

‘Māori population trends in the  
Whanganui inquiry district 1880-1945,  
A scoping exercise’

Craig Innes

Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for the  
Whanganui (Wai 903) district inquiry, October 2006

RECEIVED  
Waitangi Tribunal  
27 OCT 2006  
Ministry of Justice  
WELLINGTON

## Table of contents

<i>i. List of tables, figures and maps</i>	3
<i>ii. The author</i>	4
<i>iii. Introduction</i>	5
1. The Whanganui Māori population prior to 1901	10
2. Where Whanganui Māori were located 1881-1945	11
3. Whanganui Māori population trends	16
4. Particular impacts – influenza pandemic, Ratana, urbanisation	23
4.1. The 1918 influenza pandemic and Whanganui Māori	23
4.2. Influence of the Ratana settlement and urbanisation	24
5. Conclusion	28
6. Select bibliography	29

## **i. List of tables, figures and maps**

### **Tables**

Table 1: Iwi 1874-1901: Child-Woman Ratios (Children/100 Women 15 yrs +) <sup>a</sup>	10
Table 2: Location of Māori in the Whanganui district & other selected locales	12
Table 3: Location of Māori within the Whanganui district: grouped totals.	16
Table 4: Population increase over 1886 level 1891-1951	18
Table 5: Regional Distribution, 1901 and 1945 (per cent of total population)	19
Table 6: Principal Tribes by Region, 1901	20
Table 7: Whanganui trends: Lowe's region against district inquiry estimate	21
Table 8: Registered and estimated Māori mortality, by region	23
Table 9: Estimated Gross Reproductive Rates (GRR) and Total Fertility Rates (TFR) (per woman), Regions, 1926 and 1945	25
Table 10: Urban and Rural Child-Women Ratios (per 100), Estimated Gross Reproduction Rates (GRR) and Total Fertility Rates (TFR) (per Woman), 1926 and 1945	25
Table 11: Selected Age Indices (per cent), Regions, 1926 and 1945	26
Table 12: Māori living in major urban areas	27
Table 13: Māori living in minor urban areas within the Whanganui district	27

### **Figures**

Figure 1: Whanganui and NZ Māori population increase 1891-1951	19
Figure 2: Māori Influenza Death Rates 1918	24

### **Maps**

Map 1: Whanganui Māori Census and Localities 1881, 1936, 1945	7
Map 2: Whanganui River Māori Population trends 1881, 1936, 1945	8
Map 3: Census boundaries, Whanganui inquiry district and Lowe's Whanganui Region	9

## **ii. The author**

Craig Innes has a Master of Arts Degree from Massey University (2005).

He has completed, or has assisted in the completion of four research reports for the Waitangi Tribunal: *Report on Tenure Changes Affecting “Purchase Reserves” within the Waikaremoana Area* for the Urewera (Wai 894) district inquiry; *Te Karaitiana Te Korou* for the Wairarapa ki Tararua (Wai 863) district inquiry; the *Whanganui Gap Filling Narratives*, and the *Whanganui and National Park Alienation Study* for the Whanganui (Wai 903) and Tongariro National Park (Wai 1130) district inquiries.

### **iii. Introduction**

#### *Purpose*

The purpose of this report is to supplement the existing casebook reports on socio-economic themes providing an analysis of the population trends among Whanganui Māori communities between 1880 and 1940. This report specifically focuses on the question whether the Whanganui Māori population numbers failed to recover at the same rate as Māori did nationally from 1896. The hypothesis that there was a marked difference to national trends is referred to in the direction of the Presiding Officer Judge Wainwright of 28 March 2006, which outlines the purpose of the commission:

We seek a relatively brief report in which we hope that an explanation will be offered for the apparent failure of populations of Whanganui Māori to regenerate at the same rate and in the same period as Māori populations elsewhere. The report will focus on the effects on Population of the Parihaka and Rātana movements, and events in the first two decades of the twentieth century such as the 1918 influenza epidemic...<sup>1</sup>

To provide the context for the population study of Whanganui Māori population trends in the first two decades of the twentieth century, this report examines selected data for the period 1880 to 1945.

#### *Nature of report*

This report is essentially a detailed scoping exercise undertaken to address the question of whether Whanganui Māori population numbers failed to recover at the same rate as Māori did nationally from 1896. After an initial scoping of the available secondary and primary population data sources, it was quickly concluded that the hypothesis that the apparent failure of populations of Whanganui Māori to regenerate at the same rate and in the same period as Māori populations elsewhere was not necessarily supported in a significant way. Therefore, this report documents that scoping exercise and the sources used leading to this conclusion.

#### *Sources and methodology*

##### Primary sources

The main primary source used in this report is the official censuses of New Zealand population and dwellings for the period 1881 to 1945. The author acknowledges the

---

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum and directions of Judge C.M. Wainwright. 28 March 2006. Wai 903 #2.3.33, Paragraph 14.3.

general caveats attached to Māori census data including differing definitions of ‘Māori’, inclusion or exclusions of ‘half-castes’, local resistance to censuses for instance by Kingitanga affiliated communities, varying coverage of census districts by enumerators at different times, and differing census county boundaries overtime. The author notes in particular that it was not until 1926 that the Māori census was taken in one night (though not on the same night at the general census) and that Māori completed their own census form for the first time.

Bearing these constrictions in mind, it is still considered possible to use census data to usefully indicate broad trends among populations over selected periods. While acknowledging that census ‘counties’ have changed overtime an attempt has been made to match as far as is reasonably possible some of these early census figures to the contemporary Whanganui inquiry district.

#### Secondary sources

The main secondary source material used is by demographic experts, in particular Ian Pool’s *Te Iwi Māori*<sup>2</sup> and R.J. Lowe; *Te Puāwaitanga o Ngā Iwi 1874-1951*. Readers are advised that Anthony Walton’s *Settlement Patterns in the Whanganui River Valley, 1839-1864* (Wai 167#A47), provides a useful overview of the Māori settlements within the Whanganui River catchment from 1840 to 1881.<sup>3</sup> The maps and figures in Walton’s report can be usefully compared to the maps and figures in this report.

---

<sup>2</sup> Ian Pool *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present & Projected*. Auckland University Press, Auckland 1991

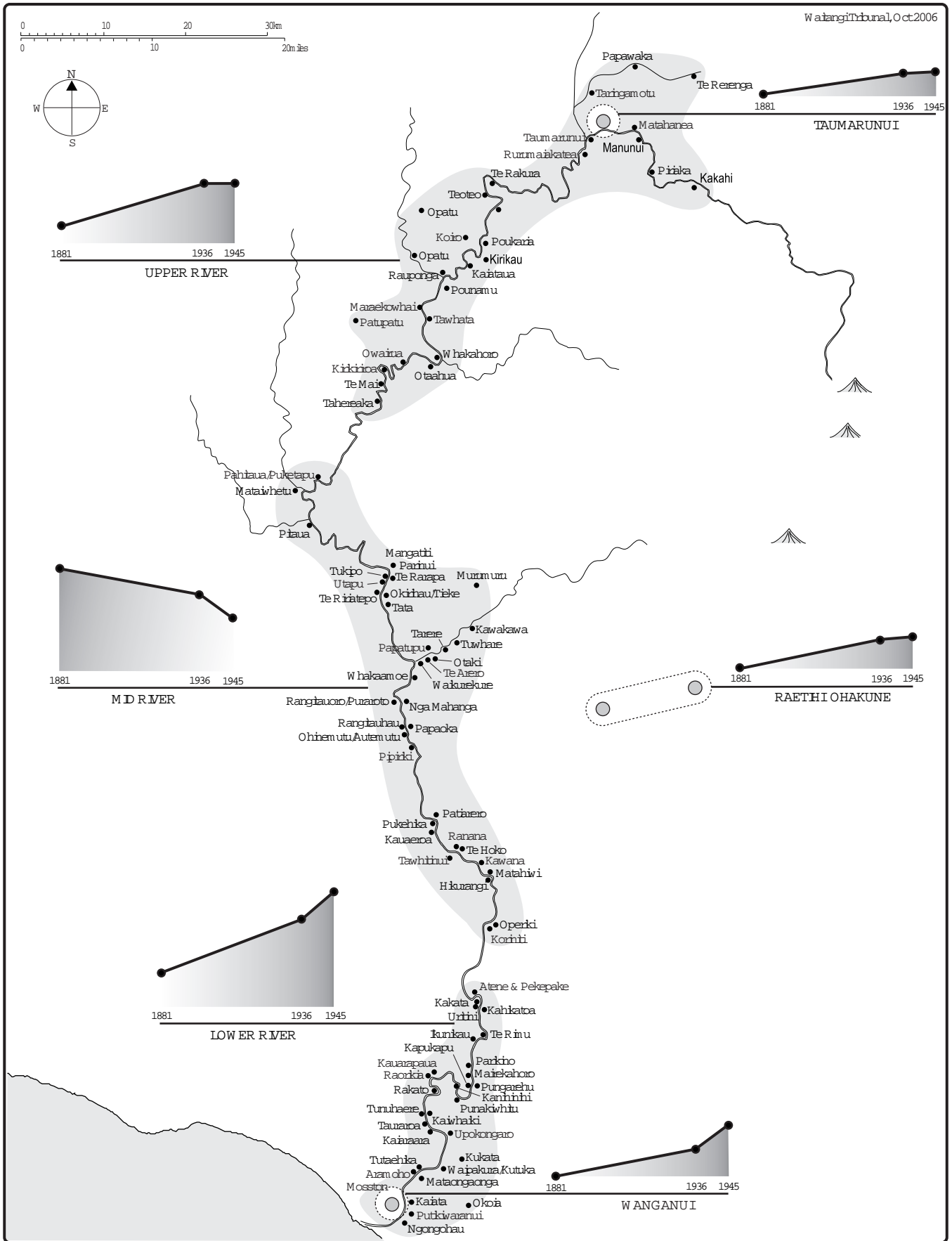
<sup>3</sup> Anthony Walton *Settlement Patterns in the Whanganui River Valley, 1839-1864*, Department of Conservation. Wai 167#A47.

**Map 1: Whanganui Māori Census and Localities 1881, 1936, 1945**



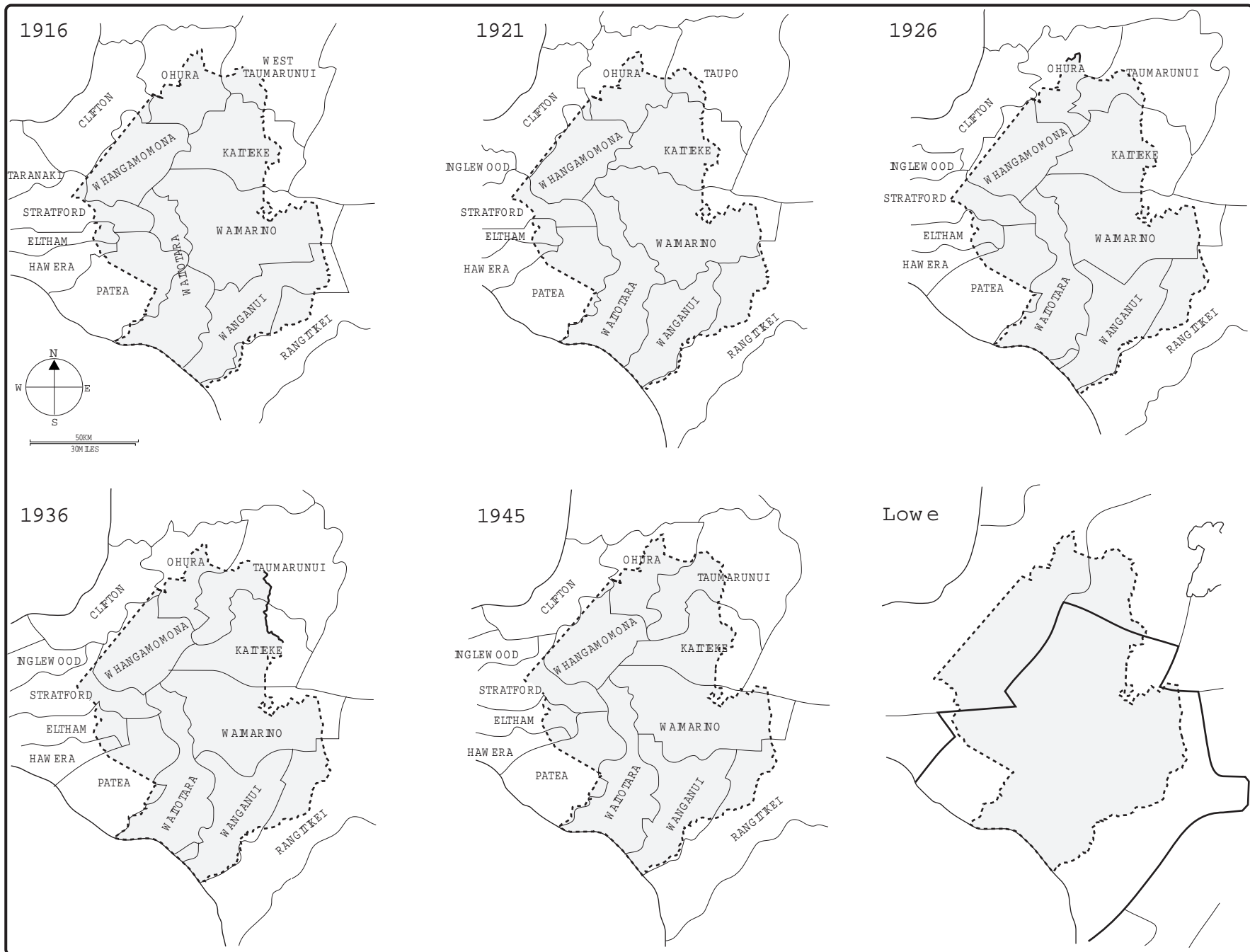


**Map 2: Whanganui River Māori Population trends 1881, 1936, 1945**



Map 2: Wanganui River Maori Population trends 1881, 1936, 1945

**Map 3: Census boundaries, Whanganui inquiry district and Lowe's Whanganui Region**



Map 3: Census boundaries, Wanganui Inquiry District and Lower Wanganui Region

### ***1. The Whanganui Māori population prior to 1901***

The National Māori population had declined significantly prior to 1880 and was still in decline.<sup>4</sup> The Whanganui Māori population was caught up in this national trend.

Pool shows that the Wanganui-Rangitikei area was comparable to Taranaki during the period 1840-1901:

The catchments of the Wanganui and Rangitikei rivers resemble Taranaki, but in a somewhat less severe way. Here Māori demographic history reflects early Pākehā settlement, the effects of the Land Wars, a second spell of large-scale land purchasing from 1879 to 1884, and finally rapid Pākehā population growth in the 1890s.<sup>5</sup>

Table 1 (from Pool p. 96) shows that the Whanganui population started from a relatively low level of children to women in 1874, but by 1901 had returned to the national average for Māori:

**Table 1: Iwi 1874-1901: Child-Woman Ratios (Children/100 Women 15 yrs +)<sup>a</sup>**

<b>Iwi</b>	<b>1874</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1901</b>
Arawa	108	121	113	125
Atiawa	87	67	86	88
Ngaiterangi	81	78	111	109
Ngapuhi	137	144	155	159
Ngatiawa	82	102	116	128
Ngati Kahungunu	114 <sup>b</sup>	104	116	120
Ngati Maniopoto	75	111 <sup>c</sup>	116	99
Ngati Maru	86	78	94	107
Ngati Porou	130	90	106	120
Ngati Raukawa	67	134	111	131
Ngati Ruanui	87 <sup>d</sup>	86	60	104
Ngati Whatua	100	133	99	114
Rarawa	168 <sup>e</sup>	156	151	172
Taranaki	71 <sup>d</sup>	61	81	84
Urewewa	93	116 <sup>c</sup>	131	106
Waikato	88	90 <sup>c</sup>	116	120
Whanau-a-Apanui	95	109	120	175
<b>Whanganui</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>127</b>
All South Island Iwi	112	159	140	144
New Zealand	116	116	120	127

<sup>4</sup> Pool. p.76

<sup>5</sup> Pool. p.99.

Notes (direct quote from Pool (p.96)a):

Iwi names follow Lowe (1989), except for Atiawa.

- a. This index can be considered to be a crude proxy, in the present context for infant and childhood survival...
- b. Enumeration problems, it seems, for children in the Wairoa area. The 1878 ratio for this sub-area applied to women (1874), then entire iwi figure adjusted.
- c. Ages not reported for majority. Ratio obtained by interpolation between 1878 and 1886.
- d. No age data for most in this iwi in 1874. 1878 data used. Cf. Atiawa, where direct computation possible.
- e. Unadjusted figure seems too high (192). Either enumeration problem or adult women (but not men) absent. Used 1878 figure to adjust denominator for 1874 based on Ngapuhi adult sex-ratio for the same year.

## ***2. Where Whanganui Māori were located 1881-1945***

During the period 1881 to 1945 the census data was recorded and presented in a number of different ways. Most of the census data was not published in a fashion that allows for detailed analysis of where Māori were located. However relatively detailed information can be found in the 1881, 1936 and 1945 censuses, showing where Māori were located around the country. The data from these three census years for 113 settlements in the Whanganui district is shown in Table 2 below. This table provides three reasonably accurate snapshots of the population total for the Whanganui inquiry district.<sup>6</sup> For context, 16 localities laying just outside of the Whanganui district have been shown at the bottom of the table. Most of the localities in Table 2 are shown on Map 1. The settlement at Parihaka, which did not closely border the district, but could have been a significant factor in the Whanganui area's demographic history is also shown. In 1881 for instance 174 Whanganui 'Pipiriki Natives' were recorded at Parihaka.<sup>7</sup>

Readers are advised that Table 2 must be viewed with several caveats. Many of the names of the localities used in the 1881 census do not appear in the later census figures and the reverse is also true. It is likely that in some cases, alternative names were used for the same locality. Similarly the reader should take care in making comparisons between the figures for localities, which are represented in all three of the columns. It may be that the localities represent a different population catchment area and include a differing number of smaller settlements in the area. While the

---

<sup>6</sup> According to Kuutai et al the 1881, 1891 and 1901 censuses were better than the 1878, 1886 and 1896 censuses. They concluded that the overall national under-enumeration might have been as high as 10% prior to 1926. Tahu Kuutai, Ian Pool & Janet Sceats, 'Central North Island Iwi: population Patterns and Trends', April 2002, Wai 1200 #A44, p 16.

1936 and 1945 figures are likely to be broadly comparable, the 1881 figures are much less likely to be so.

**Table 2: Location of Māori in the Whanganui district & other selected locales**

Settlement <sup>8</sup>	1881	1936	1945	Notes
Arakuhu Loc <sup>a</sup>	-	14	-	No locality by this name 1945
Aramoho	26	0	0	No Māori in locality 1936,1945
Atene	58	21	23	
Brunswick Loc.	-	6	33	
Denlair Loc.	-	0	4	No Māori in locality 1936
Erua Loc.	-	10	38	
Fordell Vic & T	-	4	4	
Hiruharama	152	113	98	
Horopito Vic.	-	2	8	
Kai Iwi	26	40	107	
Kaipo	76	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Kaitieke Loc.	-	2	6	
Kaiwhaiki	18	88	121	
Kakahi Vic & T.	-	97	148	
Kakatahi Loc.	-	17	43	
Kanihinihi	14	3	-	No locality by this name 1945
Karatia	53	-	-	No locality by this name 1936,1945
Karioi Vic.	-	56	89	Includes PWD camp 1945
Kawakawa	23	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Kauaeroa	19	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Kawana	-	46	-	No locality by this name 1945
Kirikau Loc.	-	32	32	
Kirikiroa	17	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Koiro	45	0	0	No Māori in locality 1936, 1945
Koriniti	93	78	41	
Kuamoia Loc.	-	10	-	No locality by this name 1945.
Kukuta	-	20	11	
Makakaho Loc.	-	4	34	
Makaranui	-	3	56	
Mangaeturoa	-	0	8	No Māori in locality 1936
Manganui o te Ao Loc.	-	55	35	See 1881 entries immediately below
Manganui o te Ao –Parihi	15	-	-	See 1936 & 1945 entry above
Manganui o te Ao –Patupatu	40	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao –Tarere	26	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao –Teureiti	13	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao –Tieke	21	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao – Waikurekure	17	-	-	“”
Mangaporau	-	1	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Mangatiti	-	6	0	No Māori in locality 1945

<sup>7</sup> 1881 Census.

<sup>8</sup> If a 1936 and/or 1945 settlement name does not appear in the 1881 census, the field is left blank. However where the 1936 and 1945 differ a note has been inserted in the notes column.

<b>Settlement<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1936</b>	<b>1945</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Manunui Vic.	-	17	69	
Manunui T.	-	30	84	
Maraekowhai	28	0	0	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Marybank Loc.	-	1	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Matahanea	20	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Matahiwi, Te Taniwha, Karatia	105	26	37	Matahiwi 1936 & 1945
Matatera, Whangaehu	90	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Maxwell	-	50	46	
Mosston	-	0	4	No Māori in locality 1936
Murumuru	-	0	15	No Māori in locality 1936
National Park Loc.	-	11	24	
Ngaturu Loc.	-	2	-	No locality by this name 1945
Nihoniho	-	38	45	
No. 1 Line Loc.	-	1	0	No Māori in locality 1945
No. 2 Line Loc.	-	6	4	
Nukumaru and Taurangaika	37	40	6	Nukumaru Loc.. 1936 & 1945
Ohakune Vic	-	36	16	
Ohakune B.	-	74	148	
Okoia Loc.	-	1	7	
Opatu Loc.	-	20	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Orangimea Loc.	-	31	19	
Otoko Loc.	-	85	69	
Otomoa Loc.	-	1	12	
Otunui Loc.	-	2	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Owhango Vic & T.	-	44	59	
Pakahi Loc.	-	6	85	
Pakaraka	44	0	0	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Papaiti	-	9	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Papoaka	18	0	0	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Parapara Loc.	-	46	54	
Parikino, Kapukapu	45	105	46	
Parinui Loc.	-	32	11	
Patupatu	12	0	0	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Pipiriki	73	125	53	
Piriaka Loc.	-	42	41	
Pohokura Loc.	-	1	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Pokaka	-	0	13	No Māori in locality 1936
Puketapu	21	0	0	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Punakiwhitu	3	0	0	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Pungapunga Loc.	-	105	48	
Pungarehu, Parikino	6	24	20	
Putikiwaranui	60	203	209	Putiki Loc., 1936 & 1945
Raetihi Vic.	-	141	109	
Raetihi B	-	159	173	
Ranana and Te Hoko	83	138	134	Ranana Loc., 1936 & 1945
Rangitatau Loc.	-	0	2	No Māori in locality 1936



<b>Settlement<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1936</b>	<b>1945</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Rangataua T	-	5	29	No locality by this name 1936
Raorikia	9	0	3	No locality by this name 1936
Retaruke Lower Loc.	-	1	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Retaruke Upper Loc.	-	22	1	
Riariaki Loc.	-	1	1	
Ruanui Loc.	-	17	22	
Tahora Loc.	-	0	2	No Māori in locality 1936
Tangarakau Loc.	-	4	17	
Tangiwai Loc.	-	70	7	
Taringamotu Loc.	-	174	55	
Taumarunui Vic.	17	95	96	
Taumarunui B.	-	136	154	
Tawhata	28	-	14	No locality by this name 1936
Tawhitinui	35	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Te Aro Te Waka Loc.	-	5	-	No locality by this name 1945
Te Punga Loc.	-	-	4	No locality by this name 1936
Te Rakato	25	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Te Wera Loc.	-	1	2	
Teoteo	33	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Tokirima Loc.	-	0	9	No Māori in locality 1936
Tukipo and Utapu	77	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Tututawa Loc.	-	0	6	No Māori in locality 1936
Waipakura	14	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Wanganui City	-	252	472	
Westmere Vic.	-	0	2	No Māori in locality 1936
Whangamomona T.	-	0	9	No Māori in locality 1936
Whakarewa	4	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Whenuatere	19	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1658</b>	<b>3163</b>	<b>3506</b>	
<b>Nearby settlements</b>				
Ihupuku	36	-	-	
Kauangaroa Loc.	-	102	121	9 in Wanganui County 1945
Makirikiri Loc.	-	7	25	
Mangamahu	-	6	14	
Mataroa Loc.	-	13	5	
Murimotu	162	0	0	No Māori in locality 1936, 1945
Ngapuke Loc.	-	16	33	
Ohura T.	-	6	20	
Parihaka	1322	106	144	Rangitikei county
Ratana	-	665	468	Egmont county
Tuhua Loc.	-	40	0	Ohura county No Māori in locality 1945
Turakina	55	81	65	Vic, valley and T
Waiouru Loc.	-	1	24	Inc. Forces and PWD camps 1945
Waitotara T.	-	29	0	Patea county
Waitotara Vic	-	70	126	
Whangaehu Bridge	37	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Whangaehu Loc.	-	76	82	

<sup>a</sup> The abbreviations used in the table are from the 1936 and 1945 census (with the exception of B for Borough) and were defined as follows:	
B.	Borough
Loc..	Locality: country districts, or sometimes suburbs, which appear to have an individual name, but could not be classed as township.
T.	Township
Vic.	Vicinity: districts in the neighbourhood of townships and boroughs etc which were outside boroughs or were too far from township centres, and had no separate name of their own.

In addition to the Whanganui district figures shown in Table 2, figures from other districts from the 1881 census indicate that there were some significant concentrations of Māori of the ‘principal tribe’ of Whanganui in other districts. As there is no similar data for the 1936 and 1945 censuses this data is summarised below:

- 174 Pipiriki Natives residing at Parihaka
- 52 Ngarauru-Ngatiporua residing at Parihaka
- 45 Whanganui –Ngatitu residing at Hikurangi in Upper Waikato
- 45 Whanganui-Ngatihau normally residing in Whanganui in Taupo District
- 8 Whanganui-Patutokotoko, Ngarauru, Ngatitu residing at Ahikouka, Wairarapa District
- 9 Whanganui –Ngatitu residing at Papawai, Wairarapa
- In addition, a total of 310 Māori prisoners taken from Taranaki were in the South Island.

Overall, Table 2 illustrates that Parihaka was a very significant Māori population centre in 1881. The decline in the relative significance of the settlement as a population centre by 1936 is also shown. Note the significant increase in the Māori population of Wanganui city between 1936 and 1945. Conversely, there was a significant decline in the Ratana settlement population between 1936 and 1945.

### 3. Whanganui Māori population trends

Bearing in mind, as mentioned above, that the three census years 1881, 1936 and 1945, shown in Table 2 are not strictly comparable, an attempt has been made to group together the communities, based on location and proximity, to provide an indication of trends overtime. The result indicates an overall increase in the Whanganui Māori population for this period though with notable regional variation. This is shown in Table 3 and on Map 2.

Table 3 should be viewed with Map 2 showing how the areas were grouped together. The settlements and localities were grouped based solely on their location and proximity. A caveat to note at this point is that Table 3 can be seen only as a crude approximation as a number of settlements and localities with Māori populations of less than 20 were not located on the map and therefore not added to the total.

Table 3 shows that the mid river population fell between 1881 and 1945, while the upper-river and lower-river populations increased. There was an apparently significant increase in the number of Māori within the borough of Ohakune between 1936 and 1945. However if Ohakune and nearby Raetihi are considered together there is only a modest increase in the total Māori population.

**Table 3: Location of Māori within the Whanganui district: grouped totals.**

Settlement	1881	1936	1945	Notes
<b>Upper River</b>				
Taringamotu Loc.	-	174	55	
Kakahi Vic. & T.	-	97	148	
Piriaka Loc.	-	42	41	
Manunui Vic.	-	17	69	
Matahanea	20	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Teoteo	33	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Koiro	45	0	0	No Māori in locality 1936, 1945
Kirikau Loc.	-	32	32	
Opatu Loc.	-	20	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Maraekowhai	28	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Tawhata	28	-	14	No locality by this name 1936
Kirikiroa	17	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Upper River Total	<b>171</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>359</b>	
Taumarunui Vic. & B.	17	231	252	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>613</b>	<b>611</b>	

Settlement	1881	1936	1945	Notes
<b>Mid River</b>				
Puketapu	21	0	0	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Parinui Loc.	-	32	11	
Mangatiti	-	6	0	No Māori in locality 1945
Tukipo and Utapu	77	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Murumuru	-	0	15	No Māori in locality 1936
Manganui o te Ao Loc.	-	55	35	See 1881 entries below
Manganui o te Ao –Parihi	15	-	-	See 1936 & 1945 entry above
Manganui o te Ao –Patupatu	40	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao –Tarere	26	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao –Teureiti	13	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao –Tieke	21	-	-	“”
Manganui o te Ao – Waikurekure	17	-	-	“”
Kawakawa	23	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Papoaka	18	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Pipiriki	73	125	53	
Hiruharama	152	113	98	
Kauaeroa	19	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Ranana and Te Hoko	83	138	134	Ranana Loc., 1936 & 1945
Tawhitinui	35	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Kawana	-	46	-	No locality by this name 1945
Matahiwi, Te Taniwha, Karatia	105	26	37	Matahiwi 1936 & 1945
Koriniti	93	78	41	
<b>Mid River Total</b>	<b>831</b>	<b>619</b>	<b>424</b>	
<b>Lower River</b>				
Atene	58	21	23	
Parikino, Kapukapu	45	105	46	
Pungarehu, Parikino	6	24	20	
Kanihinihi	14	3	-	No locality by this name 1945
Punakiwhitu	3	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Raorikia	9	-	3	No locality by this name 1936
Te Rakato	25	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Kaiwhaiki	18	88	121	
Brunswick Loc.	-	6	33	
Kukuta	-	20	11	
Waipakura	14	-	-	No locality by this name 1936, 1945
Aramoho	26	0	0	No Māori in locality 1936,1945
Mosston	-	0	4	No Māori in locality 1936
Okoia Loc.	-	1	7	
Putikiwaranui	60	203	209	Putiki Loc., 1936 & 1945
<b>Lower River Total</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>477</b>	
Wanganui City	-	252	472	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>723</b>	<b>949</b>	

Settlement	1881	1936	1945	Notes
<b>Raetihi and Ohakune</b>				
Raetihi Vic.	-	141	109	
Raetihi B	-	159	173	
Ohakune Vic.	-	36	16	
Ohakune B.	-	74	148	
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>410</b>	<b>446</b>	

*Comparisons with other areas*

However to answer whether this growth was comparable to other areas requires comparative analysis. Ian Pool and R.J. Lowe both provide demographic data for the Māori population broken down into different regions of New Zealand, including the Whanganui region. However both Pool and Lowe provide figures for a Whanganui region that is larger than the area covered by the Tribunal's Whanganui inquiry district.<sup>9</sup>

Lowe's figures for the period 1886 to 1951 show the Whanganui Māori population increasing over the 1886 population level at a rate above the national average. This is reproduced in Table 4 and Figure 1 below:

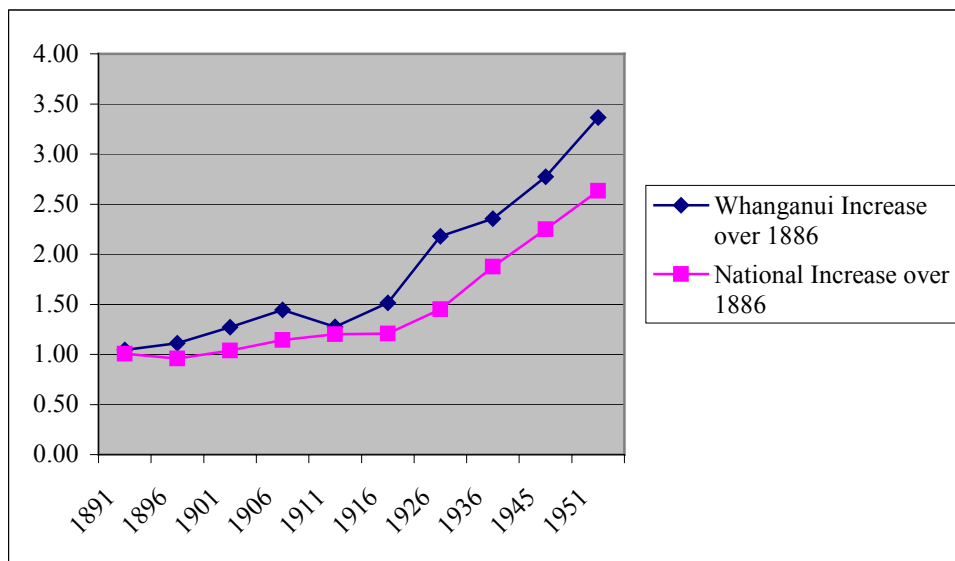
**Table 4: Population increase over 1886 level 1891-1951**

	1886	1891	1896	1901	1906	1911	1916	1926	1936	1945	1951
Whanganui Māori	1952	2042	2168	2482	2818	2488	2959	4252	4597	5414	6564
NZ Māori Total	43927	44177	42113	45550	50309	52723	52997	63670	82326	98744	115676
Whanganui Māori Increase over 1886 (ratio)		1.05	1.11	1.27	1.44	1.27	1.52	2.18	2.36	2.77	3.36
NZ Māori Increase over 1886(ratio)		1.01	0.96	1.04	1.15	1.20	1.21	1.45	1.87	2.25	2.63

Source: Lowe Table 9 p.50, National total includes Māori not allocated by county.

<sup>9</sup> See Pool Map 2. p. 93; Lowe Figure 1. p.43. Part of Lowe's map is reproduced in Map 3 of this report.

**Figure 1: Whanganui and NZ Māori population increase 1891-1951**



(Source: Lowe, p.50)

Ian Pool on the other hand shows that the proportion of the total Māori population living within the region of Wanganui remained largely static between 1901 and 1945 (see Table 5).

**Table 5: Regional Distribution, 1901 and 1945 (per cent of total population)**

	1901	1945
Northland	21	21
Auckland	2	8
Thames/Coromandel	4	2
Waikato/King Country	13	15
Bay of Plenty	17	17
East Coast	10	10
Taranaki	5	5
<b>Wanganui</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
Manawatu/Wellington	5	5
Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa	11	10
South Island	6	4
New Zealand	99	101

Source: Pool p. 125

Lowe's figures are for the "principal tribe" of Whanganui, while Pool's figures shown in Table 5 are for the proportion of Māori (ie. all iwi) within each region. Lowe provides figures showing the proportion of Māori within the Whanganui region that belonged to the 'principal tribe' of Whanganui in 1901. This shows that 2020 of a total of 2482 Māori living in the Whanganui region, or around 80% were of the principal tribe of Whanganui. Members of other iwi within the region included 84 of Te Arawa and 90 from Waikato among others. This is shown on Table 6:

<b>Table 6: Principal Tribes by Region, 1901</b>	Mangonui	Hokianga Hobson	Eastern Northland	Otamatea Waitemata	Eden	Waikato G. Barrier	Haurangi	Piako	Tauranga	Rotorua- Taupo	West Taupo	Kawhia	Whakatane Opotiki	Tai Rawhiti	Hawkes B Wairarapa	Taranaki	Hawera	<b>Whanganui</b>	Oroua	Manawatu Horowhenua	Hutt	Sounds	Other S Is.	Stewart Is.	Chathams	TOTAL	
Arawa	4	82	23	2	10	0	0	453	17	344	1436	584	9	303	8	131	4	0	<b>84</b>	46	7	0	0	3	0	0	3550
Moriiori	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0	0	0	0	4	0	31	35
Ngaiterangi	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	22	8	870	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	913
Ngapuhi	184	2288	3739	25	34	6	0	21	0	0	1	1	13	0	9	20	1	3	<b>3</b>	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	6351
Ngati Awa Total	0	0	10	0	7	5	27	56	0	84	8	1	1	587	1	14	713	0	<b>22</b>	0	60	105	151	60	0	180	2092
O Mataatua	0	0	9	0	7	5	27	56	0	84	8	1	1	587	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	785
Te Atiawa	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	713	0	<b>22</b>	0	60	105	151	60	0	180	1307	
Ngati Kahungunu	0	9	1	0	3	1	0	11	0	0	1	4	0	36	418	4483	4	0	<b>46</b>	4	21	22	87	1462	112	0	6725
Ngati Maniapoto	0	0	0	0	9	54	0	84	8	0	2	265	1051	0	5	0	0	0	<b>13</b>	74	5	0	0	2	0	0	1572
Ngati Maru	4	0	0	9	18	283	2	955	1	1	1	22	0	0	3	32	0	0	<b>25</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1357
Ngati Porou	1	6	7	0	11	0	3	179	0	2	9	0	4	22	3827	65	1	0	<b>12</b>	1	1	3	0	12	0	0	4166
Ngati Raukawa	2	0	0	0	2	8	0	22	215	0	96	266	0	0	0	203	0	0	<b>19</b>	131	1009	112	0	0	0	0	2085
Ngati Ruanui	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	56	709	0	<b>58</b>	0	3	4	0	3	0	0	856
Ngati Whatua	1	24	21	241	51	10	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>4</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	356
Rarawa	1897	825	30	55	10	1	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2842
Taranaki	0	2	4	0	2	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	537	76	0	<b>0</b>	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	640
Urewera	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	59	1	0	1004	0	24	0	0	<b>0</b>	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1094
Waikato	0	43	48	25	31	3050	4	133	160	0	4	0	548	0	17	75	41	0	<b>90</b>	172	9	7	22	63	0	0	4542
Whakatohea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54	0	0	1	0	0	536	5	2	0	0	<b>0</b>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	599
Whanau-a-Apanui	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	680	8	2	0	0	<b>1</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	711
Whanganui	0	35	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	6	1	0	31	51	0	0	<b>2020</b>	3	170	4	3	9	0	0	2339
Tribe unspecified	0	0	7		26	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	24	0	<b>24</b>	0	0	1	0	24	0	0	122
Subtotal	2093	3314	3890	357	223	3442	37	2039	409	1301	1622	1130	1649	3170	4277	5017	1483	853	<b>2422</b>	436	1287	264	263	1646	112	211	42947
HCLAE	46	150	231	29	100	117	1	211	47	92	44	16	124	167	139	149	80	23	<b>60</b>	23	64	23	64	30	2	457	2407
TOTAL	2139	3464	4121	386	323	3559	38	2250	456	1393	1666	1146	1773	3337	4416	5166	1563	876	<b>2482</b>	459	1351	294	265	2103	113	213	45550

HCLAE: Half castes living as Europeans, NZ grand total includes 196 Māori wives living with European husbands.

Source: Lowe Table 6 p. 44

*Modified Census data for Whanganui inquiry district*

To provide figures that more closely matched the Whanganui inquiry district the census figures were examined and alternative figures are provided for the period 1916-1945. This estimate was based upon figures derived from the census counties, which more closely matched the Whanganui inquiry district. The census areas were grouped together as follows:

**1916:** Wanganui County, Waitotara County, Waimarino County, Whangamomona County, Kaitieke County

**1926:** Wanganui County, Waitotara County, Waimarino County, Whangamomona County, Kaitieke County, Wanganui City, Raetihi Borough, Ohakune Borough, Manunui Town District, Rangataua Town District

**1936:** Wanganui County, Waitotara County, Waimarino County, Whangamomona County, Kaitieke County, Wanganui City, Raetihi Borough, Ohakune Borough, Manunui Town District, Rangataua Town District

**1945:** Wanganui County, Waitotara County, Waimarino County, Whangamomona County, Kaitieke County, Wanganui City, Raetihi Borough, Ohakune Borough, Manunui Town District,

The census boundaries are reproduced showing their relationship to the Whanganui inquiry district on Map 3. These alternative census figures show a population increase over time that was below the national average Table 7:

**Table 7: Whanganui trends: Lowe's region against district inquiry estimate**

Census	Lowe	District estimate	National Total	Lowe's increase over 1916	District estimate over 1916	National increase over 1916
1916	2959	1984	52997			
1926	4252	1778	63670	1.43	0.90	1.20
1936	4597	2546	82326	1.55	1.28	1.55
1945	5414	3265	98744	1.82	1.65	1.86

Source: Census figures; Lowe Table 9 p. 50

The figures provided by Lowe are for the 'principal tribe' of Whanganui, while the district figures given above are for all people identified as Māori within the multiple census geographical areas approximating to the Whanganui inquiry district. Note also that the Ratana settlement was included within Lowe's Whanganui region, but excluded from the alternative census figures. It is possible that the 1926 figure was influenced by the movement of Whanganui Māori to Ratana. The northern part of the



district including the Borough of Taumarunui is not included in the alternative census figures.

Because of the changes in the census boundaries it proved impossible to provide a wider range of figures for comparison. Although both Pool and Lowe provide figures for a wider area, which included the significant settlement of Ratana, the figures from both indicate that the impact of Ratana diminished by 1945. The much wider spread of figures provided by Lowe should be considered to be a safer basis for the comparison of trends.

#### 4. Particular impacts – influenza pandemic, Ratana, urbanisation

##### 4.1. The 1918 influenza pandemic and Whanganui Māori

This report also looked at the impact of the influenza epidemic upon the Whanganui Māori population as indicated in Geoffrey Rice’s seminal text.<sup>10</sup> Rice has shown that the 1918 influenza epidemic had a far greater impact upon Māori than Pākehā, with a Māori mortality rate of 42.3 deaths per 1000 people compared with 5.3 deaths per 1000 for Pākehā. Rice provides mortality figures for Māori broken down by region. These figures show that the Whanganui Māori population suffered a death rate of an estimated 36.3 deaths per 1000. This figure was well in excess of the national Pākehā death rate of 5.3 deaths per 1000 and the Taranaki/Wanganui Pākehā death rate of 5.3 per 1000 (See Table 8 and Figure 2 below).

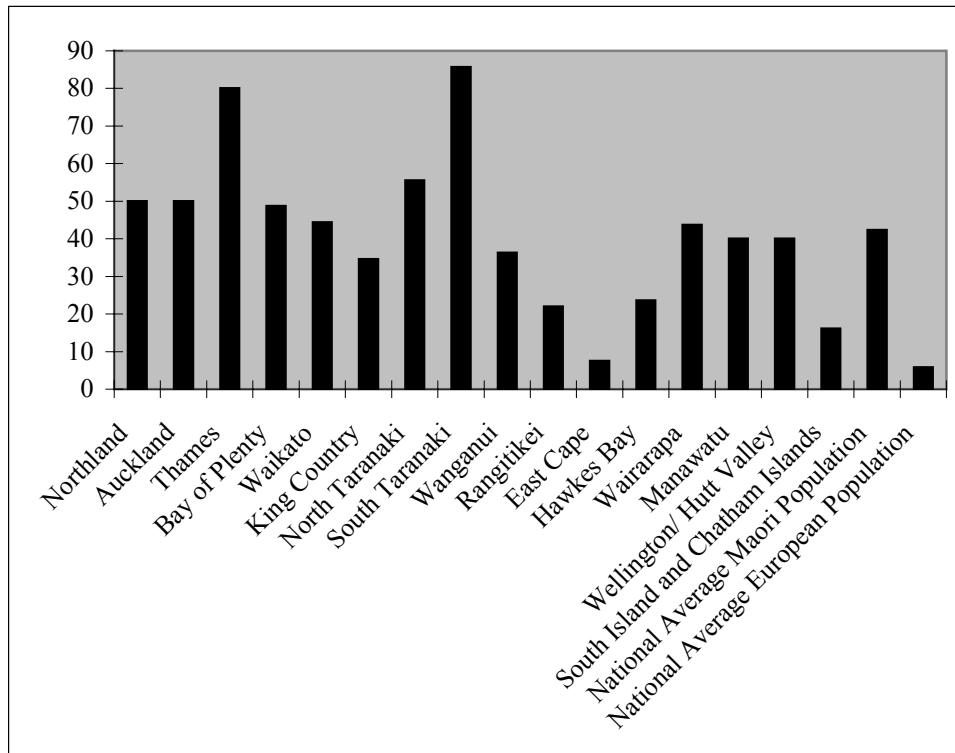
**Table 8: Registered and estimated Māori mortality, by region**

<i>Region</i>	<i>Deaths registered</i>	<i>1916 census population</i>	<i>Rate per 1,000</i>	<i>Excess of reported deaths over registered</i>	<i>Estimated total deaths</i>	<i>Estimated 1918 population</i>	<i>Estimated rate per 1000</i>
Northland	551	12168	45.2	67	620	12400	50.0
Auckland	37	789	46.8	-	40	800	50.0
Thames	118	1900	62.1	30	160	2000	80.0
Bay of Plenty	284	7682	36.9	102	390	8000	48.7
Waikato	66	4147	15.9	84	200	4500	44.4
King Country	165	4826	34.1	-	170	4900	34.6
North Taranaki	80	1758	45.5	13	100	1800	55.5
South Taranaki	120	1100	109.1	-	120	1400	85.7
<b>Wanganui</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1033</b>	<b>19.3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>1100</b>	<b>36.3</b>
Rangitikei	1	897	1.1	4	20	900	22.0
East Cape	23	3992	5.7	-	30	4000	7.5
Hawkes Bay	89	3730	23.8	-	90	3800	23.6
Wairarapa	49	1595	30.7	21	70	1600	43.7
Manawatu	31	1473	21.0	24	60	1500	40.0
Wellington/Hutt Valley	16	455	35.1	-	20	500	40.0
South Island and Chatham Islands	29	1852	15.6	-	30	1860	16.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1679</b>	<b>49397</b>	<b>33.9</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>2160</b>	<b>51060</b>	<b>42.3</b>

Source: Geoffrey Rice *Black November* Table 7.1 p.160

<sup>10</sup> Geoffrey Rice *Black November: The 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand*, Revised and enlarged second edition, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch 2005. p.203.

**Figure 2: Māori Influenza Death Rates 1918**



In conclusion, although the Māori death rate due to the 1918 influenza pandemic in the Wanganui district was over six times the national average for the Pākehā population, it was somewhat lower than the national average Māori death rate.

#### **4.2. Influence of the Ratana settlement and urbanisation**

Pool demonstrates that the Ratana settlement had an important impact upon the Wanganui region's Māori demographic trends:

The rates for Wanganui are strongly affected by the congregating of Māori at the politico-religious centre, Ratana Pa: If the definitional change between 1921 and 1926...is disregarded, the population of this region rose by 68 per cent in this quinquennium, as against 19 per cent for New Zealand as a whole. If this influx had not occurred, this region would have accounted for perhaps 4 per cent of the total in 1926 and growth from then until 1945 would have been around 50-56 per cent, close to the rates for the East Coast, Hawke's Bay – Wairarapa and Eastern Bay of Plenty. Instead the 1926 concentration at Ratana Pa diminished, and as a result an artificially low growth rate was recorded.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Pool. p.125.

Pool also attributes the relatively low fertility of the Whanganui region in 1926 to the influence of the Ratana settlement and demonstrates that the fertility returned to a comparable figure in 1945 (see Table 9):

**Table 9: Estimated Gross Reproductive Rates (GRR) and Total Fertility Rates (TFR) (per woman), Regions, 1926 and 1945**

Regions	1926		1945	
	GRR	TFR	GRR	TFR
Northland	3.6	7.4	3.8	7.8
Auckland	2.2	4.6	1.9	3.9
Thames/Coromandel	3.0	6.2	3.5	7.1
Waikato/King Country	3.3	6.6	3.4	7.0
Bay of Plenty West	3.2	6.5	3.3	6.8
“ “ “ East	3.5	7.1	3.6	7.3
East Coast	3.1	6.4	3.6	7.3
Taranaki	3.3	6.7	3.5	7.1
<b>Wanganui</b>	<b>2.3<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>4.7<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>6.9</b>
Manawatu-Wellington	2.8	5.8	2.1	4.2
Hawkes Bay-Wairarapa	3.0	6.1	3.1	6.2
South Island	2.7	5.4	2.2	4.5

<sup>a</sup>: The concentration of adult Māori at the politico-religious centre Ratana Pa affects the child-woman ratio and thus reduces this rate. The GRR and TFR for the remainder of this region are the same as those for Hawke’s Bay.

Pool defines GRR and TFR as follows:

- **Gross reproduction rate:** similar to a total fertility rate...except that it relates only to daughters per woman. (p.251)
- **Total fertility rate:** a measure expressed as births per woman, which shows the mean number of children-women in a synthetic cohort...would bear over their reproductive span, if they were to experience the age-specific fertility rates occurring in a particular reference year. (p.254)

(Source: Pool p. 126)

Pool’s table also shows a difference in the fertility rates of urban Māori living in the Auckland area, compared to the rural Māori population. Fertility in urban areas tended to be lower than in rural areas. This trend is shown more clearly in his next table (see Table 10):

**Table 10: Urban and Rural Child-Women Ratios (per 100), Estimated Gross Reproduction Rates (GRR) and Total Fertility Rates (TFR) (per Woman), 1926 and 1945**

	Child-Woman Ratio	GRR	TFR
Urban	385	1.5	3.1
Rural*	879	3.5	7.1

Notes (direct quotes from Pool):

- Child-Woman Ratio= Children 0-4/women 15-44
- GRRs estimated using Rele's technique. TFRs estimated from GRR...
- The urban rates may be inflated by in-migration of rural born children. Thus the differential may be even wider.

\*Strictly speaking these figures refer to the remainder of New Zealand.

Source: Pool p.127

Pool also gives figures for the proportion of the Māori population, which was under 14 and over 65 (ie. The proportion of the population which might be expected to be dependant), broken down by regions for the years 1926 and 1945. This shows a marked divergence in the Whanganui region in 1926 compared to the national average, with a relatively low proportion of children under 14. Pool again attributes this divergence to the Ratana settlement. Pool's table shows that the Whanganui region was comparable to many other parts of the country by 1945, illustrating the diminished influence of the Ratana settlement on the overall demographics of the region. Note also the demographic differences between Māori in the Auckland region compared to Māori in other areas, and the similarity of the Auckland and Whanganui figures in 1926.

**Table 11: Selected Age Indices (per cent), Regions, 1926 and 1945**

Regions	1926				1945			
	%	Dependency			%	Dependency		
		0-14	Y	A		T	0-14	Y
Northland	47	95	7	102	51	111	6	117
Auckland	36	60	7	67	35	56	3	59
Thames/Coromandel	42	81	13	94	49	101	7	108
Waikato/King Country	43	83	5	88	46	92	6	98
Bay of Plenty East	44	86	10	96	47	96	6	102
“ “ “ West	45	92	10	102	50	105	6	111
East Coast	43	80	8	88	50	105	6	111
Taranaki	44	86	9	95	48	99	6	105
<b>Wanganui</b>	<b>35<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>58</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>94</b>
Manawatu/Wellington	42	76	7	83	38	63	5	68
Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa	42	77	8	85	46	89	6	95
South Island	39	69	8	77	38	65	8	73

Notes (direct quotes from Pool):

- Y= P0-14/P15-64
- A=P65+/P15-64
- T=Y+A

<sup>a</sup>:The concentration of adult Māori at the politico-religious centre Ratana Pa affects the child-woman ratio and thus reduces this rate. The GRR and TFR for the remainder of this region are the same as those for Hawke’s Bay.

Source: Pool p.128

Pool points out that a ‘total fertility rate’ (TFR) in excess of 7 births per woman is a high figure and very few populations have exceeded a ratio of 8 children per woman.

From 1926 comprehensive figures on Māori living in the urban areas were recorded. These figures allow a comparison between the Whanganui district and the National trend. There was a marked increase in Māori urbanisation within the Whanganui district from 1926 to 1945 (see Table 12).

**Table 12: Māori living in major urban areas**

Year	National Figures	Increase over 1926	Whanganui Figures	Increase over 1926
1926	3150	Ratio	259	Ratio
1936	4876	1.55	483	1.86
1945	10685	3.39	695	2.68

Source: New Zealand Census figures

If the minor urban areas in the Whanganui district are included in the total there is a significant increase in the overall figure for Māori living in urban centres in the Whanganui inquiry district (see Table 13).

**Table 13: Māori living in minor urban areas within the Whanganui district**

	Wanganui City	Taumarunui Borough	Raetihi	Ohakune	Rangataua Town Dist	Manunui Town Dist.	Total
1926	100	122	52	4	4	37	319
1936	252	136	159	41	5	30	623
1945	472	154	173	148	29	84	1060

Source: New Zealand Census figures

Table 13 together with Table 3 indicate that population movement within the Whanganui district was an important factor in the district’s demographic history.

## **5. Conclusion**

There is little evidence to support the hypothesis that the Whanganui Māori population demographics were significantly divergent from the national Māori average. Because of the regional variations in population increase, the population increase for Whanganui can be shown to be slightly above, or slightly below the national average depending upon which date and set/s of census data is used as the starting point for comparison.

In summary, Parihaka was a very significant Māori population centre in 1881 but there appears to have been a decline in the relative significance of the settlement as a population centre and any possible impact on the Whanganui area by 1936. The Ratana settlement was a significant factor in the demographic trends of the wider Whanganui area for a period at least during the 1920s. However this influence had diminished by the end of the period of study. So although the Ratana settlement had a significant impact upon the Whanganui region used by Pool and Lowe, the divergence would have been greatly reduced by the end of the period of study.

The 1918 influenza pandemic had a significantly greater impact upon Māori in the Whanganui district compared to the impact upon Pākehā. However the death rate in the district was lower than the death rate experienced among many other Māori communities and so would not have had a relatively greater demographic impact compared to the overall Māori population.

It is apparent that even by 1945 there was a significant shift towards urban areas in the Whanganui region. This was also evident at the national level. During the period 1926 to 1945 there was a significant increase in the number of Māori living in Auckland. This trend was also apparent in the city of Wanganui and the smaller townships of Ohakune and Raetihi and to a less dramatic extent in Taumarunui.

## 6. Select bibliography

New Zealand Census Data, Microfiche Copy, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.

Kuutai, Tahu, Pool, Ian & Sceats, Janet *Central North Island Iwi: Population Patterns and Trends*, April 2002, Wai 1200 #A44

Lowe, R.J., *Te Puāwaitanga o Ngā Iwi 1874-1951: Iwi in Demographic Change 1874-1951*, Working paper of the Department of Māori Affairs, Wellington 1989.

Pool, Ian., *Te Iwi Māori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present & Projected*. Auckland University Press, Auckland 1991.

Rice, Geoffrey W., *Black November: The 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand*, Revised and enlarged second edition, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch 2005.

Walton, A., *Settlement Patterns in the Whanganui River Valley, 1839-1864*, Department of Conservation. Wai 167#A47.