

CULTURAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Cliff Road Proposed Museum site - Tauranga

Prepared by Buddy Mikaere for the Ngai Tamarawāho Environmental Unit



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Introduction

As part of its city revitalization, one of the options being pursued by the Tauranga City Council is the establishment of a Museum. Surveys of community opinion have confirmed that the establishment of what will be the city's first Museum is well supported. There are several options for the Museum's location, one being a standalone Museum on a proposed site on Cliff Road, Tauranga. This is the location preferred by Tauranga Moana tangata whenua.



The proposed site area is bounded on the west side by Cliff Road while to the east it is the steep escarpment overlooking Dive Crescent. The northern end extends to a small cluster of housing while at the southern end the Robbins Park rose garden, the begonia house and the

historic Monmouth Redoubt precinct mark the site limits at that end. The bulk of the proposed site is currently being used for Council car parking but also includes the adjacent area formerly used by the local bowling club. It is understood that the proposed site would incorporate the current car parking area and the now disused bowling greens.



The proposed Cliff Road site (car park area and bowling greens) looking north from the rose gardens.

Purpose

The purpose of this Assessment document is to set out the cultural values of the proposed site and how those might be affected or enhanced by the Cliff Road museum proposal.

This Cultural Impact Assessment (“CIA”) has been prepared by the Ngai Tamarawāho Environmental Unit. This is because the site is located within the *rohe*, traditional area, of Ngai Tamarawāho, a hapū of Ngāti Ranginui iwi. However, we also acknowledge Ngāti Tapu with whom we share a common ancestral lineage. We represent Ngāti Tapu interests on the western side of the harbour and the converse applies on the eastern side.

It is understood this CIA will become part of the documentation associated with the proposed establishment of the museum on the Cliff Road site.

The historical context

The proposed site is located largely within the footprint of the Otamataha Pa. Otamataha together with its companion pa, Taumatakahawai, which is now the site occupied by the Monmouth Redoubt, is probably the most important cultural site on the northern part of the Te Papa peninsula.

Tradition has the site occupied shortly after the arrival of the migration *waka* of *Takitimu* and *Tainui*. The strategic advantage of the two pa is obvious, dominating the harbour at that point and with a clear view of the entrance to Te Awanui, the Tauranga Harbour. As it does today the main channel in the harbour closely follows the coastline at this point in the harbour adding to the strategic advantage of the Otamataha and Taumatakahawai Pa.

The northern shoreline – Te Matau - provided sheltered *tauranga waka* or landing places while within the *matau* or hook formed by the sandbar that extended out from the tip of the Te Papa peninsula (modern day Sulphur Point) and the Waikareao estuary further to the south and west, extensive *kai moana* resources were found.

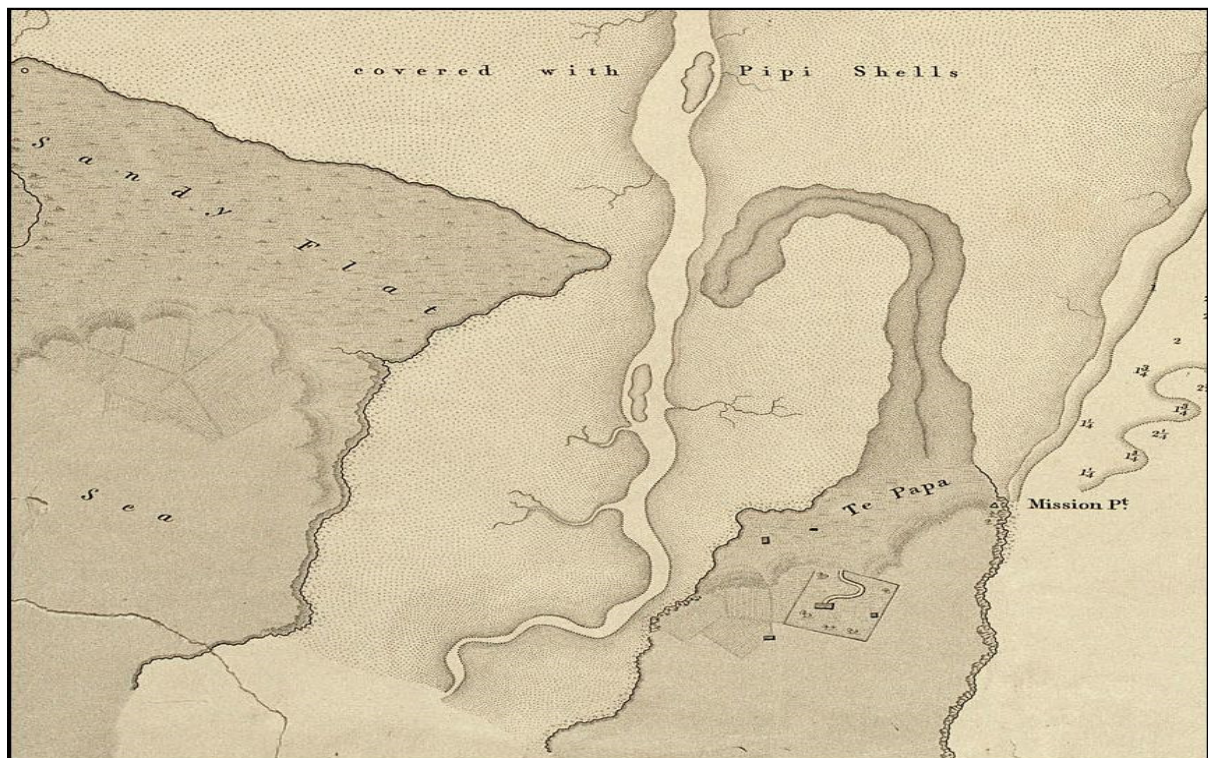
The nearby Waikareao estuary and harbour channels were fished for *patiki* (flounder), *kanae* (mullet), herrings or yellow-eyed mullet also known to us as *kanae*, and *parore*. Taumatakahawai was so named because it was an easy place to spot the schools of kahawai entering the harbour on the flood tide during summer spawning.

The extensive tidal flats on both sides of Te Matau were maataitai or collection places for *kai moana* such as titiko (mud snails), hururoa, kukuroa or toretore (horse mussels), tuangi (cockles), tipa (scallops) and tio (rock oysters) where the shoreline provided suitable habitat.

The massive in-harbour resource that is the Te Paratahi pipi beds and which have fed many generations of Tauranga Moana iwi lay just beyond Te Matau. The extensive beds still exist today and continue still to fulfil their *kete kai* or food basket role.

From Otamataha there was easy access to the Kopurererua Valley to utilise the resources of the extensive wetlands that formerly existed there while the river allowed canoe access to the upper reaches of the valley and the ridgelines above the valley access to the forests and foothills of the lower Kaimai.

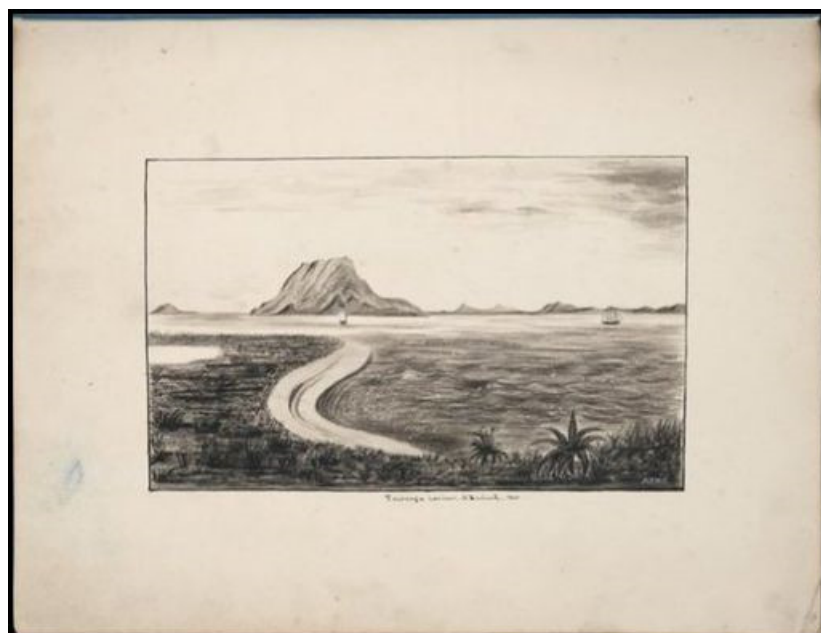
But the true richness of the land lay in its warm fertile soils and the extensive cultivations along the flat land along the top of the Te Papa peninsula. It was a land desired by others.



1852 Chart showing Te Matau with its matau or “hook” that formerly extended out from Otamataha. Source: Tauranga Library

For the Te Materawaho people (Ngai Tamarawāho and Ngāti Tapu) who lived there, Otamataha was the beach head, the landing place of waka and the promontory of Te Papa, their beacon. Otamataha pa and its surrounding gardening areas and *waka tauranga* was the principal pa for the ancestor Kinotaraia who is the Ngai Tamarawāho hapū ancestor.

Otamataha and Taumatakahawai both made good use of the steep sea cliffs along their eastern flanks to augment their defences. On the landward side they were protected by an extensive and deep trench/ditch and a palisade barrier. There is no oral record of a water source within what would have been the confines of Otamataha, but this was common with many other Pa whose main function was to provide a place of refuge in times of attack. As the archaeological record will show Otamataha and Taumatakahawai were the focal points for large scale gardening activities taking advantage of the normally frost-free conditions on the Te Papa peninsula.



This 1865 painting by Andrew Thomas shows the extent of the Te Matau sandbank with the mouth of the Waikareao estuary to the left and the main harbour to the right. Source: Tauranga Library

However, as populations in the Eastern Bay of Plenty began to expand tensions grew and competition for living space and resources increased. There is a long history of tribal conflicts as iwi migrated north towards Maketu and Tauranga. The fighting eventually reached and engulfed Tauranga and iwi and hapū were displaced in the face of multiple invasions. Over a period of approximately 500 years the Te Papa peninsula hosted several different iwi and their hapū, who via conquest and marriage had settled in the area.

By the beginning of the 19th century the two hapū, Ngai Tamarawaho and Ngāti Tapu as Te Materawaho were firmly ensconced at Otamataha and were exercising mana whenua over the whole of the Te Papa peninsula.

Ngai Tamarawāho have a “prophecy” about Otamataha which is that “this land was prophesied for us... no matter where we go we will always return here because there is nowhere else where we belong.” When the first settlers and traders and the early missionaries started arriving in the first two decades of the century it was with Materawaho that they first engaged.

Otamataha and the Church Missionary Society (“CMS”)

The Paihia based Church Missionary Society missionaries including Henry Williams arrived in June 1826 in their 55-ton trading vessel, *Herald*; the first Pakeha vessel to enter Tauranga harbour. They subsequently visited regularly trading supplies for pigs, potatoes and flax but not responding to urgent Maori requests for gunpowder and muskets.

There was also a request for missionaries to be stationed at Tauranga, but this was probably more about creating trading opportunities rather than a desire for the Christian message. The CMS missionaries were largely dealing with Materawaho at Otamataha which because it was located on the harbour next to a sheltered anchorage was the logical place to engage. Williams conducted a church service at Otamataha on that first visit in 1826.

Missionary George Clarke spent the night of 23 June 1826 in Otamataha and left a description of its defences which he described as being “considerable”:

...the Natives have added to its strength, by cutting the Earth down to the Water (by which two parts out of three it is surrounded), forming thereby perpendicular Walls, 40 or 50 feet high. A deep ditch is cut around the other part and fenced with heavy timber, and the entrance very narrow'.

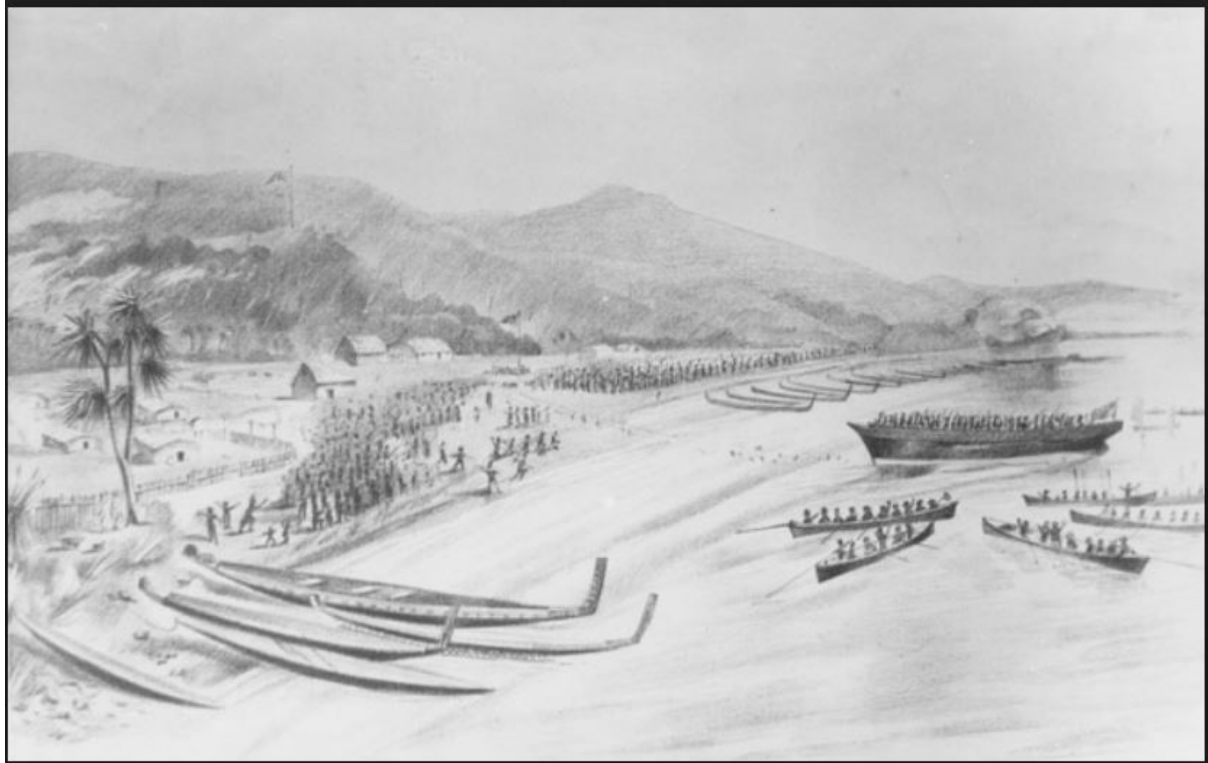
Of the houses inside the pa he said: *'their number was considerable and were laid out pretty regularly for Native houses and might contain five or six hundred people'*¹.

¹ *George Clark's Journal, 19-29 June, 1826* (reproduced in the *Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society*, Vol. 50, April 1974, pp. 25-26).

Te Raukaraka



Te Raukaraka – the greenstone mere presented by the chief Koraurau to Gilbert Mair Snr on his visit to Otamataha in 1828. The mere was subsequently lost during the sack of Otamataha but found again in 1864 by soldiers digging graves for the dead from the Battle of Pukehinahina/Gate Pa. It was presented by Koraurau's son Hohepa Te Mea to Gilbert Mair Jnr (known by Maori as Tawa). The weapon forms part of the Tawa Collection held in the Auckland War Memorial Museum and takes its name from the particular colouration of the stone from which it was made.



The launch of the CMS trading ship Herald at Paihia in 1826

That Williams and his fellow missionaries had close contact with Otamataha is borne out by their shock when on the Herald's final visit in April 1828 they found that Otamataha had been attacked and razed by Te Rohu and Ngāti Tamatera² of Hauraki. Many of the inhabitants, including the chief Koraurau, had been killed and others taken as slaves. Bereft of the muskets possessed in numbers by Te Rohu, the Otamataha defenders put up a brave but ultimately futile defence. The missionaries estimated the dead at over 500³.

Williams and the captain of the *Herald*, Gilbert Mair, went ashore and described what they found:

When last here we anchored abreast of the place, then were there many hundreds of men, women and children living here - now all was silent - their houses and fences burnt - dead dogs and pigs on all sides, and human bones in many places

As was common practice where a pa and its inhabitants had suffered heavy defeat, Otamataha and Taumatakahawai were abandoned and left deserted. Because so many had died there, Otamataha was regarded as a wahi tapu. But although both pa were abandoned as living places, people continued to live in the vicinity as recorded by the CMS missionaries during their on-going visits and as they found when they eventually settled in Tauranga. The

² Other accounts say Te Rohu was of Ngati Maru.

³ Likely based on their earlier 1826 estimation of the population of the pa.

Otumoetai Pa⁴, the Waikareao Pa at the entrance to the estuary and the Maungatapu Pa further up the harbour became the main fortified pa and refuges although gardening on the Te Papa peninsula continued.

The 1830s was also a time of conflict, especially from several Ngapuhi-led raids into the Bay of Plenty where Tauranga was a target. From the south and west there was also conflict with some of the Te Arawa tribes especially from those who held Maketu just south of Tauranga.

However, by this time the Tauranga iwi had also acquired guns and an arms parity existed. Nevertheless, the Tauranga continued with their request for a missionary presence in their community. Whether the missionaries were regarded as potential bringers of peace or as a potential trading gateway, is unclear. But they finally established a permanent presence in 1835 after Alfred Brown and William Williams had chosen Te Papa for their CMS mission at the site now known as *The Elms*.

CMS land purchase

In 1838 with the arrival of Archdeacon Alfred Brown to take charge of the Tauranga mission, 1333 acres was “purchased” on the Te Papa peninsula including Otamataha. The land was later described by the CMS as being:

[a]cquired and is retained under a solemn Trust that it should be applied to the benefit of the Native race & Church & that it should never be bartered or sold for the mere purpose of raising money. The Natives who gave the land for the benefit of themselves & their posterity would have just ground of complaint against us if we sold that land for a Military Settlement.⁵

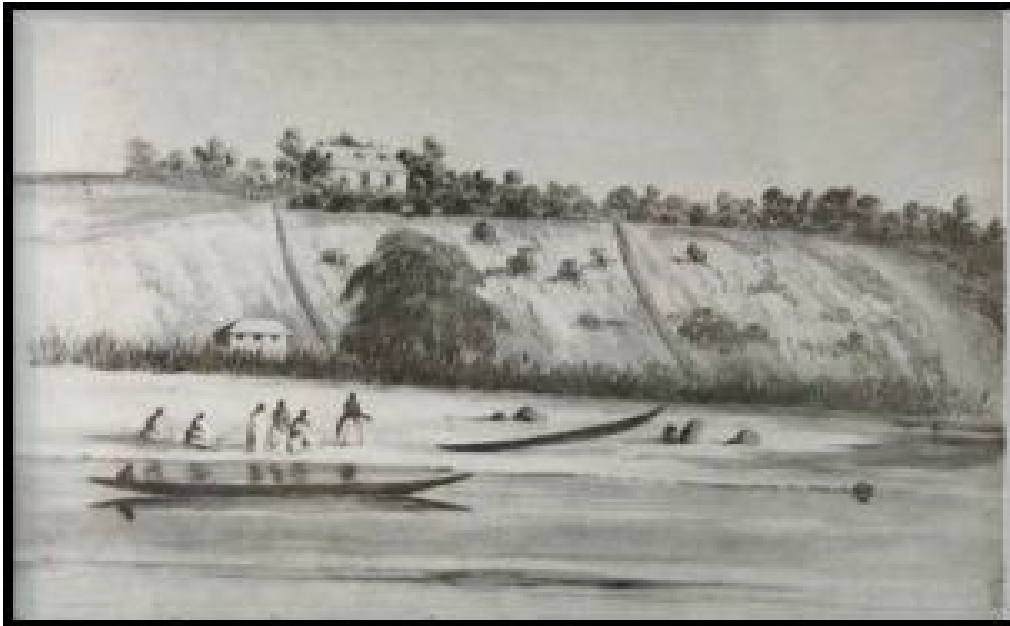
Some of Ngai Tamarawāho objected to the loss of the land but those objections were brusquely dismissed.⁶

One of the things that the CMS mission did was to establish an urupa at the northern tip of Otamataha for the missionary families which in later years came to be known as the Mission Cemetery. There is some evidence to suggest that an earlier mission urupa may have existed near the houses at the northern end of Cliff Road between the road and the railway line on land formerly owned by NZ Railways.

⁴ Te Rohu went on to attack Otumoetai after Otamataha but this assault was unsuccessful.

⁵ CMA Parent Committee, London: 1865.

⁶ The Waitangi Tribunal found in its Wai 215 report that the sale should not have been ratified by the 1844 Commission which examined pre-1840 land transactions because insufficient attention was paid to Maori objections and that there was a fundamental misunderstanding between the CMS view of the transaction and the tangata whenua perspective.



*Waka drawn up on Te Matau beach below The Elms and the Te Papa Mission Station - March 1848 –
British Museum*

[Pukehinahina and the New Zealand Settlements Act](#)

By the 1860s any concerns about the CMS lands were lost. In November 1863 under General Sir Duncan Cameron the British invaded the Waikato and the territory of the Maori King. Many from Tauranga went to the Waikato to support the Maori defence of their lands and setting up a supply line for food and arms. To sever this supply line Cameron sent two regiments of regular troops to Tauranga as well as an impressive array of supporting artillery.

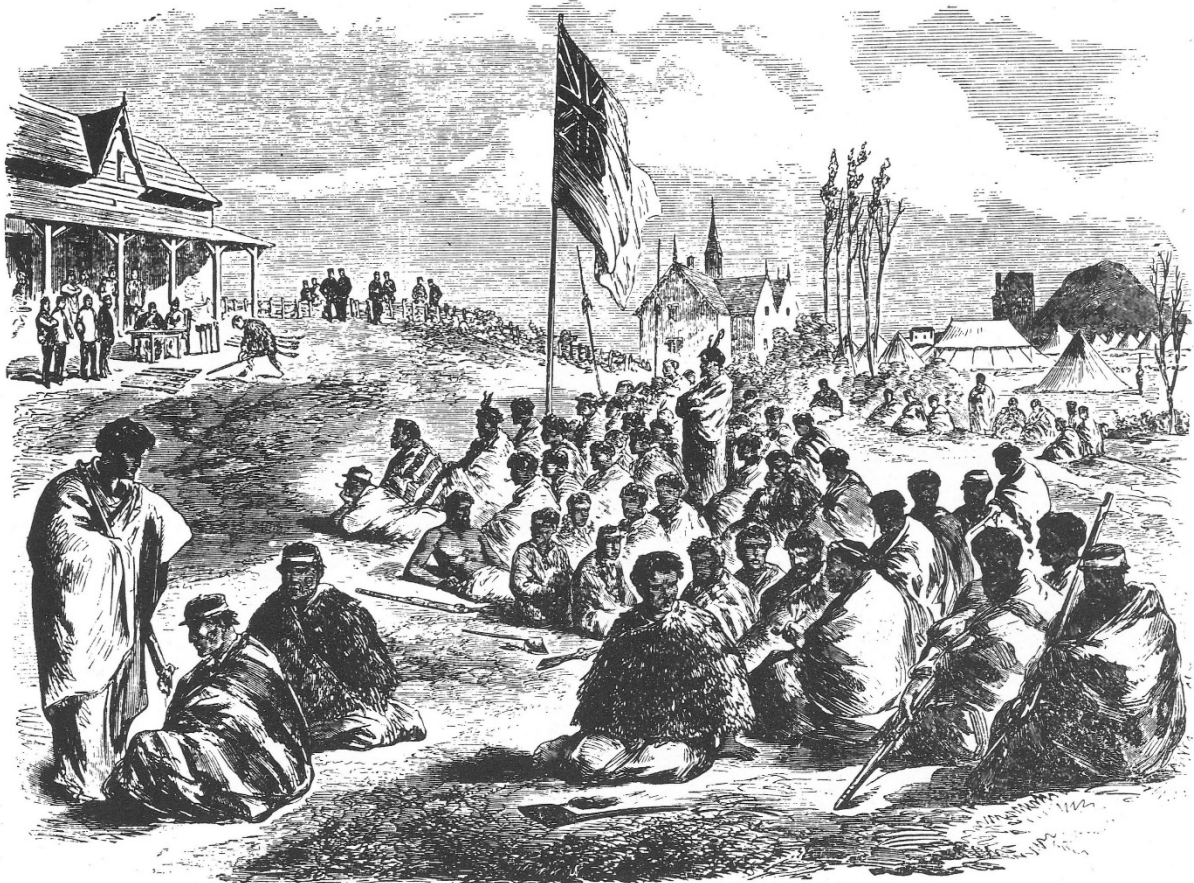


The newly constructed Monmouth Redoubt can be seen atop the sea cliffs in this 1864 photograph.

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With the return of the Maori soldiers who had been supporting the Maori King forces in the Waikato the anticipated clash between Tauranga Maori and the British took place with the Battle of Pukehinahina or Gate Pa on 29 April 1864 and was followed shortly after on 21 June 1864 by the Battle of Te Ranga; a defeat for the Maori forces.

A “pacification” hui followed and the Crown, branding Tauranga Maori as being in rebellion, had their lands confiscated under the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863. Fifty thousand acres of land between the Wairoa and Waimapu Rivers was confiscated; the greater part of that land being the traditional rohe of Ngai Tamarawaho.

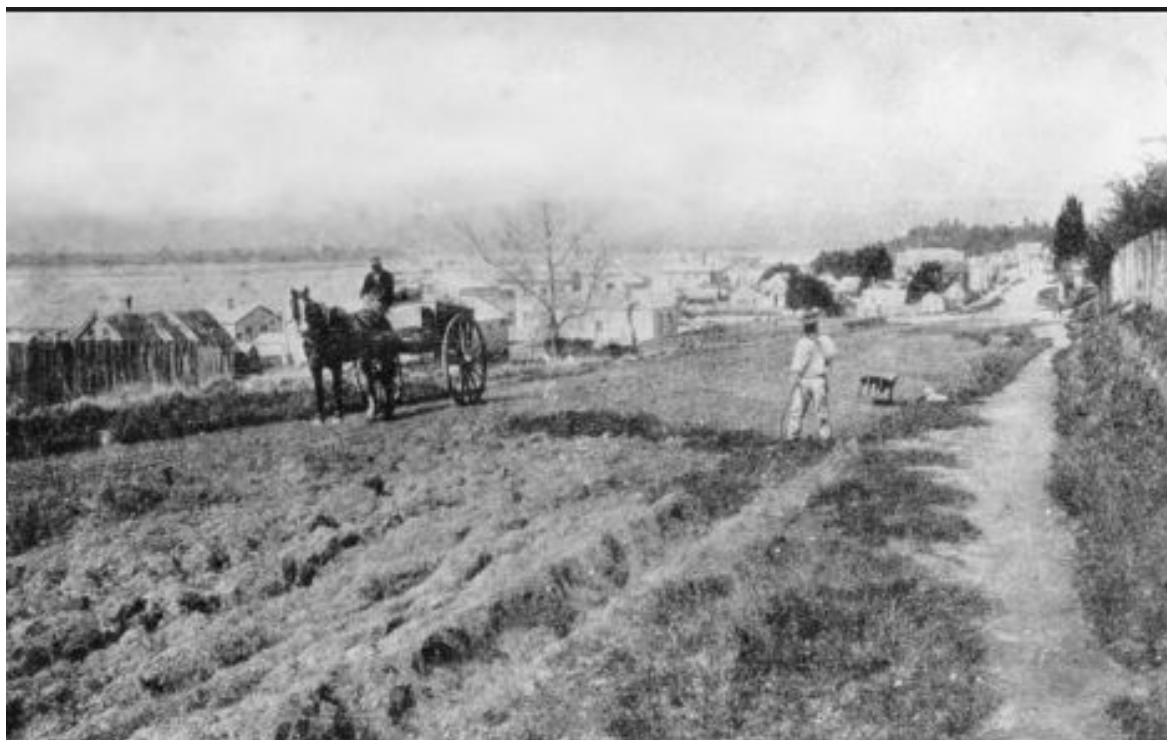


The “pacification” hui held in Tauranga in August 1864.

Included in the confiscations was the land acquired by the CMS including Otamataha, but this land was subsequently returned to the CMS.

After the 1860s and despite questions of land ownership, Ngai Tamarawāho resumed gardening activities near their former fortified pa and continued at varying locations in and around Te Papa right through into the 1940s. The leading Ngai Tamarawāho whanau camped on or used vacant sections for gardens from a base area on present-day Elizabeth Street. The gardens made use of the unoccupied land and in various places they extended along the peninsula as far as Pukehinahina or Gate Pa.

Gardening was the mainstay of the Ngai Tamarawāho people providing employment but more importantly food. It was also forced on them by necessity because the hapū was left with little land of its own following the confiscations of their lands after 1864. As the empty places in the growing town filled up – most galling being the awards of land made to ex-militia for services rendered - the hapū was gradually forced out.



Ngai Tamarawāho had extensive gardens on the Te Papa peninsula.

The hapū focus then shifted to Otumoetai where similar camping and gardening by hapū families took place near the Matheson property and the former site of the Otumoetai Pa.

In 1866 bowing to Crown pressure the CMS gifted 4/5ths of the land it had acquired (including Otamataha) to the Crown retaining one fifth for itself. Of this one fifth, 17 acres was purchased by Brown for personal use. In our view the transfer of the land to the Crown represents a serious breach of the “solemn trust” mentioned earlier while the sale money from the lands sales of the CMS “fifth” remain unaccounted for. These matters are currently under investigation.

Summary

In summary the Ngai Tamarawaho position vis a vis the Otamataha site is as follows:

- The site is of enormous cultural significance given it was a major occupation site since our ancestors first arrived in Tauranga Moana – this is the source of its mauri;
- That being the case it is intimately tied to the history and use of the harbour and its resources – this is the source of its mana;
- The battles fought on the site are also a part of our history the impact of which – if recent archaeological surveys have revealed – needs to be recorded
- The on-going investigation concerning the CMS, the Crown and the Otamataha land has the effect of raising the cultural value of the land so that it's future use needs to be such as to reflect its increased mana status.

Hapū Cultural Values

Because of the hapū associations with the Otamataha area of Te Papa the potential exists to affect the cultural values of the hapū. Those values are:

- Respect for ourselves as Maori people with a valued historic heritage that is our inheritance, an obligation to ensure that respect is maintained is created;
- Respect for the active practice of our culture through the observance of proper tikanga and protocols that guide our lives;
- Respect and reverence for all the places that are important to us; including the cultural landscape that we live in...our traditional lands;
- Respect for the burial places of our dead; the ancestors from who we have sprung and who provided these places for us.

Actions:

Following on from the preliminary archaeological report for the site it is highly likely that cultural artefacts, taonga and possibly koiwi may be discovered during site works, we ask that our earthworks monitor be present while such work is being undertaken. The monitor will be able to provide direction should any such discoveries be made and determine what

needs to be done from a cultural perspective. The monitor needs to work closely with the site archaeologist who we assume will also be present at excavations time.

In 1887 several koiwi, thought to be associated with the 1828 sack of Otamataha, eroded out of the cliff face but the precise location is not known. It is thought these remains were found near the Monmouth Redoubt. The koiwi were reinterred “nearby” but again the precise location is not known. It does not appear that tangata whenua were involved.

In line with the hapū cultural values associated with burial places of our dead the discovery of any koiwi because of investigative site work or, in time, construction, will require monitoring and where needed, the application of appropriate hapū ceremonial.

Hapū Environmental Values

The hapū retains kaitiaki status for the project land – cultural ownership as opposed to legal ownership – and as such seeks observation of its relevant environmental values. The hapū kaitiaki obligations relate to land and water for this development proposal. The obligation is to ensure that any possibility of sediment or other pollutants e.g. oil or fuel discharges from machinery are prevented from reaching the harbour because of equipment failure or stormwater overflow or similar. It is the hapū expectation that standard conditions to meet this concern will form part of the consents and be closely observed.

Actions:

Incorporation of appropriate consent conditions required.



Looking towards Mauao and Otamataha (Mission Cemetery) from Taumatakahawai (Monmouth Redoubt); Robbins Park which fills the area in between has been a gardening area associated with the two pa, then a horse grazing paddock with the Armed Constabulary before becoming a park in the 1940s. The gardens followed in the 1950s/60s.

Treaty Principles⁷

The applicable principles in this case are:

- Principle of tino rangatiratanga - self management – the right of Maori to exercise under the law, authority and control over their rohe, land, rivers, resources and taonga;
- Principle of whakawhanautanga – Partnership – A duty on all relationship parties to interact in the best possible way with reason, respect and good faith;
- Principle of kaitiakitanga – guardianship – the right of Maori to exercise guardianship over their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu and other taonga;

It is noted that in seeking early and full consultation with the hapū and in the commissioning of this CIA to address rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga issues the proposed project is compliant with these Treaty principles.

Actions:

On-going and regular updates/briefings on project progress are expected and this is the best way to address any Treaty principle matters.

Conclusion

The Cultural Issues associated with the Cliff Road site are significant and Council deserves commendation for directing consultation with the hapū in such a timely way. For its part the hapū is pleased to be associated with what will be a major and important development for all the Tauranga Moana tangata whenua. Provided the matters set out in the action sections of this report are addressed, and we are certain they will be, then the hapū has no concerns in the exercise of its kaitiaki obligations on our own behalf and on behalf of tangata whenua.

The hapū expectation is that it will be present with appropriate ceremonials at the commencement of work and in time at the opening of the new building(s) to ensure the

⁷ See section 8 of Part 2 of the Resource Management Act (1991).

cultural safety of all associated with this project. The hapū is also happy to assist with any cultural design features within or without the new building(s) and which we expect will reflect the important history of the site.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B. Mikaere".

Buddy Mikaere

For Ngai Tamarawaho

26 October 2017