could pay the whole or any part to any other person ‘for the use of the beneficiary or in satisfaction to the extent thereof of any of his just debts or liabilities.’ One of the consequences was that many Maori applied for increases in their pensions with the clear intention of employing them to repay housing advances. It should be noted that others, similarly keen to improve their living conditions, decided to lease or re-lease their lands and to assign all the rents to repayment and, according to Judge Harvey (President, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board) to subsist as best they could. Interestingly, Harvey was not entirely enthusiastic about the housing programme for Maori, questioning in particular the provision of housing for the elderly and the infirm through assignments of pensions. Such low-priced housing, he claimed, did little to improve the lot of Maori generally, and especially of ‘the great body’ of landless young Maori.⁹¹¹

In 1937, the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board, as a first step in conducting a survey of Maori housing conditions, sought from the Pensions Department a list of all pensioners and details of pension rates. It will be recalled that the full old-age pension in 1935 was £45 10s per annum, but for Maori was £26 or £32 10s per annum, and that by 1939 the full rate payable to all was £78 per annum. Similarly, the full basic widow’s pension in 1935 was £52 per annum but £39 for Maori, rates that were subsequently set at £65 per annum. The figures supplied by the Pensions Department indicated that the number of old-age pensioners residing in Porirua ki Manawatu numbered 50: two received £26 per annum; six received £32 10s; 11 received £39; one received £44; 25 received £45 10s; and five received £58 10s. The average old-age pension paid to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori was thus £43 per annum. Fifteen widows received widows’ pensions: they ranged from £52 per annum for a widow with one child to £182 for a widow with

⁹¹⁰ Under Secretary, Native Department to Minister, Native Affairs 15 July 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/586 30/1/7 Part 1.

⁹¹¹ Judge Harvey, Hastings, to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 16 June 1938, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/650 36/1 Part 1. Harvey was keen to espouse the virtues of his Mataika building syndicates. Such syndicates were, in essence, miniature building societies of ten to 15 contributing members formed, through modest weekly payments (10s per week for some 19 years) to assist each member to qualify for assistance under the Native Housing Act 1935. See ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

seven children, with an average of £83.5 per annum. Ten Maori received invalids' pensions, including a patient in the Otaki Sanatorium.⁹¹² Assignments in respect of housing advances typically ranged from £1 to £1 15s per month, although some widows paid up to £2 10 and those relying on war (and economic) pensions paid sometimes as much as £3 10s. At £1 and £1 15s per month, housing loan repayments thus absorbed between 27.9 and 48.8 per cent of the average old-age pension of £43.

5.15 The Native Housing Amendment Act 1938

Upon the defeat of the Coalition Government in the general election of 1935, responsibility for the implementation of the Native Housing Act 1935 devolved upon the new Labour Government. In August 1936, Prime Minister Savage acknowledged that 'the general living conditions of the Maori people are well known to the Government, and the living conditions of the European part of our population are also well known to the Government. They are, in numbers of cases, badly housed, and the health of the race must necessarily be suffering.'⁹¹³ During the preceding months the policy of the Act had been debated: thus the Department of Native Affairs suggested that housing could be provided as 'a philanthropic act, as a business operation, or as a measure which combined both these aspects.'⁹¹⁴ Acting on the recommendation of the Board of Native Affairs, the Government decided to sustain the policy laid down in the 1935 enactment, namely, that Maori would be assisted through loans rather than through the construction of dwellings for rent, and that it would operate on the basis of full cost rather than interest only recovery.⁹¹⁵

Pressure for concerted action mounted. During the first week of September 1936, Prime Minister Savage opened a conference called to discuss Maori health and housing. Ngata, while welcoming the progress that had been made in Maori health, indicated that 'his considered opinion [was] that the fundamental problem to be faced concerned housing and sanitation, including water supply.'⁹¹⁶ The *Otago Daily Times* was in no

⁹¹² ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/3.

⁹¹³ NZPD 1936, Vol. 246, pp.508-509. See also 'Investigations to be made,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 August 1936, p.6; and 'Maori health,' *Auckland Star* 19 August 1936, p.10.

⁹¹⁴ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/74 36/3 Part 1.

⁹¹⁵ See A.G. Hercus, 'The Board of Native Affairs: an experiment in departmental control,' *Journal of Public Administration* 5, March 1943, pp.28-43.

⁹¹⁶ 'Maori welfare,' *Evening Post* 2 September 1936, p.10.

doubt that ‘The conclusion that the health and physical welfare of the Maori race are inextricably bound up with the housing question is one that must be unhesitatingly accepted.’⁹¹⁷ Attention thus turned to how best the financial burden on the State might be minimised. That same month, September 1936, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs advised his Minister that with the recent increases in relief and sustenance rates paid to unemployed Maori (see Chapter 4), the Maori ‘has an equal opportunity with the Pakeha of providing shelter and food for himself and his family.’ His further comments are worth setting out in full.

The European unemployed are in practically all cases required to pay rent and I would think that this rent would in no case amount to less than 25% and would in many cases amount to as much as 50% of his wages.

The Maori has a simpler mode of living. He pays rent in exceptional cases only and moreover he can clothe and feed himself at a fraction of the cost necessary to clothe and feed a European and his family. So that altogether the Maori should be in a position to greatly improve his general standard of living if he had the desire and knowledge of how to do so. He, however, has little idea of economy and does not appreciate the fact that a small sum saved each week will ultimately provide him with decent shelter. The result is that he is spending his money foolishly and in many cases going to excesses that leave his wife and family short of the necessities of life.

It seems that the Maori should be assisted in handling his money and particularly so in view of the fact that his housing conditions are so deplorable that his health is being seriously affected and his constitution undermined.

I believe it would be possible and certainly in the interests of the Maori if at least 20% of the moneys paid to him ... were held back and put into a fund for providing him with decent shelter.

The Under Secretary went on to suggest that over five years a fund of £350,000 could be established, sufficient to build 1,500 houses: thereafter repayments would allow the construction of some 100 homes a year.⁹¹⁸

Under Secretary Campbell presented his proposal to an October 1936 conference that involved the Minister of Native Affairs, the Secretary of the Department of Labour, the Assistant Secretary to the Treasury and other officials, as well as Ngata. The conference

⁹¹⁷ ‘Maori welfare,’ *Otago Daily Times* 7 September 1936, p.8.

⁹¹⁸ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 22 September 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/312 17/4 Part 4.

decided that Maori housing ‘was a question which would require very careful investigation,’ and that ‘the question of assisting Maoris to improve their living conditions in pas and Native settlements’ should be given ‘special attention.’⁹¹⁹ That same month, over 300 Maori delegates of the Labour Party gathered in Wellington with housing high on the agenda for discussion.⁹²⁰ A few weeks later, in November 1936, the Government announced that a committee had been appointed to investigate Maori housing, specifically ‘rehabilitation in suitable areas of large sections of the Maori population, and money will be available from the Ministry for Housing for Maori housing, as required by the Minister in Charge of Native Affairs.’⁹²¹ For his part, the Native Minister was certain that, with respect to housing, ‘the Maori himself was largely at fault,’ at the same time recording that ‘the Government could not provide them with homes free of cost, any more than it could be expected to do so for the pakehas.’⁹²² In short, its commitment to State rental housing notwithstanding, the Labour Government maintained the core provision of the Native Housing Act 1935, namely, that of assistance through loans rather than the provision of public housing.

After considerable debate during 1936 over whether the ‘Native housing scheme’ should be run on a cost recovery or ‘philanthropic’ basis or a mixture of both, regulations under the Act were thus finally gazetted in January 1937. Critically, they provided not for interest-only loans but for full-cost recovery. The flood of applications that was expected to follow gazettement failed to materialise. In April 1937, the Board of Native Affairs first considered applications for housing assistance that had been received, screened, and forwarded by the Maori land boards. Under the regulations, the Board of Native Affairs was required to decide upon the amount of any advance, the rate or rates of interest to be paid, the term of any advance, and the manner of repayment, that is, whether at the end of a stated period, on demand, by periodical equal or unequal payments, or by equal periodical payments that consisted partly of principal and partly of interest. Moreover, the Board was to approve the plans and specifications of any dwelling for which an advance was approved.⁹²³

⁹¹⁹ ‘Maori unemployment,’ conference held 30 October 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/312 17/4 Part 4.

⁹²⁰ ‘Maori delegation,’ *New Zealand Herald* 26 October 1936, p.10.

⁹²¹ ‘State housing scheme,’ *Press* 27 November 1936, p.12.

⁹²² ‘Maori housing,’ *New Zealand Herald* 20 November 1936, p.12.

⁹²³ *The Native Housing Regulations 23 December 1936*, notified in the *New Zealand Gazette* 8 January 1937. The First Schedule to the *Regulations* set out the application form that applicants for an advance

One of its first decisions was thus to set the interest rate on loans at 4.25 per cent, the same effective rate charged on new loans by State Advances Office. It defined the security required, the term of loans ('not more than 20 years'), the assignment of rents or other funds 'sufficient to cover at least a gross payment of 8%,' and sinking funds 'sufficient to repay the loan as quickly as is reasonably possible.'⁹²⁴ With respect to security, some Maori land boards raised questions over the adequacy of undivided shares. At the same time they acknowledged that most applicants could only offer such shares and that partitioning, surveying, and completing titles often proved to be an expensive process and one beyond the resources of many. The Board of Native Affairs, on the other hand, was empowered to accept undivided shares as security. The Board's operations possessed, it was suggested, 'an element of the paternal and health promotion or even philanthropic and certainly beneficial ...' It was also considered likely that the Native Land Court would act to protect the undivided interests of mortgagors. The key issue was whether the applicant had an undivided interest sufficient in area and value to cover the cost of an advance.⁹²⁵ The Maori land boards were advised accordingly and reminded that section 4(1)(b) of the Native Housing Act 1935 had been included to render the Act 'more elastic and beneficial,' although the preference was clearly for land held in severalty.⁹²⁶

While the Department and Board of Native Affairs were inclined to focus on improving housing conditions in selected settlements, not all the Maori land boards were supportive and it was to the boards that applications were initially made and screened. Thus the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board advised applicants that it would support those whose their applications were 'reasonable,' and where they could show assigned rents to the extent of eight per cent per annum on the cost of a dwelling. The Board's

were required to complete. It required a range of information that included the purpose of the advance; the locality and legal description of the building site; the age and marital status of the applicant and the number of children and other dependants; the applicant's employer, employment, and income (including rents); and other lands. Clearly, those forms, had they been located, would have yielded a wealth of information. With respect to Porirua ki Manawatu, a small number of forms was located and they are employed in the discussion that follows.

⁹²⁴ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrars, Native Land Court 13 April 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁹²⁵ See G.P. Shepherd, Memorandum for Under Secretary, Native Affairs 7 May 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

⁹²⁶ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrars, Native Land Court 13 May 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

president suggested that building sites within kainga did not offer great security as they were unlikely to have much value in the open market. The real security lay in the assignment of rents, provided of course that Maori retained rent-producing lands. Further, he added, small houses without basic services would not offer much in way of re-sale value.⁹²⁷ During the first seven months of 1937, authorities issued for housing purposes nationally totalled £61,777. Of that sum, just £5,131 related to the Ikaroa Maori Land District, including £1,576 for dwellings in Levin, Feilding, and Foxton. The bulk of the authorisations were issued for dwellings in the Tokerau, Waikato-Maniapoto, and Waiariki Maori Land Districts.⁹²⁸

In April 1937, the Minister of Native Affairs indicated to his Under Secretary that further legislation would be necessary, especially where applicants, including pensioners, could not offer any security. Clearly, the Native Housing Act 1935 was failing to assist a large number of very poor Maori, including those whose pensions had been reduced. He looked to legislation along the lines of Part I of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 and noted that it should provide for those living on the land but who had no interest in it or who had only a small undivided interest, and where it was desirable to build a number of houses on communal land and where Maori were landless. The land required would be brought in under the Native Land Amendment Act 1936. ‘Legislation of this kind,’ he observed, ‘should be as simple as possible and would give the Board of Native Affairs control over the houses and a charge against the land.’ He also indicated that ‘Power of direction to the Pensions Department to make deductions from Pensions would be desirable.’⁹²⁹ A few weeks later, Native Minister Langstone defined the Government’s Maori housing policy as one of providing ‘the door of opportunity and means for the rehabilitation of the Maori in comfortable homes more in accord with the present-day standards of health and hygiene.’ Three routes were open to Maori: under the Native Housing Act 1935 loans of up to £750 were available for the construction of new or improvements to existing

⁹²⁷ Judge Harvey to Chairman and Members, Board of Native Affairs 25 March 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

⁹²⁸ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Chairman, Building Coordinating Committee, Treasury 23 July 1936, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

⁹²⁹ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 15 April 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/251 30/1/1 Part 1.

homes; cottages were being constructed as part of the Maori land development schemes; and a £50,000 revolving housing fund had been established to assist indigent Maori. But, Maori would have to work and repay the advances made.⁹³⁰ In other words, Maori could not expect the State to establish a stock of rental or some form of subsidised housing, a declaration made at the very time the Government was embarking upon a major State rental house-building programme.

To assist those of very limited means, the Government had placed the sum of £50,000 as a grant (subsequently known as the Special Housing Fund) to the Native Trustee ‘for the purpose of housing for indigent Natives,’ that is, for those who could not offer land as security or who could not service a loan.⁹³¹ Ngata took exception to the term ‘indigent,’ given especially that Maori earning low wages could qualify for assistance. Langstone defended the use of the term, noting that ‘The recipients were to be old-age pensioners and people who did not have sufficient income, and who lived in overcrowded conditions. The term “indigent,” was, he conceded, ‘perhaps scarcely the right one to apply to a person earning wages ...’⁹³² That sum was in addition to the £100,000 allocated to ‘Native Land Settlement’ under the Appropriations for Public Works Services.⁹³³ Coates concurred, noting that, with respect to those Maori employed or with small incomes, ‘it was most difficult to get Government Departments to make advances for housing purposes. There seemed,’ he concluded, ‘to be a prejudice against helping the Maoris.’⁹³⁴ By the end of March 1938, the Special Housing Fund had been fully committed. At the request of the Native Minister, Cabinet agreed to set aside a further £50,000.⁹³⁵

The Government also proposed to extend the provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935, first, by making it possible for Maori unable to offer any security to obtain advances for houses which they could purchase and, second, by extending the Act’s operation from Native land to land owned by Maori.⁹³⁶ Treasury raised no objections

⁹³⁰ ‘Native housing,’ *Dominion* 31 July 1937.

⁹³¹ AJHR 1937, B7, p.96.

⁹³² NZPD 1937, Vol 249, pp.725-726.

⁹³³ AJHR 1937, B7A, p.79. See Vote No.50 – Native Land Settlement, Subdivision III.

⁹³⁴ NZPD 1937, Vol.249, p.727.

⁹³⁵ ‘Houses for Maoris,’ *Auckland Star* 19 March 1938, p.7.

⁹³⁶ NZPD 1938, Vol.253, pp.424-425.

to the Bill as drafted.⁹³⁷ During the debate on the Native Housing Act Amendment Act 1938, the Minister of Health (Peter Fraser) confessed that ‘He had been staggered by some of the things he had seen, and had never thought that such bad conditions were prevalent among the Maori people.’⁹³⁸ In moving the Bill’s committal, he observed that ‘We have a responsibility to our Native people, whose mode of living for hundreds of years has been suddenly upset, thereby causing problems for which the Government of the country ... must take the responsibility.’⁹³⁹ Ngata expressed his satisfaction, predicting that it would solve ‘a great many difficulties which have arisen during the last two years ...’ in particular the fact that many Maori were landless, and that the Act did not provide advances for the purchase of existing homes. He went on to add that it had been envisaged originally that the Native Housing Act 1935 would comprise two parts: the first part would deal with housing loans, and the second with the Board of Native Affairs constructing houses for renting, but Treasury had advised that ‘it would be better to try one instalment of housing policy, and that was the lending of money to people who had securities.’ The new Bill thus represented a second instalment.⁹⁴⁰ Describing certain Government department as ‘conservative,’ he claimed that from 1929 to 1935 Treasury had found money to build cowsheds and cottages (as part of the Maori land development scheme) but had raised all manner of difficulties when asked to finance a housing scheme,’ a stance that he attributed to its experience with the workers’ housing scheme.

Ngata called for a liberal interpretation of clause 18(2) (section 18(2) of the Act). That clause provided for the establishment, under the control of the Native Trustee, the Special Native Housing Fund of £50,000. ‘That goes as near as the English language can to saying,’ he remarked, ‘that we establish a fund to build a house for a necessitous Maori without bothering much whether he can pay back the cost of it or not.’ Such was

⁹³⁷ Secretary, Treasury to Under Secretary, Native Department 4 July 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/251 30/1/1 Part 1.

⁹³⁸ ‘Native housing,’ *Evening Post* 15 September 1938, p.23. Some hospital boards, concerned that after six months’ residence in their districts Maori qualified for charitable aid, sought to encourage Maori to return to their original homes. See ‘Maoris in the city,’ *New Zealand Herald* 10 August 1938, p.16. Even more extreme ‘solutions’ were suggested, a member of the Waiapu Hospital Board, for example, proposing that Maori ‘should be placed in concentration camps under military discipline as a remedy for the poor housing conditions ...’ The suggestion attracted a storm of criticism. See ‘“Figure of speech,”’ *Poverty Bay Herald* 7 June 1938, p.4.

⁹³⁹ NZPD 1938, Vol.253, p.425.

⁹⁴⁰ NZPD 1938, Vol.253, p.425. The Native Housing Act 1935, as introduced into the House of Representatives contained no reference to rental housing.

the need, his hope was that the special fund would be ten times as large as the proposed appropriation. The ‘economic downfall’ of Maori he attributed to the sale of lands once owned by Maori to the Crown and to settlers. Maori, he declared were ‘resourceless.’⁹⁴¹ Finally, Ngata proposed that the Department of Native Affairs should be made responsible for housing, suggesting that the Department of Public Works was not sufficiently focused on the task involved.⁹⁴² Some Pakeha politicians regarded the Bill as compensation for some of ‘the so-called thefts’ of land from Maori subsequent to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Others expressed misgivings over the involvement of the Board of Native Affairs, that it had outlived its usefulness and that the administration of the Department should again be concentrated in the hands of the Minister of Native Affairs. Clause 18(4) of the Bill under which Native Trustee was empowered to transfer funds to the Maori land boards and for the Board to direct the expenditure of those funds – in particular was regarded as cumbersome.⁹⁴³ The Bill received its third reading on 14 September 1938, Tirikatene claiming that it placed Maori ‘on an equality with the pakeha in the matter of housing.’⁹⁴⁴ In the Legislative Council the next day and, with one minor amendment, it passed through all its stages without dissent.⁹⁴⁵

In brief, the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938 contained a number of provisions intended to bring the measure in to line – after a lapse of 19 years –with the Housing Act 1919. The first was to allow the Crown to set apart Crown land (not held under lease or licence) for the purposes of the principal Act, while the second was to empower the Board of Native Affairs to acquire land for purposes of the Act: in both instances, the intention was to enable the Board to respond to the needs of landless Maori or those who had insufficient interest or whose lands were otherwise unavailable or unsuitable. The third major provision was to empower the Board to construct dwellings for sale or lease. Finally, as noted above, the Native Housing Amendment Act also contained measures intended to assist those Maori deemed to be ‘indigent.’ Within a few months that sum was increased to £100,000 such was the demand. In short, Maori could not expect the State to establish a stock of rental or some form of subsidised housing, a

⁹⁴¹ NZPD 1938, Vol.253, pp.426.

⁹⁴² NZPD 1938, Vol.253, pp.427-428.

⁹⁴³ NZPD 1938, Vol.253, pp.428-429.

⁹⁴⁴ NZPD 1938, Vol.253, p.429.

⁹⁴⁵ NZPD 1938, Vol.253, p.442. See also pp.467-468.

declaration made at the very time the Government was embarking upon a major State rental house-building programme.

5.16 Dwellings for Pakeha, dwellings for Maori: the Acts compared

Table 5.6 offers a summary of the major provisions of the Housing Act 1919, the Native Housing Act 1935, and the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938. It was not until 1938 that an effort was made to bring the legislation relating to housing for Maori in to line with the Housing Act 1919. Even then, some important differences remained, notably in respect of loan limits, the term of repayment, and the rate of interest. In 1939, Ngata raised the matter of interest, claiming that, with respect to development scheme dwellings, interest at the rate of 5.5 per cent per annum was being charged, whereas under the Native Housing Act 1935 the rate was 4.12 per cent. At the same time, he noted, the Government was charging local authorities three per cent on monies they borrowed to construct urban houses.⁹⁴⁶ Ngata raised the matter again in 1940, noting that the rate on development schemes remained at 5.5 per cent although the Government's borrowing costs had declined to between 2.0 and 2.5 per cent.⁹⁴⁷ He now insisted that those Maori who secured ordinary advances under the Native Housing Act 1935 were paying at the rate of 8.5 per cent per annum, with some in fact paying at the rate of 12.5 per cent per annum (including repayments of principal). 'The Native Department ...' he observed, 'will snap at the opportunity of getting a building paid for in as short a time as possible.' He also claimed that some of the conditions imposed by the Board of Native Affairs were 'fairly stiff' but acknowledged that Maori, anxious to secure a home, readily assigned rents from land and any other income, but that a year or two later 'they begin to "whip the cat" when they find that the proportion of their income that goes towards the payment of the house is such that they are left with very little to pay for the food to maintain them in the house.'⁹⁴⁸ He proposed that the Board exercise a little more leniency.⁹⁴⁹ In 1944, Tirikatene again took up the matter of interest, recording that Maori who had secured advances under the Native Housing Act 1935 paid at the rate of eight per cent annum. That rate, he argued, had been struck with

⁹⁴⁶ NZPD 1939, Vol.254, p.730.

⁹⁴⁷ NZPD 1940, Vol.257, pp.677 and 797-798.

⁹⁴⁸ NZPD 1940, Vol.257, p.798.

⁹⁴⁹ See also NZPD 1944, Vol.264, p.485.

a view to encouraging an early reduction of principal whereas, in his view, repayments should be adjusted in line with a mortgagee's income.⁹⁵⁰

Table 5.6: The Housing Act 1919, the Native Housing Act 1935, and the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938 compared

Provisions	Housing Act 1919	Native Housing Act 1935	Native Housing Amendment Act 1938
Crown may set apart Crown land for housing purposes	Section 9	n.a.	Section 2
Crown may purchase land for housing purposes	Section 10	n.a.	Section 3
Crown may erect houses	Section 11	n.a.	Section 4
Crown may sell or lease houses	Section 12	n.a.	Section 5
Advances for construction	Up to £750 for wooden dwelling, £850 for all others	Set by Board of Native Affairs	Set by Board of Native Affairs
Deposit required	£10	n.a.	Set by Board of Native Affairs
Right of disposal	Approval required	n.a.	Approval required
Term	Maximum of 30 years for wooden dwelling, 36.5 years for all others	Set by Board of Native Affairs	Set by Board of Native Affairs
Interest	5 per cent per annum on outstanding purchase money	Not to exceed maximum set by Mortgage Corporation	Set by Board but not to exceed rate set under section 10 of principal Act
Lease term	Weekly or monthly tenancies	n.a.	Weekly or monthly tenancies
Funding	Crown may borrow up to £750,000 per annum	As appropriated by Parliament	As appropriated by Parliament

Source: Statutes of New Zealand 1919, 1935, and 1938

5.17 'Anxious to remedy this condition'

In 1937 the Department of Native Affairs recorded that the surveys conducted of Maori housing conditions had substantiated 'the deplorable fact ... that for years many Maoris

⁹⁵⁰ NZPD 1944, Vol.266, p.643.

have been living under distressing circumstances in surroundings gravely injurious to the health and welfare of the race.’⁹⁵¹ Maori housing conditions were discussed at length during the Young Maori Party’s conference in May 1939. On the basis of data extracted from the 1936 census, Belshaw estimated that of 22,000 male Maori breadwinners, some 9,000 were engaged in farming and forestry and a further 9,000 in general labouring, while also suggesting that about 44 percent of all Maori male breadwinners were engaged in seasonal, unskilled, and casual work. Ngata claimed that 80 per cent of Ngati Porou were ‘living’ directly or indirectly on farming. Only in Hawke’s Bay, it appears, did a large number of Maori live from rents received.⁹⁵² H.B. Turbott presented some of the results of the Maori housing surveys that had been undertaken, while the Under Secretary of the Native Department (O.N. Campbell) declared that ‘Hundreds and hundreds of Maoris all over New Zealand are living in appalling conditions,’ and that at least 50 per cent of all Maori were ‘inadequately housed.’ He went on to claim that ‘The Department is desperately anxious to remedy this condition,’ at the same time recording that at least £4m would be required to relieve the difficulties. ‘The great difficulty,’ he observed, ‘was that the financial assets of necessitous Maoris were negligible.’⁹⁵³

At a later conference in that same year, 1939, Campbell indicated that £4 million to £6 million was required.⁹⁵⁴ On the assumption of a £5 million capital cost and an annual allocation of, say, £250,000, it would take 20 years to house the *existing* population at a time when the rate of Maori population growth was accelerating. But, claimed the *Standard*, investigations into housing conditions had revealed ‘a national disgrace’ and delivered ‘something of a shock to the public conscience.’ It attributed the difficulties to the policy of neglect that successive administrations had adopted.⁹⁵⁵ The *Auckland Star* offered an alternative view, suggesting that the ‘individualisation’ of Maori life, and specifically the effort ‘to contend with modern demands of living standards [single dwellings] has led to pathetic results. Structures in which dwell separate family units

⁹⁵¹ AJHR 1937, G10, p.7.

⁹⁵² ‘On the land,’ *Bay of Plenty Times* 24 May 1939, p.6. But on this matter, see T.J. Hearn, ‘Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori and the Crown,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2008.

⁹⁵³ ‘Housing of Maoris,’ *Evening Post* 24 May 1939, p.13.

⁹⁵⁴ See ‘Employment and housing of Maoris: notes on a conference, 12 July 1939,’ in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 1.

⁹⁵⁵ ‘Moral standards of Maori race,’ *Standard* 22 February 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

are more often not mere shacks. They are put together with odd scrap timber, old corrugated iron, sacking etc. Badly lit, worse ventilated, without any amenities ... and receive the draughts of all the winds that blow.’⁹⁵⁶ In 1940, in a discussion on dealing with the incidence of typhoid among Maori, Turbott claimed that ‘The housing of half the Maori people is still deplorable, but to rehouse the Maori would cost millions of pounds and is economically impossible.’⁹⁵⁷

5.18 The Native Housing Act in operation

By 1938, 12 standardised plans had been prepared for Maori homes: three, for two, three, and four-bedroom homes, were favoured, each providing for the bedrooms, a living room and a bathroom, but apparently not for a kitchen. Average grants ranged from £250 to £300, described as ‘the minimum expenditure necessary.’ While the houses were small, they were, reported the *New Zealand Herald*, ‘a very decided improvement on those now inhabited by most applicants,’ among them one-roomed shacks with earthen floors housing three generations.⁹⁵⁸ The aim, state, the Ikaroa Maori land Board, is ‘to supply applicants with the best type of dwelling within their financial resources,’ although such dwellings ‘possibly do not achieve the standard of the modern European home ...’⁹⁵⁹

5.18.1 Special Housing Fund

The funds made available through the Special Housing Fund were allocated among the seven Maori land districts according to the distribution of the Maori population as recorded by the census of 1936. Table 5.7 summarises the allocations made by mid-February 1938. At an average cost of £300 for a new home, the £4,950 allocated to the Ikaroa Maori Land District would have allowed the construction of some 17 homes.

⁹⁵⁶ ‘A landless people,’ *Auckland Star* 5 September 1940, p.18.

⁹⁵⁷ AJHR 1940, H31, p.51.

⁹⁵⁸ ‘Native houses,’ *New Zealand Herald* 18 January 1938, p.14.

⁹⁵⁹ AJHR 1938, G10, p.12. See also Belshaw, ‘Economic circumstances,’ p.218.

Table 5.7: Funds (£) allocated and advances approved, by Maori land districts, to 14 February 1938

Land districts	Advances: number	Amount apportioned	Amount authorised	Amount available
Tokerau	38	10800	8575	2225
Waikato-Maniapoto	42	8200	11455	-3355
Waiariki	10	7200	3193	4007
Tairawhiti	33	6750	7705	- 955
Aotea	10	5400	2550	2850
Ikaroa	20	4950	6190	- 1240
South Island	7	1800	2350	- 550
Totals	160	45000¹	42018	2982

¹ £5,000 retained to meet contingencies

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1

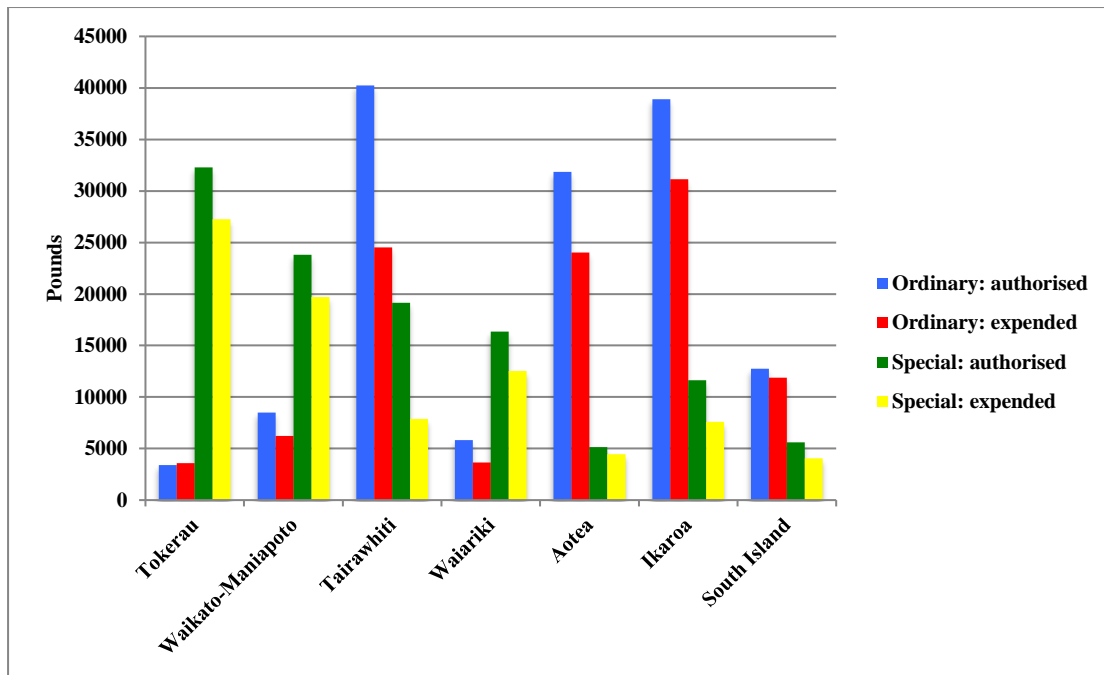
As noted above, a further £50,000 had been added to the Fund. By February 1939, £90,000 of the £100,000 had been allocated, £10,000 having been retained for contingencies. Interestingly, in 1939, Auckland's Registrar suggested that part of the Special Housing Fund should be employed to construct rental houses for Maori. He was advised that his district's allocation from the Fund was exhausted and the suggestion lapsed accordingly.⁹⁶⁰ He did not add that the Government was, at that stage, not disposed to consider instituting a rental housing scheme for Maori, least of all in the country's urban centres. The Under Secretary of Native Affairs was moved to advise his minister that between 500 and 700 applications for assistance could be dealt with if funds were available. 'We have as yet,' he observed, 'touched on only the fringe of this problem ...' What he required, he added, was an additional £100,000.⁹⁶¹ By the mid-November 1939, 35 advances (11.5 per cent of the national total) had been made to Maori in the Ikaroa Maori Land District, the total amount authorised, namely, £11,856 exceeding the district's allocation of £9,900. The average size of the loans was thus just under £339. The total amount allocated under the Fund was £96,264.

⁹⁶⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Auckland 30 May 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

⁹⁶¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 7 August 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/589 30/1/9 Part 2.

5.18.2 The progress of house construction to 1941

By the end of March 1941, 557 houses had been constructed under the ordinary and special provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935. Of that total, 90 or just over 16 per cent were located in the Ikaroa Maori Land District. The bulk of new house construction had taken place in the Tairāwhiti Maori Land District. Graph 5.6 summarises the amounts that had been authorised and expended and suggests that the land districts fell in to one of two categories: the first included those – Tokerau, Waikato-Maniapoto, and Waiariki – in which the bulk of the activity had taken place under the special provisions of the Act; and the second those – Tairāwhiti, Aotea, Ikaroa, and the South Island – in which the bulk of activity had taken place under the ordinary provisions of the Act. Whether that suggested that housing needs varied among the districts or whether the respective boards prioritised applications differently or some other factor or factors is not clear. What is clear, is that in the Ikaroa Maori Land District, the bulk of the available funds was allocated under the ordinary provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935. It is also clear that the total monies allocated to 31 March 1941, namely, £255,460, fell far short of the £250,000 that the Under Secretary of Native Affairs was required annually over 20 years just to house the existing Maori population. The annual allocation over five years to the end of March 1941 stood at just over £50,000 or about a fifth of the estimated requirement.



Source: AJHR 1941, G10, p.44

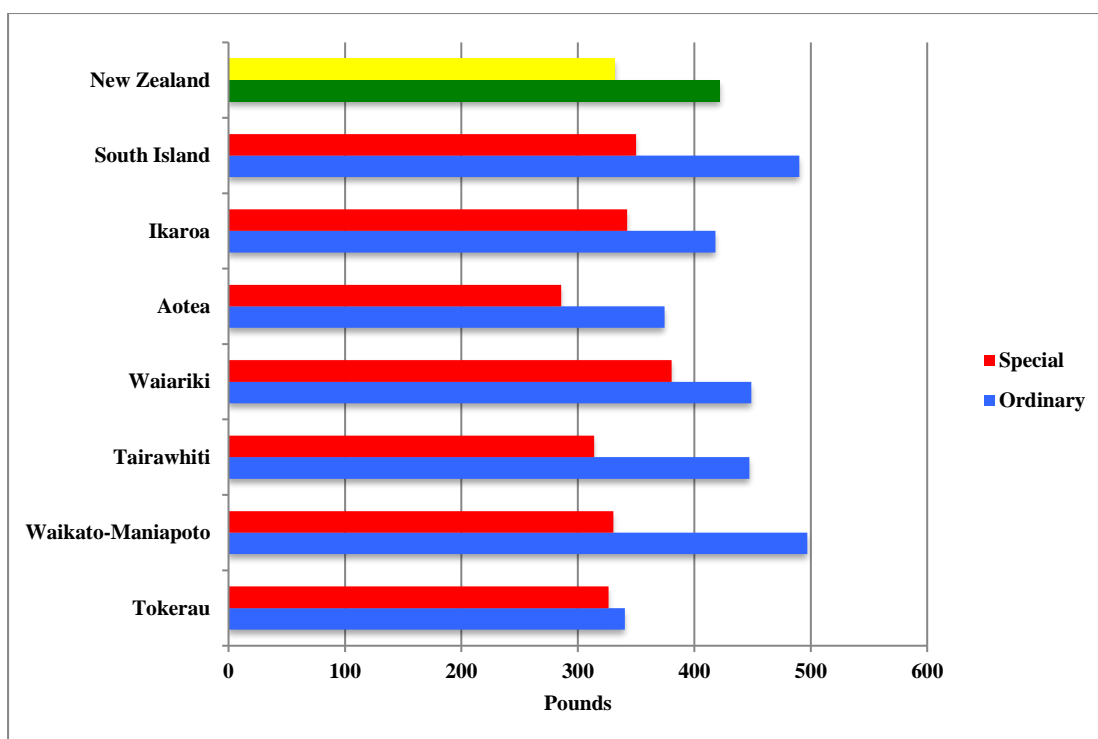
Graph 5.6: Amounts authorised and expended under the ordinary and special provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935 by Maori land districts, to 31 March 1941

Graph 5.7 sets out, again by Maori land districts and under the ordinary and special provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935, the average value of the advances authorised. Not unexpectedly, the average value of authorised special advances was appreciably lower than that of advances authorised under the ordinary provisions of the Act. There was also considerable variation, with respect to both types of advances, among the land districts: thus the average value of an ordinary advance recorded for the Tokerau Maori Land District was about two-thirds of that recorded for the Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Land District. Table 5.8 sets out the cost (exclusive of land) of building four-, five-, and six-room private dwellings in each of the four main centres in 1940-1941. The most popular size of house was that of five rooms. The average value of the ordinary and special advances combined (£377) was just under a third of the average cost of building a five-room private dwelling in the four main centres in 1940-1941.

Table 5.8: Private dwelling building costs, four main centres, 1940-1941

	Four rooms: £	Five rooms: £	Six rooms: £
Auckland	1086	1177	1546
Wellington	1028	1252	1462
Christchurch	919	1059	1275
Dunedin	1018	1178	1522
Average	1013	1167	1451

Source: *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1942*



Source: AJHR 1941, G10, p.44

Graph 5.7: Average value of authorised ordinary and special loans by Maori land districts, to 31 March 1941

5.19 Conclusions

Between 1895 and 1936 State housing policy alternated between direct intervention in the housing market through the construction of dwellings for rent or purchase, and assisting individuals through the provision of ‘cheap’ finance to construct or purchase

their own homes. Direct targeted intervention constituted an acknowledgement by the State that it had a responsibility to ensure that all citizens were housed, while the provision of cheap finance constituted an acknowledgment that high borrowing costs were for many individuals a significant barrier to entry into the property market. Of particular significance for this investigation is that the state of Maori housing was, between the end of the bubonic plague scare at the turn of the century and the onset of the depression of the 1930s, rarely a matter of public discussion. The influenza epidemic only briefly directed attention to the state of Maori housing and its role in the high death rate that Maori sustained, and while the well-recognised link between housing conditions and tuberculosis largely failed to stimulate any action.

As the attention of policy makers during the period from 1895 to 1935 remained fixed on meeting the housing needs of New Zealand's growing urban population, with respect to Maori housing a major crisis gathered. The origins of that crisis – the magnitude of which by 1935 could no longer be ignored – lay in the large-scale transfer of wealth out of Maori and in to Crown and private ownership, the inability of many Maori to turn their remaining lands to commercial account, the inability of most Maori to secure access to State lending agencies, and the far-reaching structural changes that emerged, after the turn of the century, in the rural labour market. Some did invest the proceeds of land sales and rents in to new houses, but a growing population compelled many Porirua Maori to resort to 'temporary dwellings' and to sharing: overcrowding and the propagation of tuberculosis were two manifestations.

Of particular relevance to this investigation was the decision by both the United-Reform Coalition Government of 1931-1935 and the First Labour Government of 1935-1949 to deal with Maori housing separately from that dealing with housing generally. The genesis of that bifurcated approach lay, in part, in the particular combination of circumstances affecting Maori and to that extent may have been soundly based. But separate approaches did not mean shared objectives, equal treatment, or comparable outcomes. The Native Housing Act 1935, by limiting assistance to those who could supply a building site, was intended to encourage Maori to remain in their home (rural) districts and to effect limited improvements in housing standards while limiting the Crown's limited financial commitment and exposure by imposing tighter loan limits than those that applied to non-Maori, and by requiring repayment over a maximum of

20 years rather than the contemporary standard of 30 years. Progress in re-housing Maori would remain slow until housing policies were more closely aligned and until the growing urban-wards movement of Maori after 1945 forced a re-evaluation of State housing policy.

Chapter 6: Housing Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, policies and progress

6.1 Introduction

In 1940, George Graham, one of the founders of Te Akarana Association, suggested that the ‘individualisation of Maori life’ had meant that Maori families were no longer living communally. He went on to remark that

This effort to contend with modern demands of living standards has led to pathetic results. Structures in which dwell separate family units, are more often than not mere shacks. These are put together with odd scrap timber, old corrugated iron, sacking, etc. Badly lit, worse ventilated, without any amenities as to drainage etc. – they are subject to all the consequential disadvantages and receive all the winds that blow. Here Maori childlife is reared – and there their handicaps in life begin.⁹⁶²

In Graham’s view, only the fringes of the problem had been touched. The Minister of Native Affairs appeared to agree. In July 1941, his attention having been drawn to conditions in nine districts, among them, Otaki, he indicated to his Under Secretary that ‘The Maori housing problem throughout New Zealand is becoming most difficult.’⁹⁶³ Two years later, in 1943, he described Maori housing as ‘the worst blot in the administrative system of New Zealand’ and directed the Department of Native Affairs to ‘become active in the matter ...’⁹⁶⁴

Those observations suggested that the Government had recognised that existing efforts to deal with that ‘blot’ had thus far failed to yield the desired outcome. Chapter 6 will examine the changes made in Maori housing policy and the progress achieved in rehousing the Maori people. It is not possible within the scope of this report to examine the history of post-war State housing policies and programmes in their entirety. Rather, Chapter 6 focuses primarily on the period from about 1941 to about 1951, but with a section that endeavours to establish whether any significant improvements had taken

⁹⁶² ‘A landless people,’ *Auckland Star* 5 September 1940, p.18.

⁹⁶³ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 22 July 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

⁹⁶⁴ H.G.R. Mason for Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 29 March 1943, in ACIH 16036 MAW2459/249 30/1 Part 2.

place in the housing of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori by 1976: the census taken in 1976 was the last to include housing data on a county and borough basis.

6.2 'Better cowsheds'

In 1949, the Labour Government claimed success for its Maori housing policy, T.P. Paikea, in particular, insisting that 'The old Tory Government built better cow-sheds than houses for the people who milked the cows.'⁹⁶⁵ Subsequently, Butterworth, in his review of the period from 1921 to 1951, concluded that the Native Housing Act 1935 'at last admitted that Maoris had extreme difficulty in obtaining finance from the normal loan agencies and if Maoris were to be re-housed the Government would have to take the responsibility for it.' By the end of March 1941, he recorded, under that Act and through the land development schemes, 1,592 houses (including renovated dwellings) had been provided and over ten per cent of the Maori people re-housed.⁹⁶⁶ After 1945, the pace of house construction quickened so that by 1951, 3,051 new houses had been constructed. Butterworth noted that the number of huts and whares declined from 4,676 in 1936 to 2,275 in 1951; the number of tents and camps from 1,528 to 568; the number of one-room houses with three or more occupants from 1,932 to 1,579; the number of two-room houses with five or more occupants from 1,336 to 1,204; and the number of three-room houses with seven or more occupants from 740 to 585. In short, while the housing problem for Maori remained serious, 'major progress had been made by 1951 ...'⁹⁶⁷ Michael King similarly noted that the Labour Government 'instituted a crash programme in Maori housing and had brought about some noticeable improvements by the later 1940s,' an assessment that he subsequently strengthened when he noted that Maori housing was 'drastically improved by the Labour Government during the 1930s and 1940s.'⁹⁶⁸

Krivan, in an examination of the period from 1935 to 1967, offered a more qualified assessment. Under the 1935 Act, he noted, the primary objective was to provide

⁹⁶⁵ NZPD 1949, Vol.289, p.2239.

⁹⁶⁶ G.V. Butterworth, 'A rural Maori renaissance?' Maori society and politics 1920 to 1951,' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81, 2, 1972, p.181.

⁹⁶⁷ Butterworth, 'A rural Maori renaissance?' p.181.

⁹⁶⁸ Michael King, *Maori: a photographic and social history*. Auckland: Heineman, 1983; rev. ed. Auckland: Reed, 1996, pp.106 and 200.

financial assistance for building purposes, that the key consideration was an applicant's ability to repay the advance, and that the size and quality of houses were thus determined by cost alone. The security required was a mortgage over a section and that required an individual title. Many Maori were in fact landless, while the Act did not cater for urban Maori.⁹⁶⁹ He suggested that under the Native Housing Act 1935, the cost-recovery loan policy adopted by the Board of Native Affairs limited the number of Maori able to benefit from the scheme, so that progress in re-housing Maori remained slow.⁹⁷⁰ At the heart of the housing difficulties that many Maori endured was thus the same pseudo-individualisation of title that hampered the efforts of Maori to transform their rural lands in to productive farms.

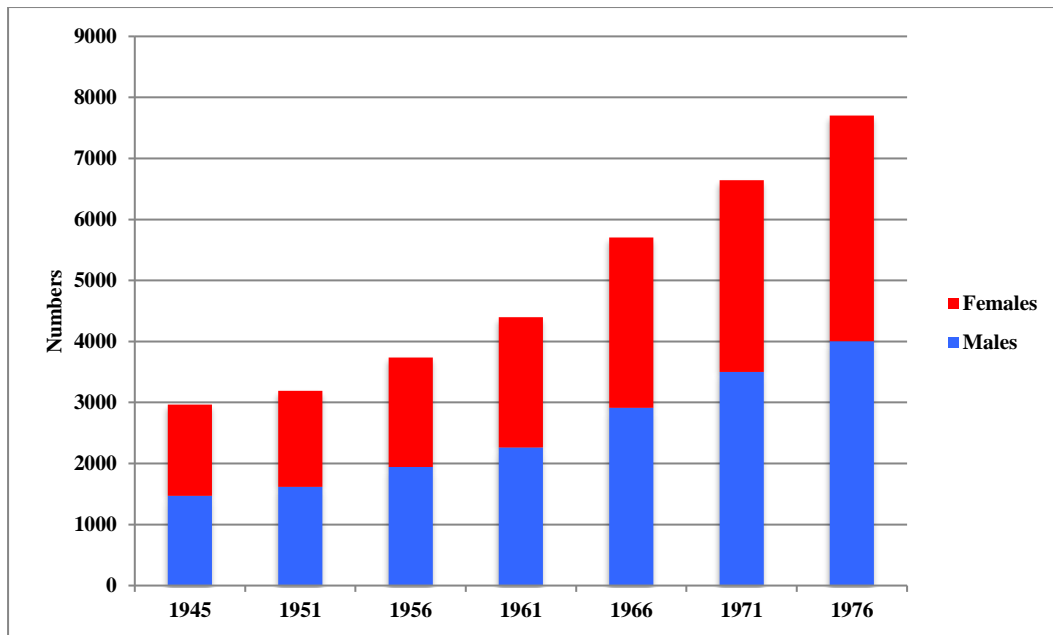
6.3 'A great shaking loose:' key demographic changes

Several key Maori demographic changes formed part of the context in which the Government fashioned its Maori housing policy, among them, the growth in numbers, the rising rate of family formation, a burgeoning birth rate, and the growing mobility of the Maori people. For present purposes, Graph 6.1 sets out the size of the Porirua ki Manawatu Maori population as recorded by successive censuses from 1945 to 1976.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁹ Mark Krivan 'The Department of Maori Affairs housing programme, 1935-1967,' MA Thesis, Massey University, 1990, pp.36 and 124.

⁹⁷⁰ Krivan, 'The Department of Maori Affairs housing programme,' p.27.

⁹⁷¹ No census was conducted in 1941. The first post-war census was taken in 1945, the second in 1951, and subsequent censuses every five years until 2011.



Source: Censuses of New Zealand

Graph 6.1: The Maori population of Porirua ki Manawatu, 1945 to 1976

The growing mobility of the Maori people was the other key demographic change. In 1940, Belshaw, with respect to Maori, described ‘an unambiguous picture of a people whose land resources are inadequate, so that a great and increasing majority must find other means of livelihood.’⁹⁷² A series of reports prepared between 1945 and 1950 reached similar conclusions. For Maori, the combination of land loss, rapid population growth, and contracting rural employment opportunities generated what has been termed ‘a great shaking loose of migrants from the countryside.’⁹⁷³ The movement of Maori into the country’s urban centres can be traced back to the 1920s. It slowed as the Maori land development programme appeared to offer the prospect of employment and improved living conditions, but began to accelerate as it became apparent that that programme would assist only a modest proportion of the population. In Porirua ki Manawatu, such had been the scale of the transfer of land from Maori in to Crown and settler ownership that the land development programme was of minor significance. The urban-wards movement also quickened in response to the Government’s assumption of

⁹⁷² Horace Belshaw, ‘Economic circumstances,’ in I.L.G. Sutherland, I.L.G. editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1940, p.192.

⁹⁷³ Richard Bedford, Robert Didham, and Manying Ip, ‘The changing spatial and social contexts for Chinese-Maori interaction 1920s-1980, in Manying Ip, editor, *The dragon & and the taniwha: Maori & Chinese in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press 2009, p.107.

wide-ranging wartime manpower controls. Through the National Service Department and working with the Maori War Effort Organisation, it directed workers in to industries considered to be essential. At the peak of military mobilisation (September 1942), 153,600 men and 3,400 women were in the armed forces. The number of unemployed and those engaged in subsidised employment contracted sharply, from 19,000 in 1939 to just 2,000 by December 1942 as those involved were drawn either in to the armed forces or in to the workforce. By the end of March 1943, some 27,000 persons had been directed in to selected industries, that number rising to 176,100 by the end of March 1946.⁹⁷⁴

By the end of March 1945 some 10,000 direction orders had been issued to Maori, the Maori War Effort Organisation playing a key role in mobilising Maori men and women for the war effort. One major outcome was that for the first time many Maori were drawn in to the country's urban centres and its paid workforce: nationally, the proportion of the Maori workforce in manufacturing expanded from four per cent in 1936 to 18 per cent in 1945. The economic rehabilitation programme instituted in 1941 for discharged service personnel was, especially with respect to Maori veterans, also intended to equip and prepare them for entry in to the paid workforce, in particular, construction and transport. Such was the inflow of Maori into Auckland that in 1942 its town clerk raised the possibility of restrictions being imposed on what he termed 'the indiscriminate movement of Maoris into the Cities' and their occupation of dilapidated housing. The Minister of Native Affairs suggested to the Minister of Social Security that it was 'not in the best interests of the Maori people to allow them to move into the larger centres of population unless there are very good reasons for their doing so.' In his view, the payment of social security benefits was 'very largely responsible' for the movement. He thus suggested that such benefits should be stopped unless beneficiaries returned to their home districts.⁹⁷⁵ At the same time, he acknowledged that 'however poor the condition of houses in Auckland, into which Maoris may be moving, they are probably palatial compared with what they have left behind in the

⁹⁷⁴ J.V.T. Baker, *The New Zealand people at war: war economy*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1965, pp.81-87.

⁹⁷⁵ Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Social Security 14 January 1942, in in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/650 36/1 Part 1.

country.⁹⁷⁶ Maori, it seems, were a temporarily useful addition to the workforce, the expectation that once the war had concluded most would – or would be encouraged – to return to their rural homes.

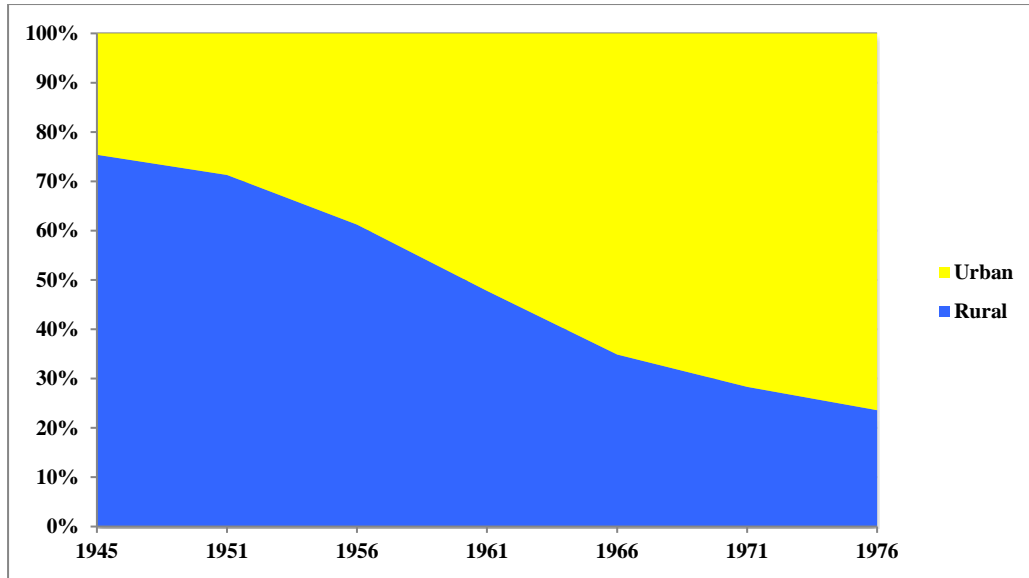
By 1950, it was clear that some Maori districts were becoming ‘over-populated’ resulting in under-employment and significantly lower standards of living than those enjoyed by the majority of citizens. Three remedies were canvassed, namely, relocation of the people, decentralisation of industry, and the closer settlement of the land.⁹⁷⁷ Only the first offered any real prospect and the Government finally accepted that large-scale urbanisation was not only inevitable but also essential if the labour needs of the urban-based manufacturing sector were to be met. The large-scale migration of Maori from the country’s rural districts thus accelerated during the 1950s. By employing a consistent definition of ‘urban,’ Watson demonstrated that the share of Maori in all urban places with populations over 1,000 increased from around 21 per cent in 1945 to 35 per cent in 1956, 62 per cent in 1966, and 71 per cent in 1971. That 71 per cent approached the 78 per cent of the total population classed as urban in that year.⁹⁷⁸ The post-war urban-wards migration of Maori and the economic rehabilitation programme for discharged service personnel implemented by the Rehabilitation Board would help compel major changes in housing policies.

Graph 6.2 classifies the Maori population of Porirua ki Manawatu in to its rural and urban components. The rural population contracted in size from 2,235 persons in 1945 to 1,817 in 1976, or alternatively from 75.4 to 23.6 of Porirua ki Manawatu’s Maori population.

⁹⁷⁶ Minister, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 31 March 1942, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/650 36/1 Part 1.

⁹⁷⁷ ANZ Wellington ACGV 8814 L1/231 30/1/28 Parts 1-4. See also R.B. Nightingale, ‘Maori at work: the shaping of a Maori workforce with the New Zealand state, 1935-1975,’ PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2007.

⁹⁷⁸ Mary Watson, ‘Urbanisation,’ in ESCAP (eds) *Population of New Zealand*, Monograph Series No 12, 1, United Nations, New York, 1985, pp.118-151. See also G.V. Butterworth and C. Mako, *Te hurihanga o te ao Maori: Te Ahua o te iwi Maori kua whakatatautia*. Wellington: Department of Maori Affairs, 1989, p.34.



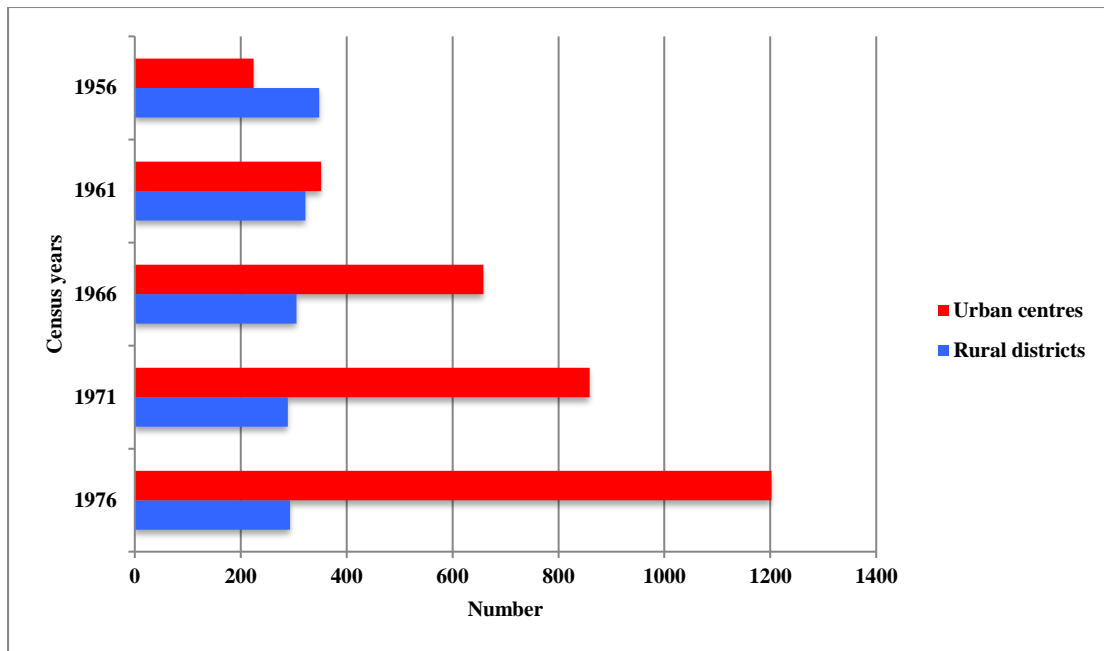
Source: Censuses of New Zealand

Graph 6.2: The rural: urban distribution of the Maori population of Porirua ki Manawatu, 1945 to 1976

6.4 People and dwellings

Graph 6.3 sets out the number of Maori dwellings as recorded by the censuses between 1956 and 1976. Most were defined as inhabited private dwellings, although the number of flats increased appreciably in the urban centres, from 6 in 1956, to 38 in 1961, 88 in 1966, 137 in 1971, and 186 in 1976. The marked increase in the number of dwellings in the urban centres and the increase in the number of flats in the latter reflected the urban-wards migration of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori.⁹⁷⁹ Graph 6.2 in fact suggests that that movement gathered strength after 1956 as the number of dwellings in the rural districts began to contract, and as the number in the urban centres increased sharply. The number of dwellings expanded sharply in the period from 1961 to 1966 and again from 1971 to 1976.

⁹⁷⁹ The urban centres were Feilding, Foxton, Palmerston North, Shannon, Levin, Otaki, and Waikanae, with the addition of Ashhurst and Foxton Beach in 1976.



Source: *Censuses of New Zealand*

Graph 6.3: Total Maori private dwellings, urban centres and rural districts, 1956, 1961, 1966, 1971, and 1976

6.5 The quality of Maori housing in Porirua ki Manawatu: the 1941 survey

Census results, details of some amenities apart, did not convey a great deal about the quality of housing and it was housing conditions of Maori in Horowhenua County that during the 1930s attracted growing attention. The state of housing in Tainui Pa was of particular concern. The site of the pa (Pukekaraka 4B, three acres) was vested in 32 original owners, a certificate of title having been issued on 16 September 1881. Most of the original owners were deceased, and succession orders had not been issued. In 1937, J.H. Flowers (of the Ikaroa Maori Land Court) reported that five dwellings – described as ‘shacks’ – on the block were located on the site, all beyond what was described as ‘the stage of economical repair.’ They housed 27 people none of whom held any interest in the block, while the heads of four of the five households were on relief work. In the vicinity of the pa lived another seven families (five comprised 44 persons) and again most of the dwellings were described being beyond repair: two household heads were receiving old age pensions, one was applying for the widow’s pension. Three were in receipt of relief and one of sustenance and the standard of living accordingly was low. In addition, a number of Maori lived within Otaki Borough, ‘in

houses not fit for habitation.’ In respect of the latter, Flowers listed ten houses, eight of which were located on sections vested in the Ikaroa Maori Land Board. One dwelling, of four small rooms, housed some 14 people and ‘should have been condemned long ago;’ another ‘should be condemned and burnt,’ another was ‘hardly worth the value of a match for ignition,’ while one of eight rooms but without a bathroom or other amenities housed 24 people.⁹⁸⁰ In the last case, both male household heads were receiving the maximum relief payment of £3 6s 6d per week, ‘but with a dozen people [each] to feed and clothe, there can be little left for contribution to housing.’⁹⁸¹

The cost of nine new houses and repairs to three existing dwellings was put at £4,410. Despite the hope of the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board that the Board of Native Affairs would select the settlement as one of those on which it would focus its housing efforts, the latter was not prepared to approve that expenditure. A note on the paper considered by the Board referred to ‘Futility of permanently establishing people in an area where there is no work.’⁹⁸² An alternative suggestion, that the Crown purchase part of the land involved and subdivide it in to building sites, and that a number of Maori living ‘in houses not fit for habitation’ in Otaki be encouraged to re-locate to Tainui, appears not to have been considered.⁹⁸³

Prompted by a report by its health inspector, the Horowhenua County Council, in November 1939, discussed the heavy toll that pulmonary tuberculosis was reportedly taking of Maori. One councillor stressed ‘the need for something being done to improve the standard of living among the Maoris ...’⁹⁸⁴ A month later, it was reported that the Palmerston North Hospital Board and the Department of Health had taken steps to alleviate the situation, including additions to the Otaki Sanatorium. But, the council suggested, ‘Satisfactory results were not going to be obtained from what hospitalisation did unless the living conditions of the natives were improved.’⁹⁸⁵ During the discussion,

⁹⁸⁰ J.H. Flowers to Registrar, Wellington 31 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁹⁸¹ P.L. Anderson, Otaki to Registrar, Wellington 20 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁹⁸² Board of Native Affairs, ‘Indigent housing – Tainui Pa, Otaki,’ in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁹⁸³ J.H. Flowers, Ikaroa District Maori Land Court to Registrar, Wellington 31 August 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16064 MA31/18/32.

⁹⁸⁴ ‘Spread of TB,’ *Otaki Mail* 13 November 1939, p.2.

⁹⁸⁵ ‘Maoris and tuberculosis,’ *Otaki Mail* 11 December 1939, p.2.

reference was made to a survey of Maori housing conditions: the council's chairman claimed that 'In the past the Department [of Health] has not had the knowledge of the conditions existing. The survey will give that knowledge ...'⁹⁸⁶ In fact, the Department of Health was fully aware that Porirua ki Maori housing conditions were anything but satisfactory: in 1939, in an effort to combat typhoid, dysentery, and diarrhoea, it allocated 110 privies to Horowhenua and Manawatu. Installation commenced in 1941, the Department of Public Works utilising Maori labour funded by the Employment Board.⁹⁸⁷

In 1937, the district nurse stationed in Levin drew the attention of the Department of Health to the state of three Maori dwellings in the borough: the response of the Department of Native Affairs was to note that applicants for housing assistance had to offer both security and a satisfactory method of repayment.⁹⁸⁸ There the matter appears to have rested until 1944 when the Levin Borough Council pressed the Minister of Native Affairs to act: on that occasion, the latter, noting that the Government 'provided the means whereby Maoris can obtain modern and convenient dwellings or carry out repairs or effect additions and renovations to existing dwellings,' cited 'war conditions bringing about an extraordinary shortage of building materials and labour.' Once available, he predicted, 'those Maoris whose needs and requirements have been approved beforehand will naturally be in the van ...'⁹⁸⁹ It appears that behind the Council's approach lay a belief that the borough's recent outbreak of dysentery had been 'laid against the housing conditions of the Maoris,' together with concern over the 'dilapidated' appearance of the dwellings concerned. Further, the involvement of the Palmerston North Hospital Board occasioned some disquiet given that its chairman had 'some active interests in lands around the Motuiti and Himatangi areas.'⁹⁹⁰

⁹⁸⁶ 'Maoris and tuberculosis,' *Otahi Mail* 11 December 1939, p.2.

⁹⁸⁷ ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1329 194/25 and ABDZ 16163 H1/1778 194/25.

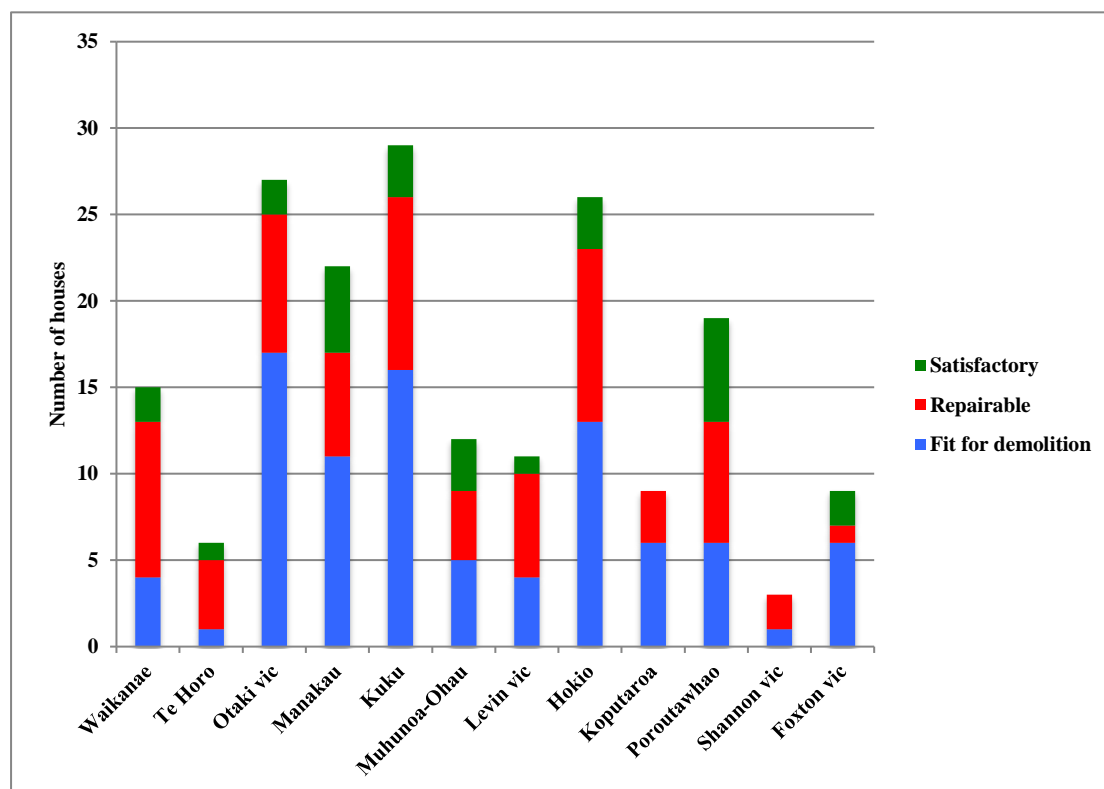
⁹⁸⁸ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director-General, Health 18 November 1937, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1017/b 30/3/5.

⁹⁸⁹ Town Clerk, Levin Borough Council to L.G. Lowry, MHR 17 May 1944 and Minister, Native Affairs to L.G. Lowry MHR 12 June 1944, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1017/b 30/3/5; and 'Improvement of Native dwellings,' *Levin Daily Chronicle* 19 July 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1017/b 30/3/5.

⁹⁹⁰ Building Supervisor, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 24 November 1944, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1017/b 30/3/5.

6.5.1 The Department of Health's 1941 housing survey

The Department of Health was sufficiently concerned that in 1941, Palmerston North's Medical Officer of Health (Dr D. Cook) prepared a report on Maori housing conditions in the Palmerston North Hospital District. It covered the Rangitikei, Oroua, Kiwitea, and Horowhenua Counties. The results for the rural settlements of Horowhenua County are set out in Graph 6.4. In the county, just 14.9 per cent of the 188 dwellings inspected were deemed to be 'satisfactory,' 37.2 per cent were described as needing repairs but to be repairable, while 47.9 per cent were evidently fit only for demolition on account of defective floors, unsatisfactory ventilation, unsatisfactory lighting, the absence of linings, draughts, and overcrowding. Thirty-five dwellings had no water supply and in 81 cases the supply was inadequate; and 37 had no privy accommodation. In five areas the problems were acute, namely, Otaki vic where 63 per cent of the dwellings were considered fit only for demolition; Manakau for which the proportion was 50 per cent; Kuku, 55.2 per cent; Hokio, 50 per cent; and Poroutawhao, 31.6 per cent.

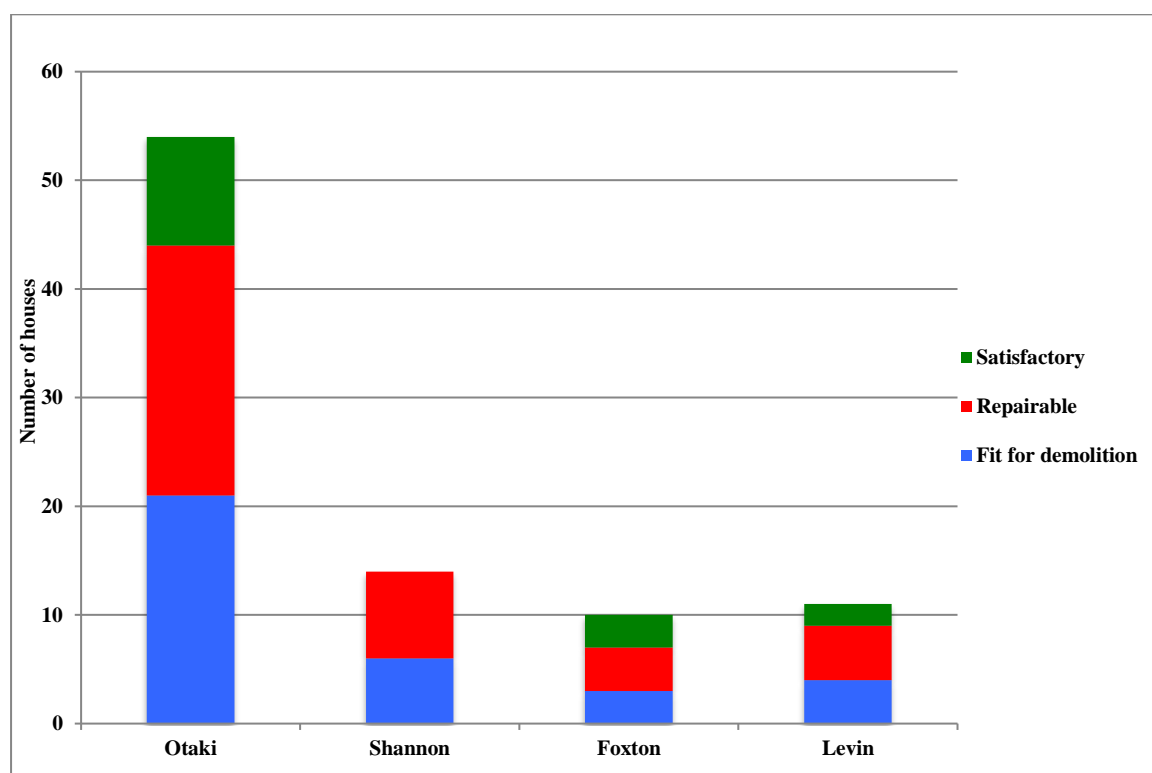


vic = vicinity

Source: ANZ Wellington ABQU W4452 632 1240 194-3

Graph 6.4: The state of Maori dwellings, Horowhenua County, 1941

Graph 6.5 sets out the results for the boroughs of Otaki, Foxton, Shannon, and Levin. Of the 89 dwellings in the four boroughs, 38.2 per cent were described as fit for demolition, the problem being particularly acute in Otaki where 61.8 per cent were so deemed.



Source: ANZ Wellington ABQU W4452 632 1240 194-3

Graph 6.5: The state of Maori dwellings: Otaki, Shannon, Foxton, and Levin Boroughs, 1941

Table 6.1 summarises the position in terms of rural and urban districts. With respect to the quality of housing, the position was only slightly better in the four urban centres than in the Horowhenua County’s rural settlements. Of 193 dwellings for which details were secured, 156 had satisfactory privies while 37 had none, although the latter were being provided for under a grant approved for sanitation. The cost of effecting repairs

was estimated at £13,870, while the estimated cost of replacing the 124 dwellings classified as fit for demolition with new houses was £62,000, or an average of £500 per dwelling. While it recognized the difficulties posed by the diversion of resources into the war effort, the Department of Health pressed to have the ‘more urgent’ cases rectified. The Department of Native Affairs reiterated its existing position, namely, that any assistance rendered ‘must ... be governed by the persons concerned and their willingness to improve their living conditions. In addition, their financial ability to meet the costs of ... improvements must be taken into consideration.’⁹⁹¹

Table 6.1: The state of Maori housing, Horowhenua County and internal boroughs, 1941 (per cent)

	Rural districts	Urban centres	Totals
Satisfactory	14.9	16.9	15.5
Repairable	37.2	44.9	39.7
Fit for demolition	47.9	38.2	44.8
n=	188	89	277

Source: ANZ Wellington ABQU W4452 632 1240 194-3

In August 1944, the *Evening Post* reported that the Department of Health had presented a report (presumably based on the 1941 survey) on the ‘wretched’ housing conditions endured by Horowhenua Maori to the Palmerston North Hospital Board, apparently in a further effort to press the Department of Native Affairs to act.⁹⁹² Palmerston North’s *Evening Standard* acknowledged that it had long been known that Maori housing conditions were wretched. ‘The hygienic conditions revealed,’ it suggested, ‘must shock the public conscience and rouse the authorities to the need for immediate action to make the homes at least reasonably healthy.’ Efforts to improve Maori health were being undone by poor housing conditions, noting that six per cent of the Palmerston North District Health Board’s ‘country patients’ were Maori.⁹⁹³ ‘Unless,’ it concluded, ‘drastic action is taken to remedy a disgraceful position treatment of the Maori population will continue to be a serious matter for Hospital Boards.’ It also claimed that

⁹⁹¹ Director-General, Health to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 21 May 1942, and Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director-General, Health 9 July 1942, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4452 194-3.

⁹⁹² ‘Wretched housing,’ *Evening Post* 22 August 1944, p.4.

⁹⁹³ How it arrived at that figure is not known.

the report demonstrated that no progress had been made in improving housing conditions.⁹⁹⁴

Not all sections of the press adopted that position. The *Manawatu Times* insisted that the widely acknowledged ‘deplorable’ conditions under which many Maori lived was their ‘own problem.’ It argued that ‘Firstly, it is weakening to receive assistance; secondly, the wealth per capita of the Maori population equals that of the European population; thirdly, the Maoris have ample earning capacity to house themselves properly.’ Evidently, the multiple forms of assistance extended by the State to Pakeha settlers, workers, and home seekers had seriously ‘weakened’ a very large proportion of the population. Quite what the second assertion was based on was not specified, while the meaning of ‘earning capacity’ was obscure at best. Nevertheless, it concluded ‘housing is essentially the Maoris’ own problem ... the undesirable condition of housing now found arises from misapportionment [*sic*] of expenditure.’⁹⁹⁵ It was not an unfamiliar argument, the same claims having been long advanced for the apparent failure of Maori to turn their remaining lands to productive account.

Cook’s report was also debated by the Manawatu County Council when it was claimed that in his report (a full copy of which was not located) he had

cited instances of uncompleted houses built by the Native Department, which had been occupied by Maoris urgently needing accommodation. The Maoris reported that the houses had been left unfinished and they had represented the position without success. In one instance, the authorities had been obliged to force the occupants out owing to the unfinished condition of the dwelling and the Maoris, a considerable family, had taken up their abode in an already overcrowded meeting house. Another instance cited in the report was the attitude of one Maori whose house had remained uncompleted for some time. He had complained without result, and, his patience exhausted, he had resolved upon the idea of demolishing the house in order to force the hands of the authorities. The uncompleted house was thereupon pulled down and the timber stacked awaiting action.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁴ ‘Housing of Maoris,’ *Evening Standard* 26 August 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102. See also ‘Maoris living under shocking conditions,’ *Manawatu Times* 22 August 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

⁹⁹⁵ ‘The Maoris’ own problem,’ *Manawatu Times* 19 September 1944, copy in ACIH 16036 MAW2459/249 30/1 Part 2.

⁹⁹⁶ ‘Maori housing,’ *Evening Standard* 13 September 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102. See also ‘Deplorable Native housing conditions,’ *Manawatu Times* 13 September 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102. The attention of the Under Secretary was drawn to the report (without comment), but no response was located.

6.5.2 Motuiti, Opiki, and Poutu

Cook's report drew particular attention to Motuiti. The principal of Oroua Downs School had alerted the Prime Minister to the 'disgraceful' housing conditions of some 50 Maori living at Motuiti. The health of the children (who attended Oroua Downs School) was 'very much below European standards' and the 'grossly overworked' district nurse was able to do very little 'except of a temporary nature.'⁹⁹⁷ The Native Department's Chief Welfare Officer prepared a report on Motuiti (Table 6.2). It described living conditions for the 26 adults and 70 children living in Motuiti Pa as 'primitive to say the least,' but that, lacking any alternatives, families had been compelled to occupy old, decaying, and dilapidated buildings, sanitary arrangements were 'crude,' water supply was mainly from tanks, and some family members were afflicted with tuberculosis. Ten new houses were required, and three required additions and renovations. Of the ten family heads, five were in permanent employment, two were in casual work, two were supported by farms, and one was afflicted with ill-health. Just two could offer deposits although the remainder were willing to offer interests in land as security and to assign rents and wages. The difficulty, it was recorded, was that 'The greater proportion of Maori communities, though requiring houses most urgently, is disqualified by the requirement in regard to deposits. The question arises,' he added, 'as to whether it is policy to allow the position to deteriorate in regard to these communities or whether some scheme should not be devised to meet such circumstances.' A State rental housing scheme, he concluded, would 'meet the position generally,' especially if tenants were given the right of purchase.⁹⁹⁸ The Manawatu County Council discussed conditions at Motuiti but decided that the matter was not its responsibility and elected to draw the Government's attention to a 'serious' situation.⁹⁹⁹ For its part, the Department of Maori Affairs appeared uncertain over the appropriate course of action: building new homes, it was felt, would limit residents to a district where employment prospects or regular work and wages were few. The possibilities of land development in the area – to justify the erection of new houses – were

⁹⁹⁷ Principal, Oroua Downs School to Prime Minister 26 July 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102. See also 'Maoris living under shocking conditions,' *Manawatu Times* 22 August 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

⁹⁹⁸ Chief Welfare Officer, Native Affairs, 'Housing survey – Motuiti: general report,' in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

⁹⁹⁹ 'Deplorable Native housing conditions,' *Manawatu Daily Times* 13 September 1944; see also 'Maori housing,' *Evening Standard* 13 September 1944, both in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

canvassed.¹⁰⁰⁰ Little appears to have eventuated, most of the residents having little or no land or small interests located elsewhere.¹⁰⁰¹

Table 6.2: Results of a survey of Motuiti housing, 1944

Households	Residents: number	Comments
1)	18	Bad case of overcrowding
2)		
3	2	Two-room dilapidated shack
4	22	Two-room tin shack: condemned
5	9	One-room shack
6	12	House in good order but small
7	3	One-room shack
8	9	House in fair order but too small
9	5	House condemned
10	10	One-room shack and condemned: deaths from TB
Total	96	

Source: ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102

Also the focus of considerable attention was Opiki where, during the mid 1930s (as noted above) a substantial area of swamp had been converted in to highly productive market gardens producing onions and potatoes for the Wellington market.¹⁰⁰² In response to wartime demands, the area in crop had expanded rapidly, although the industry also expanded at Levin, Otaki, and Palmerston North (and at Hawera, Ohakune, Hastings, Greytown, and Whanganui).¹⁰⁰³ Some 400 workers and their families – described in one report as ‘a moving community’ comprising extended family groups – gathered at Opiki gardens where Pakeha market gardeners offered accommodation and living conditions that the Palmerston North Hospital Board, in 1944, described as intolerable.¹⁰⁰⁴ Those 400 people were accommodated in 14 unauthorised camps that consisted largely of poorly equipped Army huts, muddy sites, open drains, uncovered rubbish pits, inadequate water supplies, and defective toilet

¹⁰⁰⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Registrar, Wellington 4 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

¹⁰⁰¹ Field Supervisor, Levin to Registrar, Wellington 25 January, 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

¹⁰⁰² ‘Vegetable land,’ *Evening Post* 10 March 1944, p.6.

¹⁰⁰³ ‘Feeding the forces,’ *Evening Post* 9 March 1944, p.7.

¹⁰⁰⁴ ‘Maoris congregate,’ *Evening Post* 19 December 1944, p.4. The employment of Maori on market gardens was discussed in Chapter 4. The focus here is on living conditions.

facilities. Under pressure from the Department of Health, in particular, some improvements were effected, but in 1949, District Nurse D.J. McDonald recorded that many of the workers continued to reside in overcrowded conditions on muddy sites and in quarters that lacked drainage and electricity.¹⁰⁰⁵ A conference held in Palmerston North 29 June 1949 and involving the Horowhenua County Council, Palmerston North Hospital Board, and officers of the Departments of Education, Agriculture, Health, Labour and Native Departments, resolved that, ‘in the interests of public health, and good living conditions generally, strongly to recommend the Government that immediate action was necessary to provide adequate accommodation.’¹⁰⁰⁶

At Poutu, in 1947, some 40 people were found living in two wharenuī and a wharekai and cooking in an un-floored kitchen: three were known tuberculosis sufferers. A year later, in 1948, 57 people were living on the site, including seven with tuberculosis. By late 1949, some of the families were moving in to Shannon where the Department of Maori Affairs had purchased sections: the Department’s welfare officer worked with the Whakatere Tribal Committee to assist people in preparing loan applications. A detailed household survey of the most urgent cases in Poutu and about Shannon was conducted in 1950 and the progress of loan applications closely monitored.¹⁰⁰⁷ The Shannon Borough Council suggested that the local housing problem could be resolved if the Department were to construct rental houses for Maori: that induced the Department to restate its policy, namely, that rental housing would be left to the State Advances Corporation.¹⁰⁰⁸

6.6 Local housing initiatives

It is important to record that not all Porirua ki Manawatu residents were content to leave Maori housing matters to the State to resolve. In Otaki, for example, a group of Maori and Pakeha citizens, led, it appears, by the churches, attempted to formulate a policy with a view to ‘improving’ all Maori dwellings in the borough.¹⁰⁰⁹ In September 1940,

¹⁰⁰⁵ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹⁰⁰⁶ ‘Influx of Natives,’ *Auckland Star* 29 June 1945, p.6.

¹⁰⁰⁷ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Shannon Borough Council to Minister, Maori Affairs 21 November 1951; and Minister, Maori Affairs to Shannon Borough Council n.d [January 1952], in ANZ Wellington AAMK W3730/22 30/4/7.

¹⁰⁰⁹ ‘Maori rehabilitation,’ *Otaki Mail* 12 July 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

the *Otaki Mail* recorded that ‘Otaki Maori Rehabilitation Committee’ had made ‘good progress’ in what it termed the ‘reconditioning of homes of Maoris in Otaki and throughout the district.’ The Committee evidently proposed preparing a list of all the Maori residents of Otaki Borough and its outskirts ‘showing conditions under which they are living and the most urgent cases needing immediate attention, also Maoris who require homes that are not overcrowded or congested.’¹⁰¹⁰

Further, some Maori district land boards, utilising ‘board funds,’ initiated and encouraged several housing schemes.¹⁰¹¹ Judge Harvey, as president of the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board, devised the Mormon Group or Mataika Syndicate scheme, in effect a modified form of building society. Harvey’s concern centred on those who had no security to offer other than their capacity to earn wages at unskilled and seasonal work and in particular those in the ‘young to middle aged’ group with young families. ‘In far too many cases,’ he suggested, ‘these young people and their families are crowded in upon the homes of the old people.’¹⁰¹² Such observations applied as much to Porirua ki Manawatu as they did to Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori. In a memorandum dated 1 July 1937 prepared for the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, Harvey set out the details of his variously named ‘housing syndicate,’ ‘housing group,’ or ‘miniature building society.’ Essentially, his scheme involved the creation of housing syndicates each of ten to 15 members, each member to supply a building site free of encumbrances and suitable and available as security, and to pay in to the syndicate 10s per week. Once £45 had accumulated in the syndicate fund, ballots would be held, unemployed Maori carpenters would be employed using Employment Promotion Board funding and thus at no cost to the scheme, ‘the strictest economy’ would be exercised in the purchase of materials, and three-room houses and ‘two spacious sleeping porches, bathroom, laundry, flush toilet, electricity, hot and cold water, and septic tank would be constructed for £325. Repayment costs would amount to 10s per week over 19 years.’¹⁰¹³ The first of Harvey’s schemes appears to have been the Korongata building scheme

¹⁰¹⁰ *Otaki Mail* 20 September 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹⁰¹¹ See, for example, Registrar, Tairāwhiti District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 14 May 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹⁰¹² President, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Department 1 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/608 30/3/79.

¹⁰¹³ President, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 1 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1. See also ACIH 16036 MA1/608 30/3/79.

located at Bridge Pa, while some evidence suggests that he contemplated a similar scheme for Otaki.¹⁰¹⁴

Harvey offered an interesting comment. With respect to insuring the life of mortgagors for the amount owed, he claimed that, on account of lower life expectancy, insurance companies, including Government Life, imposed higher premium repayments on Maori than on Pakeha. His scheme, he claimed further, was ‘a method whereby we can provide houses for serving cases with the greatest possible protection against loss of money.’¹⁰¹⁵ It did not prove possible to pursue Harvey’s observation with respect to higher interest rates, much less whether the policy apparently applied by Government Life and the insurance companies applied more broadly.

6.7 Three State housing initiatives

Three other State housing initiatives merit brief comment.

6.7.1 The Rural Housing Act 1939

The first was the Rural Housing Act 1939 under which the State Advances Corporation was authorised to make advances, at three per cent per annum, for housing purposes to those county councils (and other territorial local authorities in whose districts farms were located) that wished to make loans to eligible farmers and farm workers within their districts. Section 3(1) empowered a local authority (with the precedent consent of the Corporation) to advance money to a farmer ‘to enable him to provide a dwelling for his own use or for the use of any farm worker who is principally employed by him or for the use of any member of his family who is engaged in farming operations on the farm, or to enable him to repair or add to existing buildings.’ A farm worker was defined as ‘a person whose principal occupation consists of working on a farm for wages, or of share-milking or share-cropping ...’ Advances were to constitute a charge upon all the lands of the farm concerned, while repayment was by way of instalments (recoverable as rates). Interest was charged at the rate of 3.5 per cent and loans were repayable over

¹⁰¹⁴ See AJHR 1938, G10, pp.12-13.

¹⁰¹⁵ President, Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 1 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1. See also ACIH 16036 MA1/608 30/3/79.

the same term as the advances to the local authorities concerned. By 1950 the loan limit had been raised from £1,500 to £2,000, plus suspensory loan benefits. County councils evinced little interest in the scheme: by the end of March 1950, of 125 county councils, only 44 had applied for loans, and of the authorized loans aggregating £795,550 only £260,256 had been uplifted to finance the construction of 360 houses.¹⁰¹⁶ The Rural Housing Act 1939 does not appear to have assisted Maori farmers or farm workers.

6.7.2 The Housing Improvement Act 1945

The second measure was the Housing Improvement Act 1945. In 1939, the Government announced that it had had to defer plans to clear slum areas while it focussed on relieving the housing shortage: it thus shelved a proposed Housing and Slum Clearance Bill.¹⁰¹⁷ Towards the end of 1944, it introduced in to the House of Representatives a Housing Improvement Bill. The first part of the Bill related to the improvement of housing generally, providing for minimum standards of fitness which would be defined by the Ministers of Works and Health, and authorising local authorities to require owners to bring their houses up to those standards. Should an owner fail to comply, a local authority could itself undertake the work (which might include partial or complete demolition) and charge the owner. Should a local authority default, the Minister of Works could then take action and charge the authority accordingly. The second part of the measure dealt with the reclamation of defined areas ('reclamation areas') deemed to be decadent or overcrowded: the powers it contained were to be vested solely in local authorities.

The Bill was circulated among the country's 292 local authorities and submissions were invited.¹⁰¹⁸ In August 1945, Minister of Works Semple announced that just four of the 40 local authorities that had responded had objected to the principle of the Bill.¹⁰¹⁹ On the other hand, the inclusion of Maori housing did attract opposition, sufficient that the Government excised the relevant provision from Part I of the measure. Since, announced Semple, 'the Maori problem can be handled by the Native Department, it was thought the provision in regard to Maori housing could be left out.' Further,

¹⁰¹⁶ AJHR 1950, B13, p.17.

¹⁰¹⁷ AJHR 1939, B6, p.5.

¹⁰¹⁸ 'Criticism welcomed,' *Auckland Star* 26 April 1945, p.3.

¹⁰¹⁹ NZPD 1945, Vol.269, p.122. See also 'Slum clearance bill,' *Press* 2 July 1945, p.6.

‘reasons were submitted by myself and the Law Draftsman which make it appear desirable that the matter of Maori houses be left entirely to the Native Department ...’¹⁰²⁰ What those reasons were, he did not specify.

Clause 4(2) of the Bill thus attracted considerable debate. It provided that ‘Nothing in any regulations under this section shall apply with respect to any house which is situate on Native land within the meaning of the Native Land Act 1931, or with respect to any other house which is owned by a Native within the meaning of that Act, unless it is occupied by a person who is not a Native.’ The National Opposition challenged that proposed exclusion, partly on the grounds that it would hamper the efforts of local authorities to deal with areas of poor housing that included some Maori dwellings, and partly on the grounds that Maori and Pakeha should be treated alike. It was recognised that the opposition of county councils whose districts included a large number of Maori dwellings reflected a concern that, compelled to deal with them, they might find themselves having to bear the costs.¹⁰²¹ At the same time, while recognising the potential benefits of the proposed measure, Tirikatene suggested that Maori were concerned that they might lose the equity they had in their homes, that they might be burdened with debts that they could not meet, and that they might as a result lose their homes.¹⁰²²

W.A. Sheat (MHR Patea) claimed that the efforts of the Rangitikei County Council to improve housing conditions by adopting building by-laws and insisting on building permits, had been hampered by the refusal of the Department of Native Affairs to comply with its requirements.¹⁰²³ On the other hand, L.G. Lowry, the (MHR Otaki), a district with ‘a fair number of Maoris,’ recorded that the Otaki Borough Council had recommended that Native land be included in the Bill and that the Native Department be constituted the sole local authority having jurisdiction over Native land. Such a designation would help to allay fears that some local authorities were anxious to secure possession of Native lands. He acknowledged that many Maori were simply unable to meet rates and that many felt threatened over the possible loss of their land.¹⁰²⁴ For his

¹⁰²⁰ NZPD 1945, Vol.269, p.122,

¹⁰²¹ NZPD 1945, Vol.270, p.52.

¹⁰²² NZPD 1945, Vol.270, p.90.

¹⁰²³ NZPD 1945, Vol.270, p.53.

¹⁰²⁴ NZPD 1945, Vol.270, pp.94-95.

part, Native Minister Mason supported the exclusion of Native land and dwellings, noting that Maori referred to the land development schemes as ‘Ngata’s confiscation schemes,’ that it had taken a great deal of effort to win Maori confidence, and that ‘It has to be remembered that the Maoris have gone through a very difficult time in respect of land, and they are, naturally, concerned about, and suspicious, of all proposals affecting it.’¹⁰²⁵

While, then, the Government favoured leaving Maori housing to the Department of Native Affairs, the proposed exclusion was itself excluded from the Act. But section 10(1) of *Part I: Improvement of housing conditions* provided that where a local authority failed to act, the Minister of Works could take action to improve either houses or groups of houses ... ‘Provided that, except with the consent of the local authority, the Minister shall not take any steps or do any acts pursuant to the provisions of this subsection in relation to any house which is situate on Native land within the meaning of the Native Land Act 1931.’ In effect, whether Maori stood to benefit from the Act, including State-funded advances for dwelling improvements, was at the discretion of local authorities. The debate over the Housing Improvement Bill coincided with the production of a lengthy report into local government prepared by the Local Government Committee. It included a section on ‘Native rates,’ specifically their non-payment and the efficacy of the remedies available to local authorities.¹⁰²⁶ With respect to the latter, the Committee restated the conclusion reached by the 1933 Native Rates Committee, namely, that ‘The charging–order system against land has hopelessly broken down.’ That, it declared, remained the position. On the other hand, it acknowledged, with particular reference to Northland, that the problem was ‘probably largely due to the poverty of the Native population.’¹⁰²⁷ The Committee remained focussed on what it termed the ‘inequities’ of the existing arrangements rather than on the genesis of that poverty.¹⁰²⁸

No evidence was located that would indicate any local authority in Porirua ki Manawatu applied the provisions of the Housing Improvement Act 1945 to Maori. In 1970, the

¹⁰²⁵ NZPD 1945, Vol.270, p.85.

¹⁰²⁶ AJHR 1945, I15, pp.116-117.

¹⁰²⁷ AJHR 1945, I15, p.117.

¹⁰²⁸ AJHR 1945, I15, pp.162-163 and 181.

Department of Maori Affairs recorded that many of the older houses owned by the Maori in rural districts were ‘inadequate,’ and that while relocation had solved the problem for some families, for others moving away was not the answer. It noted that these families had not qualified in the past for any financial assistance to bring their homes up to ‘a reasonable standard.’ The Board of Maori Affairs thus decided to introduce a rural housing improvement policy: loans of up to \$2,000 over a maximum of ten years would be made available in respect of those dwellings the economic life of which would be extended by ten to 15 years.¹⁰²⁹

6.7.3 Housing discharged service personnel

The third initiative was the economic rehabilitation programme intended to assist and facilitate the re-entry of service personnel in to the civilian life. The agency charged with the programme’s implementation was the Rehabilitation Board. Its policies and programmes would have a major bearing on the housing of Maori generally and especially on the matter of parity of financial assistance and access to State rental housing.¹⁰³⁰ At an early stage in its work, the Board took a direct interest in the housing of Maori veterans. Contemporary press reports had laid bare the housing conditions endured by many and probably most of the Maori who had moved in to cities in search of employment or had been man-powered in to essential industries. In 1942, William Bland’s investigation of Auckland’s slums was published, while in 1946 the *New Zealand Herald* published a series of articles that described the conditions that Maori moving in to the city had been compelled to accept.¹⁰³¹ In 1947, the city’s Chief Sanitary Inspector recorded that the wartime call for labour, attractive wages, and the prospect of continuous employment had encouraged many Maori to leave their homelands where such employment as was available was largely seasonal and where insufficient land remained to support a rapidly growing population. While some had returned upon the war’s end, most had remained, crowded in to inner city suburbs

¹⁰²⁹ AJHR 1970, G9, p.10.

¹⁰³⁰ The economic rehabilitation of Maori veterans is examined in a separate report and the following comments are drawn from it. See T.J. Hearn, ‘The economic rehabilitation of Maori military veterans,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018, pp.376-381 and 419-429.

¹⁰³¹ Bland found that Auckland’s slums were inhabited largely by old age pensioners and those living on war pensions, and invalid and widows’ pensions, and the lowest paid of whom a ‘strikingly large number were Maori or part-Maori.’ W.B. Bland, *The slums of Auckland*. Wellington: Universal Printing Products, 1942, p.5.

largely deserted by Pakeha and into ‘substandard premises and dwellings that are in structural state of deterioration ...’¹⁰³²

Under the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938, the Board of Native Affairs could construct dwellings for sale or lease, but the Government directed the Board to focus on making financial assistance available. At the same time, the State Advances Corporation was reluctant to allow Maori access to State rental properties. In November 1943, the Minister of Rehabilitation, noting that the Rehabilitation Board required a freehold title as security for a housing loan but that many Maori veterans did not possess land, pressed the Minister of Native Affairs to consider establishing a rental housing scheme for Maori. He also expressed concern that Maori veterans were not being treated fairly over the allocation of State rental properties to ex-service personnel, an allegation that the State Advances Corporation denied but which the Rehabilitation Board took seriously.¹⁰³³ In January 1944, Judge Harvey claimed that ‘The State housing programme has been sufficiently long in progress for it to be abundantly clear that Maoris – even the best of them – are not successful applicants for State houses.’¹⁰³⁴ In its 1944 report, the Rehabilitation Board made it very clear that Maori veterans had ‘equal opportunity with pakeha ex-servicemen in the allocation of State rental dwellings and in the provision of financial assistance to purchase existing dwellings or erect new ones.’¹⁰³⁵

Through the Rehabilitation Board, the Government made loans available to all returned personnel for the construction of new and the purchase of existing homes. Loans were also made available for the widows of service personnel, and (from 1946) home service personnel. Loans up to £1,500 and up to 100 per cent of the ruling pre-war cost, plus supplementary loans to cover any wartime increase in building costs were offered: by the end of March 1954, the Rehabilitation Board had assisted almost 74,000 veterans to construct new or purchase existing homes, while many more secured State rental dwellings. The number of housing loans (including suspensory loans) granted to Maori

¹⁰³² Chief Sanitary Inspector, Auckland to Town Clerk, Auckland 31 October 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1020/a 30/3/25 Part 1, quoted in Hearn, ‘Economic rehabilitation,’ p.419.

¹⁰³³ Minister, Rehabilitation to Minister, Native Affairs 26 November 1943, in ANZ Wellington AADK6130 W1666/124/a 10/0. Quoted in Hearn, ‘Economic rehabilitation,’ p.421.

¹⁰³⁴ President, Waiariki District Maori Land Board to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 10 January 1944, in ACIH 16036 MAW2459/249 30/1 Part 2.

¹⁰³⁵ AJHR 1944, H18, p.24.

veterans rose steadily between 1946 and 1965 when, once new applications for initial housing loans closed, they began to taper off. By the end of March 1972, 1,799 housing loans (including suspensory loans) had been made to Maori veterans. The rate (loan issued per 100 personnel demobilised by 1948) stood, at the end of March 1972, at 34.99 for non-Maori and 36.01 for Maori veterans, while the average value of those loans ranged from £1,637.60 to £1,939.38 respectively.¹⁰³⁶ The outcome reflected the determination of the Rehabilitation Board that Maori veterans would receive the same consideration as all other veterans, a determination that arose partly out of the less than fair and equitable treatment meted out to Maori veterans of World War I, the key role played by the Maori War Effort Organisation in engaging Maori in and marshalling resources for the war effort, and the widely applauded achievements of the 28th (Maori) Battalion and other Maori service personnel in the various theatres of war.

One of the interesting features of rehabilitation housing loans to Maori veterans was Treasury's advice that the 'best available' security should be taken where freehold property could not be offered.¹⁰³⁷ At its meeting on 30 May 1946, the Rehabilitation Board decided that it would not insist upon freehold property as security: veterans unable to offer the latter thus secured loans at three percent rather than at the State Advances Corporation's then ordinary rate of 4.25 per cent per annum. It also decided that the matter of adequacy of security should be left to the discretion of the Maori Rehabilitation Finance Committee (an executive sub-committee of the Board). Only a small number (recorded in 1950 as 36) failed to secure a rehabilitation housing loan: they were assisted by the Department of Maori Affairs under the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938.¹⁰³⁸

Finally, the Rehabilitation Board ensured that Maori veterans benefited from the Government's decision that half of all State rental dwellings would be reserved for ex-service personnel. As noted, and despite the pressure exerted by both the Minister of Rehabilitation and the Rehabilitation Board, the Board of Native Affairs declined to

¹⁰³⁶ Hearn, 'Economic rehabilitation,' p.447.

¹⁰³⁷ Assistant Secretary, Treasury to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 27 March 1946, in ANZ Wellington AADK 6130 W1666/129/c 10/3, quoted in Hearn, 'Economic rehabilitation,' pp.426-427.

¹⁰³⁸ AJHR 1950, H18, p.18.

embark upon the construction of dwellings for rent by Maori veterans.¹⁰³⁹ The latter thus joined all other veterans in the queue for State houses: so far as could be determined, and despite occasional allegations to the contrary, Maori veterans do not appear to have been subject to any discrimination. In short, it appears to have been the Rehabilitation Board's determination that helped open State rental dwellings to Maori.

6.8 The State and the provision of rental housing

The construction on a large scale of State rental houses remained the central focus of the Labour Government's housing programme: investigations had demonstrated, it claimed, 'that the housing shortage is being experienced most acutely by those who for various reasons are unable or unwilling to finance the purchase of a property.'¹⁰⁴⁰ It moved quickly to utilise its powers under the Housing Act 1919, establishing a Housing Construction Department within the newly named State Advances Corporation., and calling for construction tenders. By the end of March 1937, tenders had been accepted for 588 houses. Arrangements had been made, too, under which local authorities and cooperative dairy companies and lime quarrying companies, wishing to construct housing for their own residents or workers, could borrow from State Advances at just three per cent.¹⁰⁴¹ Two years later, by the end of March 1939, tenders had been advertised for 6,698 houses located in 106 towns.¹⁰⁴² They included Feilding, Marton, Palmerston North, Otaki, and Shannon.¹⁰⁴³ By the end of March 1942, the number of towns had grown to 142.¹⁰⁴⁴ Houses were also being constructed for various State departments, among the, Defence, Public Works, Agriculture (at Palmerston North), Post and Telegraph, and Mines.

By the end of March 1939, the State had constructed 4,110 houses (where each dwelling-unit was counted as a house). Of those 3,458 (84.1 per cent) were located in the country's cities and boroughs, 230 in town districts, and 422 in rural areas

¹⁰³⁹ See, for example, Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Rehabilitation 6 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2, cited in Hearn, 'Economic rehabilitation,' p.429.

¹⁰⁴⁰ AJHR 1937, B6, p.4.

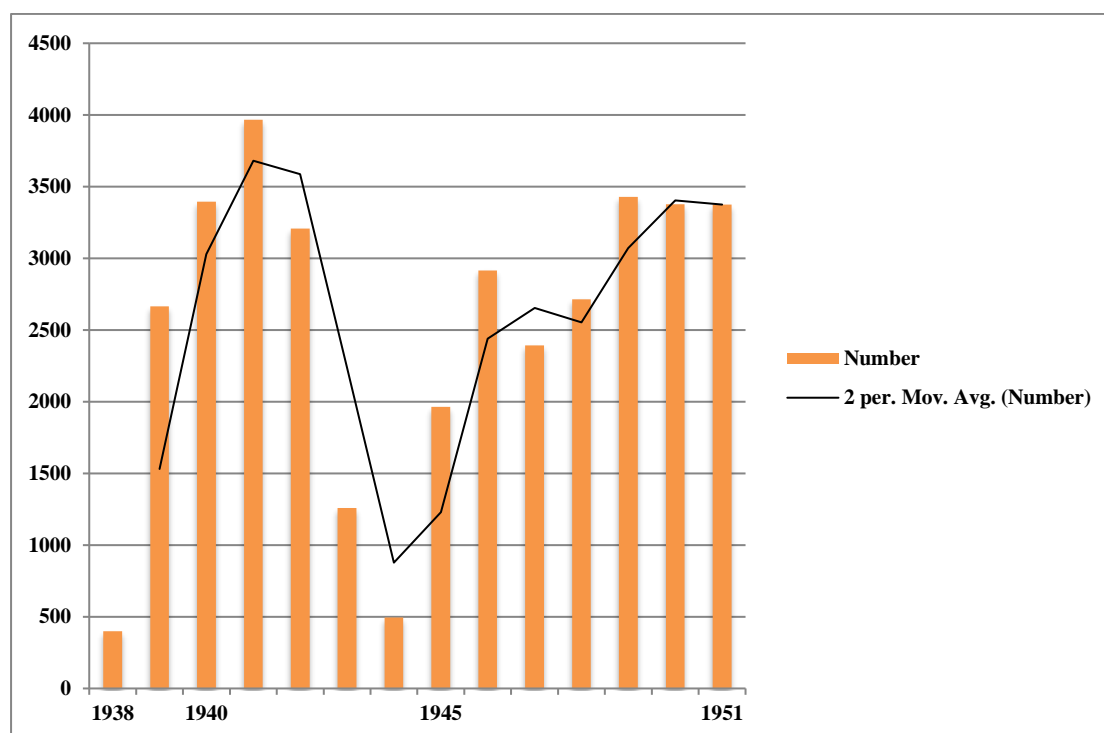
¹⁰⁴¹ No expenditure on house construction had been incurred prior to 31 March 1937. AJHR 1937, B13A, p.28-30.

¹⁰⁴² AJHR 1939, B13, p.11.

¹⁰⁴³ AJHR 1939, B13, p.14.

¹⁰⁴⁴ AJHR 1942, B13, p.5.

(counties).¹⁰⁴⁵ Of those 4,110 houses, eight were located in Marton, 13 in Feilding, 91 in Palmerston North, five in Shannon eight in Otaki, and eight in Levin, while one was located in each of Kairanga and Horowhenua Counties.¹⁰⁴⁶ Graph 6.6 sets out the number of houses completed and handed over to the State Advances Corporation for leasing during the period from 1938 to 1951. The diversion of resources (capital and labour) into the war effort plainly shows in the sharp contraction between 1941 and 1944, while the rapid post-war revival of domestic construction is also evident.



Source: AJHR 1937 and 1938, B13A; 1939-1951, B13

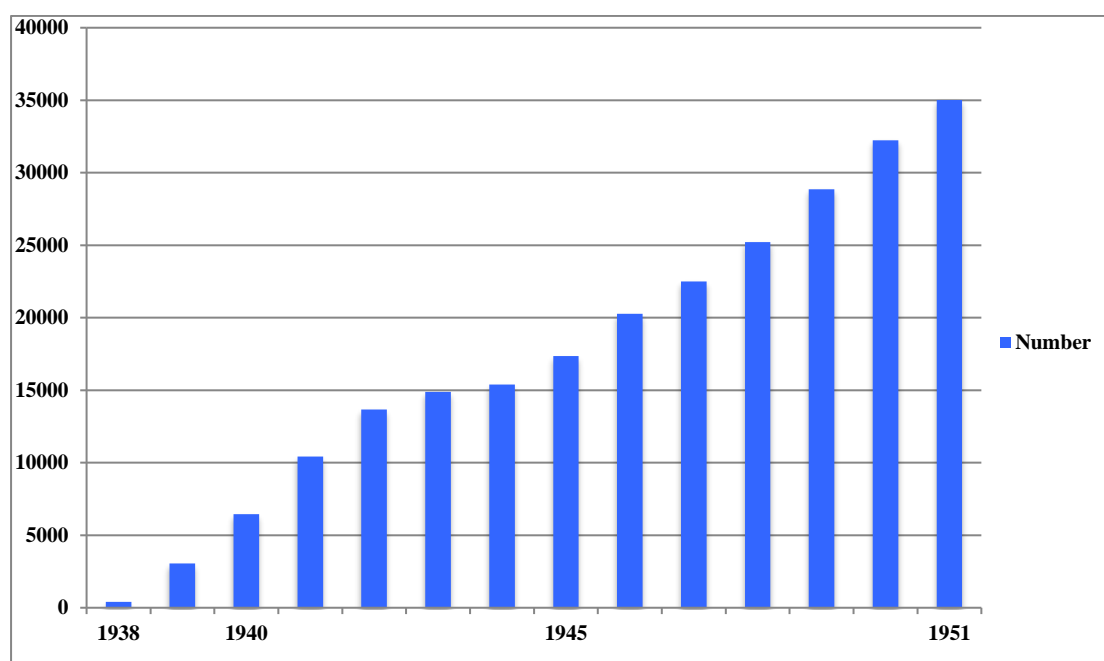
Graph 6.6: Houses completed and handed over to the State Advances Corporation, 1938 to 1951

The State’s urban rental housing pool, that is, the cumulative number of housing units under the corporation’s administration, expanded rapidly. Graph 6.7 summarises the details. Included in the pool were units constructed prior to 1936 and still in State

¹⁰⁴⁵ New Zealand Official Yearbook 1940.

¹⁰⁴⁶ New Zealand Official Yearbook 1940.

ownership and units purchased for rental purposes.¹⁰⁴⁷ It is apparent that numbers increased rapidly after the expected slow start, slowed during the war years and accelerated after 1945. In short, Graphs 6.6 and 6.7 make plain the Government's efforts to meet the sharp increase in housing needs that arose out of the contraction of building activity during the 1930s, and, in particular, its efforts to meet urban housing needs as the movement of people from the South Island and from rural into urban areas gathered pace after 1945.



Source: AJHR B13 and B13A

Graph 6.7: The State's urban rental housing pool, 1936 to 1951, cumulative number of housing units

6.9 Maori housing policy: issues and debates

The Labour Government also maintained the established separate approaches to Maori and non-Maori housing policies and provision. Towards the end of 1943, the Board of Native Affairs, noting that most of its houses were 'development houses,' that is, houses

¹⁰⁴⁷ The Corporation also had, by the end of March 1950, an additional 1,961 houses under its control, being houses erected prior to 1935 or which had been acquired for housing purposes. See AJHR 1950, B13, p.18.

constructed as part of the Maori land development programme, undertook a review of future housing policy. At that stage, just 434 dwellings had been authorised under the Native Housing Act 1935 and 299 completed at an average cost of £484. In addition, 436 had been authorised under the Special Housing Fund and 322 had been completed at an average cost of £407: most of those 322 were constructed by unemployed workers (through the Employment Promotion Fund), and that had enabled the Board to provide ‘cheap habitations for many needy people – mostly the pensioner class.’ The Board noted that it had been able to select applicants who could offer at least some security, but expected future applicants to be ‘weaker.’ That raised two questions, first, that of State assistance towards building costs, and, second, that of the minimum security that would be required beyond land, assignment of rents, wages, and social security entitlements. Of concern to the Board was that subsidised labour was no longer available. The challenge was how to finance houses for people without security, real and personal, and who were not able or prepared to find a deposit.

6.9.1 Building Construction Organisation

With the explicit aim of freeing itself from dependency on other State agencies, in 1943-1944, the Department of Native Affairs established a Building Construction Organisation with a view to initiating ‘a progressive programme of housing.’¹⁰⁴⁸ The Commissioner of Works was supportive, evidently ‘satisfied that neither the Public Works Department nor the Housing Construction Department as constituted could satisfactorily meet the problem of supplying Native housing. ‘Whereas,’ he added, ‘the great bulk of the State Housing programme is confined to town areas, the housing requirements for Natives is [*sic*] widely dispersed throughout the country districts where neither the Housing nor the Public Works Departments have [*sic*] established organisations or any other facilities to carry out building works.’¹⁰⁴⁹ During 1944, the Building Construction Organisation took over construction from the Department of Public Works and began applying the same standards to houses for Maori as applied to State houses. The latter decision was defended by Tirikatene in the face of some

¹⁰⁴⁸ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Secretary, Treasury 1 August 1944, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Commissioner of Works to Secretary to Treasury 18 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750.

criticism from Ngata concerned that ‘same standards’ meant greater debt and the greater risk of foreclosure.¹⁰⁵⁰

6.9.2 Lending policy

In 1944, the Minister of Native Affairs announced that, in an effort to offset building costs and to bring assistance within reach of a large number of Maori, lending policy had been revised in order to offer easier repayment terms as well as ‘a higher standard of home consistent with the need for improved living standards among the Maori people.’¹⁰⁵¹ The Department set out the basic requirements: applicants would be required to provide a suitable building site, a deposit of at least £40, and an ability to repay the loan by annual payments equalling eight per cent of the sum borrowed. Such repayments would be applied first to the payment of interest and then to reduction of the principal. Originally the repayment rate had been set at ten per cent, but the loans granted had not been adequate to provide for a nuclear family: larger loans at ten per cent would have reduced income for ‘ordinary living.’ A loan of £650 to provide reasonable accommodation meant an annual repayment of £65 at a time when the maximum old-age pension (under the Social Security Amendment Act 1943) stood at £84 10s per annum, and the basic widow’s pension at £78. The minimum weekly wage was raised to £5 5s by section 2 of the Minimum Wage Act 1945. The Department thus proposed a repayment rate of 7.5 per cent for both ordinary and special loans, still well in advance of the 4^{1/8} per cent charged by the State Advances Corporation, a rate, which it noted in 1944, ‘has been in operation for some years ...’¹⁰⁵²

It is worthwhile recording here that in September 1944, the Native Department’s Under Secretary invited registrars and judges to comment on a series of proposals prepared by the department’s accountant and aimed at liberalising provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935 as they related to advances. Three were of particular importance: first, that each application would be considered ‘entirely on the question of adequacy, based on his [applicant’s] needs to properly house his family;’ second, that repayments consist of a regular weekly amount ‘in accordance with his ability to pay, irrespective of the

¹⁰⁵⁰ NZPD 1943, Vol.263, p.151 and 1945, Vol.270, p.302.

¹⁰⁵¹ AJHR 1944, G10, p.4.

¹⁰⁵² AJHR 1944, B13, p.2.

cost of the house;’ and, third, ‘That there be no attempt at fixing a term within which the house should be paid for, as this is probably the cause of our failure to meet the housing needs of the Maori people.’ Any risk of non-payment, he added, should be shouldered by the State.¹⁰⁵³ Some Registrars and Judges endorsed the proposals.¹⁰⁵⁴ The Under Secretary forwarded the proposals to the Minister ‘for your guidance in framing policy in regard to this important matter.’¹⁰⁵⁵ On the grounds that they were bound up with the matter of rental housing for Maori, they were held over for later consideration. What the proposals served to underline were the constraints imposed by existing Maori housing policy.

The Department continued to encourage its Minister to press for further changes, in particular, to the provisions dealing with loan repayments. In November 1947, the Under Secretary reminded the Minister that Maori were required to repay loans and interest on the basis of a payment equal to 7.5 per cent per annum of the loan granted in addition to providing a deposit of £40 to £50 minimum. On a £1,500 house, that meant an annual payment of £112.5, reflecting the comparatively short terms over which Maori were expected to repay housing loans. ‘It is felt’ he suggested, ‘that a table mortgage for 30 years would give much needed relief and stimulate house consciousness among the Maori people.’¹⁰⁵⁶ The Government agreed, and hence in 1948 the Department, in its annual report, recorded that

Under the earlier lending policy, financial restrictions dictated by the limited financial means of the applicants in some instances prevented the housing needs of the people being adequately met. The revision of the lending policy has enabled a bigger and better standard of home to be provided, and the applicant is now able to spread repayments over a term up to thirty years, as compared with the original term of approximately fifteen years and less.¹⁰⁵⁷

Moreover, the 30-year table mortgage, with the interest rate set at 4.25 per cent brought the loan repayment policy for Maori on to a basis ‘more comparable with other State

¹⁰⁵³ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrars and Judges 18 September 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See, for example, Beechy, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 20 October 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Under Secretary, Native Department to Native Minister 5 February 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 17 November 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16936 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹⁰⁵⁷ AJHR 1948, G10, p.12.

loan schemes and has enabled many Maoris who, hitherto, have been unable to afford the heavier payments required under the 7½ per cent repayment per annum (which included principal repayments and interest) to raise loans to improve their housing-conditions.¹⁰⁵⁸

6.9.3 Subsidies

In July 1944, in a memorandum for Cabinet, the Native Minister noted that Maori housing was the subject of national concern, not least since it was generally appreciated that an improvement in Maori health required an improvement in housing and living conditions. The lack of means on the part of those whose needs were most pressing meant that rising housing costs were placing suitable houses beyond the reach of the greater number of Maori. He thus proposed a system of subsidies of up to 25 per cent of the total cost of a dwelling ‘so that the liability of the Maori should not be out of proportion to his material resources and so that the scale of repayments should not bring a family’s income below what would allow a reasonable standard of living.’¹⁰⁵⁹ The matter was apparently referred to Treasury but no action was taken until, on 17 September 1945 when the Minister of Health and departmental officers met the Minister of Native Affairs. The latter’s Under Secretary referred to his earlier suggestion that some sort of subsidy should be devised in order to ensure that adequate dwellings were erected.¹⁰⁶⁰ In October 1945, he recommended a subsidy of ‘up to 25 per cent of the total cost in appropriate cases.’¹⁰⁶¹ Driving the issue was the payment of full award wages to Maori tradesmen in order to secure their retention and the implications of the cost of construction: formerly wages had been subsidised through the Employment Promotion Fund.

That recommendation was not submitted to Cabinet. In May 1946, Treasury acknowledged ‘that until the housing problem of the Maoris is improved it will be difficult to combat the T.B. scourge.’ The cost of the proposed subsidy, it estimated,

¹⁰⁵⁸ AJHR 1948, G10, p.13.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Native Minister, Memorandum for Cabinet 3 July 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 18 September 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁶¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 2 October 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

could reach £40,000 per annum, assuming that the maximum subsidy applied to the 400 houses that the Department of Native Affairs proposed to erect annually. Nevertheless, given the ‘urgency’ of the problem, Treasury agreed that ‘reasonable’ subsidies could be applied, but proposed that the amount of subsidy should constitute a second and free of interest mortgage. To discourage speculation in houses erected with subsidies, the properties concerned would have to remain the property of the person for whom it was erected or, if sold, then to another Maori at a price to be confirmed by the Board of Native Affairs.¹⁰⁶²

Two months later, in July 1946, the Native Department’s Under Secretary reminded his Minister that no progress had been made on the issue of Native housing finance, subsidies, and concessions. It was not proposed, he noted, that Maori were to be given preferential treatment but that if the Maori housing problem were to be resolved ‘special considerations arise and require special treatment.’ He thus proposed a range of measures, including labour subsidies and interest-free loans.¹⁰⁶³ With respect to labour subsidies, the Department’s housing teams included unskilled and semi-skilled labour and hence increased labour costs. The matter appears to have deferred on Native Minister Mason’s departure for the Paris Conference but was re-submitted in January 1947. Towards the end of February 1947, a conference on Maori housing was held and involved Prime Minister Fraser: it covered a range of matters that included lending policy, the difficulties in financing present construction, and future policy. Fraser indicated his desire to have a full discussion on housing policy with the Board of Native Affairs. The matter of rental housing for Maori was raised: Fraser was clearly adverse to areas of rental housing being established for Maori, preferring rather that ‘tenancies be available through the normal channels.’ There was, he was informed, ‘little opportunity for Maoris through the normal basis of allocation.’ His response was not recorded.¹⁰⁶⁴ The matter of subsidies was still under consideration in mid-1947, but it appears to have been allowed to lapse.

¹⁰⁶² Acting Secretary, Treasury to Acting Minister, Finance 24 May 1946, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750. See also Acting Secretary to the Treasury to Under Secretary, Native Department 4 June 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁶³ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 16 July 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Building Supervisor to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 3 March 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

6.9.4 Recovering administrative costs

One other matter that generated some discussion was the recovery of administrative costs. On houses that it constructed for the Department of Native Affairs, the Department of Public Works imposed a charge of ten per cent (or an average of £100) for ‘administration charges.’ The Board of Native Affairs recorded that, given the limited resources applicants could command, it was imperative that the cost of a house be kept to ‘the lowest possible figure:’ anything added to the cost to cover the overhead ‘would be done at the expense of the accommodation and amenities which would be otherwise provided.’ The Department, anxious to keep the cost of construction to as low a figure as possible, proposed a charge of 2.5 per cent.

Treasury was not impressed, claiming that the difference between 2.5 and five per cent amounted to ‘only’ £25 on a house costing £1,000. It reminded the Minister of Finance that Maori were ‘already assisted considerably at the expense of the general taxpayer,’ notably through employment subsidies in connection with the Maori land development programme and the supervision of the development schemes, while Maori ‘generally received comparatively generous assistance under the Social Security scheme, more particularly in the way of family allowances ...’ For those reasons, it proposed a charge of five per cent, an outcome that the Under Secretary of Native Affairs described as ‘disappointing.’ He went on to observe that:

The decision would not bear so hard on the Maori people if our houses were built for rental purposes but the fact that our clients in this regard are required to assume responsibility for the full cost including overhead and to meet interest charges thereon at 4½ per cent is likely to result in failure to cope with the problem of Maori housing accommodation and resultant health improvement.¹⁰⁶⁵

Finance Minister Nash ruled that a charge of 2.5 per cent would be charged ‘in [the] meantime.’¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁶⁵ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 28 February 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3 Part 3.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 12 October 1945, and Nash’s note of 19 March 1946 thereon, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750.

6.9.5 The matter of quality

The quality of the housing constructed under the Native Housing Act 1935 was the subject of protracted debate between the Departments of Health and Native Affairs. Called in to open question was the quality of the houses being constructed and therefore whether any real and enduring improvement in Maori living standards was being secured. In May 1937, for example, the Department of Health noted that some of the dwellings erected at Waiapu did not comply with local drainage and plumbing by-laws, and hence it sought to pressure the Department of Native Affairs in to submitting all plans and specifications to local authorities.¹⁰⁶⁷ It was soon discovered that most county and town board authorities did not have building codes. Gisborne's Registrar was subsequently moved to complain that

The Health Department does not seem to appreciate fully ... our difficulty in providing sufficient finance to house the large families who have to be provided for. It sometimes may mean that one room has to be sacrificed in order to provide for the internal sink, bath, copper, and tubs, with their costly plumbing and sewerage. No doubt these equipments [*sic*] are a great benefit from the health point of view but often we have to choose between such advantages and the sacrifice of all too meagre floor space.¹⁰⁶⁸

A few weeks later, in June 1939, he advised the District Engineer of the Public Works Department that in order to keep houses within the financial means of applicants 'baths, sinks, sewage, hot water supplies and ranges ... in that order' were to be excised.¹⁰⁶⁹

For its part, the Department of Native Affairs insisted that it was operating in accordance with policy, that is, adjusting housing provision – in terms of both size and amenities – to the ability to repay advances.¹⁰⁷⁰ In July 1939, the Department's Under Secretary indicated that the cost of a home for ten people and built to 'reasonable' Pakeha standards would be £1,500 and £2,000, that is, well beyond existing loan

¹⁰⁶⁷ Director-General of Health to Under Secretary, Native Department 25 May 1937, in in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Registrar, Gisborne to Under Secretary, Native Department 24 May 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Registrar, Tairāwhiti District Māori Land Board to District Engineer, Public Works Department 10 June 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director-General, Health 18 May 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3.

limits.¹⁰⁷¹ Of particular concern to the Department of Health was sanitation, the Director-General of Health reminding the Native Department's Under Secretary of his understanding 'that every house erected by your Department should have at least a good tank water supply and adequate privy accommodation.'¹⁰⁷² The Department of Health also took steps, much to the annoyance of the Department of Native Affairs, to encourage and assist Maori to submit housing loan applications. Auckland's Registrar recorded, in May 1940, that the Native Department held over 400 applications from Maori in the Tokerau Maori Land District alone: indeed, given the over-committal of funding, he declined to furnish further application forms and had concluded that his office should not assist Maori to complete forms.¹⁰⁷³ The Department's Under Secretary concurred.¹⁰⁷⁴

In 1944, the Department of Health again pressed the Department of Native Affairs over the state of Maori housing. Writing on behalf of the Director-General of Health, H.B. Turbott noted that those who had no security to offer for housing assistance were often those afflicted with tuberculosis.¹⁰⁷⁵ The Minister of Native Affairs reminded the Minister of Health that Cabinet had decided that any monies advanced to Maori for housing purposes had to be recovered, at the same time noting the advances were being made on the basis of 'very slender security' such as would be unacceptable to any other lending institution. There was, he was reminded further, no housing scheme available to persons 'who are not in a position to make repayments ...'¹⁰⁷⁶

The Department of Health was not prepared to allow the matter to rest there, and in September 1945, the Minister of Health (A.H. Nordmeyer) hosted a meeting that included the Minister of Native Affairs (H.G.R. Mason) and the Minister for the Maori Race (E.T. Tirikatene), and senior officials of the Departments of Health and Native

¹⁰⁷¹ In 'Employment and housing of Maoris: notes on a conference 12 July 1939,' in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/19 30/1/3.

¹⁰⁷² See, for example, Director-General of Health to Under Secretary, Native Department 26 November 1939, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹⁰⁷³ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Native Department 15 May 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Under Secretary, Native Department to Registrar, Auckland 3 June 1940, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Director-General, Health to Minister, Health 3 February 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/79 36/3/6.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Health 18 February 1944, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/79 36/3/6.

Affairs. The meeting had been called to reconcile what Nordmeyer described as 'the apparent conflict between the Health and Native Departments as to the standard of native housing and the method of deciding which natives require houses to be built for them.' The Department of Health regarded the houses being built as too small and lacking adequate conveniences, while the number being built was 'totally inadequate' to meet the needs of Maori, given especially the high incidence of tuberculosis among them.¹⁰⁷⁷ The Department of Health was particularly concerned over treating people for tuberculosis and then observing their return to 'shanties.'

The Native Department's Under Secretary acknowledged the scale of the problem, but attributed the slow progress to the lack of skilled labour and building materials, the result of wartime diversion of effort and resources. Thus far, he indicated, 2,550 houses had been constructed, 103 had been purchased, and 150 enlarged or altered. As conditions eased, he expected more progress, at the same time observing that the Department had to comply with the Government's directions, that advances had to be repaid, and that the Department could subsidize old age pensioners and those of slender means, but that there was no scheme for subsidising Maori generally. He then added that in 50 per cent of cases some form of subsidy was required if Maori were to secure homes. That appeared to constitute an acknowledgement that existing policy was inadequate.

The Deputy Native Trustee offered similar observations, but took the opportunity to point out that where the Department of Public Works undertook construction it imposed a ten per cent levy on 'Act' (that is, 'ordinary') houses and five per cent on 'Special' (that is, 'indigent') houses. A levy of ten per cent added £50 to the cost of a £500 house, thereby costing it £50 of its value. The Department of Native Affairs could not instruct Maori to build better homes, although he hoped that the Maori welfare officers could assist Maori in that regard. What he did suggest was that lowering the interest rate to 6.5 per cent from the existing 7.5 per cent per annum (4¼ percent interest and 3¼ per cent principal) would allow repayment over 25 years rather than 20 years and materially

¹⁰⁷⁷ In 1939, Paikea claimed that the Department of Native Affairs was building two-bedroomed houses for families of eight members. See NZPD 1939, Vol.254, p.688.

speed up the building programme.¹⁰⁷⁸ For large families, he indicated, some form of subsidy would have to be provided. Major Rangi Royal, serving as a welfare officer in the Department of Native Affairs, indicated that the main difficulty Maori encountered was the initial deposit: very few had saved enough to meet the deposit of £40 as well as provide a section and furnishings. During the discussion, it was pointed out that a set repayment period had not been established. Rather the Department had sought repayment 'as fast as possible,' while it regarded deposits as a measure of interest and commitment.

The Deputy-Director of Health remained dissatisfied. So long as people remained in poor circumstances and in hovels, he argued, the danger to the health of all remained, that poor Maori housing was not simply 'a Maori problem.' He went on to predict that 'If we were to adhere to the policy of ranking State houses not on the size of the family but on the ability of a man to pay according to his commitments, he did think we would solve the Maori housing question.' Director of Nursing (Mary Lambie) insisted that houses were too small, that window space was insufficient, and ventilation inadequate: infant mortality, she suggested, could be expected to rise. Interestingly, the Director of the Division of Public Hygiene (F.S. Maclean) advocated pisé de terre houses built to a minimum standard, but acknowledged that Ngata had 'unfortunately ... killed that idea by referring to these houses as dirt houses and creating all sorts of impressions against them.'¹⁰⁷⁹

The Director of School Hygiene (H.B. Turbott), referring to photographs of houses inhabited by Maori that were unfit for human habitation, insisted that present Government policy was 'not getting them anywhere,' and that continued overcrowding meant that tuberculosis was being passed from one generation down to the next. Existing policy, he added,

was not meeting the housing needs of the Maori people ... It had always puzzled him why the State had a rental policy for pakehas but not for the Maoris. It had always seemed to him that native housing could have proceeded much quicker

¹⁰⁷⁸ As long as the Special Housing Fund remained fixed, any extension of the period of repayment could have slowed the rate of construction by reducing the amount available for advances.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Notes of meeting, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 652 W4452/1240 194/3.

if the Maori had had the same opportunity to rent houses ... If he were put in a good house his whole health and moral standards would improve.¹⁰⁸⁰

The Maori people, he concluded, would respond to rental housing and thus proposed that Maori housing policy should be reconsidered. The Director of the Tuberculosis Division (Taylor) supported Turbott, claiming that for every case of tuberculosis prevented the State would save a minimum of £1,000 'from the time of discovery to the time of recovery or death.' He estimated the cost of providing a bed in sanatoria at £2,500, while noting that one person afflicted probably infected five others living in close contact. Housing was one of the main factors in the dissemination of tuberculosis. As at 31 December 1944 there were 2,212 Maori tuberculosis patients of whom only about 500 were domiciled in institutions: the rest remained in their own homes, although not all were suffering from active tuberculosis. Some Maori resisted being admitted to sanatoria, while medical superintendents were being pressed to discharge others. The Health Department's architect described some of the houses built by the Department of Public Works as 'most unsuitable.'

In the somewhat discursive discussion that followed, the Department of Health drew attention back to the adequacy of the housing being provided and the rate at which houses were being constructed. While the Department of Native Affairs was looking to construct 600 houses a year, the Minister of Health indicated that 'it would take too long to catch up.' Nordmeyer was keen to establish the magnitude of the task and asked if the Department of Native Affairs could conduct a nation-wide survey, a suggestion that did not find great favour with his colleague the Minister of Native Affairs. On the matter of rental housing, Shepherd indicated that the matter had been discussed frequently with the Minister but claimed that 'his Department had found that it could give a Maori the ownership of a house at a much cheaper price than he could obtain a State house for rental ...' That appeared, in fact, to support the claims being made by the Department of Health, essentially that the Department of Native Affairs had adopted a least-cost-conscious rather than a health-conscious approach to housing. In the view of the Department of Health, rental housing was the only real answer. As a conclusion to the discussions, Turbott reiterated his assessment to the effect that ten per cent of Maori were living in houses that should be 'removed,' 30 per cent were living in houses

¹⁰⁸⁰ Notes of meeting, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 652 W4452/1240 194/3.

that were not rain-proof, and 27 per cent were in the Pakeha type of house that had been allowed to lapse in to a state of disrepair. In his view, £5m would be required for the ten per cent and £15m for the remainder.¹⁰⁸¹

Reflecting these discussions, in 1946 the Minister of Native Affairs reported that

Constant attention is being given to improving the standard of Maori housing by providing those amenities necessary to safeguarding the welfare and health of the people. The standard of houses now being provided is in conformity with the New Zealand Standard Code of Building By-laws. One of the greatest problems, however, is that of bringing the costs of satisfactory housing standards within the financial means of applicants with large families. Taken generally, the economic status of the Maori restricts the degree to which modern housing standards can be adopted, and accordingly housing standards have to be modified to provide the bare minimum of accommodation and amenities consistent only with health requirements. Unless some form of assistance can be guaranteed to bridge the gap between the costs of such housing and the financial ability of the large family groups, endeavours to provide adequate housing standards will be handicapped.¹⁰⁸²

In 1949, the Department of Health again expressed concern over the fact that new Maori housing was based not on need but on ability to pay.¹⁰⁸³ In response, the Under Secretary of Maori Affairs agreed ‘that the inadequacy of Maori housing is one of the primary causes of the spread of pulmonary tuberculosis,’ but insisted that his department was moving as quickly as it could to construct new homes and to repair existing dwellings. He also refuted the claim that housing was not based on need, pointing to the £1,500 limit set by Cabinet, noting that he had recently secured approval to provide additional ‘outhouse or dormitory accommodation which may be rented to the family concerned,’ and reminding the Department of Health of the Special Maori Housing Fund. Nevertheless, he conceded, the Department of Maori Affairs was concerned at its inability to provide houses large enough for some families, ‘but even so, it is felt that the homes that are being provided are far more adequate and far more conducive to good health than are the dwellings which they at present occupy.’¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁸¹ Notes of the meeting, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 652 W4452/1240 194/3.

¹⁰⁸² AJHR 1946, G9, p.37.

¹⁰⁸³ See, for example, Director, Division of Tuberculosis, Department of Health to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 26 July 1949, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/107 36/12 Part 2.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Division of Tuberculosis, Department of Health 3 August 1949, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/3.

The Department of Health was also critical of the alleged failure of the Department of Maori Affairs to respond where the housing conditions of individual families had been drawn to its attention, some deaths having ensued as a result. The suggestion was made that Maori should be permitted to hypothecate unemployment and age benefits and even family allowances for housing purposes. It was also suggested that the unclaimed funds ‘lying dormant’ in the trust accounts of the Maori land boards – and likely to remain so for want of succession orders or because beneficiaries could not be traced – should be devoted, in part at least, to housing.¹⁰⁸⁵ The Department of Maori Affairs again acknowledged the scale of the problem, but maintained that while the Special Housing Fund remained in place, there was no need to touch private trust monies. Moreover, it was overhauling its housing plan service with a view to providing, among other things, more window space, cross ventilation, separation of bathroom and laundry, and provision of storage space. More generally, it defended its policies and approaches.¹⁰⁸⁶

In 1953 the two agencies finally reached an agreement whereby the Department of Maori Affairs would be responsible for all improvement schemes ‘of a communal nature,’ the Department of Health providing technical advice as requested; Maori welfare officers would be responsible for ‘the social aspects of efforts to secure improvements in housing or sanitation ...;’ the Department of Health would no longer be responsible for subsidising individual schemes of water supply and sanitation for Maori, although it would draw the attention of the Department of Maori Affairs to cases in which it considered assistance was required; and the Department of Health’s inspectors would draw the attention of Maori welfare officers to unsatisfactory conditions of housing and sanitation among Maori.¹⁰⁸⁷

The statistical data available supports the position adopted by the Department of Health. Table 6.3 sets out some details relating to the average value of ordinary and special housing loans up to the end of March 1949. Clearly, the average value of ordinary loans varied considerably among the Maori land districts, the average value of special loans

¹⁰⁸⁵ Managing Secretary, Pukeora Sanatorium to Director-General, Health 9 September 1949, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/3. This matter was also aired in the press, notably Napier’s *Daily Telegraph*.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Managing Secretary, Pukeora Sanatorium 28 October 1949, in ANZ Wellington ADBO 16141 SS7W2756/43 9/9/3.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Deputy Director-General. Health to Medical Officers of Health 24 June 1943, in ANZ Wellington ABQU W4452 632 1240 194-3.

less so. Nationally, the average values of £708.6 and £466.5 indicate that very modest houses were being constructed. The average value of residential loans authorised by the State Advances Corporation for the same period, that is, 1935 to 1949, was £1,031.6, that 1.6 times greater.¹⁰⁸⁸ It is assumed that in each case the loans included advances for housing loans of all types, that is, for the erection of new, for the repair, renovation or enlargement of existing dwellings, and for the purchase of existing houses.

Table 6.3: Average value (£) of ordinary, special, and total housing loans, to 31 March 1949

Maori land districts	Ordinary loans	Special loans	Total
Tokerau	738.8	382.6	528.7
Waikato-Maniapoto	323.9	433.8	358.7
Wairariki	979.8	706.7	901.2
Tairarwhiti	670.7	447.5	582.1
Aotea	584.0	548.2	575.3
Ikaroa	1111.7	460.4	909.7
South Island	577.9	417.9	536.2
Totals	708.6	466.5	622.3

Source: AJHR 1949, G9, p.26

6.9.6 State rental houses for Maori

One issue that was not raised by the Department of Native Affairs in its 1943 review of housing policy was the State construction of rental homes for Maori.¹⁰⁸⁹ It was certainly raised during a 1944 conference attended by some 400 people representing '30 principal tribes from all parts of New Zealand,' together with the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers. While pressing the Government to grant the 'statutory and official status in all its dealings,' it concluded that 'until such time as adequate housing for the Maori population is undertaken the health of our people cannot be brought up to the desired standard,' that the Maori War Effort Organisation (for which statutory powers and State funding were sought) survey Maori housing to establish building and repair needs, and that the Government should establish 'the necessary machinery to inaugurate a Maori housing programme.' That programme should include the construction of state houses for rent to Maori, although it also recommended that where Maori applicants

¹⁰⁸⁸ AJNH 1949, B13, p.4.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Paper in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750.

for financial assistance were the owners of building sites, the house and site should be regarded as sufficient security.¹⁰⁹⁰

In May 1945, as it became clear that most Maori who had moved to the cities during the war would remain, that the inflow was poised to accelerate, and that the Rehabilitation Board would insist on Maori veterans having equal access to State rental dwellings new and proposed, the Minister of Native Affairs drew the attention of the Minister of Housing to the provision of such housing. It was, he suggested, ‘a matter of vital importance in meeting the requirements of ex-servicemen, pensioners and other low-income groups, industrial and town workers.’ While the Board of Native Affairs, he noted, had statutory authority to erect rental houses, Cabinet had restricted that authority advancing monies by way of loan. The Department of Native Affairs (as noted above) had established its own building organisation, but was able to cope only with smaller rental housing projects in smaller centres. What was required, he suggested, was authority for the Department of Housing to erect and allocate State rental houses to Maori.¹⁰⁹¹ A few months later, he again pressed his colleague over the matter, in particular the provision of rental houses for Maori residing permanently in urban areas and having no security to offer other than wages. State assistance, insisted the Minister of Native Affairs, was essential if the unsatisfactory conditions in which such people were living were to be overcome.¹⁰⁹²

In May 1946, at Waitara, the Minister of Health announced that the Government had approved ‘the principle of rental houses for Maoris.’ The announcement appears to have come as something of a surprise to the Under Secretary of Native Affairs.¹⁰⁹³ In September 1947, the Board of Native Affairs asked that Treasury ‘consider the practicability of providing for Maoris housing on conditions as to interest similar to those for Europeans.’¹⁰⁹⁴ Since, argued Treasury, the interest rate charged by the State Advances Corporation was ‘virtually the same’ in any case, the real question was

¹⁰⁹⁰ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/378 19/1/535.

¹⁰⁹¹ Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Housing 25 May 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16936 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹⁰⁹² Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Housing 18 September 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16936 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹⁰⁹³ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 6 May 1946, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 18 September 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

whether the State should erect rental houses in Maori communities. In dealing with that question, Treasury offered some interesting insights.

Thus far [the Secretary argued] the Board of Native Affairs and the Treasury have adopted the viewpoint that it is preferable, because of the Maori temperament and his general attitude towards adequate and continuous maintenance of property, that the moneys for Maori housing be provided on an ownership basis. It is felt that education and civic spirit have not advanced so far as yet that tenancy, even with the stimulus of a penalty charge for poor caretaking, is equivalent to ownership as a factor in ensuring proper maintenance at low money cost.¹⁰⁹⁵

Treasury went on to claim that in urban centres in which State houses were being constructed, there was no discrimination against Maori, so long, that is, as they passed the tests applied to Pakeha applicants. It also expressed some criticism of what was termed 'the marae principle,' namely the grouping of houses for Maori. It thus followed that the question was whether rental dwellings should be erected in remote communities where the State Advances Corporation did not operate. Should that be done, the Secretary added, consideration would have to given to Pakeha living in such localities: after all, they paid full rates and taxes. Further, 'any greater impetus to Maori housing will tend to distract from the progress of other housing and building construction ...' In sum, Treasury suggested that 'there ought to be no objection to the Native Department undertaking on an experimental basis ... a measure of rental housing for Maori tenants in rural localities.'¹⁰⁹⁶

It was, at best, a reluctant endorsement. It also generated considerable criticism, on the grounds that Treasury had failed to grasp the key issue, namely, the growing urban-wards movement of Maori, not least to some of the country's smaller centres to which some industries, in search of labour, were decentralising. Maori working in the urban centres, it was claimed, found it difficult to secure even poor accommodation and most had left their families behind; Maori did not get a fair allocation of State houses; Treasury should notify the Department of Land and Income Tax of any Maori tax

¹⁰⁹⁵ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 18 September 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 18 September 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1. In fact, some 'experiments' in rental housing had already been undertaken in Pukekohe and Paeroa.

defaulters, while ‘the question of non-payment of Maori rates concerns mostly those tracts of land where the Maori owners are legion and often where the productive value of the land is nil.’ As for the claimed ‘distraction,’ that, insisted one Native Department official, was ‘the crux of the veiled insinuation [*sic*] objections and lukewarm evasive approval ...’¹⁰⁹⁷ The Under-Secretary of Native Affairs offered an appreciably more measured response, pointing out that Maori were increasingly moving in to urban areas and in to ‘the broad field of industry.’ Perhaps in rural areas, he suggested, it would be best to pursue the existing policy of ‘ultimate individual ownership of houses erected under the provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935.’¹⁰⁹⁸

Those criticisms notwithstanding, in Cabinet, on 5 November 1947, the Minister of Finance recommended that ‘approval be given to the principle of the Native Department undertaking on an experimental basis the provision of housing for Maori tenants in rural localities, the tenancies and finance to be on the same conditions as for ordinary State rental tenancies.’ The recommendation was approved.¹⁰⁹⁹ Again, the Department of Maori Affairs insisted that Treasury had failed to grasp the issues involved, primarily the growing need to provide rental housing in urban centres.¹¹⁰⁰ It continued to urge the Government to fund the provision of rental houses for Maori at the same rate of interest levied on monies employed for State house construction (approved in Cabinet 17 November 1947); that monies advanced to Maori under the Native Housing Act 1935 should be repayable on a (maximum) 30-year term mortgage bearing interest at the existing statutory rate of 4.25 per cent per annum rather than the existing loan and interest charges of 7.5 per cent per annum; and that provision should be made to meet the special needs and circumstances of Maori with ‘large families but small means, aged persons and invalids not in receipt of income from employment and/or land rents and persons in indigent circumstances of one kind or another.’¹¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁹⁷ Comments on Treasury memorandum of 18 September 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Secretary, Treasury 16 September 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹⁰⁹⁹ ANZ Wellington ACIH 16936 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹¹⁰⁰ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Secretary, Treasury 16 April 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16936 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹¹⁰¹ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 17 November 1947, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

Treasury proved difficult to budge, so much so that in April 1948, the Native Department's Under Secretary confessed to being 'somewhat disturbed' that it continued to insist that the 'experiment' should be restricted to rural areas where the provisions of the Native Housing Act 1935 worked satisfactorily and where applicants for loans could supply their own sites. It was in industrial areas where land values, building costs, and more rigorous building standards had collectively exceeded the existing loan limit of £1,500.¹¹⁰² Again, in November 1948, he pressed the Minister of Maori Affairs over the position of Maori moving in to urban areas. 'These people,' he noted, 'are immigrant workers who have left the comparative insecurity of their family and tribal environment where the sole source of income is derived from Social Security benefits, casual farm work, and seasonal labour. They are now an important factor in our national economy.' Further, he claimed that the Director of Housing Construction had agreed that Maori had not had a proportionate share of rental houses and hence proposed that his department assume responsibility for the allocation of tenants through selection committees. In July 1948, the Government finally agreed to the erection of some 300 rental houses for Maori in nine centres, and approved of steps being taken to ensure 'a more adequate' allocation of State rentals for Maori.¹¹⁰³

6.9.7 Allocating tenancies

Access to State rental houses was thus also a matter of concern to the Department of Native Affairs. In November 1948, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs proposed that Cabinet approve of State rental houses being made available for Maori on a proportionate basis in relation to population; that since few Maori had secured tenancies an allocation of houses should be made to meet immediate needs; that houses be integrated throughout general 'State settlements;' and that selection committees be established.¹¹⁰⁴ The General Manager of State Advances suggested that State rental

¹¹⁰² Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Secretary, Treasury 16 April 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹¹⁰³ In ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹¹⁰⁴ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 16 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1. The file contains a strongly worded memorandum prepared by the Department's Housing Officer in which he claimed that the State Advances Corporation, by screening and pre-selecting applicants for State houses, effectively excluded Maori. Interestingly, it also claimed that the State Advances Corporation would not release details of the number of Maori and Pakeha who, respectively, had applied for State rental houses, nor the numbers awarded. See Report from Housing Officer to Under Secretary, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

houses should not be allocated on a population proportionate basis but on the basis of what he termed ‘comparative needs,’ although how that would work out in various localities he did not know. He also insisted that the Corporation, while it did not maintain any relevant records, did not discriminate against Maori, attributing the small number of Maori State house tenants to the fact that few Maori applied. Why Maori were apparently reluctant to apply was a question that he chose not to traverse.¹¹⁰⁵ The Corporation appears to have believed, according to Ferguson, that accepting Maori as tenants entailed having to supply houses at rents that Maori could meet with the effect of undermining one of the main aims of housing policy, that of raising the general standard of the housing stock.¹¹⁰⁶

A decision was made whereby a certain number of State rental houses would be set aside for Maori. By 1950 just 97 houses had been made available (including 24 at Waiwhetu and nine for Kamo miners in Whangarei). Moreover, just 110 Maori had secured tenancies, a major proportion being returned service personnel and civil servants.¹¹⁰⁷ At that stage, the Department of Maori Affairs was holding 515 urgent applications and hence, in August 1950, the Minister of Maori Affairs pressed the Minister of State Advances to accelerate the supply of dwellings, while noting that for 1949, of 4,000 houses built, only 29 had been set aside for Maori, ‘a totally disproportionate allocation.’ Nor, he added, did Maori applicants share in the distribution of ‘re-lets.’ He went on to request details of all urgent applications held by the State Advances Corporation for 17 urban centres, including Levin and Otaki and so allow comparisons to be made with those held by the Department of Maori Affairs.¹¹⁰⁸

The State Advances Corporation, while seeking to shift responsibility for the modest allocation to the Department of Maori Affairs, supplied (after the intervention of the minister responsible) details of ‘urgent applications’ as at the end of June 1950. They included 102 in Levin and 34 in Otaki. The total for 17 urban centres was 17,123,

¹¹⁰⁵ General Manager, State Advances Corporation to Minister, Housing 3 December 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*, p.162.

¹¹⁰⁷ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 29 August 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 1.

¹¹⁰⁸ Minister, Maori Affairs to Minister, State Advances 30 August 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 2.

excluding the several thousand applications that had still be investigated and graded.¹¹⁰⁹ At the same time, it became apparent that the State Advances Corporation was anxious to establish whether ‘some or many’ of Maori applicants for State houses, notably in Auckland, ‘could or should not be returned to the country.’ It also suggested that the number of Maori applicants graded as ‘very urgent’ was disproportionately high, that is, as a percentage of all Maori applications.¹¹¹⁰ What the Department of Maori Affairs sought was an agreement that a specified proportion of all new State rental houses would be handed over to the Department of Maori Affairs.

One outcome, in 1949, was a new arrangement under which ‘Maori pools,’ consisting of ‘mainstream’ housing stock, were established in ten urban centres that included Otaki: deliveries (including ‘re-lets’) were received on the basis of the ratio of registered urgent applications Maori to Pakeha civilians: that arrangement came in to force on 1 December 1950. Allocations among Maori were to be determined by local Maori allocation committees the membership of which would include iwi representatives, district and welfare officers of the Department of Maori Affairs, and local State Advances Corporation managers. A return of allocations from the pools up to the end of June 1952 showed that the Department of Maori Affairs held 442 applications of which 351 were deemed to be urgent, while 172 houses had been allocated to the ‘Maori Pool’ (excluding 45 allocated to ‘clear the special Orakei Pa problem’ and 26 to Maori at Waiwhetu). With respect to Otaki, the Department held seven applications from Maori. All were deemed to be urgent, but no dwellings had been allocated to the pool and no deliveries were expected before the end of March 1953.¹¹¹¹ The pool system was finally abolished in 1964.

Table 6.4 summarises some details relating to the operation of the ‘pool’ in Otaki. If it is assumed that the 62 ‘urgent’ applications were discrete, then the 18 houses allocated by the end of March 1957 appear as a modest contribution towards resolving a serious housing problem in the town.

¹¹⁰⁹ Minister, State Advances to Minister, Maori Affairs 15 September 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 2.

¹¹¹⁰ Registrar, Auckland to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 19 October 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 2.

¹¹¹¹ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 11 July 1952, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/615 30/5 Part 2.

Table 6.4: State rental houses: Maori allocations Otaki to 31 March 1957

31 March	Applications	Urgent applications included	Allocations	Total allocations to date
1953	15	13	0	0
1954	12	12	0	0
1955	16	15	1	1
1956	7	7	5	6
1957	15	15	5	11

Source: AJHR, G9

6.10 Maori housing policy: key provisions, 1950

In 1950, the Prime Minister set out the Government's housing policy. A section of his statement discussed housing for Maori in which he claimed that 'The Government is endeavouring by all available means to encourage and promote the improvement of Maori housing conditions.' While it planned to build some 500 houses a year of the 2,000 that would be required each year to house the growing Maori population, its primary aim was to encourage and assist Maori to build for themselves 'houses of European standard ...' He did acknowledge that some Maori would be unable to build homes of their own and would therefore require State rental homes, but, consistent with housing policy as a whole, the emphasis would be on the provision of financial assistance.¹¹¹² Such finance would be available for the erection of new homes, for repairs, additions, and renovations, and for the purchase of existing houses. Loan assistance would be provided available through the Native Housing Act 1935, the Special Maori Housing Fund from the Maori Trustee, from the district Maori land boards, under the Maori land development programme, and from the Rehabilitation Board. In practice, the Maori Trustee and the land boards provided little in the way of finance.

6.10.1 Special Housing Fund, special loans

The Special Housing Fund was established under section 18 of the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938 to meet the needs of those unable to offer adequate security for

¹¹¹² AJHR 1950, J6, pp.10-11.

loans. On 31 March 1937, the Government approved a grant of £50,000 ‘as a nucleus of a revolving fund for housing indigent Maoris;’ a further grant of £50,000 was approved on 31 March 1938; a special grant of £25,000 was made on 1 July 1940 ‘for the provision of housing for agricultural workers in the Pukekohe area; and a further grant of £20,000 was made on 1 June 1941.¹¹¹³ Those grants totalled £145,000, and to that sum were added monies equivalent to one third of the Maori Trust Office profits (£23,264), and interest (£48,555) to take the total to £216,819.

The purpose of the Special Housing Fund was to provide indigent Maori with adequate housing accommodation at the minimum cost; to do so without restricting the amount of the loans to the ability of Maori to repay; to retain in the fund for further use all interest earned and principal repaid; and to meet any losses incurred through non-payment. Up to 1947 the practice was to grant a subsidy equivalent to the wages cost involved in construction and for the owner of the house to borrow only the cost of materials thus allowing housing to be provided relatively cheaply. Those subsidies were discontinued in 1948: loans were then authorised for the full cost of the house but the owner was required to pay only as much as he could reasonably afford.¹¹¹⁴

By 1950, advances from the Special Housing Fund were available at 4.5 per cent per annum. The amount that a mortgagor could repay over 30 years was established and the difference between that figure and the cost of a dwelling was made interest free for up to 30 years. A mortgagor’s financial position was reviewed every two years and repayments varied according to changes in circumstances. As at the end of March 1950, 509 mortgage accounts owed £208,982. It should be noted that in July 1947, Cabinet approved provision being made from the Special Housing Fund to meet the needs of those Maori with large families and small means, aged persons and invalids not in receipt of income from employment and/or land rents, and persons in indigent circumstances of one kind or another. It is also worth noting that, amid discussions over the suggested abolition of the Special Maori Housing Fund, that the Under Secretary of

¹¹¹³ The use of the term ‘indigent’ occasioned some debate. The Minister of Lands proposed adoption of the dictionary meaning, namely, ‘An indigent Native is one who is destitute of property or of the means of comfortable subsistence.’ The Native Minister’s private secretary (Balneavis) noted that discussion of the matter was deferred. In ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/251 30/1/1 Part 1.

¹¹¹⁴ Secretary, Treasury to Minister, Finance 13 March 1951, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750.

Maori Affairs advised Treasury that ‘the Maori housing problem is nowhere near being settled; advances for housing will be required during the next decade and possibly thereafter.’¹¹¹⁵

In 1939, the Board of Native Affairs claimed that ‘Substantial progress’ had been made in improving Maori housing conditions, and published a series of photographs that revealed ‘The vivid comparison and contrast between the type of dwelling now being provided and the dilapidated and overcrowded shacks which previously served as homes ...’ It did not offer a comparison between the new dwellings being erected for Maori and those that the Government already had under construction for rent.¹¹¹⁶ Further, the houses pictured below stand in sharp contrast to the very substantial homes that had been erected under the Workers’ Dwellings Act 1905.

¹¹¹⁵ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Secretary, Treasury 4 November 1949, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750.

¹¹¹⁶ AJHR 1939, G10, p.6.



Source: AJHR 1939, G10

Plate 6.1: Houses erected under the 'Special' housing scheme

6.10.2 Native Housing Act 1935, ordinary loans

Under the Native Housing Act 1935 (and its amendments), assistance was available for the purchase of sections, erection of new dwellings, renovations, additions, repairs, and installation of services. The key elements included:

- Loan limits set at £1,500 for 100 per cent loans and up to £2,000 for 90 per cent loans, although in practice the Department endeavoured to observe the £1,500 limit. Loan limits had been raised to £1,000 in 1944 (still significantly lower than the SAC limit of £1,200 and the Rehabilitation Board's limit of £1,500), to £1,250 in 1946 (before Cabinet approval was required), and in 1948 to £1,500

(before Cabinet approval was required) to bring them in to line with housing loans offered by the Rehabilitation Board. Cabinet, on 24 October 1950, approved 100 per cent loans up to £2,000 for the construction of new homes, to cover the needs of large families or where for other good reasons adequate housing could not be provided within the loan limit of £1,500. It also decided that suspensory loans could be granted where 100 per cent loans approved for new houses.¹¹¹⁷

- Security could take one of several forms, namely, a first mortgage on Maori land, a first mortgage on other than Maori land owned by the applicant, a first mortgage on a lease of any land held by the applicant, or a first mortgage on undivided interests in Maori land as collateral security.
- With respect to repayment, terms could be set at 20, 25, 30 or 35 years, the length depending upon the personal circumstances of the mortgagor and by the type and standard of dwelling. Table mortgages, with a term of 36.5 years, had been available to settlers since 1894 and to workers since 1906.¹¹¹⁸
- Deposits (reduced in 1944 to £40) were not obligatory but sought as evidence of good faith. Capitalisation of the family benefit, introduced in 1959, was of particular benefit to Maori. The rate of interest, lowered in 1946 from 10 to 7.5 per cent of the loan amount, was set at 4.5 per cent per annum, except for ex-service personnel who paid 2.0 per cent for the first year and 3.0 per cent thereafter. The rate of interest was limited to the same rate allowable and charged by the State Advances Corporation.
- Assistance was available for the purchase of approved existing dwellings, repayment being required over 20 years unless more liberal terms were warranted.
- Suspensory loans of up to £200 were available but applicants to remain in occupancy of the dwellings concerned for seven years. The Rehabilitation Board had introduced a supplementary interest-free loan system in 1948.
- State rentals were available to Maori from a special pool, allocations being managed by allocation committees that comprised departmental and iwi

¹¹¹⁷ Secretary to the Cabinet to Minister, Maori Affairs 25 October 1950, in ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750. See also ACIH 16036 MAW2459/252 30/1/3 Part 4. See also ANZ Wellington AAFD 811 92M CAB 75/7/1.

¹¹¹⁸ Section 43, Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, and section 4, Government Advances to Workers Act 1906.

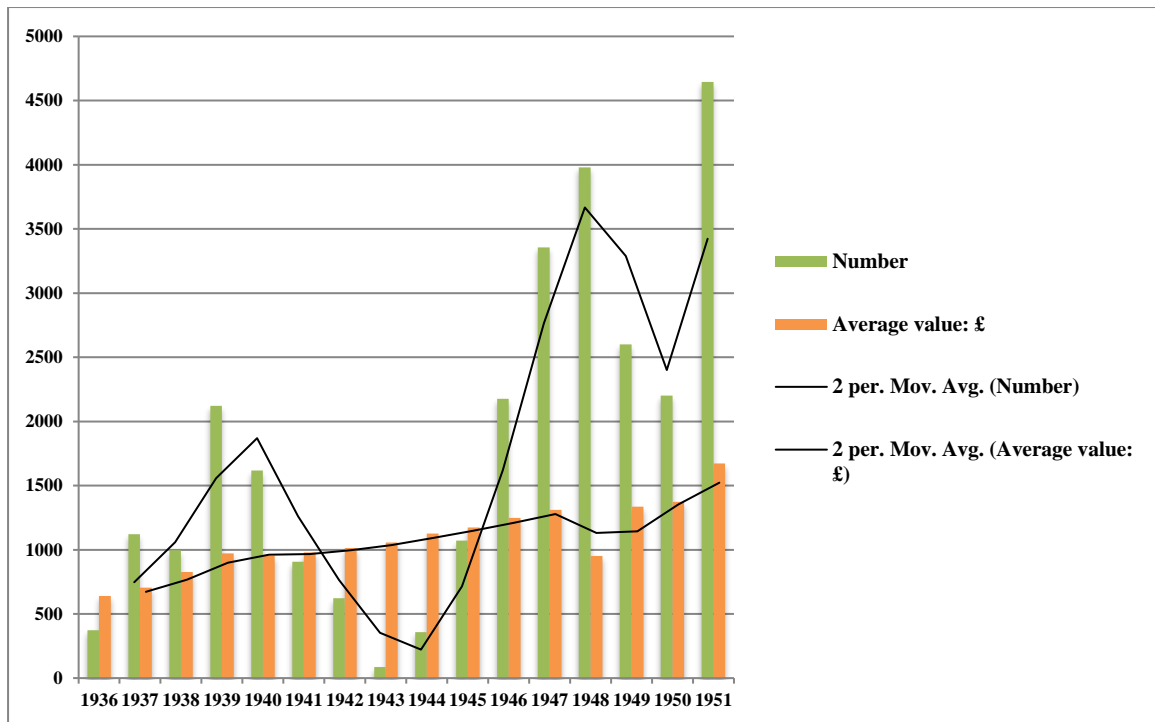
representatives. The principles applied by ordinary civilian allocation committees were followed, including an upper income limit of £520 per annum.

In short, by 1950, Maori housing policy had largely been brought in to line with housing policy generally: 45 years had elapsed since the passage of the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905.

6.11 The course of lending

Graph 6.8 sets out, for the period from 1936 to 1951, the number and average value of loans advanced by the State Advances Corporation for new dwellings. It is of interest to note, certainly for 1949 to 1951 (the years for which specific data were published) that the bulk of the advances for the construction of new dwellings was made under the rehabilitation programme: thus civilian advances numbered 560 and the aggregate value to £743,245, while rehabilitation loans numbered 4,241 and the aggregate value to £5,749,040. A similar pattern existed in respect of advances for the house purchases.¹¹¹⁹

¹¹¹⁹ Advances to civilians for house purchase numbered 510 with an aggregate value of £479,010, and those under rehabilitation 5,027 with an aggregate value of £4,710,915. The source for these data is AJHR 1949-1951, B13.

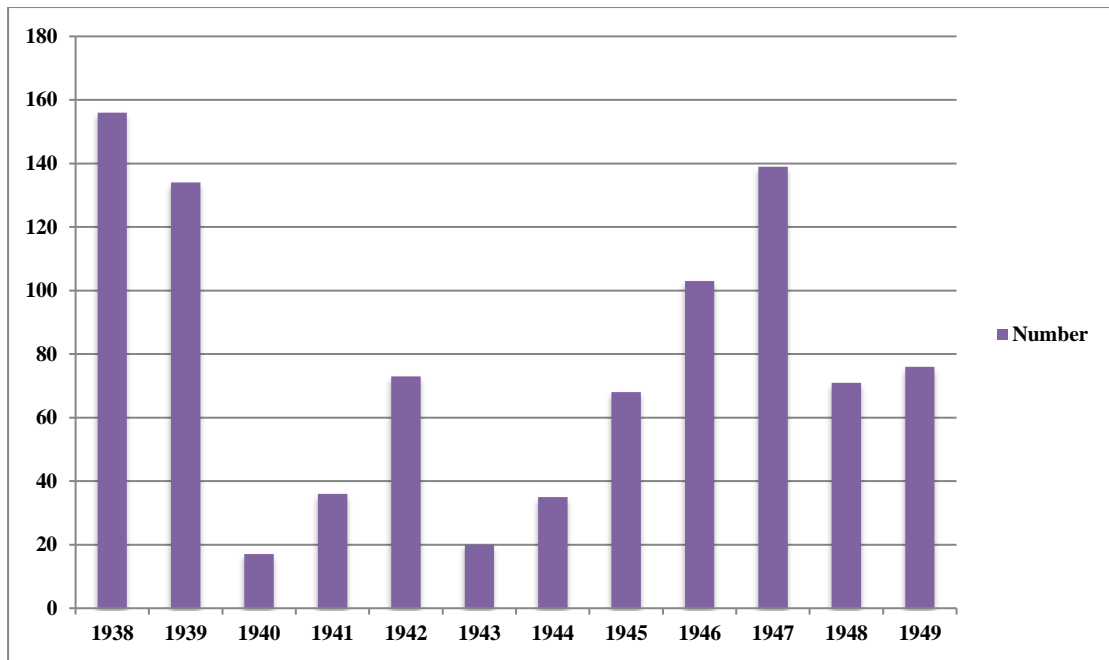


Source: AJHR B13 and B13A

Graph 6.8: Number and average value of housing loans for new dwellings advanced by the State Advances Corporation, 1936 to 1951

The Special Housing Fund was controlled by the Native Trustee, and monies were distributed among the Maori district land boards. Thus the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board (excluding the South Island) received £500 in the year ending 31 March 1938, and £2,700, £2,450, and £3,420 in the succeeding three years, a rate that varied from 8.6 per cent to 18.4 per cent of the total allocated. The bulk of the lending under the Native Housing Act 1935 was for the construction of new homes rather than the repair or purchase of existing dwellings. The number of advances made contracted during the war but increased sharply after 1945.

Graph 6.9 sets out the number of applications lodged by Maori for loans under the Native Housing Act 1935.



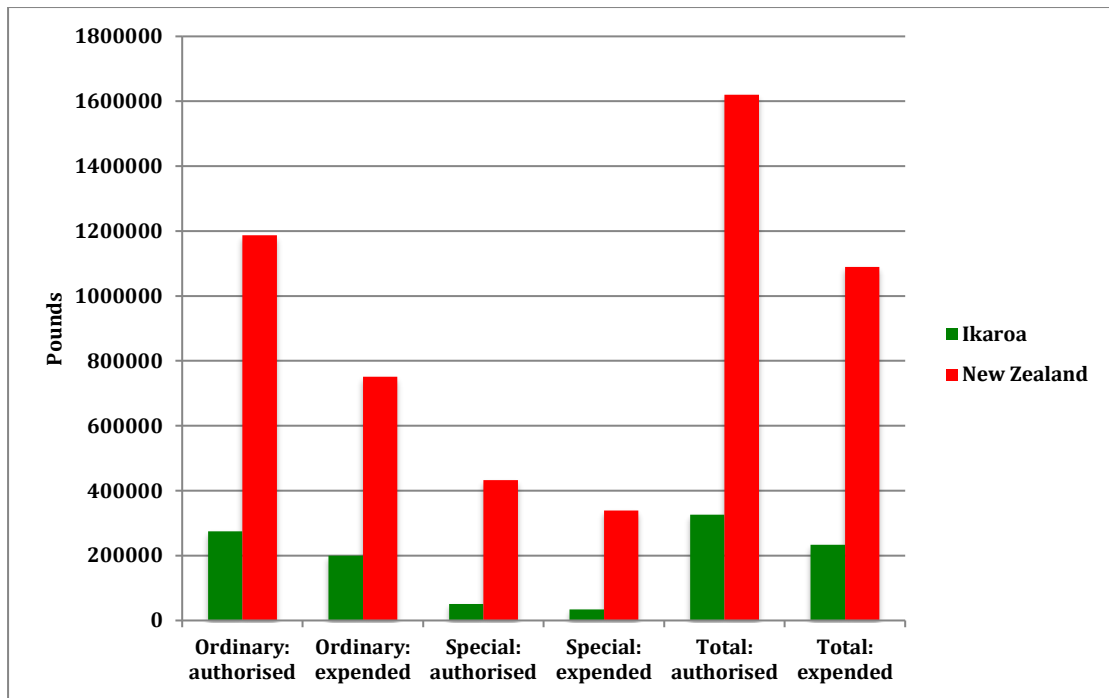
Note: Some of the applications were for additional loans

Source: ANZ Wellington ADRK 17391 T1/380 52/750

Graph 6.9: Applications lodged under the Native Housing Act 1935, 1 April 1937 to 31 March 1949

6.12 Ikaroa Maori Land District and Porirua ki Manawatu: new homes for Maori

Graph 6.10 sets out, for Ikaroa Maori Land District and for New Zealand as a whole, for the period from the passage of the Native Housing Act 1935 to the end of March 1949, the number of advances made under the Act, the amount authorised, and the amount expended. A consistent pattern emerges in which the monies expended fell appreciably short of the monies authorised. It is not at all clear why that should have been so, although one possibility is that the Board of Native Affairs, the Department of Native Affairs, and the Maori land boards over-estimated the likely take-up of loans.



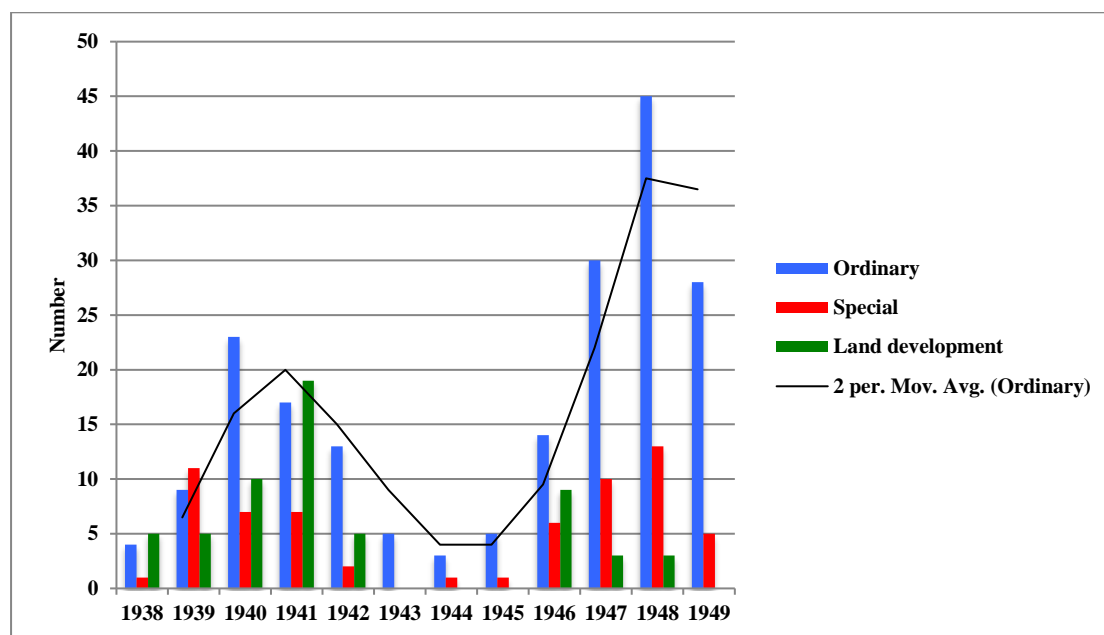
Source: AJHR 1949, G20, p.26

Graph 6.10: Financial return of operations under the Native Housing Act 1935 as at 31 March 1949

Graph 6.11 sets out for the period from 1938 to 1949 the number of new houses constructed in the Ikaroa Maori Land District as ‘ordinary’ houses under the Native Housing Act 1935, ‘special houses’ funded out of the Special Housing Fund, and houses constructed as part of the Maori land development programme. The Ikaroa District Maori Land Board attributed the slow response to ‘difficulties in establishing applicants’ titles to building sites ...’ It also reported that ‘A solution has yet to be found to the problem of providing homes for people who have no land and little income, but in the meantime this class of applicant is being encouraged to save a deposit.’¹¹²⁰ How those with little income were expected to do so, it did not say. Clearly apparent are the sharp contraction in building activity during the war years and the rapid post-war expansion. The small number of ‘development’ houses simply reflected the minor significance of land development in the district. A return published in 1951 recorded that by the end of March 1951, 192 *new* houses had been erected in the Ikaroa Maori Land District under the Maori housing, Maori land development, and rehabilitation

¹¹²⁰ AJHR 1939, G10, p.10.

programmes. That number represented just 6.5 per cent of the national total of 2,943.¹¹²¹ The bulk of new housing construction had taken place in the Tokerau (30.9 per cent), Tairāwhiti (18.0 per cent), Waikato-Maniapoto (16.2 per cent) and Waiariki (14.8 per cent) Māori Land Districts.

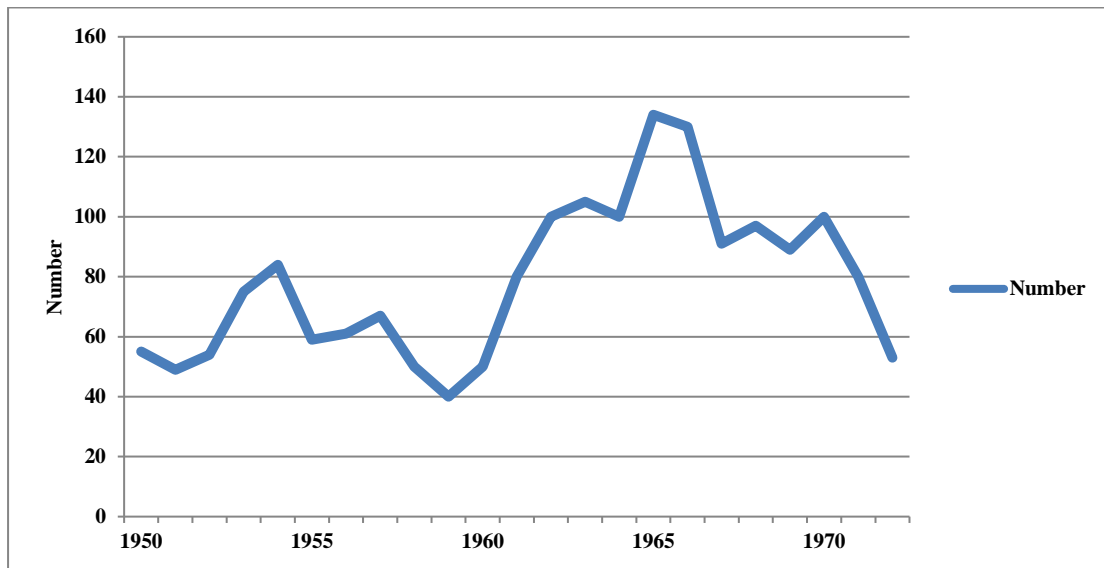


Source: AJHR G9 and G10

Graph 6.11: New houses constructed for Māori, Ikaroa Māori Land District, 1938 to 1949

From 1950, the annual reports of the Department of Māori Affairs only offered a summary of the number of new houses completed under the Māori Housing Act 1935. Graph 6.12 sets out the details, for the period from 1950 to 1981, for the Ikaroa Māori Land District. Three construction waves are apparent, the first embracing the years from 1950 to 1959 with a peak in 1954, the second from 1960 to 1972 with a peak in 1965. It should be noted that for the years 1953 to 1958, data relating to the South Island Māori Land District were included in the summary for the Ikaroa Māori Land District. From 1973, the data were recorded for the ‘Palmerston North district.’ Table 6.5 sets out the details.

¹¹²¹ AJHR 1951, G9, p.16.



Source: AJHR G9

Graph 6.12: New houses completed under the Maori Housing Act, Ikaroa Maori Land District, 1950 to 1972

Table 6.5: New houses constructed for Maori, Palmerston North district, 1973 to 1981

Year to 31 March	Number
1974	90
1975	98
1976	142
1977	115
1978	116
1979	99
1980	69
1981	-

Source AJHR E13

6.12.1 Porirua ki Manawatu

Construction of new homes for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori appears to have started slowly. By September 1941, the Department of Native Affairs had constructed four dwellings in Otaki and district, complete with ‘every modern convenience.’ Others had been renovated, while two ‘comfortable, portable, asbestos fireproof hutments, 8ft x

10ft, with fireplace, well ventilated with two glass windows for segregation from congested conditions' had also been erected.¹¹²² But, as Lange noted, comprehensive statistics for housing loans to West Coast Maori residents cannot be extracted from the available data. He did, though, cite a 1946 list prepared by the Ikaroa Registrar: it recorded that 25 Maori householders had been granted housing loans. They included six in Levin, four in Otaki, three in Ohau, two in each of Foxton, Motuiti, Shannon, and Palmerston North, and one in each of Poroutawhao, Himatangi, Koputaroa, and Longburn. In addition, a further 15 had secured houses under the land development programme.¹¹²³ Given the scale of the Porirua ki Manawatu Maori housing difficulties as revealed by the 1941 survey, the progress that had been achieved in almost a decade appears to have been slight.

Certainly Palmerston North's Medical Officer of Health thought so. In 1949, he expressed strong criticism of the Government's approach to the housing of Maori, suggesting that the Department of Maori Affairs had failed to recognise the seriousness of the situation. He nominated 131 Maori dwellings 'in which a case or suspected case of tuberculosis was either resident or had been resident or in which there was, in the opinion of a District Nurse, need for improved housing.' In those 131 dwellings lived 933 persons, or an average of 7.6 persons per dwelling and just over three persons per bedroom. In support of his claim of 'unconscionable delay' on the part of the Department in providing houses, he cited examples of overcrowded substandard houses whose occupants had applied two or more years previously for housing assistance and were still waiting. It was, he insisted, 'amply evident' that the Department's housing policy was failing to produce the desired outcomes. Finally, he restated an argument that the Department of Health had long advanced, namely, that its efforts to eliminate infectious diseases, and tuberculosis in particular, were being compromised by the inability of the Department of Maori Affairs to meet Maori housing needs.¹¹²⁴ Again, in 1953 the Senior Health Inspector for the Palmerston North Health District recorded

¹¹²² 'Maori housing,' *Otaki Mail* 8 September 1941, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/20 30/1 Part 1.

¹¹²³ Raeburn Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2000, p.198.

¹¹²⁴ Quoted in Lange, 'The social impact,' pp.199-200. The archival reference is ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1643 169/22/7.

that too many Maori were still living in ‘dilapidated shacks only fit for demolition,’ and suggested that the existing housing scheme for Maori was ‘totally inadequate.’¹¹²⁵

Between 1949 and April 1954, 69 ‘loan houses’ were constructed between Otaki and the Rangitikei River, 34 in Levin and 25 in Otaki, together with five in Feilding, seven in Shannon, and ten in Foxton. Between April 1954 and August 1955, a further 26 had been completed or were in course of construction. Further, by 1955, 21 households had been assisted to purchase existing homes.¹¹²⁶ On the other hand progress in constructing State rental homes for Maori proved slow. Once the decision had been made in 1948 to provide such houses, the Department of Maori Affairs’ prepared a first set of recommendations that included Levin and Otaki where 12 and 15 houses were required ‘urgently’ for Maori families.¹¹²⁷ Most of the families did not possess building sites. In September 1949, the State Advances Corporation agreed to provide 15 State rental homes in Otaki for Maori.¹¹²⁸ Almost a decade later, Maori families had secured 18 State rental homes in Otaki, but another ten families had applied. Of the later, nine had been classified as ‘urgent.’

Table 6.6 sets out, for the period from 1935 to August 1955, a summary of houses constructed for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. In the six centres, 110 dwellings were erected over a period of some 20 years, or roughly two per year: again, given the housing deficit disclosed by the 1941 survey, that seems to be a remarkably modest achievement. The summary does not include houses constructed by the State and leased to Maori, nor houses enlarged, renovated, and repaired.

¹¹²⁵ Quoted in Lange, ‘The social impact,’ pp.207-208. The archival reference is ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1643 169/22/7.

¹¹²⁶ Lange, ‘The social impact,’ p.207. The archival reference is ACIH 16036 MAW2459 30/1 Part 5.

¹¹²⁷ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Housing Construction 12 November 1948, in ANZ Wellington AEFM 19224 HD1W1353/22 3/211.

¹¹²⁸ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Housing Construction 3 August 1948; Director, Housing Construction to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 20 August 1948; General Manager, State Advances Corporation to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 30 August 1950, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

Table 6.6: Houses constructed for Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, 1935 to August 1955

Period	Otaki	Shannon	Foxton	Feilding	Palm N.	Levin	Totals
Prior to 1949	5	-	4	1	-	4	14
Year to 31.3.50	5	3	1	-	-	4	9
Year to 31.3.51	-	-	1	-	-	6	7
Year to 31.3.52	1	-	1	1	-	4	7
Year to 31.3.53	7	1	3	-	-	9	21
Year to 31.3.54	11	3	-	3	1	7	25
Year to 31.3.55	1	2	-	4	1	3	10
1.4.1955 – 31.8.55	-	3	1	1	-	2	7
Totals	26	12	11	10	2	39	110
Under construction	-	1	1	-	-	2	4
Authorised	1	1	-	-	-	1	3
Loans approved	-	1	1	-	-	-	2

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/613 30/3/147

6.12.2 The Palmerston North Hospital Board's assessment, 1955

The Palmerston North Hospital Board continued to take a direct interest in the housing conditions of Maori families and continued to press the Department of Maori Affairs to respond to the needs identified.¹¹²⁹ In 1955 the Board directed its district nurses to prepare reports on specific Maori families. A summary of the results is set out in Table 6.7.¹¹³⁰ Housing in the Muhunua, Ohau, and Kuku districts was apparently in good condition, many of the Maori families having been able to secure homes through the Department of Maori Affairs. The results were referred to the Department of Maori Affairs: of the 37 families just ten had been on the latter's records.

¹¹²⁹ See, for example, Acting Managing Secretary, Palmerston North Hospital Board to Minister, Maori Affairs 21 July 1954, in ACIH 16036 MA1/613 30/3/147.

¹¹³⁰ Secretary, Palmerston North Hospital Board to J.H.W. Barber, Maori Affairs, Wellington 30 June 1955, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/613 30/3/147.

Table 6.7: Maori housing conditions, Porirua ki Manawatu, May 1955

Area	Households	Children	TB	Rooms	Water supply	Conveniences
Feilding	1	7	-	2	Tank	Earth closet
	2	1	-	2	Tank	Earth closet
	3	3	-	2	Carried in	Earth closet
	4	10	-	2	Tank	Earth closet
	5	-	2	4	Tank	Earth closet
	6	7	-	2	Tank	Earth closet
Palm N.	1	1	-	6	None	Earth closet
	2	2	-	3	None	Earth closet
	3	8	2	1	None	Earth closet
	4	7	-	4	None	Earth closet
	5	6	-	3	Tank	Earth closet
Shannon	) 1	) 3	) -	) 3	) Yes	) Yes
	) 2	) 3	) 1)))))
	3	-	-	2	None	Yes
	4	1	-	3	Yes	Yes
	5	10	1	3	None	Yes
	6	-	-	2	None	None
	7	1	-	1	None	None
	8	1	-	3	Tank	None
Levin	1	8	2	5	None	Earth closet
	2	10	-	1	None	Earth closet
	3	12	2	6	Yes	Septic tank
	4	3	-	3	None	Earth closet
	5	1	-	3	Yes	Earth closet
	6	4	-	3	None	Earth closet
	7	3	1	3	None	Earth closet
	8	6	-	3	None	Earth closet
	) 9	) 3	) 1	) 6))
	) 10	) 5	) -	)	)Yes	) Earth closet
	) 11	) 3) -)))
Otaki	1	1	-	3	Tank	Earth closet only
	2	3	-	3	Tank	Earth closet only
	3	-	-	3	None	Earth closet only
	4	3	-	4	Well	Earth closet only
	5	1	-	4	Town	Earth closet only
	6	11	1	7	Town	Earth closet only

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/613 30/3/147

6.13 Housing issues in Porirua ki Manawatu

The following sections set out some details of Maori housing conditions in the immediate post-war period and to describe briefly some of the efforts that were made to resolve particular housing difficulties. On the basis thus established, a further section

will offer a statistical summary of changes in Porirua ki Manawatu Maori housing over the period from 1951 to 1981.

6.13.1 Levin

In 1945, a deputation led by Ngarori Kingi met the Minister of State Advances seeking assistance to establish a scheme for seven families: the land involved was Horowhenua 3E1 Subdivision 5 sections 1-5, a total of 6.5 acres with 88 owners; Subdivision 4 of 1.25 acres and nine owners; Subdivision 3 of 3.25 acres and nine owners; Subdivision 2 of 4.5 acres and 38 owners; and Subdivision 1 of 1.25 acres and 15 owners. Collectively the blocks had a capital value of £755 of which the land itself accounted for £600. In 1946, a notice was issued prohibiting private alienation, a first step towards consolidating ownership.¹¹³¹ The proposal, to subdivide the blocks into 20 building sections and a marae site for Muaupoko, reflected an acute shortage of housing: in Levin itself, 76 persons were living in five houses, while just outside the town another 44 persons occupied four homes. The alternative to consolidation was purchase and subdivision by the Crown, with the owners to have priority for the sites. Kingi noted that 'in Levin there are at le[a]st between forty and sixty pakeha houses constantly in course of erection. Whereas the Maori record over the period from 1935 to 1948 has been five houses reconditioned and three new houses built.'¹¹³²

In 1947, a survey of the housing conditions of 12 Maori families in Levin was conducted. Table 6.8 sets out some details for five families and illustrates the scope as well as the findings of the investigations: conditions for the remaining families were similar. Most of the dwellings were small and in terms of occupants per bedroom overcrowded. Most had electricity supplied and were connected to the town's water supply, but otherwise heating and washing facilities were largely absent.

¹¹³¹ 'Prohibiting alienation of certain Native land owned by Natives,' *New Zealand Gazette* 32, 16 May 1946, p.678.

¹¹³² Ngarori Kingi, Levin to Controller, Maori and Social Economic Advancement, Maori Affairs 3 September 1945, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 3730/21 30/4/1.

Table 6.8: The state of five Maori dwellings, Levin 1947

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five
Occupants	21	10	11	9	9
Bedrooms	5	5	2	2	3
Kitchen	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Scullery	Yes	Yes	-	No	Yes
Bathroom	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Laundry	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Electricity	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Water supply	Town	Town	Well	Town	Town
Cooking	Coal range	Coal range	Coal range, open fire	Coal range	Coal range
Heating	Yes	Open fire	No	No	No
Washing	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Ablution	Nil	No	No	No	No
Bath	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Waste water	Septic tank	Pit	Pit	Septic tank	Septic tank
Night soil	Pan	Pit	Pit	Pan	Septic tank
Occupation of head	Casual labourer	Casual Labourer	Factory hand	Carpenter	Invalids' pension
Income per week	£6	£6	£6	£7 3 6	-
Rents, per annum	£5	-	-	£15	-

Source: ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1017/b 30/3/5

Efforts to consolidate interests in Horowhenua 3E1 Subdivisions 2-5, failed.¹¹³³ In October 1948, in a meeting of the Rauwaka Tribal Executive, Shepherd suggested that the site was not in any case suitable and suggested an alternative nearer the abattoir, a suggestion that Ngarori Kingi (during a meeting of the Raukawa Tribal Executive at Koputaroa in October 1948) promptly and flatly rejected. Both Kingi and a number of other speakers again expressed concern and disappointment over the slow progress of housing provision in the Manawatu.¹¹³⁴ Kingi, in particular claimed that ‘The old cry that the Maoris must apply [for housing assistance] is worn out. The Department has not assisted the Maoris, who are ignorant to apply.’ Again he noted the number of State houses being constructed in Levin, while ‘my own people ... are living under deplorable

¹¹³³ Raukawa Tribal Executive, Notes of meeting of 24 October 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹³⁴ Raukawa Tribal Executive, Notes of meeting of 24 October 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

conditions.’¹¹³⁵ The Executive pressed the Crown to acquire the land, located at Weraroa, adjacent to the railway and near the Levin saleyards, and the Board of Maori Affairs, in July 1949, approved the purchase. The owners of three blocks agreed to sell, purchase was approved by the Maori Land Court, the land was declared to be Crown land and set apart for the purposes of the Native Housing Act 1935, while the undivided interests in the two remaining blocks were to be acquired as opportunity offered. Complications followed, centring on the decision of the owners to close their Johnsonville saleyards and expand those in Levin. ‘It would,’ observed Wellington’s Deputy Registrar, ‘obviously be undesirable to have a Maori housing settlement sandwiched in between the main railway line and extensive sale-yards.’¹¹³⁶ Table 6.6 above indicates that by August 1955, 39 houses were constructed for Maori in Levin. Whether those dwellings and State rentals resolved the housing difficulties portrayed in Table 6.8 was not established.

6.13.2 Otaki

It was noted in Chapter 5 that the concerns that had been raised over the state of Maori housing in Otaki had generated little in the way of action. In July 1941, Ngati Raukawa and the Otaki Borough Council agreed that the state of Maori land titles was a serious impediment to effecting any improvements in Maori housing conditions.¹¹³⁷ The council, in fact, pressed L.G. Lowry (MHR Otaki) over the matter, while the Department of Health in turn pressed the Ikaroa Maori Land Board to act. Its president agreed that the condition of some houses was ‘deplorable,’ but maintained that it was for Maori to submit the necessary applications, although he also noted that the Board expected shortly to receive the purchase monies for two Manawatu Kukutauaki sections.¹¹³⁸ Three years later, in December 1944, Minister of Native Affairs H.G.R. Mason again claimed that while his department was prepared to finance the construction of new and repairs to existing houses, it could not compel Maori to seek

¹¹³⁵ Raukawa Tribal Executive, Notes of meeting of 24 October 1948, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 3730/21 30/4/1.

¹¹³⁶ Deputy Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 30 January 1950, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 3730/21 30/4/1.

¹¹³⁷ ‘Maori housing,’ *Otaki Mail* 2 July 1941, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

¹¹³⁸ Registrar, Wellington to Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North 3 December 1941, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42. See also ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490 31/1/1 Part 1; and AAMK 869/1022/a 31/1/1 Part 1.

better housing accommodation and that unless they themselves took action, little could be done.¹¹³⁹ The Department of Native Affairs echoed its minister. It attributed the slow progress in Otaki to ‘apathy’ on the part of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, claiming that they were not interested in improving housing. Indeed, it insisted that ‘While the Native Department is quite ready to provide finance to enable Maoris to obtain better housing and living conditions, it is not in a position to compel them to seek that assistance, and if Maoris will not make a move to help themselves the Department is unable to do anything for them.’¹¹⁴⁰

Three years later, towards the end of 1947, the Department’s Under Secretary again complained that ‘the people have shown little desire to effect any marked improvements by applying to take advantage of the provisions made for them in the matter of providing houses.’ He added, in the course of an interchange with the Otaki Maori Committee, that the Department could ‘scarcely be expected to spend valuable time soliciting new applications.’ The small number of applications from Otaki and the Horowhenua ‘would seem to indicate that the interest of the people in improved housing is not strong,’ he observed, ‘and I would suggest that it is the duty of the tribal to stimulate and re-vitalise this interest.’¹¹⁴¹ In support of his contentions, he produced the details set out in Tables 6.9 and 6.10.¹¹⁴² According to Table 6.9, a total of 55 applications for housing assistance had been lodged of which 36 had been approved by the Board of Native Affairs: the remaining applications were ‘under negotiation.’ Table 6.10, on the other hand, indicated that just 14 houses had been erected, two had been purchased, and five repaired or renovated. Clearly, very limited progress had been made in Otaki itself, but attributing that to ‘apathy’ on the part of Maori did little more than deflect attention from the core difficulties, namely, that few possessed building sites and/or other interests in land and were thus unable to meet the requirements specified by the Act; that others confronted almost intractable title difficulties; and the requirement that borrowers repay monies advanced not over 40 but 20 years. Such

¹¹³⁹ Minister, Native Affairs to L.G. Lowry MHR Wellington 1 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

¹¹⁴⁰ ‘Native housing,’ *Evening Post* 19 April 1945, p.6.

¹¹⁴¹ ‘Notes of meeting at Raukawa marae,’ 9 November 1947; and Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Secretary, Otaki Maori Committee 12 November 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/a 30/2/42.

¹¹⁴² Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Secretary, Otaki Tribal Committee 12 November 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

terms meant that, notwithstanding the significantly smaller sums that Maori borrowed, the higher rate of repayment imposed a particular burden on low-income families and individuals.¹¹⁴³

Table 6.9: Applications and approvals under the Native Housing Act 1935, Otaki district, to 1947

	Number of applications filed	Number recommended	Under negotiation	Approved by Board of Native Affairs
Otaki	16	10	6	10
Waikanae & Te Horo	5	4	1	4
Manakau	4	3	1	3
Levin & Ohau	30	19	11	19
Totals	55	36	19	36

Source: ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42

Table 6.10: Disposal of applications approved by Board of Native Affairs, by November 1947

	Houses erected	Houses purchased	Houses repaired, renovated	Work in progress	Building certificate issued	Documentation incomplete
Otaki	2	1	1	1	1	4
Waikanae & Te Horo	3	-	-	1	-	-
Manakau	1	-	-	1	-	1
Levin & Ohau	6	1	4	2	-	3
Totals	14	2	5	5	2	8

Source: ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42

Yet another meeting involving Maori and the Under Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs took place in Otaki in April 1948. He was informed that the advent of social welfare benefits had helped to expose the extent of tuberculosis among Maori as they were now able to afford medical costs. But, unless housing conditions were improved, any gains would soon be lost. He was also advised that should Maori have the same access to table mortgages as Pakeha, then progress might be made: repayments over 20 years at 7.5 per cent deterred many Maori from acting.¹¹⁴⁴ Within weeks, the

¹¹⁴³ Notes a meeting at Raukawa marae, 9 November 1947; Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Secretary, Otaki Maori Committee 12 November 1947; Controller of Maori Welfare to Maori Welfare Officer, Levin 8 December 1947; and N. Winiata to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 26 March 1948, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869/1022/a 30/3/42.

¹¹⁴⁴ Notes of discussions, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1022/1 30/3/42.

Government had decided that Maori housing loans would be repayable over a term of 30 years.

An August 1948 survey suggested that at least 14 Maori families in Otaki were in great need of new houses. The Department of Maori Affairs was unable to assist as the families concerned were unable to provide suitable freehold sites and hence turned to the possibility of State rental homes.¹¹⁴⁵ Attention also turned to the sections vested in the Ikaroa Maori Land Board. An effort was made to implement a consolidation scheme but failed, largely on account, according to the Wellington's Registrar, of those owners who did not reside in the town wishing to dispose of rather than exchanging and consolidating their interests in Otaki.¹¹⁴⁶ In 1949, the Board of Maori Affairs, citing the 'particularly bad' state of Maori titles in Otaki, approved the purchase of four sections in the town, the former owners to have preference when the sites were ready.¹¹⁴⁷

For its part, the Department of Maori Affairs sought to have 15 State rental homes constructed in Otaki. It was supported by a large deputation that, in November 1950, waited on the Minister in Charge of the State Advances Corporation: it included the mayors of both Levin and Otaki. In brief, the deputation expressed concern over the long waiting lists for rental homes in both boroughs and what was discerned to be an 'easing off' of construction, notably in Otaki where there was an 'acute Maori land problem.' In Otaki, just 30 State houses had been erected since the inauguration of the State housing scheme whereas the population and the demand for houses was increasing rapidly. Efforts to preserve the market gardening lands within the borough had had to give way before mounting housing pressures. Urgent civilian applications numbered 75, to which were added ten submitted by ex-service personnel. Those figures did not include those for whom the Department of Maori Affairs was seeking homes.¹¹⁴⁸ The Otaki Rehabilitation Committee raised in particular the position of discharged Maori

¹¹⁴⁵ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Housing Construction 3 August 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁴⁶ Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 18 April 1948, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁴⁷ Board of Maori Affairs, 'Purchase of land for housing at Otaki,' in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1. The sections were Otaki 154 and 155, Makuratawhiti 10B Pt, and Kaingaraki 1B Pt.

¹¹⁴⁸ The Minister supplied some statistical data of his own.

service personnel: interestingly, those concerned were happy to apply for and accept rehabilitation loans, but not to deal with the Department of Maori Affairs, a preference largely related to the comparative rates of interest charged. The Minister concerned, J.R. Marshall, made it clear that the Government's emphasis was upon home ownership rather than the construction of State rental houses.

In January 1951, the Raukawa Tribal Executive hosted a meeting in Otaki that was attended by the Under Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs and six other departmental officers. The matter of housing was foremost on the agenda. Under Secretary Ropiha briefly described the Government's housing policy and noted that the 15 houses promised would be constructed on the Titokitoki block. A good deal of the discussion focussed on Maori land title difficulties, with suggestions that the Crown should acquire the lands involved and subdivide them in to building sections for Maori lest the Otaki Borough Council attempt to resume the land for non-payment of rates.¹¹⁴⁹ The allocation of State rental houses was also canvassed, Ropiha announcing that a special committee that included the chairman of the Tribal Executive would be established to consider applications and decide upon allocations.¹¹⁵⁰

One other matter was raised, namely, the blocks that had been vested in the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board under section 32 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Claims Adjustment Act 1928. Under that section the Board had the power to sell, lease, exchange and/or assign sections. Leasing had hardly solved the difficulties: thus two sections leased for town milk dairying had yielded the owners – after deductions for rates, the Board's commission, and taxes – precisely £1 2 3 per annum. The Board had decided not to sell any sections without the consent of owners, nor to lease on long terms lest owners should desire to have them returned for market gardening or building purposes, and to re-vest lands in those cases in which the owners had paid three years' rates. The major problem facing the Board was leasing the many small areas under its control, and the fact that in many cases successors to owners had not been appointed and that in others the whereabouts of owners were unknown. While it was recognised

¹¹⁴⁹ In February 1951, Wellington's Registrar recorded that rates in Otaki were levied on the improved value and were high owing in part to 'mistakes' made in connection with the borough's drainage works. See Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 12 February 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁵⁰ Notes of meeting, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

that the sections could be used as building sites, the Board evidently felt that to release them for that purpose would not be consistent with the objects of the vesting legislation.¹¹⁵¹ ‘It would ...’ the Minister of Maori Affairs advised the Minister in Charge of the State Advances Corporation, ‘be difficult to criticise this view.’ The Board of Maori Affairs could acquire land for subdivision into building sections but, he suggested, the need would probably be met once the promised 15 houses had been constructed. In that case, he concluded, those who wished to acquire building sites should negotiate directly with the owners of the land they sought.¹¹⁵² That left applicants to deal with the complexities and costs involved.

The perceived lack of progress served to generate more disappointment, as a meeting of the Raukawa Tribal Executive on 13 May 1951 made clear. The Executive’s patience and indeed trust in the Department of Maori Affairs was being severely tested. The latter again cited land title difficulties, notably multiple and absentee owners, and the fact that a good number of blocks remained vested in the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board.¹¹⁵³ Table 6.11 summarises the position of the vested sections as it stood in 1951. In the wake of the meeting, the Under Secretary pressed for action on the Titokitoki subdivision scheme and on the construction of State rental houses in Otaki.¹¹⁵⁴ Pressure was also applied to the Otaki Borough Council, but it decided to prepare a broader plan for the town that involved both general and Maori land.

¹¹⁵¹ Registrar, Wellington to Under Secretary, Maori Affairs 12 February 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁵² Minister, Maori Affairs to Minister, State Advances Corporation 27 March 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁵³ Notes of Raukawa Tribal Executive Committee meeting 13 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁵⁴ Under Secretary, Maori Affairs to Registrar, Wellington 21 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

Table 6.11: Status of Otaki Borough vested lands, 1951

Blocks	Sold	Leased	Not leased	Re-vested	Unoccupied
Nganoaiho	2	1	2	-	-
Haruatai A	-	10	2	2	-
Kaingaraki 1B Pt	1	-	-	-	-
Makuratawhiti 1	1	4	1	-	-
Makuratawhiti 10B Pt	4	14	2	2	-
Moutere 1B1	-	-	-	1	-
Moutere-Hangamoaiho	-	1	-	1	-
Otaki	6	24	5	5	4
Mangapouri Native Res	-	1	-	-	-
New Otaki Lots	-	-	-	2	-
Pahianui B1	2	4	-	-	-
Paremata 15A5	-	-	1	-	-
Takapu B	-	-	1	-	-
Taumanuka	-	-	1	-	2
Titokitoki 2	-	4	-	-	-
Totaranui 1	1	-	-	-	-
Tutanagatakino 4A	-	-	1	-	-
Whakarangirangi	-	4	1	4	-
Totals	17	67	17	17	6

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1

In May 1951, the Otaki Borough Council, citing ‘deplorable housing conditions,’ pressed for permission to acquire and subdivide afresh the vested sections: it noted that most of them had been leased to Chinese market gardeners who had erected temporary shacks ‘most of which were quite uninhabitable.’ Furthermore, it complained, rates had not been paid on them for years, while some owners had remained in occupation of their sections and also erected sub-standard dwellings. The recent violent death of a police sergeant and a Maori woman and her two daughters had, evidently, served to expose the appalling conditions under which some Maori were compelled to live. The Council was anxious to help improve housing conditions for Maori, and pressed the Minister to empower it to acquire the vested sections – including narrow strips, sections that had been badly partitioned, and sections that had no frontage – and to re-survey and subdivide. It would accord Maori owners first preference on the understanding that they constructed homes ‘up to first-class European requirements.’¹¹⁵⁵ The Minister of Maori Affairs (E.B. Corbett) was not prepared to agree to sale: the Government, he

¹¹⁵⁵ ‘Notes of representations made to Minister of Maori Affairs,’ 30 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

insisted, 'could not promise the people one thing and then to suit someone else's policy change the law to take away the rights of people. The land belonged to the Maori people ... They could not decide to take Maori land and leave idle European sections alone.'¹¹⁵⁶

The Council's other proposal was for the establishment of a special fund to assist Maori to effect improvements to their homes. According to Corbett, 'there was plenty of money for Maori houses,' and that Maori themselves had to make applications for loans. The acquisition of a home was, he insisted, 'within the reach of every Maori – poverty was no bar.' Of some importance was the Mayor's admission that 'He had heard there was a Maori Tribal Committee in the district but he had never heard or seen of anything that it had achieved nor did he know what the activities of the Welfare Officer were nor where he was stationed.' Moreover, until a short time since he had never met the member for Western Maori.¹¹⁵⁷

Corbett, nevertheless, was clearly impressed by the rates that the Council had been unable to collect, and expressed interest in the Council's desire to acquire the land. In June 1951, instructed by its Minister, the Department of Maori Affairs itself prepared, with respect to Maori-owned land in Otaki, a utilisation plan, a valuation of existing partitions, and a topographical survey plan. Of the 140 acres originally vested in the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board, 40 acres had been revested, and much of the remainder had in fact been leased to Chinese market gardeners. Under Secretary Ropiha acknowledged that 'The sections had been very badly partitioned in the first instance and some of them were just long narrow strips stretching from one street right through to another. As they were nothing could be done.'¹¹⁵⁸ The difficulties remained, accentuated by the decision of the Department of Public Works not to acquire Titokitoki 3F1 and 3C5. The Crown had acquired 10.5 acres in the borough for 35 State houses and it was hoped that some could be made available to Maori families.

¹¹⁵⁶ 'Notes of representations made to Minister of Maori Affairs,' 30 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁵⁷ Notes of representations, 30 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1. See also Mayor, Otaki Borough to Minister, Maori Affairs 31 May 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁵⁸ Notes of discussion 6 June 1951, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

Concurrently, the Department was encouraging Maori families to save and to apply for housing loans under the Native Housing Act 1935, while for those without landed interests, consideration was being given to the re-survey and subdivision of a block of Maori-owned land in the heart of the borough (the Makuratawhiti blocks). Given the costs of subdivision and roading, Wellington's District Officer was less than optimistic over the prospects. 'I am very doubtful,' he noted, 'whether the owners will agree as it will mean them giving up quite a considerable proportion of their present area to cover the cost of subdivision and roading.'¹¹⁵⁹ In September 1952, a deputation of Otaki Maori pressed Corbett over the provision of State rental houses in Otaki, expressed regret over the decision not to proceed with the Titokitoki scheme, and voiced concern over the living conditions of Maori families. All the discussions to date had yielded very little in the way of effective action. The Minister fell back upon his established position namely, that the Department would do all it could to assist those Maori who were prepared to take the initiative and assist themselves, that at the heart of the difficulties lay the tangled state of Maori land titles, and that, but for waste of money on drinking and gambling, Maori could readily afford to accumulate the £200 deposit required on a housing loan. All the Minister was prepared to do was to take the matter of State rental housing up with the Minister of Housing.¹¹⁶⁰

6.13.3 Shannon

In 1948-1949, the Crown acquired four sections (Lots 333,334, 335, and 356) in Shannon, but the desire of the United Box Company to acquire a portion of the land involved in order to re-locate its entire cardboard box operation from Wellington posed a difficulty. The Shannon Borough Council thus indicated a wish to reserve the land for industrial purposes, while the Department of Industries and Commerce made it clear to the Department of Maori Affairs that it supported 'a policy of decentralisation whereby secondary industries are fostered in towns, such as Shannon.' The company was evidently prepared to employ 'a number of Maoris in the Shannon district.'¹¹⁶¹ In January 1950, Shannon's mayor advised the Department of Maori Affairs that his

¹¹⁵⁹ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 19 June 1952, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁶⁰ Notes of representations 24 September 1952, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/618 30/5/9 Part 1.

¹¹⁶¹ Secretary, Industries and Commerce to Registrar, Wellington 30 January 1950, in ANZ Wellington AAMK W3730/22 30/4/7.

council wished to reserve the area acquired by the Crown (and on which one house had been constructed) for industrial purposes with a view to retaining in the town its young people. The area acquired by the Crown was, he claimed, the 'only suitable site' for the United Box Company: there was, he added, other land available for housing, although where he did not say.¹¹⁶² In its representations to the Department of Maori Affairs, the company made no reference to employing Maori, but rather to 'local people.'¹¹⁶³ The Department of Maori Affairs was prepared to accede to such wishes provided suitable alternative sites could be obtained: it was clearly anxious to respond to housing needs that it described as 'urgent,' while for its part the Palmerston North Hospital Board was expressing concern over Maori housing conditions at Opiki. With the assistance of the Shannon Borough Council, the Crown acquired Lot 292 and part 295, sufficient for three, possibly four, building sites, and sold Lots 334, 335, and 356 to the United Box Company.

Towards the end of 1951, the Shannon Borough Council sought to have State rentals constructed for Maori in the town. At that stage, no State houses were under construction and just five were planned for the following 12 months. The State Advances Corporation was apparently unable to say how many of the 22 existing State rentals had been allocated to Maori. Five homes had been erected under the Native Housing Act 1935, and the Department's efforts, according to the Minister of Maori Affairs, were 'directed towards encouraging the Maori people to become independent and self-reliant citizens and to achieve something for themselves.' In other words, the Department preferred to help Maori financially to acquire homes rather than place them in State rentals. Further, it clearly expected local authorities and employers to play their (not defined) part.¹¹⁶⁴

6.13.4 Foxton

In 1950, the Mayor of Foxton (a director of New Zealand Woolpack and Textiles Limited) as the owner of one section in the town, and the Foxton Borough Council as

¹¹⁶² Mayor, Shannon to Secretary, Maori Affairs 21 January 1950, in ANZ Wellington AAMK W3730/22 30/4/7.

¹¹⁶³ Director, United Box Company to Secretary, Maori Affairs 22 January 1950, in ANZ Wellington AAMK W3730/22 30/4/7.

¹¹⁶⁴ Minister, Maori Affairs to Town Clerk, Shannon Borough January 1951, in ANZ Wellington AAMK W3730/22 30/4/7.

the owner of three, offered to sell the four sections in the borough for £429. The price was described as ‘very reasonable,’ and the Board of Maori Affairs accepted the offer. Re-survey, at an additional cost of £100, would yield five building sections. Subsequently, a survey of the housing needs of Maori living in and around Foxton was conducted: for seven families, including two living on the former Matarapa development scheme, urgent action was evidently required ‘in the interests of public health and general welfare.’ One of the families was dependent upon social welfare payments, while the remaining six had incomes insufficient to allow them to consider building new or improving existing dwellings. By 1955, 152 State houses had been constructed in Foxton, including 50 controlled (under a special arrangement with the Crown) by New Zealand Woolpack and Textiles Limited, with an additional four units nearing completion. In addition to the seven Maori families, 30 Pakeha applicants were seeking State houses in Foxton. Of the latter, 11 were described as ‘urgent.’ Up to the end of March 1954, 11 new houses had been constructed and six houses purchased and renovated for Maori families in Foxton.¹¹⁶⁵ The question was how to deal with the needs of the seven families whose needs, it was recorded, should have been identified earlier.¹¹⁶⁶

A survey of the housing conditions of some 60 Maori families living in and around Foxton, including two families living at ‘the Loop’ (the former Matarapa development scheme) was conducted in 1954. The number of children involved was 258, while 33 members of the 60 families were listed as having tuberculosis. The survey indicated that most families in Foxton were satisfactorily housed, but the living conditions of seven were considered to be poor, the dwellings being dilapidated huts, shacks, and sheds bereft of conveniences. None of the seven owned a building section (or any other assets). In six of those cases, the breadwinner was employed by New Zealand Woolpack and Textiles Limited at a gross weekly wage of £10 6s 1d, the seventh being dependent on social welfare payments. None owned a building section or (apparently) any other assets. Four of the seven families were assisted to complete applications for State rental dwellings, although it was noted that 30 Pakeha applicants

¹¹⁶⁵ Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 12 August 1954, in ANZ Wellington ABJZ 869 W4644/84 30/4/28.

¹¹⁶⁶ These notes were drawn from a draft report located in ANZ Wellington ABJZ 869 W4644/84 30/4/28.

were also seeking State rentals: of those 30, 11 were classified as urgent. One other family proposed to seek finance to construct a new home in Shannon.¹¹⁶⁷ It is of interest to note that two of the families lived at the Loop, otherwise the former Matarapa development scheme. In the Department's view, the best course of action was to persevere with the applications submitted to State Advances, to ensure that if rental properties were allocated that they were dispersed throughout Foxton, and for the Department of Maori Affairs itself to construct two new homes.¹¹⁶⁸ In fact, the Minister of Maori Affairs (E.B. Corbett) took up the cases with the Minister for State Advances with a view to increasing the rate of State housing construction in Foxton. He noted that to date, 11 houses for Maori private ownership had been constructed in the borough, while a further six had been purchased with assistance from the Department of Maori Affairs.¹¹⁶⁹

6.13.5 Poutu Pa

The Shannon Maori Tribal Committee, in 1946, raised concerns over conditions at the home of Ngati Whakatere, Poutu Pa, otherwise known as the Whakatere Sanctuary: following a survey, the Department of Health recommended the demolition of buildings regarded as insanitary and unfit for use.¹¹⁷⁰ That the buildings were being used for residential purposes reflected an acute shortage of houses in Shannon itself. Poutu Pa had a permanent population of 39 occupying two meeting houses, a dining hall, and one small cottage. Lack of sanitation and three known cases of tuberculosis reportedly posed threats to the health of the entire community. The wage earners were mostly labourers employed on local market gardens, in Foxton's textile plant, and with the Makerua Drainage Board. Of the residents, just two expressed any interest in having new homes constructed: both were largely dependent upon income from the Nelson Tents and from rents (£15 per annum in each case), social security benefits, and family contributions. After a detailed inspection and discussions with residents – who made

¹¹⁶⁷ Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 12 August 1954, in ANZ Wellington ABJZ 869 W4644/84 30/4/28.

¹¹⁶⁸ Secretary, Maori Affairs to Minister, Maori Affairs 12 August 1954, in ANZ Wellington ABJZ 869 W4644/84 30/4/28.

¹¹⁶⁹ Minister, Maori Affairs to Minister, State Advances 16 August 1954, in ANZ Wellington ABJZ 869 W4644/84 30/4/28.

¹¹⁷⁰ Under Secretary, Native Department to Commissioner, Works 15 October 1946, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

clear their reluctance to leave the site – the Native Department’s Building Supervisor recommended that the three suffering from active pulmonary tuberculosis should be treated or offered the Department of Health’s shelters; that drains to dispose of flood, storm, and waste water should be constructed; that lavatory and ablution blocks should be provided; that the existing communal living arrangements should be ‘broken up’ and individual housing needs investigated; that the dining room and kitchen should be demolished and replaced; and, finally, that the meeting house should be renovated.¹¹⁷¹

Action was taken to assist those suffering from tuberculosis, but a report by Shannon’s District Nurse in September 1949 suggested that living conditions had not changed.¹¹⁷² Similarly, a report by a departmental welfare officer listed 39 residents (16 adults and 23 children), although he reported that the two meeting houses appeared to be in good order and that the dining room and kitchen condemned by the Department of Health, were due to be demolished. To assist in the replacement of the latter, the Ngati Whakaterere Tribal Committee had applied to the Raukawa Executive Committee for financial assistance. One family was about to move in to a new home in Shannon, while three others had decided to apply for housing loans for the construction of new homes. The construction of State rentals was apparently ‘out of the question ... as there is not sufficient of these houses to cope with the demands of the local Pakehas as well as Returned Servicemen.’¹¹⁷³

Table 6.12 sets out some details of the employment and incomes of seven households. Of the seven households, just two had interests in land, both in Manawatu-Kukutauaki, while just one received a modest additional income of the form of rents.

¹¹⁷¹ Building Supervisor, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 9 April 1947, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁷² District Nurse, Shannon to Medical Superintendent, Palmerston North Hospital 17 September 1949, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁷³ Welfare Officer, Levin to Controller, Welfare Division, Maori Affairs 18 October 1949, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

Table 6.12: Employment and incomes, Poutu Pa, c1950

House-holds	Employment	Income: wages (52 weeks)	Income: benefits	Income: rents	Other income
1	Nil	-	260 0 0 (sickness)	-	7 7 0
2	Labourer	364 0 0	184 0 0 (family)	30 0 0	182 0 0
3	Driver	364 0 0	-	-	-
4	Labourer	390 0 0	-	-	-
5	Labourers (4)	1352 0 0	204 0 0 (widow's)	-	-
6	Ganger	468 0 0	-	-	-
7	Ganger	390 0 0	-	-	-

Source: ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41

6.13.6 Kai Iwi

In 1956, Welfare Officer M. Tamihana of the Department of Maori Affairs conducted a survey of Kai iwi Pa. Table 6.13 summarises the results of his findings. Wellington's District Officer described the dwellings as 'sub-standard,' many were 'grossly overcrowded, while many families lived in shacks, baches, windowless huts with only the most primitive of conveniences.' Wellington's District Officer advised his Department's Head Office that 'The living conditions of the majority of these families have to be seen to be believed. All the houses are sub-standard and many are grossly overcrowded, while a large number of families are living in squalid and filthy conditions in baches, shacks, and huts without windows and only with the most primitive conveniences.' He went on to observe that the pa was 'surrounded by a few better class European houses ... but even a cursory glance shows a "tale of two cities" with the inhabitants forming two distinct racial groups.' Many of the Maori household heads were employed in the Feilding Freezing Works, accounting for the relatively high peak weekly incomes: in the off-season, shearing and occasional farm work on nearby farms were the alternatives.¹¹⁷⁴

According to the District Officer, ten of the families involved had been 'persuaded' to make applications for advances under the Native Housing Act, but the remaining families 'have still to be convinced of the need for housing improvement and many have refused to make applications stating they do not want to build.' One of the reasons

¹¹⁷⁴ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 3 May 1956, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/269 30/3/180.

lay in the ‘chaotic’ state of the titles of the lands that they owned: efforts would be made to clear the titles to a few sections in the pa, but the District Officer recommended that five Crown sections in Feilding should be made available. ‘Although,’ he reported, ‘many of these people do not at the moment wish to leave Kai Iwi, it is known that some would should sections be made available, and it is more than probable that once we have made a start others will follow their lead.’¹¹⁷⁵

The Department’s Assistant Secretary was less certain that, ‘save in exceptional circumstances,’ efforts should be made to persuade residents to leave Kai Iwi or that sections should be made available in Feilding. Noting that all residents were in receipt of ‘reasonable incomes,’ he suggested that ‘the threat of closing orders might well, without imposing hardship, bring about a change of attitude in those who will not do anything about housing.’ Further, he proposed that if building sites could be secured in the pa, then families should remain, citing proximity to the freezing works and thus employment, the higher cost of sites in Feilding, the greater difficulty of ‘supervising’ families scattered throughout that town, and the possible objections of Pakeha residents. Hence, the Department did not consider that it should, ‘save in exceptional cases where there are good reasons, either try to influence the people to leave Kai Iwi or seek special facilities to enable them to get sections in Feilding.’ At the same time, efforts should be made to discourage any more families, especially those of ‘doubtful stability,’ from settling in the pa. The key issue, in its view, was ‘largely a welfare one ...’ while the main effort should be directed towards changing attitudes to housing.¹¹⁷⁶ The contradictions that underpinned that stance were ignored.

¹¹⁷⁵ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 3 May 1956, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459 269 30/3/180.

¹¹⁷⁶ Assistant Secretary, Maori Affairs to District Officer, Wellington 21 May 1956, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/269 30/3/180. Four Awahuri families were considering building homes in Kai Iwi.

Table 6.13: Housing conditions, Kai Iwi Pa, 1956

Household	Members	Peak weekly income: £	Remarks
1	5	20	Beyond repair, sanitation bad, no washing facilities
2	7	20)
2A	4	20	) Beyond repair, no washing facilities
3)	8	20)
3A)	4		) Needs some repairs, no washing facilities
3B)	1)
4	6	20	Unfit for human habitation
5	15		Beyond repair, sanitation bad, no washing facilities
6	4)
6A	3	20	) Dilapidated, sanitation bad, no washing facilities
6B	2)
7	6		Beyond repair, no washing facilities
8	3	20	Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
9	6	20	Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
10	2	16 5s	Sanitation primitive
11	3	28 14s	Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
12	7		) Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
12A	5	20)
13	6		Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
14	2)
14A	5	20	) Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
14B	2	20)
15	5	20	) Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
15A	3	20)
16	8	20	Sanitation bad, no washing facilities
17	4	20	Deplorable, sanitation bad, no washing facilities
18	5)
18A	3		) Dilapidated, sanitation bad, no washing facilities
18B	3)
18C	9)

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/269 30/3/180

In August 1956, the Department again raised the possibility of residents remaining in the pa and improving conditions as an alternative to re-location. District Officer Barber was not persuaded that that was the best course of action. Efforts were being made to encourage residents to save, to apply for State house rentals, and to secure Crown sections in Feilding. In his view, building in the pa ‘should only be a last resort.’¹¹⁷⁷ The complexity of the title position was such that consolidation for residential purposes

¹¹⁷⁷ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 20 September 1956, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/269 30/3/180.

was 'hardly justified.'¹¹⁷⁸ By the close of 1956, 14 families had decided to lodge loan applications, and in two instances houses were under construction, while four Crown sections in Feilding had been made available. The Department of Maori Affairs had finally agreed that constructing new houses in the pa would be a last resort.

An April 1958 survey revealed a small reduction in the number of families residing in Kai Iwi: eight families had moved out but four others had taken up residence.¹¹⁷⁹ A year later, the total population had declined from 105 to 87, but of the existing 17 dwellings, just two were deemed to be satisfactory. Under some pressure from the Department of Maori Affairs, the Kairanga County Council began issuing repair notices, focussing first on two vacant dwellings with a view to prohibiting their re-occupation until the required repairs had been completed. The Department of Health, through Palmerston North's Medical Officer of Health, added its weight by suggesting to the council that it issue closing orders under section 42 of the Health Act 1956 not, it appears with a view to forcing residents out but in an effort, if vacated, to prevent re-occupation.¹¹⁸⁰ The outcome was that most such applications were adjourned sine die.¹¹⁸¹ The re-occupation of the two dwellings in question was prevented, the owners having been issued with extensive and expensive lists of repairs. Failure on their part to comply induced the Kairanga County Council to seek closing orders. Orders were granted, and the Department of Health proposed to apply for further orders as other dwellings were vacated.¹¹⁸² That procedure was not without its difficulties. Palmerston North's Medical Officer of Health recorded that the Department of Health could act only when the local authority concerned had failed to issue repair notices. Moreover, difficulties in locating all of those interested in the houses concerned often deterred local authorities from acting. For their part, the courts were reluctant to issue closing and demolition orders if the result were to render the families concerned homeless. On

¹¹⁷⁸ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 26 November 1956, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/269 30/3/180. See also Deputy Registrar, Wellington to District Officer, Wellington 16 November 1956, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/269 30/3/180.

¹¹⁷⁹ Further details of this survey can be found in Suzanne Woodley, 'Local government issues report,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2017, pp.177-178.

¹¹⁸⁰ Woodley, 'Local government issues,' pp.180-181.

¹¹⁸¹ Woodley, 'Local government issues,' p.181.

¹¹⁸² Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to District Officer, Wellington 26 August 1958, in ACIH 16036 MAW2459/122 9/10/3.

the other hand, few if any local authorities could provide or were inclined to provide alternative accommodation.¹¹⁸³

As houses were vacated, further closing and demolition orders were issued, while the Department of Maori Affairs encouraged families to move to Feilding, although some expressed a preference for Awahuri. In August 1959, Palmerston North's District Officer indicated that it was not proposed to build any more houses in either Kai Iwi or Opiki.¹¹⁸⁴ In March 1960, the Department of Maori Affairs considered the demolition of all 'sub-standard' dwellings, while in May of that year the Department of Health pressed the Kairanga County Council to issue further closing and demolition orders to prevent families from occupying dwellings as they were vacated and thus, it suggested, assist the Department of Maori Affairs to move the families involved in to better houses in Feilding, Foxton, Longburn, and Awahuri.¹¹⁸⁵ Yet another survey, conducted in 1962, revealed that of 17 houses at Kai Iwi, five were vacant and that another two families were considering leaving.¹¹⁸⁶ By 1966, just 12 residents remained in Kai Iwi. Through, then, a range of 'carrot and stick' mechanisms that included closing and demolition orders issued by the Kairanga County Council essentially at the request of the Department of Health, the provision by the Department of Maori Affairs of building sections and rental houses elsewhere, and a decision by the Board of Maori Affairs not to make advances for housing purposes at Kai Iwi, families had been 'encouraged' to leave Kai Iwi: at the same time, it should be noted that a small number of houses had been constructed in the 'pa area.'¹¹⁸⁷

6.13.7 Opiki

In December 1944, the Palmerston North Hospital Board considered a report to the effect that some 200 people at Opiki, 'a moving community,' most of whom were engaged on the market gardens, were living in 'disgraceful' conditions. The Horowhenua County Council noted that its bylaws had been ignored and that it had not

¹¹⁸³ Cited in Woodley, 'Local government issues report,' pp.181-182.

¹¹⁸⁴ District Officer, Palmerston North to Head Office, Wellington 31 August 1959, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/122 9/10/3.

¹¹⁸⁵ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to County Clerk, Kairanga County Council 3 May 1960, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/122 9/10/3.

¹¹⁸⁶ Copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2459/122 9/10/3.

¹¹⁸⁷ Woodley, 'Local government issues report,' pp.190-199.

issued permits: what action the council had taken its representative on the Board did not say. The problem of poor housing was not confined to Opiki, A.J. Gimblett of Levin indicating that there were other Maori communities enduring equally bad conditions and that ‘no end of tuberculosis cases were coming from one of those communities.’ On the other hand, it was claimed that if employers had to provide adequate housing ‘The economics of vegetable growing would break down ...’ The problem was declared to be ‘a national one’ and one for the Department of Native Affairs to resolve.¹¹⁸⁸

Fourteen settlements, varying from one to 12 huts, were identified. The Board’s concern centred on the possibility of typhoid and upon its efforts over ‘many years ... to raise the standard of general health among the Maoris, especially in the southern portion of its district,’ that is, in the Horowhenua.¹¹⁸⁹ When dealing, in 1939, with similar circumstances in Pukekohe, the Department of Labour concluded that since Maori were engaged on a contract basis, it was unable to act. The Department of Health could issue closing and demolition certificates but was clearly reluctant to do so lest the industry were ‘greatly prejudiced’ at a time of urgent need.¹¹⁹⁰ The Department of Native Affairs claimed that it could not act without some clear direction from Maori themselves. Moreover, its Under Secretary noted, Cabinet had ruled that any advances made to Maori for housing purposes had to be repaid and that the construction of rental houses could be undertaken under existing authorities, presumably sections 4 and 5 of the Native Housing Amendment Act 1938.¹¹⁹¹ An impasse had clearly been reached.

A conference attended by all involved, including the workers, was held in Palmerston North in July 1945, following surveys that had revealed the extent and character of the difficulties. Now, 17 settlements – located on low-lying and wet ground and in which resided 387 children and adults drawn from Ratana, Palmerston North, Feilding, and Horowhenua – were identified: a large proportion of the population worked on the 1,400 acres of gardens throughout the year. For their part, growers made it clear that, if

¹¹⁸⁸ ‘Disgraceful housing for Maoris at Opiki,’ *Manawatu Times* 19 December 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/129 36/23 Part 3.

¹¹⁸⁹ Managing Secretary, Palmerston North Hospital Board to Minister, Health 19 December 1944, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁹⁰ Director-General, Health to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 5 February 1945, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁹¹ Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Director-General, Health 21 March 1945, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

required to conform to the standards laid down by the Department of Health, assistance from the State would be necessary. The Native Department's Chief Welfare Officer recorded that in May 1945 the Departments of Housing and Agriculture had been asked to deal with the matter but that nothing had transpired. One other difficulty was raised, namely, that once the war had concluded, market gardening would contract as growers reverted to dairying. The outcome of the conference was a decision to commission another survey and to place recommendations arising before all the relevant ministers.¹¹⁹² Treasury evidently approved the erection of 'workers' dwellings:' as the war ended, Treasury withdrew that approval and asked why the tax payer should bear the cost should any growers wish to continue.¹¹⁹³

Ten years later, in 1956, the living conditions of several families working on Moletta's market garden at Opiki were the subject of investigation and criticism: the families were living in over-crowded huts, without water, and surrounded by mud. Moletta claimed that the families concerned earned sufficient to provide better accommodation for themselves.¹¹⁹⁴ Wellington's District Officer rejected as 'preposterous' Moletta's claim that contract men earned £1,000 per annum.¹¹⁹⁵ In fact, 'peak week' wages were usually £12 and 'basic week' wages £8. The Department of Maori Affairs again investigated, but found that the Horowhenua County Clerk and the Health Inspector were reluctant to exercise their powers to secure improvements despite the fact that eight families lived in leaking lean-to shacks. The Department successfully pressed Moletta to provide suitable accommodation for his permanent workers while it looked to meet the needs of the remainder, in particular three families with 27 children among them.¹¹⁹⁶ The remaining families were reportedly keen to secure Maori Affairs homes or State rental dwellings, contrary to the oft-repeated claim that many Maori families had no wish to improve their living conditions.¹¹⁹⁷ By December 1957, seven families

¹¹⁹² Chief Welfare Officer, Native Affairs to Under Secretary, Native Affairs 16 July 1945, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁹³ Note, Under Secretary, Native Affairs to Minister, Native Affairs 11 October 1945, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁹⁴ District Child Welfare Officer, Department of Education to Controller, Maori Affairs 3 September 1956.

¹¹⁹⁵ Note for file, District Officer, Wellington 11 October 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁹⁶ Note, District Officer, Wellington 27 August 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁹⁷ Note for file, District Officer, Wellington 11 October 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

had lodged applications for loans under the Native Housing Act 1935, the Department of Maori Affairs proposing to implement a group housing scheme in Shannon.¹¹⁹⁸ There were also significant financial difficulties involved: few of the families involved had assets of any kind, while wages were insufficient to permit substantial repayments. Moletta and other local farmers made it clear that they would not assist. ‘The problem,’ recorded Wellington’s District Officer, ‘is very urgent and it appears that the Department must find the means of providing the finance required in order to uplift this bleak and squalid settlement ...’¹¹⁹⁹

The circumstances left the Department of Maori Affairs facing a conundrum: should the families remain at Opiki they would be tied to casual work with little prospect of improving their circumstances. If, on the other hand, they were to move to Shannon, social and employment difficulties would likely follow. The Department’s Secretary concluded that ‘unless some exceptional provision is made for cases of this kind, there is no prospect of the Department ... finding the money on the scale projected.’ He went on to record that

These considerations bring up the whole question of the extent of our responsibility in this matter. Here we have a cluster of New Zealand citizens, not poverty-stricken ... living in a prosperous area where employment should be reasonably plentiful, and where they have fair access to normal social amenities. For something like ten years their living conditions have been engaging the attention of the Health and Education Departments, the County Council, the Hospital Board and the employers, as well as this Department. But because the citizens happen to have Maori blood there may be a tendency for all the other people concerned to take a passive attitude and to leave to this Department the matter of improved housing.¹²⁰⁰

The Department, he noted – and unlike Child Welfare, Health, and the Horowhenua County Council – had no coercive powers. State rental houses, he concluded, appeared to be the best answer, although ‘we have nothing to go on in this direction except our own conviction that it is the best solution for most problem families ...’ His only other suggestion was that the origin of the families should be established: should they be

¹¹⁹⁸ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 12 December 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹¹⁹⁹ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 12 December 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹²⁰⁰ Secretary, Maori Affairs to District Officer, Wellington 12 December 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

found to be of other than ‘local’ origin, then they might be induced to return to their home districts.¹²⁰¹ They were all found to be from the Manawatu area.

Yet another survey of Opiki was conducted in 1957: conditions remained squalid, and earnings remained meagre, most of the families concerned now evidently living on the ‘bread line.’ All 12 families were employed as potato and onion planters and pickers on various properties owned by the Moletta Bros. These casual or ‘nomad’ families were housed in old army huts for which, it appears, they were not charged rent. A meeting of representatives of several State agencies – Health, Child Welfare, State Advances, and Maori Affairs – decided that seven families, all anxious to move and improve their circumstances, should be assisted to lodge applications for State rental homes, that assistance should be provided to enable the families to deal with any obstacles encountered, and that the Horowhenua County Council should be asked to issue notices under the Health Act 1956 on the Moletta Brothers that ‘the nuisance be abated.’¹²⁰² Wellington’s District Officer devised arrangements under which the families would assist the Department to collect weekly contributions, while advising the Secretary that ‘We will need abundant and sincere goodwill and understanding by the State Advances Corporation if a solution is to be reached at Opiki in measurable time. Much more can be done in clearing problems like these by wider Pakeha interest, support and practical effort.’¹²⁰³

The State Advances Corporation was reluctant to assist, suggesting rather that the Department of Maori Affairs ‘should arrange for some form of improvement to the present living conditions of the families (without removal from the area) and educating them in personal hygiene.’¹²⁰⁴

¹²⁰¹ Secretary, Maori Affairs to District Officer, Wellington 12 December 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹²⁰² District Officer, Wellington, Notes of a visit on 2 April 1956 of departmental officers to Opiki market gardens and of a subsequent roadside discussion, 12 December 1956, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹²⁰³ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 3 May 1957, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹²⁰⁴ Manager, State Advances Corporation to Branch Manager, Wellington 12 April 1957, in ANZ Wellington AELE 19213 SAC-W1/57 35/295 Part 1.

Six applications were made by Opiki families for State rental houses and the State Advances Corporation was invited to assist in settling them in Shannon, Foxton, or Palmerston North. While the District Officer was in no doubt that the properties would be respected and that rentals would be met, and that both his office and Child Welfare would continue to support, advise, and assist the families concerned, the Department of Maori Affairs declined to offer its support. In the view of its Assistant Secretary, 'it is not thought that there is much prospect of getting these people ... into State houses otherwise than within the framework of a general "Problem Families" policy yet to be worked out ... From the angles ... of conduct and employment,' he added, 'there is still room for doubt as to the desirability of placing them ... [in Shannon] or as a group in any other small town.' Special measures of assistance, he concluded, could be considered should they begin to save, to evince 'an improved mode of living,' and to have demonstrated a desire for better housing.¹²⁰⁵ Lack of enthusiasm on the part of head office did not deter Wellington's District Officer from submitting the six applications to the State Advances Corporation. In support of the applications, he recorded that 'many of the families have been living in this area under the conditions disclosed for very many years, one family for 16 years and another for nine years. 'They have neither known better conditions, nor because of this lack of knowledge have they before expressed the desire for better conditions.' Accordingly, the Department sought the assistance of the Corporation to re-locate the families in Feilding, Palmerston North, and Shannon where, it insisted, they would make good tenants.¹²⁰⁶

Some officials within the State Advances Corporation appear to have been less than enthused, noting that at least 30 Maori families in the Manawatu district were poorly housed and that the six applications received from Opiki families were only a 'surface scratch ...' The approach adopted by the Department of Maori Affairs was described as 'window dressing.' In their view, the improvement of Maori housing should be dealt with 'in its entirety.'¹²⁰⁷ But it was also suggested that the solution did not lie

¹²⁰⁵ Assistant Secretary, Maori Affairs to District Officer, Wellington 17 May 1957, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹²⁰⁶ District Officer, Wellington to Manager, State Advances Corporation 11 June 1957, ANZ Wellington AELE 19213 SAC-W1/57 35/295 Part 1. A

¹²⁰⁷ Resident Officer, State Advances Corporation, Palmerston North to Manager, Wellington 10 July 1957, in ANZ Wellington AELE 19213 SAC-W1/57 35/295 Part 1.

... in the wholesale transfer of families of this type out of their environment at this stage to State rental houses in cities and towns. As a first step it seems the Maori Affairs Department or Government Welfare Organisations should arrange for some form of improvement to the present living conditions of the families (without removal from the area) and educating them in personal hygiene.¹²⁰⁸

More considered counsels appear to have prevailed. By July 1957 the Government had decided to erect three State houses – ‘of fairly austere type’ – in Shannon (rather than Foxton or Palmerston North) for allocation to Maori families.¹²⁰⁹ By December 1957, clearance of the Opiki area was under way: three of the families were about to move in to new State rental houses in Shannon, while two others had accepted Crown sections with a view to building new homes, while it was hoped to re-settle two more Opiki families on other sites in Shannon. By that stage, too, the Horowhenua County Council had finally brought prosecutions against the Moletta Brothers ‘for suffering a nuisance to arise and for permitting a family to occupy a dwelling-house which did not comply with regulations.’ A conviction was entered and a fine of £5 imposed. It is clear from comments penned on the District Officer’s report that Maori Affairs’ Head Office remained sceptical and critical.¹²¹⁰ Yet another survey of Opiki, this time conducted in August 1959, revealed that two families had ‘good housing,’ three were ‘living in shacks and under action,’ and five were living in shacks and in respect of whom no action was being taken. Three vacant shacks were destined for demolition.¹²¹¹ The evidence suggests that as some families moved out, others took their place.

6.13.8 Kai Iwi and Opiki in 1960

In 1956, the Department of Maori Affairs recorded that 42 Maori settlements in which resided some 4,000 people could be classified as ‘depressed areas.’¹²¹² Four of those settlements were located in the Ikaroa Maori Land District, namely, Te Ore Ore and Te Hauke, and Kai Iwi and Opiki. Table 6.14 summarises the position of the latter two.

¹²⁰⁸ Manager, State Advances Corporation, Wellington to General Manager, State Advances Corporation 12 April 1957, in ANZ Wellington AELE 19213 SAC-W1/57 35/295 Part 1.

¹²⁰⁹ ANZ Wellington AELE 19213 SAC-W1/57 35/295 Part 1.

¹²¹⁰ District Officer, Wellington to Head Office 11 December 1957, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹²¹¹ Maori Welfare Officer, Opiki housing, 25 August 1959, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1021/g 30/3/41.

¹²¹² AJHR 1958, G9, p.23.

The Palmerston North's District Officer recorded, with respect to Kai Iwi, that the construction of one house outside the pa area was almost complete, construction of another was about to commence, and loan approval was being sought for two other families. The Department of Health had secured closing orders for two dwellings and planned to act in respect of others as occupiers moved. In the case of Opiki gardens, the Horowhenua County Council was proposing to issue closing orders for two shacks and repair notices issued for two others, while three families had shifted in to Shannon.¹²¹³ At the end of 1961, he reported that in fact the Horowhenua County Council had declined to act as the market gardener concerned (L.H. Moletta) required the shacks for housing seasonal workers.¹²¹⁴ Basic weekly incomes ranged from £2 to £28 per week but most about £12 - plus the family benefit – while five households received mostly small amounts by way of rent. The brackets indicate households residing in the same dwelling.

¹²¹³ District Officer, Palmerston North to Maori Affairs, Wellington 4 July 1960, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1016/b 30/3 Part 2.

¹²¹⁴ District Officer, Palmerston North to Maori Affairs, Wellington 15 December 1961, in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1016/b 30/3 Part 2.

Table 6.14: People and dwellings, Kai Iwi and Opiki, 1960

	Kai Iwi	Opiki
<i>People</i>		
Number of families	16	10
Number of adults	30	18
Number of children	50	28
Total population	80	46
<i>Existing houses</i>		
Satisfactory	2	2
Unsatisfactory	15 (2 vacant)	11 (3 vacant)
<i>Houses needed urgently</i>		
Number of houses	8	5
Adults	16	10
Children	45	17
<i>Houses needed less urgently</i>		
Number of houses	7	2
Adults	14	4
Children	18	3
<i>Houses provided in area through Maori Affairs</i>		
	5	Nil

Source: ANZ Wellington AAMK 869/1016/b W307430/3 Part 3

6.14 Re-locating Maori families

In 1960, J.K. Hunn (Secretary of Maori Affairs) reached the same conclusions that Belshaw had expressed two decades earlier. Thus he acknowledged that ‘the so-called “urban drift” of Maori was irreversible migration in search of work ... The future for the Maori,’ he added, ‘lies in industrialisation and not in farming.’¹²¹⁵ It would be realistic, he suggested, ‘to accept that the majority of Maoris will inevitably become town-dwellers. For one thing,’ he added, ‘if all the idle Maori land were developed and settled, it would not provide more than 4000 farms at most. By that time, the Maori population might be half a million.’¹²¹⁶ Hunn supported the assimilation of Maori, proposed that the Government should encourage the drift to urban areas, in part in an

¹²¹⁵ AJHR 1961, G10, p.15.

¹²¹⁶ In ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1101/d 36/20 Part1.

effort to close the gaps between Maori and Pakeha with respect to health, housing, and employment.¹²¹⁷ The Department of Maori Affairs thus elected not to try to control the growing migratory stream but ‘to promote a subsidiary stream,’ that is, to divert Maori to those places where there were employment opportunities, a policy often termed ‘re-location.’ Indeed, in 1960, an inter-departmental committee (Labour, Maori Affairs, Industries and Commerce, and Education) was established to examine Maori employment: it concluded that ‘the transfer of surplus Maori labour to places of full employment must be deliberately fostered in the best interests of the national economy as well as for the general well-being of the Maori people ...’¹²¹⁸

The policy of ‘planned re-location’ was thus expected to provide labour for urban industry and thus obviate the need to attract foreign workers, ensure that working-age Maori contributed more fully to national production, render Maori-owned land more productive through the release of under-employed occupiers, and reduce Maori dependence on social welfare entitlements.¹²¹⁹ The policy was formally adopted in 1960. In 1961, the Department of Maori Affairs’s Acting Secretary announced that the Department would look to re-locate those willing to move, and assist with training, employment, and housing in the main urban centres. An initial target of 4,000 people, both individuals and families, annually was set. The objective thus was less to stimulate the movement of Maori than it was to guide and facilitate a flow that was clearly already under way.¹²²⁰ In fact, the Government was reluctant to construct State rental housing in rural areas, preferring rather to encourage Maori to leave what it termed ‘depressed areas,’ that is, small Maori rural settlements characterised by poor housing and unsatisfactory environmental conditions. Butterworth recorded that from about 1948 housing applications lodged by Maori were assessed on the basis of distance of the proposed building sites from the nearest town, school, and place of employment.¹²²¹ The Government did consider encouraging the establishment of light industry (mostly textile and clothing) in smaller urban centres, but it was soon clear that such

¹²¹⁷ AJHR 1961, G10, p.15.

¹²¹⁸ ANZ Wellington AAMK 1869 W3074/1101/d 36/20 Part 1.

¹²¹⁹ ANZ Wellington AAMK 1869 W3074/1101/d 36/20 Part 1.

¹²²⁰ ANZ Wellington AAMK 1869 W3074/1101/d 36/20 Part 1.

¹²²¹ G.V. Butterworth, *Nga take i neke ai te Maori/Maori mobility*. Wellington: Nga Kairangahau, Manatu Maori, 1991, p.36.

decentralisation could not absorb more than a small fraction of the burgeoning Maori workforce.

At a conference of the Department of Maori Affairs' district officers, held in October 1962, it was reported that in the Palmerston North district several hundred Maori continued to live in 'poor conditions.' Interestingly, they were recorded as having concluded that 'nothing much more can be done about slum clearance except to allow time to effect curative measures,' and that 'the best and cheapest method for long-term results in slum clearance' was the appointment of 'special relocation officers.' A note on the summary recorded that the writer was 'Not satisfied to accept this counsel of despair until we try positive measures and find them unsuccessful.'¹²²² The Department of Maori Affairs, nevertheless, was reluctant to construct homes in some settlements, citing the low resale value of sections and thus its inability to recover sub-divisional costs, the cost of construction exceeding the resale value of dwellings, and poor educational facilities and opportunities for children. The Department was also reluctant to construct dwellings in areas where employment opportunities were few.

By the end of March 1964, nationally 288 Maori families had been assisted to re-locate to centres where employment and housing were available. Another 362 moved on their accord, but were also provided with similar support. The evidence indicates that within the Inquiry District a number of families were assisted, notably several residing on the Opiki market gardens, and that chief concern of the Department of Maori Affairs centred on housing. No evidence was located that would suggest that the Department did more than encourage and indeed a number declined the assistance proffered.¹²²³ Re-location nevertheless represented a marked departure from the policies instituted during the 1930s with respect to Maori land development and Maori housing: now the objective was to encourage rural Maori to join the flows to the country's urban centres and support the expansion of the manufacturing sector of the economy. Thus, in the discussions over housing conditions in Motuiti, the Department of Maori Affairs made it clear that it was not disposed to build or finance the construction of new houses where constant employment was not available and so tying families to the localities in

¹²²² 'Extract from notes – district officers' conference,' in ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1101/d 36/20 Part1.

¹²²³ ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/1103/b 36/20/7.

question. In short, housing policy thus became a means means of encouraging Maori families to move to areas and centres where employment was available, that is, as a means of encouraging labour mobility.¹²²⁴ In 1965, the Assistant Secretary of Maori Affairs noted that

The success which the Department has achieved in improving Maori housing standards has been in large part due to the fact that it has insisted that loans to build only be granted in areas where living standards can be raised and the breadwinner can make a useful contribution to the economy by engaging in worthwhile employment. If the Department introduced a policy of building in some of the areas about which ... [the Department of Health] expresses concern, then we have no doubt that our task in encouraging people to move to centres where they and their families can make a much more worthwhile contribution would become much more difficult.¹²²⁵

6.15 The 1961 survey of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori housing and employment

In 1961, the Department of Maori Affairs conducted a housing and employment survey. With respect to the Ikaroa district, Pohangina, Kiwitea, Oroua, Manawatu, Kairanga, and Horowhenua Counties (and their internal boroughs) were all surveyed, together with Palmerston North City. The survey involved an effort to reach all Maori and appears to have been successful, the exceptions being Kiwitea County (where according to the 1961 Census 100 Maori resided) and Pohangina County (where 27 Maori resided). In the case of the former, 30 persons were included in the survey and, with respect to the latter, 27. Table 6.15 sets out some of the key demographic data. Whether the failure to include all Maori skewed the results in some way could not be established, but the total number of persons included suggests that the results are likely to have been reliable. Why the number of Maori surveyed exceeded in some instances the 1961 census totals was not explained.

¹²²⁴ In ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/610 30/3/102.

¹²²⁵ Assistant Secretary, Maori Affairs to Director, Division of Public Health 23 August 1965, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 652 W4452/1240 194-3. The Assistant Secretary's response was in answer to Department of Health concerns over the state of what the latter regarded as the rural slums of Northland.

Table 6.15: Porirua ki Manawatu Maori families included in the 1961 survey

Counties	1961 census totals	Maoris surveyed	Per cent of 1961 census totals	Families	Households
Kiwitea	100	30	30.0	5	5
Pohangina	27	17	63.0	2	2
Oroua	707	769	108.8	135	129
Kairanga	251	150	59.8	32	30
Manawatu	660	717	108.6	131	123
Horowhenua	2009	2312	115.1	455	436
Palmerston North	723	1157	160.0	218	213
Totals	4477	5152	115.1	978	938

Source: ACIH 16036 MA1/636 30/9/7 Part 2

Table 6.16 sets out some details relating to tenure and records that 150 houses were State rentals. Following the Government's 1947 decision that that Maori should have access to State rental dwellings, 'pools' were established in which the ratio of Maori and non-Maori applicants constituted the basis upon which allocations were made between the two groups. Allocations to Maori were dealt with by the Department of Maori Affairs assisted by the tribal committees established under the Maori Social and Advancement Act 1945. The houses allocated were 'pepper-potted,' the only large housing blocks for Maori being (by 1949) those at Orakei in Auckland and Waiwhetu in the Hutt Valley.¹²²⁶ Archives New Zealand holds a large number of files dealing with the allocation of State houses, among them several dealing with Palmerston North, Foxton, Levin, and Otaki and covering the period from 1947 to 1973. It did not prove possible to examine them for this investigation.

¹²²⁶ AJHR 1949, G9, p.8.

Table 6 .16: Tenure of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori dwellings, 1961

	Owners: Total	Maori Affairs	State Advances	Tenants: total	Employers'	State rental	Other
Kiwitea	-	-	-	5	5	-	-
Pohangina	-	-	-	2	2	-	-
Oroua	84	38	15	40	14	11	5
Kairanga	9	1	1	12	12	-	9
Manawatu	70	47	4	45	10	15	8
Horowhenua	274	162	46	150	40	58	12
Palmerston North	98	50	32	115	15	66	-
Totals	535	298	98	369	98	150	34

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/626 30/9/7 Part 2

Of the 938 houses surveyed, 12.4 per cent were described as 'overcrowded,' 5.4 as 'unsound,' while the total of 'unsatisfactory' dwellings constituted 15.1 per cent of the total (Table 6.17). The terms employed were imprecise, but the survey suggested that substantial housing problems remained.

Table 6.17: Unsatisfactory dwellings, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1961

Counties	Population surveyed	Houses surveyed	Overcrowded	Unsound	Total unsatisfactory
Kiwitea	30	5	1	1	1
Pohangina	17	2	-	-	-
Oroua	769	129	11	6	13
Manawatu	717	123	15	8	19
Kairanga	150	30	8	9	11
Horowhenua	2312	436	61	22	76
Palmerston North	1157	213	20	5	22
Totals	5152	938	116	51	142

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/626 30/9/7 Part 2

6.15.1 The Maori housing survey, 1966

In 1966, the Department of Maori Affairs published the results of its survey of Maori housing conducted over the period from 1961 to 1965. The report began by noting that

By the nineteen-thirties, it was a familiar sight ... to see Maori settlements all over the country comprising tumbledown houses and deplorable shacks of corrugated iron and sacking. These poor living conditions had a serious effect, not only on the general health of the people, but also on education – an overcrowded shack is no place for children to study. Quite apart from these considerations, it is a dangerous situation in any community to have an identifiable minority living in depressed conditions.¹²²⁷

Poor housing conditions, it suggested, were the outcome of the decline in the sales of Maori-owned family land being held in multiple ownership, and low average incomes, and the consequent disinclination of lending institutions to consider housing loans for Maori. Given that the Native Housing Acts of 1935 and 1938 had been in operation for some 30 years, the Department undertook a survey of the North Island, but excluding Auckland, Hamilton, and Wellington with a view to establishing the extent of substandard housing, to encourage and assist those occupying substandard dwellings to improve their conditions, and to identify those who might qualify for the Department's special employment and relocation schemes. The survey was conducted on a county basis, including all urban districts with the exception of large cities for which separate returns were prepared.

Unfortunately, the counties of interest to this inquiry – Pohangina, Oroua, Manawatu, KIWITEA, KAIRANGA, and HOROWHENUA – were included in the 'Palmerston North District.' The county data appear not to have survived. The results are thus of limited value. For the 'Palmerston North District,' the proportion of Maori homes deemed to be 'unsound' was 10.3 per cent, lower than the national average of 13.6 per cent, while the proportion deemed to be 'overcrowded,' that is with more than two persons per room, was 14.8 per cent, appreciably lower than the national average of 20.2 per cent. The total proportion deemed to be 'unsatisfactory' was 20.3 per cent compared with a national figure of 26.6 per cent.

¹²²⁷ Department of Maori Affairs, *Housing survey 1966*. Wellington: Department of Maori Affairs, p.1.

6.16 Housing Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, 1956 to 1976

This final section summarises some of the information included in the censuses conducted between 1956 and 1976.¹²²⁸ It should be noted that for the 1956 to 1971 Maori censuses, the data tables referred to ‘Inhabited dwellings,’ while in 1976 they referred to ‘All occupied private dwellings.’ In the cases of non-Maori dwellings, the data tables ... for 1966 and 1971 referred to ‘Inhabited permanent private dwellings.’

6.16.1 Rural and urban contrasts

Table 6.18 set out some details relating to the tenure of Maori inhabited private dwellings. Of particular note is the marked increase in the proportion of dwellings rented, especially in rural districts. The proportion of homes mortgaged remained relatively steady but at a higher level in urban areas, while the proportion owned without a mortgage was appreciably lower in the urban centres: those movements were entirely consistent with the movement of people from the rural districts into the urban centres.

Table 6.18: Tenure, Maori inhabited private dwellings, Porirua ki Manawatu rural areas, 1956 to 1976

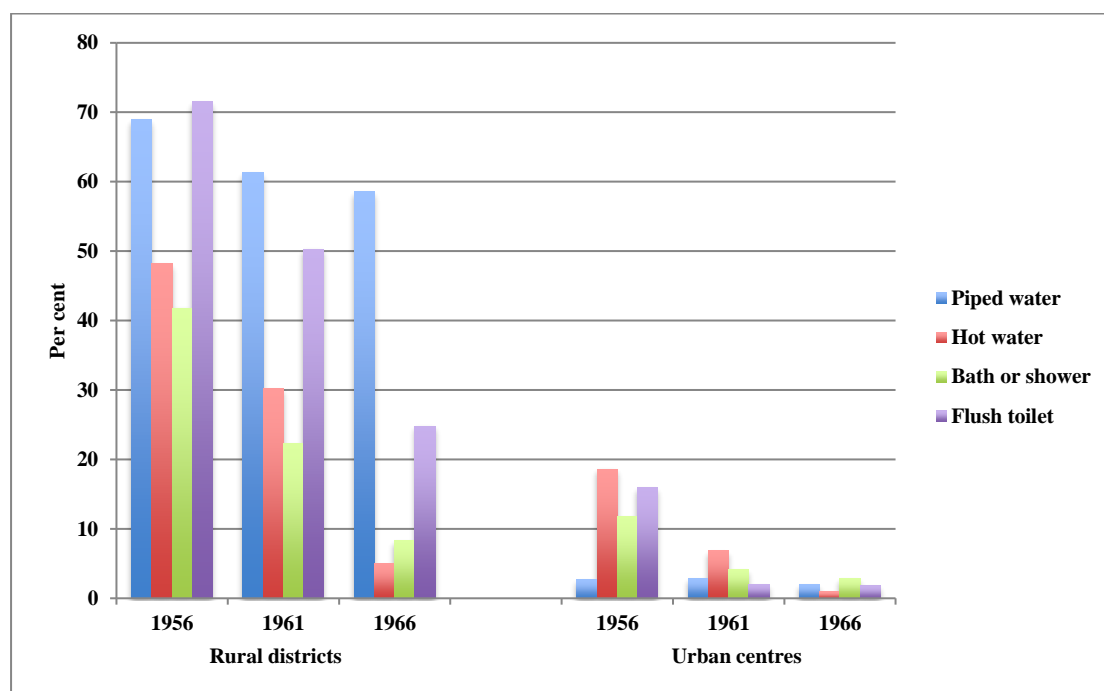
	Rented	Free with job	Loaned without payment	Mortgaged	Owned without mortgage
<i>Rural</i>					
1956	14.0	14.9	15.2	24.5	31.3
1961	21.3	14.3	12.1	26.3	26.0
1966	28.7	12.3	5.3	34.0	19.7
1971	36.0	10.5	5.6	31.8	16.1
1976	41.9	5.8	3.1	24.7	24.4
<i>Urban</i>					
1956	43.4	5.5	2.3	33.3	15.5
1961	51.6	2.9	2.9	33.4	8.6
1966	48.4	1.1	0.3	41.9	8.3
1971	52.3	1.2	0.8	40.4	5.2
1976	50.2	0.1	0.5	38.5	10.7

Excludes: Not specified

Source: Censuses of New Zealand

¹²²⁸ Comparable details were not included in the 1951 census.

Graph 6.13 shows for three census dates the proportions of Maori inhabited private dwellings recorded as not having piped water, not having hot water service, not having a bath or shower, and not having a flush toilet. The contrast between rural and urban dwellings was marked, although clearly considerable improvements took place in rural dwellings over the decade from 1956 to 1966.



Source: Censuses of New Zealand

Graph 6.13: Proportion of Maori inhabited private dwellings without services 1956, 1961, and 1966

Table 6.19 shows the proportion of Maori inhabited private dwellings without selected household appliances. Contrasts between rural districts and urban centres are less apparent, while marked declines took place in the proportion of households without refrigerators and washing machines.¹²²⁹ Data relating to telephones, radios and televisions were not available for 1956 and 1961, but those for 1966 do not suggest any

¹²²⁹ For an exploration of the social implications of household appliance adoption, see R.C. Tobey, *Technology as freedom: the New Deal and the electrical modernisation of the American home*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1996.

marked urban-rural contrasts. That fewer than one in five Maori households lacked, by 1966, a refrigerator or washing machine pointed to the marked post-1945 expansion in electricity generation capacity (through the State Hydro-electric Department), the extension of supply distribution networks, the growing availability and range of domestic appliances, rising real personal incomes, rising household incomes associated with the expanding entry of women into the paid work-force, and a decline in income inequality in the three decades after 1945.¹²³⁰ Collectively, the data suggest that many Maori benefited from those changes, and that very considerable improvements took place in Maori housing standards over the decade 1956-1966.

Table 6.19: Proportion without household appliances, Maori inhabited private dwellings, rural and urban centres, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1956, 1961, and 1966

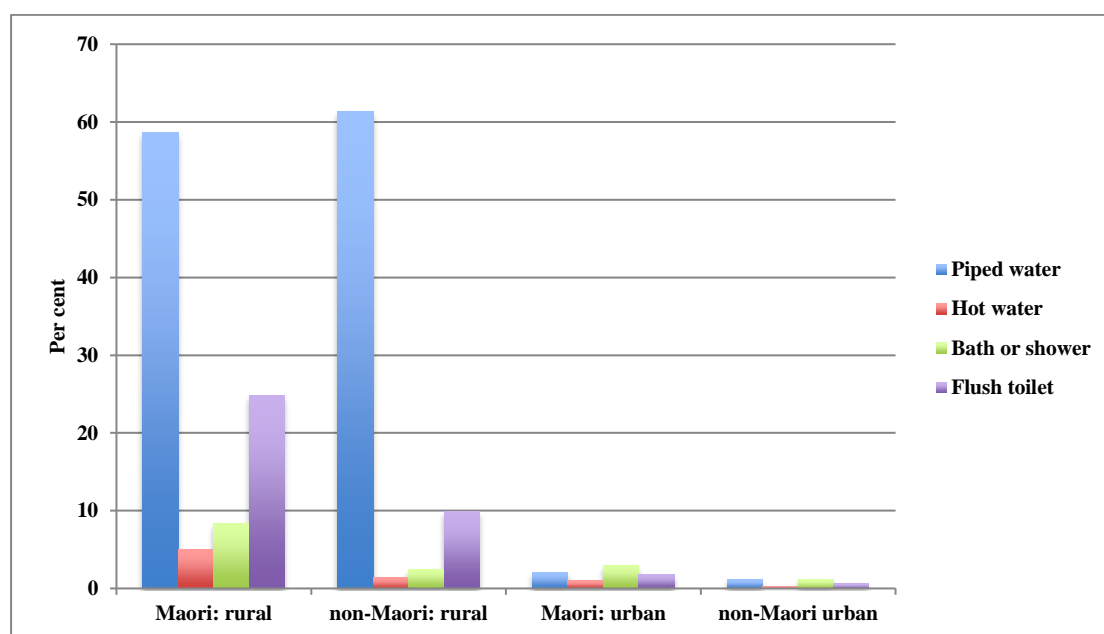
	1956	1961	1966
<i>Refrigerator</i>			
Rural	77.6	30.6	9.6
Urban	77.2	30.9	16.7
<i>Washing machine</i>			
Rural	74.2	44.4	18.2
Urban	66.8	31.2	15.5
<i>Telephone</i>			
Rural	-	-	33.1
Urban	-	-	38.1
<i>Radio</i>			
Rural	-	-	17.5
Urban	-	-	15.3
<i>Television</i>			
Rural	-	-	26.5
Urban	-	-	28.4

Source: Censuses of New Zealand

¹²³⁰ See, for example, John Creedy, Norman Gemmill, and Loc Nguyen, *Income inequality in New Zealand, 1935-2014*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, Working Papers in Public Finance, Working Paper 07/2017.

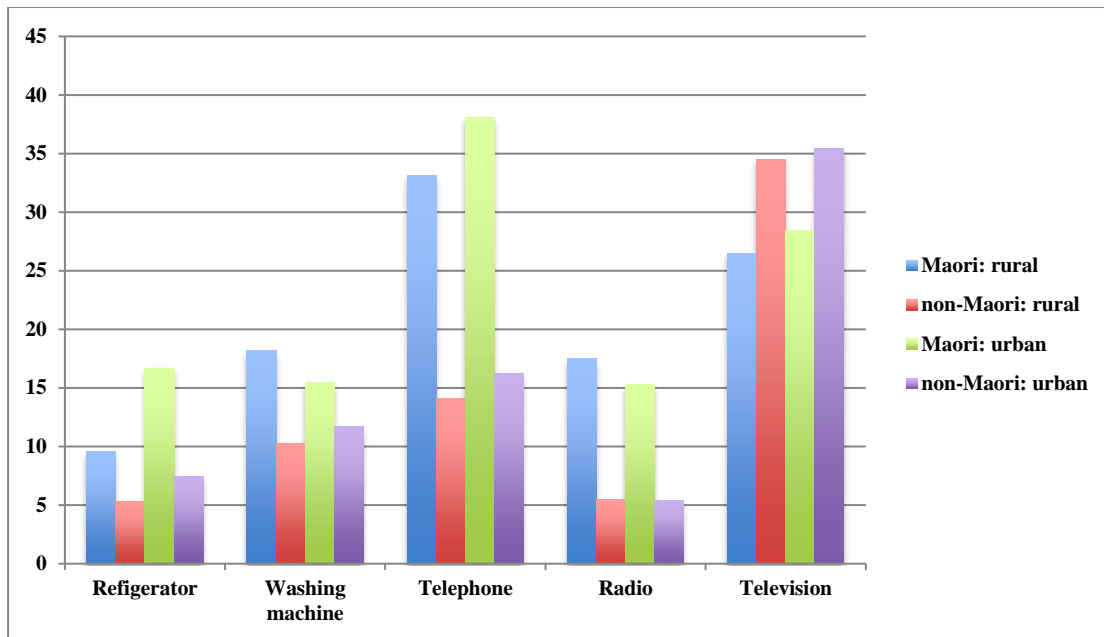
6.16.2 Maori and non-Maori contrasts

With respect to the proportion of inhabited private dwellings without selected services, Graph 6.14 compares Maori and non-Maori dwellings for 1966. Some major contrasts remained between rural and urban districts, especially – as expected – with respect to piped water and flush toilets. On the other hand, an appreciably larger proportion of Maori rural rather than non-Maori dwellings lacked hot water service and a bath or shower. A slightly higher (although still) small proportion of Maori urban dwellings also appears to have lacked the four nominated services. Graph 6.15 offers a similar comparison for selected appliances.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1966*

Graph 6.14: Proportion of Maori and non-Maori inhabited private dwellings without services, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1966



Source: *Census of New Zealand 1966*

Graph 6.15: Proportion of Maori and non-Maori inhabited private dwellings without nominated appliances, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1966

6.17 Conclusions

If housing conditions are an expression of a people's material standards of living, then the sub-standard conditions, both absolute and comparative, that most Porirua ki Manawatu Maori endured were clear evidence of the economic marginalisation that had followed the transfer of their lands in to Crown and settler ownership. But they also pointed to a disposition on the part of Governments and State agencies to approach Maori and non-Maori as separate communities and to frame laws and regulations and administrative processes accordingly. In the area of housing policy that dichotomous approach gained full expression. Initially, the Government's intervention in the housing market had been directed towards urban workers and urban communities, but direct provision of housing was quickly overtaken by measures intended to encourage and support individual self-reliance through access to finance for both construction and purchase. The Government Advances to Workers' Act and the World War I veterans' economic rehabilitation programme embodied the assumption that the State's role, with respect to housing, was to assist and facilitate rather than to construct and provide. Maori were not formally excluded applying for financial assistance under either programme, but few were able to meet the prior requirements and conditions that they

set. In short, neither had been designed with the needs of Maori in mind, neither was administered in a manner intended to meet those needs.

The passage of the Native Housing Act 1935 constituted the first formal recognition by the State of the emergence among Maori communities of widespread and serious housing difficulties and of the role that substandard housing conditions and overcrowding played in the propagation of infectious diseases. But that Act was based upon several assumptions, namely, that most Maori would continue and in fact should actively encouraged to continue to reside in their existing rural communities, separate and often remote from the main centres of industry and commerce; that the housing needs of Maori were appreciably more modest than those of non-Maori; and that the objective was to ameliorate existing conditions rather than to effect substantive or enduring improvement, that is, to raise living standards. Similar assumptions informed other areas of Government policy, notably pensions. Finally, the Act was also framed with a view to limiting the State's financial commitment and to limiting its financial exposure: both aims would be secured through lower loan limits, shorter loan periods, and higher rates of repayment than applied to those who secured housing loans from the State Advances Corporation.

Those assumptions were subsequently exposed by the renewed growth of the Maori population, the inability of the Maori land development programme to absorb more than a small proportion of that population, recruitment into the armed forces, wartime labour demands and manpower directions, and the post World War II economic rehabilitation programme and its emphasis upon equal access to equal benefits. The Rehabilitation Board's mission and the policies that it formulated and implemented allowed it, where Maori were concerned, to exert a great deal of influence over other State agencies and the direction of economic and social policy. In short, the post-war acceleration of the movement of Maori from rural districts to urban centres led the Government to adjust Maori housing policy and finally to merge it in to 'mainstream' policy. Difficulties remained over the allocation of resources and access to State rental houses, while it would become apparent that eliminating the 'housing deficit' that had developed over the preceding century would require sustained effort.

Chapter 7: ‘The fifth wheel of the coach?’ Maori, health and the Crown in Porirua ki Manawatu

7.1 Introduction

Anecdotal evidence abounds of the heavy toll that infectious diseases took of Maori lives during the 19th and early 20th centuries: comprehensive and reliable statistical data are much less available. Vital registration for Maori did not commence until 1913 and then for many years remained incomplete. Neonatal and infant deaths, for example, remained under-reported until the 1950s.¹²³¹ Dow estimated that even in the 1930s, only 60 percent of deaths among Maori were registered.¹²³² Woodward and Blakely thus suggest that deficiencies in the official record for the period from 1840 to 1940 mean that figures for Maori life expectancy probably over-estimate the true values.¹²³³ The lack of relevant and reliable data also renders it difficult to compare the health experience of Maori and non-Maori, especially at the regional or district level.¹²³⁴ The periodic reorganisation of health districts and the type and range of data recorded add further complications. Moreover, data relating to infectious diseases presented in the annual reports of the Department of Public Health did not differentiate between Maori and non-Maori. Finally, there is little evidence as to the economic costs of diseases, much less the burden that serious and chronic disease imposed on individuals, families, and communities.

The incidence of the ‘diseases of poverty’ – among them, tuberculosis, respiratory diseases, and diarrhoeal diseases, and the conditions associated with malnutrition – has long been employed as a measure of the socio-economic status of a subject population. Such diseases and conditions are commonly associated with low-income groups and with a range of environmental factors that include lack of access to clean water, poor sanitation, sub-standard housing, and lack of heating. There is, in short, a clear link

¹²³¹ See Alistair Woodward and Tony Blakely, *The healthy country? A history of life and death in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014, p.125.

¹²³² Derek Dow, *Maori health and government policy 1840-1940*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1999, cited in Woodward and Blakely, *The healthy country?* p.125.

¹²³³ Woodward and Blakely, *The healthy country?* p.126.

¹²³⁴ On this matter, see, for example, Raeburn Lange, *May the people live: a history of Maori health development 1900-1920*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999, pp.28-30.

between poverty and ill health.¹²³⁵ Thus, from the early twentieth century the link between tuberculosis and poverty was well recognised, as was the fact that it was a killer of young adults, that is, those in their most productive years hence with often serious implications for the welfare of the families involved.¹²³⁶

They are also associated with poor nutrition and with inadequate access to affordable health services. Maternal and infant mortality are also regarded as useful guides to income levels and access to clean water, sanitation, good quality food, medical care, and education. It was not possible within the scope of this investigation to explore all of these issues: rather, some measurements of Maori health will be offered, the incidence of several infectious diseases considered, and the responses of the Crown to Maori health needs examined. Some of the data utilised relates to the Maori population as a whole rather than to Porirua ki Manawatu Maori specifically: no evidence was located that would suggest that national measurements did not apply to the Maori people of Porirua ki Manawatu.

7.2 Some measurements of Maori health

This first section offers some measurements relating to Maori health, namely, the expectation of life, infant mortality, maternal mortality, typhoid, and tuberculosis.

7.2.1 Expectation of life

Life expectancy at ages zero and one and infant mortality rates are regarded generally as good indicators of the total social process. The data available for life expectancy at age 0 for Pakeha males and females indicate that for both genders a steady improvement took place throughout the period as a whole. Comparable data for Maori are not available, although according to New Zealand Official Yearbook 1995, life expectancy for Maori was about 25 years in 1890 and had risen to 35 by 1905.¹²³⁷ The most that

¹²³⁵ A useful survey is National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability, *The social, cultural and economic determinants of health in New Zealand: action to improve health*. Wellington: National Health Committee, 1998, especially pp.23-32.

¹²³⁶ See F.B. Smith, *The retreat of tuberculosis 1850-1950*. London: Croom Helm, 1988, p.226; and Linda Bryder, *Below the magic mountain: a social history of tuberculosis in twentieth century Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p.258.

¹²³⁷ *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1995*, p.33.

the 1946 Dominion Population Committee could offer was that ‘For Maoris the corresponding figures for the latest date available are 46.2 for both males and females.’¹²³⁸ In other words, life expectancy for Maori males was 70.5 per cent of that for Pakeha males, while the corresponding proportion for Maori females was 67.5 per cent.

Table 7.1: Expectation of life at age 0, Pakeha males and females, 1891-1895 to 1934-1938

Period	Males	Females
1891-1895	55.29	58.09
1896-1900	57.37	59.95
1901-1905	58.09	60.55
1906-1910	59.17	61.76
1911-1915	60.96	63.48
1921-1922	62.76	65.43
1925-1927	63.99	66.57
1931	65.04	67.88
1934-1938	65.46	68.45

Source: AJHR 1946, I17, p.18

Table 7.2 summarises, for 1950-1952, life expectancy at age one year for both Maori and Pakeha males and females. The marked discrepancy between the respective rates is very clear.¹²³⁹

Table 7.2: Life expectancy at age one year, Maori and Pakeha, 1950-1952

	Life expectancy at age one year
Maori males	57.69 years
Maori females	59.08 years
Non-Maori males	69.03 years
Non-Maori females	72.90ears

Source: Statistics New Zealand, *New Zealand: complete life tables, 1950-1952*

¹²³⁸ AJHR 1946, I17, p.18.

¹²³⁹ For Maori, Hunn gave a life expectancy of 54.05 for males and 55.88 for females at age 0, and the comparable rates for pakeha as 68.29 and 72.43. Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs*, p.22. He took those estimates from the *Census of New Zealand 1951*.

7.2.2 Infant mortality

A high rate of infant mortality is regarded as a reliable indicator of poor housing, poor water supplies, a lack of sanitary facilities, and lack of access to medical care: conversely, a decline in the rates reflects an improvement in those conditions. Maori infant and neo-natal deaths were under-reported, but such data as are available indicate that, nationally, the rate of Maori infant mortality declined from 225 per 1000 live births in 1906-1910 to 150-160 in 1926, and to 135 in 1941-1945. The latter figure was still appreciably higher than for Pakeha.¹²⁴⁰ Death rates for Maori children under one month were, in 1939-1943, 24.2, and for Pakeha children 20.8 per 1000. For children aged from one month to 12 months, the rates were 78.8 and 9.5 respectively.¹²⁴¹ That such discrepancies existed had long been known.¹²⁴²

The chief causes of death among Maori infants aged over one month appear to have been respiratory and gastric intestinal diseases the incidence of which was many times that among Pakeha infants. Moreover, while the rates among the latter showed some improvement during the 1920s, the same was not true for Maori infants.¹²⁴³ Hunn suggested that the high rate among Maori was due to more frequent child-bearing, a higher rate of non-hospital births, and a reluctance to seek ante-natal care. He also noted that the susceptibility of Maori infants over one month to gastro-intestinal disorders and respiratory conditions was attributable to unsatisfactory feeding, failure to seek or heed skilled advice, and poor housing and sanitary conditions.¹²⁴⁴ Maclean, on the other hand, suggested that the high rate among Maori had much more to do with environmental conditions than it had to differential access to antenatal care and advice on infant care.¹²⁴⁵

¹²⁴⁰ Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: a New Zealand population, past, present, and projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p.115.

¹²⁴¹ See *Annual report on the vital statistics of New Zealand*, 1929, p.xxxv. A report prepared in 1960 recorded the death rate for Maori infants aged less than one year at a still comparatively high 54.3 per 1000. See ANZ Wellington AAMK 869 W3074/639/c 17/1/2 Part 1. Hunn also offers some estimates of infant mortality, noting that the rate for Maori in 1950 was 69.74 per 1000, compared with 19.4 per 1000 for Europeans. See Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs*, p.20.

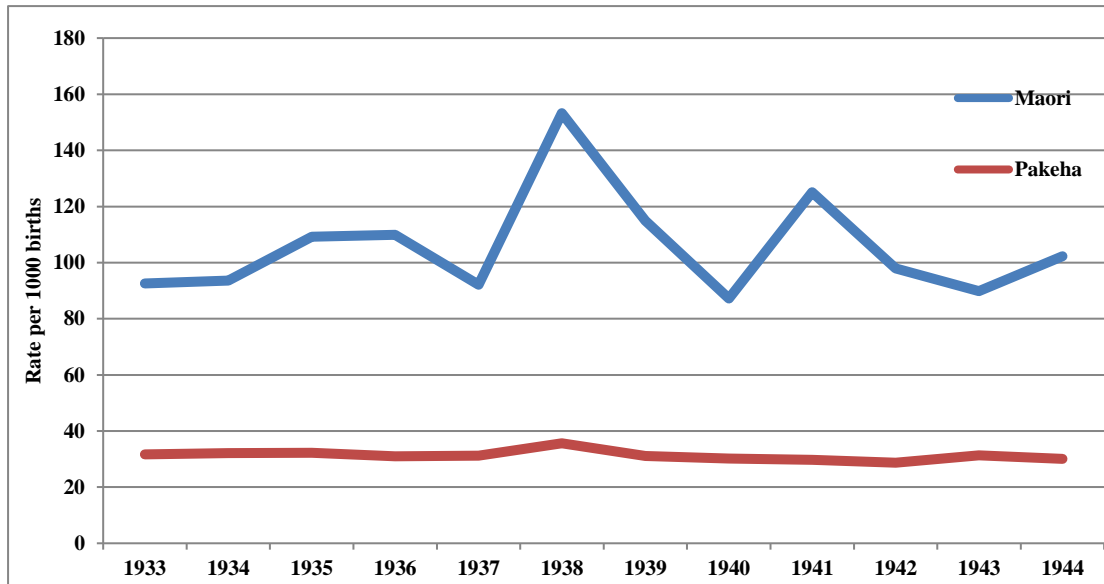
¹²⁴² See, for example, NZPD 1911, Vol.156, p.317.

¹²⁴³ *Annual report on the vital statistics of New Zealand*, 1929, p.xxxv.

¹²⁴⁴ Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs*, p.22.

¹²⁴⁵ F.S. MacLean, *Challenge for health: a history of public health in New Zealand*. Wellington: Owen, 1964, p.213.

Graph 7.1 sets out infant death rates for the period from 1933 to 1944. No evidence was located that would suggest that the mortality rate among Maori infants in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District differed from the national rate.



Source: AJHR 1947, I17, p.17

Graph 7.1: Maori and Pakeha infant (under one year) death rates (per 1000 births), 1933 to 1944

Table 7.3 sets out age-specific infant mortality rates, measured in terms of 1000 live births, for the period from 1920 to 1929. It should be noted that the recording of Maori vital statistics remained less than complete. For infants less than a week old, the mortality rate for Maori was appreciably lower than for Pakeha infants, and that for those aged under one month the rates were about the same. On the other hand, for Maori infants aged between one month and one year, the mortality rate for Maori infants was almost ten times as great.

Table 7.3: Rates of Maori and Pakeha infant deaths, 1920 to 1929

	Maori 1920-24	Pakeha 1924	Maori 1925-29	Pakeha 1929
Under 1 day	3.37	7.89	6.13	7.37
1 day & under 2 days	4.22	3.35	3.75	3.37
2 days & under 1 week	6.07	7.50	3.97	7.66
Total under 1 week	13.66	18.74	13.85	18.40
1 week & under 2 weeks	3.54	2.25	4.77	1.83
2 week & under 3 weeks	5.23	1.68	3.63	1.53
3 weeks and under 1 month	4.22	1.28	3.40	1.50
Total under 1 month	26.65	23.95	25.65	23.36
1 month & under 1 year	104.35	16.28	86.97	10.84
Total under 1 year	131.00	40.23	112.62	34.10

Source: *Annual report on the vital statistics of New Zealand, 1929*, p.xxxv

Table 7.4 sets out some of the major causes of infant mortality: the measurements are in terms of the rate per 1000 live births. The chief causes were respiratory and gastric and intestinal diseases, both an indication of inferior housing, defective water supplies, and defective sanitation.

Table 7.4: Major causes of Maori and Pakeha infant deaths, 1920 to 1929

	Maori 1920-24	Pakeha 1924	Maori 1925-29	Pakeha 1929
Epidemic diseases	15.51	1.75	16.8	0.97
Tuberculosis	5.06	0.25	4.2	0.34
Respiratory diseases	37.09	4.50	37.92	3.85
Gastric, intestinal diseases	16.18	4.0	12.49	1.53
Totals	131.00	40.23	122.62	34.1

Source: *Annual report on the vital statistics of New Zealand, 1929*, p.xxxv

7.2.3 Maternal mortality

Prompted by a May 1921 American report that placed New Zealand second from the top of a list of nations in respect of maternal mortality in pregnancy and childbirth, the Board of Health established a special committee to try to establish whether the county's ranking was accurate. The committee was unable to arrive at any definite conclusions, but of more immediate interest is that its report made no reference to Maori maternal

mortality. It did offer a series of recommendations, notably that ‘every mother should be attended during confinement by a reliable and highly trained mid-wifery nurse ...’¹²⁴⁶ The Maori maternal mortality rate stood at an estimated 22.9 per 1000 live births in 1920, compared with 6.5 for Pakeha women. A major improvement subsequently took place, the rate among Maori women falling to 3.2 per 1000 by 1941-1945, compared with 2.6 for Pakeha mothers. The improvement reflected the expansion of the district nursing service and the antenatal care offered, and the growing proportion of Maori women who elected hospital delivery and maternity care. It is of interest to record here that the 1937 Committee of Inquiry into Maternity Services rejected suggestions that childbirth was best left to Maori themselves, opining that Maori methods were inappropriate when employed ‘under quasi-European conditions in a dilapidated, often over-crowded, and probably germ-infested wooden house in an insanitary Native village.’¹²⁴⁷ The chairman of the committee was recorded by the *Horowhenua Chronicle* as noting that ‘Contrary to the popular belief puerperal sepsis levies a heavy toll on the Native mother. It is the single biggest cause of death among Maori women, but among European women it is the lowest.’ He went on to suggest that ‘One must admire the fortitude of the Maori women under the most hopeless conditions of overcrowding in poor, decrepit, and primitive dwellings.’¹²⁴⁸ The Committee concluded that Maori women in Porirua ki Manawatu were increasingly disposed to use the public maternity facilities in Palmerston North and Otaki: admissions to the latter rose from three in 1929-1930 to 32 in 1936-1937. On the other hand, Feilding, Foxton, and Levin did not have public maternity facilities.¹²⁴⁹ Private maternity facilities were available in the Inquiry District, but details of their operations, including the fees that they charged and any subsidies that they received from the Crown, were not located.

7.3 The infectious diseases

Woodward and Blakely estimated that in 1936, infectious diseases still accounted for half of the deaths among Maori.¹²⁵⁰ Of those that frequently assailed Maori

¹²⁴⁶ AJHR 1921, Session II, H31B, p.3.

¹²⁴⁷ AJHR 1938, H31A, p.96.

¹²⁴⁸ ‘Heroism of nurses,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 12 April 1937, p.6.

¹²⁴⁹ AJHR 1938, H31A, pp.39-40.

¹²⁵⁰ Woodward and Blakely, *The healthy country?* p.134.

communities, typhoid does not appear to have been especially prevalent among those of Porirua ki Manawatu. On the other hand, the evidence suggests that some communities chose not to report outbreaks, or deliberately to conceal them. Typhoid occurred frequently in Maori communities (and, indeed, among Pakeha communities, both urban and rural, in to the twentieth century), reflecting poor quality water supplies, poor sanitary disposal practices and, in communities that relied in whole or in part upon freshwater and coastal food sources, growing pollution. Inoculation against the disease was available: how widely employed or applied is not known, although from time to time extensive inoculation programmes were conducted. In 1928, for example, mass inoculations of Maori school children were initiated against typhoid and the mortality rate, within a few years, began to decline.¹²⁵¹

In 1931 Native Minister Ngata signalled a wish to conduct an intensive campaign against the ‘pollution diseases’ of typhoid and dysentery, as well as against tuberculosis. He noted that ‘no comprehensive attempt’ had been made to attack the problem of typhoid at source.¹²⁵² During the first half of the twentieth century, Maori endured high rates of morbidity and death from typhoid, rates that were significantly higher than for Pakeha. Nationally, the incidence of typhoid among Maori stood at 7.38 per 10000 in 1923 and 4.15 in 1932, compared with rates of 0.69 and 0.46 for Pakeha. Maclean cited data for 1929 that indicated a death rate among Maori of 1.28 per 10000 compared with 0.02 for Pakeha.¹²⁵³ While the mortality rate among Maori did decline, in 1945 it remained well above the rate for Pakeha.

An outbreak of typhoid at Muhunua in 1921 prompted health officers (supported by the police) to transfer seven patients to the Palmerston North hospital. Opposition to any further removals prompted a decision to erect a temporary hospital at Muhunua and to appoint nurses to provide care. Restrictions were placed on the movement of residents, children in particular being debarred from attending school. The Levin Dairy Company, acting on instructions from the Department of Health, refused to accept milk from four Maori dairy farmers. Local Pakeha dairy farmers were not affected, a matter that led to

¹²⁵¹ AJHR 1940, H31, p.51.

¹²⁵² Minister, Native Affairs to S.M. Lambert, Auckland 5 February 1931, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16068 MA 51/8 60, cited in T.J. Hearn, ‘Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori and the Crown,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2008, p.539.

¹²⁵³ MacLean, *Challenge for health*, p.205.

a protest on the part of their Maori counterparts. Reports attributed the outbreak to the absence of sanitary facilities in the settlement: water was obtained from a polluted stream, and overcrowding was described as 'rife.' In October 1921 it was reported that five deaths had occurred, including two members of one family. The outbreak was discussed briefly in Parliament when the Minister of Health claimed that Maori had concealed the outbreak from the authorities. He went on to note that there was some evidence of typhoid in other settlements and that the Department of Health (in the form of the Director-General of Health and Dr Pomare) proposed 'to pay visits and comb out these villages, and clean them up. The epidemic,' he added, 'was confined to the native population of the villages, and the department hoped to root it out.'¹²⁵⁴

By 1960, according to Rose, typhoid had practically disappeared as a cause of death among both Maori and Pakeha.¹²⁵⁵

7.3.1 Tuberculosis

Whether tuberculosis was present among Maori prior to the arrival of Pakeha is not entirely clear, although Francis, writing in 1956, insisted that it was not. He noted that by 1827 the presence of the disease was apparent and by 1850 had 'become a real scourge, and so it remained for many years.' Prior to 1900, he added, little was done to deal with the disease.¹²⁵⁶ Dow recorded that in 1926 the Department of Health contemplated initiating research in to tuberculosis among Maori but that no action was taken.¹²⁵⁷ It was also in 1926 that, during discussions over severing Otaki hospital from the control of the Palmerston North Hospital Board and the establishment of a new hospital board to cover the district from Paekakariki to Levin, a local doctor referred to the need for x-ray equipment 'for the early diagnosis of t.b. which was rife among the Maoris.'¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵⁴ Typhoid among Maoris,' *Manawatu Standard* 12 October 1921, p.5; and NZPD 1921, Vol.191, p.391.

¹²⁵⁵ R.J. Rose, *Maori-European standards of health. Special report no.1*. Wellington: Department of Health, 1960, p.14.

¹²⁵⁶ R.S.R. Francis, 'Mate koho could be wiped out,' *Te Ao Hou* 17 December 1956, p.61.

¹²⁵⁷ Derek Dow, *Safeguarding the public health: a history of the New Zealand Department of Health*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1999, p.117.

¹²⁵⁸ 'The Otaki Hospital,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 1 April 1926, p.4.

The prevention and treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis in New Zealand were matters investigated in 1928 by a Commission of Inquiry. The inquiry focused on what were essentially administrative issues, among them the costs of prevention and treatment, the institutional accommodation required, and the class of consumptives that should be admitted to sanatoria.¹²⁵⁹ It noted, for example, that there was an endless stream of patients awaiting admission to the Otaki and Pukeora Sanatoria and to Ewart Hospital (Wellington).¹²⁶⁰ Interestingly, it claimed that pulmonary tuberculosis in New Zealand did not constitute a grave national menace, at the same time conceding that it had no data relating to the incidence of and mortality from the disease among Maori. Rather, it recorded that the death rate from pulmonary tuberculosis among the non-Maori population had declined, if somewhat erratically, from 10.02 per 10000 of the mean population in 1883 to 3.88 by 1927, while deaths from all other forms of the disease fell from 6.19 in 1875 to 0.98 in 1927.

With respect to Maori, the Commission reported that ‘The mass of the Maori population lives in remote districts inaccessible to doctors and inspectors, and in many cases medical certification of death is not made. Thus reliable information is not obtainable.’ It did provide an estimate of the death rate from both pulmonary and non-pulmonary tuberculosis among Maori for the five years from 1920 to 1924 at 28 and 32 per 10000: the comparable rates for the ‘general population’ were 5 and 6.5. The Commission reported that ‘not much appears to be done to combat the disease among this section of the community.’ But it did no more than recommend that more accurate information should be gathered and ‘that active measures be taken for the control of the disease in Maori districts.’¹²⁶¹ It failed to note that in 1901 Chief Health Officer J.M. Mason recorded that consumption was the chief cause of death among Maori, and that in 1903, Pomare, as Health Commissioner for the Natives, reported that ‘Undoubtedly, the great white plague had had a great sway in Maoriland ... The death-rate from consumption is far more than we ever dream of.’¹²⁶²

¹²⁵⁹ AJHR 1928, H31A, p.1.

¹²⁶⁰ AJHR 1928, H31A, p.11.

¹²⁶¹ AJHR 1928, H31A, pp.6 and 25.

¹²⁶² AJHR 1901, H31, p.14; and 1903, H31, p.72.

Among those pressing for an investigation was Dr Tutere Wi Repa, his ‘seemingly wild statements as to dangerous health conditions among Maoris,’ inducing Turbott, in 1928-1929, to initiate his investigations.¹²⁶³ Some two years later, Tutere Wi Repa pressed Ngata over the need for a comprehensive study of tuberculosis among Maori, ‘without a doubt,’ he suggested, ‘the most pressing problem of the Maori Race,’ but about which little appeared to be known. Such a study should present proposals for a programme of actions intended to ameliorate the position. Interestingly, any study, he suggested, should include the influence of the disease ‘upon the industrial and economic efficiency of the race,’ an indication in all likelihood of the economic cost of the disease to individuals, families, and communities.¹²⁶⁴ Ngata himself was in no doubt that the high rate of incidence among Maori was attributable to ‘A changing culture, indifferent housing, the pressure of economic circumstances ...’¹²⁶⁵ Although Wi Repa’s appeal to Ngata for funds to support his research was successful, the first systematic study of tuberculosis in a Maori community appears to have been undertaken by H.B. Turbott in 1933 when he found that in a community of some 2,000 some 57 per 1000 were afflicted, and that the death rate was 4.95 per 1000, ten times higher than that in the Pakeha population. Turbott attributed the high rates among Maori to social customs, poverty and malnutrition, reluctance to seek treatment, and poor housing. He went on to remark that ‘Unfortunately some public hospital authorities are unsympathetic to Maoris, do not provide as complete a service as for Europeans, and some staffs either show or the Maori instinctively detects, racial antipathy.’¹²⁶⁶ Dow recorded that Turbott’s report was followed by action that was ‘painfully slow.’¹²⁶⁷

Bryder recorded that in Palmerston North, it was estimated that probably 30 percent of the district’s 2,500 Maori residents, that is, some 750 people, suffered from some form

¹²⁶³ AJHR 1929, H31, p.73.

¹²⁶⁴ Tutere Wi Repa, a graduate of the Otago Medical School, practised in Te Karaka and Te Aararoa. See Irwin K. Jackson, ‘Wi Repa, Tutere,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand biography – Te Ara: the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

¹²⁶⁵ Minister, Native Affairs to S.M. Lambert, Auckland 5 February 1931, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16068 MA 51/8 60, cited in T.J. Hearn, ‘Heretaunga-Tamatea Maori and the Crown,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2008, p.539.

¹²⁶⁶ H.B. Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori, East Coast, North Island*. Wellington: Department of Health, 1935.

¹²⁶⁷ Dow, *Safeguarding the public health*, p.134.

of active tuberculosis.¹²⁶⁸ The reasons were those identified by Turbott, but it should also be recorded that hospital facilities were hardly adequate to the task: the Palmerston North Hospital had a small annex for tubercular patients, while the Otaki Sanatorium also had limited capacity (see below). That lack of treatment facilities may well have been a far more important factor in the apparent reluctance of some Maori to seek treatment than their alleged fatalism and apathy. Indeed, the evidence plainly indicates that, as they became available, Maori embraced the possibilities offered by the introduction of x-ray screening, vaccination, and the use of antibiotics.

The 1928 Commission's reference to the lack of reliable data relating to Maori raised a familiar problem. Finn offered a useful discussion of the difficulties involved: she suggested that comprehensive and reliable statistical data relating to tuberculosis among Maori, for the period up to about 1950, not available, while comparing rates between Maori and Pakeha is rendered more difficult on account of contrasts in age and gender distributions between the two groups. In 1936, for example, the age structure of the Maori population was skewed towards the younger (under 19 years) age groups. Further, although in 1901 tuberculosis was declared to be a notifiable disease, notifications for Maori are available only from 1932.¹²⁶⁹ In 1936, the crude notification rate for Maori was significantly higher than for Pakeha, 26.1 per 10000 compared with 6.3 per 10000. It is likely that the rate for Maori was an under-estimate since notification depended upon accurate diagnosis, Maori did not always have access to or seek medical care, and indeed some evidence suggests that they preferred to ignore symptoms. Black and Tuckey in their 1940 study of tuberculosis among Otaki Maori found that many cases were not being diagnosed at all.¹²⁷⁰

Incomplete notification meant that the Tuberculosis Register does not offer a full picture of the incidence of the disease among Maori: nevertheless, in 1945, of the total Maori population 2.4 per cent were listed, compared with 0.4 per cent of the Pakeha population. Again, crude mortality rates suggest that Maori mortality from tuberculosis

¹²⁶⁸ Linda Bryder, "If preventable, why not prevented?" The New Zealand response to tuberculosis, 1901-1940,' in Linda Bryder, editor, *A healthy country: essays on social history of medicine in New Zealand*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, p.123.

¹²⁶⁹ Catherine Finn "The Maori problem"? A political ecology of tuberculosis in Aotearoa/New Zealand between 1918 and 1945.' MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 2006, Chapter 4.

¹²⁷⁰ See, for example, L.J. Black and R.P. Tuckey, 'A study of the Otaki Maoris, with special reference to pulmonary T.B.,' Preventive Medicine dissertation, University of Otago, 1940, p.52.

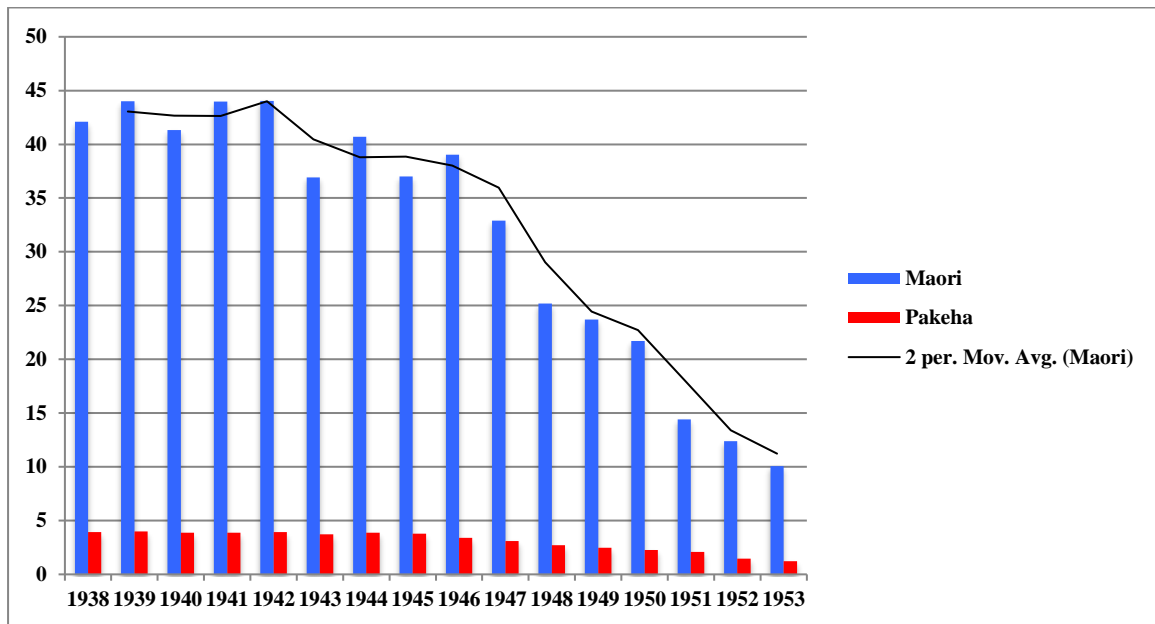
was on average, from the 1920s, some ten times that rate among Pakeha. Pool calculated that at times deaths from tuberculosis accounted for a quarter of all Maori deaths, a measure of the serious impact the disease had on Maori.¹²⁷¹ In her study of tuberculosis during the period from 1918 to 1945, Finn also estimated that the disease was the cause of death in about a quarter of all *registered* Maori deaths, compared with about five per cent for Pakeha.¹²⁷² Again, these estimates are based on analysis of causes of death: such analyses were often inaccurate, in some cases no cause of death was established at all, while, until 1945, a significant proportion of Maori deaths remained unregistered. In all likelihood, therefore, the proportion could well have been appreciably higher. The estimates offered by Pool and Finn, nevertheless, point to the high toll that the disease took of Maori families and communities, and, given that the evidence suggests that young adults were among those most seriously afflicted, the high economic cost exacted from both the individuals concerned and, where breadwinners were involved, their families. Sickness benefits were not generally available until after the passage of the Social Security Act 1938.

Nationally, the incidence of tuberculosis (all forms) stood at 37.7 per 10000 of the mean Maori population in 1923, compared with just 6.2 for Pakeha. The comparable rates in 1932 were 34.0 and 4.6. Graph 7.2 employs data prepared for the Minister of Maori Affairs and indicates that while a very substantial improvement took place, the mortality rate for Maori in 1953 was still eight times that for Pakeha. But Graph 7.2 also indicates that that decline began about the middle of the 1940s and thus in advance of the introduction and deployment of drug-based therapies towards the end of the 1940s. That decline is generally attributed to the introduction of screening programmes and improved housing, and that suggests that more timely actions may well have brought about earlier improvements. Nevertheless, Rose recorded that by 1960, with respect to mortality from tuberculosis (all forms), a wide gap remained between Maori and Pakeha: among Maori males the rate was 118.3 per 100000 compared with 12.2 among Pakeha, while the rates for females were 96.3 and 5.5 respectively.¹²⁷³

¹²⁷¹ Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: a New Zealand population past, present and projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p.147.

¹²⁷² Finn, "The Maori problem?" pp.46-47.

¹²⁷³ R.J. Rose, *Maori-European standards of health*.

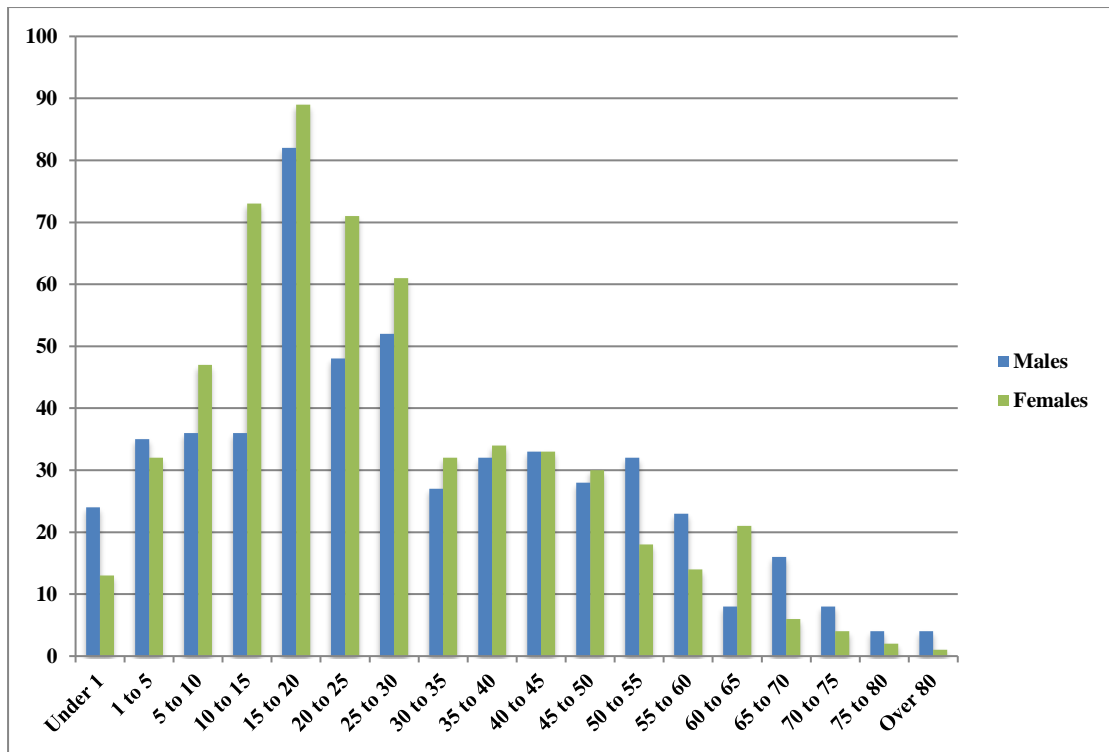


Source: ANZ Wellington ACIH 16936 MAW2459/2 1/1/41 Part 1

Graph 7.2: Tuberculosis: mortality rate per 1000 Maori and Pakeha, 1938 to 1953

Rose also noted that with respect to pulmonary tuberculosis in particular, the mortality rate was especially marked among young age groups (under 5) and in early adult life (18 to 44 years).¹²⁷⁴ Graph 7.3 sets out the by age group and by sex the number of deaths among Maori from all forms of tuberculosis (but chiefly pulmonary tuberculosis) over the period from 1925 to 1929. It should be borne in mind that registration of Maori deaths was still not complete and that the precise causes of death were not always established. Nevertheless, it is clear that tuberculosis took exacted a heavy toll of both males and females in the adolescent and young adult age groups, depriving families of their most resourceful members, and imposing a burden of care on communities as a whole.

¹²⁷⁴ R.J. Rose, *Maori-European standards of health*.



Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1947 13/1 Alt No 3550

Graph 7.3: Number of deaths among Maori by sex and age groups from all forms of tuberculosis, 1925 to 1929

7.3.2 Tuberculosis in the Palmerston North Hospital District

Under the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act 1885, Oroua and Manawatu Counties and their internal boroughs formed part of the Whanganui Hospital District. The Palmerston North Hospital District Act 1891 established the Palmerston North Hospital District, comprising the Oroua and Manawatu Counties and their internal boroughs. Horowhenua County was included in the Wellington Hospital District: after a protracted debate, the county and its internal boroughs, under the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act 1926, were finally included in the Palmerston North Hospital District.

For some years after 1900, the annual reports of the Department of (Public) Health included details of infectious diseases by urban areas, boroughs, and counties; they did not distinguish between Maori and Pakeha. From 1925, details of infectious diseases were published on the basis of a new set of health districts, the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District falling within the Taranaki-Horowhenua Health District. That

arrangement lasted until 1927 when the Whanganui-Horowhenua Health District was formed and details relating to notifiable diseases recorded on that basis. A further change followed: from 1928, such details were recorded for the Wellington-Hawke's Bay Health District. Again, the published data did not distinguish between Maori and Pakeha until 1932 when the annual reports included a summary, by health district, of details of notifiable diseases among Maori. Such information was considered to have limited value for the purposes of this inquiry.

On the other hand, in a Department of Health file a table was located that set out for the period from 1925 to 1929 the incidence of tuberculosis among Maori in four health districts, namely, Wellington, Whanganui-Horowhenua, Wairarapa-Hawke's Bay, and Nelson-Marlborough. Clearly some data were being collected. For that period, the Whanganui-Horowhenua health district registered the highest number of notifications, namely 79, compared with 72 in Wairarapa-Hawke's Bay. The details for Whanganui-Horowhenua are set out in Table 7.5. The low number of notifications raises some serious questions over the reliability of the data and thus over the process of notification. Of interest, nevertheless, is the number of Maori treated in hospitals: they appear to have tracked closely the number of notifications. On the other hand, just one sufferer had been treated in a sanatorium.

Table 7.5: Incidence of tuberculosis among Maori, Whanganui-Horowhenua Health District, 1925 to 1929

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	Total
Total notifications	15	13	19	18	14	79
Treated in hospitals	13	10	16	16	11	66
Treated in sanatoria	-	-	1	-	-	1

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1295 131/3/136

From time to time, the incidence of tuberculosis among Porirua ki Manawatu Maori attracted attention. In November 1932, for example, the West Coast's health inspector advised the Horowhenua County Council that he had visited a number of Maori settlements in the Inquiry District, including Matararapa. On that occasion he had been accompanied by the district nurse responsible, Messrs Gardiner and Pomare of the Department of Health, and Hone McMillan, chairman of the Raukawa Maori Council.

Living conditions, he reported, were ‘very unsatisfactory,’ while during the month ‘three cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, with one death, and one case of diphtheria had been attended to.’¹²⁷⁵ In November 1939, Otaki’s Roman Catholic missionary, Father Dunning, advised the Palmerston North Hospital Board that the public was unaware of the toll that tuberculosis was taking of Maori, especially young Maori, and that not enough was being done to combat the disease. The board’s deliberations were ‘taken in committee.’¹²⁷⁶ Early in December 1939, the Horowhenua County Council discussed the ‘heavy toll’ being exacted among Maori by tuberculosis. It concluded that at the heart of the difficulties lay poor housing conditions, but that their improvement was a matter for the Government.¹²⁷⁷ Noting that surveys of Maori housing had recently been completed, the Council’s chairman suggested that ‘In the past the Department [of Health] has not had the knowledge of the conditions existing.’ One councillor claimed that ‘A knowledge of some of the families in his area disclosed that the children were scantily clad, while some were even sleeping on the floors of cowsheds.’ The report in the *Horowhenua Chronicle* noted that ‘The discussion was not pursued further.’¹²⁷⁸

It is of interest to record here that in 1938, the Taranaki Hospital Board, alarmed at the incidence of tuberculosis among Maori, pressed the Government to institute ‘a campaign of preventive work.’ In the view of one member of the Board, admitting Maori to sanatoria was not the answer: the remedy lay in ‘improving the conditions of their home life.’ One other member was certain that ‘Past Governments had not dealt with the matter as it deserved’ while noting that ‘The Maori people were entitled to just the same standard of living as the pakeha.’ Interestingly, he pointed, as evidence of the widespread incidence of the disease amongst Taranaki Maori, to ‘the fact that in one year the amount of unpaid Maori hospital fees at New Plymouth was nearly £5,000.’

¹²⁷⁵ ‘Health matters in the county,’ *Otaki Mail* 16 November 1932, p.3. The Horowhenua County Council regularly received reports from health inspectors that summarised the number of cases of infectious diseases, notably typhoid and tuberculosis. They also reported on Maori dwellings, living conditions, and health, and indeed, at the request of the Department of Health inspected streams and rivers ‘for pollution.’ See, for example, ‘Horowhenua County. Inspector’s report,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 21 April 1936, p.8. As the controversy over the living conditions of those Maori who tilled the market gardens of Opiki demonstrated, such reports rarely moved the Horowhenua County Council to take any action.

¹²⁷⁶ ‘Tuberculosis among Maoris,’ *Otaki Mail* 22 November 1939, p.2.

¹²⁷⁷ Woodward and Blakely suggest that tuberculosis caused up to a quarter of all Maori deaths in some years. See Woodward and Blakely, *The healthy country?* p.127.

¹²⁷⁸ ‘Maoris and tuberculosis,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 9 December 1939, p.4.

The Board, on that occasion, decided to press the Government to ‘expediate [*sic*] a housing survey ...’¹²⁷⁹

Table 7.6 sets out some details relating to tuberculosis in Horowhenua County in 1943: the data were assembled according to the districts served by district nurses. Again, it is important to bear in mind that entry depended upon diagnosis, and diagnosis depended on access to medical services. Nevertheless, Table 7.6 indicates that almost 73 per cent of those entered on the registers for the three centres nominated were Maori.

Table 7.6: Number on tuberculosis registers, Horowhenua County, 1943

	Levin	Otaki	Shannon	Totals
Maori	111	41	24	176
Pakeha	39	20	7	66
Total	150	61	31	242
Proportion Maori	74.0	67.2	77.4	72.7

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16143 H1/1603 130/4/5

A 1945 report on tuberculosis in New Zealand offered some data on regional incidence rates. Table 7.7 indicates, first, that rates for both Maori and Pakeha were highest in the two metropolitan centres, throwing considerable doubt on whether urbanisation in fact offered access to improved housing and to medical services; second, the overall rate for Maori was seven times greater than for Pakeha; third, the rate among Maori residing along the North Island’s west coast was a very high 59.58 per 1000. The report suggested that that latter rate reflected what it termed the ‘intensification of control ... It indicates the likely Maori incidence that may be obtained when case finding in other areas is up to the same standard as pertains in the western area.’ Poor housing, overcrowding, and poor nutrition were cited as the leading causes for the high rate of incidence among Maori.¹²⁸⁰

¹²⁷⁹ ‘TB among Maori,’ *Taranaki Herald* 15 March 1938, copy in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1295 131/3/136.

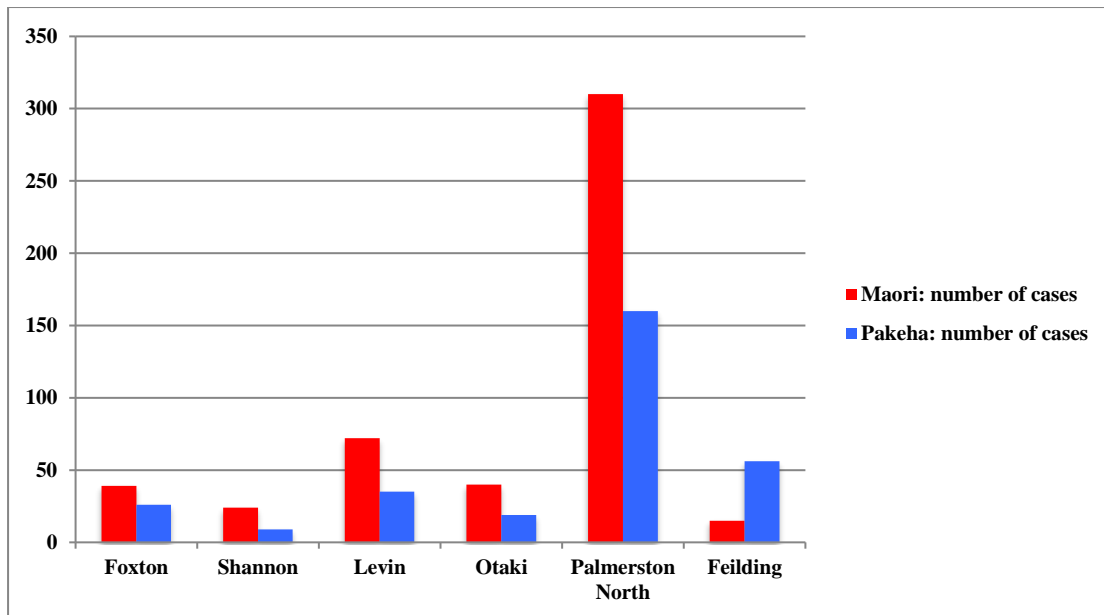
¹²⁸⁰ AJHR 1945, H31, p.17.

Table 7.7: The incidence of tuberculosis among Maori and Pakeha, 1944

	Incidence per 1000 Pakeha	Incidence per 1000 Maori
<i>Predominantly Pakeha areas</i>		
Wellington metropolitan	5.84	44.30
Auckland metropolitan	4.08	30.45
Northern half of the South Island	3.73	25.80
Southern half of the South Island	3.25	24.70
<i>High Maori population areas</i>		
North Auckland	1.47	10.43
South Auckland/Bay of Plenty	2.30	15.43
East Coast, North Island	2.80	22.22
West Coast, North Island	3.87	59.58
New Zealand	3.47	24.36

Source: AJHR 1945, H31, p.17

Several statistical summaries relating to tuberculosis in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District during the 1940s were located, although their form did not allow any trend analysis. Graph 7.4, for example, sets out for 1944 the number of Maori and Pakeha cases entered in to the tuberculosis registers for each of the six district nurse districts. In terms of raw numbers, Maori predominated and it is certain therefore that as a proportion of the total population in each district, Maori would also have predominated.



Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16143 H1/1603 130/4/5

Graph 7.4: Tuberculosis cases on registers, by district nurse districts, Porirua ki Manawatu, 1944

Table 7.8 sets out the position as at the end of December 1948 regarding tuberculosis among both Maori and Pakeha in the Palmerston North Health District. The estimated Maori population of the district was 2,557 and the estimated Pakeha population 56,689. A number of points emerge from Table 7.8.

- Although Maori constituted 4.3 per cent of the district's total population, they made up 34.3 per cent of those on the tuberculosis register;
- Among Maori, those most afflicted were in the age range of five to 25 years, with implications for their education and entry into and participation in the workforce;
- Among Maori, females appear to have been disproportionately affected;
- In terms of the origins of notification, the data indicate that Maori relied less on private practitioners than on publicly funded health services and their screening and contact follow-up programmes;
- With respect to the disposition of register cases, there were no marked contrasts between Maori and Pakeha, although slightly higher proportions of Pakeha were

in hospital (10.7 v 9.0 per cent), in sanatoria (3.8 v 2.4 per cent), and in own homes (82.7 v 79.5 per cent).

- With respect to clinical supervision, similar proportions of both groups were under some form of supervision, although the relative importance of district nurse supervision among Maori is clear.

Table 7.8: Tuberculosis among Maori and Pakeha in the Palmerston North Health District, 1948

	Maori	Pakeha	Total
<i>Certified confirmed tuberculous, on register 31 December 1948</i>	166	318	484
Under five years	12	5	17
5 to 15 years	43	22	65
15 to 25 years	43	68	111
25 to 35 years	28	77	105
35 to 45 years	24	72	96
45 years and over	16	74	90
Totals	166	318	484
<i>Gender</i>			
Males	73	158	231
Females	93	160	253
<i>Origin of notification</i>			
Private practitioners	16	75	91
Clinic	38	44	82
Hospital	75	165	240
Contact examination	36	14	50
Chest boards	1	22	23
<i>Disposition of register cases: 31 December 1948</i>			
In hospital	15	34	49
In sanatoria	4	12	16
In own homes	132	263	395
In hutments	7	3	10
In boarding house or hotel	3	6	9
Nomadic in own district	5	-	5
<i>Clinical state</i>			
Active: deteriorating	14	16	30
Active: not improving	13	69	82
Active: improving	48	104	152
Inactive: quiescent	24	37	61

Inactive: arrested	43	61	104
Inactive: apparently cured & deregistered	13	18	31
<i>Outpatient supervision</i>			
By hospital and specialists' clinics	122	233	355
By private practitioner only	2	10	12
By district health nurse alone	10	7	17
By private practitioner assisted by district nurse	10	22	32
Without medical or nursing supervision	3	2	5
<i>Deaths in 1948 from tuberculosis</i>			
In hospital or sanatoria	7	6	13
In own home	1	5	6

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16143 H1/1603 130/4/5

Table 7.9 sets out the work of district nurses among Maori and Pakeha in relation to chest clinics. Three major points are indicated: first, that 26.8 per cent of all households under control were Maori; second, that 42.2 per cent of contacts under surveillance were Maori; and third, that 40.7 per cent of contacts and suspects x-rayed were Maori. It is worthwhile noting here that Black and Tuckey, in 1940, recorded that a district nurse visited all Maori families in the Otaki district regularly and for treatment she was unable to administer called on a local medical practitioner. Tuberculous persons were referred to the Otaki Sanatorium for examination and assessment and for treatment or referred on to hospital. They described the work of district nurses as 'invaluable.'¹²⁸¹

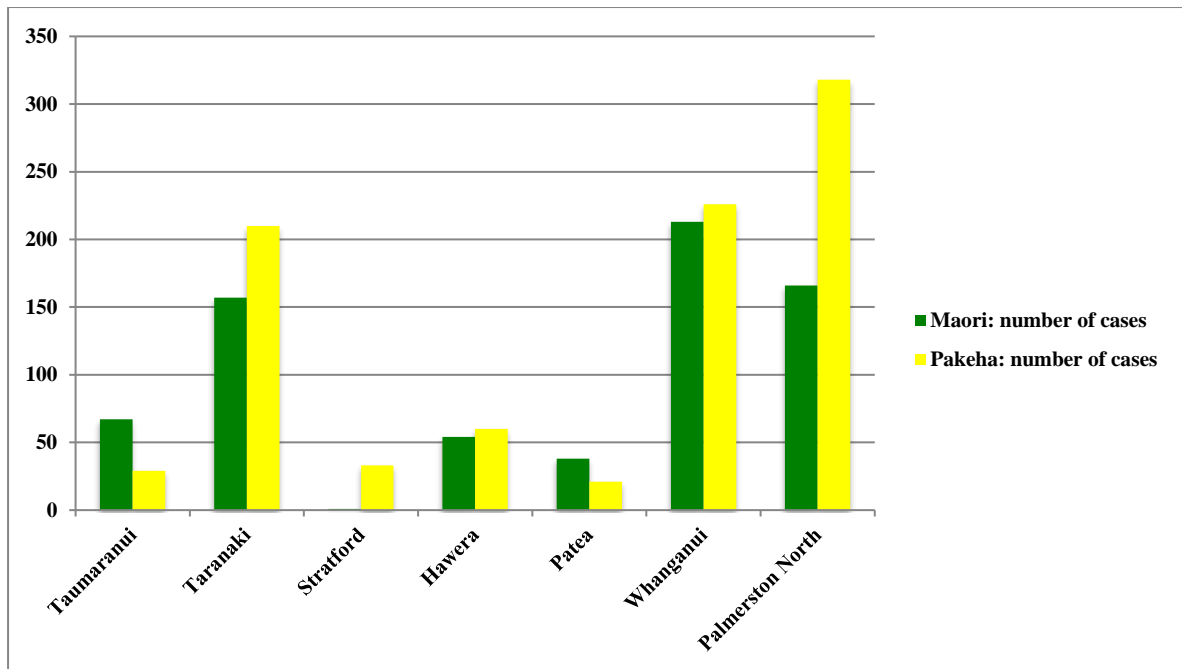
¹²⁸¹ L.J. Black and R.P. Tuckey 'A study of the Otaki Maoris with special reference to pulmonary t.b,' Preventive Medicine dissertation, University of Otago, 1940, pp.19-20.

Table 7.9: Palmerston North Health District: district nurses' work among Maori and Pakeha in relation to chest clinics, 1948

	Maori	Pakeha	Total
<i>In home</i>			
New tuberculous households brought under control	22	61	83
Total number of houses under control	117	320	437
<i>Contacts</i>			
Number of new contacts examined in 1948	23	126	349
Total number of contacts examined in 1948	134	189	323
Total number of contacts under surveillance	745	1021	1766
<i>Examination results</i>			
Tuberculous tests 1948: contacts	1	-	1
Tuberculous tests 1948: suspects	-	1	1
Positive reactors discovered in 1948: contacts	-	-	-
Positive reactors discovered in 1948: suspects	-	1	1
Patients x-rayed: contacts	242	372	614
Patients x-rayed: suspects	15	3	18
New notifications derived from nurses' work: contacts	10	7	17
New notifications derived from nurses' work: suspects	1	1	2

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16143 H1/1603 130/4/5

Graph 7.5 offers another view: it sets out the number of Maori and Pakeha cases of tuberculosis recorded in the registers for each of seven of west coast hospital districts.



Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16143 H1/1603 130/4/5

Graph 7.5: Tuberculosis cases on register, western hospital districts, 1948

Taken together, the various sources make very clear the disproportionately high incidence of tuberculosis among Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, while also hinting at the economic costs imposed upon individuals and families. The number of persons on sickness benefits might offer some indication, but such data, especially on a regional basis, are not readily available.

7.4 Empowering Maori?

The administration of public health in nineteenth century New Zealand was rudimentary. Where Maori were concerned, Lange recorded that for most of the nineteenth century, the Government made little effort to improve Maori health standards, describing the limited efforts of the Department of Native Affairs as ‘merely an unimportant and haphazard addendum.’¹²⁸² It was the bubonic plague scare and the passage of the Public Health Act 1900 (Te Pire Kiore) that laid the basis for a greatly

¹²⁸² Raeburn Lange, *May the people live: a history of Maori health development 1900-1920*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999, p.68.

expanded role for the State in matters relating to public health.¹²⁸³ That Act made specific provision for Maori health: Maori settlements could be declared special districts regulated by elected committees. Such committees would have the power to enforce ‘such sanitary rules and observances amongst the Native occupants, as the District Health Officer approves, or as the Governor by regulation prescribes ...’ Section 65 provided for a 1:1 State subsidy for sanitary works and ‘for generally improving the sanitary condition.’

The Maori Councils Act 1900, intended to provide Maori with a ‘limited measure of self-government,’ provided for the establishment of elected councils.¹²⁸⁴ Section 15 of the Act required each council to prepare a ‘general plan’ to deal with, among other matters, ‘the promotion of the health and welfare and moral well-being of the Maori inhabitants ...’ to be secured by regulating sanitation, water supplies, the consumption of liquor, and the activities of *tohunga*. The councils would be funded by Government grants and local taxes, fees, and fines. The clear expectation on the part of the Government, and in particular Native Minister James Carroll, was that the councils would assist in the implementation of the Public Health Act 1900 passed in the wake of a scare over bubonic plague. The Minister of Native Affairs appointed a superintendent of Maori Councils Gilbert Mair holding that position between 1903 and 1907. Ngata, too, would prove to be a firm supporter of the councils, but Lange recorded that neither Carroll nor Ngata was able to secure for the councils the Government’s practical support.¹²⁸⁵ Without such support and with very limited revenue raising powers, the councils were unable to function effectively.¹²⁸⁶

¹²⁸³ Ferguson suggested that Ngata and Carroll ‘played on the fears of bubonic plague’ to secure the passage of that Act.’ See Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand dream*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994, pp.54-55.

¹²⁸⁴ Lange examined the history of the Maori councils in two papers, namely, *A limited measure of self-government: Maori councils, 1900-1920*. Wellington: Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, 2004; and *In an advisory capacity: Maori councils, 1919-1945*. Wellington: Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005.

¹²⁸⁵ Lange, *May the people live*, p.194.

¹²⁸⁶ See also W.P. Morrell, *New Zealand*. London, 1935; Norman Smith, *The Maori people and us*. Wellington: Reed for the Maori Purposes Fund Board, 1948; F.S. McLean, *Challenge for health: a history of public health in New Zealand*. Wellington: Owen, 1964; J.A. Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori: protest and cooperation, 1891-1909*. Auckland: Oxford University Press for the University of Auckland, 1969; and Richard Hill, *State authority, indigenous autonomy: Crown-Maori relations in New Zealand 1900-1950*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004.

By 1902, 24 councils had been established, including two that embraced the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, namely, the Kurahaupo and Raukawa Maori Councils.¹²⁸⁷ In each district, komiti marae were also established to enforce such by-laws as the councils approved. For its part, the newly established Department of Public Health appointed Maui Pomare as Health Commissioner for the Natives: he was required ‘to go amongst the Natives, visit their various paha, inquire in to their general health, condition of the water supply, and the diverse ingenious, if not scientific, employed in the disposal of night-soil.’¹²⁸⁸ Williams recorded that Pomare produced plans for a coherent response to Maori health needs that included separate institutions to care for Maori suffering from tuberculosis, the establishment of cottage hospitals in remote areas, the appointment of Maori graduates as local officers of health, hospital training for Maori nurses, subsidies for hospital outpatient treatment, training in infant care for Maori women, and assistance for the Maori Councils.¹²⁸⁹ His proposals were largely ignored.

Pomare was assisted by Gilbert Mair and, from 1904, by ‘Native Sanitary Inspectors,’ although, in 1905, he noted that ‘”Truly the harvest [of death] is great, but the labourers are few.”’¹²⁹⁰ Appointed in 1905 to the Department of Health as Native Officer, Te Rangi Hiroa made a particular effort to familiarise the councils with their powers and their duties.¹²⁹¹ By 1904, Eruera Te Kahu (Edward Sutherland) had been appointed as a sanitary inspector: his area of responsibility included the Kurahaupo district. Unfortunately he did not furnish any reports of his activities or at least none was published. So far as could be established, no similar appointment was made for the Raukawa District. Evidently dismayed by the transfer of responsibility for Maori health to the Department of Native Affairs in 1909 (it was returned to the Department of Public Health in 1911), by a lack of financial support, and pending public service staff reductions, Pomare and Hiroa both resigned.¹²⁹² By 1912 all the Native sanitary inspectors had been dismissed: they had inspected dwellings and meeting houses,

¹²⁸⁷ ‘Defining districts under ‘The Maori Councils Act, 1900,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 7 January 1901, pp.12-15.

¹²⁸⁸ AJHR 1901, H31, p.14.

¹²⁸⁹ Charlotte Williams, *More power to do the work: Maori and the health system in the twentieth century*. Wellington: Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007, Number 9, p.9.

¹²⁹⁰ AJHR 1903, H31, p.66; and 1905, H31, p.57

¹²⁹¹ AJHR 1906, H31, p.73.

¹²⁹² Derek Dow, *Safeguarding the public health: a history of the New Zealand Department of Health*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995, p.65 and 82.

ordered the building of closets, condemned houses, watched for signs of infectious diseases, and established as necessary camp hospitals to deal with disease outbreaks. The Reform Government ignored requests for their reinstatement.¹²⁹³ Even the ‘limited measure’ of self-government that the Act promised proved to be a chimera: in 1916, the Government reduced the number of members and decided that they should be appointed rather than elected.¹²⁹⁴

Section 17 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1919 provided that Maori council districts could be declared special districts and that the councils could be declared Maori health councils. Such councils were ‘to advise the District Health Officer in all matters relating to the health of the Maori inhabitants of the district, and to perform such functions and duties as the District Health Officer approves or the Governor-General by regulations prescribes.’ The councils had been transformed in to administrative agencies of the Crown and as such, as Lange observed, hardly satisfied Maori aspirations for self-government.¹²⁹⁵ Under the Health Act 1920, the Department of Health again assumed responsibility for the Maori councils, the Department of Native Affairs having evinced little interest in meeting Maori health needs. Section 66 empowered the Crown to declare any district constituted under the Maori Councils Act 1900 to be ‘a special district’ and the council concerned to be a health council, such council ‘to advise the District Health Officer in all matters relating to the health of the Maori inhabitants of the district, and to perform such functions and duties as the District Health Officer approves or the Governor-General by regulations prescribes.’ Sixteen new councils, each with seven instead of 12 members, were established, among them, Kurahaupo and Raukawa.

The Department of Health was divided in to a number of divisions, among them the Division of Maori Hygiene: Te Rangi Hiroa was appointed Director: one of his first actions was to try to revivify the councils. Familiar difficulties re-emerged, namely, imprecise definition of the duties and powers, lack of State financial support, inability on the part of the councils to raise their own funds, opposition on the part of local authorities, and too few Native health inspectors. Growing scepticism within the

¹²⁹³ Lange, *May the people live*, p.208.

¹²⁹⁴ See section 15 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916.

¹²⁹⁵ Lange, *In an advisory capacity*, p.54.

Department of Health over the usefulness of the councils and the effectiveness of the Maori Hygiene Directorate and Native health inspectors led, in 1931, to the disestablishment of the Division of Maori Hygiene Division and the redistribution of its responsibilities, effectively mainstreaming Maori health. As Williams observed, the Government was reluctant to allow the councils to develop and function as 'autonomous' or fully Maori-controlled institutions.¹²⁹⁶

In 1933, responsibility for the Maori health councils was passed to district medical officers of health: in advising the latter, the Director-General of Health noted that

Speaking generally it is the policy of the Government not to force the pace in connection with Maori Council administration. In cases where the Maoris are indifferent we do not wish to compel them to have a Maori Council organisation unless some definite purpose would be served thereby ... At the same time where the Maoris show an inclination to adopt measures of self-government such as are available to them through the Maori Council administration you should give whatever encouragement and assistance you can.¹²⁹⁷

His comments hardly constituted a ringing endorsement. During 1934 and 1935, the by-laws that the councils were expected to apply were revised and reissued, but in 1937 the Minister of Native Affairs proposed the abolition of the councils in favour of a larger number of Maori village committees.¹²⁹⁸ By that stage, many of the councils were plainly moribund, less as a result of lack of interest on the part of Maori as lack of funding, overlap with local and law enforcement authorities, and lack of strong and consistent support on the part of the Department of Health. In November 1937, the Minister of Health did suggest to the Minister of Native Affairs that their respective departments should 'cooperate in recasting the Maori Councils Act 1900 with a view to making it a more useful instrument for the improvement of the health and environment of the Native race.'¹²⁹⁹ An apparent lack of enthusiasm on the part of the latter and the outbreak of war in September 1939 saw further consideration deferred.

¹²⁹⁶ Williams, *More power to do the work*, p.15-18.

¹²⁹⁷ Director-General, Health to Medical Officers of Health 3 May 1933, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1933 121.

¹²⁹⁸ Acting Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Health 10 July 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1933 121.

¹²⁹⁹ Minister, Health to Minister, Native Affairs 18 November 1937, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1933 121.

7.4.1 Kurahaupo Maori Council

The Kurahaupo Maori Council was established in 1901. Its minute books, covering the period from 1906 to 1917, suggest that it did not meet regularly but rather up to four times a year. In some years it did not meet at all.¹³⁰⁰ The Council did try to raise its own funds, imposing a tenement tax on dwellings in Maori settlements and a system of fines for breaches of its by-laws, and it certainly discussed the need to institute a range of health improvement measures. In 1909, the Department of Public Health suggested that the Council should fund the appointment of a district nurse. It is not at all clear how the Council was expected to fund such a position. In 1917, the Superintendent of Maori Councils intimated that should the Council continued to fail to fulfil its statutory role, it would be replaced by a Pakeha council.¹³⁰¹

When, with respect to the Kurahaupo District Maori Council, that effort failed, Te Rangi Hiroa moved to establish a new council: by 1926 the latter had been installed and was evidently ‘working splendidly.’¹³⁰² In fact, much of its time appears to have been absorbed in jurisdictional disputes with Ratana, although the council also expressed some dissatisfaction over what its chairman, Hoeroa Marumarū, referred to as ‘obsolete machinery.’¹³⁰³ Further, the funding difficulties that had impeded the work of the original Maori councils re-emerged. By 1931, the Kurahaupo Maori Council, discouraged by such difficulties and by Ratana resistance, had ‘practically ceased to function.’¹³⁰⁴ The council’s term expired in June 1936 and no effort appears to have been made to replace it.

¹³⁰⁰ Minutes of the Kurahaupo District Maori Council 27 February 1906 to 27 January 1917, in ANZ Wellington AEDK 18746 MA-WANG 5/10.

¹³⁰¹ Minutes of the Kurahaupo District Maori Council 9 January 1917, in ANZ Wellington AEDK 18746 MA-WANG 5/10.

¹³⁰² Director, Maori Hygiene to Under Secretary, Native Department 26 November 1926, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1938 121/22 Alternative number 3259.

¹³⁰³ Chairman, Kurahaupo Maori Council to Director, Division of Maori Hygiene 20 February 1930, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1938 121/22 Alternative number 3258.

¹³⁰⁴ Chairman, Kurahaupo Maori Council to Director, Division of Maori Hygiene 23 May 1931, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1938 121/22 Alternative number 3258.

7.4.2 Raukawa Maori Council

The Raukawa Maori Council was also established in 1901 and by 1902 had issued its first by-laws.¹³⁰⁵ The Raukawa Maori Health Council was established in 1921: it commenced by publishing bylaws in which emphasis was placed on housing, sanitation, and infectious diseases.¹³⁰⁶ It then failed to meet for several years. In 1930 it pressed the Department of Health to assist it to purchase a car for Nurse Wereta whose duties covered the entire West Coast from Waikanae to Shannon.¹³⁰⁷ The Department of Health endeavoured to encourage the Raukawa Maori Health Council and the Otaki Borough Council to cooperate over the collection of rates and to employ of proportion thereof to ensure that Maori carried out what were termed ‘necessary sanitary improvements.’¹³⁰⁸ The effort failed: the reasons are not entirely clear, but lack of trust almost certainly featured, while the movement of Maori out of kainga, including those within boroughs, also served to weaken the councils’ role.

Such records as survive indicate that the Raukawa Maori Health Council experienced difficulties similar to those that had impeded its Kurahaupo counterpart, namely lack of funding, an inability to enforce by-laws, the opposition of local authorities, and the movement of Maori out of kainga and pa. The Government, apparently unwilling to court the opposition of local authorities, remained unwilling to fund the councils or allow them to raise sufficient funds of their own. In 1928, the Director of the Division of Maori Hygiene described the Raukawa Maori Health Council as ‘our most inactive council.’¹³⁰⁹ In 1932, its ‘official member,’ W.H. Wills, the principal of Otaki College advised the Director-General of Health that the Council had no source of revenue and that few Maori lived in pa or kainga.¹³¹⁰ The Director-General, while acknowledging

¹³⁰⁵ ‘By-laws of the Raukawa District Maori Council, under “The Maori Councils Act 1900,”’ *New Zealand Gazette* 15 May 1902, pp.1066-1071.

¹³⁰⁶ ‘By-laws of the Raukawa District Maori Council, under the Maori Councils Act 1900, and the Health Act 1920, approved,’ *New Zealand Gazette* 9 February 1921, pp.427-430.

¹³⁰⁷ Lange, ‘The social impact of colonisation,’ p.108. Nurse Wereta was stationed in Otaki in 1928-1930 and offered a mostly home-based nursing together with visits to pa at Kuku, Tainui, Te Horo, Manakau, Springhill, Shannon, Waikanae, Muhunua, Paekakariki, Poroutawhao. She attended births, and also treated a small number of Pakeha patients. See ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 HI/1377 194/2/8 Alternative Number 13936.

¹³⁰⁸ Woodley, ‘Local government issues report,’ p.791.

¹³⁰⁹ Director, Division of Maori Hygiene to John Bagrie 24 July 1928, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 HI/1939 121/25 Alternative number 3263.

¹³¹⁰ WH. Wills to Director-General, Health 11 November 1932, in ANZ Wellington Director, Division of Maori Hygiene to John Bagrie 24 July 1928, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 HI/1939 121/25 Alternative number 3263.

‘that the Maori at the present time is in the stage of transition from the old time pa to more or less scattered settlements,’ nevertheless felt that ‘great improvements can be effected’ and that ‘an active Maori Council can do much towards the amelioration of the poor and sometimes very bad conditions that exist ...¹³¹¹ In fact, the Department of Health, while prepared to support and encourage those councils that remained active, had decided that the health needs of Maori could best be met through the mainstream institutions.¹³¹²

7.4.3 A struggle for control

Planning for a new Maori Councils Act was initiated during the early years of the war, but 1941 saw the establishment of what would become the eminently successful Maori War Effort Organisation with its nation-wide structure of 21 zones, 41 tribal executive and 315 (entirely voluntary) tribal committees. The scheme secured Cabinet approval in June 1942.¹³¹³ Zone 13 comprised the Oroua, Kiwitea, Pohangina, Kairanga, Manawatu and Horowhenua Counties and was controlled by the Raukawa Executive Committee and 11 tribal committees as at 1 January 1943.¹³¹⁴ Although established and controlled by Maori primarily to assist recruitment in to the armed services and to direct Maori men and women in to the urban labour force and essential industries, from the outset it included welfare (notably of young Maori women moving in to the urban centres in search of employment), housing, food production, education, and vocational training within its ambit of interest. In 1943, the Government responded to an appeal by Paikea and decided to extend the life of the organisation to the end of April 1944. In a letter to the Prime Minister, Paikea recorded that

¹³¹¹ Director-General, Health to W.H. Wills 16 November 1932, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1939 121/25 Alternative number 3263.

¹³¹² Derek Dow, *Safeguarding the public health: a history of the New Zealand Department of Health*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1999, pp.115-119.

¹³¹³ This section is based upon ‘Maori War Effort Organisation 1942-1945,’ URL:<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/maori-war-effort-organisation> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 5 August 2014. See also Claudia Orange, ‘An exercise in Maori autonomy: the rise and demise of the Maori War Effort Organisation,’ *New Zealand journal of history* 21, 1, April 1987, pp.156-172. For a revised version of that article, see Claudia Orange, ‘The price of citizenship? The Maori war effort,’ in John Crawford, editor, *Kia kaha: New Zealand in the Second World War*. Melbourne: Oxford, 2002, pp.236-251. See also Claudia Orange, ‘Maori War Effort Organisation,’ in Ian McGibbon, editor, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand military history*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.307-309.

¹³¹⁴ ANZ Wellington ACGV 8814 L1/231 30/1/28 Part 1.

In the minds of the Maori people, the establishment of the Maori War Organization is the greatest thing that has happened in the history of the Maori people, since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. They feel that in the organization lies the future prosperity, development, and happiness of their people. It is submitted that the organization should be carefully nursed, encouraged and developed to the full, not only on account of the people's war effort, but also that it may play a worthwhile and practical part in the after-war reconstruction and ... rehabilitation.¹³¹⁵

Paikea died in April 1943 and with his death the debate over the future of the organisation intensified. Treasury and, significantly, the Department of Native Affairs proposed that it cease as from 31 January 1944. A clear desire emerged on the part of many Maori that, having gained what they felt to be 'a measure of self-government,' they urged the retention of the Organisation so that it might participate in post-war reconstruction: to that end it should have statutory powers rather than powers conferred by means of war regulations.¹³¹⁶ Orange recorded that Maori had long had an ambivalent relationship with the Department of Native Affairs, 'viewing it accurately, as a body primarily serving government rather than Maori interests.'¹³¹⁷ The Maori War Effort Organisation's expansion into matters of wider welfare engendered considerable anxiety on the part of both the department and its Minister (H.G.R. Mason) that it would forfeit control of matters it regarded as its own. That the Department of Native Affairs supported Treasury's recommendation was hardly surprising: by late 1943, it was, as Butterworth and Young noted, 'increasingly resentful of the role of the Maori War Effort Organisation ...'¹³¹⁸ In January 1945, the Director of Rehabilitation advised the Department's Under Secretary of comments offered by the Rehabilitation Department's Senior Maori Rehabilitation Officer and dated 29 August 1943, namely, that 'the Maori people as a whole were very antagonistic towards the Native Department ... [and] that

¹³¹⁵ Quoted in Orange, 'An exercise in Maori autonomy,' p.162. Orange suggested that by 1940, the Department of Native Affairs was primarily a 'legal and accounting agency' to which had been added responsibility for Maori land development and housing and that by that date it still dealt with only about 20 per cent of the Maori population.

¹³¹⁶ The pan-tribal Maori conference held in Wellington in October 1944, pressed the Government to grant additional powers to the Maori War Effort Organisation, 'giving it statutory and official status in all its dealings' and some financial assistance to supplement those contributed by Maori. See 'Maori work. War Effort Organisation,' *Taranaki Herald* 25 September 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2. See also 'Maintenance of Maori organisation urged,' *Hawera Star* 25 September 1944, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

¹³¹⁷ Orange, 'An exercise in Maori autonomy,' p.163.

¹³¹⁸ G.V. Butterworth and H.R. Young, *Maori Affairs*. Wellington: Iwi Transition Agency, GP Books, c1990, p.86.

sooner or later the Department is more than likely to fall back to that complacent attitude known as ‘Taihoa’ policy.’ Therein, he concluded, was ‘the seed of discontent that the Maori ... holds against the Native Department ...’¹³¹⁹

The Department of Native Affairs decided to try to revive the mostly defunct Maori councils, a move resisted by Maori: they also pressed the Government to conduct an investigation into the administration of the Department of Native Affairs and indeed proposed the establishment of a new Department of Maori Affairs that would work closely with the Maori War Effort Organisation’s tribal committees. That the Government was not prepared to countenance, preferring instead to add to the Department’s work by appointing welfare officers. Led by Tirikatene, a small working group responded by drafting the Maori Social and Economic Reconstruction Bill: it envisaged the formation of a Department of Maori Administration, a reconstituted Board of Native Affairs that included elected Maori members, and tribal committees.

The Government prepared its own legislation, the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945. Under that Act, the Maori War Effort Organisation was absorbed in to the Department of Native Affairs. Under that Act, power was taken to declare ‘tribal districts’ and to appoint tribal executives. Section 12 set out the general functions of such executives, section 12(b) recording that they were ‘To collaborate with and assist the Rehabilitation Board, the National Employment Service, organizations in the rehabilitation of Maori discharged servicemen and the placement of Maoris in industry and other forms of employment.’ Under section 14, the Crown could define ‘tribal committee areas’ within tribal districts, while section 15 provided for the election of ‘tribal committees.’ Such committees were (section 19) to ‘have the same general functions as a Tribal Executive ... save so far as those functions are functions which can be performed by a Tribal Executive only.’ The independent tribal and executive committees that had formed the heart of the Maori War Effort Organisation were thus incorporated in to the State agency and accordingly lost their autonomy and authority. The Maori health councils were abolished in 1945.

¹³¹⁹ Quoted in Director, Rehabilitation to Under Secretary, Native Department 30 January 1945, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MAW2490/26 32/1 Part 2.

7.5 Subsidising private medical practitioners

In New Zealand, primary medical care has always been the domain of the private sector, but, and contrary to F.S. Mclean's claim that Government had failed to offer support for medical services to Maori, during the period from 1840 to 1940 the Government did subsidise those medical practitioners who undertook to treat Maori.¹³²⁰ Dow did note, on the other hand, that 'Such provision was never universally available, nor was it always accessible to all Maori within a given area.'¹³²¹ At least two 'medical attendants' were appointed to serve in Porirua ki Manawatu. The first was Dr C.G. Hewson: he settled in Otaki in 1853 and was appointed as a medical attendant and coroner in 1856. He served at least until 1874. The other was Dr J.B. Smith: he served as medical attendant and coroner in the 'Manawatu' (from Foxton) between 1859 and 1872.¹³²² Quite what medical services they offered Maori is not clear.

In 1902, Pomare recorded that the Department of Public Health was considering appointing 'good medical men throughout the colony for the Maoris ...' The terms of the scheme adopted required those who elected to participate to supply free medicine and advice to all Maori at their surgeries or within a stated distance if the patient were too ill or infirm to attend surgery. Attendance on Maori at a greater distance was paid for 'at a mileage rate.'

By the end of March 1906, 40 medical officers (both doctors and 'dispensers') were involved: the subsidy paid amounted to £1,916, while 4,363 patients – including 3,125 in the North Island – were treated. None of those subsidised 'Medical Officers for Natives' were located in Porirua ki Manawatu.¹³²³ During 1907-1908, 4,252 'cases' were seen by subsidised medical officers, while Pomare dealt with a further 440.¹³²⁴ The numbers of medical practitioners involved appears to have peaked at 46 during

¹³²⁰ F.S. MacLean, *Challenge for health: a history of public health in New Zealand*. Wellington: Owen, 1964, p.195.

¹³²¹ Derek Dow, "'Specially suitable men?'" Subsidized medical services for Maori, 1840-1940,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 32, 2, 1998, pp.163.

¹³²² Listings of both can be found in the Civil Establishment lists published in the AJHR between 1864 and 1874 (1864, E7; 1868, D13; 1869, D21; 1870, D42; 1871, g10; 1872, G53; 1873, H24; and 1874, H27). See also R.E. Rawstron, *Early medical practitioners in the Manawatu and Palmerston North*. Christchurch: Rawstron Publications, 2012.

¹³²³ AJHR 1906, Session II, G4.

¹³²⁴ AJHR 1908, H31, p.118.

1909-1911, while the system remained in place for many years despite recurring doubts over its reach and efficacy.¹³²⁵ Thus, in 1911, W.H. Field (MHR Otaki) recorded that

with regard to the health of the Maori population, it was pitiable to go into some of the Native villages and see the condition of things that prevailed there, particularly with regard to infants. He had brought this subject up over and over again, but little or nothing had been done. Many helpless Native infants did not get a chance of life. The training of Maori nurses had been promised, but this was a slow process, and something must be done in the meantime. In his district many adult Natives, too, died because they could not get medical attendance, and were too poor to pay ... The position was a serious one ... The Natives of Porirua had been receiving satisfactory medical attendance from the officer in charge of that district since the subsidy given at the Hutt had been divided, but further up the coast in some cases absolutely no attention was given to those Natives who could not afford to pay for it. He had also had complaints from further up the coast of the lack of medical attention given to the Natives there, and a clergyman who took a great interest in the Maori welfare had given him a pitiful account of deaths there through the Natives not being able to afford a doctor.¹³²⁶

The Minister of Public Health (George Fowlds) simply noted that ‘At Otaki the Department had a special arrangement by which the medical man was paid a specified fee for each visit to indigent Maoris. In addition they also paid the chemist for the supply of medicines to those unable to pay.’¹³²⁷ Field raised the matter again in 1911, observing that

Large numbers of Native children were born with every possible chance of becoming healthy men and women, but they died before reaching the age of one year, and many who survived the age of infancy had their constitutions undermined for want of care, and died of tubercular disease on or before reaching manhood and womanhood ... This matter, even right up to the present time, had not had proper attention ... He believed that medical men were today being paid for attendance on Natives when they did not give such attendance, or gave practically none, and the money therefore was unearned and wasted ... the Natives were not being treated properly in the matter of medical attendance.¹³²⁸

It is of interest to note that in 1913, the Department of Health declared that ‘there is nothing in Act or treaty to show that the country is under any obligation to render free

¹³²⁵ AJHR 1913, H31, p.2.

¹³²⁶ NZPD 1908, Vol.144, pp.506-507.

¹³²⁷ NZPD 1908, Vol.144, p.507.

¹³²⁸ NZPD 1911, Vol.156, pp.317-319.

medical assistance to the well-to-do Native; but for the indigent Native there is no doubt as to our obligations and it is to be hoped that Hospital Boards, who sometimes resent the admission to their hospitals, will bear this in mind.¹³²⁹ By 1932 there were just 18 Native medical officers in the North Island serving a Maori population of some 61,000 and 22 in the South Island dealing with 2,800 Maori. It should be noted that medical practitioners not part of the scheme did attend Maori and often did so without seeking payment.¹³³⁰ Further, in the North Island 26 nurses and three inspectors were also so engaged.¹³³¹

The disparities between the two islands, together with concerns over the quantum and quality of the service delivered by some of medical practitioners involved, and the fact that some accepted subsidies and charged their patients, led the Department of Health, in 1932, to review the scheme. Wellington's Medical Officer of Health, F.S. Maclean, favoured the appointment of additional district nurses and tailoring the services offered to meet the specific health needs of Maori. The mortality rate from tuberculosis, he recorded, was seven times that of Pakeha and that for other respiratory diseases some four times as great. 'The problem,' he suggested, 'may be one of housing.' Scabies and impetigo caused a great deal of suffering among Maori, while the Maori infant mortality rate was three times that among Pakeha: Mclean suggested that appropriately trained nurses, each ministering to no more than 1,500 people, would be far better placed to deal with such problems, and that nurses should be stationed in those districts where the needs were demonstrably the greatest.¹³³² In 1933, it was proposed to terminate the payment of subsidies to doctors where other publicly funded health services were readily available.¹³³³ That proposal was implemented in 1934 as one of a series of measures intended to encourage indigent Maori to use hospital facilities and increase the number of district nurses.¹³³⁴ Again, in 1935, the Minister of Health indicated that 'the whole question of medical and nursing services to Maoris will shortly be

¹³²⁹ AJHR 1913, H31, p.3.

¹³³⁰ See Derek Dow, "'Specially suitable men?'" Subsidized medical services for Maori 1840-1940,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 32, 2, October 1998, p.174.

¹³³¹ ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1972 160/75 Alternative number 4830.

¹³³² Medical Officer of Health, Wellington to Director-General, Health 16 December 1932, in ANZ Wellington ADBQ 16163 H1/1425 160/75 Alternative number 17676.

¹³³³ Director-General, Health to Native Trustee 21 April 1933, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/316 18/1/4 Part 2.

¹³³⁴ Director-General, Health to Secretary, British Medical Association 29 May 1934, in ANZ Wellington ADBQ 16163 H1/1425 160/75 Alternative number 17676.

comprehensively reviewed' with a view to increasing the number of district nurses to allow routine visits to be made to all Maori settlements in those districts what had 'a fairly large Maori population.'¹³³⁵ The arrangements proposed in 1934 were implemented in some hospital districts and subsequently extended throughout the country: where district nurses were available, subsidies to doctors were cancelled, while those doctors who continued to treat indigent Maori patients could apply to the Department of Health for reimbursement. The changes, insisted the Director-General of Health, were 'not to be regarded as an economy measure, but rather as an effort to provide a wider service for the Maori population ...'¹³³⁶ The passage of the Social Security Act 1938 brought about the end of the scheme under which the Government subsidised primary health care for some Maori.

During the 1930s, the Palmerston North Hospital Board did offer some limited financial assistance to doctors who attended 'indigent' Maori. Lange recorded that in 1940, small sums were paid to six doctors in Feilding, Foxton, Levin, and Otaki, although the service appears to have been 'haphazard.'¹³³⁷ But for most Maori, cost remained a serious barrier. The health inspector for the Horowhenua district, W.J. Guinan, recorded that for visiting the Kawiu settlement (on the outskirts of Levin)

the doctors make a charge of £1 1 0 a visit and to this must be added medicine etc. Most of the Maoris concerned are in poor circumstances and some are on relief, earning £1.1.0 a week. Under the circumstances, it is not possible to pay for doctors. Also I am told that there is some delay on the part of the doctors when they are asked to make visits. Knowing of this trouble the Maoris when they are sick try and do without the services of a doctor. Sometimes they get better but in some instances they do not and when the doctor is late it is too late for him to do anything.¹³³⁸

¹³³⁵ Minister, Health to Dr. E. Hill, Russell 19 December 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1426 160/93 Alternative number 17694.

¹³³⁶ Director-General, Health to Medical Officers of Health 1 June 1936, in ANZ Wellington ADBQ 16163 H1/1425 160/75 Alternative number 17676.

¹³³⁷ Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation,' p.219.

¹³³⁸ Health Inspector to Medical Officer of Health, Wellington 30 October 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20. Quoted in Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation,' p.218. Guinan had been appointed by the Levin Borough Council in 1928 as its 'general inspector.' After protracted discussions, in 1931, the Levin, Shannon, and Otaki Borough Councils together with the Horowhenua County Council agreed to a scheme proposed by the Department of Health under which they jointly employed Guinan as a health inspector. See 'Joint health inspector,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 23 April 1931, p.6.

7.6 Immunising Maori

Immunisation (including both vaccination and inoculation) has played a major role in limiting the effects of disease in both the Māori and total population. As science advanced and vaccines and inoculations against more diseases became available, the choices made by health officials as to which immunisation schemes would be funded and how these would be distributed offer some insights in to how the long shadow of racial discrimination played out within the developing healthcare system.

7.6.1 Smallpox

Smallpox, an extremely contagious and often fatal disease with no known cure, was the first disease for which immunisation was successfully developed. The disease produced influenza like symptoms that were followed by a severe rash and, for those who managed to survive, severe scarring. The colonisation of New Zealand followed closely on the development of the smallpox immunisation and the treatment followed Pākehā to New Zealand alongside their fear of the disease. For many officials, the humanitarian drivers that saw them extend immunisation to Māori sat equally alongside the mutual benefit of preventing Māori from contracting the disease and passing it on to the Pākehā population. Assessing the true distribution and efficacy of the smallpox vaccination to Māori during the nineteenth century is difficult due to a lack of reliable figures and the small number of actual outbreaks that left the country's smallpox immunity relatively untested. However, it is clear that the vaccination programmes established for Māori at this time were erratic, largely limited in scope, and generally followed outbreak scares or the few outbreaks of the disease.¹³³⁹

One of the first Crown efforts to target smallpox in the Māori population involved the publication of information in the Crown-run Māori newspapers. In 1849, a pamphlet on the effects of smallpox, translated in to te reo Māori, was distributed in *Te Karere Maori/Maori Messenger*, resulting, according to historian Alison Day, in an increase in the uptake of vaccination in some Māori communities.¹³⁴⁰ Free immunisation services

¹³³⁹ Derek Dow, *Maori health and Government policy 1840-1940*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1999, pp.48-56.

¹³⁴⁰ Alison Day, "'Chastising Its People With Scorpions:' Maori and the 1913 smallpox epidemic,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 33, 2, 1999, p.182. *Pukapuka ki Nga Tangata Maori, Hei Tohu I a Ratou I*

for Māori appear to have begun in 1854, when a Central Board of Vaccination was established by the Government to promote and facilitate the vaccination of Māori across New Zealand.¹³⁴¹ The Board was formed to consider ‘the best means of introducing the most complete system of Vaccination amongst the Natives... [as it was] paramount duty on the part of the European colonists of the country, to extend to the Maori people, that protection which they themselves have received, and owe to their superior civilisation.’¹³⁴² Subsequently, it appointed local medical practitioners and clergy as ‘Vaccinators’ in different provinces to provide immunisation to Māori without charge.¹³⁴³ Reverend Mr Watkins in the Wellington area and Archdeacon Hadfield in what were described as the Waikanae, Otaki, Manawatū, Whanganui, and Rangitikei areas, attended to Maori in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District.¹³⁴⁴ In addition to funds for lymph (the active ingredient for smallpox immunisation), the Board had a budget of £500 of which £10 was allocated to Reverend Watkins and £50 to Archdeacon Hadfield for their services.¹³⁴⁵ The Board continued until at least 1863, albeit with mixed success. The scheme was impeded by a lack of lymph, as well as the reduced efficacy of lymph caused by delays in reaching remote Māori communities, and at times the outright rejection of the procedure by Māori.¹³⁴⁶ Dr A. S. Thomson a member of the Central Board of Vaccination stated that two-thirds of Māori in New Zealand had been vaccinated in 1859, a figure that historian Keith Sinclair claimed could only have been a guess.¹³⁴⁷

The first legislation to provide for smallpox vaccination was made under the Vaccination Act 1863. Under the Act (modelled on similar legislation passed in Britain), every child born in New Zealand had to be vaccinated against smallpox within six months of birth. Fines were imposed on those found to be non-compliant without a certificate of exemption. The Act also appointed a registrar of births responsible for

te Mate Koroputaputa, Auckland, 1849. This had been written by Thomas Arthur and reprinted in the *Maori Messenger*, 19 January 1849.

¹³⁴¹ AJHR, A10, 1856.

¹³⁴² *New Zealand Gazette*, 1854, p. 258; Day, "Chastising its people," p. 182.

¹³⁴³ AJHR, A10, 1856, p. 2.

¹³⁴⁴ AJHR, A10, 1856, p. 3.

¹³⁴⁵ AJHR, A10, 1856, p. 3.

¹³⁴⁶ Thomas Buddle, 'Vaccine Board,' *New Zealander*, 23 July 1863, p. 3; and AJHR, A10, 1856, p. 2.

¹³⁴⁷ A. S. Thomson, *The story of New Zealand past and present, savage and civilised*. London: John Murray, 1859, p. 212; Keith Sinclair, *Kinds of peace: Maori people after the wars, 1870-85*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p. 31.

recording compliancy within their individual districts. Under the Vaccination Act 1871, compulsion was removed, although section 16 still required the vaccination of all children attending public schools. The Public Health Act 1872 made it mandatory for all those admitted in to public institutions such as reformatories, industrial schools, lunatic asylums and prisons to be vaccinated on arrival if they were without a certificate or proof of vaccination. That Act also reinstated compulsory vaccination for babies within six months of birth and required all other children under fourteen to be vaccinated. Under the law parents or guardians of unvaccinated children could face a fine not exceeding forty shillings. With no specific mention of Māori in the legislation, and only patchy registration of Māori births until at least 1913, it is unclear from the sources available if or how this legislation was implemented in the Māori communities of the inquiry district.

Following the passage of the Public Health Act 1872, vaccination districts were established in 1873. The districts within the inquiry district were the Province of Wellington (which covered modern Wellington north to the Waikanae River), Foxton, Palmerston North, and Rangitikei.¹³⁴⁸ Within each district, vaccinators were appointed to carry out the procedure for the general public, including Māori. Each vaccinator produced a certificate of vaccination for each successful procedure and this was passed on to the local registrar of births, deaths and marriages. These registrars acted as vaccination inspectors and were required to record the relevant details, including any exemptions, in a vaccination register. The vaccination registers were created with numbers assigned to each entry corresponding to the entries in the registers of births.

Also under the 1873 Act, specific locations could be allocated for defined periods as vaccination stations: advertisements setting out times and places were placed in English language newspapers of the Inquiry District and for all those who required vaccination to attend.¹³⁴⁹ Despite Māori literacy levels being higher in te reo Māori during this period, so far as could be established no Māori language advertisements for vaccination stations in Porirua ki Manawatu were published. Some vaccinators were charged with

¹³⁴⁸ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1873, p. 283.

¹³⁴⁹ See, for example, 'Vaccination,' *Manawatu Herald*, 22 July 1881, p. 2; 'Vaccination,' *Manawatu Herald*, 5 August 1881, p. 2; Untitled, *Whanganui Herald*, 28 December 1881, p. 2; 'Local and General News,' *Feilding Star*, 2 July 1896, p. 2; and Untitled, *Manawatu Times*, 13 July 1883, p. 2.

providing vaccines to selected Māori communities. In September 1881, a Wellington chemist was tasked with vaccinating the ‘whole of the Native population in the Otaki’ district.¹³⁵⁰ The *Evening Post* subsequently recorded that 249 Ōtaki Māori had received vaccinations. ‘The natives,’ it reported, ‘submitted to the operation with the greatest readiness and, in fact, expressed their gratitude to the Government for taking such a step for their protection.’¹³⁵¹ The views of Maori were not located. The 249 persons recorded as having been vaccinated represented about 46 per cent of the 536 Maori in the Otaki district as recorded by the census of 1881. Whether other communities in the Inquiry District were similarly targeted was not established.

The number of Māori who contracted smallpox in the nineteenth century was low, and no evidence of cases in the Inquiry District was identified. As the threat of smallpox receded in the late nineteenth century so did the Government’s active measures to vaccinate the Māori population. Despite this, a small resurgence of Māori vaccination followed Māui Pōmare’s appointment as Māori Health Officer in 1901.¹³⁵² In 1902 Pomare had *Etahi Mate Rere* to inaugurate his public campaign to promote the awareness, treatment and prevention of infectious disease amongst Māori.¹³⁵³ In 1903, the Department of Public Health recorded that 2,250 Māori had been vaccinated, together with Pomare’s claim that the entire Māori population could be vaccinated by the end of 1904.¹³⁵⁴ The ‘slight outbreak of smallpox’ in 1903 likely assisted the uptake of vaccination during this period.¹³⁵⁵ But the high rate of uptake was not sustained and by 1912 it was being suggested by the Inspector-General of Hospitals and Chief Health Officer that compulsory vaccination was practically a ‘dead-letter’ law with less than two per cent of all new babies born receiving their vaccination, and only fifteen per cent of the total Māori population having received vaccination.¹³⁵⁶

Subsequently, when smallpox was confirmed in Northland in 1913, the demand for vaccination was unprecedented.¹³⁵⁷ The total number of successful vaccinations for

¹³⁵⁰ *New Zealand Times*, Untitled, 20 September 1881, p. 2.

¹³⁵¹ *Evening Post*, Untitled, 24 September 1881, p. 2.

¹³⁵² Day, “Chastising its people,” p. 183.

¹³⁵³ Māui Pōmare, *Etahi Rere Mate*. Wellington: Department of Public Health, 1902.

¹³⁵⁴ AJHR, 31, 1903, pp. v and 73; Day, “Chastising its people,” p. 183.

¹³⁵⁵ AJHR, H31, 1912, p. 97.

¹³⁵⁶ AJHR, H31, 1912, p. 4 & 97; Day, “Chastising its people,” p. 184. Of the 26,354 babies born in 1911, only 415 babies were vaccinated, while 6,754 exemption certificates issued.

¹³⁵⁷ Day, “Chastising its people,” pp. 187-188.

smallpox provided to adults, children, Māori and Pākehā in 1913 is estimated to have been 139,250, with almost all being provided in the North Island.¹³⁵⁸ Day suggested that during that epidemic, Pākehā were prioritised for vaccination by hospital boards and local authorities, and that some vaccinators skipped Māori communities entirely as being too small of population and too difficult to access as to justify their personal expense. Moreover, they did so despite the fact Māori were seeking immunisation and a popular belief that Māori were more susceptible to the disease due to their mode of living.¹³⁵⁹ The Inquiry District largely escaped the smallpox epidemic that infected at least 1,978 North Island Māori and killed at least 55.¹³⁶⁰ On the other hand, Porirua ki Manawatu Māori were affected by the limitations placed, in July 1913, on the freedom of movement applied to all Māori who could not prove their vaccination and their access to public transport in the Auckland, Hawke's Bay and Wellington districts.¹³⁶¹ Such constraints were not extended to Pākehā. The oversight resulted in obvious Pākehā smallpox cases using public transport despite the risks of spreading the disease.¹³⁶²

7.6.2 Typhoid

At least five common diseases had immunisations publicly available to New Zealanders by the early 1950s, that is, typhoid, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, and tuberculosis. Table 7.10 below offers some details. Only the typhoid immunisation is analysed in any detail here as it was available for the longest period and was the most widely distributed among Māori in the inquiry district. Up to 1950 immunisation for the other diseases targeted specific at-risk communities or institutions or relied on individuals seeking the treatment.

¹³⁵⁸ New Zealand Official Year Book, 1914, p. 153.

¹³⁵⁹ Day, 'Chastising its people,' pp. 188-189.

¹³⁶⁰ AJHR, H31, 1914, pp. 33 & 35-36; and AJHR, H33, 1914, p. 1.

¹³⁶¹ *New Zealand Gazette* 56, 1913, pp. 2183-84.

¹³⁶² Day, "Chastising its people," pp. 191-92. Different dates are offered in 'Appendix 1: The history of immunisation in New Zealand,' in *Immunisation Handbook 2017*. Wellington: Ministry of Health, 2018, second edition, pp.589-594.

Table 7.10: Vaccines introduced in to New Zealand to 1953

Disease	Vaccine introduced	Year used for child immunisation
Typhoid	1913	1919
Diphtheria	1919	1924 (targeted schools & orphanages) 1941 (offered routinely)
Pertussis	1941	1942 (on request)
Combined pertussis & diphtheria)	1948	1948 (withdrawn) 1953
Tetanus	1953	1953
Tuberculosis	1948	1951
Combined diphtheria, tetanus & pertussis)	1954	1960

Source: A.S. Day, 'Child immunisation: reactions and responses to New Zealand Government policy 1920-1990,' PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2008, p.310.

Typhoid, a type of enteric fever, is a bacterial infection that can result in high fever, general weakness, abdominal pain, constipation, headaches, mild vomiting, and a skin rash, symptoms from which complications can lead to death. The bacteria are spread through faeces, and are most commonly contracted through drinking contaminated water. Long before immunisation was readily available, typhoid had been recognised by Crown officials and the Health Department as a major health issue in rural Māori communities. During this time, many Māori existed in small settlements in conditions with poor living standards, often in overcrowded whares with poor food hygiene, a lack of running water and inadequate toilet facilities.¹³⁶³ According to Day, the Department of Health favoured immunisation as a less costly response to typhoid than improving sanitation and water supplies.¹³⁶⁴ And yet, a special sanitation programme initiated in the Waikato in 1939 in which all Maori homes broadcasting bodily wastes were supplied with privies, appears to have contributed to the sharp decline in the incidence of typhoid.¹³⁶⁵

A typhoid vaccine was first introduced to New Zealand in 1913.¹³⁶⁶ The first large-scale typhoid immunisation was undertaken for the First World War: all New Zealand service personnel were required to be immunised. Under the Military Service Act 1916, any member of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force could be vaccinated without

¹³⁶³ Day, 'Child immunisation,' p. 49.

¹³⁶⁴ Day, 'Child immunisation,' p. 49.

¹³⁶⁵ AJHR 1940, H31, p.50.

¹³⁶⁶ Day, 'Child immunisation,' p. 49.

consent if that vaccination rendered them fit for service. Māori service personnel who refused to consent to immunisation could face charges of military misconduct or dishonourable discharge.¹³⁶⁷ So far as could be established, no such proceedings were taken against those recruited in the Inquiry District. Between the world wars typhoid outbreaks in Maori communities did occur, notably in Muhunua Pa in 1921.¹³⁶⁸ In 1919, despite the claim that immunisation was the only effective protection against typhoid, the Department of Health rejected the ‘very difficult matter [of] wholesale inoculation.’ Instead, it targeted school-age children, the group acknowledged to be the most vulnerable to the disease.¹³⁶⁹ The programme was limited to Native village schools and thus did not extend to Porirua ki Manawatu.

The typhoid immunisation programme was the first systematic provision of immunisation to Māori at a nationwide scale and was largely carried out without clear parental consent. In 1947, The Department of Health decided that all Māori children in the North Island would be immunised annually with a combined vaccine against typhoid, paratyphoid A and paratyphoid B (TAB) following a small spike in cases in 1946, and small spike in deaths in 1947. To ensure compliance with this scheme – and without legislative support – the Department contrived to give Māori the impression that immunisation was compulsory. Parents, it asserted, were incapable of understanding or consenting to the procedure: what it did do was try to secure consent from Māori community leaders. In practice, even this level of consent was not sought or obtained from each community for each year the scheme ran.

Subsequently, in May 1947, Palmerston North’s Medical Office of Health raised the matter of parental consent with the Department’s Director-General.¹³⁷⁰ The Acting Director-General of Health (F.S. Maclean) confirmed that no legislative authority existed but that the Minister of Health had advised the department to ‘continue under the present arrangements.’¹³⁷¹ The matter was raised again in 1948 when questions by

¹³⁶⁷ Kesaia Walker, 'Health and social impacts of Māori military service for the Crown, 1845-present,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018, pp.84-88.

¹³⁶⁸ “Typhoid among Maoris: the Muhunua outbreak,” *Manawatu Standard* 12 October 1921, p. 5.

¹³⁶⁹ Day, 'Child immunisation,' pp. 49-50.

¹³⁷⁰ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to Director-General, Health 13 May 1947, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1144 35/4/9.

¹³⁷¹ Acting Director-General, Health to Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North 20 May 1947, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1144 35/4/9.

parents and teachers induced the Whanganui Head Teachers' Association to seek clarification from the Department regarding the right of Medical Officers to carry out the immunisation of children at school, and the possible legal ramifications for head teachers providing consent as 'temporary guardians of the child.'¹³⁷² The matter was referred to the Solicitor-General: he confirmed that any person who carried out the procedure without proper parental consent was technically committing an assault. Further, any teacher providing permission could be considered complicit in the assault.¹³⁷³ The Crown could not be held liable for assault (under the Crown Suits Amendment Act 1910), but could be so for negligence. If a case were brought against the Crown, the Solicitor-General recommended that it accept liability and provide indemnity for any assault charges laid against Crown employees (nurses or teachers). Further, the Solicitor-General advised against introducing legislation to authorise the compulsory vaccination of Māori children given 'the embarrassing issues calculated to arise ... namely the issue of interference with parental rights if the legislation were framed in general terms, and the issue of racial discrimination if it were expressed to apply only to Maori children.'¹³⁷⁴ From that point the Crown's practice of immunising Māori school children without explicit parental consent or legislative authority was continued in the full knowledge that it was illegal.

A proposal to indemnify the Crown was approved by Cabinet in June 1949, but did not pass before the change of government following that year's general election. Re-tabled, the proposal was approved by the new Government in March 1950.¹³⁷⁵ The Department of Maori Affairs was consulted throughout the process and continued to support the typhoid immunisation programme, as before, with general consent from tribal committees.¹³⁷⁶ In March 1950, the Health Department sent a circular informing all Medical Officers of Health that employees were indemnified, at the same time

¹³⁷² Day, 'Childhood Immunisation,' pp. 99-100; and C. P. Bates to Secretary, Education Board, 4 June 1948, and Deputy-Director, Health to Solicitor-General, 19 August 1948, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4415/263 131/4/1.

¹³⁷³ Day, 'Childhood Immunisation,' pp. 99-100; and Deputy-Director, Health to Solicitor-General 19 August 1948, & Circular 1948/165, 11 October 1948, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4415/263 131/4/1.

¹³⁷⁴ Day, 'Childhood Immunisation,' p.100; and Circular 1948/165, 11 October 1948 in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4415/263 131/4/1.

¹³⁷⁵ Day, 'Childhood Immunisation,' p.101.

¹³⁷⁶ Day, 'Childhood Immunisation,' p.101; and Minister, Maori Affairs to Minister, Health 8 February 1950, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4415/263 131/4/1.

confirming that for consent reliance would continue to be placed on tribal leaders. For those leaders, the possible legal implications appear to have been discounted. The Department emphasised that the ‘sustained objection of any parent’ was to be respected to avoid the possibility of negative publicity or a court case.¹³⁷⁷ In the years that followed, health districts introduced their own methods of dealing with consent for the immunisation of Māori children. The Palmerston North district, for example, relied on verbal consents in 1952.¹³⁷⁸ Medical officers of health were warned that ‘should any untoward event take place ... they personally [need to have] instituted a sound system of consent short of the individual written one.’¹³⁷⁹ By 1963 the programme to immunise all Māori school children against typhoid had been abandoned, although nurses and doctors continued to carry out the procedure when requested by parents.¹³⁸⁰

The Department of Health’s commitment to immunisation against typhoid appears to have been at odds with the low rates of morbidity and mortality of both typhoid and paratyphoid among Maori. Mortality statistics are available from 1928, the year in which the annual peak of 33 deaths was recorded.¹³⁸¹ With improved awareness of sanitation and sporadic immunisation, the number of deaths had contracted to single digits by 1945. It is impossible to say whether the small spike in 1947 – a total of 12 – would have continued had the immunisation of Māori school children not been extended across the North Island. Nevertheless, the low mortality rate among Maori from typhoid and paratyphoid contrasted sharply with the very much higher rate involving pulmonary tuberculosis. Given the much greater threat posed to Maori by tuberculosis, it seems odd that typhoid attracted the attention and effort that it did, although the Department of Health appears to have believed that that the success of the immunisation programme could only be maintained if vaccinations continued, and not least since it appears also to have believed that re-housing Maori was ‘economically impossible.’¹³⁸² It seems unlikely that the Department of Health had not fully recognised or grasped the implications of the growing scale of Maori migration to the

¹³⁷⁷ Day, ‘Childhood Immunisation,’ p. 101; and Confidential Circular 1950/81, 31 March 1950, in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4415/263 131/4/1.

¹³⁷⁸ Day, ‘Childhood Immunisation,’ p. 102; and G. L. McLeod to H. B. Turbott, 16 September 1952 in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4415/263 131/4/1.

¹³⁷⁹ Day, ‘Childhood Immunisation,’ p.102; and Circular 1952/247, 24 September 1952 in ANZ Wellington ABQU 632 W4415/263 131/4/1.

¹³⁸⁰ Day, ‘Childhood Immunisation,’ p. 103; and AJHR, H31, 1923, p.23.

¹³⁸¹ New Zealand Official Year Book 1931, p. 167; and New Zealand Official Year Book, 1934, p.119.

¹³⁸² AJHR 1940, H1, p.51.

country's urban centres. The BCG immunisation, although developed between 1908 and 1921, was not introduced to New Zealand until 1948 (for nurses, in the first instance) and later to all adolescents: the mortality rate, already falling by 1948, dropped sharply. The vaccine was made available in the Palmerston North health district in 1949.

7.6.3 Diphtheria

Similarly, from the 1920s diphtheria immunisation was introduced to selected schools and orphanages following small outbreaks. Diphtheria is a bacterial infection, spread through the air or via personal contact: symptoms can be mild to severe and include a sore throat, fever, severe cough, and inflamed lymph nodes, with complications leading to paralysis or death in some cases. The first national immunisation programme was not introduced until 1941, when a South Auckland based scheme was extended to all schools in the North Island (including Porirua ki Manawatu) as well as some larger schools in the South Island.¹³⁸³ Prior to this, the Health Department had only immunised Māori children when this was sought directly by their parents, believing that Māori susceptibility to diphtheria was relatively low, but also because it believed that securing the permission of parents would prove to be too difficult.¹³⁸⁴ Likewise, an immunisation for pertussis (whooping cough) was introduced to New Zealand in 1941 following that years spike in deaths. The Māori death rate of pertussis had generally been in the low-to-mid double digits through the previous decades but increased to 170 deaths (69 for Pākehā) in 1941.¹³⁸⁵ The following year, as with diphtheria, immunisation against pertussis was made available for all New Zealand children upon parental request.¹³⁸⁶ Diphtheria was subsequently practically extinguished as a cause of death.¹³⁸⁷

¹³⁸³ Day, "Child immunisation," pp. 41-42; and 'Prevention of diphtheria: a New Zealand wide campaign for protection,' *New Zealand Nursing Journal* 34, 4, 1941, p.119.

¹³⁸⁴ Director-General, Health to Medical Officer of Health, Whangarei, 12 January 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1407 131/11/6; 'Diphtheria control in New Zealand,' *Gisborne Herald* 16 September 1947; and Day, 'Child Immunisation,' p. 97. Separate disease-specific mortality statistics are not available for Māori before 1928, but the number of Māori dying from diphtheria through the 1930s appears to have been low. See the *New Zealand Official Yearbook* 1931, 1937, 1946, and 1950.

¹³⁸⁵ *New Zealand Official Yearbook* 1940, 1946, and 1950.

¹³⁸⁶ Day, 'Child immunisation,' p. 310.

¹³⁸⁷ R.J. Rose, *Maori-European standards of health. Special report no.1*. Wellington: Department of Health, 1960, p.15.

7.7 Dealing with the influenza pandemic

The 1918 influenza epidemic in New Zealand was a health emergency that tested a medical system already strained by the depletion of staff and supplies by World War I. Colloquially known as the ‘Spanish Flu’ or, later, the ‘Black Flu,’ the influenza epidemic which spread across the world between January 1918 and December 1920 was unusually deadly, claiming the lives of at least 50 million people world-wide. The first and milder version of epidemic was first identified in New Zealand in September 1918, and quickly spread through the country’s schools and army camps. The second and more deadly strain of the virus soon followed and claimed an unusual number of lives of otherwise healthy adults across the country.

Influenza was first recorded in Palmerston North a few days before Armistice Day.¹³⁸⁸ Large public celebrations following the announcement of the Armistice on 11 November appear likely to have facilitated the spread of influenza: that celebrations were held at all might suggest that the seriousness of the disease had not been fully grasped. The *Manawatu Standard* recorded that ‘the people seemed to have made up their minds to take the risk, or what is possibly more likely, they had for the time being forgotten about it altogether.’¹³⁸⁹ By the middle of November, deaths from influenza among Māori in the Inquiry District had begun to increase sharply. Discussions, made public, between the Palmerston North Mayor and the Minister of Public Health, indicate that specific official measures to prevent influenza among the Māori ‘local settlements’ were being considered but not yet implemented.¹³⁹⁰ In early November 1918, the Department of Health issued te reo Māori pamphlets containing advice for caring for influenza and pneumonic patients: how effectively these pamphlets were distributed within the Inquiry District was not established. Efforts were made in a small number of other New Zealand districts to protect communities from influenza through the control of movement in and out of the district, but, again, no evidence was located of such measures having been instituted in Porirua ki Manawatu.

¹³⁸⁸ Rice, *Black November*, p. 294.

¹³⁸⁹ ‘Palmerston rejoicings,’ *Manawatu Standard* 13 November 1918, p.5.

¹³⁹⁰ ‘Influenza,’ *Manawatu Herald* 16 November 1918, p.3.

The first reported deaths of Māori in the Inquiry District from the influenza epidemic appear to have been in Manakau and Koputaroa around the 17 November 1918.¹³⁹¹ By 19 November there were also reports of influenza in the Māori communities of Motuiti and Matararapa (Foxton), with the Hospital Board subsequently fumigating houses and establishing a temporary makeshift hospital in Motuiti.¹³⁹² Within days Motuiti Māori had lost at least two of their community.¹³⁹³ A temporary hospital had been established in the Otaki town hall as early as 16 November, and similar hospitals appeared in towns across the Inquiry District, although whether these were made available to Māori patients is less clear.¹³⁹⁴ On 7 November 1918, the Minister of Health had advised district health officers that, in order to prevent people congregating, tangihanga and the use of public transport by Māori to attend tangihanga, were prohibited for the duration of the epidemic. It was not intended, he added, ‘to interfere in any way with members of the native race who wish to travel for ordinary business purposes.’¹³⁹⁵ There were incidents of Māori being stopped erroneously from travelling for such purposes, the best example being that of Taurekareka Henare (MHR Northern Māori) who was prevented from boarding a train to attend a sitting of Parliament.¹³⁹⁶ Although the restriction may have been made to protect the population, the fact the restrictions were implemented poorly and were not extended to Pākehā funerals or similar gatherings or railway travel drew the ire of many Māori who saw this as discriminatory.¹³⁹⁷

In the Māori communities around Levin, the epidemic was reported as ‘very severe’ with as many as 20 deaths by 21 November.¹³⁹⁸ Levin’s Mayor led efforts to disinfect these communities, while suggesting to Maori that visits to Levin were dangerous and should be avoided so as to prevent the spread of infection.¹³⁹⁹ By 22 November 1918, Kuku had been affected badly.¹⁴⁰⁰ The *Horowhenua Chronicle* recorded that

Not only were there a very large number of cases, but the natives were quite without help or advice, and under the circumstances it was

¹³⁹¹ For a useful account, see also Anthony Dreaver, *Levin: the making of a town*. Levin: Horowhenua District Council, 2006, pp.138-140.

¹³⁹² ‘Report from Foxton,’ *Feilding Star* 19 November 1918, p.2.

¹³⁹³ ‘Mortality among Maoris,’ *Manawatu Standard* 21 November 1918, p.5.

¹³⁹⁴ ‘The epidemic amongst the Maoris,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 November 1918, p.3.

¹³⁹⁵ NZPD, 1918, Vol.183, pp. 507 and 820-821.

¹³⁹⁶ NZPD, 1919, Vol.183, pp. 820-821.

¹³⁹⁷ Rice, *Black Flu 1918*, p.52; Rice, *Black November*, pp.176–77.

¹³⁹⁸ ‘Perceptible improvement in Levin,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 21 November 1918, p.3.

¹³⁹⁹ ‘Perceptible improvement in Levin,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 21 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰⁰ ‘Natives hard hit,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 23 November 1918, p.3.

not to be wondered at that a panicky spirit was very noticeable, the fact that there had been five burials in the Ohau cemetery for the 24 hours contributing not a little to the general alarm ... Scarcely a house in the Kuku has escaped the epidemic and in some homes every member of the family is down – as many as eight and ten patients in some houses. The sufferers are consequently not getting proper food and attention. Some of the natives, when in a high state of fever, have crawled from their beds and drunk copiously of cold water, with disastrous effects.¹⁴⁰¹

The Department of Public Health agreed to allow a doctor (who had previously been sent to Manakau to treat influenza patients, including Māori) to remain with the badly affected Manakau community and its temporary hospital, and to establish a second temporary hospital in Kuku, to be managed by the Ohau schoolmaster.¹⁴⁰² Subsequently, the Department of Health and the Palmerston North Hospital Board agreed to divide responsibility by leaving the area south of Ohau in the hands of the Manakau and Ōtaki people, and the area north of Ohau with those of Levin.¹⁴⁰³ The temporary hospital established at Manakau had difficulty obtaining a trained nurse but managed to prevail upon a visiting nurse to assist.¹⁴⁰⁴ Located in a school building, the Manakau temporary hospital catered for up to 20 Maori patients and regularly issued calls for more assistants and beds.¹⁴⁰⁵ Difficulties in securing the services of a nurse led to the closure of the temporary hospital at Kuku: rather, Ohau's schoolmaster was charged with visiting the Kuku patients in their houses to provide food and basic treatment.¹⁴⁰⁶ A marquee tent and beds were re-allocated from Kuku to Manakau, while volunteers and funds were sought from the surrounding Pākehā communities.¹⁴⁰⁷ Pomare warned the latter that 'by withholding their hands they are digging graves for themselves ... [and that] if they do not quickly stamp out the disease among the natives it will come back amongst them in a more virulent form and by assisting the Maoris they are protecting themselves.'¹⁴⁰⁸ A few days earlier, Levin's Dr Elizabeth Bryson was reported in the *Horowhenua Chronicle* as having suggested that 'It was quite possible that a more virulent type of germ would be developed among the Maoris and

¹⁴⁰¹ 'Natives hard hit,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 23 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰² 'Natives hard hit,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 23 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰³ 'Natives hard hit,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 23 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰⁴ 'Natives hard hit,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 23 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰⁵ 'How the Natives live,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰⁶ 'At the Kuku,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 30 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰⁷ 'At the Kuku,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 30 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴⁰⁸ 'Among the Maoris: Dr Pomare's Tour,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 November 1918, p.3.

passed on to Europeans. Consequently it was of the utmost importance that preventive measures should be taken, and all Maori houses in the Borough and district should be properly disinfected.¹⁴⁰⁹

Accurate figures are unavailable, but a large number of Pākehā provided professional and voluntary assistance to Māori communities, assisting with food and supplies, fumigating homes, and attending the ill. Many towns assembled committees at the height of the epidemic to assist those suffering from influenza and generally organise the communities' response, including volunteers, donations and supplies. Committees were established in Otaki on 16 November to organise relief measures in the surrounding area.¹⁴¹⁰ The first priority was to 'disinfect every house – Maori and European – in the Borough' and identify any cases that needed further assistance. Disinfection began the next day.¹⁴¹¹ In the wake of a meeting of the Marton Emergency Committee on the 28 November, it was announced that with the assistance of the Feilding and Palmerston North authorities, a temporary hospital would be established for the Māori community of Onepuhi.¹⁴¹² The treatment of Māori in the district north of Ohau, up to Koputaroa and encompassing Levin was charged to Nurse Gilroy: she claimed to have the situation well under control by the end of November and suggested that within a fortnight she would not be required for influenza work.¹⁴¹³ Similar progress in Wellington allowed the Department of Health to redeploy them to communities north of Wellington: an additional nurse arrived in Manakau on 29 November.¹⁴¹⁴ By 6 December, the Minister of Public Health Russell announced that the abatement of influenza in some areas would allow the transfer of doctors and medical students 'to more infected districts, particularly where the Maori population was large.'¹⁴¹⁵

During a week-long visit through Porirua ki Manawatu, Pōmare visited several Māori communities, including Manakau, Kuku, Ohau, Foxton, Porotauwhao and Motuiti

¹⁴⁰⁹ 'The Epidemic Amongst the Maoris,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴¹⁰ 'The Epidemic Amongst the Maoris,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 November 1918, p.3; and Woodley, 'Local government issues report,' pp.322–23.

¹⁴¹¹ 'The Epidemic Amongst the Maoris,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴¹² 'Marton Emergency Committee,' *Rangitikei Advocate* 28 November 1918, p.5.

¹⁴¹³ 'Maori Patients Recovering,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 30 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴¹⁴ 'At the Kuku,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 30 November 1918, p.3.

¹⁴¹⁵ 'Its rapid abatement,' *Feilding Star* 6 December 1918, p.2.

where he attended patients, distributed medicines and advised against tohungaism. According to the *Horowhenua Chronicle*, his presence had ‘certainly had a most salutary moral effect in cheering up the natives.’¹⁴¹⁶ But timely assistance was not forthcoming for all districts within the Inquiry District. On December 2, the *Manawatu Standard* revealed that despite three previous visits from a Department of Health inspector, the Parewanui Māori community near Bulls had received virtually no relief despite many suffering influenza and subsequent pneumonia.¹⁴¹⁷ The poor condition of the community was revealed in an early December visit by the Mayor of Palmerston North and other officials, including Lieutenant-Colonel Gabites of the New Zealand Army Medical Corps, resulted in the establishment of a temporary hospital at Parewanui, with army orderlies providing care.¹⁴¹⁸

In Palmerston North, influenza reached a peak about the middle of November and, a week later, in Marton, Levin, Otaki and Foxton. Feilding was the exception, with peak incidence not being reached until the first week of December. New infections declined sharply during December, although sporadic spikes occurred throughout the Inquiry District in to 1919. Rice compiled the officially recorded influenza death rates for Māori and Pākehā for the period prior to 31 December 1918. He noted that possibly as many as half of all Maori deaths went unrecorded. In that part of the Inquiry District that included the KIWITEA, Pohangina, Oroua, Manawatu, Kairanga, and Horowhenua Counties and their internal boroughs, 31 Maori died from the disease. The number of deaths among Pakeha totalled 217. The mortality rate for Maori was thus 17.6 per 1000, and the comparable rate for Pakeha was 5.1 per 1000.¹⁴¹⁹ Any under-enumeration of the Maori population in the 1916 census is likely to have been more than offset by the under-recording of Maori deaths.

The findings of the Influenza Epidemic Commission were incorporated in to the Public Health Act 1920, a measure that Rice described as ‘the most tangible and useful legacy of the 1918 flu in New Zealand.’¹⁴²⁰ The mortality rate among Maori was dealt with in

¹⁴¹⁶ ‘How the Natives live’, *Horowhenua Chronicle* 26 November 1918, p. 3.

¹⁴¹⁷ ‘Influenza epidemic: signs of abatement,’ *Manawatu Standard* 2 December 1918, p.5.

¹⁴¹⁸ ‘Influenza epidemic: signs of abatement,’ *Manawatu Standard* 2 December 1918, p.5; and ‘The epidemic: depot still busy,’ *Manawatu Times* 3 December 1918, p.5.

¹⁴¹⁹ See Rice, *Black November*, p.288.

¹⁴²⁰ Rice, *Black November*, p.240.

just a few lines of the Commission's report. It recommended that 'Particular attention should be given to the case of Maori settlements by bringing in to operations the provisions of section 68 of the Public Health Act, 1908, relating to the sanitation of Maori settlements.'¹⁴²¹ The Commission did not advance any explanation for the high mortality rate among Maori, although its first term of reference had directed it to inquire in to the 'causes of the introduction and extension of the recent epidemic,' and the second in to the 'best methods of preventing or dealing with such occurrences in the future.'¹⁴²²

The worst of the epidemic was over in New Zealand within six weeks. Rice estimated that 2,160 Maori from a population of 51,000 lost their lives, or a mortality rate of 42.3 per 1000, more than seven times the Pakeha rate.¹⁴²³ For the 'Manawatu region' he recorded that the 31 *registered* deaths from a 1916 population of 1,473, a mortality rate of 21.0 per 1000. But he estimated total deaths at 60 from an estimated 1918 population of 1,500, giving a mortality rate of 40 per 1000, just below the Maori national average rate of 42.3 per 1000.¹⁴²⁴

7.8 Native nurses, district nurses

7.8.1 Native nurses

Throughout most of the nineteenth-century, nursing in New Zealand was the domain of unregulated, independent and often untrained nurses. It was not until the introduction of the Nightingale system to Wellington Hospital in the early 1880s that working nurses began to undertake formal training.¹⁴²⁵ There is no evidence that such formal nurse training was extended to Māori before Māori lawyer Hamiora Hei took up the cause in 1897. In a presentation to the second Te Aute College Students' Association conference, she called for the provision of nursing scholarships for Māori women with

¹⁴²¹ AJHR 1919, H31A, p.10.

¹⁴²² AJHR 1919, H31A, p.1.

¹⁴²³ Geoffrey Rice and Linda Bryder, *Black November: the 1918 influenza epidemic in New Zealand*. Second and revised edition, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005, p.159. See also Geoffrey Rice, 'Maori mortality in the 1918 influenza epidemic,' *New Zealand Population Review* 9, 1983, pp.44-61.

¹⁴²⁴ Rice, *Black November*, p.160.

¹⁴²⁵ Department of Health, *Historical Development of Nursing in New Zealand, 1840-1946*. Wellington: Department of Health, 1947, p.3.

a view to founding a service intended specifically for Māori communities.¹⁴²⁶ The service envisaged embodied two major assumptions, first, that the key to the prevention of disease among Maori was education, and the second that Maori would be better served by their own health professionals.¹⁴²⁷ With support from Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hiroa, discussions were held between Hei and the Inspector of Native Schools James Pope, the outcome being scholarships funded by the Education Department to accommodate and support candidates from Māori girls' secondary schools. The girls gained nursing skills by working in a hospital for a year, with the expectation they would return to serve their home communities.¹⁴²⁸ The scholarships, annually five in number, were first offered in 1898.¹⁴²⁹ In 1902, the training programme was extended to three years, and in 1905 amended again to allow those trainees who showed promise to secure 'full' nurse training through the hospitals.¹⁴³⁰ Full training, it was expected, would allow graduates more effectively to serve their communities.¹⁴³¹ The Auckland and Napier Hospital Boards embraced the scheme, while some nurses were also trained in the Whanganui (although initially resistant), Palmerston North, and Wellington hospitals.¹⁴³² On the other hand, it is clear that not all hospital boards were similarly disposed: as Assistant Inspector of Hospitals from 1906 to 1923, Hester Maclean recorded that 'Only a few hospitals were willing to co-operate in this scheme, and sometimes it was difficult to find [training] vacancies for these girls.'¹⁴³³

Even once Māori achieved registration, barriers remained for their employment. In June 1908, Akenehi Hei (sister of Hamiora Hei) became the first to graduate from the full nursing programme under a Māori name. She had entered the programme to become a nursing assistant and dresser in 1901 at Napier Hospital and was one of the first Māori to begin the full nurse-training programme, as a 'probationer,' when it became available

¹⁴²⁶ Hamiora Hei, 'Māori Girls and Nursing,' in Papers and Addresses Read before the Second Conference of the Te Aute College Students' Association, December 1897. Napier: Daily Telegraph, 1898, pp. 30–31.

¹⁴²⁷ Alexandra McKegg, 'The Maori Health Nursing Scheme: an experiment in autonomous health care,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 26, 2, October 1992, pp.145-160.

¹⁴²⁸ McKegg, 'The Maori Health Nursing Scheme,' 146; AJHR, 1906, E2, pp. 15-16.

¹⁴²⁹ Department of Health, *Historical Development of Nursing in New Zealand, 1840-1946*, p.9.

¹⁴³⁰ See McKegg, 'The Maori Health Nursing Scheme,' and AJHR, 1906, E2, p. 16.

¹⁴³¹ AJHR, 1906, E2, p.16. Te Rangi Hiroa suggested that the need for Maori nurses was 'almost as great as that of medical officers,' while also proposing a system of Maori cottage hospitals with Maori nurses. AJHR 1906, H31, p.75.

¹⁴³² Lange, *May the People Live*, p. 173.; AJHR, 1906, E2, p. 16; and AJHR, 1908, H22, p.8.

¹⁴³³ Hester MacLean, *Nursing in New Zealand: history and reminiscences*. Wellington: Tolan Printing Company, 1932, p.89.

in 1905. In November 1906, the government agreed that fully trained Māori nurses could be employed as nurses by the Department of Health. Despite an agreement, the Department of Health claimed to be without the funds to appoint Hei a nurse position immediately following her qualification. This led her to spending six months as a private nurse in Gisborne until the funds became available for a temporary posting during a typhoid epidemic. When the Department of Native Affairs temporarily took responsibility for Māori health in August 1909, Hei was initially overlooked for any position: she was compelled to wait several months before securing a placement in New Plymouth.¹⁴³⁴ With the return, in 1910, of the responsibility for Maori health to the Department of Public Health, the Native Health Nursing scheme was assimilated in to its district nursing scheme, extinguishing Hamiora Hei's hopes for an autonomous Maori nursing service. Whether any of the few Maori women accepted in to nurse training had been born and raised within the Inquiry District was not established. The difficulties that Hei encountered were experienced by other Māori women during this period and are likely to have helped limit the number of Māori women who entered nursing training and employment.¹⁴³⁵ McKegg suggested that 'resistance from within the hospital bureaucracy' meant that the number of trained Māori nurses was insufficient to ensure the scheme endured.¹⁴³⁶

Apart from the scholarship scheme, little effort appears to have been made to attract Maori in to nursing. Prior to 1918 there were never more than four Māori accepted in to nurse training in each year. Less than one per cent of the probationers and registered nurses listed each year during this period were Māori. At a peak in 1913 only six Māori were accepted in to probationer positions at hospitals. Additionally, few Māori appear to have registered as fully qualified nurses in this period, with some Māori trainees unable to complete their courses or become sufficiently skilled and knowledgeable to work alone.¹⁴³⁷ Despite gaps in the data, Table 7.11 sets out the marked disparity between the number of Māori and Pākehā nurses accepted in to nurse-training over the first decade of the district nursing scheme. At no stage were sufficient Māori nurses

¹⁴³⁴ Patricia Sargison, 'Hei, Akenahi,' *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

¹⁴³⁵ The racially driven (according to H.B. Turbott) employment difficulties that one nurse – who served briefly in Otaki - are not recounted here. They serve only to confirm that Maori nurses confronted prejudice as much from within the Department of Health as from some hospital boards.

¹⁴³⁶ McKegg, 'The Maori Health Nursing Scheme,' p.146.

¹⁴³⁷ Lange, *May the people live*, pp.167-168; Dow, *Māori Health*, pp.133-135.

being trained or registered to sustain more than a token Māori presence. By 1936 the Department of Education had introduced ten nursing scholarships to enable Māori girls to undertake a third and fourth year of secondary education to ensure that they were adequately prepared for acceptance in to the formal nurse-training programme. It did not prove possible to establish the number of scholarships actually taken up nor the numbers who completed their training.

Table 7.11: Maori trainee nurses, probationers and registered nurses, 1 April 1911 to 31 March 1924

Year	Maori in training	Maori probationers	Maori registered	Total probationers in hospitals	Total registered in year
1911	4	3	-	503	-
1912	-	4	1	479	-
1913	-	6	1	570	-
1914	-	4	2	578	155
1915	3	4	-	647	128
1916	1	1	-	764	145
1917	4	-	-	833	166
1918	3	3	-	864	161
1919	-	-	-	900	222
1920	-	-	-	981	
1921	-	-	-	1032	226
1922	-	-	-	1079	224
1923	-	-	-	-	212
1924	-	-	-	-	206

Source: New Zealand Yearbooks, 1911 to 1924

7.8.2 District nurses

In 1909, the Inspector-General of Hospitals and Charitable Institutions suggested that ‘One of the disadvantages of our present hospital system is that its benefits are unequally distributed throughout the various hospital districts.’ One remedy was ‘a system of district nursing.’ Hence, ‘It was proposed that these nurses be appointed by the Hospital Boards, backed up by the moral and pecuniary support of the settlers.’¹⁴³⁸ As originally conceived, the district nursing service was intended to meet the needs of

¹⁴³⁸ AJHR 1909, H22, p.5.

‘backblock’ settlers, but in 1911 the Department of Health proposed the appointment of 17 ‘special’ district nurses to those districts in which large numbers of Maori resided. As the scheme began to prove its worth, additional resources were allocated: in 1913, Minister of Finance James Allen noted that ‘The appointment of nurses for special work among the Natives has been fruitful of such good results that further appointments are contemplated.’¹⁴³⁹ The primary objective of the district nursing scheme was to provide a link between base hospitals and remote country districts: by 1913 what was termed the ‘district nursing scheme for the backblocks’ was well under way. In 1914, Allen recorded that further provision would be made for medical and nursing aid to Maori ‘especially in out-of-the-way districts.’ The additional expenditure, he claimed, was ‘justifiable, as it will lessen the risk of the decimation of the Native race by preventible [*sic*] disease.’¹⁴⁴⁰

Nurses appointed to the district nursing service were to have ‘peculiar attributes and great devotion and self-sacrifice,’ and, assigned to areas with large Māori populations, were required to report on the sanitary condition of the kainga and the prevalence of sickness therein; to make such recommendations as they thought fit for the improvement thereof, with a view to preventing the spread of disease; to pay special attention to the feeding of Maori children; to advise expectant Maori mothers, and, where possible, to attend them in their confinement; in the event of sickness in a Maori family to secure medical assistance; to maintain a record of the births and deaths in her district; to offer instruction in hygiene, the management of sick children, and the preparation of suitable food; and to pay inspection visits of Maori village schools.¹⁴⁴¹

In 1911, W.H. Field (MHR Otaki) pressed for the stationing of a nurse in his district, noting that ‘It would be a godsend to the Natives of the Horowhenua district if a nurse was sent there at once.’¹⁴⁴² That same month, October 1911, a deputation led by Peter Taipua pressed the Wellington Hospital and Charitable Aid Board to appoint Maori or half-caste nurses to care for Maori patients in Otaki hospital. The deputation noted ‘that Maori customs and usages differed so much from European that harm was done to native inmates of the hospital through sheer ignorance of their wants and needs.’ It also

¹⁴³⁹ AJHR 1913, B6, p.xxiii.

¹⁴⁴⁰ AJHR 1914, B6, p.xxv.

¹⁴⁴¹ AJHR, 1911, H31, p. 183.

¹⁴⁴² NZPD 1911, Vol.156, p.320.

suggested that the numerous deaths among Otaki Maori indicated ‘that there was a need also for some provision for a doctor, who understood Maori, and a visiting nurse.’ The board’s chairman ‘admitted the justness of the request and promised that something should be done, if possible, to meet the wishes of the native residents.’ The Otaki Hospital’s medical superintendent supported the chairman. The deputation recommended the appointment of Miss Ngawehenga te Hana (of Otaki) as nurse.

In the event, Ethel Lewis was appointed and took up her position in Otaki in March 1912. Within her first six months in the position she had made 1,200 visits to centres that included Plimmerton, Waikanae, Ohau, Manakau and Te Horo. Of particular concern to her was the overcrowding of Maori dwellings, in particular of bedrooms. As a result of her work, the Wellington Hospital and Charitable Aid Board agreed to ask the Department of Public Health to station another nurse in Levin.¹⁴⁴³ Nurse Lewis remained in Otaki until 1914 when she was granted nine months leave of absence to enable her to visit England.¹⁴⁴⁴ Nurse Rena te Au (subsequently, Rena Susan Beaton) served as her reliever until October 1916 when she returned to her Invercargill home.¹⁴⁴⁵ Ethel Lewis arrived in England on 1 September 1914: within four days she was at work in a Belgian field hospital and then for nine weeks in an Antwerp hospital before being evacuated to England. Subsequently, she served in Serbia, attached to the Serbian Second Army, worked (and was wounded) in the trenches, and was honoured by King Peter I of Serbia. She participated in the costly retreat over the mountains in to Albania, and returned to New Zealand in 1916. She returned to Otaki for a short time during which she encouraged children, Maori and Pakeha, to support the ‘Maori Ambulance Fund.’¹⁴⁴⁶ In May 1917, the *Evening Post* reported that some £700 had been raised towards the purchase of ‘an up-to-date motor ambulance for the use of the Maoris at the front.’ An ambulance had been purchased in England.¹⁴⁴⁷ Ethel Lewis joined the New Zealand Army Nursing Service in 1917 and returned to England to work in the

¹⁴⁴³ ‘Sick Maoris. Sad state of affairs at Otaki,’ *Evening Post* 25 September 1912, p.3.

¹⁴⁴⁴ ‘Otaki Notes,’ *Evening Post* 20 August 1912, p.8; ‘Women in print,’ *Evening Post* 24 April 1914, p.9.

¹⁴⁴⁵ She died in Invercargill in April 1929 at the age of 38. See *Horowhenua Chronicle* 17 April 1929, p.4.

¹⁴⁴⁶ See her letter to children in ‘The Maoris’ ambulance,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 18 January 1917, p.3; ‘Local and general,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 20 March 1917, p.2.

¹⁴⁴⁷ ‘An energetic nurse,’ *Evening Post* 18 May 1917, p.8. She had also purchased two Union Jacks for Maori serving at the front: they had been ‘consecrated’ and forwarded. On their return to New Zealand, one would be hung in the Otaki Maori College and the other in Levin’s state school.

New Zealand general hospital at Codford.¹⁴⁴⁸ Following the Armistice, she returned to Otaki, and in the spring of 1921 took charge of a temporary hospital (a marquee) established in Muhunua to deal with an outbreak of ‘pneumonic influenza’ among Maori.¹⁴⁴⁹ That same month, she took charge of eight typhoid patients at Muhunua: the *Horowhenua Chronicle* recorded that each day she and Sister Ratliff visited each in their homes. Based in Ohau, the nurses walked some eight miles to attend to their patients, one of whom resided at Lake Buller.¹⁴⁵⁰

By the end of March 1914, 12 district nurses were at work ‘in the backblocks and in country districts,’ one of whom was stationed in Otaki, together with a newly registered Maori nurse as an assistant.¹⁴⁵¹ Appointed and paid by the Department of Health (until 1928) but placed and supervised by hospital boards, they offered basic medical services, offered advice on sanitation, the control of infectious diseases, and infant and maternal care, and assisted with child births. All were appointed as public vaccinators. Appointments were open to both Maori and Pakeha nurses, with preference shown to Maori nurses of demonstrated ability. By the end of March 1919, 18 nurses were at work.¹⁴⁵² Expansion of the scheme slowed owing to a lack of funding, the nursing demands of the First World War, and difficulty in finding suitable nurses willing to live and work in Māori communities.¹⁴⁵³ In August 1930, the Director of Maori Hygiene sought financial assistance from the Maori Purposes Fund Control Board (itself funded by revenues generated by the Maori land boards). The Department of Health, he noted, ‘is anxious to have the district nursing service to Maoris extended as much as possible so that no district carrying a numerous population may suffer from the want of skilled care and attention ...’¹⁴⁵⁴ During the later 1930s, the service was expanded so that by the end of March 1941, the Department of Health was employing 92 district nurses.¹⁴⁵⁵

¹⁴⁴⁸ See Anna Rogers, *With them through hell: New Zealand medical services in the First World War*. Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018. See also ‘New Zealanders in service,’ *Otago Witness* 30 June 1915, p.3; and ‘Women in print,’ *Evening Post* 29 September 1916, p.9.

¹⁴⁴⁹ ‘A dangerous outbreak,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 8 October 1921, p.3.

¹⁴⁵⁰ ‘The typhoid scourge,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 28 October 1921, p.3.

¹⁴⁵¹ AJHR 1914, H31, p.7 and *New Zealand Official Year Book, 1914*, p. 225.

¹⁴⁵² AJHR 1919, H31, p.11.

¹⁴⁵³ Lange, *May the people live*, p.173.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Director, Division of Maori Hygiene to Secretary, Maori Purposes Fund 7 August 1930, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16068 MA51/26 26/9/17/1.

¹⁴⁵⁵ AJHR 1941, H31, p.28.

Table 7.12 summarises the nursing stations established in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District by 1930.¹⁴⁵⁶ Each station was provided a car or bicycle by the community as a means of transport for the nurse (Otaki being the exception with the station's car being provided by the Health Department), as well as accommodation, or at least an office, in which the nurse could attend out-patients. Māori communities, including those within the Inquiry District, pressed for the appointment of additional nurses. In 1929, the Kurahaupo Maori Council sought the appointment of a nurse to respond to the needs of Maori in its district.¹⁴⁵⁷ Although no permanent nurse was immediately assigned to the Kurahaupo area specifically, Nurse Wereta (normally stationed at Ōtaki) was temporarily assigned to provide her services to the district.¹⁴⁵⁸ By 1932, the Whanganui Hospital Board was funding Nurse Reid to service the Marton area, and the Palmerston North Hospital Board was funding Nurse Smith in Feilding.

¹⁴⁵⁶ ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1992 194/8.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Secretary, Kurahaupo Maori Council to Director, Maori Hygiene 31 October 1929, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Director, Maori Hygiene to Director, General Health 14 November 1929, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

Table 7.12: District nursing stations in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 1930

Controlling Authority	Station	Contribution	Transport	House	Name	Area
Palmerston North Hospital Board	Feilding	£100 from V.N.A. also cottage and comfort fund	Car	House	Smith R.N., R.M.	Feilding town and 3-mile area. Pa 5 miles out.
	Palmerston North	£80 from V.N.A. comfort fund	Car	House	Spensley R.N., R.M.	Palmerston Nth. Borough
	Shannon	£100 from V.N.A.	Car	Office	Ford R.N., R.M.	Shannon Borough and 3-mile area
Department of Health	Otaki	£100 Palmerston Nth Board	Car (Health Dept)	Cottage	Vos R.N., R.M.	Waikanae along coast to Foxton
Wellington Hospital Board	Paraparaumu	£80 from V.N.A.	Bicycle	Cottage	Port R.N., R.M.	Surrounding area for 6 miles
	Paekakariki	£80 from V.N.A.	Bicycle	Cottage	Hodder R.N., R.M.	Surrounding area for 3 miles

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1992 194/8

In 1935, the Palmerston North Hospital Board agreed to fund its district nurses directly, accepting a £500 per annum grant from the Government to meet the costs of district nursing services, recently instituted and in consideration of the board's district nurses undertaking follow-up work in connection with tuberculosis cases on behalf of the Department and the follow-up of children whose cases had come under attention in the course of school medical inspections. The following year, the Director-General of Health deemed the new arrangement 'an excellent example' in the provision of nursing services.¹⁴⁵⁹ The Board had divided its district in to four smaller areas, Ōtaki, Shannon, Foxton and Kimbolton and appointed to each a nurse to cater for the Māori communities within them. By July 1936, 470 Māori had received treatment, while 1,355 individual visits with nurses had taken place. This contrasted with the Feilding nurse who undertook just 28 visits to Māori pā and schools during the same period. The increased reach of this scheme also led to an increase in the number of Māori seeking treatment in hospital; for the financial year 1935-1936 Maori patients were charged fees of almost

¹⁴⁵⁹ Director-General, Health to Managing Secretary, Palmerston North Hospital Board 7 August 1936, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1586 23/9.

£6,045. Of that sum, just £4.10.0 had been recovered.¹⁴⁶⁰ The surge in numbers treated underlined the magnitude of unmet health needs among Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, their willingness and desire to accept hospital treatment, the poverty in which many Maori families were enmeshed, and the scale of the financial support afforded by the Crown. Table 7.13 offers a brief summary of the work undertaken by the nurse stationed in Otaki over a period of 12 months.

Table 7.13: Duties undertaken by Otaki’s district nurse, 1930-1931

1930-1931	Maternity cases	Pa visited	Maori attended & advised
February	2	8	52
March	1	8	40
April	-	7	44
May	2	5	43
June	1	5	34
July	3	6	36
August	1	6	56
September	1	8	35
October	1	7	27
November	2	6	22
December	2	8	29
January	4	5	27

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1377 194/2/8

Most of the nurses who served Maori communities in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District were Pākehā. There were too few fully trained Maori nurses available, while among those recruited turnover was high.¹⁴⁶¹ Most nurses sought to establish and maintain personal and enduring links with their Maori communities, although cultural and language barriers remained. In fact, district nurses do not appear to have been offered any training in tikanga, thus generating the possibility for misunderstandings. McKegg recorded that nurses required a soft approach and that compromise was often required to ensure that trust and cooperation were established, and health and sanitation improvements implemented and maintained.¹⁴⁶² Moreover, there was some reluctance to appoint Maori, a reluctance that evidently sprang out of a perception that they were

¹⁴⁶⁰ Memorandum 1 July 1936, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1586 23/9.

¹⁴⁶¹ Dow, *Safeguarding the public health*, p.84.

¹⁴⁶² McKegg, 'The Maori Health Nursing Scheme,' p.156.

less responsible, insufficiently authoritative, and less effective than Pākehā nurses in the performance of their duties.¹⁴⁶³

To assist trust, communication and understanding, Māori girls from local communities were occasionally employed as ‘probationer assistants’. It was intended that at least some of these assistants would later enter hospitals for full nursing training before returning to their community to work as district nurses: few did.¹⁴⁶⁴ Lack of knowledge of tikanga and te ao Maori generally did generate some real difficulties. In 1939, the actions of one nurse caused tension in the Te Arakura school community (near Feilding) when, in an attempt to remedy a head lice outbreak, she cut the hair of some Māori children and ‘ridiculed the Maori children before the school.’¹⁴⁶⁵ The Director-General of Health concluded that the newly appointed (but experienced) nurse had still to achieve familiarity or trust within the local Māori community. The offence was such that 26 Māori children were removed from the school by their parents.¹⁴⁶⁶

Not all communities in Porirua ki Manawatu considered that their needs were being recognised or met. During 1934-1935, kainga around Lake Horowhenua experienced what was described as an ‘unusual number of deaths.’ The matter was raised with the Prime Minister during a visit to Levin in 1935. The outcome was an inquiry by the Department of Health.¹⁴⁶⁷ The deaths had occurred over a ten-month period with a cluster of at least six in five weeks: they included twelve Māori who had suffered a range of illnesses that included septicaemia, pulmonary tuberculosis, pneumonia, a rupture, and heart failure. It was sanitary inspector William Guinan who indicated that the deaths had all resulted from ‘a lack of proper medical attention,’ the Māori

¹⁴⁶³ McKegg, 'The Maori Health Nursing Scheme,' p.153.

¹⁴⁶⁴ “Native District Nursing,” *Kai Tiaki* IX, 4, October 1916, p. 220.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Nurse Inspector to Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North 18 September 1939; and Director-General, Health to Minister, Health 28 September 1939 and 9 November 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/617 56/28.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Director-General, Health to Minister, Education 28 September 1939; and Department of Health to Secretary, Whanganui Education Board 20 September 1939, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/617 56/28.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Private Secretary, Prime Minister’s Office to Director-General, Health 16 November 1935; Director-General, Health to Private Secretary, Prime Minister’s Office 19 November 1935; and Director-General, Health to Managing Secretary, Palmerston North Hospital Board 19 November 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

communities being unable to afford doctor callout fees and Nurse Cooper, lacking suitable transport, unable to make regular visits.¹⁴⁶⁸

Improvements, insisted Palmerston North's Medical Officer of Health, were required and that there was an obligation on the Palmerston North Hospital Board 'to take more active steps to search out cases of sickness and provide adequate treatment. The large staff of District Nurses are attending to both Europeans and Maoris, and one rather suspects that the Maori is getting the minor share of attention, and only what he asks for.'¹⁴⁶⁹ The Board's chairman was called to Wellington for a meeting with the Director-General of Health, the Medical Officer of Health, and the Director of the Division of Nursing.¹⁴⁷⁰ While the outcome of this meeting is not clear, the board did carry out its own inquiry and undertook to organise 'its system of District Nursing so as to cope with the problem of supervision as well as that of treatment.'¹⁴⁷¹

There were also accusations of poor medical care for Māori in the Marton and Feilding districts: the difficulties had evidently originated in some confusion between the Whanganui and Palmerston North Hospital Boards over the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions, and also, it appears, in one nurse's negligence. The borders of nursing districts were at times blurred, complicating the allocation of resources and effective distribution of treatment. The difficulties appear to have been resolved by the Whanganui Hospital Board assuming responsibility for the two pā on the Feilding side of the Rangitikei River.¹⁴⁷² The consequences of the confusion for the health of those involved remains unknown. More generally, transport often proved difficult, for both nurses and their patients. In 1943, a report revealed that, on the one hand, the efforts of Nurses Adkin and Te Punga from the Feilding area had been restricted by transport difficulties, while, on the other, confirmed tuberculosis 'contacts' in the area struggled

¹⁴⁶⁸ Health Inspector, Horowhenua County Council to Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North 30 October 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Medical Officer of Health, Palmerston North to Director-General. Health 1 November 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Director-General, Health to Managing Secretary, Palmerston North Hospital Board 19 November 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

¹⁴⁷¹ Managing Secretary, Palmerston North Hospital Board to Director-General, Health 18 December 1935, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

¹⁴⁷² Director, Division of Nursing to Director-General, Health 10 January 1936, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1279 194/1/20.

to afford transport in order to access care.¹⁴⁷³ Although transport became easier for nurses and patients as the road network widened and improved, for many Māori patients their remote residences and the cost of transport continued to be prohibitive.

Table 7.14 sets out some summary details for the Palmerston North Hospital District as at the end of March 1951.

Table 7.14: District nurses in the Palmerston North Hospital District, 31 March 1951

Centres	Nurses	Persons attended	Number of attendances
Marton	1	204	4191
Palmerston North	3	458	6985
Foxton	1	275	1768
Feilding	4	431	6288
Shannon	1	169	1514
Levin	2	421	4307
Otaki	1	168	2081

Source: Department of Health, *Appendix to the annual report for the year ending 31 March 1951 containing hospital and relief statistics*

Table 7.15 offers a summary of the work of all district nurses for 1938-1939. Much of their work focussed on tuberculosis, that is, identifying likely cases, completing notifications, arranging for examination and treatment, dealing with contacts, and providing extending domiciliary care.

¹⁴⁷³ Nurses' comments on tuberculosis work, 1943, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1603 130/4/5.

Table 7.15: Return of nurses' work, 1938-1939

	Maori	Pakeha
Total number of individuals treated	58008	2174
Total number of treatments given	79025	3393
Maternity cases		
Confinements	336	12
During puerperium	898	4
Complicated maternity cases	37	-
Maternal deaths	4	-
Ante-natal and post-natal		
Number of ante-natal cases	3703	-
Number of post-natal cases	2049	-
Infant welfare		
Number of infants seen	17408	-
Number of attendances	24631	-
Number of visits paid to Maori settlements	18848	-
Schools visited		
With doctor	78	346
Without doctor	1320	2454

Source: AJHR 1939, H31, p.67

7.9 Access to hospital care

In 1999, Dow noted that 'Data on the Maori use of hospitals in the period 1900-1920 are sadly deficient. Much of the evidence is subjective and, in some cases, contradictory.'¹⁴⁷⁴ Efforts to locate data that might have offered useful insights in to the access that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori secured – or contrariwise – to tertiary health services in the region proved largely unavailing. Basic questions remain unanswered, among them, whether Maori sought access to hospital treatment and care; whether they were denied treatment and care on account of an inability to meet hospital fees; whether on account of any such inability they were offered a lower level of treatment and care; the conditions for which treatment and care were offered; and generally whether Maori were treated in a manner that was in all respects equitable, appropriate, and effective by the standards of the time.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Dow, *Maori health and government policy*, p.109.

In 1911, Te Rangi Hiroa claimed that in his experience ‘Hospital Boards were most unsympathetic in Maori health matters, for the reason that Maori did not contribute towards their rates.’¹⁴⁷⁵ While it was often claimed that Maori were averse to hospital treatment, Pomare insisted that for Maori ‘the difficulty is to gain admission.’¹⁴⁷⁶ Thus Lange, writing in 1999 claimed that hospital boards were ‘most unsympathetic in Maori health matters.’¹⁴⁷⁷ The evidence suggests that hospital and charitable aid boards varied considerably in their attitudes towards the care of Maori. The authors of a history of the Palmerston North Hospital (established in 1893) noted that ‘Unfortunately there are no early patient records to show the diseases treated or the treatments given during this period [the inter-war years].’ Perhaps for that reason they made no reference to Maori.¹⁴⁷⁸ While in some districts, the proportion of patients who were Maori approximated their share of the population, such was not the case in other districts as dissatisfaction mounted during the 1920s and 1930s over the failure of Maori to pay rates (part of which support hospitals) and patient fees (from which hospital boards derived an appreciable proportion of their revenue). Dow recorded that the Whanganui Hospital Board focussed its efforts on Pakeha patients: a 1935 survey identified that although over the three years from 1932, some 7,000 patients had been treated, just 135 Maori patients (based on surnames) had been admitted. Maori were thus 1.9 per cent of admissions.¹⁴⁷⁹

As a partial solution to the problem of funding, in 1929, the Hospital Boards’ Association, noting that as Maori had begun to place growing confidence in hospitals so the problems of unpaid rates and unpaid patient fees had grown, proposed the creation of a fund to provide reimbursement of ‘a portion’ of the expenditure involved in treating Maori. The source of that fund would be, it suggested ‘Any ... moneys which became available for the general benefit of the Maori.’¹⁴⁸⁰ Ngata made clear his opposition to the ‘sequestration’ of any monies awarded to Maori for the unfulfilled contracts of the Crown or for confiscations which time has shown to have been unduly

¹⁴⁷⁵ NZPD 1911, Vol.156, p.320.

¹⁴⁷⁶ AJHR 1907, H31, p.52.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Raeburn Lange, *May the people live: a history of Maori health development 1900-1920*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999, p.183.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Jo Kellaway and Mike Maryan, *A century of care. Palmerston North Hospital 1893-1993*. Double Bay, New South Wales: Focus Books, 1993, p.27.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Dow, *Maori health and government policy*, p.172..

¹⁴⁸⁰ Notes of deputation to Minister, Health 4 July 1929, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24.

harsh ...’ He went on to add that ‘it must not be overlooked that the Maori has difficulties as to finance and otherwise which are not of his own making to contend with and that even the Hospitals and other things for which he is taxed are not utilised by him in the same proportion as they are by his more prosperous Pakeha brothers.’¹⁴⁸¹

A few weeks later, he advised the Prime Minister that the payment of fees by Maori patients was bound up with the wider question of Maori land titles and the financing of Maori who took up farming. He reminded the Prime Minister (Joseph Ward) that Maori made an indirect contribution through customs revenues and the use of public services and that the Native Civil List annually contributed £3,600 to the funds of the Department of Health. He also reminded Ward of the efforts by successive Governments to eliminate ‘tohungaism’ and other Maori customs in the treatment of the sick and to encourage Maori to use Pakeha medical and hospital services. He noted that, with respect to infectious diseases, medical officers of health and local authority health inspectors ‘force Maori patients into the hospitals without regard to their ability to pay the fees.’ He went on to add that ‘Native land resources are dwindling fast, that in the public works of the country the Natives are being shouldered aside in favour of pakeha unemployed, that economic conditions are more harassing, and the State has not fully realised its responsibility to foster and assist the Maori people to work their lands.’ Finally, Ngata concluded that he and Maori MPs had discussed whether to advise Maori not to seek treatment in public hospitals unless they could afford to pay. ‘The indigents of every race in the world it seems may claim the hospital service, but when those of the aboriginal race do so, even where they are compelled to do so, they are made the subjects of taunts and reproaches.’¹⁴⁸²

Ngata’s reference to ‘forcing’ people in to hospital was with respect to section 84 of the Health Act 1920. Section 84(1) empowered a medical officer or inspector of health ‘in any case where in the interests of the public health he thinks it expedient so to do, may make an order for the removal of any person suffering from any infectious diseases to a hospital ...’ Section 84(3) recorded that any order ‘may be executed by force if

¹⁴⁸¹ Minister, Native Affairs to Minister, Health 9 August 1929, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24.

¹⁴⁸² Minister, Native Affairs to Prime Minister 16 September 1929, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24.

necessary,' while section 83(4) provided that any person who disobeyed such an order was liable to a fine of £20. Section 84 did not provide for any right of appeal. How often section 84 was employed, whether it was employed in particular in the case of Maori, and whether the Palmerston North health authorities resorted to its use are all matters that were not established. Ngata's comments indicate that enforced detention was at the direct cost of the afflicted: he may well have added, in the days before sickness benefits were available, the indirect costs as well. At the very least, section 84 suggests that claims of an unwillingness rather than an inability on the part of Maori to pay hospital charges deserve to be treated with considerable care.

Ngata's views prevailed: in 1932, the Hospital Boards' Association of New Zealand accepted that, through land consolidation and land development, efforts were being made to encourage Maori economic development and that it would therefore discontinue its efforts to gain relief with respect to the payment of rates. It also acknowledged that the Government was already funding health services to Maori to the extent of £16,000 per annum, thereby relieving hospital boards of a large proportion of the costs involved in treating Maori.¹⁴⁸³ That sum covered the costs of subsidised medical practitioners and district nurses. The Association thus continued to press over the matter of payment of patients' fees, in 1937 proposing that shortfalls be met from a range of sources that included the Consolidated Fund, the Civil List, the Maori Purposes Fund, the East Coast Maori Soldiers' Fund, the Native Trustee, and the Maori land boards.¹⁴⁸⁴ Interestingly, the Association claimed that the fact that an increasing number of Maori were seeking hospital treatment was due in good measure to the work of subsidised medical practitioners and district nurses.¹⁴⁸⁵

7.9.1 Otaki Hospital

As noted above, data dealing with Maori use of hospitals proved difficult to locate. Table 7.16 sets out a few details relating to Otaki Hospital. A 'cottage' hospital – to serve 'the poor as well as the rich' – was opened in the town in 1899 and was enlarged

¹⁴⁸³ Secretary, New Zealand Hospital Boards' Association to Secretary, Health 7 October 1932, in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Treatment and relief and Maoris*, Paper prepared by the Hospital Boards' Association of New Zealand, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/316 18/1/4 Part 2.

¹⁴⁸⁵ *Treatment and relief and Maoris*, Paper prepared by the Hospital Boards' Association of New Zealand, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/316 18/1/4 Part 2.

in 1905. The Department of Health assumed the administration of the institution in 1917, a responsibility that the Palmerston North Hospital Board declined to accept until 1929. At that stage, a small maternity ward was incorporated in to the hospital, and from 1933 the institution served solely as a maternity hospital. In 1945, it was re-named the Otaki Maternity Home. Most of the patients treated by the hospital were drawn from Horowhenua, although from time to time patients were accepted from elsewhere. Table 8.15 sets out the few details gleaned from the annual reports of the Inspector-General of Hospitals and Charitable Institutions. The number of patients treated increased to 169 in 1923 and 1924, before falling to 145 in 1925.¹⁴⁸⁶ Clearly, small numbers of Maori were among those treated, but beyond that the available data offer no insight in to the numbers who sought treatment, the reasons treatment was sought, the fees paid, whether the requirement to pay fees deterred Maori from seeking treatment, or whether Maori declined to contemplate hospital treatment. Of the 893 patients treated over the nine-year period, 9.3 per cent were Maori.

Table 7.16: Otaki Hospital: number of patients, 1900 to 1908

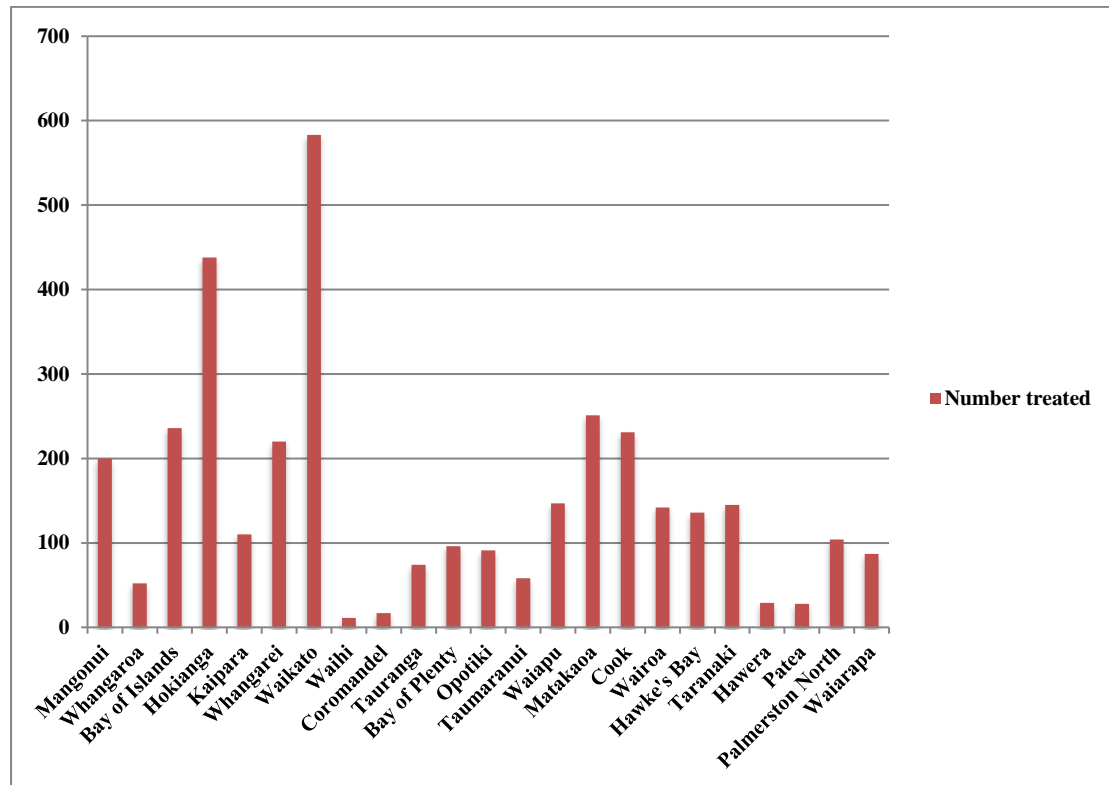
Year to 31 March	Number on 31 March	Admitted during year	Total under treatment	Number of Maori included
1900	7	43	50	4
1901	5	65	70	4
1902	5	86	91	5
1903	4	76	80	8
1904	8	90	98	14
1905	16	106	122	10
1906	16	115	131	13
1907	n.a.	n.a.	129	14
1908	7	117	124	11

Source: AJHR, H22

Some statistical data were located in the Crown files examined in the course of the investigation. Graph 7:6 sets out the number of Maori treated by those hospital boards that furnished returns for 1927 and 1928. Those numbers clearly showed wide

¹⁴⁸⁶ AJHR 1925, H31, p.58.

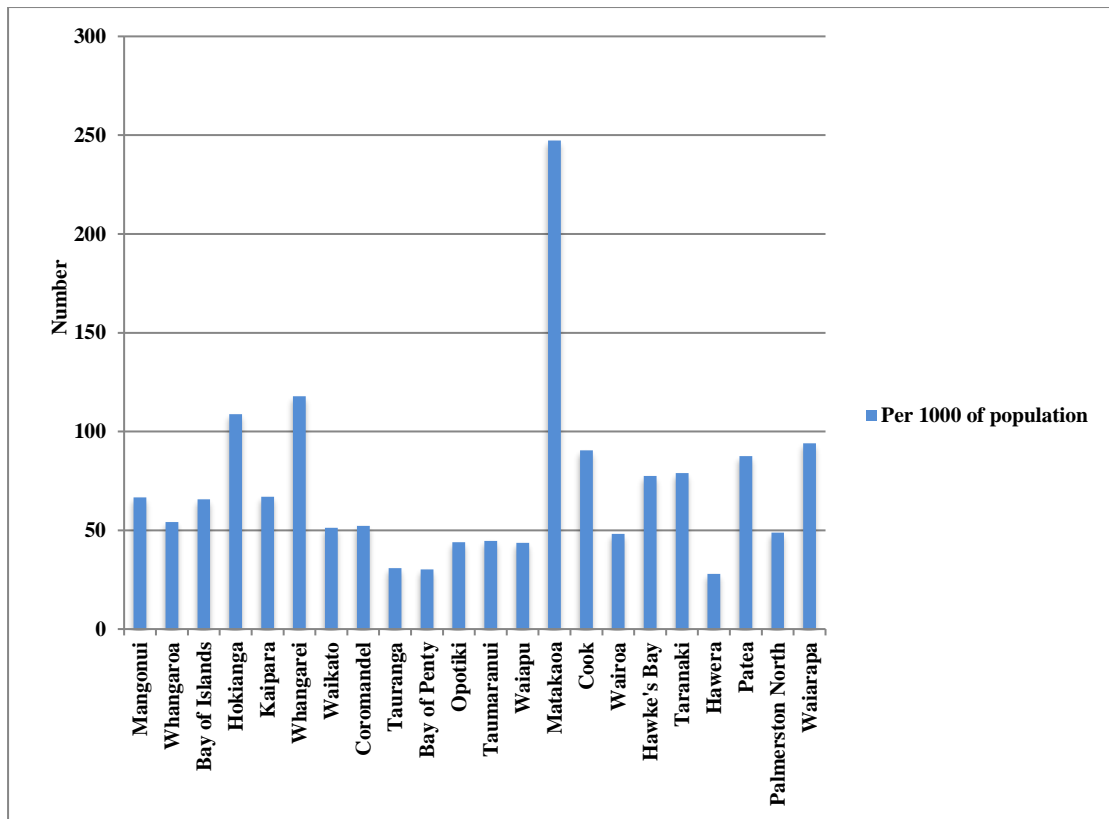
variations, the Waikato Hospital Board treating 583 and the Waihi Hospital Board just 11. The Palmerston North Hospital Board treated 104.



Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24

Graph 7.6: Number of Maori treated by hospital boards, 1927-1928

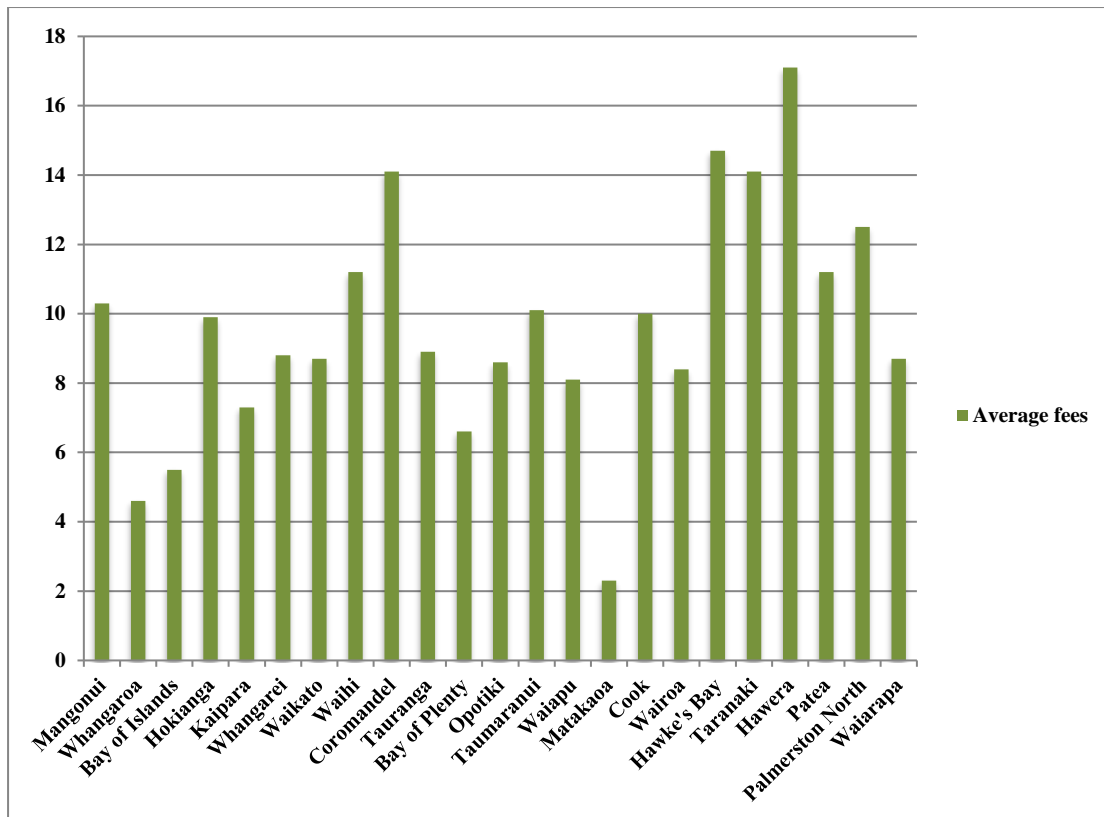
Graph 7.7 sets out the number of Maori treated per 1000 of the Maori population in each hospital board district. The Palmerston North Hospital Board recorded a modest treatment rate of 48.9 per 1,000. The wide variation in rates raises questions about the admission/treatment policies adopted by the various boards.



Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24

Graph 7.7: Number of Maori treated per 1000 of the Maori population, by hospital boards, 1927-1928

Graph 7.8 sets out the average fees per capita paid by Maori patients during 1927-1928. The average fee charged by the Palmerston North Hospital Board, namely, £12.5, was high compared with most other boards.



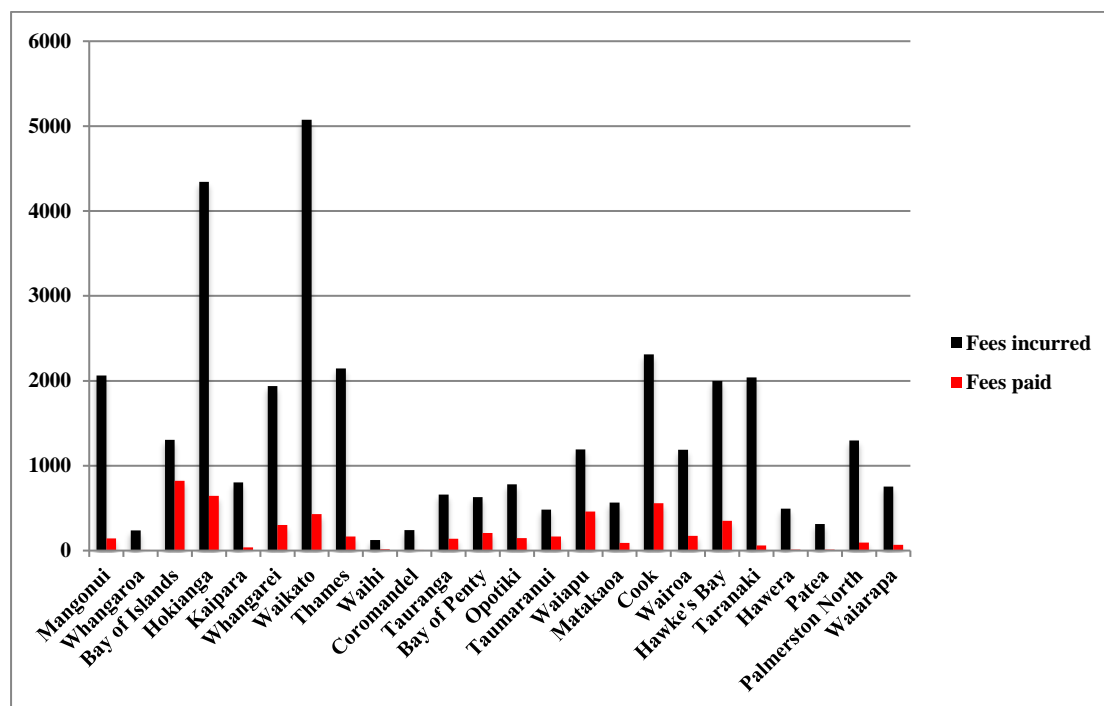
Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24

Graph 7.8: Average fees per capita (decimal pounds) paid by Maori patients, by hospital boards, 1927-1929

Graph 7:9 sets out the fees charged to and the fees paid by Maori patients. The Palmerston North Hospital Board recovered just 7.3 per cent of the fees that it charged Maori patients during 1927-1928. Graph 7.9 might suggest that an inability to recover fees from Maori did not preclude their securing admission and/or treatment. In an earlier study, some details of patient fees owed by both Pakeha and Maori patients to the Hokianga Hospital Board were located. For the period from 1930 to 1938 only a small proportion of Maori paid: 16.2 per cent of the fees payable by Maori in 1930 were collected, but that declined markedly during the 1930s to reach just 1.4 per cent in 1935 before beginning to recover towards the end of the decade. On the other hand, a higher proportion of Pakeha patients did pay, namely, 64.7 per cent in 1930, but also declining to reach 24.4 per cent in 1935, again before recovering.¹⁴⁸⁷ In short, the data suggest

¹⁴⁸⁷ ANZ Wellington ACGO 8333 IA1/2230 103/152; ACIH 16036 MA1/407 20/1/14 Part; and ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24.

that the key was ability to pay. It is reasonable to conclude the low proportion of their patient fees that Maori paid reflected an inability to do so.



Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24

Graph 7.9: Fees charged and fees recovered (nearest pound) 1927-1928, by hospital boards, 1927-1928

Table 7.17 offers some further details: the years are for those ending 31 March in each case. At that stage, the Palmerston North Hospital Board charged adults at the rate of £3 3s per week, children at the rate of £1 11s 6d per week, while operations cost an additional £1 1s, and x-rays an additional 10s 6d.¹⁴⁸⁸ While it is risky to rely on the data for just two years, Table 7.17 suggests that the treatment rate for Maori was half of that for all other patients.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Appendix to the annual report containing hospital and charitable aid board statistics for the year ended 31 March 1928. Palmerston North Hospital had access to privately owned x-ray facilities from c.1918: it did not establish its own Radiology Department until 1931. See Kellaway and Maryan, *A century of care*, pp.30-31.

Table 7.17: Palmerston North Hospital fees and revenues, 1927-1928

	1927-1928
Total patients	5239
Maori patients	104
Non-Maori patients	5135
Maori population	2125
Maori patients per 1000	48.9
Non-Maori population	53245
Non-Maori patients per 1000	96.4
Total fees actually received: £	16829
Fees actually paid by Maori: £	94
Proportion of total fees	0.6
Fees actually paid by non-Maori: £	16735
Proportion of total fees	99.4

Sources: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1873 54/24; and Department of Health, *Appendix to the annual report for the years ending 31 March 1927 and 1928*

7.10 Tuberculosis and the Otaki Sanatorium

In a long letter (undated but about 1930) to Native Minister Ngata on the ravages of tuberculosis among Maori, Tutere Wi Repa (suggested that while a system comprising general practitioners, district nurses, hospitals, and State sanatoria had been in operation for many years, tuberculosis among Maori remained ‘neglected.’

What then is wrong with these cogs in the wheel of progress? In the first place they have not been turned specially in the direction of tuberculosis amongst the Maoris: only incidentally or accidentally. In the second place, these units have been conceived and fashioned upon a Pakeha model, to suit such conditions and only incidentally to touch Maori needs. I think that any system of reform which does not take into account the special conditions for which such a system has been created is wrong in principle and must necessarily fail.¹⁴⁸⁹

Wi Repa proposed that a ‘special Officer or Officers’ should be appointed to act independently of the Department of Health. He was critical of the system of sanatoria,

¹⁴⁸⁹ Tutere Wi Repa to Minister, Native Affairs n.d. [1930?], in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1295 131/3/136.

noting that accommodation was available only to those who could afford it. In any case, the few places available meant that admission and treatment were long delayed. As a result of cost and delay, Maori treated sanatorium treatment ‘in a half hearted sort of way, and so he welcomes its inaccessibility as an excuse for not availing himself of treatment of any sort at all.’ It was all very well, he observed, for the public to point to the State’s provision of sanatoria. ‘What the Maori wants are [*sic*] special treatment based upon his peculiar conditions of living and special education to teach him to appreciate the vastness of the problem, the risk to his life, and his public duty in the matter.’ What Wi Repa sought to do was to ‘bring the experience of the sanatoria to their settlements.’¹⁴⁹⁰

Before the advent of drug therapies, the treatment of those afflicted with tuberculosis emphasised institutional care. Bryder offers an account of the response of health authorities over the period from 1901 to 1940: the Department of Public Health initiated a campaign against the disease, but emphasis was placed less on education or prevention than on notification and institutional care.¹⁴⁹¹ The Department of Public Health, in 1903, established the country’s first sanatorium (Te Waikato), near Cambridge and sought to encourage hospital boards to erect tuberculosis annexes at general hospitals or establish separate treatment institutions. Thus the Wellington Hospital Board opened a sanatorium in Otaki in 1906 (see below). By 1910, the country had four such sanatoria with 160 beds, while annexes at general hospitals accommodated 100 patients.¹⁴⁹² Most of the care appears to have been directed at ‘early’ cases rather than at advanced, incurable, and chronic cases or at Maori. Diagnosis of the disease in its early stages required access to general practitioners.

Maclean had earlier reported that, while some incurable cases were sent to sanatoria, chronic cases were neglected since patients had to pay fees and, where breadwinners were concerned, dependants had to rely on their own resources. Further, he indicated

¹⁴⁹⁰ Tutere Wi Repa to Minister, Native Affairs n.d. [1930?], in ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1295 131/3/136.

¹⁴⁹¹ Another useful account is Keryn Doesburg, ‘Wellington Hospital Board’s responses to pulmonary tuberculosis in the interwar period,’ PGDipHistory research exercise, Massey University, 2005.

¹⁴⁹² Linda Bryder, ‘“If preventable,”’ p.113. She noted that the practice of British physicians of sending patients to New Zealand for treatment placed additional stress on facilities in this country.

that there was no organised system or the selection of patients.¹⁴⁹³ Bryder claimed that ‘The focus on institutions ... discriminated against Maori with tuberculosis, who were least likely to seek admission to an institution. Nor,’ she added was there a change in policy after the Department of Public Health took over full responsibility for Maori Health from the Native Department in 1906.’ The Department’s anti-tuberculosis campaign remained very firmly directed towards Pakeha, with an emphasis on institutional care and on the admission of patients in the early stages of the disease.¹⁴⁹⁴ The Government rejected as ‘wholly impracticable’ suggestions for the compulsory detention of some patients on account of their material circumstances, habits, or criminal tendencies, in separate institutions.¹⁴⁹⁵ On the other hand, the findings of the committee with respect to the treatment of tuberculosis among children appears to have supported the children’s health camp movement and the establishment, in 1932, of the Raukawa Children’s Health Camp (see below).

7.10.1 The Otaki Sanatorium

Section 7 of the Public Health Amendment Act 1903 empowered the Government to direct hospital boards to erect annexes to accommodate tubercular patients: the Wellington Hospital Board was among the first to do so, in 1904 erecting two four-bed canvas shelters at Otaki Hospital. Two years later, the Otaki Sanatorium with 30 beds, was opened.

The Otaki Sanatorium was not intended to serve its local community: rather, it rather accepted patients from throughout New Zealand. In 1911, for example, 51 patients treated were from Wellington, five from Hutt, two from Wairarapa, two from Whanganui, one from Auckland, one from Dunedin, two from Napier, two from Palmerston, one from Westport, and nine from Otaki. No indication as to ethnicity was recorded.¹⁴⁹⁶ In 1912, it was noted that ‘it was almost impossible for many patients outside the Wellington District to make use of this Sanatorium, as the charge for such

¹⁴⁹³ F.S. MacLean, *Challenge for health: a history of public health in New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1964, p.367.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Bryder, “‘If preventable,’” pp.115-116. The admission of patients in the early stages of the disease was examined by the 1928 Committee on the Prevention and Treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis in New Zealand, but practices did not change in the wake of its report. See AJHR 1928, H31A.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Bryder, “‘If preventable,’” p.119.

¹⁴⁹⁶ AJHR 1911, H31, p.87.

was £2 2s per week. Which must be paid by the patient or made up by the Hospital Board of their district. The charge for patients from the Wellington District is £1 10s per week.¹⁴⁹⁷ Table 7.18 sets out the origins (by hospital board districts) of the patients treated during 1928 to 1929: of the total of 157, just seven had been drawn from the Palmerston North Hospital District. Whether any Maori patients were among those treated is not clear. On the other hand, several Maori were employed as kitchen hands or wardsmaids. Subsequently, in 1940, Black and Tuckey noted that one Maori family appeared in the hospital's records, while a member of another family was a patient in the sanatorium. They also recorded another Otaki Maori family had two siblings in Palmerston North hospital with 'galloping consumption,' while of 11 boarders in the soon-to-close Otaki College, six had reacted positively to various tuberculosis tests.¹⁴⁹⁸

Table 7.18: Origins of Otaki Sanatorium patients under treatment, 1 April 1928 to 31 March 1929

Hospital boards	Number	Hospital boards	Number
Auckland	35	Thames	6
Buller	2	Waikato	16
Cook	3	Waipawa	2
Dannevirke	1	Wairarapa	5
Hawera	1	Wairoa	1
Hawke's Bay	8	Whanganui	9
Kaipara	3	Wellington	50
Nelson	2		
Palmerston North	7	Total	157
South Otago	1		
Stratford	2	Other patients	8
Taranaki	3	Grand total	165

Source: ANZ Wellington ADBZ 16163 H1/1297 131/3/130 Alt No 9208

In 1917, the Department of Health took over control of the Otaki Sanatorium to treat tubercular soldiers returning from Western Europe. In 1933 control of the Otaki Sanatorium was passed to the Palmerston North Hospital Board, the latter agreeing to maintain the institution wholly for the treatment of females. In 1936, as plans and specifications for extensions to the Otaki Sanatorium were being prepared, the

¹⁴⁹⁷ AJHR 1913, Session II, H31, p.84.

¹⁴⁹⁸ L.J.McF. Black and R.P. Tuckey, 'A study of Otaki Maori, with special reference to pulmonary tuberculosis,' Preventive Medicine dissertation, University of Otago, 1940, pp.32-25.

managing secretary of the Palmerston North Hospital Board observed that if what he termed the proposed ‘clinic scheme’ proceeded, ‘we might find Otaki Sanatorium catering for as many Maoris as Europeans ...’ He went on to wonder if it would be advisable to provide a separate institution for Maori, while also noting that ‘if Maoris are going to be treated on the same basis as Europeans – and there is no reason why they should not be – then we can estimate that a much greater number of Maoris will be brought under notice for sanatorium treatment.’¹⁴⁹⁹ Was he acknowledging that Maori had not been afforded adequate care? No separate facility was established. During the 1930s, Wellington’s Ewart Fever Hospital, established in 1910 and converted about 1920 in to a tuberculosis ward, did accept some Maori patients, including a number from Porirua Pa. As Minister of Health, Maui Pomare worked with Ngati Toa at Takapuwahia to eliminate tuberculosis in a settlement where overcrowding, poverty, and bad housing predominated.¹⁵⁰⁰ It is important to record that in January 1952, the Otaki sanatorium housed 72 patients among whom were 31 Maori, although the balance between Maori and all other patients appears to have fluctuated. Further, up to 31 March 1951, patients from within the Western Districts Health District were charged 23s per day and all others 26s per day, rates that were increased to 29s and 32s respectively from 1 April 1951. Of those fees, 9s per day were met through social security payments and the balance by the hospital boards from which the patients had been drawn.¹⁵⁰¹ It seems likely that the admission of more Maori patients followed the passage of the Social Security Act 1938.

7.11 The Otaki Health Camp

Tennant noted that as compulsory education became more universal in New Zealand from the 1890s, so evidence accumulated of the poor state of the health of many of the country’s children and especially of its Maori children. The first major response was the institution of health checks through the schools, and the second was the establishment of children’s health camps.¹⁵⁰² The first camp was held in 1919 and the

¹⁴⁹⁹ ‘Otaki Sanatorium,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 20 February 1936, p.2.

¹⁵⁰⁰ AJHR 1932, H31, p.5.

¹⁵⁰¹ See J.W.E. Eton, ‘Otaki Sanatorium: a short survey,’ Preventive Medicine dissertation, University of Otago, 1952.

¹⁵⁰² Dr Elizabeth Gunn was the founder of the health camp movement in New Zealand. See Margaret Tennant, ‘Gunn, Elizabeth Catherine,’ in *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*; and Anna Rogers, *With them through hell*.

number, run by voluntary organisations, held throughout the country expanded during the 1920s and 1930s. Few Maori children appear to have attended, the clear focus being on the health of Pakeha children. The National Health Camp Federation was formed in 1936, and was followed by the establishment of six permanent health camps. Tennant recorded that, in 1937, the federation's Dominion Advisory Board decided that there should be no permanent camps especially for Maori. That decision appears to have been grounded in the Labour Government's belief that separate provision would mean unequal provision and lower expectations of Maori needs. Informing that belief was a conviction that the future of Maori could be best secured through assimilation.¹⁵⁰³ After some 20 years during which Maori children, despite clear and mounting evidence of serious health problems, appear to have had only limited access to health camps, admissions increased from the late 1930s.¹⁵⁰⁴

The Raukawa Children's Health Camp (later the Otaki Children's Health Camp) was established in 1932.¹⁵⁰⁵ The Government contributed substantially to the cost of construction, while in 1931, as Minister of Native Affairs, Ngata agreed to contribute from his department's unemployment grant one third of the labour costs involved in preparing the site (acquired from Maori), provided that unemployed Maori were allocated the work.¹⁵⁰⁶ Children, many regarded as tuberculosis contacts and others members of unemployed families, were selected from throughout the lower half of the North Island: each of several intakes in the year numbered about 80.¹⁵⁰⁷ The Camp was leased to the Wellington Hospital Board as an emergency hospital during World War II, but re-opened as a health camp towards the end of 1944.

7.12 Conclusions

That Maori suffered grievously as a result of the introduction and rapid spread of unaccustomed diseases is clear. High morbidity and high mortality rates involving a

¹⁵⁰³ Margaret Tennant, *Children's health, the nation's wealth: a history of children's health camps*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1994, p.129-130.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Tennant, *Children's health*, p.129.

¹⁵⁰⁵ The prime mover was Dr Ada Paterson. See Margaret Tennant, 'Paterson, Ada Gertrude,' in *Dictionary of New Zealand biography. Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. For an account of the camp's establishment and operations, see Tennant, *Children's health*, pp.76-83.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Tennant, *Children's health*, p.78.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Tennant, *Children's health*, p.81.

range of infectious diseases followed in the wake of annexation and European settlement. The newly immigrant population similarly experienced periodic outbreaks of the same diseases, including diphtheria and typhoid, and struggled with tuberculosis, but the rates of morbidity and mortality among Maori were significantly higher and remained at elevated levels for longer. A full explanation is beyond the scope of this inquiry, but the evidence indicates some of the factors that were involved. Shorter average life-spans, high rates of infant mortality, and the prevalence of the ‘diseases of poverty,’ notably tuberculosis, point to environmental factors as among the contributors. Among those factors were low incomes, poor housing conditions, overcrowding, poor standards of education, limited access to primary health care, and what appears to have been limited access to tertiary health care. Moreover, they were mostly matters that the Crown had some capacity to change or ameliorate.¹⁵⁰⁸

Although most of the evidence is anecdotal and limited, there is sufficient to indicate that many Maori were unable to secure access to primary health care notwithstanding the Crown’s efforts: the services provided by the subsidised Native medical officers were not available throughout the Inquiry District and the standard of care offered was not always of the highest order. The very limited data relating to tertiary care suggest – but no more – that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori confronted difficulties in securing tertiary care. The reasons most frequently cited – reluctance to pay rates and reluctance to meet patient fees – hardly constitute an adequate explanation, not least since unpaid rates appear to have been no more than a relatively minor problem and since it is not clear that an inability to pay fees meant that treatment was denied. Nor is it clear how much weight can be given to the claim that Maori were reluctant to seek hospital treatment and care. The decline in the Maori tuberculosis mortality rate that followed the passage of the Social Security Act 1938 and preceded the introduction and widespread use of the BCG vaccine and the subsequent rapid uptake suggests that other factors were at play. Rather the evidence strongly suggests that the decline followed the extension of primary health care and health education services into Maori communities through the district nursing scheme, the deployment of screening, contact, and follow-up programmes, and closer coordination between district nurses, local medical

¹⁵⁰⁸ For contemporary assessments of the importance of environmental factors, see, for example, ‘Maori health,’ *Horowhenua Chronicle* 15 April 1937, p.7 (report of an address by Whangarei’s Medical Officer of Health to the New Zealand branch of the Royal Sanitary Institute).

practitioners, and hospitals.¹⁵⁰⁹ In other words, improvement depended less on advances in diagnosis and treatment than on services tailored for and delivered directly (in the first instance) to Maori communities. A question is whether much more would have been accomplished had such efforts been made when such services were first mooted, that is, around the turn of the twentieth century and, it might be added, a more concerted and adequately supported effort made to develop a Maori nursing service. One other important matter arises in this connection, namely, the apparent lack of policy coordination between and among State agencies. The protracted tussle between the Departments of Health and Native Affairs over housing revealed a lack of agreement over the objectives of public policy insofar as Maori were concerned, the absence of coordinated approaches to the closely interrelated issues of health and housing, and the extent to which Maori were not involved in policy formulation and implementation.

Two other matters merit comment. Dow suggested that the transfer of responsibility for Maori health from the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Justice, thence to Department of Health, thence back to the Department of Native Affairs, and thence (in 1911) back to the Department of Health in 1911, followed by the disbandment of the latter's Division of Maori Hygiene 1930-1931 as part of the Government's retrenchment efforts, impeded efforts to develop clearly focused health policies and implementation strategies. Adding complexity – and suggesting a lack of effective political leadership – were the disagreements between hospital boards and other local authorities and the Government over who bore responsibility for funding Maori health initiatives. Perhaps it was not surprising, as Dow recorded, that Te Rangi Hiroa, upon resigning in 1927 from his position as Director of the Division of Maori Hygiene, described Maori health matters as the 'the fifth wheel of the coach.'¹⁵¹⁰

The second matter was the reluctance of the Crown to support the Maori councils and their successors, the Maori health councils. However simple this 'simple machinery of

¹⁵⁰⁹ In 1937, the Chairman of the Maternity Services Investigation Committee recorded (with particular reference to Northland) that 'one cannot but be affected by the sight of young Native children with advanced chest infections and with painful, infected and deformed joints, in many cases their only medical attention being the periodical visits of the nurse.' See 'Heroism of nurses,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 12 April 1937, p.6.

¹⁵¹⁰ Dow, *Maori health and government policy*, pp.159-161.

local self-government' may have been, had the councils been equipped with the appropriate powers and had they been assisted financially by the State as promised, it is at least possible that they would have assisted materially in improving a range of environmental matters – housing, sanitation, and water supply – that bore heavily on matters of health. Many of the great nineteenth century advances in public health arose not out of advances in medical science and methods of treatment but out of improvements in water supply and waste disposal. But while the State, under the Government Loans to Local Bodies Acts of 1887 and 1901 and subsequently through the State-guaranteed Advances Office, made substantial loans to local authorities for such purposes, similar assistance for Maori communities was, by and large, not forthcoming.¹⁵¹¹ Further, local authorities appear to have opposed Maori councils and health councils being empowered sufficiently to discharge their statutory responsibilities, to have largely eschewed engagement with their Maori communities, and to have insisted that responsibility for the health and welfare of those communities belonged to the Crown. So much was made abundantly clear by the Horowhenua County Council's clear reluctance to proceed against those market gardeners of Opiki and elsewhere who rated profit over their duty of care towards their Maori employees. In 1960, J.K. Hunn observed that 'Maori health and pakeha health are not yet synonymous terms, statistically speaking, but in this century the Maoris have the more impressive record of health improvement.'¹⁵¹² Perhaps so, but the question remains as to how much more might have been accomplished through appropriately targeted, resourced, and coordinated efforts to improve the environmental conditions under which most Porirua ki Manawatu Maori lived.

¹⁵¹¹ See, for example, AJHR 1905, B14B. As at 31 March 1904, the Horowhenua County Council had borrowed £53,720; Palmerston North Borough Council £62,164; Feilding Borough Council £53,329; Foxton Borough Council £3,066; and the Otaki Road Board £6,698.

¹⁵¹² J.K. Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs*. Wellington: Government Printer, 1960, p.19.

Chapter 8: 'The children suffer from want of education'

8.1 Introduction

In his study of Maori schools, Barrington concluded that 'From 1867 to at least the 1940s, education officials generally had a very limited view of Maori potential and the place of Maori in the wider society, and they were determined to reverse Maori aspirations for an academic type of education leading to external examinations.' Maori, it seemed, were fit only for manual employment and home-making and 'the simple life of the pa ...'¹⁵¹³ Thus succinctly expressed are several of the key assumptions that inform this chapter. The first is that occupations, incomes, and social circumstances, are closely associated with educational attainment. Low levels of educational attainment are strongly correlated with uncertain employment prospects, limited opportunities for advancement, low incomes, and low standards of living. The second assumption is that education policies are directed towards securing desired social and economic goals and thus constitute a component of wider State development strategies and agendas. The third assumption follows, namely, that education policies embody some of the same assumptions, beliefs, and values that underlay and informed the policies of successive Governments as they related to Maori. The convictions, openly entertained, were that the future of Maori was essentially rural, that Maori were accustomed to and disposed to accept a lower standard of living, and the certitude that policies with respect to land development, health, social support, housing as well as education should be shaped and administered accordingly, were shared among a range of State agencies. The fourth assumption is that through education policies, Governments can effect significant changes, and do so with relative expedition, in the social and economic prospects of its peoples.

H.B. Turbott once claimed that the 'Primary education of Maoris is conducted half in Education Board schools, where no progress seems to have been made in fitting Maori pupils for their Maori life. They follow exactly the same course as for the pakehas, are Europeanised on the surface, and left unsettled and unfitted for their dual life.'¹⁵¹⁴ More

¹⁵¹³ John Barrington, *Separate but equal? Maori schools and the Crown 1867-1969*. Wellington: Victoria University, 2009, p.297.

¹⁵¹⁴ A copy of Turbott's paper can be found in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/650 36/1 Part 1.

recently, Barrington was in no doubt that, with respect to Maori, the emphasis placed on practical training, 'extreme' in the case of the Maori district high schools, condemned successive generations of Maori students 'to limited educational, occupational and life opportunities ...' ¹⁵¹⁵ But establishing whether the education system as it developed in Porirua ki Manawatu functioned, as Fairbairn suggested, as a 'social filter,' is complicated by the fact that most Maori students were enrolled in state primary rather than Maori schools, making it appreciably more difficult to track and measure participation and attainment.¹⁵¹⁶ The marked separation between Maori and other schools apparent elsewhere in the North Island did not emerge in Porirua ki Manawatu.

8.2 Education districts, education statistics

Any investigation of the key issues of educational participation and attainment runs in to the same difficulties associated with employment, incomes, housing and health, namely, the dearth of comprehensive and reliable statistics. Further, under the Education Act 1877, Manawatu County, which then embraced most of the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, formed part of the Whanganui Education District (Patea, Wanganui, Rangitikei, and Manawatu Counties). Under section 2 of the Wellington and Wanganui Education Districts Act 1886, Horowhenua County became part of the Wellington Education District (while Oroua County remained within the Whanganui Education District). Given that the Horowhenua County contained the bulk of the Maori population of the Porirua ki Manawatu district, and given that Native schools were established in the Wairarapa East and West Counties (that, together with Hutt County and their internal boroughs, constituted the Wellington Education District) but not in Horowhenua County, the data relating to the Wellington Education District are employed in this chapter. The assumption is that the trends revealed by those data for the district reflected developments in Horowhenua County.

¹⁵¹⁵ Barrington, *Separate but equal?* p.300.

¹⁵¹⁶ Miles Fairburn, 'The rural myth and the new urban frontier: an approach to New Zealand social history,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 9, 1, 1975, p.3.

8.3 Mission schools in Porirua ki Manawatu

Although Chapter 8 will focus largely on the period from about 1900 to about 1951, It will be useful first to set out briefly some aspects of the history of post-annexation Maori education in Porirua ki Manawatu. The schools were established by the missions, notably at Otaki, in 1839. Smaller mission schools were located at Waikawa, Ohau, Horowhenua, and Poroutawhao.¹⁵¹⁷ The educational opportunities offered appear to have been eagerly taken advantage of by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, both adults and children.¹⁵¹⁸ Rather than establish a new system of education, the Government chose to assist financially that effort.¹⁵¹⁹ Under Samuel Williams the roll of the Otaki school expanded to some 130 boys, while a school for some 50 girls also operated for a short time.¹⁵²⁰ In 1850, Kemp recorded that of an estimated 150 ‘day students,’ some ... are beginning to read the English language; some few attempt to speak it, and with considerable success.’ According to Kemp, about a quarter of the Maori population could read and write; if true, that suggests a high degree of receptivity to that particular form of new technology.¹⁵²¹ Maori also donated land to the Church of England for educational purposes, at both Porirua and Otaki,’ specifically to support schools for children ‘of all races’ on the condition that ‘religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language were given.’¹⁵²²

The Otaki Industrial School (as it was described) received some assistance from the Crown as early as 1848. In 1850, the Crown promised annual grants for four years on the understanding that the school would be self-supporting at the end of that period. The grants totalled £1,872 and supported the transformation of a day school in to a boarding school: by 1855, 55 boys were in residence, although the average attendance over the period of the grants was 31.¹⁵²³ By 1858 numbers still stood at about 30 (including ten girls). Octavius Hadfield attributed the declining roll to the difficulty of securing competent teachers, sickness (notably influenza and measles) and deaths of

¹⁵¹⁷ Lange, ‘The social impact,’ pp.50-53.

¹⁵¹⁸ The following notes are based on Lange, ‘The social impact of colonisation,’ pp.50-53, and 114-132.

¹⁵¹⁹ J.M. Barrington and T.H. Beaglehole, *Maori schools in a changing society: an historical review*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1984, pp.43-45 and 55.

¹⁵²⁰ AJHR 1905, G5, p.8.

¹⁵²¹ Kemp, Report No.3, 10 March 1850, BPP VII, p.235, cited in Lange, ‘The social impact of colonisation,’ pp.50-51.

¹⁵²² AJHR 1858, E1, p.33; 1865, E7, pp.7-8; and 1905, G5, pp.165-167.

¹⁵²³ AJHR 1867, A3, p.17. See also AJHR 1870, A3, p.5.

students, an increasing ability of parents (on account of ‘the increased value of their produce’) to feed and clothe their own children rather than rely on the school to do so, the requirement that children form part of the family labour force, and ‘the apathy and indifference of their parents.’¹⁵²⁴

Once the Crown grants ceased in 1854, no further government inspections of the school took place. In 1866-1867, an application was made for renewed State assistance to meet maintenance costs, to allow the school to take in additional students, and to ‘support a better style of management.’¹⁵²⁵ A report prepared by William Rolleston recorded that by that date, 21 boys (16 from Otaki, one from each of Ohau, Wellington, Waikanae, the Hutt, and the South Island), and ten girls (three were from Otaki, three from the Manawatu, and one from each of Waikawa, Wainui, Porirua and the Hutt) were enrolled. Additional assistance was recommended.¹⁵²⁶ In 1807, it was recorded that Government aid had ceased in June 1868.¹⁵²⁷

The third report of the Commission of Inquiry in to Trust Estates for Religious, Charitable and Educational Purposes (hereafter the Commission), published in 1870, offered extended details of the ‘Church School’s’ operations and of the Porirua and Otaki land grants, while the educational and financial importance of the farm attached to the school was made clear. But it was also evident that the school was in difficulties, parents apparently increasingly averse to enrolling their children: Major Edwards, Otaki’s resident magistrate from 1862 to 1870, suggested that ‘all confidence in Europeans, missionaries, or anybody else, was lost from 1864 to 1866.’ But he also suggested that some parents were discouraged by the results produced by the school.¹⁵²⁸ In his submission, Hadfield recorded that average attendance over the period from 1854 to 1868 numbered 40, two-thirds of whom were boys. He also noted that ‘Some of the parents resided in the neighbourhood, but more than half came from a distance – Manawatu &c.’¹⁵²⁹

¹⁵²⁴ AJHR 1858, E1, p.34.

¹⁵²⁵ AJHR 1867, A2, p.17.

¹⁵²⁶ AJHR 1867, A2, p.17.

¹⁵²⁷ AJHR 1870, A3, p.89.

¹⁵²⁸ AJHR 1870, A3, p.6.

¹⁵²⁹ AJHR 1870, A3, p.5.

In 1878, the Otaki School Committee decided to apply to the Whanganui Education Board ‘for the immediate erection of the school-house and a residence for a teacher at Otaki.’ The mission buildings were idle: only one boy attended the school and then intermittently, a claim that appears to have been a gross exaggeration (see Table 8.1). The mission, observed, the *Manawatu Times*, ‘would do well to dispose [of] one of the large monuments to the collapse of its work’ and allow Pakeha children to utilise the other.¹⁵³⁰ The master of the ‘Native School’ (G.H. Christie) was not prepared to let those remarks pass unchallenged, at the same time conceding the roll had contracted. That contraction he attributed to the fact that students no longer boarded, to a loss on the part of parents of a ‘zeal for education,’ and to the students pleasing themselves as to whether they attended.¹⁵³¹ Table 8.1 sets out roll details (where available) for ‘Otaki College’ for the period from 1869 to 1878.

Table 8.1: Otaki College rolls, 1869 to 1878

Year	Maori	Pakeha
1869	51	-
1870	61	2
1871	65	4
1872	43	3
1873	32	2
1874	n.a.	n.a.
1875	n.a.	n.a.
1876	37	11
1877	55	7
1878	37	6

Source: ‘The Otaki School,’ *Manawatu Times* 5 October 1878, p.2

In 1882 some 40 children attended, while an 1894 report on the Otaki school recorded a roll of 40 but an average attendance of just 20.¹⁵³² Over the next few years, attendance continued to fluctuate, while the roll declined to 26 in 1898. Maori parents (notably those in Ohau), it appeared, increasingly favoured Otaki’s Catholic school (some 15 children being enrolled and travelling by train) and indeed the town’s State school where by 1905, 25 Maori children were enrolled. By 1905, the Otaki mission school had a roll of 35 Maori and mixed race children all of whom, with two exceptions, were

¹⁵³⁰ ‘Otaki,’ *Manawatu Times* 28 August 1878, p.3.

¹⁵³¹ ‘The Otaki School,’ *Manawatu Times* 5 October 1878, p.2.

¹⁵³² ANZ Auckland BAAA1001/988/a 44/6, cited in Lange, ‘The social impact of colonisation,’ p.116.

‘day-scholars,’ and ‘too young for any education other than the elementary requirements of the first four standards.’¹⁵³³ Concurrently, doubts were being expressed over the value of the education provided. Moreover, few progressed: boys who wished to continue beyond the fourth standard went to Te Aute College, perhaps two or three a year, while a very small number of girls went to Hukarere Girls’ College.¹⁵³⁴ It should also be noted that, in response to requests by Te Reureu Maori, German Lutheran missionaries established a mission school at Te Reu Reu in 1877, but it closed five years later.

8.4 Native village schools

Under the Native Schools Act 1867, the Government established a separate system of primary schools for Maori children. A Native village school was established at Awahuri in 1876, but it closed in the following year. In 1888, Te Reureu Maori sought to have a Native school established in their district, but no action was taken, while Poroutawhao residents also unsuccessfully applied for a Native school. In the latter case, it was not until 1906 that the matter was resolved, ‘by conveyance of children to the nearest Board school.’¹⁵³⁵ In fact, for most Porirua ki Manawatu Maori children the sole option was a State school. In 1882, Resident Magistrate Ward of Whanganui claimed that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were ‘doing next to nothing in the way of educating their children.’ Unlike their mission school parents, ‘very few of the rising generation can read or write ... [and] very few Maoris appear to know useful trades.’¹⁵³⁶ Again, in 1886, he observed that Maori ‘do not yet appear to see the importance of educating their children.’¹⁵³⁷ The evidence strongly suggests that he was incorrect over the value that Maori parents placed on education, but correct when he concluded that as Maori continued to alienate their lands, ‘in the course of a few years, excepting their reserves, [they] will have nothing to live upon but their manual labour.’¹⁵³⁸

¹⁵³³ AJHR 1905, G5, p.vii.

¹⁵³⁴ AJHR 1905, G5, p.19.

¹⁵³⁵ AJHR 1906, E2, p.3.

¹⁵³⁶ AJHR 1882 G1, p.12.

¹⁵³⁷ AJHR 1886, G12, p.12.

¹⁵³⁸ AJHR 1882 G1, p.12.

The Department of Education's policy was that 'the education of the Maori children shall be kept apart from the public-school system of the colony no longer than is necessary; and provision is made that, whenever in any locality the circumstances will admit of it, the Native School shall merge in the public school.'¹⁵³⁹ In any case, it seems likely that many Maori settlements in Porirua ki Manawatu would have encountered major difficulties in persuading the Department of Education to establish Native village schools in their communities. Table 8.3 makes it clear that a large number of such communities had small numbers of school-age children. The Department of Education's policy, as enunciated in 1906, was that it would not open Native village schools where 'the minimum average of children is probably less than twenty.'¹⁵⁴⁰ It is worthwhile noting here that in 1906, the Whanganui Education Board decided that it would establish a school at Riverton for eight Pakeha children, at the same time insisting that providing a school for the estimated 30 local Maori children was not part of its function. A Native school was not opened in Kauangaroa until 1929 and only then tending what Lange aptly described as 'a long and sorry story of misunderstandings, procrastination, and sometimes racial prejudice.'¹⁵⁴¹ For over 20 years, it appears, local Maori children were denied their entitlement to an education. The short-lived Awahuri School apart, no Native village schools were established in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. From an early stage, therefore, Maori children in Porirua ki Manawatu attended either mission or State primary schools.

Table 8.2 sets out for the Wellington Education District in 1901, the average *attendance* at public schools: of a total of 143 schools, 38 (26.6 percent) had an average attendance of fewer than 20 students, suggesting that with respect to enrolment thresholds, the Department of Education and the Whanganui and Wellington Education Boards operated different policies.

¹⁵³⁹ AJHR 1880, H1A, p.22.

¹⁵⁴⁰ AJHR Session II, 1906, p.3.

¹⁵⁴¹ Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation,' p.126.

Table 8.2: Wellington Education District: schools by average attendance, 1901

Average attendance	Number of schools
1 to 8	12
9 to 20	26
21 to 30	28
31 to 40	17
41 to 50	10
51 to 70	14
71 to 90	8
91 to 120	5
121 and over	23
Total	143

Source: AJHR 1902, E1, p.vii

8.5 The Porirua and Otaki Trusts investigation, 1905

It is not proposed to examine in any detail the controversy that developed over the Porirua and Otaki Trusts. On the other hand, some of the evidence presented to the Royal Commission offered some very useful insights in to the education of Maori children in Porirua ki Manawatu, as well as the social and economic circumstances that bore upon the decisions that Maori parents made about their children's education. The appointment of the Commission, in 1905, was a response to Maori discontent over the failure of the Church of England to honour the purposes for which they had gifted land at both Porirua and Otaki, that is, the provision of education for their children and the children of 'kindred tribes.' Essentially, it was charged with investigating the claim that there had been 'a total or partial failure to fulfil the trusts thereof ...' The Porirua grant of 28 December 1850, of 500 acres, was located at the entrance of Porirua Harbour, while the Otaki grants comprised four blocks, of 397 acres 5 February 1852), 69 acres 5 February 1852), 62 acres (16 July 1852), and 34 acres (18 June 1855) respectively, at Otaki. The Commission was thus charged with inquiring in to their 'present condition' and with offering recommendations for their future administration and control.¹⁵⁴² The Porirua grant was in the name of the Church of England and the four Otaki grants in that of the Church Missionary Society. No school was established at Porirua, but in 1902 the Church approved a scheme under which the rents and profits of the trust would

¹⁵⁴² AJHR 1905, G5, pp.iii-iv.

be employed to support Maori scholars, 'preferably of the Ngatitōa Tribe,' at an Anglican school in the Wairarapa. It was that scheme that in particular had engendered a great of criticism and led to the appointment of the Commission.

It is of interest to note at this juncture the Church's of England's position as set forth by Bishop Wallis of Wellington, namely, that it was the responsibility of the Government to attend to the educational needs of the West Coast Maori.¹⁵⁴³

The Commission found that the Otaki mission school had had a more or less continuous existence although it no longer provided 'industrial training,' and that it had leased its lands (for a return of £268 per annum). The one teacher school had a roll of 35 Maori and 'half caste' children all but two of whom were 'day scholars,' while attendance averaged 25.¹⁵⁴⁴ It went on to recommend, as Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa had proposed, the amalgamation of the Otaki and Porirua trusts and the establishment of what it termed an 'efficient' school at Otaki.¹⁵⁴⁵ It would be 'essentially a school for Natives and half-castes, with preference to the children aged from six to 16 years of Ngatiraukawa, Ngatitōa, and Ngatiawa Tribes. European children 'should not be admitted to the exclusion of available Native children ... The education should be that of Board schools up to the Sixth or Seventh Standard, and industrial training should be a special feature of its work, by which we mean instruction in trades and industries ... and also the principles and science of farming ...'¹⁵⁴⁶ Finally, the Commission recorded that

In determining in favour of Otaki as the site for the school, Your Commissioners are mainly influenced by the facts that it is more centrally situated for the tribes specially interested, and undoubtedly more accessible to the greater number than any other available site. Evidence before us shows that the number of Native children of school age on the West Coast south of Rangitikei is 730 of whom about 400 are apparently receiving no education ...¹⁵⁴⁷

¹⁵⁴³ AJHR 1905, G5, p.30.

¹⁵⁴⁴ AJHR 1905, G5, p.vii.

¹⁵⁴⁵ The Commission noted that the grantees of the Otaki lands (581 acres) were the trustees of the Church of England Missionary Society (represented in New Zealand by the Mission Trust Board), while the trustees of Porirua represented the General Synod of the Church of England in New Zealand. See AJHR 1905, G5, p.vii.

¹⁵⁴⁶ AJHR 1905, G5, p.vii.

¹⁵⁴⁷ AJHR 1905, G5, p.viii.

The Otaki and Porirua Empowering Act 1907 amalgamated the trust properties and provided that they should be held and dealt with by the Porirua trustees to establish and maintain a school or schools at Otaki: preferential admission would be accorded to members of Ngati Raukawa, Te Ati Awa, and Ngati Toa, and then to other West Coast Maori, and scholarships to any one of three Anglican colleges would be awarded. In the wake of the Commission's report, the Otaki school's roll increased to 70 in 1911. In that same year, 'infants' were excluded and the school re-designated as a 'Native College.' By 1914, the Department of Education had classified it as a mission secondary school, but declined to make Government scholarships tenable at the school, claiming that Maori had the same access to State secondary schools as non-Maori. The school's fortunes continued to fluctuate, the roll rising to 53 in 1921 but falling to 45 in 1930 (see below).

8.5.1 Children and enrolments, c.1905

It was noted above that the Commission concluded that some 400 of an estimated 730 school-age Maori children in Porirua ki Manawatu were not receiving any form of formal education. Its estimate, based on a submission prepared by the Department of Education, is not easy to reconcile with the censuses of 1906 or 1911.¹⁵⁴⁸ Table 8.3 sets out the Department's estimate of the number and distribution of school-age Maori children in 1905: some of the data are suspect, notably for Te Peureu (Te Reureu?) and Arama. The data for Rangitane were incomplete, while Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa declined to furnish details. The Department of Education estimated the number of Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa children at 100: added to 631 children of Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko, that brought the number of school-age Maori and mixed race children in the region from Porirua to the Rangitikei River to an estimated 731.

¹⁵⁴⁸ According to the 1906 census, there were in the Oroua, Manawatu, Kairanga, and Horowhenua Counties, 326 male children and 347 female children aged under 15 years, a total of 673 children both Maori and 'half caste' living as members of iwi. The 1911 census, again including both Maori and half-castes living as members of iwi, distinguished between those aged under five and those aged from five to 15 years: the total number in the six counties of Oroua, Pohangina Kiwitea, Manawatu, Kairanga, and Horowhenua was 480 (237 males and 243 females).

Table 8.3: The distribution of school-age Maori children by iwi, 1905

Settlements	School-age children	Total population	Settlements	School-age children	Total population
<i>Ngati Raukawa</i>					
Katihiku	)		Kakariki	21	40
Huatere	) 152	349	Te Houhou	1	8
Otaki	)		Rata	3	12
Manukau	38	99	Utiku	1	3
Ohau	92	186	Arama	1	1
Muhunoa	29	51	Onepuehu	2	5
Raumatangi	11	23	Whareporara	2	6
Poroutawhao	23	61	Waituna	1	3
Kereru	17	30	Tauranga-aruru	4	11
Himatangi	7	14	Panekawa	3	9
Motuiti	24	76	Te Waerenga	8	10
Moutoa	20	25	Awapuni	-	8
Puketotara	3	6	Karangahiku	-	11
Oroua Bridge	13	27	Whirokino	-	15
Aorangi	16	24			
Kai Iwi Ahuriri	21	50	<i>Muaupoko</i>		
Ohinepuhiawe	24	41	Horowhenua	50	134
Matahiwi	9	14			
Marimakoea	1	4	<i>Rangitane</i>		
Parewanui	2	3	Oroua Bridge)	
Mangamahoe	2	8	Puketotara)	
Te Peureu	5	5	Raurangi)	
Te KotukuWhare	3	13	Ngawhakararua	) 78	-
Te Pohue	2	7	Awapuni)	
Pokitara	10	11	Ngaawapurua)	
Te Tikanga	10	16			

Source AJHR 1905, G5, p.170

The Department of Education also furnished details of the number of Maori children attending schools on the ‘Manawatu Line.’ It is assumed that the data included those attending denominational schools. Table 8.4 sets out the details. A further 110 Maori and ‘mixed race’ children attended schools between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers.¹⁵⁴⁹ As noted, the Department gave as 631 the number of Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko school age children: that number appears not to have included the children of Rangitane. The Department added an estimated 100 children of Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa to give a total of 731 school-age children. The number of children attending school was given as 263, suggesting that just 36 per cent of school-age children in the Porirua ki Manawatu district attended school.¹⁵⁵⁰ The Commission itself concluded that

¹⁵⁴⁹ AJHR 1905, G5, p.171.

¹⁵⁵⁰ The 1906 census of the Maori population did not offer sufficiently detailed information on ages.

there were on the west coast south of Rangitikei 700 Maori school-age children of whom about 400 or 57.1 per cent were evidently receiving no education at all.¹⁵⁵¹ Its estimate appears to have taken in to account those children attending church schools.

Table 8.4: Maori children attending schools on the Manawatu Line, 1905

Schools	Maori	Half-caste	Half-caste living as Pakeha	Totals
Plimmerton	4	-	-	4
Paikakariki	3	-	1	4
Paraparaumu	-	-	2	2
Te Horo	1	-	-	1
Kereru	2	-	5	7
Manakau	14	-	3	17
Porirua	2	10	-	12
Waikanae	12	-	-	12
Ohau	27	3	1	31
Otaki	22	-	13	35
Levin	6	16	4	26
Totals	93	29	29	151

Source: AJHR 1905, G5, p.170

8.5.2 Making the connections

In all, an estimated 261 Maori and mixed race children thus appeared to have attended school in 1904-1905, or just 35.7 per cent of the estimated total of 731. The evidence suggests, then, that despite the enthusiasm with which Maori first embraced the mission schools, by 1905 only a small proportion of the Maori children of the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District was enrolled in a formal education institution, a circumstance of which the Department of Education was clearly aware. It is important to note here that under School Attendance Act 1901, attendance was made compulsory for Maori children enrolled in general schools, and that under the 1903 regulations it was made compulsory for Maori children between the ages of seven and 13 to enrol in a general school if there were no Native village school within a three-mile radius.

In his evidence to the Commission, Alexander McDonald claimed that ‘The children of the tribes between Palmerston North and Wellington suffer very much from want of

¹⁵⁵¹ AJHR 1905, G5, p.viii.

education. They are not nearly so well educated as their parents ...¹⁵⁵² McDonald went on to suggest that while Ngati Kahungunu had been expelled from the Porirua district between 1820 and 1826 and settled in the Wairarapa where they had become ‘a very wealthy tribe,’ the three tribes that resided between Palmerston North and Wellington were ‘comparatively poor.’¹⁵⁵³ He seemed to suggest, in other words, that low enrolments reflected the poor material circumstances of Maori families. Other witnesses and submissions attested to poor material circumstances of West Coast Maori, noting especially the importance of children in milking cows, feedings pigs, and preparing ground for sowing crops.¹⁵⁵⁴ In short, children were a fundamentally important component of the Maori subsistence or semi-commercial economy.

It was Hone Heke Ngapua who presented a lengthy submission on behalf of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa. It offered some valuable insights in to Maori perceptions of their circumstances and difficulties around the turn of the century and is thus worth citing in some detail. A number of reasons were cited for low enrolment and attendance. Among them were the inability of parents to provide proper clothing for their children; the inability of parents to support attendance at larger schools such as Te Aute and St Stephen’s for boys, and Hukarere, St Joseph’s Convent, and the Victoria Maori Girls’ School; the requirement that children assist in planting and harvesting activities and other seasonal work; and the fact that many Maori were compelled to move around the district in search of work, in other words, that some Maori constituted an itinerant or peripatetic labour force. Moreover, children were required to attend tangi and other events of importance to whanau and hapu.

But it was also apparent that many parents, concerned about the continued dependence of those who had completed their education, entertained doubts over the benefits of the education provided. That children were completing their schooling with a poor grounding in the English language, including grammar, and that Maori boys in particular experienced difficulties in securing gainful employment in the trades, were among other matters of concern to parents. The submission went so far as to aver that

¹⁵⁵² AJHR 1905, G5, p.150.

¹⁵⁵³ AJHR 1905, G5, p.150.

¹⁵⁵⁴ AJHR 1905, G5, p.131.

we realise that education for Maori children to be of any use to them personally, and as a people, should teach them first to live for themselves and their children; a knowledge of trades is essential for the majority of them. By having this taught we do not bar the bright boys and girls from pursuing the higher grades of education. Trades would encourage thrift and continuity of purpose, and would cause the Maoris to shake off their communism and other customs now keeping them back; would elevate them; would give them a sense of responsibility.¹⁵⁵⁵

And that

Education in agriculture and farming is required, but the difficulties keeping many Maoris back are, Maori parents in many cases are not able to give their boys a sufficient area of land to work on after they leave school, and many of the parents are not in a position to acquire for their children lands from the Crown. If the parents possessed a sufficient area of fairly good land, there are many Maori boys who would take to working on the land, and who could work it to advantage, notwithstanding their deficiencies in education. This would apply also to boys who have had no education at all. Maoris are known to be good imitators and good workers, notwithstanding the many disadvantages they are surrounded with.¹⁵⁵⁶

Heni Te Whiwhi argued that children were not being equipped to participate in ‘the after-life ...’ She sought for the boys a better knowledge of English, trades, and ‘a knowledge of land-culture,’ that is, ‘education to equip them, to enable them to live and support their children ...’ She went on to add that ‘My experience of children – the majority – who have been to school and have come home is that their education is of no value, or very little, to themselves and their people. The tendency, therefore, is more to live on their parents and not to help them, or even to be able to look after themselves and their families.’¹⁵⁵⁷ Hakaraia Te Whena (Ngati Wehiwehi) informed the Commission that he wished to see a school established in Otaki and that ‘all the Ngatiraukawa from here to Rangitikei are with me on this point. I would like the school to teach ordinary education, and mechanical and industrial pursuits.’¹⁵⁵⁸ Finally, Hone Heke Ngapua attested that parents had advised him that in their view

the education imparted to the Native children under the present system of education was not effective or sufficient. There were a large number of boys who came back from school who could speak English, their parents believing

¹⁵⁵⁵ AJHR 1905, G5, p.141.

¹⁵⁵⁶ AJHR 1905, G5, p.141.

¹⁵⁵⁷ AJHR 1905, G5, p.9.

¹⁵⁵⁸ AJHR1905, G5, p.13.

they understood it; but by experience they came to know that their speaking the English language was not sufficient to enable them to obtain work to maintain themselves.¹⁵⁵⁹

Ngapua clearly shared that assessment, suggesting that ‘the general knowledge ... which they have acquired has not turned out sufficiently practical to get them employment in any trade or profession in the English life of the country.’ He went on to add (with a modern ring), with respect to boys, ‘My experience is that the acquisition of a trade is more beneficial to the Natives as a whole than the seeking for higher education.’¹⁵⁶⁰ For girls, Ngapua wished to see ‘a higher method of educating them’ in the domestic arts.

Finally, the submission presented by Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa also dwelt at some length on what can be grouped as politico-economic matters. Thus it noted that

The condition of the titles of their parents to land, in the majority of cases, is a drawback. Amongst other disadvantages in this district are: (1) The enormous number of owners in many of the lands, which renders the cutting-up into individual areas an impossibility to make such divisions of any use. (2) The scattered interests. In most cases, small areas in each block renders these useless. (3). In the cases where the owner or owners own large areas of land in one block, and where an owner or owners own large areas in a number of blocks, the right to convert a part or [*sic* – of?] a block into money is necessary if they are to carry on improvements. The Government, in endeavouring to protect such Maoris, in some cases refuses them the right to convert. This attitude of the Government, we know, is taken not selfishly, but on account of the actions of some Maoris who have been given that right, and who have squandered the proceeds in useless directions. (4). A very large number of Maoris being landless.

With those Maori parents who have reasonable-sized areas of land and fairly good land, the want of monetary assistance acts as a drawback. This applies to individual Maori owners, as well as to two or more owners. It is this lack of monetary assistance which cripples many Maoris who have sufficient lands. Many of them who are capable workers cannot work their land properly.¹⁵⁶¹

The submission also referred to ‘The repugnance many Maoris have to laws passed by the Parliament, especially those in regard to different forms of taxation or other

¹⁵⁵⁹ AJHR 1905, G5, p.24.

¹⁵⁶⁰ AJHR 1905, G5, p.26.

¹⁵⁶¹ AJHR 1905, G5, p.141.

liabilities created by such laws.’¹⁵⁶² That reference to taxation may have been to the Land and Income Tax Act 1891: it introduced the principle of progressive taxation on the unimproved value of land. It was noted above that section 16 of the Land and income Tax Assessment Act 1900 exempted ‘All Native land if neither leased to nor occupied by any person other than the Native owners,’ but that section 46 provided for payment of half the rate of the ordinary land tax where the land concerned was occupied by other than the owner. Where lands were held in trust, the trustee was required to pay the tax. For Maori, the difficulty lay in the manner in which the law was applied, that is, the practice of the Commissioner of Taxes aggregating the value of all interests in a block and levying the tax accordingly rather than on the value of each owner’s interest. A West Coast reserve serves as an example: valued at £4,548, the reserve incurred an annual land tax of £9 9 6. The annual rental generated by the block was £53, so that each of the 52 owners received an average just under 20s: from that sum, land tax of 3s 6d (or 17.7 per cent) had to be deducted. The average value of each owner’s interest was just over £87 and thus otherwise exempt from land tax.¹⁵⁶³

8.5.3 Summarising the evidence

In summary, it is plain that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were greatly concerned that the original gifts of land had not been utilised for their original purposes; that a large proportion of their children did not have access to schooling; that many parents could not afford to support children in post-elementary education and that the few children who did progress emerged ill-equipped to secure gainful employment. More generally, the submission reflected a growing anxiety among parents that, recognising that their children would have to seek employment elsewhere than on the land, the education provided was not tailored to their specific and future needs. At the same time, it is clear that a great deal of Maori farming remained subsistence in character and that children formed an essential component of the household labour force. Insufficient land, title difficulties, and lack of access to development finance hindered efforts to break out of the poverty trap in which many Maori clearly regarded themselves as trapped. That some Porirua ki Manawatu Maori now constituted an itinerant labour force, with major

¹⁵⁶² AJHR 1905, G5, p.141.

¹⁵⁶³ See T.J. Hearn, ‘Maori, land, and the Crown in Te Rohe Potae c1900 to c1935,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington, 2011, Chapter 18.

implications for the education of their children, was a clear consequence and expression of those difficulties. But the submission also pointed to other matters, specifically a sense that State paternalism, on the one hand, and discriminatory legislation, on the other, were restraining and limiting the efforts of Maori to improve their material circumstances. In short, it seems, by the turn of the century at least, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori did not trust the Government to conserve and promote their interests or to remedy the difficulties under which they felt that they laboured and that the participation of Maori children in formal education suffered accordingly. The enrolment of Maori children in and their attendance at schools thus emerged as useful indicators of a complex web of social, political, and economic circumstances and processes that had made and were making Maori participation in the wider economy and society difficult.

8.6 Separate schools or integrated schools?

8.6.1 The provincial period 1853 to 1876

From 1853 to 1876, education was the responsibility of provincial governments. Section 14 of Wellington's Education Ordinance 1855 provided 'That all schools maintained wholly or in part by rates levied under this Act, shall be open to all children resident within the district or subdivision on equal terms.' Moreover, section 4 of the Education Amendment Act 1871 provided that 'Every child attending School under the provisions of this Act shall pay such monthly fees as may be prescribed by the [School] Committee but the Committee may from time to time for a renewable period not exceeding six months remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the amount.' At the end of the period of provincial government, that is, 1875, five public schools operated in the Manawatu district, namely, Foxton (actual attendance 98), Palmerston North (54), Sanson (66), Carnarvon (14), and Feilding (91). In Wellington Province as a whole there were 60 schools with an actual attendance of 3,332.¹⁵⁶⁴ Whether any Maori children in Porirua ki Manawatu were enrolled in public schools during the provincial period was not established, although it should be noted that,

¹⁵⁶⁴ Wellington Provincial Council, Session XXVIII, 1875, C5, Report of the Education Board of the Province of Wellington, pp.6-7.

according to McKenzie, under Auckland's Common Schools Act 1869 no Maori children, prior to 1880, were enrolled in any one of that province's 12 major schools.¹⁵⁶⁵ Section 3 of the Native Schools Act 1867 provided for an annual allocation to the Crown of £4,000 over a period of seven years commencing on 1 July 1867, such sum to employed for, among other matters, 'the education and maintenance of native children who may be placed in schools which are not subject to the provisions of this Act ...' The practical outcomes of that provision were not established, but both provincial and general government Acts recognised that Maori children could lawfully attend public schools and could secure Crown assistance to do so.

8.6.2 The Education Act 1877

By the Education Act 1877 responsibility for education passed from the defunct provincial governments to central government, a new department of State, regional education districts and boards, and school committees, while primary school fees were abolished.¹⁵⁶⁶ The Act thus introduced a national system of free and secular education for all those aged from five to 15 years, compulsory (if a school committee so resolved) for those aged from seven to 13 years and who lived within two miles of a school 'measured according to the nearest road from a public school within a school district ...' The Act provided for other exemptions from compulsory attendance: work was not included despite a general recognition that children, in the period before the farm household was decoupled from the farm enterprise, formed an important component of the small-farm workforce.

Section 10 of the Education Act 1877 provided that 'Nothing in this Act shall be binding on any Maori; but any Maori shall be at liberty to send his children to a public school under this Act ...' It went on to record that 'no half-caste shall be deemed to be a Maori ... unless he shall be living as a member of some Native tribe or community.' McKenzie attributed the exemption of Maori from compulsory attendance to political considerations, to what he described as the strong desire on the part of some Maori to

¹⁵⁶⁵ David McKenzie, 'More than a show of justice? The enrolment of Maoris in European schools prior to 1900,' *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 17, 1, 1982, p.4.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ian Cumming and Alan Cumming, *History of State education in New Zealand 1840-1975*. Wellington: Pitman, 1978, p.103.

reject Pakeha schools and laws.¹⁵⁶⁷ Schools were also empowered to accept or not particular children on the grounds of ‘want of cleanliness,’ ‘communication of contagious disease,’ ‘gross misconduct,’ or ‘incorrigible disobedience ...’ McKenzie went on to note that by 1900, although the number of Maori children attending school had risen from 2,441 in 1880 to 5,230, they constituted just two per cent of the school population. But, he noted, 47 per cent of Maori children were attending public rather than Native village schools.¹⁵⁶⁸ Section 3(5) of the School Attendance Act 1901 finally made attendance compulsory for ‘Maori and half-caste children attending public schools.’ The Act also raised the leaving age to 14 years and tightened attendance requirements, while in 1910 the exemption from attendance for those aged under ten and living more than two miles from a school (three miles for those over ten) was abolished.

McGeorge thus concluded that many years would elapse before full attendance was secured, noting that, despite the passage of the School Attendance Act 1901, a generation would pass before all children were required to attend school every day. ‘Progress towards universal school attendance,’ he suggested, ‘depended on the establishment of hundreds of *small* [emphasis added] schools in rural areas, on boarding and travel allowances, on the efforts of truant officers and on the growing acceptance of the belief that schooling should be the sole serious business of childhood.’¹⁵⁶⁹ Full attendance, he concluded, was not achieved until about 1921: by the 1920s, ‘Primary schooling for both Maori and pakeha was well-nigh universal ...’¹⁵⁷⁰ He offered some estimates of Maori and Pakeha enrolments as a percentage of the relevant age groups. Table 8.5 is taken from his paper: as he noted, the lower rates for Maori, and especially Maori females, are clearly apparent. His estimates also indicate that the proportion of Maori school-age children enrolled improved during the first decade of the twentieth century, although they remained, especially for Maori girls, significantly below those for Pakeha.

¹⁵⁶⁷ McKenzie, “‘More than a show of justice?’” p.5.

¹⁵⁶⁸ McKenzie, “‘More than a show of justice?’” p.6.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Colin McGeorge, ‘Childhood’s sole serious business. The long haul to full school attendance,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 40, 1, 2006, p.25. There were 2,601 primary schools in New Zealand in 1927.

¹⁵⁷⁰ McGeorge, ‘Childhood’s sole serious business,’ p.35.

Table 8.5: Maori and Pakeha enrolments (all schools), 1885, 1900, and 1910 as a proportion of population aged five to 15 years

	Maori males	Maori females	Pakeha males	Pakeha females
1885	32.6	30.4	79.3	77.4
1900	51.4	43.3	89.1	87.9
1910	76.4	66.7	92.8	90.3

Source: McGeorge, 'Childhood's sole serious business,' p.34.

Some insight into primary school participation rates in the Porirua ki Manawatu district were located in the report of the 1905 Royal Commission into school trusts. In his evidence, Stafford (of Stafford, Treadwell, and Field) estimated that of 520 Maori school-age children residing between Otaki and the Rangitikei River just 25 attended the mission school in Otaki while up to 50 attended the public schools, but that some 400 were not receiving any education at all.¹⁵⁷¹ Hakaraia Te Whena (Ngati Wehi Wehi) counted 134 school-age children in Otaki: of that number, perhaps 20 attended the mission school and fewer than 30 the State school, leaving 90 who did not attend any school. The school's master acknowledged that there was 'a considerable number' of Maori children in and around Otaki who wanted education but who were not being educated at all.¹⁵⁷² Alexander McDonald offered the interesting observation that 'The children of the tribes between Palmerston North and Wellington suffer very much from want of education. They are not nearly so well educated as their parents ...'¹⁵⁷³ If Hakaraia Te Whena were correct, then just over a third of Otaki's Maori school-age children were attending school in 1905 and almost two-thirds of that number the State primary school, surprising results given the enthusiasm with which, as McDonald suggested, their parents had embraced formal education.

It is worthwhile noting that Hone Heke (of Ngapuhi but with connections to both Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa) took an active part in the discussions over the Anglican Church's proposal to construct a new school in the Wairarapa. He and W.H. Field (MHR Otaki) set out to establish the number the children 'within the Ngatiraukawa district, from Otaki to the Rangitikei' and to present the results to the Commission with a view to demonstrating that a large number of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa children

¹⁵⁷¹ AJHR 1905, G5, p.7.

¹⁵⁷² AJHR 1905, G5, pp.18-19.

¹⁵⁷³ AJHR 1905, G5, p.150.

sought education. They were also anxious to counter the evident desire of the Anglican Church to divert funds away from Whitiorea to the Wairarapa and to counter the notion that Raukawa was ‘a dying tribe.’ To those ends, they prepared two books showing the names of all the children of Ngati Raukawa together with age, gender, parents, trustees, home, and district. The books were handed in to the Commission as exhibits.¹⁵⁷⁴ A search of Archives New Zealand failed to locate any of the Commission’s records, a pity since the two books alone would have constituted an invaluable source.

8.6.3 Enrolment trends: the public primary schools

From an early date, therefore, Maori children could be enrolled in public primary schools: Ball later recorded that ‘No special provision, despite racial differences is made for these children, who must take the usual course prescribed for European children.’¹⁵⁷⁵ Measuring the scale of and trends in such enrolment is complicated by the lack of readily available data. The most useful published data appear to be those included in annual reports of the Minister of Education, notably the tables summarising – by education districts – the number of Maori children enrolled. They were classified as ‘pure’ Maori, ‘half-castes’ living as Maori, and ‘half-castes’ living among Europeans, and distinguished by gender. In the graphs and discussion that follow, the data for the Wellington Education District as a whole are employed as an indicator of trends in Horowhenua County.

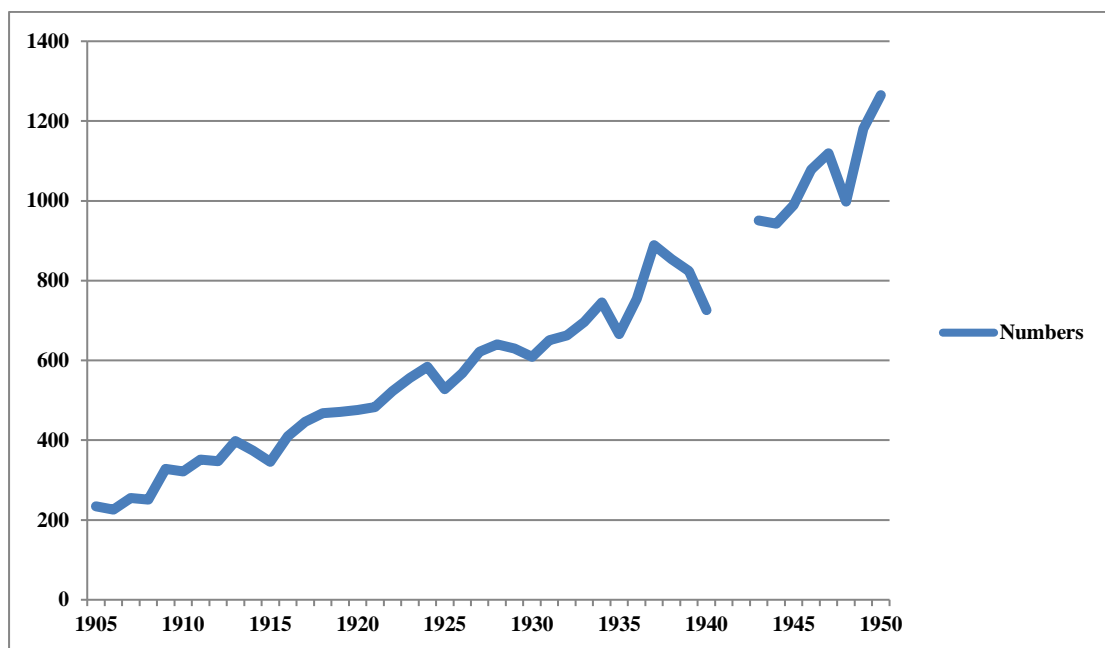
Graph 8.1 sets out attendance at public schools by Maori boys and girls to Form III in public primary schools in the Wellington Education District during the period from 1905 to 1950: data for 1942 and 1942 were not published. As noted above, under the School Attendance Act 1901, enrolment of Maori children was made compulsory, while under the 1903 regulations enrolment in a state school was made compulsory for Maori children aged from seven to 13 years if there were no Native village school within a three mile radius.¹⁵⁷⁶ The evidence presented to the 1905 Commission (see

¹⁵⁷⁴ AJHR 1905, G5, p.24. See also Freda Rankin Kawharu, ‘Ngapua, Hone Heke,’ *Te Ara – the encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

¹⁵⁷⁵ D.G. Ball, ‘Maori education,’ in I.L.G. Sutherland, editor, *The Maori people today: a general survey*. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, London: Oxford University Press, 1940, p.291.

¹⁵⁷⁶ In 1902 it was recorded in the Annual Report of the Minister of Education that ‘unexpected difficulties have arisen in the framing of the special regulations for the compulsory school attendance of

above) suggests that the provisions relating to compulsory enrolment and attendance were, in Porirua ki Manawatu, for some years at least, observed in the breach. Nevertheless, such changes in the law, the renewed growth of the Maori population from about 1890, improved rural transport links, and the accelerating movement of Maori into urban centres, lay behind the growth depicted in Graph 8.1. The growth in numbers attending was reasonably steady through to the 1930s when it slowed. The reason for the contraction in the early 1940s is not clear, but growth quickly resumed.



Source: AJHR 1905-1951, E1 and E3

Graph 8.1: Number of Maori children attending public primary schools, Wellington Education District, 1905 to 1950

8.6.4 Excluding Maori students

The steady growth of Maori pupil enrolments in Wellington Education Board schools should not be allowed to obscure the fact that Maori encountered difficulties in attending public schools. In 1882, the Minister of Education noted

Maori children,' mainly over the issue of distance limits: some wished to see the same limits applied to Maori as applied to Pakeha – others considered that they should be extended. See AJHR 1902, E1, p.iv.

the unwillingness of many parents of both races – European and Maori – to allow their children to be taught in schools equally open to them all. In some Maori settlements that are too small, and too near to public schools, to be regarded as entitled to have Native schools established in them, the children are growing up in ignorance, being either withheld or excluded from the public schools on account of antipathy based on difference of race.¹⁵⁷⁷

In his evidence to the 1912 Commission on Education (the Cohen Commission), George Hogben (Head of the Department of Education, 1899-1915) recorded that ‘There is a great objection on the part of Europeans in many places to the presence of Maori children in Board schools, and many applications have been received from Boards and School Committees asking that separate provision be made for Maori children in their districts.’ He went on to note that ‘Native schools are never built where a Board school is already in existence.’¹⁵⁷⁸ The 1914 report on Native schools recorded that the smallpox outbreak of 1913 intensified ‘the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Maori in many parts of the North Island, and even in some parts of the South,’ some schools excluding Maori students.¹⁵⁷⁹

During the 1880s, in the Whanganui Education District, fewer than 100 Maori (including mixed race) children were enrolled in public primary schools. The Whanganui Education Board made clear its view that providing for Maori children was not its responsibility, a position to which it evidently adhered despite the Department of Education’s insistence, conveyed in 1907, that it had no power to discriminate against Maori.¹⁵⁸⁰ While the Secretary of Education claimed that education boards in fact afforded Maori education little support, the Whanganui Board insisted that its policy was to admit Maori children to its schools only if they were healthy and clean and came from ‘sanitary’ homes.¹⁵⁸¹ In 1913 the Board again advised the Department of Education that it intended to refuse admission of Maori children unless it were

¹⁵⁷⁷ AJHR 1882, E1, pp.iii-iv. See also AJHR 1883, E1, p.iv for similar sentiments.

¹⁵⁷⁸ AJHR 1912, E12, p.694.

¹⁵⁷⁹ AJHR 1914, E3, p.13.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Lange, ‘The social impact,’ pp123-124.

¹⁵⁸¹ Secretary for Education to Whanganui Education Board 11 May 1907, 10 November 1908, and 11 August 1910; Whanganui Education Board to Secretary for Education 7 October 1908, 9 July 1909, and 23 May 1913; extracts from correspondence on Education Board file, May-July 1910; memorandum E.O. Gibbes 9 June 1913; and Chairman, Whanganui Education Board to Secretary for Education 6 September 1913, in ANZ Auckland BAAA 100.277/d 44/4 Part 1, cited in Lange, ‘The social impact,’ p.124. See also AJHR 1916, E3, p.13.

satisfied that the homes of the children were in ‘a sanitary condition.’¹⁵⁸² Pakeha parents in a number of schools were complaining that the crowding together of Maori and Pakeha children was facilitating the spread of hakehake from the former to the latter. According to Lange, departmental officials ‘were not convinced that hakehake was a skin disease peculiar to Maori, or that it was so difficult to clear up that permanent exclusion was the only remedy.’¹⁵⁸³

Whether the attitudes expressed by the Whanganui Education Board were shared by the Wellington Education Board is less clear. The number of Maori children enrolled in its public primary schools generally did not exceed 50: interestingly, they increased from 44 in 1886 to 87 in 1888. It is at least possible that that increase reflected the inclusion of Horowhenua County into that district. On the other hand, not all school committees in the Horowhenua welcomed Maori students. On the establishment of a public school in Otaki in 1880, the school committee passed a resolution excluding Maori children.¹⁵⁸⁴ Other school committees, notably Manakau, appear to have encouraged the enrolment of Maori children, although possibly as part of an effort to sustain numbers and facilities.¹⁵⁸⁵ It is worthwhile noting that the Board, expecting to have to provide schools in all the townships along the Manawatu line, suggested that ‘In most cases it would not be an economical step to provide for the present attendance only ...’¹⁵⁸⁶ A 1910 photograph of the students attending Ohau School indicated a more or less even division between Maori and Pakeha. Nevertheless, the position adopted by the Whanganui Education Board and the Otaki School Committee suggests that the admission and attendance policies of the boards and the relationship between boards and the Department of Education merit greater examination than was possible for this report. It should also be noted that a Catholic School (now St Peter Chanel) was opened in Otaki in 1894, while 1909 saw the establishment of the new Maori Boys’ College, also in Otaki.

¹⁵⁸² Secretary, Whanganui Education Board to Secretary, Education 21 July 1913, in ANZ Auckland BAAA 1001/103/a 44/1/32 Part 1.

¹⁵⁸³ Lange, ‘The social impact,’ p.130. See, for example, ‘Hake-hake in schools. Statement by the Minister,’ *Hawera and Normanby Star* 18 September 1913, p.8.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Lange, ‘The social impact,’ p.129.

¹⁵⁸⁵ See, for example, [Jubilee Booklet Committee], *Manakau School 75th Jubilee, 1888-1963*: Levin: KBH Print, 1963, p.15.

¹⁵⁸⁶ *AJHR* 1889, E1, p.62.

8.6.5 The matter of accessibility

While the rapid expansion of the Pakeha population and settlement was accompanied by the opening of many such schools in the Inquiry District, for some years the geographical segregation – or at least, separation – of the Maori and Pakeha communities meant that access for Maori children remained difficult. Indeed, conveyance of children to and from school was a major issue for many communities, both Maori and Pakeha. In the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, Maori mostly resided in small rural communities at some distance from the main centres of Pakeha settlement where public schools were established, in Otaki in 1880 and 1893; Manakau in 1888; Shannon in 1889; Levin in 1890; Ohau in 1891; and Waikanae in 1896.

It was noted above that the establishment and location of public schools in Porirua ki Manawatu followed the spread of Pakeha settlement and served Pakeha needs. Physical access thus assumed considerable importance, especially in the pre school-bus era. It is important to note here that the Education Act 1877 provided certain exemptions from attendance. Section 89 provided that ‘every child’ aged from seven to 13 years and living within two miles from a public school – ‘measured according to the nearest road from a public school within a school district’ – was required to attend ‘for at least one half of the period in each year during which the school is usually open.’ The Act appears to have been silent with respect to attendance by children beyond the two-mile limit. It should be noted that section 88 of the Education Act provided that ‘In outlying districts or parts of the country where from the scattered state of the population it is not practicable to establish a public school, the Board may appoint itinerant teachers ...’ Communities were expected to provide accommodation.

Alternatively, very small ‘aided’ schools could be established by parents, classes being conducted in communities would supply a whare, spare rooms, or perhaps cottages to serve as schools. Education boards would assist with grants. In 1887, the Whanganui Education Board noted that it endeavoured to meet the needs of ‘back settlers.’ Where it was found inadvisable to establish full-time schools to meet the needs of small and dispersed settler communities, the Board provided ‘half-time or assisted schools.’¹⁵⁸⁷

¹⁵⁸⁷ AJHR 1887, E1, p.57.

By 1897, 15 of the Wellington Education District's 131 schools had secured special grants to 'enable advantage to be taken of the existing system of education in sparsely populated centres where the attendance would not justify the Board in providing school buildings.'¹⁵⁸⁸ No evidence was located that would indicate that either itinerant teachers or 'aided schools' were employed to meet the needs of the small Maori communities of Porirua ki Manawatu. An 'aided' school did operate in Waikanae from 1889 to 1891: whether it enrolled any Maori students was not established.

In 1885, the Government supplied free rail passes to children under 15 who were not within reach of a school. From 1886, children living within two miles of a railway station were also required to attend school. Maori children from Ohau used rail transport to reach the Roman Catholic school in Otaki. A return tabled in the House of Representatives in 1895 recorded that, nationally, 1,731 railway passes had been issued to children attending private schools (with a value of £866) and 3,762 to those attending public primary schools (value of £1,891).¹⁵⁸⁹ According to Cumming, from 1904 school boards could arrange for transport of students to and from school and that that assisted Maori in remote areas.¹⁵⁹⁰ Whether it assisted the Maori children of Porirua ki Manawatu was not established. The Department of Education introduced a school bus service during the 1920s. Moss suggested that a service first operated in Te Rohe Potae, in 1924, but in fact one appears to have been operating in the Horowhenua in 1922. Certainly, by 1924 two bus routes, the Arapaepae and the Hokio, were bringing children in to the Levin District High School. During the 1930s, the Government reduced its allocation to school transport, a decision that, as Barrington noted, directly affected Maori living in rural communities.¹⁵⁹¹

The introduction of school bus services was an integral element of the policy of school consolidation.¹⁵⁹² The 1912 Royal Commission into Education (Cohen Commission) strongly endorsed consolidation.¹⁵⁹³ By the end of 1912, 2,214 public schools were

¹⁵⁸⁸ AJHR 1898, E1, p.68.

¹⁵⁸⁹ ANZ Wellington AEBE 18507 LE1 1895/171, Alternative number 94.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Cumming, *History of State education*, p.155.

¹⁵⁹¹ Barrington, *Separate but equal?* p.178.

¹⁵⁹² See 'People's picture palace,' *Horowhenua Chronicle* 19 October 1922, p.2; No title, 20 April 1923, p.2; No title 26 April 1924, p.2; 'Levin District High School,' 13 May 1924, p.2; 'Levin District High School,' 10 June 1924, p.3; and 'Shannon news,' 3 February 1928, p.8. See Logan Moss, 'Boarding the school bus,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 40, 1, 2006, pp.57-74.

¹⁵⁹³ AJHR 1912, E12, p.22.

open in New Zealand: 1,343 or 61 per cent were sole-teacher schools.¹⁵⁹⁴ A decade later there were 2,550 schools, while the proportion of sole-teacher schools still stood at 60 per cent. The expansion of the school bus service allowed the Government to adopt a policy of consolidation: by 1936, 121 schools had been closed and merged in to larger institutions, while nine additional district high schools had been established. Daily over 9,600 children travelled to school by bus. By the end of 1940, 415 schools had been closed.¹⁵⁹⁵ Among them were several schools in Porirua ki Manawatu.

8.7 Educational outcomes

Direct evidence relating to progression rates, that is, the proportion of children moving from one standard in to another, was not located. In 1945, McQueen recorded that very few Maori children progressed beyond Standard IV.¹⁵⁹⁶ Table 8.6 classifies, at three dates, Maori and Pakeha students by class. Major changes took place in the distribution of students by class over the 40-year period, so that by 1950 significant increases had taken place in the proportion of Maori children in the higher standards. By 1950, the distribution profiles for Maori and all students were similar.

Table 8.6: Maori and all children attending public primary schools, classified according to class (per cent)

Classes	Maori 1910	All 1910	Maori 1930	All 1930	Maori 1950	All 1950
Preparatory	56.4	37.2	44.5	28.4	35.4	32.1
Standard 1	14.6	12.2	15.9	12.7	13.2	14.5
Standard 2	11.2	11.9	12.0	12.7	12.8	13.7
Standard 3	7.9	11.4	11.3	12.9	12.0	12.6
Standard 4	5.4	10.4	7.8	12.2	10.3	11.4
Standard 5	3.2	9.1	5.5	11.2	9.4	8.5
Standard 6	1.0	6.2	2.9	9.7	6.7	7.2
Standard 7	0.2	1.6	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1

Source: AJHR 1911, E1 and E2

¹⁵⁹⁴ AJHR 1913, E1, pp.3-4.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Moss, 'Boarding the school bus,' p.70.

¹⁵⁹⁶ H.C. McQueen, *Vocations for Maori youth*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1945, p.7.

Table 8.7 shows, for New Zealand as a whole, the proportion of Maori and all students in Form II at five-yearly intervals over the period from 1910 to 1950. The proportion of the Maori public primary school population in Form II rose steadily throughout the period, but even in 1945 was about half that of all students. In other words, a smaller proportion of Maori students proceeded through the standards and thus, until 1935, a smaller proportion was able to sit the Certificate of Proficiency examination.

Table 8.7: Proportion of Maori and all children in Form II, public primary schools, 1910 to 1950

Year	Maori	All
31 December 1910	0.96	6.16
31 December 1915	1.29	6.19
31 December 1920	1.49	6.92
31 December 1925	2.00	8.38
1 July 1930	2.89	9.66
1 July 1935	3.30	11.22
1 July 1940	3.50	9.09
1 July 1945	5.40	10.41
1 July 1950		

Excludes secondary departments of district high schools and Form III of intermediate schools

Source: AJHR, E2 and E3

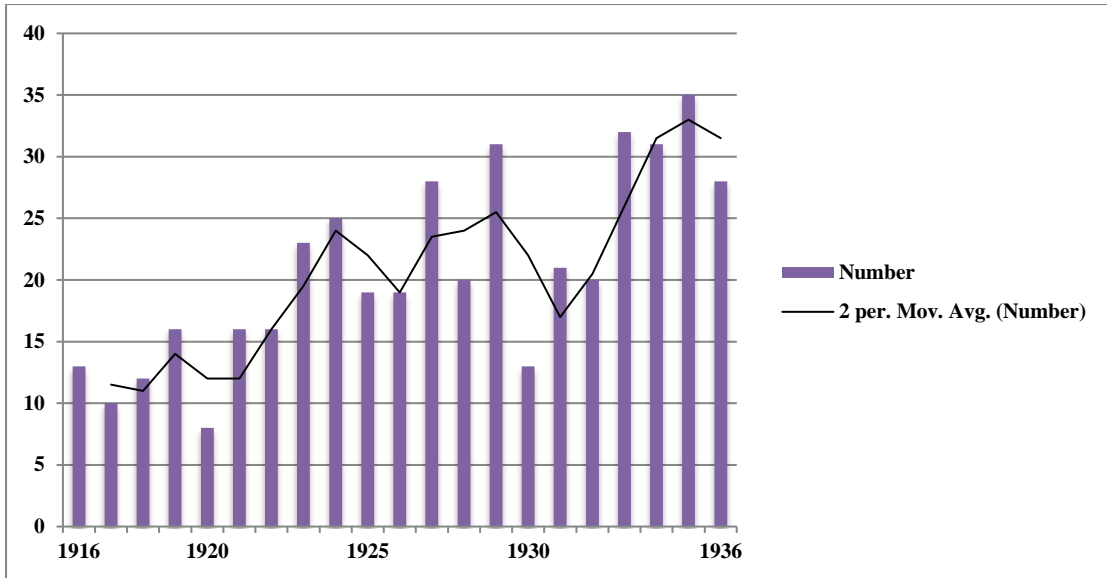
Practically the sole measure available of educational outcomes is proficiency examination results. The Certificate of Proficiency, which endured until 1936, also served as the qualification required for entry in to secondary school until the introduction of universal free secondary education in 1937. Christoffel examined the proficiency results for a number of the largest schools in the Taihape Inquiry District, concentrating upon the period from 1923 to 1946 and employing surnames as a guide to ethnicity (and so probably underestimating the number of Maori). He recorded that nationally the proportion of certificates issued to Maori in 1923 (excluding Native schools) was 0.7 per cent, and that by 1936 that had increased to 1.7 per cent. While that increase surpassed the increase in the proportion of Maori students in general primary schools, the data indicate that Maori were achieving qualifications at a rate far lower than their numbers in the school population would have indicated. ‘All things

being equal,' he concluded, '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.' He went on to report that for the five schools analysed in the Taihape Inquiry District, the percentage fluctuated, but that there was 'a general upward trend in the proportion of proficiency and competency certificates issued to Maori, with the obvious exception of the lean years of 1933 to 1935.' The results, he observed, should be treated with care given the higher proportion of Maori students in the Taihape schools than elsewhere, while Maori students were significantly less likely than Pakeha to secure certificates.¹⁵⁹⁷

Graph 8.2 sets out the number of Form II Maori students who attended public schools in the Wellington Education District and who sat the proficiency examination. The numbers were always modest, and indeed, the evidence (as intimated above) indicates that many Maori students never reached Form II, having been held back for one reason or another. The increase during the early 1920s appeared promising, but the numbers examined in each year continued to fluctuate until 1933 when they again showed signs of increasing appreciably. Graph 8.3 shows the number of proficiency and competency certificates awarded.¹⁵⁹⁸ Taken together, the two graphs indicate that the number of Maori students who progressed through the standards to Form II, sat the proficiency examination, and secured a certificate of proficiency or competency was very small, given, especially, the accelerating growth of the Maori population. Correspondingly, only a small number qualified for admission to post-primary institutions.

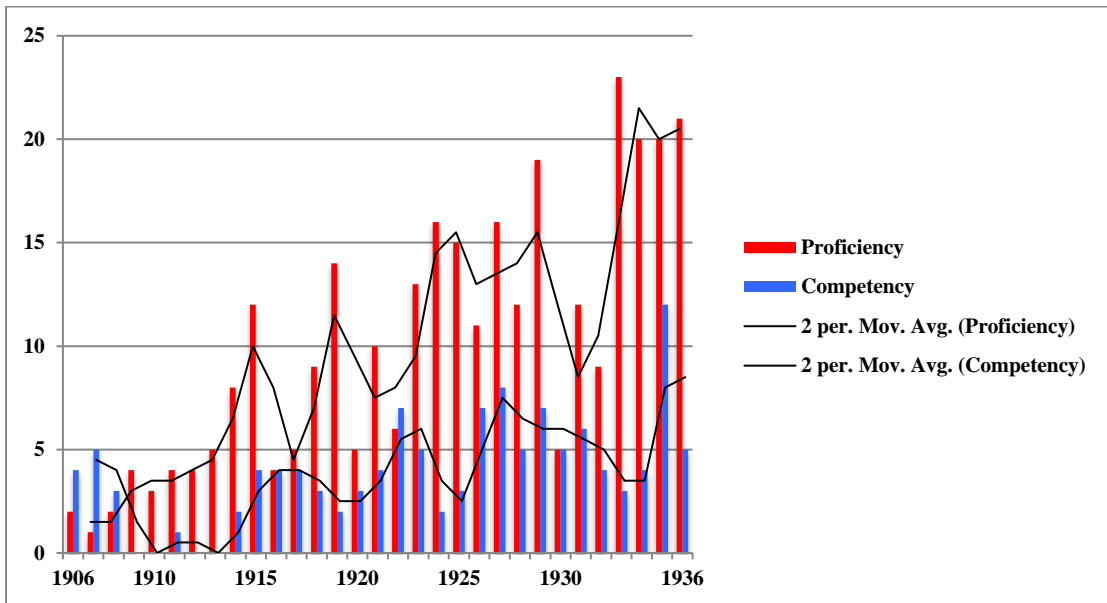
¹⁵⁹⁷ Paul Christoffel, 'Education, health and housing in the Taihape Inquiry District, 1880-2013,' commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2016, pp.125-126.

¹⁵⁹⁸ A certificate of proficiency required a score of 230 out of 400, while a competency certificate required a score of between 200 and 230 out of 400.



Source: AJHR 1916 to 1937, E3

Graph 8.2: Number of Maori (including half-caste) Form II students attending public schools and who were examined, Wellington Education District, 1916 to 1936



Source: AJHR 1907 to 1937, E3

Graph 8.3: Number of proficiency and competency certificates awarded to Maori (including half-caste) Form II students attending public schools, Wellington Education District, 1906 to 1936

Table 8.8 compares examination details for Maori and all students in public primary schools at three intervals, namely, 1926, 1931, and 1936. It suggests that Maori students were less successful than their non-Maori counterparts in securing certificates of proficiency, and that a higher proportion secured certificates of competency. But Table 8.8 also suggests, for Maori students some improvement in success rates during the 1930s, although an appreciable gap remained between them and their counterparts. Given the small number of Maori students and that data for just three years are presented, the data presented should be treated as indicative.

Table 8.8: Proficiency examination results, Maori and all students, public primary schools New Zealand, 1926, 1931, and 1936

	1926	1931	1936
All Form II students presented for examination	20382	19943	18215
Proportion awarded certificates of proficiency	77.5	67.0	85.3
Proportion awarded certificates of competency	12.9	19.5	10.4
All Maori Form II students presented for examination	146	258	319
Proportion awarded certificates of proficiency	65.8	52.7	71.5
Proportion awarded certificate of competency	23.3	27.9	19.4

Source: AJHR, E1 and E3

8.8 Secondary education

The Education Act 1877 did not deal with secondary schools, although it provided for the award of scholarships to able students to enable them to attend a secondary school free of charge and for the establishment of district high schools, essentially primary schools in rural districts to which had been added a class offering secondary subjects.¹⁵⁹⁹ As Campbell noted, the Act left the secondary schools to ‘pursue undisturbed their socially exclusive and severely academic educational activities.’¹⁶⁰⁰ The participation rate in secondary education, usually measured as a proportion of the population leaving primary school in any year that enters secondary school the following year, was thus low. In 1948 the Department of Education produced data going back to 1917. The proportion of all pupils leaving public primary and intermediate schools and departments and intending to go on to post-primary schools

¹⁵⁹⁹ R. Shaker, *The one best system? A revisionist history of state schooling in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987, pp.48-49.

¹⁶⁰⁰ A.E. Campbell, *Educating New Zealand*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1941, p 62.

rose from 37 per cent in 1917 to 47 per cent in 1922, 50 per cent in 1927, and 55 per cent in 1932. Following the introduction of free secondary education, the proportion rose sharply to 65 per cent in 1937 to 70 per cent in 1942, and 85 per cent in 1946.¹⁶⁰¹ By 1955, it had reached 95 per cent.¹⁶⁰² A major change had clearly taken place in which post-primary education was no longer the preserve of the able and the affluent but open to all.

Few details were located with respect to changes in the pre-1951 Maori rate of participation in secondary education, nor of the average number of years spent in secondary education. In 1941, the *Annual report on the education of Native children* recorded that 778 Maori children left Native village and public primary schools and that of that number 321 'continued their education.'¹⁶⁰³ If it is assumed that the latter was some form of secondary education, then the proportion progressing was 41.3 per cent. That compared with 64 per cent of all children. By 1949, the proportions were, respectively, by 1949, 63 and 88 per cent.¹⁶⁰⁴ By 1959, almost 93 per cent of Maori progressing onto secondary education, approximately the same rate as for the general population.¹⁶⁰⁵ On the other hand, for Maori students the length of schooling lagged well behind the non-Maori figure until the 1950s.

8.8.1 Secondary schools

Secondary schools were established in New Zealand (through local Acts) during the 1870s and 1880s: most were endowed with land to assist funding, with the remainder of their income (about half) coming from fees. To assist families meet those fees, the Education Act 1877 empowered regional education boards to offer scholarships for post-primary education (ss.51-54). But the number was limited and a large majority of students received no State assistance. By 1901, the number of secondary schools had reached 26. None was established in the Inquiry District, the closest being Whanganui Collegiate, Whanganui Girls' College, Wellington College, and Wellington Girls' High School. Three accepted boarders, at an annual cost of about £42, plus tuition fees of

¹⁶⁰¹ AJHR 1948, E1, p.3.

¹⁶⁰² AJHR 1955, E1, pp.33-34.

¹⁶⁰³ AJHR 1941, E3, p.2.

¹⁶⁰⁴ AJHR 1950, E3, pp.5 and 13 and E1, p.18.

¹⁶⁰⁵ AJHR 1960, E1, p.107.

about £12. The total roll for all secondary schools by 1901 was 1,788 males and 1,004 females, and the total number of boarders was 515.¹⁶⁰⁶ In 1900, the schools collectively secured 27.2 per cent of their income from tuition fees, 6.9 per cent from boarding fees, and 25.8 per cent from rents of reserves.¹⁶⁰⁷ To encourage enrolment, under sections 51 to 54 of the Education Act 1877, district education boards could offer scholarships: in 1900, of 2,792 students enrolled in secondary schools, 349 (or 12.5 per cent) held scholarships.¹⁶⁰⁸ Very few Maori students enrolled in the secondary schools.¹⁶⁰⁹

8.8.2 Expanding secondary education

From 1900, the Government initiated major efforts to increase participation in secondary education. One such effort involved the provision of free places: in 1903, under the Secondary Schools Act 1903, all 26 endowed secondary schools were required to offer a number of free places in return for State capitation grants, or scholarships (of a total annual value equal to one fifth of the net annual income derived from endowments), while the Government was empowered to establish high schools in particular districts, such schools to offer free education.¹⁶¹⁰ Under section 97(1) of the Education Act 1914, all endowed secondary, district high, and technical high schools (first established in 1902) were required to provide free places in return for which they were to receive grants.¹⁶¹¹ To qualify for a free place, a student had to have passed the proficiency examination. The examination was abolished in 1936 and secondary education was made freely available to all up to the age of 19. It was thus expected that with the increase in the number of free places in secondary schools, ‘the necessity of making direct provision by scholarships for enabling students to pay the fees for instruction will gradually disappear ...’¹⁶¹² In turn, that was expected to allow Education Boards to use their scholarship funds very largely for the maintenance of scholars from country schools who have to board away from home in order to obtain secondary education. The number of these “country scholarships” has still further been increased

¹⁶⁰⁶ AJHR 1901, E12, p.4.

¹⁶⁰⁷ AJHR 1901, E12, p.1.

¹⁶⁰⁸ AJHR 1901, E1, p.xiv.

¹⁶⁰⁹ See AJHR, E12, *Reports of secondary schools*.

¹⁶¹⁰ Under the Regulations for Free Places in Secondary Schools and District High Schools gazetted in October 1905, two series were offered, namely junior (tenable for two years or until the age of 17 years) and senior (tenable until the age 19). See AJHR 1906, Session II, p.xxviii.

¹⁶¹¹ The scale of grants was set out in the Tenth Schedule to the Act.

¹⁶¹² AJHR 1903, E1, p.xxxiv.

by the National Scholarships Act ...¹⁶¹³ The latter, passed in 1903, provided for junior and senior national scholarships. Scholarships entitled holders to free tuition, and – as necessary – a boarding and travel allowance. The value of the scholarships awarded by the education boards varied widely, from less than £5 per annum up to £40 per annum.¹⁶¹⁴

The Education Act 1914 encouraged a further expansion of post-primary education: the proportion of those leaving public primary and intermediate schools intending to enter secondary education rose steadily from an estimated 37 per cent in 1917 to 49.9 per cent in 1927 to 64.3 per cent in 1939 (Table 8.8). The number of students enrolled in secondary schools thus expanded rapidly: as at 1 July 1939, 6,183 were on the rolls of secondary departments of district high schools, 15,974 on those of secondary schools, and 451 in Maori secondary schools, with additional large numbers enrolled in combined, technical and day schools.¹⁶¹⁵

Table 8.9: Proportion of all students in primary schools intending to enter post-primary education

Year	Proportion
1927	49.9
1928	51.0
1929	52.1
1930	53.3
1931	51.9
1932	52.2
1933	53.9
1934	54.6
1935	57.2
1936	59.0
1937	63.6
1938	65.6
1939	64.3

Source: AJHR, E2

¹⁶¹³ AJHR 1904, E1, p.xxviii.

¹⁶¹⁴ AJHR 1910, E6, p.7.

¹⁶¹⁵ AJHR 1939, E1, p.18.

8.8.3 State district high schools

The Education Act 1877 (sections 55 and 56) contemplated the conversion of public primary schools in to district high schools, that is, by adding small secondary departments: admission required at least a certificate of competency and fees were payable. By 1900, 13 district high schools (with 390 students) had been established.¹⁶¹⁶

The number of schools and enrolled students expanded rapidly: by 1935, they numbered 85 with 5,331 students. Such schools received special grants, allowing them, in 1901, to abolish fees: at that stage, secondary schools continued to charge such fees. By 1910, 8,988 students were receiving some form of secondary education: included were 2,189 enrolled in district high schools, 5,168 in secondary schools, and 378 in Maori secondary schools. District high schools were established in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, in 1905 in Levin, in Feilding in 1921, and in 1927 in Foxton.¹⁶¹⁷ Palmerston North High School was established under section 88 of the Education Acts Compilation Act 1904 and classified as an endowed secondary school. The Levin District High School continued until 1939 when the secondary department became Horowhenua College. As at 1 July 1949, the numbers of fulltime students in the secondary departments of district high schools stood at 8,427, the number in secondary schools at 19,749, the number in technical high schools at 14,108, and the number in combined schools at 3,799.¹⁶¹⁸

8.8.4 Maori students in post-primary education

Butterworth calculated that in 1926 probably less than ten percent of Maoris aged from 13 to 17 years received secondary education.¹⁶¹⁹ In 1938, the Minister of Education called for a report on the post-primary education of Maori. It is important to note that the primary concern was described as ‘the almost complete abandonment of practical, technical, and agricultural training by the post-primary denominational schools ...’ The

¹⁶¹⁶ AJHR 1902, E1, p.xv.

¹⁶¹⁷ In 1920, Palmerston North High School was divided into the Palmerston North Boys’ and Girls’ High Schools.

¹⁶¹⁸ AJHR 1950, E1, p.10.

¹⁶¹⁹ Butterworth, ‘A rural Maori renaissance?’ pp.172-173. Butterworth noted that Ngata, responsible for the establishment of the Maori Purposes Fund Board, ‘wanted ordinary Maori to be given only limited technical training ... and argued that academic education should be restricted to the small minority it would benefit.’ Ngata’s views were echoed by the Department of Education. See Barrington, *Separate but equal?* pp.212-213.

education provided had ‘drifted ... from the realities of Maori life which should have guided the schools in the preparation of their courses.’¹⁶²⁰

The report was prepared by D.G. Ball: some of the papers employed in its preparation were located, including a statistical summary based on responses received from post-primary schools. If it is assumed that the summary was complete and accurate, then it indicated (Table 8.10) that in 1938, high schools in the Wellington Education District had just five Maori students on their rolls. On the other hand, the Rotorua High and Grammar Schools had 42 while Dannevirke High School had 36 (in both cases, enrolled across all courses). Palmerston North Boys’ High School had three Maori students in 1938, but Palmerston North Girls’ High School had none. There were seven district high schools in the Wellington Education District, located at Carterton, Eketahuna, Featherston, Greytown, Levin, Martinborough, and Pahiatua. Among them, they had on their rolls in 1938 just 14 Maori students.

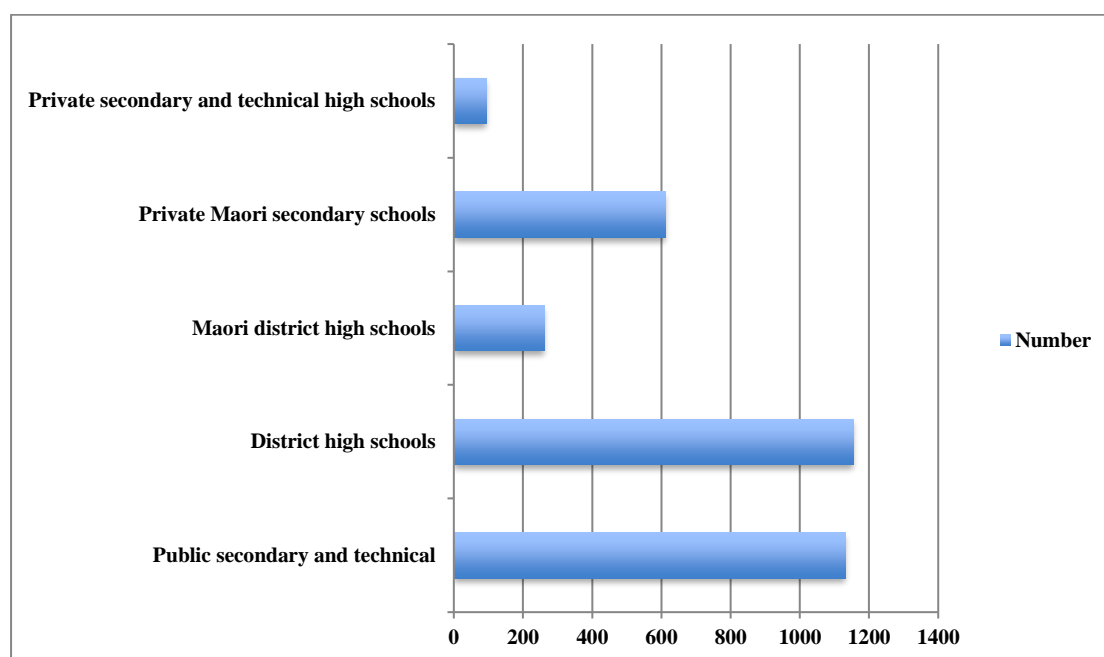
Table 8.9: Maori students attending post-primary schools, Wellington Education District and New Zealand 1935-1938

	Admitted 1935	Admitted 1936	Admitted 1937	Admitted 1938	At present on roll
<i>High schools</i>					
Wellington	5	-	-	1	1
New Zealand	53	63	52	60	123
<i>Combined schools</i>					
Wellington	-	-	-	3	3
New Zealand	5	8	8	13	27
<i>Technical schools</i>					
Wellington	-	-	-	2	2
New Zealand	23	28	26	33	54
<i>District high schools</i>					
Wellington	2	8	5	7	14
New Zealand	39	54	40	75	133
<i>Grand totals</i>					
Wellington	7	8	5	13	20
New Zealand	120	153	126	181	337

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/16 37/28/5 Part 2 Alt No.1936/1b

¹⁶²⁰ AJHR 1939, E3, p.5.

By 1948 the number of Maori engaged in post-primary education figure had increased very sharply to 3,257.¹⁶²¹ Graph 8.4 sets out the details by type of institution. Of the total enrolled, 2,381 (or 73.1 per cent) were enrolled in other than the private Maori secondary schools.



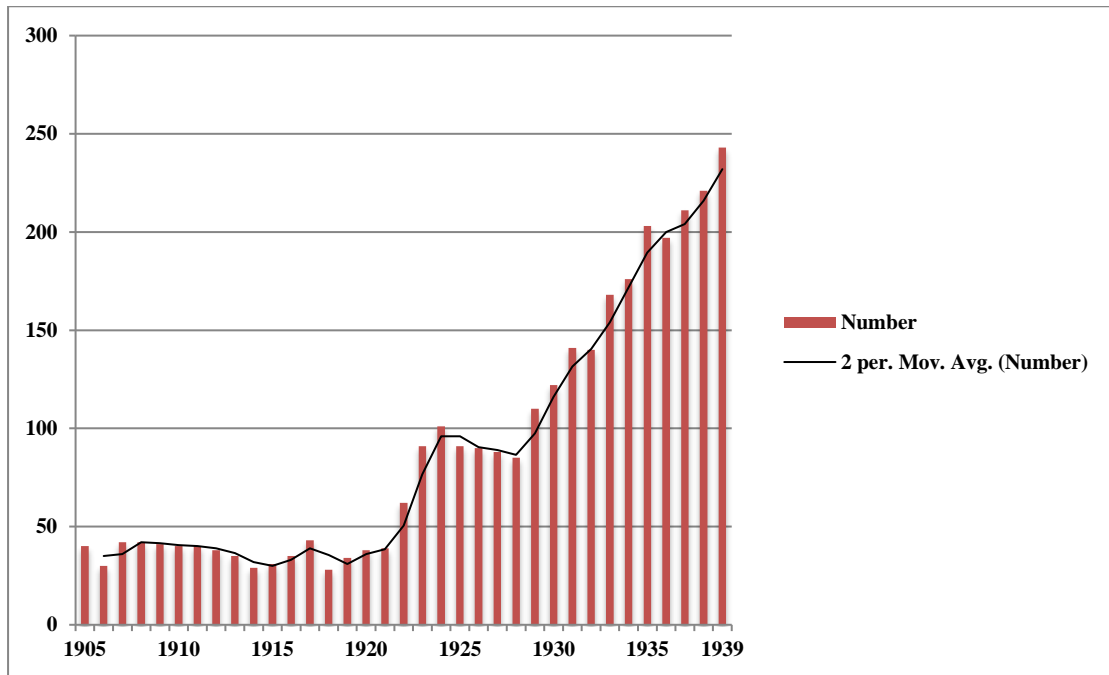
Source: AJHR 1948, E3, p.6

Graph 8.4: Maori (including ‘half-caste’) enrolments in secondary education, 1948

Graph 8.5 sets out the course of enrolments in the Levin District High School from 1905 to 1939.¹⁶²² Numbers enrolled remained at modest levels until the early 1920s, declined during the latter half of that decade, and then increased markedly and consistently from 1929 to 1939. The fact that fees were not payable, together with the lack of employment opportunities, appear to have encouraged enrolments during a decade of economic difficulty.

¹⁶²¹ Barrington, *Separate but equal?* p.228.

¹⁶²² It should be noted that the numbers were recorded in varying fashion: from 1905 to to 1908, the roll was given as the ‘number of pupils;’ from 1909 to 1911 as the ‘mean of average of weekly rolls of last four quarters;’ from 1912 to 1930 as ‘average attendance;’ and from 1931 as the number enrolled on 1 March.



Source: AJHR E12, E6, and E2

Graph 8.5: The course of enrolments in Levin District High School, 1905 to 1939

Table 8.10 sets out the number of Maori students enrolled in the Foxton and Levin District High Schools in 1935 and 1936. Certainly, with respect to the Levin District High School, Maori students did not participate in the marked expansion of that school's roll during the 1930s. Table 8.10 confirms the impression derived from Levin District High School class photographs from the 1920s and 1930s: they reveal very few (recognizably) Maori students.¹⁶²³ It is worth noting here that, in 1946, the Beagleholes recorded that many (Otaki) Maori families were unable to sustain the cost of supporting children through a high school or a technical college.¹⁶²⁴ Nevertheless, the fact that the Rotorua and Dannevirke secondary schools did enrol substantial numbers of Maori students merits closer investigation: why did they succeed in doing so where others appear to have failed? It is at least possible that the two schools made particular efforts to engage with their Maori communities. Whatever the explanation, the enrolment contrasts between those schools and their Porirua ki Manawatu counterparts were stark.

¹⁶²³ See www.horowhenua.kete.net.nz (Levin District High School).

¹⁶²⁴ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.31.

Table 8.10: Maori students enrolled in Foxton and Levin High Schools, 1935 and 1936

	Foxton	Levin
Number of junior free place students enrolled in 1935	1	4
Number of paying students enrolled in 1935	-	-
Number of junior free place students enrolled in 1936	-	2
Number of paying students enrolled in 1936	1	-
Number of senior free place students on roll	1	2

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIG E3/12 37/28/1 Part 1 Alternative number 1936/1a

In short, the evidence is plain that in Porirua ki Manawatu pre-1940 Maori participation in secondary education was minimal, reflecting in significant part the inability of Maori parents to meet the (non-tuition) costs of secondary education. But the low rate of participation also reflected the continuing contribution that Maori children made to the economic life of their communities. Other contributing factors included the generally later age at which Maori children compared with non-Maori children began school, the shorter time the former spent in primary schools than their non-Maori counterparts, and the fact that many Maori children attained the school-leaving age (raised to 15 years in 1920) before reaching Form II. Further, the fact that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori children had to attend Pakeha schools in which the language of instruction was English, and in which the conviction that Maori students had to be prepared for life and work beyond the pa inhibited progression in to secondary education.¹⁶²⁵ Difficulties of this character were well recognised, but no remedial action appears to have been attempted. Data relating to attendance at school by Maori students were not located, but anecdotal evidence suggests that poor health and especially the widespread incidence of tuberculosis, in turn associated with poor housing standards, meant for many Maori students interrupted schooling and thus poor achievement levels.

8.9 Maori secondary (denominational) schools

As noted, by 1938 very few Maori students had enrolled in endowed secondary schools or indeed in district high schools. Rather, from its establishment, the Department of

¹⁶²⁵ On the last, see AJHR 1947, E3, p.34.

Education decided to continue subsidising Maori private denominational schools as the best means of providing secondary education for Maori. Until the 1880s, these schools were, as Barrington noted, ‘essentially primary schools.’¹⁶²⁶ The Crown provided financial assistance through per capita grants, a practice that gave way about 1881 to scholarships that were awarded to those Maori students considered best placed to benefit from further study. Through the system of scholarships the Crown continue to assist financially the denominational post-primary schools. By 1901 there were four such schools but the number had increased to 11 by 1920: they included Otaki College. It was in 1901 that George Hogben, as Inspector-General of Education, visited these schools and endeavoured to persuade them to introduce manual and technical instruction as ‘more important than bookish forms of instruction which might tend to unfit Maori boys and girls for the simple life of the pa ...’¹⁶²⁷

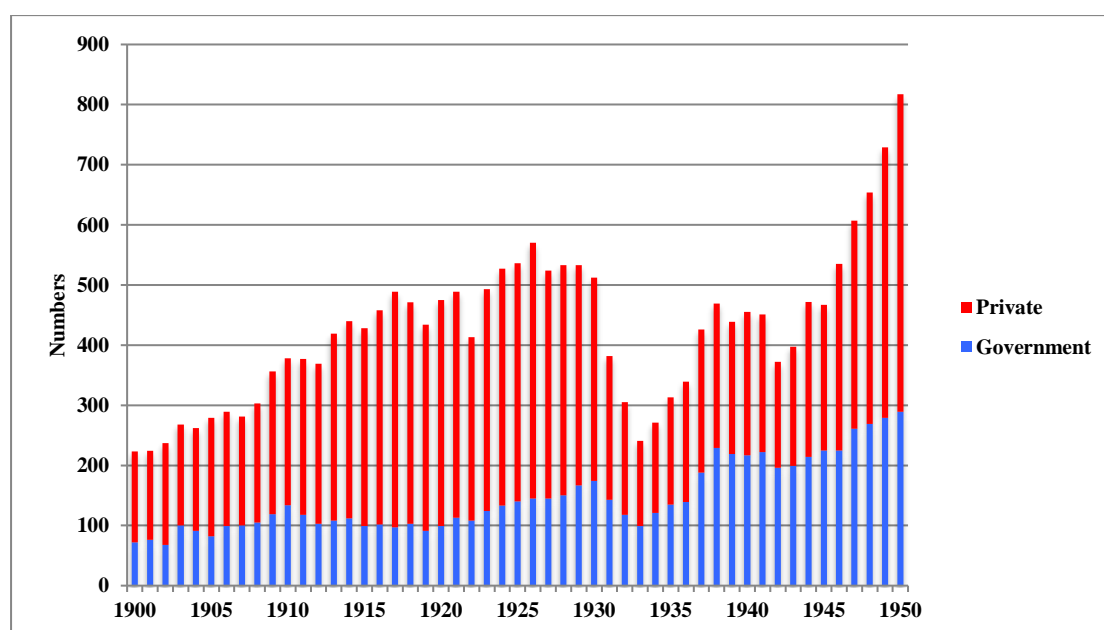
Graph 8.6 sets out the number of students attending Maori secondary schools from 1900 to 1951. Several points should be noted: first, that until 1924, the numbers related to all those receiving a higher (excluding tertiary) education, although in fact most were attending the denominational schools, very few Maori having gained entry into the country’s secondary schools; second, from 1925 onwards, the data are for Maori attending Maori secondary schools; and, third, from 1930 onwards, the published data distinguished between primary and secondary students attending the Maori secondary schools. Apart from three students recorded for 1930, all ‘Government students’ were secondary students. The total number of private students, on the other hand, included substantial numbers attending the primary divisions of the Maori secondary schools. In short, Graph 8.6 summarises the number of Maori attending Maori secondary schools, not the number receiving secondary education.

Graph 8.6 indicates first, that the total numbers attending grew more or less steadily from 1900 to 1930; second, that numbers contracted sharply during the early 1930s, and then recovered again although it was 1948 before the earlier peak of 1925 was reached again. The slump in numbers during the first half of the 1930s reflected reductions in the number and value of scholarships offered by the Government, and the

¹⁶²⁶ Barrington, *Separate but equal?* p.142.

¹⁶²⁷ K.M. Matthews, *In their own right: women and higher education in New Zealand before 1945*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2008, p.41.

inability of Maori parents to meet the costs of private attendance. Graph 8.7 makes it clear that the number of privately-funded students in particular contracted very sharply, from 388 in 1930 to 142 in 1933, before recovering to 240 in 1939. The pre-war peak of 425 reached in 1926 was not attained until 1949. Barrington, concluded that the 1931 reductions in the number and value of scholarships and financial hardship generally ‘made it difficult for Maori parents to meet the additional expenses of maintaining a Government scholar, and virtually all impossible for all but the few better-off families to send their children to secondary schools as private students.’¹⁶²⁸ As a result, Maori secondary education suffered a severe set-back during the 1930s.¹⁶²⁹



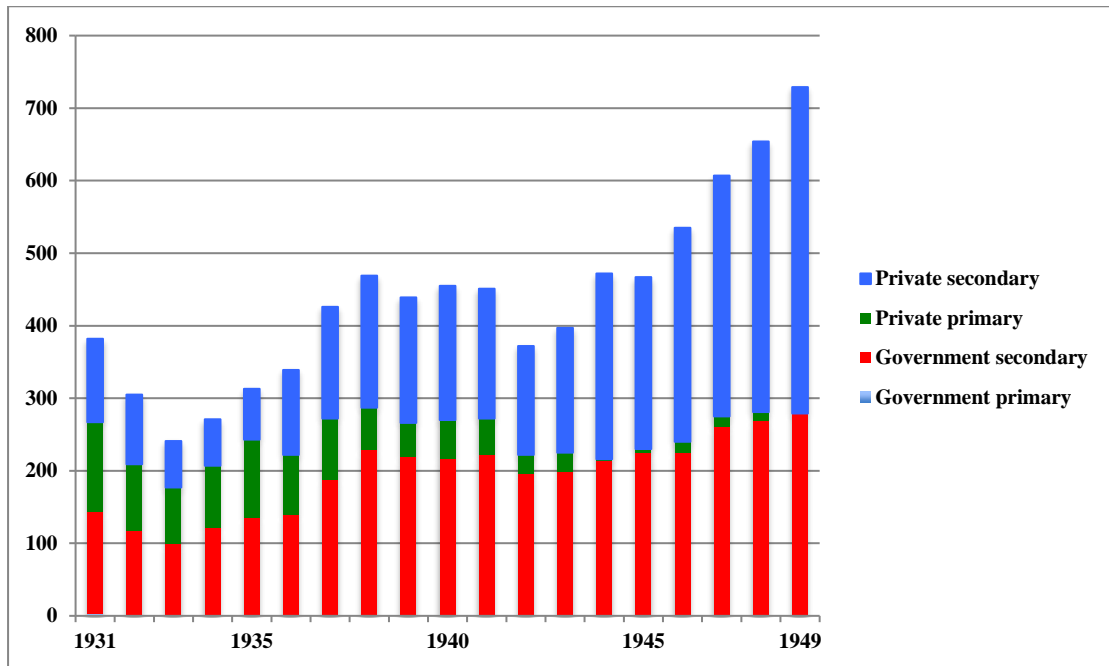
Source: AJHR 1901 to 1950, E2 and E3

Graph 8.6: Numbers of privately and Government-funded Maori attending Maori secondary schools, 1900 to 1950

As noted above, it is important to recognise that not all those who enrolled in Maori secondary schools were in fact secondary students. Graph 8.7 distinguishes between the number of primary and secondary students, both private and secondary. Of private students attending Maori secondary schools, an appreciable proportion, until 1940, attended the primary divisions.

¹⁶²⁸ Barrington, *Separate but equal?* p.210.

¹⁶²⁹ Barrington, *Separate but equal?* pp.210-212. See also J.M. Barrington and T.H. Beaglehole, *Maori schools in a changing society: a historical review*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1974, p.220.



Source: AJHR 1932 to 1950, E3

Graph 8.7: Government-funded and private students, primary and secondary, attending Maori secondary schools, 1931 to 1950

8.9.1 Scholarships

The denominational schools secured per capita grants from the State until they were gradually replaced, from 1881 onwards, by student scholarships. In Section V of the Native Schools Code 1880, the Government indicated that it proposed to institute a system of scholarships to enable Maori children ‘to prosecute their studies after leaving the village schools.’ The new system was phased in over a period of several years: in 1881, the Government indicated that ‘The older boarders are gradually being removed, and their places supplied by boys and girls from the village schools who have passed the Fourth Standard of the Native Schools Code with credit. ... It is intended to admit also a few children from districts that are without schools.’¹⁶³⁰ With an initial value of £15 per annum and tenable for two years, the scholarships were awarded to students of Native village schools who had passed the fourth standard of the Native Schools Code and were thought ‘most likely to benefit from further study.’¹⁶³¹

¹⁶³⁰ AJHR 1882, E1, p.24.

¹⁶³¹ AJHR 1881, E7, p.11. On the Native Schools Code, see AJHR 1880, H1F.

Once the Native schools offered education beyond Standard IV (from 1898 onwards), the denominational schools moved from primary to secondary schooling and thus, Ball recorded, the Government scholarships ‘became the recognised means of providing a post-primary education for Maori children who lived in districts remote from the usual public post-primary schools, that is, for Maori pupils who had passed through Native schools or public schools and who could not attend district high schools, technical schools, or public secondary schools.’ The scholarship system was regarded as a ‘cheaper’ alternative to establishing State post-primary schools for Maori.¹⁶³² ‘Later,’ he added, ‘a few scholarships were made available for children predominantly of Maori race attending public schools.’¹⁶³³

In 1887, four denominational schools were recognised as suitable for the scholarship or free-place students. The Government’s clear expectation was that scholarship students would return to their communities lest they become ‘a sort of Maori-Pakeha.’ In 1920 the Minister of Education noted that ‘The Government has not instituted any schools especially for the secondary education of Maoris, but a number of such schools having been established and being maintained by the various denominational bodies, the Government subsidizes them by providing at them a number of free places for Maori children possessing the requisite qualifications.’¹⁶³⁴ Again, in 1933, the Government acknowledged that its expenditure on scholarships was ‘the only provision by which secondary education for Maori children attending Native schools is made.’¹⁶³⁵ The system of scholarships, apart from changes in the qualifying criteria and in duration and value, remained in place until the 1960s.¹⁶³⁶ From 1905 to 1918 the value of a scholarship was £18 per annum; from 1918 to 1928 it was £30 per annum; and from 1928 to 1931 it was set at £35. The Maori Purposes Fund Control Board introduced 25 ‘continuation scholarships’ to allow a third year of secondary education: the number was reduced to 20 in 1931, but in 1932 none was awarded.

¹⁶³² Ball, ‘Maori education,’ p.294.

¹⁶³³ Ball, ‘Maori education,’ p.295.

¹⁶³⁴ AJHR 1920, E3, p.4.

¹⁶³⁵ AJHR 1933, E3, p.5.

¹⁶³⁶ See Paul *Christoffel*, ‘Education, health, and housing in the Taihape Inquiry District, 1880-2013,’ commissioned research report, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2016, p.152.

In 1931, the National Expenditure Commission proposed that all Government scholarships should be abolished, on the grounds that the ordinary secondary schools should meet Maori needs.¹⁶³⁷ The schools' governing authorities insisted that any changes in the number and value of scholarships would have adverse long-term consequences for Maori, and hence abolition was discarded in favour of a reduction in the number awarded annually, from 179 to 136, and a reduction in the value of each to £31 10s. That prompted the Maori Purposes Fund Board to supplement each scholarship awarded by £3 10s thus restoring it to its pre-Depression original value. The Fund (and Board) had been established in 1925 with a capital sum of £9,000 drawn from unclaimed rents and purchase monies held by the Maori land boards: the interest accruing therefrom was employed to support educational, social, and cultural activities.

In 1920, the Minister of Education reported that Maori children attending public schools achieved results that were 'much inferior' to those secured by children attending Native village schools, the result, he suggested, of language difficulties, lack of 'special attention' by teaching staff, and irregular attendance.¹⁶³⁸ This matter was taken up by the Maori conference at Putiki in 1928. While it welcomed the increased assistance being provided by the Department of Education and the creation of the Maori Purposes Fund, it sought an adjustment to the allocation of free places or Government scholarships tenable at Maori secondary schools 'so as to assure a fairer distribution between students from Native schools and public schools.' As noted above, the Government had indicated, in 1881, that it intended to admit 'a few children from districts that are without [Native] schools,' and the number awarded appears to have remained small.¹⁶³⁹ The practical limitation of the scheme to students of Native village schools meant that Porirua ki Manawatu Maori children were excluded from participating.

Hence, the conference recorded that 'Under the present system, a disproportionately large number of such scholarships is secured by students of Native schools.' It noted, in particular, the implications for those districts in which few Native schools had been established, among them the North Island's West Coast, Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa,

¹⁶³⁷ Barrington, *Separate but equal?* p.210.

¹⁶³⁸ AJHR 1920, E3, p.4.

¹⁶³⁹ AJHR 1881, E7, p.1.

despite the fact more than one-half of the Maori Purposes Fund was contributed by the Maori Land Boards administering Native lands in 'these handicapped areas.'¹⁶⁴⁰ The conference also pressed for an increase in the value of Government scholarships or free places from £30 to £40 a year in recognition of the increased cost of maintenance at Maori secondary schools, the institution of 'continuation nursing scholarships' for Maori girls, and 'The more extended training of Maori youths in normal, technical, and engineering schools and establishments.'¹⁶⁴¹

In 1936, a national conference on Maori health, education, and housing again recommended that the number and value of scholarships should be increased. As a result, the Government lifted the number of junior scholarships from 136 to 174 and the value of each to £35 per annum. It also increased what Ball termed 'other than Native school scholarships from 16 to 30, agricultural scholarships from 4 to 10, and provision was made for 10 nursing scholarships and for 35 Continuation Scholarships.'¹⁶⁴²

In 1936, the Government abolished the proficiency examination and, in 1937, introduced 'free' education for all up the age of 19.¹⁶⁴³ For those residing some distance from a secondary school, free transport was provided or, in the alternative, a private boarding allowance. Nevertheless, Barrington noted, many Maori parents were unable to supplement that allowance and/or were averse to their children residing away from home. Hence, in 1940, only about 40.7 per cent of Maori children in Native village and board primary schools progressed past Form II, compared with 64 per cent of all children.¹⁶⁴⁴ In May 1941, the Senior Inspector of Native Schools attributed that low progression rate to the location of secondary and technical high schools in the main urban centres whereas most Maori continued to reside in small rural settlements; the inability of many Maori families to supplement the weekly boarding allowance of 7s 6d available to children residing in remote communities; and the inappropriateness of the curriculum offered by district high schools. 'It must be accepted,' he concluded, 'that the general State provisions for the post-primary education of the children of this

¹⁶⁴⁰ AJHR 1928, G8, p.3.

¹⁶⁴¹ AJHR 1928, G8, pp3-4.

¹⁶⁴² Ball, 'Maori education,' p.296.

¹⁶⁴³ 'Education of Maoris,' *Press* 5 September 1935, p.16.

¹⁶⁴⁴ AJHR 1941, E3, p.2.

Dominion do not, in fact, provide for many Maori children.' He went on to remark that a large proportion of Maori students left school at 14 years but with a standard of attainment no higher than Form I and in most cases much lower.¹⁶⁴⁵

Writing in 1940, Belshaw claimed

the great majority of Maori boys and girls are denied the opportunity of secondary education. The proportion who attend secondary schools is very much less than among Europeans. In most cases they live in areas remote even from European secondary schools, and they are a grave disadvantage by comparison with *pakeha* children. Despite the existence of special scholarships for Maori boys and girls, the financial handicaps facing the majority of parents are insuperable, and in addition there is a natural disinclination among parents to send children away from home and the community.

There were in the lives of young Maori, he added, between leaving school and entering the workforce, 'years of idleness and lack of purpose,' so that the lack of secondary education constituted what he termed 'a barrier to economic and social efficiency.' There was, he concluded, a pressing need for secondary education facilities in the centres of Maori population and for more scholarships.¹⁶⁴⁶ In short, for most Maori, formal education ceased at primary school. In other words, the physical and financial barriers to secondary schools proved insurmountable for most Maori families. Interestingly, Belshaw argued that the State should make a proportionately greater investment in Maori than general secondary education: the outcome, he predicted, would effect a reduction in Maori financial dependence upon the State and render Maori more economically productive.¹⁶⁴⁷

In 1946, the Government decided to increase the number of junior scholarships held by Maori students at public and private secondary schools from 174 to 200 over a two-year period, and, to cover rising costs, to increase the value from £35 to £55 per annum for boys and to £50 per annum for girls.¹⁶⁴⁸ In 1951, all new scholarships were extended to four years and their value to £60 per annum for both boys and girls.¹⁶⁴⁹

¹⁶⁴⁵ AJHR 1941, E3, pp.1-2.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Belshaw, 'Maori economic circumstances,' pp.225-226.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Belshaw, 'Maori economic circumstances,' p.226.

¹⁶⁴⁸ AJHR 1947, E3, p.5.

¹⁶⁴⁹ AJHR 1951, E3, pp.3-4.

8.9.2 Distribution of scholarships held by Maori students by school

Table 8.11 sets out, as at the end of 1946, the distribution by school of Maori students holding scholarships. Places of residence of the 274 students involved are not known. Maori Girls' College (opened in Turakina in 1905 but shifted to Marton in 1927) opened in 1928 and in all likelihood enrolled students from the districts lying to the south of the Manawatu River as it expanded its secondary provision. The numbers admitted contracted during the 1930s, from 20 in 1930 to just 12 in 1936, while the total rolls followed course, declining from 45 in 1930 to 26 in 1934 before showing signs of a modest recovery. The school had a capacity of 45 and derived about a third of its income from student fees.¹⁶⁵⁰

Table 8. 11: Maori students holding scholarships, by school, December 1946

Schools	Boys	Schools	Girls
Te Aute College, Pukehou	55	Te Wai Pounamu College	4
St Stephen's College, Bombay	-	Hukarere College, Napier	44
Wesley College, Paerata	17	St Joseph's College, Greenmeadows	33
St Patrick's College, Silverstream	10	Turakina College, Marton	32
Sacred Heart College, Auckland	7	Queen Victoria College, Auckland	40
St Peter's College, Northcote	3		
Gisborne High School	4		
Napier Boys' High School	10		
New Plymouth Boys' High School	3		
Dannevirke High School	8		
Feilding Agricultural High School	4		
Total	121		153

Source: AJHR 1947, E3, p.5

8.10 The Otaki Mission School

The Otaki Mission School, variously known as the Otaki Mission School, the Otaki Maori Mission School, the Otaki Maori Boys' College, and Otaki College, continued to operate, although its roll appears to have fluctuated and attendance to have been intermittent.¹⁶⁵¹ In 1918, an inspector of Native schools issued a critical appraisal of the 'Otaki Maori Boys' College' and what he termed its declining 'efficiency,' something he attributed to irregular attendance, staff changes, lack of interest on the part of Maori,

¹⁶⁵⁰ ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/12 37/28/1 Part 1 Alt No.1936/1a.

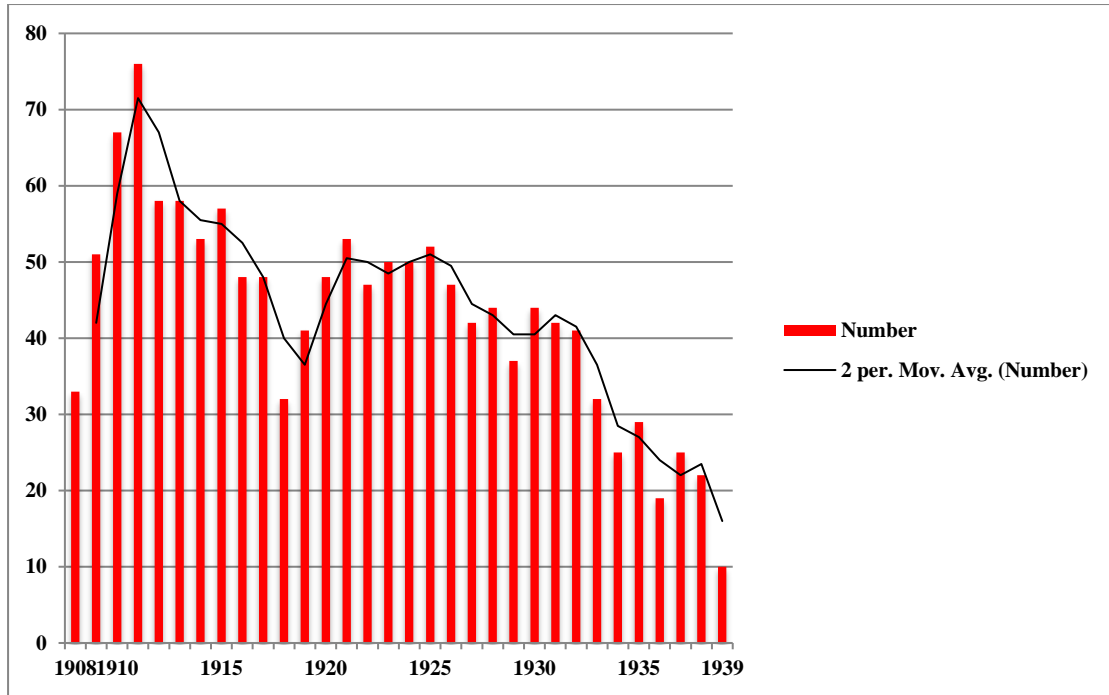
¹⁶⁵¹ AJHR 1896, E2, p.9 and 1897 E2, p.9.

the ‘sinister influence of a section of the Maoris,’ and the personality of the head teacher. He cited previous critical reports dating back to 1909: at that date, it had been suggested that the college should become a secondary school that focussed on providing ‘practical instruction in all branches of agriculture.’ On this occasion he proposed that it should become a boarding school similar to Hikurangi and Te Aute and that it should focus on the provision of ‘industrial training ... the only kind of education that is likely to benefit the Maori race.’ He suggested that any effort by Maori to have the school transformed in to a secondary school and offering education for the professions should be resisted as benefiting only a few.¹⁶⁵²

In 1919, the school had a roll of 35 of whom 15 were classified as post-primary. The critical reports continued, together with suggestions that junior children and day students should attend Otaki’s public primary school. The total roll, nevertheless, continued to grow: Graph 8.8 sets out, for the period from 1913 to 1936 (the years for which data were published) the numbers recorded in the annual reports of the Minister of Education. Numbers recovered after the end of First World War to reach a peak in 1921 only for a sustained decline to set in during the mid-1920s that resulted in closure in 1939. By 1938, the College offered very little in the way of secondary education. Tuition fees stood at £12 18s per student per annum and boarding costs at £38 7s. It is of interest to note that while the number of boarders remained relatively stable at about 17 in each year from 1929 to 1936, the number of day scholars fell sharply, from 30 in 1930 to just seven in 1936.¹⁶⁵³

¹⁶⁵² Inspector of Native Schools to Secretary, Diocesan Trust, Wellington 3 January 1918, in ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/27 37/24/11 Part 1.

¹⁶⁵³ ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/12 37/28/1 Part 1 Alt No.1936/1a.



Source: ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/27 37/24/11 Part 1. See also AJHR1914 to 1932, E3

Graph 8.8: Enrolments in Otaki College, 1908 to 1939

Table 8.12 sets out the number of primary and secondary students attending Otaki College between 1930 and 1936, the years for which data were published: all enrollees were fee-paying students.

Table 8.12: Government and private primary and secondary students attending Otaki College, 1930 to 1935

End of	Government primary	Government secondary	Private primary	Private secondary
1930	-	-	42	2
1931	-	-	37	5
1932	-	-	36	5
1933	-	-	28	4
1934	-	-	19	6
1935	-	-	26	3

Source: AJHR 1932 to 1937, E3

By 1935, the secondary department had just three students, while a good number of those on the roll were from the Cook Islands, the school failing increasingly to attract Maori. Deregistration of the school was raised in 1938, as was combining the Hikurangi

Trust Funds (Papawai and Kaikokirikiri) with the Otaki Trust with a view to developing the college.¹⁶⁵⁴ In August 1939, the Porirua College Trustees decided to close the Otaki Maori College – then with just ten students – with effect from the end of that year and to offer the buildings (which occupied eight acres) to the Government.¹⁶⁵⁵ According to the Minister of Education, the college ‘was of course a boys’ college but without much vitality. It is, he added, ‘vastly more important to have girls’ colleges. The standard of civilization of the race depends on the standard of civilization of the girls and on little else.’ Perhaps, he suggested, the college should be opened as a girls’ school. ‘It might,’ he suggested, ‘result in the miracle of peace at Otaki.’¹⁶⁵⁶ At that point, the file fell silent.

Table 8.13: Enrolments in Otaki College, 1937 and 1938

Classes	Boys 1937	Girls 1937	Totals 1938	Boys 1938	Girls 1938	Totals 1938
Primer 1	1	1	1	-	-	-
Primer 2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primer 3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primer 4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Standard 1	1	-	1	1	-	1
Standard 2	3	-	3	1	-	1
Standard 3	-	-	-	3	-	3
Standard 4	5	1	6	2	-	2
Form 1	3	-	3	5	-	5
Form 2	6	-	6	7	-	7
Form 3	3	-	3	3	-	3
Totals	22	2	24	22	-	22

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/27 37/24/11 Part 1

Table 8.14 indicates that a small number of students in each year from 1917 to 1936 sat the proficiency examination, but that only a modest number secured either a certificate of proficiency or a certificate of competency. Whatever else those numbers might

¹⁶⁵⁴ Note for file, in ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/27 37/24/11 Part 1.

¹⁶⁵⁵ See ‘Closing of Native College and Hostel,’ *Otaki Mail* 11 December 1939, copy in ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/27 37/24/11 Part 1.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Minister, Education to Director, Education 15 October 1943, in ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/27 37/24/11 Part 1.

suggest, it is clear that the Otaki College made a minor contribution to efforts to increase Maori participation in secondary education.

Table 8.14: Otaki Maori College: number of candidates for and passes in proficiency examinations, 1917-1936

Year	Candidates	Proficiency	Competency
1917	5	1	-
1918	4	4	-
1919	1	-	-
1920	4	3	-
1921	3	-	-
1922	6	4	1
1923	5	2	2
1924	5	2	2
1925	6	3	-
1926	7	2	2
1927	8	2	-
1928	11	4	5
1929	5	3	-
1930	8	3	2
1931	8	3	2
1932	7	4	2
1933	8	4	1
1934	8	1	4
1935	7	2	2
1936	5	2	3

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E3/27 37/24/11 Part 1

Following an intensive debate among Ngati Toa, Te Ati Awa, and Ngati Raukawa, the 1943 Otaki-Porirua and Papawai-Kaikokirikiri Trusts Committee recommended the formation of a new Otaki and Porirua trust board to administer trust funds and to employ them to provide financial assistance for Ngati Raukawa, Te Ati Awa, and Ngati Toa students to attend secondary schools of their parents' choosing.¹⁶⁵⁷ That recommendation appears to have been in line with the view of Maori as recorded by the Beagleholes: they found that Maori were dissatisfied with the education formerly provided by the Otaki College, but that they could not afford to send their children to secondary schools. Some made it clear that they favoured using the trust funds to

¹⁶⁵⁷ AJHR 1943, I3A.

support attendance at local schools.¹⁶⁵⁸ The Otaki and Porirua Trusts Act 1943 established a board, while section 12(3) required it to allocate two-thirds of its net income in each financial year to the provision of scholarships ‘for children of British subjects of all races, and for children of other persons being inhabitants of islands in the Pacific Ocean, but so that preference is given to boys and girls of the Ngatiraukawa, Ngatiawa, and Ngatitōa Tribes, *and then to other Maoris or descendants of Maoris residing on the west coast of the North Island ...* and, failing such, to Maoris or descendants of Maoris of any part of New Zealand.’ Some dissatisfaction remained, and amending legislation was passed as the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Amendment Act 1946. Section 6 of the latter amended section 12 by specifying that scholarships would be awarded ‘for the post-primary education’ of children, and by excising the words italicised above. It is of interest to note here that in 1947, the Department of Education investigated the suitability of the school for use as a residential unit for Correspondence School students, for ‘refresher’ courses, and for conferences. The Department agreed to purchase the buildings and to lease the site, but could not reach a final agreement with the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board over the terms and conditions of the lease.¹⁶⁵⁹

8.11 Educational outcomes, c1951

After 1945, the Department of Education prepared a series of annual reports on Maori school leavers: two, for 1948 and 1949, were located. The data relating to Porirua ki Manawatu were extracted and are presented in the following tables.

8.11.1 Educational level of Maori school leavers

Table 8.15 sets out the educational level those Maori students who left school in 1949. It will be noted that the proportion leaving without any secondary education was generally between 41 and 42 per cent. It is not clear what lay behind the much higher 82.7 per cent recorded for the Palmerston North District for 1949, although it should be noted that the actual numbers involved were small. It is also worth noting that nationally 50.2 per cent of all Maori school leavers left with some secondary education.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Beagleholes, *Some modern Maoris*, p.

¹⁶⁵⁹ ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E2/603 37/24/11 Part 2.

Table 8.15: Educational level of Maori (including half-caste) school leavers, 1948 and 1949

	PN District 1948	PN District 1949	Horowhenua District 1948	Horowhenua District 1949
Not stated	-	-	-	-
Standard 1	-	-	-	-
Standard 2	-	-	-	-
Standard 3	-	-	-	4
Standard 4	2	1	1	4
Form I	7	2	10	5
Form II	5	2	6	11
Form III	4	8	3	5
Form IV	3	12	6	10
Form V	3	4	3	2
Form VI	-	-	-	-
Total	24	29	29	41
With secondary education	41.6 per cent	82.7 per cent	41.4 per cent	41.9per cent

Source: ANZ Wellington ACIG 17240 E2/252 37/1/3 Alternative Number 1952/28b

8.11.2 Years of attendance

Among the commonly accepted measures of educational attainment is years of attendance or length of stay. Table 8.16 sets out some details: two thirds of the 39 students left after having attended secondary school for less than two years. Two commonly accepted measurements of educational participation and achievement are length of stay and highest qualification.

Table 8.16: Maori (including half-caste) school leavers: years of attendance at secondary school, 1952-1953

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year	6th year
Feilding Agricult.	2	3	1	-	-	-
PN Technical	2	2	3	-	-	-
Horowhenua	7	7	3	5	1	-
Foxton	2	1	-	-	-	-
Totals	13	13	7	5	1	-

Source: ANZ Wellington AAZY W3901/317 E4/36

8.11.3 Destinations: primary school leavers

Beginning in 1949, the annual reports of the Department of Education included tables setting out the 'probable destination' of Maori students leaving public primary and Maori schools. Three tables were presented. The first set out the numbers of both Maori and Pakeha students leaving public primary schools: it recorded that 84.5 per cent of boys and 88.8 percent of girls would enter post-primary education.¹⁶⁶⁰ A second table recorded the probable destinations of Maori students leaving Maori schools: the proportions going on to post-primary education were 61.8 and 66.5 per cent respectively.¹⁶⁶¹ A third table set out the probable destinations of Maori students leaving public primary and Maori schools: the proportions, respectively, were 58.7 per cent and 65.7 per cent.¹⁶⁶² In short, the proportions of Maori boys and girls of Maori students proceeding in to post-primary education were significantly lower than for all students.

For the Wellington Education District, data was located, with respect to public primary schools, for Maori students leaving Form II in 1952. They are set out in Table 8.17: it indicates that 76.8 per cent planned to enter full-time post-primary education. While it is hazardous to generalise on the basis of such limited data, nevertheless, the results suggest that the progression rate for Maori from primary to secondary schooling varied regionally.

¹⁶⁶⁰ AJHR 1949, E1, p.19.

¹⁶⁶¹ AJHR 1949, E1, p.20.

¹⁶⁶² AJHR 1949, E3, p.11.

Table 8.17: Probable destination of Maori students leaving Form II, public primary schools, Wellington Education District, 1952

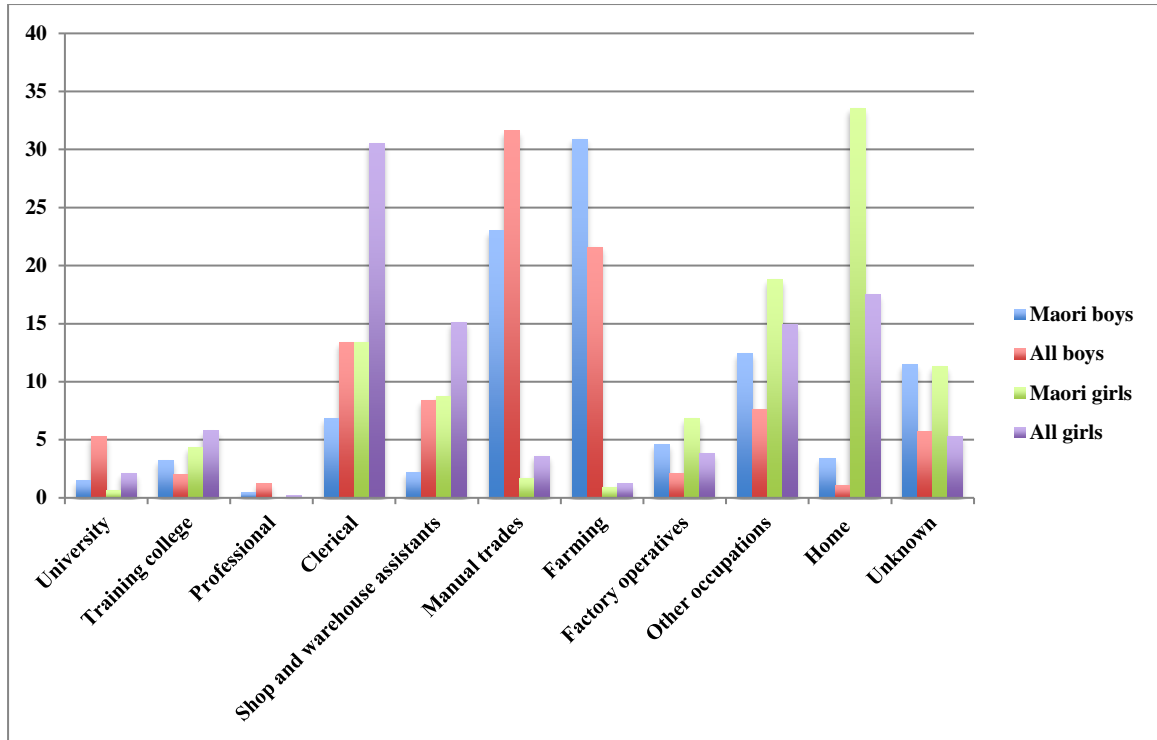
	With Primary School Certificate	Without Primary School Certificate
Full time post-primary education	74	2
Clerical	-	-
Retailing, warehousing	-	-
Manual trades	-	1
Farming	4	2
Factory operatives	-	3
Other occupations	1	3
At home	3	4
Not known	2	-
Totals	84	15
Continued full-time education at another primary or intermediate school	1	12

Source: ANZ Wellington AAZY W3901/316 E4/35

8.11.4 Destinations: post-primary school leavers

Similar tables setting out the probable destinations of those leaving post-primary schools were also published. The first sets out those for all (that is, both Maori and non-Maori) school leavers in 1948, and a second those of Maori leaving such schools. Similar tables were published for 1951 and the data are presented in Graph 8.9. Some major contrasts are apparent:

- Only small proportions of Maori boys and girls were proceeding in to tertiary education
- Smaller proportions of both Maori boys and girls were entering clerical, retailing, and warehousing occupations
- An appreciably higher proportion of Maori boys were entering in to farming, while a higher proportion of Maori girls would remain at home, and
- The probable destination of higher proportions of both Maori boys and girls was listed as unknown.



Source: AJHR 1952, E3

Graph 8.9: Probable destinations of all Maori and Pakeha secondary school leavers, 1951

8.11.5 Probable destinations of Porirua Ki Manawatu Maori secondary school leavers

Table 8.18 sets out the destination of full-time Maori students leaving four Porirua ki Manawatu secondary schools. The numbers are too small to warrant comment, although it is noticeable that none was proceeding in to tertiary education.

Table 8.18: Destination of full-time Maori students leaving secondary schools (all forms) during and at end of year, 1952 and 1953

Destination	Feilding Agricultural 1952	Palmerston North Technical 1953	Horowhenua 1953	Foxton 1952
Tertiary education	-	-	-	-
Teaching/training college	-	-	-	-
Professional	-	-	4	-
Clerical	2	1	1	-
Retailing, warehousing	-	1	-	-
Manual trades	-	-	1	-
Farming	-	1	3	-
Factory operatives	-	-	4	1
Other occupations	1	1	5	-
Home	-	-	2	-
Not known	3	3	2	2
Totals	6	7	23	3

Source: ANZ Wellington AAZY W3901/317 E4/36

Maori in secondary education after 1951

As noted, the Department of Education estimated that the proportion of Maori students proceeding from primary to secondary school rose from about 41 per cent in 1940 to some 63 per cent by 1949. That such a sharp increase followed the introduction of free secondary education in 1937 suggests financial constraints had limited progression. Between 1949 and 1959, the proportion of Maori directly entering secondary school from primary school rose from 63 to 93 per cent.¹⁶⁶³ Difficulties remained. In 1980, for example, the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education estimated that for just over 47 per cent of all Maori students, Forms III or IV represented the highest year of secondary schooling: the comparable figure for non-Maori was 23 per cent. An improvement followed, the rate for Maori declining to just over 31 per cent in 1976, although it remained well above the rate for non-Maori at just under 11 per cent. Conversely, while in 1966, Form VI or VII represented the highest year for almost 31 per cent of non-Maori, the corresponding proportion for Maori was almost six per cent.

¹⁶⁶³ AJHR 1969, E1, p.32.

While the proportions for both groups increased over the following ten years, in 1976 the rate for Maori was 16.5 per cent, well below that for non-Maori of over 50 per cent.¹⁶⁶⁴ It is assumed that trends in Porirua ki Manawatu Maori participation mirrored those national trends.

On the other hand, the growing proportion of Maori students who proceeded beyond Form IV was not matched by a parallel increase in the proportion securing School Certificate: difficulties with the English language were cited as a prominent reason.¹⁶⁶⁵ In turn, that suggested a curriculum in the public primary school curriculum and/or methods of instruction and support that were not geared to the needs of Maori students. In 1969, the Department of Education recorded that most Maori entered the education system less well-prepared than non-Maori owing to ‘severe language deficiency and because of a different cultural background.’¹⁶⁶⁶ The proportion did improve, but even by the end of the 1980s, almost 37 per cent of Maori students left school without a qualification. The comparable proportion for non-Maori was about 12 percent, pointing to the persistence of a significant achievement gap. Again, while data for the all of the secondary schools in Porirua ki Manawatu were not located, there is no reason to suppose that local trends did not follow the same or similar course.

The 1998 and 2000 reports prepared by Te Puni Kokiri recorded for Maori continuing improvements in secondary school retention rates and achievement levels during the 1980s. Between 2001 and 2004 the existing secondary qualifications of School Certificate, Sixth Form Certificate, and Bursary were replaced by the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA). Further, the participation rate in tertiary education rose sharply: by 2010 the age-standardised rate for Maori participation in tertiary education exceeded by a significant margin the non-Maori rate (17.1 and 11.4 per cent). Differences remained, nevertheless, in the level of qualifications secured.¹⁶⁶⁷ Chapter 9 explores, with reference to NCEA Level 2 (2017) and tertiary qualifications (2013), the educational status of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori.

¹⁶⁶⁴ National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, *He huarahi: report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education*. Wellington: Department of Education, 1980, p.5.

¹⁶⁶⁵ See, for example, AJHR 1958, E1, p.38 and 1966, E1, p.28.

¹⁶⁶⁶ AJHR 1969, E3, p.28.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Te Puni Kokiri, *Progress towards closing the social and economic gaps between Maori and non-Maori: a report to the Minister of Maori Affairs*. Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri, 1998 and 2000.

8.12 Conclusions

It is clear from the evidence that Maori responded with considerable enthusiasm to the educational opportunities offered by the missions but that by 1870 that enthusiasm had waned. It is at least possible that the loss of interest reflected, on the part of Maori, the general erosion of trust in the Crown and the missions that followed both the land wars of the 1860s and the manner in which the Crown conducted its negotiations for the acquisition of the Rangitikei-Manawatu block. For many Porirua ki Manawatu Maori, the latter left an enduring legacy of bitterness and suspicion, sustained by the dissension that emerged over the award and subsequent alienation of the Manawatu-Kukutauaki and Horowhenua blocks. What is clear is that by the turn of the twentieth century, a large proportion of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori children were not participating in any formal education. Part of the reason may have resided in the pre-annexation dispersal of Maori into mostly small communities located northwards along the coastal lands from Porirua towards the Rangitikei River, in the routes chosen for the main roads and rail links through the region, and by the establishment along the latter of urban settlements as key elements of the Pakeha space-economy. But it is also important to recognise that by 1912 over 60 per cent of New Zealand's public schools were small one-teacher institutions, and that the education authorities had devised other means of reaching scattered school-age populations.

The investigation conducted by the 1905 Commission disclosed that considerably over half of the Maori children of Porirua ki Manawatu were not engaged in formal education. But it also disclosed that the Department of Education was able to produce reasonably detailed data relating to the numbers and distribution of those children and that it was aware of the level of non-enrolment and non-participation. The evidence presented by and behalf of Maori revealed a good deal about the extent of land loss, the difficulties Maori encountered in attempting to develop the lands that remained to them, the consequent nature of the Maori economy and the role that children played in it, a conviction that that economy offered little prospect of employment and advancement, and thus doubts over the value and relevancy of the education offered. In short, the evidence suggested that many Porirua ki Manawatu Maori communities were enmeshed in a range of difficulties the genesis of which lay in the earlier large –scale

loss of land and their subsequent inability to turn their remaining lands to commercial account.

Maori primary school enrolment rates appear to have improved during the first two decades of the twentieth century although they remained appreciably lower than for non-Maori. Moreover, comparatively few Maori students proceeded beyond the fourth standard and that as a consequence very few, even as late as 1936, were sitting and securing certificates of proficiency or competency. In turn that meant that few proceeded in to post-primary education. District high schools were established in the region and their rolls expanded during the 1920s and 1930s but the practical absence of Maori students prior to 1939 was remarkable, given especially the improvements in transport and the fact that fees were not charged. The reasons are not immediately clear, but it seems likely that their absence marked the intense economic difficulties under which most Maori families and communities laboured during the 1920s and 1930s. What the evidence does suggest is that the participation of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori in formal education cannot be divorced or treated in isolation from the wider socio-economic and cultural contexts within which Maori parents reached decisions over enrolment and over the relevancy and value of the education offered.

Chapter 9: Porirua ki Manawatu Maori: a social and economic profile, 2013

9.1 Introduction

This report has endeavoured to establish whether Porirua ki Manawatu Maori emerged, following annexation and colonisation, as a socially and economically disadvantaged group, the nature of that disadvantage, and the processes involved. Chapter 9 uses a range of data to try to establish whether and to what extent the social and economic disparities that emerged between Porirua ki Manawatu Maori and non-Maori persist.

Some recent studies suggest the Maori economy and the larger economy are ‘converging.’ Bertram, for example, suggests that the twentieth century New Zealand economy can be considered in terms of three development eras. The first was that of ‘grass monoculture:’ it endured from the 1890s to the 1930s and was the period during which New Zealand relied upon the expansion of its primary (pastoral) sector. The second was that of ‘insulation and industrialisation:’ it embraced the years from 1935 to the 1970s and involved State protection and support for the import-substitution manufacturing and construction sectors. The third era was the ‘swing to services and the arrival of neo-liberalism,’ an era that covered the years from about 1980 to 2000 (and beyond) and included that the efforts of the State to re-balance the economy from its dependence on primary commodity exports and protected domestic manufacturing to the export of services, including education and tourism, as well as a far-reaching ‘restructuring’ of the public service. Bertram suggests that the Maori economy followed a very similar path and that ‘the story of the [twentieth] century is one of economic convergence between Maori and settler economies and peoples.’¹⁶⁶⁸

A key question is whether this apparent ‘economic convergence’ eliminated or ameliorated the social and economic disparities that had emerged, markedly in the case of Porirua ki Manawatu, during the first half of the twentieth century. Bertram recorded that a series of analyses had, by the turn of the century, indicated that by that stage there

¹⁶⁶⁸ Geoff Bertram, ‘The New Zealand economy, 1900-2000,’ in Giselle Byrnes, editor, *The new Oxford history of New Zealand*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, p.560.

was no simple link between ethnicity and economic or employment status. Rather, ‘The problems of low-income Maori were those of low-income groups per se, following a decades-long convergence process.’¹⁶⁶⁹ In other words, it seems, ethnicity was no longer a marker of socio-economic disadvantage.

This final chapter thus explores, largely through a series of graphs, a range of social and economic indicators with a view to establishing whether and, if so, to what extent and in what particular areas the inequalities that emerged between Maori and Pakeha during the first half of the twentieth century persist.¹⁶⁷⁰ Five groups of indicators are explored, namely, health, knowledge and skills, paid work, economic standard of living, and cultural identity. Within each group are several indicators: in health – life expectancy, infant mortality, cigarette smoking, and obesity; in knowledge and skills – participation in early childhood education, school leavers with NCEA 2, proportion with tertiary qualifications, and employment by industry and sector; paid work – unemployment, employment, and persons receiving welfare entitlements; economic standard of living – personal annual incomes, median incomes, home ownership, and household crowding; and cultural identity – Te reo Maori speakers and Maori medium education. Two further sections deal with social connectedness and relative socio-economic disadvantage.

9.2 Boundaries and definitions

Extensive use is made of data drawn from the 2013 census and customised for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. All census area units (CAUs) that lay within the district, together with mesh-blocks that lay outside those units but within the Inquiry District were included. With respect to mesh-blocks, a decision on their inclusion was based on the proportion of residences that fell within them. Where a majority of residences in a particular mesh-block lay within the Inquiry District, it was included: if a majority lay outside, then it was excluded. A range of other sources was also consulted, and they are identified in the graphs that follow. It should be noted that wherever possible, the graphs refer to the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, but in

¹⁶⁶⁹ Bertram, ‘The New Zealand economy,’ p.561.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Marriott and Sim offered a useful guide for some of the following sections. See Lisa Marriott and Dalice Sim, *Indicators of inequality for Maori and Pacific people*. Working Paper 09/2014, August 2014, Working Papers in Public Finance, Victoria University of Wellington.

a number of instances the data required was available only on the basis of territorial authorities. Territorial authority boundaries do not neatly coincide with those of the Inquiry District: the Rangitikei District includes part of the Taihape and Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry Districts, while Upper Hutt City falls partly within the Inquiry District. In the sections that follow, data for five territorial authorities are employed, namely, Manawatu, Palmerston North City, Horowhenua, Kapiti Coast, and Porirua City.

Apart from the difficulties created by varying boundaries, one other issue merits brief comment. The census of 2013 asked respondents to nominate the ethnic group to which they considered that they belonged. The data employed in this chapter are classified in terms of those who nominated ‘Maori,’ those who nominated ‘Maori plus at least one additional group,’ and those who nominated ‘New Zealand European.’ Data sources other than the census did not always maintain that classification. Further, the data summaries supplied by Statistics New Zealand referred to ‘Non-Maori,’ so that group included those who nominated an ethnicity other than ‘European.’ It is also important to bear in mind that the data relate to the groups as a whole and thus obscure intra-group gradations and variations. Furthermore, there is a growing debate over whether ethnicity remains a useful marker of social and economic differences. In the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, a large proportion of the usually resident population nominated Maori and least one other ethnic group. Table 9.1 sets out the details: it employs the classification devised by Statistics New Zealand.

Table 9.1: Classification of usually resident population, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, according to nominated ethnic group, 2013¹⁶⁷¹

	Numbers	Per cent of total
Maori only	17520	6.65
Maori and at least one other	25275	9.60
Total Maori	42792	16.25
Non-Maori	208807	79.31
Total stated	250596	95.18
Not elsewhere included	12693	4.82
Total	263292	100.00

Source: Census of New Zealand 2013

¹⁶⁷¹ Since those who nominated more than one ethnic group are included in each group, the total number of responses exceeds the total number of people.

Table 9.2 sets out the ethnic groups nominated by those usually resident in the five territorial authorities.

Table 9.2: Ethnic composition, Manawatu, Palmerston North City, Horowhenua, Kapiti Coast, and Porirua City Districts, 2013

	Numbers
European	180147
Maori	39282
Pacific peoples	19197
Asian	13521
Middle Eastern, Latin American, African	1661
Other ethnicity	
New Zealander	4452
Other n.e.c.	102
Total other	4545
Total people stated	226788
Not elsewhere included	11644
Total people	238452

n.e.c = not elsewhere classified

Source: Statistics New Zealand, available at www.archive.stats.govt.nz

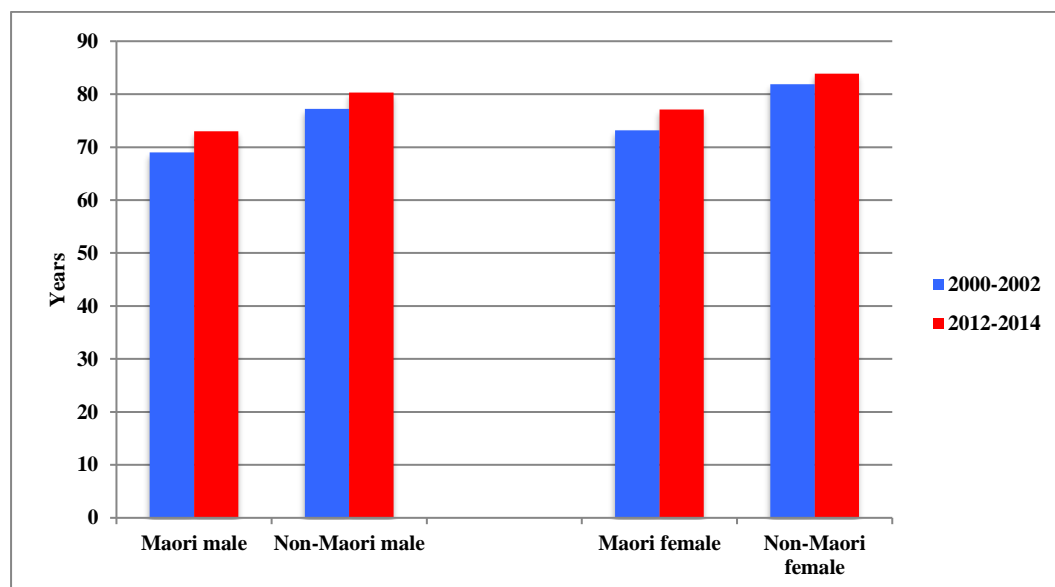
9.3 Indicators of inequality: health

9.3.1 Life expectancy

Graph 9.1 shows life expectancy for Maori and non-Maori males and females over a 12-year period. Maori life expectancy increased rapidly from c1950 to the early 1980s, before slowing during the 1990s, and subsequently improving again. Nevertheless, the data for 2012-2014 indicate that between Maori and non-Maori males a gap of 7.3 years remained, and between Maori and non-Maori females a gap of 6.8 years: in short, Maori life expectancy for both males and females was appreciably shorter. In 2015, the Capital and Coast District Health Board recorded that life expectancy at birth was 78.6 years for Maori females (5.3 years lower than for non-Maori) and 74.7 years for males (5.6 years lower than for non-Maori).¹⁶⁷² Similarly, the MidCentral Health Board recorded corresponding figures of 76.4 years for Maori females (seven years lower than for non-

¹⁶⁷² Capital and Coast District Health Board, *Maori health profile, 2015*.

Maori), and 72.3 years for males (7.2 years lower than for non-Maori).¹⁶⁷³ In short, the appreciable gap between Maori and non-Maori life expectancy observed at a national level exists also in Porirua ki Manawatu.



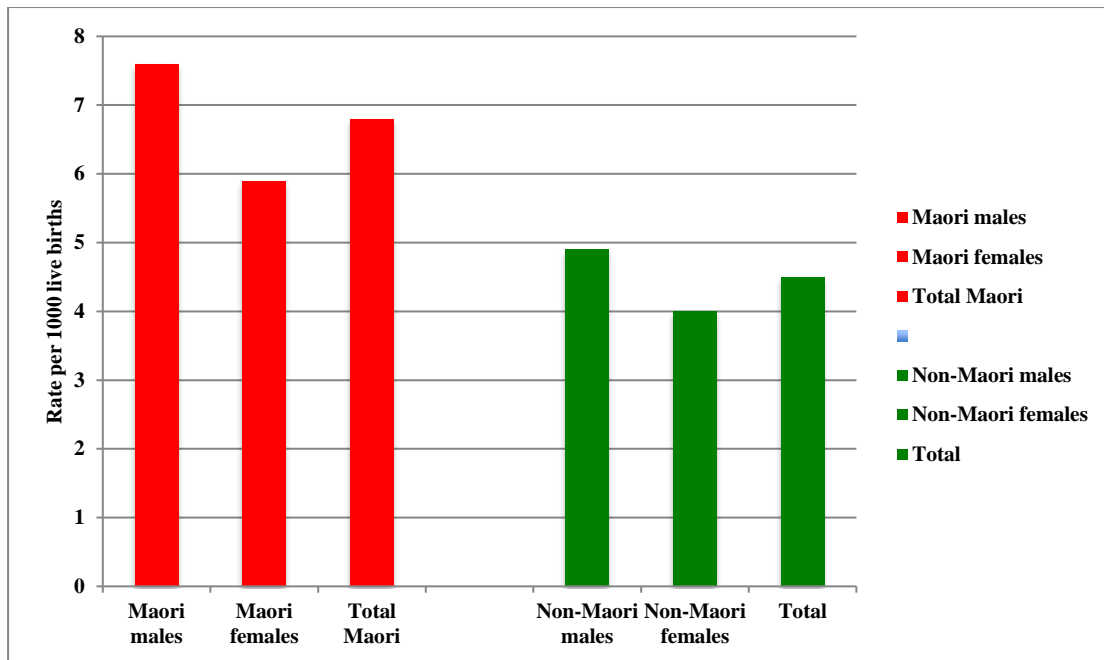
Source: Extracted from www.stats.govt.nz

Graph 9.1: Life expectancy in years, Maori and non-Maori males and females, New Zealand, 2000-2002 to 2012-2014

9.3.2 Infant mortality rate

Infant mortality is measured by deaths of infants under the age of one year per 1,000 live births. Graph 9.2 sets out, for New Zealand, the Maori and non-Maori rates for 2010-2012: although Maori infant mortality rates have improved since 2000, in 2010-2012, the rates for Maori were about 1.5 times as great as those for non-Maori. Whether the national rates also applied to the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District was not established, no reason was located to indicate that they did not.

¹⁶⁷³ MidCentral District Health Board, *Maori health profile, 2015*.



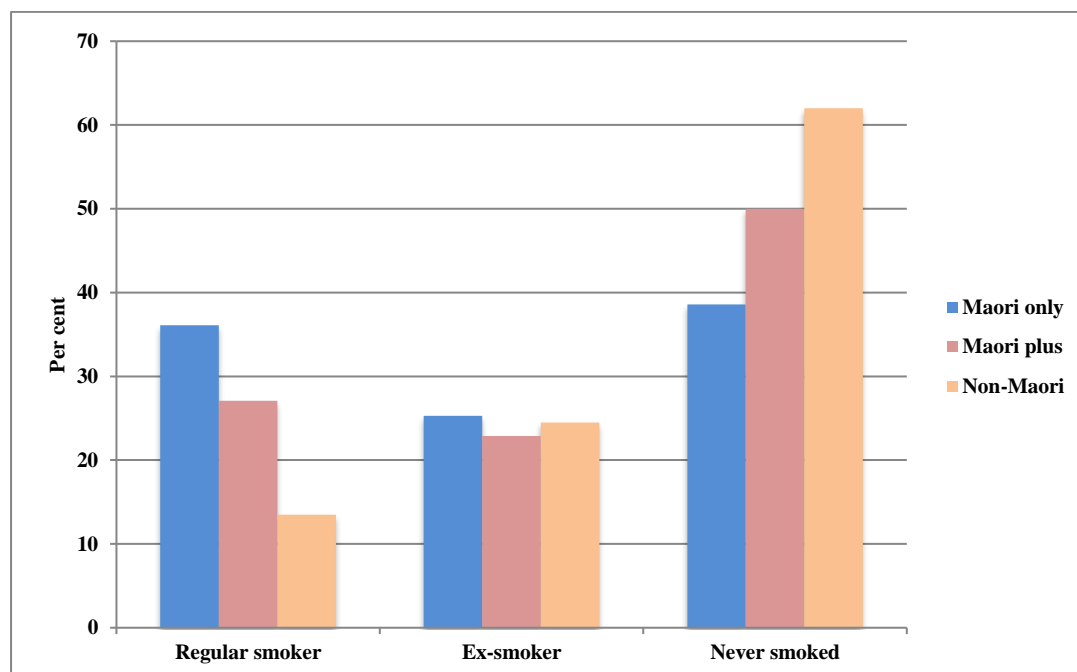
Source: Ministry of Health, *New Zealand mortality collection*, available at www.moh.govt.nz

Graph 9.2: Infant mortality, rates per 1000 live births, Maori and Non-Maori, New Zealand, 2010-2012

9.3.3 Prevalence of cigarette smoking

Cigarette smoking is implicated in a range of health conditions, while some researchers have demonstrated a link between tobacco smoking and ethnic inequalities in mortality. Graph 9.3 sets out some details extracted from the 2013 census for persons aged over 15 years. Of those who responded to the question, just over 36 per cent of ‘Maori only’ were regular smokers: the corresponding proportions for ‘Maori plus’ and for non-Maori 27.1 and 15.5 per cent. The New Zealand Health Survey 2014-2017 yielded similar results: for the MidCentral Health District, 34.6 percent of Maori were regular smokers compared with 17.4 per cent of all persons, while for the Capital and Coast Health District the corresponding rates were 28.8 per cent and 11.3 per cent. Further, the survey indicated that in the MidCentral Health District, 27.8 per cent of all of those who smoked resided in quintile 5 (most deprived) areas, the corresponding proportion for the Capital and Coast Health District being 25.9 per cent. In other words, the

prevalence of smoking was greatest among those who resided in the most deprived areas.¹⁶⁷⁴



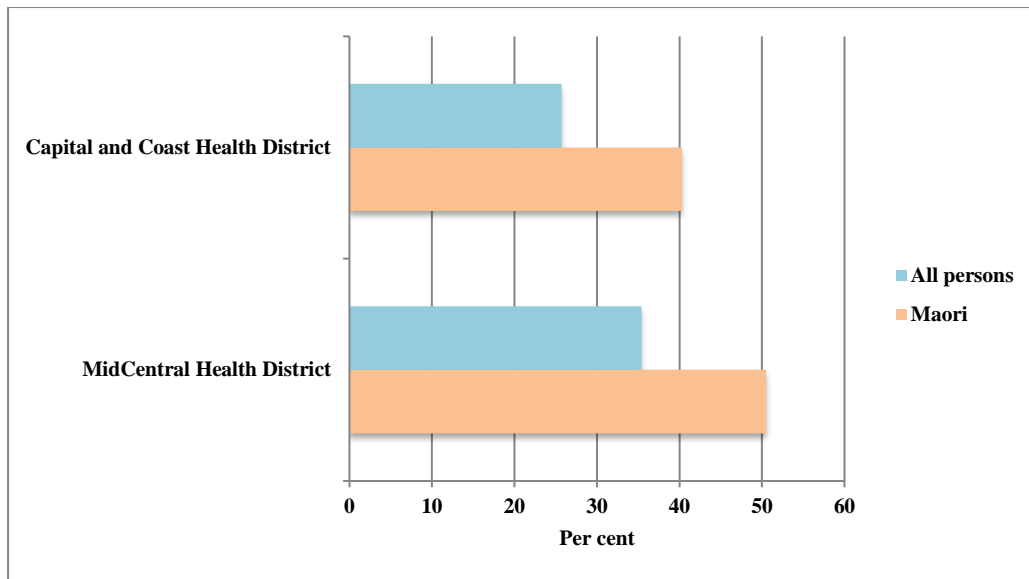
Source: Census of New Zealand 2013

Graph 9.3: Prevalence of smoking, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

9.3.4 Obesity

Persons (over 15 years) having a body mass index of 30 and over are regarded as obese. There are clear links among obesity, poor diet, and low incomes. Graph 9.4 sets out some details for the MidCentral and Capital and Coast Health Districts. In the MidCentral Health District, 41.5 per cent of all persons classified as obese resided in the most deprived areas. The corresponding proportion for the Capital and Coast Health District was 45.6 per cent.

¹⁶⁷⁴ See Manatu Hauora, *Maori smoking and tobacco use*. Wellington: Ministry of Health, 2011; and Ministry of Health, New Zealand health survey regional data explorer, results, 2014-2017, available at www.health.govt.nz.



Source: Ministry of Health, New Zealand health survey regional data explorer, results, 2014-2017, available at www.health.govt.nz.

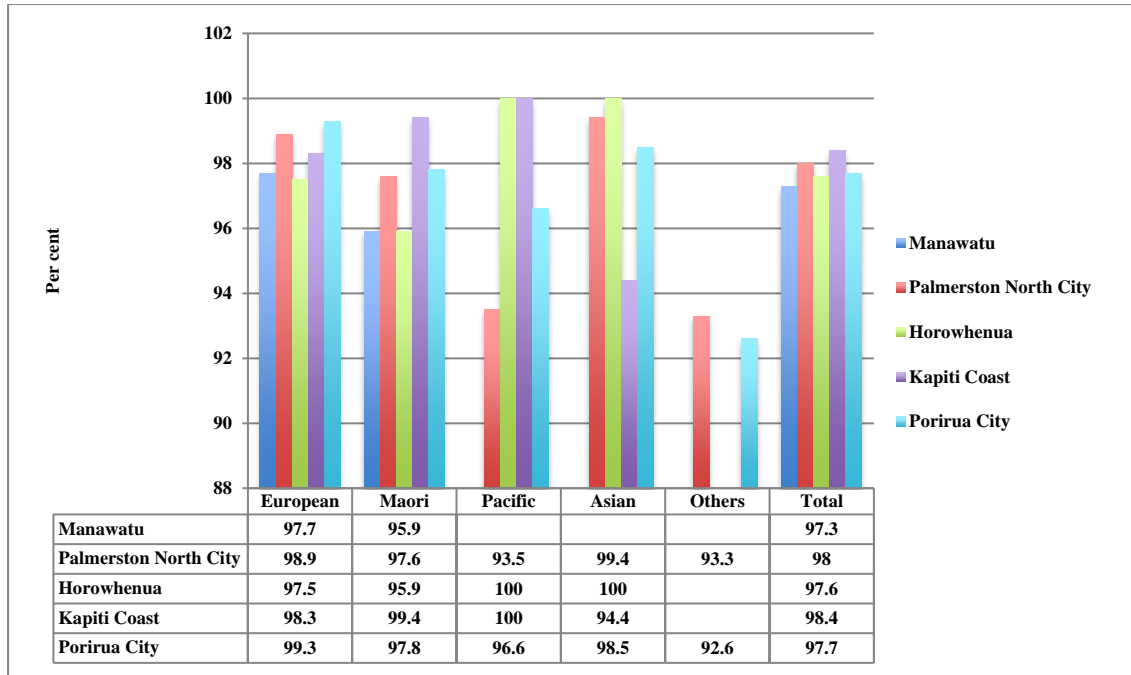
Graph 9.4: Obesity rates, MidCentral and Capital and Coast Health Districts, 2017

9.4 Knowledge and skills

Educational attainment is associated with higher incomes, a wider range of employment opportunities, and better health. Four indicators are presented, namely, participation in early childhood education; school leavers with NCEA level 2, 2017; proportion with tertiary education; and tertiary participation rate.

9.4.1 Participation in early childhood education

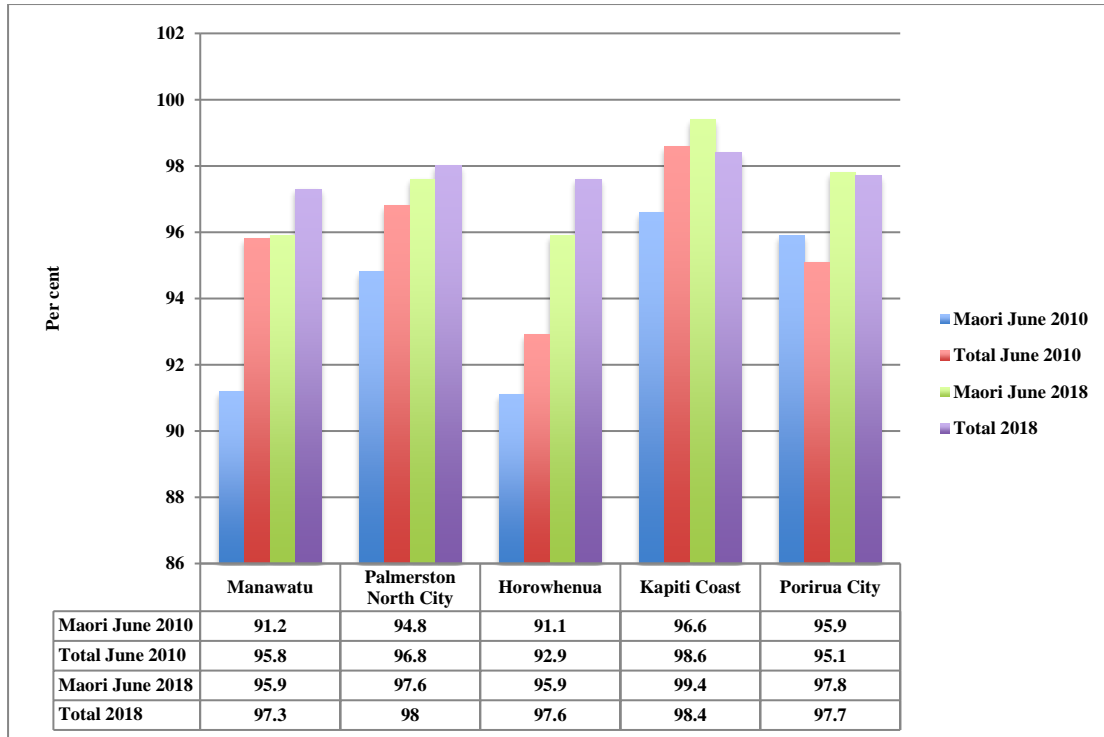
Graph 9.5 shows the proportion of children who participated in early childhood education in the six months prior to commencing school in the years nominated. It is apparent that the gaps that existed between European/Pakeha and Maori participation rates in 2010 had practically closed by 2018.



Source: Ministry of Education, Prior participation in early childhood education: new entrants, available at www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics

Graph 9.5: Maori and European/Pakeha participation in early childhood education, by territorial authority, Porirua ki Manawatu, June 2018

Graph 9.6 depicts the Maori and total participation rates in each of the five territorial authorities as at June 2010 and June 2018. It is apparent that the Maori participation rate increased appreciably, in particular in the Manawatu and Horowhenua Districts. Maori participation rates now approximate total participation rates.



Source: Ministry of Education, at www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics

Graph 9.6: Maori and total participation rates in early childhood education, territorial authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, June 2010 and June 2018

9.4.2 School leavers with NCEA Level 2, 2017

A formal school qualification is ‘a measure of the extent to which young adults have completed a basic prerequisite for higher education and training and many entry-level jobs,’ while attainment is associated with employment status and incomes.¹⁶⁷⁵ Between 2009 and 2017, the proportion of all Maori school leavers with NCEA Level 2 rose from 45.7 per cent to 67.9 per cent. Despite that marked improvement, the rates fell significantly short of those for European/Pakeha school leavers: the corresponding proportions were 72.8 and 83.5 per cent. Graph 9.7 shows for 2017 and for the five territorial authorities, the proportions of Maori, European/Pakeha and all school leavers with a minimum of NCEA Level 2 or equivalent (sixth form certificate or higher). It is clear that, in Palmerston North City, Horowhenua District, and Porirua City, a significant ‘achievement gap’ remains between Maori and European/Pakeha.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Ministry of Education, at www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics. See also Te Puni Kokiri, *Maori youth in education and employment, fact sheet 022-2012*. Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri, 2012.



Source: Ministry of Education at www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics

Graph 9.7: Maori, European/Pakeha, and all school leavers with NCEA Level 2, territorial authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, 2017

NCEA results for Horowhenua College over the period from 2010 to 2018 offer some further insights in to Maori educational attainment and achievement. Table 9.3 sets out, for Horowhenua College over the nine years from 2010 to 2018, the proportion of students of each relevant Maori and European cohort who obtained NCEA. The relatively small numbers of students involved, particularly Maori students, means that some care should be exercised when interpreting the results, but the general pattern is clear. At all three years/levels, the proportion of Maori students securing NCEA improved appreciably over the nine-year period (setting aside 2018), although that proportion remained lower than in the case of the European cohort. It should be noted that Horowhenua College is aware of the need to raise Maori achievement levels and to that end has instituted what it terms ‘tracking and attendance mechanisms ... to identify students at risk of not achieving.’¹⁶⁷⁶ Graph 9.8 sets out the proportions of Maori and European students who secured Levels 1, 2, and 3 NCEA *without* excellence or endorsement: again, the pattern is clear, the proportion of Maori being higher in

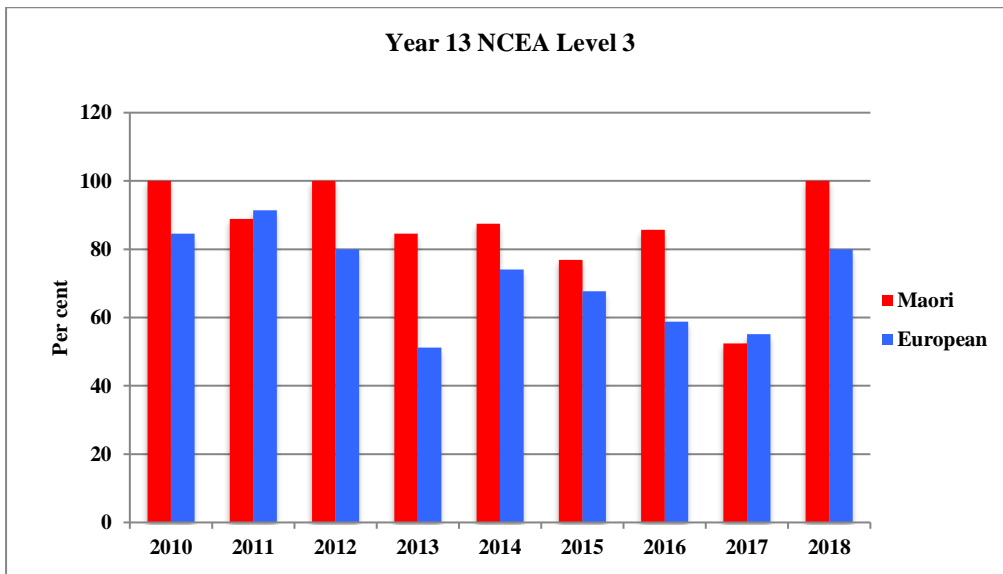
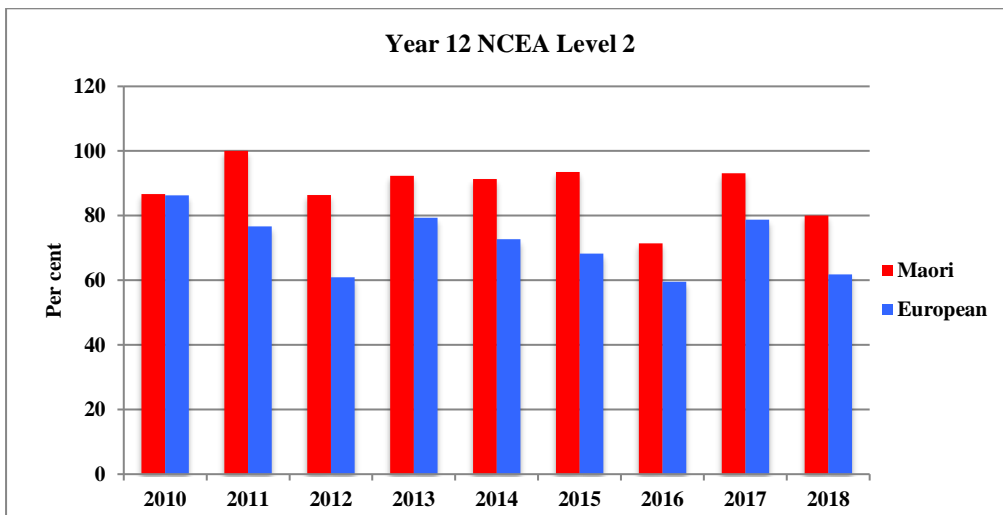
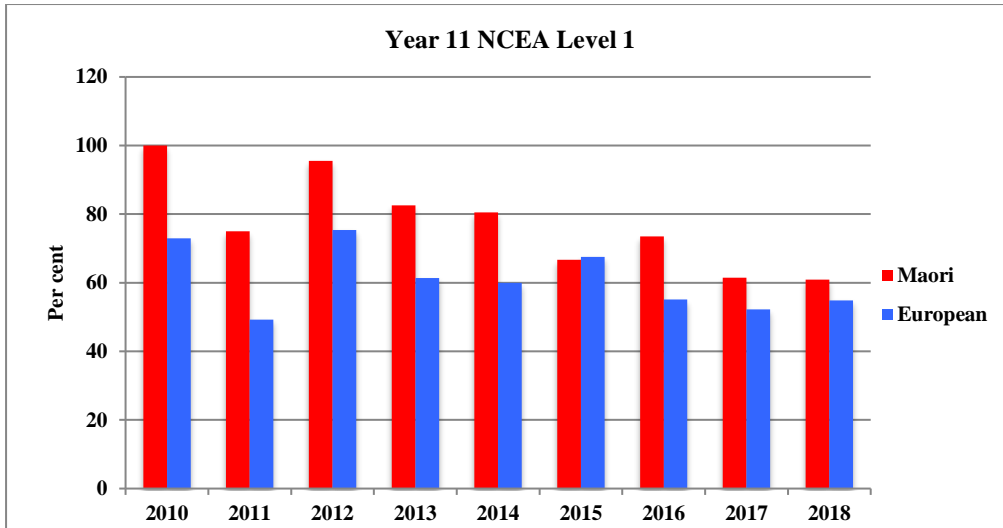
¹⁶⁷⁶ Horowhenua College, Board of Trustees’ Annual Report 2018.

almost every year. In short, smaller proportions of the Maori student cohort secured NCEA, while the standard of their achievement was appreciably more modest.

Table 9.3: Proportion of Maori and European student cohorts securing NCEA, Horowhenua College, 2010 to 2018

	Year 11, Level 1	Year 12, Level 2	Year 13, Level 3
<i>Maori</i>			
2010	32.1	50.0	20.0
2011	29.6	45.5	27.3
2012	35.5	55.0	11.8
2013	45.1	49.1	39.4
2014	64.1	47.9	22.2
2015	63.5	66.0	31.7
2016	60.7	79.5	65.6
2017	60.5	64.4	50.0
2018	48.9	45.5	50.0
<i>European</i>			
2010	62.3	61.4	37.7
2011	55.7	69.4	47.3
2012	59.6	70.3	42.4
2013	54.8	59.8	53.9
2014	72.9	59.8	33.3
2015	70.9	82.5	45.6
2016	75.8	75.5	78.5
2017	85.9	81.3	57.0
2018	64.6	83.3	58.3

Source: New Zealand Qualifications Authority

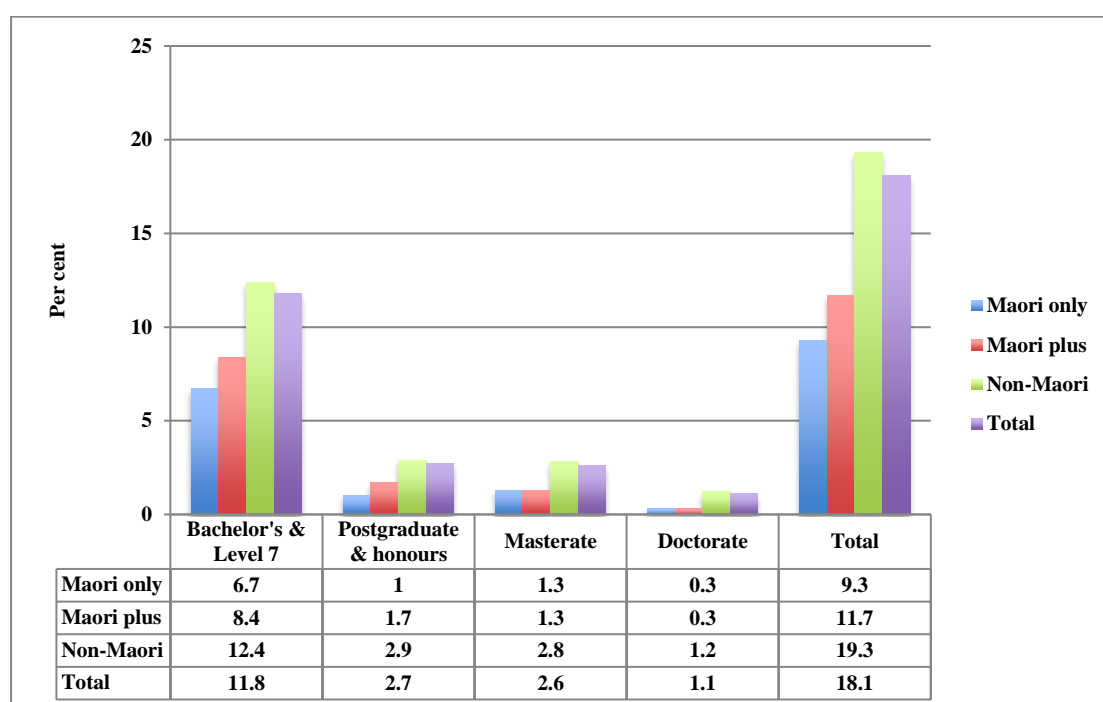


Source: New Zealand Qualifications Authority

Graph 9.8: Proportion of students in Maori and European cohorts securing NCEA Levels 1, 2, and 3 without excellence or merit endorsement

9.4.3 Proportion with tertiary qualifications

Graph 9.9 sets out for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, the proportions of the ‘Maori only,’ ‘Maori plus,’ non-Maori, and total populations with a bachelor’s degree or above. The proportions are based on the totals that responded to the census question. Major contrasts are apparent: the proportion of ‘Maori only’ in all four categories was appreciably lower, so that twice as many Non-Maori as ‘Maori only’ held a tertiary qualification.



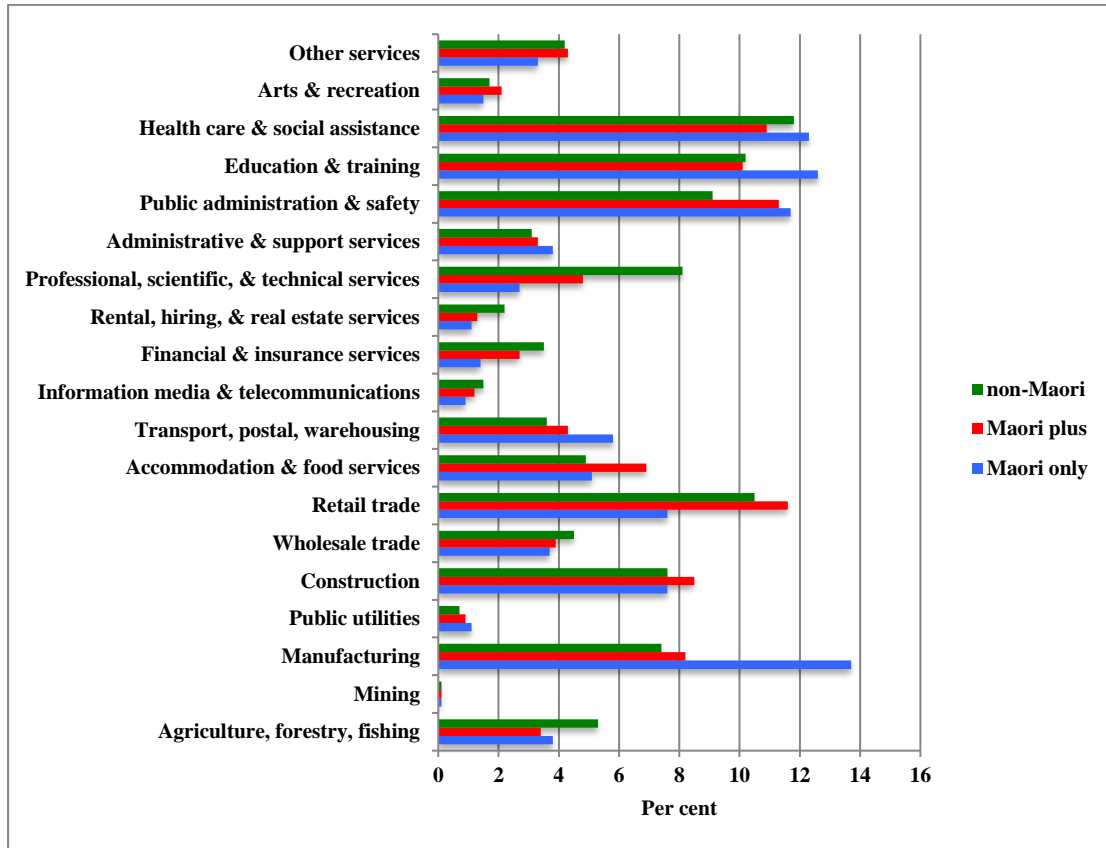
Source: Census of New Zealand 2013

Graph 9.9: Proportions of ‘Maori only,’ ‘Maori plus,’ and non-Maori holding bachelor’s degree and above, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

9.4.4 Employment by industry sector and occupation, 2013

Graphs 9.10 classifies the ‘Maori only,’ ‘Maori plus,’ and non-Maori population groups in terms of their sector of employment in 2013. No marked contrasts are apparent, although ‘Maori’ had a relatively strong presence in ‘Manufacturing’ and a relatively weak presence in several sectors, among them, ‘Professional, scientific, & technical services;’ ‘Rental, hiring, & real estate services;’ ‘Financial & insurance services;’ and

‘Information media and telecommunications.’ The stronger presence of non-Maori in ‘Agriculture, fishing, and forestry’ is noteworthy.

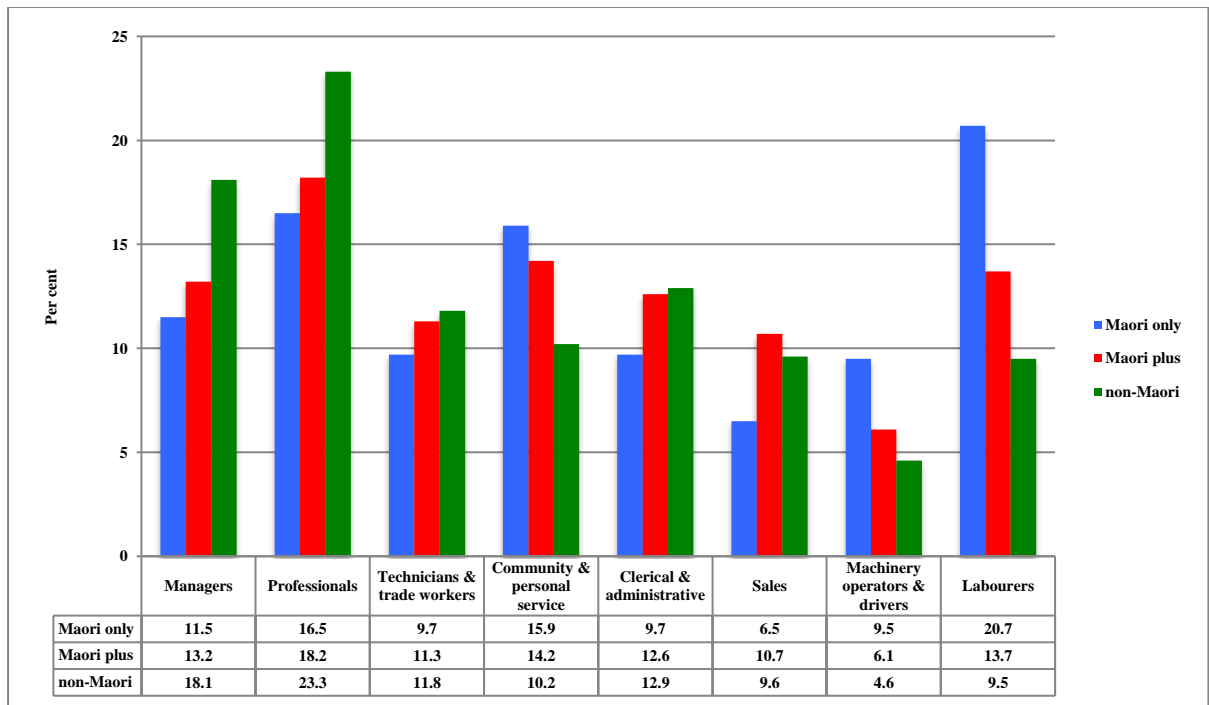


Excludes those classified as ‘Not elsewhere included’

Source: Census of New Zealand 2013

Graph 9.10: Employment by sector, usually resident persons 15 years and over, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

Graph 9.11 shows the distribution of occupations among the three groups. Some major contrasts are apparent, especially between ‘Maori only’ and non-Maori: appreciably smaller proportions of Maori were classified as managers and professionals, while significantly larger proportions were classified as machinery operators and drivers and as labourers. Maori, in fact, were twice as likely to fall in to those two latter categories.



Excludes those classified as ‘Not elsewhere included.’

Source: Census of New Zealand 2013

Graph 9.11: Occupations, usually resident persons 15 years and over, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

9.5 Paid work

Paid work offers access to higher incomes, supports self-esteem, and reduces dependence on social support or welfare benefits. Conversely, unemployment, especially if protracted, has been shown to have deleterious effects on the health of those concerned.

9.5.1 Unemployment

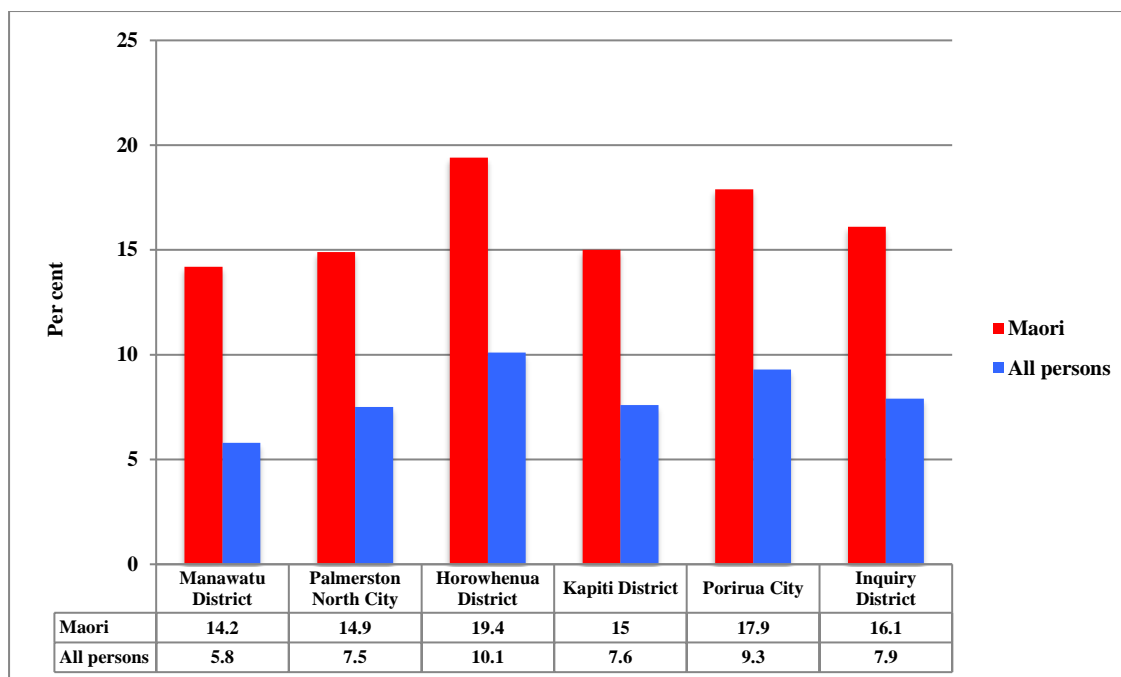
Nationally, the unemployment rate among Maori has been consistently higher than for all other persons. In 1991, the rates were 23.8 per cent for Maori men and 24.7 for Maori women, up appreciably from 10.2 and 11.3 per cent respectively as recorded by the 1986 census. In 1991, the rates were highest in the age groups 15-19 years and 20-24 years. The rates began to decline in 1992 and continued to do so until 2007, but between 2007 and 2010, unemployment among Maori rose sharply, again in the same

age groups. Table 9.4 shows, for the census years 2001, 2006, and 2013 the unemployment rate for Maori ('Maori only' and 'Maori plus') and all persons in the five territorial authorities. In general, Maori were between two and three times as likely to be unemployed as all persons. Graph 9.12 shows the position by territorial authority and for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District in 2013.

Table 9.4: Unemployment rate, Maori and all persons, five territorial authorities, 2001, 2006, and 2013

Authorities	2001	2006	2013
<i>Manawatu</i>			
Maori	15.9	10.5	14.2
All	5.9	3.8	5.8
<i>Palmerston North City</i>			
Maori	15.8	10.1	14.9
All	8.3	5.2	7.6
<i>Horowhenua</i>			
Maori	17.9	12.4	19.4
All	9.3	6.3	10.1
<i>Kapiti Coast</i>			
Maori	15.8	10.0	15.0
All	7.1	4.8	7.6
<i>Porirua City</i>			
Maori	18.0	12.3	17.9
All	10.3	7.0	9.3

Source: Statistics New Zealand, available at www.archive.stats.govt.nz



Sources: Statistics New Zealand, available at www.archive.stats.govt.nz and Census of New Zealand 1913

Graph 9.12: Unemployment among Maori and all persons aged 15 years and over, by territorial authorities and Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District 2013

9.5.2 Employment

The employment rate is the proportion of the labour force (defined as those who worked one hour per week or more) engaged in employment. For Maori males, that rate contracted sharply between 1986 and 1991, from 72.5 per cent to just 50.6 per cent, while for Maori females the rate fell from 45.0 to 35.3 per cent. Non-Maori males and females experienced less marked falls, the sharp contraction in the rates for Maori reflecting their disproportionate representation in the industries that were most affected by the ‘restructuring’ of the 1980s. The rates for both Maori males and females recovered during the 1990s, although they remained below the comparable non-Maori rates.

Table 9.5 sets out the employment rate for Maori and for all persons for the five territorial authorities at each of three census years. The appreciable differences in the fulltime employment rates apparent in 2001 had closed by the time of the 2006 census, but widened again by the time of the 2013 census. At the last date, the difference between the employment rate for all persons and for Maori averaged 5.5 per cent. Table

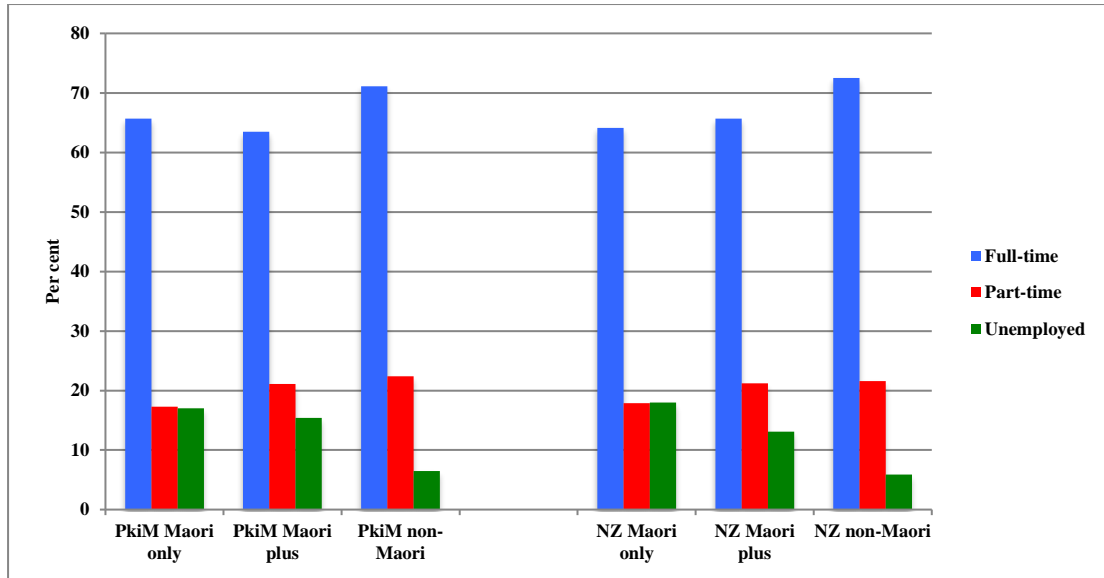
9.5 indicates that over a protracted period, the fulltime employment rate for Maori was consistently lower than that for all persons. Most of the difference between the total rates for Maori and all persons reflected the significantly higher proportion of Maori who were unemployed.

Table 9.5: Employment rates, territorial authorities, 2001, 2006, and 2013

	2001 Full	2001 Part	2006 Full	2006 Part	2013 Full	2013 Part
<i>Manawatu</i>						
Maori	63.0	21.4	68.6	20.8	67.4	18.5
All	71.4	22.7	73.1	23.1	72.6	21.5
<i>Palmerston North</i>						
Maori	62.0	21.3	70.1	19.9	66.2	19.0
All	68.6	23.1	71.8	23.0	70.4	22.1
<i>Horowhenua</i>						
Maori	61.8	20.1	66.7	21.2	59.8	21.0
All	67.3	23.3	69.5	24.3	66.0	23.9
<i>Kapiti Coast</i>						
Maori	62.0	22.4	69.2	20.7	63.6	21.4
All	68.3	24.6	70.6	24.6	67.9	24.5
<i>Porirua City</i>						
Maori	62.8	19.1	69.3	18.4	64.0	18.1
All	70.1	19.6	73.4	19.6	71.7	19.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand, available at www.archive.stats.govt.nz

Graph 9.13 sets out for both the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District and New Zealand as whole the full-time, part-time, and unemployment rates as recorded by the 2013 census.

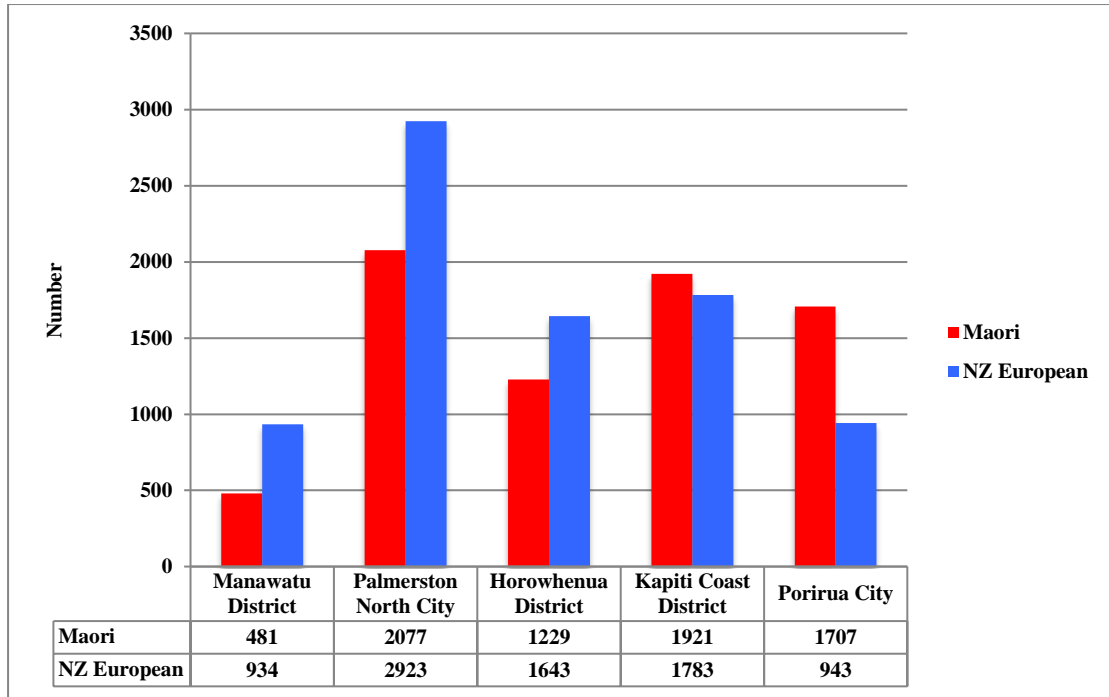


Sources: Census of New Zealand 2013 and www.archive.stats.govt.nz

Graph 9.13: Employment rates, Maori and all persons, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District and New Zealand, 2013

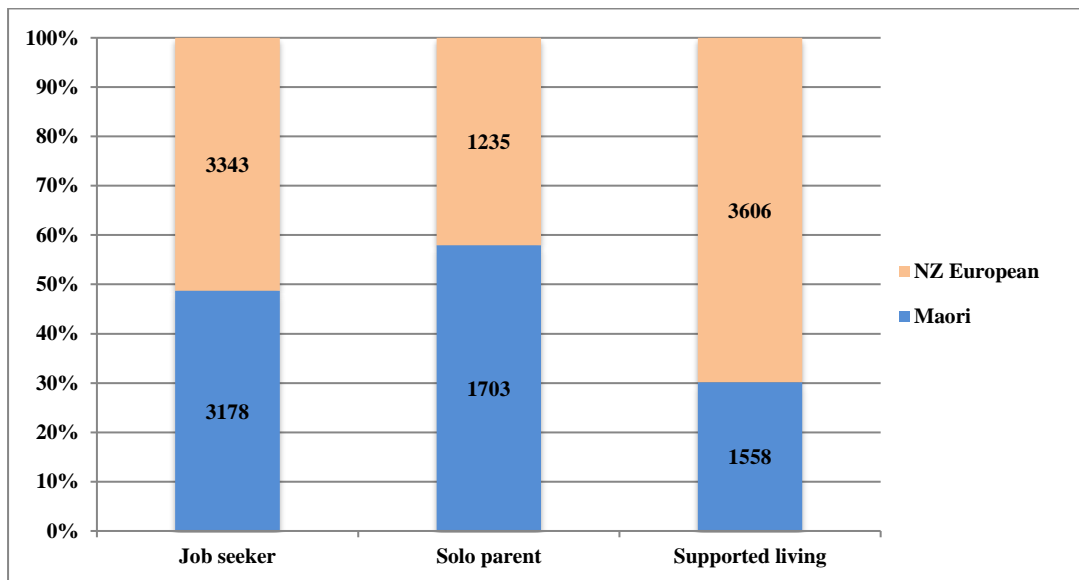
9.5.3 Persons receiving welfare entitlements

Graph 9.14 sets out, for five territorial authorities, the number of Maori and New Zealand Europeans aged 18 to 64 in receipt of the main social entitlements during the March quarter of 2019, while Graph 9.15 shows, again for the five territorial authorities, the numbers by each of three classes, namely, job seeker support, solo parent support, and supported living. Of 15,641 persons in the five districts receiving a benefit, 47.4 per cent were Maori



Source: Ministry of Social Development, *Quarterly benefit fact sheets*, available at www.msd.govt.nz

Graph 9.14: Number of Maori and New Zealand European persons aged 18 to 64 years in receipt of main benefits, territorial authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, March quarter 2019



Source: Ministry of Social Development, *Quarterly benefit fact sheets*, available as www.msd.govt.nz

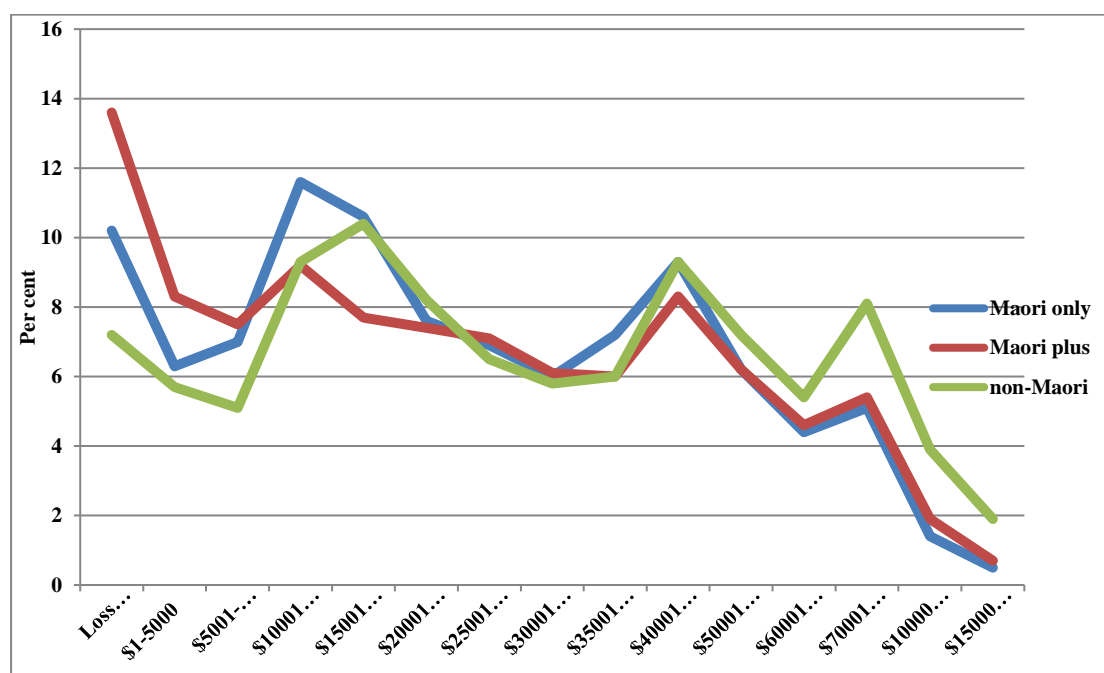
Graph 9.15: Number of Maori and New Zealand European persons aged 18 to 64 years in receipt of three main benefits, five territorial authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, March quarter 2019

9.6 Economic standard of living

According to the Ministry of Social Development, ‘economic standard of living’ relates to the ‘physical circumstances in which people live, the goods and services they are able to consume, and the economic resources to which they have access.’¹⁶⁷⁷ The Ministry employed five indicators, but for present purposes the indicators employed are the distribution of personal annual incomes, median incomes, home ownership, and household crowding.

9.6.1 Distribution of total personal annual incomes

Graph 9.16 sets out, for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, the distribution of total personal incomes for Maori and non-Maori persons aged 15 years and over.¹⁶⁷⁸ Higher proportions of Maori were located in the lower income bands.



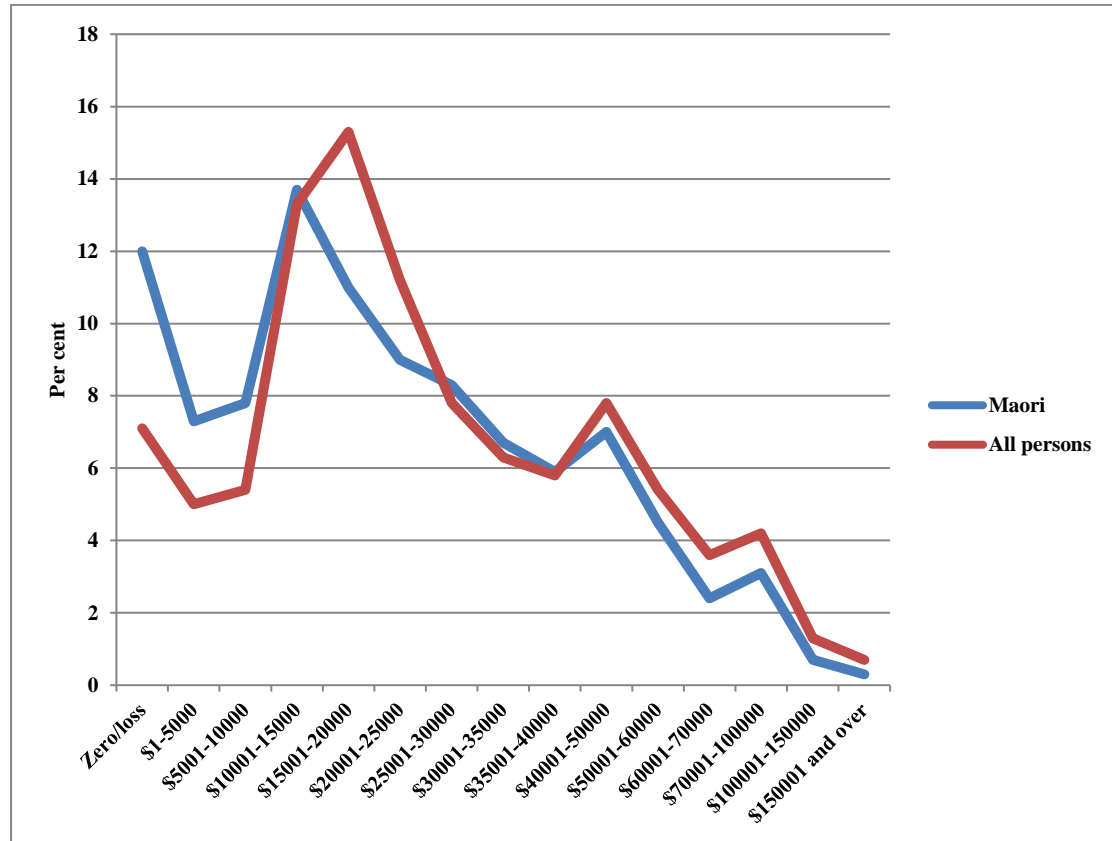
Source: *Census of New Zealand 2013*

Graph 9.16: Distribution of ‘Maori only,’ ‘Maori plus,’ and non-Maori total annual personal incomes, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

¹⁶⁷⁷ Ministry of Social Development, *The social report, 2010*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development, 2010, p.60.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Incomes are before tax for year ended 31 March 2013. ‘Not elsewhere included’ excluded from the totals. Groups include all persons who specified an ethnic group whether as their only group or as one of several groups - where a person specified more than one group, s/he is included in each applicable group.

Graph 9.17 offers an alternative view of Horowhenua District: it compares, for 2013, the distribution of the annual personal incomes for Maori with those for all persons.



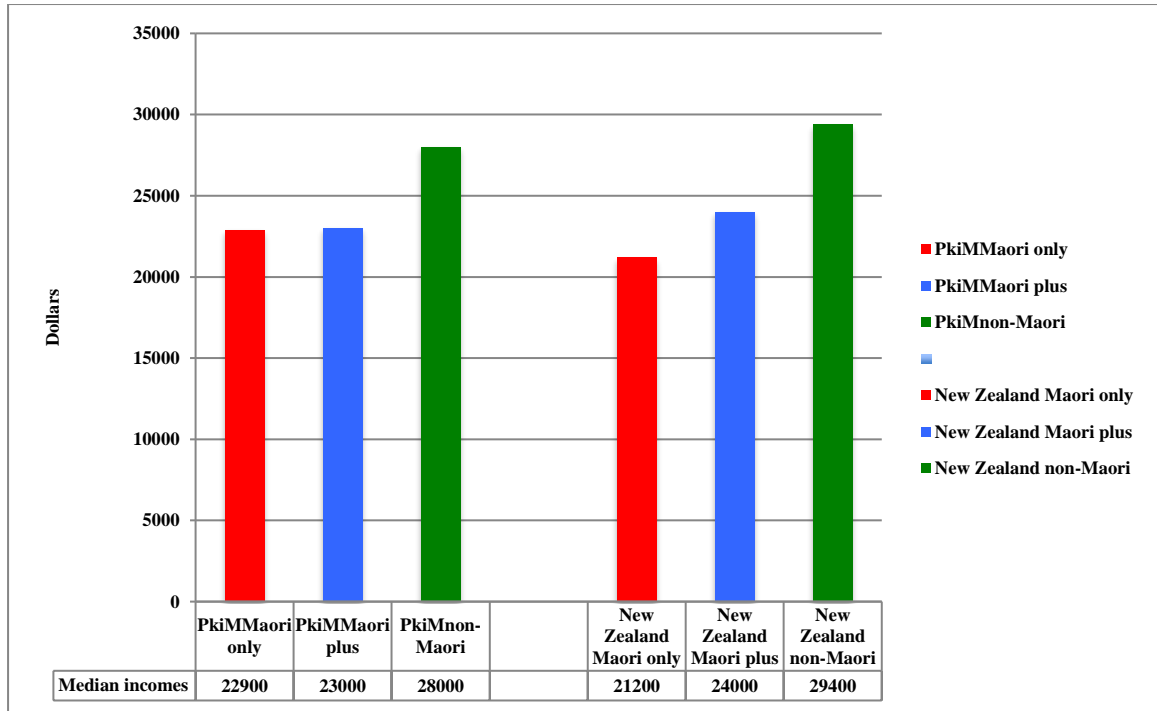
Source: Statistics New Zealand at www.archive.stats.govt.nz

Graph 9.17: Distribution of total annual personal incomes, Maori and all persons, Horowhenua District, 2013

9.6.2 Median incomes

Graph 9.18 sets out, for 2013, median personal annual incomes for the Porirua Ki Manawatu Inquiry District and New Zealand as a whole.¹⁶⁷⁹

¹⁶⁷⁹ Based on totals stating an income.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 2013*

Graph 9.18: Median personal annual incomes, ‘Maori only,’ ‘Maori plus,’ and non-Maori, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District and New Zealand, 2013

Table 9.6 sets out for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District ‘Maori only,’ ‘Maori plus’ median personal incomes as a percentage of the corresponding non-Maori median and average incomes.

Table 9.6: ‘Maori only’ and ‘Maori plus’ median incomes as a proportion of non-Maori and total stated median and average incomes, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

	Median incomes (\$)	Proportion of non-Maori	Mean incomes (\$)	Proportion of non-Maori
‘Maori only’	22900	81.8	29100	77.4
‘Maori plus’	23000	82.1	29400	78.2
non-Maori	28000		37600	

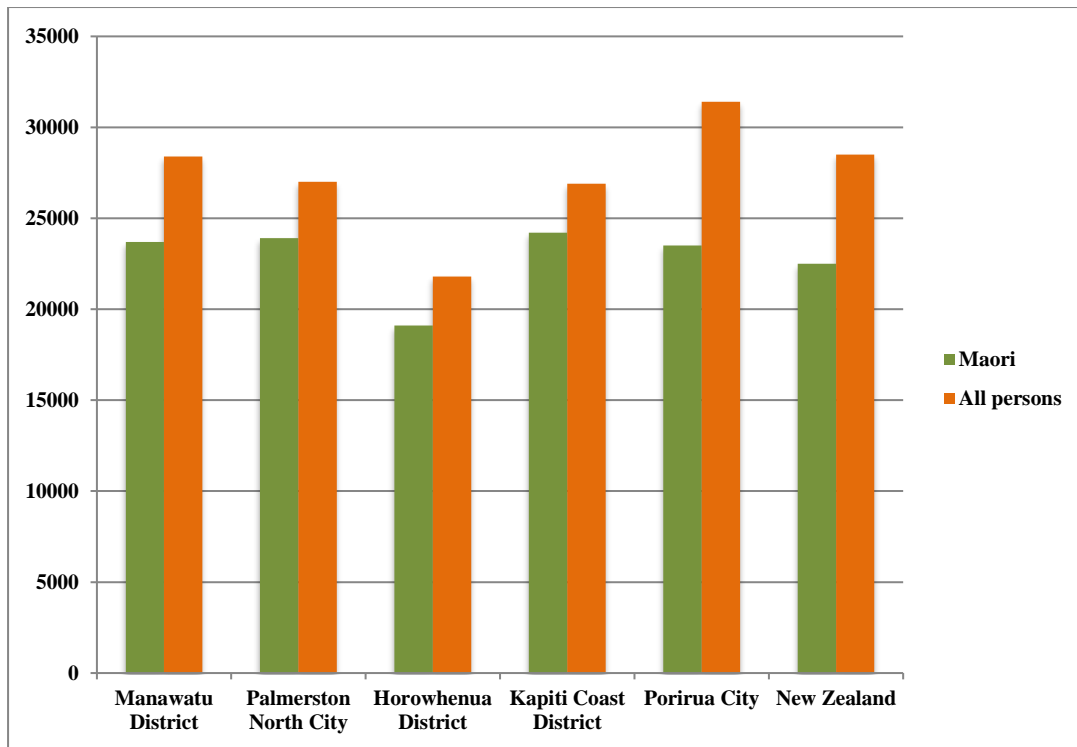
Source: *Census of New Zealand 2013*

Graph 9.19 offers some more detail: it sets out some details relating to median total personal incomes for the five territorial authorities and for New Zealand as a whole as reported by the 2013 census. There was considerable variation among the territorial authorities, with the Horowhenua District recording the lowest median incomes for both Maori and all persons. Maori median incomes as a proportion of the median income for all persons also varied considerably among the territorial authorities. Across the five territorial authorities, the median income for all persons was, on average, almost 1.2 times that for Maori.

The 2013 Maori health profiles prepared for the MidCentral and Capital and Coast Health Districts employed equivalised household incomes: equivalised income takes in to account differences in the size and composition of households in order to secure incomes that are equivalent for all household sizes and compositions.¹⁶⁸⁰ In the MidCentral Health District about one in three children and adults in Maori households (defined as households with at least one Maori resident) were in households with low equivalised household incomes (under \$15,172) compared with one in five children and adults in other households. In the Capital and Coast Health District, 29 per cent of children and 25 per cent of adults in Maori households were in similar households compared with 17 and 19 percent respectively in other households.¹⁶⁸¹

¹⁶⁸⁰ It is calculated by dividing a household's total income from all sources by its equivalent size. The latter is calculated according to the OECD equivalence scale in which household members are weighted 1.0 for the first adult, 0.5 for the second and for each person aged over 14 years, and 0.3 for each person aged under 14 years.

¹⁶⁸¹ MidCentral District Health Board, *Maori health profile 2015*, and Capital and Coast District Health Board, *Maori Health profile 2015*.



Sources: Census of New Zealand 2013 and www.archive.stats.govt.nz

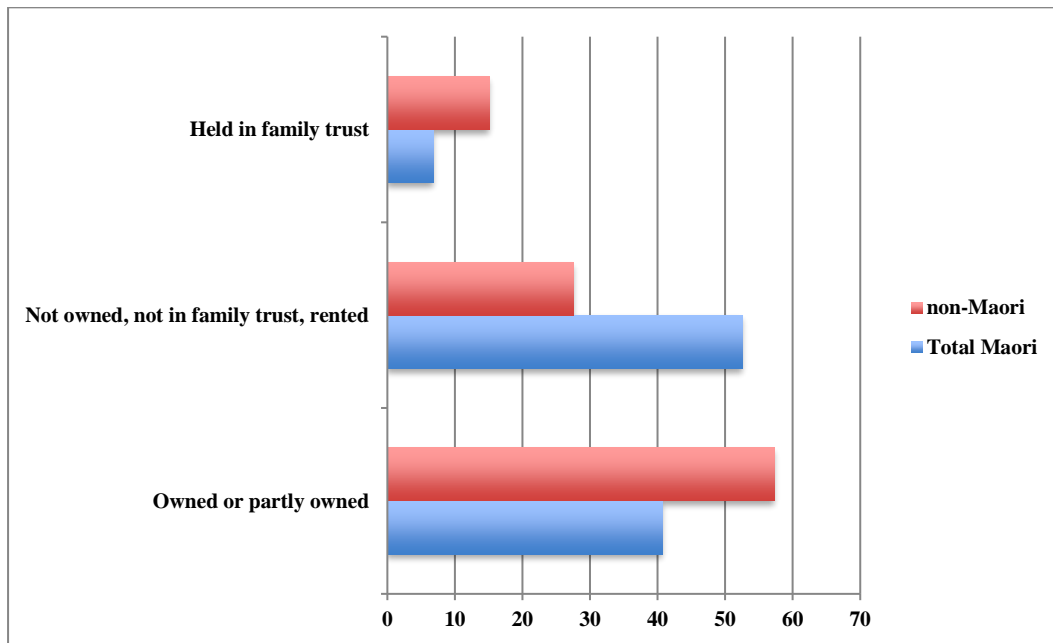
Graph 9.19: Median annual personal incomes (\$), persons 15 years and over, territorial authorities and New Zealand, 2013

9.6.3 Home ownership

Home ownership is generally regarded as an indicator of the capacity of households to prioritise accumulation and investment over consumption and of a willingness to commit to a particular place and community. It also offers a degree of financial security, personal and community stability, and the prospect of saving through capital gain. Home ownership rates in New Zealand have undergone marked changes since 1986: Maori experienced the largest contraction. Thus in 2001, home ownership among Europeans stood at 59.7 per cent (age standardised 58.1 per cent) and 56.8 per cent in 2013 (54.6 per cent). Among Maori, the rate fell from 31.7 per cent (40.1 per cent) to 28.2 per cent (35 per cent).¹⁶⁸²

¹⁶⁸² See Statistics New Zealand, *Changes in home ownership patterns 1986-2013*, available at www.archive.stats.govt.nz. See also E.M.K. Douglas, *Fading expectations: the crisis in Maori housing: a report for the Board of Maori Affairs*. Wellington: Department of Maori Affairs, 1986; and M.A. Bathgate, *The housing circumstances of the Maori people and the work of the Housing Corporation in meeting their needs: a report*. Wellington: The Corporation, 1987.

Graph 9.20 (using non-age standardised data and based on totals stated) sets out some details regarding the tenure of occupied private dwellings in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. There are three categories, namely, dwelling owned or partly owned, dwelling not owned and not held in a family trust, and dwelling held in a family trust. Each contains three subcategories (not shown here) according to whether mortgage or rental payments were paid, not paid, or not defined. ‘Maori’ means households in which at least one usual household member was of Maori ethnicity. By that definition, in 2013, Porirua ki Manawatu Maori were almost twice as likely as non-Maori to be occupying rented homes.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 2013*

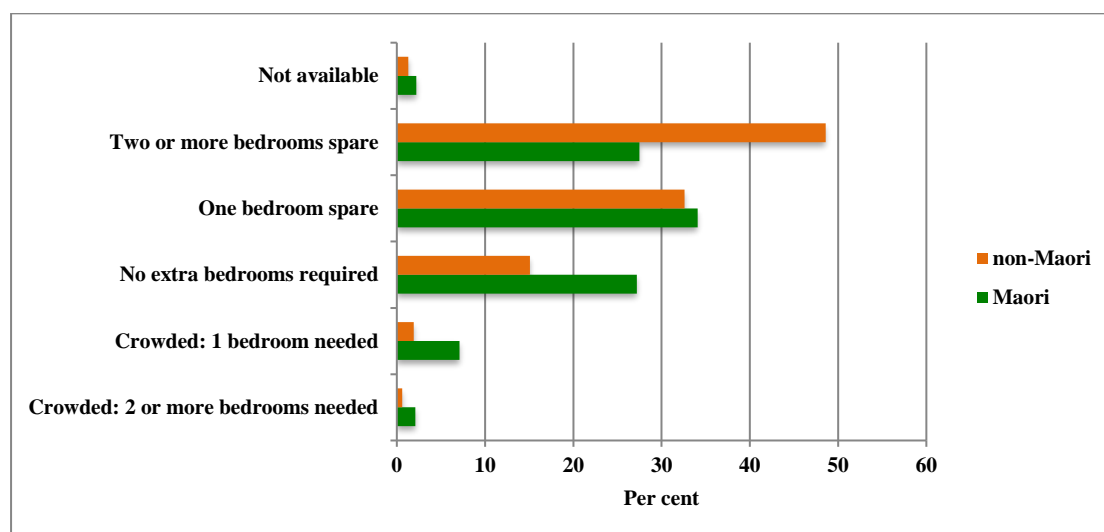
Graph 9.20: Tenure of occupied private dwellings, Porirua ki Manawatu, 2013

9.6.4 Household crowding

Graph 9.21 deals with household crowding in the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. Statistics New Zealand employs the Canadian National Occupancy Standard which specifies that there should be no more than two persons per bedroom; that parents/couples share a bedroom; that children under five, either of same or opposite sex, may reasonably share a bedroom; that children under 18 years of same sex may reasonably share a bedroom; that a child aged from five to 17 years should not share a

bedroom with one under five of the opposite sex; and, finally, that a single adult 18 years and over and any unpaired children require a separate bedroom.

Graph 9.21 deals with occupied private dwellings, and indicates that an appreciably greater proportion of Maori was living in crowded homes than all persons. With respect to those requiring an additional bedroom, of the total number of Maori households, 7.1 per cent and 2.1 required respectively one and two extra bedrooms. For non-Maori, the corresponding proportions were 0.6 per cent and 1.9 per cent. Taken together, Maori were more than three times as likely as non-Maori to be living in crowded homes.



Source: *Census of New Zealand 2013*

Graph 9.21: Household crowding, occupied private dwellings, Maori and non-Maori households, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

9.7 Cultural identity

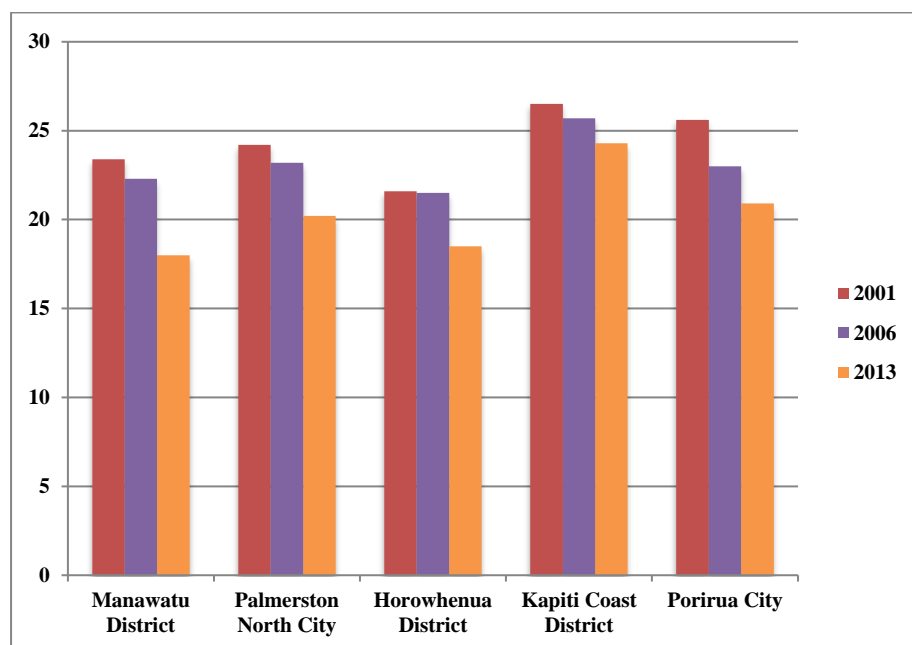
Cultural identity, as employed by the Ministry of Social Development, relates to ‘the customs, practices, languages, values and world views that define social groups.’¹⁶⁸³

Two indicators are presented here, namely, Maori language speakers and Maori medium education.

¹⁶⁸³ Ministry of Social Development, *The social report 2010*, p.84.

9.7.1 Te reo Maori speakers

Graph 9.22 sets out the proportion of Maori who could speak te reo Maori as recorded by the censuses of 2001, 2006, and 2013. An appreciable decline was recorded in each of the five territorial authorities. In the case of the Manawatu District, the decline was 5.4 per cent over the 12-year period, in Palmerston North 4 per cent, and in Horowhenua District 3.1 per cent, in Kapiti Coast District 2.2 per cent, and in Porirua City 4.7 per cent.

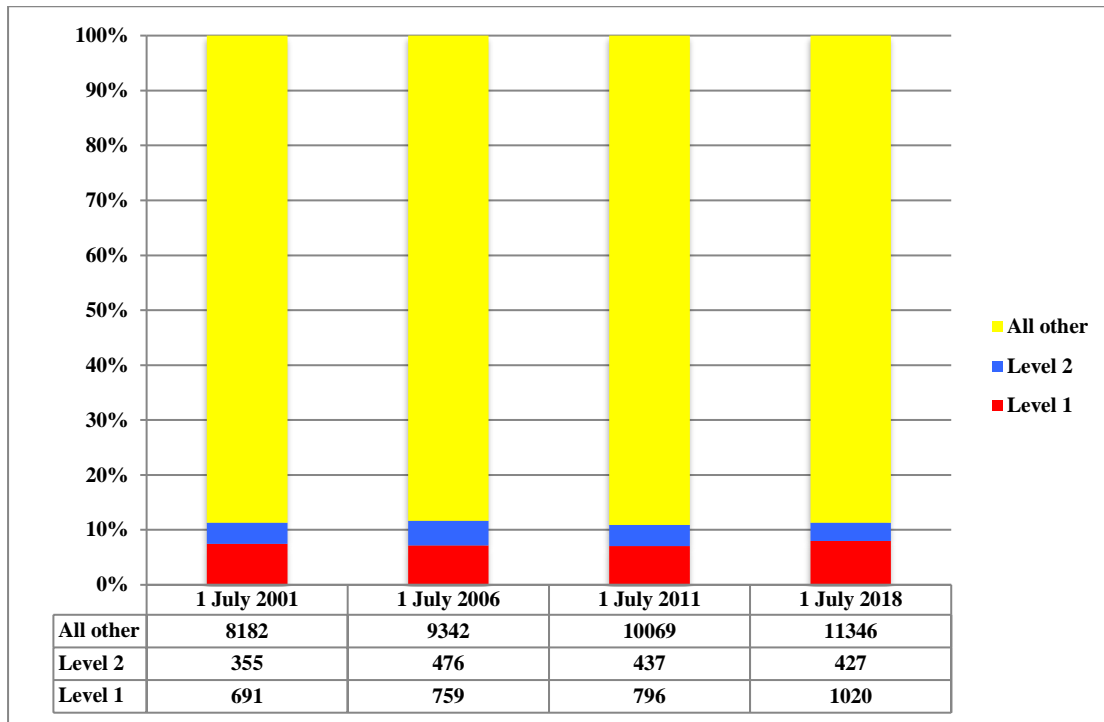


Source: Statistics New Zealand, available at www.archive.stats.govt.nz

Graph 9.22: Proportion of Maori who could speak te reo Maori, five territorial authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, 2001, 2006, and 2013

Graph 9.23 sets out the proportion of Maori students who participated in Levels 1 and 2 of Maori medium education.¹⁶⁸⁴ Numbers increased from 1,046 (Levels 1 and 2) as at 1 July 2001 to 1,447 as at 1 July 2018, but remained in each instance as 11.3 per cent of the total Maori student population. It will be noted that the increase in Level 1 between 2001 and 2018 was not matched by a similar (lagged) increase in the numbers in Level 2.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Level 1: Curriculum taught in Maori for between 20 and 25 hours per week; Level 2: Curriculum taught in Maori for between 12.5 and 20 hours per week.



Source: Ministry of Education, Education Counts, available at www.educationcounts.govt.nz

Graph 9.23: Participation by Maori students in Maori medium education, five territorial authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2018

9.8 Social connectedness

Details relating to communication by ethnicity were not located for either the territorial authorities or the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. Table 9.7 sets out details for the MidCentral and Capital and Coast Health Districts for 2006 and 2013.¹⁶⁸⁵ The increase in the proportion of households without telephones probably reflects the adoption of alternative technologies. While the proportion of Maori households with internet access did increase over the inter-censal period, the rate of access remained appreciably lower than for non-Maori households.

¹⁶⁸⁵ See also Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, *Maori me te Ao Hangaru: the Maori ICT report, 2015*. Wellington: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2015

Table 9.7: Telephone and internet access by households, MidCentral and Capital and Coast Health Districts, 2006 and 2013

	Maori 2006	non-Maori 2006	Maori 2013	Non-Maori 2013
MidCentral				
No cell/mobile	18.0	16.5	11.3	9.9
No telephone	20.9	6.9	26.3	13.3
No internet	48.2	26.9	28.6	13.2
No telecommunications	4.0	1.1	2.5	0.9
Capital and Coast				
No cell/ mobile	16.7	15.0	10.4	9.3
No telephone	12.7	4.5	23.6	14.2
No internet	37.4	20.7	18.0	8.0
No telecommunications	2.6	0.9	1.9	0.7

Maori household defined as a household with a Maori resident; non-Maori as a household without a Maori resident

Source: *Maori health profiles 2015*, available at www.otago.ac.nz/wellington/otago

9.9 Relative deprivation: New Zealand Deprivation Index 2013

In a working paper published in 2001, Treasury noted that ‘There are spatial differences in well-being – some neighbourhoods and regions score notably worse on indicators such as income, unemployment and education.’ In accordance with the prevailing orthodoxy, it went on to claim that ‘Many of these differences are not problems, but rather result from choices made by people and firms in response to varying regional characteristics. Often differences represent one point in a necessary process of regional adjustment.’¹⁶⁸⁶ But the paper also recorded that ‘Maori are particularly affected by deprivation, both relatively and absolutely ... they are over-represented in the most deprived neighbourhoods of every region of New Zealand.’ Further, it suggested that there was ‘both an ethnic and a regional dimension to deprivation in New Zealand – neither completely subsumes the other.’¹⁶⁸⁷ The study concluded that for Maori ‘the areas of relatively high deprivation coincide with ancestral communities ... and their environs,’ and

¹⁶⁸⁶ The Treasury (Meaghan Claridge), *Geography and the inclusive economy: a regional perspective*, Treasury Working Paper 01/1, Wellington: The Treasury, 2001, p.3.

¹⁶⁸⁷ The Treasury, *Geography*, pp.10-11.

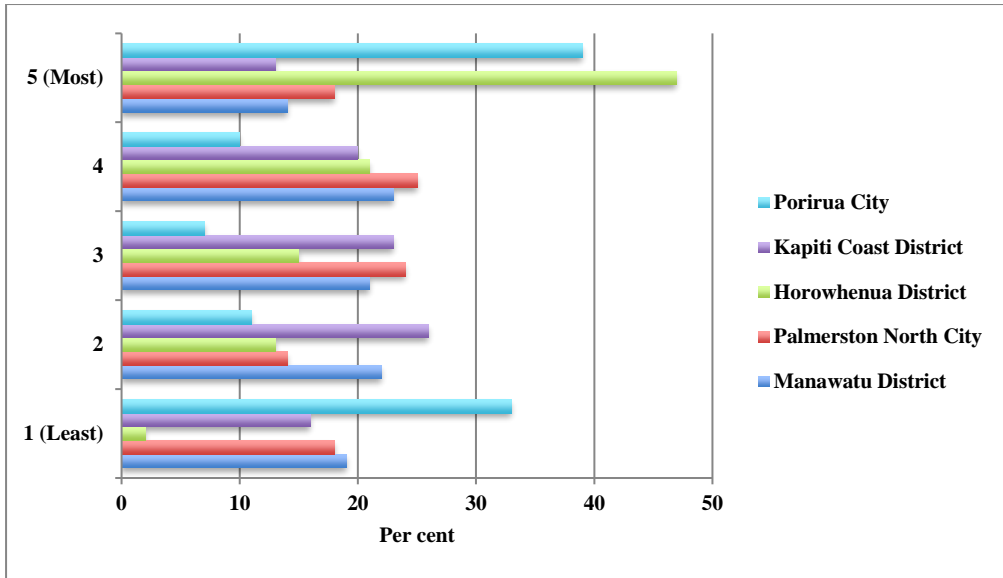
Another part of the regional picture is the simple association of relatively high levels of Maori deprivation with the appropriation of productive Maori land in the nineteenth century, which forced Maori on to marginal land and deprived them of an economic base ... Similarly, the on-going levels of deprivation in rural communities may be linked to the non-performance of Maori land as an asset. The relatively small area of Maori land, its poor quality, and the multiple ownership institutional framework for Maori land tenure are factors that contribute to continually low levels of economic performance.¹⁶⁸⁸

The NZDep2013 combined, on the basis of census mesh blocks, nine indicators of socio-economic status to generate a ‘deprivation score.’ The indicators are:

- Persons aged under 65 with no access to the Internet at home
- Persons aged 16-64 years receiving a means-tested benefit
- Persons living in equivalised households with income below a threshold level
- Persons aged 18-64 years who are unemployed
- Persons aged 18-64 years without any qualifications
- Persons not living in their own home
- Persons aged under 65 years living in a single-parent family
- Persons living in equivalised households below a bedroom occupancy threshold,
and
- Persons with no access to a car

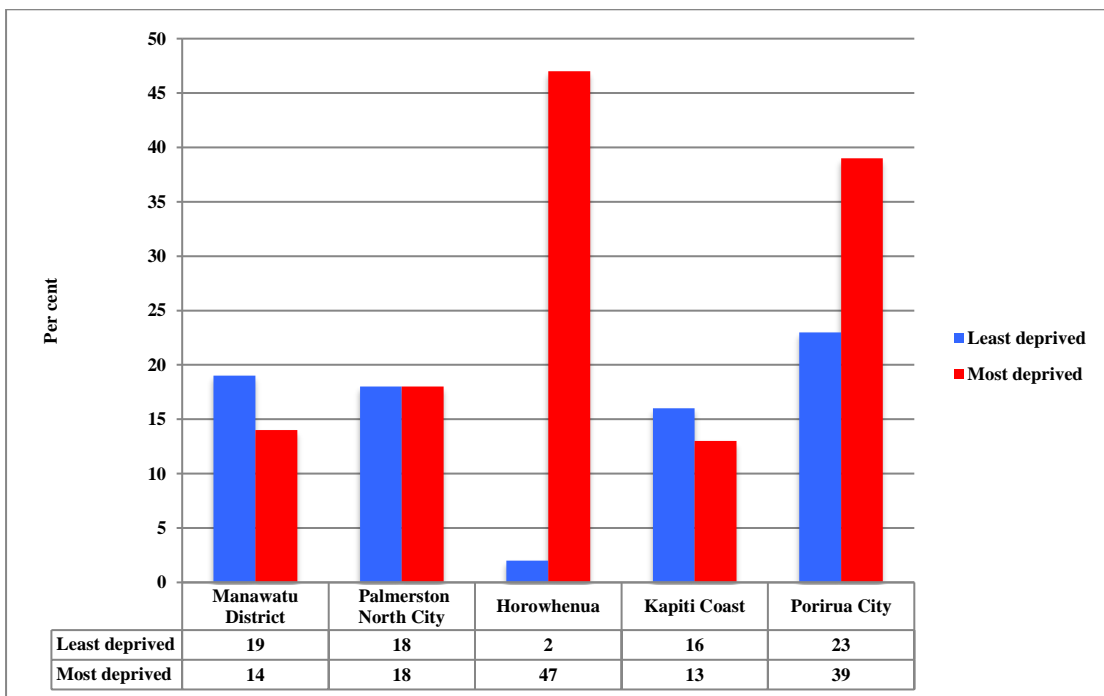
In short, the score combines many of the elements separately discussed above. All mesh blocks are classified in terms of deciles where Decile 1 is the least deprived and Decile 10 is the most deprived, or in terms of quintiles, where Deciles 1 and 2 constitute the least and Deciles 9 and 10 the most deprived areas. Graph 9.24, involving all persons, presents ‘deprivation profiles’ for the five territorial authorities in 2013. It will be noted that the Horowhenua District and Porirua City had the largest proportion of their residents in Quintile 5 while Horowhenua had the smallest proportion in Quintile 1. Graph 9.25 makes the profile contrasts clearer.

¹⁶⁸⁸ The Treasury, *Geography*, p.22.



Source: www.ehinz.ac.nz

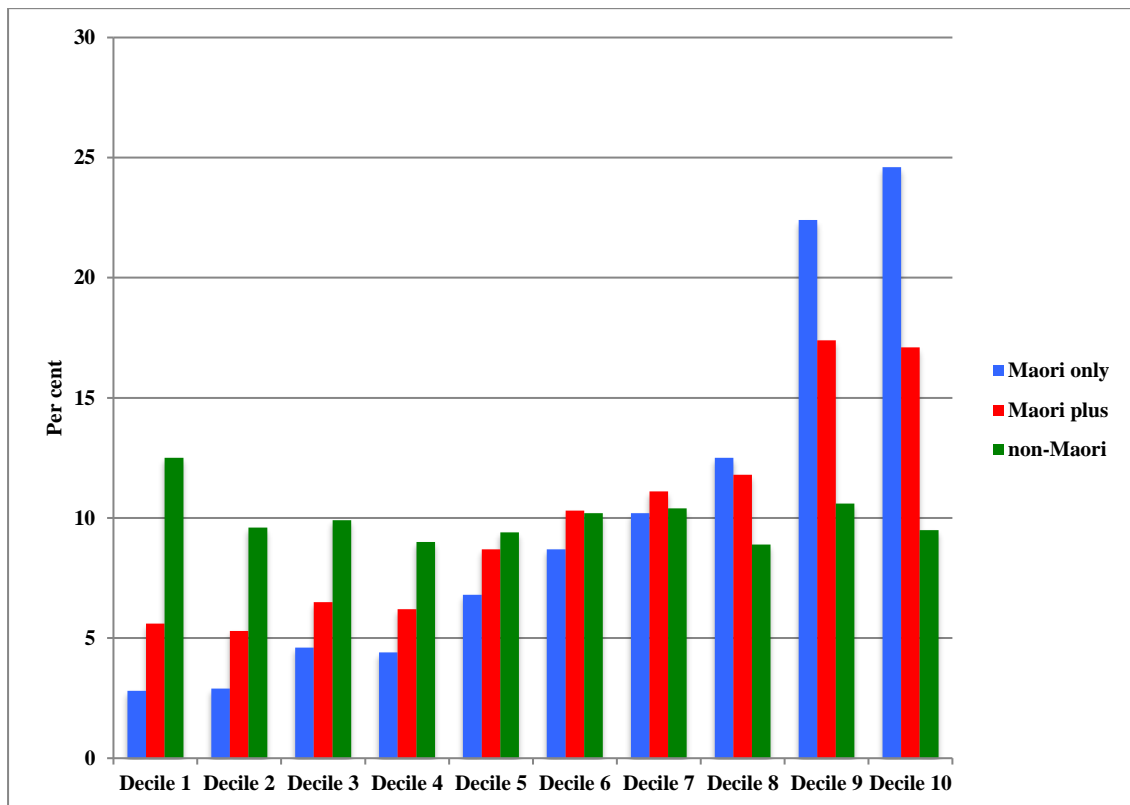
Graph 9.24: Distribution of deprivation by quintiles, territorial authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, 2013



Source: www.ehinz.ac.nz

Graph 9.25: Least and most deprived quintiles, territorial local authorities, Porirua ki Manawatu, 2013

Graph 9.26 introduces the ethnic dimension and offers a summary for the entire Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District. In this instance, ‘Maori only’ are distinguished from ‘Total Maori.’ The 2013 census asked respondents to nominate an ethnic group: ‘Maori only’ refers to those who selected one option (that is, Maori), while ‘Total Maori’ included those who nominated Maori and at least one other. At least three major conclusions can be drawn from Graph 9.26: the first is that, proportionately more non-Maori were located in Deciles 1 to 6 and proportionately fewer in Deciles 7 to 10; the second is that proportionately fewer ‘Maori only’ were located in Deciles 1 to 7 and proportionately more in Deciles 7 to 10 and especially Deciles 9 and 10; and, third, that the pattern for ‘Maori plus’ approximated that for ‘Maori only.’ While, on the one hand, Graph 9.26 indicates that ethnicity remains a useful marker, it also indicates the risks involved in viewing any group as an undifferentiated entity and in employing ethnicity as the sole group marker.

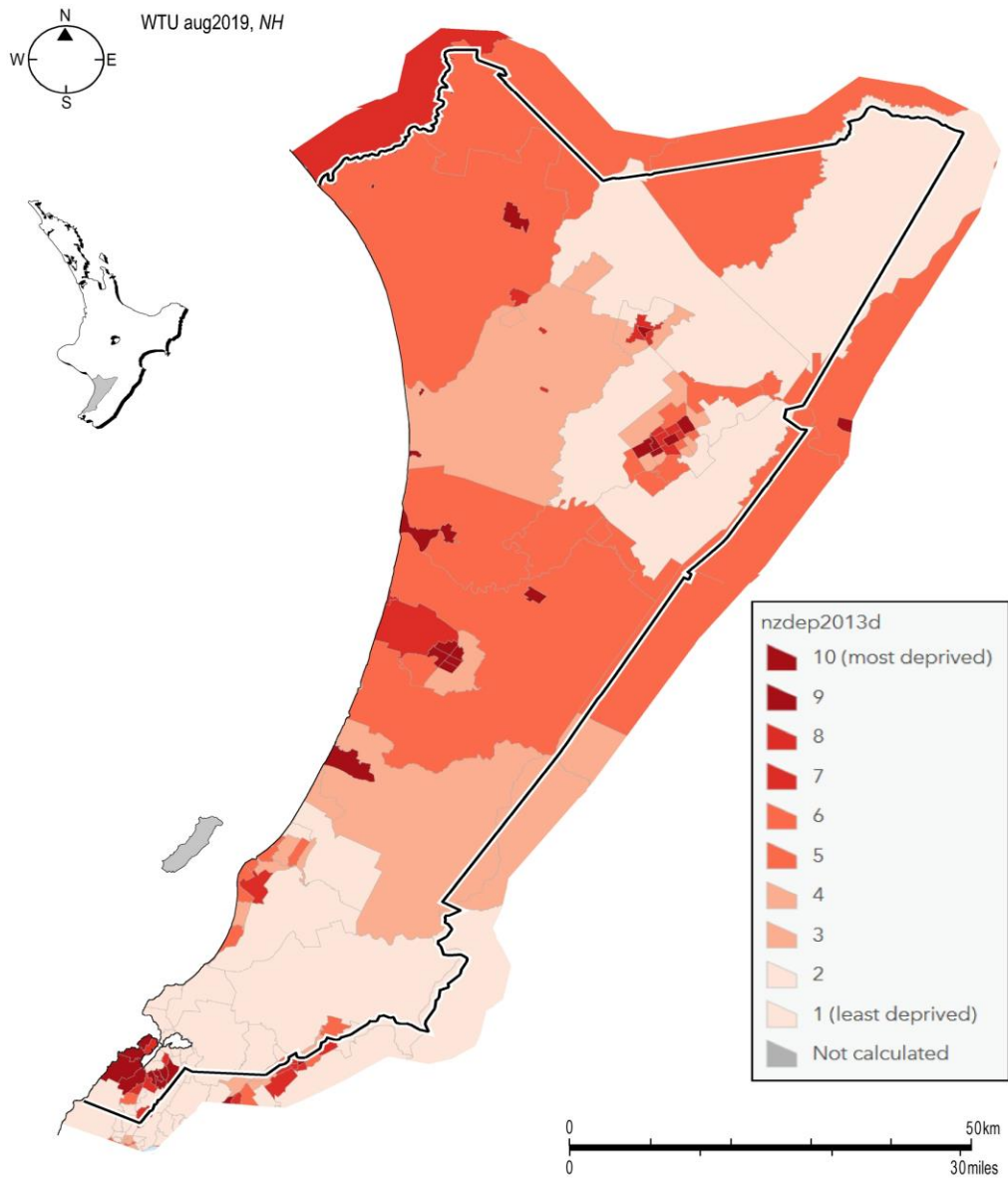


Source: *Census of New Zealand 2013*

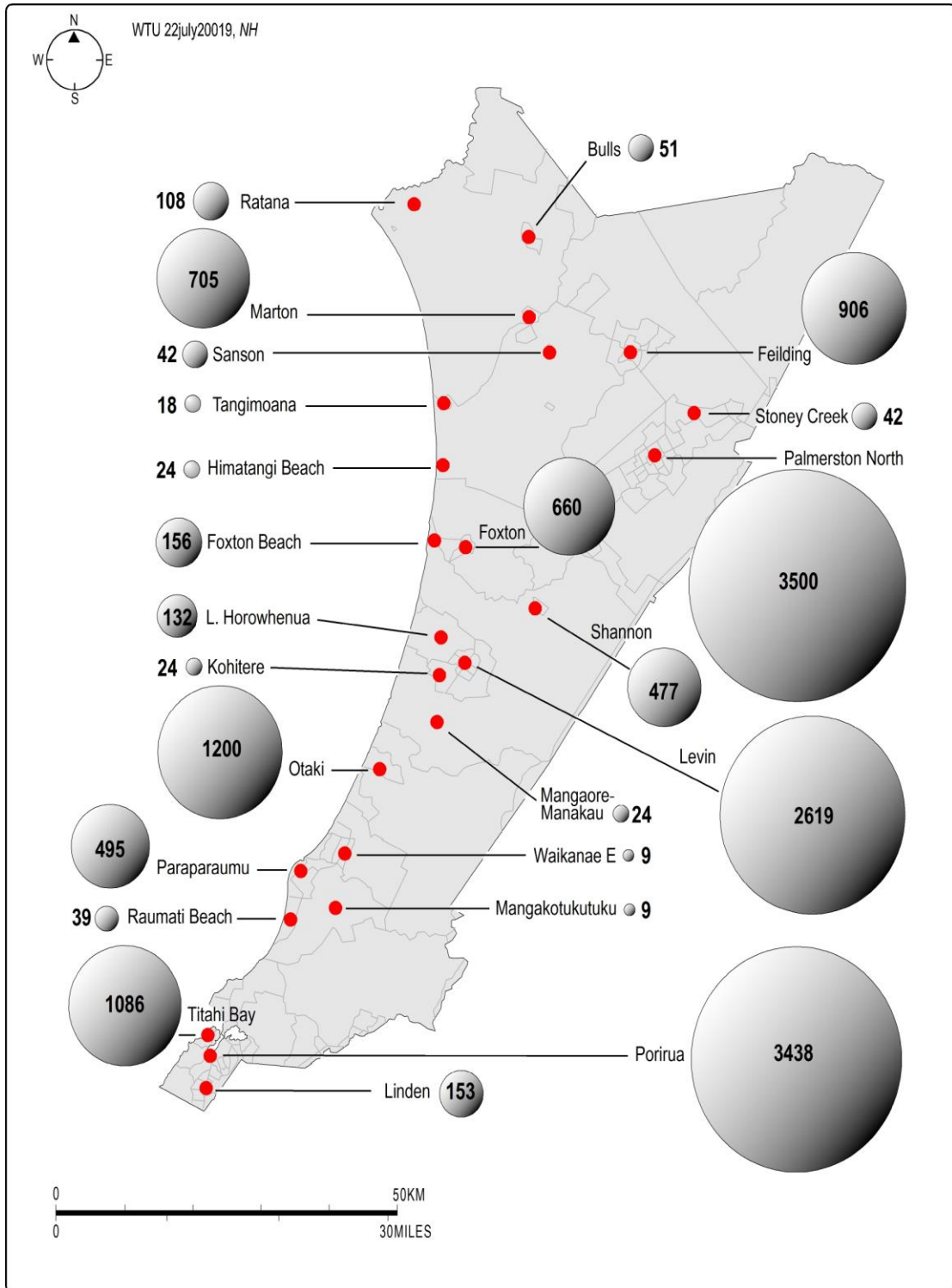
Graph 9.26: ‘Maori only,’ ‘Maori plus,’ and non-Maori by Decile 1 (least deprived) to Decile 10 (most deprived), Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

9.10 Relative deprivation: two maps

Map 9.1 shows the areal distribution of the deciles. It will be noted that the most deprived areas are concentrated in Porirua City, to the north along the coast between Paekakariki and Te Horo Beach, around Otaki, from Levin to Hokio, around Foxton and Foxton Beach, and to the southwest of Palmerston North marking the original Aorangi block. Within those areas are located the vestiges of the once extensive territorial estates owned by Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. Map 9.2 shows the distribution of Maori in deciles 9 and 10.



Map 9.1: Distribution of socio-economic deprivation deciles, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013



Map 9.2: Distribution of Maori in socio-economic deprivation deciles 9 and 10, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, 2013

9.11 Conclusions

The data presented suggest that when measured in terms of a range of socioeconomic indicators, considerable differences existed between Porirua ki Manawatu Maori and non-Maori. It is possible that the results of the 2018 census may indicate some narrowing of at least some of those differences, but the 2013 census results suggest that many will remain. The data indicate that Maori have lower levels of labour force participation, are under-represented in higher-paying and over-represented in lower-paying occupations, and endure higher rates of unemployment than non-Maori as a result of their greater concentration in more economically vulnerable sectors of the economy. Such differences are reflected in the disparities in the distribution of incomes and in respect of the economic standard of living generally. At the heart of those contrasts lay a significant educational achievement gap and thus in the knowledge and skills required for entry in to higher-paying occupations. Other appreciable gaps between Maori and non-Maori also remain, especially in the area of health: income, employment, housing, and education were likely to have been (and to remain) major contributors to health disparities between Maori and non-Maori.¹⁶⁸⁹ The evidence presented in this chapter indicates that the Porirua ki Manawatu Maori are over-represented among those identified who continue to experience significant social and economic deprivation. That suggests that, through the interaction of a range of self-reinforcing mechanisms, indigenous disadvantage becomes entrenched and persistent.

¹⁶⁸⁹ See, for example, Ministry of Health, *Tatau Kahukura: Maori health chart book*, Wellington: Manatu Hauoroa, Ministry of Health, 3rd edition, 2015.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

This investigation centred on testing the hypothesis set out in the introductory pages. The central argument was that the establishment, expansion, and operation of the settler state served, through adverse engagement with a market economy and adverse engagement with the State, to isolate and segment Maori sufficiently that collectively they emerged as a socially and economically disadvantaged or marginalised group. While the investigation was impeded by the lack of or doubts over the reliability of such data as were available, nevertheless, the evidence, both qualitative and quantitative, made it clear that during the first half of the twentieth century Porirua ki Manawatu Maori did emerge, by most conventional economic and social measurements, as a markedly disadvantaged group, that is, when compared with non-Maori. At the same time, it should be recognised that, just as within the Inquiry District's population as a whole, gradations occurred, but not, it is suggested, sufficient to undermine the use of ethnicity as a marker of socio-economic disadvantage.

The hypothesis referred to 'adverse integration into a market economy' and 'adverse engagement with the state.' Both took a range of forms. Adverse integration into the market economy centred on the transfer of key economic resources and the actual and potential wealth that they embodied out of Maori ownership, the resultant natural resource deficit in a region in which land was the key factor of production, and their inability to secure access to finance to turn to productive account such lands as they retained. The basis upon which Porirua ki Manawatu Maori might have engaged successfully in the regional economy had by about the turn of the twentieth century been seriously eroded. Failure to secure the full value of the resources transferred and an inability to gain access to external sources of finance left Maori communities seriously undercapitalised. The full implications were masked for several decades as roads, bridges, and railways were constructed, forests cleared, swamps drained, rivers straightened, and farms established. Once that labour-intensive phase of the region's economy passed, the Maori economy emerged as a hybrid, partly subsistence and partly commercial, partly separate and independent, partly integrated and dependent.

'Adverse integration' in the regional economy was also apparent in the changes in land ownership arising out of the Crown's pursuit of the individualisation of land ownership.

Those changes left Maori stranded between two rights structures, one a highly modified form of collective ownership, and the other an unstable form of private property rights. The geographical and legal fragmentation of land ownership, inaccurate and incomplete title recording systems, and absentee ownership were among the more obvious manifestations of an incomplete transformation that rendered Maori largely unable to gain access to external sources of capital and thus largely unable to invest. A defined, stable, and transparent property rights structure is a fundamental pre-condition for successful participation in a market economy. ‘Adverse integration’ was also evident in the partial engagement of Maori in the paid workforce, in the encouragement that the prospect of paid relief work gave an appreciable number of Maori to join or re-join the work force, and in the emergence of a sizeable, low-skilled, low-paid, and mobile Maori rural proletariat associated with the Pakeha- and Chinese-controlled market gardening industry.

Adverse engagement with the State similarly took many forms. Until at least 1920 the Crown remained firmly fixed upon the transfer of land out of Maori and in to settler ownership. Efforts to ensure that Maori retained a sufficiency of land for commercial purposes, notably Part II of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907, were largely ignored by the Crown or proved to be of limited practical effect. Moreover, while Maori recognised the difficulties that incomplete ‘individualisation,’ injudicious partitioning, and unreformed succession practices would have for future investment and development, an effective response from the Crown was not forthcoming. That failure contrasted sharply with the Crown’s sustained efforts to ensure the orderly and controlled subdivision of the country’s general lands. In a market economy, the free exchange of goods and services is generally regarded as the best means of establishing their value, but Porirua ki Manawatu Maori found that their ability to exercise their full rights as owners and hence secure the full value of such assets as they chose to alienate was limited by the Crown’s largely successful efforts to structure the land market in such a manner as to favour its interests and priorities.

From about 1870 onwards, the State emerged in New Zealand as a major economic actor, directing financial resources in to public infrastructure and land development, establishing a range of institutions intended to foster accumulation and investment, providing support for industry, offering assistance to particular sectors of the economy

and to particular groups of citizens, and in developing various forms of social support for the elderly, the invalided, the widowed, the sick, and for families. Few Acts of Parliament explicitly excluded Maori, but the ability of the latter to secure full access to the support and entitlements otherwise being offered was limited, in part by the qualifying requirements demanded, those specified, for example, by the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, the Workers' Dwellings Act 1905, and the Government Advances to Workers Act 1906, and their accompanying regulations. They were also limited by the manner in which agencies of the State – prominent among them being the Departments of Lands and Survey and Pensions, and the State Advances Office – chose to interpret and apply the law, to engage in decision-making that was not always founded on evidence but rather was informed by or based overtly on race, or to apply the law (notably in the area of taxation) in a manner that disadvantaged Maori.

Treasury's view that the purpose of social entitlements was to maintain *existing* living standards among Maori rather than raise to a level comparable with other sections of the community suggested that key agencies of the State were, into the late 1930s at least, content to accept the enduring presence of a disadvantaged minority and willing to cite in support of that position ill-defined or rarely fully articulated 'communal privileges.' In 1946, the *Southern Cross* was moved to comment that 'Maori used to be conspicuously under-privileged – used to be discriminated against economically' and that 'discrimination was so pronounced that to protect our national conscience we developed beliefs that the Maori was feckless, improvident, and lazy ...'¹⁶⁹⁰ The evidence is clear that beliefs of that nature permeated a great deal of official thinking about and approach to Maori and their preferences and needs. At worst, they appeared to condone poverty. It was Treasury, too, that encouraged the Government to limit the financial assistance sought by Maori to what it described as 'Maori monies.' Moreover, it did so whilst some State – notably the Maori district land boards – limited the control that Maori could exercise over those monies and in fact diverting them in to advances to Pakeha individuals and enterprises, while others, notably the Pensions Department comprehensively and arbitrarily reduced the social payments to which Maori were otherwise entitled. The notion of 'Maori money' sat awkwardly alongside the fact that,

¹⁶⁹⁰ 'Homes for Maoris,' *Southern Cross* 31 August 1946, copy in ACIH 16036 MAW2459/249 30/1 Part 2.

in common with all other citizens, Maori and Maori landowners, trusts, and incorporations were subject to various forms of taxation.

Adverse engagement with the State was similarly apparent in the latter's adoption and implementation of legislation that was plainly discriminatory, distinctly less supportive than its mainstream counterparts, and productive of unequal outcomes. The most prominent example was in the area of housing in which the Government refused to contemplate the provision of rental housing and insisted upon loan limits and repayment conditions that tended to reinforce rather than markedly improve the existing unsatisfactory conditions that many Maori endured. Moreover, the evidence suggests that housing policy was employed for other purposes, initially to encourage Maori to remain and subsequently to encourage them to leave their established communities and settlements.

Other manifestations included the decision of the Department of Labour not to enforce employers, notably market gardeners, to comply with their legal requirements in respect of worker living conditions, and its accompanying failure to take steps to remedy in a timely manner known defects and inadequacies in the relevant law. It was also incumbent upon the Government to ensure that its various agencies acted in accordance with policy and the law: some of the actions of education boards, hospital boards, and the Maori district land boards raised questions with serious implications for Maori over the relationship between the Government and the agencies charged with the implementation of policy and the allocation of State financial resources. Questions also arose over the oversight and control that the Crown exercised with respect to local voluntary agencies and their deployment of State funds, notably in respect of the administration of unemployment relief.

On the other hand, it is important to acknowledge that some constructive steps were undertaken to assist Porirua ki Manawatu Maori. The efforts to deliver primary medical and maternity care to Maori communities appear to have been welcomed and effective. It is also clear that a major effort that involved coordination among a range of health providers was made to bring tuberculosis under control and to eliminate the disease. At the same time, the fact that the mortality rate among Maori began to fall in

advance of vaccination suggests that an earlier effort may have effected an earlier improvement.¹⁶⁹¹

Adverse engagement with the economy and adverse engagement with the State were the key elements of a protracted process of marginalisation that involved the dislocation and displacement of Porirua ki Manawatu Maori economy and society. At the heart of that process lay economic and political disempowerment. The determination of the Crown to undermine the established social, economic, and political order, generally termed ‘Maori communalism,’ and to effect the transfer of key resources out of Maori ownership, was pursued, in Porirua ki Manawatu, through the acquisition of large blocks of land and the confinement of Maori to small ‘reserves’ sufficient perhaps to support a subsistence economy, and through a the drive to ‘individualise’ the ownership of such land as Maori retained through the imposition of a regime founded on the principle of private property rights.¹⁶⁹²

Throughout, successive Governments proved reluctant to endorse and support efforts by Maori to develop effective institutions of self-government and, indeed, to empower and support adequately even those that they themselves established. Moreover, little evidence was located that indicated that those Governments systematically engaged with Maori to establish needs, to formulate appropriate policies, to assist in the implementation of the policies adopted, or to engage in the delivery of services.

Once the bulk of the land had passed out of Maori ownership, Maori themselves became increasingly peripheral to the country’s economic development, social direction, and political management. Rather, they emerged as a small and largely separate minority for which only minimal provision was necessary. Only when the pronounced social and

¹⁶⁹¹ In 1944, the *Northern Advocate*, with particular reference to Northland, suggested that ‘the disturbing incidence of tuberculosis among the Maori people would probably not exist today if the problem had been tackled sympathetically and practically years ago.’ ‘Was tuberculosis conference a failure?’ *Northern Advocate* 13 January 1944, p.2.

¹⁶⁹² Even during the 1930s, some interests proposed that the Government establish reservations for Maori along the lines of those established for Indian peoples of the United States. Prime Minister Savage insisted that reservations were ‘contrary to British ideas of colonisation,’ and were ‘not in accord with the Government’s policy of equality of treatment for Maori and pakeha. The Government’s aim is to develop and settle the lands of the Maori, and thus assist him in becoming a self-supporting member of the community.’ See Prime Minister to Religious Film Society, Christchurch 12 January 1937, in ANZ Wellington ACIH 16036 MA1/650 36/1 Part 1.

economic disadvantages thus generated could no longer be denied or minimised, when the ‘great shaking loose’ had gathered strength and Maori began to move in growing numbers to the urban centres, were the policies that had impaired and impeded their efforts to adapt and engage adjusted or aligned with those that applied to all other citizens. The evidence drawn from recent censuses suggest though, that once social and economic disadvantage becomes entrenched, and once trust and confidence in the State are eroded, amelioration is likely to prove to be a protracted and costly process.

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Appendix: Research Commission

OFFICIAL

Wai 2200, #2.3.31

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

Wai 2200

CONCERNING

the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND

the Porirua ki Manawatū
District Inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Dr Terry Hearn, historian, to prepare a research report on Māori social and economic issues in the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry district.
2. The researcher should address the following:
 - (a) What was the extent of land and resource loss in the inquiry district and how did it impact economically on Porirua ki Manawatū Māori? To what extent did Crown acts or inaction contribute to or cause that situation?
 - (b) Did Crown laws and policies provide an even playing field for Porirua ki Manawatū Māori and non-Māori economic development in the inquiry district? To what extent were Porirua ki Manawatū Māori able to contribute to, participate in, and derive benefits from the development of the region, including farm development and any other forms of development pursued in the district? Did they derive benefits comparable with those enjoyed by non-Māori?
 - (c) To what extent did Porirua ki Manawatū Māori suffer socio-economic deprivation or emerge as a significantly disadvantaged group in this inquiry district?
 - (d) If Porirua ki Manawatū Māori suffered socio-economic deprivation in this inquiry district, to what extent did Crown acts or inaction contribute to or cause that situation?
 - (e) To what extent were Porirua ki Manawatū Māori able to secure access to social services? What kinds of social services did the Crown provide (or fail to provide), and with what effects? How did this compare to that secured by non-Māori? (This should include health, education, housing, employment income, wealth, internal migration and other indicators.)
 - (f) To what extent were Porirua ki Manawatū Māori consulted in relation to the establishment and provision of social services? Was a role provided for Porirua ki Manawatū Māori in respect to the establishment and provision of social services?
3. The commission commenced on 28 May 2018.
4. The commission ends on 28 June 2019, at which time an electronic copy of the final report must be submitted to the Registrar for filing, together with indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts. The electronic copy of the report and supporting documentation

should be provided in Word or PDF file format.

5. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.

The Registrar is to send copies of this direction to:

Dr Terry Hearn;
Claimant counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiry;
Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal Unit;
Principal Research Analysts, Waitangi Tribunal Unit;
Manager – Inquiry Facilitation, Waitangi Tribunal Unit;
Manager – Research Services, Waitangi Tribunal Unit;
Solicitor General, Crown Law Office;
Director, Office of Treaty Settlements;
Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust; and
Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri.

DATED at Gisborne this 28th day of May 2018



Deputy Chief Judge C L Fox
Presiding Officer
WAITANGI TRIBUNAL