HISTORICAL MĀORI HOUSING 1840–1934

A report prepared by Paul Christoffel for the Waitangi Tribunal's Housing Policy and Services Inquiry (Wai 2750)

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Graphs and Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

This research report was commissioned for the Waitangi Tribunal's Housing Policy and Services Inquiry (Wai 2750). The inquiry is part of the Tribunal's kaupapa inquiry programme, which deals with nationally significant issues that affect Māori as a whole. This report is one of three historical reports that have been commissioned for the housing inquiry. Another report covers the time period from 1935 to 1991 and a third report covers housing on Māori land from the 1870s to the present day.

The Tribunal identified four broad themes for the housing inquiry:

- Housing policy, practice and regulation of the housing market.
- Social housing: the provision of 'public housing' by government (central and/or local).
- Use and development of Māori land for housing.
- Relationship between poor physical and mental health (and other socio-economic factors) and housing.[1]

The project brief for this report includes 24 topics to be covered. The list of topics is attached as Appendix 1.

Overview

Shelter is seen as a fundamental human need. But housing is a lot more than just shelter. One of the factors that makes housing such a significant issue is the recognized link between housing and health, a broad theme of the inquiry. When considering the links between health and housing, the dwelling itself is obviously a factor – its size for the number of inhabitants, dampness, insulation and so on. But location is also important – whether the house gets plenty of sun or is situated in a cold damp gully, for example. There are also issues of water supply, waste disposal, heating, cooking, food storage, drainage, and home security to consider. All these factors can impact on health and wellbeing in various ways. This research report therefore takes a broad view of what constitutes housing, where this is possible from the available historical evidence.

[1] Waitangi Tribunal Inquiries, 'Housing Policy and Services Inquiry', https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/kaupapa-inquiries/housing-policy-and-services-inquiry/

Chapter Outline

The body of this report is divided into 12 chapters as outlined below.

Chapter 2: Demographic and social overview

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the dramatic changes undergone by Māori society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It then outlines changes in the size of New Zealand's Māori population over the course of 100 years.

The chapter then gives an overview of the Crown's approach to housing during the nineteenth century, arguing that the nineteenth century approach to public welfare was rather different to the twentieth century approach, during which the modern welfare state evolved.

Chapter 3: Māori housing in 1840

This chapter describes Māori housing in 1840 within the context of ongoing changes that had been underway since first contact with Europeans. These changes had little effect on building construction but had a major effect on how and where Māori lived.

Chapter 4: Changes in Māori housing during the nineteenth century

This chapter describes changes in how and where Māori lived after 1840 and the possible detrimental impact on Māori health and society. It also looks at changes to the basic design and construction of a whare during the nineteenth century and the development of meeting houses.

The chapter also outlines the effect of Crown actions, including warfare, land purchase and confiscation, and the operation of the Native Land Court, on Māori housing. This includes a discussion of Crown action (or inaction) on housing problems.

Chapter 5: Māori-initiated housing schemes

This chapter describes two examples where large scale housing improvements were made through community initiatives. In both cases the improvements were led by charismatic religious leaders, Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka in Taranaki and Rua Kenena at Maungapōhatu in the Urewera.

Chapter 6: Urban Māori housing

This chapters discusses some of the issues confronting urban Māori between 1840 and 1934. The Māori population remained overwhelmingly rural throughout the nineteenth century, with no more than 2-3 percent recorded as urban in the population census. New Zealand's rate of urbanisation accelerated in the twentieth century, particularly in the 1920s, and main centres and provincial towns grew rapidly. Māori also moved to urban centres, or had their settlements

subsumed within growing urban areas. By the 1926 census one in six Māori was classified as urban.

Chapter 7: Hostels, boarding schools, and prisons

This chapter is about Māori in short-term accommodation, namely hostels, boarding schools, and prisons. The hostels referred to here are those specifically established in towns and cities to provide short-term accommodation for Māori visitors. Māori boarding schools were first established in the 1840s and some remain today. Although some Māori were imprisoned for a year or more, on average prisoners were incarcerated for less than a year so prisons have been included as short-term accommodation.

Chapter 8: Māori Councils and public health, 1900-1918

This chapter outlines two major reforms that affected Māori housing in the early 1900s. The Māori Councils Act 1900 provided for elected bodies in Māori communities to encourage improvements in a variety of areas including health, sanitation, and housing. The Public Health Act 1900 set up a Department of Public Health that employed Native Health Officers and Native Sanitary Inspectors to work with Māori communities to improve health and housing, usually working with Māori councils and village committees.

Chapter 9: Māori Councils and public health, 1919-1934

Native Health Officers and sanitary inspectors were disestablished by 1912 and most Māori Councils were inoperative by 1918. In the wake of the 1918 influenza pandemic the Government established a revamped Health Department that included a Division of Māori Hygiene. Its director, Peter Buck, worked to revive Māori Councils and appointed four Māori Health Inspectors. The revived system included a strong emphasis on sanitation and housing.

Chapter 10: Government Inquiries – Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu

The only significant government inquiry covering Māori housing in the period covered by this report was the 1926 Commission ‘to inquire and report upon the necessity or advisability of establishing model villages on the sites of the present villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa’. This chapter describes the background and consequences of that inquiry.

Chapter 11: Local government

This chapter discusses the effect of local government on Māori housing, to the extent that this has not already been dealt with in other chapters. The impact of local government on housing

was largely confined to urban areas. In rural districts local authorities had minimal impact on Māori housing until the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953.

Chapter 12: Prelude to the Native Housing Act 1935

This chapter first presents information on Māori housing conditions between 1920 and 1935, including evidence that conditions worsened significantly in the 1930s depression. It then outlines the changes in government policy relating to Māori housing (or more specifically to Māori land development) that eventually resulted in more significant government intervention from the mid-1930s onwards, in particular the Native Housing Act 1935. That Act and its successors are the subject of a separate report to the Waitangi Tribunal's Housing Policy and Services Inquiry.

Chapter 13: Summary of main findings

This chapter draws together the main finding from this report, reflecting the list of topics in the project brief.

Chapter 2: Demographic and Social Overview

Introduction

One of the topics to be addressed by this report is 'Māori population and housing trends compared with New Zealand's general population'. This chapter addresses this topic and provides some background for later chapters.

It begins with a brief overview of the dramatic changes undergone by Māori society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It then outlines the pattern of changes in the size of New Zealand's Māori population over the course of 100 years. Māori population changes in the century after 1840 help illuminate and explain some of the changes in housing conditions experienced by Māori between 1840 and 1934.

The chapter then gives an overview of the New Zealand Government's approach to housing in general during the nineteenth century. It is argued that the nineteenth century approach to public welfare was rather different to that in the twentieth century, during which the modern welfare state evolved. The year 1900 in some ways marks the start of the shift to the welfare state.

Changes in Māori Society after Contact

The arrival of Europeans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries triggered significant changes in Māori society after some 700 years of isolation. Significant numbers died from introduced diseases, leading to population decline. In a country with almost no edible plants that could be cultivated, new crops quickly replaced the traditional kūmara – itself a Polynesian import. Kūmara were typically little larger than a human finger and the larger and more nutritious potato quickly superseded them as a staple. Livestock, in particular pigs, became common and many Māori adopted a more settled lifestyle. According to Angela Ballara, introduced crops removed the need 'to travel constantly over a range of territories supplying different needs by hunting and gathering throughout the annual economic cycle'.[1]

[1] Angela Ballara, *Taua: Musket Wars, Land Wars or Tikanga? Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, 2003, p 21

Potato growing and pig farming yielded substantial surpluses that could be sold or traded for muskets and other goods.[2] The spread of muskets in turn triggered a dramatic shift in the style and lethality of warfare. Until some sort of parity in the possession of muskets was achieved – and thus a balance of power – some 20,000 died in the musket wars, primarily in the 1820s and 1830s. The upheavals caused by these wars greatly changed the distribution of the population, as whole hapū and iwi deserted their traditional rohe.[3] Further military disruption followed the arrival of the Crown, with the Northern war of the 1840s and, more significantly, the New Zealand wars of the 1860s and 1870s.

From 1814 Christian missionaries sought to convert Māori, with some success. Missionaries established schools in many areas. The adoption of Christian beliefs resulted in the abandonment of some traditional practices and weakened many of the institutions of Māori society. Māori commonly incorporated Christian beliefs into their traditions and new Christian-based religions emerged, often driven by charismatic individuals. The Pai Marire religion founded by Te Ua Haumene and Te Kooti's Ringatu faith are just two of many nineteenth century examples. In twentieth century the Rātana Church gained a widespread following.

Māori were attracted to these new religions by the disruption bought about by rapid change, including land loss on a massive scale. Pākehā arrived in unexpectedly large numbers after 1840 and sought land on which to settle. The government approved many purchases already made and bought land, often in controversial circumstances. By 1860 almost all the land in the South Island had passed out of Māori hands but Māori still owned 80 percent of the North Island, where the great majority lived. Land confiscations after the New Zealand wars and the operations of the Native Land Court accelerated land loss. By 1890 Māori land ownership in the North Island had halved to 40 percent, with most of it bought or confiscated by the Crown. Land loss continued and by 1939 Māori owned just nine percent of the North Island.[4]

Yet relations between Māori and Pākehā remained positive in many respects. Trade had always been a significant factor in the relationship, with Māori initially providing much-needed food

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[2] Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 2003, p 136; James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders*, Auckland, 1996, p 159; Ron Crosby, *The Musket Wars : a history of inter-iwi conflict, 1806-45*, Auckland, 1999, pp 373-374

[3] King, *History of New Zealand*, p 139; Crosby, *Musket Wars*, p 17

[4] New Zealand History: Ngā korero a ipurangi o Aotearoa, 'Māori Land Loss 1860-2000',

https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/maori-land-1860-2000

to new settlers, including those in the Australian colonies and in the growing towns and cities. Māori were frequent visitors to the developing urban areas. They also engaged in the wage economy, working on farms and roads and in the gum fields. Friendships, marriages, and children often resulted from cross-cultural encounters. Māori also increasingly engaged with the government and its agencies, in particular the Native Land Court. Māori were elected to Parliament from 1867 and the Crown increasingly established schools in or near Māori communities, particularly from the 1880s. Many Māori learned English, although it was rarely spoken at home.

However, the legacy of warfare and land confiscations, particularly in the Waikato and Taranaki, fuelled long-lasting resentment. The Kingitanga maintained a form of autonomy in the Rohe Pōtae until the twentieth century and kept out Pākehā settlers and schools. The kotahitanga movement advocated for a separate Māori Parliament and gained widespread support despite being a pan-tribal movement within what was still a resolutely tribal society. The movement faded away as increasingly well-educated Māori, articulate in English, entered Parliament and were able to advocate for their constituents. Some entered Cabinet, although as representatives of a small minority their voice was too often ignored.

Māori Population Trends

The general population trend for Māori during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is one of long decline followed by an accelerating recovery. The population figures used in this chapter are based almost entirely on the official population census. The first three censuses were held in 1858, 1874, and 1878. An 1877 Act provided for a census in 1881 and every five years after that, although the 1931 census was cancelled and the 1941 census was delayed until 1945.[5] The 1858 census was overseen by Francis Fenton, later a prominent Native Land Court judge. In each census the non-Māori population was counted by way of household and individual questionnaires, as was the Māori population from 1926. Until then the Māori census was conducted by regional sub-enumerators, who would attempt to count the populations of their region by consulting with prominent community members.

The unreliability of the Māori census was exacerbated by Māori unwillingness in some districts to co-operate with the enumerators, particularly in areas of residual suspicion of government

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

motives following land confiscations, such as the Waikato and Taranaki.[6] In addition, enumerators in the 1890s commonly reported that some Māori 'have an idea that the census is in some way connected with taxation, and show a disinclination to give any information'.[7] Despite these difficulties the results show a surprising degree of consistency from one census to the next, in the overall totals at least. This provides some reassurance that the figures were not markedly inaccurate.

This chapter also includes an estimate of the Māori population in 1840. Pākehā observers made a wide variety of estimates of the pre-1858 Māori population, which were outlined in a 1977 book by demographer Ian Pool. With respect to the Māori population in the 1840s, Pool considered the most reliable (or rather, the least unreliable) estimate to be that of Ernst Dieffenbach, who put the 1840 population at nearly 115,000. Some other estimates were considerably greater, but Pool considered even Dieffenbach's estimate to be far too high on the basis of the 1858 census overseen by Francis Fenton. That census put the Māori population at 56,049, a figure Pool considered reasonably reliable, albeit an undercount. If the 1858 figure is taken as relatively accurate, then Dieffenbach's figure would imply that the population had decreased by over 50 percent in just 18 years. Pool considered this an impossibly large decline and concluded that, even if Fenton's 1858 census undercounted by several thousand, the Māori population in 1840 cannot have been any higher than 90,000.[8]

In a later book, Pool revised his 1840 estimate to 70,000 and this figure is used in Figure 1 below. The population numbers used are otherwise based on the official population census.[9] The figures are, in the main, in 10-yearly intervals, but in some cases this was not possible because not all censuses were at five-yearly intervals and there was no census before 1858. Despite caveats about the accuracy of these estimates, they do reveal clear trends. Figure 1 shows that the total Māori population gradually decreased throughout the nineteenth century and reached its nadir in 1896 at just over 42,000. Thereafter the population began to increase, with the rate of increase accelerating after World War One.

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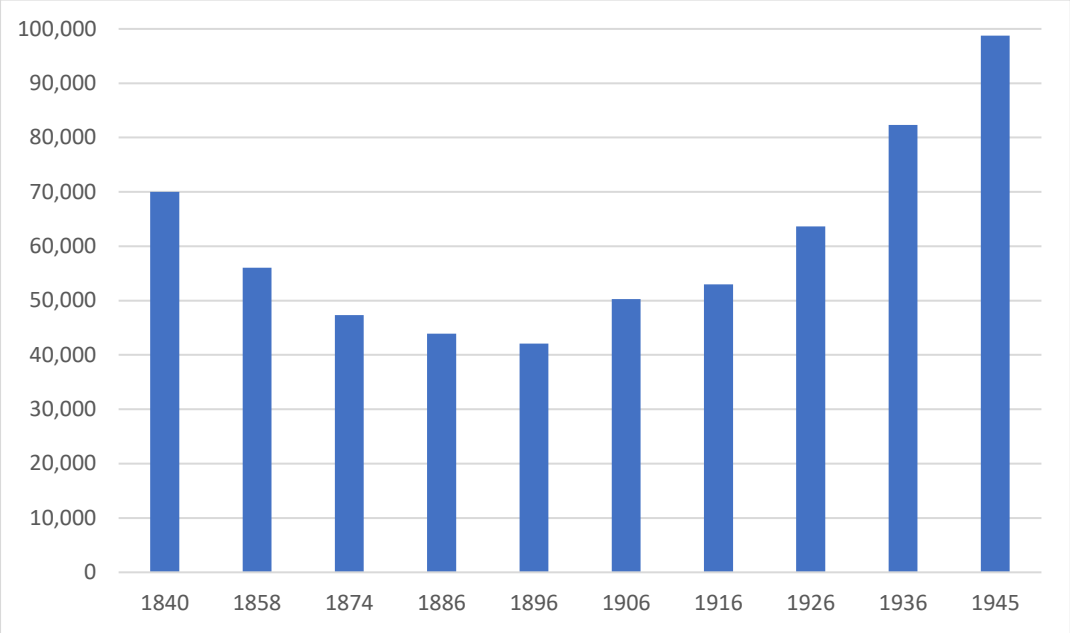
[6] Helen Robinson, 'Te Taha Tinana: Maori Health and the Crown in Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry, 1840 – 1990', Wai 898, A31, p 11

[7] AJHR 1891, G2, p 6. See also AJHR 1896, H13b, p 5 and elsewhere.

[8] Ian Pool, *The Maori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971*, Auckland, 1977, pp 52-57, 192-196, 208, 235.

[9] Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Māori: a New Zealand population, past, present & projected*, Auckland, 1991, p 56

Figure 1: Estimated Māori Population in 10 to 18 Year Internals



Sources: Pool and NZOYB 1990

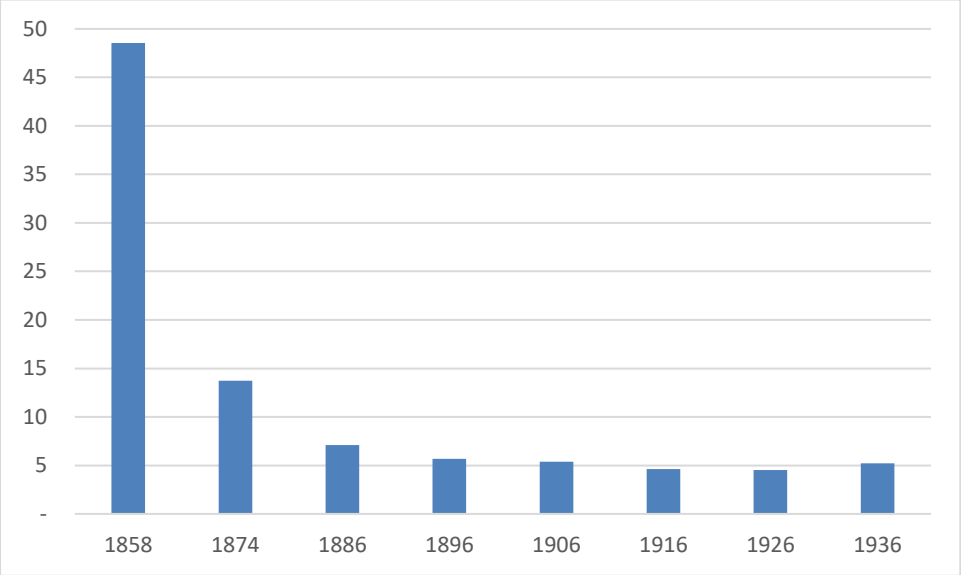
An important caveat on the figures is that they were not based on the modern self-identification classification of Māori. Instead, those called 'half-caste' Māori were included in the Māori count but not those with a more diluted ancestry. The result was a likely increasing undercount of the Māori population over time, particularly in the South Island where miscegenation was more common.[10]

Despite population growth after 1896, the Māori proportion of the population remained around five percent between 1886 and 1936. The changes shown in Figure 2 below reflect a falling Māori population in the 1800s and, more importantly, a rapidly growing Pākehā population from the 1860s onwards. The non-Māori population increased from less than 60,000 in 1858 to 408,000 in 1878, one million in 1911, and nearly 1.5 million in 1936, boosted by immigration and natural growth.[11]

[10] See, for example, Angela Wanhalla, *In/visible sight : the mixed-descent families of Southern New Zealand*, Wellington, 2009

[11] NZOYB 1990, p 158

Figure 2: Māori Census Population as Percent of NZ Total



Source: NZOYB 1990

Raeburn Lange cites a life expectancy for pre-European Maori of around 30 years, higher than that of France and Spain at the time of Cook's first visit but less than Britain, where life expectancy in the late 1700s is estimated at 38-39.[12] The falling Māori population in the nineteenth century was due to high mortality – too many Māori were dying prematurely. Birth rates were low due to high mortality among women of child-bearing age and infant mortality was also high.[13] Introduced diseases, to which Māori had no immunity, were a major factor in population decline. Measles, influenza, whooping cough, scarlet fever, and mumps rarely killed Pākehā but took their toll on Māori. In 1854, for example, a measles epidemic is estimated to have killed 80 of every 1000 it infected.[14] Tuberculosis was a significant killer and is generally thought to have been bought to New Zealand by early explorers. According to Mason Durie, tuberculosis was widespread by the middle of the nineteenth century 'and crowded living conditions promoted its rapid spread'.[15] The high incidence of tuberculosis continued well into

[12] Raeburn Lange, 'Te hauora Māori i mua – history of Māori health - Pre-European health', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-hauora-maori-i-mua-history-of-maori-health/page-1 (accessed 24 June 2022), and https://www.statista.com/statistics/1040159/life-expectancy-united-kingdom-all-time/

[13] Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Māori Health Development 1900-1920*, Auckland University Press, 1999, pp 50-52

[14] Mason Durie, *Whaiora: Māori Health Development*, Auckland, 1998, pp 32-33

[15] Durie, *Whaiora*, p 33

the twentieth century. But by the end of the nineteenth Māori immunity to viral diseases was increasing, particularly in older age groups who had already been exposed to them.[16] As a result, the long decline in the Māori population came to a halt and a recovery set in.

In theory the falling Māori population during the nineteenth century could have led to improved housing conditions, as there would be more space for people to live. But there were other factors in operation. As noted above, Māori land ownership in the North Island halved between 1860 and 1890. The Māori population, on the other hand, decreased by less than 25 percent, so there was significantly less land to support this almost entirely rural population. Some eight million acres of land had been sold, realising cash that could be put into housing improvements. But the proceeds were unevenly spread and the money, once spent, was gone, along with the land. Another consequence of land loss was that it greatly reduced options for Māori as to where they could live, especially as much of the best land had been sold or confiscated.

The effects of population growth in the twentieth century are less equivocal. The Māori population increased by over 90 percent between 1896 and 1936. Over the same period, land losses continued. By 1939, Māori owned just nine percent of the North Island. The combination of more people and less land had the predictable effect of putting great strain on Māori communities and the quality of housing they were able to afford. Hearn notes that, while the Māori population was believed to be in irreversible decline, 'continuing land loss was not regarded as a particularly serious problem. But the renewed growth of the Māori population and the fact that landlessness had reached what was described as "the zero point" had begun to generate intolerable living conditions'.[17] In combination with the economic depression of the 1930s, the result was something of a housing crisis for Māori communities. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 12.

Distribution of Population

The 1901 population census found that 94.3 percent of Māori lived in the North Island and 4.5 percent lived in the South Island. The remainder lived on Stewart Island and the Chatham Islands.[18] The distribution was similar in earlier censuses.[19] As noted above, the official figures

[16] Durie, *Whaiora*, p 33

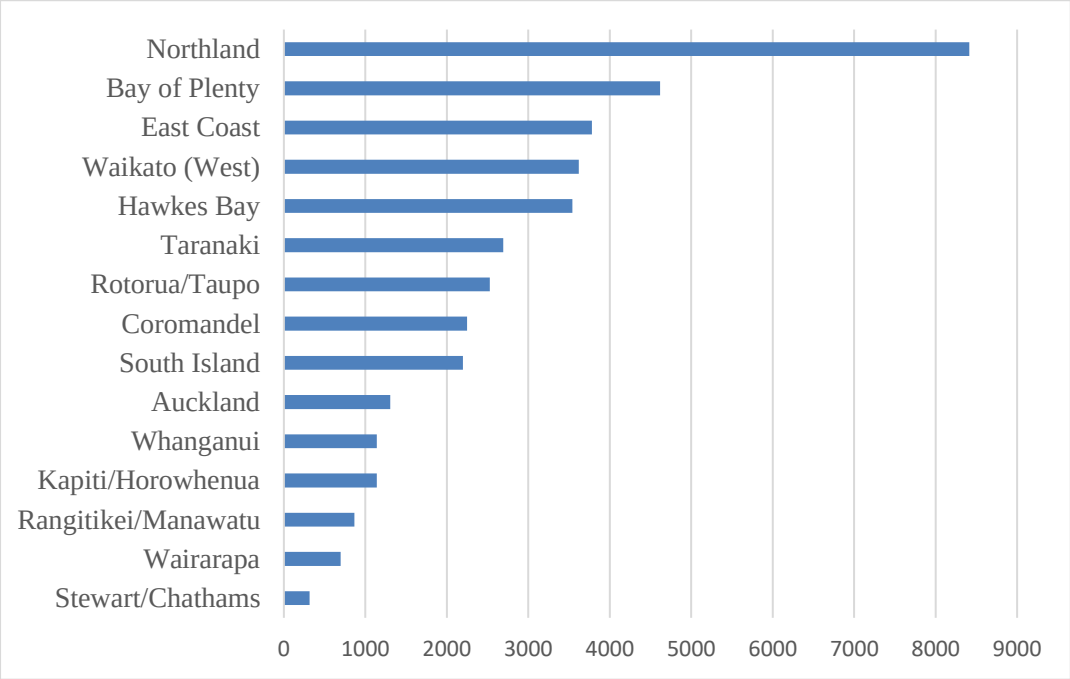
[17] Terry Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori: an Analysis and Appraisal', Wai 2200, #A219, 2019, pp 325-326

[18] AJHR 1901, H26B, p 4

[19] See, for example, AJHR 1886, G12, p 16

included only some with mixed heritage, so the South Island Māori population is likely to have been significantly undercounted in 1901 and later due to a high rate of miscegenation.

Figure 3: Number of Māori in each Region, 1896 Census



Source: AJHR 1896, H13B, pp 13-14

Figure 3 shows the distribution of population by broad geographical area. The figures are derived from the 1896 census, as equivalent figures are not readily available for 1901. For simplicity the published census results have been grouped into broad geographical districts. Caveats need to be placed around the information presented given the relative unreliability of the Māori census at the time and under-reporting in some districts.

Over half the Māori population lived in just four of the 15 districts – Northland, Bay of Plenty, the East Coast, and West Waikato (which includes the King Country but excludes the Thames/Coromandel district). The six smallest districts, on the other hand, accounted for just 14 percent of the population. The general picture was similar in earlier censuses although direct comparisons are difficult because of the variable ways in which the information was reported.

Something not apparent from a simple snapshot is the mobility of the Māori population, which was commonly commented on by census sub-enumerators employed to do the counting. Many

Māori spent large parts of the year away gum-digging but much of the transience remained otherwise unexplained.[20] In 1878 the sub-enumerator at Whangarēi wrote of Māori 'making such frequent changes in their places of residence, in fact leaving altogether their settlements in this district to live with their relations in the adjoining districts of Kaipara and Bay of Islands, or in that of Hokianga'.[21] The sub-enumerator in Hokianga considered that population decline led to some kāinga being abandoned altogether:

> Very many settlements, which a few years since contained a large population, are now entirely deserted, and it will be observed that a number of kāingas named in the last census do not appear in the present one. This is accounted for by the fact that, as the Natives decrease in numbers in the smaller settlements, they desert them for the larger ones, so keeping up the population in the more important places.[22]

In later decades the disruptions caused by the Native Land Court, including the lengthy time it took to settle matters of land ownership, contributed greatly to transience, as did land loss.[23]

Very few Māori lived in urban areas (generally defined as towns and cities with over 1000 people) until after World War One. In the nineteenth century urban Māori numbered in their hundreds rather than thousands and rarely made up more than two percent of the Māori population, including those living on the outskirts of urban areas.[24] As was noted earlier, it was not until 1926 that the Māori population was counted by way of household and individual questionnaires. The 1926 census found that 16 percent, or one in six Māori, lived in urban areas. The twentieth century urban migration had begun, although it did not gain significant momentum until the late 1950s.[25]

The shift to urban areas was likely driven by a rising Māori population and the lack of land to support this increase. In addition, the country overall was becoming increasingly urban, as job opportunities increasingly lay in the towns and cities. A raft of improvements including water supply, roading, waste disposal, electric lighting, and better housing made cities more attractive

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[20] See, for example, AJHR 1901, H26B, p 12 and 1881, G3, p 2

[21] AJHR 1878, G2, p 3

[22] AJHR 1878, G2, p 2

[23] AJHR 1886, G12, p 12

[24] Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities 1840-1920*, Wellington, 2016, p 201.

[25] Pool, *Te iwi Māori*, pp. 123, 154. See also https://teara.govt.nz/en/graph/3571/maori-urbanisation-1926-86

places to live.[26] Some of these improvements are touched on in the following section. Urban Māori housing is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of this report.

The State Approach to Welfare and Housing before 1900

The end of the nineteenth century saw the start of a shift in the government approach to welfare, including housing assistance. Ben Schrader suggests that, before that time, the New Zealand government's approach to housing was driven by the economic policy of laissez-faire.[27] But Michael Basset and James Belich have shown that colonial governments were generally motivated by pragmatism rather than economic ideology. They were thus highly active in a variety of areas, including public works, industry subsidies, and welfare.[28]

Necessity often obliged governments to provide welfare assistance in the absence of a well-developed voluntary sector, although a conservative social ideology placed strict limits on this assistance. Ongoing assistance was considered to encourage dependency, so help tended to be 'in kind' in the form of food, clothing, and short-term employment on public works.[29] Aid to the 'deserving poor' was distributed on a case-by-case basis through a range of bodies, including local authorities, government agents, benevolent associations, and local Hospital and Charitable Aid Boards.[30] From the 1840s the state built public hospitals that provided free care to 'indigent' (poor or needy) Māori and Pākehā. The first hospital opened in Wellington in 1847 and hospitals remained a major plank in the state's welfare assistance throughout the century.[31]

Māori were an exception to this devolved assistance model, as aid for Māori was generally provided through the Native Department. From the 1850s the department was allocated an annual sum, known as the Native Civil List, some of which was used to provide food and clothing to 'indigent Natives'.[32] In 1883, for example, the department spent £1391 providing food and clothing to Māori.[33] In 1888 the government tried to hand over responsibility for aid

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[26] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 391-396

[27] Schrader, p 318;

[28] Michael Bassett, *The State in New Zealand 1840-1984*, Auckland, 1998; Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp 349-359

[29] David Thomson, A *World Without Welfare: New Zealand's Colonial Experiment*, Auckland, 1998.

[30] Thomson, *World Without Welfare*, pp 89-91

[31] Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy 1840-1940*, Wellington 1999, pp 27-35

[32] Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 16-17

[33] *Patea Mail*, 10 December 1874, p 2; *Wanganui Herald*, 22 September 1884, p 2; *NZ Herald*, 18 August 1885, p 5

to indigent Māori to local Charitable Aid Boards, and some aid was distributed in this way. For example, in August 1897 the Auckland Hospital and Charitable Aid Board distributed rations to 'destitute' Māori. [34] However, government departments continued to distribute food and clothing in times of need.[35] Additional government aid to Māori was provided in the form of 'relief works'. For instance, in 1893 some Bay of Plenty Māori were given roading work after their crops were destroyed by floods.[36]

The modern welfare state was starting to take shape by the end of the nineteenth century. The centralisation of government following the abolition of the provinces in 1876 was a major impetus to this transformation. Free primary schooling began its nation-wide roll out from 1878 and free schooling was gradually extended to secondary schools during the twentieth century. Old age pensions were first introduced in 1898 and additional forms of state welfare assistance, such as widow's benefits, were introduced over the following decades. As is outlined in later chapters, during the twentieth century central government took a much more active role in public health and housing. The year 1900 therefore provides a boundary of sorts between old-style ad hoc welfare assistance and the birth of the modern welfare state.

Housing Assistance in the Nineteenth Century

As noted above, direct government aid to Māori was in many respects an exception to the government's nineteenth century model of devolved assistance. However, there were also exceptions with respect to housing. In urban areas the state either helped fund, or provided directly, several forms of housing assistance. Such aid was largely temporary. The government provided immigration barracks at the main ports of entry at times of large-scale immigration. At other times these barracks acted as a refuge for those unhoused by natural disaster and as informal shelters for homeless and destitute families.[37] From the 1880s there was a big growth in charitable institutions providing shelter. By 1900, Charitable Aid Boards subsidised 19 'benevolent asylums' that provided either long term accommodation for the elderly or overnight shelter for working-age people.[38] One of the largest shelters was the Samaritan Home

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[34] *Bay and Plenty Times*, 26 November 1888, p 2; *NZ Herald*, 1 February 1893, p 3.

[35] *Bay and Plenty Times*, 26 November 1888, p 2; *Auckland Star*, 16 August 1897, p 3. After the Native Department wss disestablished in 1893 the Justice Department took responsibility for Civil List payments until the Native Department was re-instated in 1906.

[36] *NZ Herald*, 16 May 1893, p 2

[37] Gael Ferguson, Building the *New Zealand Dream*, Palmerston North, 1994, p 18

[38] Thomson, *World Without Welfare*, p 94

in Christchurch, which claimed in 1897 to shelter nearly 150 homeless men and women each week.[39] Those sheltered will have been solely Pākehā, but, as is outlined in Chapter 7, some shelters were provided specifically for Māori visitors to towns and cities.

Responsibility for addressing general housing problems lay with local authorities and the focus was almost entirely on urban housing. Even in the early days of colonial settlement, a significant proportion of settlers lived in towns and cities. Although urban dwellers remained a minority until the twentieth century, they were a significant minority and housing problems soon emerged in urban areas. One of these was fire risk, which was the subject of a Legislative Council Ordinance in 1841, aimed at the raupō buildings which Māori had erected for some colonists.[40] Fires continued to be a hazard in the colony's cities for much of the century, with raupō buildings rarely being the cause.

A major reason for governments to get involved in housing issues is the link between housing and general wellbeing, including health. The prevailing view in Britain from the 1840s was influenced by the sanitary reformer Edwin Chadwick, who was an advocate of what has been termed the 'environmentalist' theory of disease. According to Chadwick, the contagious diseases that circulated in modern cities had their origins in filthy and polluted environments. Thus, cleaning up the environment – the streets, houses and so on – would lead to healthier lives. It was commonly believed at the time that disease was transmitted by bad air or 'miasmas' caused by filth and polluted water. By the late nineteenth century the 'bad air' aspect of the theory was largely superseded by the germ theory of disease. However, Chadwick's prescriptions were still followed, resulting in collective action to clean up towns and cities through significant reticulated water and sewage systems.[41]

By the 1850s, New Zealand's towns were already large enough to exhibit conditions dangerous to the health of their residents, and fatal diseases were rife. In the mid-1850s an Auckland newspaper reported that cesspools, rubbish, and household refuse were 'everywhere'. Similar issues were being reported in Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.[42] Problems worsened as towns grew and the provision of clean drinking water and the disposal of rubbish and human

[39] *Lyttelton Times*, 24 April 1897, p 5

[40] Kristyn Harman, ''Some dozen raupō whares, and a few tents': remembering raupō houses in colonial New Zealand', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 17, 2014, pp 43-45. This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

[41] Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, p 312

[42] Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 312-316

waste became growing concerns.[43] In 1862, the new Christchurch municipal council appointed a sanitary commission to report on the problem of drainage and waste disposal. Dunedin followed suit in 1864 due to a rising mortality rate.[44]

Both Christchurch and Dunedin appointed officials to try and enforce sanitary bylaws, with some success.[45] But in the days before the modern welfare state, getting collective action to deal with collective problems was difficult. The issues that beset urban housing from the early days of the colony in the main affected only part of the population, usually the poor. Attempts to levy additional rates to deal with the issues proved unpopular, particularly as councils were dominated by wealthy ratepayers.[46] The government attempted to provide some central leadership through the Public Health Act 1872, passed in the wake of a smallpox outbreak. However, the measures it imposed, such as the formation of Local Health Committees, were not greatly successful. An 1886 Act empowered local authorities to make by-laws to prevent overcrowding, but the law set no standards and did not give local authorities any enforcement powers.[47]

By the 1870s, local authorities increased their public health efforts by installing reticulated water and sewage systems. In 1870 prominent scientist James Hector undertook a survey of Wellington's water, which came from streams, rainwater tanks, and wells around the city. He found inner-city water to be unsafe for human consumption. As a result, the Council funded a reservoir at Karori, which proved inadequate until supplemented from the mid-1880s by a pipeline from Wainuiomata. By this time a significant area of slum housing had built up on the Te Aro flat, where sanitation was 'virtually non-existent'. The Council's solution to the problem of sewage and storm water disposal was to dig open ditches into the harbour 'creating a stench during the summer months and overflowing in heavy rain'.[48] It took outbreaks of cholera and typhoid – 77 died in 1890 – for the Council to take action. Work began on a city-wide sewage and drainage scheme in 1892, the typhoid epidemic still being underway, and it was finally completed in 1899. Dunedin and Auckland completed similar schemes in 1908

[43] Ferguson, *NZ Dream*, p 20

[44] Schrader, *Big Smoke*, pp 312-315

[45] Schrader, *Big Smoke*, pp 315-316

[46] Ferguson, *NZ Dream*, p 23

[47] Ferguson, *NZ Dream*, pp 22-23

[48] Redmer Yska, *Wellington: Biography of a City*, Wellington, 2006, pp 54-57, 67

1914 respectively.[49] As outlined in Chapter 6, the Auckland sewage scheme was to the detriment of Ngāti Whātua at Ōrākei. The typhoid epidemic also encouraged the Wellington to deal with its refuse problem.[50]

The unhealthiness of New Zealand's cities was reflected in their high mortality rates. In 1875 alone, a measles epidemic killed 69 Aucklanders and typhoid killed over 100 people in the other main centres. By the end of the century various public health measures may have helped make cities healthier places, although governments took little action on issues such as slum housing and overcrowding.[51]

Rural areas – at least those inhabited mainly by Pākehā – were considerably more healthy than urban areas, and rural housing problems attracted little attention. Rural dwellers had to supply their own water and dispose of their own sewage, as is common in rural areas today. The scattered population meant that this rarely caused significant problems. As discussed in later chapters, the same did not apply to Māori, whose dwellings often had inadequate water supplies and no means of sewage disposal. The health and housing problems of rural Māori and the government's approach to them are discussed in later chapters.

[49] Yska, *Wellington*, pp 75-78

[50] Yska, *Wellington*, pp 80-81

[51] Schrader, *Big Smoke*, pp 323-328

Chapter 3: Māori Housing in the 1840s

Introduction

Describing how Māori were housed in 1840 is not straightforward. As was outlined in Chapter 2, Māori society underwent major changes and upheavals even before Pākehā settlers arrived in significant numbers in the 1840s. Many of these changes impacted on housing and affected different areas at different times. This renders a snapshot of how Māori were housed at a particular time problematic. This chapter attempts to describe Māori housing in 1840 within the context of the changes that had been underway since the 1770s. These changes had little effect on building construction but had a major effect on how and where Māori lived.

Traditional Māori Housing

Traditional Māori housing did not consist of a single dwelling. Rather, a whānau would commonly live communally in a cluster of dwellings shared with other hapū members. The dwellings might be within a fortified and densely-populated pā, commonly situated on a hilltop, or in a kāinga on lower ground, often near a pā. In the latter case the pā would be used only as a refuge in times of conflict.

The cluster of dwellings within a pā or kāinga typically consisted of wharepuni (sleeping houses) and various ancillary buildings.[1] In the literature the term ‘wharepuni’ is usually shortened to 'whare’. The ancillary buildings included storehouses (pātaka), which were particularly important in fortified pā as they were used to store valuables. Kūmara, however, were stored in pits because they could not grow all year round as in the tropics. New Zealand’s climate required growing, harvesting, and storage seasons and the seed crops also needed to be stored for replanting the following year. [2]

Cooking was done in the open, often in hāngi, or in semi-enclosed cooking sheds called kāuta or wharau. Cooking was commonly considered a low-status activity. Food was never eaten in a whare, but rather was eaten outdoors, within a kāuta, or under the porch of a whare.[3]

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[1] Deidre Brown, *Māori architecture: from fale to wharenui and beyond*, Auckland, 2009, pp. 27-30

[2] Ballara, *Taua*, pp 138-139; Sutton et al, *Pouerua*, pp 230-232; Belich, *Making Peoples*, p 80

[3] Mākereti Papakura, *The Old Time Maori*, London, 1938, p 283; Nigel Prickett, ‘An Archaeologists’ Guide to the Maori Dwelling’, *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 1982, vol 4, p 132; W J Phillipps, *Maori Houses and Food Stores*, Wellington, 1952, p 23; Janet Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1984, pp 160-161

Archaeologist Nigel Prickett notes that 'European travellers soon discovered that despite some fears about the proximity of food to the tapu interior, one could eat in the porch'.[4]

Māori largely lived outdoors, going inside mainly to sleep. As architect Michael Austin has written, 'buildings do not appear to have been conceptualised individually by the Māori; his architectural efforts were expended, instead, in creating a living room open to the sky. In other words, the dwelling for the Māori was the cluster of houses enclosing space'.[5]

The Whare

According to archaeologist Janet Davidson, the basic design of a typical whare changed little over the course of several hundred years and was little affected by European contact until the 1870s.[6] Many observers have described the traditional whare. Mākeriti Papakura, in her MA thesis published eight years after her death in 1930, provided the following description:

> There is a uniform plan for building a whare, whether large or small. It is always rectangular, and has a porch and one room. The timbers and the roof are morticed, and lashed with flax fibre ropes, the windows and doors slide back, and there are no locks or bolts, nor raised floors. The only light comes through the door, which is about 4 feet by 1 foot 6 inches, and a window 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot, or somewhere about that size. Small hollowed out stone lamps are used at night if required.
>
> For warming the house, a hole might be dug in the centre, and a fire lighted, or glowing embers from a fire outside might be brought in and placed on a stone hearth about 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches square, chipped out from soft rock by a stone adze. Or again, a fire might be lighted on the ground in the centre. Smoke escaped through the window, and through a small opening in the gable at the front end of the house, just below the place where the poutauhu (one of the two main supports of the house) joined the ridgepole.[7]

Similar descriptions of whare can be found in numerous writings spanning 100 years or more, the main features being their rectangular shape, their gabled roofs, the use of porches, and their small size. James Cook wrote that Māori houses were small, 'seldom more than eighteen or twenty feet long, eight or ten broad, and five or six high, from the pole that runs from one end to the other, and forms the ridge, to the ground'.

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[4] Nigel Prickett, 'An Archaeologists' Guide to the Maori Dwelling', *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 1982, vol 4, p 132

[5] Michael Austin, 'Polynesian Architecture in New Zealand', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1976, p 41

[6] Davidson, *Prehistory of New Zealand*, p 153

[7] Mākereti, *The Old Time Maori*, p 283

> The framing is of wood, generally slender sticks, and both walls and roof consist of dry grass and hay, which, it must be confessed, is very tightly put together; and some are also lined with the bark of trees, so that in cold weather they must afford a very comfortable retreat. The roof is sloping, like those of our barns, and the door is at one end, just high enough to admit a man, creeping upon his hands and knees: near the door is a square hole, which serves the double office of window and chimney, for the fire-place is at the end, nearly in the middle between the two sides: ….the side walls and roof project about two feet beyond the walls at each end, so as to form a kind of porch, in which there are benches for the accommodation of the family. That part of the floor which is allotted for the fire-place, is inclosed (sic) in a hollow square, by partitions either of wood or stone, and in the middle of it the fire is kindled. The floor along the inside of the walls is thickly covered with straw, and upon this the family sleep.[8]

Although Cook refers to 'hay', raupō (a variety of bullrush) was a standard building material for whare and remained so in the twentieth century. Dried fern or green raupō, rather than 'straw', generally provided the bedding. Other building materials commonly used included tree-fern trunks, mud and clay, nīkau palm leaves, bark, and 'various grasses according to locality'. Thatched grasses were commonly used for roofing.[9]

Explorers and travelers were often impressed with the ingenuity shown in construction of whare and the water resistance and insulation properties of raupō and other materials used. Māori commonly built raupō whare for settlers and continued to do so once Europeans began arriving in significant numbers in the 1840s. These buildings were usually modified to suit Pākehā preferences, with higher roofs, taller doors, and divided into multiple rooms.[10] These dwellings could be susceptible to fire, particularly as settlers tended to cook and burn candles inside them. Māori did not appear to have similar problems.

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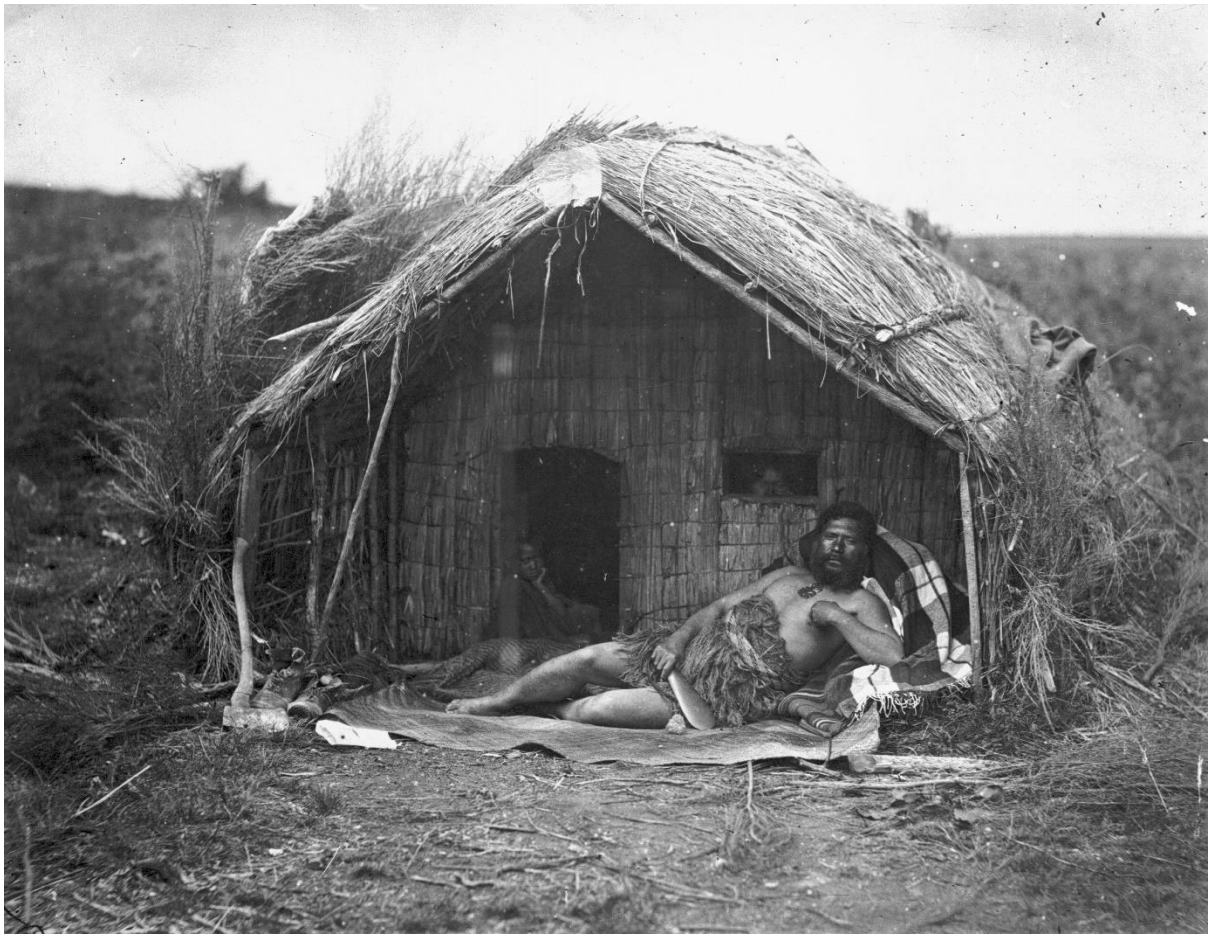
[8] Captain James Cook in Hawkesworth (ed), 'An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by The Order of His Present Majesty, For Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, And Successively Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, And Captain Cook, In the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour: Drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq', http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-HawAcco.html, pp 259-260

[9] Phillipps, *Maori Houses and Food Stores*, pp 15, 22-23

[10] Harman, 'Raupō whares', pp 40-43; Schrader, *Big Smoke*, pp 80-82



Herbert Deveril: Te Rangi Tahau, lying in the porch of a whare puni. Ref: 1/2-004706-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Although this photo was taken in the 1870s, the style of whare shown had changed little in over 100 years.

In 1841 the Legislative Council (a non-elected body) passed the self-explanatory 'Ordinance to Impose a Tax on Raupo Whares' - New Zealand's first piece of housing legislation - to guard against fire risk. However, the Ordinance needed to be specifically applied by proclamation to specified parts of specified towns and therefore had limited effect. It was first applied to parts of Auckland, then in 1842 to parts of Wellington, in 1852 to parts of Christchurch and Lyttleton and in 1857 to parts of New Plymouth. According to Kristyn Harman, the Ordinance 'was designed to discourage settlers from building with the highly flammable but readily available natural material'.[11] There is no evidence it was ever applied to whare inhabited by Māori. The extension of the Ordinance to parts of Wellington came after a November 1842 fire in Lambton

[11] Harman, 'Raupo whares', p 44; *Wellington Independent*, 29 May 1852, p 2; *Taranaki Herald*, 31 October 1857, p 3

Quay burnt down 37 raupō whare and other buildings.[12] The limited effect of the 1841 Ordinance is shown by the fact that raupō whare continued to be built in Auckland and Wellington well into the 1860s.

Most kāinga also contained at least one larger wharepuni that was invariably described by European visitors as 'the chief's dwelling'.[13] However, the standard height for whare was less than two metres and the doors were considerably lower.[14] Prickett notes that the small door of a wharepuni was a characteristic 'commented on in almost every description of the building; mostly with disfavour'.[15] Doors were commonly just a metre or so high, requiring those entering to stoop or crawl on all fours. The small size of the wharepuni, the number of people sleeping inside, and the use of unvented fires for heating all attracted comment from European observers. This description was provided by George Angus from his 1844 visit:

> The houses are partly sunk in the ground, and a true native house is always built with a gable roof and a portico or verandah, where the occupants generally sit. The inner chamber, which extends a long way back, services as a sleeping apartment, and towards evening is heated by means of a fire; after the family enters for the night the door and window are tightly closed, and in this almost suffocating atmosphere they pass the night; When day comes they creep out of the low door into the sharp morning air, dripping with perspiration.[16]

Angus speculated that this style of sleeping was 'one of the many causes of consumption being so prevalent among these people'.[17] His description was typical of a winter whare, as described by later traveler, Herbert Meade: 'They also have a kind of whare specially designed for cold weather, which is sunken some three or four feet below the surface, the eaves of the roof alone being on a level with the ground. In these dens as many natives as can find room assemble, and, after lighting their pipes round a hot fire, close every communication with the external air, till the atmosphere becomes inconceivably foul'. However, when Meade was accommodated

[12] Harman, 'Raupo whares', pp 39, 47-50

[13] Prickett, 'Maori Dwelling', p 127

[14] Prickett, 'Maori Dwelling', p 119

[15] Prickett, 'Maori Dwelling', p 135

[16] George Angus, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, Vol 1, London, 1847, pp 332-333

[17] Angus, *Savage Life*, vol 2, pp 21-22

in a kāinga in summer, he described his whare as 'new and clean' and the fresh green raupō laid on the floor 'made pleasant beds'.[18]

The acquisition of European tools and nails seems to have had little effect on traditional house building. Nails were generally adapted for carving rather than being used in construction, and steel tools led to an increase in the use of carvings as decorations, particularly on pātaka.[19]

Māori Pā

While whare design changed little after European contact, the design, use and location of many pā changed due to technological and social influences between the 1770s and 1840s. The most obvious and constant feature of pā were their impressive fortifications – usually at least two rows of high palisades with a trench in between. Pā are discussed in detail here because, as will be seen in Chapter 4, the abandoning of pā and the decline in hilltop and hillside living was claimed by some to have contributed to the decline in Māori health during the nineteenth century.

Nearly 6700 pā sites have been identified around New Zealand.[20] Archaeological evidence indicates that pā were located at the various times around almost the entire northern coastline from southern Taranaki to Mahia and also in much of inland Waikato. Further south pā were comparatively rare and were almost non-existent south of Marlborough.[21] Cook's first expedition encountered pā at Mahia, Poverty Bay, the East Cape, the Bay of Plenty, Mercury Bay, the Bay of Islands, and Queen Charlotte Sound.[22] The number of people they housed varied considerably. Reports of 50 to 60 people were common, but some estimates were in the hundreds.[23] Despite the large number of pā, some North Island districts seemed largely devoid of them. In parts of Poverty Bay and Hawkes Bay, Māori were seen to live in scattered settlements.[24] At Anaura Bay on the East Coast, Cook found the people living in 'profound peace', although pā remains have since been found in the district.[25] According to Elsdon Best,

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[18] Herbert Meade in Nancy Taylor (ed), *Early Travellers in New Zealand*, Oxford, 1959, p 432

[19] Phillipps, *Maori Houses and Food Stores*, pp 95-96; Belich, *Making Peoples*, p 149

[20] Douglas Sutton, Louise Furey, and Yvonne Marshall, *The Archaeology of Pouerua*, Auckland, 2003, p 1

[21] Sutton et al, *Pouerua*, p 3

[22] Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori*, Wellington, 1927, pp 35-41, 43-44

[23] Davidson, *Prehistory*, pp 149-150

[24] Best, *Pa Maori*, p 42

[25] Davidson, *Prehistory*, p 150

pā were never necessary in the Urewera because the rugged country and thick bush provided good defence.[26]

Māori are thought to have started the shift to fortified settlements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[27] The reasons for the shift are open to speculation, but growing population and the extinction of moa and other large birds are likely to have led to greater competition for resources. Cultivating kūmara, fishing, hunting birds, and cultivating and gathering fern root became the primary economic activities. Michael King speculates that protecting food resources from raiding parties was a major reason for the development of pā, which usually featured kūmara pits.[28] Belich acknowledges this was a factor, but suggest that other inter-group rivalries were just as important. The erecting of pā in a particular region led to an 'arms race', as pā 'gave an advantage in offensive as well as defensive warfare, which others would have little choice but to try and match'.[29]

When painter George Angus travelled parts of the North Island in 1844, he observed that pā were densely populated. 'The pah is surrounded with a strong, high fence, or stockade; and the interior is divided, by lower fencings, into numerous court-yards, which communicate with each other by means of stiles; in each court stands the house and cook-house of one or more families, and also the pātaka or storehouse for food'.[30] This description is consistent with earlier observations of dividing fences and narrow lanes by Cook and by John Nicholas, who travelled through the North Island in 1817.[31]

Although many pā appeared to early explorers to be permanently inhabited, there is some debate as to the extent to which this was in fact the case. Angela Ballara concluded from the historical literature that only some pā were permanently inhabited and that the usual settlement pattern was one of dispersed villages and hamlets near the pā.[32] Archaeological evidence tends to support this view.[33] Ballara suggests that even at the height of the musket wars in the 1820s

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[26] Best, *The Maori*, Vol 2, Wellington, 1941, p 306

[27] Davidson, *Prehistory*, p 166

[28] Michael King, *History of New Zealand*, p 72

[29] Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp 80-88

[30] Angus, *Savage Life*, vol 1, p 332

[31] John Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, London, 1817, Volume 1, p 174

[32] Cited by Sutton et al, *Pouerua*, p 229

[33] Sutton et al, *Pouerua*, p 232

and 1830s, only some pā were inhabited permanently or long-term. In the latter case the residents would tend crops, gather food, fish, hunt, and so on, before returning to the pā in the late afternoon. But the more common pattern was for hapū members to live in kāinga close to their crops and retreat to the pā only when threat seemed imminent.[34] Even in Cook's time this pattern may have been common. Although Māori in Queen Charlotte Sound appeared to his crew to reside in fortified pā, historians consider the occupation was a response to Cook's visit and the inhabitants generally lived elsewhere.[35]

Angus reported that the use of fortifications was becoming 'less constant' by 1844, presumably due to the ending of the musket ways. He noted that Māori shifted between densely occupied fortified pā and more sparsely occupied kāinga, which often had no fortifications. 'In times of warfare the whole tribe seeks refuge within the pah, which is often erected on the summit of a steep hill, or on an island, or along the bank of a river'.[36]

Water supply for pā could be an issue during sieges. Water was generally gathered from nearby streams or springs and transported into pā in gourds. Many pā had water-storage facilities.[37] A significant advantage of the hillside location of most pā was that water supplies were generally clean and unpolluted, and Māori did their best to keep it that way. According to Mason Durie, 'Maori were conscious of the links between water and health, and avoided cross-contamination by separating clean from unclean'.[38]

The location and design of pā changed considerably between the early 1800s and the 1860s. Traditional pā were defended by throwing spears and rocks from fighting platforms onto the raiding parties below. The fortifications were later adapted so muskets could be fired through the palisades.[39] Many pā and kāinga moved to lower ground as crop and livestock farming became more important, requiring large areas of land on lower, flatter ground. Pā design went through further changes from the mid-1840s, particularly in the 1860s. They became smaller to make them easier to defend and their design and location changed to counteract artillery.

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[34] Ballara, *Taua*, pp 138-142

[35] Davidson, *Prehistory*, p 150

[36] George Angus, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, Vol 1, London, 1847, p 332

[37] Best, *The Maori*, Vol 2, pp 335-337; Ballara, *Taua*, p 139

[38] Mason Durie, *Whaiora*, p 10

[39] Crosby, *Musket Wars*, pp 375-376; Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori*, pp 36-39, *The Maori as He Was*, Wellington, 1934, p 165; *The Maori*, vol 2, p 333, 348

Trenches and bunkers became the norm, as they provided shelter from artillery bombardments, and exposed hilltops sites that made easy artillery targets were often abandoned.[40]

Kāinga

Kāinga were traditionally located on higher ground, such as hillside terraces, so that a hilltop pā could be easily accessed in times of threat.[41] The relatively small size of Māori gardens in pre-European times meant that they could be located on hillsides through the use of terracing. This certainly seems to have been the pattern at the intensively investigated pā site on the Pouerua volcanic cone in the Bay of Islands.[42] Makeriti Papakura wrote that in 'the days that are gone, the Maori built his kāinga on high land, for a good look out, and for protection.'[43] Te Rangi Hiroa (aka Peter Buck or Terangihiroa) likewise wrote that the great majority of kāinga were built on 'hills, spurs, cliff-girt promontories, and islands in lakes or swamps. Hillsides and sloping ground were terraced to provide level sites for the dwelling houses'.[44] According to Raymond Firth, hilltops, rocky headlands, river bends, the edges of steep cliffs, and mountain-side spurs were all 'typical sites for a village'. On the Tamaki isthmus, hillsides were favoured. 'The presence of a score or more deserted hill-slopes, each exquisitely terraced for village sites, within the radius of a few miles, bears witness to the thousands of people who formerly lived on this stretch of land.'[45]

Kāinga were less densely inhabited than pā. Despite the upheavals of the early nineteenth century, the standard layout of a kāinga, as with the standard design of a whare, remained reasonably consistent. In many ways Māori retained the mode of living of their distant ancestors in the tropical Pacific, living mainly outdoors surrounded by a series of buildings used for various purposes. Because New Zealand has a temperate rather than tropical climate, adjustments were required to allow for the weather. As previously noted, a front porch became a standard feature of whare puni and provided shelter from the elements. Whare were sometimes built partially underground or had earth heaped around their sides. Significant

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[40] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars,* Auckland, 1986, pp 294-295

[41] See, for example, Austin, 'Polynesian Architecture', pp 17-27

[42] Sutton et al, *Pouerua*, pp 12-23 and elsewhere.

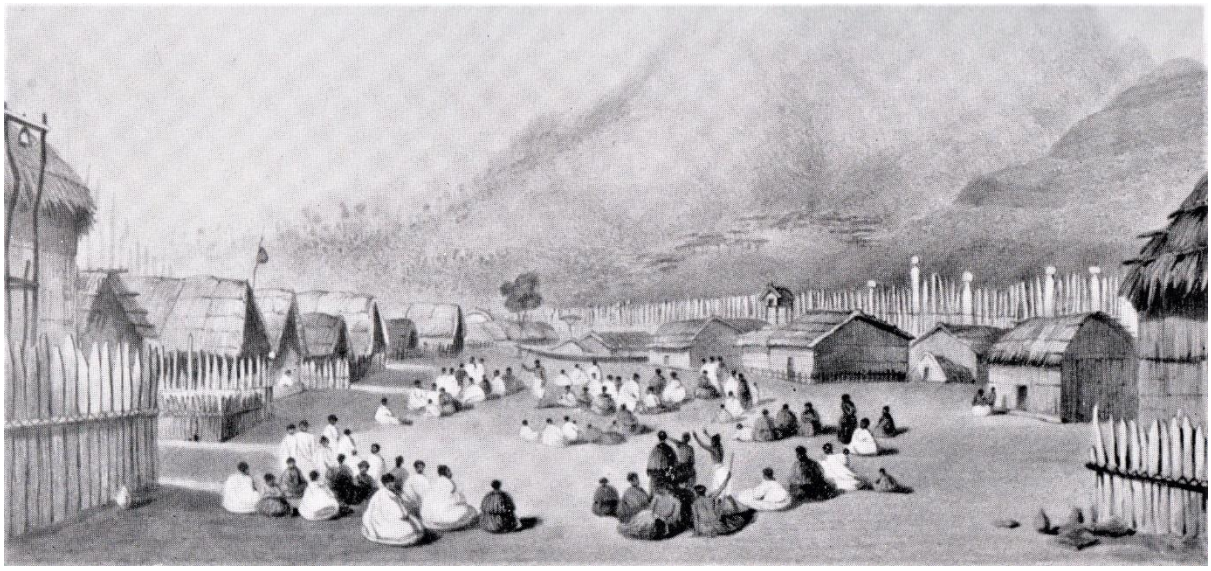
[43] Mākereti Papakura, *The Old Time Maori,* London, 1938, p 284

[44] Peter Buck, *Coming of the Māori,* Wellington, 1949, p 137

[45] Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Māori,* Auckland, 1959, pp 91-92.

fencing was common in both pā and kāinga, not just around the exterior but also around individual dwellings. This was for wind protection as well as defence.

Descriptions of pā and kāinga from European explorers and settlers, along with their drawings and paintings, indicate that Māori settlements were tidy, well organised, and relatively clean. Although sleeping quarters were small, whānau had at their disposal a variety of communal resources such as cooking and storage facilities, and plenty of open space. Paintings such as that below by George Angus indicate that, for many Māori, the kāinga provided a pleasant living environment.



A copy of George Angus' painting of a Waikato village in 1844, from Phillipps, 'Maori Houses and Food Stores', p 89

By the 1840s, kāinga were often larger than reported by early European explorers, possibly because new introduced crops, such as wheat, required a larger workforce.[46] When travelling the North Island in 1841, William Colenso described visiting a Ngāti Porou settlement that housed over 3000 people, being 'one of the largest native towns in New Zealand'.[47] A kāinga of this size was exceptional, however, and most were considerably smaller.

[46] Austin, 'Polynesian Architecture', p 19

[47] William Colenso in Taylor (ed), *Early Travellers in New Zealand*, p 10.

Summary

The traditional Māori way of life underwent significant changes during the first 70 years of contact with the outside world. The musket wars of the 1820s and 1830s caused massive disruption, including large-scale migration. Fortified pā and hillside kāinga were increasingly abandoned for villages on flat ground near plantations of introduced crops such as potatoes. These changes were still underway in the 1840s. But the traditional communal mode of living had in most ways changed little. For whānau and hapū, home was a collection of buildings rather than a single whare and cooking was done in communal kāuta.

Whare were small and sparsely furnished and used predominantly for sleeping. Activities such as eating and socializing were done outdoors or under the shelter of a porch, which was a standard feature of most whare. They were heated by fire in winter, and the lack of ventilation was sometimes commented upon by Pākehā visitors. In summer, however, whare puni were found to be clean and comfortable places to sleep, and kāinga were generally portrayed as providing a pleasant and comfortable lifestyle. The arrival of European tools and building forms had limited impact by the mid-nineteenth century.

Chapter 4: Changes in Māori Housing in the Nineteenth Century

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, new goods and technology, the spread of Christianity, and the effects of colonisation and warfare all worked to disrupt traditional Māori society during the nineteeth century. In the latter half of the century Māori were quickly outnumbered by new settlers.

This chapter describes changes to the design and construction of whare during the nineteenth century. Physical alterations included multiple functions more commonly being subsumed under one roof rather than spread over several buildings, larger houses, and innovations such as chimneys being added to traditional whare. Some Māori built European-style homes. Overall, however, the traditional whare changed only a little and more significant changes came in the twentieth century. The chapter also describes the development of a new institution, the meeting house, modelled on the Christian church.

This chapter looks at changes in how and where Māori lived and the possible detrimental impact on Māori health and well-being. It conludes with a discussion of other Māori housing problems in the nineteenth century, including landlessness, and the lack of government action to deal with these problems.

The Whare

The traditional whare remained predominant throughout the nineteenth century but there were exceptions. Even before 1840, some Māori built European-style cottages and whare incorporating features such as full-sized doorways.[1] In 1850, Native Secretary Henry Tacy Kemp counted 12 weatherboard houses in Ōtaki. A visitor to the township in 1849 wrote: 'I was really astonished to see what capital houses they had, and were building others with two and three rooms in them, after the European plan, ornamented or lined inside with reeds and flax, in some instances from the floor to the top of the roof, in others only the sides, giving to the rooms a neat and finished appearance'. Matene was building 'a house with two sitting-rooms, three bedrooms and kitchen, with a verandah in front'.[2] An observer in the Manawatu

[1] Martin, 'Maori Whare', pp 50-51

[2] Quoted in Raeburn Lange, 'The Social Impact of Colonisation and Land loss on the Iwi of the Rangitieki, Manawatu and Horowhenua Region, 1840-1960', a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust Wai 2200, #A1, 2000, p 42

in 1852 noted that many whare had been replaced by bigger structures, still built mainly from traditional materials but often equipped with doors, glass windows and brick chimneys. Some families in the district built discrete multi-purpose dwellings rather than sharing with others.[3]

In most parts of the country, however, the construction and look of the traditional whare changed slowly. In his MA thesis, David Martin attempted to track changes in whare design during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His main sources for the period 1840 onwards were sketches, drawings, paintings, engravings, and photographs, as he found written sources for this period to be relatively scarce.[4] By the 1870s the main change was for entrance doorways to become slightly higher, a trend that continued in later decades.[5] Michael King notes that traditional building materials such as raupō, muka (flax fibre), nīkau, earth sods, punga, and bark continued to be used.[6]

From the mid-1880s Māori commonly built higher-walled whare, sometimes with chimneys and metal fixtures allowing for hinged wooden doors and metal roof ridges.[7] Side-entrance rather than front entrance doors became popular, a design feature that appeared in some districts as early as the 1840s.[8] This change allowed for larger porches. Māori increasingly incorporated glazed windows into whare, although these remained relatively rare in the nineteenth century.[9] They installed chimneys as part of a gradual change towards cooking and eating within the whare, along with the use of tables and chairs. In the early twentieth century indoor cooking became the norm and whare were commonly divided into separate rooms by walls or into separate spaces for different purposes.[10] However, cooking for large-scale hui was still done communally and Māori continued to wash clothes outdoors in streams or portable tubs.[11]

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[3] Lange, 'Social Impact', p 42

[4] David Martin, 'The Maori Whare After Contact', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1996, pp 15-16

[5] Martin, 'Maori Whare', p 75

[6] King, *Māori Social History*, p 75

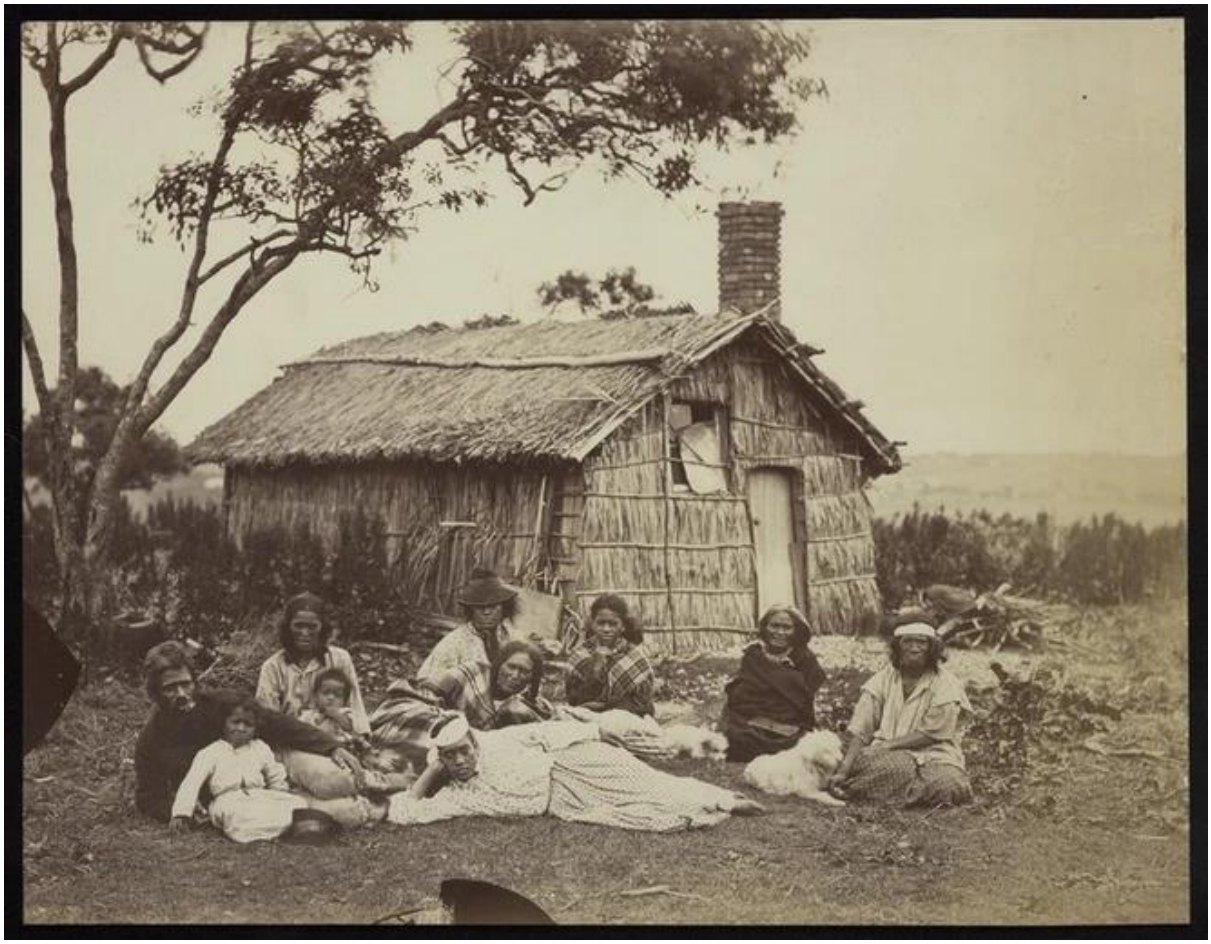
[7] Martin, 'Maori Whare', pp 78-79, 84, 91

[8] Martin, 'Maori Whare', pp 59-60, 82

[9] Martin, 'Maori Whare', p 79

[10] Martin, 'Maori Whare', pp 99-100

[11] King, *Māori Social History*, p 75, Martin, 'Maori Whare', pp 79-82, 93



Māori family group, near Auckland - Photograph taken by Herbert Deveril. Ref: PA7-46-40. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. This whare in the 1880s shows some changes from the traditional style, including higher walls and door and the addition of a chimney.

Māori more frequently built in the European style by the latter years of the century.[12] In the mid-1880s Māori in Timaru were reported to 'live in cottages not very unlike those occupied by their white neighbours of the labouring class', although 'their cottages are dirty and disorderly, and they are given to overcrowding'. Elsewhere in Canterbury 'good dwelling-houses with gardens attached have been put up' in some settlements. In Hokitika, Māori were 'living in good houses in almost European style'.[13] In the Chatham Islands it was reported in 1881 that Māori had 'good substantial European houses'.[14]

[12] Martin, 'Maori Whare', p 91

[13] AJHR 1886, G12, pp 13-15

[14] AJHR 1881, G3, p 9

Māori in some North Island districts also built in the European style. In 1874 a government official based in Waimate North reported that many Māori in the district 'inhabit respectable wooden cottages'.[15] In 1896 the census sub-enumerator based in Tauranga reported that 'at Waitangi, near Te Puke, several small but well-built sawn-timber cottages have been erected, which gives the settlement quite a civilised appearance'.[16] In 1901 the census sub-enumerator based in Hawkes Bay report that in 'most of the places which I visited the houses are built mostly after European fashion, and those houses which are built like Māori houses are most of them made with a floor and sufficient ventilation'. In parts of the Wairarapa 'houses have been built by them in European style during the last four years'. In Northland, 'ill-smelling raupo whares' were being replaced by 'the wooden house, in its own enclosure' or 'the slab hut'.[17]

To a large extent the reports from the census enumerators reflect a desire that Māori adopt of more European lifestyle, by building in wood and living and cooking in single dwellings well-equipped with beds, tables, and chairs. But despite these regional examples, Martin's evidence indicates that by 1900 traditional whare still predominated in most districts, and pit-sawn timber and corrugated iron only occasionally replaced traditional building materials.[18] The sheer cost of modern building compared to a traditional whare was a barrier to most Māori, as one official wrote in 1901:

> Abandoning his whare, the Native requires to build a weather-boarded house. This means money. The house requires a fire which cannot be lit as of yore, on the floor, and this means a chimney; more money is required. He desires to fence, and this means wire, another expense; and so each succeeding step in civilisation the Native finds it necessary to save or acquire more money wherewith to accomplish his advancement.[19]

In December 1898 an *Auckland Star* writer predicted, with surprising accuracy, that the long-term decline of the Māori population had come to a halt. He summed up the housing situation of Māori as he saw it at the time:

> The primitive 'whare' roofed with raupo, nikau or toetoe, and the floor covered with native mats ('takapau' or 'whariki') is still the usual dwelling place of the people, except in some

[15] AJHR 1874, G2, p 3

[16] AJHR 1896, H13B, p 5

[17] AJHR 1901, H26B, pp 9, 13-14, 16-17

[18] Martin, 'Maori Whare', p 88

[19] Northland census sub-enumerator in AJHR 1901, H26B, p 7

> cases, such as amongst the comparatively wealthy natives of Hawke's Bay, Gisborne, and the north of the Wellington province, where weather-board cottages are common.
>
> Many natives in the Auckland province of course possess houses built in European style, especially in the Bay of Islands and Hokianga districts, but the generality cling to the low-caved whares of their ancestors.[20]

The Māori Meeting House

The most significant influence that Christian missionaries had on Māori housing was in the development of meeting houses. The Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) began building churches once Christianity gained a foothold in the colony. These churches influenced Māori architectural thinking, as architect Deidre Brown explains:

> The CMS's Gothic Revival style of architecture was built by Māori artisans under the supervisions of missionaries and Rangatira. The structure of these Gothic churches differed enormously from those of earlier Māori buildings and the new design ideas must have made a significant impression in the minds of Māori builders.

Churches were commonly decorated with kowhaiwhai and tukutuku panels (but not carvings), and 'allowed Māori the novelty of assembling in much larger numbers than usual inside a building'.[21] Churches inspired the design and building of large non-church buildings by Māori. These were based on the larger whare that were a common feature of kāinga and which were generally described by European visitors as 'the chiefs house'. A few meeting houses were built in the 1840s, but large meeting houses did not become a common feature of Māori communities until war subsided in the second half of the nineteenth century. Warfare was replaced by large and lavish hui as a focus for community effort. An impressive meeting house was a source of mana.[22]

New tools and building materials facilitated the construction of large buildings with elaborate carvings and decorations inside and out. Recent research describes how Māori developed and utilized sophisticated meeting house construction techniques of their own.[23] Still larger meeting houses were built for gatherings of the Ringatū Church, with over 40 built between 1869 and

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[20] *Auckland Star*, 1 December 1898, p 9

[21] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp 44-46

[22] King, *Māori Social History*, p 74

[23] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp 49-50; King, *Māori Social History*, pp 74-75; Jeremy Treadwell *Tuia Te Whare: The Culture of Māori Architectural Technology* (PhD in Architecture, University of Auckland, 2019), p 15

1908.[24] In Northland and the South Island, where traditional crafts had gone into decline, meeting houses were 'unadorned weatherboard structures'. Meeting houses built specifically for pan-tribal gatherings, such as the Kotahitanga, also tended to be unadorned.[25]

The 1930s saw a further burst of meeting house construction, under the auspices of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts established by Apirana Ngata in Rotorua in 1926. The school was responsible for more than 40 building projects.[26] By the 1930s the buildings needed to comply with building codes around hygiene and safety. Ngata was unhappy with some of the regulations because of the changes they forced on traditional Māori architecture. The codes required, among other things, multiple exit routes, electric lighting and opening windows. Fire and building laws demanded the use of non-flammable cladding materials and permanent foundations. To comply with these regulations thatch was replaced by weatherboard, iron and tiles.[27]

Changes to Māori Living

A theme of this section of the report is the effect of contact with the outside world on Māori society, including housing and health. To quote Mason Durie:

> Health cannot be readily separated from the wider social, cultural, and economic environments, and, for Māori, the radical changes in the nineteenth century were accompanied by major upheavals that affected every aspect of life. Individuals, keen to make the most of new opportunities, took risks and defied caution. In moving away from traditional tribal and social structure in order to embrace the new, they often ignored their own bodies of knowdedge, acquired over the centuries and reflecting close adaptation with the nurturing environment. By then, of course, while it must have appeared that much of their knowledge was irrelevant in a chānging world, general principles and practices, as well as old philosophies, were not necessarily outdated and could have continued to play a protective role in everyday life'. [28]

Colonialism bought significant changes to the way Māori lived, many of which were detrimental to Māori health and well-being.

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[24] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp 58-59

[25] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp 70-71

[26] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, p 85

[27] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, p 89

[28] Mason Durie, *Whaiora: Maori Health Development*, Auckland, 1998, pp 33-34

The Shift from Communal Living

A signicant impact of colonialism was the adoption of more European modes of living. Greater individualisation of land ownership and the incorporation of Māori in the wage economy contributed significantly to this trend. As a result, a gradual shift from the traditional style of communal living can be discerened during the nineteenth century. Photographs from the period, such as those used in Martin's study of whare, commonly featured individual houses rather than kāinga. The photograph on page 32 is a typical example.

Māori appeared to be moving away from living in hapū groupings of shared resources to whānau groupings where activities such as cooking were carried out in each house rather than communally. Some census enumerators noted this trend with satisfaction. In 1901 Whanganui enumerator wrote that 'the old mode of living in whares herded together is becoming a thing of the past, each head of a family having his own comfortable weatherboard house or wharepuni, in which chairs, tables, and bedsteads are extensively and properly used'.[29] Such physical improvements were visible to observers, while the loss of community was less so. The George Angus illustration of a Waikato village (page 28) is perhaps somewhat idealised, but it does give some idea of what Māori were losing.

The Shift to Low-Lying Ground

As was oulined in Chapter 3, kāinga were traditionally located on hillsides or on hill tops rather than on flat ground. These sites provided good drainage and ventilation and a clean water supply, being exposed to both wind and sun 'so that drying could be accelerated and dampness minimized'.[30] Makareiti Papakura possibly overstated the benefits but her sentiments were shared by other writers:

> In the days that are gone, the Maori built his kāinga on high land, for a good look out, and for protection. He also chose a place where there was a spring, either in or near by the place, or a stream or river. Such a choice of site made the Maori a healthy people, for the air was pure, and the kāinga easy to keep clean. In this the Maori was particular.'[31]

But during the nineteenth century Maōri communities shifted to low-lying areas. This shift came about for a variety of reasons, such as to be closer to large plantations of crops, but many

[29] AJHR 1901, H26B, p 16

[30] Durie, *Whaiora*, p 14

[31] Mākeriti, *The Old Time Maori*, p 284

commentators consider the consequences for Māori housing and health to be detrimental. According to Durie, these new settlements 'lacked orderliness, which had been a feature of the pā, and had fewer public health amenities such as clean water, sanitation, and drainage'. Furthermore, the new homes on the flat 'tended to be damp, poorly ventilated, and overcrowded'.[32] Dampness in particular 'became a major hazard for Māori families and may well have contributed to the high levels of tuberculosis and rheumatic fever'.[33]

One of the first to argue that the move from hillside to lowland living had detrimental health consequences was Frederick Maning, writing in 1863. Maning, who lived among Māori at various times, described the perceived consequences in somewhat exaggerated fashion:

> For they built their oven-like houses in mere swamps, where the water, even in summer, sprang with the pressure of the foot, and where in winter the houses were often completely flooded. There, lying on the spongy soil, on beds of rushes which rotted under them—in little low dens of houses, or kennels, heated like ovens at night and dripping with damp in the day—full of noxious exhalations from the damp soil, and impossible to ventilate—they were cut off by disease in a manner absolutely frightful. No advice would they take: they could not *see* the enemy which killed them, and therefore could not believe the Europeans who pointed out the cause of their destruction.[34]

In 1882, Dr Alfred Newman attributed the high incidence of tuberculosis (then commonly called 'consumption') to lowland living. Māori mortality, he claimed, 'was largely due to the change from living in lofty, dry, well-aired villages to miserable, damp, low-lying, unhealthy *whare*'.[35] A similar claim was made by Maui Pomare in 1902. In his capacity as a senior official in the Department of Health, he wrote that the Māori had moved from the healthy air of the hills to the lowlands 'where the eels are handy and his cultivations close by'. As a result, 'the damp swampy atmosphere prevails – the air impure and the disease-germs reap a harvest in the deaths through consumption, pneumonia, typhoid fever, and other maladies…'.[36]

Te Rangi Hiroa and Elsdon Best also emphasised the detrimental health effects of the move from living in pā and hillside kāinga, although for rather different reasons. The more crowded

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[32] Durie, *Whaiora*, p 34

[33] Durie, *Whaiora*, pp 13-14

[34] Frederick Maning, *Old New Zealand*, London, 1863, p 188

[35] Alfred Newman, 'A Study of the Causes leading to the Extinction of the Maori', *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/TPRSNZ1881-14.2.6.1.75, pp 468, 476

[36] AJHR 1902, H31, p 62.

traditional lifestyle encouraged a culture of fastidiousness with respect to disposing of refuse and human waste, they argued. By the late nineteenth century, the shift to lowland living had led to these traditions being abandoned and Māori health suffered as a result. This is discussed below.

The view that a move from highland living had been detrimental for Māori was reflected in comments by census sub-enumerators. In 1901 the sub-enumerator based in Piako commented that 'the Maori people have a great weakness for building on low grounds.'[37] In 1891, the census official from Hutt County, which included the Kapiti Coast and Horowhenua, wrote:

> In former times they lived on the tops of the hills and high ground, were clad with mats that protected them from the weather; whereas now they live where they best can get the desired requisites of wood and water with the least exertion, and as such are found in low-lying places, often very damp and wet, and where the drainage is to instead of from the place of abode, the natural result is fever and pulmonary complaints.'[38]

It was the dampness of the ground where Māori often lived that attracted the most comment, particularly as a typical whare had a dirt floor. The floors were covered in dried ferns or raupō and European travellers in the early nineteenth century commented that this made for comfortable bedding. In the damp and poorly drained lowlands, however, these sleeping arrangements were considered unhealthy. In 1886 the census official based in Oamaru stated 'I think exposure to wet and damp, through lying on damp floors, and in wet weather, has in many instances produced consumption, and that this has carried away a large number'.[39] In 1881 the Whangarēi census official commented on Māori 'sleeping on the ground in winter on the gum-fields without adequate shelter, scanty clothing, and scarcity of food, eventuating in colds and consumption, causing death'.[40] In 1901 the official based in Waikato wrote of the health consequences of lying on the damp ground, 'ofttimes in swampy situations' and the official based in Piako wrote that tuberculosis was common 'caused by building on low grounds and sleeping on the ground'.[41]

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[37] AJHR 1901, H26B, p 11

[38] AJHR 1891, G2, p 5

[39] AJHR 1886, G12, p 14

[40] AJHR 1881, G3, p 2

[41] AJHR 1901, H26B, pp 10-11

There is surprisingly little discussion as to when and why the move to lower ground took place. Maning claimed that Māori abandoned their hilltop pā once armed with muskets, so as to be closer to their 'extensive cultivations'. As a result, 'when a native village or a native house happens to be in a dry healthy situation, it is often more the effect of accident than design'.[42] As outlined in previous chapters there is some basis for Maning's claims. Introduced crops tended to take up more space than the likes of kūmara, especially when cultivated in large enough quantities to trade for muskets and other goods. According to Belich, in the 1820s a musket commonly cost 120 baskets of potatoes or ten pigs, and in earlier times the price was higher.[43] Traditional living sites lacked the large areas of flat land needed to produce a sufficient surplus for such trades.

Te Rangi Hiroa, on the other hand, claimed that the move to the 'more accessible flats' came at a later date, 'after the acceptance of Christianity and its gospel of peace'.[44] Durie suggests that trade and employment opportunities, education at mission stations, and proximity to rail lines may all have been factors.[45] Given the range of possible contributory factors at different times the question remains unresolved.

Sewage, Drainage, and Water Supply

Changes to Māori living arrangements in the nineteenth century impacted on hygiene and sanitation practices, in particular for drainage, water supply, and the disposal of human waste. As was noted in Chapter 3, most tradition pā and kāinga had good clean water supplies and Durie writes that Māori villages and pā were highly organised and made provision for waste disposal and drainage. 'Pooled or stagnant water, that could act as a reservoir for disease, was minimal, and drains were constructed to serve as conduits for surface water'.[46] By the end of the century, however, drainage from Māori settlements would at times go directly into the drinking water supply, facilitating the spread of disease.[47]

In 1903 Maui Pomare wrote that in 'olden days the pas were all supplied with closets, which were called paepaes. These were generally built at the top of some steep place, hole, or cliff,

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[42] Maning, *Old New Zealand*, pp 180-188

[43] Belich, *Making Peoples*, p 152

[44] Buck, *Coming of the Maori*, p 374

[45] Durie, *Whaiora*, pp 14, 34

[46] Durie, *Whaiora*, p 13

[47] AJHR 1900, H26B, pp 15, 18

and were oftentimes elaborately carved. It was only when war ceased, and the Maoris began to descend to the low levels to live, that neglect in regard to this matter crept in'.[48] Te Rangi Hiroa likewise wrote that disposal of human waste was traditionally well-regulated for '[t]he privy as a Maori institution appears in myth and tradition under the various names of *paepae, turuma*, and *heketua*'.

> The bar latrine was a regular feature of all fortified villages. It was built near the edge of a cliff or steep declivity bounding some part of the fort so that the excreta would fall clear of the occupied parts. Two short uprights supported a horizontal slab (*paepae*) upon which people squatted but did not sit. A stake (*purutanga ringaringa*) was firmly imbedded before the slab for holding to preserve balance.[49]

Elson Best was another who described in detail the toileting arrangements of pre-European Maori.[50] He also wrote of the communal methods of food waste disposal through middens 'handy to every collection of cooking sheds. These middens are the *rukenga kāinga*, or *pukaitanga para* where all refuse was thrown. Shell heaps of great size are seen on many parts of the coast where old time villages existed'.[51]

These descriptions of well-ordered systems of sanitation are backed up by the accounts of explorers and travelers. James Cook was impressed that '[e]very house, or every little cluster of three or four houses, was furnished with a privy, so that the ground was every where clean. The offals of their food, and other litter, were also piled up in regular dunghills…'. Cook contrasted the cleanliness of Māori villages with stories he had heard from Spain, where the King's attempts to require latrines in Madrid were allegedly opposed by the populace.[52]

Joseph Banks likewise commented that '[o]ne piece of cleanliness in these people I cannot omit as I believe it is almost unexamp[l]ed among Indians. Every house or small knot of 3 or 4 has a regular necessary house where every one repairs and consequently the neighbourhood is kept clean…'.[53] John Nicholas, who travelled in New Zealand in 1817, was also impressed with

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[48] AJHR 1903, H31, p 70

[49] Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, p 144

[50] See, for example, Best, *The Maori*, volume 2, p 591

[51] Best, *The Pa Maori*, p 130

[52] Cook in Hawkesworth (ed), pp 142-143.

[53]JC Beaglehole (ed) *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771*, Vol 1, 1963, p 418. The term 'Indians' was commonly used at the time to refer to the inhabitants of the Americas and the Pacific.

Māori sanitary arrangements: 'Clearly, however in this respect as the most polished of the European nations, and superior to many of them, they have places appropriated for the calls of nature in the outskirts of every hippah and village; and you are never disgusted with the sight of ordure either in or about their dwellings.'[54]

Commentary from the late-nineteenth century indicate that by then these systems of well-organised sanitation had been discarded. What Michael King describes as 'the general broadcasting of excreta' appears to have become the norm.[55] Buck wrote that 'the latrine was an integral part of every fortified village, but our ancestors had abandoned this ancient institution when they left the hilltops for the flat lands after European contact'. As a result 'indiscriminate defecation on the lowlands led to the pollution of pools and springs'.[56] Elsdon Best likewise wrote that Māori were once 'extremely particular' concerning sanitary arrangements. 'They are now remarkably careless, having lost their old time social discipline'.[57] As a Sanitary Inspector in the Urewera in the early 1900s, Best wrote of 'human excrement quite close to houses, and even among them, on paths, and on the watershed of water-holes from whence domestic supplies are drawn'.[58] A Wairarapa census official commented in 1896 that 'the Native has yet no adequate conception of the necessity of getting rid of the excretions and waste matters incident to his living'.[59] While these comments are harsh, similar comments were being made about New Zealand's cities a few decades earlier, as was seen in Chapter 1.

Durie notes that the loss of traditional knowledge relating to sanitation was just one result of the disruption to Māori society brought about by colonisation. In the early 1900s, Māori Councils and government officials attempted to encourage Māori to install latrines, and this is discussed in more detail in later chapters.

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[54] Nicholas, Vol I, 1817, p 355

[55] Michal King, *Māori: A Photographic and Social History*, Revised Edition, Auckland, 1996, p 74; Buck, *Coming of the Maori*, p 409

[56] Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, pp 409, 411

[57] Best, *The Pa Maori*, p 130

[58] AJHR 1905, H31, p 61

[59] AJHR, H13B, p 8

Other Housing Problems

Getting written information on Māori housing conditions in the nineteenth century is not always easy. Housing in general was seen as a local rather than a central government responsibility, and public and government attention focused on urban rather than rural housing. Very few Māori lived in urban areas and in many ways Māori and Pākehā inhabited different worlds. Māori communities were often remote and poorly served by transport links, even in the later years of the century. For example, in 1888 when a school inspector visited the village of Moawhango, some 18 km north east of Taihape, the return journey from the nearest railway station at Hunterville took him five days (although he considered the trip could be done in three days in fine weather).[60] It was another 12 years before the railway line reached Taihape. Today the drive from Hunterville to Moawhango takes less than an hour.

Housing and health are closely related and, according to Rayburn Lange, '[a]t no stage before 1900 did the government see a need for concerted official action against low standards of Maori health'.[61] Lange's statement is not entirely true, for Māori were commonly vaccinated against smallpox, but housing conditions only occasionally came to the attention of politicians. In 1884, for example, Southern Māori member Hōri Taiaroa put a motion before Parliament that the Government should renew its efforts to vaccinate Māori during a smallpox scare following the arrival of cases from Melbourne. Native Minister John Ballance responded that if Māori wished to avoid the dangers of smallpox 'they must take vigorous steps to place their pas in a more healthy condition'. He was supported by Thordon member Alfred Newman, who spoke of 'the necessity for improving their habitations from a sanitary point of view'. Newman suggested that Māori would eventually die out, but told Parliament it was the duty of government to delay this 'extinction' for as long as possible.[62]

Apart from vaccination it was left largely to the staff of Native Schools to undertake practical measures with respect to Māori health.[63] The schools were established from around 1870 and were often the only government presence in remote communities. The role of running the schools was transferred from the Native to the Education Department in 1879 and James Pope

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[60] Paul Christoffel, 'Education, Health, and Housing in the Taihape Inqury District, 1880-2013', A report prepared for the Waitangi Tribunal's Taihape district inquiry, Wai 2180, A41

[61] Rayburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920,* Auckland University Press, 1999, p 68

[62] Hōri Taiaroa, John Ballance, and Alfred Newman in NZPD 10 September 1884, Volume 48

[63] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 75

was appointed to oversee the system as Inspector of Native Schools.[64] Pope took a strong interest in Māori health and saw the education system as a vehicle for improvments.

Unlike Newman, Pope believed that Māori could 'escape extermination' through behavioural changes relating to health and housing.[65] In 1884 he published a book, *Health for the Māori*, soon translated into Māori and updated and republished every decade or so until the 1930s.[66] The book contained a great deal on housing and sanitation. One chapter emphasized the importance of fresh air and well-ventilated whare puni. Another focused on the importance of clean drinking water for health and attempted to explain the new germ theory of disease. Another chapter outlined the common belief that Māori formerly lived on hilltops and their shift to the lowlands had detrimental health consequences. It provided advice on building healthier homes in the lowlands, free from damp.[67] Part of the agenda of Pope and other Crown officials was to encourage Māori to adopt a more European style of living.

Pope's book was aimed mainly at pupils in the latter years of primary school, but it found a wider audience. Te Aute College Principal John Thornton adopted it as a textbook and his pupils Apirana Ngata, Reweti Kohere, and others used it as a basis for marae campaigns on health and sanitation in the 1890s.[68] Educated Māori took action where the government would not but health campaigns could only go so far unless backed by action. Lack of resources was a constant barrier to Māori housing improvements as highlighted by one official in 1903:

> One serious obstacle in the way of any great sanitary reform among our Native brethren is the poverty of many. They are generally quite willing to fall in with our suggestions that they ought not to all sleep together, that the house ought to have a floor that could be easily cleaned, that they ought not to drink the water from the swamp, that they should put up a tank and catch rainwater; but the invariable answer is, "Kahore te munie".[69]

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[64] William Renwick. 'Pope, James Henry', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p25/pope-james-henry (accessed 6 December 2021). The job title 'Inspector of Native Schools' was actually created in 1885.

[65] Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, p 90

[66] James Pope, *Health for the Māori: a Manual for Use in Native Schools*, Wellington, 1884

[67] Pope, *Health for the Māori*, pp 39-55

[68] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy 1840-1940*, Wellington, 1999, pp 90-91; William Renwick. 'Pope, James Henry'.

[69] AJHR 1903, H31, p 13

Despite this lack of resources, few Māori appear to have requested government assistance with housing and sanitation in the nineteenth century. The fact that officials declined the few funding requests made - for water tanks in Otago and Porirua in the late 1890s, for example – may well have deterred further requests.[70]

Homeless and Landless Māori

Māori homelessness attracted little public or government attention in the nineteenth century. This was perhaps because Māori at the time did not generally put a great deal of value on the concept of 'home' as Europeans understood it. For settlers, a house ideally provided a home for a nuclear family in the country or the suburbs, surrounded by a garden and set up for domestic activities such as cooking.[71] This ideal home had furniture and perhaps a few valued possessions. As was outlined in Chapter 2, the suburban ideal was unobtainable for many - charitable organisations provided shelter for homeless Pākehā in several towns and cities, while others lived in boarding houses and inner-city slums.

For Maori, home was centred on the land and extended kinship group rather than on a particular building. As was seen in Chapter 3, a family whare was commonly used for sleeping and little else. To European eyes a whare puni was extremely basic, with a spartan interior often devoid of furniture. They were constructed from readily-available materials and required less labour than a European-style house.[72] Maori rarely maintained or repaired whare. If the roof leaked, for example, the building was generally demolished and a new one was built.[73] According to Pope, Māori were wary of building more permanent dwellings because if someone died in the whare they would not want to continue living there.[74]

The Mount Tarawera eruption of 1886, which killed over 100 Māori and destroyed several villages, engendered a rare show of Pākehā concern for Māori homelessness. The Burton Brothers photographic company toured the country with a lecture show whose proceeds went to 'the poor houseless and homeless Maoris'.[75] Otherwise, however, few nineteenth century references to Māori homelessness can be found through the Papers Past website. However,

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[70] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, pp 87-88

[71] Ferguson, *NZ Dream*, pp 27, 34-35

[72] Prickett, 'Maori Dwelling', p 137

[73] Best, *The Maori*, vol 2, p 561

[74] James Pope, *Health for the Māori: a Manual for Use in Native Schools*, Wellington, 1884.

[75] *Evening Star*, 23 June 1886, p 3

there are hundreds of references to ‘landless Maoris’ or, more commonly, ‘landless Natives’. The thousands of Māori displaced from their lands by government purchases, land confiscation, and sales provoked by the operations of the Native Land Court attracted much press comment, not all of it sympathetic. The injustices involved in confiscations and the coercive nature of the Native Land Court have been covered in many Waitangi Tribunal reports and in numerous expert witness reports to the Tribunal. This evidence will not be repeated here. Rather, this section examines Crown attempts, such as they were, to deal with Māori landlessness.

The first serious government attempts to deal with the issue of Māori landlessness do not appear to have taken place until the late nineteenth century. In 1886, Native Land Court judge Alexander Mackay was appointed as a one-man Royal Commission into landlessness among South Island Māori.[76] This followed decades of complaints and petitions about the way in which most of the island was acquired by the Crown in 1848 and later.[77] Mackay’s report was largely ignored, and instead joint committees of the House of Representatives looked into the matter in 1888, 1889, and 1890. The second of these committees called for yet another investigation into the issue and Mackay was appointed in 1890 to go through the Royal Commission exercise again, albeit with different terms of reference. Mackay found that Ngāi Tahu were largely either landless or had insufficient land to live on.[78]

Perhaps partly in response to Mackay’s recommendations, in 1891 Native Minister Alfred Cadman proposed to establish a Native Village Settlement Scheme for landless Māori in both main islands. His aim was ‘to secure a block of land somewhat remote from European settlement on the banks of a river, or on the sea coast, to cut it up into 10-acre sections, to lay off roads on it and reserves for native purposes, such as a school, a runanga house, a cemetery, etc., and then offer it for selection to the Maoris or Maori families’.[79] The scheme was included in a Land Bill then before Parliament.[80]

Although the Bill had yet to pass, the Native Department was already encouraging some landless Māori to select suitable Crown-owned land in the Rangitīkei district. When questioned about this in Parliament, Cadman confirmed that ‘a party of Natives had been in the vicinity of

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[76] Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report*, volume 3, 1991, pp 979-980

[77] *Ngai Tahu Report*, volume 1, pp 51-52

[78] *Ngai Tahu Report*, volume 3, pp 982-985

[79] *NZ Herald*, 28 May 1891, p 5

[80] NZPD 1891, vol 71, 21 July 1891, p 876

this district looking at land with a view to the selection of land under a clause of the present Land Bill'. There were, he said 'some six hundred Natives landless, and, if possible, it was desirable to get them settled'.[81]

However, the Native Land Bill encountered much Pākehā opposition and failed to pass. The *Wanganui Chronicle* was jubilant that the Rangitīkei 'has escaped a danger which would have done much harm by reducing the value of landed property'.[82] The *New Zealand Herald*, in contrast, was disappointed that Cadman 'was frustrated in his intention to establish native village settlements for landless Maoris in both Islands. The number of natives who have neither prospects of employment nor land appears to have considerably increased. In some cases the natives are almost destitute.'[83] After the failure of his Bill Cadman tried another approach, as reported in Wellington's *Evening Post*:

> There are, however, so many landless natives in different parts of the colony— in inland Wellington they are becoming very numerous— that Mr. Cadman feels it to be necessary to make some provision for them. Maoris can already select under the Crown Lands Regulations, in the same way as Europeans. In some parts of the colony they have done so to a limited extent, but as the natives generally are not aware of the conditions of settlement**,** the Minister is getting the regulations translated into Maori for general circulation.[84]

This initiative appears to have encouraged Rangitīkei Māori to attempt to purchase Crown lands, for in December 1891 they held a hui in Marton to discuss the possibility of setting up a Special Settlement Association.[85] Many such associations had been set up by Pākehā over the previous decade in the hope of establishing settlements on land purchased from the Crown. In November 1890, for example, a meeting of Wellington trades unionists resolved to form a Union Special Settlement Association.[86] It is unclear what happened to the proposed Rangitīkei special settlement scheme, but a proposed Māori settlement scheme in Taranaki in 1892 was greeted with hostility by the local press.[87]

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[81] NZPD 1891, vol 72, 31 July 1891, p 7

[82] *Wanganui Chronicle*, 7 October 1891, p 2

[83] *NZ Herald*, 12 Oct 1891, p 5

[84] *Evening Post*, 10 October 1891, p 2

[85] *Star* (Christchurch), 2 December 1891, p 3

[86] *Bay Of Plenty Times*, 17 November 1890, p 2

[87] *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 1 June 1892, p 2

Cadman met with more success in trying to provide for landless South Island Māori. In December 1892 he met with Ngāi Tahu representatives at Otago Heads with a proposal to make four Crown blocks totalling some 90,000 acres available to those with no or insufficient lands. A year later Cabinet appointed Mackay and surveyor-general Percy Smith to complete a list of landless Māori and assign sections to them within the nominated blocks, the number and size of which were subsequently increased. In 1894, Cabinet agreed that Southern Māori MP Tama Parata could assist with this work, which covered the entire South Island.[88]

Mackay and Smith were expected to do the work mainly in their spare time and it took over 11 years to complete. They submitted four interim reports before their final report in September 1905.[89] They assigned over 142,000 acres in 17 different blocks to 4,064 people deemed to have insufficient or no land. Their report admitted that 'much of the land is of such nature that it is doubtful if the people can profitably occupy it as homes'.[90] It is therefore not surprising that a Commission of Inquiry in 1914 found that, while most (but not all) of the reserves allocated in Nelson and Marlborough were 'occupied by the Natives entitled thereto', practically none of the reserves allocated in Otago, Southland, and Stewart Island were occupied. The report noted that the lands 'vary in quality and degrees of inaccessibility'.[91]

While the Crown made at least some provision for landless South Island Māori, almost nothing was done in the North Island. In June 1892 Western Māori MHR Hoani Taipua asked if the Government would consider providing land for the 'the landless Waikato Natives'. In response, Cadman said 'it was the intention of the Government to make some provision for the landless Natives not only of Waikato, but throughout the whole colony, and the House would be shortly asked to pass legislation to that effect'.[92] He may have been referring to a provision of the Land Act passed later that year, which provided that the Governor could reserve from sale Crown lands required for 'the use, support, or education of aboriginal natives of the colony'.[93]

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[88] *Ngai Tahu Report*, volume 3, p 987

[89] 'Landless Natives in Middle Island', AJHR 1905, G2

[90] AJHR 1905, G2, p 1. The number of 'landless' Māori found by McKay and Smith was greater than the South Island Māori population because they were mandated to include 'quarter castes' in their count, thus greatly increasinly the target population.

[91] AJHR 1914, G2, pp 4, 6

[92] NZPD no 75, 29 June 1892, p 49

[93] Land Act 1892, Sections 235(6) and 236

These provisions in the Land Act 1892 were used from time to time – for example in reserving land for Māori in the Marlborough district in 1911.[94] But there is no evidence they were used in the Waikato, which was a source of numerous complaints regarding landlessness. Among the terms of reference for the 1914 Commission of Inquiry was one asking them to report on lands 'set apart or reserved for landless Natives in the said Waikato-Maniapoto Native Land Court District'. The Commission was unable to uncover evidence of Waikato reserves that 'come within the scope of our inquiry'.[95]

Another option the Government pursued was to encourage Māori with land to allocate a share to those without. When a Māori delegation met with Lands Minister John McKenzie in March 1896, they asked that 'landless Natives' should be put on the land 'in the same manner as landless Europeans were being put on the land'. McKenzie told them that 'some chief in the North Island who had plenty of land should give a portion, be it ever be small, for the landless Natives'.[96] In August 1896, Premier Richard Seddon proposed that the government could contribute to this process, as reported in the *Hastings Standard*:

> The Premier in addressing a meeting of Natives on Saturday referred to the fact that there were a number of landless Natives in the colony, and suggested that those Natives who had more land than they could utilise should make a sacrifice in the interests of landless Natives**.** He said the Government would find one half of the money and land could be made over for all time to the natives who were without land.[97]

James Carroll, who took over from Cadman as Native Minister in 1893, also addressed Māori gathered in Wellington in August 1896. Instead of supporting Seddon's suggestion, Carroll agreed with those assembled that the Government should provide land to landless Māori.[98] Two years later he introduced a Bill into the House to set aside Crown lands as a reserve for landless Māori but this initiative did not progress.[99] The issue of landless Māori remained unresolved.

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[94] AJHR 1914, G2, p 7

[95] AJHR 1914, G2, p 5

[96] *Poverty Bay Herald*, 16 March 1896, p 2

[97] *Hastings Standard*, 31 August 1896, p 2. The press gave no information as to where this meeting was held but it appears to have been in Wellington.

[98] *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 28 August 1896, p 2

[99] *Otago Witness*, 11 August 1898, p 25

A significant political problem for the Government in the 1890s was that it faced demands for land not only from landless Māori but also from Pākehā desiring to settle the land. Under Crown pre-emption, which applied for much of the latter nineteenth century (although at times only in certain districts) Pākehā settlers were prohibited from buying land from Māori. Their only options were therefore to lease land, buy from other settlers (who were often unwilling to sell), or buy from the Crown. If the Government wanted to give or even sell land to landless Māori it at times faced vociferous opposition. By the 1890s Māori made up just six percent of the population, which gave them limited political clout despite having four Māori seats in Parliament.

Chapter 5: Māori Initiated Housing Schemes

Introduction

As is outlined elsewhere in this report, in the nineteenth century the government was largely inactive on Māori housing problems and in the early twentieth century many Māori were suspicious of government efforts. Some Māori had the resources to improve their housing through their own efforts, by erecting European-style cottages for example, but most did not. This chapter outlines two examples where housing improvements were made on a larger scale through community initiatives. In both cases the improvements were led by charismatic religious leaders, Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka in Taranaki and Rua Kenena at Maungapōhatu in the Urewera.

Parihaka

Parihaka Pā was founded in the 1860s by the religious leaders Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi and some of their followers. The choice of the site was mainly religious. However, it assumed political importance when, in the late 1870s, Parihaka became a centre of protest against the Taranaki land confiscations and the failure of the government to set aside reserves as promised. In 1879, when the government proceeded with its survey of 16,000 acres of the confiscated Waimate plain without first allocating reserves, followers of Te Whiti embarked on a campaign to disrupt the surveyors and plough land occupied by settlers.[1] Some 400 protesters were arrested and deported to Wellington and the South Island. When Māori travelled to Parihaka from around the North Island to support the protesters it became one of the largest Māori settlements in the country.

The housing in Parikaha was initially built almost exclusively from traditional materials, including raupō thatch and ponga logs, with stand-alone cooking sheds (kāuta) in the traditional style. The buildings, however, were oriented towards dirt roads in the colonial fashion.[2] In November 1881 a force of over 1,500 Armed Constabulary and volunteers, led by Native Affairs and Defence Minister John Bryce, invaded Parihaka and arrested Te Whiti and Tohu. They were sent to the South Island as political prisoners and taken on an intensive tour

[1] Danny Keenan. 'Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III, Erueti', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993, updated November, 2012. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t34/te-whiti-o-rongomai-iii-erueti (accessed 18 October 2021)

[2] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp 71 -72

'designed to impress upon them the accomplishments of Pākehā civilisation'.[3] Several journalists were stationed within Parihaka during the invasion and were thus in a good position to report on events, including the destruction of much of the village.

> The arrested Maoris are making no secret of their intention to return to Parihaka at the earliest possible opportunity. They are not in any way bumptious, or even sulky, but say, as though it were a matter of course, that they will come back. Parihaka presents a most melancholy appearance, A large portion of the village has been torn down, without the slightest regard as to whether the owners had committed any offence, and homeless Maoris may be seen searching among the ruins for such of their household goods as have not been ruthlessly destroyed or stolen.[4]

In March 1883 Te Whiti and Tohu returned to Parikaha to begin rebuilding the ruined village.[5] However, the issue of land confiscations remained, and in 1886 Te Whiti urged a resumption of the ploughing protest. He was imprisoned for six months in Wellington for occupying disputed land.[6] After Te Whiti's return, theological differences emerged between he and Tohu, resulting in complementary marae being erected on opposite sides of Parihaka. They both embarked on extravagant European-style building projects, perhaps influenced by their time in exile. In 1889 Te Whiti ordered the building of a 100-seat dining hall in a colonial-style weatherboard building. Photos from the time show it as resembling an upmarket English tea room, apart from the communal style of seating.[7]

Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) visited Parihaka in 1897 while still a student at Te Aute College. According to Dick Scott, his mother was a follower of Te Whiti and he had thus visited Parihaka as a young child.[8] Buck was impressed with many of Parihaka's facilities and wrote an account of his visit which later came into the hands of the press:

> I think that Parihaka will soon resemble a pakeha township. The Maoris boast that it is like one, and in many respects they are right. They have a bakery with real Maori bakers, who turn out hundreds of loaves every week. They have their own slaughteryards and butchery.

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[3] Keenan, 'Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III, Erueti', DNZB

[4] *South Canterbury Times*,19 November 1881, p 2

[5] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, p 74

[6] Keenan, 'Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III, Erueti', DNZB

[7] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp 76-77

[8] Dick Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*, Auckland, 2006, pp 173-176

> There are two small stores which do a fairly good trade in spite of the enormous prices they charge. On Te Whiti's side of the pā there are two public dining rooms where the people have their meals. These rooms are fitted up exactly like European houses, with tables, chairs and other furniture.

Buck was a pupil at an Anglican boarding school and was thus less impressed with some of the other facilities:

> They have built two billiard-rooms, where the Maori youths may go and spend in foolishness their hard-earned money. These are owned, one by a Maori the other by a half-caste. In the larger of the two there is a small side-chamber, where Maoris may satisfy their love for gambling. Then there are two houses where intoxicating liquors are sold secretly, without license.[9]

A reporter who visited Parihaka in 1898 was impressed with the sleeping quarters, containing single and double rooms with comfortable beds 'and also a bathroom with hot and cold water laid on, a luxury which cannot be obtained at any pub along the coast from new Plymouth to Hawera'. As with other visitors he was impressed with the dining arrangements.[10]

By the end of the nineteenth century most of the raupō and ponga whare were replaced by colonial-style weatherboard residences and sleeping houses with corrugated iron roofs.[11] Pākehā tradesmen, with a brief to instruct Māori in their trades, were initially employed to carry out building work, but were soon replaced by their apprentices.[12] Unlike most Māori settlements at the time, Parihaka got its water from 'a very fine reservoir', as described by a reporter from the *New Zealand Times*:

> This reservoir is supplied by clear mountain streams flowing from Mount Egmont, the water being beautifully clear and icy cold. It has concreted sides and bottom. The water is then pumped by means of a hydraulic ram for a distance of about half a mile on to the top of a large hill overlooking the village. On this hill it is received into a large concrete cistern, and thence the water is carried by main and pipes to the houses. The pressure is very strong, many of the houses having five and six services laid to the different parts.[13]

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[9] *South Canterbury Times*, 29 December 1898, p 2

[10] *Weekly News* quoted in Scott, *Ask that Mountain*, p 183

[11] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, p 77

[12] *Waikato Argus*, 8 April 1899, p 4

[13] *New Zealand Times* report reproduce in the *Waikato Argus*, 8 April 1899, p 4

Parihaka Pa. William Andrews Collis, Negatives of Taranaki. Ref: 1/1-011758-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. This photo was taken around 1900 and shows family whare in the foreground and some of the communal buildings behind.

Water from the reservoir was later used to power a generator to supply electricity to the village and to flush out street drains. Electric lighting was installed around 1900.[14] Like previous visitors, the *Times* reporter was greatly impressed with the dining facilities and the food provided. The presence of communal cooking and eating facilities indicated that, while Te Whiti and Tohu had utilised modern technology and building techniques, that had not abandoned the Māori tradition of communal endeavour for key activities, although meeting, kitchen, and sleeping quarters were in some cases combined in a single building.[15]

[14] Scott, *Ask that Mountain*, p 189. Scott claims that electric lighting was introduced to Parihaka before Wellington but that city in fact had electric lighting a decade earlier – see Yska, *Wellington*, pp 79-80

[15] Brown, *Māori Architechture*, p 78

The developments at Parihaka were expensive. Funding came from supportive tribes and individuals, including the Ellison family based on the Otago Peninsula.[16] However, the most significant supporter was Taare Waitara, who also supervised much of the building work at Parihaka. Waitara was a wealthy Hutt Valley businessman of Atiawa and Pākehā descent who visited Te Whiti while he was imprisoned in Wellington in 1886. Waitara accompanied Te Whiti back to Parihaka and subsequently married his daughter. He died in 1910, less than three years after Te Whiti and Tohu.[17]

In 2017 the Crown apologised for the 1879 invasion and in 2018 provided $9 million to the Parihaka Papakāinga Trust.[18]

Maungapōhatu

Rua Kenana was a charismatic Tūhoe prophet who is thought to have been born in Maungapōhatu around 1869. From about 1904 he began to experience religious visions and in subsequent years was sought out by both Maōri and Pākehā for his skills as a faith healer.[19] Thanks to his charisma, in 1906 Rua was able to persuade a growing band of followers, including 80 prominent Tūhoe kaumātua, to follow him to Gisborne. He prophesied that King Edward VII of England would meet him there and give him the money to purchase back all lost Māori land. The non-appearance of Edward does not seem to have dented his credibility – Rua is reported to have declared that he was in fact the true King.

Over the following year Rua gathered more followers for a planned migration to Maungapōhatu. Judith Binney, Gillian Chapman and Craig Wallace, who wrote a 1979 account of Rua's life, saw him as having a number of worldly motives in his plans. 'He recognized the root problem of Tuhoe poverty: although they were wealthy in land, they were totally without the means to make it productive'.[20] According to the Waitangi Tribunal, Rua 'wanted to bring people out of poverty and hardship – following the difficult years of the turn of the century

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[16] Ailsa Smith. 'Tohu Kākahi - Tohu Kakahi', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t44/tohu-kakahi (accessed 18 October 2021)

[17] Scott, *Ask That Mountain*, pp 153-154; *Marlborough Express*, 15 July 1910, p 7; *Waikato Argus*, 8 April 1899, p 4

[18] Radio New Zealand, 'Tears as Crown apologises for Parihaka atrocities' 9 June 2017, https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/332613/tears-as-crown-apologises-for-parihaka-atrocities; Hon Nanaia Mahuta, '$9 million reconciliation package for Parihaka', 6 December 2018, beehive.govt.nz

[19] Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu*, Auckland, 1990, p 25

[20] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, p 24

when food crops had been severely affected by a series of frosts, floods, and potato blight – and to make a better life for them by making their remaining land productive through the application of skills and capital.'[21]

Rua had worked for Pākehā employers and, although he distrusted Europeans he admired their trades and skills. 'He had come to value Pakeha standards, particularly those of hygiene and housing'.[22] Rua thus aimed to establish a self-sufficient community with a healthy lifestyle. To raise the capital to do this he used shock tactics, predicting impending disaster. Elsdon Best, at that time the sanitary inspector in the inland Bay of Plenty, wrote in 1907 that '[a]ll Natives have been warned by Rua to leave their homes, sell all portable property, and go and live on the hills in order to avoid an appalling deluge which is soon to overwhelm all lowlying lands'.[23] According to Binney et al, money thus raised from followers 'was required by Rua as their contribution to the founding of the New Jerusalem'.

> One Ruatoki family remembers this period now with some chagrin. Rua took them to Ohope and to the sea, for the first time in their lives. As the tide came up, higher and higher on the shore, they became afraid. Rua explained that it was the beginning of the last deluge, in which all the land from Taneatua to the Ruatoki valley would be drowned. They joined the migration to Maungapōhatu.[24]

The new community got off to a dreadful start. The winter of 1907 was particularly harsh and an outbreak of typhoid and a measles epidemic killed 50 people.[25] But during 1908 the community began to take shape under the guidance of a Council headed by Rua and various committees. In 1908 and 1909 George Bourne visited the township to take photographs for the *Auckland Weekly News*. His pictures show the expansion of what was formerly a tiny village. The community felled trees to clear the way for new housing and burned down existing houses deemed uninhabitable. By April 1908 some 280 hectares of land had been cleared and about 50 houses built, a mixture of tents and split-paling structures. The building programme continued throughout the year as the village expanded. From Bourne's photographs it can be

[21] Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Urewera*, Volume 5, 2014, p 2386

[22] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, Auckland, 1990

[23] AJHR 1907, H31, p 58

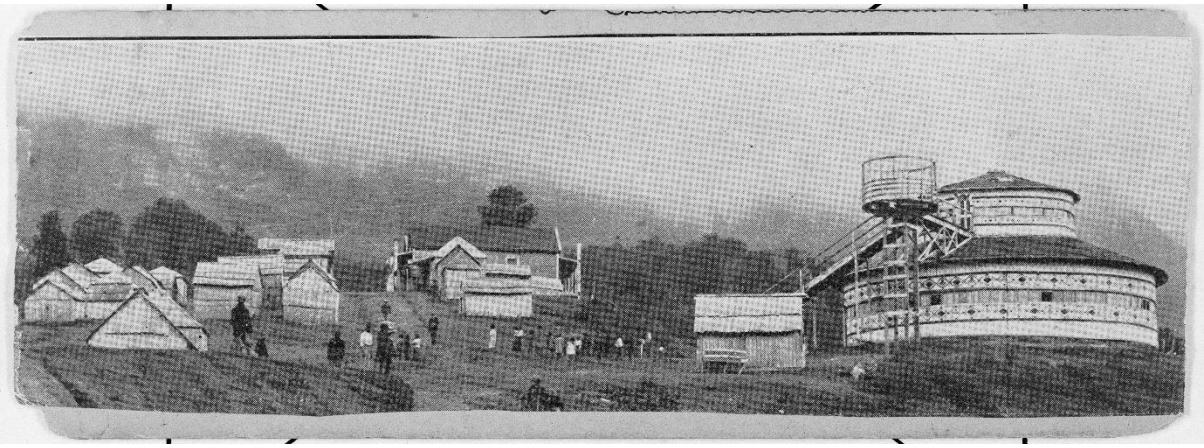
[24] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, p 33

[25] Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Urewera*, Volume 5, p 2387

seen that the houses were considerably larger than traditional whare and some had glass windows.[26]

Unlike many kāinga, the community kept domestic livestock in pens and tied up their dogs. Visitors were impressed by the strict standards of hygiene imposed by Rua. He had latrines installed, which were regularly cleaned, and a nearby stream was diverted through a series of pools for a water supply. The topmost pool was reserved for cooking needs, the next for domestic washing, and the third for bathing.

> There were also basins at frequent intervals so that the people could wash before eating. Initially, a clean towel was also supplied daily at each basin by the sanitary committee, which acted under the Council's direction. What was maintained for a much longer period was the twice-weekly inspection of the houses, on Wednesdays and Fridays. Dust – even on the outside fireplaces of blue clay – bought a 3d fine.[27]



George Bourne, Wooden circular courthouse and meeting house alongside the village at Maungapohatu. Ref: 1/2-027115-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Bourne took this panorama for the Auckland Weekly News in 1908.

To outsiders the most noticeable feature of Maungapōhatu were its few substantial communal buildings, in particular the circular meeting and court-house Hīona.[28] Even in black and white, photographs show this brightly coloured building was striking in appearance. Another building

[26] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, pp 51-55

[27] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, pp 52-53

[28] Hiona was demolished after Rua returned from prison in 1918.

housed a savings bank and another a general store. The community was funded primarily by growing and selling cocksfoot grass seed to European storekeepers, some seasonal work such as shearing, and leasing and occasionally selling land. The community prospered in its early years and Rua was not above using what Binney et al describe as 'dubious methods' to extract a share of the proceeds. However, a Waimana store owner who seemed well aware of this said that all the community members had their basic needs met. 'No one went hungry with Rua'.[29]

Maungapōhatu is perhaps best known for its invasion by armed police in 1916. Rua had long been held in suspicion by the government, initially for his faith-healing claims and his discouraging education in English, forcing the closure of Waimana School in 1907.[30] The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 was partly aimed at Rua although it was never used against him.[31] He opposed conscription during World War One and was suspected of disloyalty.

Rua objected to liquor laws that prevented him from obtaining a liquor license, believing that selling liquor to his followers was the best way of ensuring consumption was kept under control. At the time a national freeze on new liquor licences made any new licenses almost impossible to obtain. Some liquor laws discriminated against Māori and Rua mistakenly believed that it was these laws alone that prevented him from getting a liquor license. His objection to discriminatory laws resulted in him being imprisoned for three months in 1915 for illegal liquor sales. Subsequent violations of the liquor laws made him liable for another prison term and events escalated to a point where the Crown launched a heavy-handed invasion of Maungapōhatu by a contingent of 70 armed police led by the police commissioner John Cullen. As the main contingent arrived, an exchange of gunfire took place. Two Māori were killed and seven men were wounded, including four policemen.[32]

Rua was ultimately convicted of resisting arrest and spent 18 months in prison. The cost of the trial, which until 1977 was the longest in New Zealand's history, devastated the community, as did Rua's long absence. Many followers left, never to return.[33] The community was already in decline in 1916, handicapped by a dreadful climate and isolation. The 1918 influenza outbreak took a substantial toll. A new leader, the Reverend John Laughton, tried to keep things

[29] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, pp 46-50, 63-68

[30] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, pp 34-35

[31] Waitangi Tribunal, *Urewera*, Vol 5, p 2373

[32] Waitangi Tribunal, *Urewera*, Vol 5, p 2369

[33] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, pp 132, 138

afloat until Rua returned in April 1918. Less than a year later, Rua moved to the kinder climate of Waimana valley with his family and did not return to live at Maungapōhatu until 1927.[34]

Laughton successfully established a school at Maungapōhatu and the remaining community soldiered on. The buildings, some nearly 20 years old, fell into disrepair and were considered by Health Department staff to be a health hazard. On Rua's return he revived his earlier tactic of a millenarian prediction to encourage a new exodus to Maungapōhatu. By March 1927 some 200 people had sold their possessions to make the trek. Rua said the houses needed iron roofs to protect people from the impending bombardment from the heavens.[35] A *New Zealand Herald* reporter was impressed with the transformation:

> His own home, a large square house, painted white, with a green roof, and its surrounding buildings that are used as kitchens and storehouses and are situated near the bottom of the valley, had been kept in order and were ready for Rua's return. About a mile away, high up on the bleak side of the southern slope the village stands, and a remarkable transformation has been effected. The whares are of slab and shingle, but they have been lined in some fashion—usually with the pages from illustrated newspapers — wooden floors have been made draught proof, chimneys of galvanised iron have been built and iron roofs have been put on.[36]

Every family home had its own kitchen and the community thrived as rebuilding continued.[37] But the revival was short-lived, thanks largely to the poor access to the village other than a dray track. Tuhoe gave 40,000 acres of land for roads under the Urewera consolidation scheme of 1921-22 and were eventually compensated in 1958 for land given for roads that were never built.[38] In the meantime Maungapōhatu remained largely cut off from the rest of the world. The onset of the depression also took its toll and by the time Rua died in 1937 little remained of his original vision.

Summary

A common factor in the revival of Parihaka and Maungapōhatu was a return to, or strengthening of, a traditional communal lifestyle, where resources were widely shared. This was successful

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[34] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, pp 149-150, 154

[35] *New Zealand Herald*, 14 May 1927, p 13; Binney et al *Mihaia*, p 156

[36] *New Zealand Herald*, 14 May 1927, p 13

[37] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, pp 163-164

[38] Binney et al, *Mihaia*, p 171

in Parihaka in particular, where financial support following the 1881 invasion assisted in the development of quality housing and excellent amenities including clean drinking water. Rua Kenana's community at Maungapōhatu likewise emphasised the importance of hygiene and was remarkably successful given its inhospitable climate and isolation. However, the 1916 Crown invasion of the village had a devastating effect. The community lost its leader for over 18 months and the cost of the drawn-out trial was a significant financial drain. Rua's attempts to revive the community were stifled by several factors including lack of roading access. Tuhoe gave land for roads under the Urewera Consolidation Scheme but almost none were built.

Chapter 6: Urban Māori Housing

Background

From the 1840s Pākehā settlers built towns, some of which later became cities. Forty percent of the Pākehā population was recorded as urban in the 1878 census. However urban centres remained small, with Auckland not exceeding 30,000 people until 1886. The only other North Island towns recording more than 4000 people in the 1886 census were Wellington, Napier, and Wanganui.[1] The Māori population remained overwhelmingly rural throughout the nineteenth century, with around one in 50 recorded as urban in each population census.

Urbanisation took off after 1900, particularly in the 1920s, and the main centres and provincial towns grew rapidly. Māori also moved to urban centres, or had their settlements subsumed within growing towns and cities. By the 1926 census one in six Māori were classified as urban.

The Nineteenth Century

Early towns were built within the rohe of Māori tribes but did not generally have Māori living within their boundaries. In Auckland, Ngāti Whātua returned 'cautiously' to the Manukau around 1836 following the musket wars but the Auckland isthmus was otherwise sparsely populated. According to Margaret McClure, fear of Ngāpuhi aggression on the part of Ngāti Whātua chief Apihai Te Kawau was one reason he took the strategic step of inviting William Hobson to site the colony's capital on the isthmus in 1840.[2]

Although few Māori lived within Auckland, significant numbers lived nearby once peace came in the 1840s. Māori soon came to dominate commerce in the growing town and in 1848 the *New Zealander* newspaper described the Māori trade in foodstuffs as the 'lifeblood' of the Auckland economy. By the 1850s thousands of Māori canoe visits were bringing large quantities of vegetables, fruit, meat, fish, wheat, and flour to Auckland and Onehunga.[3] Produce came from nearby settlements such as Ōkahu or from places further afield such as the

[1] NZOYB, pp 133=134, Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 392-393

[2]Margaret McClure, 'Auckland region - Māori history', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/auckland-region/page-6 (accessed 18 March 2022)

[3] Belich, *Making Peoples*, p 215.

Coromandel.[4] During the 1840s and 1850s Māori owned a third of Auckland's shipping fleet.[5] All the other early settlements – Nelson, Wellington, Wanganui, and New Plymouth – were similarly dependent on Māori trade.[6]

The trade proved mutually beneficial and Māori in other parts of the country sought European settlement as a result. The town of Napier was established in the 1850s with Ngāti Kahungunu encouragement, including land sales.[7] In the main these early settlements were Pākehā towns within Māori rohe. Māori often lived on the outskirts but rarely within the towns. Māori presence in the towns reduced during the nineteenth century as the Pākehā population grew and Māori population, both urban and rural, declined. Fenton's 1858 census recorded 157 Māori living in Auckland but numbers fell substantially in subsequent decades.[8] The wars of the 1860s and 1870s reduced trade and led to further separation. According to Michael King, by 1900 '98 percent of Māori lived in rural communities that were so scattered as to cause not only geographic separation of Māori from Pākehā, but also Māori from other Māori'.[9] Schrader similarly writes:

> The tiny proportion of city-based Māori in each census confirmed that nearly all Māori lived outside city limits. Rather than become townspeople and live in individual dwellings along lineal streets in settlements of thousands of people, most Māori continued to live communally in traditional whare and huts in rural or peri-urban village communities like Ōrākei, Waiwhetu and Ōtākou.[10]

The 1878 census recorded 468 Māori living in the Auckland district (excluding Great Barrier and Waikeke Islands) but just 110 living in the City of Auckland, 60 of whom were boarders at Three Kings and St Stephen's Schools. A further 22 were in Mount Eden Gaol, in hospital,

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[4] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, p 173

[5] Margaret McClure, 'Auckland region - The founding of Auckland: 1840–1869', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/auckland-region/page-7 (accessed 19 March 2022)

[6] James Belich, 'The Governors and Maori' in Keith Sinclair (ed), *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Second Edition, Melbourne, 2001, pp 84-85; Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, p 173

[7] Belich, 'The Governors and Maori', p 84

[8] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, p 201

[9] King, *History of New Zealand*, p 247

[10] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 201-202

or in the 'lunatic asylum'. This leaves just 28 who were actual Auckland residents.[11] The 1881 census recorded just 19 Māori living in Auckland City, Parnell, and Ponsonby.[12]

However, Māori continued to visit towns and cities for trade and other purposes throughout the nineteenth century. As noted above, others came to attend boarding schools or came involuntarily as prisoners. These types of short-term accommodation are covered in Chapter 7.

Wellington as an exception

Wellington was unique among settler towns in that it contained a settled Māori population from the outset. Port Nicholson, later to become Wellington City, was occupied by members of tribes who had migrated to safer areas during the musket wars, displacing tribes already in the district. Groups represented in the migration were primarily from Taranaki and included Te Atiawa, Ngāti Ruanui, Taranaki, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Toa.[13] According to William Wakefield, who visited the district in 1839, the large Te Aro pā was 'thickly inhabited by natives' and there were also pā at Kumutoto, Pipitea, Tiakiwai, Kaiwharawhara, Ngauranga, Petone, and Waiwhetu.[14]

The private New Zealand Company proposed to allocate to Māori chiefs 110 one-acre sections ('tenths') in the new town, with specific sections to be allocated by ballot, as with European settlers. The designers of the scheme assumed that Māori would willingly surrender their existing residences and cultivations to move to the new blocks. 'The Māori chiefs, pepper-potted among the British settlers, would profit from the rising value of their land and would acquire the civilised habits and customs of their neighbours'.[15] However, Māori were unwilling to move to tenths reserves within the territory of other groups.[16] Te Aro and Pipitea pā were initially marked out on maps of the town as the location of a custom house and a marketplace, but Māori ownership of both pā was subsequently guaranteed in agreements made in 1844 and in 1847.[17]

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[11] AJHR 1878, G2, p 14

[12] AJHR 1881, G3, p 13

[13] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara me Ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District*, 2003, p 44

[14] Quoted by Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, p 186

[15] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, p 47

[16] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, p 186

[17] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, p 108

With two pā in the heart of Wellington, Māori and Pākehā lived in relatively close proximity, and this seemed to work well for a time. As noted in Chapter 3, Māori commonly helped build settler homes. They also grew and traded much-needed crops and provided labour for road building. Friendship between Māori and settlers was common.[18] In the early 1840s it was estimated that over 900 Māori lived in and around Wellington compared with some 4000 settlers.[19] However, the Māori population did not thrive and when Native Secretary Henry Tacy Kemp took a census in 1850 he counted 745 Māori.[20] Some acquired European diseases and ended up as patients in Wellington hospital after it opened in 1847. According to the Waitangi Tribunal, the poor state of Māori health 'was no doubt related to their poor housing, for, although a few weatherboard houses had been built, Kemp described most Māori dwellings as decaying and dilapidated'.[21] Kemp counted 96 residents in inner-city Pipitea pa, whose whare he described as 'much out of repair'.

Housing in Pipitea pā improved during the 1850s but it, along with nearby Te Aro pa, was in again in decline by the 1870s. Under the Native Lands Act 1865 the two pā were divided into allotments granted to individuals and groups. The Crown progressively removed restrictions on alienation from 1873, in part to enable reclamation in Wellington Harbour and to extend Taranaki Street.[22] Half the Te Aro pā sections were sold by 1875 and sales continued in subsequent years. Several Pipitea pā lots were likewise sold to private buyers, with the approval approval of Native Reserves Commissioner Charles Heaphy.[23] By 1881 the two pā had just 37 residents between them.[24] In 2003 the Waitangi Tribunal rejected suggestions that Te Aro pā was victim of a 'slum clearance' scheme, but did note that Heaphy considered the pā to be something of a blight on the city - a perception that likely made him more inclined to remove alienation restrictions.

By 1890 Te Atiawa had left Pitipea to join their kin at Waiwhetu in Lower Hutt and the inner-city Wellington pā were 'abandoned'.[25] At that time the Hutt Valley remained a largely rural

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[18] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 172-174

[19] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, pp 269, 272

[20] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, p 269

[21] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, pp 269-270

[22] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, p 341

[23] Watangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, pp 341-342

[24] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 188-189

[25] Redmer Yska, *Wellington: Biography of a City*, Auckland, 2006, pp 86-87

area dominated by market gardens, aside from the industrial township of Petone by the harbour foreshore.[26]

Urban Māori in the Twentieth Century

In the early twentieth century New Zealand's rate of urbanisation accelerated, and Māori participated in this trend. Some Māori became urban simply because urban areas expanded to include their rohe, with Ōrākei in Auckland being a prime example. For others, towns and cities provided economic opportunities for those displaced by land loss.

The growth of towns and cities was party driven by government housing measures aimed at urban workers, especially low-deposit state lending. This section outlines these measures and the extent to which Māori were able to benefit from them. It also looks at the government reform of urban local government, in part to increase the power of local authorities to deal with 'slum' housing. Despite these reforms, councils and health officials struggled to deal with the housing issues of those Māori who moved to the urban periphery, or to towns such as Pukekohe, seeking employment.

The Onset of Urbanisation

The 1911 census revealed that there were as many urban New Zealanders as rural. The previous 30 years had seen a gradual process of urban drift, with the urban proportion increasing from 40 to 50 percent since 1881.[27] However, the country was far from urban by modern standards; an urban area was defined as a town or city with a population over 1000 people. Only 38 percent of the population lived in centres with over 8,000 people, and of the four cities (defined as having a population over 20,000) only Auckland had over 100,000 people.[28]

Urbanisation accelerated between 1911 and 1926, when the urban proportion leapt from 50 to 68 percent.[29] By 1926 nearly half the population lived in towns and cities with over 8,000 people and Auckland's population approached 200,000.[30] In line with general trends, Māori

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[26] David McGill, *Lower Hutt: The First Garden City*, Lower Hutt, 1991, pp 110-111; Chris Maclean, 'Wellington region - From town to city: 1865–1899', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wellington-region/page-8 (accessed 9 November 2021)

[27] NZOYB 1990, p 133

[28] Eric Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', in W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams (eds), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington 1981, p 254; NZOYB 1990, p 134

[29] NZOYB 1990, p 133

[30] Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', p 254

urbanisation also took off in the early twentieth century. One in six Māori (16 percent) were recorded as living in urban areas in 1926. While this seems a small proportion, the figure represents an eight-fold increase on the two percent recorded in the late nineteenth century. The 1926 census recorded 1,162 Māori living in Auckland, 434 in Wellington, and significant numbers in Rotorua (602), Gisborne (359), Napier (264), Whanganui (259) and Ōtaki (276).[31]

Urbanisation came to a halt during the 1930s depression and by 1936 the New Zealand's urban proportion was no greater than it had been in 1926. The drift of Māori to towns and cities likewise came to a halt, although the Māori population in many North Island towns and cities still grew, thanks largely to population growth. By 1936 the Māori population of Auckland had risen to 1766 and Wellington (589) and Whanganui (483) also showed substantial increases. Both New Plymouth (326) and Hastings (246) had by then acquired substantial Māori populations.[32] Urbanisation re-ignited during World War Two, reaching 74 percent in 1945 (26 percent for Māori). The country's rate of urbanisation then stalled until the 1960s, except in the case of Māori where the upward trend accelerated dramatically after the war.[33]

New Zealand's rapid urbanisation after 1911, particularly in the 1920s, seems to have been barely discussed by historians. Ben Schrader's recent urban history, *The Big Smoke*, ends in 1920, perhaps because his focus was on the four main centres whereas much of the growth was in provincial towns. During the 1920s Whanganui, Invercargill, and Palmerston North became cities, defined as having over 20,000 people.[34]

The reasons for rapid urbanisation are multi-faceted. Farming became more productive, thus requiring less labour, while white collar work expanded, particular in the growing public sector.[35] Cities became more attractive places to live.[36] Quick and reliable transport links 'locked hinterlands into their nearest centres and export ports' and also 'enabled larger city-based firms to exploit economies of scale'. Hamilton and Palmerston North, situated on the

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[31] *Population Census 1936, Volume III - Maori Census*, Wellington, 1940, pp 2-5. The 1936 census report includes the figures from the 1926 census.

[32] Māori Census, 1936, p 2

[33] NZOYB 1990, p 133, Paul Meredith, 'Urban Māori - Urbanisation', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/graph/3571/maori-urbanisation-1926-86 (accessed 12 November 2021)

[34] David Thorns and Ben Schrader, 'City history and people - New cities', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/city-history-and-people/page-8 (accessed 14 November 2021)

[35] Miles Fairburn, 'The Rural Myth and the Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 9, 1 (1975), pp 9, 12

[36] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 395-396

North Island main trunk railway (completed in 1909), grew to become major centres.[37] Motor vehicles and better roads made travel easier, encouraging centralisation on fewer but larger towns. There were over 100,000 motor vehicles by 1925.[38] Better public transport facilitated urban growth by enabling workers to live in the suburbs and commute. By 1916 electric tram networks were operating in the four main centres and in Whanganui, Invercargill, Napier, Gisborne, and New Plymouth.[39]

But an equally significant factor in urban growth was government housing policy. The government undertook a major lending programme to enable families to purchase houses in urban areas on low deposits with long repayment periods, and it soon became the largest mortgage lender in the country. Government housing interventions are outlined in detail later in this chapter.

The factors driving Māori urbanisation were in some ways similar to those driving urbanisation in general, including improvements that made cities more attractive places to live. But, as Hearn notes, push factors were perhaps more important. '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 Māori, through the 1920s, to seek employment in the country's urban centres.' [40]

Another factor particular to the Māori community was the growth of pan-tribalism. Schrader writes that towns and cities were located in particular rohe and 'under tikanga Māori those from another territory would have needed permission to reside there'. By the 1920s, however, the notion of the city as a 'pan-tribal space' gained currency.[41] Apirana Ngata noted in 1928 that 'almost every tribe' was represented in Auckland. Likewise, most of Wellington's Māori population was 'from tribes unconnected with the ownership of land in the district'.[42] This change was likely facilitated by the development of pan-tribal organisations, including the

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[37] Neil Atkinson, *Trainland: How Railways Made New Zealand*, Auckland, 2007, p 22

[38] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Auckland, 2001, p 248

[39] Adrian Humphris, 'Public transport - Electric trams', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/public-transport/page-3 (accessed 10 November 2021)

[40] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 325

[41] Schrader, *Big Smoke*, p 202

[42] Quoted by Schrader, *Big Smoke*, p 202

Māori Association, the Te Aute Association, the Māori Women's Association, and councils constituted under the Native Councils Act 1900.

With improved secondary education, some educated Māori came to the cities seeking employment, especially in the growing public service. Some Māori settlements became urban simply by being 'swamped' by expanding towns and cities. For example, Māori living in Waiwhetu and Taita in the Hutt Valley, surrounded for many decades by farms and later by market gardens, found themselves increasingly incorporated in an urban area as the borough of Lower Hutt expanded during the twentieth century.[43] As outlined in Chapter 10, the residents of Whakarewarewa became urban as the boundaries of Rotorua expanded to include their village. Ōrākei provides another example.

Ōrākei

Ngāti Whātua resided at Ōrākei long before European settlement and their papakāinga near Ōkahu Bay had been on the urban periphery since the founding of Auckland. It was separated from the town (and later city) by Hobson Bay.[44] As outlined below, Crown actions in the early twentieth century led many of the tribe to leave Ōrākei and contributed to a serious decline in housing conditions for those who remained.

According to the Waitangi Tribunal, by 1911 Ōrākei was no longer on the urban periphery, as 'Auckland had stretched to Orakei and building was going on all around'. Urban expansion included the adjoining Lucerne Estate at Pukapuka and the Kohimarama Estate. 'High prices were being paid for building sites on adjoining lands much inferior to the Orakei block with its commanding views on the ridges and prime location. It was the choice site for housing development as every developer involved with adjoining projects would have known'.[45]

The Auckland City Council was itself eyeing up the land to develop a 'garden suburb'. This seemed somewhat at odds with the Council's earlier actions, which resulted in Ōrākei becoming the site of a sewer outfall. In late 1910, work began on a sewer pipe across Hobson Bay as part of the Suburbs Drainage Scheme. Sewage was to be discharged at an outfall at the head of Ōkahu Bay near Ōrākei. The scheme came into effect in 1914 and Auckland's crude

[43] McGill, *Lower Hutt*, pp 144-150

[44] Waitangi Trubunal, *Orakei Report*, 1987, p 89

[45] Waitangi Trubunal, *Orakei Report*, p 77

sewage was discharged to the shellfish beds of Ngāti Whātua, opposite their ancestral village.[46] The scheme included a large concrete sewer and retaining wall, both of which impeded drainage. In heavy rain the papakāinga turned to a swampy quagmire. Flooding worsened after 1921 when a raised roadway was built over the sewer pipeline along the beachfront.[47]

Most of Ngāti Whātua's Ōrākei block was a 460 acre farm. The City Council lobbied the Government to buy the block for residential development, which it eventually agreed to do. The Crown bought most of the farm by December 1914 and then started buying in the 40-acre papakāinga block. This proved more difficult than buying the farm and the process dragged on.

By 1924 the majority had left the village but some remained and continued to occupy houses on the land in the hope that existing occupancies would be respected. However, the Crown had acquired most of the papakāinga interests and there was no real security of tenure. The Waitangi Tribunal notes that 'no one was more than a mere part owner in the land, if one was an owner at all, and disintegrating homes were occupied by the remnants of a disintegrating tribe'.[48]

By 1928 the Crown had bought up most of the interests in the block.[49] Some of the non-sellers then agreed to combine their shares with nearby Māori land. This left roughly 2.5 of the original 40 acres for the papakāinga, which housed some 120 people around the marae. Most of the tribe had left. Despite their proximity to the sewage scheme they were living without sewerage and had an inadequate water supply. Some were living in tents. Those remaining were continually pressured to sell and 'it seemed merely a matter of time before they would give in'.[50]

There was at least some action on water supply. In 1928, Ngāti Whātua successfully applied for and received a £1 for £1 government subsidy from the Native Affairs Department to help cover the costs of connecting their village to the Auckland City Council's water supply.[51] As discussed in Chapter 9, this subsidy was part of a scheme provided for by the Health Act 1920.

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[46] Waitangi Trubunal, *Orakei Report*, p 90

[47] Waitangi Trubunal, *Orakei Report*, p 103

[48] Waitangi Trubunal, *Orakei Report*, p 104

[49] Waitangi Trubunal, *Orakei Report*, pp 77-78, 92, 96-97

[50] Waitangi Trubunal, *Orakei Report*, p 97

[51] Ella Arbury, 'A Healthy Home? Housing and Health in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland 1918-1949', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2019, p 56

Ōrākei residents had little incentive to maintain their homes because they were uncertain as to whether or not they would be able to remain on the land. Nia Hira explained to journalist Iris Wilkinson (aka Robyn Hyde) in 1937 that 'one could not expect the Maori people to put much heart into their homes until they knew that those shacks were their homes'. Hira said it was impossible for them to obtain facilities for proper sanitation, drainage, or lighting. The nearby road impeded drainage, as it had done for the previous 16 years.[52]

Ōrākei was a prime example of a Māori settlement being swamped by urban expansion. In this case, Crown actions led to a significant decline in the living conditions of the tribe and their papakāinga came to be seen as a blight on the urban landscape. In 1937, George Graham of the Akarana Māori Association wrote a letter to the *New Zealand Herald* on the longstanding lack of government action to improve housing at Ōrākei. 'Given security of residential tenure, sanitation, electric light and the other amenities of modern life, Orakei village and its dwellers could be transformed into a happy community — instead of being, as things stand, a reproach to the authorities responsible'.[53]

Central Government Housing Measures

The Crown tended to overlook the poor condition of much rural housing, as urban housing problems were much more visible. The problems were worsened by urban drift and the shift of the balance of population from the South to the North Island, which put increasingly pressure on Auckland and Wellington rents. Rising rents 'in turn, discouraged landlords from efforts to clear or improve areas of poor housing'.[54] Few regulations constrained the growth of urban slums and those regulations in place were rarely enforced by local authorities. Slum housing reinforced the anti-urban bias of the Liberal Government that came to power in 1890. 'Many Liberals saw large cities as an old-world evil that had no place in a colony whose main economic function was to provide food for Britain'.[55] Thus, the best way to deal with inner-city slum housing was to settle people in the country. The Lands for Settlements Act 1892 and the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894 were designed to help settle small farmers on land purchased from owners of large estates, and from Māori.

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[52] Robyn Hyde in *New Zealand Observer*, 8 July 1937, quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *Orakei Report*, p 109

[53] *New Zealand Herald*, 24 April 1937, p 17

[54] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori ' p 303

[55] Schrader, *We Call it Home*, p 20

The Liberals eventually realised that many did not want to become farmers and that some action was need on urban housing. In the late 1890s the Government therefore attempted a hybrid solution of settling workers in the country on the outskirts of cities. It purchased land for semi-rural 'hamlets' comprising sections of up to two acres to be leased for 'workmen's homes'. Settlers could access up to £50 of government loan money to help build a house and develop their allotments. But few urban workers wanted to live in the country, most did not want leasehold land, and transport into the city for work from the outskirts was limited and expensive. Some 600 families took up the workmen's home scheme. There is no evidence that any of them were Māori and the design of the scheme made this extremely unlikely.[56]

Workers Dwellings

At the turn of the twentieth century many preferred to rent rather than buy, as the relative advantage of purchase was less clear-cut than today, and renting provided the flexibility to move for employment.[57] With the limited success of the workman's home scheme, the Liberals considered the alternative of building houses to rent to workers. The rising cost of living made such a scheme more compelling, as even better-off workers often struggled to afford private rents despite the wage gains they had made through the Liberal's labour-market reforms.[58] Seddon introduced the Workers' Dwellings Bill in late 1905 and it had broad support across Parliament. One voice of dissent came from Northern Māori MP Hone Heke, who did not consider that Māori would benefit from the proposed scheme. 'I protest against the action of the Government in giving this consideration to the workers of the colony, and not considering the question of the landless Natives of the colony and making provision for them'.[59] No MP disputed Heke's assumption that the measure was aimed solely at providing homes for Pākehā families.

The Workers' Dwellings Act 1905 resulted in New Zealand's first state housing scheme. It empowered the Labour Department to construct houses, mainly in the suburbs, to rent to workers. The houses were to be of reasonable quality and the rents set on a cost-recovery basis as the target-market was better-off workers. The thinking, as it was in the Labour Government's later scheme of the 1930s, was that more housing stock would indirectly improve housing for

[56] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, pp 42-43

[57] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, p 47

[58] Schrader, *We Call it Home*, p 24, Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, pp 59-62,

[59] NZPD 17 Oct 1905, vol 135, p 793

slum dwellers by increasing the competition faced by landlords. '[B]y entering the housing market, the government would loosen the stranglehold exerted by private landlords, lowering housing costs for all'.[60] Some higher-income workers were excluded, however, as applicants had to be earning less than £156 per annum, a limit that was increased from time to time in subsequent legislation.[61]

The scheme was a failure. Just 126 worker's dwellings were built in or near the four main centres by 1910.[62] Quality houses could not be built as cheaply as the Government had hoped and rents were thus too high for most who met the income limit. The suburban setting of most of the houses was often inconvenient without adequate public transport.[63] A new Workers' Dwellings Act passed in 1910 provided for 21-year renewable leases in addition to weekly or monthly rentals, and also enabled workers to purchase the houses built under the scheme. In the latter case a deposit of just £10 was required, with repayments over 25.5 years at an interest rate of five percent per annum.[64] Shrader notes that most of the houses built under the 1910 Act were sold rather than rented.[65]

In 1919 the provisions of the Workers' Dwellings Act were subsumed into a new Housing Act. The Government shut down its housing construction scheme in 1923, by which time a total of 1076 dwellings had been built under the Workers' Dwellings Acts and the Housing Act. This was well short of the 5000 homes envisaged by Seddon in 1905.[66] In a relatively recent report, Terry Hearn was unable to locate evidence that any Māori were able to secure a home under the Workers' Dwellings Acts of 1905 and 1910.[67] As Hone Heke noted in Parliament in 1905 (quoted above), the Acts were clearly aimed at providing homes for Pākehā families. The housing needs of Māori were never considered in the proposals.

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[60] Schrader, *We Call it Home*, p 24

[61] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, pp 59-62

[62] Schrader, *We Call it Home*, pp 28-29

[63] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, pp 63-68; Schrader, *We Call it Home*, pp 26-27;

[64] Workers' Dwellings Act 1910, Sections 7 to 9 and First and Second Schedule

[65] Schrader, *We Call it Home*, p 29

[66] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, pp 63-64, 84, 86-87. Of the 1076 houses, 646 were built under the Workers' Dwellings Acts and the remaining 430 under the Housing Act 1919.

[67] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 308

This house on the corner of Elliot Street, Nelson, was one of 12 built in the street under the provisions of the Workers' Dwellings Act 1910.

Another source of government rental housing came from the Railways Department. As the North Island main trunk railway neared completion in the early 1900s, the department started building houses for railway workers in small towns that otherwise lacked accommodation. Demand expanded and in the 1920s the department began cutting prefabricated houses at a factory in Frankton to rent to its workers once relocated and assembled. When the factory closed in 1929 it had pre-cut some 1400 houses, nearly half for non-railways clients.

To take one example, the department planned to use Taihape as a service centre once the railway opened and began building houses there around 1904. By the time the line opened in 1909 Taihape had 23 railways houses. The town's population nearly doubled between 1906 and 1926 the Railways Department erected 25 pre-cut railways cottages from Frankton for additional workers. The Māori population of the town was recorded as just 25 in 1926 so it is unlikely that many were employed on the railways at that time.[68] Further research would be needed to determine how many Māori were housed in railways cottages in Taihape and elsewhere in the 1920s and 1930s. The numbers are likely to have been small.

[68] Christoffel, 'Education Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District', pp 286-288

Government Lending

Following the death of Premier Richard Seddon, his successor Joseph Ward promoted an alternative to the Government's rental housing schemes through the Government Advances to Workers Act 1906. The Act provided finance to erect dwellings on urban land, replicating the assistance already available to those wanting to purchase farms. Up to £350 could be borrowed for house-building at an interest rate of 4.5 percent per annum, well below market rates at the time.[69] A 25 percent deposit was required and term of the loan was 36.5 years. Loans were only available to 'workers' earning less than £200 per annum.[70]

In 1909, the Government Advances to Workers Act was subsumed into the New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Act. This Act was in turn repealed by the State Advances Act 1913, which set up the State Advances Office. The general features of the lending scheme remained the same under these latter Acts, although the upper loan limit was increased.

According to Hearn 'the Act did not deal with the housing needs of the poor or of Māori'.[71] Māori land that had been leased was acceptable security under the State Advances Act, but Māori freehold land was not.[72] The Act thus perpetuated the well-documented barriers faced by Māori wishing to use communally owned land as security. In short, banks would not lend for building on communally owned land as the land could not be taken in the event of mortgage default.

In addition, only 'workers' as defined in the Act were eligible for loans, and the definition excluded many Māori. The State Advances Act defined worker as 'a person employed in manual or clerical work, and who at the time of his application … is not in receipt of an income of more than two hundred pounds per annum, and *is not the owner of any land other than the land which he offers as security for the loan for which application is made*'.[73] As many Māori had interest in land, however small a share, the definition in the Act effectively excluded them from eligibility for loans. As noted earlier, the housing needs of Māori were never considered when the legislation was being drafted and debated.

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[69] Schrader, *We Call it Home*, p 28. The interest rate was 5 percent if payments were not made in time.

[70] Government Advances to Workers Act 1906, Sections 2-4

[71] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 309

[72] State Advances Act 1913, Section 32

[73] State Advances Act 1913, Section 56

Under the Workers' Dwellings Act 1910, workers had to buy a house built by the government. In contrast, the State Advances Act and its predecessors allowed workers to build a home where they could secure land. This flexibility made the scheme very popular, as borrowers could potentially build near their place of work.[74] Over 1000 loans a year were made under the scheme from 1908 to 1915 inclusive. The number of loans then slumped during World War One due to other priorities for manpower and materials.[75]

The conservative Reform government of William Massey came to power in 1912. The government vigorously pursued home ownership as its central housing policy. According to Miles Fairburn, the Government aimed to stem a rising tide of labour activism by turning workers into home-owning capitalists with a financial stake in the country.[76] In 1915 Parliament passed the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act, which was amended in 1917 so that returning soldiers could purchase homes with little or no deposit. By the end of March 1926, 16,811 loans were approved under the scheme. Of these, 71 percent were for homes in urban and suburban areas, including 7,535 for the purchase of existing homes and 4,420 for new builds.[77]

After the war, lending picked up under the State Advances Act, particularly after it was amended in 1923 to require only a five percent deposit for new dwellings.[78] The income limit for those seeking to borrow was increased to £300 plus an additional £25 for each dependent.[79] The State Advances Office made over 3000 new housing loans in 1924 and again in 1926.[80] The state became the largest mortgagee in the country.[81] The home ownership rate, first recorded in the 1916 census, rose nearly 10 percentage points to over 60 percent by 1926.[82] The availability of easy finance and the establishment of new suburbs serviced by cheap and

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[74] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, p 68

[75] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 310, Graph 5.5

[76] Miles Fairburn, 'The Farmers Take Over', in Keith Sinclair (ed), *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* (2nd edition), pp 206-209

[77] Terry Hearn, 'The economic rehabilitation of Māori military veterans', a report prepared for the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry, Wai 2500, A248, May 2018, p 231

[78] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 218.. For existing houses, the state would lend up to 95 percent of the value of the land under the 1923 amendment. The upper lending limit was £1250.

[79] State Advances Amendment Act 1923, Section 5

[80] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 310, Graph 5.5

[81] Fairburn, 'The Farmers Take Over', p 206

[82] Statistics New Zealand, *Housing in Aotearoa: 2020*, p 28

efficient public transport helped turn urban drift into an urban rush. As noted earlier, between 1911 and 1926 the proportion of the population living in towns and cities increased from 50 to 68 percent. Urban dwellers increasingly chose to take on mortgage debt rather than rent. In 1916, 20 percent of urban dwellings were owned with a mortgage. By 1926 the figure was 30 percent – a 50 percent increase in ten years.[83]

High lending rates continued, with over 4000 loans made in 1930. But lending then slumped with the onset of the depression and just a handful of loans were made in 1932 and 1933.[84] In the meantime many households were unable to meet their repayment obligations with rising unemployment and many lost their homes despite government mortgage relief measures.[85] By 1936 the home ownership rate had fallen to below 50 percent.[86]

In the debate on the 1923 Amendment to the State Advances Act, Eastern Māori member Apirana Ngata said it would be interesting to know what proportion of state advances money was lent to Māori.[87] As noted above, most Māori were effectively excluded from eligibility by their land holdings, however small. An answer to Ngata's question was not available until some years later. By March 1929, just 53 Māori had secured loans from the State Advances Office, making up just 0.2 percent out of a total of 25,268 loans. The average loan to these Māori borrowers was under £300.[88]

Hearn attempted to find out how many Māori returned servicemen who were able to access housing loans under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915, but with little success. No published information is available, requiring researchers to trawl through the records of regional Land Board minutes to find evidence of successful Māori applications. In 2009, Ashley Gould was able to identify just three Māori veterans who applied to the Wellington Land Board for housing loans, using surnames to identify Māori. Hearn notes that some Māori applicants may have had European surnames. In his own research of North Auckland Land

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[83] Figures calculated from *Population Census 1926, Volume XIII – Dwellings*, Wellington, 1931; and https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1916-census/Report%20on%20Results%20of%20Census%201916/1916-report-results-census%20.html#idsect1_1_104534 for 1916 Census figures on tenure.

[84] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 310, Graph 5.5

[85] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, pp 103-104

[86] Statistics New Zealand, *Housing in Aotearoa: 2020*, p 28

[87] NZPD, vol 200, 9 July 1923, p 826

[88] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 310. The average loan figure is calculated from Hearn's figures on total lending and loan numbers.

Board minutes Hearn identified just four Māori veterans (on the basis of surnames) who applied for loans to purchase existing houses in Auckland. All four applications were accepted and forwarded to the Minister of Lands for approval.[89]

Two other lending sources were available to Māori for housing, the Native Trustee and the Māori Land Boards. Hearn found an example of lending by the Ikaroa Māori Land Board for a semi-urban property in Plimmerton near Wellington, but the Government's view was that lending to Māori should be for farming purposes.[90] Despite the fact that one in six Māori lived in towns and cities by 1926, the view that Māori would remain a rural people for the foreseeable future remained entrenched for several decades.

The 1936 census recorded 352 Māori-owned dwellings located within the boundaries of towns and cities, but it is unlikely many of these houses were purchased using mortgage finance. The Māori census questionnaire used in the North Island asked only whether the property was owned or rented but not whether there was a mortgage on the property.[91] A quarter of these Māori-owned urban dwellings were in Rotorua and were thus mainly (or entirely) in the villages of Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa that became part of Rotorua Borough in 1922.[92] The 1936 census reported 10 Māori-owned dwellings in Wellington, presumably all purchased using mortgage finance.

Slum Housing

In the early decades of the twentieth century, 'slum' housing was regularly mentioned in the press. The rapidly growing city of Auckland was notorious for its slums. In 1900 the Liberal Government passed the Municipal Corporations Act, both to provide a more consistent framework for urban local authorities and to deal with public health and housing problems. The Act put in place a series of town planning controls and empowered local authorities to build houses for rent or sale. Local authorities were required to survey all houses within their districts, stipulate the maximum number of people who could sleep in each dwelling, and fine those who exceeded the requirements. New houses were required to have a certain amount of space around them, and roads were required to be a certain width. Councils were empowered

[89] Hearn, 'Māori Military Veterans', pp 232-233

[90] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', pp 321-323

[91] *Population Census 1926, Volume XIV: Maori and Half-Caste Population*, Wellington, 1929, pp 9-10

[92] Māori Census, 1936, p 43

to draw up by-laws specifying cubic space in living areas and to order the demolition of buildings judged 'unfit for occupation or dangerous to public health'.[93] According to Gael Ferguson, '[n]ot until 1936 would another government try and deal in such a comprehensive way with the housing problems of the main towns'.[94]

Despite Ferguson's assessment, the Act was of limited success. The provision allowing local authorities to build houses for rent was largely ineffective. When the Municipal Corporations Bill was being debated, one MP suggested that those involved in local councils often owned rental property and therefore had little incentive to push for council-owned housing that risked lowering rents. He may have been right, for no council built houses under the Act until 1913.[95] Landlords were often prominent people who held sway with councils. In 1903 the Chief Officer of Health for the Auckland district drew attention to this issue. 'Legal action was taken by the Council in regard to two houses owned by the occupiers, who were living in a deplorable condition, and these houses have now been removed. But in regard to blocks of premises owned by more influential persons the Council took no steps.' The officer did note, however that the council had ordered the removal of 23 other buildings.[96] The demolition provisions in the Act were therefore being followed to some extent.

Another area where councils tried to enforce the Act was with respect to boarding houses.[97] As outlined in Chapter 7, the 'Native hostelry' in New Plymouth was required to conform to specific standards before it opened in 1904. Māori meeting houses built in the twentieth century similarly had to conform to building standards laid down by local authorities.

Urban housing problems were exacerbated by the reduction in building activity during World War One. Housing became scarcer and rent controls introduced during the war were relatively easily circumvented. In 1919 the Board of Health drew attention to urban overcrowding, particularly in Auckland and Wellington.[98] That same year the Influenza Epidemic Commission stated that 'in all centres groups of houses, and in some places nearly whole

[93] Municipal Corporations Act 1900, section 349

[94] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, pp 51-52

[95] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, p 52

[96] AJHR 1903, H31, p 23

[97] Ferguson, *New Zealand Dream*, p 53

[98] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 311

streets, stand as a constant menace to public health'.[99] Despite the extra powers given to local councils, these problems persisted into the 1930s.

By the mid-1930s Māori were increasingly inhabiting inner-city rental housing. The 1936 census reported 112 Māori-occupied rental dwellings in Auckland. Onehunga (34), Rotorua (41), Whanganui (31), and Wellington (39) were the only other centres with more than 30 Māori rental dwellings. The remaining 436 urban Māori rental dwellings were spread across numerous small towns and cities, only four of which contained more than 20 such dwellings.[100]

Auckland therefore contained the largest concentration of Māori rental housing, yet until 1938 there seemed to be no mention in the press or official reports of Māori inhabiting inner-city urban slums. That year an Auckland City Council committee toured inner-city slum areas identified by a 1937 survey. The committee reported that 'a very large number' of Māori families occupied houses in an advanced state of decay 'They appeared to be in majority in such areas as Airdale Street, which was referred to as the Maori Pa, Baker Street, Riordan's Lane, and Killowen Place'.[101] The actual number of families involved was not stated.

Auckland Market Gardens

Although inner-city Māori housing attracted little attention until the mid-1930s, concern was expressed in the 1920s over Māori housing conditions on the urban periphery, where Māori increasingly sought work on small farms and in market gardens. Māori working in market gardens in the Horowhenua, Manawatu, and around Whanganui were able to live in their own houses nearby. In areas such as Pukekohe, however, Māori had lost their lands in the confiscations following the Waikato wars and therefore needed to find accommodation. The lack of suitable accommodation resulted in Māori living in sheds, huts, tents, and the like.[102] In April 1925 the Pukekohe Borough Council became concerned about the conditions under which Māori were living and requested a report from the district health inspector. His report was damning:

> I find that in the majority of cases the natives are living under the most deplorable of conditions. In most cases the houses or shacks are overcrowded, having no privy

[99] AJHR 1919, H31A, p 32

[100] Māori Census, 1936, p 43

[101] Quoted by William Bland, *Slums of Auckland*, Auckland, 1942, p 5

[102] Robert Bartholomew, *No Māori Allowed : New Zealand's forgotten history of racial segregation*, Auckland, 2020, pp 27-36

> accommodation, or sanitary conveniences, and no suitable water supply. The buildings are erected of old timber, old battered corrugated iron, sacking and sacks, benzine tins and cases. These shacks have no floors, are not weather-proof, and have no proper means of ventilation or lighting. In some cases the buildings are so bad that the natives have erected tents inside the shacks to make them waterproof. Some of the natives are living in sheds erected by the owners of the property on which they live, and pay a small rental for use of the building.

The inspector considered the various shed and 'shacks' violated the building bylaws and the Health Act 1920.[103] However no action was taken for some years despite concerns expressed on a regular basis. In 1929 Native Minister Apirana Ngata appointed a three-person committee (assisted by Edward Ellison, the Director of the Māori Hygiene Division) to report, among other things, on the 'housing and general health and sanitary conditions' for Māori working in urban market gardens. The committee members were Tukere Te Anga (Māori Welfare Officer for the Native Department), Dr Thomas Hughes (Auckland's Medical Officer of Health), and William Slaughter (officer in charge of the Labour Department's Auckland office).[104] The main focus of the committee's report was on Auckland (including Mangere) and on Pukekohe. Its findings were similar to those reported to the Pukekohe Borough Council four years earlier:

> At Pukekohe an attempt to provide accommodation has been made in certain instances on European and Chinese gardens, but the general run of the accommodation is totally unfit for human occupation. In other cases no accommodation has been provided, and the Maoris have provided themselves with shacks or tents made of old wood, old iron, or sacks stretched over rough framing. In these instances the accommodation was disgraceful — overcrowding is prevalent, and sanitary accommodation most primitive.
>
> The water-supply in many cases is limited, and no provision is made for baths. Sanitary fittings and drainage are non-existent or insanitary. Ventilation and lighting in some places are very bad. There is no provision for storage of food as a general rule. Cooking and storage of food are carried out in the same room which is also used for sleeping.[105]

In early 1931, health officials met with some 40 Pukekohe farmers to inform them of the minimum housing standards required. The farmers were told that building inspections were imminent. However, the threatened inspections were put on hold when Ngata indicated the

[103] *Franklin Times*, 24 June 1925, p 4

[104] Arbury, 'A Healthy Home?' p 59

[105] AJHR 1929, G11, p 3

Government was considering buying land in the district to build a Māori hostel.[106] (In 1929 the Pukekohe Chamber of Commerce called for the Native Department to erect a hostel in Pukekohe but Ngata then rejected the idea).[107] In the event no action was taken on the hostel proposal and the planned inspections were forgotten. Instead, Ngata asked Te Anga to revisit Pukekohe to see if housing conditions had improved. Te Anga concluded that, although Māori housing conditions were the same as before, they were no worse than those in the neighbouring Waikato District. He argued that, because Māori lived near Pākehā in Pukekohe, their housing conditions received more attention than those in more isolated districts.[108]

In August 1931 a reporter from the *Auckland Star* visited Mangere following reports of substandard housing there. The report noted that once Māori moved to the district their relatives soon followed once the breadwinner secured work.

> Two Maoris who had come from Cambridge asked permission to use as a 'shelter' an abandoned shed that had been used for housing rabbits. The weather was bitterly cold and boisterous, and as the natives explained that they had nowhere to go, Mr. Sainsbury gave his consent, and, in addition, he found them some work. Relatives soon made their appearance, and before long there were eleven Maoris quartered in the rabbit hutch, a structure approximately 20ft by 12ft, exposed to the weather, with a wire netting front which the natives patched up with sacking.[109]

The *Star* reported that conditions were even worse on a Chinese garden near Ihumatao, 'where 15 natives live in an abandoned milking shed, the cow bails being used as bedrooms. The shed is exposed to the weather, there are no sanitary arrangements, and, generally speaking, the living quarters, if they can be called such, are disgraceful'. However, the paper claimed that housing conditions had improved greatly in Mangere.

> The cases quoted as far as Chinese market gardens are concerned do not represent the prevailing conditions of the industry. They are the exceptions, much having been done recently to improve the conditions. At a number of gardens visited the accommodation is excellent. On one property the old and the new stand out in glaring contrast. The shack formerly used was not fit for human occupation and the Chinese pointed with pride to their

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[106] Bartholomew, *No Māori Allowed*, pp 38-39

[107] *Franklin Times*, 9 August 1929, p 4

[108] Arbury, 'A Healthy Home?' p 62

[109] *Auckland Star*, 12 August 1931, p 9. Arthur Sainsbury later denied the shed had ever been used to house rabbits - *Auckland Star*, 15 August 1931, p 10

> new cottage. The rooms are scrupulously clean and tidy, dozens of-new cottages are now in evidence and before long all the Chinese gardens will be similarly equipped, as the Health Department has been carrying out for some time a crusade against insanitary living quarters on the plantations.[110]

Despite the paper's optimism, further instances of substandard accommodation were soon uncovered by the Tamaki Māori Women's Welfare League (established in 1930) and by the Mangere District Council. Arthur Sainsbury in Mangere (referred to earlier) found himself in an impossible situation, as the Council issued an eviction notice for his guests who had nowhere to go and did not want to leave.[111]

In August 1931 an Auckland Hospital Board member drew attention to poor Māori housing conditions in Franklin, which he blamed for high rates of tuberculosis in the district.[112] When visiting Ihumatao that month, the *Auckland Star* reporter interviewed the kaumātua Herekotukutuku and his wife (unnamed), with Mere Newton from the Tamaki Māori Women's Welfare League interpreting. The couple said that the government had confiscated Māori land in the district, and it should provide Māori with homes in compensation.[113]

Newton had previously suggested a hostel for Māori in the district but officials and the government resisted providing any additional housing. Māori, they believed, should stay in their rural homes rather than move to urban districts. Thomas Hughes, in his capacity as Auckland's Medical Officer of Health, put this view very clearly: 'The only solution I see is for the Maoris to keep to their own homes and districts. They wander to Auckland from all parts of New Zealand, and their relatives follow, and they soon find that they are destitute.'[114] Ngata was likewise unhappy about local efforts to encourage the Native Department to construct housing for Māori in South Auckland, arguing that Māori who were new to the area should be encouraged to return to their tribal lands.[115]

Māori housing was also an issue in Onehunga Borough, near Auckland. In 1932 the Borough Council received complaints from residents that 'big families of natives were living in the

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[110] *Auckland Star*, 12 August 1931, p 9

[111] *Auckland Star*, 13 August 1931, p 7; 15 August p 10; 18 August, p 3; 20 August, p 6

[112] *Franklin Times*, 19 August 1931, p 5

[113] *Auckland Star*, 12 August 1931, p 9.

[114] *Auckland Star*, 8 August 1931, p 9

[115] Arbury, 'A Healthy Home?', p 62

district under unhygienic conditions'. Council staff believed that Māori came to Onehunga to seek employment under relief schemes. The Native Department considered it was undesirable to accentuate the attraction provided by market gardens and unemployment schemes by erecting accommodation for this 'casual population'.[116]

Māori housing problems on the outskirts of Auckland persisted, leading to renewed pressure for the establishment of a Māori hostel. In August 1934 the Coroner advocated a hostel for Pukekohe following his enquiry into the death of two infants.[117] In October Ngata finally took a proposal to Cabinet, which approved £500 for a hostel, contingent on the Māori Purposes Fund providing £500, the Pukekohe Borough Council £250 and the Franklin County Council £250.[118] There was considerable local disagreement with the proposal on the grounds that a hostel would encourage Māori to settle permanently in the district – an example of the racism that had become commonplace in Pukekohe.[119] The Franklin Council approved funding for the project in May 1936 but the hostel never eventuated.[120] Instead, in the early 1940s the Government built 11 houses for Māori workers in Pukekohe. The number needed was significantly higher than 11 and more were eventually provided.[121]

Summary

Few Māori lived in urban areas in the nineteenth century and their numbers reduced during the century in line with a falling Māori population. In the early twentieth century the Māori population increased and land loss continued. This made it difficult for Māori to survive in rural areas and some sought work in towns and cities where they sometimes lived in slum conditions. In some cases urban areas expanded to include Māori settlements, with Auckland city expanding to include Ngāti Whātua lands and their papakāinga at Ōrākei. Ngāti Whātua found themselves increasingly unwelcome in the growing city.

Pākehā too moved to urban areas in greater numbers, particularly in the 1920s. A major driver of urban growth was the expansion of low-deposit lending by the government for home

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[116] *Auckland Star*, 6 October 1932, p 8

[117] *Franklin Times*, 24 August 1934, p 5

[118] *New Zealand Herald*, 31 October 1934, p 12

[119] *New Zealand Herald*, 27 March 1935, p 15. In *No Maori Allowed*, Bartholomew outlines the discrimination suffered by Pukekohe Māori from the 1920s to the 1960s.

[120] *Franklin Times*, 29 May 1936, p 4 and 12 February 1937, p 4.

[121] Bartholomew, *No Māori Allowed*, pp 52-53, 65

ownership. Māori were largely excluded from eligibility from such lending and, to a lesser extent, from home lending to returned servicemen. The government also launched its first state housing scheme in 1906 but it was too small a scale to be of any benefit to Māori.

In 1900 Parliament legislated for a significant reform of urban local government. Local authorities were given expanded powers to deal with slum housing and some councils ordered the demolition of substandard housing as a result. However improvements came slowly, and local authorities and health officials appeared impotent to deal with the housing problems of urban Māori. The problems that came to public notice were almost entirely in the urban fringe areas where Māori had migrated for work, primarily in market gardens.

Chapter 7: Hostels, Boarding Schools, and Prisons

Introduction

This chapter is about Māori in short-term accommodation, namely hostels, boarding schools, and prisons. The hostels referred to here are those specifically established in towns and cities to provide overnight accommodation for Māori visitors. Māori boarding schools were first established in the 1840s and some remain today. Although some Māori were imprisoned for a year or more, on average prisoners were incarcerated for less than a year, so this topic has been included as short-term accommodation.

Hostels

Although few Māori lived in urban areas in the nineteenth century they were regular visitors to towns and cities. Initially such visits were primarily for trade, as early Pākehā settlers relied on Māori for food – a reliance that continued into the 1850s. Over time Māori increasingly visited for other purposes, such as government business and Native Land Court sittings. These temporary visitors required overnight accommodation, which was often in short supply. More importantly, hotel and boarding house operators commonly refused to accept Māori guests; it was not, at the time, considered a government role to interfere with such behaviour by private business. Māori traders were regularly forced to camp on beaches and elsewhere, regardless of the weather.

This situation provoked a rare instance of early government interference in the housing market by establishing 'Native hostelries', as they were commonly called, throughout the country. Research for this report has found there were hostels in Waimate North, Helensville, Auckland, Onehunga, Frankton, Tuakau, Pukekohe, Raglan, Tauranga, New Plymouth, Wanganui, Napier, Wellington, Picton, Havelock, Nelson, Lyttelton, Dunedin, and Bluff. Some of these hostels were established as a central government initiative while others were initiated by local and provincial governments, by officials accessing government funding, or by Māori fundraising efforts. Some stayed open for just a few years but others lasted for decades (or a century in the case of the Auckland and Nelson hostels). It was only when a Native hostelry was proposed for New Plymouth around 1900 that a major reason for the need for these facilities – racial discrimination – was openly discussed. This section outlines some of the main hostels established.

Nelson

Bishop Selwyn, a trustee of Nelson's Native reserves, was the first to take action on the Māori need for short-term accommodation. Visiting Māori traders needed a base, so in 1842 Selwyn ordered a hostelry be built on one of the reserves at Matangi Awhio (Auckland Point). The hostel consisted of several European-styled brick cottages to accommodate different tribal groups and also acted as a market place. It was funded by endowments.[1]

As Nelson grew, the Matangi Awhio complex became a local government responsibility. From the 1860s it doubled as a de facto Māori hospital as an overflow from the main Nelson Hospital. The complex was demolished in 1888 and replaced with a new five-room house with a live-in custodian. Visitors could stay for a week at a time.

The hostel was still operating in 1919, when a government report described the hostel building as being 'in very good order' with hot and cold running water. It still doubled as a hospital overflow, with the report noting that the hostel had only one patient bed, with other patients having to sleep on mattresses on the floor. In 1924, the government alienated the Matangi Awhio reserve land for the Auckland Point Primary School, which still occupies the site. The hostel was later taken over by the Health Department, which continued to operate it until 1949.[2]

Auckland

During the 1840s Auckland settlers lobbied the government to provide a Māori hostel. In 1848 the *Daily Southern Cross* noted that the recent heavy rains and 'the large number of native visitors, have again brought the subject of Native Hostelries before us'. The paper advocated that the hostel should be paid for by government, given 'the large amount of taxation which is so unfairly wrung from the natives'.[3] The government duly built a hostel to provide free accommodation for Māori, which opened in February 1850 on Native reserve land at Beach Road, Mechanics Bay. The *New Zealander* newspaper greeted the opening as long overdue.

> Its leading benefit will be the provision of a dry, secure, and well ordered lodging-place for those whom we have hitherto been so constantly distressed by seeing huddled together — the

[1] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, p 191

[2] Ben Schrader, 'Native Hostelries in New Zealand's Colonial Cities', *Journal of New Zealand Studies* NS25 (2017), pp 27-28

[3] *Daily Southern Cross*, 9 September 1848, p 3

> very personification of neglected wretchedness — lying in their blankets, at night, through all weathers, in the corners of the streets or on the beach, or in miserable hovels which it would be a mockery to call a shelter, and in which a careful and humane farmer would be unwilling to keep his cattle.

The paper approved of the 'attention to cleanliness and ventilation' of the regulations governing the hostel, one of which stated: 'Dirt being one of the greatest promoters of sickness, it is expected that these regulations, which are framed for the comfort and convenience of the natives, will be strictly enforced by the Chiefs who may be present'.[4] In 1851, the government secured the institution's future by setting aside reserve lands as an endowment for its benefit. Māori called the hostel Waipapa after the bay in which it was located. The bay was a popular landing point and the hostel also served as a market place.

Despite the hostel's regulations, by 1852 Māori were complaining to Native Secretary Charles Nugent that the hostel was cold in winter due to a ban on fires, was rife with vermin, that the dirt floor was impossible to keep clean, and the lack of partitions meant tribes could not be kept apart.[5] The situation had not changed by 1856 when a board appointed 'to enquire into and report upon the state of Native affairs' at the hostel:

> The accommodation for natives visiting Auckland is very defective. The Hostelry is kept in a very filthy state and is very unpopular with them. So much so, that however inclement the weather, they prefer camping along the narrow strip of sandy beach, between the roadway in Mechanics' Bay, and high water mark. The Board would recommend that the Hostelry be divided into four compartments, with brick fireplaces in each, and floored with boards throughout.[6]

The Board's recommendations were put into effect and Waipapa was regularly used in subsequent decades.[7] A new 'Māori market' opened at the bottom of Queen Street in 1868, and this helped relieve the overcrowding around the hostel.[8] Although it is not mentioned in Schrader's accounts, it seems likely that the wars of the 1860s deterred Māori visitors to Auckland.

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[4] *New Zealander*, 27 February 1850, p 2

[5] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 192-195

[6] AJHR 1856, B3, pp 12-13

[7] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, p 195

[8] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', p 28

In 1885, the Crown vested the land on which Waipapa stood in the Public Trustee.[9] The Trustee proved to be a poor custodian. By 1890 the hostel had deteriorated greatly due to lack of regular maintenance and in 1894 a newspaper described the building as being 'in a somewhat dilapidated condition'. Furthermore 'the hostelry is often made use of for a night's shelter by street loafers and others who cannot afford to pay for a bed'.[10] An 1895 inspection found that the foundations were rotten, the joists and shingle roof needed renewing, and the whole place was 'tumbling over'.[11] Some remedial work was carried out in 1898, but in 1901 the Public Trustee admitted that the house was 'dilapidated'. It replaced the long-standing custodian of the hostel, Mrs Devally, who appears to have neglected her duties, including allowing one resident, 'Big Billy' Matthews, to stay long-term. The new custodian, James Thorpe, evicted Matthews after numerous Māori complaints about his behaviour.

In 1903 the original hostel was demolished and replaced by a ten-roomed brick building. The Public Trustee's district agent, E. F. Warren, noted that building had several large rooms 'where the Natives belonging to different tribes can live together and cook for themselves'. There were also smaller rooms where women with children could stay. Large verandas provided a place 'under which the Natives can squat protected from the heat in summer, and the rain in winter'. The building included lockers and shelving for food storage and a separate ablution block with Water Closets (WCs). Retimana Poraumati of the Native Land Court and his wife (name unknown) were appointed to replace Thorpe as custodians. Perhaps because of the earlier mismanagement under Devally, Poroumati was instructed to keep the place clean, allow no intoxicants, prohibit 'European loafers', prevent damage to the building, and enforce temporary stays.

Problems soon emerged. Some of the chimneys smoked and visitors were reluctant to use the WC's, some of which became damaged. However, these issues were quickly dealt with, and a regular maintenance regime instituted.[12] Warren reported that several thousand Māori used the hostelry each year, with up to 100 visitors staying at one time. He requested that a separate whare kai be built, as the seafood favoured by Māori attracted flies in their 'countless millions'.

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[9] *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July 1916, p 1

[10] *Thames Advertiser*, 24 April 1894, p 2

[11] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', p 28

[12] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', pp 28-31

The new facility was built, including a separate kitchen and dining room, and food was banned from the sleeping quarters in keeping with Māori custom.[13]

When a fleet of 16 American naval ships spent a week in Auckland in 1908, around 300 Māori stayed at the hostel, some of whom manned war canoes to greet the fleet.[14] In 1916, many Māori stayed in Auckland during the long trial of Rua Kenana. Elsie Morton, writing in the *New Zealand Herald*, noted that about 60 of 'his kin' resided at the hostelry for many weeks at a time. In addition 'many of Rua's followers and friends have patronised up-to-date boardinghouses and hotels', suggesting that the earlier prejudice against Māori guests had diminished.

Morton was impressed with the hostel's cooking and washing facilities but not with the poor lighting and unfurnished rooms (visitors presumably had to provide their own bedding). Morton wrote that some visitors came to town for business and others for pleasure, with numbers increasing in summer. They came from across Auckland province, ranging from 'old folk from far off pa or village who can hardly speak or understand English' to 'young men and women well versed on pakeha ways'.[15]

With the rise of the Rātana movement in the 1920s, Waipapa became a stopping point for Māori travelling between Rātana pā, near Whanganui, and Northland. By the late 1930s, up to 3,000 Māori stayed each year.[16] In 1944 an *Auckland Star* journalist was impressed with the hostel, which was then undergoing further renovations:

> The hostelry comprises ten large bedrooms, some of which are provided with fireplaces, a commodious kitchen and bathrooms. Formerly visitors used to sleep on mattresses spread out on the floor, but now bedsteads of the latest pattern are provided, with sheets and pillow slips. The rooms are kept scrupulously clean. A panuitanga on a notice board at the entrance to the hostelry informs visitors of what is required of them during their residence there. Thus Waipapa, with its communal kitchen and its courtyard, preserves for the Māori, amid the

[13] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', pp 29-31

[14] *Dominion*, 15 August 1908, p 5, *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July 1916, p 1. The US fleet spend some 15 months travelling the world visiting Pacific ports in order to show off growing American naval power.

[15] *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July 1916, p 1

[16] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', p 34

> bustling scenes of the modern city, something of his ancient associations and enables him to meet others of his race in traditional manner.[17]

According to Ben Schrader, '[i]n providing space for the pursuit of tikanga within cities, Waipapa and its fellow Native hostelries were arguably the first urban marae—usually seen as a mid twentieth-century initiative'. In 1955, however, the *New Zealand Herald* described Waipapa as a 'blot on the face of Auckland' and a social worker called it a 'dungeon'. According to the paper a wood-fired coal range was the only cooking facility and some rooms had no furniture so guests slept on mattresses on the floor. The place created 'a bad impression of city life and the provisions made for Maoris in Auckland'. By 1960 the need for the hostel was declining as other hostels were by then available and many Māori families were moving to the city, providing a source of temporary accommodation for whānau. The building was demolished in 1966 for a proposed motorway ramp that was never built.[18]

Wellington

In 1856, the colonial government approved £500 for a Native hostelry in Wellington. The hostel was built at the northern end of Molesworth Street on a site that had been part of the original Wellington Tenths but then alienated under the 1847 McCleverty settlement under which the Crown allocated lands for Māori in the Wellington area. The site appears to have been vested in the trustees of Wellington hospital to whom the government paid an annual rent.[19]

According to Schrader, the hostel had 16 rooms and featured a wide veranda which 'might have been an attempt to provide Māori with a semi-outdoor space for them to sit and socialise on, in the manner of a paepae (the threshold of a meeting house)'. One account tells of Māori sitting on the veranda in groups 'weaving mats, making kits, or polishing taiahas, while a pot of savoury kai was simmering nearby.' Little is known about the interior of the building, although photographs show it had chimneys in each wing, indicative of fireplaces and/or indoor cooking facilities. The hostel had a live-in custodian to ensure guests were well behaved and

[17] *Auckland Star*, 29 September 1944, p 3

[18] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', p 34

[19] *Evening Star*, 15 December 1879, p 2

the building kept in good order. The hostel did not appear to double as a market place, 'probably due to its distance from shoreline landing places'.[20]

The hostel lasted some 24 years but its fate was sealed when John Bryce became Minister of Native Affairs following the 1879 General Election.[21] Before the election Bryce and others on the Native Expenditure Committee criticised the cost of leasing the hostel from the trustees of Wellington Hospital, to the approval of the *Evening Star* newspaper. 'This establishment costs £2,000 a-year—is neither more nor less than a free hotel for any Maoris who choose to come to Wellington'.[22] Bryce closed the hostel in early 1880 and the building temporarily housed the Native Department.[23] In 1883 the building reverted to the trustees of the Wellington hospital reserve and was eventually demolished, and the site sold for private housing.[24]

The demolition of the building came at a time when increasing numbers of Māori were visiting Wellington as the seat of government. In 1908, Waitotara chief Wiremu Kauika visited Native Minister James Carroll to request a new hostel. He claimed that Te Heu Heu Tikino had 'given up his own room to his native friends who could not find lodgings, because he was well-known and could get accommodation elsewhere'. Carroll responded that there was plenty of accommodation in Wellington for visitors.[25]

In July 1908, hundreds attended the Māori Association conference in Wellington. The *Dominion* reported that the local committee 'has been very busy making arrangements for their accommodation**,** and thanks are expressed to citizens of Wellington who have welcomed members of the school parties, in particular, to their homes'.[26] In August, however, the organisation's secretary, Charlie Parata, told the *Dominion* it was 'extremely difficult to find lodging for Maoris in Wellington**.** Natives visiting the city have been compelled to camp out all night at the railway stations, and Mr Parata has taken as many as six Natives to his own house, because they could not obtain admission to hotels'. At the conclusion of the conference

[20] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', p 22

[21] Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john (accessed 4 November 2021)

[22] *Evening Star*, 15 December 1879, p 2

[23] *New Zealand Times*, 8 March 1880, p 2

[24] *Evening Post*, 3 November 1883, p 2; Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', p 26

[25] *Dominion*, 17 March 1908, p 10

[26] *Dominion*, 14 July 1908, p 6

some 50 prominent Māori signed a petition to Native Minister Carroll requesting a hostel for Māori visitors…

> …and also to provide accommodation for Maori councillors under the Maori Councils Act, and members of the Maori Association, the Te Aute Association; and the Maori Women's Association, who assemble here annually in congress. We have found by actual experience that the majority of Natives cannot find accommodation in Wellington. It is very difficult indeed to get private hotels and boardinghouses to receive Maoris, and the matter is becoming so serious that the Government should deal with it without delay.[27]

Nothing was done and Māori continued to call for a new hostel in Wellington well into the 1930s.[28]

Dunedin and Christchurch

Attempts to establish Māori hostels in the main South Island cities had only fleeting success. In 1854, the Ngāi Tahu chief Pōtiki and 106 others petitioned the Otago provincial superintendent William Cargill to build a place of shelter for their use on the Dunedin foreshore out of funds set aside for Native purposes.[29] In 1855 the provincial council voted to erect a building 'for the comfortable lodging of the natives in their visits to Dunedin' but Cargill took no action. In 1857 the *Otago Colonist* lamented that Māori women continued to spend nights 'huddled and shivering upon the open beach, with the thermometer below freezing point, exposed to the rain and snow.' In 1858, the Colonial Treasurer Christopher Richmond stepped in and eventually negotiated a site for the proposed hostel, whose administration remained in the hands of the provincial government.[30]

The Māori hostel on Princes Street opened in February 1860. It was in colonial style with a corrugated iron roof and wooden floors and consisted of two rooms - a communal sleeping area and a storehouse. Unlike the Auckland hostel, it had furnishings including four tiers of bunks, a fireplace with a large hearth for cooking, and a table and two benches.[31] It was a popular market place, particularly for seafood,

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[27] *Dominion*, 15 August 1908, p 5

[28] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', p 27

[29] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, p 197

[30] Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report*, vol 2, pp 354-355

[31] Schrader, *The Big Smoke*, pp 197-198

The hostel lasted only five years. In 1863 the clerk of the Dunedin Town Board reported that street-widening earthworks resulted in the building being almost buried and 'altogether unfit for occupation'. He recommended its removal or renovation. In 1865, the Otago Executive Council agreed to remove the building for re-erection elsewhere. The hostel was removed and never re-erected.[32]

On 12 December 1860, ten months after the opening of the Dunedin hostel, tribal representatives from Kaiapoi, Rāpaki and Port Levy petitioned Canterbury's Provincial Council to build a Native hostelry in Christchurch. Two weeks later a motion in the Council to build such a hostel was lost by two votes. In 1865 a native hostel opened in Lyttelton's Dampier Bay, but the building was moved in 1878 to become part of the town's orphanage.[33]

Napier

In June 1859, the Hawkes Bay Provincial Council voted £50 (later increased to £150) 'for the purpose of erecting a native hostelry upon the government reserve, Napier'**.** As reported in a local newspaper, the member proposing the motion stated that 'numerous cases of hardship' had occurred when Māori had no place to stay when called to Napier on Government business. 'A case in point had occurred the previous day. A party of natives had arrived from Porangahau, having been sent for by Mr. McLean, and had been unable to obtain any shelter. In consequence, they had bitterly complained to the Commissioner.'[34]

The Provincial Council called for tenders and the hostel opened in 1860.[35] By August 1861, one newspaper correspondent complained that the hostel was 'rarely if ever used for the purpose intended'. The writer suggested that instead there should be a police lockup to deal with the alleged frequent outbursts of disorder on 'the spit'.[36] In 1862 the Provincial Council appropriated £50 for 'Fitting Native Hostelry into a Lock-up and as a Station for the Police'.[37] The outbreak of warfare in the 1860s may have affected Māori inclination to visit towns as it did elsewhere in the North Island.

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[32] Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report*, vol 2, pp 356-357

[33] Schrader, 'Native Hostelries', pp 25-26

[34] *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 4 June 1859, p 3; 14 June 1859, p 1

[35] *Wellington Independent*, 12 July 1859, p 3

[36] *Hawke's Bay Times*, 22 August 1861, p 3

[37] *Hawke's Bay Herald*,18 March 1862, p 3

The history of the Napier hostel thereafter becomes murky. In 1876 the government took over the site and building and began using it again for its original purpose. By 1889 the government decided the hostel was no longer needed and tried to sell it. However, the Crown could not sell the site as it had accidently been vested in the Commissioner of Native Reserves, Charles Heaphy, instead of in the Crown. Heaphy died in 1881. Parliament therefore passed an Act vesting the land in the Crown and empowering the government to sell some or all of the land, with the proceeds to be used to purchase another suitable site for a Native hostel in the Hawkes Bay.[38] No evidence has been found in researching this report that another hostel ever opened in the district.

Helensville

In 1866, Magistrate and Native Land Court Judge John Rogan had a 'native hostelry' built beside the Helensville courthouse. Rogan appears to have accessed government funding to help facilitate land court sittings. The Kaipara Tribunal notes that the hostel was very basic and subject to complaints of cold so Rogan requested funds for a fireplace and chimney. However, the structure was not maintained and by the 1880s it was reported to be in a 'disgraceful' state, was used only by 'tramps', and was a fire hazard. It was eventually demolished in 1896. Three years later a Ngāti Whātua delegation complained to the Native Minister about lack of accommodation in Helensville. This led to a recommendation that a disused police house, which was in need of repair, be made available for visiting Māori. The Kaipara Tribunal was unable to discover what became of this recommendation.[39]

Onehunga

In 1852, the Crown set aside two acres of land for a Māori hostel in Onehunga.[40] The government erected a hostel there in 1854 although it appears to have been used in part for public meetings.[41] Māori use of the hostel dried up during the Waikato war of the 1860s, but in 1873 the Commissioner of Native Reserves noted that Waikato Māori were again bringing their produce for sale at Onehunga. They requested the hostel be repaired and this was done at

[38] NZPD vol 75, 6 July 1892, p 276; Napier Native Hostelry Site Sale Act 1892

[39] Waitangi Trubunal, *Kaipara Report*, 2006, p 209

[40] *Daily Southern Cross*, 9 March 1852, p 2

[41] *New Zealander*, 7 October 1854, p 3

a cost of £59.[42] In 1874 the government put a custodian in charge, installed a chimney, and made other improvements because '[t]he Waikatos are again making use of this place'.[43]

It is unclear what happened over the next decade or so, but it appears that the hostel fell into disuse again and the land was leased. As a result, in July 1892 the *New Zealand Herald* reported that 'the Mangere natives are unduly burdened by providing hospitality for strangers' and requested that the hostel at Onehunga be reinstated. The hostel could not be sited on the reserve, which was leased out, so Native Minister Cadman undertook to find another site. The accrued rents from the lease, then in the hands of the Public Trustee, would then pay for a new building.[44] Cadman visited Onehunga in May 1892, accompanied by Tawhiao (the Māori King), 'in order to select a site for a native hostelry'**.**[45] It appears this came to nothing, for nearly a decade later Northern Māori MP Hone Heke asked Native Minister Carroll to consider erecting a hostelry in Onehunga.[46] No evidence was found in research for this report that a new hostel ever opened.

New Plymouth

In the early twentieth century there was much lobbying for a Native hostelry in New Plymouth. In 1901 the *Taranaki Daily News* observed that 'Maoris coming into town by the late trains or to meet the early trains and steamers find, we are told, an increasing difficulty in securing lodgings'.[47] The following March the newspaper observed that additional pressure resulted from the growing number of Māori coming to town for Native Land Court sittings.[48] In October 1902, Native Minister James Carroll announced in Parliament that the Government intended to establish a Native hostelry in New Plymouth. Carroll was blunt about the reasons why:

> The hotelkeepers for some reason would not take the Natives in, if only for a night, and they had to look round and get accommodation where best they could. These hotelkeepers were only too glad to take the Maoris' money over the counter, and fill them up with indifferent liquor; but when they asked for board and lodging it was denied them. It was a matter that

[42] *New Zealand Mail*, 19 July 1873, p 7

[43] AJHR 1874, G5, p 1

[44] *New Zealand Herald*, 27 April 1892, p 4

[45] *Auckland Star*, 14 May 1892, p 1

[46] NZPD 4 October 1901, vol 117, p 237

[47] *Taranaki Daily News*, 27 February 1901, p 2

[48] *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 March 1902, p 2

> required to be looked into, for a racial prejudice of that kind should not be tolerated in a country like this.[49]

Carroll's words provoked discussion, with the *Manawatu Times* drawing parallels with the United States:

> It is a fact, known the wide world over, that no person who has the slightest suspicion of black blood in his veins, can obtain entrance to any hotel or boarding house in certain parts of the States. No matter how well educated or respectable they may be, their colour bars them, and in a lesser degree the same thing is beginning to apply in New Zealand. We have it on the authority of the Hon. James Carroll, who must be presumed to know something about the subject, that the natives in travelling up and down these islands are beginning to find considerable difficulty in getting accommodation in some of the chief centres. A prejudice is arising in the minds of the hotelkeepers, who are perhaps only too glad to take the money of the natives over the bar, but who refuse to accept it for a night's lodging for fear that it might damage their trade.

The writer seemed under the naïve impression that such discrimination was new and appeared unaware that the Māori hostel then being built in Auckland was replacing one that had been there since 1850. Unusually, the *Manawatu Times* suggested a possible option for the government might be to impose a legal obligation on hotel keepers rather than providing accommodation itself. 'Evidently the "colour" question has assumed considerable proportions, otherwise the Government would not have deemed the steps they are taking to be necessary, but whether they do it themselves or insist upon the licensed houses doing it, they are bound to see that at a least some sort of accommodation is provided for the natives when their business takes them from one part of the colony to another'.[50]

In May 1904, prominent Māori cleric Frederick Bennett called for a Māori hostel in New Plymouth to circumvent discrimination. Bennett was based near the town and his speech was reported in the *Taranaki Herald*.

> He instanced the case of two Maori young women, respectable people, who arrived here by a late steamer, and although they tried hard they could not get lodgings in New Plymouth, but were refused, and they had to walk along the railway line in drenching rain after midnight, and arrived at his place at Bell Block, drenched to the skin, at 6 a.m. It was cases like this

[49] NZPD 4 October 1901, vol 117, p 237

[50] *Manawatu Times*, 2 November 1901, p 2

> that created a feeling of resentment among the Maoris, and also justified the erection of the native house here.[51]

In July 1904 the *Hawera & Normanby Star* reported a proposal to establish a Māori hostel in Hawera. The newspaper noted that '[i]nstances have occurred of Maoris of perfect cleanliness and respectability being refused hotel accommodation'.[52] The following month the *Taranaki Daily News* reported that the 'native hostelry' in New Plymouth's Morley Street was nearing completion. 'The various alterations and improvements suggested by Dr McCleland, local Native Health Officer, have been carried out, and the sanitary arrangements are now up-to-date and suitable for such an institution.' The paper approved of the septic tank, baths with hot and cold running water, good ventilation, and 'good kitchen arrangements'.[53] When the hostel opened in late 1904 it was one of the largest in the country. It was still operating in 1946.[54] As with the Wellington hostel, the New Plymouth hostel was funded by central government rather than by endowments from Native reserves.

Tuakau

In the late 1920s, Te Puea Hērangi initiated fundraising efforts to establish a Māori hostel in Tuakau, a northern Waikato town near Pukekohe. By March 1928, £100 had been collected and Edward Matete offered to donate suitable land. The chairman of the Tuakau Town Board asked visiting government Ministers for financial assistance with the project, pointing out that 'accommodation at the hotel and boarding houses was limited, and there were times when the natives had no place to sleep'.[55] The Ministers were luke-warm about the project, but Te Puea continued to organise fundraising concerts in subsequent months.[56]

By August 1929 local Māori had raised £350 for the project and the Native Department agreed to a £250 subsidy following a joint request with the town board.[57] Te Puea laid the foundation stone for the building the following month.[58] Ngata officially opened the hostel in April 1930

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[51] *Taranaki Herald*, 12 May 1904, p 3

[52] *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 28 July 1904, p 2

[53] *Taranaki Daily News*, 15 August 1904, p 2

[54] AJHR 1946, G9, p 4. I have been unable to determine when the New Plymouth hostel closed.

[55] *Sun* (Auckland), 10 September 1927, Page 17; *Franklin Times*, 23 March 1928, p 5

[56] *Franklin Times*, 24 December 1928, p 4

[57] *Franklin Times*, 9 August 1929, p 4; *Auckland Star*, 26 September 1929, p 11

[58] *Auckland Star*, 26 September 1929, p 11

'in the presence of a large gathering of natives and Europeans, several hundred in all'. The *New Zealand Herald* was impressed with the facilities:

> The hostel includes a very large living room and three large bedrooms, with a detached kitchen. Modern facilities, including a water supply laid on from a bore on the site, are provided. The grounds have been laid out in paths, and the courtyard has been concreted. The spare ground has been ploughed and worked preparatory to being laid down in lawns, which are to be set off by ornamental trees.[59]

According to the *Franklin Times*, the Native Department was willing to provide funding because 'by reason of transport difficulties, a hostel was greatly needed in that locality for the accommodation of patients who came from settlements near the mouth of the Waikato river to receive medical treatment'.[60] Edward Ellison, Director of Māori Hygiene, said the hostel was not to be regarded as a hospital, but as a rest or 'half-way' house.[61] The hostel was used for a variety of purposes and hosted several grand wedding events.[62]

Boarding Schools

Background

In the 1840s and 1850s the Anglican, Wesleyan, and Catholic missions established boarding schools for Māori, primarily to teach them English. These supplemented the day schools near mission stations that had been running for some years. From 1847 the government began subsidising church boarding schools and from 1858 the subsidies were provided on a per pupil basis.[63] By 1860 the churches operated 12 boarding schools housing several hundred students, including some adults.[64]

Ten of the schools were in the Auckland and Waikato districts and were significantly affected by the rise of the King movement and the warfare of the 1860s. Some schools had to close while the attendance at others dwindled.[65] The government began building Native schools in the 1870s, greatly reducing the need for church-run schools. By the mid-1880s just four

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[59] *New Zealand Herald*, 8 April 1930, p 9

[60] *Franklin Times*, 9 August 1929, p 4; *Auckland Star*, 26 September 1929, p 11

[61] *Auckland Star*, 30 September 1929, p 10

[62] *New Zealand Herald*, 26 December 1931, p 10

[63] Paul Christoffel, 'The Provision of Education Services to Maori in Te Rohe Potae', Wai 898, A27, 2011, pp 14-16

[64] AJHR 1860, E8

[65] Christoffel, 'Education Services to Maori in Te Rohe Potae', pp 19-20, 47-52

boarding schools remained. One of the remaining schools, St Stephen's, was in Auckland, while the other three – Te Aute, Hukarere, and St Josephs - were in the Hawkes Bay. The four schools had 141 boarders between them in 1887.[66]

In the 1880s the government moved to a system of providing boarding scholarships to the more able Native School pupils rather than per capita grants to the schools. This, along with the rise of the native school system, encouraged the schools to shift their emphasis more towards secondary schooling. This movement was started by John Thorton, who became principle of Te Aute College in 1876.[67]

In the early twentieth century the government increased the number and value of Māori boarding scholarships, raising demand for secondary schooling. New Māori boarding schools opened as whānau increasingly sought further education for their children. The ongoing growth of the primary school system and a growing Māori population further fuelled demand. In 1900, the four Māori boarding schools had 213 pupils between them. By 1916 there were 10 boarding schools and pupil numbers had more than doubled to 458. In addition, three mission schools provided primary schooling to 120 pupils, some of whom were boarders.[68]

Boarding school pupil numbers reached 536 in 1926 and stayed at that level until 1930. However, numbers fell dramatically during the depression, reaching a low of 241 in 1933. In 1934 the Education Department noted that the schools were seriously handicapped by depleted roll numbers 'due to the Maori parents' financial inability to assist their children'. In addition, more Māori pupils were able to access free secondary schooling from the late 1920s, as transport links improved and the secondary school system expanded into more remote districts.[69] An additional factor in the falling school rolls in the early 1930s was that the government reduced the number and value of boarding scholarships available as a depression austerity measure.[70] Although 10 Māori boarding schools remained open in 1934, some had tiny rolls. Wesley College, a boys' school in Paerata near Pukekohe, had just 14 pupils. Of the

[66] AJHR 1888, E2, pp 1, 8

[67] Christoffel, 'Education, Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District', p 112

[68] AJHR 1917, E3, p 20; Christoffel, 'Education Services to Māori in Te Rohe Potae', p 154

[69] AJHR 1934, E3, p 8; AJHR 1934, E3, p 6; Christoffel, 'Education Services to Māori in Te Rohe Potae', p 154

[70] AJHR 1933, E3, p 5

girls' schools, Te Waiponamu in Christchurch had 13 pupils and St Joseph's roll had dropped to 18.[71]

Boarding Accommodation in 1860

Because the government subsidised Māori boarding schools, they were subject to regular inspection from the 1850s. In 1859 and 1860 inspectors visited all 12 boarding schools. Their reports included comments on the quality of accommodation provided, and along with the food and clothing provided to the students.

The largest school at the time was Kohanga in the Waikato, run by the Anglican Church. When inspected in 1860 it had 89 students including 13 adults, 40 boys and 36 girls. Four married couples were housed in separate buildings along with their children. The accommodation for most of the other children was basic, with 10 boys and 17 girls sleeping on floors in large dormitories. The 16 youngest boys slept in the assistant matron's room, which was described as 'overcrowded'. The remaining 33 pupils slept on beds. The bedding supplied in the dormitories was described as 'scanty'. On the plus side the pupils were 'well fed', having potatoes and other vegetables 'with meat very often' for dinner. As in other schools they were provided with clothing.[72]

The Anglican mission also ran a large school at Otawhau, also in the Waikato. It had 86 pupils on the role, equally divided between male and female, including two 'Europeans'. Some of the pupils were adults, although the inspector did not state how many. All the girls slept in a wing of the mission house that the inspector did not consider sufficiently ventilated and had only 16 beds. The boy's dormitory, about half a mile from the school, had only nine beds with mattresses for 26 boys, who otherwise needed to supply their own bedding. The inspector's report stated that the dormitory 'is badly lighted and ventilated' and 'the whole building stands in need of repair'. The remaining boys lived in the houses of the teachers, who were Māori. The children were described as 'ill clad', and the inspectors were unimpressed with the meals supplied. They considered that the boys spent too much time working on the school farm.[73]

Three Kings in Auckland was also a large school, established by the Wesleyan mission to help train Māori as teachers. In 1859 the school housed 44 Māori boys, 16 girls, and two 'English

[71] AJHR 1935, E3, p 9

[72] AJHR 1860, E 8, p 12

[73] AJHR 1860, E8, pp 13-14

orphans', along with 12 adults pupils who acted as 'monitors' to supervise the children. The four married couples had their own 'comfortable' apartments in a stone building, but it was unclear where the other adults slept. The children were housed in boys and girls dorms, with the girls dorm described as 'crowded' with two or more girls per double bed. The boys dormitories were described as 'large, lofty, and substantial' and the bedding as 'good and sufficient'. The inspectors considered the buildings overall to be 'extensive and excellent'.[74]

St Stephen's in Auckland was established to train Māori for the Anglican clergy, and therefore housed a mixture of adults and children. Some 35 Māori typically resided at the school.[75] The inspectors were impressed with the accommodation, bedding, and clothing provided. 'The buildings are excellent, and in good condition the dormitories are new, and built of brick and stone. There are twelve rooms, with fire-places in each; one is appropriated as wash-house, and has brick oven; also each family has a separate room, with bedsteads and portion of bedding'.[76]

At St Mary's on the North Shore the boarders were housed in a large raupō building 'with good doors, windows and fire-place'. However, the majority of the 55 pupils at the school, who were mainly adults, lived in a kāinga about a mile away. The school, which had extensive grounds, operated in partnership with the kāinga. 'The different families have portions of the school land allotted to them, which they cultivate. Certain portion of the produce is reserved for those living at the school, and the remainder is for their own use. If insufficient, they are supplied with food from the school funds, in return for work done on the farm; and they have the use of plough and team of bullocks.'[77]

The inspectors only briefly visited Taupiri, another large Anglican school in the Waikato, stating that 'cleanliness, order, and regularity were everywhere apparent'.[78] The remaining schools inspected in 1859 and 1860 were relatively small and had varying quality of accommodation, food, and clothing.

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[74] AJHR 1860, E8, p 4

[75] AJHR 1860, E8, p 1. At the age of between 10 and 12, children with parents at the school were sent to other Anglican schools.

[76] AJHR 1860, E8, p 3

[77] AJHR 1860, E8, pp 5-6

[78] AJHR 1860, E8, p 15

Boarding Accommodation: 1880s to early 1900s

As outlined above, by the 1880s most of the boarding schools had closed and the remaining four were re-inventing themselves by providing a mixture of advanced primary and secondary education. The standard of accommodation provided also greatly improved since 1860, as was noted by Native Schools Inspector James Pope in his 1888 annual report with respect to St Stephen's. 'Very great improvements have been made in connection with this school during the last few years in the way of providing new and better dormitories, of affording greater facilities for personal cleanliness, and, generally, of making the way of life of the pupils approximate more closely to that of Europeans'.[79] The annual inspections of St Stephen's were in subsequent decades always positive about the school accommodation. In 1895, for example, Pope reported that 'careful examination of stores, kitchen, dormitories, and sanitary arrangements brought no defect to light, and it is believed that everything was in first-rate order'.[80]

The inspectors also assessed the food being served to the pupils, either by observation or by obtaining a list of standard fare. At Te Aute it was reported in 1903 that each boy received over a pound of meat each day (but no fish), and ample carbohydrates. Cabbage and puha were served 'when obtainable' and each boy had his own garden from which he could supplement these rations.[81] The inspectors were keen on cleanliness, noting with approval that St Stephen's bathroom taps were 'highly polished' and the urinals and toilets were clean.[82] In 1901 the inspector noted that staff at Te Aute were taking steps to remove 'insanitary dust and cobwebs' from the rafters in one of the school-rooms,[83]

The Anglican and Catholic girl's schools in the Hawkes Bay – Hukarere and St Joseph's – almost always received positive comments about their accommodation. In 1892, for example, Pope wrote that the pupils of Hukarere 'are always conspicuously clean and tidy, and the domestic arrangements generally leave nothing to be desired'. In 1897 another inspector reported of St Joseph's that 'school rooms, offices, and dormitories are faultlessly clean and

[79] AJHR 1888, E2, p 9

[80] AJHR 1895, E2, p 7

[81] AJHR 1903, E2, p 16

[82] AJHR 1902, E2, pp 11-12

[83] AJHR 1901, E2, p 13

tidy, and there is a neatly kept garden'.[84] By the early 1900s the inspectors noted that Hukarere was becoming a little crowded.[85] The problems were presumably alleviated by the opening of a new boarding school, Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls, in Auckland in 1903. The inspector described the new school as 'exceedingly well built, charmingly situated, and is in every way thoroughly well equipped'.[86]

Te Aute, the largest of the four schools, was the only one to receive occasional negative comments on its accommodation. In some ways the school was a victim of its own success, as it had trouble expanding its boarding accommodation to keep up with demand. Its popularity was due both to its high standard of education and the fact that it was well-resourced enough to provide scholarships to pupils without them needing to apply for government scholarships. Te Aute was the only school to have Pākehā pupils – in 1886, for example, one in six of its boarders was European.[87] In 1888 Pope's report on Te Aute was extremely positive:

> This school has all the advantages that are to be derived from a considerable endowment, — commodious buildings, with spacious dormitories capable of accommodating sixty-three boys, extensive grounds, and an adequate staff; the domestic arrangements leave little or nothing to be desired; the school is well equipped with all suitable appliances, including a gymnasium; each pupil has a garden of his own, which he is expected to keep in good order, and whose produce is entirely his own.[88]

By 1890, however, the dormitories were crowded, and the school needed additional accommodation and better sanitation systems.[89] In 1892 Pope reported that the accommodation had been expanded to take up to 80 boarders, new toilets and urinals had been installed, and 'the drainage difficulty has been caused to totally disappear'.[90]

In August 1894 MP Frederick Pirani asked the Minister of Education if he would institute an inquiry into the 'sanitary arrangements' at Te Aute. Pirani had been approached by concerned

[84] AJHR 1892, E2, p 11 and 1897, E2, p 9

[85] AJHR 1901, E2, p 14

[86] AJHR 1904, E2, p 19

[87] AJHR 1887, E2, p 8

[88] AJHR 1888, E2, p 8

[89] AJHR 1890, E2, p 10

[90] AJHR 1892, E2, p 12

parents following a death at the school from typhoid and several severe cases of fever.[91] The Minister asked the Inspector of Hospitals, Dr MacGregor, to undertake an inquiry.[92] MacGregor made several suggestions regarding 'sanitary arrangements', and Te Aute put a freeze on new enrolments to prevent further overcrowding.[93] When school inspector Kirk visited the school in May 1896 he reported that the problems appeared to have been dealt with and the 'general appearance of the school is very pleasing indeed'.[94] By 1901 a new dormitory had been built at Te Aute to enable the freeze on new enrolments to end.[95]

Boarding Accommodation: Early 1900s to 1934

In the early 1900s the government greatly expanded its funding of secondary education, including the number and value of scholarships for pupils at the Māori boarding schools. As outlined earlier, this led to a significant increase in the number of schools and in the number of pupils attending them. By 1916 there were 10 Māori boarding schools.

One of the new schools was Turakina, which originally opened near Wanganui in 1905. In 1928 the school shifted to Marton and was renamed Turakina Maori Girls' College (rather than 'School'), a name it retained until in closed in 2016.[96] The inspector was impressed with the new school at Marton, which accommodated some 38 girls. 'The building is a commodious brick structure, well arranged, comfortable and up to date in every respect'. In 1929 the kitchen, dining room, and dormitories were found to be in 'first-class order'. The garden and grounds were 'admirably laid out with the help of residents of the neighbourhood', although the following year the inspector commented on the lack of tennis courts at the school. [97]

By 1933 the Turakina school roll had fallen to 32 in line with reductions in other boarding schools during the depression (the Te Aute roll had fallen to just 35).[98] The inspector described the classrooms, dormitories, and kitchens as 'scrupulously clean' and noted the 'very high

[91] NZPD 1894, vol 84, p 240

[92] NZPD 1895, vol 88, p 320

[93] AJHR 1895, E2, p 7; AJHR 1896, E2, pp 7-8

[94] AJHR 1897, E2, p 8

[95] AJHR 1901, E2, p 13

[96] Christoffel, 'Education, Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District', pp 115-119

[97] Paul Christoffel, 'Education, Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District 1880-2013: Supporting Documents', Volume 1: Education, 2016, Wai 2180, A41(a)', pp 591, 594, 600

[98] AJHR 1934, E3, p 8

standard in personal hygiene and environment'.[99] Turakina is used here as an example of the way in which Māori boarding schools in the early twentieth century were subject to regular inspection and were expected to conform to the same standards as any other school with respect to the accommodation they provided to their pupils.

Māori in Prison

One of the topics in the project brief for this report was 'the accommodation of Māori prisoners'. As was noted in Chapter 6, some Māori listed in the census as residing in urban areas were in fact in prison.

In recent decades Māori have been imprisoned at significantly higher rates than Non-Māori, and this has been the case for most of the past century. However, until the 1930s the Māori imprisonment rate was no higher than that for Pākehā and before 1920 it was generally lower. In 1924, for example, 105 Māori were imprisoned, making up 4.4 percent of those incarcerated that year and commensurate with their share of the total population. By 1934 the number of Māori imprisoned had doubled to 211. Māori by then made up five percent of the population but 8.9 percent of those sent to prison.[100]

Figure 4 below shows that this upward trend continued throughout the twentieth century. In the 1920s Māori and Non-Māori imprisonment rates were about the same. By 1940 Māori were imprisoned at twice the rate of Non-Māori and by 1980 it was eight times. The significance of these figures is that during most of the period covered by this report (1840 to 1934) Māori were less likely than Pākehā to be imprisoned. There was thus little focus by government officials on Māori prisoners. There is no information on the length of sentences given to Māori prisoners in this period, but most prisoners overall remained in jail for less than a year.[101]

Early prisons were built by provincial governments and tended to be very basic.[102] By 1868 there were already ten gaols in various towns plus at least 19 'minor goals and lock-ups' in smaller centres. The Royal Commission into prisons that year described the general health of

[99] Christoffel, 'Education, Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District 1880-2013: Supporting Documents', Volume 1, p 613

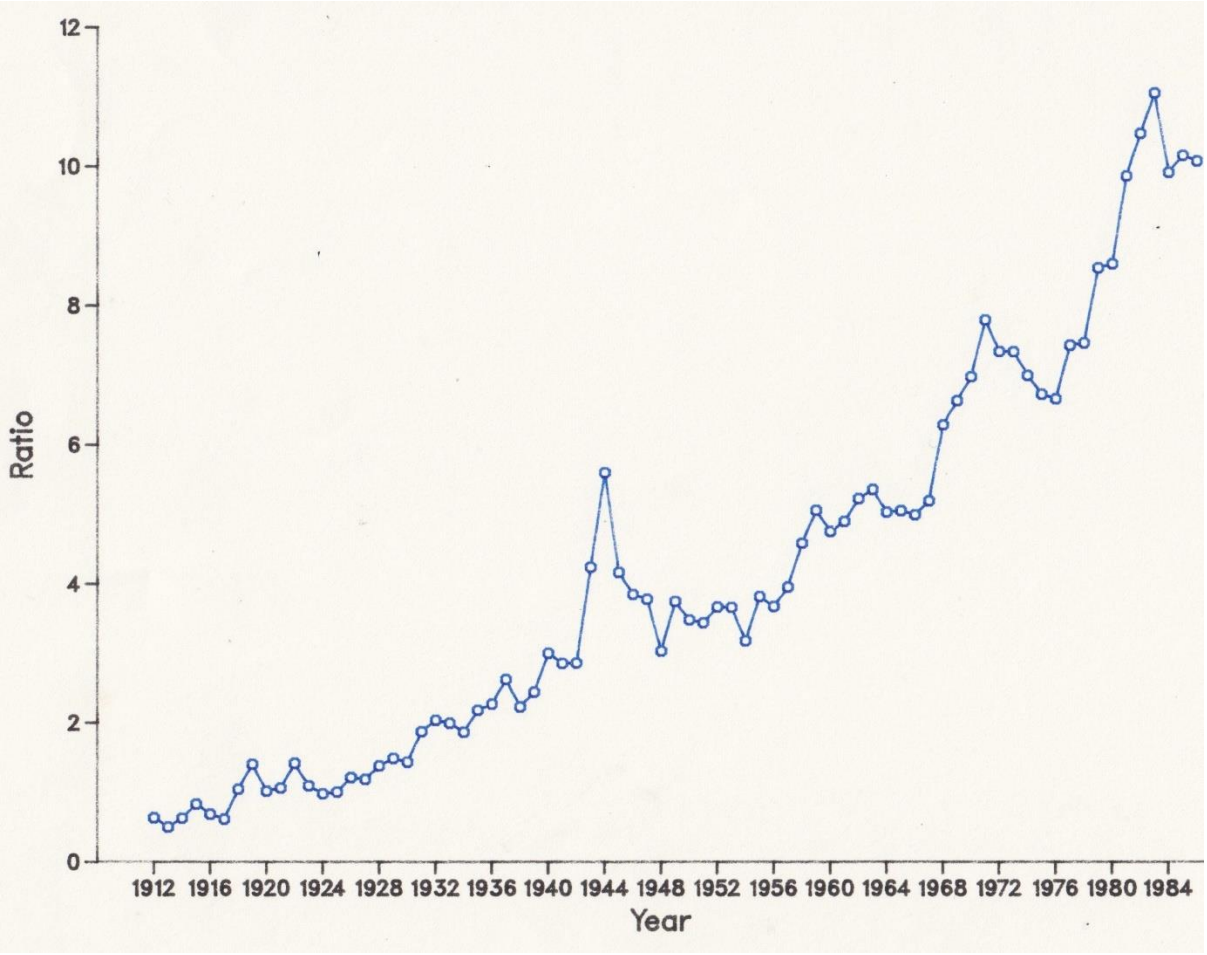
[100] Prisoners figures from NZOYB 1936, p 175. Population figure estimated from 1926 and 1936 census.

[101] In 1929, for example, 5076 people were received into prison but there were only 1395 people in jail at the end of the year - AJHR 1930, H20, p 1.

[102] Peter Clayworth, 'Prisons - Developing a national prison system, 1880–1949', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/prisons/page-3 (accessed 18 August 2022)

prisoners as being ‘remarkably good’ but said that most gaols were already too crowded. Their report made no mention of Māori prisoners despite one of the witnesses being the Under Secretary of the Native Department.[103] An 1878 census of the prison population recorded 641 inmates in the four main prisons.[104] Just 12 Māori were recorded as being in Mount Eden gaol in the 1878 population census, indicating that Māori were a small proportion of the prison population at the time.[105]

Figure 4: Māori Imprisonment Rates compared with Non-Māori, 1912-1987[106]



[103] ‘Royal Commission on Prisons’, AJHR 1868, A12, pp 6-7, 15

[104] Peter Clayworth, 'Prisons - Early prisons, 1840–1879', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/prisons/page-2 (accessed 23 November 2021)

[105] AJHR 1878, G2, p 14

[106] Source: Paul Christoffel, ‘Crime and the Maori: An Historical Perspective’, BA (Hons) Research Essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 1988, pp 5-6

From 1880 the government set about establishing a uniform national prison system and appointed an English recruit, Arthur Hume, to the job. According to Peter Clayworth, 'Hume introduced a single system throughout prisons, based on British Prison Commissioner Edmund Du Cane's strict regime of efficiency, economy and uniformity. Prisons were to be a "reformative deterrent", with conditions inside harsher than those the prisoner experienced when free.' During Hume's tenure the government embarked on a major prison-building programme to reduce overcrowding.[107] In the 1890s a Justice Department official, G H Davies, put forward his view that Māori found confinement in prison particularly difficult, something that should be taken into consideration when sentences were passed. 'It is not punishment in such a case, but the infliction of great cruelty'. Davies claimed that some Māori 'lost heart' while in prison and 'moped and died', although provided no information as to how common such cases might be.[108] Davies put this down to a sort of home-sickness - almost all the prisons were in urban areas, so Māori in prison were likely to be uprooted from their rohe, making it difficult for whānau to visit.

After Hume's retirement in 1909 there was a move to reform prisons to place greater emphasis on rehabilitation than punishment. Prisoners could be released on parole for good behaviour, school teachers were appointed to prisons to teach basic skills, prison farms were introduced, and from 1921 inmates were paid a small wage to assist their dependents. Some of these reforms were wound back under the regime of Bert Dallard, controller general of prisons from 1925 to 1949.[109]

[107] Peter Clayworth, 'Prisons - Developing a national prison system, 1880–1949', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/prisons/page-3 (accessed 18 August 2022)

[108] AJHR 1896, H13B, p 10

[109] Clayworth, 'Prisons - Developing a national prison system, 1880–1949'

Chapter 8: Māori Councils and Public Health, 1900-1918

Introduction

By the late nineteenth century the importance of hygiene was better understood and public health became an increasing concern for governments, including the state of Māori housing and the cleanliness of Māori settlements. The Young Māori Party of former Te Aute College pupils took up these concerns and pushed for government action. The result was two major reforms in the early 1900s. The Public Health Act 1900 set up a Department of Public Health that included an emphasis on Māori health and housing. Maui Pomare and later Te Rangi Hiroa were appointed as Native Health Officers in the new department. The department also employed several Native Sanitary Inspectors to work with Māori communities.

Another reform advocated by the Young Māori Party, and MP James Carroll, was the Māori Councils Act 1900. The Act established Māori councils and village committees to initiate local reforms in health and housing. The councils often worked closely with the Native Health Officers and sanitary inspectors as they had similar objectives, including improving Māori housing standards.

The reforms resulted in significant improvements in many parts of the country. However they met with Māori resistance in some districts and suffered from a lack of government funding and the inexperience of many Māori council members. By the outbreak of World War One, when the government became strongly focussed on other priorities, the Māori public health positions had fallen victim to government reforms and cutbacks. Most Māori Councils became all but invisible and the promising reforms of 1900 had faded out of existence by 1918.

The Public Health Act 1900

Before the development of anti-septic surgery, anaesthetics, and more effective medicines in the late nineteenth century, many medical interventions were of 'limited value'.[1] There was, however, a good understanding of preventive measures. By the late 1800s germ theory was replacing the miasma theory of disease. Both theories held that disease could be caused by polluted water and a dirty environment and thus emphasised the importance of cleanliness, good drainage, ventilation, and reducing over-crowding. As was seen in Chapter 2, in New

[1] Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy 1840-1940*, Wellington, 1999, p 48

Zealand it took some time for these public health concerns to be translated into practical action. Public Health Acts in 1872 and 1876 included standards for new housing, with the 1876 Act, for example, requiring all new houses to have a 'water-closet earth-closet or privy'.[2] However, enforcing the housing aspects of the Act was largely left up to local authorities and the Act's vaccination provisions were followed inconsistently. Concerns about public health were rarely backed up with action.

The international bubonic plague scare of 1900 finally provoked firm action on public health. The plague reached Sydney early that year resulting in over 100 deaths and widespread panic in New Zealand. The mode of transmission of bubonic plague was at the time unknown, except to the extent that it was closely associated with dirt and overcrowding. Medical men who had been pushing for greater government attention to public health were suddenly listened to with keen interest. The eventual result was the Public Health Act 1900, which set up a Department of Public Health for the first time.

Māori health issues were addressed in the 1900 reforms thanks to the campaigning efforts of the likes of Ngata and others in the 'young Māori Party'.[3] This campaign bore fruit when Maui Pomare was appointed to the senior position of Māori Health Officer in the new Health Department. Pomare had recently completed his medical training in the United States. He was charged, among other things, with bringing about improvements in housing quality, water supply, and sanitation in Māori villages. Pomare was joined by Te Rangi Hiroa (aka Te Rangihiroa but usually called Peter Buck) in 1905, and both men engaged in a disease prevention campaign which featured vaccinations, housing inspections, and public lectures. Prominent Māori (along with Elsdon Best, a Pākehā) were appointed to assist Pomare in his work and were given the title 'Native Sanitary Inspectors'. They were supported by health inspectors appointed by the Public Health department, hospital boards, and local authorities. Pomare, Buck and the sanitary and health inspectors liaised with regional Māori councils and village committees appointed under the Maori Councils Act 1900, discussed below.

Regulations promulgated in 1902 outlined the duties of Native Sanitary Inspectors. One of these stated: 'He shall make house-to-house inspection of the Maori whares in pas, and note their condition in respect to the fences, maraes, location, water-supplies, closets, drains, floors,

[2] Public Health Act 1876, Section 41

[3] Dow, *Maori Health*, pp 90-91

windows, chimneys, beds, number of people sleeping in whares, ventilation of dwelling and meeting houses, kautas, or any other matter that might affect the health of the residents'.[4] Up to 11 sanitary inspectors were employed at various times. They generally lacked a background in health but knew their communities well. The Health Department conducted training courses for the inspectors in 1907 and 1908.[5]

Maui Pomare in 1912, a year after resigning from the Native Department to enter Parliament. S P Andrew Ltd Portrait negatives. Ref: 1/1-014583-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

[4] AJHR 1903, H31, p 66

[5] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 215

The new emphasis on Māori health proved short-lived. According to Graham Butterworth, the Liberal government lost interest in health reform and gradually cut funding for health work.[6] Peter Buck left his Health Department position in 1909 to replace North Māori MP Hone Heke Ngāpua, who died in office.[7] Also in 1909, Inspector General of Hospitals Thomas Valintine replaced James Mason as Chief Health Officer and the two roles were combined.[8] At the same time the government proposed transferring responsibility for Māori health to the Native Department, which was reinstated in 1906 after a 15-year hiatus. Valintine and other senior health officials (including Pomare) opposed the move, but it went ahead anyway.

Pomare was transferred to the Native Department in 1909. As the Health Department no longer had a specific responsibility for Māori health (the relevant funding having been transferred to the Native Department) it laid off all ten remaining Native Sanitary Inspectors by 1912. Their demise was criticised by James Carroll, Peter Buck, and the general conference of Māori Councils. The gap left by laying off sanitary inspectors was filled to some extent by the health inspectors employed by hospital boards.[9]

The loss of emphasis on Māori health can be seen in the Health Department's annual reports. Between 1902 and 1909 the reports contained substantial reference to Māori health matters, but these all but disappeared after 1909. Meanwhile the Native Department set about cutting back expenditure on Māori health.[10] In 1910 the Department published Pomare's report on the health care of South Island Māori but thereafter its reports fell largely silent on the subject of health.[11] In 1911 Pomare resigned from the Native Department to successfully stand for the Western Māori seat in the general election.[12]

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[6] Graham Butterworth. 'Pōmare, Māui Wiremu Piti Naera', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p30/pomare-maui-wiremu-piti-naera (accessed 15 April 2022)

[7] M. P. K. Sorrenson. 'Buck, Peter Henry', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996, updated May, 2002. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3b54/buck-peter-henry (accessed 15 April 2022)

[8] Derek A. Dow. 'Mason, James Malcolm', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3m46/mason-james-malcolm (accessed 15 April 2022)

[9] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, pp 95-97; Lange, *May the People Live*, p 208; Christoffel, 'Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District', p 174. One of the 11 inspectors resigned in 1909.

[10] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, pp 96-97

[11] AJHR 1910, G6

[12] Graham Butterworth. 'Pōmare, Māui Wiremu Piti Naera', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p30/pomare-maui-wiremu-piti-naera (accessed 15 April 2022)

The Māori Councils Act 1900

The Māori Councils Act 1900 was a measure specifically aimed at improving Māori health. It was largely the result of the increasing national emphasis on public health and associated concerns about the state of Māori health. But, as Raeburn Lange outlines, it was also a result of years of campaigning for greater Māori self-government, embodied in movements such as the Kingitanga and Kotahitanga. The Te Aute College Student's Association, formed in the 1890s, also advocated change in this direction. At its early conferences TACSA members advocated 'social reform at the village level for the purpose of health improvement'.[13]

The Maori Councils Act was thus heavily promoted by Māori Parliamentarian James Carroll and the Young Māori Party. It enabled the Governor to proclaim Māori districts, with each district having a Māori Council of up to 12 members elected every three years. In addition, one official appointment could be made to each council.[14] The duties of councils included 'suppressing injurious Maori customs', promoting education and instruction, generally promoting the health and welfare of Māori in their districts, and making reports to the Governor on the health of local Māori and other relevant information. Through an odd piece of legislative duplication, the Public Health Act 1900, passed just weeks earlier, provided for the Governor to declare any 'Native settlement' a special district with an elected health committee. There is no evidence that this provision was ever used.[15]

Māori Councils were empowered to make by-laws concerning a range of matters, including 'enforcing the cleansing of houses and other buildings in a dirty and unwholesome state', 'the maintenance and control of water-supplies to Maori kāingas, villages, and pas, and the protection of such supplies from pollution', and 'the laying-off and construction of proper systems of drainage for the sanitation of Maori kāingas, villages, or pas, and for controlling the proper cleansing and maintenance of such drains'.[16] With respect to these latter activities the Act provided under section 19 that the Native Minister may subsidise, 'at a rate not exceeding one pound for one pound, all moneys raised by the Council, from the Maoris or otherwise, for the purpose of doing sanitary works and generally improving the sanitary condition'.

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[13] Raeburn Lange, *A Limited Measure of Local Self-Government: Maori Councils, 1900-1920*, Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Victoria University of Wellington, 2004, pp 11-14

[14] Lange, *May the People Live*, pp 142-144; Maori Councils Act 1900, Sections 4-9

[15] Public Health Act 1900, Section 65

[16] Maori Councils Act 1900, Section 16 (2), (16) and (17).

The Te Aute College Students' Association drew up a set of model by-laws which were further developed by the Horouta Māori Council chaired by Apirana Ngata. Most other Māori councils adopted these generic by-laws, often with amendments.[17] Māori Councils were also empowered to appoint Village Committees (Komiti Marae) for specific Māori settlements. The Committees could deal with local sanitation matters such as destruction of rubbish, the repair or removal of unsanitary buildings, and the installation of water closets. The Maori Councils Act was amended in 1903 to, among other things, empower the councils to initiate water supply projects.[18]

The Councils were supported by government officials. Between 1903 and 1907 Gilbert Mair, a fluent speaker of Te Reo with a good knowledge of Māori communities, was Superintendent of Maori Councils charged with liaising between the councils and government departments. Between 1902 and 1904 Apirana Ngata was employed as an Organising Inspector to travel the country advising councils.[19] But aside from this support the councils were poorly funded. They were allocated an average of £300 per year in government subsidies between 1901 and 1907, with considerable fluctuation between years.[20] This funding was to cover all the councils, whose numbers soon increased from 19 to 24.[21] To supplement these meagre funds, Councils were empowered to impose a tenement tax on houses in Māori villages, in lieu of rates, and fines upon Māori who broke by-laws. They were also given the status of a 'local authority' under the Dog Registration Act 1880, allowing them to register dogs, collect registration fees, and fine owners of unregistered dogs. Councils could bring those Māori who refused to pay fines before the Magistrate's Court.[22] Councils were therefore funded largely through resources provided by Māori communities.

The 24 councils established covered all the North Island apart from the Waikato. Three of the councils were located in the South Island. Waikato Māori declined to form a council because of residual suspicion over land confiscations. Similar suspicions inhibited the functioning of

[17] Lange, *A Limited Measure of Local Self-Government,* p 27

[18] AJHR, 1903, G-1, pp 2, 4

[19] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 191

[20] Robinson, Wai 898, A71, p 197

[21] Lange, *May the People Live*, pp 189-191

[22] Maori Councils Act 1900, Sections 16(7), 16(19), 23-26; Maori Councils Amendment Act 1903, Section 8

the council in the Taranaki district, and the Matatua Council in the Bay of Plenty faced opposition in parts of the Urewera.[23]

The Reforms in Operation

Māori Health Officers and Native Sanitary Inspectors worked closely with the Māori Councils, as all had similar objectives. The success or otherwise of the 1900 reforms therefore needs to be assessed with respect to all the elements.

The reforms relied heavily on the hard work and dedication of Maui Pomare. Pomare emphasised, in his first annual report, that Māori communities needed 'gentle persuasion' to improve their housing situation.[24] He travelled the country extensively and twice visited the Chatham Islands to persuade the locals to set up a Māori Council.[25] Raeburn Lange furnishes many examples of his activities. At a meeting at Whakakī (Hawkes Bay) he successfully used a microscope to demonstrate the uncleanliness of the drinking water.

> In a locality north of Gisborne, Pomare vaccinated fifty children, inspected several kāinga (ordering rubbish to be buried and a number of dwellings burned), and gave public addresses. At a Taupo kāinga he found overcrowding on a site that he condemned as damp and low-lying; the people agreed to shift to a knoll he identified as suitable, and had cut the timber for their new dwellings before he left.[26]

Pomare saw Māori Councils and Komiti Marae as playing a crucial role in the improvement of Māori health and living standards, and urged sanitary inspectors to work with them.[27] In 1904 he wrote that in Hawkes Bay 'I cannot but compliment Mr. Ihaia Hutana and his Council for the very valuable assistance they have rendered the Department in carrying out the suggestions given them'.[28] In 1906 Buck reported 'considerable improvement' in Whanganui as result of the work of the Māori Council. 'In this the credit has been largely due to Inspector Pukehika, who has combined in himself the energy of all the Marae Committees. We have been educating

[23] Lange, *May the People Live*, pp 189-191, 216-225

[24] AJHR 1902, H31, p 61

[25] AJHR 1903, H31, pp 67-69

[26] Lange, *May the People Live*, pp 150, 162-163

[27] AJHR, 1903, H31, p 66

[28] AJHR 1904, H31, p 61

these Committees in their duties, and they are now beginning to share the burden of sanitary improvement'.[29]

But Buck and others at times criticised the work of the councils, at least in certain districts. 'I have always endeavoured to work in conjunction with the Māori Councils, but it is very difficult in many cases to get as much assistance from them as one would desire owing to their not fully realising the amount of power conferred upon them by the Act'.[30] In 1907 Buck wrote of Māori Councils 'resembling their European contemporaries in being slow to appreciate the immediate importance of public-health laws, and therefore somewhat tardy in carrying them into effect'.[31] The following year East Coast sanitary inspector Horomona Paipa expressed frustration that 'the conducting of pas upon sanitary lines is very backward owing to the negligence of the Komiti Maraes. Some of the kāingas are well kept, but others are very insanitary'.[32] In the Bay of Plenty, Elsdon Best noted that the Matatua Māori Council faced hostility from Ngāti Whare of Te Whaiti and Ngāti Manawa of Whirinaki.[33] The Rangitīkei enumerator in the 1906 census considered that at times the Kurahaupō Māori Council and the Village Committees 'by abusing the rules, are more discouragement to the rest of the community than otherwise'.[34] The unnamed official was likely referring to unauthorised expenditure by the Council's first Chairman, Te Raika Kereama.[35]

Overall, however, the assessments were positive. Members of the House of Representatives, both Māori and Pākehā, at times praised the improvement in the condition of Māori villages, which they attributed to the Maori Councils Act.[36] Some enumerators in the 1906 census complimented the work of the Māori Councils and on the housing and sanitation improvements since the previous census in 1901. They also appreciated the work of some councils in assisting

[29] AJHR 1906, H31, p 73

[30] AJHR 1906, H31, p 71

[31] AJHR 1907, H31, p 60

[32] AJHR 1908, H31, pp 127-128

[33] AJHR 1905, H31, p 61; AJHR 1907, H31, p 58

[34] AJHR 1906, H25b, p 20

[35] Christoffel, 'Education, Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District', p 180

[36] Christoffel, 'Education, Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District', p 180

with the census.[37] Similar comments were made after the 1911 census about the work of the Māori Councils, Pomare, and Māori nurses, as summarised in the census report:

> During the last five years there has been considerable change as regards the observance of sanitary laws by the Maori population of the Dominion. It will be seen from the reports of the Enumerators and sub enumerators that in this respect there has been great advance. This is attributed largely to the instruction, example, and influence of the Chairman and members of the several Maori Councils appointed under the Maori Councils Act 1900.[38]

The Reforms and Housing

By 1903 the Superintendent of Māori Councils Gilbert Mair was already under the impression that the 1900 reforms were yielding results in terms housing improvements. He reported to the Native Minister that in some native villages 'unsightly unsanitary old whares are gradually being replaced by wooden buildings', and water supplies were improving.[39]

During the following years the health officers and sanitary inspectors regularly commented on housing improvements. Whares were burnt and replaced by well-ventilated weatherboard houses, and pigs and chickens were kept away from dwellings by fences. Rotorua district sanitary inspector Raureti Mokonuiarangi wrote in 1905: 'I rejoice greatly at the vast difference between the houses of the past and those which have been erected since the passing of the Maori Council's Act.'[40] In 1906 he reported that a whole new village had been constructed within a year.[41] Hawkes Bay Sanitary Inspector Ihaia Hutana was consistently positive about housing improvements there, including new 'pakeha' style houses and the increased use of bedsteads.[42] As noted earlier, Hutana chaired the Tamatea Māori Council. In 1905 sanitary inspector Raureti Mokonuiarangi wrote 'I rejoice greatly at the vast difference between the houses of the past and those which have been erected since the passing of the Maori Council's Act'.[43]

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[37] See, for example, AJHR 1906, H25b, pp 6, 13, 14, 15, 18, 24

[38] AJHR 1911, H14a, p 2

[39] AJHR 1903, G1, p1

[40] AJHR 1905, H31, p 59

[41] AJHR 1906, H31, p 77

[42] AJHR 1906, H31, p 79; AJHR 1907, H31, p 59

[43] AJHR 1905, H31, p 59

Some enumerators in the 1906 census were likewise impressed with the housing improvements - in the Bay of Islands, for example: 'In place of the old style of raupo whare, there are good comfortable two- and three-roomed cottages and huts; as these are all floored, it is quite evident that improved health must follow, the practice of sleeping on the ground being discontinued'. On the East Coast 'Natives who formerly lived in whares are now comfortably housed in wooden buildings'.[44] Similar comments were made following the 1911 Census, in the Wairarapa district for example:

> It is rare exception to find a Maori living in one of the old-time whares, the houses being constructed on European plans. The Maoris are recognizing the necessity of good sites, and are generally conforming to sanitary rules. There is no doubt that the Maori Councils, under the direction and with the assistance of the Native Department, have contributed largely to this result.[45]

However, some reports were realistic about the lack of resources in so many Māori communities. In 1905 Mokonuiarangi reported that in the Rotorua district 'new wiwi whares that have been put up were those put up by men whose finance would not allow them to erect weatherboard houses, and this was the best thing to do under the circumstances. The day is yet coming when the wiwi whares will be replaced by the weatherboard altogether'.[46] Lange notes that Pomare was pragmatic when lack of money was an obvious problem. 'In such cases he would explain how the existing whare could be ventilated and perhaps floored and extended.'[47]

Another issue identified by the officials was the nature of Māori land title. Pomare reported in 1905 that 'the Natives rightly refrain from building on sections which have not been individualised, fearing that should they build somebody else would get the house when the sections are allotted and they would thus lose their building'.[48] Two years later RT Puhipi, based in the Hokianga, reported that 'the non individualisation of holdings' was a 'great stumbling-block in the advancement of this district' and had 'kept many people from building new houses'.[49] As is noted later in this report (pp 167-168), it was the manner in which holdings

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[44] AJHR 1906, H25b, pp 6, 14

[45] AJHR 1911, H14a, p 16

[46] AJHR 1905, H31, p 59. Wiwi is a type of rush found mainly in sand dunes.

[47] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 161

[48] AJHR 1905, H31, p 56

[49] AJHR 1907, H31, p 59

were individualised by the Native Land Court – as shares rather than as specific sections – that led to such problems, rather than lack of individual title per se.

In his annual reports from 1902 Pomare provided figures on the progress of the system of officials, inspectors, and Māori councils and village committees in improving Māori housing and sanitation. By 1909, 1203 houses and whare had been destroyed as unfit for habitation, 2103 new houses and 301 new whare had been erected, and over 1000 pit privies installed.[50] Although many new houses were built, it appears that in some cases their quality was questionable. New houses were well-ventilated, but at times excessively so.[51] This was certainly Elsdon Best's perception in 1904:

> A general glance at Tuhoe will reveal the fact that during the last two years eighty-four new houses have been erected, sixty-eight being wooden cottages and sixteen Maori whares, while twenty-eight have been destroyed. We must not imagine, however, because sixty-eight cottages have been built that they are perfect, but still it is step in the right direction. These houses are very often made of palings, have no floors or chimneys; they are draughty and very cold in winter. I have feared much for many Natives on account of these whares, but still they are slowly learning. Instructions have been given them not to consider their houses complete until they are floored, lined, and chimneys added.[52]

The lack of improvements in kitchen facilities was also commented on by officials. Pomare wrote that 'many of the Maoris who live in elegant pakeha homes have these miserable kautas at the back'.[53]

The Reforms and Sanitation

One of the main problems facing Māori communities in 1900 was the lack of basic sanitation and a clean water supply. The Maori Councils Act gave councils responsibility for 'the maintenance and control of water-supplies' and their protection from pollution, and also for drainage works. The Act provided for government subsidies for these activities, yet communities commonly found these subsidies hard to access. Pomare was already expressing concern about government parsimony in 1902. 'The lack of funds to carry out some of the

[50] AJHR 1909, H31, p 60

[51] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 152

[52] AJHR 1904, H31, p 61

[53] AJHR 1902, H31, p 63

reforms, especially in the drainage and water- supply systems of pas, has been great drawback, but we have done much, as far as it was possible, without means.'[54]

In 1906 Waaka Te Huia, the sanitary inspector in the far north, listed nine kāinga which he considered were still in need of proper water supplies. 'If subsidy was given by the Government to encourage these Natives to buy tanks and get proper water-supplies it would hasten health matters considerably.'[55] The following year Raureti Mokonuiarangi complained that 'we should be able to carry out every injunction re sanitary matters if the Government would give subsidies. We cannot do much without subsidies from the Government, because practically our only source of funds is the dog-tax'.[56] Lange provides examples of requests for government subsidies for water tanks being turned down at Pukerua Bay near Wellington and at Tokomaru Bay.[57] Pomare seemed unable to predict whether schemes would be approved for subsidies, indicating the approval system was opaque.

But some water supply improvements did result from the reforms. The government funded water tanks in Taranaki and the Wairarapa, a move that Pomare considered had reduced typhoid deaths.[58] He also wrote of 'water-supplies concreted and piped' on the East Coast.[59] Best commented on good water supplies in the eastern and inland Bay of Plenty in his 1906 report.[60] In 1907 the people of Rīpia in the Far North carried out a successful water supply project with the help of government subsidies.[61]

Water supply was one part of the sanitation problem. The other was waste disposal, particularly of human waste. As outlined elsewhere in this report, most kāinga lacked even basic 'pit privies'. Erecting and encouraging the building and use of pit toilets was therefore a significant part of the work of Māori Councils, village komiti, sanitation inspectors, and health officers. Pomare recorded in his final report in 1909 that over 1000 pit privies had been installed since

[54] AJHR 1902, H31, p 62

[55] AJHR 1906, H31, p 76

[56] AJHR 1907, H31, p 57

[57] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 153

[58] AJHR 1902, H31, p 62

[59] AJHR 1904, H31, p 62

[60]AJHR 1906, H31, p 75

[61] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 154

the passing of the Maori Councils Act. But this is a small number in the context of the overall problem and even getting this number proved an uphill battle. Pomare reported in 1903:

> In some localities the prejudice against closets has been so great that it was with extreme difficulty that we were able to persuade the Natives to build these much-needed houses of convenience. We have so far tried to lead and not to drive the Māoris, but the importance of this matter is so great and the safety of not only the Natives but also of the pakeha is so involved that in some districts we have now to enforce the erection of these houses. It is gratifying to note that Māoris are now quite awake to the importance of the matter, for at the recent General Conference of the Māori Councils resolution to form general by-laws enforcing the erection of closets was unanimously carried.[62]

Sanitary inspector Raureti Mokonuiarangi commented that the building of closets was 'a difficult problem'.[63] Elsdon Best in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and Urewera was constantly frustrated by this issue, writing that there were only three latrines in his district outside of Whakatāne township, one near Whakatāne and two at Rūātoki, as 'strong feeling exists against the erection of such places'. He claimed the latrines at Rūātoki were 'scarcely ever used'. Best said he was unable to convince the Chairman of the Matatua Māori Council to erect a latrine at his house as an example to others. 'Waikirikiri is the only kāinga that has promised to put latrines up.'[64]

Peter Buck sounded a positive note in 1906 when he reported that in the Wanganui Council District 'Water-closets are ceasing to be objects of aversion'.[65] Pomare reported progress in some areas of the country, in particular Wairarapa, Hawkes Bay, Northland, and the South Island. But resistance remained. Buck recalled in later years his experience of trying to convince a particular community of the desirability of installing latrines.

> At a large gathering of the Ngati Ruanui tribe in South Taranaki, the old men raised a violent objection to the action of Maori Councils in urging the building of latrines of the type used by Europeans in country districts. The project was criticized as a *pakeha* innovation absolutely foreign to Maori institutions.

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[62] AJHR 1903, H31, pp 70-71

[63] AJHR 1905, H31, p 59

[64] AJHR 1905, H31, p 61

[65] AJHR 1906, H31, p

In that instance Buck drew on his knowledge of Māori legend to successfully argue that the Government was merely attempting to 'restore an ancient health measure which had been forgotten'.[66] As was outlined in Chapter 4, traditional Māori practices appear to have been discarded by the late nineteenth century. It took some time before arguments such as those used by Buck gained much traction, as Michael King notes. 'Latrines tended to be built under the supervision of a visiting health officer and then abandoned when he left.'[67] According to Lange, 'health practices change only very slowly, and prejudice against Pakeha-style latrines was a remarkably tenacious attitude. Certainly there was a difficulty in comprehending the connection between their use and the health benefits it was claimed would accrue, and the staff found from the beginning that considerable explanation was needed before any action was taken'.[68]

The Fate of the Councils

The initial success enjoyed by the Māori Councils faded after a decade or so, as inadequate government funding and various other frustrations took their toll. From 1912 the disappearance of the Māori Health Officers and Sanitary Inspectors, who did so much to support the work of the councils, was a major blow to their functioning. Some councils struggled even before then. To take one example, at its meetings during 1906 and 1907 the Kurahaupō Māori Council (which covered the Rangitīkei and northern Horowhenua district) grappled with the issue of their first Chairman's misspent funds and how they were to be repaid. By 1909 the council faced complaints that some members were not pulling their weight. The Council met only once in 1910 and 1911, possibly due to the illness of the Chairman, Taraua Marumaru, who died in 1911. In 1912 the council's secretary resigned and was subsequently taken to court for misappropriation of funds and agreed to pay restitution. This upheaval resulted in the council meeting several times in 1913 but then met only four times over the next four years. The final recorded meeting was in January 1917 to elect a new Chairman, Hue Te Huri. He was killed three months later when a cartload of timber fell on him while crossing the Rangitīkei River.[69]

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[66] Buck, *Coming of the Māori*, pp 411-412

[67] King, *Maori Social History*, p 75

[68] Lange, *May the People Live*, p 154

[69] Christoffel, 'Education, Health and Housing in the Taihape Inquiry District', pp 181-182

According to Lange, Kurahaupō was one of the more active councils. Others went into decline earlier. Only two council annual conferences were held after 1906.[70] At the final conference in 1911 it was resolved that 'the Maori Councils Act, 1900, and its amendments, together with the Councils appointed thereunder, should continue'.[71] The fact that such a resolution was seen as necessary perhaps indicates that attendees considered them vulnerable to abolition. In 1915 J B Hackworth, the government official overseeing the Māori Councils, wrote that some of the councils - Hokianga, Wairoa, Matatua, Kahungunu, Tamatea and Whanganui - were 'doing most excellent work'.[72] But by then the remainder were largely inactive.

The councils struggled with the inexperience of their members, hundreds of whom needed to be elected on a regular basis. Financial reporting was sometimes poor, and Hackworth attempted to train council personnel in bookkeeping procedures. As noted above, there were instances of misappropriation of funds.[73] In 1916 Parliament amended the Maori Councils Act to enable the Government to reduce the number of council members to eight, all appointees. Elections were done away with, in part due to the logistical difficulties of holding them but also in the hope of increasing the competence of members. Such a move had been recommended at a conference of council members in 1908.[74] But by the time the change was implemented most of the councils existed in little more than name.

Did the reforms work?

In his final report before leaving the job of Native Health Officer in 1909, Maui Pomare wrote a glowing assessment of the reforms:

> We commenced with sanitary reforms amongst the Maoris with great deal of trepidation, but the result of the work has proved astonishingly satisfactory; in fact, far beyond our dreams or expectations. We can truly state to-day that, owing to sanitary adjustments, the Maori is hundred per cent, better off than he was nine years ago….Whole villages have been renovated. Some have been shifted from their low, damp situations to the higher lands. Hundreds of insanitary houses have been destroyed without penny of compensation being

[70] Lange, *A Limited Measure of Local Self-Government*, pp 49-50; *May the People Live*, p 227.

[71] AJHR 1903, G3, p1.

[72] Quoted by Lange, *A Limited Measure of Local Self-Government*, p 38

[73] Lange, *A Limited Measure of Local Self-Government*, pp 34-35

[74] Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1916, section 15; Lange, *A Limited Measure of Local Self-Government*, pp 35-38

> asked for. New houses have been erected. In some districts it would be quite difficult to find Maori whare of the old stamp. They have all gone in the general awakening that has taken place.[75]

However, others were decidedly negative about aspects of the reforms. In 1911, Robert Makgill, the District Health Officer for the Auckland region, wrote that 'efforts of the past ten years to encourage the Maoris to adopt system of local government as regards sanitary matters has proved a dismal failure'.[76] The following year Herbert Chesson, the Wellington Medical Officer of Health, wrote that many whare in his district were 'not fit for habitation' and the lack of privies was an ongoing problem.[77]

So which of these polarised assessments are to be believed? Pomare was, of course, writing a review of his own tenure in the job and thus had a vested interest in painting a positive picture. On the other hand, over nine years he visited hundreds of kāinga, many more than once, and ensured the sanitary inspectors sent him regular updates on progress in erecting and demolishing dwellings and building privies. He collated these figures for publication in his final report. So his assessment was based on extensive personal experience and on a degree of hard data. It is likely, on the other hand, that the regional health officers employed by the Department of Public Health based their assessments largely on second-hand reports of a limited number of cases. It is unlikely they spent much time in kāinga given their main focus was on Pākehā health.

According to the figures presented in Pomare's 1909 report, 2103 new houses were built in the six years 1904-1909 under the Māori-driven system, with over half built in 1904 and 1908.[78] Three hundred new whare were also erected over this time. This seems a considerable achievement for a Māori population of around 50,000, although it should be noted that the houses built were sometimes of poor quality.

There is also evidence of improvements to the water supply in many kāinga, by installing water tanks and digging wells. But the reforms seem to have made little headway with respect to sewage disposal. Just 1000 'WCs' were installed in kāinga over six years, the majority being

[75] AJHR 1909, H31, p 60

[76] AJHR 1911, H31, p 50

[77] AJHR 1912, H31, p 77

[78] AJHR 1909, H31, p 60

in the period 1907 to 1909. This is less than half the number of new houses built. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence that the health and sanitation officers and the members of Māori Councils and village committees often struggled to convince people to use the new facilities.

But difficulties in making progress on better and more healthy housing were influenced by much more than community attitudes. Money was required for new houses, drainage systems, and privies. Funding for Māori councils came largely from the community in the form of donations, house taxes, dog registration fees, and fines. The government contribution to the councils was minimal, as was pointed out on several occasions by the Māori Members of Parliament, who also asked for the councils to be given greater powers.[79]

Government funding of Māori health initiatives through health officers and sanitary inspectors was erratic at best. In 1907 Elsdon Best complained that his travel expenses were insufficient for him to visit even a fraction of the kāinga he needed to.[80] In 1909 the salaries of Pomare and the sanitary inspectors were reduced and the vote for Māori Councils was cut back. The move prompted an angry reaction from Peter Buck, by then an MP. 'Unless the Government were willing to spend a reasonable amount in attending to the health of the Maoris they might as well let them die out.'[81]

[79] Dow, *Maori Health*, p 101; Lange, *A Limited Measure of Local Self-Government*, p 32

[80] AJHR 1907, H31, p 58

[81] Quoted by Dow, *Maori Health*, p 101

Chapter 9: Māori Councils and Public Health, 1918-1934

Introduction

The 1918 influenza pandemic was a wake-up call for the Government after neglect of public health during World War One. Most Māori Councils were struggling even before the war due to lack of government support and the laying off of Native Sanitary Inspectors. In 1920 the Government established a revamped Health Department that included a Division of Maori Hygiene with Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) as its Director. The Māori Councils were revived as Health Councils and Buck and his successor Edward Ellison appointed four Maori Health Inspectors. The revived system included a strong emphasis on sanitation and housing.

The Reforms of 1919-1920

By 1918 most of the 1900 reforms to improve Māori health and housing were no longer operating and public health measures in general suffered cutbacks and neglect before and during World War One. The 1918 influenza pandemic was a wake-up call for government and resulted in significant public health reforms. Geoffrey Rice estimates that 8573 New Zealanders died in the pandemic, including 322 troops who died while overseas. He calculates the Māori death toll at 2160, a quarter of total deaths at a time when Māori made up just five percent of the population.[1]

According to Rice, the epidemic 'drew more Pakeha observers to the Māori settlements at one time than ever before, and their impressions are often quite revealing. Most visitors were shocked by the conditions they found, describing Māori houses as "hovels", "shacks" or "slum shanties", and were severely critical of their dirty conditions'.[2] In early 1919 a local authority letter-writing campaign, started by the Tauranga Hospital Board, urged the government to take action to improve sanitation in Māori settlements. The Wairoa County Council suggested that a designated officer of the Public Health Department should regularly visit the settlements. In May 1919, the department appointed Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) as 'Health Officer to the Natives' to carry out this function.[3]

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[1] Geoffrey Rice with assistance from Lynda Bryder, *Black November: The 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand*, 2005 edition, pp 161, 203

[2] Rice, *Black November*, p 161

[3] Raeburn Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity: Maori Councils, 1919-1945*, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005, p 7.

In December 1918, the Government appointed a commission to inquire into the influenza pandemic. The commission's 1919 report quoted pandemic advice, from the Royal College of Physicians in London, that sounds eerily like that provided some 100 years later with respect to Covid-19. 'Infection is conveyed from the sick to the healthy by the secretions of the respiratory surface. In coughing, sneezing, and even in loud talking these are transmitted through the air for considerable distances in the form of fine spray. The channels of reception are normally the nose and throat.' The Royal College thus recommended avoiding over-crowding and emphasised the importance of well-ventilated rooms.[4]

Despite the obvious applicability of the Royal College's advice to Māori communities, the Epidemic Commission's report barely mentioned Māori. It did, however, recommend that 'attention should be given to the case of Māori settlements by bringing into operation the provisions of section 68 of the Public Health Act' by setting up Maori Health Committees under that Act.[5] The Commission seemed unaware of the Maori Councils Act 1900 – perhaps understandably given that few of the councils were still operating.

Māori Councils Revived

Peter Buck returned from active service in France shortly before the Commission released its report and took up his new position as Health Officer to the Natives. He had worked with Māori Councils in the early 1900s and set about trying to revive them. In late 1919 the Māori MPs, on the advice of Buck and Maui Pomare, met with Native Minister William Herries to request measures to focus the councils exclusively on health and housing.[6] As a result Parliament amended section 68 of the Public Health Act 1908 to empower the Governor-General to create special districts overseen by existing Māori Councils. The 1919 amendment empowered Māori Councils to appoint Health Committees to carry out sanitary works subsidised by government.[7]

In 1920 Parliament passed a comprehensive new Health Act in the wake of the 1918 pandemic. Section 66, relating to 'Sanitation of Maori Settlements', largely incorporated the provisions of section 68 of the newly-repealed Public Health Act, as outlined above. Under the Health Act 1920, Māori Councils were renamed Māori Health Councils and new district boundaries were

[4] AJHR 1919, H31a, pp 4-5

[5] AJHR 1919, H31a, p 10

[6] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 8-9

[7] Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Act 1919, Sections 16 and 17

to be drawn up and gazetted. A new Health Department replaced the Department of Public Health and included a Division of Maori Hygiene, of which Buck was named Director. His role included the supervision of Māori Councils, which until 1919 had been overseen mainly by the Native Department.[8]

Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) in 1909 after completing his first period working with Māori Councils. General Assembly Library, Parliamentary portraits. Ref: 35mm-00094-e-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

[8] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 8-9

Despite the name change, the term ‘Maori health councils’ never achieved common usage and the term ‘Maori councils’ continued to be used. Twenty new Māori councils were in operation by 1922, along with more than 250 village committees.[9] The councils gazetted in 1922 covered all the North Island apart from the Waikato, which largely remained outside the system - although the Maniapoto Māori Council covering the Rohe Pōtae was gazetted in the mid-1920s. It was not until 1929 that three councils were gazetted in the South Island, plus the Wharekauri Council in the Chathams.[10]

Under a 1916 legislative amendment, Māori Council members were no longer elected. Instead, up to seven Māori members were appointed, plus an ‘official member’ which in practice meant a Pākehā from the relevant district. The process for appointing council members was somewhat opaque, with membership negotiated between local Māori and Health Department officials. For example, with respect to the Kurahaupō Māori Council, Buck wrote to former secretary Rangi Marumaru in May 1920 saying he hoped to revive the council under younger leadership. In response Marumaru submitted to Buck a list of proposed council members who, he said, intended to call a council meeting soon. The meeting was called for early 1921 but only two members showed up. Despite the apparent lack of interest seven council members were eventually gazetted from Marumaru’s list. Buck appointed Hohepa Hawira as Chair at Marumaru’s suggestion and Hawira subsequently submitted lists of names for village committees.[11]

Native Health Inspectors

Buck, as the Director of the new Maori Hygiene Division, was aware of the importance of health officials working closely with Māori Councils. He had criticised the laying off of the Public Health Department’s Native Sanitary Inspectors in 1912 and sought to revive these positions under a new name. This time, however, he wanted ‘a younger and more energetic type, and sufficiently educated to learn the scientific details of their work’. He thus appointed Harding Leaf, ‘a returned officer who had distinguished himself in the field with the Maori Battalion’ as Native Health Inspector based in the Hokianga and covering the Northland district.[12] Three more inspectors were appointed in the mid-1920s - Henry Lambert to cover

[9] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 14

[10] Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy 1840-1940*, p 152; Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 14

[11] Christoffel, ‘Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District’ p 205

[12] AJHR 1920, H31, p 14

the Hawkes Bay, Takiwaiora Hooper to cover the west coast of the North Island, and A Ormsby to cover the King Country. Many other Māori Councils applied for health inspectors for their district, but the Health Department was unwilling to appoint more than four, presumably due to financial constraints.[13]

The Reforms in Operation

Health Inspectors

Because of the large geographical areas they had to cover, in practice the Native Health Inspectors had little time to liaise with the Māori councils. Furthermore, the relatively new inoculation for typhoid was being rolled out to Māori as a priority in the 1920s. Typhoid was spread through unclean drinking water and its rate among Māori was calculated as being 100 times that for Pākehā. The health inspectors, usually assisted by a Native Health Nurse, therefore spent much of their time helping inoculate Māori communities, including return visits to administer boosters.[14]

But the long-term protection against typhoid was cleaner, healthier kāinga and drinking water, so inspecting kāinga remained an important part of the health inspectors' job. To take examples from the log book and correspondence kept by Hooper, in July 1925 he visited Opaea pā near Taihape and later wrote to one of the principal residents with instructions for improvements to be carried out before a further inspection a month later. 'The dwellings were in a delapidated (sic) state and their surroundings very unsanitary. The privies are not properly arranged, and drainage is very bad indeed'. In November 1927 Hooper visited Winiata and Utiku near Taihape and recorded: 'made general inspection of Maoris and Pakehas homes – Maori homes clean – better than Pakehas'. He was accompanied on this occasion by Wirihana Winiata, a member of the Kurahaupō Māori Council. In early 1929 he advised those planning a large hui in Moawhango that they should comply with the Māori Council instructions and not use the meeting house until certain renovations were made.[15]

In 1927, Buck resigned from his position as Director of Māori Hygiene and was replaced by Edward Ellison, another Māori medical graduate.[16] Ellison left for an overseas position in 1931

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[13] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, pp 186-187; Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 21

[14] Christoffel, 'Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District' p 202

[15] Christoffel, 'Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District' pp 201-202

[16] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, p 159

and the Division of Māori Hygiene was abolished shortly after, largely as a depression-era austerity measure. The four Native Health Inspectors were laid off and their work thereafter undertaken by the general health inspectors employed by the Health Department.[17] However, in an about-face in 1932, the departmental bureaucracy agreed to a request from the Wanganui Māori Council that Maui Pomare's son, Rakaherea Pomare, be appointed a Native Inspector of Health to the upriver regions. The younger Pomare went on to have a successful career in the department.[18]

The laying off of Māori staff in 1931 does not seem to have been solely financially driven. There was also a view within the Health Department that staff of Māori ethnicity were no longer required to get the work done. Apirana Ngata put the view in 1928 that, thanks to the work of Māori councils and Māori health inspectors since the early 1900s, Māori communities would now accept Pākehā advice on health matters.[19] Peter Buck put a similar view, with benefit of hindsight, some years later.

> Dr Ned Ellison, also endowed with Maori blood, took my place in Maori Hygiene until the general advance in Maori understanding of health matters no longer needed a special ambassador of their own blood to help them to understand. Those of us of Maori blood, Council members, Committeemen, Health Inspectors, and Medical Officers, had, by countless hours on the village *marae* and in tribal meeting houses, helped to dispel superstition, prejudice, and opposition…. The European District Health Officers could now embark both races in the same ship and sail out on a calm sea.[20]

The Funding of Māori Councils

The revived Māori Health Councils were no better funded than their predecessors. As in the early 1900s, their finances relied largely on fines for breaches of bylaws. They could no longer call on dog registration fees, as responsibility for collecting these was transferred to county councils in 1916. The Public Health Act 1920 provided for the Native and Public Health Departments to help fund the Māori Councils, mainly through subsidies for sanitary and water supply projects. But when the Bill was being debated in Parliament, Ngata pointed out the funds were likely to come largely from the Native Civil List, on which there were many other

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[17] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 28-28; Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, p 187

[18] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, pp 187-188

[19] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 28-30

[20] Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, p 414

demands. He argued that the Health Department should provide adequate funding for sanitary projects.[21] Ngata's argument was largely correct, as most of the subsidies did indeed come from the Native Department, in the early 1920s at least.

The removal in 1916 of the ability of Māori Councils to collect dog registration fees was a frequent cause for complaint. This function was transferred to county councils because the demise of most Māori Councils by 1916 meant that dog registration fees were no longer being collected in many districts.[22] In 1926 the Secretary of the Kurahaupō Māori Council wrote to Buck protesting the removal of the dog tax function from their jurisdiction. He received a sympathetic response from Buck, who said he was powerless to act.[23] Several councils entered into agreements with local authorities to collect the dog taxes on their behalf. For example, the Wairoa Māori Council in Northland arranged to collect the tax on behalf of the local county council. The Wairoa council kept half the proceeds, which it used to fund six water supply projects.[24]

Other councils struggled for funding. In 1931, Ron Ritchie, the Pākehā representative on the Wanganui Council, reported to the Health Department that the council had not functioned properly for years because of lack of adequate funding.[25] Council members were not reimbursed for expenses despite often having to travel substantial distances to attend meetings. Buck raised this issue with the Government in 1921 but to no avail.[26] In 1929 the new chairman of the Kahungunu Council wrote that members' slackness in attending meetings was due to the lack of travelling expenses.[27]

Despite these problems, some councils seemed to have adequate funds available (perhaps through more efficient management) and functioned well. The Matatua Māori Council regularly had surpluses which it used to fund water supply and sanitation projects. In 1925, for example, the Council provided £110 towards two water supply projects from its own funds without applying for a government subsidy. The Pewhairangi Māori Council in the Bay of

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[21] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 15-16

[22] William Herries in NZPD 1916, volume 177, p 742

[23] Christoffel, 'Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District', pp 204-205

[24] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 19

[25] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, p 153

[26] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 18

[27] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, p 153

Islands likewise funded two projects at a total cost of £75 without applying for subsidies.[28] The Arawa Maori Council was also well-funded after a 1925 legislative change enabled the Arawa Māori Trust Board to take over the role of the Māori Council.[29] The Trust Board had an annual income of £6000 resulting from an agreement with the Crown to settle Te Arawa claims over Lake Rotorua.[30]

The Rātana Movement

The sudden and rapid growth of the Rātana Movement created difficulties for some Māori councils. By 1920 a shanty town had sprung up on the Rātana farm south-east of Whanganui, to accommodate followers who flocked there. The settlement soon became known as Rātana Pā.[31] Rātana followers constantly came and went over subsequent decades, creating numerous problems for health officials. Dow notes that the Health Department's principal file on Rātana Pā, which covers the years 1925-1940, 'contains numerous damning reports on its living conditions and health status by health inspectors and medical officers'. The pā therefore took up a lot of health officials' time and the movement also caused problems for the Māori councils, particularly the Kurahaupō Council in whose area it lay.[32]

In 1921 thousands were expected to attend a Christmas gathering at Rātana pā and the Medical Officer of Health for the Wanganui District wrote to the Kurahaupō Māori Council about the possible health consequences (although the expected crowd failed to eventuate). Officials hoped the council would deal with actual and expected health problems at the pā but they were to be disappointed. It appeared that the chairman and other council members had become involved with the Rātana movement, and the council was barely operating. By 1925 the Kurahaupō council had ceased functioning altogether and Māori Health Inspector Taki Hooper alerted Buck that Rātana's followers were claiming they had a registered Māori Council. In 1926 Hooper informed Buck that local people wished to revive the Kurahaupō Māori Council to combat the Rātana influence.[33] A new council of mainly young men, former Te Aute pupils,

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[28] AJHR 1926, H31, p 43

[29] Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1925, Section 17

[30]Te Arawa Lakes Deed of Settlement Summary. 18 Dec 2004. https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Te-Arawa-Lakes/Te-Arawa-Lakes-Deed-of-Settlement-Summary-18-Dec-2004.pdf

[31] Keith Newman, 'Rātana Church – Te Haahi Rātana - Founding the Rātana Church', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/Rātana-church-te-haahi-Rātana/page-1 (accessed 10 February 2022)

[32] Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy*, p 155

[33] Christoffel, 'Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District', p 206; Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 26

was appointed and attempted to enforce the sanitation bylaws on the Rātana settlement. This move was to no avail, as the Rātana leaders did not acknowledge the Council's authority.[34] Rātana supporters disrupted Māori Councils elsewhere in the country as Buck reported in 1926.

> We are experiencing many difficulties owing to the Rātana movement finding its way into the working of our Councils and Village Committees. In many instances our picked men have been approached to join the Rātana committees, which are very much in evidence, and in some cases we have lost their services. It appears as if an organized attempt is being made to undermine and to usurp the duties of our Councils by the Rātana element…[35]

Rātana followers later seemed more inclined to co-operate with the official Māori councils. Buck's successor Ellison wrote in 1930 that 'that the Rātana element, which once harassed and obstructed the Maori Councils at every turn, now seeks representation on the Councils and Village Committees, and assists in their work.'[36] This does not seem to have applied in all areas of the country. In April 1934 the Medical Officer of Health for the Wellington region described the Kurahaupō Māori Council as 'very moribund' as 'the Ratana movement whose headquarters are in their district renders any effective activity quite impossible'.[37]

The Demise of the Māori Councils

The Kurahaupō Māori Council was not the only one to cease functioning in the 1930s. The Horouta Council based on the East Coast was found to be barely operating in 1932, with the Gisborne Medical Officer of Health reporting that 'all this Council does apparently is to collect hawkers' fees'.[38] However, the Health Department's annual report that year stated that the majority of councils 'still continue to function in an active and efficient manner' and made special mention of the Mangonui, Hokianga, Pewhairangi, Matatua, Maniopoto, Whanganui, Kahungnunu, and Arapawa councils, the latter based in Blenheim.[39] Lange notes that in subsequent years departmental staff applied the word 'active' to only some of the councils. Many, such as the Kahungunu council, ceased to operate effectively.[40]

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[34] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 27

[35] AJHR 1926, H31, p 43

[36] AJHR 1930, H31, p 40

[37] Christoffel, 'Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District', p 208

[38] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 31

[39] AJHR 1932, H31, p 4

[40] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 31

One council that did stand out for its work throughout the 1920s and 1930s was Matatua. In its earlier incarnation in the early 1900s, sanitary inspector Elsdon Best considered the council obstructive. But the reformed council was a different beast. Its finances were regularly in surplus, it initiated several water supply projects, ran a competition for 'best-kept settlement', and was well-regarded by health officials. The council continued to be active into the 1940s.[41]

The abolition of the Māori Hygiene Division in 1931, the departure of Ellison, and the laying off of the Native Health Inspectors undermined the functioning of Māori councils. The Health Department tried to encourage other health staff to fill the gap left by the loss of Māori staff. For example, the Medical Officer of Health in Wellington wrote to the health inspectors in his district asking them to keep in close contact with Māori councils in their areas and to offer assistance with administration.[42] But the reality was that these officers had a range of responsibilities that were primarily focussed on the Pākehā community.

Māori council finances, often in a poor state, suffered greatly during the economic depression. Fines on which they relied for revenue were unpopular and difficult to enforce in straightened times. The government was in austerity mode and unwilling to provide subsidies. The expense of getting to meetings made the councils difficult to run. By 1935 many councils had so little money they did not even bother operating bank accounts.[43] Although they nominally kept operating until after World War Two, almost all the Māori councils were moribund by the late 1930s.

Water Supply and Sanitation

Despite observer reports of sub-standard Māori housing, there seems no evidence that the Māori councils and Health Department staff were involved in encouraging the demolition and erection of houses after 1920. Instead, they focussed on issues of sanitation and water supply. To help supply clean water to Māori communities, the Health Act 1920 provided for government subsidies on a pound-for-pound basis towards water supply and other sanitary projects, a similar provision to that in the Maori Councils Act 1900.

Under the first iteration of the Māori council system in the early 1900s, government subsidies for water supply projects proved hard to obtain. This changed in the 1920s, although subsidies

[41] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 31-32

[42] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 37-38

[43] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, pp 33-34

were initially hard to obtain and generally came from the Native Department rather than from the Health Department where the responsibility more rightly lay. Buck, who applied for funding on behalf of councils, discovered this when in 1921 the Wanganui Council proposed a water supply project for Hiruhārama village. Materials and freight cost £22 so Buck sought a Health Department subsidy of £11 on the Council's behalf, with the local community providing free labour. When the request was turned down Buck asked if that meant that the subsidy provision in the Act could simply be disregarded. The Native Department eventually provided £25 towards the project. In 1922 the Wanganui Council planned a larger water supply project for Parakino village costing £100, with the community again providing free labour. Buck's application for Health Department funding was again turned down and the Native Department contributed £25 towards the project, with community fundraising having to make up the shortfall.[44]

Things improved thereafter and Buck wrote in 1924 that the Native Department 'never declined assistance, and the gratitude of the Maori people is due to that Department for their recognition of the importance of good water-supplies in bettering the condition of the Native people'. His report listed six projects to supply well-and-pump water systems to various villages. The Health Department also chipped in, contributing £25 towards a water supply project in the far north village of Te Hapūa.[45]

For the remainder of the 1920s Māori councils continued to find it relatively easy to obtain the necessary subsidies for water, drainage, and other sanitation projects. According to Lange, this period was marked 'by an unusual degree of Government willingness to support Council projects in this way'.[46] In 1926, for example, the Health Department contributed £75 towards a Tauranga Māori Council project to supply reticulated water in the village of Judea. Buck reported that 'water in this area was previously drawn from swamp holes, and sickness was ever present'. Several other projects received government subsidies at that time.[47] In the late 1920s the Health Department increasingly funded projects. In 1928 the department provided

[44] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 16

[45] AJHR 1924, H31, p 41

[46] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 16

[47] AJHR 1926, H31, p 43

£925 towards eight water supply projects across a range of districts and in 1929 it funded 12 projects.[48]

Sewage

Convincing Māori communities to install latrines had been a major stumbling block for Māori Councils and public health officials in the early years of the twentieth century. But the re-invigorated Māori councils and the Division of Native Hygiene appeared to face less difficulty in the 1920s. The education efforts of Pomare and others, and possibly the efforts of Native school teachers, seem to have paid off. Ellison noted in his first annual report as Director of the division that 'erection of latrine accommodation is now recognized by the Natives to be essential in the interests of health', with 'communal meeting-houses provided with the necessary conveniences for both sexes'. In addition 'many private homes also have their privy accommodation established'.[49]

Ellison credited village committees with organising much of the work with respect to meeting houses, including getting rid of general waste. 'The refuse of gatherings is dealt with by burning or burial, and the sanitation of the villages becomes a routine matter.'[50] His predecessor Buck made similar comments in 1924 and 1925. 'Proper latrine accommodation in the individual houses and in connection with the tribal meeting-houses has received practical attention during the past year', and water supplies were thereby protected from pollution. 'The by-laws dealing with this subject have been enforced with good results'.[51]

Some Māori communities had modern sewerage systems installed. In some cases the systems were connected to town sewerage networks, as with the Rotorua townships of Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa discussed in Chapter 10. In 1929 a scheme to connect Te Kūiti Pā to the borough sewer received a £100 government subsidy, with the community contributing £50 and supplying all labour. The scheme included 'four up-to-date W.C.s' and drainage from the large dining hall. Work also commenced on a drainage scheme for Ngāruawāhia Pā, 'provision being made for six up-to-date W.C.s and septic tank, with the necessary drainage, at a total estimated cost of £175'. In the latter case the local community contributed half the cost and supplied

[48] AJHR 1928, H31, p 35; AJHR 1929, H31, p 31

[49] AJHR 1928, H31, p 35

[50] AJHR 1928, H31, p 35

[51] AJHR 1925, H31, p 49. For similar comments see AJHR 1924, H31, p 41

labour.[52] Similar facilities were installed at Waitara, Pāpāwai, Te Kaiti, and Waiomatatine (East Coast).[53]

However, aside from these large-scale schemes, progress was slower than some optimistic assessments indicated. In 1930 the Health Department's annual report noted 'progressive improvement in the living-conditions and in sanitation' of Māori communities, although at the same time noting 'a severe and widespread epidemic of dysentery in the Auckland Central and South Health Districts, and typhoid in the Rotorua and Murupara districts, and also in the East Coast Health District, with a consequent toll of life'.[54]

Ellison's 1929 report suggested that 'the casting-aside of old customs' would take time with respect to installing toilet facilities for private homes.[55] His concerns were backed up by a 1933 survey in the Waiapu district conducted by Harold Turbott, outlined in detail in Chapter 12. Turbott found that only 66 percent of houses had privies and in almost half of these cases the pit toilets were 'so faultily constructed or so rudimentary as to make the homes little better than those without them'.[56] However, Turbott's figures need to be seen in perspective. Anecdotal reports from Native Sanitary Inspectors in the early 1900s indicate that in most kāinga few households had toilet facilities – and furthermore considerable persuasion was required to ensure their installation and use. By 1933, Turbott's survey of remote kāinga found that over a third of homes had adequate toilet facilities.

Although Māori councils could get funding assistance for some large projects, they seemed hamstrung in their efforts to try and enforce drainage improvements on individual dwellings. While some Māori councils passed their own bylaws, several generic bylaws were adopted by all councils. In March 1927 the secretary of the Kurahaupō Māori Council wrote to health inspector Hooper asking about general bylaws relating to drainage as 'my Council wishes to take proceedings against a certain person'. Hooper responded that there did not appear to be

[52] AJHR 1929, H31, p 31

[53] AJHR 1930, H31, p 44

[54] AJHR 1930 H31 p 39

[55] AJHR 1929, H31, p 31

[56] Harold Turbott, 'Health and Social Welfare' in I.L.G Sutherland (ed) *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*, Wellington, 1940, p 245.

any relevant drainage bylaws.[57] Gaps in the bylaws and council's limited ability to enforce them were a significant problem for some councils.[58]

Conclusions

The most obvious success coming from the reforms of 1919 and 1920 was the widespread provision of clean water to many Māori communities. Polluted water was a long-standing problem and led to regular outbreaks of typhoid and occasionally dysentery. The government's willingness to provide subsidies to water supply projects initiated by Māori councils was a departure from previous practice and is likely to have limited the spread of waterborne disease, at least in some districts. Health officials were also gratified to see that earlier Māori opposition to the installation and use of latrines had largely disappeared and modern flush toilets were being installed on some marae. There seems little evidence, however, of work to improve housing quality and deal with issues such as overcrowding. These remained significant issues.

As had happened with the 1900 reforms, the 1920s reforms were undermined by government cutbacks, in particular the abolition of the Division of Māori Hygiene in 1931. Māori Councils often faced opposition from Rātana supporters and struggled to raise funds during the depression. Few councils still functioned by the late 1930s.

[57] Christoffel, 'Education, Health And Housing In The Taihape Inquiry District' pp 207-208

[58] Lange, *In an Advisory Capacity*, p 32

Chapter 10: Government Inquiries – Whakarewarewa and Ōhinemutu

Introduction

One of the topics for this report is 'Royal Commissions and Select Committees on housing and social conditions in the period including the 1926 Commission to investigate the establishment of model Maori villages'. The only relevant inquires uncovered in research for this report were the 1919 Influenza Epidemic Commission and the 1926 Commission on model villages.

As Ella Arbury notes, the Influenza Epidemic Commission's report 'scarcely discussed Māori experiences of the epidemic and how to prevent more influenza outbreaks in Māori communities'. This was despite the fact that Māori were affected by the epidemic to a much greater extent than the rest of the population.[1] The Commission's report briefly mentioned the importance of improving sanitation in Māori settlements but said little else on the topic.[2] This chapter therefore covers only the 1926 Commission 'to inquire and report upon the necessity or advisability of establishing model villages on the sites of the present villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa'.[3]

Background

By the 1870s Te Arawa were already conducting small-scale tourist operations within the Rotorua district. Much of this activity centred on the Ngāti Whakaue village of Ōhinemutu and the nearby village of Whakarewarewa, both at the southern end of Lake Rotorua. Members of Ngāti Whakaue and Tūhourangi (another Te Arawa tribe) provided accommodation, guided tourists through the thermal sights and the pink and white terraces, and informally leased land to Pākehā shopkeepers and hoteliers.[4]

These small-scale operations did not accord with government ambitions for large-scale tourist development. In early 1874, former Premier William Fox undertook an excursion through the 'hot springs' district of the central North Island. He wrote an account of his findings in a memo to Premier Julius Vogel.[5] Fox considered the area could become a major international attraction

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[1] Ella Arbury, 'A Healthy Home? Housing and Health in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland 1918-1949', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2019, pp 45-46

[2] 'Report of the Influenza Epidemic Commission', AJHR, 1919, H31a, p 10

[3] The press sometimes referred to this Commission of Inquiry as a 'Royal Commission' but it did not have that official status.

[4] Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism*, Auckland, 2004, pp 10-13.

[5] Fox to Vogel, AJHR 1874, H26

for tourists seeking the health-giving properties of hot baths. 'The country in which the hot springs are is almost worthless for agricultural or pastoral, or any similar purposes; but when its sanitary resources are developed, it may prove a source of great wealth to the colony.' In particular 'Ohinemutu and its surroundings can hardly fail to become one of the principal bathing-places in the country'. However, Fox considered that government intervention was needed to protect the area from excessive commercial exploitation. In the United States a similar concern led to the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. Purchasing the thermal springs areas from Māori was therefore, in Fox's view, 'essential'.[6]

After Fox's report, the government set out to buy land in the Rotorua district to establish a township to further stimulate the growing tourist trade. The problem for the Crown was that the Native Land Court had yet to be admitted into the Rotorua district to determine land ownership. Local Māori appeared content with informal lease agreements with Pākehā who ran hotels and retail outlets.[7] In 1880 the Government sent Native Land Court Chief Judge Francis Fenton to try and negotiate a way through the impasse with representatives of Te Arawa's Komiti Nui. The resulting Fenton Agreement provided for the establishment of a township at Rotorua and allowed the Native Land Court to enter the district.[8] Instead of selling land, Māori owners would allow long-term leases to private businesses, with the government acting as intermediary. They would gain a rental income and the government would encourage the creation of a European settlement to act as a tourist centre.[9] Land was to be reserved for Ngāti Whakaue at Ōhinemutu, which was within and area of the proposed township.[10]

In 1881 Parliament passed the Thermal Springs Districts Act to put the Fenton agreement into effect. Rotorua was proclaimed a township in October 1881 and the government auctioned leases the following year. In March 1883 it appointed a board of management for Rotorua township, consisting of Rotohiko Haupapa for Ngāti Whakaue, resident magistrate Herbert Brabant, and Hope Lewis, the resident doctor provided as part of the Fenton Agreement.[11]

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[6] Fox to Vogel, AJHR 1874, H26, p 4

[7] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'The Sociocultural Impact Of Tourism On The Te Arawa People Of Rotorua, New Zealand', University of Waikato PhD Thesis, 1981, p 65

[8] Waitangi Tribunal, *He Mauga Rongo: Report on Central North Island Claims*, volume 1, 2008, p 283

[9] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, p 14

[10] Waitangi Tribunal, *He Mauga Rongo*, volume 1, p 293

[11] Te Awekotuku, 'Sociocultural Impact Of Tourism', pp 68-70

The Crown invested in developing Rotorua, including building a cluster of bath houses and a hospital.[12] However, the township was not initially a great success. It was established just as the world went into an economic depression and many of the leases were either not taken up or fell into arrears. The 1886 Tarawera eruption destroyed the pink and white terraces, thus removing a major tourist drawcard. The destruction resulted in some surviving members of Tūhourangi joining their kin at Whakarewarewa, making it a much more sizeable village. By 1888 an increasingly number of Rotorua leaseholders were surrendering their leases. To salvage its investment the Government purchased Rotorua township from Ngāti Whakaue in 1890 for £8250.[13]

Ōhinemutu village remained an independent reserve and Whakarewarewa village was outside the township. In 1893 the Native Land Court controversially awarded five-sixths of the Whakarewarewa block to Ngāti Whakaue, with Tūhourangi retaining just one sixth. Ngāti Whakaue sold 157 acres of the block to the Crown in 1895, leaving 58 acres for Whakarewarewa village. Te Arawa lost control of several major tourist attractions as a result.[14]

Following its purchase of Rotorua, the Government invested further in the township. The growth of tourism was boosted by the opening of a new railway link with Auckland in 1894. By 1900 Rotorua had five hotels and eight boarding houses.[15] In 1901 the Government established a Department of Tourist and Health Resorts to operate Crown tourist assets at Rotorua and elsewhere. The department undertook further significant developments around Rotorua over the next decade.[16]

Māori villages, including Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa, were an important part of the tourist experience in the district from the early days of tourism. Māori controlled many aspects of the tourist trade, providing guides and charging tolls to enter certain areas.[17] But the villages and their inhabitants also provided exotic tourist sights for overseas visitors.

Following the passing of the Maori Councils Act 1900, the villages at Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa came under the jurisdiction of the Arawa Maori Council. The Council,

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[12] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, pp 16-17

[13] Te Awekotuku, 'Sociocultural Impact Of Tourism', pp 70-75, 109

[14] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, pp 19-20; Ngahuia, p 93

[15] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, pp 22-24

[16] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, pp 26-41

[17] Te Awekotuku, 'Sociocultural Impact Of Tourism', pp 75-84, 90, 93-96, 109-110

working through village committees, attempted to improve housing conditions in the villages by encouraging the demolition of traditional whare and the erection of wooden cottages raised above ground with windows and good ventilation. This move conflicted with the motives of the tourist industry, which preferred to see picturesque traditional-style whare. In response to criticisms that the new housing was unattractive, Native Health Officer Maui Pomare responded that he would rather see Māori live than 'satisfy the curiosity of the passer-by and die'.[18]

The Tourism Department was unhappy with the housing changes and planned a 'model village' in traditional style on Crown land near Whakarewarewa. It settled instead on constructing a replica fighting pā that some criticised for its lack of historical accuracy. Three families moved into the model pā before it opened in 1909 and were encouraged to grow kūmara to provide a sense of authenticity.[19]

With Rotorua growing, the Rotorua Town Council Act 1900 enlarged the Town Council but retained only one Māori member. The Council largely left the running of Whakarewarewa and Ōhinemutu in the hands of their respective village councils established under the Maori Councils Act. As a result, the Town Council did little to give the villages the same amenities of electricity, drainage, tree-planting and roading as the European Township. In 1907 a Council inspector found that houses in the village were decaying, some had no floors, and 250 households shared 2-3 good toilets.[20] The Health Department's Sanitary Inspector for the district regularly commented on the need for a sewerage scheme for the two villages.[21]

The Rotorua Town Act 1907 put the town under the management of the Department of Tourist and Health resorts, making Rotorua the country's only state-run town. Local Māori agreed to put their affairs in the hands of the new Town Council established under the 1907 Act, in the hope that the Department would invest in improving their villages. By then Whakarewarewa came within the Rotorua town boundaries. The Town Council connected the villages to the

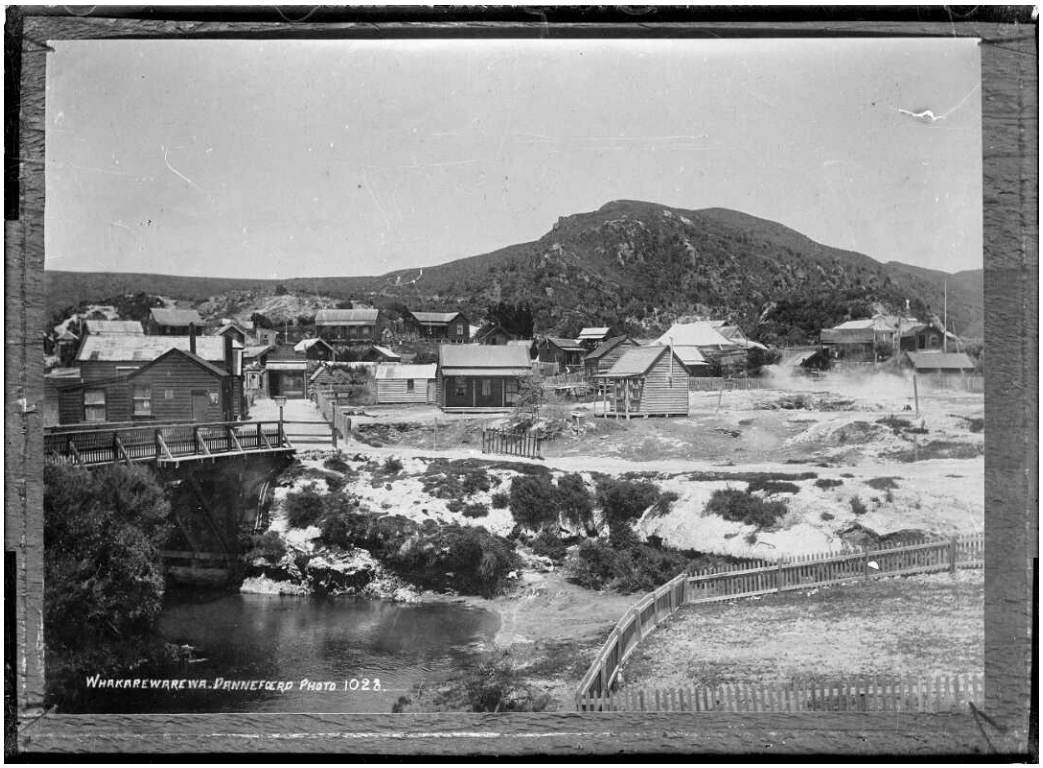
[18] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, pp 42-43

[19] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, pp 44-48

[20] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, p 48

[21] See, for example, AJHR 1907, H31, p 57

town water supply, installed electric lighting, and built some roads. However, it struggled with the logistics of installing a proper sewerage system.[22]



Whakarewarewa village - Photograph taken by Sigvard Jacob Dannefaerd. This 1906 photograph shows the European-style cottages that tourism interests saw as out of keeping with a Māori village. Many of the houses were already becoming run down. (National Library Tiaki IRN 198536).

The Tourist Department's running of Rotorua ended after the passing of the Rotorua Borough Council Act 1922. Under the Act Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa, including their village committees, came under the jurisdiction of the new Borough Council.[23] Also in 1922, the Arawa Trust Board was established to administer the £6000 annuity agreed by the Crown to settle Te Arawa claims over Lake Rotorua.[24] Under 1925 legislation the Trust Board took on the role of the Arawa Maori Council.[25]

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[22] AJHR 1926, G7, p 5

[23] Rotorua Borough Council Act 1922, section 11

[24]Te Arawa Lakes Deed of Settlement Summary. 18 Dec 2004. https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Te-Arawa-Lakes/Te-Arawa-Lakes-Deed-of-Settlement-Summary-18-Dec-2004.pdf

[25] Raeburn Lang, *In an Advisory Capacity: Maori Councils, 1919-1945*, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005, p 15

In 1924 the Arawa Trust Board wrote to the Rotorua Borough Council requesting assistance with improvements to the two villages, for both health and sanitation reasons and to make them more attractive to tourists.[26] According to Margaret McClure no action resulted from this letter:

> The Council was unable to provide adequate rubbish collection or an efficient sewerage system on land too unstable to bear the weight of trucks and nightsoil carts. The mixture of dilapidated Maori and European houses and corrugated-iron shacks became an insanitary home for the villagers, an eye-sore for visitors and an increasing embarrassment to the succession of governments unwilling to provide funding to rehabilitate an area they neither owned nor controlled, yet uneasy that Whaka was the only example of Maori living standards which overseas visitors observed.[27]

To try and deal with the long-standing problems, in 1926 the Government set up a Commission 'to inquire and report upon the necessity or advisability of establishing model villages on the sites of the present villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa'.

The 1926 Commission on Model Māori Villages

The Government appointed the five-man Commission in May 1926. The Māori members were Peter Buck in his capacity as Director of Maori Hygiene, and Henry Mitchell, a licensed surveyor. The Pākehā members were Charles McKenzie (Acting Engineer-in-Chief of the Public Works Department), Reginald Hammond (an Auckland town planning consultant), and John Mair (the Government architect). McKenzie was Chair.

The Commission's main brief was to inquire into whether 'on the sites of the present Maori settlements or villages known as Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa it would be possible to adopt a scheme of town planning so as to establish thereon model Maori villages which would combine the distinctive characteristics of Maori art and architecture with the requirements of modern convenience, public health, and hygiene'.[28] Commission members visited both villages, took photographs, and held public meetings in their respective meeting houses. They also heard evidence in the Rotorua Native Land Court building and took written submissions from committees of representatives of both villages.

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[26] AJHR 1926, G7, p 22

[27] McClure, *The Wonder Country*, p 110

[28] AJHR 1926, G7, p 5

The Commission reported 1926 census figures showing that 146 Māori, plus an unspecified number of Europeans, lived in Ōhinemutua, and 201 Māori and 'two or three Indians' lived in Whakarewarewa. Waaka Te Roha from Tohourangi confirmed that the figures were 'a fair indication of the population'.[29]

The evidence taken by the Commission indicated that much of the housing was in poor state. The residents gave evidence that 'at least twenty' buildings in Ōhinemutu and 45 buildings in Whakarewarewa should be demolished. This is a strikingly large number given that there were only some 30 families in Ōhinemutu and 44 in Whakarewarewa. The Commission reported that some houses were overcrowded. 'In one building, 20 ft. by 22 ft., of four rooms, inspected by the Commission, fourteen persons were living. This family consisted of five married couples and four children. In another, nine persons were found in a three-roomed cottage and in yet another ten persons were living in two rooms'.[30]

The lack of a sewerage system was a particular problem. Witnesses testified that Ōhinemutu was too low-lying to be connected to the town sewerage system and the ground at Whakarewarewa was considered too dangerous.[31] On the positive side, both villages had a decent reticulated water supply and electric lighting. This made them far superior, from a health and safety point of view, to most Māori villages at the time. But most Māori villages were not viewed by large numbers of tourists:

> Owing to the peculiar scenic attractions of this district these villages are visited annually by thousands of visitors from all parts of the world, and the fact that they are the homes of portion of the Native race gives them an added attraction. Apart from the health of the inhabitants, which is of prime importance, it should be matter of concern to the people of New Zealand, both European and Maori, that the appearance of these villages should be such that the visitor leaves the country with good impression of the villages and their inhabitants whereas we fear that the reverse must often be the case when one views the unsightly structures, more particularly at the approaches to both Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu.[32]

The solution, in the eyes of the Commission, was a complete rebuilding of much of the village. 'The Commission is of opinion that the attractiveness of the villages would be materially

[29] AJHR 1926, G7, p 18

[30] AJHR 1926, G7, pp 7-8

[31] AJHR 1926, G7, pp 12-13

[32] AJHR 1926, G7, p 6

enhanced by constructing new or altering old houses so as to maintain, as far as possible, one of the outstanding features of Māori architecture—namely, the front elevation with its distinctive maihi, or barge-boards.' Both tribes submitted that the government should provide interest-free long term loans to assist them to repair and replace dilapidated dwellings. The Commission included this suggestion in its report, although not it its main recommendations.[33] To facilitate the improvements, the Commission recommended a detailed survey 'with view to designing sewerage schemes and ascertaining the number of buildings to be removed or modified'.[34] The report emphasised that dealing with the sewerage issue was a significant priority.[35]

The Fate of the Commission's Recommendations

In February 1927, just six months after the release of the Commission's report, the *Poverty Bay Herald* reported that the 'Whaka of to-day is greatly changed from the Whaka of a month ago'. The meeting house was repaired, its carvings restored, and 'drab, ill-kept cottages are shining in new paint'. The newspaper complimented the Arawa Trust Board and Rotorua Borough Council for the improvements. 'That Whaka and Ohinemutu will, in the near future, become standard models of native artistic building excellence is the aim of all concerned.'[36] The Health Department's annual report for 1927 also noted 'marked' improvements at Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa instigated by the Arawa Trust Board. 'With the further carrying-out of the recommendations of the Royal Commission regarding these villages they should become model villages that would add greatly to the credit of the Maori race.'[37]

The improvements turned out to be superficial, spurred by an impending royal visit of the Duke and Duchess of York at the end of February 1927. A year after the visit the *New Zealand Herald* described Whakarewarewa as 'squalid' and wondered if the 1926 Commission's recommendations had been forgotten.[38] However, there was some action during 1927 with initial survey work carried out in the villages.[39] In December 1928 the *Evening Post* reported

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[33] AJHR 1926, G7, pp 10, 20-21

[34] AJHR 1926, G7, pp 8-9

[35] AJHR 1926, G7, p 6

[36] *Poverty Bay Herald*, 8 February 1927, p 3

[37] AJHR 1927, H31, p 26

[38] *New Zealand Herald*, 28 February 1928, p 8

[39] *Sun (Auckland)*, 25 June 1927, p 8

that Commission member Reginald Hammond had been appointed 'to prepare a scheme for a new village adjacent to the inhabited area at Whakarewarewa'. The paper noted that the purpose was 'not to supersede the present village, but to lay out a site upon which new houses of an approved type can be built. This will relieve the over-crowding that exists, and make an easier task of replacing a number of unsightly dwellings, now used by Native families'.[40] In November 1929 Cabinet approved a £500 contribution 'for preparation and laying out of the site of a model village at Whakarewarewa'.[41] However the grant remained unspent and the *Auckland Star* reported in May 1930 that there was no progress:

> It is apparently no one's business to make an effort to regenerate Whakarewarewa as a Maori village and rid it of its aspect of neglect and decay. There was a good deal of talk in official quarters two or three years ago about a kind of town planning board, with a Government architect as one of the members, which was to set to work to remodel the principal settlements visited by tourists, including Ohinemutu. Apparently it all ended in talk. Of course, nothing can be done without money, and there was no indication as to where the funds for the remodelling were to come from, except a vague understanding that the Government would foot the bill.[42]

In September 1930, Native Affairs Minister Ngata told Parliament that the 'model village' project had been delayed by lack of finance. The total cost of the new 'cottages' was estimated at £5,000. 'The idea was that there should be a fund to which the Whakarewarewa Natives should contribute one-third, the Arawa Trust one third, and that Parliament should be asked to provide the balance as a loan. The scheme could then proceed'.[43] The government's unspent £500 contribution was transferred to the 1930 estimates for the 1931-32 financial year.[44] A year later, with the country in the depths of the Depression, no progress had been made on the 'model village' and the government's £500 contribution remained unspent. It was reduced in the 1931 estimates to £100 and further reduced in 1932 to just £50.[45] The government proposal to build a separate model village at Whakarewarewa was going nowhere.

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[40] *Evening Post*, 28 December 1928, p 6

[41] *Auckland Star*, 7 November 1929, p 8

[42] *Auckland Star*, 5 May 1930, p 6

[43] NZPD volume 225, 5 September 1930, p 709

[44] *New Zealand Herald*, 25 July 1930, p 14

[45] *New Zealand Herald*, 3 August 1931, p 11; AJHR 1932, B7, p 97

There was, however, some progress on improvements at Ōhinemutu, as reported by the *Auckland Star* in July 1931:

> At the time of the Christmas carnival the Maoris found over £300 towards the election of their queen, and this money was allocated by the Borough Council for work in the pas. In addition to this sum, advantage has been taken of unemployment scheme five to employ a good deal of labour, with the result that the village is now assuming a neat well kept appearance, in marked contrast to the condition a few months ago. Some of the old and unsightly buildings have been painted, quantities of rubbish cleared away and footpaths made. Protection from dangerous pools has been afforded by railings and stone parapets, and several neat bathhouses erected at communal bathing places.[46]

At Whakarewarewa the marae committee agreed that Māori guides would contribute towards improvements through a levy on each guiding fee collected. In September 1933 the *Waikato Times* reported that at Whakarewarewa and Ōhinemutu 'comprehensive improvement schemes are being undertaken and carried out by the native residents with the support of the Rotorua Borough Council and the Government Tourist Department'.

> A number of buildings in the Whaka Pa have been repainted and renovated, walks and paths have been tidied up and planting is being carried out with native shrubs…. Carved fences are also to be erected throughout the pa, and it is hoped in a number of directions to give the village a more typically Maori appearance. Similar plans are proposed at Ohinemutu, where the same amount of work will not be required, as this village has been better cared for in the past than Whakarewarewa.[47]

By 1933 the government did not appear to have entirely abandoned the model village idea, for it provided £350 for site preparation and installation of a sewerage system for the proposed village.[48] However, nothing happened and an identical provision was made in the 1934 estimates.[49] The money remained unspent and there was thereafter no further mention of this proposal, or of the recommendations from the 1926 Commission. The government instead contributed piecemeal amounts towards making the villages more presentable; in 1935 the

[46] *Auckland Star*, 18 July 1931, p 11

[47] *Waikato Times*, 14 September 1933, p 6

[48] AJHR 1933, B7, p 80

[49] AJHR 1934, B1, p 97

Tourist Department budget included a £50 grant 'for improvements to Native villages at Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu'.[50]

The effects of government inaction on the 1926 Commission recommendations could be seen in a Native Department survey of housing conditions in the two villages conducted in 1937.[51] While only two houses were described as being 'unfit for habitation', almost all were described as needing repairs or being in a 'bad state'. In terms of amenities, almost all lacked a washhouse, tubs or sink, although this may have been a minor issue in a thermal area where washing was commonly done in hot pools. More concerning was the frequent lack of WC and kitchen facilities and an 'unsatisfactory' water supply. House 181 in Ōhinemutu, for example, was described as: 'No kitchen; water supply unsatisfactory; no washouse, tubs, sink or WC'. House 184 attracted similar comments with the addition of 'needs repairs' and 'overcrowding'. The latter issue was frequently commented on – '12 adults in two bedrooms' and 'only 1 bedroom for 9 adults and 1 child' were typical examples.

Sewerage Works

The 1926 Commission was particularly concerned about the lack of anything other than extremely rudimentary systems of sewage disposal in the villages. The evidence it took indicated there were significant technical difficulties to be overcome to deal with this problem, as Ōhinemutu was on low-lying land by Lake Rotorua and both villages were sites of significant geothermal activity.

The Government's 1927 estimates included £2500 towards 'water supply and sewerage' in Rotorua, specifically including Whakarewarewa.[52] Because of the rapid growth of the town, only some of the residents of Rotorua were attached to its existing sewerage scheme and the network therefore needed to be greatly extended.[53] The Council decided to initially tackle only the town part of the scheme, which required a ratepayers poll for the almost £25,000 it intended to borrow.[54] The poll succeeded and in 1930 Parliament passed the Rotorua Borough Empowering Act to levy the special rate needed to pay off the loan. Work finally commenced

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[50] AJHR 1936, B7, p 158

[51] 'Housing - Survey of Maori Housing - Ohinemutu Housing Survey' 1937-1944, Archives NZ item ID R11840008. (See Appendix 2 for document copies). Despite the title the survey also included Whakarewarewa and Tarewa villages.

[52] AJHR 1927, B7, p 193. Presumably most of this money went towards the Rotorua township scheme, with only a small proportion being expended on the Wakarewarewa part of the project.

[53] *Sun (Auckland)*, 30 September 1927, p 2

[54] *New Zealand Herald*, 20 November 1929, p 13

in November 1930 and ran into numerous difficulties due to the many geothermal features.[55] The town sewerage project, apart from Whakarewarewa, was completed in February 1933.[56]

Work on the Whakarewarewa part of the scheme was delayed by the technical challenges and the need for additional finance.[57] In December 1930 the Native Department agreed to provide £50 towards a technical investigation.[58] During 1931 the Health Department pushed the Rotorua Borough Council to begin the Whakarewarewa scheme and government departments offered funding towards it.[59] The Borough Council estimated the cost at £2000, to which it expected the Employment Board to contribute £500. The Native Department, the Māori Purposes Board and the Arawa Trust Board each contributed £300 towards the scheme.[60] Work began in February 1933 and was completed in November.[61]

Connecting Ōhinemutu to the Rotorua sewerage scheme was a far trickier technical proposition with an estimated cost of £11,000. The cost to the Rotorua Borough Council was reduced to £7,500, mainly by the State Employment Board agreeing to provide a 50 percent subsidy on labour. The Council would be hard pressed to pay off a loan of this size, as section 15 of the Rotorua Borough Act 1922 exempted all Native land from special rates. Instead, the Arawa Trust Board agreed to put £4,500 towards the scheme, financed by a loan to be paid off over 17 years. The Unemployment Board agreed to meet the interest payments for the first two years. The remaining £3000 was met by the Borough Council. The Council in turn levied a special rate on the 53 European ratepayers benefitting from the Ōhinemutu scheme to pay off the required loan. The affected ratepayers agreed to this in a 1934 poll.[62]

Once these complicated financial arrangements were sorted out, work finally began on the Ōhinemutu sewerage scheme in April 1935. All the work was done using local Māori labour.[63]

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[55] *Waikato Independent*, 27 November 1930, p 5

[56] *New Zealand Herald*, 24 February 1933, p 12

[57] *New Zealand Herald*, 24 February 1933, p 12

[58] Rotorua Town Clerk to Minister of Native Affairs, 30 January 1931, in 'Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa Model Maori Villages', Archives NZ, item R22411331. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[59] *New Zealand Herald*, 10 January 1931, p 5

[60] Cabinet Memo from Minister of Native Affairs, 8 November 1933, in 'Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa Model Maori Villages', Archives NZ, item R22411331. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[61] *New Zealand Herald*, 24 February 1933, p 12; *Evening Star*, 21 November 1933, p 5

[62] *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1934, p 20

[63] *New Zealand Herald*, 17 April 1935, p 17

Over the next year the press regularly reported on the difficult and hazardous work involved. In May 1935, for example, the *Herald* reported on one of many potentially-dangerous incidents when boiling water flooded a trench. 'The Maoris work fearlessly and overcome difficulties with an intuition foreign to the European. The borough engineer states that only the Maori can cope with the hazards involved in the work and carry it forward with a minimum of risk'.[64] I was unable to uncover any information as to how much the workers were paid. The work was completed in March 1936, within budget, ahead of schedule, and 'without any serious accidents'.[65]

Summary

By the 1920s living conditions at Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa were probably better than in many other Māori villages given they had reticulated water and electric lighting. But conditions were bad enough to provoke a government Commission of Inquiry in 1926. Tourism at Rotorua was growing and the villages were part of the 'tourist experience'. Their run-down state was an embarrassment to government, which from 1901 to 1923 ran Rotorua through its Tourist Department.

The 1926 Commission found that many houses needed replacing, there was serious over-crowding, refuse disposal was poor and sewage disposal rudimentary at best. It recommended a comprehensive scheme to rebuild and replace houses in architectural styles closer to the traditional whare and the installation of proper sewerage systems.

In 1928 the Government appointed Commission member Reginald Hammond to prepare a scheme for a small 'model village' by Whakarewarewa that would relieve some of the overcrowding and provide better (and more picturesque) housing. In 1929 the Government budgeted for a £500 contribution towards the scheme but the money was never spent. The 'model village' never got off the ground and was eventually forgotten. Instead, improvement work was carried out during the 1930s through a combination of Māori effort and fund-raising, contributions from the Rotorua Borough Council and Tourism Department, and assistance from a Depression unemployment scheme. In 1934 the Whakarewarewa Komiti Marae agreed to levy guiding fees to help fund future improvements. The government contribution to better housing in the villages was minimal during the period covered by this report and the

[64] *New Zealand Herald*, 28 May 1935, p 10

[65] *Auckland Star*, 24 March 1936, p 9

improvements were primarily in the appearance of the village. A 1937 housing survey in the villages revealed numerous problems, including lack of basic facilities and overcrowding.

On the plus side, both Whakarewarewa and Ōhinemutu were connected to the Rotorua town sewerage system by March 1936. It is unclear to what extent this was driven by the Commission's report. The town sewage system itself needed significant extension due to rapid expansion of Rotorua Borough. Connecting the two villages into the scheme proved a considerable technical achievement given their location within a highly-active geothermal area and Ōhinemutu's location on low-lying ground. The Te Arawa Trust Board contributed £4,800 towards the two schemes. This represented nearly half the total cost, with the rest being met by ratepayers and various government sources. The Ōhinemutu scheme was undertaken using local Māori labour.

Chapter 11: Local Government

Background

The impact of local authorities on housing has been dealt with to a large extent in previous chapters. The impact was largely confined to urban areas, except with respect to Māori Councils (discussed in earlier chapters), which were effectively a form of local government. As outlined in Chapter 2, local authorities initiated reticulated water and sewage systems, usually with some financial help from central government. This did not always work to the benefit of Māori, as with the sewerage outfall at Ōrākei described in Chapter 6. In Ōtaki, a drainage and sewerage scheme established in the 1920s served few Māori households in the borough, though Māori were still expected to contribute to the scheme through rates.[1] On the other hand, sewerage schemes in Rotorua discussed in Chapter 10 benefitted the inhabitants of Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa, who were excluded from liability for special rates.

Chapter 6 described how Borough and City councils dealt more directly with housing in the twentieth century. The Municipal Corporations Act 1900 provided a more consistent framework for urban local authorities and dealt with public health and housing problems. The Act empowered local authorities to build houses for rent or sale and put in place a series of town planning controls. Local authorities were required to survey all houses within their districts, stipulate the maximum number of people who could sleep in each dwelling, and fine those who exceeded the requirements. Councils were empowered to draw up by-laws specifying cubic space in living areas and to order the demolition of buildings judged 'unfit for occupation or dangerous to public health'.[2] In practice few councils were active in implementing the provisions of the 1900 Act.

Councils in some cases enforced building standards with respect to the 'Native hostelries' built in some towns and cities – particularly the small number built after the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act. Meeting houses built in the twentieth century often had to conform to building standards. In general, however, the Act had a relatively minor impact on Māori because so few lived in urban areas throughout most of the period covered by this report (1840-

[1] Suzanne Woodley, 'Local government issues report', A report prepared for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry and commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington, 2017, p 825

[2] Municipal Corporations Act 1900, section 349

1934). Of more importance was public works legislation, which in many cases allowed land to be taken for roading without compensation. In rural districts local authorities otherwise had minimal impact on Māori housing until the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953.

The Framework for Local Government

The New Zealand Constitution Act (UK) 1852 established six provinces – Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago – based on the six earliest colonial settlements. The number later increased to ten when Southland, Hawke's Bay, Marlborough and Westland were split off from the earlier provinces. Between 1853 and 1876, provincial councils passed ordinances to create units of local government such as boards and boroughs. These then elected members with authority to develop streets, bridges, waterways, ferries and markets. By 1867, 21 boroughs had been formed, almost all in the gold rush province of Otago[3]

The main local authorities in this early period were roads boards, initially called 'highway boards'. These were first set up through the Public Roads and Works Ordinance 1845, which empowered local residents 'to make and levy rates upon land for the maintenance and repairs of highways and other public works'. By 1875 there were more than 300 highway and other boards, many small with limited resources.[4]

Highway boards built and maintained roads and bridges funded by rates. Section 5 of the Highways Boards Empowering Act 1871 allowed the boards to rate Māori freehold, and customary land when leased to Pākehā, but the Rating Act 1876 then exempted all customary and Māori freehold land from rates.[5] As outlined below, rating powers over Māori land were re-introduced in 1882.

Provincial governments were disestablished in 1876 and were replaced over the next six years by new layers of local government. The Counties Act 1876 divided rural districts into 63 counties which were in turn divided into a maximum of nine 'ridings'. The Municipal Corporations Act 1876 provided a nationwide system of government for town and city councils. The Act provided for the creation of a borough from any settlement of 250 or more

[3] Mark Derby, 'Local and regional government - Early forms of local government', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/local-and-regional-government/page-2 (accessed 15 January 2022)

[4] Mark Derby, 'Local and regional government - Early forms of local government', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/local-and-regional-government/page-2 (accessed 15 January 2022)

[5] Woodley, 'Local government issues report', p 20

households within nine square miles. The Town Districts Act 1881 provided for smaller settlements to be constituted as town districts, administered by town boards. Inhabitants of localities comprising at least 50 householders within two square miles, not already part of a borough, could apply to be constituted as a town district within a county. The Act initially created 15 Town Districts within eight counties.[6]

Mark Derby notes that the small size of most local authorities motivated the government to create a range of new authorities to deal with an increasing array of issues:

> Health, education, water supply and other services that had once been under the control of provincial governments could not be efficiently administered by these small local units, so a range of special-purpose authorities were set up to run them. These were not territorial local authorities, based on a specific geographical area, but ad hoc authorities, based on their function. In 1877 the control of education was vested in 12 education boards. In 1885 a state hospital system was placed under the control of 28 hospital boards. Other ad hoc authorities dealt with land drainage, river control, water supply and harbours.

Derby states that New Zealand had almost 4,000 territorial and ad hoc local authority bodies by 1912. These included 115 counties, 113 boroughs, 56 town boards, 37 hospital boards, 38 river boards, 32 harbour boards, and 20 fire boards. 'The proliferation of local authorities was due to two main factors – strongly localised interests and a short-sighted central government funding policy that encouraged large authorities to subdivide in order to receive more loans, grants and subsidies.'[7] In some cases, however, new authorities were established to meet new challenges. For example, the Electric-power Boards Act 1918 allowed for the formation of district electric power boards to develop electricity supplies in rural areas.

Highway Boards were renamed Road Boards under the Road Boards Act 1882, which divided the country into 319 road districts, each governed by a road board. Over time the functions of road boards were gradually taken over by county councils. By 1907 the number of road boards had reduced to 209 and by 1922 to 59.[8] As a result, county councils were increasingly involved in roading matters - particularly after the development of motorised transport - and this put a

[6] Town Districts Act 1881, sections 4-8

[7] Mark Derby, 'Local and regional government - Local authorities multiply', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/local-and-regional-government/page-3 (accessed 16 January 2022)

[8] Woodley, 'Local government issues report', p 20

lot of strain on their resources.[9] To help relieve this problem, in 1922 the government set up a Main Highways Board to supervise or take over the roading work carried out by counties. In 1936 nearly 6,500 kilometres of roads were declared 'state highways' and transferred from county control to the Main Highways Board.[10]

The powers of county councils were wide-ranging and included such things as subsidising charitable institutions and running museums and public libraries. In practice, however, county councils focused almost exclusively on roading, bridges, river control, pest control, and in some cases wharves. In contrast, by the early twentieth century most city and borough councils provided a variety of services relevant to housing, including sewerage systems, piped water supplies, electricity and gas networks, tramways, and some public housing.[11]

Māori had minimal representation within local authorities during the period covered by this report. Suzanne Woodley notes that the voting process in counties was weighted in favour of those with more valuable land holdings, which rarely included Māori. In boroughs, however, residents had equal voting rights from 1910. Māori representatives sat on the Ōtaki Borough Council in the 1920s and 1930s, but such instances were rare.[12]

Rates

Local government activities were funded through rates – a land tax based on the assessed value of property. The Rating Act 1882 set out the basis for all future rating legislation and applied to most European and some Māori land, namely land leased to Europeans. The Crown and Native Lands Rating Act 1882 made any Māori land located within the boundaries of a borough liable for rates. Exceptions included all Māori land more than five miles from a public road. The Act empowered the Governor in Council to proclaim districts outside of the boroughs as 'Native Rating Districts' that were subject to rates.[13]

The law relating to rating of Native land subsequently went through several stages of amendments with the object of making it more consistent with the provisions that applied to

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[9] Mark Derby, 'Local and regional government - Local authorities multiply', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/local-and-regional-government/page-3 (accessed 16 January 2022)

[10] Mark Derby, 'Local and regional government - Managing urbanisation', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/local-and-regional-government/page-4 (accessed 16 January 2022). The Main Highways Board was later renamed the National Roads Board.

[11] Additional urban facilities included public gardens, libraries, swimming pools, sports fields, museums and zoos.

[12] Woodley, 'Local government issues report', pp 820-821

[13] Crown and Native Lands Rating Act 1882, sections 3-6

European land. However, the nature of Native Title largely stymied this aim and made it difficult for councils to collect rates arrears. Much Māori-owned land produced little income, making it hard to raise money to pay rates.

The Native Land Rating Act 1924 handed responsibility for rates enforcement over to the Native Land Court. The Act provided that, with some exceptions, 'Native land shall be liable for rates in the same manner as if it were European land'. The exceptions were customary land and land of up to five acres occupied by a urupa or on which a church or meeting-house was erected. In addition, the Act provided that 'The Governor-General may from time to time, by Order in Council, exempt any Native land liable to rates from all or any specified part of such rates' due to 'the indigent circumstances of the occupiers or for any other special reason'. Most other exceptions had already been removed by previous amendments or were removed by the 1924 Act.

Public Works

Many local government activities such as road building required the taking of private land. Cathy Marr notes that the principle that the state had the right to take private land for public purposes 'was not vastly different from traditional concepts of Māori land tenure where individual rights to the use of certain land and resources were subject to the greater needs of the hapū or iwi'.[14] Until the 1860s, Crown policy with respect to Māori land and public works was 'generally that of purchase, negotiation, consultation, and the avoidance of confrontation'.[15] However, public works takings were increasingly imposed on Māori land, particularly from the 1880s.

Perhaps the most contentious provision in public works legislation was the taking of land for roading purposes, with compensation being provided only in limited circumstances. This applied to both Māori and general land, but the provisions tended to be discriminatory against Māori. In the 1880s, Māori MPs complained that local authorities were taking Māori in preference to European land under the Public Works Act 1882, without justification. In 1888 the Minister of Public Works acknowledged that this was the case, and on investigation found the Survey Department did not take proper care before issuing local authorities a warrant to take Native land for roads. Legislative amendments in 1894 attempted to rectify this problem

[14] Cathy Marr, 'Public Works Takings Of Maori Land, 1840–1981', Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1997, p 7

[15] Marr, 'Public Works Takings', p 29

by trying to ensure that local authorities dealt fairly with Māori land when laying out roads.[16] At times local authorities attempted to take more than five percent of a native land block for roading without providing the compensation required by legislation. There was no legal requirement to show that compulsory takings were necessary or that roads were being built in the interests of the whole community.[17]

Conclusions

Local government impact on housing in the period 1840 to 1934 was confined almost entirely to urban areas where few Māori lived. Most rural local authorities had little or nothing to do with housing aside from imposing rates on land owners. Their focus was on roading, bridges, waterways, and pest control. County councils did not construct water and sewerage systems in the manner of their urban counterparts, although the power boards established after 1918 provided reticulated electric power in some rural districts. It was not until the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 that local authority powers over land use extended to rural districts. That Act introduced the concept of zoning and was designed to limit sporadic subdivision and sprawl in rural areas.[18] The 1953 Act lies outside of the scope of this report.

Māori were impacted by public works legislation, particularly from the 1880s. Land could be taken for roading without compensation, and local authorities tended to take Māori land in preference to European.

[16] Marr, 'Public Works Takings', pp 75-76

[17] Marr, 'Public Works Takings', pp 78-79

[18] Woodley, 'Local government issues report', pp 75-79

Chapter 12: Prelude to the Native Housing Act 1935

Introduction

In the early twentieth century governments became increasingly involved in the housing market, particularly through large-scale lending. Māori, however, were largely excluded from government lending due to poverty, complex land ownership, and widespread ownership interests in land, usually small, which precluded them from most government lending. Māori thus had to rely on their own resources for housing improvements. But in the 1920s and 1930s increasing evidence was available that firm government action was needed to improve Māori living conditions.

This chapter first presents information on Māori housing conditions between 1926 and 1935, including evidence that Māori housing conditions worsened significantly in the depression. It then outlines changes in government policy relating to Māori housing (and more specifically to Māori land development) that eventually resulted in more significant government intervention from the mid-1930s onwards, in particular the Native Housing Act 1935. This Act and its successors are the subject of a separate report to the Waitangi Tribunal's Housing Policy and Services Inquiry (Wai 2750).

Māori Housing Conditions, 1920s to mid-1930s

The 1926 Census

The questionnaire used in the population census expanded in the early 1900s to include an increasing range of questions on housing circumstances. The 1926 census was the first in which Māori households were given a census questionnaire and the first to ask questions on Māori dwellings. The Māori census questionnaire was a simplified version of that used for the general census and included questions on the nature of the dwelling, whether it was owned or rented, the number of rooms in the dwelling, and how many people normally lived in it.[1] It omitted many questions from the general questionnaire, including whether a dwelling was owned with or without a mortgage and the amount of rent paid. The Statistics Department took longer than previously to analyse the increasing array of census questions. The results of the 1926 Māori

[1] *Population Census 1926, Volume XIV: Maori and Half-Caste Population*, Wellington, 1929, pp 9-10. The Maori census questionnaire was administered only to North Island Maori and all questions were in both English and Te Reo.

census were not published until 1929 and some general census results were not published until 1931.

Results on the nature of Māori and Non-Māori dwellings are outlined in Figure 5 below, including the different terminology used. Of Māori private dwellings (roughly the equivalent of a European-style house), 74 percent had four or fewer rooms and 18 percent had only one room.[2] In the Non-Māori census, only 34 percent of private dwellings had four or fewer rooms and seven percent had only one room.[3] Māori-occupied houses were therefore, in the main, considerably smaller than the average.

Figure 5: Comparison between Māori and Non-Māori Census Questions and Results

Māori Census	**Non-Māori Census equivalent**
'Tents and camps' – 12%	'Temporary dwellings' – 5%
'Huts or whares' – 17%	No equivalent
'Private Dwellings' – 68%	'Private dwelling of permanent nature' – 89%
'Other dwellings' and 'Not specified' – 3%	All others (including 'Hotel' and 'Boarding House') – 6%

Figures calculated from Population Census 1926– Dwellings, p 12 and Māori Census 1926, p 58

As well as being smaller, Māori-occupied private dwellings were generally more crowded. Twenty-five percent housed eight or more people compared with eight percent of Non-Māori private dwellings.[4][5] The census report included no information on the number of Māori living in the 29 percent of dwellings that were classified as whare, huts, and tents. The report also included no information on the number of rooms in these basic dwellings, but many presumably consisted of only one room.

[2] Figure calculated from 1926 Maori Census, p 65

[3] Figure calculated from *Population Census 1926, Volume XIII – Dwellings,* Wellington, 1931, p 31.

[4] Figures calculated from 1926 Maori Census, p 62 and 1926 Census: Dwellings, p 31. Forty-six percent of Maori private dwellings housed six or more people compared with 24 percent of Non-Maori dwellings.

[5] Figure calculated from 1926 Census: Dwellings, p 31

Seventy percent of Māori dwellings were owned by the occupiers (61 percent for Non-Māori) and just 14 percent were rented (31 percent for Non-Māori). All other dwellings were occupied rent-free or tenure was not stated. The Māori census did not ask whether ownership was with or without a mortgage, but it can be assumed that the great majority of Māori dwellings were owned without a mortgage.[6] Of the owner-occupied Non-Māori dwellings, two thirds were owned with a mortgage or were on time payment.[7]

Turbott's Survey

A valuable source of information on Māori housing standards was provided by a survey undertaken by Dr Harold Turbott in 1933. In 1928 Turbott was appointed medical officer of Health for the Gisborne district. He took an interest in Māori health and successfully applied for research funding from the Medical Research Council, with the Health Department providing staff to undertake fieldwork. Turbott's study was on tuberculosis, but it also covered lifestyle factors - such as diet - and environmental factors, including housing.

The area chosen for the study was Waiapu County near East Cape, with a Māori population of just over 2000 and a Pākehā population of about 230. According to Turbott, local Māori 'with the advent of dairy farming and the growing individualisation of land, are losing the habit of living in pas or villages, and are now mainly scattered along valleys and hillsides on separate plots'.[8] There was also a degree of mobility within the district:

> People who have married into another area, or migrated from their hereditary community holding, still cling to their rights in these plots where they have not been surrendered by a consolidation scheme. Seasonal movements occur, therefore, of men and women or whole families, from one area to another for the purposes of tilling or planting crops in, or seeing to, their hereditary holdings. These migrations may be only of a few single miles, or a few tens of miles, and the family may camp, or more often crowd in, upon friends or relatives while there.[9]

The survey was undertaken in close consultation with the local community. For the housing part of the survey, 323 Māori households were investigated to determine housing conditions.[10]

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[6] Figures calculated from 1926 Maori Census, p 65 and 1926 Census: Dwellings, p 18

[7] Figures Calculater from 1926 Census: Dwellings, p 18

[8] H. B. Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori, East Coast, New Zealand*, Wellington 1935, pp 9, 49

[9] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, p 49

[10] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, p 43

Eighteen percent of the houses were whare, with the great majority of these (85 percent) having only one room. The remaining whare had a separate cook house. A further 18 percent of dwellings were 'semi-pakeha' huts of one or two rooms with minimal facilities. The remaining 64 percent of dwellings were 'European-type houses, some modern and excellent, but often fallen into defect and unsoundness through lack of maintenance'.[11] As outlined in Figure 6 below, a significant minority of houses had only earth floors, were damp, had no usable windows and/or were poorly ventilated. Over two-thirds of houses surveyed had three or more of the nine listed defects, although some defects were relatively minor, such as lack of wallpaper.[12] Over 90 percent of the homes were described as 'scrupulously clean'.[13]

Figure 6: Problems found in Turbott's sample of houses [14]

Problem	**Percent (N=323)**
No windows or windows permanently covered	21
Damp	15
Inadequate ventilation	22
Unsatisfactory floors (mainly earth)	17
Defective roofs	9
Defective walls	16
Unlined walls	40
No ceilings	41
No wallpaper	40

Over 55 percent of the households obtained rainwater through roofs and tank storage, although Turbott noted in a later publication that the tanks were not always clean. Most of the remainder used 'natural springs or seepages' (or sometimes shallow wells), and nine percent got water

[11] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, pp 43-44

[12] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, p 46

[13] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, p 44

[14] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, p 44

from rivers and creeks 'open to pollution'. Only 13 percent of the dwellings had sinks and only eight percent had a bath. One third of the homes had no toilet facilities while most of the remainder relied on pit toilets. Nearly half of these were 'so faultily constructed or so rudimentary as to make the homes little better than those without them'.[15] Only three of the 323 houses had a septic tank system.

The study found significant overcrowding. The standard for overcrowding adopted by the researchers was more than two people per room and less than 300 cubic feet (8.5 cubic metres) of space per person. By this measure nearly 58 percent of the dwellings were over-crowded, with some having over six people per room.[16]

Turbott's study failed to find any clear link between housing quality and the incidence of tuberculosis. Households without tuberculosis were just as subject to overcrowding and housing defects as households where tuberculosis was present. The main factors that made a significant difference were insufficient nutrition and the failure of infected people to isolate from others.[17] Despite these findings, Turbott retained a strong view that poor housing was a significant causal factor in Māori susceptibility to other diseases, as he outlined in 1940: 'Unsafe water supplies and defective sanitation help to keep mortality and morbidity rates high, especially for typhoid, dysentery, and intestinal diseases, while lack of readily-available water in dwellings keeps up the incidence of skin disease, especially scabies and impetigo.' However, he went on to say that housing improvements needed to be accompanied by health education. 'Good housing in itself is wasted unless the people are educated in healthy living'.[18]

The 1936 Census

Turbott's 1933 survey was undertaken in the midst of the depression so the results in part reflected the deterioration in living standards since 1930. By 1933, possibly 40 percent of the Māori workforce was unemployed, while many others had never been in full-time employment and were increasingly forced into a subsistence lifestyle.[19] As might be expected the population census showed a deterioration in Māori housing standards since 1926. The scheduled 1931 census was cancelled as an austerity measure, so the only census held in the 1930s was in 1936.

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[15] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, p 44 and Turbott, 'Health and Social Welfare', p 245

[16] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, p 44 and Turbott, 'Health and Social Welfare', p 238

[17] Turbott, *Tuberculosis in the Maori*, pp 45-51

[18] Turbott, 'Health and Social Welfare', pp 245, 268

[19] Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand: Revised Edition*, Auckland, 2000, pp 263-264

The Māori census questionnaire asked the same questions as it had in 1926, although the results were not always reported in an identical manner.[20]

The 1936 census showed that the Māori population, as officially recorded, increased by 18,656 (29 percent) in ten years, although the true increase was probably larger as 'quarter-castes' were included in the European population. The number of Māori occupied dwellings, at 12,265, was likewise a 28 percent increase on the 9501 recorded in 1926.[21]

The census revealed a big change in the nature of dwellings, as shown by Figures 7 and 8 below. In 1926, 17 percent of Māori-occupied dwellings were 'huts or whares'. By 1936 this had doubled to 34 percent – a figure very close to the 36 percent found in Talbott's survey. In the 1936 census, 11 percent of Māori households lived in 'temporary dwellings', equivalent to the 12 percent in 'tents and camps' in 1926.[22] The trend towards more European-style housing, seen in previous decades, went into reverse. All 3022 Māori dwellings added since 1926 were whare, huts, or temporary dwellings such as tents. The number of European-style houses fell, despite the large population increase.

Figure 7: Nature of Māori Dwellings, 1926 and 1936 Census, by Number

	1926	1936	Change	Change (Percent)
Private House	7347	7290	-57	-1%
Whare, hut	1800	4676	2876	160%
Other	277	210	-67	-24%
Tent and other temporary	1270	1528	258	20%
Not Stated	77	89	12	16%
Total	**10,771**	**13,793**	**3022**	**28%**

[20] Population Census 1936, Volume III – Maori Census, Wellington, 1940, p ii

[21] 1936 Maori Census, pp iii, 1, 44; 1926 Maori Census, p 68

[22] 1936 Maori Census, p 36

Figure 8: Nature of Māori Dwellings, 1926 and 1936 Census, by Percentage

Dwelling Type	1926	1936	% Change
Private House	69	53	-16
Whare, hut	17	34	17
Other	3	2	-1
Tent and other temporary	12	11	-1

By 1936 Māori dwellings were slightly smaller on average than in 1926, with 78 percent having four or fewer rooms and 20 percent consisting of just one room - although the 1936 figure included whare whereas the 1926 figure did not. Dwellings were slightly more crowded, with 48 percent housing six or more people (up two percentage points) and 26 percent housing eight or more (up one percentage point).[23]

Mark Krivan used Turbott's overcrowding measure (two or more people per room) to estimate the extent of overcrowding shown by the 1936 census. He calculated that 48 percent of Māori dwellings were overcrowded by this measure, somewhat less than the nearly 58 percent found by Turbott. In comparison, just 1.5 percent of Non-Māori dwellings were classified as overcrowded. Using three or more people per room as a measure, Krivan found that 28 percent of Māori dwellings were 'grossly overcrowded' compared with just 0.2 percent of Non-Māori dwellings.[24]

There was little change in the tenure of Māori dwellings by 1936, with 69 percent owned by the occupiers compared with 70 percent in 1926. However, New Zealand's overall home ownership rate fell from 60 to below 50 percent in 1936.[25] The proportion of Māori rental dwellings rose from 14 to 18 percent and the proportion of Māori dwellings for which no tenure was specified fell from five to two percent.[26]

[23] 1936 Maori Census, pp 40, 44

[24] Mark Krivan, The Department of Māori Affairs Housing Programme 1935-1967,' (MA thesis, Massey University 1990), p 25

[25] Statistics New Zealand, *Housing in Aotearoa: 2020*, p 28

[26] Figures calculated from 1936 Maori Census, p 43

Housing Surveys

After the passing of the Native Housing Act 1935, the Native Department instituted surveys in rural Māori communities to assess housing needs.[27] Although these surveys were undertaken after the time period covered by this report, they give some indication of the housing conditions that the 1935 Act was intended to address.

Researchers, some of whom were interpreters for the Native Land Court, undertook 37 housing surveys across seven districts. All the researchers needed to be fluent in Te Reo to undertake the work, and it was the department's preference that the researchers were themselves Māori.[28] Some interviewed individuals about their housing needs, others undertook a house-by-house assessment of a particular locality, and others did both.[29] There was thus little consistency in the methodology used. No researcher has yet attempted to analyse all the survey results, to the extent that might be possible, and only a few examples are provided here. Most of the surveys were conducted in 1937.

The surveys of Rotorua villages (Whakarewarewa, Ōhinemutu, and Tarawera) discussed in Chapter 10 come into the 'house-by-house' category, with each house being assessed for faults. By far the most common fault was a lack of facilities for washing clothes – a minor fault given the availability of thermal pools. For a few dwellings this was the only fault noted. However, the great majority of dwellings in these villages had a variety of issues, a common one being lack of a decent water supply. House 302 in Tarewa, which had more faults than most, was described in the following terms: 'House in bad state; no kitchen, W.C., wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; cooking unsatisfactory; overcrowding'.[30] Thirty percent of the 93 Ōhinemutu houses surveyed were described as overcrowded. Precise information was reported in a few cases; house 169 had 12 adults sharing two bedrooms and house 206 had 10 adults and five children sharing four bedrooms.

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[27] Angela Wanhalla, 'Housing Un/healthy Bodies: Native Housing Surveys and Maori Health in New Zealand 1930-45', *Health and History* Vol. 8, No. 1, (2006), p 105

[28] Native Under-secretary to Registrar, Native Land Court, Gisborne, 24 December 1937, in Archives NZ, 'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937'. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[29] In the category of surveys of individual housing needs was one undertaken in 1937 of the housing needs of the workers at the Whakatu meat works near Hastings. The file 'Whakatu Housing Survey' is available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE40189625

[30] 'Housing - Survey of Maori Housing - Ohinemutu Housing Survey' 1937-1944, Archives NZ item ID R11840008. (See Appendix 2 for document copies). Despite the title the survey also included Whakarewarewa and Tarewa villages.

Eruera Love, an interpreter for the Native Land Court and later a commander in the Māori Battalion, conducted a survey of the southern Hawkes Bay township of Porangahau, near the river estuary of the same name.[31] He interviewed an adult from each of the village's 32 dwellings, all of which were European-style houses, some with electric lighting. All relied on tank water, with some of the tanks exhibiting damage from the Hawkes Bay earthquake over six years earlier. The Pātangata County Council provided reticulated water to a 'European settlement' on the north side of the river but this proved inadequate in the summer. Both communities therefore planned to approach the Council about a proposed water scheme involving damming the river on a nearby farm owned by Teddy Kuru.[32]

Only one house had a septic tank system, with all the others using pit toilets. Two houses were assessed to be in good condition and two were considered in need of demolition. Most of the remainder were considered in need of substantial repairs and some exhibited earthquake damage. Love attributed the lack of maintenance of some houses to multiple ownership resulting in unclear responsibility for upkeep. Most of the houses were owned through mortgage finance from the Native Trustee.

Many of the houses were overcrowded in Love's estimation, with multiple generations living under one roof. Several married couples were seeking a house of their own rather than continuing to live with whānau. One household of 21 people were considered to have a good income. Love attributed overcrowding in such cases to entrenched ideas on the part of some of the older generation.

John Grace was another Native Land Court interpreter who undertook housing surveys, one of which was at Taumutu, near Lake Ellesmere in Canterbury.[33] The kāinga contained only nine houses, six of which Grace considered in need of demolition. One of these was a one-room shack 'nearly falling down and supported by stays'. Grace described two tin shacks with three rooms in total housing a family of six as being in a 'disgraceful' condition. 'Something must be done for these people as their living conditions are appalling'. Grace made similar comments

[31] Susan Love De Miguel. 'Love, Eruera Te Whiti o Rongomai', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000, updated January, 2002. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5l17/love-eruera-te-whiti-o-rongomai (accessed 14 April 2022)

[32] 'Housing Survey Porangahau', 1937, Archives NZ item ID R19528224. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[33] Graham Butterworth. 'Grace, John Te Herekiekie', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5g14/grace-john-te-herekiekie (accessed 15 April 2022)

with respect to other households. A family of eight lived in a four-room house with several boarded-up windows, a floor that was giving way, and walls that were 'just about falling down'. Grace considered the community had a good water supply. He made no comment on waste disposal.[34]

A 1937 survey of 80 houses in the Rangitīkei district found only 15 considered 'satisfactory for habitation', while 42 were considered 'fit for demolition'. A much larger survey of over 360 dwellings was undertaken in Tauranga County by Maui Pomare's son Rakaherea Pomare, a Health Department Inspector. Pomare reported that 80 percent of the dwellings housed more than three people per room and 46 percent lacked windows.[35]

The Crown Approach to Māori Land and Housing after 1900

The information sources above provide good evidence that Māori housing conditions in the 1930s were generally poor and had deteriorated since 1926. But most of this information did not become available until after 1934. Only the 1926 census results were readily available to policy-makers and the public by 1930. These results in themselves would have been cause for concern, along with occasional press reports of poor Māori housing conditions. Some of these have been outlined in previous chapters, mostly relating to urban or semi-urban areas such as the outskirts of Auckland. However, it was not poor Māori housing conditions that primarily drove a shift in government policy, but rather Māori landlessness and poverty. How this situation came about would require a lengthy report on its own, but a brief background is provided here.

Māori Land Reforms

By the 1890s few were satisfied with the system of land ownership established under the Native Land Acts and the Native Land Court. The Rees-Carroll Commission of 1891 – named after the two MPs who headed the inquiry – was highly critical of the existing system and its effect on Māori. In theory the law enabled the Land Court to individualise title, but this did not mean that individuals or whanau owned a specific piece of land. Rather, they owned a share in a block of land along with numerous other owners in the same block.

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[34] 'Taumutu Housing Survey', 1937, Archives NZ item ID R19528221. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[35] Krivan, pp 22-23

The Rees-Carroll Commission argued that, before the arrival of Pakeha law, the 'influence of the chiefs and the common customs of the tribe' made it possible for a community to use their land effectively. But the power of the chiefs and custom had been undermined when the law regarded every co-owner of a piece of land as equal. The chiefs had no legal power to order the land to be developed, and anyone who took the initiative to grow crops or pasture might find the other owners demanding a share. Land tenure became increasingly fragmented due to succession, which itself required the involvement of the Land Court. The solution, according to the Commission, was to reintroduce a proper and effective system of communal ownership, with blocks managed by committees.[36]

The increasing complexity of Native Title and the fact that land holdings were frequently in small, scattered units made it almost impossible for Māori to borrow from traditional sources – private banks and the state – to develop land and improve housing on it.[37] Māori could in theory borrow under the Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894 and its successors, as the legislation did not specifically exclude Māori borrowers. However, However, the complexity of land ownership made it highly unlikely that many Māori obtained Advances to Settlers loans in the nineteenth century (no figures are available), although some did later, as outlined below.

Māori Land Boards

In 1900 the Government finally acted on some of the issues identified by the Rees-Carroll report by placing a temporary freeze on Māori land sales and passing the Maori Lands Administration Act 1900.[38] Under the Act the North Island was divided into seven Māori Land Districts, each with a Māori Land Council having up to seven members. At least half the members were required to be Māori, some of whom were elected. The councils took over some functions of the Native Land Court and acted for Māori landowners in the administration of lands vested in, or placed under, the authority of the land councils.[39]

Under the Maori Land Settlement Act 1905, Māori Land Councils were renamed Māori Land Boards and their membership reduced to three appointees, only one of whom had to be Māori.

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[36] Report of the Rees-Carroll Commision, AJHR 1891, Session II, G1, pp xi, xxi

[37] Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, p 726

[38] Donald Loveridge, 'Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards: A Historical Overview, 1900 to 1952', Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1996, pp 21-23

[39] Loveridge, 'Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards', pp 21-22

The Act made it easier to compulsorily vest Māori land in the Boards.[40] Also in 1905, the Crown recommenced limited purchasing of Māori land.[41] The Native Land Act 1909 allowed for meetings of 'Assembled Owners' to agree to lease or sell land to private buyers or the Crown, but such transactions then had to be approved by a land board. The 1909 Act simplified the process of land sales but protected nearly one million acres of Māori land from sale and included a requirement that no Māori could be made landless by a sale.[42]

In the early twentieth century the Crown also implemented title consolidation schemes to try and deal with the problem of scattered land holdings.[43] This measure, along with the vesting of Māori land in land boards, may have made it easier for Māori to borrow to develop land. In 1914 Western Māori MP Maui Pomare was informed that 88 Māori had received Advances to Settlers loans since 1910. When he made a similar enquiry in 1922, he was told that 57 Māori had received such loans over the previous decade.[44] Although the loan numbers were small, it is likely that they had significant increased since earlier years. No information is available on how many Māori, if any, received Advances to Settlers loans before 1910.

Native Trustee Lending

Although the legislative changes of the early twentieth century provided greater protection for Māori land, the Government soon lifted sales restrictions. The Crown increased its purchase of Māori land after 1909, and from 1913 it allowed limited private purchasing. Two million acres of Māori land were leased or sold between 1909 and 1925.[45] A 1920 report from the Secretary of the Native Department concluded that 'the Maoris have disposed of nearly all the lands that they can dispose of without leaving the bulk of them landless, and later, probably, to become a charge on the State'.[46] The problem of helping Māori retain and develop their land remained.

In 1920 the government established the Native Trustee to administer income from Māori land and lend for land development and housing. From 1926 Māori Land Boards could also lend for

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[40] Loveridge, 'Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards', p 61

[41] Loveridge, 'Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards', pp 70-71

[42] Loveridge, 'Maori Land Councils and Maori Land Boards', pp 84-85

[43] Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, pp 721-722

[44] Fergusson, *Building the NZ Dream*, pp 98 and 306 fn 73

[45] Tom Bennion, 'The Maori Land Court and Land Boards, 1909-1952', Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1997, p 1, Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo: the Central North Island Report*, volume 2, pp 666, 689

[46] AJHR 1920, G9, p 3

Māori housing.[47] By the end of March 1934, 476 mortgagees (mostly Māori) had borrowed a total of £678,225 from the Native Trustee.[48] As outlined above, most of the properties in the Porangahau housing survey were owned with mortgage finance through the Native Trustee. According to Angela Wanhalla, evidence from the 1937 housing surveys showed the expense of these mortgage repayments pushed some families further into poverty.[49]

Land Development Schemes

The United Party unexpectedly came to power after the 1928 General Election and Apirana Ngata was appointed Minister of Native Affairs.[50] Ngata exerted considerable influence in this role and in 1929 successfully promoted legislation that provided for government lending for Māori land development. Section 23 of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929 authorised lending from the Native Land Settlement Account. This account was originally established under section 418 of the Native Land Act 1909 as a repository for Crown income and profits from its purchase of Māori land. Now some of these funds could be used to help fund Māori land development, including housing.

The 1929 Act enabled the government to consolidate land holdings into economic units by bypassing problems with Native title. In Ngata's words, 'difficulties as to title were literally stepped over and the development and settlement of the lands was made the prime consideration'.[51] The Act empowered the Native Minister to authorise a wide range of activities, including 'the survey, draining, reclamation, roading, bridging, fencing, clearing, grassing, planting, top-dressing, manuring, or otherwise improving such lands, *the construction of buildings and other erections thereon*, and the insurance, maintenance, and repair thereof, and any other works calculated to improve the quality and utility of such lands'.[52] The Minister could delegate these powers to Māori Land Boards, which is what happened to a large extent.[53]

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[47] Richard Boast, 'Re-Thinking Individualisation: Māori Land Development Policy And The Law In The Age Of Ngata (1920–1940)', *Canterbury Law Review*, vol 25, 2019, p 40; AJHR 1931, G10, p iv; Bennion, 'Maori Land Boards', pp 45-46

[48] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', pp 321-323

[49] Wanhalla, 'Native Housing Surveys', p 110

[50] The United Party (formerly the Liberals) formed a minority government in 1928 with the support of Labour Party members.

[51] Ngata, 'Maori Land Settlement', p 144

[52] Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929, Section 23(3), *emphasis added*

[53] Boast, 'Rethinking Individualisation', p 40

To quote Ngata again, the 1929 Act provided 'for the first time in the history of New Zealand a method of development and settlement financed and supervised by the State'.[54]

Sir Apirana Ngata in his last months as Native Minister in 1934. New Zealand Free Lance: Photographic prints and negatives. Ref: 1/2-029390-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

The land development schemes involved government intervention and financing on a large scale. By 1935, 74 development schemes were in operation and over 650,000 acres of land had been gazetted for development, mostly in the Tokerau (Northland) district. Nearly 105,000

[54] Apirana Ngata, 'Maori Land Settlement' in Sutherland (ed), *The Maori People Today*, p 96

acres were already in development by then and the government had spent over £650,000 on the schemes. The number of 'settlers' totalled 1353, supporting 7712 dependents.[55] Some 11 percent of the Māori population was thus involved in the schemes by 1935. The speed of implementation was largely driven by Ngata, who was aware that United had a precarious hold on power. A lengthy tenure as Native Minister was far from guaranteed.[56]

Ngata took a hands-on approach to the schemes, and by 1931 had personally visited communities in all but six of the 39 development areas identified.[57] Krivan notes that the schemes 'only benefitted Maori communities with suitable land, and leadership willing and able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the legislation'. Thus, land schemes were not attempted in the King Country, Taranaki, and parts of Northland.[58]

As noted above, the greatest share of land under the schemes was in the Tokerau District north of Auckland. However, by 1931 the largest *number* of schemes was in the Waiariki Māori Land District, comprising the Rotorua, Bay of Plenty and Urewera districts, and the stretch of coast between Opotiki and Cape Runaway. According to Ngata, no district was 'as favourably situated as this for establishing compact development units, and no Maori communities have entered more thoroughly into the spirit of the development policy than the tribes which inhabit it'.[59]

According to Graham Butterworth, community development was an important aspect of the schemes. In the first development scheme established at Horohoro near Rotorua, Ngata encouraged the construction of a meeting house as a priority 'to knit the colonists into a community'. But he was also concerned to make the available funds go as far as possible, and during the depression used Unemployment Board funds to subsidise the cost of labour on the schemes. Butterworth notes that Ngata 'resorted to a policy of self-reliance and frugal living to make the most of the limited capital'.[60]

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[55] AJHR 1935, G10, pp 26-27

[56] Graham Butterworth, 'A rural Maori renaissance: Maori society and politics 1920 to 1951', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 81, 1972, pp 175-176.

[57] AJHR 1931, G10, p xv

[58] Krivan, pp 18-19

[59] AJHR 1931, G10, p xvi

[60] Butterworth, 'A rural Maori renaissance', p 176

Ngata's concept of frugal living extended to his attitude towards housing on the development scheme blocks. As noted above, the 1929 Act specifically referred to the construction of buildings (which included houses) as part of the schemes, although Ngata envisioned such houses as being basic at best. After visiting a scheme in the Waikato in early 1930, Ngata considered the proposed cottages too expensive. He wrote that he wanted 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'. Cheaper cottages such as those being built for the Horohoro scheme were 'quite good enough'.[61] In October 1931, Ngata told Parliament that he did not think elaborate Pakeha-style housing was necessary for the schemes. 'The Maori settlers can do with much humbler and less expensive cottages. A raupo hut still makes a most excellent residence, if building regulations permit of its construction.'[62]

Krivan notes that, in the early stages of development schemes, capital was invested mainly into improving productivity – draining, fencing, ploughing, sowing grass seed and crops, erecting farm buildings, and purchasing livestock. 'Whilst this work was undertaken settlers made do with elementary dwellings' to minimise debt.[63] The 1931 annual report on the schemes stated that the building programme had been 'severely restricted', although 'it has been found necessary to build residences for some of the supervisors and foremen, and small cottages for settlers at Waipipi, Kaihau, and Horohoro'. With many of the farming blocks ready for occupation 'the problem of housing settlers…will have to be faced'.[64]

The 1933 annual report outlined some of the building that had, by then, taken place. In the Tokerau district, 394 whare had been built and just 37 cottages. Schemes in the Aotea Māori Land District included 13 cottages and 14 'shacks and ponga whares'. In the Onewhero scheme in the Waikato, the buildings on most of the sections were of 'palings or raupo'.[65] It appears that, in these first years at least, Ngata's vision of basic dwellings was often the norm. It thus seems feasible that the big increase in the number of whare shown by the 1936 census (discussed above) may have been in part driven by development scheme housing.

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[61] Apirana Ngata to Peter Buck, 22 May 1930 in MPK Sorrenson (ed), *Na to hoa aroha – from your dear friend: the correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck*, Volume 2, Auckland, 1986-1988, p 26

[62] NZPD vol 230, 1931, p 563

[63] Krivan, pp 20-21

[64] AJHR 1931, G10, p xxii

[65] AJHR 1933, G10, pp 1-4, 6, 14, 16

However, as each scheme became established and capable of producing more revenue, 'better houses were erected'.[66] Turbott, writing in 1940, was impressed with the early results of the Horohoro scheme in improved housing and health:

> Sound wooden houses were erected from 1934 onwards, and by 1938 sixty families, totalling four hundred and fifty-three persons, found a livelihood on tidy, well-run farms. The children were clean, well-clothed, and mentally bright. There had been no typhoid, and very little tuberculosis; and notifiable diseases were rare.[67]

Housing improvements on some schemes began prior to 1934. According to the 1933 annual report, 13 cottages had been built for the five Maniopoto schemes in the Waikato, four cottages had been built for the Waiapu-Matakaoa scheme in the Tairawhiti district, and the Horohoro scheme already contained 31 'good cottages' and just two 'shacks'.[68] Krivan provides a good summary of the significance of the development schemes with respect to government assistance for Māori housing:

> Maori Land Settlement housing was significant, amongst other reasons, because the dwellings were built with state credit. Although the cost of construction was repaid to the government by the mortgagor, a precedent for state responsibility for Maori housing had been established. Moreover, the Land Settlement dwellings represented the Department of Maori Affairs first limited attempt at improving Maori housing conditions, as the Department was responsible for the overall administration of the schemes. The Department had some experience upon which to build when implementing the post-1936 housing programme.[69]

The Small Farms Plan

In mid-1932 Gordon Coates, the Minister in charge of employment policy, launched his Small Farms Plan (SFP). The SFP signalled a revival of government housing assistance, which had largely collapsed. The State Advances Office issued less than 300 loans in 1932 and less than 100 in 1933.[70] In common with the Worker's Dwellings scheme that operated between 1905

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[66] Krivan, pp 20-21

[67] Turbott, 'Health and Social Welfare', p 267. Turbott appears to be mistaken in dating improvements from 1934 given the building already undertaken by 1933.

[68] AJHR 1933, G10, pp 1-4, 6, 14, 16

[69] Krivan, p 21

[70] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 310, Graph 5.5

and 1923, the SFP involved the State building houses to rent or sell. It was thus an important precursor to later State housing programmes.

Under the SFP the government took out short-term leases on sections of around ten acres on which to settle unemployed workers and their families. Coates' idea was that the settlers would survive (and hopefully thrive) through a combination of subsistence farming and labouring on neighbourhood farms.[71] The government negotiated with farmers who had surplus lands, erected cottages on the sections to house families, and supplied them with fencing materials, seed, and other farming basics. Families were charged rent for 13 weeks to cover these outgoings, after which they were offered the opportunity to lease or purchase the farm.[72] The fact that settlers had to be registered as unemployed precluded many Māori from eligibility, while the rent charged put the schemes beyond the financial reach of most of the remainder.[73] Enabling legislation for the scheme was not passed until March 1933, although the provisions appear to have been back-dated to cover arrangements made over previous months.[74]

In contrast to worker's dwellings, cottages erected under the SFP were relatively cheap. In 1915 the government budgeted £500 for each house built under the Workers' Dwellings Act the following year.[75] In March 1934 the *King Country Chronicle* reported that houses built locally under the SFP cost around £300 each – half the 1915 worker's dwelling price when accounting for inflation. The *Chronicle* was impressed with what could be built for £300: 'There are three good sized bedrooms with kitchen and a commodious living room and bathroom. Hot and cold water systems have been provided in each'.[76]

The SFP was quickly swamped with applicant families – far more than suitable land could be found for.[77] By March 1935, 1170 families had been settled on small farms under the plan.[78]

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[71] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p 266; *Grey River Argus*, 16 June 1932, p 4

[72] *Northern Advocate*, 19 December 1932, p 8

[73] Hearn, 'The Social and Economic Experience of Porirua ki Manawatu Māori', p 235. Only Europeans were required to contribute to the unemployment fund (a sort of unemployment insurance scheme). For Maori, contributions were voluntary, although making such contributions was required in order to register as unemployed and qualify for relief in the event of losing a job.

[74] Small Farms (Relief of Unemployment) Act, 1932-33

[75] AJHR 1915, H11B, p 1

[76] *King Country Chronicle*, 3 March 1934, p 5. Inflation figure calculated using the Reserve Bank's inflation calculator, available at https://infcal.rbnz.govt.nz/inflation-calculator

[77] *Auckland Star*, 29 April 1933, p 1

[78] *Stratford Evening Post*, 26 March 1935, p 6

In contrast, when the government stopped building worker's dwellings in 1923 it had built just 1076 houses under the scheme in 17 years.[79] The Small Farms Plan continued into in the 1940s.

Ngata's Housing Proposal

The resumption of State housing assistance under the Small Farms Plan appears to have encouraged Native Minister Ngata to put together a proposal for State housing assistance specifically aimed at Māori. In March 1934 he wrote to Peter Buck outlining his proposal. In Ngata's view, if the government could help Pākehā into decent housing on small farms, then it could do the same for some of the 90 percent of Māori not assisted by development schemes. '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'. Ngata believed a similar scheme for Māori would be a lot cheaper because many already owned small rural land blocks and had 'moderate' housing needs.[80] On his small block a Māori settler could produce '50% of his bodily needs' through subsistence farming, with the rest coming from casual labouring. '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.'[81]

In August 1934, Ngata led a deputation to Prime Minister George Forbes to put 'the claims of the Maori people to some assistance with housing'. According to deputation members, additional houses were needed for a growing Māori population, but few were being built, resulting in 'congestion' and a declining housing stock. The main problem was the lack of capital to build new homes. The deputation did not propose that the government build houses, as with the worker's dwellings and small farms schemes, but that it lend money so that Māori could build their own. Ngata's said that around £160 per dwelling would be required – far less than the £300 for a SFP cottage. This would provide 'a three or four roomed cottage, without any of the conveniences such as a range or elaborate drainage, or even water – they proposed to give the shell only. If some of the people wanted to go further than that £160 they would

[79] See p 69 of this report.

[80] Ngata to Buck, 25 March 1934, in Sorrenson (ed), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, volume 3, p 146

[81] Ngata to Buck, 25 March 1934, in Sorrenson (ed), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, volume 3, pp 146-147

probably have other resources to use'. Forbes asked Ngata to prepare a proposal to put to Cabinet.[82]

Following this meeting, Ngata asked the Under Secretary of the Native Department to devise a housing scheme for Māori on the same basis 'as was provided for Pakeha workmen under the Advances to Workers plan', a scheme by then delivered through the State Advances Act 1913.[83] On 3 October 1934 the Executive Committee of the Native Land Settlement Board discussed the resulting scheme and how it might be financed. Both the Treasury representative and Ngata agreed that, as far as possible, finance should come from Māori sources including the Native Trustee and the Māori Land Boards. However, Ngata soon changed his mind and wrote a detailed memo to the Minister of Finance showing that Māori sources of funds were 'limited and subject to more pressing claims'.[84] The Treasury disagreed and, in a memo dated 18 October 1934, continued to push for Māori funds to be used to finance the proposed scheme.[85]

Soon after he was forwarded the Treasury memo, Ngata resigned as Native Minister following a report strongly critical of aspects of the administration of the development schemes.[86] However, he still maintained considerable influence. In November 1934, Ngata wrote to Forbes criticising in detail the Treasury approach. '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'.[87]

Ngata's persistence appeared to have paid off, for in March 1935 Forbes told Parliament: 'we have to acknowledge that the time has now arrived when we must go ahead with a housing Scheme along with the settlement scheme, so as to assist those Natives who have little funds and who are desirous of erecting houses.' Forbes indicated that a Bill to this effect would be

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[82] Notes from Deputation to Prime Minister, 23 August 1934, in Archives NZ, 'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937'. (See Appendix 2 for document copies). The other members of the delegation were Northern Maori MP Tau Henare, Western Maori MP Taite te Tomo, and two Pākehā members of the Native Land Settlement Board.

[83] Memorandum from Under Secretary to Minister of Native Affairs, 12 September 1934, in Archives NZ, 'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[84] Ngata to Minister of Finance, 8 October 1934, in Archives NZ, 'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937'. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[85] Secretary to the Treasury to Minister of Finance, 18 October 1934, in Archives NZ, 'Housing Scheme for Maoris'. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

[86] Butterworth, 'A rural Maori rennaissance', p 176

[87] Ngata to Forbes, 3 November 1934, in Archives NZ, 'Housing Scheme for Maoris'. (See Appendix 2 for document copies).

introduced in the next session of Parliament.[88] The Native Department consulted with the Departments of Health and Public Works, and with local bodies in districts with large Māori populations. The Department reported that it hoped 'in the near future, to take steps which will improve the housing and social conditions of the Māori population, even if it should not be possible to provide a complete remedy'.[89] A draft Native Housing Bill was already in preparation, using the Housing Act 1919 as its model. Forbes delayed introducing the Bill, in part because a committee was currently looking into housing issues on a national basis. In the event, the committee's report said nothing about Māori housing.[90]

Conclusions

By the 1920s the government recognised that further action was required to enable Māori to make economic use of their little remaining land. Title consolidation and lending through the Native Trustee and Māori Land Boards provided a measure of relief and assisted some Māori to build and improve their homes. But progress was slow and in 1929 Native Minister Ngata moved to speed up the process through large-scale State intervention in the form of development schemes. For the first time government money was used explicitly to fund Māori land development and housing.

Māori housing conditions worsened during the depression due to population growth and increasing poverty. Between 1926 and 1936 the proportion of Māori living in 'huts and whares' doubled from 17 to 34 percent. This may reflect in part the poor quality of much of the housing erected on the development schemes, driven by Ngata's attempts to make the funding go as far as possible.

To assist the 90 percent of the Māori population not included in the development schemes, Ngata took inspiration from the Small Farms Plan introduced by Coates in 1932 to house some unemployed on 'lifestyle blocks'. Ngata developed a housing proposal more appropriate for Māori and the Government eventually accepted that State funds should be used to help finance Māori housing improvements. The development schemes had set a precedent. The eventual result was the Native Housing Act 1935.

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[88] NZPD vol 241, 1935, p 762

[89] AJHR 1935, G9, p 2

[90] Hearn, pp 331-334

Chapter 13: Summary of Main Findings

Introduction

This chapter draws together the main conclusions of this report, reflecting the list of topics in the project brief. The topics are grouped under subject headings, and in some cases appear under more than one subject heading. Appendix 1 outlines the complete list of topics.

Housing in 1840

Topic 1: How Māori were housed in 1840

The traditional Māori way of life underwent significant changes during the first 70 years of contact with the outside world. Some 20,000 died in the musket wars, primarily in the 1820s and 1830s, and the resulting upheavals greatly changed the distribution of the population, as whole hapū and iwi deserted their traditional rohe. Archeologists have identified nearly 6700 pā sites around New Zealand but by 1840 fortified pā and hillside kāinga were increasingly abandoned for villages on flat ground near plantations of introduced crops such as potatoes. These changes were still underway in the 1840s, although pā continued to be common as refuges in times of conflict.

Despite these disruptions the traditional communal mode of living in most ways changed little. Whare (also called whare puni) were used predominantly for sleeping and by modern standards were small and spartan. They were heated by fire, and the lack of ventilation in winter was often commented upon by Pākehā visitors. In summer, however, whare puni were found to be clean and comfortable places to sleep. Whare design changed little over hundreds of years and the arrival of European tools and building forms had little impact on construction by the middle of the nineteenth century. Nails, for example, were commonly used as carving tools rather than being used in house building.

Although whare were small, home for whānau and hapū was a collection of buildings rather than a single whare. Cooking was done in communal kāuta or hāngi and living was generally outdoors. Food was never eaten in a whare, but rather was eaten outdoors, within a kāuta, or under the porch of a whare. Early exlorers and travellers commented on the good hygiene and sanitation practices in the kāinga they visited. From descriptions, drawings, and paintings by European visitors it appears that most kāinga were tidy, well organised, and spacious.

Population and Housing Trends

Topic 6: Māori population and housing trends compared with New Zealand's general population.

The general population trend for Māori during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is one of long decline followed by an accelerating recovery. From an estimated population of 70,000 in 1840 the population declined to 56,000 in 1858 and just over 42,000 in 1896. Thereafter the population began to increase, with the rate of increase accelerating after World War One. By 1936 the Māori population exceeded 82,000.

The falling Māori population in the nineteenth century was due to high mortality from introduced diseases and low birth rates. By the end of the nineteenth Māori immunity to viral diseases was increasing, particularly in older age groups who had already been exposed to them. As a result, the long decline in the Māori population came to a halt and a recovery set in.

Despite population growth after 1896, the Māori proportion of the population remained around five percent of the New Zealand total between 1886 and 1936. This was due to the rapidly growing Pākehā population from the 1860s onwards. The non-Māori population increased from less than 60,000 in 1858 to 408,000 in 1878, one million in 1911, and nearly 1.5 million in 1936, boosted by immigration and natural growth.

In theory the falling Māori population during the nineteenth century could have led to improved housing conditions, as there would be more space for people to live. But Māori land ownership in the North Island halved between 1860 and 1890 while the Māori population decreased by less than 25 percent, so there was significantly less land to support them. Some eight million acres of land was sold, realising cash that could be put into housing improvements. But the proceeds were unevenly spread and the money, once spent, was gone, along with the land.

The effects of population growth in the twentieth century are less equivocal. The Māori population increased by over 90 percent between 1896 and 1936. Land losses continued and by 1939, Māori owned just nine percent of the North Island. The combination of more people and less land reduced the per-capita production of food, increasing the reliance on wage labour. With more people, additional housing was required but communities generally lacked the economic resources to build new houses and maintain existing ones. In combination with the 1930s depression, the result was something of a housing crisis for Māori communities.

A significant proportion of Pākehā lived in towns from the early years of large-scale settlement and these urban areas were often dirty and unhealthy. Towns and cities eventually became cleaner and healthier thanks to improved water supplies, modern sewerage networks, and improved refuse collection, although pockets of slum housing were an increasing problem. During the nineteenth century, no more three percent of Māori lived in towns and cities or on the outskirts of urban areas. They thus did not benefit from urban housing improvements and governments did nothing to improve housing in Māori districts. Māori urbanisation increased after the First World War. The 1926 census found that 16 percent of Māori lived in towns and cities. This early shift to urban areas was likely driven largely by a rising Māori population and the lack of land to support this increase.

Nineteenth Century Changes

Topic 2: Changes in Māori housing to the end of the nineteenth century

Topic 3: The contribution of Crown actions to these changes, including war, confiscation of land, forced purchases of land, the granting of insufficient reserves, privatization and individualization of title, public works takings, and any other land loss.

Topic 4: Government policies that affected the economic strength of hapū and the papakāinga, the social strength of te pā harakeke, and other traditional institutions of Māori life.

The nineteenth century saw massive disruption to Māori society. New crops and livestock such as potatoes and pigs yielded substantial surpluses that could be sold or traded for muskets and other goods. The resulting musket wars were followed by further military disruption after the arrival of the Crown, starting with the Northern war of the 1840s and then the New Zealand wars of the 1860s and 1870s.

Pākehā arrived in unexpectedly large numbers after 1840 and sought land on which to settle. The Crown approved many purchases already made and bought land, often in controversial circumstances. By 1860 almost all the land in the South Island had passed out of Māori hands but Māori still owned 80 percent of the North Island, where the great majority lived. Land confiscations after the New Zealand wars, along with the operations of the Native Land Court, accelerated land loss. By 1890 Māori land ownership in the North Island had halved to 40 percent,

with most of it bought or confiscated by the Crown. Land losses continued and large numbers were forced into poverty by landlessness.

These disruptions brought about considerable change in how and where Māori lived. Kāinga were traditionally located on hillsides or on hill tops - sites providing good drainage and ventilation and a clean water supply. But during the nineteenth century Maōri communities often shifted to low-lying areas. As a result, whare were commonly located on damp ground near polluted water supplies, with detrimental effects on health. This change came about for a variety of reasons, including proximity to crops that required large areas of flat ground, proximity to transport networks, and proximity to Eurpean settlements that provided opportunities for trade and wage labour.

Colonialism often led to the undermining of the traditional communal way of life and many of the customs that underpinned it. Traditional Māori society had good hygiene and sanitation practices but much of this knowledge was lost under the pressure of massive societal disruption. During the nineteenth century it became more common for whanau to live in a single dwelling and cook indoors, rather than sharing communal resources such as kāuta and pātaka with the broader hapu. Such changes were often applauded by Pākehā officials, who seemed oblivious to the detrimental effects of the loss of community.

Although much traditional knowledge was lost in the face of on-going disruption, Māori retained their traditional building techniques. Whare design changed only slowly during the nineteenth century. By the latter decades of the century whare were often taller and commonly had doors and porches on the side rather than the front. Chimneys, glazed windows, and wooden floors became more common. By the late 1800s Māori in some districts commonly built European-style wooden cottages, particularly in the South Island and in more prosperous districts such as Hawkes Bay, Gisborne, Horowhenua, and the Kapiti Coast. But the traditional whare, which was cheap to build and provided good insulation, remained the predominant form of housing for most.

Thus, the main nineteenth century housing problems for Māori were not in the design and construction of whare, but rather the lack of resources to maintain and improve them, the location of kāinga on damp low-lying ground, the decline of communal living, and the loss of traditional knowledge. In the nineteenth century government efforts to improve Māori housing were minimal.

The main avenue was through the education system. A textbook on Māori health, which included a chapter on housing, was commonly used in the Native schools that gradually spread into Māori communities from the 1870s. Other government efforts focused on trying to relieve Māori landlessness. The Crown eventually allocated 142,000 acres of land for landless South Island Māori, although much of this land proved too poor quality for settlement or was inaccessible. Proposals to provide land for landless North Island Māori came to nothing.

Topic 5: The influence of Christian missionaries on housing production and construction practices amongst Māori communities

From 1814 Christian missionaries sought to convert Māori, with some success. The adoption of Christian beliefs resulted in the abandonment of some traditional practices and weakened many of the institutions of Māori society. Māori commonly incorporated Christian beliefs into their traditions and new Christian-based religions emerged, often driven by charismatic individuals. The Pai Marire religion founded by Te Ua Haumene and Te Kooti's Ringatu faith are just two of many nineteenth century examples.

The main missionary influence on Māori housing was in the development of meeting houses. Māori often assisted missionaries in church construction and added traditional elements to the design, including kowhaiwhai and tukutuku panels (but not carvings). These large buildings allowed Māori to assemble indoors in much larger numbers than usual. Churches inspired the design and building of large non-church buildings by Māori, based on the larger whare that were a common feature of kāinga, generally described by European visitors as 'the chiefs house'. A few meeting houses were built in the 1840s but large meeting houses did not became a common feature of Māori communities until the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

New tools and building materials facilitated the construction of large buildings with elaborate carvings and decorations inside and out. An impressive meeting house was a source of mana. Still larger meeting houses were built for gatherings of the Ringatū Church, with over 40 built between 1869 and 1908. In Northland and the South Island, where traditional crafts had gone into decline, meeting houses were unadorned weatherboard structures. Meeting houses built specifically for pan-tribal gatherings, such as the Kotahitanga, also tended to be unadorned.

The 1930s saw a further burst of meeting house construction, under the auspices of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts established by Apirana Ngata in Rotorua in 1926. The school was responsible for more than 40 building projects.

Māori Initiatives

Topic 7: Māori initiatives to improve housing, such as at Parihaka and Maungapōhatu.

Parihaka Pā was founded in the 1860s by the religious leaders Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi and some of their followers. Parihaka became a centre of protest against the Taranaki land confiscations. In 1879, when the government proceeded to survey confiscated land without first allocating reserves, followers of Te Whiti embarked on a campaign to disrupt the surveyors and plough land occupied by settlers. Some 400 protesters were arrested and deported to Wellington and the South Island. When Māori travelled to Parihaka from around the North Island to support the protesters it became one of the largest Māori settlements in the country.

In November 1881 a force of over 1500 armed constabulary and volunteers, led by Native Affairs and Defence Minister John Bryce, invaded Parihaka and arrested Te Whiti and Tohu. They were sent to the South Island as political prisoners and taken on an intensive tour designed to impress upon them the accomplishments of Pākehā civilisation. The village was destroyed.

In March 1883 Te Whiti and Tohu returned to Parikaha to begin rebuilding the ruined village, although three years later Te Whiti was imprisoned for six months following further protest action. After Te Whiti's second return, his theological differences with Tohu resulted in complementary marae being erected on opposite sides of Parihaka. They both embarked on extravagant building projects, building in the European style, including a 100-seat dining hall in a colonial-style weatherboard building.

Visitors were impressed with the facilities at Parikaha, which included an excellent water supply, hot and cold running water, and (by 1900) electric lighting. At the same time the community lived in the traditional manner with shared communal facilities for dining and other day to day activities. Funding for the developments came from supportive tribes and individuals, in particular Taare Waitara, who also supervised much of the building work at Parihaka. Waitara was a wealthy Hutt Valley businessman of Atiawa and Pākehā descent who married Te Whiti's daughter.

Another to initiate Māori housing improvements was Rua Kenana in the Urewera. Although a religious leader, Rua was strongly motivated by practical objectives. He wanted to bring people out of poverty and hardship by making their remaining land productive through the application of skills and capital. Rua had worked for Pākehā employers and came to value Pākehā standards, particularly those of hygiene and housing. Rua thus aimed to establish a self-sufficient community with a healthy lifestyle.

Rua's community at Maugapohatu got off to a dreadful start when disease killed 50 people in the harsh winter of 1907. But during 1908 the community began to take shape under the guidance of a Council headed by Rua and various committees. By late 1908 they had cleared some 280 hectares of land and built over 50 houses, most considerably larger than traditional whare and some with glass windows.

To outsiders the most noticeable feature of Maungapōhatu were its substantial communal buildings, in particular the circular meeting and court-house Hīona. Visitors were impressed by the strict standards of hygiene imposed by Rua. He had latrines installed, which were regularly cleaned, and a nearby stream was diverted through a series of pools for a water supply.

The community continued to grow between 1909 and 1915. However, it was devastated by the 1916 invasion by armed police followed by Rua's arrest and imprisonment and a lengthy and expensive trial. Rua did not return permanently to try and revive the community until 1927 but the revival was short-lived thanks to the isolation of Maungapōhatu and lack of decent road access. Rua died in 1937.

A common factor in both these examples was a return to, or strengthening of, a traditional communal lifestyle, where resources were widely shared. Both communities were well organised and emphasised the importance of good hygiene and clean drinking water.

Short Term Accommodation

Topic 8: Temporary housing situations for Māori such as hostels.

Although few Māori lived in urban areas in the nineteenth century they were regular visitors to towns and cities. Initially such visits were primarily for trade, as early Pākehā settlers relied on Māori for food, but Māori increasingly visited for other purposes, including government business

and Native Land Court sittings. These temporary visitors required overnight accommodation which was often in short supply. More importantly, hotel and boarding house operators commonly refused to accept Māori guests. As a result Māori were regularly forced to camp on beaches and elsewhere, regardless of the weather.

This situation provoked a rare instance of early government interference in the housing market by establishing Māori hostels in towns and cities. At least 19 hostels opened overall, although some stayed open for just a few years. Some of these hostels were established as a central government initiative while others were instigated by local and provincial governments, by officials accessing government funding, or through Māori fundraising efforts.

The main hostels established by central government were in Auckland, Wellington, and New Plymouth. Some stayed open for just a few years but others lasted for decades (or a century in the case of the Auckland and Nelson hostels). It was only when a Native hostel was proposed for New Plymouth around 1900 that a major reason for the need for these facilities – racial discrimination – was openly discussed.

Topic 9: The use of boarding schools to house Māori children

In the 1840s and 1850s the Anglican, Wesleyan, and Catholic missions established boarding schools for Māori which received government subsidies from 1847. By 1860 the churches operated 12 boarding schools housing several hundred pupils, some of whom were adult students training as teachers and clergy.

Because the schools received government funding they were subject to occasional inspections, which included the quality of accommodation, food, and clothing provided. In 1860 the inspectors found such facilities to be highly variable. Some schools had good facilities but dormitories were generally crowded and pupils commonly shared beds. The large Anglican mission school at Otawhau in the Waikato was reported to have poorly-ventilated dormitories and supplied inadequate food and clothing.

Ten schools were in the Auckland and Waikato districts that were significantly affected by the rise of the King movement and the warfare of the 1860s. Some schools closed and the attendance at others dwindled. The government began building Native schools in the 1870s, greatly reducing the need for church-run schools. By the mid-1880s just four boarding schools remained with less than

150 boarders between them. Around that time the government stopped paying per capita grants to the schools and moved to a system of boarding scholarships for more able Native School pupils. This encouraged the schools to shift emphasis towards secondary schooling, a movement started by John Thorton at Te Aute College.

The four schools – Te Aute and St Stephen's for boys and Hukarere and St Joseph's for girls - were by then expected to conform to 'European' standards of food and accommodation, although only Te Aute had Pākehā pupils. The inspector's reports were generally positive. By the 1890s, however, Te Aute was becoming overcrowded due to its rapidly expanding roll and in 1894 the government instituted an inquiry after a pupil died from typhoid. The inquiry resulted in several reforms, including a temporary freeze on enrolments, and no further significant problems arose.

In the early twentieth century the government increased the number and value of Māori boarding scholarships, raising demand for secondary schooling. Between 1900 and 1916 the number of schools increased from four to ten, and pupil numbers more than doubled to 458. Pupil numbers peaked in 1926 but fell dramatically during the depression, reaching a low of 241 in 1933. Many parents could no longer afford the fees for children without scholarships and Māori pupils were increasingly able to access free secondary schooling.

Topic 10: The accommodation of Māori prisoners

During most of the period covered by this report (1840 to 1934) Māori were less likely than Pākehā to be imprisoned. There was thus little focus by government officials on Māori prisoners. However, between 1924 and 1934 the number of Māori prisoners doubled from 105 to 211 and continued to increase throughout the twentieth century. Overall, prisoners on average remained in jail for less than a year but no information is available on the length of sentences for Māori prisoners. Prisons in the nineteenth century were often very basic and overcrowded. A programme of building new prisons began in the 1880s.

Almost all the prisons were in urban areas, so Māori in prison were likely to be uprooted from their rohe, making it difficult for whānau to visit. In the 1890s a Justice Department official, G H Davies, wrote that Māori found confinement in prison particularly difficult, something that should be taken into consideration when sentences were passed. 'It is not punishment in such a case, but

the infliction of great cruelty'. Davies claimed that some Māori 'lost heart' while in prison and 'moped and died', although provided no information as to how common such cases might be.[779]

Public Health and Māori Councils in the Twentieth Century

Topic 12: Government policy to improve Māori housing in the early twentieth century including attempts through the District Māori Councils.

Topic 20: The role of the main government bodies in relation to housing policy and services for Māori in this time period, such as the Department of Māori Affairs, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Health, through its role in Māori housing in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

By the late nineteenth public health was of increasing concern to governments, including the state of Māori housing and the cleanliness of Māori settlements. The Young Māori Party of former Te Aute College pupils took up these concerns and pushed for government action. The result was two major reforms in the early 1900s. The Public Health Act 1900 set up a Department of Public Health in the wake of a bubonic plague scare. Maui Pomare and later Te Rangi Hiroa were appointed as Native Health Officers in the new department, which also employed up to 11 Native Sanitary Inspectors to work with Māori communities.

Another reform advocated by the Young Māori Party and MP James Carroll was the Māori Councils Act 1900. The Act established Māori councils and village committees to initiate local reforms in health and housing. The councils often worked closely with the Native Health Officers and sanitary inspectors as they had similar objectives, including improving Māori housing standards.

The reforms resulted in significant improvements in many parts of the country. Between 1904 and 1909 over 2100 new houses and 300 new whare were built through these initiatives. Water supplies were improved and some 1000 'WCs' were installed in kāinga by 1909 – although Māori Councils and village committees often struggled to convince people to use the new facilities.

[779] AJHR 1896, H13B, p 10

Funding for Māori councils came largely from the community in the form of donations, house taxes, dog registration fees, and fines. The government contribution was relatively small. Government funding of health officers and sanitary inspectors appointed by the Health Department was erratic and in 1909 the salaries of Pomare and the sanitary inspectors were reduced and the vote for Māori Councils was cut back. By 1912 all 11 sanitary inspectors were laid off. Māori councils struggled through lack of support and by 1918 most had faded out of existence.

The 1918 influenza pandemic was a wake-up call for the government, which passed a new Health Act. A revamped Health Department included a Division of Māori Hygiene with Peter Buck as director. Buck set about reviving the Māori Councils, with some success. Under new legislation, 20 new Māori councils were established by 1922, along with more than 250 village committees. Buck also appointed four Māori Health Inspectors.

The revived system focussed on improving water supplies and sanitation rather than on building and repairing dwellings. The Native and Health departments willingly subsidised water supply projects, resulting in significant improvements in many kāinga.

In 1927, Buck resigned from his position as Director of Māori Hygiene and was replaced by Edward Ellison, another Māori medical graduate. Ellison left for an overseas position in 1931 and the Division of Māori Hygiene was abolished shortly after, largely as a depression-era austerity measure. The Native Health Inspectors were laid off and their work thereafter undertaken by the general health inspectors employed by the Health Department.

These changes undermined the functioning of Māori councils, as did the Rātana movement, whose members often refused to recognise their authority. The councils struggled for adequate funding as they were no longer empowered to collect dog taxes unless contracted by county councils. Māori council finances worsened during the economic depression, as the fines on which they relied for revenue were unpopular and difficult to enforce in straightened times. The government was in austerity mode and unwilling to provide subsidies, and by 1935 many councils had so little money they did not bother operating bank accounts. Although they nominally kept operating until after World War Two, almost all the Māori councils were moribund by the late 1930s.

Demolition of Māori homes

Topic 13: Demolition of Māori homes and clearing of 'slums'.

Under the 1900 public health reforms and the Māori councils system, Māori Health Officers and Native Sanitary Inspectors visited kāinga to determine what housing and sanitation improvements were required. Houses deemed uninhabitable were often destroyed and new ones erected in their place. In 1909 Māori Health Officer Maui Pomare reported that over 1250 Māori houses had been destroyed over the preceding five years under this system, and over 2100 houses and 300 whare erected as replacements. Pomare did not report any community objections to these actions, despite in some cases 'whole villages' being renovated.

> Some have been shifted from their low, damp situations to the higher lands. Hundreds of insanitary houses have been destroyed without a penny of compensation being asked for. New houses have been erected. In some districts it would be quite difficult to find Māori whare of the old stamp. They have all gone in the general awakening that has taken place.[780]

There is little evidence of slum clearance in New Zealand's cities before the 1950s. In 2003 the Waitangi Tribunal rejected suggestions that Te Aro pā was victim of a 'slum clearance' scheme in the late nineteenth century. Demolition of 'insanitary' dwellings was allowed under Municipal Corporations Act 1900, and in 1903 the Auckland City Council ordered 23 buildings to be demolished. However, there is no evidence these demolitions affected Māori, as only a handful of Māori lived in Auckland before the 1920s.

Inquiry into Whakarewarewa and Ōhinemutu

Topic 14: Royal Commissions and Select Committees on housing and social conditions in the period including the 1926 Commission to investigate the establishment of model Māori villages.

The only inquiry before 1935 to touch on Māori housing in any significant way was 1926 Commission 'to inquire and report upon the necessity or advisability of establishing model villages on the sites of the present villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa'.

By the 1920s, living conditions at Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa were probably better than in many other Māori villages, given they had reticulated water and electric lighting. But conditions

[780] AJHR 1909, H 31, p 60

were bad enough to provoke a government Commission of Inquiry in 1926. Tourism at Rotorua was growing, and the villages were part of the 'tourist experience'. Their run-down state was an embarrassment to government, which from 1901 to 1923 ran Rotorua through its Tourist Department.

The 1926 Commission found that many houses needed replacing, there was serious over-crowding, refuse disposal was poor and sewage disposal rudimentary at best. It recommended a comprehensive scheme to rebuild and replace houses in architectural styles closer to the traditional whare and the installation of proper sewerage systems.

In 1928 the Government appointed Commission member Reginald Hammond to prepare a scheme for a small 'model village' by Whakarewarewa that would relieve some of the overcrowding and provide better (and more picturesque) housing. In 1929 the Government budgeted for a £500 contribution towards the scheme but the money was never spent. The 'model village' never got off the ground and was eventually forgotten. Instead, improvement work was undertaken in both villages through a combination of Māori effort and fund-raising, contributions from the Rotorua Borough Council and Tourism Department, and assistance from a depression unemployment scheme. In 1934 the Whakarewarewa Komiti Marae agreed to levy guiding fees to help fund future improvements. The government contribution to better housing in the villages was minimal during the period covered by this report and the improvements were usually cosmetic. A 1937 housing survey in the villages revealed that numerous problems remained, including lack of basic facilities and overcrowding.

On the plus side, both Whakarewarewa and Ōhinemutu were connected to the Rotorua town sewerage system by March 1936. It is unclear to what extent this was driven by the Commission's report. The town sewerage system itself needed significant extension due to rapid expansion of Rotorua. Connecting the two villages into the scheme proved a considerable technical achievement given their location within a highly active geothermal area and Ōhinemutu's location on low-lying ground. The Te Arawa Trust Board contributed £4,800 towards the two schemes. This represented nearly half the total cost, with the rest met by ratepayers and various government sources. The Ōhinemutu sewerage scheme was undertaken using local Māori labour.

Housing for Specific Groups

Topic 19: Housing for discharged Māori soldiers

In 1915 Parliament passed the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act, which was amended in 1917 so that returning soldiers could purchase existing homes and new builds with little or no deposit. By the end of March 1926, 16,811 loans were approved under the scheme, 71 percent of which were for homes in urban and suburban areas.

No published information is available as to how many Māori returned servicemen were able to access housing loans under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915. Some researchers have examined the records of regional Land Board minutes to find evidence of successful Māori applications, using surnames as a guide. These efforts have uncovered only a handful of successful Māori applications.

Topic 15: Social housing and special housing needs (including homelessness).

In the nineteenth century the government provided immigration barracks at the main ports which at times acted as a refuge for those unhoused by natural disaster and as informal shelters for homeless and destitute families. From the 1880s there was a big growth in charitable institutions providing shelter or long term accommodation to the homeless. By 1900, Charitable Aid Boards subsidised nineteen 'benevolent asylums' providing either long term accommodation for the elderly or overnight shelter for working-age people. Because they were in urban areas it is unlikely that such institutions provided accommodation for Māori. Māori visitors to towns and cities could stay in Māori hostels, which occasionally housed homeless Māori and Pākehā, although this was not their intended purpose.

In the 1920s and 1930s Māori had trouble finding housing on the outskirts of Auckland, including Pukekohe. The Government resisted helping provide accommodation as it was generally believed that Māori should remain living in rural areas. In 1934 Cabinet eventually agreed to contribute £500 for a Māori hostel there, contingent on contributions from other sources including local authorities. There was considerable local disagreement from those who believed that a hostel would encourage Māori to settle permanently in the district and it does not appear that the hostel was ever built. The racial discrimination faced by Māori in Pukekohe has been well documented.

Little public or political concern was expressed about Māori homelessness in the period covered by this report. Some were concerned about Māori landlessness, given the significant loss of Māori land, although little action was taken.

Home Ownership

Topic 17: Māori home ownership.

Topic 11: The ability of Māori to access housing support available to other New Zealanders, including the Advances to Workers, the Workers' Dwelling, and Advances to Settlers schemes.

Topic 20: The role of the main government bodies in relation to housing policy and services for Māori in this time period, such as the State Advances Office.

The first census to ask questions on Māori home ownership was in 1926. Seventy percent of Māori-occupied dwellings were owned by the occupier compared with 61 percent of Non-Māori dwellings. By 1936 the Māori home ownership rate was 69 percent but the overall New Zealand home ownership rate had fallen below 50 percent. Neither census asked questions of Māori about whether dwellings were owned with or without a mortgage. Two-thirds of owner-occupied Non-Māori dwellings in 1926 were owned with a mortgage or were on time payment.

New Zealand's high rate of home ownership by 1926 was boosted by significant government lending which began in the 1890s with the Government Advances to Settler's Act 1894. That Act primarily aimed to assist Pākehā who wished to purchase Crown land to establish farms, though its provisions did not exclude Māori borrowers. From 1906 State lending was mainly through the Government Advances to Workers Act, followed by the New Zealand State-guaranteed Advances Act 1909 and the State Advances Act 1913, which set up the State Advances Office. In 1923 the State Advances Act was amended to lower the deposit threshold to five percent. This greatly stimulated demand for loans and by 1930 the State was by far the largest housing lender in the country.

Although Māori were not explicitly excluded from accessing State Advances loans, most were effectively excluded under the lending criteria. Māori freehold land was not acceptable security under the State Advances Act 1913 and only 'workers' as defined in the Act were eligible for loans. The Act defined worker as 'a person employed in manual or clerical work, and who at the

time of his application … is not in receipt of an income of more than two hundred pounds per annum, and *is not the owner of any land other than the land which he offers as security for the loan for which application is made*'.[781] As many Māori had interest in land, however small a share, the definition in the Act effectively excluded them from eligibility for loans.

Just 53 Māori secured loans from the State Advances Office by March 1929, making up just 0.2 percent out of a total of 25,268 loans. The average loan to these Māori borrowers was under £300. Māori appeared more successful with Advances to Settlers loans. Eighty-eight Māori received loans from this source between 1910 and 1914 and 57 in the decade 1912 to 1921. No information is available on how many Māori received Advances to Settlers loans before 1910. The Small Farms Plan, established in 1932, aimed to house unemployed on lifestyle blocks with State lending assistance. There is no evidence that any Māori were assisted under the Plan.

In 1920 the government established the Native Trustee to administer income from Māori land and lend for Māori land development and housing. In 1905 the government established Māori Land Boards and from 1926 these could also lend for Māori housing. By the end of March 1934, 476 mortgagees (mostly Māori) had borrowed a total of £678,225 from the Native Trustee.

Rental Housing

Topic 16: Māori experience of the rental market, and Crown support for Māori in the rental market.

A minority of Māori were in rental housing during the period covered by this report. The 1926 census reported that 14 percent of Māori-occupied dwellings were rented. By the 1936 census the proportion had increased to 18 percent. No information is available on Māori household tenure before 1926.

By 1936 there were 112 Māori-occupied rental dwellings in Auckland, which had a shortage of rental housing. An Auckland City Council report in 1938 referred to Māori tenants living in slum housing. Māori who moved to the outskirts of Auckland in the 1920s and 1930s often lived in poor conditions, although the accommodation was frequently provided rent-free. A few market

[781] State Advances Act 1913, Section 56

gardeners built good quality rental housing for their Māori employees. The Crown resisted providing improved housing for Māori in these semi-urban districts, as politicians and officials generally believed that Māori should be discouraged from moving to towns and cities.

Topic 11: The ability of Māori to access housing support available to other New Zealanders, including the Advances to Workers, the Workers' Dwelling, and Advances to Settlers schemes.

Topic 20: The role of the main government bodies in relation to housing policy and services for Māori in this time period, such as the Housing Branch of the Labour Department and the Public Works Department.

The Workers' Dwellings Act 1905 resulted in New Zealand's first state housing scheme. It empowered the Labour Department to construct houses, mainly in the suburbs, to rent to workers. The houses were to be of reasonable quality and the rents set on a cost-recovery basis as the target-market was better-off workers. Some higher-income workers were excluded, however, as applicants had to be earning less than £156 per annum, a limit that was increased from time to time in subsequent legislation.

The scheme was a failure. Just 126 worker's dwellings were built in or near the four main centres by 1910. Quality houses could not be built as cheaply as the Government had hoped and rents were thus too high for most who met the income limit. The suburban setting of most of the houses was often inconvenient without adequate public transport. A new Workers' Dwellings Act passed in 1910 provided more flexible rental terms and allowed workers to purchase houses built under the scheme. The Government shut down its housing construction scheme in 1923, by which time just 1076 dwellings had been built under the Workers' Dwellings Acts and the Housing Act 1919 which replaced them. Most of these houses were sold rather than rented. There is no evidence any Māori rented workers' dwellings built under the Act.

Another source of government rental housing came from the Railways Department. Once the North Island main trunk railway neared completion in the early 1900s, the department started building houses for railway workers in small towns that otherwise lacked accommodation. Demand expanded and in the 1920s the department began cutting pre-fabricated houses at a factory in Frankton to rent to its workers once relocated and assembled. When the factory closed in 1929 it had pre-cut some 1400 houses, nearly half for non-railways clients. Further research would be

needed to determine how many Māori were housed in railways cottages in in the 1920s and 1930s, but the numbers are likely to be small.

Housing Crises and Unhealthy Homes

Topic 18: The impact of housing crises and the prevalence of disease, epidemics, overcrowding, and unhealthy homes.

Māori land sales resumed in 1905 and gained momentum after 1909. As a result a growing population had a decreasing supply of land to support it. Some Māori moved to towns and cities for work, most notably on the rural outskirts of Auckland around Pukehohe and Mangere, where they often lived in dreadful conditions. The urbanisation trend accelerated in the 1930s with rising unemployment. By 1933 some 40 percent of the Māori workforce was unemployed.

The result was a significant decline in Māori housing standards as whānau lacked the means to maintain existing homes and build new ones. Between 1926 and 1936 the proportion of Māori dwellings that were classified as 'huts and whares' doubled from 17 to 34 percent. Surveys in the 1930s in areas with predominately Māori populations found that many homes were damp, poorly ventilated, had few windows, lacked an adequate supply of clean water, and had no or inadequate toilet facilities. Overcrowding was common. In the 1936 census, 48 percent of Māori houses had two or more people per room compared with just 1.4 percent of Non-Māori houses.

Although it was commonly understood that poor housing was linked to poor health outcomes, little government effort was made to improve Māori housing conditions until the twentieth century. Māori health was poorly monitored compared with that of Pākehā, and Māori deaths were not routinely recorded. The commission that reported on the 1918 influenza pandemic made no mention of Māori housing and the high Māori rate of tuberculosis was largely ignored until the 1930s. In contrast, efforts to combat typhoid in Māori communities commonly focussed on improving housing and sanitation.[782]

[782] Dow, *Māori Health and Government Policy*, pp 140-142

Local Government

Topic 21: The role of local government with respect to Māori housing, including rating requirements and as administrators of building and housing related legislation.

Urban local authorities were far more active than rural ones on housing-related issues. During most of the period covered by this report only a small minority of Māori lived within the boundaries of boroughs and cities. From 1882 Māori land located within the boundaries of a borough was generally liable for rates.

Councils within urban districts initiated reticulated water and sewerage systems, usually with financial help from central government. These projects did not always work to the benefit of Māori, as a sewerage outfall was installed near Ōrākei village. In Ōtaki, a drainage and sewerage scheme established in the 1920s served few Māori households in the borough, but Māori were still expected to contribute to the scheme through rates. On the other hand, sewerage schemes in Rotorua benefitted the inhabitants of Ōhinemutu and Whakarewarewa.

Borough and city councils dealt more directly with housing in the twentieth century. The Municipal Corporations Act 1900 provided a more consistent framework for urban local authorities and dealt with public health and housing problems. The Act empowered local authorities to build houses for rent or sale and put in place a series of town planning controls. Local authorities were required to survey all houses within their districts, stipulate the maximum number of people who could sleep in each dwelling, and fine those who exceeded the requirements. Councils were empowered to draw up by-laws specifying cubic space in living areas and to order the demolition of buildings judged 'unfit for occupation or dangerous to public health'. Councils utilised these provisions inconsistently at best. However, Māori hostels and meeting houses built in the twentieth century often had to conform to building standards.

The overwhelming majority of Māori during the period covered by this report lived in rural districts. Māori land increasingly became liable for rates from the mid-1880s but there were many exceptions and the rating provisions proved difficult to enforce. The Native Land Rating Act 1924 handed responsibility for rates enforcement over to the Native Land Court and removed most rates exemptions apart from 'the indigent circumstances of the occupiers'. The aim was to make rating of Māori land more consistent with the provisions that applied to European land.

The main local authorities in rural districts had little to do with housing. Their focus was on roading, bridges, waterways, and dealing with rural pests such as rabbits. From the 1880s local authorities were empowered to take land for roading, in most cases without compensation. Crown approval was required for public works takings but official scrutiny of local authority actions was generally lacking. Many local authorities took Māori land in preference to European and made little effort to ensure that roading schemes benefitted all in the community.

It was not until the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 that local authority powers over land use extended to rural districts. That Act introduced the concept of zoning and was designed to limit sporadic subdivision and sprawl in rural areas.

Precursors to the Native Housing Act 1935

Topic 22: Māori housing built through the Māori Land Development Schemes from the late 1920s until 1935, including the relative impact of these schemes in different parts of the country.

In the nineteenth century the increasing complexity of Native Title made it almost impossible for Māori to borrow from traditional sources – private banks and the state – to develop land and improve housing on it, and land holdings were commonly in small, scattered units. To try and overcome these problems the Crown implemented title consolidation schemes and provided for vesting of title in Māori Land Boards to manage the land. In the 1920s the Native Trustee and Māori Land Boards were empowered to lend for housing, using Māori funds to finance housing improvements.

These measures, while a significant improvement, did not go far enough to provide for a growing Māori population. In 1929 Native Affairs Minister Apirana Ngata successfully promoted legislation that provided for government lending for Māori land development. The Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act enabled the government to consolidate land holdings into economic units, bypassing problems with Native title. It empowered the Native Minister to authorise a wide range of land development activities, including erecting houses on farms under development.

By 1935, 74 land development schemes were in operation. Over 650,000 acres of land had been gazetted for development, nearly 105,000 acres were already in development, and the government

had spent over £650,000 on the schemes. Some 11 percent of the Māori population was supported by land development schemes by 1935.

Some parts of the country lacked land suitable for inclusion in the schemes, or had unsupportive tribal leaders. Development schemes were not attempted in the King Country, Taranaki, and parts of Northland. The greatest share of land under the schemes was in the Tokerau District north of Auckland but the Waiariki Māori Land District (comprising the Rotorua, Bay of Plenty, Te Urewera, and the stretch of coast between Opotiki and Cape Runaway) operated the largest number of schemes.

To make the capital go as far as possible, Ngata was willing to accept lesser quality housing. Much of the housing built in the early stages of the schemes was therefore of fairly basic, including many raupō whare. However, by the mid-1930s better quality cottages were being constructed for settler families. The Horohoro scheme near Rotorua was particularly noted for the quality of its housing.

Topic 23: Attempts to put in place government schemes leading up to the enactment of the Native Housing Act 1935.

Topic 24: Other factors, contexts, and legislative processes leading to the events to be discussed in the later 1935 – 1991 report.

In mid-1932 Finance Minister Gordon Coates launched his Small Farms Plan, under which the government took out short-term leases on small holdings of around ten acres on which to settle unemployed workers and their families.[783] The government negotiated with farmers who had surplus lands, erected cottages on the sections to house the families, and supplied them with basic farming needs. Families were charged rent for 13 weeks, after which they were offered the opportunity to lease or purchase the farm. The fact that settlers had to be registered as unemployed precluded many Māori from eligibility, while the rent charged put the schemes beyond the financial reach of most of the remainder. By 1935 the Small Farms Plan was helping house more families than the State Advances Office.

[783] Today we would call these 'lifestyle blocks'.

In 1934, Native Minister Ngata was inspired by the Small Farms Plan to develop a scheme for state lending to Māori. He envisioned that some of those assisted could provide seasonal labour for development scheme farms. In August 1934 Ngata led a delegation to Prime Minister George Forbes to present his plan and make a case for housing assistance for Māori.

Following this meeting, Ngata asked the Under Secretary of the Native Department to devise a Māori housing scheme. The Department's scheme was similar to that of the advances to workers scheme, but officials, influenced by the Treasury, proposed that funds held by Māori Land Boards and the Native Trustee should be used to finance the scheme. Ngata was unhappy with this suggestion as he was aware that these sources of funds were severely depleted.

In November 1934 Ngata wrote to Forbes criticising the Treasury approach and his persistence paid off. In March 1935 Forbes told Parliament that a Bill for a Māori housing scheme, financed by government funds, would be introduced in the next session of Parliament. A draft Native Housing Bill was already in preparation, but Forbes delayed introducing the Bill as a committee was currently looking into housing issues on a national basis. In the event, the committee's report said nothing about Māori housing.

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Appendix 1: Topics for this Report

The project brief for this report included a list of topics to be covered by the report. The list was worked out by claimants and the Crown in consultation with the author. The topics are:

1. How Māori were housed in 1840;
2. Changes in Māori housing to the end of the nineteenth century;
3. The contribution of Crown actions to these changes, including war, confiscation of land, forced purchases of land, the granting of insufficient reserves, privatization and individualization of title, public works takings, and any other land loss;
4. Government policies that affected the economic strength of hapū and the papakāinga, the social strength of te pā harakeke, and other traditional institutions of Māori life;
5. The influence of Christian missionaries on housing production and construction practices amongst Māori communities;
6. Māori population and housing trends compared with New Zealand's general population;
7. Māori initiatives to improve housing, such as at Parihaka and Maungapōhatu;
8. Temporary housing situations for Māori such as hostels;
9. The use of boarding schools to house Māori children;
10. The accommodation of Māori prisoners;
11. The ability of Māori to access housing support available to other New Zealanders, including the Advances to Workers, the Workers' Dwelling, and Advances to Settlers schemes;
12. Government policy to improve Māori housing in the early twentieth century including attempts through the District Māori Councils;
13. Demolition of Māori homes and clearing of 'slums';
14. Royal Commissions and Select Committees on housing and social conditions in the period including the 1926 Commission to investigate the establishment of model Māori villages;
15. Social housing and special housing needs (including homelessness);
16. Māori experience of the rental market, and Crown support for Māori in the rental market;
17. Māori home ownership;
18. The impact of housing crises and the prevalence of disease, epidemics, overcrowding, and unhealthy homes;
19. Housing for discharged Māori soldiers;

20. The role of the main government bodies in relation to housing policy and services for Māori in this time period, such as:
    a. The Department of Māori Affairs
    b. State Advances Office
    c. Housing Branch of the Labour Department and the Public Works Department
    d. The Department of Justice
    e. the Department of Health, through its role in Māori housing in the late 19th and early 20th centuries;
21. The role of local government with respect to Māori housing, including rating requirements and as administrators of building and housing related legislation;
22. Māori housing built through the Māori Land Developments Schemes from the late 1920s until 1935, including the relative impact of these schemes in different parts of the country;
23. Attempts to put in place government schemes leading up to the enactment of the Native Housing Act 1935;
24. Other factors, contexts, and legislative processes leading to the events to be discussed in the later 1935 – 1991 report.

Appendix 2: Supporting Documents from Archives New Zealand

Supporting Documents Index

Appendix 2 contains copies of documents from Archives New Zealand that are not readily obtainable from libraries or online. The table below shows the page numbers in this appendix at which particular supporting documents or groups of supporting documents can be located.

Item Description	File Title and Year Range	Archives ID	Page(s)
Rotorua Town Clerk to Minister of Native Affairs, 30 January 1931	'Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa Model Maori Villages', 1926-1931 [Archive NZ dates are incorrect]	R22411331	220
Cabinet Memo from Minister of Native Affairs, 8 November 1933	'Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa Model Maori Villages', 1926-1931 [Archive NZ dates are incorrect]	R22411331	221
	Housing - Survey of Maori Housing - Ohinemutu Housing Survey', 1937-1944	R11840008	222-228
	'Housing Survey Porangahau', 1937	R19528224	229-249
	'Taumutu Housing Survey', 1937-1938	R19528221	250-267
Notes from Deputation to Prime Minister, 23 August 1934	'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937'	R18797999	268-272

Item Description	File Title and Year Range	Archives ID	Page(s)
Native Under-secretary to Registrar, Native Land Court, Gisborne, 24 December 1937	'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937'	R18797999	273
Memorandum from Under Secretary to Minister of Native Affairs, 12 September 1934	'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937'	R18797999	274-275
Ngata to Minister of Finance, 8 October 1934	'Housing Organisation Policy 1934-1937'	R18797999	276-278
Secretary to the Treasury to Minister of Finance, 18 October 1934	'Housing Scheme for Maoris 1929-1936'	R18797996	279-282
Ngata to Forbes, 3 November 1934	'Housing Scheme for Maoris 1929-1936'	R18797996	283-286

N 1928/482

unications to be Addressed:
TOWN CLERK
P.O. Box 69
ROTORUA
Phone No. 6

Borough of Rotorua

ARAWA STREET

ROTORUA 30th JAN., 1931.

Your Reference	1928/482.
Our Reference	N/2 .

The Honourable,
The Minister of Native Affairs,
WELLINGTON.

RECEIVED 3 FEB 1931

Dear Sir,

SEWERAGE - WHAKAREWAREWA.

I am desired by my Council to thank you for your favour of the 19th inst. confirming that the Native Department will, out of the appropriate vote, contribute a sum not exceeding £50:0:0 towards obtaining a report upon the proposal of installing a sewerage scheme in the Native Village of Whakarewarewa.

Yours faithfully,

TOWN CLERK.

The U.S. Native,
Referred.
a. f. ng
3.2.31/B

NATIVE DEPARTMENT 3 FEB 1931 WELLINGTON

N 1928/482.

(3)

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS,

WELLINGTON.

8th. November, 1933.

N. 1928/482.

Memorandum for Cabinet:

Drainage System - Whakarewarewa Village.

The Mayor of Rotorua in July 1931 stated that a drainage scheme for Whakarewarewa Village would cost approximately £2,000 distributed as follows:

Material	£1,000	
Skilled labour	500	
Unskilled labour	500	£2,000

The Mayor thought that he could arrange for financial assistance from the Unemployment Board towards the labour cost of the work to the extent of £500 leaving £1,500, that is part of the estimated cost of labour and the whole of the material, to be found otherwise, and suggested that the Government should find 60% and the Borough Council the balance of 40%.

The matter was discussed by me with the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister who agreed that the Government (with the help of the Arawa Trust Board and the Maori Purposes Board) should contribute not more than £900 towards the project.

The Arawa Trust Board and the Maori Purposes Board have been asked to contribute the sum of £300 each leaving £300 to be found by the Native Department and Cabinet approval of the provision of this sum of £300 is sought. If approved it will be necessary to increase the relative item in the Native Department's Vote by £250 on the Supplementary Estimates to cover the payment.

Noted.

NATIVE DEPARTMENT 6 DEC 1933 RECEIVED.

IN CABINET 15 NOV 1933

Controller and Auditor-General Voucher Passed 7 FEB 1934

Native Minister.

£250, on Supplementary Estimates, approved

The U.S. Informed. 16.11.33

NATIVE DEPARTMENT 16 NOV 1933 RECEIVED

Voucher £300 prepd. 24/1.

Noted Brup 19/1/34 for payment.

...use needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs, W.C. or sink.

...- House needs repairs; drain blocked and overflowing round house; no W.C.

NO. 272 - House needs repairs; no W.C.; overcrowding.

NO. 273 - House needs repairs (Vacant).

NO. 274 - House needs repairs; kitchen used as bedroom; no sink; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory.

T A R E W A.

NO. 275 - No W.C.

NO. 276 - No wash-house, W.C. or bath.

NO. 277 - No wash-house or tubs.

NO. 278 - No wash-house or tubs.

NO.279 - House not habitable.

NO. 280 - No wash-house or tubs.

NO. 281 - House in bad state; no wash-house, tubs, W.C., sink or kitchen; Water supply, food storage; utensil storage and cooking unsatisfactory; no windows.

NO. 282 - No wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 283 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 284 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 285 - No wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 286 - House in bad state; no kitchen W.C., bath, wash-house, tubs, sink, water supply, stove or fire-place.

NO. 287 - House in bad state; no Wash-house, tubs, sink, or W.C.; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 288 - No W.C.; 1 tent and 1 whare at back let off; overcrowding.

NO. 289 - House needs repairs; no wash-house; 1 tub; overcrowding.

NO. 290 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding, 2 bedrooms - 10 adults and children.

NO. 291 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 292 - No W.C. or bath.

NO. 293 - No wash-house, tubs, bath, W.C. or sink; water supply, food storage and utensil storage unsatisfactory.

NO. 294 - House in bad state; no kitchen, bath, W.C., wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 295 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs, sink or W.C., water supply unsatisfactory; cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 296 - No W.C. or wash-house.

NO. 297 - No wash-house or W.C.

- House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

245 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory; kitchen used as a bedroom; overcrowding.

NO. 246 - No tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 247 - House in bad state; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, utensil storage, cooking and heating unsatisfactory.

NO. 248 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; kitchen used as bedroom; overcrowding.

NO. 249 - No wash-house or tubs.

NO. 250 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 251 - House needs repairs; no wash or tubs; overcrowding.

NO. 252 - No kitchen, sink, wash-house, tubs or W.C.

NO. 253 - House needs repairs; no kitchen, wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, utensil and cooking storage unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 254 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs, W.C. or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; height of bedroom 7 ft.; overcrowding.

NO. 255 - House needs repairs; kitchen used as a bedroom; 1 bedroom 6 x 8; overcrowding.

NO. 256 - House in bad state; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, food storage, utensil storage and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 257 - House in bad state; no wash-house, tubs, W.C. or sink; water supply, food storage, utensil storage and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 258 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, heating and domestic equipment unsatisfactory; no sanitary equipment; overcrowding.

NO. 259 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, utensil storage and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 260 - House in bad state; yard unsanitary; no kitchen, wash-house, tubs sink, or W.C.; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory; overcrowding, 8 in 1 bedroom.

NO. 261 - No wash-house, tubs or sink; heating unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 262 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, utensil storage and cooking unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 263 - House needs repairs; no kitchen, wash-house, tubs or sink; water, cooking and heating unsatisfactory.

NO. 264 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, cooking and utensil storage unsatisfactory.

NO. 265 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; utensil storage and heating unsatisfactory; overcrowding - 2 adults and 8 children in 1 bedroom.

NO. 266 - No wash-house or sink; water supply and heating unsatisfactory.

NO. 267 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding (2 bedroom).

NO. 268 - House needs repairs; no W.C.

NO. 269 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs, W.C. or sink.

- No wash-house, tubs or bath.

219 - House unfit for habitation; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 220 - No wash-house or tubs; overcrowding.

NO. 221 - House needs repairs; no wash-house or tubs.

NO. 222 - No wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 223 - House in bad state; no wash-house, tubs, W.C. or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; food storage, utensil storage, cooking and heating unsatisfactory; no kitchen.

NO. 224 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 225 - No wash-house, tubs, W.C. or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; cooking and heating unsatisfactory.

NO. 226 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 227 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply and heating unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 228 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 229 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 230 - No wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 231 - House needs repairs; roof leaks, walls all wet; no wash-house or tubs; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 232 - House needs repairs; no wash-house or tubs.

NO. 233 - House needs repairs; No W.C., wash-house, tubs or sink; heating unsatisfactory.

NO. 234 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 235 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 236 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; cooking equipment unsatisfactory.

NO. 237 - House in bad state; no kitchen, wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, food storage, utensil storage and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 238 - House in bad state; no kitchen, W.C., wash-house, tubs, or sink; water supply unsatisfactory, also cooking, heating and utensil storage unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 239 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; cooking unsatisfactory; overcrowding (1 bedroom).

NO. 240 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; heating unsatisfactory.

NO. 241 - House needs repairs; no kitchen, wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply, utensil storage, cooking and heating unsatisfactory.

NO. 242 - No wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory; only bedroom 8 ' x 7½'.

NO. 243 - House in bad state; no wash-house, tubs, sink or W.C.; water supply, food storage, utensil storage and cooking unsatisfactory; Height of bedroom 6 ft; height of kitchen 6 ft. 6 ins.;overcrowding.

- House needs repairs; spouting broken; 3 rooms underneath leaking; water lies under wash-house and smells; no W.C.; Copper no foundation.

NO. 187 - House needs repairs; no W.C. or wash tubs; overcrowding.

NO. 188 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 189 - No W.C. or wash-house.

NO. 190 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; no kitchen.

NO. 191 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, bath or sink.

NO. 192 - Overcrowding.

NO. 193 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 194 - House needs repairs; no wash-house or tubs.

NO. 195 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; cooking unsatisfactory; overcrowding (1 bedroom for 6 persons).

NO. 196 - No wash-house or tubs.

NO. 197 - House needs repairs; no wash-house or tubs; overcrowding.

NO. 198 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or bath; open drain round house.

NO. 199 - House needs repairs.

NO. 200 - No wash-house.

NO. 201 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs, bath, W.C. or sink; overcrowding - 1 bedroom (9'6" x 10').

NO. 202 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or bath.

NO. 203 - No wash-house, tubs or bath.

NO. 204 - No wash-house, tubs or bath.

NO. 205 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs, bath or sink.

NO. 206 - No wash-house, tubs, bath or sink; overcrowding - 10 adults and 5 children (only 4 bedrooms).

NO. 207 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 208 - No wash-house, tubs, bath or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 209 - House needs repairs; no bath, wash-house, W.C. or sink.

NO. 210 - House needs repairs; no wash-house or tubs.

NO. 211 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 212 - House needs repairs; no wash-house tubs or sink.

NO. 213 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 214 - No wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 215 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 216 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or bath.

NO. 217 - No wash-house, tubs or bath.

- House needs repairs; sanitary and domestic equipment unsatisfactory.

NO. 162 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; overcrowding (2 bedrooms for 10 persons).

NO. 163 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; overcrowding (1 bedroom).

NO. 164 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; 2 married couples in one bedroom.

NO. 165 - Water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding (only 1 bedroom).

NO. 166 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 167 - No wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 168 - House unfit for habitation; sanitary and domestic equipment unsatisfactory.

NO. 169 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding (12 adults in 2 bedrooms).

NO. 170 - House needs repairs; sanitary and domestic equipment unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 171 - House in bad state; water supply and sanitary equipment unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 172 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; overcrowding (only 1 bedroom for 9 adults and 1 child).

NO. 173 - House in bad state; no sanitary equipment; domestic equipment unsatisfactory.

NO. 174 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 175 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no sanitary equipment.

NO. 176 - House in bad state; sanitary and domestic equipment unsatisfactory; no kitchen, wash-house or tubs.

NO. 177 - House needs repairs; water supply and sanitary equipment unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 178 - House needs repairs; no sanitary or domestic equipment.

NO. 179 - House in bad state; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

O H I N E M U T U.

NO. 180 - No wash tubs or bath.

NO. 181 - No kitchen; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs, sink or W.C.

No. 182 - House needs repairs; no wash tubs.

NO. 183 - House needs repairs; no W.C.

NO. 184 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash tubs, W.C. or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 185 - No wash tubs.

Borough Council made at same time as the survey of the town.

WHAKAREWAREWA.

supply and food storage unsatisfactory; no wash-house, ...sink; overcrowding.

House needs repairs; no W.C. or sanitary equipment; water supply ...satisfactory.

NO. 145 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or kitchen.

NO. 146 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 147 - No W.C., wash-house, tubs or sink.

NO. 148 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; no kitchen; overcrowding (11 persons and 3 children in one bedroom).

NO. 149 - House needs repairs; no wash-house; tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

NO. 150 - Water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 151 - House in bad state; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory.

NO. 152 - House needs repairs; no wash-house; tubs or sink; water supply and utensil storage unsatisfactory.

NO. 153 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; overcrowding (3 small bedrooms for 9 adults and 4 children).

NO. 154 - Water supply unsatisfactory; No W.C., wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 155 - House needs repairs; no W.C.; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 156 - House needs repairs; no W.C.; no wash-house or tubs.

NO. 157 - House needs repairs; no sanitary equipment.

NO. 158 - House needs repairs; kitchen used as bedroom; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding.

NO. 159 - House needs repairs; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house; tubs or sink.

NO. 160 - House needs repairs; sanitary and domestic equipment unsatisfactory.

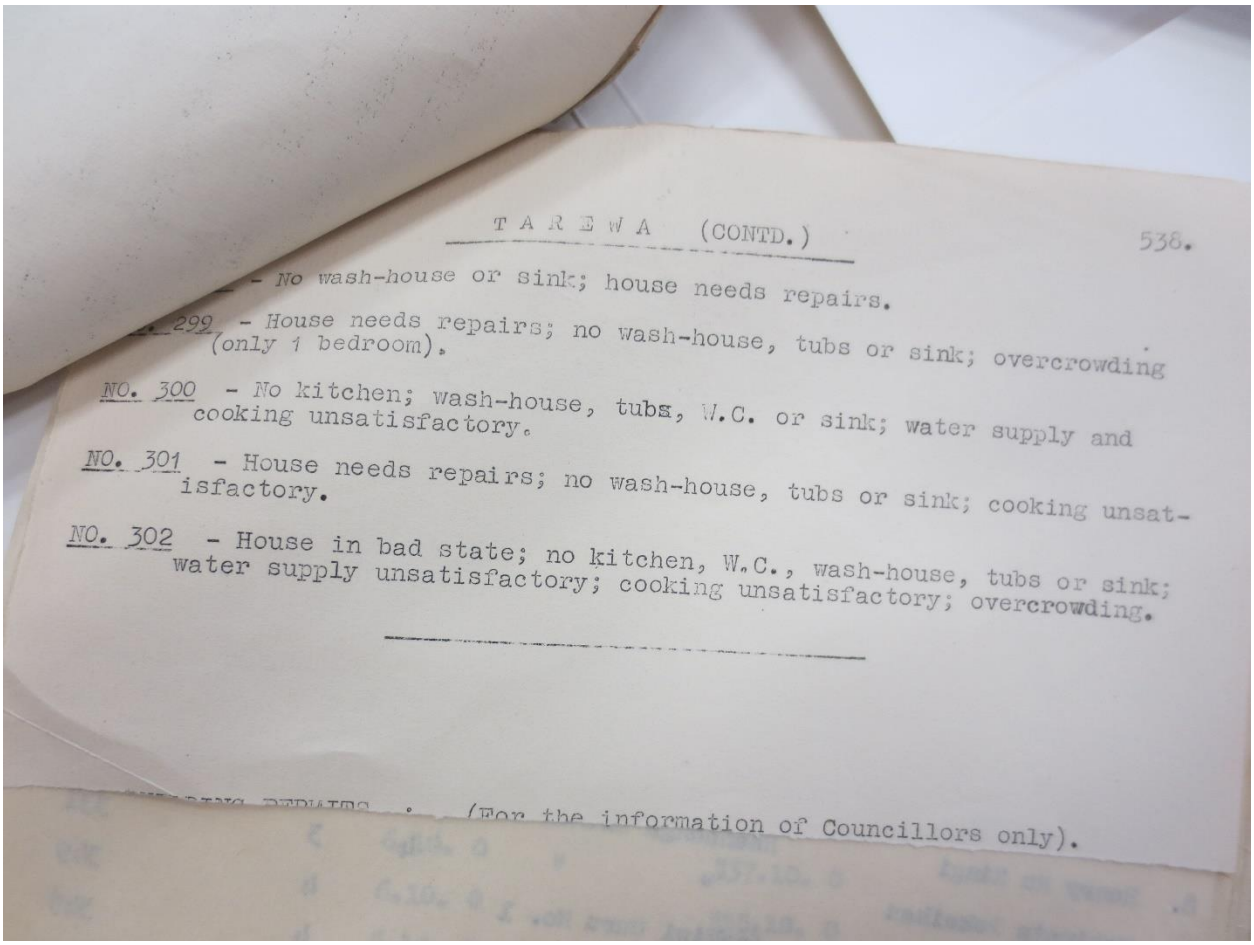
...

NO. 178 - House needs repairs; no sanitary or domestic equipment.

NO. 179 - House in bad state; water supply unsatisfactory; no wash-house, tubs or sink.

OHINEMUTU.

NO. 180 - No wash tubs or bath



T A R E W A (CONTD.) 538.

- No wash-house or sink; house needs repairs.

299 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; overcrowding (only 1 bedroom).

NO. 300 - No kitchen; wash-house, tubs, W.C. or sink; water supply and cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 301 - House needs repairs; no wash-house, tubs or sink; cooking unsatisfactory.

NO. 302 - House in bad state; no kitchen, W.C., wash-house, tubs or sink; water supply unsatisfactory; cooking unsatisfactory; overcrowding.

(For the information of Councillors only).

N.D. 30/3/1

MAORI HOUSING SURVEY

PORANGAHAU

Report by

E. T. W. LOVE

6th August, 1937

INDEX

GENERAL REPORT

(1) To do justice to the Maori people and to keep and uphold the statements made from time to time by the Hon. Native Minister and the Hon. Acting Native Minister and to win back the faith of the Maori people in the Department I suggest that this housing survey be made systematically - "kainga" by "kainga". Generally speaking and from the experience gained while making this survey I have found that fully 99% of the Maori people have read of "The Housing Scheme for Maoris" but have not the faintest idea of what it all means. I have endeavoured to enlighten them on many details of the scheme stressing the point that the Act aimed to assist them to live in comfortable surroundings and homes but not forgetting that they were also taking upon themselves a responsibility which they must realise, a debt which must be repaid over a period of years at a much easier rate of repayment than they have ever had before. A good number of these Maori people have gained the impression that these houses will be given to them free of cost, and when I have pointed out to them that this is not so they have been very reticent in making applications even though their living conditions are deplorable. I have also pointed out that as the Departmental Officer I was endeavouring to collect all the information possible as to their living conditions so as to enable the Board of Native Affairs to adjudicate on each case on its merits. I have not consented to hold meetings as I feel that only one or two people have the opportunity to speak while those who require assistance do not feel

disposed to speak of their affairs in public and a great deal of time is wasted and usually very little done. I have impressed on all persons interviewed that all information given would be treated as strictly confidential to the Department. This fact and the fact that as a Maori I could converse with them in their own Native tongue enabled me to gain the confidence of all persons interviewed. In Dannevirke, Porangahau and Te Hauke the Maori people have expressed their appreciation and satisfaction in the foresight of the Department in sending a member of their race to explain this important matter to them. The keenness and desire for bettering the condition of their homes was shown when it became known that I had arrived in the District by the incessant telephone rings at my Hotel at Porangahau, not only from that centre but from as far south as Takapau, Makaretahi, Ormondville and north to Matahiwi, Poukawa and Pukehou and Te Hauke. In fact the Takapau people insisted that I should have visited their District before Porangahau but I explained that my instructions only entailed Porangahau and Te Hauke.

(2) General speaking there is definitely over-crowding in most Maori homes. The main causes of this are:-

1. Large families overcrowding houses which were originally built for young married couples.
2. Sons or daughters marrying and not having homes of their own, staying on at their parents' home and having families of their own.
3. Parents dying without specially devising homes resulting in families marrying and staying on and living in family houses.
4. Custom of grandparents adopting grandchildren.

5. Indigent circumstances.

(3) In cases where sons and daughters have married and I have interviewed them they have expressed their desire to have a home of their own to enable them to give their children a better outlook on life.

(4) Some of the chief causes of houses falling into disrepair:-

1. Indigent circumstances.
2. Uncertainty of ownership and lack of interest.
3. Lack of finance of landlords.
4. High cost of labour and material and lack of tradesmen in vicinity of Maori "kaingas".
5. Poor material used in construction of buildings.
6. Infected timber used in additions and furniture, and neglect.

(5) Some of the chief repairs required:-

1. Repairs to roofs and spouting.
2. Repairs to chimneys not properly reconstructed since earthquake.
3. Verandah repairs.
4. Painting and papering - 99% of houses.
5. Renewing timber infected by borer and dry rot.
6. Renewing of water pipes and drainage.

(6) Some of the reasons for lack of finance:-

1. Very few permanent jobs.
2. Seasonal work.
3. Large families.
4. Desire for modern labour-saving devices and wireless sets.
5. Debts incurred during off-season.
6. Low rents received from leased lands.

(7) Health: The general health of the people is not good. The children seem well nourished and clean and well dressed. On wet days children are kept home on account of lack of transport. At Porangahau fully 12 children have to walk 2½ miles to School and a similar position exists at Te Hauke.

Water Supply: This is a very necessary equipment required urgently. The earthquake did considerable damage to tanks in the district and although some were replaced there is still insufficient tankage for requirements. Although there is a water supply system on the European side of the river this, in the summer time, is insufficient for their requirements. It has been suggested that a water supply system which will pass through the Maori settlement be installed. To further this suggestion a deputation from the Europeans and local Maori Marae Committee will wait on the Patangata County Council at its next meeting to put forward this water supply proposal.

Drainage: Most of the houses are provided with drainage apparently on the field pipe system. In some cases these systems are not in working order, having been damaged during the earthquake. Most homes have adopted the "pit" system of Lavatory which is not very successful on account of the nature of the soil (the undersoil about 6 feet down is heavy clay) which does not lend itself to seepage.

Medical Attention: There is room for improvement in this department. Nurse McCormick, who is the District Nurse, visits Porangahau once

in two weeks and she informed me that beside attending to the Maoris of the District she also attends all Schools of her District, which extend from Dannevirke to Waipawa, also certain Europeans. Porangahau and surrounding settlements have no medical man. The nearest Doctor is at Waipukurau, 38 miles away. The Marae Committee is handicapped by lack of finance, although members were very helpful.

(8) Off-season work: During the off-season work near Porangahau is very scarce, not only for Maoris but also for Europeans. The Maoris of Porangahau are at present working on the Motuweka Station blocks about fifteen miles out. To be near the job they are accommodated in a house on the Station. The workers themselves have suggested that it would be more convenient if work could be found nearer Porangahau. Some of the large land-owners are very perturbed on account of the Porangahau Maoris being employed on the Motuweka Station job thus resulting in their own Unemployment Contracts being cancelled on account of the shortage of labour. They have gone so far as to import labour from other districts to work nearer Porangahau while their Maori relations have to work out of the town. They suggest that the imported labour should go on the Motuweka Station and their own relations brought nearer to their homes and families. I have endeavoured to ascertain how many of the local Maoris have a working knowledge of Building and its allied trades but there are few. Quite a number have a knowledge of the trades and would, I think, pass as Builder labourers. About six parents are quite prepared to apprentice their sons

to the trades as soon as the builders commence work. I have interviewed these boys, between the ages of 16 and 20, and they are quite prepared to undertake the job. The chief difficulty is that during the shearing season the majority of labourers go off to shearing. Several have intimated that if the building operations were commenced they would not go shearing.

(9) Tradesmen: There are two Builders and one Painter and no Plumber in the township. One builder, Tom Drillett, formerly Manager for Winlove & Son, Waipukurau, the other, Mr. Diamond, present Manager for Winlove & Son - local branch. The painter and paperhanger is Mr. J. Moss. They are prepared to give consideration to proposals which the Department might bring forward as to contracts, supervisors and work on wages basis etc. Due consideration must be given to cartage costs when Porangahau houses are under consideration. Barnaby & Williams of Waipukurau state that taken all round timber landed at Porangahau costs about £2 per hundred. If labour is to be brought into Porangahau consideration must be given to board, the only place being the local Hotel. There are no local plumbers, electricians or drainlayers. Another matter which must be considered is that of shingle for concrete work. This has to be brought in from Waipukurau and is very expensive.

(10) General Summary and conclusions: Although the assignment given me was, as compared with larger centres, small, yet the experience gained by me in this my first assignment has given me a good insight into the method of dealing with our Maori people. I have always impressed upon them that I was not acting in a judicial capacity but purely and simply

as an investigating Officer. It was the Judge of the District and the Board of Native Affairs who had the power to say "yea" or "nay". It was up to them to give me all the information, good, bad or indifferent, so as to enable decisions to be given impartially and in their own interest. Hereunder is a precis of the questions I usually asked the persons concerned:-

1. His work and age.
2. His educational qualifications.
3. Rents or other income.
4. Accounts at store and other accounts.
5. Any serious sickness in family, e.g. T.B., Typhoid.
6. His Doctor.
7. If he has made application for any other loan.
8. Who owns home and land and if unencumbered.
9. If granted a loan, how long intended to live in house.
10. If granted a loan, would he consent to loan.
11. If not insured, if any objections to being insured.
12. If a member of Benefit Fund, Lodge, etc.
13. Stock, and if unencumbered.
14. If he has a knowledge of the carpenters' trade or allied trades.
15. Any person whom he has worked for who could give a testimonial - European.

His wife:

1. Name before marriage, and age.
2. Educational qualifications, if any.
3. If she desired a home of her own.
4. If she would consent to Mortgage charge.
5. If husband is sober in habits.

6. If husband provides sufficient for family needs.

7. If she works, other than Domestic Duties.

8. If legally married, and where.

9. If insured.

10. Stock, and if unencumbered.

11. If she has accounts other than husband's.

12. If she has made application for any loan.

13. If she has an income.

14. The size of house she would prefer.

15. Amount she could afford to pay as rent per week after taking into consideration all family needs.

The opinion I have gained is that the majority of younger married couples with small and young families are very keen and desire to get homes of their own free from the In-law Bug. The mothers more especially desire some home where they can show their independence and bring their families up with modern ideas. In general, these couples have married on a meagre income, children have come, instead of salaries increasing they have deceased leaving only one thing to do and that has been to return to the family home. These couples, while their parents are alive are, I think, indigent as they have no rents etc. Other young couples by the omissions of their parents, who have large mortgages on property, are living on small incomes from estates, in some cases renting houses, while hundreds of acres must be administered by the mortgagees.

As a keen student of Maori home life and the betterment, where possible, of the Maori race, I am keenly interested in this class of work and

have done my best to give them what is the European aspect of life in the home. Hours of work do not concern me when I am on this type of work although I admit that it is not a good precedent to be followed by the Department but I am concerned with the loss of time through the lack of proper transport.

With our older Maori people it is very difficult to change ideas which have grown up with them. They feel that what was good for their parents should be good enough for their children. This attitude is one of the main reasons, I think, for overcrowding of homes. On behalf of several of the younger people I have had to point out to these older people the fallacy of this attitude and they have seen my point and have consented to help these younger families, if necessary.

Health Inspector Welsh, who is stationed at Dannevirke and is also Building Inspector for Patangata County Council, arrived. He advised me that he intended to do a housing survey of the Maori houses for the Health Department but as I was doing the job he would not bother. I gave him an outline of how I proposed to do the survey. The form I had compiled was taken from the Housing Survey Regulations and part from the Health Department Health Survey forms. He thought the form would cover all the requirements of his Department. He pointed out that our drainage would have to be attended to also that the plans did not show any drainage system, further that 4" x 3" sleepers are uneconomical as more piles must be used whereas 5" x 3" are regulation and give a better floor foundation. (This was also pointed

out to me by Mr. Heyrick). Another suggestion by Mr. Walsh was that instead of using cover boards for eves, to lap the iron round the barge board. This is being done in Hawkes Bay at present. He also suggested that for insulation purposes the roof iron should be painted (underneath) with aluminium paint. As I was not able to have the use of a car for the day I discussed with Mr. I. Moss and T. Drillet the proposed building schemes. I informed them that in the indigent cases materials etc. would most probably be supplied by the Public Works Department but I thought that should material be procurable in the district at a reasonable price no doubt the Department would consider purchasing locally. As in the Bridge Pa scheme I thought that should there be sufficient work approved by the Board of Native Affairs for the Porangahau district consideration might be given to appoint Supervisor, Carpenters and Painters from Porangahau on a wages and percentage basis similar to Mr. Heyrick's proposals. On their own account they consented to look over the plans and some of the repair and painting jobs and would advise me later as to their estimates. Mr. Diamond, the local Manager of Winlove & Son, was away and I did not have an opportunity to discuss this matter with him. I did not have specifications although I had wired for them. I was thus not able to get some idea of how much the Public Works Department houses would cost at Porangahau. When I arrived back at the Hotel Henare Hutana was waiting to discuss the Water Supply Scheme, the essentials of which are as follows:-

The County Council water supply which supplies the European settlement and not the Pa is insufficient

for the European population in the summer. Payment is made at the rate of £1 per tap per annum netting approximately £60. The Maori population depends upon tanks for supply.

A good water supply can be had from Teddy Kuru's property about 2½ miles from the Bridge which would be sufficient for all the needs of the Europeans and the Maoris. Both Europeans and Maoris intend to send a joint delegation to a meeting of the Patangata County Council for the express purpose of asking the Council to go on with this water supply scheme. I saw Teddy Kuru later and discussed the "dam" site with him although I did not actually go to see the site, (I inspected his home at night) and he informed me that the cost of a dam would not be very much, and the quantity and quality of the water was good. A good water system is essential to the Pa as Inspector Welsh informed me that there were a number of Typhoid carriers and Typhoid cases in Porangahau. The tankage as shown on the Public Works Department plans is definitely insufficient for houses with baths.

Finally I am of opinion that in view of the short particulars as set out hereinbefore and the fuller particulars as set out in the individual reports and also of other factors governing the social and financial position of the Maori people the survey was and is essential but I would point out that there is considerable danger of not accomplishing the spirit of the Housing Act through endeavouring to make the Maori people fit the Act and not the Act and its regulations to fit the people.

1. FRANK SCIASCIA: home - two and a half miles from township, house well built but definitely too small for the family of eleven. No rents but good wages.

2. HAORA SMITH: home over twenty-five years old, needs considerable repairs, part newly built portion (kitchen and porch) infested with borer. Insufficient tanks. Apparently erected from a portion of land owned by his brother-in-law or uncle, H.K. Rapaea by the Native Trustee. His statement of the position is worthy of note but perhaps the Native Trustee could clear up the position. It may be cheaper to purchase the house erected by Smith on H.K. Rapaea's land rather than renovate his wife's present home. See report on house at Motuweka Station.

3. WILLIAM WAKEFIELD: Advised by Marae Committee as an urgent case. Was employed on Motuweka Station. Went out 13 miles to see him. Later inspected the house he is living in - overcrowded conditions. House and land owned by Mrs. Ngarongo Kahira Sciascia - only there on sufferance. Children go to School per Service Car. They leave 8.30 a.m. and do not arrive home until 5.30 p.m. If Service Car is late children do not arrive home until 7 or 8 o'clock at night. Rangi H.O. Ropiha is prepared to sell him a section for a house in Porangahau Pa. Neither he nor his wife have any land in Porangahau.

4. JOSEPH PAKI RAPATINI: is in the same position as Wakefield. Neither he nor his wife have any land in Porangahau. Maree Committee are endeavouring

to find a section on which to build a house. At present living in the comfortable shearers' hut of Mr. and Mrs. Colin Scott. In indigent circumstances.

5. HAHAWA HUNEAKI: At present living in her deceased parents' home together with her brother. Not living with her legal husband but with another man. Brother and herself are unfriendly, in fact, hostile. Both families live in same house, one using kitchen for cooking purposes, the other using sitting room for that purpose. Both have separate electric light meters. (Made inspection later).

6. TIPENE MATUA: Inspected house - 9 roomed house with outhouses. Condition of house requires repairs, painting and attention to roof, repairs to concrete water supply tank, reconstruction of chimneys destroyed by earthquake. Has money in Board held under Section 201. House overcrowded - Ordinary loan proposition.

7. TE KAKAHO TIPENE MATUA: Living in father's home - overcrowded conditions. Desire home of their own. Mrs. Colin Scott - aunt - prepared to give building site in Pa (See agreement attached to application).

8. TE ATAHIKOIA MATUA: Living in father's home - family of seven. If Te Kakaho and his family given a home the position in Tipene's would be eased. Does not want a house.

9. TETE TAITU: 7 roomed dwelling, repairs to spouting, etc. have only recently been completed. A substantial home - requires painting.

10. WHARETUA POTANGAROA alias PAORA: At present living in the dining room of Tete Taitu's home. Has qualified for Old Age Pension but is married to a man 20 years younger than herself. Has a home in Masterton but is being used by her children by first husband. The couple were living with the local Maori Minister. Apparently has sufficient funds to meet payments for small house. Native Trustee pays rents.

11. HINERAPA T. ROPIHA: 6 roomed house - needs considerable repairs to floor, spouting, roof and interior. Needs painting and papering. Older portion (bedrooms, passage, living room) badly effected with borer. Needs new tanks. Might be more economical to build a new house. Stated that Native Trustee would see to renovations.

12. EMA TUTAKI: Widow, receives pension, quite a substantial 7 roomed house - needs painting, repairs to roof and repairs to house, repairs to chimneys and floor. This is a house owned by several owners. No one seems to be responsible for same. Ema and family are occupying same.

13. RUAHULUHUI KANI nee TIPENE MATUA: A 7 roomed house very well appointed - requires painting and improvements (new wash-house and sleeping porch). The applicant's husband is a good farmer.

14. POHOI TUTAKI: A 6 roomed dwelling - requires repairs to kitchen, portion of roof and nailing on other portion. Also requires papering of bed-room and living rooms. A very overcrowded home. When I

inspected same 21 persons were living in same. 9 others had left the day before but would most probably return. Occupants have meals in relays. Husband and wife have substantial rents. Both have large interest in lands.

15. <u>TAEHAE HIKAU TUTAKI</u>: This person, her husband and 3 dependants are living with Pongi Tutaki who is prepared to give them a section. The wife is from Auckland and wants a home of her own.

16. <u>ERENA NIANIA</u>: A grand-daughter of Pongi Tutaki's, living in Pongi's house. Very anxious to have a home of her own.

17. <u>TUKEKE RAWINIA RATIMA WAIROA</u>: A large 5 roomed house - needs repairs, painting and papering. A Meeting House used by Te Koeti is near this house. Only 4 in the family. Above-mentioned complained of the Service Car conveyance for her children to School. They leave home 8 o'clock in morning and do not get back until 5.30 p.m. If Service Car is late, as it was the night I arrived at Porangahau - 7.15 p.m. children arrive home at 7.45 p.m. About 12 children go from about here to the Public School, Porangahau by Service Car.

18. <u>NGARONGO KAHIRA SCIASCIA</u>: A 7 roomed house - is in a bad state of repair. Needs painting, repairs to house, repairs to roof. A very old style of dwelling - overcrowded - 15 persons living in same. Very drafty - needs tanks and plumbing work.

19. <u>MARTIN HOPIHA</u>: 6 roomed dwelling in good order - does not require repairs - may make an application for Electric Light - 3 in family.

20. [illegible]: Rented house of 6 rooms. House considerably damaged by earthquake and not repaired - not really fit for habitation by an elderly woman of 51 and children from 1 - 7 years of age. Owner lives in Opapa. Mother is K. Anaru's sister. Applicant's father(Topi te Kuru) land vested in Native Trustee who gives them an allowance. Applicant lives with Bert White, farmer, as his shepherd. Was Dux of Napier High School. Only mother, sisters, nephew and 3 children at home. A house is urgently required for this family.

21. JAMES ROACH: and family of 4 living in Pamoa Tutaki's town house - a Wairoa Native. Requires repainting, considerable repairs as lean-to portion riddled with borer. Roof requires reneiling. A widower - intends to return to Wairoa.

22. MAKERE TE KURU (DECEASED): This house should be demolished and a new one erected. Some of the timber might be used again. No shelter resulting in the whole of the south side being riddled with borer and dry rot. Stove out of order since earthquake. Another case of a family house. None of the family at home - seems to be no one's responsibility. When inspected only two girls in house - 6 roomed house.

23. WAAKA REI PAKU: Ieni Ropiha's house - the oldest house in Porangahau. A few borer infected boards need removing otherwise condition satisfactory. Requires painting - roof requires painting. Family of 8 lives in same. 4 rooms. Wife is Ieni Ropiha's daughter. Would like a larger house.

Have 5 young children. Wife has a partial pass in Teachers' D. examination. Applicant has substantial rents and can meet payments up to £600. Apparently they wish to assist father, Keni. Advised them it would be better to ask for a section from father and build a new home, because this house is overcrowded.

24. MIHITEATA K. WICKMAN (nee SCIASCIA): Left the Hotel at 8 a.m. for Wanstead settlement 19 miles out to inspect Ngarongo K. Sciascia's house. This is a 3 roomed house in satisfactory order - requires painting, repairs to pipe line for water supply and also house pipes, burst by frost. Has a septic tank. This house is not occupied at present and Mrs. Ngarongo K. Sciascia, the owner, wishes to give this house to her daughter, Mihiteata who owns land adjoining the house. There is a drawback and that is that the house property is subject to a mortgage to the Native Trustee. If the house and section could be released from the mortgage and vested in Mihiteata this would take at least 5 persons from Ngarongo's home. To make the home comfortable another room and a bathroom are required and two rooms lined with wall-boards. Mihiteata has quite substantial rents. This house is situated on Mangaorapa 1B 2B 1 or 2. Wilder Block.

25. HEMARE HUTANA: 6 roomed house - does not require any repairs, etc. One of the best appointed houses in the District. Wife an invalid. Location - damp in winter. May require assistance to have house shifted to better locality. A successful farmer.

26. MRS. COLIN SCOTT: A newly renovated house not quite finished. Another of the well appointed houses. Does not require assistance.

27. T. MATUA and M.W. TUTAKI: Both minors and away at Christs College, Christchurch - 6 roomed house in good condition - requires painting and some roof repairs but the aunt, Mrs. Colin Scott, who is living in house while own is being renovated says that they do not need assistance.

28. HIRINGAUHAU TE KURU (nee ROPIHA): A substantial home and does not require repairs, etc.

29. R.K. OTENE ROPIHA: 5 roomed house built under Board Loan. Fully paid off, requires repainting and attention to spouting, new tanks. Is overcrowded. 12 in the family. Are using sitting room as bedroom. Wants to add another two rooms - land unencumbered. Has ample rents. Wife complains that children have to walk 2½ miles to School in all weather, as the Service Car does not run into town in the mornings.

30. PAKI HOKIANGA: 6 roomed house - another of those family homes with several owners. House in satisfactory condition, requires repairs and additions, painting and papering. Some of the owners are prepared to give J. Pahi Rapatini sufficient land to build a house. Paki is to get an agreement from other members of the family to have the house site vested in him so that house can be repaired.

31. HUIARE TE ATUA HOKIANGA: is single and provides for his sister and partially for mother. His mother,

Wahanga Hinerehi, applicant and three other adult children, are living in another family home. The house is divided into two - Wahanga and her family have the use of three bed-rooms and dining-room and her brother and his family have 3 rooms and kitchen. Each has separate E.L. Meters and separate cooking arrangements. The applicant wants a home for himself, sister and mother. Wahanga is separated from her legal husband and living with another man.

32. MRS. WAHANGA REWATA (nee HOKIANGA): The applicant and her husband are living under the same conditions as Hemare Te Atua Hokianga. The mother who has other property is prepared to give this young family a section to build upon.

30/3/11

HOUSING AND ECONOMIC SURVEY

OF THE

TAUMUTU SETTLEMENT

by

J. H. GRACE

13.10.1937.

Native Land Court,

WELLINGTON.

13th October, 1937.

MEMORANDUM for:-

The Registrar,
Native Land Court,
W E L L I N G T O N.

Housing and Economic Survey of the
Taumutu Settlement

On the 13th of August last, after visiting Little River, I went to Taumutu and met the people of that settlement at the home of Mr. R.M. Taiaroa. The people were well represented and the meeting commenced at 7 p.m. I explained to them, as far as I was able, the different suggested schemes that Judge Harvey had in view concerning the housing problem. The next morning, accompanied by Kitchener Hopa and Henare Pohio, I visited the different homes of the Maoris living in the locality. I spent the whole of Saturday on inspection work and then returned to Kaiapoi that evening.

The conditions existing in this settlement, in some cases, are as bad as those in Little River. The three worst cases are those of Kitchener Hopa, Hoani Arai Nutira, and Hirini Tawera (see Reports 1, 2 and 9 respectively). The houses of the first two are not even weather proof. The wind blows through the walls, and the roofs leak. It is only the mild and healthy climate of Taumutu that has prevented these people from serious illnesses, and

I would venture to say that if these houses, in their present condition, were situated in Wellington, with its variable climate, the people in them would contract pneumonia or something equally as bad. Hopa's house can be practically pushed over. The urgency of assistance in this locality is as great as it is in Little River. It is a disgrace that people should be allowed to live under such conditions.

I have attached hereto a detailed report on each house and, as far as I was able, on the people that live in them. I have not attempted to go into the question of costs concerning repairs but have left that for the builders, that are supplying the applicants with specifications, to deal with. However, an approximate cost of the new houses can be arrived at by glancing at the summary of requirements, attached hereto, and pricing the houses in accordance with the plans and specifications supplied by the Public Works Department. When the applications are all to hand together with specifications the cost of the work in connection with the whole settlement will be easy to estimate.

I have classified the houses that I have inspected as A, B and C. Those that compare with average European homes I have put down as A; those that are just fair B; and those that are dilapidated and on the verge of being condemned, as C. I have also attached hereto a plan showing the positions of the houses with each coloured according to its condition.

The advantages that this settlement has over Little River - that is, as a Maori settlement - are that it is much healthier, good water and better prospects of employment. The individual reports show the nature of employment, and although not comparing with that offering in Tuahiwi (Ashley River protection works) it is better than nothing. I would imagine that Taumutu, in slump periods, would be as bad as Little River, for the employment is mostly farm labour.

Kitchener Hopa is easily the outstanding Native in this settlement, with the exception, of course, of Mr. R.M. Taiaroa. He is a good worker, well educated, and, I understand, once had a position in the Public Service, but had to leave on account of ill health. His health, however, has now quite recovered. He is at present in charge of the Unemployment work clearing gorse on the Taumutu Reserve for Maoris; and if there is anything in the way of taking charge of work in that locality that the Department may require done, this is the man that they should select. He is highly thought of, and respected, by the European farmers of the district.

There are two Maoris here that do farming. Mr. R.M. Taiaroa has several hundred acres on which he runs sheep and cows; and Moana te Hoka, a widow with a pension, has a few cows on her section from which she gets a little income. With the exception of these two, the people are badly off, and come under the heading of Indigent

Natives. They are all forwarding applications to this Office for assistance under the Housing Act, and when dealing with indigent cases, these people should receive, with Little River, the first consideration in the South Island.

There is an area of ten acres in the Taumutu Commonage that has been set aside as a Reserve for Maoris, and perhaps when building for Maoris in this locality, who have no land of their own on which to build, this Reserve could be made use of for that purpose. There are no homes on it, and water can be easily be obtained by sinking a well as the Aquatic Club has done on an adjoining section. The Reserve is situated close to the sea and Lake Ellesmere and sea food can be got in abundance.

J. W. Gracey

I N D E X

LIST OF THOSE EMPLOYED

RELIEF WORKERS:

1.	Arthur Kitchener Hopa	£1:18: 6 per week.
2.	Henry Charles Martin	2: 6: 6 "
3.	William Marsh (Jnr.)	2:14:10 "
4.	John Arai Nutira	3: 2: 6 "
5.	Charles Marsh (casual)	1: 1: 0 "
6.	Charles Morgan Thomas	3: 3: 6 "
7.		

OTHER WORK:

7.	Morris Pohio	not known.
8.	Leslie Brown	"
9.	Arnold Brown	"
10.	Norman Brown	"
11.	Hori Matene	"

THOSE NOT EMPLOYED

1. Teone Wiwi Paraone (Snr.) - indifferent health.
2. Wiwi Paraone.

SUMMARY OF REQUIREMENTS

The number of new houses required to be built is eight; those that require renovations or additions made, two; and those that should be condemned and demolished, six.

NEW HOUSES

Report No:	Number of rooms:	Number of persons:
1	4	3
2	5	8
3	not stated	2
4	4	5
5	4	7
6	4	4
6	4	2
9	1	1.

TO BE RENOVATED OR ADDITIONS MADE

7	5	10
8	5	6.

SHOULD BE CONDEMNED AND DEMOLISHED

1	3	3
2	4	8
3	2	2
4	5	5
5	6	7
9	1	1

THAT ARE OVER-CROWDED

2	4	8
7	5	10.

REPORT 1

TE WAITUTU HOPA (KITCHENER HOPA):

I am 37 years of age, of good health, and married to Eda Harland (quarter caste). We have no family. I am working on Relief (in charge) and get £1:18: 6 a week. I get about £5 a year rent, and have small landed interests. My wife gets no rent. We are living in a three-roomed house on Section 17 Taumutu. We have a little girl, Hinewai Thomas, aged ten, living with us. She is healthy and going to School here. My wife and I are covered (accident policy) by the Press Insurance. I want a house of four rooms with the usual conveniences. I have no money with which to pay, and I can only give about 10/- a week out of my wages. I may be able to give more later on. At present I am indigent. I want to build on the ten acres reserved for the use of Maoris in the Commonage (Waipupu). I have an interest in the Commonage. I will send in an application later.

REMARKS:

The house in which these people live is over 50 years old. It is condemned, and nearly falling down. The wood is all rotten and some of the windows are patched up with boards. You can see daylight through the walls of the back room. This house is one of the worst I have seen so far. The other two rooms are kept spotlessly clean, even though they have to put up with a leaky roof. Mr. Hopa wants to build on the Reserve and as he has no land in the settlement it is the only place where he can build. This person should be the first of the indigent cases to be considered. He is a very good type and greatly respected by the pakeha community. He is well educated and would be of great assistance to supervise any work that the Department may want done in the locality. He was once in the Public Service but had to leave on account of his health. His health has since recovered and he is now in charge of the Relief workers.

REPORT 2

HOANI ARAI NUTIRA:

I am 34 years of age, of good health, and married to Molly Pahi Titama, aged 28 years. I have no land s and get no rents. We have a family of seven, namely:

1.	Te Aohau Nutira	m.12	Healthy, except for a deformed arm, going to School here, and living with me.
2.	Tahu Nutira	m.10	Healthy, at School, and living with me.
3.	Marama Nutira	f. 8	Healthy, at School, and living with me.
4.	Hoani Arai Nutira	m. 7	At School, healthy, and living with me.
5.	Constance Mary Nutira	f. 4	Healthy, and living with her grandparents at Little River. (See Report 11, Little River).
6.	Wiremu Nutira	m. 2	Healthy, and living with me.
7.	Morehu Nutira	m. 9	months.

My wife and I, with our six children, live in a four-roomed house on Section 4 Taumutu. It is in very bad repair. I want a five-roomed house with the usual conveniences, and it could be built on Section 4 Taumutu. I have no interest in this section but my father has. If it cannot be built there, then I would suggest that it be put on the ten acres reserved for the use of Maoris in the Commonage. I am indigent and cannot pay a deposit, but will pay 10/- a week towards paying it off. I am forwarding an application later together with plans and specifications. I am on Relief and in receipt of £3: 2: 6 a week.

REMARKS:

This house is the worst in the Taumutu Native Settlement, and it is on a par with that of Hemi Ropata at Wairewa (See Report 1 Little River). The windows are boarded up in some of the rooms, the flooring is giving way, and the walls are just about falling down. It is far from being weather proof and, I understand, it has been condemned. All the children are suffering from colds on account of the draught coming through the walls and roof. Something must be done for these people and a start made before next winter.

REPORT 3

TEONE WIWI PARAONE (BROWN):

I am 59 years of age, and of indifferent health. I have just come out of Hospital, after receiving treatment for dropsy. I am a widower with a family of six:

1. Leslie Brown m.33 Single, casual worker, and living at Lincoln.
2. Arnold Brown m.30 Good health, married to a pakeha woman, and have a family of three, namely:
   (a) Alexander Brown m. 8
   (b) Rewi Brown m. 6
   (c) Katherine Brown f. 4.

   They also have an adopted child, Ivy Brown, f.14. He and his family live at Lakeside where he is permanently employed on a farm.
3. Olive Brown f.27 Single, not healthy, and in receipt of an Invalidity Pension. She lives at Prembleton.
4. Norman Brown m.25 Healthy, single, casual worker and living at Prembleton.
5. Wiwi Brown m.20 Healthy, single, and living at Fisherman's Point, Taumutu. He is a fisherman, and casual labourer.
6. Waitai Brown f.16 Healthy, and working as a domestic in Christchurch.

I am not working and get about £12 a year rent. I have small landed interests, and have a home on Fisherman's Point, Taumutu (Waipupu). I want a new house of three rooms as my present place is no good. I am indigent and can give very little in weekly payments towards paying it off. I am sending in an application with plans and specifications later and will then give the amount I am willing to make each week.

REMARKS:

The home referred to above comprises two tin shacks, one containing two rooms and the other one room. They are in a disgraceful condition and, I understand, are condemned. Something must be done for these people as their living conditions are appalling. When a house is erected for them I would suggest that it be put up on the ten acre Reserve situated about a 100 yards from where the shacks are standing.

REPORT 4

MOANA TE HOKA:

I am 37 years of age, of good health, a widow with five children. My husband was Hohepa te Hoka. I get about £10 a year rent, and receive a Widow's Pension of £78 a year. I have 20 acres in Section 7B Taumutu, and have interests in other blocks. I want a house of four rooms with the usual conveniences erected on Section 7B. I can pay a small deposit and 5/- a week. I will forward an application together with plans and specifications later. My children are:

1.	Mary te Hoka	f.20	Married to R.L. Hamilton and living at Fisherman's Point. They have one child, Brian Hamilton m.7 weeks, and they live in a two roomed shack. It is a very dilapidated place and some assistance should be given them.
2.	Lena te Hoka	f.18	Single, healthy, and not working. She is living with me.
3.	Hine te Hoka	f.17	Single, not very healthy (T.B.) and living with me. She is not working.
4.	Ila te Hoka	f.15	Healthy, and living with me. She is not working.
5.	Maraea te Hoka	f.13	Healthy, at School at Sedgemere.

I live in a five-roomed house on Section 17. It is an old house and in bad repair.

REMARKS:

This house comes under Class C. It is about 50 years old, rotting away and hardly worth repairing. This place should be demolished as money spent on it would be wasted. This house, together with those of Kitchener Hopa and Hoani Arai Nutira can be seen from the road and present sorry and unsightly pictures. I understand that this lady milks a few cows and supplies the Dairy Factory.

REPORT 5

HEMI MATENE TE KAHUARIKI:

I am 63 years of age and in receipt of an Old Age Pension of £4: 6: 8 a month. I am a widower, and of good health. My wife was Riripiti Karetai. I have a family of four:

1. Rawiri Matene m.30 Healthy, single, and working in coal yards in Dunedin.

2. Hori Matene m.28 Healthy, single, and working on a farm at Leeston.

3. Jane Ngahina Matene f.26 Healthy, married to Douglas Ward (pakeha). No family, and both are living with me. Douglas Ward is not working.

4. Henry Charles Matene m.23 Healthy and married to Eileen Martin (pakeha) and has a family of two:

(a) Maureen Matene f. 3
(b) Henry Matene m.11 months.

He is on the No. 5 Scheme and all are living with me (See Report 6).

I live in a six-roomed house on Section 18 Taumutu. It is an old house and in bad repair. I want a new house of four rooms built on a part of my nine acres in Section 2 Taumutu. I can only give a pensioner's guarantee of 5/- a week. I am sending in an application together with plans and specifications later.

REMARKS:

This house is about 35 years old and is in very bad condition. The back portion is rotten and not repairable. I understand that this house is condemned. This is another case of indigency, and some assistance should be given.

REPORT 6

HENRY MATENE:

I want a house as I have none of my own. I live with my father on Section 18 Taumutu. Both my wife and I, with our two children, live there (See Report 5.) I have small landed interests that I succeeded to from my mother, Riripiti Karetai, and I am in receipt of about £5 a year rent. I am on Relief and get £2: 6: 6 a week. What I would like is a four-roomed house to be built on Section 2 Taumutu. I can only give 5/- a week. I will forward an application with plans and specifications later.

JANE NGAHINA MATENE:

I want a house as I have none of my own. I am in the same position as my brother Henry (above). My husband is not working at present, but he will be shortly. I am also indigent but my husband could guarantee 10/- a week. I would like a house of four rooms built on Section 2 beside that of my brother. I will be sending in an application together with plans and specifications later.

REMARKS:

These people are in very bad circumstances. They are without homes and are living in an old dilapidated house with their father, Hemi Matene. These are two more cases of indigent Natives. They must be assisted.

REPORT 7

CHARLES MORGAN THOMAS:

I am 44 years of age, of good health, married to Te Amo Bishop, and have a family of nine. They are:

1.	Alice Thomas	f.23	Married to Jeff. Sinclair, and living in Sydney.
2.	Joyce Thomas	f.17	Healthy, single, not working and living at home with us.
3.	John Thomas	m.15	Healthy, not working, and living at home.
4.	Margaret Thomas	f.11	Healthy, at School at Southbridge, and living at home.
5.	Lu Allen Thomas	m. 8	At School, healthy and living at home.
6.	Wai Thomas	m. 7	Healthy, at School, and at home.
7.	Clifford Thomas	m. 5	Healthy, at School, and at home.
8.	Rata Thomas	f. 4	Healthy and at home.
9.	Huia Thomas	f. 3	Healthy and at home.

I get about 6/8d. a year rent, and I have very small interests in land. I am working on Relief and get £3: 6: 6 a week. I live in Taumutu Road at Southbridge with my wife and family in a five-roomed house. This house is on a section that I have arranged to buy. I am paying it off now. The house is a very old one and in very bad repair. I want a new five-roomed house erected on this section. I do not know the number of the section but my lawyers do. I cannot pay a deposit but can give 10/- a week. I am forwarding an application with plans and specifications.

REMARKS:

I inspected this man's house and it comes under Class C. He wants a new home, but on account of his strained financial circumstances, perhaps it would be more economical for him to have his present house renovated. It is in very bad repair, but I think just repairable. This is another case of indigency.

REPORT 8

WILLIAM MARSH:

I am 37 years of age, healthy and married to Annie Barton (pakeha) and have a family of four:

1. Iris Marsh f. 6 Healthy, at School and living with us.
2. Betty Marsh f. 5 Healthy, not at School, and living with us.
3. Ruth Marsh f. 3 Healthy, and with us.
4. Mere Marsh f. 1 Healthy.

I get no rents, and I have very little landed interests. I am working on Relief and get £2:14: 6 a week. I am living at Taumutu in a five-roomed house on Section 19. I want assistance for completing the house, and for an additional room. I will send in an application together with plans and specifications later. I am unable to give a deposit as I am dependent on my wages, but I can give 5/- a week towards paying the loan off.

REMARKS:

The house on Section 19 referred to is not finished. It is a new structure of corrugated iron and needs lining and other things done to it. This is another case of indigency where assistance should be granted. Mr. Marsh is forwarding specifications of the work required.

REPORT 9

HIRINI TAWERA:

I am about 90 years of age, and a cripple on account of rheumatism. I am a widower and in receipt of an Old Age Pension of £4:17: 6 a month. I had two of a family:

1. Mere Potini, deceased, that was married to pakeha named Marsh. They had 13 of a family:

   (a) William Marsh (See Report 8)

   (b) Katie Marsh married, living in Christchurch, and has two of a family.

   (c) George Marsh, married, and working on the Railways in Christchurch.

   (d) Norah Marsh, married and living in Christchurch.

   (e) Maude Marsh, aged 33, married and living in Christchurch.

   (f) Phillip Marsh, aged 32, single, and working in Christchurch.

   (g) Gage Marsh, aged 22, single and working in Christchurch.

   (h) Nellie Marsh, aged 27, married to a pakeha (now Mrs. Willey) and lives at Taumutu.

   (i) Charles Marsh, aged 30, single, healthy, Relief worker, and lives with his father at Taumutu.

   (j) Tom Marsh, aged 19, single, healthy, working on Mr. Chamber's farm (Taumutu) and living there.

   (k) Hannah Marsh, aged 17, healthy, single and working in Christchurch.

   (l) Ruma Marsh, aged 13, at School and living with her father.

   (m) Desmond Marsh, aged 10, healthy, at School and living with his father.

2. Hine Hirini Tawera m.50 Living at Nuhaka, Wairoa. Married and with a large family.

I get no rents and I have no lands. I live in a one-roomed house on Section 19. I want a more comfortable place to live in.

REMARKS:

I inspected this old man's house and it is no more than a hovel. The old gentleman's circumstances are very

bad and there is no one looking after him. Crippled as he is, it is hard to understand how he is able to attend to his cooking, etc. He was having a meal when I arrived, which consisted of biscuits soaked in his mug of tea. This is a disgraceful state of affairs, and should not be allowed to continue. The shack is a structure of 14' x 8' and about 7' high. It is nearly falling down and supported by stays. It should be condemned and demolished.

(COPY)

The Hon. the Minister for
Native Affairs.
REFERRED.
(Sgd) G.W.F.
24/8/1934.

Prime Minister's Office

Wellington.

HOUSING OF MAORIS: Deputation to the Prime Minister (Rt. Hon. G.W. Forbes) at Wellington, 23rd August, 1934.

Present:- Hon. Sir Apirana Ngata.
Mr. Taite te Tomo, M.P.
Mr. Tau Henare, M.P.
Mr. Russell, Hokianga.
Mr. J.S. Jessep.

Financial assistance wanted for Housing Scheme for Maoris: Sir Apirana Ngata asked to prepare scheme for submission to Cabinet.

SIR A. NGATA said that Mr. Russell and Mr. Jessep happened to be in town for a meeting of the Native Land Settlement Board. They were both interested in Maori matters in their respective districts; and the Maori Members had recently been discussing the question of housing of Maoris. It was a matter which would ultimately concern the Native Land Settlement Board if the Government said the time was opportune to make some financial provision. With the development scheme they served a very small proportion of their people with finance as part of the ordinary settlement, but it left a big number outside who were not being assisted, and who probably did not require very much assistance through the Development Funds, but who were unable to find at one time a lump sum for a building. In view of the Government considering taking on housing, they were putting forward the claims of the Maori People to have some assistance in regard to housing. Their demands were fairly modest; they did not want elaborate houses, but, at the same time, they did not want the kind of cottage that was put up for the ten-acre farms: neither did they want standardised houses like workers' dwellings.

Behind this too, was a matter which Mr. Jessep was interested in - the teaching of some of the young Maori people

practical carpentering.

In Mr. Tau Henare's district they had very good resources in the way of timber, and with an organised scheme it would be quite possible for them to develop those resources. They could form gangs for pit-sawing timber, and that would do away somewhat with costs for materials. They had also in mind that at this time something could be done from the Unemployment Fund - that, too, was a matter for the Native Land Settlement Board.

He felt that a combination of all the resources which they could use in the way of timber, rents, and in some cases steady work, would enable them to propound a scheme which would eventually refund to the Government the cost of the buildings.

The figure which they had had in mind as a limit to which they would assist any individual unit would be about £160, which would give a three or four roomed cottage, without any of the conveniences such as a range or elaborate drainage, or even water - they proposed to give the shell only. If some of the people wanted to go further than that £160, they would probably have other resources to use.

MR. FORBES: What is the position in regard to the housing?

SIR A. NGATA: Very bad. He said they had got left behind with building as none had been done in the last twenty years.. The present generation had done very little building. They had lived in the same houses, and the congestion was great. The matter would have been taken up sooner, but the Government provided means for developing land, and they had thought it better to work along those lines.

He would say that the district most vitally concerned was Mr. Tau Henare's, and Mr. te Tomo's too. His side of the Island was not so bad.

MR. JESSEP said there were now about 70,000 Maoris and they were increasing faster than the Europeans. All these young Maori people were passing through our schools, they were being

well educated, and if they were going to take their proper place in the general politics and life of New Zealand one of the first essentials was that the living conditions for them should be something in keeping with the general trend of life in New Zealand. They were very far from it. It was a tragedy in places to come across groups of well educated and well dressed (when out) Maoris and then to find that they had to go back to shacks. Ideals and general health suffered. He thought the health side was a good deal better than it was, but he also thought that at the present time with the rate at which they were increasing we might quite easily get a setback. He knew of many places where that might happen.

SIR A. NGATA said tubercular trouble was increasing because of congestion in houses.

MR. JESSEP said the Board would be failing in its job unless it could propound some scheme which was sound, where the Maori people could help themselves and finally repay the cost: but he thought they could do it.

SIR A. NGATA: You will have to do some commandeering.

MR. JESSEP said yes, by doing that they could go a very long way in meeting the need for improvement in the general housing conditions of the Maoris, and do it on quite sound, safe lines. As the Minister had pointed out, they wanted to provide merely a healthy dwelling room - the frills could be put on later by those who wanted them. The urgent need was for just better living conditions.

He would say that the Maori population in another 20 years' time would be over 100,000.

MR. RUSSELL endorsed what had been said with regard to conditions. He was most familiar with North Auckland district, particularly Hokianga. Younger Maoris who had married had tents and nikau whares; they could not get away from the family home - quite good young fellows. It was the outlay which was the hurdle for them. The Board could

help with fencing, etc., but could not give houses. When four or five children had been born it should not be a nikau whare which the family lived in. Nothing elaborate was wanted. As workmen they were quite good, and most of them, in the North anyhow, had had elementary training in carpentering, etc. A great deal of money would not be required, just enough for certain materials.

The Health Department could bear out that tubercular trouble was increasing. Those wanting houses should be encouraged to develop their own resources.

SIR A. NGATA: They can all provide sites.

MR. FORBES asked whether the Board had discussed a scheme.

MR. JESSEP said they had, just roughly. They thought they would like to have a preliminary talk with the Prime Minister and let him know what was running through their minds.

SIR A. NGATA said it would not be at all a difficult scheme, but they did not care about putting it forward unless there was some financial provision made; and in view of the other proposals of the Government they thought now would be an opportune time to make a department within the Native Land Settlement Board to manage it.

MR. JESSEP said it would be essential to secure the sites on which the houses were built, but that could be done.

SIR A. NGATA said the Native Land Court would help there.

MR. TAU HENARE referred to weak chests in his district, and the fact that families were packed into one little room. There was plenty of timber in certain places, and not much money would be needed.

MR. TE TOMO said conditions were the same in his district: raupo and nikau houses were the trouble.

SIR A. NGATA said that the Waikato district was a special problem. There was not the same scope there and it was possible that more would have to be done financially. They could manage the sites, even there, but there was no timber and no rent resources, and there was a population getting on to nine thousand and conditions were very bad. It was the

worst district.

MR. RUSSELL said that the Government, in tackling a problem like this, if it was organised, was also solving the unemployment question.

SIR A. NGATA said some financial provision was the first essential. If the Board knew it would get that, it could soon work up a scheme.

MR. FORBES: Can you give us an outline of a scheme, showing what funds would be necessary to start it, and what you have in mind in regard to the type of house, cost, etc., and then we shall have something to go on.

He said he quite agreed it was a matter which could not be neglected any longer. Conditions had altered for the Maoris and the Government had a responsibility in seeing that something was done for them.

MR. JESSEP said he believed that the whole thing could be done at a very trifling eventual capital cost to the country. The scheme could be made thoroughly sound and thoroughly self-supporting.

MR. FORBES asked Sir Apirana Ngata to prepare a scheme.

SIR A. NGATA: Yes, I will prepare something.

JB 30/1/12

HEAD OFFICE

N. D. 30/1/12

MR. T.C.D. GREIG, LANDS DEPARTMENT, GISBORNE

24/12/37

The Registrar,
Native Land Court,
GISBORNE.

Referring to your memorandum of the 20th instant with regard to the above man; the Lands Department is prepared to make his services available to this Department if there is any real need for them.

It is observed that you now ask for Mr. Greig to be made available to carry out the survey of the Northern Tairawhiti area. Before taking steps to secure his services for this Department it will be necessary for you to show that Mr. Greig's services are really necessary for this duty and that there is no officer in this Department qualified and available for this work.

It is thought that the officer performing the Housing Survey work should be a member of the Maori race as a European would scarcely be able to make that intimate approach to the Maori householder to enable him to carry out the work with any degree of success.

Under Secretary

Native Department,

Wellington, C.1,

12th September, 1934.

MEMORANDUM for:-

The Hon. Native Minister,
WELLINGTON.

Dwellings for Natives.

I have to comment as under on the suggested scheme for providing houses for Natives on the same general principle as was adopted for pakeha workmen under the Advances to Workers plan.

(1) When the Advances to Workers regulations first came into force, the chief conditions and concessions were:

(a) Advances were permitted up to three-fourths of the Government valuation of the section plus buildings and fencing when completed with a limit of £350.

(b) The loan could be, and generally was, paid over in progress payments.

(c) The mortgagor was required to produce a title to his section against which the mortgage could be registered.

(d) Valuation and other fees were fixed on a lower scale than under the Advances to Settlers.

(e) The mortgagor must possess no other lands and his income must not exceed a certain amount at the time of application.

(f) At a later date the loan maximum was increased and the margin of security was reduced.

In other respects there was little to distinguish between a Worker's loan and an ordinary Advances to Settlers loan in a city. Both bore the same rate of interest and were on the table or amortisation system.

As most of the Workers' houses were in the cities and towns, building permits had to be obtained from the Local Authorities.

(2) The scheme now proposed is designed 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 although small. I can form no idea whatever as to how many there are within this category or how many would be likely to require houses.

(3) The moneys for the purpose would most likely come out of loan moneys in the Public Works Fund and would therefore require to be properly secured and safeguarded.

If more is contemplated than was given under the Advances to Workers, I presume the Consolidated Fund or the Maori Purposes

Fund would have to assist.

Unemployment moneys would be available as a subsidy on labour.

(4) In some cases Land Transfer Titles will be procurable and mortgages should then be taken and registered.

In other cases the titles will only be Native Land Court orders with possibly survey liens and rating arrears charged against them. The advances would be registered in the Native Land Court only.

To protect the Government moneys the securities must be saleable otherwise there is no means of satisfactorily dealing with defaulters. This may require statutory authority.

(5) Assignments of rents or interests would be taken wherever there are any to take. If the mortgagor is on a salary or wages, monthly or even weekly payments should be demanded.

(6) All mortgages would be on the Table system with interest computed at 6-monthly rests. The term of the mortgages would be from 10 to 20 years.

(7) All buildings would have to comply with the by-laws of the Local Authorities concerned. I anticipate that the Public Works Department would be requested to arrange and supervise the building contracts.

(8) It is most likely that the chief demand for assistance will come from the small towns. There would be no difficulty where Supervisors are located in the district but places like Taranaki, Ohinemuri, Taihape etc. might be awkward to control.

(9) The Native laws of succession might be troublesome.

(10) Administrative charges, including inspection fees and Public Works Department commission, should be paid out of the advances.

H Pearce

Under Secretary.

N.D. 8/17143

8th October, 1934.

MEMORANDUM for

Rt. Hon. Minister of Finance.

Housing Scheme for Maoris

I referred the above matter to the Executive Committee of the Native Land Settlement Board, which discussed the proposal at its meeting on the 3rd instant. No formal resolution was passed, but I intimated that I would convey the views expressed by members for the information of the Prime Minister and yourself.

There was a general agreement that some such scheme was necessary and desirable. As to the financial provision the representatives of Treasury were opposed to expenditure from loan funds, which would entail an addition to the public debt. Mr Park intimated that if the State provided any money at all it should be from the Consolidated Fund. There was a 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. Reference was also made to the Maori Purposes Fund and to the Arawa, Tuwharetoa and Taranaki Trust Funds. I personally favoured the diversion of as much as possible of these funds towards the housing problem, if they are effective for the purpose.

I doubt the effectiveness and availability at this juncture of the resources indicated. Taking them seriatim the position is briefly as follows:-

(1) The Maori Purposes Fund has heavy commitments towards the building funds of certain Maori Secondary schools, which, since the Grant of £3000 a year from the Consolidated Fund terminated in 1931, fall entirely on the Fund. The cash resources of the Fund depend on the financial position of the Native Trustee.

(2) The Arawa Trust Board has commitments secured by bond in favour of the Native Trustee, King's Estate and the Rotorua Borough Council. The Native Land Settlement Account awaits an opportunity of securing the advance on the Maketu Farm.

The Sec.
For your file. I also return your memo: of 17/9/34.
9.10.34

file 11-10-34

(3) The Tuwharetoa Trust Board may presently be able to devote a substantial portion of its revenue towards housing, but would have to borrow on the security of bonds for a comprehensive and effective scheme.

(4) The Taranaki Trust Board is not likely to embark on a housing scheme in a district which is fairly well equipped with private dwellings and which has rent resources from the West Coast Settlement Lands.

(5) The Tokerau Maori Land Board has no surplus funds. The deficiency on the Te Kao scheme will preclude its devoting any profits to any other purpose.

(6) The Waikato-Maniapoto Board has substantial funds invested with the Native Trustee. It has however made special investments of some of its funds, which are likely to result in loss. The Waikato section of the district, which needs most assistance in the matter of housing, is the smallest contributor to the funds of the Board.

(7) The Waiariki Board has no surplus funds and is due to write off heavily investments in the Tihiotonga and other properties. The funds to its credit with the Native Trustee are not available for further lending.

(8) The Aotea Maori Land Board is on paper the strongest of the Boards. At present there is under consideration a proposal which may involve £20,000 or more of the Board's fund to settle the Egmont Box Company's claims in regard to the Whangaipeke block. This Board may also have to build up a reserve fund for meeting compensation clauses in some of its leases. The housing problem is not as prominent in the Aotea district as in Waikato and North Auckland.

(9) The Tairawhiti Board has none of its funds invested with the Native Trustee, but holds a substantial investment in War bonds (over £20,000), on behalf of its beneficiaries. The Board's mortgages have not been thoroughly examined as to their soundness or otherwise, and it is possible losses may be incurred in respect of same. The Board has held tenaciously to its investment in War bonds as a reserve against contingencies.

(10) The Ikaroa Board is seeking investment for about £5000 and it is desirous of so investing it as to meet with certainty claims for compensation in regard to certain leases.

(11) The position of the Native Trust office is well known to Treasury. The office owes the Native Land Settlement Account nearly £100,000. Its cash resources for meeting the demands of the Maori Land Boards for their payments to beneficiaries as well as the demands of its own beneficiaries are limited, and to a certain extent depend on payments into the office by the Maori Land Boards. I understand that in order to enable the Aotea Maori Land Board to settle with the Egmont Box Company, should a settlement be arrived at, the Native Trust office will have to be funded by Treasury.

A housing scheme which will be made dependent on the Trust Funds or on the funds of Maori beneficiaries administered by the Maori Land Boards or the Native Trustee will not have much chance of functioning immediately, as the available cash resources are limited and subject to more pressing claims.

(Sgd) A.T.NGATA

Native Minister.

(COPY)

The Treasury,
P.O. Box 22, Government Buildings,
WELLINGTON, C.1. 18th October, 1934.

MEMORANDUM for :-

The Right Hon. the Minister of Finance,
WELLINGTON.

Housing Scheme for Maoris.

.....

The attached statements show that there are sufficient funds held on behalf of Natives by Maori Land Boards and the Native Trustee to enable a housing scheme for Maoris to be financed through the medium of these particular funds. Details can be worked out when a constructive scheme is prepared.

The difficulty that arises is only in relation to the cash resources of the Native Trustee, who holds a large proportion of these funds on deposit. He will not be able to realise his investments to provide cash, but sufficient authority appears in Section 6 of the Finance Act 1930 (No.2) for advances to be made by the Treasury to the Native Trustee on security being given. The Treasury will find it no more difficult to fund the Native Trustee than to provide cash by appropriation from the Consolidated Fund direct to a housing scheme.

It will be noticed that some of the Maori Land Boards hold large amounts of cash and it is considered that steps should be taken to place these in the hands of the Native Trustee on deposit.

(Sgd) H.D. PARK
Secretary to the Treasury

Hon. Native Minister
Refd.
(Sgd) J.G.C.

(COPY) T.Series 52
Sub.No.750/

THE TREASURY, NEW ZEALAND.

SUBJECT: Housing Scheme for Maoris.

Memoranda.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY.

The attached statement by the Minister of Native Affairs deals with the potential capacity of the various Native Funds from a "unit" point of view as opposed to their co-ordinated capacity. Moreover, it tends to confuse contingencies and deficiencies arising out of previous years expenditure with the main point at issue, namely the capacity of the Native Funds as a whole to supply cash requirements over a future period.

Appropriate specific comments appear to be as follow :-

1. MAORI PURPOSES FUND: (A fund invested with the Native Trustee as at 31.3.34, totalling £60,950.)

The commitments referred to by the Minister (relating only to education) are illustrated by the attached statement, future commitments totalling some £15,000.

Questions as to the application of these funds are under review by the Native Affairs Commission now sitting.

The dependency of the Fund upon the Native Trustee's financial capacity can be substantially remedied by the Minister of Finance on sufficient cause being shown.

2. ARAPA TRUST BOARD: (Annual grant £6,000)

The Board appears to be fully committed (in respect to the annual grant from the State) by reason of its Maketu Purchases etc., but has other valuable assets in the shape of land and loans secured against rentals, etc.

For immediate present purposes, however, this Fund can be ignored.

3. TURHARETOA TRUST BOARD: (Annual grant £3,000).

The annual grant has been hypothecated by the issue of debentures involving annual commitments as follows :-

Redemption debentures	£1000: 0: 0	
Interest (Approx. average only)	200: 0: 0	
Medical Service	250: 0: 0	
Administration	150: 0: 0	£1600
Leaving available income for other purposes..		£1400

This position will continue until 1940, after which the available income will be increased by reason of debenture redemption and interest there on, thereby increasing the Fund's capacity from say, £1400 per annum to £2600 per annum, a substantial portion of which could apparently be made available for housing in the Taupo District meantime, thus an appreciable housing programme on modest lines could apparently be put in hand if commitments were spread over a period of years.

4. TARANAKI TRUST BOARD: (Annual grant £5,000).

This grant appears to be particularly appropriate for housing purposes, but the Minister doubts the general necessity in the locality affected. Presumably this aspect can be determined only by an intensive field survey.

If social and economic conditions have any bearing upon the justification for the grant, the expenditure on small farm scheme lines would appear to be worthy of consideration.

The latest budgetary statement by the Board was for 1933-34. This showed that the grant of £5000 was to be disbursed as follows :-

Salaries and administration	£550
Grants (mostly to indigent natives)	1000
Pa Renovations	1900
Special Memorials	1250
Reserve Fund	1200
	£5000

5 to 10. MAORI LAND BOARDS:

It will be seen from the schedule to the attached report of the Native Department that the combined resources of the Board are as follows :-

Liabilities to beneficiaries and Treasury	£466,600
Reserves and Appropriation A/cs	169,500
Total liability Accounts	£636,100

which have been invested as follow:

Native Trust Office Common Fund		£184,959
Mortgages and Miscellaneous		375,906
Land and Buildings		36,503
Cash	£13,332	
Inscribed Stock	25,400	38,732
		£636,100

Thus it will be seen that the combined resources of the Boards apart from their beneficial liabilities are in the vicinity of £170,000. This should leave a substantial margin for writing off losses under various categories. Moreover, such losses do not necessarily involve the finding of cash resources or additional commitments.

On the assets side, mortgage liquidation should provide funds, and, moreover, cash and liquid investments now total over £38,000. It is not possible to say, with any degree of certainty whether those reserve funds are represented by sound securities, but this is common to the whole field of Board investments.

Of the Boards in whose territory the housing question is the more extreme, only the Tokerau Board would appear to require ballasting from other resources. In this connection, it will be remembered that the Native Trustee controls a special trust established in the fifties which is now in possession of valuable reserves, and a cash fund of some £18,000.

11. NATIVE TRUST OFFICE:

As already indicated, the position of the Native Trust Office in relation to the Treasury is substantially a matter of sufficient justification being shown for the current financial year.

The following payments will require to be made in liquidation of the funded debt to the Treasury :-

Interest	Principal	Total
£6399	£2,861	£9,260

This will leave the balance of principal outstanding at the end of the current year as £125,825 which is being liquidated by half-yearly repayments of interest at 5% and principal calculated to extinguish the loan within 35 years.

The total drain of £9,300 per annum cannot be regarded as excessive, more particularly if the rate of interest is reviewed. If necessary one or more instalments of principal could be deferred for an agreed period. In view, however, of the manner in which the Native Trustee has reduced his obligations during the past 2 years, more particularly with respect to certain overdrafts to Dalgety and Co. Ltd. and the Loan and Mercantile Agency Co., Ltd., there appears to be little doubt as to the fund's capacity to finance a housing scheme of reasonable dimensions even without recourse to new loan money from the Treasury.

(Sgd) W.H. TAYLOR
18/10/34

WELLINGTON,

Nov: 3rd 1934

Rt Hon. G. W. FORBES

Native Minister

Wellington,

Dear Sir,

ADVANCES FOR HOUSING MAORIS.

Referring to the memo. dated the 12th ult from the Secretary to the Treasury to the Rt. Hon. the Minister of Finance, which was referred to myself as Native Minister before I resigned the office, and referring also to the memo. dated the 29th ult from the Under-Secretary,Native Department, both of which memoranda I referred to you on the 31st ult, I wish to submit for your consideration the following observations:-

1. Two questions have become involved in the discussions, which have arisen from the representations made to yourself and the Rt. Hon. the Minister of Finance by myself and Messrs Lonare and Te Momo, supported by Messrs Jessep and R.B.Russell in the case of the representations made to yourself, in regard to the necessity for a comprehensive scheme of housing for the Maoris. The two questions are:-

(a). The source of financial provision for carrying out such a scheme; and

(b). Giving the Native Land Settlement Board power to require a Maori Land Board " to invest any moneys which in the opinion of the Native Land Settlement Board are available for investment, in such securities as it directs, being securities authorised by the Native Land Act,1931 and its amendments."

2. Of these two questions the second,(b), has now assumed greater immediate importance, because while it has been put forward as a proposal to meet the first, (a), it proposes to go much further and to give the Native Land Settlement Board drastic powers over the investment of Maori Land Board surplus funds.

As a member of the Native Land Settlement Board during its discussion of the housing question and of the proposal to influence Maori Land Board and Maori Trust funds towards that specific purpose I expressed my willingness to assist in regard to legislation in that direction. I indicated that the Native Minister was formerly authorised to requisition up to £7,500 a year from the Maori Land Boards to supplement the corpus of the Maori Purposes Fund, (see sub-sec. 5 of sec. 5 of the Native Land Amendment &c Act, 1924) and that it may be advisable to vest this authority, if not already transferred by recent legislation, in the Native Land Settlement Board to supplement the financial provision for housing.

But this power of requisition was restricted to "earnings of interest" of the Maori Land Boards and did not extend to capital sums or rent moneys paid into the accounts of the Boards on behalf of Maori beneficiaries.

The draft amendment referred to in the Under-Secretary's memo. proposes to give to the Native Land Settlement Board authority (i) to say what moneys in the accounts of the Boards are available for investment and (ii) to direct how the same shall be invested. The real purpose of the amendment is to determine certain matters, which are in dispute between some of the Maori Land Boards and the Native Department. These are,

(a). The Maori Land Boards' Central Fund.

(b). An investment by the Wai-rawhiti Maori Land Board of some of its funds in the Aroaro Station, which comprises Native lands vested in that Board.

(c). The investment proposed by the Ikaroa Maori Land Board of some of its funds in assured securities in order to meet when they arise claims for compensation for improvements.

The investment in housing is a recent development and has been attached to the others.

In this connection your attention is directed to Parts II and III of the report of the Commission on Native Affairs, which do not justify such an assumption of direction and control as is suggested in the draft amendment.

In any case I do not think that such legislation should be promoted without conference with the Presidents of the Maori Land Boards or without hearing the views of the Boards most immediately concerned. The Presidents are officers of the service under the control of the Native Department; the Boards are organisations which are subject to the administrative powers of the Department, and in respect to their investments and expenditure on farming require the approval of the Native Land Settlement Board. But they are also statutory trustees for Maori beneficiaries and the limitation of their responsibility should be very carefully considered.

3. Attached to the Treasury memo. referred to is a statement prepared by Mr Taylor of the Treasury traversing my memo. of the 8th ult to the Rt. Hon. Minister of Finance, a copy of which accompanies this letter for ready reference to the point of view I am seeking to impress.

Mr Taylor says that my statement "deals with the potential capacity of the various Native funds from a 'unit' point of view as opposed to their 'co-ordinated capacity' and that it tends to confuse contingencies and deficiencies arising out of the previous years expenditure with the main point at issue, namely the capacity of the Native funds as a whole to supply cash requirements over a period."

In reply I wish to say in the first place that Mr Taylor's observation contains a hint of pooling resources, which deserves some detailed consideration. I do not think it can be seriously urged that in any pool, assuming the same to be desirable and advisable, the Arawa, Tuwharetoa or Taranaki Trust Funds, or any funds that may be established for the benefit of specified tribes should be involved. That would be a distinct breach of the settlements made with the tribes concerned.

The Taranaki Trust Board differs from the Arawa and Tuwharetoa Trust Boards in that its finances depend on annual Parliamentary appropriations from the Consolidated Fund, so that although it is given power in the statute to borrow upon "the security of a charge upon any moneys to be paid to it by the Crown" this would depend on whether the Minister of Finance will agree to the use of a power, which would consult Treasury to make provision on the annual estimates and Parliament to pass the same for a period covered by the necessary bonds securing advances. The question would be raised of placing the Taranaki Board on the basis of a statutory appropriation as in the case of the other two Boards. The borrowing under

present circumstances would be conditioned on a Treasury guarantee.

Mr Taylor's statement in regard to these particular Trust Funds is in effect limited to that of the Tuwharetoa Board. In my opinion unless arrangements can be made with bond-holders to accept payments before maturity dates and some conversion scheme is put into operation, which would afford the Board some relief in regard to interest no worth-while housing scheme can be commenced immediately. Such a scheme in the Taupo district would require about £15,000. This would cost in interest say £750 a year and if bonds were given securing interest and repayment of principal over a term of years this Board, unless a conversion scheme such as is suggested above is carried out, would be sorely embarassed up to 1940.

As to the Maori Purposes Fund I would personally have no objection to a substantial contribution from this source towards a housing scheme. The question is whether to the extent of such a contribution other funds and more particularly State funds should be saved responsibility.

There remain the funds of the Maori Land Boards and of the Native Trustee. In regard to the former Mr Taylor's statement seems to suggest pooling, as, taking the Maori Land Boards' funds in the aggregate, he says that their combined resources are nearly £170,000, and that the Tokerau Board appears to be the only one to require Ballasting from other resources. If this is read in connection with the draft amendment suggested by the Under-Secretary, Native Department, power would thereby be given to the Native Land Settlement Board,whereby it is conceivable that the funds of one Board may be invested in a housing scheme in another district. This is in effect being done now in regard to loans to Maori farmers through the Native Trustee, but that system is backed with a State guarantee. Is it suggested that the present scheme, which savours of pooling, shall be supported by a similar guarantee?

In regard to the concluding sentence under item (10) of Mr Taylor's statement the reference is to the Native Reserve at Mechanic's Bay, Auckland, known as Kaipapa, which is vested in the Native Trustee. I think the position requires examination. The statement would suggest that because of its geographical position the resources of this Reserve might be used in the Tokerau Maori Land District, whose southern limits are just south of Auckland City.It is a matter for consideration whether certain tribes living south of Auckland or on the west Hauraki Gulf should not also benefit. The Hostlery established on the reserve is in fact used by Maoris from all over the Dominion, although predominantly by those of the Auckland Province.

As to the resources of the Native Trust Office past experience does not justify the expectation that this office will, in additionto finding cash to maintain its own activities and to meet the drafts from Maori Land Boards, which must also maintain a large number of securities and make up to beneficiaries much lee-way in ~~regard~~ regard to rent and otherpeyments to beneficiaries, be able to make such provision for a housing scheme as would assure a steady programme, having the desired advantage of provision and planning. A hand-to-mouth provision will not enable the administration to make such arrangements about the supply of material and the cost of labour and for supervision as would ensure a reasonable cost of construction.A desirable feature in the housing scheme would be the training of Maoris in carpentering and building houses for themselves.

4. I do not think that the Government can evade responsibility for assisitng with its resources the carrying out of a housing schdme 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 provision stops at the organisation of their resources without a State contribution towards at least the capital fund for advances.

Yours faithfully