



Imagining Decolonised Cities

Decolonised [dē-kōl'e-nīz'ed]

verb

Cities that are equitable places for *all* whānau, reflecting Māori values and identity.

HISTORICAL SNAPSHOT OF PORIRUA

This report details the history of Porirua in order to inform the development of a 'decolonised city'. It explains the processes which have led to present day Porirua City being as it is today. It begins by explaining the city's origins and its first settlers, describing not only the first people to discover and settle in Porirua, but also the migration of Ngāti Toa and how they became mana whenua of the area. This report discusses the many theories on the origin and meaning behind the name Porirua, before moving on to discuss the marae establishments of the past and present. A large section of this report concerns itself with the impact that colonisation had on Porirua and its people. These impacts are physically represented in the city's current urban form and the fifth section of this report looks at how this development took place. The report then looks at how legislation has impacted on Ngāti Toa's ability to retain their land and their recent response to this legislation. The final section of this report looks at the historical impact of religion, particularly the impact of Mormonism on Māori communities.

Please note that this document was prepared using a number of sources and may differ from Ngati Toa Rangatira accounts.

MĀORI SETTLEMENT

The site where both the Porirua and Pauatahanui inlets meet is called Paremata Point and this area has been occupied by a range of iwi and hapū since at least 1450AD (Stodart, 1993). Paremata Point was known for its abundant natural resources (Stodart, 1993). The forests, wetlands, oceans and estuaries provided a bounty of food sources (Stodart, 1993). Besides the wealth of food supplies, the location of Paremata Point allowed its occupants to "command territory on the east and west side" (Stodart, 1993, p. 9) and this area later developed into an important trading route (Keith, 1990).

Kupe was thought to be the first person to arrive at Paremata Point. He did not settle in the area (Keith, 1990) but left as he travelled through the area bestowing names of significant sites such as Te Mana o Kupe ki Aotearoa (Mana Island). In addition, Kupe also left his anchor stone, Te Punga o Matahouroa at Whitireia, now held at Te Papa Tongarewa. Several generations later Whatonga, a Māori navigator, and his sons Tara Ika and Tautoki (accompanied by Tautoki's son Rangitāne) arrived at Paremata Point from the Hawkes Bay (Keith, 1990; McLintock, 1996). After their arrival, the wider area which is now the greater Wellington region was split into two 'spheres of influence', Tara Ika founded the iwi of Ngāi Tara which gained mana whenua rights to the southern side, while Rangitāne and his father stayed on the northern side of the region (Keith, 1990). In the following years, another iwi, Ngāti Ira left their home in the north east of New Zealand to look for a place to live in the south (Keith, 1990). It was through marriage with Ngāi Tara that Ngāti Ira became established in the region, as the descendants from these marriages identified themselves as Ngāti Ira (Keith, 1990).

The 1820s and onwards were a time of vast change across the area that is now known as Porirua. Ngāti Ira were subject to raids by Ngāpuhi whose access to muskets allowed them to cause immense damage and losses (Keith, 1990). Ngāti Toa chief, Te Rauparaha accompanied Ngāpuhi on one of these raids and was impressed with not only the abundance of resources in the area but also the strategic position of its location (Keith, 1990; Sheehan, 1987). Upon his return, Te Rauparaha led a Ngāti Toa migration from Kawhia, where they were experiencing intense pressure from their well-armed Waikato neighbours (Keith, 1990; Sheehan, 1987; Stodart, 1993). However they were not welcomed in Porirua by Ngāti Ira and it became obvious that the two iwi would not be able to coexist peacefully (Keith, 1990). Ngāti Toa instead used force to stake their claim to occupying the land (Keith, 1990). Despite being a small group they were successful in their pursuit and Ngāti Ira were forced to retreat to the Wairarapa (Keith, 1990). From this point in time Ngāti Toa used its location to create a strong hold and it became an important trading route (Keith, 1990). Their rohe was considered to stretch from the lower North Island extending “eastwards to Turakirae Heads and encompassing Te Moana o Raukawa” (Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Toa Rangatira Trust, & The Crown, 2012, p. 12). In the South Island, the outlet of the Arahura River on the West Coast marked its ‘southernmost point’ and Kaikōura was the end of the boundary for the East Coast (Ngāti Toa Rangatira et al., 2012, p. 12). By 1840 Ngāti Toa were exercising tino rangatiratanga over this land and through their long occupation in this area have “established take whenua” or rights to the land (Ngāti Toa Rangatira et al., 2012, p. 12). Kāpiti Island was originally the central site for the settlement of Ngāti Toa Rangatira as it allowed them to conduct raids or conquest from this strategic location (Ngāti Toa Rangatira et al., 2012). However as development increased on the mainland many Ngāti Toa moved off Kapiti Island and back to the mainland (Keith, 1990).

While the exact dates are unknown, explorers from the penal colony in New South Wales, Australia as well as European sealers began to arrive on New Zealand’s coast around the 1820s (Keith, 1990). By the late 1820s Pākehā merchants were residing in Ngāti Toa territory (Keith, 1990). Items such as pigs, flax and potatoes were grown for export to Sydney and Ngāti Toa gained access to many European products during these trades (Keith, 1990). Whalers negotiated with Ngāti Toa and whaling stations were subsequently built on both sides of the strait effectively establishing the first Māori and Pākehā communities in the region (Keith, 1990). These new living arrangements involved Pākehā men and Māori women and “created new cultural and economic relations” (Keith, 1990, p. 12).

PLACE NAMES AND MEANINGS

It is unknown who originally named Porirua (Keith, 1990) and there are many varied assumptions relating to the meaning of its name. The Polynesian explorer Kupe is recognised as naming areas in the region such as Te Mana o Kupe ki Aotearoa (Mana Island) and the landing place of Komangarautawhiri (Komanga point) (Keith, 1990). As Kupe is believed to have been the first person to see Porirua harbour some credit him for the name Porirua, “naming it after the two flowings of the tide” (Porirua City Council, n.d.-h, p. 1). Some argue that the spelling has changed from its original form Parirua to its present form Porirua (Reed, 2010). Pari-rua in Te Reo Māori can be translated as ‘two tides’, so it was thought that this referred to the fact that the Porirua Harbour/estuary has two arms (Porirua City Council, n.d.-h). This idea has been expanded by Te Ara, where Porirua is translated as “the tide sweeping up both reaches” (n.d., p. 13).

The area referred to as Porirua has also changed over time. In the past Porirua referred to the entire harbour area, it then became associated with the city, and now once again, the name has come to encompass this original region (Keith, 1990). The railway line is said to have had an influence on the naming of parts of this region where certain stops were given the district’s name e.g. “the station at Porirua Ferry was simply called Porirua” (Keith, 1990, p. 30) and the name henceforth has remained.

MARAE ESTABLISHMENT

From 1823 (the beginning of Ngāti Toa settlement) to 1852 there were 12 major pā in Porirua, only two of these remain: those being Takapūwāhia and Hongoeka (Stodart, 2015). The names given to streets surrounding these pā (particularly surrounding Takapūwāhia) demonstrate that the city of Porirua has grown around these pā (Stodart, 2015).

Takapūwāhia

Takapūwāhia is named after an ancient settlement in Kāwhia (Ngāti Toa homeland) (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). There were many Ngāti Toa settlements, however Takapūwāhia was “the principal residence of Ngāti Toa hereditary chief Te Hiko” (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014, p. 6). A series of events which are discussed further in this report indicate why Ngāti Toa concentrated their community here. This pā was initially established at Te Uru Kahika which was located at what is now known as Prosser St (Keith, 1990).

However it was later relocated to its present day location, as shown in figure 1. The name refers to not only the built environment surrounding the marae, but also to the land on the western ridgeline extending to include Mana College as well as Elsdon Park (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). By the 1850’s Takapūwāhia village had a population of 252 residents many of whom came from abandoned pā such as Taupō (now known as Plimmerton) and Pukerua Bay (Porirua City Council, n.d.-c). At this time it was an area of extensive cultivation and produced crops such as kumara, wheat and maize (Porirua City Council, n.d.-c). The area was also home to a flourmill and two reed chapels (Porirua City Council, n.d.-c). Mormon

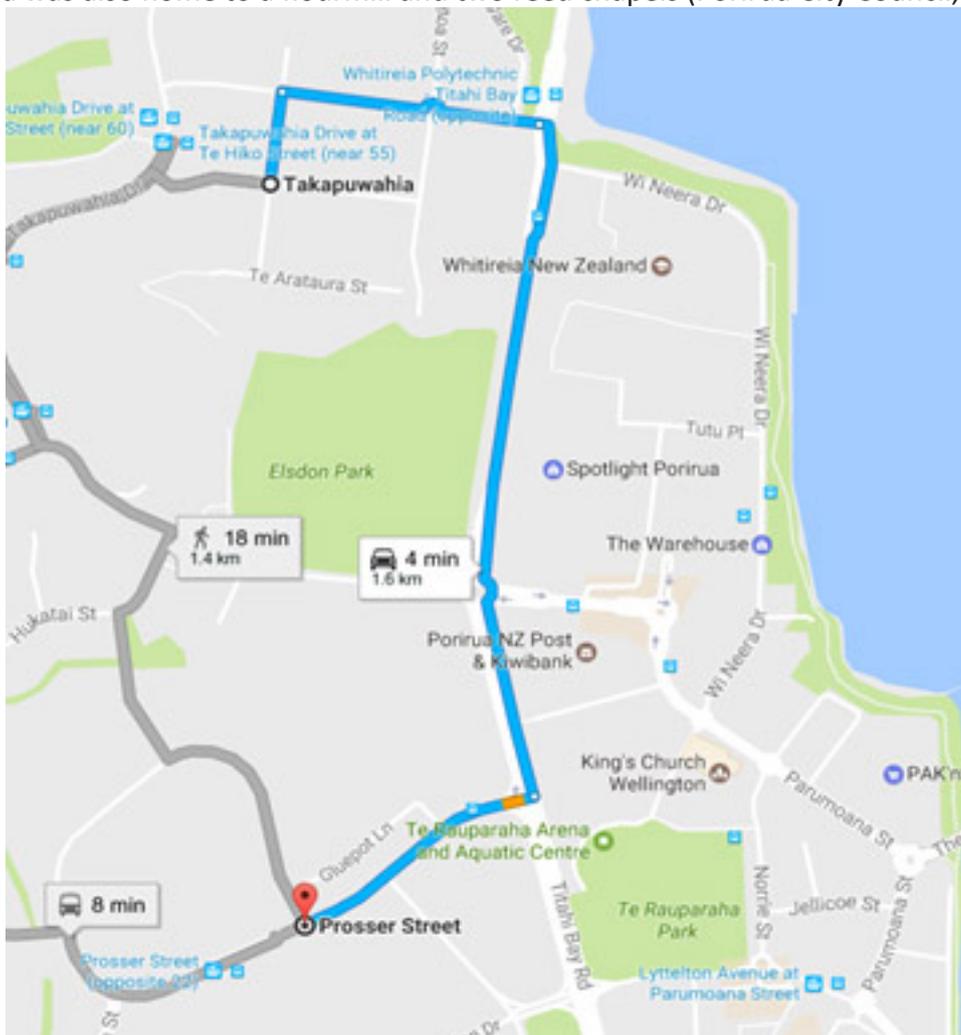


Figure 1: Image of the relocation of Takapūwāhia from Prosser Street to present day Takapūwāhia. Image adapted from (Google Maps, 2017)

and Wesleyan missionaries visited Takapūwāhia and in time this influence contributed to Porirua becoming the “the main Mormon centre in the region” (Te Ara, n.d., p. 1).

From the late 1880s to the present day Takapūwāhia has been the centre of Ngāti Toa community (Keith, 1990). As of 2006, Takapūwāhia had a population of 2,268 people living within 720 dwellings (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). The majority of the population was Māori however there was also a significant proportion of Pacific and Asian residents (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014).

Hongoeka Marae

Hongoeka is the other Ngāti Toa pā that remains active today. Hongoeka is located in Plimmerton along Hongoeka Bay (Hongoeka Marae, n.d.). Its area stretches from an urupā located at the end of Moana road to Haukopia (Big Bay)(Hongoeka Marae, n.d.). This area is thought to have been occupied since the beginning of Ngāti Toa settlement where rich terrestrial and marine resources made it a fruitful place to settle (Hongoeka Marae, n.d.) Evidence compiled for the Māori Land Court acknowledges that Te Rauparaha gifted Hongoeka to Nohorua (a Ngāti Toa rangatira) and Ngāti Haumia hapū of Ngāti Toa (Stodart, 2015). Hongoeka is a site of historical significance due to it being searched during Te Rauparaha's seizure from Taupō Village (Stodart, 2015) as well as becoming a retreat for some Ngāti Toa after the Wairau affray (Hongoeka Marae, n.d.). It was later set aside as one of three reserves which made up the Porirua Deed 1847 (after the crown had acquired Porirua) (Hongoeka Marae, n.d.).

There are also two other marae in the area. One of these is a pan tribal marae in eastern Porirua named Maraeroa the other is Horouta Marae in Papakowhai (Porirua City Council, n.d.-f).

COLONISATION AND HOW IT OCCURRED IN PORIRUA

Pākehā merchants looking to profit from land sales were arriving in greater numbers by the late 1930s as rumours began to spread that New Zealand could be the newest country incorporated into the British Empire (Keith, 1990). Two key elements which furthered this increase of European settlers was the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi and the founding of the New Zealand Company (Philips, 2005). The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, was seen from the British perspective as a guarantee of their legal rights should they choose to move to New Zealand (Philips, 2005). The formation of the New Zealand Company made this migration possible and removed many of the obstacles of this transition (Philips, 2005). In exchange for their deposit, all investors were promised one acre of land in town and 100 acres of farmland (Philips, 2005). This offer proved popular and over the space of 12 years (1840-1852) the New Zealand Company brought 14,000 of the 18,000 settlers into New Zealand (Philips, 2005). However severe issues arose due to how this 'promised land' was acquired (Philips, 2005).

This was of particular relevance to the rohe of Ngāti Toa as their land was included in the areas that were offered to these 'intending settlers'(Keith, 1990). Captain William Wakefield was the main purchase negotiator for the New Zealand Company and claimed to have brought land from important chiefs in exchange for resources such as muskets, ammunition, and tools among other items (Keith, 1990). However problems arose relating to discrepancies over which land had been purchased. Ngāti Toa's understanding was that they were selling the land which is now the city of Nelson (Keith, 1990). However Wakefield later claimed their agreement was for all the land that Ngāti Toa had domain over in the northern part of the south island, as well as all the lands in the southern part of the north island (Keith, 1990). Yet Wakefield's understanding has been attributed to wishful thinking rather than the actual nature of the agreement (his impression was not even supported by the official translator at the time of the agreement) (Keith, 1990) . It was this "process of sales and settlement which increased tension in the relationships between the various iwi and hapū in the region and laid the basis for the open conflict that was to follow between tangata whenua and Pākehā settlers" (Keith, 1990, p. 17).

Meanwhile the first shiploads of 'intending settlers' began to arrive into Port Nicholson with the first ship arriving on the 10th of January 1840 (Keith, 1990). While there was certainly widespread opposition to the way in which Pākehā settlement was occurring, there were also some benefits for the local population (Keith, 1990). There were increased opportunities for trade and travel and Ngāti Toa as the mana whenua were able to profit from this (Keith, 1990). Pākehā began to occupy the northwest hills of Wellington (based on a limited agreement with Ngāti Toa) (Keith, 1990). As a result the Pipitea track which was the pre-existing land route which travelled from Wellington to Porirua was widened and improved (Porirua City Council, n.d.-g). It became the main transport route and was crucial for the forestry industry which needed a way to transport timber out of the area (Keith, 1990).

Improved access also led to more Europeans arriving into the region and tensions once again began to increase over land (Keith, 1990). As the land allotments started to run out in Wellington, settlers were beginning to ask about the land that had been promised around the Porirua harbour (Keith, 1990). The New Zealand Company stated they were unable “to guarantee title to any of the Porirua land” (Keith, 1990, p. 19). However there was strong opposition by these settlers who felt that they had been deceived and demanded that the company “assert its rights to the land” (Keith, 1990, p. 19).

Access through, as well as ownership of Porirua Road and the Kenepuru Valley was filled with tension and conflict (Keith, 1990). There were various instances where access was restricted due to the declaration of a tapu area, which impeded those who were travelling on these roads (Keith, 1990). Other incidents occurred where settlers were driven out of areas where they were attempting to establish milling operations or homes (Keith, 1990). What Pākehā saw as Māori being difficult was Māori expressing their “determination to keep control of their own resources and of the way they ran things” (Keith, 1990, p. 20).

A gradual process of displacement occurred targeting Māori who were seen as being less able to defend themselves and ultimately this tension came to a head in the Wairau Valley (Keith, 1990). Ngāti Toa refused to give up their land and the conflict escalated leading to the death of twenty two settlers and between 4-9 (exact numbers unknown) members of Ngāti Toa (including Te Rangihaeata’s wife) (Ngati Toa Rangatira et al., 2012; Stodart, 1993). In response British soldiers were stationed in the area and a Pākehā militia formed and armed themselves (Stodart, 1993). Ngāti Toa concentrated their settlements around the harbour and Taupō pā to ensure control over their main activities (Keith, 1990). This tension was not only between Ngāti Toa and Pākehā but it also included tension between Ngāti Toa and other iwi. Due to these tensions all sides began prepare for a potential war (Stodart, 1993).

This part of the history is limited in terms of details available from the literature, but an incident in 1846 is seen as the moment which led to the outbreak of war. British troops destroyed a Māori village along with its cultivations. Some Māori retaliated weeks later in a series of attacks, one of which was the attack on the 96th regiment in the Hutt (Stodart, 1993). It is said that this event led the newly appointed Governor Grey to declare martial law in Wellington (Keenan, 2012; Stodart, 1993). From this moment the war escalated and a number of military posts were constructed on the main road linking Wellington to Porirua, while barracks were also established at Paremata Point to accommodate British reinforcements (Keenan, 2012). During this time, prominent rangatira Te Rauparaha was taken under Governor Grey’s instruction who saw him as a mischief maker and responsible for much of the conflict (Keenan, 2012). As documented in the Ngāti Toa Settlement Historical Summary, Te Rauparaha was abducted and held for 18 months without trial. Other important Ngāti Toa rangatira were also seized at this time (Ngati Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d.) Te Rangihaeata another rangatira, formed a rescue party. However they were unsuccessful and following a week of inconclusive fighting at Battle Hill, his people retreated to a pā in Manawatu (Keenan, 2012; Keith, 1990).

While these two prominent leaders were outside the region (Te Rauparaha imprisoned, Te Rangihaeata in exile) the government continued land purchase negotiations for the New Zealand Company (Ngati Toa Rangatira et al., 2012). In 1847 Governor Grey negotiated the Wairau purchase for a total of £3000. This was done with “three young Christian Ngāti Toa rangatira... these rangatira had interests in the land and were strongly influenced by their wish to have Te Rauparaha released from captivity” (Ngati Toa Rangatira et al., 2012, p. 28). As confirmed by the Crown’s apology within the Ngāti Toa deed of settlement, this seizure of important Ngāti Toa rangatira was a deliberate attempt to reduce the power and influence of these leaders and allowed the Crown to pressure other Ngāti Toa rangatira to agree to land sales (Ngati Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d.).

The war is thought to have ended at some point in 1847 and was seen to be a relatively peaceful end (Keith, 1990). It was characterised by growing trade which was boosted by extra troops and the land purchase agreement allowed for Pākehā settlers to move into the region through either leasing property or simply inhabiting it (Stodart, 1993). Ngāti Toa had been severely displaced and much of their land was

alienated due to unfair land sales and compulsory purchases (this is expanded on within the following section) (Ngati Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d.).

HISTORY OF URBAN FORM

A settlement formed around the harbour and was later named Porirua Village. By the 1930s it had a small community of approximately 500 people (Scrimgeour, 1995). The first migrants were typically agriculturalists and over time merchants and traders also settled into the region forming a new community (Scrimgeour, 1995). At this time Porirua had the basic amenities to be relatively self-sufficient, and had three churches, a railway station, a hotel and a mental hospital (Scrimgeour, 1995). The mental hospital was initially established in 1887 to ease any overflow from the Mount View asylum in Wellington. However by the 'turn of the century it had 2000 patients and staff' (Porirua City Council, n.d.-d, n.d.-e). At one point it was the largest hospital in New Zealand and was the largest employer in Porirua (Porirua City Council, n.d.-d). The scale and nature of the hospital played a significant role in the way that Porirua Village developed (Scrimgeour, 1995).

The Porirua Mental Hospital had a land mass of almost 1000 acres in total, which "included the land behind the hospital extending to the top of Colonial Knob, south along the valley to the present Porirua City Tip and up into the hills behind" (The Porirua Hospital Museum, n.d., p. 1). However by the 1940s a cultural shift regarding mental illness was occurring and there was less need for mental institutions. This was coupled with two large earthquakes in 1942 which caused significant damage to the main hospital buildings (Porirua City Council, n.d.-d). The remaining building, which avoided significant damage continued to provide care and accommodation for female patients. It closed in the 1970s, later becoming the Porirua Hospital Museum (Porirua City Council, n.d.-d).



Figure 2: A photograph of Porirua Hospital in the early 1990s. Reproduced with permission, (Porirua City Council, n.d.-d)

The most significant event influencing the form of present day Porirua were the results of an extensive nationwide survey on housing in the 1930s which found that there was a desperate need for state housing in the Wellington urban area (Keith, 1990). The results from this survey kick started the state building program beginning in 1936 (Keith, 1990). Due to the severity of housing needs, the central government had little time for planning or development (Keith, 1990). Four areas were examined as potential sites for these housing developments: Upper Hutt, Tawa-Porirua, Wainuiomata and Stokes Valley (Scrimgeour, 1995). Porirua was chosen as the site for this housing development for a number of reasons including land prices, infrastructure, and geography. Land prices in Porirua were the cheapest, an acre in Porirua cost £50 compared to £300 in Hutt Valley (Scrimgeour, 1995). Porirua also had pre-existing transport such as rail and plans for a road linking Wellington and its suburbs (Scrimgeour, 1995). In addition, the geography and topography were well suited for the infrastructure to support the proposed developments (Scrimgeour, 1995).

The initial developments in 1948 were constrained by the topography of the land, however by the early 1950s earth moving technologies and knowledge drastically and permanently altered the natural landscape of Porirua (Keith, 1990; Scrimgeour, 1995). A total of 770,000m³ of earth was moved and while these earthworks were initially more expensive, they increased the quantity of sections available for development (Scrimgeour, 1995, p. 7). This project contributed to a larger harbour reclamation plan, where excess earth was dumped into the harbour and land was created from the beaches and mudflats (Keith, 1990). This land reclamation, as well as future reclamation, destroyed the Paunama beds which were an important source of kaimoana (Keith, 1990). Ngāti Toa were vocal in their objection to the proposed plan.



Figure 3: Photo showing the extent of changes to create the city centre. Image reproduced with permission, (Porirua City Council, n.d.-b)

However their fishing rights over the harbour were ignored, despite having been recognised in 1883 by the Native Land Courts (Keith, 1990). Their objections were dismissed and the plans were enacted, with no compensation provided (Keith, 1990). Their objections were once again raised to further harbour reclamation in the 1960s to build the city centre. Once again these were ignored (Keith, 1990). These developments also caused widespread deforestation and resultant flooding and silt build up in the harbour (Keith, 1990).

While Porirua City was originally designed to be a “dormitory city for Wellington”(Scrimgeour, 1995, p. 7) there was still a basic recognition that there needed to be elements within the area for the community such as a town centre (Scrimgeour, 1995). The original plan for Porirua City was extremely unpopular, so much so that it was first proposed in 1947, however wasn’t accepted until 13 years later (Scrimgeour, 1995). This was due to the radical changes that were needed. It required an almost complete clearing away of the existing Porirua Village (Scrimgeour, 1995). Along with large scale land reclamation in the harbour, the Kenepuru Stream was

straightened in order to create a large area of land that was not divided by the stream (Scrimgeour, 1995).

In 1946 notices of intention to take land were announced and a second round of land purchasing began (the first being when settlers came) (Scrimgeour, 1995). The town centre was designed in order to allow for pedestrian mobility but also to provide sufficient parking infrastructure for cars (Scrimgeour, 1995). One hundred retail sites were developed and major department stores were attracted to the area (Scrimgeour, 1995). However by the 1970s the Porirua Mall had quickly become outdated and people were choosing to go out of the region for their shopping needs (Scrimgeour, 1995). Finally in 1992 the much delayed revamp took place and the last area of inner city housing (previously known as Eastwood Avenue) was replaced by the Kmart plaza (Scrimgeour, 1995).



Figure 4: Photo of Porirua Harbour showing the reclaimed land as a result of industrial development, image reproduced with permission, (Porirua City Council, n.d.-e)

In 1945 the population of Porirua was 5000 and this number quadrupled over the following two decades. By 1965 it was classified as a city with a population of 20,000 (Keith, 1990) . This population surge was a result of internal as well as British, European and Pacific migrants (Keith, 1990). These migrants often ended up in Eastern Porirua where the “State Advances Corporation had acres of rental housing” (Keith, 1990, p. 53).

While residential and commercial developments appeared to be flourishing in the region, there was a significant lag in the development of industry within Porirua (Keith, 1990). There was an acknowledgment that because the city was so reliant on external employment, it was leading to uneven city development (Keith, 1990). This meant that because residents were spending the work hours outside of Porirua, they were typically spending where they were working (Keith, 1990). The Porirua Council applied pressure to the government to gain their support to attract industry to the region (Scrimgeour, 1995). Land provided by the process of reclamation was assigned to a variety of businesses during the 1960s and early 1970s. The establishment of the Todd Motors assembly plant influenced Porirua landscape significantly during this time (Scrimgeour, 1995). The factory was built on 36 hectares of farmland belonging to the Porirua psychiatric hospital (Scrimgeour, 1995). The development of this land required a massive amount of earth removal, in fact an entire hill was removed in order to create sufficient flat land for the construction of the

factory (Scrimgeour, 1995). Figure 4 shows the extent of reclamation that occurred during industrial land development.

When the Todd Factory opened in October 1975, it was 61,300m² excluding the 12 hectares of sealed carparks and storage. The Todd Factory provided employment to 1200 of Porirua's residents as of 1995, Scrimgeour states that population growth continued to outstrip employment opportunities for Porirua's residents and unemployment has been a prominent feature throughout Porirua's development (1995).

Due to the large scale developments which occurred in Porirua, little remains of the original Porirua Village and the landscape has been forever altered (Scrimgeour, 1995).

RESPONSES TO LEGISLATION

Colonial legislation, whether it has been for housing, planning or the Public Works Act (1908 & 1981), has had a large impact on Ngāti Toa and the land in Porirua. Ngāti Toa were particularly impacted by this new housing and planning legislation. As discussed earlier, the illegal detention of their leader Te Rauparaha led to extensive land sales in the hope that this would secure his release, however these land sales led to the displacement of Ngāti Toa from their customary land and resources (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). By "1926 most of the Ngāti Toa Rangatira reserves at Porirua had been alienated" (Ngāti Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d., p. 1). This led to a further concentration of settlement at Takapūwāhia (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). The provincial government expanded the village in order to encourage Māori to move from their "dilapidated coastal villages" (Te Ara, n.d.). Takapūwāhia then became an important site for state housing at the time (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). These 'dilapidated coastal villages' were in part a consequence of the impact of the reclamation of land which destroyed the harbour which had been a significant food source for these communities (Te Ara, n.d.).

The Public Works Act "provides the Crown with the statutory authority to acquire land for a public work. The Crown has the power to acquire or take land for a wide variety of purposes and may negotiate for the land in the same way as a private purchaser" (Land Information New Zealand, n.d., p. 1). It was through this act that several hundred acres of land at Takapūwāhia was taken from Ngāti Toa Rangatira in order to provide housing for the general population (Ngāti Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d.).

Due to the limited amount of Māori land in the region, the Native Department were concerned that land taken under the Public Works Act would have "a far reaching effect on the future welfare of Māori" (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). Despite this, in 1948 the crown ordered the compulsory purchase of 384 acres of this land (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). Some 100-200 acres of land was set aside to allow those who had their land purchased to buy land in this alternative area and Takapūwāhia residents were also able to access the developed state housing (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014).

In 1952 this area of land was once again chosen as a site for subdivision and housing development (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). "Evidence suggests Ngāti Toa Rangatira owners were given the understanding that the land would be acquired for Maori housing development with some reserved for Ngāti Toa Rangatira" (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). However this was not the case and land was to be used for general population housing (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). While 125 acres was set aside for Māori, this was not specifically Ngāti Toa and the land that was lost due to this has not been acknowledged by the Crown (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). In the 1960s another 155 acres was taken under the Public Works Act from behind Takapūwāhia pā (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014).

In recent years, Ngāti Toa has developed a claim and undertaken a Treaty settlement process with the Crown. "The Ngāti Toa Rangatira Deed of Settlement is the final settlement of all historical Treaty of

Waitangi claims of Ngāti Toa Rangatira resulting from acts or omissions by the Crown prior to 21 September 1992” (Ngati Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d., p. 2). This settlement acknowledged that there had been various breaches of the Treaty including “the failure to ensure Ngāti Toa Rangatira retained sufficient land for their future needs” (Ngati Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d., p. 2). It also acknowledged that reclamation, pollution and public works had a significant impact on the harbour (Takapūwāhia Community & Porirua City Council, 2014). This in turn severely impacted Ngāti Toa Rangatira as the harbour was an important source of spiritual and cultural health, as well as food source for the iwi. As part of the settlement process, there is an agreed historical account and an apology from the Crown to Ngāti Toa Rangatira as well as cultural and financial/ commercial redress (Ngati Toa Rangatira & The Crown, n.d.). In addition, the harbour’s name is to be Te Awarua o Porirua.

RELIGION

Thousands of religious conversions occurred throughout the North Island in the 19th century, where Māori converted to Mormonism (Barber, 2015). While these conversions may initially appear strange due to New Zealand’s colonial past, Barber (2015) argues that it is due to this very history of marginalization, that Māori were particularly receptive to Mormon missionaries and their message. There was widespread dissatisfaction among Māori with the colonial government, Treaty breaches and land and resource losses among other issues (Sheehan, 1987). It was in response to this that “new social and religious movements emerged among the tangata whenua to emphasize Māori rangātiratanga (authority), resistance, and the restoration of alienated lands” (Barber, 2015, p. 4). Māori prophets typically led these movements which drew on biblical references and an Israelite identity and message of deliverance (Barber, 2015). The success of the Mormon missionaries at this time was explained as a ‘convergence of interests’ (Barber, 2015). The missionaries were able to build on the successes of the message these prophets articulated while at the same time competing against it with their own ideas (Barber, 2015). They were also the only church to provide Māori with a story of origin which fit into these ideas, which explains that Polynesian people are descended from Israel (Barber, 2015). The church noted that their success was due to the fact that they provided a different approach to the cultural issues apparent at the time, which other churches had not offered (Lineham, 1991). The Mormon church did not directly address land struggles, however, churches of other denominations were complicit in the taking of Māori land which damaged their credibility and reduced their following (Lineham, 1991).

This was particularly true for Ngāti Toa, who had donated land to the Anglican Church to construct a school (Lineham, 1991). However, this construction never occurred and despite the fact that the church broke a contract and acted in breach of the Treaty, the Supreme court decided in favour of the Anglicans and infamously declared the Treaty a ‘legal nullity’ (Lineham, 1991). Ngāti Toa saw this as a result of the ‘blatant alliance’ between the church and the colonial government and therefore merely another opponent of Māori (Lineham, 1991). In contrast, when the first Mormon missionaries arrived at Urukahika pā in May of 1887 they showed enthusiasm for the construction of a school (Sheehan, 1987). Sheehan (1987) believes that the disillusionment Ngāti Toa experienced with the Anglican church after this conflict may have been a contributing factor to why so many Ngāti Toa converted to the Mormon church (Sheehan, 1987). In time Porirua was the “main Mormon centre in the region” (Te Ara, n.d., p. 1).

Authored by Chantal Mawer