

Takapuneke - the other Waitangi

by Matthew Leonard

A site of more than usual significance to our history is in danger of falling between the cracks of bureaucracy and ignorance.

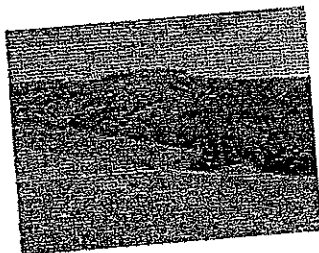
Within walking distance of the most popular spots of the Akaroa township is a site that very few visitors would be able to name. Some may climb the short path to the Britomart Memorial where, on August 11, 1840, Captain Stanley raised a flag and gave "the first effective demonstration of British sovereignty on the South Island", effectively thwarting French imperial ambitions in New Zealand. Yet, from the fenceline of the memorial on Green's Point, visitors can look across the slopes of Takapuneke/Red House Bay, a place that, it can be argued, constitutes the missing link in the story of the Treaty of Waitangi.



The view from Green's Point.
Photo: Matthew Leonard

The Ngai Tahu hapu Ngai Tarewa and Ngati Irakehu are the turangawaewae of Takapuneke and Akaroa Harbour.

Whalers were trading on Horomaka (the Maori name for the peninsula) in the early 1800s, and by 1830 Takapuneke was the site of a bustling cosmopolitan trading pa, an important centre for trade in flax/harakeke, much in demand by British shipping. It was under the care of the upoko ariki (paramount chief) of northern Ngai Tahu, Tama-i-hara-nui (spelled Te Maiharanui in most versions), who had his primary base in a well-defended pa at Kaiapoi.



Takapuneke.
Photo: Matthew Leonard

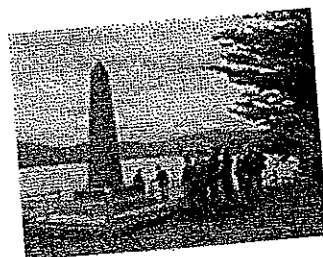
Most accounts refer to the death of a number of Ngati Toa chiefs during a trading dispute at Kaiapoi in 1828 as the primary source of the enmity between the Ngati Toa chief Te Rauparaha and Tama-i-hara-nui. Whatever the interpretation of the background events, the story continues with the appearance of the British mercantile brig *Elizabeth* in the bay off Takapuneke pa in late November 1830.

On board the *Elizabeth* with Captain John Stewart were Te Rauparaha and about 100 Ngati Toa warriors; essentially on a revenge mission but also with aspirations for controlling the lucrative trade in pounamu.

Promised payment in the form of 50 tonnes of flax, Stewart had sailed south from Te Rauparaha's stronghold on Kapiti Island, effectively under charter. While Te Rauparaha and his warriors concealed themselves, Stewart managed to lure Tama-i-hara-nui and his wife and daughter on board with a promised trade in firearms. Te Rauparaha then sacked Takapuneke and killed many of its inhabitants, estimated to be up to 200 people. Tama-i-hara-nui himself was later put to death near Otaki by the widows of the Ngati Toa chiefs killed at Kaiapoi. While the bloodshed at Takapuneke affected people throughout Ngai Tahu, the events at Takapuneke have remained a particular sorrow to the people of Horomaka.

John Stewart's complicity in the so-called *Elizabeth* Incident was one of a series of events that ultimately led to the Treaty of Waitangi. The *Elizabeth* subsequently berthed in New South Wales, where news of the massacre had spread. Governor Darling brought charges against Stewart for his involvement in the bloodshed, and representation was also made by two Maori emissaries from Akaroa for stronger protection of Maori by the British Crown against the excesses of its subjects.

For parochial political reasons, Stewart was able to escape prosecution, but a petition from 13 northern chiefs made to King William IV led the Crown to promise greater



The Britomart Memorial, where Captain Stanley "gave the first effective demonstration of British sovereignty on the South Island."
Photo: Alexander Turnbull Library F-10420-1/1 (6316)*

protections.

This led the British government to appoint an official resident to New Zealand, effectively a powerless junior consul. The post went, of course, to that co-architect of the Treaty of Waitangi, James Busby, who took up residency in the Bay of Islands in 1833.

Two years later, Busby had 42 northern chiefs of the Confederated Tribes signed up to the Declaration of Independence, the document used to call up chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

The significance of the sites at Akaroa is further enhanced by the signing at Onuku of the Treaty by Iwikau and John Love Tikao on 30 May 1840, the first South Island chiefs to do so.

Jumping forward to 28 November 1998, Onuku Marae was the site for the delivery by then Prime Minister Jenny Shipley of the official apology on behalf of the Crown to Ngai Tahu, the final stage in the settlement of Te Kereme (the Ngi Tahu Claim).



Onuku runanga chairman,
George Tikao
Photo: Matthew Leonard

Much of the European scholarship on the *Elizabeth* Incident at Takapuneke and its connection to the Treaty story was recorded by historians such as Lindsay Buick well before World War I. It has taken somewhat longer for the Maori companion history to emerge. It is not, says Onuku runanga chairman George Tikao, because tangata whenua sought to hide the painful history of the place but that it was not until fairly recently that anybody bothered to ask. It was only eight years ago that he first walked on Takapuneke.

"The reason I did not ever walk on it was purely because it was something that was passed on to us by our ancestors. The first thing they told us as children was not to walk on this land ... they saw it as an urupa, they saw it as a place where their own people's blood was spilled. That wasn't a place that you went and played on."

The ability of iwi to maintain their connection to this site, despite their physical alienation from the land without, they argue, adequate compensation, testifies to the importance of the events of 1830 to tangata whenua.

Nevertheless, it's puzzling that a site that represents so many of the shared experiences of the nation has fallen "between the cracks". While not technically absent from recent accounts of the history of the Treaty, it is accurate to say that its profile is not of the same order as the two sites with which it is often compared: the Treaty grounds at Waitangi and the Cook landing sites at Turanganui/Poverty Bay.

Renewed awareness of the significance of this part of Akaroa was boosted around 1993 with the release of Harry Evison's comprehensive (and virtually unchallenged) account of South Island Maori, *Te Wai Pounamu – A history of the southern Maori during the European Colonization of New Zealand*. Indeed, Evison and other historians suggest that the sites in Akaroa provide an even richer set of narratives around the nation's identity than Waitangi. It tells "the story of the evolving relationship between Maori and European, culminating in the signing of the Treaty", says Janet Stephenson, a lecturer and thesis student at Otago University.

"I suggest that Onuku, Takapuneke, Greens Point and Onawe [another significant pa site in the Akaroa basin] are linked parts of a nationally significant heritage landscape with many layers of cultural significance." It's not just the story of the Treaty that can be told here, she points out. In 1839, Takapuneke became the site of Canterbury's and possibly the South Island's first cattle station, for example.

One possible reason for the site's relative obscurity lies in what Stephenson identifies as different cultural perceptions around heritage landscapes; an approach that considers historic events in the context of the sites where they actually occurred.

Using Akaroa as a case study, Stephenson is currently developing a model for the interpretation of meaning within heritage landscapes generally. As part of her study, she interviewed 20 residents of Akaroa about their perceptions of local sites including Takapuneke. Maori informants largely referred to what she describes as "embedded values", the human narratives carried in landscapes with which they have long associations. Scenic values were never mentioned. Europeans

on the other hand like to see shapes and buildings; features that the slopes of Takapuneke don't really offer although Akaroa itself has them in abundance. Combine these differences in perception with the recent utilitarian purposes for which the site has been designated, and it becomes a little easier to see how Takapuneke doesn't occupy a more prominent position in the official histories of New Zealand.

While the events that took place at Takapuneke in the 19th century have made it a place rich with meaning for both Maori and non-Maori, 20th-century events have helped obscure the significance of this site. Back in 1965, on land it had already acquired, Akaroa's council built a sewage treatment works. In 1979, it placed a rubbish dump on other land it had acquired at Takapuneke, two acts regarded by Maori as a "defilement" of the land and, in the words of Harry Evison, "the ultimate in modern cultural oppression".

The next phase of recent history begins in 1992, when the council divided up the land. In common with other sites around New Zealand, the land had been purchased with funding from endowment lands vested in local authorities such as the Akaroa Borough Council after the abolition of the country's provincial government system in 1876. (Essentially, endowment lands constitute a realisable asset to benefit the community at a later date, but usually come with strict guidelines governing their disposal.)

These 9.41 hectares (including the old rubbish dump) became the Takapuneke reserve, administered by a management committee that is chaired by the Onuku runanga and consists of members of the runanga, council and local community. The handing over of administrative responsibility to the Onuku runanga recognised the significance of the site to iwi, which the council followed up with a formal apology in 1998. The remaining 14.13 hectares of Takapuneke were kept in the control of the council, and up until relatively recently were marked for sale and possible development into a 47-home subdivision.

This compromise was never to the full satisfaction of the Onuku runanga and, in 2002, they applied for the site to be registered as a wahi tapu by the Maori Heritage Council of the Historic Places Trust. In the words of the Onuku runanga: "Takapuneke is one of the most significant wahi tapu, wahi taonga sites in the history of Ngai Tahu. This sacred site is in the takiwa (area) of the descendants of Onuku who are held with the responsibility of Kaitiaki (guardian) for the many ancestral deaths lost in the 1830 massacre." It became the first registered wahi tapu area on the mainland South Island.

Prime Minister Helen Clark, who is Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, supports public ownership of this site. However, recent interactions between Onuku runanga and other interested parties indicate that the government, including Chris

Carter, the Minister for Conservation and the Department of Conservation, is backing away from actively pursuing acquisition of the site. The non-intervention amounts to a "wait and see" approach to a proposed amalgamation between the Banks Peninsula District Council (BPDC) and the Christchurch City Council. Banks Peninsula MP and cabinet minister Ruth Dyson, who has been closely involved in discussions around the potential restoration and interpretation of the site, confirms that the Crown is reluctant to purchase land that is already in public ownership, albeit in the hands of the BPDC on behalf of the ratepayers of the Peninsula. While the current Banks Peninsula Mayor, Bob Parker, is sympathetic to the aspirations of the Onuku runanga for Takapuneke, his council is struggling to deal with enormous economic pressures funded by only 7500 ratepayers.

So, without financial input from the government, and hampered by guidelines of fiscal responsibility within the Local Government Act, Bob Parker believes that the proposed Banks Peninsula/Christchurch City amalgamation could provide the solution for Takapuneke. Firstly, he believes the financial base offered by successful amalgamation would make the potential \$1.3 million to \$3 million the Takapuneke site might realise for the BPDC irrelevant compared to the additional values the site could have for the community. Paul Dingwall, until recently a science manager at DoC, concurs that a sensitive development of the Takapuneke landscape has "the potential to bring added social and economic benefits to a region already renowned for the qualities of its natural environment". Secondly, the Reserves Act of 1977 allows for the administration of reserves of National (Sect.13) or Historic (Sect.18) significance by local government; something that Parker argues the current BPDC is inadequately resourced to do.

However, discussions around the potential amalgamation are barely underway, let alone detailed discussion about

Takapuneke, and there is by no means universal support for the amalgamation from within the CCC. Hagley/Ferrymead councillor David Cox observed: "Land with sea views residentially are commanding a premium. Banks Peninsula District Council has such land but it is not 'on the market', maybe it should show (Christchurch) city residents that they are prepared to do their bit, not sit back and leach off our ratepayers."

Perhaps with this kind of opinion in mind, Bob Parker has indicated that he would like to see some sort of pre-amalgamation agreement put in place, which might also show support from a broader representation of Ngai Tahu.

Harry Evison believes that Ngai Tahu would be supportive but offers a purist perspective. According to Evison, acknowledging the site has become an issue of national identity and shouldn't be left to the vagaries of a local government amalgamation. "Let's lift it off the shoulders of the people of Akaroa," he says, arguing that the significance of the site warrants the direct attention of the Prime Minister's office and rigorous advocacy by the Historic Places Trust, the only agency he believes has the prestige to advance the cause. "It's a heritage issue, not a conservation issue."

Ultimately, a site like Takapuneke, strong on historical value, perceived to be low on conservation values and with complex land title, sits uneasily within the remits of the agencies now deciding its future. Chad Huddleston is an American PhD student at Canterbury University who analysed Takapuneke as a case study of Maori-Pakeha relations. He has also analysed how the policies of the main agencies currently negotiating over Takapuneke are put into practice.

"Organisations, except HPT, see landscape – any landscape – only in terms of resource management. All policy is based on that. There are places for cultural management, but they are either really speaking to resource management or so ill-defined as to be useless".

He goes on to say that he believes "many of the policy statements speak to kaitiaki as they have been told they must. But this is where the difference between policy and practice comes in. As long as it is left to the local councils to enact higher level government policy, (those policies) will more than likely not work."

There are locations, however, where tangata whenua are able to exercise their role as kaitiaki in joint management of significant heritage sites, albeit not with local government.

At Otatara pa in eastern Hawkes Bay, for example, representatives from Waiohiki marae have co-managed this significant site in partnership with DoC for eight years. Assuming the status of the outstanding land at Takapuneke can be resolved, chairman of the Onuku runanga George Tikao envisages a joint management committee for the site comprising no more than eight representatives. He affirms the need for the Historic Places Trust to play a significant role in that group.

There is a possibility for the restoration of ngahere or native bush on the site, although many of the details of how the runanga will deal with the sensitive issues of tapu and public access are yet to be fully explored.

On the matter of interpretation, the Akaroa Civic Trust, which, along with Onuku, has been advocating for the site for seven years, comments:

"We first need to secure the land and then enter into a long discussion of its appropriate interpretation of both the Maori and European history of the site. In the future, it is hoped that this mutually agreed upon interpretation will be accessible in proximity to the Britomart Memorial. The Civic Trust feels that visitors don't need to access the Takapuneke reserve since the entire area is easily viewed from the monument."

Paul Dingwall, of the Akaroa Civic Trust, points to the Ruapekapeka pa in Northland as a model for the kind of interpretation the heritage landscape of Takapuneke could carry. Like Takapuneke, that landscape holds stories from both sides of the conflict that need to be integrated into our understandings of New Zealand history. On the day this writer visited the Britomart memorial, it was easy to see how a centre for interpretation and signage could provide additional

BANKS PENINSULA

CRADLE OF CANTERBURY

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16 RED HOUSE BAY AND ONUKU (THE KAIK)

After Te Rauparaha's unexpected setback on his first visit to the great Kaiapohia pa in early 1830, when eight to ten of his chiefs were slain, the northern chief retreated swiftly to Kapiti Island to lick his wounds and plan revenge. Te Rauparaha decided to single out the paramount Banks Peninsula chief, Te Maiharanui, for special attention. Te Maiharanui, who had been at Kaiapohia at the time of Te Rauparaha's humiliation, had slain and probably helped eat portions of Te Pehi Kupe, Te Rauparaha's favourite fighting chief and his uncle.

There had long been a settlement at Takapuneke, Te Maiharanui's headquarters. It was the largest Maori community on the east side of Akaroa Harbour. Since the European flax traders had been working the southern coastline in the 1820s, Takapuneke had become an important trading centre and Te Maiharanui felt secure there.

Te Rauparaha resolved to take Takapuneke by surprise, concealed with his men aboard a European trading vessel. First he approached Captain Briggs of the *Dragon* but Briggs could not be induced to cooperate, even in exchange for a good cargo of flax. At this stage the 236-ton brig *Elizabeth* arrived. Captain John Stewart, a Suffolk Englishman had sailed from the London Docks on 22 February 1830 for New South Wales then proceeded to New Zealand for general trading purposes. Despite Briggs's attempts to dissuade him, Stewart agreed to Te Rauparaha's proposition that the *Elizabeth* should take a party of Maori to Banks Peninsula in exchange for a load of dressed flax. The brig left Kapiti on 29 October with 70 Maori aboard, well armed with muskets which Te Rauparaha had been busy acquiring through his lucrative trade in flax. The party included Te Pehi's son Te Hiko o Te Rangi.

As the *Elizabeth* sailed into Akaroa Harbour, Te Rauparaha and his men stayed below deck. Te Maiharanui was away at Little River preparing a consignment of flax for another trader. Stewart took muskets and powder ashore to the chief's house at Takapuneke to create interest and goodwill in what he pretended was a flax trading visit, with payment to be made in guns and gunpowder. When, three or four days later, Te Maiharanui arrived back in the harbour he was invited aboard the *Elizabeth* with his young daughter, by Captain Stewart, and led down to the Captain's cabin. While they were seated there at refreshments, Te Hiko appeared. After staring fixedly at Te Maiharanui for nearly half an hour without speaking, he approached the southern chief, drew apart his lips and exclaimed "Those are the teeth which ate my father."



Te Rauparaha (c 1768-1849), the remarkable Ngati Toa chief who twice savaged the Peninsula Ngai Tahu, at Takapuneke (1830) and Onawe (late 1831 or early 1832). Sketch possibly by Charles Heaphy. *British Museum Library* courtesy Dr P.B. Paling.

Te Maiharanui was then pounced upon by four of Stewart's crew, led by Clementson the mate, and put securely into irons. The same day two other canoes approached carrying the chief's wife, Te Whe, and half a dozen others including Apera Pukenui the Port Levy chief. They too were welcomed aboard and similarly detained. There was still no suspicion ashore that anything was amiss. Stewart now wanted to return to Kapiti, but Te Rauparaha and his men, heavily outnumbering the brig's crew, controlled the action.

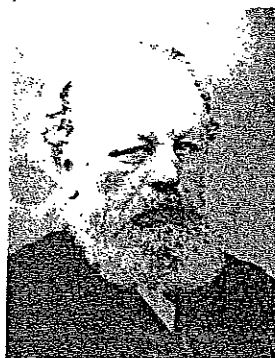
Early next morning, on 6 November 1830, Te Rauparaha's tawa emerging from the hold of the *Elizabeth*, went ashore in the brig's boats and captured canoes. They put Takapuneke to the torch, butchering dozens of its inhabitants and capturing others for later use back at Kapiti. They probably raided the Kaik also, and other harbour settlements. It is said that Stewart and his trading master, John Cowell helped in the operation. Figures vary but casualties were as high as 100 killed altogether, and 50 taken prisoner. Cooking fires were lit later in the day and a large cannibal feast was held in the bay. The unconsumed flesh was packed into baskets and loaded aboard the *Elizabeth*. Stewart fired a ten-gun salute and the brig returned to Kapiti. On the way, Te Maiharanui strangled their daughter Nga Roimata ("The Tear Drops") to prevent her being violated and enslaved. Stewart had the chief flogged for this, even in spite of Te Rauparaha's objections.

Kapiti was reached on 11 November and the prisoners were taken ashore. There they were apportioned out as slaves among their conquerors. About 100 baskets of flesh, some of it already half putrid, were also unloaded and a celebratory feast was held. Te Maiharanui and his wife were then taken to the mainland where they were paraded in triumph at Otaki. There Te Whe was killed. The chief was taken then to Waikawa and handed over to Te Aia, the widow of Te Pehi who, after further torture, cut his throat and drank some of his fresh blood. Te Hiko completed the long awaited vengeance by tearing out Te Maiharanui's eyes and swallowing them to prevent them being fixed on the firmament of stars.

In many respects Te Maiharanui's removal had about it a certain rough justice. During the Kai huanga feud he had shown himself to be a cruel and utterly ruthless man himself. Short, thickset and grim-featured, he was greatly feared by his Peninsula kinsmen and an object of more than the mere awe and respect due to his chiefly rank. He could be capricious, vindictive and quite callous. But the squalid manner in which he had been captured, with European assistance, and his community destroyed, remains abhorrent. Te Maiharanui's mere, Kataore, which had inflicted so much death and misery, is now housed in the Auckland Museum.¹

On 10 November 1839, almost exactly nine years after the Takapuneke slaughter, Captain William Barnard Rhodes landed 50 shorthorn cattle (mostly Durhams) at the bay. They had been brought from Sydney aboard the *Eleanor* to establish the first cattle station in the South Island. In charge of the stock was William Green, born in Surrey at the turn of the century; a former seaman, labourer, ginger beer brewer and farmer and sawyer. Green's wife, Mary Ann and their two-year-old son, William Thomas, were landed with him. Another Englishman, 20-year-old Thomas Green, (referred to in some accounts as Creed), assisted as stockman. In clearing the land for his farm, Green had had to burn and bury a huge number of human bones, remnants of the carnage nine years earlier. The only other Europeans living permanently in the harbour were James Robinson Clough, and "Holy Joe" Angus at the Kaik.²

Until early 1840, William Green and his family lived in a tent. By the time the *Astrolabe* visited Akaroa in April 1840, Green had built what d'Urville describes as a "moderately well equipped farmhouse" back up the valley. The Greens' sold butter, cheese, milk and vegetables to the crews of visiting



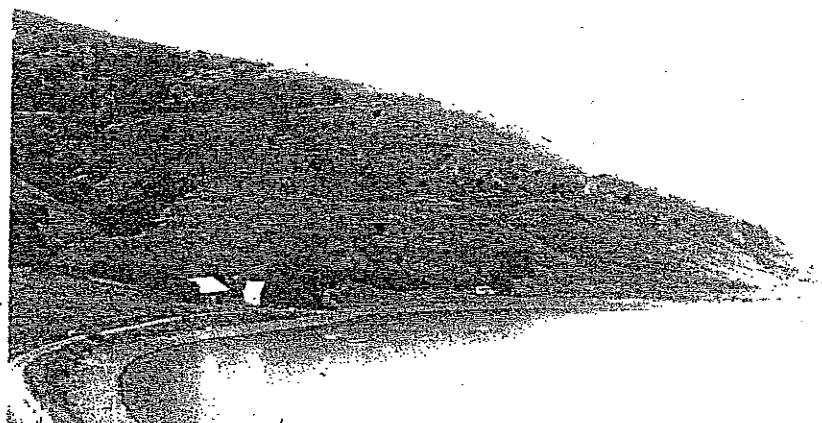
Captain William Barnard Rhodes (1807-78) merchant captain, whaling skipper, businessman and pastoralist. Landed 40 Durham cattle at Red House Bay (Takapuneke) in November 1839 establishing the first cattle station in the South Island. A.E. Woodhouse

whaleships. Green was present when, on 11 August 1840, the British flag was first run up on the point north of Red House Bay, which has since been named after him, though officially gazetted in 1926 as the Britomart Historic Reserve. The Green's next son, Peter, born in September 1840, was the first white boy to be born in Canterbury. Altogether it was a productive year for William Green.

But Green and his stockman did not get on; each wrote to Rhodes complaining about the other. Thomas Green (who early in 1841 was sacked and went to Oashore) said there were always drunks about the place. This is likely enough for William Green, a constant problem to Lavaud and Robinson, used to purchase any grog he could from the whaling ships visiting Akaroa and resell it to the settlers and sailors. "Having a glass of milk at Green's" became a cheerful euphemism for a quick tot. Indeed Green soon saw better advancement in the liquor trade than in cattle minding. After his contract with the Rhodes brothers expired in October 1841, he helped to start a whaling station at Island Bay in 1842, then had a single-storey weatherboard hotel built for him on the Akaroa side of Greens Point.

Green found that the Victoria Inn was too far south of the centre of population and later built another in Akaroa township, on a more promising site. This hotel became known as the Commercial Hotel. George Tribe, bought Green's old inn, transferred the building to Lyttelton in pieces and re-erected it as a hardware store on Dampiers Bay Road where it eventually burnt down in a fierce nor-wester in October 1854. Mary Ann Green drowned off Bruce's jetty in 1851 and William sold the Commercial Hotel in the following year to George Armstrong. Then in early 1856, Green went to Australia where — versatile as ever — he worked as a goldminer, builder and farmer before dying of cancer in 1871, aged 72.³

From the end of 1843, William Rhodes's run was looked after by his youngest brother George, newly arrived at Akaroa on the *Royal William*, who moved into a red-painted wooden house down by the shore. So Red House Bay was named. With the help of Francois Le Lievre, George Rhodes cleared some land and grew a crop of potatoes which he used along with beef and pork as barter when whalers visited the harbour. Rhodes also improved Green's pack trail between Red House Bay and Flea Bay, which can still be seen in places as it follows the first steep ridge up the Lighthouse Road route from Akaroa.



Takapuneke (Red House Bay) in the 1930s, showing the crayfish factory (formerly the Akaroa Immigration Barracks). The site of Te Maiharanui's ravaged settlement, later the headquarters for the Rhodes brothers' pioneer cattle station and the scene of boatbuilding and crayfish canning operations, this historic spot is now the location for Akaroa's sewage and rubbish disposal system. *Canterbury Museum*

George Rhodes also opened up a small store at Akaroa which he stocked with goods supplied by his brother William, by then living in Wellington. In 1847 when the Rhodes brothers purchased Purau from the Greenwoods, George Rhodes left Red House Bay and moved to Purau to take charge of that run. Twelve years later Red House Bay (RS 547) was sold by the Crown to Joseph Palmer and Henry Le Cren, two Lyttelton businessmen. In 1862 the property was purchased by Augustus White the Akaroa storekeeper and businessman who sold off several sections including one of two hectares to the boatbuilders Wilson, Barwick & Co.

John Barwick the more experienced of the two, had worked as a shipbuilder at Sunderland and London before leaving for New Zealand in 1854. James Wilson appears to have emigrated to Lyttelton in 1859 aboard the *Mary Ann*. John Newbiggin also joined the partnership, and Edward Latter provided financial backing. Here in January 1863 they launched the 40-ton ketch *Foam*.⁴

In 1866 the greater part of Red House Bay was acquired, after White's bankruptcy, by George Scarborough, then proprietor of Bruce's Hotel and later, from 1876, Akaroa's first mayor. The property was later sold to William Glynn of Onuku, a near neighbour.

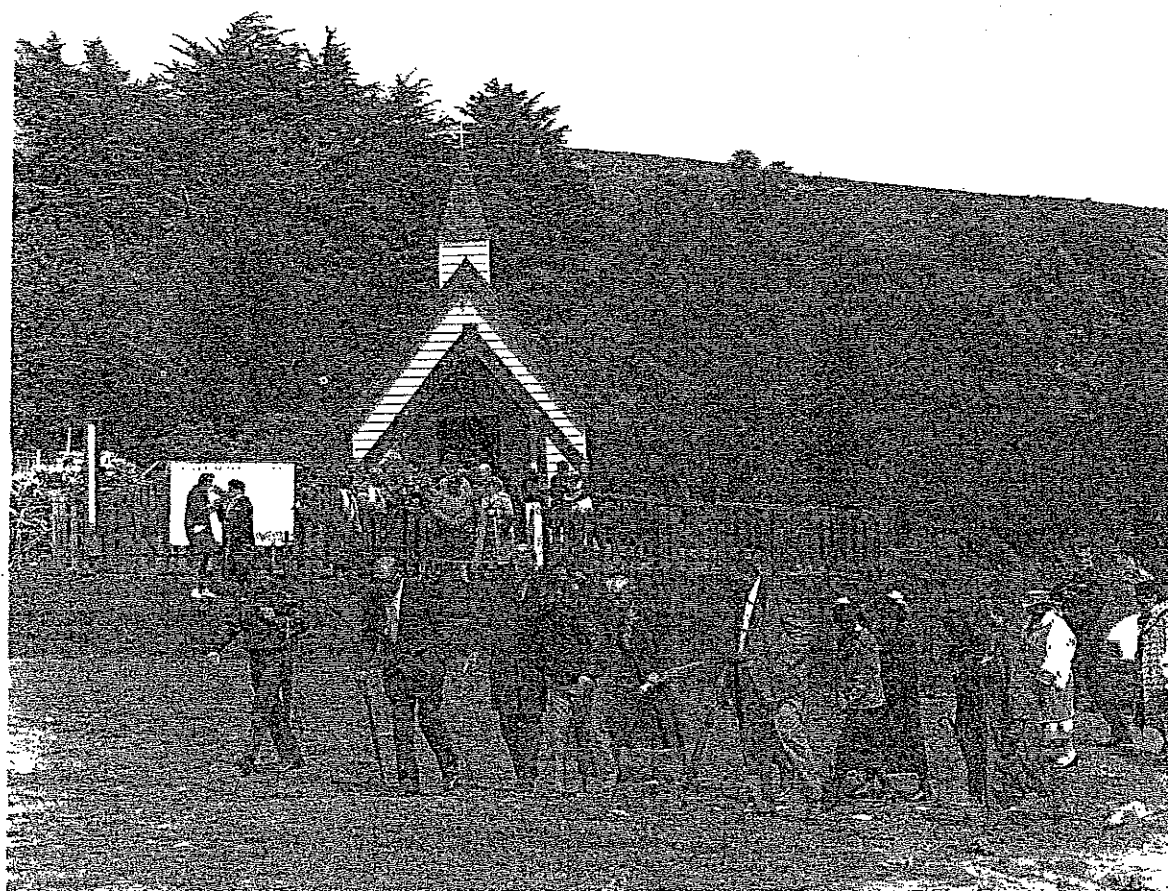
In 1924 the farm and homestead were bought by James Robinson, an Akaroa publican. In 1965 a small corner of Red House Bay was purchased by the Akaroa County Council for its sewerage disposal works. In 1978 14.2 hectares, all that then remained of the Robinson farm, was also purchased, partly for rubbish disposal. The sewage works is situated plumb on top of the Red House site and the sacred embers of Te Maiharanui's pillaged settlement. The bay's homestead is now occupied by Ken Paulin, the Akaroa County Engineer, and his family.

At nearby Onuku, the little Maori church nestles with proportions precisely right for its setting, just above the glinting bouldery bay. Uphill is a small brightly painted cluster of walnut-sheltered homes, two of them housing families descended from

James Robinson Clough and Israel Rhodes. The Maori cemetery, on a ridge behind the church, is sheltered by ancient macrocarpas, and, in the foreground, the Onuku Stream tumbles by beneath ngaio, lacebarks, kowhais and willows, exiting into the sea by the boatshed. Towering over the whole scene is a backdrop of precipitous Peninsula hills, spattered with basalt outcrops and clumps of remnant bush.

In the 1840s and 1850s Onuku (or the Kaik as it is more frequently called nowadays) had a population of about 40 Maori and by the 1880s there were more than 100 Europeans living in the vicinity. The families of Henry Robinson and Bruce Rhodes living by the church, Alan Haylock high up Haylocks Road behind Onuku, and Jeff Hamilton at the top end of Porters Road, are the only residents remaining in what was once a well-populated district busy with timber cutting and dairying.

Onuku was a village outpost of Takapuneke. After Te Rauparaha's massacre, some of the survivors fled there and after Onawe suffered a similar fate less than two years later, other escapees settled at Onuku, including their chief, "Big William" a descendant of Moki's chief, Te Ake. In this warm and sheltered bay, the inhabitants began to produce potatoes on a considerable scale, selling quantities to the whalers and early Akaroa settlers who usually referred to Onuku as Maori Bay or sometimes Whalers Bay. Barter payments were made in blankets, clothing, flour and biscuits. Flax traders and whalers had in the 1830s brought infections and diseases to the Onuku community which were to plague an already reduced population well into the 1840s. However the civilised controls imposed by C.B. Robinson and Captain Lavaud on the 1840 settlers at Akaroa brought a gradual turnaround in the morale and health of the Onuku Maori. For two more decades, whalerships continued to call at Onuku for supplies. The *Espadon* in January 1853 welcomed business with "several canoes laden with potatoes which the natives cultivate in great quantity". The crew found the Maori women, despite their pipe smoking, sufficiently "caressable", and four seamen deserted at Akaroa.⁵ The captain of the *Addison* notes in his log entry for 29 February 1860, "opened the slop cask and sold one boat from overhead to the Maori and received two tons of potatoes for it".⁶



The Governor General of New Zealand, Sir Paul Reeves, visiting Onuku Church (opened 1878) at the Kaik in October 1987. He is flanked by Henry Robinson (second from left) and Monty Daniels (fourth). The latter is currently Peninsula representative on the Ngai Tahu Trust Board. *Michael de Hamel.*

The first European to live there was James Robinson Clough (Jimmy Robinson), a Bristol-born whaler who settled at Onuku in 1837 with his Maori wife, Puai. Puai's first husband had been killed by Te Rauparaha after Onawe and one of their daughters later married "Big William". Robinson's cottage is marked on Captain Stanley's map of Akaroa Harbour, drawn from the *Britomart* in August 1840. One of Captain Lavaud's reports mentions two houses, two Europeans (the other, a whaler called Angus), and a Maori woman living there.

Robinson acted as Maori interpreter for Stanley and was present at the raising of the British flag at Green's Point in 1840. One of his sons, George Robinson, became a champion wrestler and a celebrity on the Peninsula in his own right, and a grandson, Tom Robinson, was a member of the 1926-7 Maori All Black team which toured France, Britain and Canada. Henry Robinson is a great-grandson and in him are now focused all the proudest memories, both Maori and Pakeha, of this historic community.⁷

In 1856, 172.5 hectares at Onuku, with a sea frontage of 1.2 kilometres were surveyed into a Maori reserve by Cyrus Davie. The chief was still Wiremu Harihona Puhirere ("Big William") and Merewhine ("Big Mary") was his wife. "Big William" died in 1884 aged about 70, and his wife in 1887.

Wiremu Ngaere Te Hau ("Little William") was another celebrity: a cousin of the chief and like "Big William" an Onawe survivor, a layreader of the church at Onuku, and a close friend of Canon James Stack, the Maori missionary. "Little William" succeeded his cousin as chief and himself died in 1891. The Robinson family now live in his house. Other Maori living at Onuku then, or later, included members of the Moeraki, Kaikoura, Hokianga, Keefe, Bunker and Tainui families. The Hokiangas lived less than a kilometre south of Onuku at Manukatahi, and one of their sons, Peni, married Hamaria



Onuku Chief, Wiremu Harihono Puhirere, "Big William" (c. 1810-1884), whose father, Te Puhirere, had been killed during Te Rauparaha's raid on Kaiapohia. Big William was himself enslaved by Te Rauparaha after Onawe fell, but was later released. J.W. Stack, *More Maoriland Adventures*



Hamaria Hokianga (1843-1944), daughter of Wiremu and Merewhine Puhirere and matriarch of Onuku for several decades before her death at the age of 101. *Akaroa Museum*

(Amelia), a daughter of "Big William"; while another, Sam Hokianga, had descendants at Manukatahi until well after the last war.⁸

About 40.5 hectares of bush had been cleared at Onuku during the 1840s and 1850s and in their cultivations the Maori grew maize, wheat, potatoes, pumpkins and melons. Wild pigeons and pigs from the bush, and fish from the sea, completed an enterprising diet. Canon Stack and his wife, visiting Onuku in 1862, were feasted for several days in a row on crayfish, another local delicacy, until they got headaches — the usual consequence of overdoing this seafood.⁹

The foundation stone for the non-denominational Onuku church was laid in 1876 and the church was officially opened two years later. The "Native School" which European children also attended was opened uphill from the church in 1880 with its first teacher, Alfred Hamilton, and a schoolhouse was built next door (The Rhodes family now live in the schoolhouse, suitably adapted, while the school serves as a holiday bach).

The first European to buy sections around the Maori reserve was John Glynn in 1856. Glynn, an Irishman, bought his land on the north (Akaroa) side of Onuku. He and his wife Sarah, a daughter of James Wright of Whakamoa, raised 19 children at their home on Kaik Hill and established a splendid herd of shorthorn milking cows.

Harry Haylock, one of the five sons of Charles Haylock of Grehan Valley, hacked a farm out of the bush high on the eastern boundary of the Maori reserve. There in 1857 he built a fine home (which descendants still occupy), established a good orchard and went in for cocksfooting and dairy farming. The Onuku stencil, with which he used to brand his cheese, is now in the Akaroa Museum. Harry Haylock's son Arthur, who took over the farm in 1905, was succeeded in 1939 by his nephew, Roy who farmed on for 40 years before selling to his sons Alan and Peter in 1979.

Patrick Keegan took on a bush section on the southern boundary of the reserve, just over the creek from where the Hokianga family later lived at Manukatahi. The small beach, Te One Poto, round the point beyond his cottage, was an ancient Maori burial site. Keegan, born in Dublin in 1822, had an enterprising background in soldiering, seafaring, goldmining, roadmaking and timber cutting before coming to the Peninsula in 1858 as a bushman.

After purchasing his section at Manukatahi in 1860, Keegan married (in 1869) Sarah Dobson, an Irish girl from County Wicklow who had come out six years earlier on the *Chariot of Fame* and was 30 years his junior. Sarah bore 12 children before she was 36. Two of them achieved special prominence: Fred Keegan as one of the province's most skilled bullock drivers; and Pat Keegan as author in 1945 of an excellent memoir, *The First Generation*.

One day Patrick Keegan found a man hiding in the bush, a Norwegian from Bergen, who had run away from his whaling ship. Joseph Wilkin, the absconder, lived alongside and worked in partnership with the Keegans for a time before buying a bush property of his own, high up the hill on the Akaroa side of Harry Haylock's. After clearing a site for his slab hut, Wilkin married Elizabeth Campbell who had arrived at the colony in a less disreputable fashion on board the *Lady Jocelyn* in 1872. He now proceeded to sire a family of 16 children, expanding his house as he went. The Wilkins ran a dairy herd

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This is an edited version of a paper that John Wilson delivered at the PHANZA 'Historywork' conference in Wellington on 24 December 2002. A former editor of *New Zealand Historic Places*, John has written extensively on heritage and on local history and is currently revising his earlier book, *Lost Christchurch*.

A Place as Important as Waitangi?

By John Wilson

The phrase that is the title of this paper originated with an exclamation point, not a question mark, as a slogan. Local people concerned about the future of a group of historic sites near Akaroa, needed such a slogan for two purposes:

- To persuade the Banks Peninsula District Council that an area of land which connects two historic sites (and is in effect part of one of them) should not have houses built on it;
- Then to secure funding so that the land could be purchased from the Council and become part of a national historic reserve.

Making a bold assertion that places most people have never heard of are as important as the best-known historic place in the country was seen as an effective way of achieving these two goals.

Historians don't need reminding that history can be distorted to serve political ends, and the phrase, with an exclamation point, might be seen as making an extravagant claim, to advance a particular agenda, which the facts do not support. With a question mark rather than an exclamation point, the phrase is a good starting point for an examination of the historical significance of the sites – Takapuneke, Green's Point and Onuku – which are on the eastern side of Akaroa Harbour, immediately south of the town of Akaroa.

There are several parcels of land and features at Takapuneke and Green's Point referred to in this paper:

- The Britomart Memorial stands on Green's Point on a small reserve which was gazetted in 1926;
- The actual site of the Takapuneke kainga and massacre (which will be discussed later) is protected as the Takapuneke Reserve;
- The land between the Takapuneke and Britomart Reserves is owned by the Banks Peninsula District Council and was designated for residential subdivision;
- Between the land proposed for subdivision and the Takapuneke Reserve is a small pocket of freehold land around an historic house which is a private dwelling;

- On the foreshore on the far side of the Bay from Green's Point is Akaroa's sewage treatment works.

I

This is a report rather than a scholarly paper. It is not based on original research but summarises secondary sources. The second part of the report deals with the recent past, and raises important issues about site recognition and interpretation, about the role of historical research in identifying and evaluating historic places and about the management and interpretation of historic sites in a society that is struggling to become truly bicultural. The history of the sites in the second half of the twentieth century is a revealing story of one New Zealand community's coming to terms with its past.

The starting point for the discussion of the history of the Akaroa sites is that the critical event in New Zealand's mid nineteenth century history was the assumption of sovereignty over the country by Britain not by virtue of discovery or conquest but by virtue of a treaty signed between two independent, sovereign peoples.

That being so, how can the supremacy of Waitangi as an historic place be challenged? The argument being advanced to support such a challenge is that the story of the route to British sovereignty can be told at Takapuneke, Green's Point and Onuku in a more complete way than at Waitangi. The proximity of sites that draw together several strands of the history of Britain's acquiring sovereignty over New Zealand gives them a collective significance greater than their individual standing.

The history of the sites can be told relatively quickly. Takapuneke (also known as Red House Bay) was the site of a kainga of Te Maiharanui, upoko ariki of Ngai Tahu. In the period immediately after the ending of the Ngai Tahu 'civil war' known as the Kai Huanga feud, Te Maiharanui was spending much of his time at Takapuneke because it was a convenient base for trading with Europeans, especially in flax. One factor in the ending of the Kai Huanga feud was the threat posed to Ngai Tahu by Te Rauparaha. This is not the place to attempt to explain Te Rauparaha's motivation for his incursions into Ngai Tahu territory, but the fact that Takapuneke was a major rival to Te Rauparaha's Kapiti Island as a source of supply of flax may add a rational economic calculation to the motive customarily assigned to Te Rauparaha for his attack on Takapuneke – a lust for revenge.

But certainly, after the killing of leading Ngati Toa chiefs at Kaiapoi in 1829, revenge was one of Te Rauparaha's motives. And revenge was what he achieved, in terrible fashion, at Takapuneke in November 1830. But his revenge was only achieved with the help of a British ship's captain, Captain Stewart of the brig *Elizabeth*. (The sacking of Takapuneke is often referred to as 'the brig *Elizabeth* incident'.) Stewart agreed, in return for a cargo of flax, to take Te Rauparaha secretly to Takapuneke and facilitate his seizing of Te Maiharanui.

The story is familiar – at least to South Islanders. Te Rauparaha and his taua hid below decks until Te Maiharanui came aboard. Te Maiharanui, his wife, his daughter and several other Ngai Tahu were seized without the people ashore being aware what

was happening. With Te Maiharanui taken, Te Rauparaha sacked Takapuneke, slaughtering or capturing almost all its inhabitants and burning the village to the ground. Te Maiharanui and the other captives were taken back to Kapiti and Te Maiharanui and some of the other captives killed.

Stewart eventually returned to Sydney, with rather less flax than he had been expecting. New Zealand in 1830 was a lawless place and the Takapuneke massacre might have been dismissed as just another bloodthirsty incident. But Stewart's complicity in what Te Rauparaha had done horrified the British authorities in Sydney. The attempts to bring Stewart to justice failed, but when the events were reported back to England they reinforced the arguments already being made that something had to be done about the lawless state of New Zealand. The arguments were being made on both humanitarian and economic grounds. The British Government wanted to protect 'the unfortunate natives of New Zealand' from falling 'a sacrifice to their intercourse with civilized men'. (The words are those of Lord Goderich to Governor Bourke in January 1832 and refer explicitly to the brig *Elizabeth* incident.) It wanted also to protect the lives and properties of British subjects residing in New Zealand and safeguard 'the very valuable trade of those islands'.

As a direct consequence of Stewart's actions, James Busby was sent to the Bay of Islands as British Resident in 1833, the first direct intervention by the British Government in the affairs of New Zealand, which was to culminate in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Later, in the 1838 enquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Lords into the 'present state of the islands of New Zealand', evidence was given on the brig *Elizabeth* incident. For our present purposes, the important connection is that what happened at Takapuneke in 1830 contributed to, perhaps even triggered, the series of events that came to their conclusion at Waitangi in 1840.

The other main reason for Britain's eventually deciding to assume sovereignty over New Zealand was imperial rivalry. The monument on Green's Point is not (as some people in Akaroa anxious to milk the French connection for tourist gain still contend) the finishing post of a race for the South Island that could have been won by the French. It is not even the point at which British sovereignty over the South Island was first proclaimed. But the monument is an important physical reminder that imperial rivalries contributed to the decision of the British government to assume sovereignty over New Zealand.

On Green's Point on 11 August 1840, officials sent south by Governor Hobson made the first effective demonstration of British sovereignty on the South Island. The demonstration was made at that time and at that place because Hobson knew the settlers of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, supported by a French naval vessel, were about to arrive at Akaroa.

Well before the French settlers arrived in New Zealand waters, however, British sovereignty was an accomplished fact. Hobson had proclaimed sovereignty over all New Zealand on 21 May 1840, over the North Island by virtue of the Treaty and over the South Island by virtue of discovery. On 17 June 1840, Captain Bunbury, returning to the Bay of Islands with the signatures of South Island chiefs on the Treaty, proclaimed British sovereignty over the South Island at Cloudy Bay by virtue of the consent of South Island chiefs to the Treaty. British sovereignty over the whole

country was already secure by the time Captain Lavaud of *L'Aube* put into the Bay of Islands on 11 July 1840. But Lavaud's arrival did prompt a nervous Hobson to decide he had to *exercise* sovereignty on the South Island, to put the matter beyond all doubt, so he despatched Captain Stanley of the *Britomart* to run up the flag at Akaroa. Stanley had two magistrates with him and with the flag flying from the flagpole on Green's Point, these gentlemen convened a court of law on the Point.

The original inscription on the monument erected on Green's Point in 1898 stated that the sovereignty of Great Britain had been formally proclaimed on the spot. Some time after 1927-28, when J.C. Andersen and T. Lindsay Buick both published books which debunked the myth that there had been a 'race for Akaroa' and that the South Island escaped being French by a hairsbreadth, a new plaque was affixed to the monument which states, more correctly, that Stanley demonstrated British sovereignty on the site.

The proximity of the site of the first effective demonstration of British sovereignty on the South Island, prompted by imperial rivalry with the French, to the site of the incident that reinforced British determination to do something about the lawless state of New Zealand means that the major strands of the story of Britain's acquiring sovereignty over New Zealand are woven together at this one place.

At nearby Onuku, two Ngai Tahu chiefs, Iwikau and Tikao, signed the Treaty of Waitangi on 28 May 1840. There was still a lingering suspicion of British ships (the brig *Elizabeth* incident had occurred just ten years earlier) and the acceptance of British sovereignty by men who had lost relatives in the massacre makes their signing of the Treaty so close to the site of the massacre an important step in the reconciliation between the British and Ngai Tahu.

The signing of the Treaty at Onuku reinforces the claim that the full story of Britain's acquiring sovereignty over New Zealand can be told here more effectively than anywhere else in the country.

There are opportunities, also, to tell a host of subsidiary stories at Takapuneke, Green's Point and Onuku. Onuku was a key site in later nineteenth century South Island Maori history and the church and early native school there are significant historic buildings. From Green's Point can be seen Tuhiraki, one of the South Island's most important traditional Maori sites (it was where Rakaihautu planted the ko with which he had scooped out the South Island's lakes) and also Onawe, an historic reserve where one of the last incidents in the story of the Ngai Tahu/Ngati Toa rivalry occurred.

The area also has other importance in European history. Cattle were landed at Takapuneke in 1839, making it the scene of the first significant European farming venture on the South Island. Green's hotel, on the township side of Green's Point, was an early, possibly the earliest, European commercial building in Canterbury. An old immigration barracks still stands on the Red House Bay foreshore.

But the real importance of the three main sites lies in the part the events associated with each place played in the acquisition by Britain of sovereignty over New Zealand. Whether my sketchy history is enough to warrant an assertion that the sites are,

collectively, as important as Waitangi, I leave to your judgment. But whatever answer you give to the question that is the title of this paper, it has to be conceded that it is a place with a rich, important history. It has become fashionable to talk about cultural or heritage landscapes. When you stand on Green's Point (as I hope you all will some day) history *is* in the magnificent landscape that surrounds you.

II

I want to turn now to recognition of the sites by later generations. In 1898, a monument was erected on Green's Point, to mark Queen Victoria's 60th jubilee and to assert the significance of the site in the history of the establishment of British sovereignty over New Zealand. In 1926, the government acquired an area of 12.8 perches around the monument which was gazetted in the same year as 'land of historic interest'.

That was pretty much it until very recently. If you were a child holidaying in Akaroa at mid century (as I was) you would be marched to Green's Point and be expected to (and did) feel grateful that the British had beaten the French to it.

At about the same time that I was feeling a warm imperial glow standing on Green's Point, children growing up at Onuku were being told by their kaumatua that they were not, ever, to go near or walk across Takapuneke. But there was so little awareness in the wider community that Takapuneke was a place of great significance to the local iwi that in 1965 Akaroa's sewage treatment works were built on the southern side of the bay. It was, one historian has remarked, a time when 'there was less awareness in the public service of cultural sensitivity' than there was by the late 1990s.

In June 1978, using the proceeds from the sale of endowment land elsewhere in Canterbury, the local council purchased all the remaining land at Takapuneke for the stated purposes of, inter alia, residential development, rubbish disposal and sewage plant extension. The town's rubbish dump was established off Onuku Road, immediately above the site of the Takapuneke kainga. Not mincing words, Harry Evison has described the placing of the sewage treatment works and rubbish dump at Takapuneke as 'the ultimate in modern cultural oppression'. The establishment of the rubbish dump in 1979 was in fact opposed by the Onuku Runanga and, initially, by the Historic Places Trust, but the council proceeded on the basis of an archaeological report by Michael Trotter which concluded that it need only protect the registered archaeological site (S94/29) and that there were no objections to the dump being located at Takapuneke 'from a Maori or archaeological point of view'. The Historic Places Trust subsequently permitted the dump to be established. The site had been recorded in 1960-61. Its boundaries were not defined, but it was stated to include north-facing terraces and midden on the southern side of the bay.

In 1992 the council made plans for the land it owned at Takapuneke. Most importantly, the area around the registered archaeological site was to become a reserve and the land between the proposed new reserve and Green's Point was to be sold for residential development.

In 1992, an archaeologist, Chris Jacomb, again gave approval, though it was guarded, to the council's plans. Jacomb warned that there was likely to be more occupational evidence on the registered site than previously recorded, but he could see no archaeological reason why the land should not be subdivided as there were no sites on it, and thought the 'interests of both development and the cultural resource could be accommodated'. He added, however, that 'there may be matters of cultural sensitivity to be considered' and reiterated a year later (when he made a further investigation of the Red House property) that 'questions of traditional or spiritual importance will have to be a subject of further negotiation with the local Maori'.

In 1995 the future of the land which the council proposed should be used for residential development became a public issue when Harry Evison wrote an article for *The Press* which drew attention to the importance to the local Maori of the site of the Takapuneke massacre of 1830. The then mayor of Banks Peninsula, Noelene Allan, asked Ruth Richardson whether the Crown might purchase the land but gained 'no sufficiently hard evidence to suggest she could persuade the Government to let that happen'.

The council then entered into negotiations with the Onuku Runanga. The outcome was a 1998 'Heads of Agreement'. The Council agreed to close the rubbish dump, to apologise for having previously put Akaroa's sewage treatment works and rubbish dump in the bay, and to set up the Takapuneke Reserve to embrace the registered archaeological site and the greater part of the probable site of Te Maiharanui's kainga. The Onuku Runanga for its part agreed that residential development of the land above Green's Point could go ahead. But the Runanga was a reluctant party to the agreement. It stated that 'Onuku cannot state strongly enough our grief at the past treatment of this site by past Councillors and officers of the Banks Peninsula District Council and its forbears'. It declared unequivocally that 'the whole bay is of cultural significance' and that 'it is abhorrent to Onuku Runanga that this bay, which was the site of occupation and a massacre, has been defiled by both a rubbish dump and a sewage treatment plant ... It would be Onuku Runanga's preference that no further development take place in the bay'. But recognising it was part of a wider community, and after 'long and painful discussion', the Runanga agreed to houses being built on the northern side of the bay, subject to certain conditions, which were embodied in the Heads of Agreement. In September 1998, the apology was made to the Runanga and the tapu was lifted on the land that was proposed for residential development. The Takapuneke Reserve was not gazetted until March 2002, but by then a Reserve Committee had already drawn up plans and received funding for an interpretive structure right on the site of the massacre, which many thought inappropriate. The Committee by 2002 was in hot water with the Historic Places Trust for disturbing archaeological sites.

In 2000, the Council advertised plans to subdivide the land itself or sell it to a developer and received 14 objections. The council decided to sell the land for subdivision, but provided for the tiny Britomart Memorial Reserve to be extended, for controls to limit the visual impact of buildings on the site and for walkways to connect the Britomart and Takapuneke Reserves. Among the objectors to the subdivision in 2000 was the Akaroa Civic Trust. When it looked into the matter, the Trust quickly became aware of the great historic significance of the over-all area and was soon of the view – which the Onuku Runanga had expressed all along – that

residential development of the land would be a gross desecration of wahi tapu and fatally compromise the historic values of the area.

At the 2001 annual meeting of the Trust, a young representative spoke for the Onuku Runanga about the significance of the site and stated, for the first time publicly, the Runanga's conviction that the land proposed for subdivision was wahi tapu. After the 1830 massacre, the bodies had been left untouched and the land treated by local Maori as highly tapu. When cattle were landed at Takapuneke in 1839, one of the Europeans involved in the enterprise gathered the bones still lying on the surface and burned them. Onuku is convinced that ash from this cremation would have dispersed over the entire area, including the land that the council wanted to sell to a developer.

The Banks Peninsula District Council in a sense forced the issue by indicating it had a possible buyer for the land, but its plans to sell the land received a moral if not legal setback in May 2002 when the Historic Places Trust registered the entire area as wahi tapu.

By this time, the Onuku Runanga, supported by the Akaroa Civic Trust, was working with local M.P. Ruth Dyson to get the matter onto the national agenda. The future of the land once to be subdivided is now the subject of discussion between the Runanga, the district council and the government. The hoped for outcome is that the government will, recognising the historic importance of the sites and their potential for educating visitors about the bi-cultural foundations of modern New Zealand, buy the land from the council for a sum sufficient to satisfy the council's requirements that it secure a 'market return' for endowment land and that ratepayers are not penalised because of the loss of future rate revenue from the land.

These recent developments have seen interesting interactions between the Onuku Runanga and the wider Akaroa community, as represented specifically by the Akaroa Civic Trust. Members of the Trust have valued becoming better informed about Maori perspectives on historic places and about the nature of the connections the people of Onuku have with their past, their ancestors and the land that is the common concern of both groups. Some in the Runanga became concerned that the Runanga was being side-lined by the Civic Trust's contacts with the central government, though the Trust has always acknowledged that its role is to support the Runanga and that it is entirely Onuku's right to decide when, where and how it will tell its part of the Takapuneke story. The Trust has also consistently stressed that it wanted only to ensure that the land was not sold for residential development. While acknowledging the right of Onuku to leadership and control of the whole process, the Trust has been concerned also that the national, bi-cultural significance of the area be recognised.

I have no conclusion to draw about a process that it still being worked through, except to say that the treatment of Takapuneke, from the time the sewage treatment works were established through to the present, is a fascinating case study in changing attitudes towards historic sites and in the development in the wider Akaroa community of a better understanding of and greater sensitivity towards Maori values in respect of land-based heritage. It also illustrates, in relation in particular to the Britomart Memorial, changes in how Pakeha New Zealanders value their own cultural heritage.

Many of those involved in the effort to have the significance of the sites I have discussed recognised and to have all of Takapuneke protected as a national historic reserve are aware how long it took Vernon Reed to achieve the same goal at Waitangi. The feeling of treading in Reed's footsteps sustains hopes that Takapuneke, Green's Point and Onuku will eventually be recognised as places which people concerned to understand this country's past have to visit – places as important as Waitangi.

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THE FUTURE OF THE LAND AT GREEN'S POINT

Akaroa, Green's Point and Onuku, 2 July 2004

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AT TAKAPUNEKE

(Text by John Wilson)

Introduction

What happened at Takapuneke in the second half of the 20th century is initially a sorry tale of cultural insensitivity, which happily as the century ends changes into one of growing awareness in the wider community of how important Takapuneke is to the people of Onuku.

Here is a timeline of developments:

1965 The sewage treatment works are built on the southern side of the bay, over the objections of the people of Onuku and to their great distress.

1978 The local Council purchases the land at Takapuneke, it does not yet own for the purposes of residential development, rubbish disposal and sewage works extensions.

1979 The rubbish dump is established.

The historian Harry Evison later describes the sewage works and rubbish dump as 'the ultimate in modern cultural oppression'.

1992 The Council divides up its land at Takapuneke, sells the historic Red House to a private buyer, establishes

the Takapuneke Reserve, and confirms its plans to subdivide the rest of the land for houses.

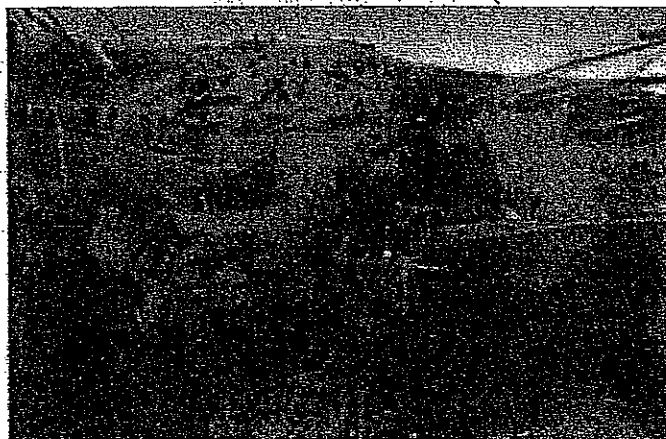
1998 The Council and the Onuku Runanga come to an agreement that the rubbish dump will be closed. An apology is made by the Council to the Runanga for the placing of the sewage works and rubbish dump on a site of such cultural significance. The Runanga agrees reluctantly to the proposed residential subdivision of the land between the Takapuneke and Britomart Reserves.

2000 The Akaroa Civic Trust starts to support the Onuku Runanga's efforts to have the land protected from residential subdivision and made a reserve.

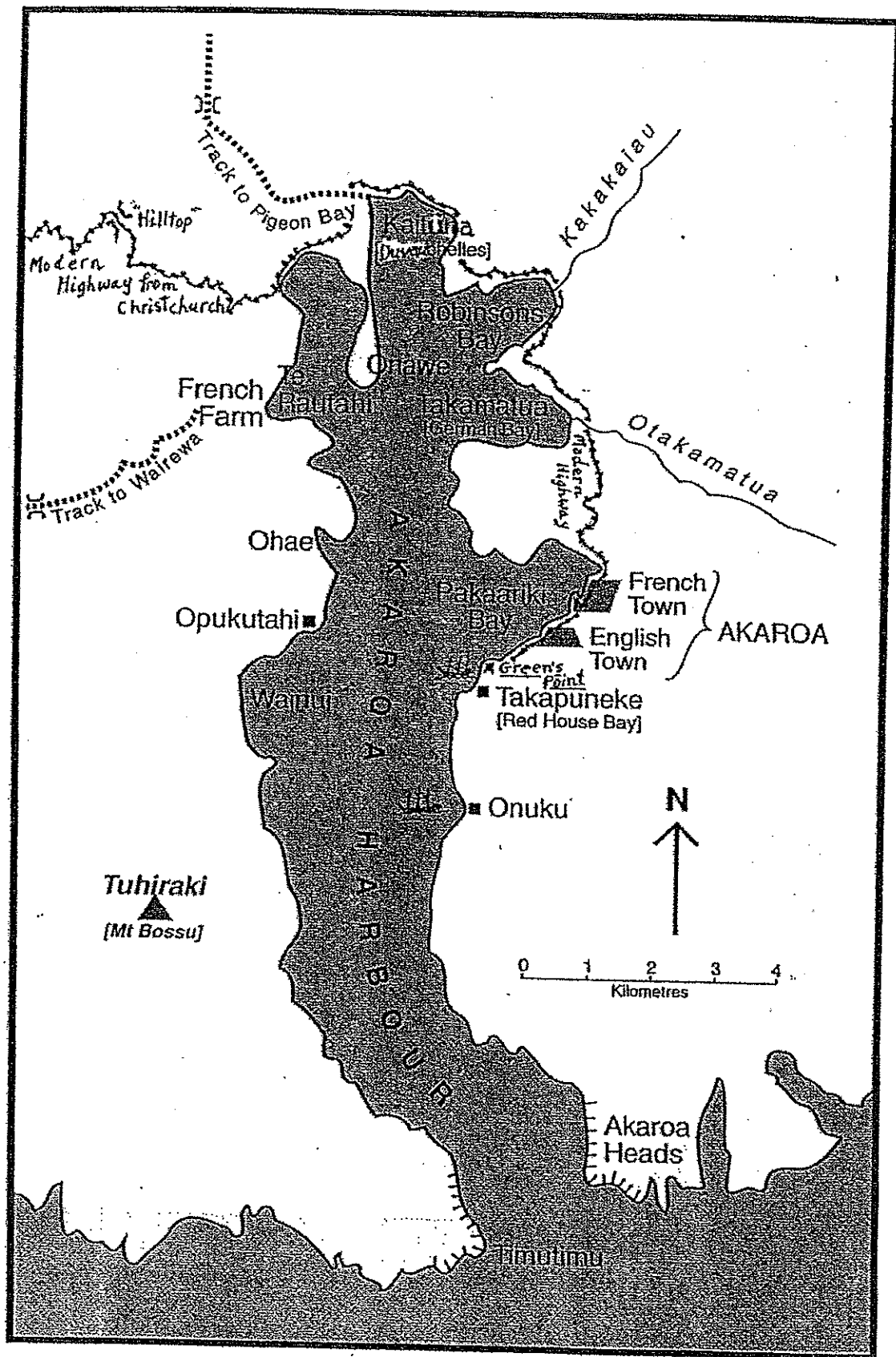
2002 The area is registered as a wahi tapu by the Historic Places Trust.

Conclusion

These recent developments have seen interesting interactions between the Onuku Runanga and the wider Akaroa community, based on a growing recognition in the community of how important and tapu the site is to local Maori. A readiness to acknowledge the cultural wrongs of the past grows, along with sensitivity to Maori values in respect of land-based heritage.



Above: Takapuneke: the bay from above Green's Point.
(Poto: Lynda Wallace)



A map of Akaroa Harbour which shows the locations of places important in the story of Takapuneke and Green's Point. (Base map by Benjamin Evison.)

THE FUTURE OF THE LAND AT GREEN'S POINT

Akaroa, Green's Point and Onuku, 2 July 2004

TAKAPUNEKE - ONUKU - GREEN'S POINT 1830-1840

(Text by Harry Evison)

The setting

The gentle slope southward from the Britomart memorial at Green's Point, Akaroa, leads across some 300 metres towards the historic site of Takapuneke, on the rise beyond the inlet. Two kilometres beyond, and out of sight, is Onuku – the Turangawaewae of Akaroa Maori. On this quiet stretch of shoreline, in a single decade, events took place which contributed to bringing first the North Island, and then the South Island, under British sovereignty.

Takapuneke, 1830

Late in November 1830, a trading ship appeared off Takapuneke. It was the 129-ton British mercantile brig

Elizabeth, of London. According to her ships' articles, *Elizabeth* carried two officers, a carpenter, a cook, two boys, and six seamen, captained by John Stewart.

Takapuneke was a thriving Ngai Tahu flax-trading centre supervised by Te Maiharanui, the highest-born ariki in all Ngai Tahu. His headquarters were at the great pa at Kaiapoi, newly fortified for musket warfare. But flax production for Takapuneke was Te Maiharanui's special care. Guns and ammunition obtained in exchange for flax were vital for his people's survival.

Te Maiharanui was invited aboard *Elizabeth* by Captain Stewart, to discuss trade. With his young daughter, the ariki went below decks for a present of gunpowder. There he received a nasty surprise. He was confronted by none other than his sworn enemy, Te Rauparaha of Ngati Toa, seeking vengeance for the killing of some of his own chiefs at Kaiapoi seven months earlier. Te Rauparaha had been brought from Kapiti by Stewart, concealed below decks, together with a strong war party, in return for a promised cargo of North Island flax. The mate, Clementson, seized Te Maiharanui and put him in irons, together with others who followed him aboard.

Late that night, when all was dark, the still unsuspecting people of Takapuneke were suddenly attacked by Ngati Toa. Many were killed, and the rest taken back to Kapiti with the flesh of the slain. There Stewart got his flax, and Te Maiharanui was tortured to death.

Sydney, 1831

On 14 January 1831 *Elizabeth* reached Sydney from Kapiti with her cargo of flax. With the crew was Pere, a young survivor from Takapuneke. He reported the massacre. Governor Ralph Darling, hearing of it, was outraged. He ordered the arrest of Stewart and his associates.

On 16 May, Stewart stood trial as an accessory to the murder of Te Maiharanui and others. But the Maori witnesses, as "heathens", were refused the oath. The trial was abandoned "for want of evidence". In defiance of Darling, Stewart was illegally released, and disappeared. The British Government ordered Stewart and Clementson re-arrested, but they were never found.



Above: Looking north from above Takapuneke to the Green's Point land, centre. (Photo: Lynda Wallace)



Above: Looking north from above Takapuneke towards Green's Point. The Britomart memorial is on the tip of the Point and the western portion of the Green's Point land to its right. (Photo: Lynda Wallace)



Above: In 1940, the raising of the flag at Green's Point one hundred years before was depicted on a stamp

Darling meanwhile urged Britain to appoint his protégé Lt Charles Sturt as official Resident to New Zealand in command of an armed force, to discourage such atrocities against Maori.

London 1832

Instead of Sturt, Britain appointed a civilian, James Busby, as Resident. He had no armed force. Instead, he was promised naval backing from Sydney as required. Busby reached the Bay of Islands in 1833. He encouraged local Maori chiefs to form a Confederation and adopt a flag.

London, August 1839

In 1839 the British Government finally agreed to annex New Zealand if Maori chiefs could be persuaded to cede it by treaty. Captain Hobson was appointed to go there to persuade them.

Waitangi, 6 February 1840

Hobson arrived in New Zealand on 29 January in HMS *Herald*, as Lt Governor under Govr Gipps of New South Wales. A treaty was drawn up, as between the Queen and Busby's Confederation together with any other signatories. At Waitangi on 6 February, Hobson got enough signatures to encourage him to try for more. He sent out treaty envoys to other tribes.

Onuku, 30 May 1840

On 30 May 1840, Hobson's envoy Major Bunbury came ashore at Onuku from HMS *Herald* with a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi in Maori (now "parchment no. 7" at National Archives). He persuaded Iwikau and John Love Tikao to sign, the first South Island chiefs to do so. By a strange coincidence, these were both surviving captives



Above: The Britomart monument at Green's Point has long attracted visitors to Akaroa, but nowhere on the site is the full story of Takapuneke, Onuku and Green's Point told. (Photo: Turnbull Library)

of Te Rauparaha taken at Takapuneke in 1830. On the strength of these two, and 13 (or 14) other South Island signatures, Bunbury proclaimed British sovereignty over the whole South Island at Cloudy Bay on 17 June 1840.

Bay of Islands, July 1840

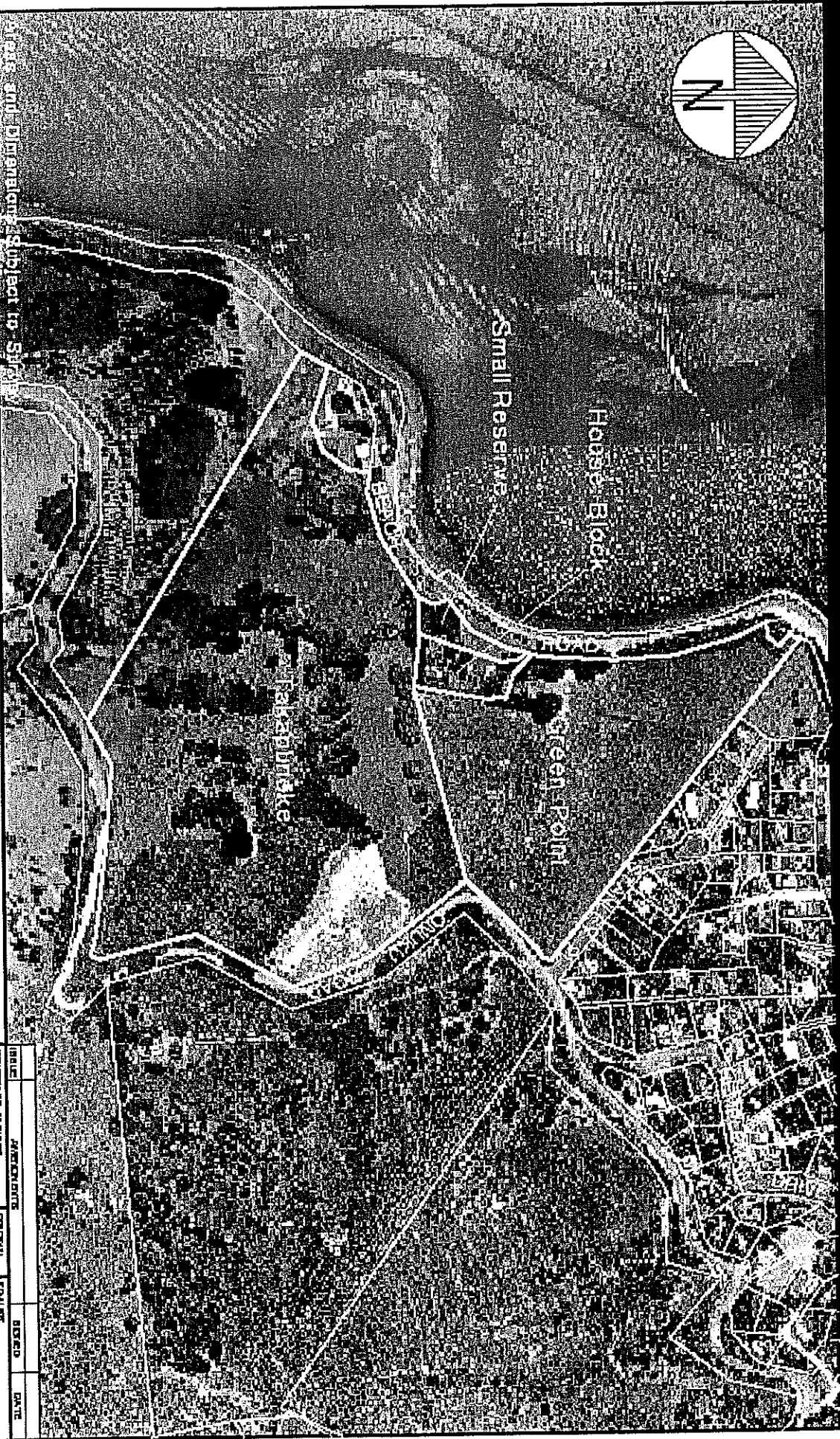
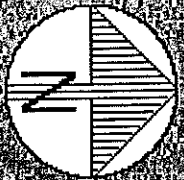
On 10 July 1840, the 22-gun French corvette *Aube* arrived at Russell from France, en route to Akaroa to support an impending French colony – a surprise for Hobson. *Aube* anchored near the ten-gun HM sloop *Britomart*, Commander Owen Stanley, which had replaced *Herald* on station.

On 23 July, Hobson urgently despatched Stanley with *Britomart*, officially to Wellington but secretly to Akaroa. His secret orders were to demonstrate (for the benefit of the French) that the British sovereignty proclaimed at Cloudy Bay was now in force in the south. Stanley took on board as magistrates M. Murphy and C.B. Robinson, who were in the dark about all this.

Green's Point, 11 August 1840

Britomart reached Akaroa on 10 August. Stanley landed next day and hoisted the flag at Green's Point. He gave the magistrates their instructions, and Murphy duly held a court. *Aube* arrived on 15 August, towed in to Akaroa by *Britomart*'s boats while the magistrates were holding other token courts around Banks Peninsula. The French settlers arrived on 17 August.

[Sources and references are found in: *Te Wahi Pounamu: The Greenstone Land*, (Aoraki Press, Wellington, 1993), chs. 3-6; and *The Long Dispute*, (Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1997), chs.3-6. Both books are by Harry Evison.]



Plans and Dimensions Subject to Survey



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AKAROA

SHEET	1	OF 1
CONTINUOUS NUMBER		
FILE REFERENCE	301/101	
DRAWING NUMBER	SM1790-01	
ORIGINAL SHEET SIZE	A4	
SCALE	1:4000	