THE VALUES AND HISTORY OF THE OTAKARO AND NORTH AND EAST FRAMES

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includes the essay ‘Early European Settlement’ by Dr Matt Morris

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861


MAAHUNUI II

INTRODUCTION

This chapter has been written to provide guidance for the design of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct. It gives historical documentary and analysis of the cultural significance of this section of our city. The research strongly reflects Ngāi Tūāhuriri knowledge and historical perspectives of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct.

We have drawn on our links with Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga and relied on significant consultation with Rūnanga members to assist with the development and ultimate endorsement of this document. I thank them for their significant time commitment in arriving at this point.

The redevelopment of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct provides the city with an exciting challenge and an opportunity to truly reflect on and represent the rich history and cultural significance of this area that has been central to both Māori and European settlement. We have the chance to develop and leave a lasting legacy for future generations. It is my hope that the outcome is a contemporary design that excites, energises and astounds but yet appropriately reflects our shared history and past. It should be a design that our children and their children feel truly proud of and that provides them with a window to link back into the history of our city.

This chapter is not prescriptive and is by no means complete in its analysis. We believe that the best outcome will be one where there is a mutually agreed version of our shared values, history and culture. We look forward to working with the design team to further interpret this and provide ideas of how to incorporate this into the rebuild.

What is certain are the main-stay concepts that must anchor this project. The design must pay tribute to the historical significance of the river as a travel corridor and centre of trade for both Māori and Pākehā. It must reflect the richness of the native growth and species that provided sustenance for the city's inhabitants. Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct has always been an area of mahinga kai and mahi kai (food gathering). This productive aspect should be reflected in the design and there must be some element that pays tribute to that concept. It must recognise the rich history of our ancestors and the role so many played in the growth and development of the city. Finally it must recognise and appropriately accommodate the cultural role of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the future of the city.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri looks forward to working with the design team to develop a plan that reflects the concepts articulated in this chapter and pays tribute to our links with the past.

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – 'Care for your people'

Associate Professor Te Maire Tau

Director of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre

NGĀI TAHU

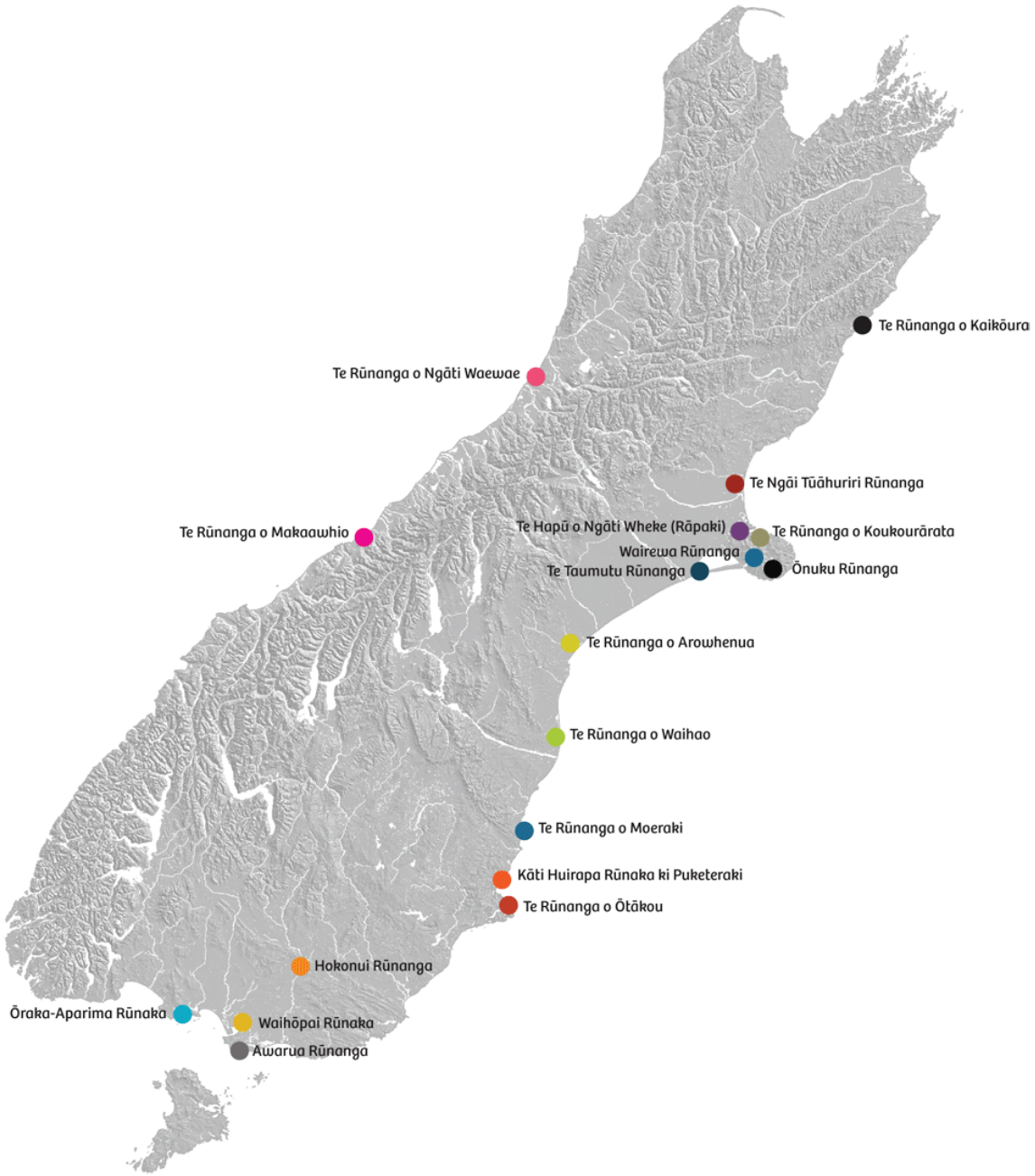
Ngāi Tahu is the tribe that occupies the greater portion of the South Island of New Zealand. The tribe claims descent from Tahu Pōtiki and by custom intermarried with the tribes who previously occupied the area, Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha. As a result Ngāi Tahu is an ascription that includes all three tribes. Thus it was Ngāi Tahu that signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, although many of the chiefs also claimed descent from Waitaha and Ngāti Māmoe.

In 1996 Ngāi Tahu was recognised as a legal entity and as a corporate body under the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act. This body corporate was composed of the 18 traditional Rūnanga 'village councils' that defined Ngāi Tahu. The Act also recognised the five principal hapū or sub-tribes of Ngāi Tahu: Ngāti Kurī, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Huirapa and Ngāti Ruahikihiki.

Each Rūnanga falls within a takiwā or boundary described in the Act and each is acknowledged as the traditional authority for that region. Also governing the actions of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a Charter. One of the principles to the Charter declares:

> The Kaupapa Whakakotahi is that the poupou of the House of Tahu are the Papatipu Rūnanga of our people each with their own mana and woven together with the tukutuku of our whakapapa. In them resides the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāi Tahu. Its collective voice is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

As the Charter states, the mana and 'tino rangatiratanga' rests with each Rūnanga according to their boundaries. The Rūnanga's collective voice, however, is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, which is the body corporate and political representative of the iwi.



Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu
Ngā Papatipu Rūnanga map

Decision making regarding Christchurch falls within the boundary of Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga. That Rūnanga is located at Tuahiwi. Ngāi Tūāhuriri's earlier name was Ngāi Tūhaitara. Ngāi Tūāhuriri's traditional village was Kaiapoi Pā until its destruction in 1831.

Because Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is the collective voice and political representative of Ngāi Tahu, it is Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu that is referred to in legislation, including the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CER Act). Section 11(4) of that Act states:

> The Recovery Strategy must be developed in consultation with Christchurch City Council, Environment Canterbury, Selwyn District Council, Waimakariri District Council, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, and any other persons or organisations that the Minister considers appropriate.

Likewise s 17 (2) states:

> CERA, Environment Canterbury, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu must have the opportunity to provide an input into the development of the Recovery Plan for the CBD.

The Rūnanga with mana whenua and customary right over Ōtautahi is Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga. Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga has mandated the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre of the University of Canterbury to fulfil its obligations with regard to the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011. It is led by its Director, Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, a Ngāi Tahu history expert who lives in Tuahiwi with his whānau.

ŌTAUTAHI

The Christchurch City Council website refers to Te Pōtiki Tautahi as the ancestor of "Ōtautahi". This is wrong and it has been repeated more than once.[1] The ancestor from whom Ōtautahi takes its name was Tautahi, the son of Huikai of Port Levy. The confusion comes when Te Aritaua Pitama named the Ōtautahi Māori Club after Pōtiki Tautahi, 'a mythic figure born to a virgin'. When Te Aritaua Pitama told his mother which Tautahi he had chosen, his mother replied, "Kua moumoutia e koe tōu tipuna", (How cheap you make your ancestor).[2] Her point was that ancestral names should not be used lightly in public forums. This is a word of caution and a point that needs to be carefully considered when dealing with ancestral names in the city; it also explains why some Ngāi Tahu used to refer to Christchurch as 'Karaitiana – Christian' and not Ōtautahi.

Huikai, the father of Tautahi from whom Christchurch takes its name, was one of the rangatira who came to Canterbury under the leadership of Tūāhuriri's sons, Moki and Tūrākautahi. The hapū or sub-tribe from which their campaign was led was called Ngāi Tūhaitara. This chapter is not a history lesson so, for the sake of brevity, the key issue to note is that once Banks Peninsula was conquered by Moki and Tūrākautahi, the tribe built and located themselves at Kaiapoi Pā, which fell under the mana of Ngāi Tūhaitara and its leader Tū-rākau- tahi. It was during this period that the chiefs who led the campaign to Canterbury settled the region. One of the key leaders of this campaign was Maka, the captain of their war-canoe *Makawhiua*. Maka was the brother to Huikai, the father of Tautahi.[3] Our whakapapa indicates that Maka did not have descendants so his mana passed to his brother and nephew. As always there is a subtlety in the language, in that while Maka was the kaihautū[4] of the *Makawhiua*, the waka itself belonged to Moki and was in fact his gift to his wife Marewa. Not always known is that the *Makawhiua* was carved from a tōtara log felled in the Wairarapa.[5] The reason I make this point is because mana whenua is also configured in the same manner. That is, the mana of the land fell under Tūrākautahi and Moki just as the waka had.

1. *Beattie also refers to Pōtiki Tautahi as the ancestor for Christchurch in Canterbury Place Names, 1954, pp 117–118.*
2. *This is an important point for designers and tribal members to take into account when dealing with Māori place names in Christchurch. Te Aritaua's elder, Manakore Pitama, simply made the point that ancestral place names should not be used lightly. Her point was that an ancestor deserved better status than having their name used for a cultural group (Te Aritaua Mss B-2, p 220).*
3. *T. E. Greene, 'Whakapapa MS' Vol 1, p 266, R. T. M. Tau, Private Archives.*
4. *Captain or navigator of a canoe.*
5. *A. Anderson and T.M. Tau, Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History, 2008, pp 109–110.*

These oral traditions were given weight when Hakopa Te Ata o Tū stood as claimant on behalf of the Kaiapoi people to the mahinga kai site 'Tautahi' in the Native Land Court in 1868. There was no contest from other Ngāi Tahu to the claim by Hakopa and the Kaiapoi people. Nonetheless, the Native Land Court dismissed the claim by Hakopa because the land had already been granted to Pākehā.

The claim by Hakopa has since been resolved by way of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. However, if we are concerned with the values and traditions of this area, its history should be considered and incorporated into the overall design of the river. The key points to note are as follows.

1. Hakopa was the claimant on behalf of Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu to the Ōtautahi site. The list of claimants is the same as those to the Ihutai Native Reserve.
2 Hakopa's claim on behalf of his people was based on their ancestral right to Maka and Huikai who were part of the Ngāi Tūhaitara campaign into Canterbury that was led by Tūrākautahi and Moki.
3. Ōtautahi was a mahinga kai site. Its waters were not sacred.

It needs to be noted here that Hakopa was and is still a significant elder of Ngāi Tahu. He was a known warrior of Ngāi Tahu right through to the fall of Kaiapoi Pā. And, when taken as a captive by Ngāti Toa warriors, continued fighting with his captor, Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitake of Te Āti Awa.[6] When the wars between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa had finished and the peace settlements had been negotiated by the southern chiefs Taiaroa, Karetai, Te Rakiwhakatia and Whakaka, Hakopa Te Ata o Tū was among the first leading chiefs released along with Iwikau, Momo, Kaukau and Paora Tau. All of these chiefs took a leading role in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi or the 1848 Canterbury Purchase.

The claim by Hakopa is significant. It is with Hakopa where history and design need to converge. The details of his claim and his right can be configured further into the planning stage and we look forward to working with you on how to make this a reality.

MAHINGA KAI

One of the key values for Ngāi Tahu is 'mahinga kai'. Mahinga kai properly refers to Ngāi Tahu in traditional food and other natural resources and the places where those resources are obtained. The area now occupied by Christchurch city has always been a food gathering space for Ngāi Tahu. Its water and rich soils meant an abundance of birds and fish gathered in seasonal rounds by Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu. Mahinga kai is a term that originates from the 1848 Canterbury Purchase, which was a deed of purchase devised by Henry Tacy Kemp on behalf of the Crown to acquire a huge tract of land in the Canterbury region, over which Ngāi Tahu held mana whenua. Under the terms of the deed, the Crown acquired 20,000,000 acres of land running from Maungatere to Maunga Atua outside of Dunedin along the hinterland to Lake Whakatipu for the paltry sum of £2,000.

One of the conditions of sale was that the purchase document promised Ngāi Tahu that all its "mahinga kai" would be reserved for them. The relevant part of the text stated:

> Ko o matou kainga nohonga, ko a matou mahinga kai, me waiho marie mo matou tamariki, mo muri ihi ia matou, a ma te kawana e whakarite mai hoki tetahi wahi mo matou a mua ake nei, a te wahi a ata ruritia te whenua e nga kai ruru.[7]

6. *The Press, Volume XXXIX, Issue 5630, 4 October 1883, p 2 (Papers Past, www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz).*

7. *A. Mackay vol 1: 238.*

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton


THIS STONE WAS LAID
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF CORNWALL
& YORK

The Crown interpreted the above text thus:

> … our places of residence and cultivations must still be left to us, for ourselves and our children after us. And the Governor must appoint a quantity of land for us hereafter when the land is surveyed.[8]

The problem with the interpretation of these texts is primarily with the word "mahinga kai", which was accorded different interpretations by the Crown and Ngāi Tahu. The Crown's interpretation confines mahinga kai to a narrow meaning. In their first attempt at contesting their claim with the Crown, Ngāi Tahu took their case to the 1868 Native Land Court which sat in the Council Chambers in Christchurch or Puāri.

In this case, Fenton CJ declared that:

> … Mahinga kai does not include Weka preserves or any hunting rights, but local and fixed works and operations.[9]

Fixed works were held to mean gardens and eel weirs. On the other hand, Ngāi Tahu had taken a wider approach to defining the term to mean 'all food producing places'. So how does this history tie in with our current analysis of Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct? The alignment lies in the fact that Ngāi Tahu claimed a number of mahinga kai sites along the Ōtākaro/Avon River out to the estuary and in fact throughout Christchurch. Two specific sites named were Puāri and Ōtautahi. Neither of these Ngāi Tahu mahinga kai sites was approved by Chief Justice Fenton because the land had already been alienated and gone to the new settlers. The only site that was approved by the Native Land Court was Ihutai, which was granted as a fishing easement in the estuary. That site was later taken by the Crown in 1958 under the Public Works Act for what is now the Bromley sewage treatment ponds.

Thus it can be seen that Ngāi Tahu disputed the terms of the purchase from its inception as well as the narrow interpretation accorded

to the term mahinga kai by the courts. In 1998 this claim, among others, was settled with the Crown by way of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act. That the historical claims are settled is not to be questioned. The Treaty of Waitangi is, however, a living document and as a result its principles are still relevant, particularly in regard to the need to consult and actively protect Ngāi Tahu interests. In recognition of this, the Waitangi Tribunal ruled that in matters concerning the environment:

> … remedial action be taken by government in these four fields:
>
> (a) amendment to statutes to ensure that Māori values are made part of the criteria of assessment before the tribunal or authority involved;
>
> (b) proper and effective consultation with Māori before action is taken by legislation or decision by any tribunal or authority;
>
> (c) representation of Māori on territorial authorities and national bodies; and
>
> (d) representation of Māori before tribunals and authorities making planning and environment changes.[10]

The CER Act gives effect to the Tribunal's views. For this reason it is important that Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) outlines its views on mahinga kai. Today Ngāi Tahu's concern is not with claiming ownership rights over these sites, but with preserving the values associated with them. For the values to be outlined, the Ngāi Tahu tradition and history with the river need to be outlined with a review of what are now referred to as Ōtautahi, Puāri and Ōtākaro.

8. Ibid

9. Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāi Tahu Land Claim 1991, para, 892.

10. Ngāi Tahu Land Claim 1991, para, 25.3.

11. Papers Past: Star, Issue 7289, 30 December 1901, p 1.

ŌTĀKARO

The name of the Avon River is 'Ōtākaro' after the tipuna, 'Tākaro'. While one text refers to Tākaro as a Ngāi Tahu tipuna, I suspect the tribal affiliations were Waitaha. It should be noted that Ngāi Tahu have a tendency to refer to specific sites and bends that run along the river, as opposed to an actual river name. Larger places names such as mountains, coastlines and major waterways tend to be anchored in Waitaha tradition. Local sites such as river bends and localities bear Ngāi Tahu names, with specific trees and rocks bearing the names of family ancestors. This is an ongoing point of confusion for cartographers and historians.[11] The research team is currently working on mapping these place names, but is not able to complete these within the given timeframes. These will be provided to the project team upon completion.

The connection between Ōtākaro and the people of Tuahiwi was made clear when Wiremu Te Uki stood before the Smith-Nairn Commission of 1880 and declared:

> Ōtākaro is the name of the Avon. The land belongs to me. It is the place where I used to obtain eels.

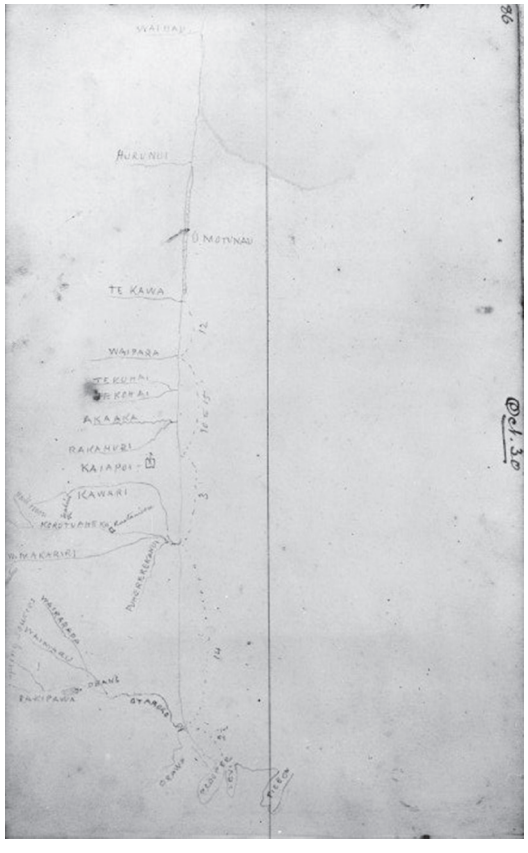
Wiremu Te Uki was an important figure within Ngāi Tahu, who worked with Paora Tau in securing Ngāi Tahu interests within the Canterbury region. When Te Uki claimed the land as his, he was acting as rangatira on behalf of the Kaiapoi people. Te Uki continued to explain his connection to the river in more detail with reference to the burial sites and other mahinga kai out towards the estuary and along the Ōpawa River. What needs to be understood is that Ōtākaro is the generic name of the Avon River and that its traditional importance was its value as a mahinga kai site. One of Te Uki's great statements that he left to us described the meaning behind the term mahinga kai as follows:

> We use to get food from all over our Island; it was all mahinga kai. And we considered our island as in a far superior position to any other, because it is called Waipounamu, the greenstone island; the fame thereof reaches all lands.[12]

Te Uki made this statement during cross-examination before the Smith Nairn Commission hearing in Kaiapoi in 1879, a year before he outlined his people's connection to the Ōtākaro. Not only does he tell us about the waterfowl, fish and vegetation taken for food along the river, he also tells us of the burial sites along the river and the kaitiaki for these sites. Like all historical material, it needs to be placed within its cultural context and its appropriate whakapapa setting.

What should be noted is that there is very little mention of 'sacred waters' along this waterway and it seems that despite the modern rhetoric of 'sacred springs', the river was primarily a food gathering site. The waterways that were used for spiritual purposes are more likely to be located along the upper end of the river along the tributaries. However, it is important to note that by the late 19th century the Tuahiwi people had located all their 'wahi tapu' and water sites for 'pure' rituals in Tuahiwi along the Whakahume (Cam River).

From my notebook in the 1980s an elder aunt made it clear that the three streams that ran into the Ōtākaro/Avon River were Waiwhetu, Wairarapa and O'Rakipaoa. A map by Walter Mantell, drawn in 1848, refers to the streams Waimaru, Wairarapa and Rakipawa running into the Ōtākaro.[13] The oral tradition aligns with Mantell's recording with the exception that Waiwhetu runs off the Wairarapa Stream. The proper spelling of the Waimaru is 'Waimairiiri' which according to my aunt referred to the fact that the stream was used for blessing rituals.[14]



Walter Mantell's map referring to the streams Waimaru, Wairarapa and Rakipawa running into the Ōtākaro.

12. *Evidence of Wiremu Te Uki, National Archives /MA/ 67/4, p 295.*

13. *Walter Baldock Durrant Mantell, 1820–1895 :[Diagram of rivers discharging onto coast from Waiau to Lyttelton. 1848]. Reference Number: E-334-086 (http://mp.natlib.govt.nz).*

14. *I have written about the connection between the Waiwhetu and Wairarapa streams in an earlier publication for the opening of Te Puna Waiwhetu Christchurch Art Gallery.*

The key mahinga kai sections of the Ōtākaro/Avon River within the city centre are Puāri and Ōtautahi. It should be noted that both sections have been subjected to speculative history from both Māori and Pākehā historians.

In the 1880s our elders gathered in their ancestral meeting house, Tū-te-kawa, in Tuahiwi with the intention of relaying to H.K. Taiaroa all their oral traditions relating to their food gathering places within the Canterbury region stretching from Maunga-tere south to Maunga-atua outside Dunedin. The foods taken, the vegetation of the area, the types of settlements and burial grounds were all noted. One gathering by our elders commenced on the night of 3 June 1880 and was led by Taare Te Ihoka, the successor Ūpoko of Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga to Pita Te Hori. Te Ihoka listed 92 sites running from the edges of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) across to Godley Head. Ōtākaro features as the 85th site. However, it is apparent that the site is one of many along that river. The manuscript reads:

> Ōtākaro, E kainga mahinga kai, e kainga nohoanga e kainga tuturu. Ona kai e tuna e inaka e kokopu o uta kai e maara taura e pora e kumara e aruhe nga manu e parera e raipo, putakitaki e pateke e taata.
>
> Ōtākaro: A permanent settlement and food production site. The food sourced here are tuna (eel), īnaka (whitebait), kokopu (native trout); the food found ashore are cultivated in gardens such as pora (turnip), kūmara (sweet potato) and aruhe (fernroot). The birds are the parera (grey duck), raipo (black teal duck), pūtakitaki (paradise duck) pāteke (teal) and the tataa (brown duck or shoveller).

It should be noted that when our elders refer to īnaka, they are speaking about the īnaka that they take in February rather than the whitebait taken in the spring, which they call marearea or mata.

Because this paper is focused on Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct, I keep within the boundaries rather than outline the river as a complete mahinga kai. However, one area to note that stands on the outer edges of the upper ends of the river is Pūtarikamotu – Riccarton Bush or 'Deans Bush' and the sites Ōhikahuruhuru (Upper Fendalton), Motu-iti (Bryndwyr) and Wairarapa.[15] Pūtarikamotu is the upper end of the Ōtākaro/Avon River and needs to be included in this report.

PŪTARIKAMOTU

The name Pūtarikamotu has been subject to a good deal of speculation by historians and elders, all centring on the word 'tarika', which means 'ear'. Most historians of Māori have a basic knowledge of Māori and 'tarika' is an obvious word to focus the attention because 'pū' and 'motu' do mean a clump of trees. As a result the most common translation is that that the area was 'the place of the severed ear'.[16]

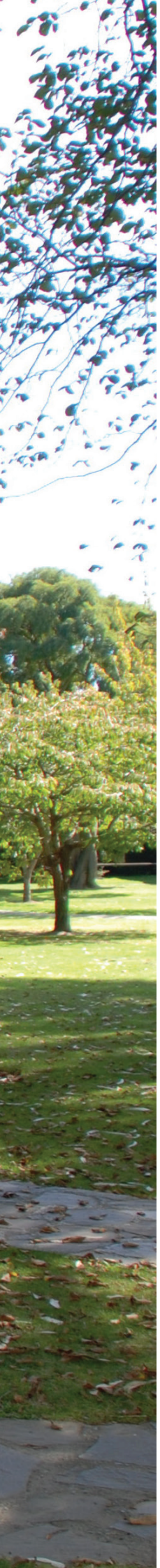
However, the text below gives a better indication of the true meaning of the name. Pūtarikamotu was a site where our elders snared forest fowl such as pigeon, the South Island kākā and the tūī, which we call kōkō. 'Pū' describes a bush or clump of trees. 'Tari' is a noose used to snare birds, as in 'Ka tae ki runga ki te maunga, ka taria e ia te kiwi, ka mau' (upon reaching the mountains, snares were set to catch the kiwi).[17]

'Motu' can mean the island of trees, but it also refers to how fowlers would cut the snares for their birds. Therefore, Pū-tari-ka-motu is likely to mean 'the forest where the snares were cut', – that is the forest where the birds were taken after they had been snared. There is no certainty about this name, but this interpretation aligns with the fact this site was a place to take forest fowl.

15. *Herries Beattie, Māori Place Names of North Canterbury 1945, pp 58–59.*

16. *W.A. Taylor, Lore and History of the South Island Māori, Bascands Ltd, 1950 p 46. Herries Beattie gives the generic name of Rhombosolea to these species except for the moho-ao which he named Rhombosolea retiaria (black flounder). The description of these flounders varies although the moho-ao tends to be the one with a spotted back that lives in the estuary while the whaiwhai has a white belly as opposed to the patotara which has a yellow belly H. Beattie, Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori, ed. Atholl Anderson, Otago University Press, 1994, pp 579–605, 152–153.*

17. *Herbert Williams, A Dictionary of the Māori Language, 1957, p 391.*



The list that follows was recorded on 2 June 1880 and outlines the recollections of Tuahiwi elders such as Wiremu Te Uki, Taare Te Ihoka, Hakopa, Arapata Kooti and 30 others. Fifty sites are recorded. Pūtarikamotu is site 41. The list gives an indicator of the birdlife along the river. The manuscript tells us:

> E kainga nohoanga, e kainga mahinga kai, e pa tuturu on kai, he tuna, he kanakana, he aruhe o te ngahere, ona kai, he whinau, he matai, pokaka,[18] he kahika, nga manu he kereru, he kaka, he koko, he koparapara, he mohotatai.
>
> A settlement and food gathering site with a proper fort. Its foods were eel, lamprey, fernroot and its foods of the forest were from the hinau, black pine, pōkākā, white pine and the forest fowl were native pigeon, South Island kākā, Parson bird (tūī), cockabully and flounder.

Pūtarikamotu is traditionally seen as just the forest. However, the list also includes food from the Ōtākaro/Avon River nearby, such as the kanakana (blind eel) and the flounder we refer to as the 'moho-tatai'.

Moho-tatai does not appear in other areas of the river and the name suggests a particular type of flounder that Māori generally refer to as pātiki. The problem in understanding what type of flounder is referred to here is that Māori taxonomy is ordered along the lines of appearance, taste, smell and even the season or location in which it is taken. For example, in Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) our elders list four types of flounders: mohoao, raututu, whaiwhai and patotara (yellow bellied flounder).[19] While a more thorough discussion can be had on how Māori ordered these species, the important point is that moho-tatai is a unique word and description for the flounder in this area of the Ōtākaro/Avon River. Kanakana is another fish that is interesting because Māori spent a considerable amount of time fishing kanakana along with the eel.

The site for Ohikahuruhuru, the stream in the Upper Fendalton area, is described by the elders as follows:

> E kainga nohoanga, e kainga mahinga kai, e pa tuturu, ona kai, tuna, kanakana, he koukoupara, he inaka, he mahinga maara kumara, he arhe, nga manu, he parera, he putakitaki. He urupa tupapaku kei taua kainga.
>
> A settlement and food gathering site with a proper fort. Its foods were eel, the lamprey, native trout, īnaka and gardens with kūmara and fernroot. There were also grey ducks and paradise ducks. There is also a burial site.

Also of note is that in the Wairarapa Stream, the foods listed are:

> E kainga nohoanga, e kainga mahinga kai e pa tuturu ona kai he kauru, he aruhe, he inaka, he tuna, he kiore.
>
> A settlement and food gathering site with a proper fort. Its foods were the cabbage tree, fernroot, whitebait, eels and the native rat.

What should be noted is that just outside of this area, our elders observed the existence of koreke (native quail), tiroki and tutukiwi (snipe).[20] The native quail and South Island snipe are now extinct. The records do indicate, however, that they were in this region during the 1840s. I cannot identify the tiroki. I suspect it is the New Zealand little bittern – otherwise known as kaoriki. During this period there is also a change in the landscape as our people captured the kīore or native rat on the greater plains. It is quite apparent that the native rat infested much of the landscape, with our people placing their snares along named trails.

The importance of these texts is that it gives an indication of the foods taken by Māori

18. *Whinau is the hinau (Elaeocarpus dentatus) and pōkākā is Elaeocarpus hookerianus, (Beattie, 1994, pp 581, 595).*

19. *E. Best, Fishing Methods and Devices of the Māori, Govt Printer, 1929 (1986), p 231.*

20. *Herries Beattie translates the tutu-kiwi as a snipe (Coenocorypha aucklandica). (Beattie, Traditional Lifeways, 1994, p 603).*

before settlement occurred. To that end, the Opus Design Team may find this information useful in its plans for the river. A healthy river and surrounding areas that allowed for cultivation of native species would truly reflect the sense of history of this space and enable the sharing of that history with the wider community.

PUĀRI

The name Puāri is of relatively recent origins. It is not rooted in early Waitaha or Ngāi Tahu tradition. The sole Māori manuscript seen by the writer that explains Puāri states that the name stems from a tipuna called Te Korotū who died at Kaihope, a place inside Port Levy bay. The text reads:

> Katata, the husband, named the area Puāri after Te Korotū he looked over to where she died.

Given the timeframe in which this research was conducted, there was not sufficient time to fully research this whakapapa and oral tradition; however, it is likely that the Katata referred to was the elder named in Edward Shortland's *Southern Districts*.[21] There is simply a lack of certainty about the name and its meaning and much of what has been written is unreliable. What is important, however, is that Puāri was a mahinga kai and was claimed as such by the Upoko Rūnanga, Pita Te Hori, in 1868 before the Native Land Court. Like Hakopa before him, Pita Te Hori claimed on behalf of the Kaiapoi Rūnanga. There was no contest to his claim by other Ngāi Tahu.

> Kua huihui tatou kia kotahi ai to tatou ritenga. Kei te whakarite koutou i nga ture o te Kawana. He ture ano hoki o matou. Ko taku ture i ahu mai i toku tupuna i a Ahuriri nana i mea, 'Kia atawhai ki te Pākehā ', muri iho, ka pera ano hoki te kupu a Tūrākautahi. No reira tonu ano kahore he kino i roto i o matou, ngakau kua noho marie tatou.[22]

Like Hakopa, Te Hori is an important Ngāi Tahu ancestor. In 1858 Te Hori was appointed by the Crown as Native Assessor[23] and he was also the first Ūpoko Rūnanga of the Ngāi Tūāhuriri.[23] Te Hori was a defender of Kaiapoi Pā and for that reason he is considered to be one of the leading elders. There is no shortage of oral traditions about this Upoko. The importance of Te Hori is that he, along with many of his generation, established the nature of the relationship Ngāi Tahu would have with Pākehā and North Island Māori. For this reason, Te Hori needs to be configured into the design of Market Square. In 1861, Te Hori and the Kaiapoi elders met with the Christchurch leaders to discuss the wars that were raging in the North Island and their loyalty to the Crown. Te Hori told the Christchurch community:

> This meeting is held that we may have but one plan. You are following the laws of the Governor we have also had, laws. My laws commenced with Ahuriri he said, Be kind to men. After him Tūrākautahi said the same. So from thence to the present time we have had no evil in our hearts.

In order to establish the Ngāi Tahu relationship with the Pākehā community, Te Hori looked back to his ancestor Tūāhuriri, who on his deathbed told his sons to follow the path of peace rather than warfare. Despite the intention, this advice was not followed. However, during the building of the Kaiapoi Pā, Tūrākautahi, like his father, told his descendants that Kaiapoi was to be free of warfare. His words were, "Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people". Tūrākautahi understood his kin were warriors (ngākau toa), but that their fighting was to be directed away

21. *Edward Shortland, Southern Districts, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851, London, p 289.*

22. *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi and Māori Intelligencer, 15 March 1861, vol. 1, p 7 (Niupepa Māori Newspapers, www.nzdl.org).*

23. *New Zealand Gazette, 1858, p 110.*

24. *Again, this report does not have the time to cover the history of the Rūnanga within New Zealand and Ngāi Tahu. What is important is that the Kaiapoi Rūnanga, which later became Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, was established in 1859. It is quite possible that the Kaiapoi Rūnanga was established much earlier by the tribal leadership. 1859 is generally accepted as the date of establishment because it appears as such in formal records starting with Walter Buller who visited Tuahiwi in that year.*

from Kaiapoi Pā, which explains why it was the central pā for all Ngāi Tahu. Despite the battles that ran through the tribe, what is significant is that more often than not these same leaders were also found in Kaiapoi Pā. Until the attacks of Ngāti Toa, Kaiapoi was a zone exempt from warfare.[25]

It was this tradition that Te Hori turned to in 1861 when he made his position clear to the people of Christchurch. Te Hori had essentially used the saying from Tūāhuriri and his son to include Pākehā, which is why the Māori passage says, "Kia atawhai ki te Pākehā – Care for the Pākehā". If Market Square, and indeed Christchurch as a city, are to be guided by particular values, then Te Hori's declaration is obviously important for Ngāi Tahu, hence the subtitle of this report Kia atawhai ki te iwi – which best translates as 'Care for your people'. If there is a central Ngāi Tahu (Tuahiwi) value that needs to be noted, the idea of care or atawhai is critical. How will the design show care for its citizens? How will a cultural centre encourage strangers to treat each other with warmth and its local inhabitants to welcome visitors and guests from afar? If this cannot be shown, then support of Ngāi Tūāhuriri for a Māori presence in the centre will be in doubt.

MARKET SQUARE

One of the best indicators of the elders' attitude to this area of the city and to the idea of commerce was expressed by Hone Paratene (John Patterson) of Tuahiwi, who addressed Governor Gore-Browne in 1860 at Lyttelton. In his address, Paratene told the Governor:

> Our friend Governor Browne, we salute you. Welcome, Governor, Welcome! Welcome! Welcome! Welcome thou, the head of New Zealand assemblies, both Euroropean and Māori. We salute you.
>
> Listen to our cry of welcome – from the people of Kaiapoi, of Rāpaki, of Purau, of Port Levy, of Akaroa, of Wairewa, and of Taumutu. Give ear also to our sayings. We come unto you with our complaint as unto a doctor, that he may administer relief. It is this. We are without house or land in this Town for the purpose of a Market-place.
>
> We are like unto a Cormorant sitting on a rock. The tide rises, it flows over the rock, and the bird is compelled to fly. Do thou provide a dry resting place for us that we may prosper. These are the articles (of trade) we pro-pose to bring to town: — Firewood, potatoes, wheat, pigs, fish, and other things. We want this place also as a landing place for our boats.[26]

Ngāi Tahu was well acquainted with trade ever since the arrival of the whalers and sealers through to the drive to acquire muskets. All Ngāi Tahu villages understood the importance of Market Square and were anxious to participate in the local economy. And while Rāpaki and Tuahiwi were the closest villages to the city, the other villages on Banks Peninsula obviously saw the market as important, which is why they requested a landing for their canoes in the city.[27] What is interesting, however, is that by 1864 Taumutu Ngāi Tahu were facing challenges to their role in supplying flounder for the city market when Pākehā operators took a larger role in fishing the lake, despite the Ngāi Tahu view that the lake was theirs.[28] This problem turns back on the Treaty of Waitangi and the 1848 Canterbury Purchase where Ngāi Tahu claimed Waihora and the waterways as mahinga kai.

Nonetheless, Paratene's address to Governor Gore-Browne illustrates that Ngāi Tahu understood the importance of this site and that, in order to participate in the new world, they needed an area to reside. Their two mahinga kai sites that they claimed as an area to camp had been

25. *Too often historians make the mistake of assuming that Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahui had split from those on Banks Peninsula and our kin further south. This is simply wrong. During its fall, Taiaroa was at Kaiapoi, the home of his wife Marewa. Likewise Te Muka chiefs resided in the pā during the raid.*

26. *The Māori Messenger, Te Karere Māori, 1860, Vol. 7, (20).*

27. *Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāi Tahu Sea Fisheries Report, 1992, para 5.6.*

28. *Ibid, para 5.7.*

declined by the Native Land Court and this presented a problem. This is the meaning behind Paratene's pepeha, which compares Ngāi Tahu to a cormorant sitting on a tide without a place to reside. The tide he alludes to represents the migrants from England, who ironically enough Ngāi Tahu referred to as 'takata-pora – boat people'.

The need for a site in the city to camp and occupy has been maintained since the request from the Kaiapoi elders in 1860 for a site through to the 1970s when the Council set aside an area of land at Pages Road for Māori. However, it also needs to be noted that, while Ngāi Tahu wished to participate in the market economy, they made two other requests. The first was that their lands be subdivided into individual title and the second request was that the Crown loan the Port Levy Ngāi Tahu enough money to build a mill. This is a fascinating insight into the way our elders understood their world. The petition from Paora Tau and others read as follows:

> . . . we seek your approval to the erection of a (flour) mill at Port Levy, and we ask your assistance in the same manner that you have aided the people of the Northern Island in the construction of their mills, and that you will send us a wise man (a mill-wright) to superintend the work, that it may be properly done. All the machinery has arrived and we have paid for it the sum of three hundred and eighty pounds fifteen shillings and three pence. The assistance we ask of you is, to erect a house, to set up the mill, and to dig an aqueduct. And when the proceeds of the mill are sufficient we will repay your advance. Let this be made a proof of your regard for us.
>
> Here is another subject for us to speak of, O Governor! The voice of all the people is, that our land Reserves be subdivided, so that each may have his own portion. We ask you to give to each man a title in writing to his own allotment. But we leave the matter in your hands, O Governor. Our reason for urging the subdivision of our land is, that our difficulties and quarrels may cease, that we may live peaceably, and that Christianity and good works may thrive amongst us.

Ngāi Tahu elders understood the new economy that was emerging and were anxious to develop their own capital to develop individually and as villages along the same lines that Christchurch was developing. Mills were an example of industry and the need to develop in order to trade in the city. Equally clear is that they saw the arrangement as a financial loan rather than as a welfare benefit. Ngāi Tahu understood that while they needed to participate in Market Square to actively trade, their villages would also become areas of settlement and industry, which is why they also wanted the right to subdivide the land with the right to exchange among themselves, rather than only with Pākehā. In short, they understood the idea of capital. The exact opposite has occurred over recent years by way of the Urban Plan initiated by the local councils in 2007. In these plans, the councils zoned Māori land as rural and denied them the right to subdivide land for owners if it is less than 10 acres. In fact, their plans do not include any of the principles that our elders presented to the Governor in 1860, despite requests that they do so.

Despite the requests by Ngāi Tahu for land in the city where they could participate in the market, no allocation was made. Ngāi Tahu remained in their villages. By the 1960s Ngāi Tahu were no longer allowed to build upon their traditional land because the local councils had rezoned Māori land in Tuahiwi,

Image Credit: Paul Shackleton

Taumutu, Wairewa, Ōnuku and Rāpaki as rural land by way of the Town and Country Planning Act 1958. The same situation occurred throughout the North Island. This meant that, despite the fact that our people had land in their villages, they were not allowed to live there. The consequence was a mass urban migration by Māori into Christchurch and other cities.

One of Ngāi Tahu's most important cultural leaders was Te Aritaua Pitama (1906–1958). Te Aritaua had been taken by the Rev. Charles Fraser and educated at Christ's College. In the main he lived in Christchurch. It is with Te Aritaua Pitama that the request of Pita Te Hori and Paora Tau for a site or hostelry to be established in Christchurch for Ngāi Tahu was reignited. Te Aritaua changes the nature of the debate, however, by asking for a wharenui to be built in Christchurch.

Te Aritaua Pitama had then evolved the idea of a Christchurch wharenui from its original concept first raised in the 1860s, where it was meant to have been a lodging place for Ngāi Tahu moving from Banks Peninsula to Kaiapoi and those Ngāi Tahu working in the Christchurch markets.

Te Aritaua had petitioned the Government to gift to the South Island Māori a wharenui that had been built at Wellington as part of the centennial celebrations in 1940. Little Hagley Park near the Carlton Bridge was seen by Te Aritaua as the best place for the marae and whare. In 1941 the Christchurch City Council supported the Centennial Meeting House as a gift from the Government. However, within a year the Council rescinded its decision because of pressure from other local bodies. These local bodies objected for two reasons. The first was that the costs for transportation and the erection of the building were too high. The second reason was that more attention should be paid to the Canterbury Museum

and Robert McDougall Art Gallery. Māori culture at that time was limited to decorating the Canterbury Museum.

There were also quite racist sentiments expressed by borough councillors. One councillor remarked, "We are putting down an ancient Māori house in one of our best suburbs. It will be quite out of keeping." Another apologetically said, "I understand that it will be looked after properly so that it will not deteriorate into a Māori whare or anything of that sort."[29] The overall feeling, however, was that a carved meeting house should have been sited on one of the Ngāi Tahu kainga at either Tuahiwi, Te Muka or Arahura. This was the feeling of not only Pākehā but also of some Ngāi Tahu. One Ngāi Tahu from Tuahiwi, Hilda Trail, argued that the wairua of the carvings should be cared for in a Māori environment, where they would be welcomed. The overall view for Pākehā Christchurch seemed to be 'out of sight, out of mind'. For Ngāi Tahu, the response came as no surprise. One of Tuahiwi's great leaders and politicians, Hoani Uru, once said in the 1890s that the Pākehā attitude to Māori was "Better be dead and out of the way".[30]

In the end, what eventuated was Ngā Hau E Whā National Marae on Pages Road, which was built in the 1980s. Te Aritaua Pitama had passed away in 1958 and his idea was realised by Mr Hori Brennan of Te Arawa. Ngā Hau E Whā has not had a good history in Christchurch. Its past has been difficult for successive Trustees, the City Council, Ngāi Tahu and Tuahiwi. The situation has only recently managed to resolve itself under the leadership of Mr Norm Dewes and Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka. With hindsight, we can assess the lessons to be learnt from Ngā Hau E Whā, which should be heeded if the proposed Te Puna Ahurea is to be successful.

1. The location of Ngā Hau E Whā displayed the racism of the Council members at the time. Rather than placing the marae in Hagley Park, the council located the marae near the treatment plant for Christchurch sewage.
2. The point by the Tuahiwi elder, Hilda Trail was valid in that the traditional kainga of Tuahiwi, Rapāki etc were the ideal places for marae and wharenui.
3. Despite the fact that Ngā Hau E Whā was located in Bromley rather than Hagley Park, the problems would have remained in that the marae was not designed to create a sense of community and its aesthetic nature jarred too much with the background. The marae was neither Ngāi Tahu in its āhua nor conducive to the landscape.
4. A wharenui like Ngā Hau E Whā would have been too challenging to the aesthetic values of Christchurch. If Ngā Hau E Whā had been located in Hagley Park, it would have simply emphasised its 'museum' design and would not have had any graceful integration into the city's traditional appearance.

The design team must ensure that the same mistakes are not repeated in the proposed rebuild. We look forward to working with you to ensure that this does not occur.

29. *16 July 1940.*

30. *AJHR 1891 G-7, p 58.*

THE NGĀI TAHU AESTHETIC

The question is what is the aesthetic nature of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri? The interesting aspect to this question is that it can be partially answered by what it is not. Until recently, most Ngāi Tahu communities had very few carvings – at least of ancestral figures. Yet, for any outsider who spent time within the villages, there was an aesthetic design that differentiated it from the Pākehā rural communities.

Ngāi Tahu design should not be an import from the North Island. Neither should the design restrict us to 'Museum Māori' decorative themes. Ngā Hau E Whā – as wonderful as it is – does not represent Ngāi Tahu.

The traditional carving style of Ngāi Tahu did exist in some houses, yet to an outsider this would not have been apparent. While many of our halls, houses and whare did not have carvings, they did have pounamu near the doorways. The houses that most Ngāi Tahu whānau would recognise as theirs would have been the typical settler cottages and bungalows which they modified to suit their needs. Elders may have done their cooking outside or separated the cooking fire from the domestic fire. *continued...*

TE PUNA AHUREA CULTURAL CENTRE

Te reo karanga

Pōwhiri mihi koe

Ki te tuarangi

O te paremata

O Niu Tireni

Te Roopu Reipa

Kia ora ra koe

The proposed plan notes that Te Puna Ahurea Cultural Centre will be a place of welcome and pōwhiri. The plan also notes that it will be a place for interactive celebration, exhibition for taonga, the celebration of performing arts, a place to relax and an area to complement the Convention Centre.

The sole area of concern for Ngāi Tūāhuriri is the view that pōwhiri will occur at this site. Pōwhiri require marae and the endorsement of the local rūnanga. Ngāi Tūāhuriri would find it difficult to support another marae or wharenui in Christchurch city, particularly along Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct. The reason is purely tikanga. Tuahiwi is the principal marae for Christchurch and there are two marae we acknowledge: Rēhua Marae on Springfield Road and Ngā Hau E Whā National Marae on Pages Road. All dignitaries who visit Christchurch for the first time and are accorded a welcome should be welcomed at Tuahiwi. Avoiding marae is simply bad etiquette.

The waiata cited above was composed by Hutika Manawatu in 1974 when the people of Tuahiwi welcomed the Prime Minister, Norman Kirk, onto their marae. This was the last Prime Minister to be welcomed at Tuahiwi. Traditionally it was quite clear to the Pākehā community and Christchurch City Council leadership that pōwhiri to Canterbury and Christchurch by Māori occurred at Tuahiwi. Ngāi Tūāhuriri have welcomed Governors-General, Prime Ministers and other dignitaries. Its last significant role within Ngāi Tahu was that it was the host marae for the Ngāi Tahu Claim before the Waitangi Tribunal. The irony is that while there is talk of a post-colonial city, the older leadership of Christchurch did acknowledge the role and position of Tuahiwi. The same courtesy is rarely displayed today.

Since the 1980s there has been a gradual movement towards Ngāi Tahu and city officials undertaking pōwhiri within Christchurch. The great problem with Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) pōwhiri in the city is that it is nearly impossible for the activity to have meaning or to be carried out in a proper manner. The landscape, the icons and semiotics simply do not lend themselves to pōwhiri. The results are contrived rituals. Ngāi Tahu feel that the occasion has not occurred in the manner that it should and Pākehā simply follow without a full understanding of the situation. One historian accurately summarised the situation: "Ngāi Tahu's participation in civic occasions was important to Ngāi Tahu, but merely colourful to most of the rest of the population".[31]

Ngāi Tūāhuriri would prefer that all significant occasions of welcome be undertaken at Tuahiwi rather than within the city. That means that for any first visit by a Royal, Governor-General, Prime Minister or oversees visitor, Tuahiwi should be their first point of welcome.

31. *John Cookson, 'Pilgrim's Progress', Southern Capital Christchurch, Towards a City Biography 1850-2000, (eds, John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall), 2000, p 27.*

Māori understand this tradition. The challenge is not necessarily to design a greater Māori presence into Christchurch city, but to ensure Christchurch is able to look outside itself to the traditional marae, whether it is Tuahiwi, Taumutu or Rāpaki. The tendency of recent rhetoric that Christchurch must become more Māori is acknowledged, but for significant rituals, particularly pōwhiri, the designers need to design outwards rather than reflect the insecure cultural narcissism that tends to dominate this discussion. How will the design satisfy Ngāi Tūāhuriri that their mana motuhake is anchored in the manner that the Charter of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu states? We look forward to working with you to resolve this.

Nonetheless the original point that Hoani Uru understood and Te Aritaua Pitama tried to resolve indicates an apprehension. Christchurch does not reflect Māori. An illustration of the absence of Māori from the Christchurch landscape is evident in a lack of representation in the Bridge of Remembrance. It is well known that many Ngāi Tahu and other Māori died in their loyalty to the Crown; however, their service to New Zealand is not reflected there. The tension exists and it is clear that the city design needs to reflect Ngāi Tahu, Māori and the fact that New Zealand is within the Pacific region.

Eruera Prendergast of Ngāi Tahu noted in *The Press*:

> My dad's English, so it's not that I don't like them. But we're at the bottom of the Pacific. If you look at the marketing for Christchurch – the punting, the Wizard – our community soul is seen as English.
>
> But you've got to believe it comes at a social cost for Māori youth to be growing up in an environment where your culture's alien, where it's invisible – not just marginalised, not even there.[32]

That view is not shared by all. Amiria Reriti told *The Press*:

> Being a Christchurch girl, born and bred, I was used to the environment and what it looked like. Mostly white and an older age group. I was comfortable with that because that was my home.

Amiria's belief probably aligns with the Tuahiwi view as most of her whānau were active in their marae. In a sense, it was understood that Ngāi Tahu traditions and community lived in their homes and communities while Christchurch was for Pākehā. The distinction was not necessarily a problem because for Māori, their marae is the centre point. However, the largely enforced urbanisation of the 1960s, which was caused by the councils' rezoning of villages and marae as 'rural', created a tension in culture that needs to be resolved.

This does not mean that the city's 'English' character needs to be downplayed or forgotten. Ngāi Tahu understands the importance of the Cathedral and the symbols and signs of the settler culture. That identity needs to be restored and celebrated. Tuahiwi and many of our marae are designed along the lines of what are called 'Church Pā'. That is, the wharenui and marae were closely connected to the church. In turn, the church was closely aligned to the cemetery and the local wāhi tapu. While there have been views that this created tensions within the community, Māori have generally managed this tension. A common feature of Church Pā is that their wharenui do not have ancestral carvings. The older whare in Canterbury do not have carvings, except for Ōnuku and Rāpaki. That does not mean carved figures should not appear. What is more important, however, is that the values are identified and incorporated into the design.

The wharenui or community halls sometimes took second place to the whānau houses such as Te Awhitu House at Taumutu or 'Okaihau' at Tuahiwi. These were typically larger settler houses owned by leading whānau who hosted manuhiri. What the community understood was that these houses were located within a cluster of semiotics that made the whole coherent. The community knew which trees, streams and lands fitted into the larger narrative that the house represented. The point here is that buildings and objects in a community have meaning when the community understands the stories and symbols that they represent.

How whānau operated within these houses and how their interior design differed need to be considered.

A good example of the Ngāi Tahu aesthetic is the Moeraki Church, Kotahitanga, which is clearly a design typical of its day. While many Pākehā may see a stained glass window as a reflection of English settler culture, Ngāi Tahu accept this culture as theirs. The Ngāi Tahu community understands it is Māori; a carved pou is not required. Likewise, many houses in Tuahiwi have their own way of expressing the Ngāi Tahu identity. Often the designs were subtle and influenced by the Anglican and the Rātana Church. The influence of these two institutions should not be underestimated. *continued...*

32. *The Press, 19 January 2013 (ww.stuff.co.nz).*

Colour is also important. Ngāi Tahu and Tuahiwi were heavily influenced by the Anglican Church and Rātana faith. Colour, especially in Tuahiwi, was important in giving the community a sense of meaning.

Moeraki Church Kotahitanga.
Photo: Neil Pardington

The challenge is to successfully integrate Māori design with the traditional English character of the city. This does not mean the erection of ancestral pou across the city like those found along Barbadoes Street. A subtle approach is required to incorporate Māori design into the city. To do this, some reflection is needed on the following.

1. Ngāi Tahu and Māori design is not limited to what we see as the 'traditional' arts. Ngāi Tahu has many modern artists, designers and architects.
2. The most contemporary Tuahiwi/Ngāi Tahu artistic expression has been the new whare, Mahunui II at Tuahiwi. It does not conform to an orthodox style, yet is clearly Māori.
3. The designers /artists should reflect the values of the people, ancestors, iwi and hapū but not restrict themselves to the prescribed genre.
4. Three areas that have influenced Māori design have been the role of the Anglican Church, the role of the Rātana faith and the early settler culture.

The challenge for designers is the proposal that Market Square becomes the centre for the cultural activities – Te Puna Ahurea. The challenge will arise because Ngāi Tūāhuriri will not support the area as a marae; nor would they support a wharenui because too often their process of welcome is converted into a ritual that does not resemble the actual practices at Tuahiwi. The events become a charade with players strutting upon the stage signifying very little.

Ngāi Tūāhuriri do accept, however, that an attempt needs to be made by the Pākehā community and its leadership to jointly participate in activities that foster cultural development and engagement. This is where the joint interest lies. There is a general acceptance that both parties need a workable solution.

This means that if Te Puna Ahurea is to have some meaning and is to be a cultural centre, it has to be integrated into the wider city design. That means the Cultural Centre must incorporate the Christchurch community and how they wish to participate. For Māori, cultural activities occur within a community context of their marae, church and wharenui. Their sacred sites, urupā (cemeteries), schools, gateways and landscape all play a role. Within Christchurch, if Te Puna Ahurea is to have meaning, the natural question for Māori would be, what role do the Cathedral and Convention Centre have in this project? Where are the sacred sites and symbols and how are they acknowledged? Would it be better to locate the proposed Earthquake Memorial in the green zone behind the church as Māori would?

How do the designers impose some kind of order on rituals where all groups understand their meaning?'

These questions are not difficult to resolve because Christchurch does have its traditions and rituals. The Cathedral and the statues of Queen Victoria, Captain Cook, Godley, Fitzgerald and Robert Falcon Scott are all important. This report has outlined their Ngāi Tahu equivalents as Taiaroa, Wiremu Te Uki, Paora Tau Hakopa Te Ata o Tū and Pita Te Hori. The Square was until the 1990s a community plaza similar to a marae for the Christchurch public. If the focus is to be on Market Square as the proposed Te Puna Ahurea, then where is the whare? Would the Convention Centre be a modern version of the great hall that features in the old English universities and the old Arts Centre?

The question would therefore be how would one integrate the values of Māori into the design

of 'the Great Hall/Convention Centre' and how would this building interface with the Cultural Centre and the Cathedral?

This section of the report raises more questions at the moment because Ngāi Tūāhuriri needs to be assured that the principal values underlying Christchurch are maintained. Obviously a discussion needs to occur at a wider level so that the Cultural Precinct can occur. But if Market Square or Puāri is to be the area of activity, Pita Te Hori's adage must set the scene for Tuahiwi's discussion:

> This meeting is held that we may have but one plan. You are following the laws of the Governor we have also had, laws. My laws commenced with Ahuriri.

The overriding value that Ngāi Tūāhuriri would reference is how does any activity/planning or design give effect to the core value, "Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people"?

1. Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga will not support a marae nor a wharenui. This turns back on the first principle that the principal marae and whare lay in our kāinga. There are two marae-wharenui in Christchurch (Ngā Hau E Whā and Rēhua) that Ngāi Tūāhuriri support. Ngāi Tūāhuriri believes that there are enough marae and whare within the city and region and that one within the city centre will detract from the traditional centre points.
2. Ngāi Tūāhuriri support the idea that there needs to be a central place of welcome where Ngāi Tahu and the Crown (local councils etc) are able to welcome and host dignitaries and manuhiri. The guiding principle for Ngāi Tahu marae is "Aroha ki te tangata, tētahi ki tētahi – have regard for each other".
3. The tangata whenua are the Kaiapoi Ngāi Tahu land owners of Tuahiwi. This means the descendants of those who come from the original owners allocated land in the Kaiapoi Māori Reserve 873 and the land owners to the Ihu-tai Native Reserve. This Memorial of Owners has the same status as the commemorative inscription that cites the passengers who arrived on the first four ships at Lyttelton.

Rakiihia Tau, Ūpoko, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, 2012.

NGĀ TIKANGA: VALUES FOR DESIGN

> I hereby claim upon the principles of justice, truth, peace and goodwill for and on behalf of my peoples within the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.
>
> ***Rakiihia Tau, Ūpoko, Ngāi Tūāhuriri***

This statement by Rakiihia Tau is the best place to start when dealing with Ngāi Tahu values and their relationship with the people of Christchurch. Rakiihia Tau was the claimant for Ngāi Tahu to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 for what is now known as 'Te Kerēme, the Claim'. What the above statement indicates is that Ngāi Tahu has always seen the Treaty of Waitangi as the document that cements its relationship with the Crown and with the wider Pākehā community. In a sense, Tau simply echoed what every other Ngāi Tahu leader that had gone before him had said, with the additional contemporary reference to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The statement was made just after the ruling by the Court of Appeal in *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General* [1987] where the Court of Appeal President, Sir Robin Cooke, outlined what he saw to be the principles that underpinned the Treaty of Waitangi. Those principles were:

1. the acquisition of sovereignty in exchange for the protection of rangatiratanga
2. that the Treaty established a partnership, and imposes on the partners the duty to act reasonably and in good faith
3. the freedom of the Crown to govern
4. the Crown's duty of active protection
5. the duty of the Crown to remedy past breaches
6. that Māori are to retain rangatiratanga over their resources and taonga and to have all the privileges of citizenship
7. the duty to consult.[33]

These principles are reflected in the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011. How we incorporate them into this project should be a matter for ongoing discussion, but at this stage it is important to note that they need consideration as these principles have been a feature of Ngāi Tahu rhetoric since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. For Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu there is no debate about principles 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7. Ngāi Tahu understands the Crown's right to govern and our duty to act towards one another both reasonably and in good faith. How we actively protect Ngāi Tahu's role in the rebuild and retain our rangatiratanga over our resources is a matter for discussion as citizens and tangata whenua of Christchurch.

The feature that underpins the Ngāi Tahu/Ngāi Tūāhuriri approach to the Treaty of Waitangi is acknowledgement that 'sovereignty' was passed to Queen Victoria. In return Ngāi Tahu was assured of their 'tino rangatiratanga'. This understanding indicates why the 'sovereignty' argument made in the North Island does not resonate with Ngāi Tahu or Tuahiwi. Ngāi Tahu tend towards the view that the Crown's role confirms Ngāi Tahu mana to their area. 'Mana Motuhake' is a word better understood by Ngāi Tūāhuriri than 'sovereignty' as it indicates independence and authority within the gambit of the Crown's right to govern on behalf of all New Zealanders.

33. *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General [1987] 1 NZLR 641.*

The idea of Ngāi Tahu maintaining its own mana is indicated as early as 1862 when the leading Ngāi Tahu chief, Te Matenga Taiaroa, delivered his 'ōhākī' or death speech to his iwi, tribe and son. Taiaroa told his people:

> To all my tribe, to my hapū and to my son,
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> Let me bring these words to your remembrance, that they may be impressed on your memory. In the future, after I am dead and gone, that you may understand and judge for yourselves respecting the lands that I sold to the Europeans. The European land purchases made certain statements in all purchases of land. Firstly, be good to my nation, to the Pākehā, for it was I that brought them to this Island, to Te Wai Pounamu, in former years.
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> It was I and some other chiefs that went to Port Jackson (Sydney), and arranged a covenant there, in which we placed the whole of the Island of New Zealand under the sovereignty of the Queen, and the covenant was drawn up there, and the Governor of that Colony gave a token of honor, also the Queen's flag to me, and to Tuhawaiki. The Governor also gave us all authority (mana), and to us was the authority over the whole of our Island, Te Wai Pounamu. The Queen was also to be our parent (protector), that no other of Her Majesty's subjects, or any foreign nation should interfere, or take, or sell, or otherwise dispose of our land, without our consent given to any other nation.
>
> We agreed to these arrangements of the Governor of New South Wales, and that covenant was established.
>
> After that was the Treaty of Waitangi, and I and my tribe agreed a second time.[34]

The ideas that underpin this speech are a commitment to Queen Victoria and the Crown's right to govern in return for recognising their authority. Tūhawaiki, Taiaroa and Karetai had made this commitment because they had just emerged from over a decade of warfare with the Northern tribes and were prepared to negotiate with the British Empire, not only for the Queen's protection, but also because they believed the Queen and Crown embodied the law and Christian ideals and values.

As Taiaroa tells us, a flag was gifted to Tūhawaiki and Taiaroa as a 'token of honor'. We can't be certain which flag was given, but it is likely that the flag gifted was the Flag of the United Tribes originally designed by King William IV for Māori in 1835. The flag is certainly important in Tuahiwi and featured in the old Tuahiwi Hall before it was demolished for the new Maahunui II.

In terms of symbols and important icons, the Ngāi Tahu Flag of the United Tribes is significant. The other flag that holds an equivalent value is the flag gifted to Tuahiwi by the Waitangi Tribunal. However, whichever flag was referred to, both feature the Union Jack which returns us to the ōhākī by Matenga Taiaroa and the notions of sovereignty resting with the monarchy/Crown in return for tribal authority and mana being recognised. Within this broad ideal sit the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi referred to by Rakiihia Tau.

Like Taiaroa's commitment to the Crown/monarchy and its right to govern, Tau's reference to the ideals of justice, truth, peace and goodwill simply echo what our elders from Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tūāhuriri) believed, starting with Matiaha Tira Morehu who petitioned the Queen in 1857 with the following words:

> This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors … that the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made

34. *Translation of copy of statement made by H. T. Taiaroa's father, on 13 February, 1862 which was handed in on 27 September, 1872, AJHR, 1872, H-9, pp 8–9.*

The Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand, 1835.

> just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily … and remember the power of thy name.[34]

Faith, trust, justice and a commitment to the Crown represented by Queen Victoria run throughout the language of Ngāi Tahu. There is very little distance in language between Matiaha Tiramōrehu, Rakiihia Tau and Taiaroa in their commitment to Queen Victoria. The challenge for the design teams of this project is to incorporate these ideals so that Pākehā and Māori fully understand the ideals expressed by our ancestors.

During the early stages of the rebuild there were discussions about a post-colonial city. The problem with post-colonial arguments is that they do not represent how Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Tūāhuriri view their relationship with Pākehā and the Crown. Māori were colonised by Pākehā.[36] It is simply wrong to say New Zealand is a post-colonial society and to compare the New Zealand situation with that of India, Malaysia or Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe. These countries became post-colonial once the Crown devolved its authority to the indigenous peoples who had organised themselves into a nation state. The decolonisation process has not occurred in New Zealand, because the British settlers and their descendants are here by way of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The resolution of the Ngāi Tahu Claim and the admission of wrongdoing by the Crown, however, has changed the relationship between Pākehā and Ngāi Tahu and allows fully for a celebration of our joint heritage under the Treaty of Waitangi. Here the argument by Eddie Durie, former Chief Judge of the Waitangi Tribunal, deserves serious consideration:

> We must also not forget that the treaty is not just a bill of rights for Māori. It is a bill of rights for Pākehā, too.

35. *H. Evison, Te Waipounamu, Aoraki Press, 1993, p 364.*

36. *Katie Pickles, 'A Natural Break from our Colonial Past', (www.stuff.co.nz), The Press, 8 April, 2011.*

> It is the treaty that gives Pākehā the right to be here. Without the treaty, there would be no lawful authority for the Pākehā presence in this part of the South Pacific.
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> The Pākehā here are not like the Indians in Fiji, or the French in New Caledonia. Our Prime Minister can stand proud in Pacific forums, and in international forums, too, not in spite of the treaty, but because of it.
>
> We must remember that if we are the tangata whenua, the original people, then the Pākehā are the tangata tiriti, those who belong to the land by right of that treaty.[37]

By way of the Treaty of Waitangi, the colonial past is something to be celebrated. The fact that the settler government was dishonest in its dealings with Māori is not something to be forgotten. However, the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 was designed to settle historical wrongs. The Crown's apology to Ngāi Tahu on behalf of Pākehā resolves the moral burden. Ngāi Tahu is also aware that the burden for providing the historical evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal was taken on by Pākehā Christchurch historians such as Harry Evison, Jim McAloon and Ann Parsonson. These historians committed to the Claim because they believed in the idea of justice.

In a sense, then the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 was the reset button for Crown–Māori relationships. On that basis, post-colonial arguments are irrelevant to the Crown and Ngāi Tahu and have no place in the Christchurch rebuild. In fact, the settlement asks both parties to consider two fundamental questions:

1. What is the role of the Treaty of Waitangi in our future development?
2. What is the relationship between tangata whenua and tangata-tiriti.

The CER Act needs to be seen as a way to ensure both the Crown and Ngāi Tahu are vigilant in their commitment to Treaty principles outlined by Sir, Robin Cooke.

The principles require:

1. the Crown's duty of active protection
2. the duty of the Crown to remedy past breaches
3. Māori to retain rangatiratanga over their resources and taonga and to have all the privileges of citizenship
4. the duty to consult.

The challenge is to design their beliefs into the Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct in a manner that signifies more than a quaint language from the past and instead has relevance to Māori and Christchurch citizens.

37. *Address by Chief Judge Eddie Durie, Waitangi Day 1989, NZ Church Leaders Statement 1990, p 10.*

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

by Dr Matt Morris

The conditions that first attracted Ngāi Tahu to the area were also attractive to European settlers as the water and soils meant good gardens, even if the swampiness meant suburbanisation would be difficult. Thus just as Māori communities had created settlements on the margins of waterways, so too did Europeans due to the intrinsic value of the waterways, the soils near them, and the flora and fauna they supported.

When Christchurch was founded in 1850, the city blueprint that was to be implemented over the top of this space contained clues both about the Canterbury Association's values, and the values of their investors. The church, the university, the industrial area, Market Square, government buildings and a 'botanical' gardens were all included, as well as neatly surveyed parcels of land where families could be raised and working men could gain an 'independency'. These components of the plan express a system of values that were intended to reinforce each other. The values around religion, education, productivity, trade, democracy, horticulture and working with the land, respectability, family life and social mobility were fundamental to how the new settlement was conceptualised.

Cutting across each of these values are the virtues of civilising, improvement and prosperity. Each of these can be understood through the lens provided by the mythological template of Christchurch as a Garden City. Gardening should not simply be understood in this context as growing a lawn, or bedding plants and a vegetable garden, though of course that is what our gardens have often looked like. Rather, gardening is a process that involves and nurtures the whole person and the whole environment. Gardening connects people to a place, and it sustains them. Christchurch's history as a Garden City, and a city of gardeners, therefore encapsulates those values held in highest regard by the first Pākehā colonists. However, it also speaks to Ngāi Tahu values and to the values of many young people who are eager to see what the next iteration of the Garden City is going to look like.

ABUNDANCE

Incredibly, the suburban lifestyle envisaged by the city's founders was within the reach of most working men, and enabled family units to achieve what Trevor Burnard described as a "limited, co-operative self-sufficiency".[38]

Like Māori, European settlers were attracted to the waterways. Even before the 'first wave' of colonists arrived in Christchurch in 1850, the pioneering Deans brothers had established productive orchards and vegetable gardens at Pūtaringamotu ('A place to catch birds'), close to the Ōtākaro, with the blessing of Ngāi Tūāhuriri. The gardens here were the first colonial focal point, because they demonstrated that food could be produced in abundance.

Further downstream, another Ngāi Tahu site, Ōtautahi, was also re-created as an important model garden. It is a significant, though often overlooked fact that food production was a major plank of the Canterbury Association's plans. They planned a Botanic Gardens in what was later called the Avon Loop and paid for a gardener to maintain it. In fact, this was a nursery garden for the edible crops that were intended to transform the entire region into a land of plenty. The gardener, William 'Cabbage' Wilson, was such a local hero that he became the city's first mayor, in 1868.

38. *T. Burnard, An Artisanal Town: The Economic Sinews of Christchurch in Southern Capital: Christchurch. Towards a City Biography 1850–2000, J. Cookson and G. Dunstall, Canterbury University Press, 2000, p 123.*

BEAUTY

Another important value in regard to gardening in Christchurch was that of beautification: introducing garden designs that started to de-emphasise productivity or natural abundance in favour of flowers, shrubs and lawns. Public discourse around flower gardening began to take a firm hold in the 1870s, although there is strong evidence to suggest that for most people orchards remained the most important garden element until after World War One.

The interwar period is where we really need to look to see the sudden ascendancy of concepts such as the Garden City and the City Beautiful (which became the name of the Horticultural Society's publication).

Beautification of the home environment, as well as public spaces, certainly became important for many Christchurch householders and is one of the features the city is known best for. A low front fence, a tidy lawn, a concrete path to the front door edged with flowers was (and still is) a common sight from the road. Critics have argued that this form has been oppressive or limiting, or simply boring. However, the social significance of this domestic configuration is that it signalled shared values in a street or neighbourhood. Taking care of one's home like this showed respectability and respectfulness. It was also a welcoming sight for visitors.

PRESERVATION

Just as beautification became a focus for ordinary people in Christchurch during the interwar period, so too did an interest in environmental protection and in gardening with native plants. The two ideas were often closely intertwined as gardeners started to learn more about the beauty of the alpine plants they were seeing more of as a result of the opening of the Ōtira Tunnel in 1923, and

the increasing availability of motorcars. This experience opened the eyes of many Christchurch people to environmental degradation in the high country and helped people to discover a new affinity with the Southern Alps (and especially the Arthur's Pass area, where some of the more affluent residents had holiday homes), which had always distantly framed the Garden City on the Plains. With this also came an appreciation of native birds and the vital role gardeners could play in enhancing their habitat, viewed as especially pressing given what could now be observed first hand of the deforestation in the hinterland. The sense of connection between people in the city and the wider environment around them deepened during the 1920s and 30s, and Christchurch is often thought of as a place that breeds environmentalists.

SUSTENANCE

World War Two saw a renewed focus on vegetable gardening in the print media, although for many people this simply validated what they already did anyway. The Civic Vegetable Campaign (later rebranded as part of the Government's Dig for Victory campaign) emphasised above all else the nutritive qualities of vegetables grown in good soils. Good soils meant soils fed with humic matter, which paved the way for the new composting movement to take a hold. Thus the old values around the home as a place for growing food to feed the family and the neighbours were brought to light once more.

PROVISION

The Garden City has continued to represent these ideals in various ways. Since the mid 1990s Christchurch has seen a proliferation of community gardens as well. The number of these has tripled in the last 10 years. Community gardens serve a wide variety of purposes, but largely exist to meet people's needs for food that cannot otherwise be met, because of lack of money, lack of available land (as subdivisions have got increasingly smaller) and lack of knowledge about gardening. Community gardens are urban food gathering places that enable communities to come together, share their knowledge freely with each other, restore and enhance pockets of urban space with organic gardening practices, grow and share food and also strengthen community connections.

Amidst this sudden growth of these food spaces a new voice, which harks back to older ideas, is asserting itself: it talks about the importance of reintroducing food resilience into the city. This is partly to ensure the people of Christchurch can have their food needs provided for in case of any future disasters (such as the recent earthquakes), but also to enhance Christchurch's ability to feed its visitors well. A local food economy that could be a tourist attraction has been touted. Integral to this notion is the rehabilitation of degraded natural ecosystems, starting with Christchurch's waterways (both in-stream and riparian zones), which are severely degraded and cannot currently be easily used for food gathering.

Old gardens right along the Ōtākaro/Avon River margins tell the story of our people as outlined above, and are still abundant with food even where the houses themselves have been demolished. They embody our shared histories and values and could be a tremendous story-telling device and new food provisioning space. Ōtautahi, the site of 'Cabbage' Wilson's garden and thus the launching pad of Christchurch as Garden City, took up a significant piece of the Avon Loop. But before Wilson it was of course Tautahi's place, a place to gather food, and it remained as such at least as late as the 1840s. From here out to the estuary our history, with its

orchards, market gardens, beautiful gardens, and of course native vegetation, is written in the land.

REFLECTION

In thinking about our shared values, we should ask what does it mean to civilise, to improve and to prosper in the Christchurch context? Again, our garden histories provide a clue. A civilised Christchurch implies one where all people have their basic needs met. This means that all Christchurch residents should have access to good food, a value strongly present in our local traditions but sadly not presently a reality. This could mean a rehabilitation of waterways so they can support mahinga kai, or it could mean the planting of food plants in public spaces, or it could mean the redevelopment of a food-growing culture in suburban homes.

Again, an improved Christchurch might refer to the ability of the city's social, economic and ecological systems to recover from disasters or simply to function according to the principles of sustainability as we collectively proceed into an increasingly unpredictable future. Gardening for ecosystem resilience – as we did in the interwar period – would be a useful starting point here.

Finally, a prosperous Christchurch invokes the ideals of cooperative self-sufficiency: the idea of a strong local food economy, involving activity around the production, distribution, marketing, preparing and selling of locally grown food (not to mention education about it). However, there is also a tremendous reputational opportunity for Christchurch to position itself, through its gardens and its Garden City image, as being not just able to take care of its own people, but also able to play host to visitors from far and wide because it can feed them. Our values are reflected back to us in our gardens, and our gardens will define who we are as a people in this next stage of Christchurch's story.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

This piece of work provides a starting point for the design team involved with the concepts for Te Papa Ōtākaro/Avon River Precinct. There is much to be considered and much more work to be done to ensure that the history, views and beliefs of both Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā are accurately captured and reflected in the design. We look forward to working with you to more fully explore this shared sense of history and to translate it into a design that can be celebrated and acclaimed as a treasure of our modern times.

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