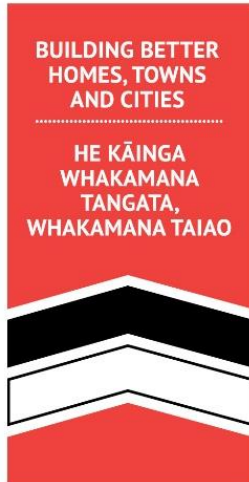


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## Small Homes are our Past and Future: Hapū Experiences and Aspirations

Ellen Andersen

Kaho Design + Heritage

A Report for the FAAB Small Homes Programme

May 2024



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Every effort has been made to ensure the soundness and accuracy of the opinions and information expressed in this report. While we consider statements in the report are correct, no liability is accepted for any incorrect statement or information.

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## Introduction

This research report summarises findings from a series of wānanga and analysis of historical records associated with the history of small house solutions from the hapū of Ngāti Kapu, based in Ōtaki on the Kāpiti Coast. This research was led by Ellen Andersen, one of the FAAB Small Homes Research Team members.

The FAAB Small Homes: Functional, Accessible, Affordable Buildable Small Homes Research Programme aims to fill a critical research gap, intended to diversify Aotearoa NZ's housing by developing research-based solutions which:

- Ensure the production and availability of functional, accessible and affordable small homes (about 45-70m<sup>2</sup>) delivered through community, private sector, Māori, and public housing developers and providers; and
- Provide choices for households and whānau within their communities of housing that best-fits their needs and adapts over life-stages to meet changing capacities and capabilities.
- attention to working with and delivering for Māori. It is marked by collaborations with Māori stakeholders and embedding kaupapa Māori research methods.

This research has produced a place-based perspective that considers many of the barriers to kaumatua housing development that can have historical causes that continue to impact whānau for generations after local or central government decision making and actions have occurred. Many of these actions have contemporary ramifications for options around future accessibility and functionality of housing design.

The FAAB Small Homes research programme is organised around four modules:

- Module A: Small dwelling demand, supply and price.
- Module B: Assessing the accessibility and functionality of existing small dwelling designs in Aotearoa NZ and overseas.
- Module C: Developing affordable solutions for accessible small home design.
- Module D: Approaches to incentivising developers and providers across the community, private sector, Māori, and public housing sectors to take up accessible small home design.

This research contributes to Module C, with the initial aim of identifying and progressing through the preliminary stages of how a Ngāti Kapu extended whānau group can navigate the complexities of developing affordable solutions for accessible small home design for kaumatua on an ancestral land block. The research has been specifically focussed on growing our understanding of our own kaumatua experiences of housing in the past and considering how these experiences inform the situation in the present.

Although the ultimate aim of this project aims to realise tangible housing aspirations for our Ngāti Kapu kaumatua and whānau, the key outcome of this project has enabled us to think deeply and broadly about some of the meanings of home for our hapū.

Previous research on the impacts of accessible design on buildability and building costs has focused on what might be described as 'typical' residential new builds, however this research shows the complexity that many whānau face when seeking to build on land they have managed to retain as

Māori Land with multiple owners, within a colonial context, which saw rapid development in the region, often characterised by enhancements to land that had transferred into non-Māori ownership, that were ultimately detrimental to Māori land, such as increased flood risk and landlocking.<sup>1</sup>

The information in this report is also drawn from other published material that the author has previously produced for Ngāti Kapu, such as our *Ngāti Kapu Housing Strategy Vision Document 2021-2031*, and evidence submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal in support of two of our historical Treaty claims that are currently being heard as part of Wai 2200 – The Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry.



*Figure 1 - Home at Tainui Pā. Photograph taken by Graham Dawson, between 13 December 1941 and 25 January 1942 (Victoria University of Wellington Heritage and Archives Centre)*

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<sup>1</sup> A piece of land is landlocked if there is no reasonable access to it, as described in Section 129B of the *Property Law Act 1952*

## The Context

Māori architecture is an important and distinctive part of Aotearoa New Zealand’s heritage. Māori communities have a unique and enduring relationship with their building traditions and the indigenous materials used to create them. This relationship is integral for its heritage and cultural values, and for the way that knowledge, art traditions, whakapapa (genealogy), social function, and spiritual meaning is conveyed and passed on. Housing is part of this Māori architectural heritage, and understanding Māori housing heritage is also a way of understanding innovation and change grounded within mātauranga Māori. In order to begin thinking about our housing futures, the approach taken by our Ngāti Kapu whānau for this research was to look back and consider how we have created homes in the past, in the hope that concepts, values and practices might be revitalised, or incorporated into future planning.

### A kaupapa Māori approach to housing research

The common Māori whakataukī (proverbial saying) “tiro whakamuri, ki anga whakamua” reminds us that in order to move forward, there is value in looking to the past. This whakataukī also demonstrates differences in the way Māori and European-based frameworks approach heritage and history. “Tiro whakamuri” literally asks you to look in front of you to see the past, while the future lies behind you, as yet unseen.

Māori architecture exists within a holistic framework that incorporates whānau, whare, whenua, and whakapapa. This woven interrelationship of family, the built environment, the natural environment, and ancestral connections to people, place, and practice, guides the interactions with Māori communities and their own ancestral landscapes.



Figure 2 - Diagram expressing interconnection of whakapapa, whenua, whare, and whānau for Ngāti Kapu. From the Ngāti Kapu Housing Strategy Vision Document 2021-2031, by Ellen Andersen, 2020.



## Ontological Security through a Māori worldview

Earlier research produced by Dr Bev James for the Building Better Homes Towns and Cities Affordable Housing for Generations Research Programme considered the meaning of home and dimensions of affordability.<sup>2</sup> Dr James describes how;

*The meaning of home and the ability to make a home are inextricably tied to questions of identity and security, and above all 'ontological security', the security of being (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998). Applied to housing, ontological security is expressed as the ability to establish a secure, safe environment, to exert control over the home environment and daily routines, and to construct one's identity through home-making.*

The research undertaken by Dr Fiona Cram that contributed to Revitalising the Production of Affordable Housing for Productive, Engaged & Healthy Lives: Integrated Report from 2019<sup>3</sup> also closely reflects the holistic framework of whānau, whare, whenua, and whakapapa that was an outcome of the Housing Strategy Process.

Ngāti Kapu considered these issues of identity and security in relation to housing when developing a Housing Strategy Vision Document, and we found that the key contributors to this ontological security could be expressed through four main concepts:

1. Ūkaipotanga, expressed as Ngāti Kapu as a hapū being able to support its people, and ensures that its rohe is a nurturing place for all those who are privileged to live here.
2. Manaakitanga, in the sense that Ngāti Kapu sees the opportunities and obligations to express manaakitanga in every aspect of the housing experience, in regards to both manaaki received by those living in homes here, and the way that home design can enable us to offer manaaki to others.
3. Ōhakītanga, and the idea of home as a legacy, or a taonga, to be passed on. This drives our determination to create beautiful, warm, dry, well designed homes and living environments that will benefit us, our children, and generations to come.
4. Auahatanga, which embodies innovation and creativity, and challenges Ngāti Kapu to be forward thinking, and inspire others to follow our lead.

There is an important relationship between Māori and their taonga tuku iho. Taonga tuku iho refers to the things that have been handed down to us from past generations and are acknowledged as being of value. This concept also articulates the notion of treasured things are important to safeguard and hand down to future generations.<sup>4</sup>

Taonga tuku iho also recognises the value of the physical and intellectual elements of Māori architecture, and the importance of passing on to future generations both the physical taonga, as well

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<sup>2</sup> James, B., (2020), The meaning of home and affordability: Housing trade-offs among Seniors and among 20-40 year-olds, Affordable Housing for Generations: Component C Working Paper, Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge. Wellington.

<sup>3</sup> Saville-Smith, K., (2019), Revitalising the Production of Affordable Housing for Productive, Engaged & Healthy Lives: Integrated Report. Building Better Homes Towns and Cities National Science Challenge: Revitalising the Production of Affordable Housing for Productive, Engaged & Healthy Lives: Wellington. BBHTC. p. 64

<sup>4</sup> The Wai 262 Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry and subsequent Report 'Ko Aotearoa Tenei' provides direction in terms of consolidating the views of Māori in the treatment of taonga and mātauranga Māori.

as the mātauranga associated with these places. This is part of the reason it is so important for us to understand the interconnectedness of whānau, whare, whenua, and whakapapa. They rely on this interconnection, benefit from this interconnection, but also can suffer where one aspect is harmed, is under-supported, or is not taken into consideration when dealing within another. It could be regarded as a wellbeing-centred approach to understanding past experience and can also be applied to future needs. The wellbeing of our whānau, our whare, our whenua, and our whakapapa are elements of our “taonga katoa” in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

We considered our housing heritage by looking back in a variety of ways:

- Through kōrero tuku iho, which is sharing of oral history based knowledge that has been handed down by our ancestors and remained with us to this day;
- Through evidence recorded in the Minutes of the Māori Land Court, where our ancestors shared information about where we lived and how we lived;
- By looking at historical maps and survey plans;
- Through archaeological site records, that document settlement patterns, scale, and distribution of structures that make up a home;
- By finding the earliest photographic records of our homes and domestic environments;
- Through the administrative records of government departments, that show records of their interactions with our ancestors who sought to improve their housing situation;
- Through archives documenting research previously undertaken into housing conditions and circumstance, that our ancestors had either contributed to, or had been the subject of;
- By looking at actual house plans and layouts of previous homes of our kaumatua.

This report includes research gathered from of all these areas, and presents some case studies that highlight some of the key issues and experiences that have created barriers to enduring homes for our whānau in our ancestral landscape.



*Figure 3 - View of Tainui Pā taken from Pukekaraka Hill, looking North. Taken by Graham Dawson, between 13 December 1941 and 25 January 1942 (Victoria University of Wellington Heritage and Archives Centre)*

## Early Settlements

*Ko Tainui te waka,  
Ko Tararua te maunga,  
Ko Ōtaki me Waitohu ngā awa,  
Ko Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga te iwi,  
Ko Ngāti Kapu te hapū,  
Ko Te Pou o Tainui te marae.*

For Ngāti Kapu, our pepeha locates us in Ōtaki, between the Waitohu and Ōtaki rivers, at the foot of the Tararua Mountain ranges. The name of our marae, and our ancestors connect us to the Waikato, where our hapū lived until the 1820s when a series of migrations occurred, and our people came from places such as Waotū and Maungatautari.

## Piraunui Pā

Our ancestors from Waotū in the South Waikato district lived at Piraunui. This pā had extensive and elaborate construction, terracing, and rua kumara (food storage facilities) that are still visible in the landscape today. This former home of Ngāti Kapu is an example of our ancestors' skills in engineering and construction that they brought and put to use in Ōtaki with their house building, church building, milling and other agricultural structures.



Figure 4 - Archaeological site survey plan of Piraunui, from Delph and Archey, 'The Piraunui Pa at Matawhana, Waikato, Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum, Vol. 1, No. 1, 30 June 1930, at 57-69.

The Raukawa Charitable Trust has created a digital reconstruction of the site using archaeological records.<sup>5</sup> These artistic renderings show the terraced clusters of multiple small dwellings that make up our early kāinga.

<sup>5</sup> Waiapapa ki Arapuni Wāhi Ahurei Cultural Landscape website:  
<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/06fd657b53b24c1ca3350204841db402>



Figure 5 - Depiction of Piraunui Pā in the early 1800s, view from the Waikato Rover area. Produced by the Raukawa Charitable Trust Waiapapa ki Arapuni Wāhi Ahurei Cultural Landscape Website.

## Pukekaraka

The first principal settlement for the ancestors of the land block that forms the focus of this research was Pukekaraka. The area was settled by Ngāti Kapu following initial settlement near to the Beach in the late 1820s and by the 1840s were living here in a well established pā, described by local historian G. Leslie Adkin “...usually referred to as a pa but it was probably merely a partially palisaded village.”<sup>6</sup>

Our tūpuna at Pukekaraka welcomed French Marist Missionaries on to our lands in the 1840s, and our marae is also located here. Pukekaraka is part of the area that came to be known as Tainui Pā, which grew up immediately to the north of Pukekaraka Hill.

## Tainui Pā

The main area associated with Ngāti Kapu today is Tainui Pā, spanning each side of Convent Road, Ōtaki. The settlement covered an area that included parts of the Pukekaraka land block and the Whakahokiatapango block. In the early twentieth century it was often referred to like a suburb or district of Ōtaki. The case studies featured in this paper all occur on the land block known as

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<sup>6</sup> Adkin, G. L., Horowhenua : Its Maori Place-Names & Their Topographic & Historical Background, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1948, pp. 316-317.



Whakahokiatapango C, located to the west of Convent road and Te Pou o Tainui Marae. Details of the history of the Whakahokiatapango land block are included at Appendix 1.

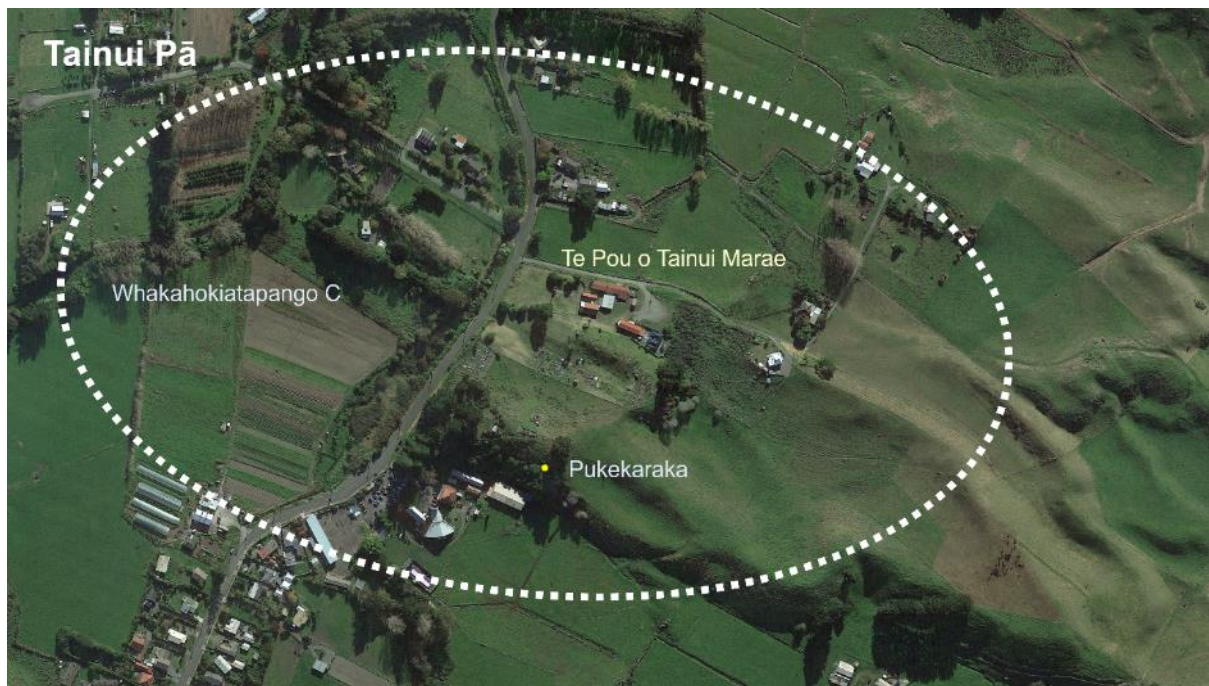


Figure 6 - Area of Tainui Pā showing the Whakahokiatapango C Land Block and Pukekaraka

## Building From our Traditional Environment

We built our homes using the resources available to us in our immediate environment. The natural environment was our food basket, our wardrobe, our toolshed, and our building supplies centre. In the nineteenth century there were many places where raupō, kākaho, harakeke and other construction fibres were able to be sourced by Ngāti Kapu, as these all thrive in swamp areas, coastal margins, and estuarine areas, which are all common to our traditional rohe.

We know from photographs and written records that some of the earliest housing for Ngāti Kapu was made from raupō, and there are descriptions of kākaho linings (toetoe stems), as well as timber construction. We know from accounts recorded in the Minutes of the Native Land Court that the hapū had access to multiple timber resources, for example along the Ōtaki River, and at Pukehou, north of Tainui Pā, where timber was felled for our Catholic Church, and Rangiātea Church shows us that there was some substantial timber available to Ngāti Raukawa for construction in the region.

Totara, Rimu, Kahikatea, Tawa were common construction materials. Ngāti Kapu had waka in the mid-1800s that were made from both tōtara and rimu. Kahikatea was often used for roof framing due to its lighter weight.

Kiekie is used for weaving, especially for kete, whariki (mats) and tukutuku (wall panels). Pingao is another important weaving plant, especially for tukutuku. Harakeke is well known for its usefulness, and I will quote here the Reverend William Colenso on the topic, in particular because his daughter Frances Simcox lived on Ngāti Kapu ancestral lands at Ōtaki:

*On my arrival in this country the Maoris (who knew nothing, or very little, of any other land) would often inquire after the vegetable productions of England; and nothing astonished them more than to be told there was no harakeke growing there. On more than one occasion I have heard chiefs say, "How is it possible to live there without it?" also, "I would not dwell in such a land as that." This serves to show how highly they valued it.*<sup>7</sup>

In addition to local uses, the preparation of flax fibre for sale was an income source for Ngāti Kapu in the 1800s.<sup>8</sup>

Kākaho is the stem of the toetoe, and is important as a wall lining, and as the vertical backing for the horizontal slats that make up tukutuku panels. European visitors to Ōtaki in the 1850s noted that well built houses in the area were built in a European style but the interiors would be lined with kākaho.

## Whare Raupō

Houses constructed primarily with raupō were the main building type from Ngāti Kapu arrival in Ōtaki in the 1820s until the early 1850s when we acquired equipment to create a sawpit for producing wooden planks for house cladding. Raupō was a significant building material for both Māori and Pākehā in nineteenth century Aotearoa. The *Brett's Colonists' Guide And Cyclopaedia Of Useful Knowledge* published in 1883, provided the following advice to new settlers;

*"...build first a temporary house; this is often built with raupo walls and nikau framework round saplings from the bush. The Maoris are best at this work, and in a few days would put up a warm, weather-proof dwelling."*<sup>9</sup>

The earliest photo of a dwelling that we have from the ngāti Kapu settlement of Pukekaraka (adjacent to Tainui Pā) provides an indication of what an early whare raupo at Ōtaki looked like, with its single door, bundled thatching, front porch/mahau, and compact scale.

With a high number of whare raupō for domestic habitation, it is important to consider that the very first building legislation was to effectively ban our homes. With the introduction of the *Raupo Houses Act 1842* you could be fined £20 a year for having a whare raupō and fined £100 for building a new one.

This law also wiped out the value of raupō as a resource for trade, but more importantly it risked unhousing many Māori. There was no mitigation or provision of alternative materials, and the intention was to get whānau building weatherboard houses like you might find instructions for in the *Brett's Colonist's Guide*, which were seen as more fire resistant. They were however significantly colder.

In the 1850s and 1860s, settlers were likely to spend about £7 constructing a whare raupō.<sup>10</sup> Some of this cost going to Māori for either purchase of resources, or construction services while the settler

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<sup>7</sup> Colenso, W., 'Vestiges: Reminiscences: Memorabilia of Works, Deeds, and Sayings of the Ancient Maoris' Read before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute, 12th October, 1891, Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand, Volume 24, 1891, p.464.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, Dr H., Spinks, A., Hoskins, T., Poutama, M., *State of Ecological/Cultural Landscape Decline of the Horowhenua Coastline Between Hokio and Waitohu Streams*, Published by the Manaaki Taha Moana (MTM) Research Team, p.37.

<sup>9</sup> Brett, H., *Brett's Colonists' Guide and Cyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge*, Auckland, 1883, Published by the Evening Star Office, Auckland (this reprint by The Capper Press, 1980), at 16.

<sup>10</sup> Harman, K. 'Some dozen raupo whares, and a few tents': remembering raupo houses in colonial New Zealand, *Journal of New Zealand Studies* NS17 (2014), 39-5.

worked towards a timber house, and a whare raupō was considered to have a lifespan of about five years.



Figure 7 - Photograph from early whare at Pukekaraka, From the collection of Borgia Hakaraia.

The *Raupō Houses Act 1842* disadvantaged Māori since not only was that abundant resource effectively banned, but to build in timber you had to have money to buy nails, roofing iron and other manufactured elements, requiring a cash income, eliminating options for self-sufficient living.

Our Ngāti Kapu building traditions were being forced to change, but also the quality of our homes was in many ways not an improvement. A raupō thatched wall has been calculated by Victoria University School of Architecture building historian Nigel Issacs to provide an insulation R-value of 2.1.<sup>11</sup> This insulation value would exceed the current building standard for walls of 2.0 (previously 1.9) but the 1842 law effectively eliminated insulation in Māori dwellings.

I have seen examples on raupō used as insulation in timber framed whare when working on historic buildings that has remained dry and intact for over 100 years. Māori understood the importance of warm, dry homes, and raupō was one of the ways they ensured their homes would keep them warm.

Adequate insulation of homes in Aotearoa continues to be a problem. Even as recently as 2021 we have had Government consultation documents asking whether we should look to make our houses as warm as they are legislated to be in England.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Isaacs, N. Foundations of Control: New Zealand Building Legislation in the 1840s | AHA: Architectural History Aotearoa (2014) vol 11:35-41.

<sup>12</sup> *Consultation Document – Building Code Update 2021. Issuing and amending acceptable solutions and verification methods.* Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 6 April 2021, at 11.



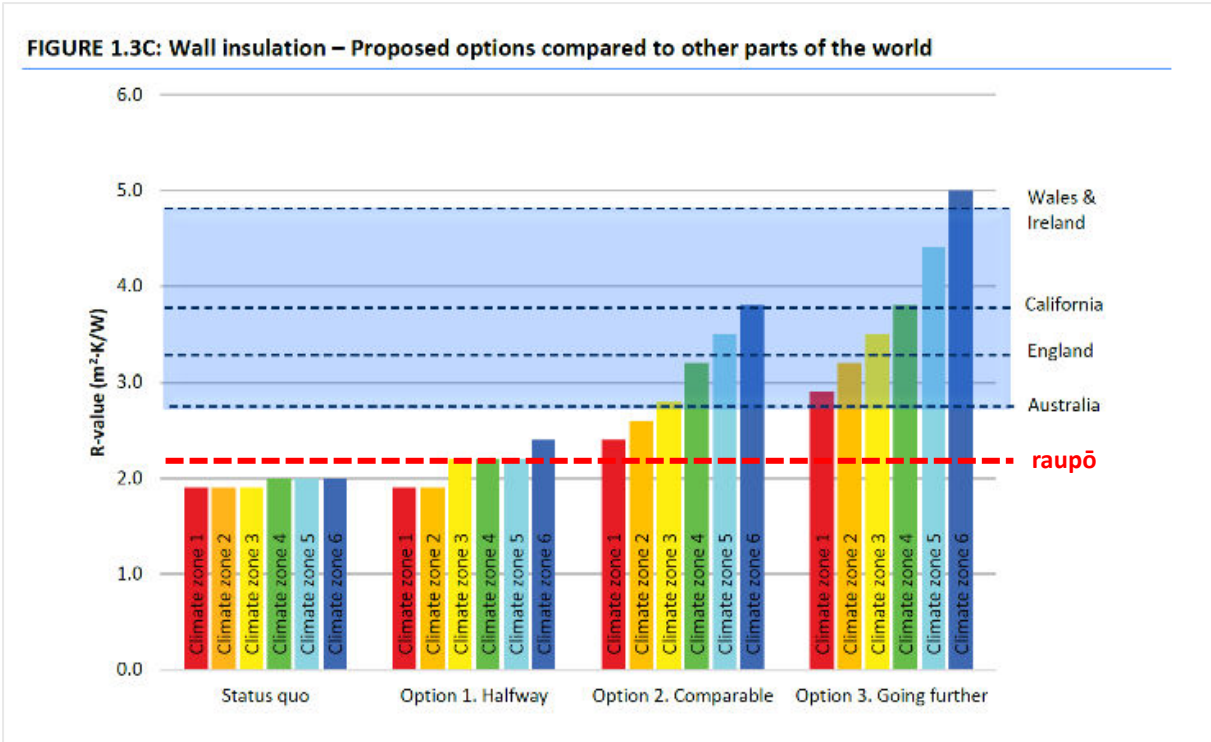


Figure 8 - Graph comparing wall insulation proposed options for NZ as compared with Australia, England, California, Wales, and Ireland, from 'Consultation Document – Building Code Update 2021. Issuing and amending acceptable solutions and verification methods'. Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 6 April 2021. R-value of raupō overlaid.

## Whare Paraki

Some of our homes in Ōtaki were whare raupō, but some were weatherboard timber framed houses from as early as the 1840s. Whare paraki is the term used in the late nineteenth century to describe a house built with timber cladding. We know from the stories associated with our tūpuna that Ngāti Kapu had traditions and expertise in timber framed and clad house construction, waka manufacturing, fishing structures and equipment, and church building. Our relation Matene Te Whiwhi was described in 1846 as having a weatherboard house with “tables, chairs, knives and forks, and pictures of the Queen and Prince Albert over the mantel-piece.”<sup>13</sup>

In the early 1850s however, there was more attention being paid to the construction of Rangiatea Church than domestic dwellings, and Ngāti Kapu are recognised as supporting this project, in fact, the difficult challenge of raising the tahuhu (central ridge pole) of the church was overcome by our Ngāti Kapu tūpuna Te Rawaraki – even though he had chosen the Catholic faith.<sup>14</sup> Te Rawaraki had spent some time in Kapiti learning how to use the large saws that were utilised in the sawpits of the mid-1800s and brought that knowledge back to Ngāti Kapu.<sup>15</sup>

The middle part of the 1800s also saw construction of bridges, flag poles, churches, flax processing, bullocks and ploughs, the acquisition of a schooner for transport, further establishment of productive food gardens incorporating imported fruit and vegetables, and of course wheat fields to support the mill. It was a period where our settlements around Tainui Pā and Pukekaraka were

<sup>13</sup> Wai 2200, #A1, *The Social Impact of Colonisation and Land Loss on the Iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu and Horowhenua Region, 1840-1960* [December 2000], at 41.

<sup>14</sup> Evidence of Akapita Te Tewe, during the Waitohu 11 hearings. Maori Land Court Otaki Minute Book 17, 7 July 1891.

<sup>15</sup> Evidence of Akapita Te Tewe, Māori Land Court Minute Book 17, 4 July 1891, p. 59



described in glowing terms by the colonial government of the day, to continue Lieutenant-Governor Eyre's report from above:

*"... At Otaki, the natives are still making rapid progress in civilisation and the settlement is assuming the appearance of a neat European village. Many new houses of a superior kind have been built during the last 18 months; a magnificent church has been erected, and though not quite complete, is in a state which is usable, in fact, I have myself attended a service where I think there could have been a little short of 900 natives within its walls. More attention has been paid to neatness than was formerly the case; and most of the fences are not only substantially put up, but are cut evenly at the top and present a very neat and pleasing appearance. The gardens are also more attended to, and the use of milk butter tea &c, more appreciated and the domestic arrangements.*

*The example of the Otaki natives has been a great stimulus to other tribes who are not a little envious of the comfort enjoyed by them and of the reputation which their superior civilization obtains for them among Europeans, and which is strongly evidenced by the visits of nearly all the better class of visitors to the province to that favoured settlement.*

*The result of this feeling creates a strong desire to follow the example of the Otaki natives from villages and other localities and numerous applications are made to the government to send surveyors for the purpose and disposition which I endeavor to encourage as much as possible by complying with their requests when practicable or likely to lead could be beneficial results."*<sup>16</sup>

The progressive environment of the mid-1800s was contrasted 100 years later, with The Mayor of Ōtaki in 1943 publicly decrying unsatisfactory Māori health and housing in the district and said that poor Māori housing made Ōtaki 'a very backward town compared with other towns of the same size'.<sup>17</sup>

## Twentieth Century Housing Surveys

We know that by the 1940s the houses at Tainui Pā were in a run-down state. Most of the houses that we see photos of from the 1940s look to date to the 1890-1910 period. Even today, our building codes require our houses to be 'good for fifty years' – the appropriate durability of housing materials is about fifty years, so it is actually fairly common for a house to reach the end of its durability at the point we are seeing occur at Tainui Pā in the 1940s when it is so hard to access resources for home maintenance.

A case study of the experience of one of our Ngāti Kapu whānau is included at Appendix 2 to highlight the government imposed difficulties elderly Māori faced in trying to make their homes warm and dry. This was his experience in the 1920s, where he had to sell some of his land to be able to afford to repair his home, only to find that the local administrators that oversaw the sale of Māori land would not let him have the proceeds of his land sale as they deemed it "not in the interest of the Native".

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<sup>16</sup> 'Lieut. Governor Eyre's Report, 25 June 1849, from *Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand 1850. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty 1850*. London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street, 1850, at 199.

<sup>17</sup> Wai 2200, #A1, *The Social Impact of Colonisation and Land Loss on the Iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua Region, 1840-1960* [4 November 2010], at 189.

In the decade following this episode, when Frank Langstone was Acting Native Minister, he took a specific interest in the housing conditions at Tainui Pā. In 1937 following a housing survey of Ōtaki,<sup>18</sup> he made the following request, noted down in the records of the Native Department:

*“Minister says this Pa comprises about 50 acres of reclaimed sandhills covered in lupin etc. Buildings, fences etc are a disgrace to the people.*

*Would like area cleared up and made presentable, houses repaired and repainted. Fences put in order, gardens cultivated - etc.*

*If this could be done it would be an object lesson showing the Maoris what we could do with their co-operation, and also showing the Europeans what the govt was prepared to do for the Maoris.*

*Asked that we use our best endeavours along these lines.”<sup>19</sup>*

Subsequent file notes on record suggest there was money available in the department to assist with the work requested by the Minister, but solutions coming out of the Department were persistent in focusing on the need to sub-divide the land and individualise the title of ownership before any support would be given, even suggesting the land be “taken over by the Crown”.<sup>20</sup>

A hui was held at Raukawa Marae in November 1938, and although there was much enthusiasm from local Māori, the Otaki Mail reported a lack of support from the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board (the Board with the ability to withhold funds from Māori when selling their land) and Borough Council.<sup>21</sup>

By 1939 an update report was provided to Langstone on the situation at Tainui Pa, and his response annotated on the report read:

*Has the Dept the money provided for the work. When the £100,000 was granted for Special Housing I thought then this Pa would be considered.”<sup>22</sup>*

There was another attempt to improve housing conditions when the Otaki Maori Rehabilitation Association was set up in 1940,<sup>23</sup> and a meeting about housing needs was held at Raukawa marae in 1941. Local Māori were looking for local solutions.

In early 1948 yet another housing survey was undertaken, this time led by the Raukawa Tribal Committee. This survey found a high level of need at Tainui Pā, with four homes there identified as needing “immediate attention”.<sup>24</sup> This included the home of Meremaihi Taratoa, which was previously the house of her parents, described in Appendix 2. There is a memo to the Minister of Māori Affairs from Under-Secretary Shepherd in May, where Shepherd notes “The improvement of

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<sup>18</sup> Otaki Housing Improvements and House Survey, 31 August 1937, Archives NZ file R22041871

<sup>19</sup> Native Department memo Jones to Shepherd “*Tainui Pa – Otaki (Ngāti Kapu hapū, 50 people in it)*”. Archives NZ file R11839883.

<sup>20</sup> Memo from Registrar of the Native Land Court to Under-Secretary, Native Department 1 September 1937. Archives NZ file R11839883.

<sup>21</sup> ‘Housing Scheme for Natives – Meeting at Otaki’ in *Otaki Mail* 18 November 1938.

<sup>22</sup> Memo for Hon. The Acting Native Minister from the Native Department, 22 November 1939. Archives NZ file R22041871

<sup>23</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 23 September 1940, Page 3

<sup>24</sup> Memo from Undersecretary of Māori Affairs to Head Office, regarding Māori Housing: Otaki, dated 2 June 1948. Archives NZ file R11839883.

Tainui Pa has been under consideration for many years, but the people have shown little interest.” This comment came from someone at the Department who had over twenty years of interactions with Ngāti Kapu members seeking access to their own money to repair their homes, yet were turned away again and again with new bureaucratic hoops with every new iteration of Māori land legislation.<sup>25</sup> Appendix 3 provides details of the further attempts by whānau to create warm safe housing on the same land as described in the first two Appendices.

The stories gathered for this project show that there were many years of interest and effort from Ngāti Kapu to seek government assistance to improve the condition of the housing at Tainui Pā, but the response from government was advice to sell our land, or take out a loan with high interest that applicants would likely not get approved for.<sup>26</sup>

## Some Modern Maoris

During this period we also have the records of anthropologists Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, who undertook a study into the social and living conditions of Ngāti Kapu at Tainui Pā over a period of 14 weeks from 20 October 1941 to 26 January 1942.<sup>27</sup>

The research programme undertaken by the Beagleholes was endorsed by Langstone, who was by now Native Minister, and information was provided by the Native Land Court in 1942 listing all Māori land within 5 miles of Otaki.<sup>28</sup> The list showed that since 1929, over 80 land blocks had been taken from local Māori by the Ikaroa District Māori Land Board due to non-payment of rates.<sup>29</sup>

Our Ngāti Kapu kuia Ani Arekatera was photographed at her home at Tainui Pā in early 1942 by Graham Dawson, who visited Ōtaki in connection with Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole’s research. Dawson was an architect at the Ministry of Works and Department of Housing Construction in the 1940s,<sup>30</sup> and the photographic archive reflects an eye with concern for housing and housing quality.

The book eventually published was *‘Some Modern Maoris’* in 1946. None of the photos were included in the publication, which aimed to publish an anonymous account, described by Te Rangihīroa Sir Peter Buck as “... an intensive study of a specific Māori community, with a view to determining the conditions which actually exist in the life of the people”.<sup>31</sup>

The book has been controversial. Historian Keith Sorrensen described a breakdown in the close relationship between Te Rangihīroa and Sir Apirana Ngata when Buck advocated on behalf of

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<sup>25</sup> Memo from Undersecretary of Māori Affairs to Minister of Māori Affairs, regarding Māori Housing: Otaki, dated 11 May 1948. Archives NZ file R11839883.

<sup>26</sup> These obstacles are laid out in the minutes of a hui at Raukawa Marae, with the Raukawa Tribal Committee, the Under-Secretary of Māori Affairs, and Turi Carroll (who was Maori vice-president of the National Party). Archives NZ file R11839883.

<sup>27</sup> Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl, *Some Modern Maoris*, NZ Council for Educational Research, Whitcombe & Tombe Ltd, 1946.

<sup>28</sup> Letter from Registrar of the Native Land Court to E. Beaglehole, 21 January 1942. Archives NZ file R11839883.

<sup>29</sup> Attachment to letter from Registrar of the Native Land Court to E. Beaglehole, 21 January 1942. Archives NZ file R11839883.

<sup>30</sup> Skinner, Robin, *Further Investigations into an Authorship: Reassessing the Dixon Street Flats Archive, Interstices – A Journal of Architecture and Related Arts*, Volume 9, 2008, at 60-73.

<sup>31</sup> Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl, *Some Modern Maoris*, NZ Council for Educational Research, Whitcombe & Tombe Ltd, 1946, at vi.

Beaglehole undertaking research in Māori communities. Ngata disagreed and thought this was work that could and should be done by Māori researchers, and he stopped writing to Buck for four years.<sup>32</sup>

The book was also controversial for Ngāti Kapu, as it was very difficult to anonymise a small community like Tainui Pā. This kaupapa is covered by Anthony Dreaver in a 2010 edition of the Ōtaki historical Journal where some of the photos from the Graham Dawson collection were published for the first time.<sup>33</sup>

The photographic record that survives from the time provides an architectural record and tells us things about our whānau history and relationship to housing, in particular, small housing.

Many of the houses are built in the style of housing from the period 1880-1900. I previously mentioned *Brett's Colonists' Guide and Cyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge*, and it is useful to refer to it again here. The book includes a number of simple house plans along with schedules of materials required for construction.

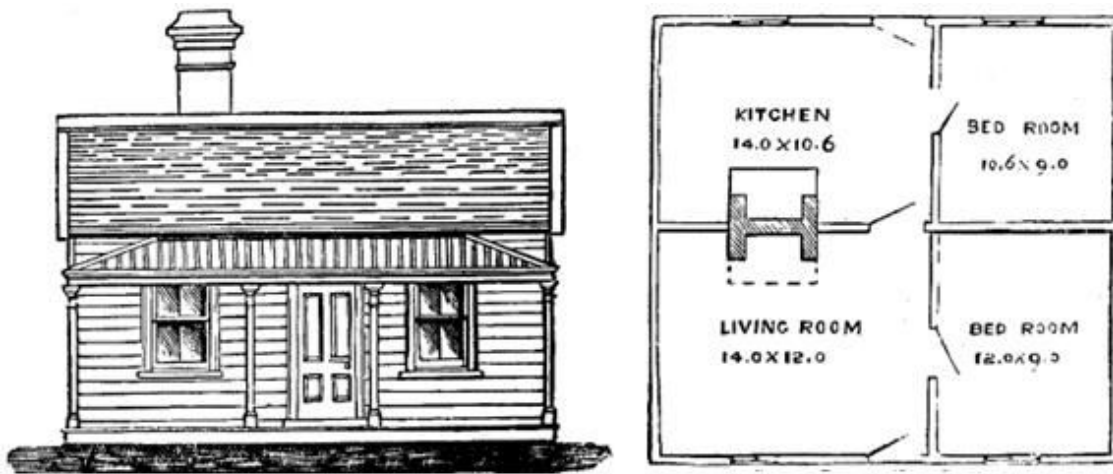


Figure 9 - Detail from *Brett's Colonists' Guide and Cyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge*, Auckland, 1883, at 723-4. This house plan had a floor area of 49 square metres

Forty three percent of the Māori homes surveyed by the Beagleholes were four room dwellings, much like this, however the inclusion of a veranda was a bit of a luxury. A veranda effectively added another living space to a home, and in some homes, they were closed in to make additional interior spaces.

<sup>32</sup> Sorrenson, M. P. K., *Na To Hoa Aroha, From Your Dear Friend: The Correspondence of Sir Apirana Ngata And Sir Peter Buck, 1925-50* (Volume III, 1932-50), Auckland University Press, 1988.

<sup>33</sup> Dreaver, Anthony, *A window on Tainui*, Historical journal (Otaki Historical Society), 2010; v.32: at 35-45.



*Figure 10 – Home at Tainui Pā. Photograph taken by Graham Dawson, early 1942 (Victoria University of Wellington Heritage and Archives Centre)*



*Figure 11 - The house of Arekatera Te Ra (deceased by the time this photo was taken) and Ani Arekatera. The veranda on their home was added in the renovation work on 1927-28 detailed in Appendix 2 to this report. Photograph taken by Graham Dawson, early 1942. (Victoria University of Wellington Heritage and Archives Centre)*



## State Housing

In June 1948 the Raukawa Tribal Committee made inquiries with the Department of Māori Affairs about the pending construction of State Houses in Otaki, and their availability for Māori, and were told in reply letter following the hui that the sections had been purchased by the government for State Housing, and that there were “none available for Māori housing”.<sup>34</sup>

By 1945, only four houses are known to have been built with government assistance in Ōtaki. By this Ngāti Kapu were experiencing the diaspora associated with employment, housing and other social pressures. As an example, by this time my grandmother had established her family in a State House rental in Foxton, with her husband working at the local flax mill. In 1955, they were able to purchase that Foxton State House Rental.

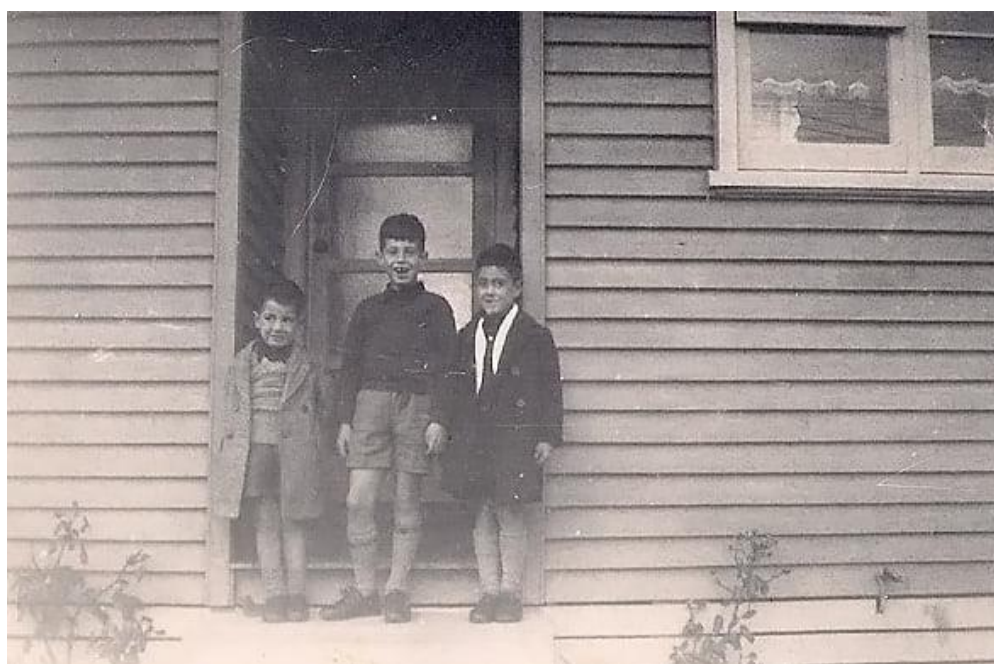


Figure 12 - whānau outside their State House rental in Foxton, soon to become their own home in 1955.

## Māori Affairs Housing

Later in life, my grandparents moved to a kaumātua flat near to whānau also living in Foxton in the late 1980s.<sup>35</sup> The flats were developed with support from Māori Affairs Department, and my grandmother was able to live there close to her whānau for the rest of her life.

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<sup>34</sup> Letter from Rangi Royal (Dept Māori Affairs to Arthur Knox (Chair Raukawa Tribal Committee), 16 June 1948. Archives NZ file R11839883.

<sup>35</sup>These flats are referred to in Eljon Fitzgerald, Areti Metuamate, Kiri Parata, Tiratahi Taipana, Piripi Walker, Dr Grant Young, *Ngāti Raukawa: Rangatiratanga and Kāwanatanga, Land Management and Land Loss from the 1890s To 2000*, Wai 2200 A199 At Para 869. P.361



Figure 13 - View of Foxton Kaumatua Flats

These kaumatua flats were two-bedroom homes of approximately 64 square metres, excluding the garage. The provided a separation between the eating spaces and the portion of the house used for sleeping and ablutions. The floorplan allowed for appropriate division of spaces when a death occurred in the house, maintaining a separation between tapu and noa elements.

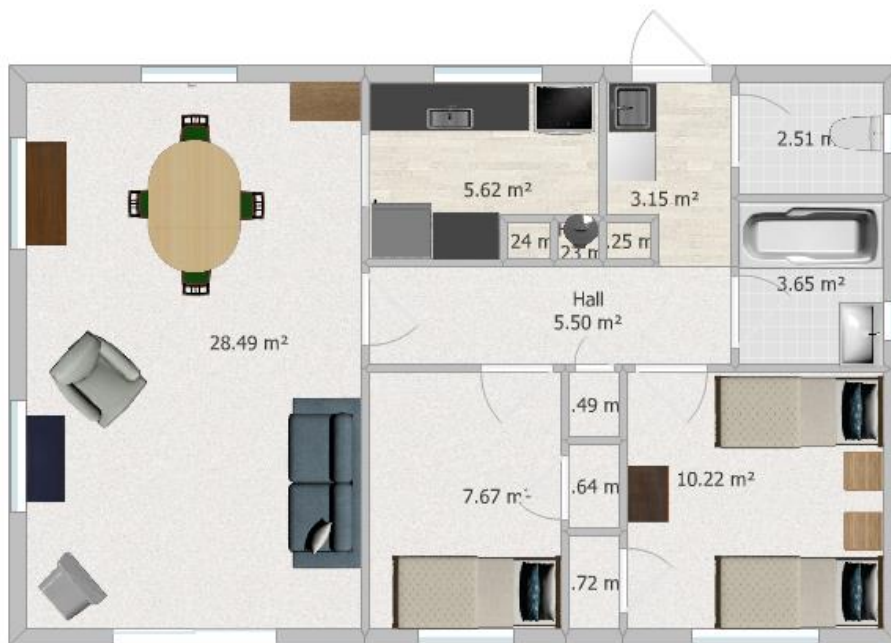


Figure 14 - Floor plan of Foxton Kaumatua Flats

## Getting on to the Land

The historical research undertaken has helped us understand why it is that our whānau were not able to maintain a presence on the land directly across the road from our marae. The case studies included so far show some of the obstacles faced in relation to maintaining a warm dry home, and when attempting to build new homes on Māori land.

Another issue that has presented a literal barrier to occupation of our ancestral land is that it is technically landlocked, and since the 1970s the landowners have experienced the effects of having no legal right of way to access the whenua. This is an issue that didn't seem to be a problem until the 1970s, however research of historic survey plans show that this landlocking has been in place since the early twentieth century. The analysis is detailed in Appendix 4 of this report.

On 23 January 2021, I visited Whakahokiatapango C for the first time. One of our whānau had spoken to new owners of the land block and they allowed us permission to access. After clearing the blackberry bush that covered much of the land block we went over the road, along with kaumatua who could still remember our kuia living there. We saw the remains from the brick chimney of the house, and one of the old fruit trees still hanging on. There was an old washtub, just like the ones from the 1940s photos. It felt very special to finally cross the road.

## Barriers to Building

Even if we were to obtain an easement or other formal access to Whakahokiatapango C, there are complications that are likely to be experienced if we ever wanted to develop the land. Some of these difficulties relate to District plan rules around flood zones and natural hazards. Flood zone / Natural Hazard rules include:

- Avoidance of river corridor (requiring a 10 m setback);
- Avoidance of stream corridors (requiring a 5m setback);
- The building floor level of any new or relocated building (excluding minor buildings) in the ponding, shallow surface flow or residual ponding area shall be constructed above the 1% AEP flood event level; and
- Post and wire fences only in river corridor, steam corridor, an overflow path or residual overflow path.

Once we exclude all the land that is covered by the Kāpiti Coast District Council and Greater Wellington Regional Council flood zones on the land block, we are left with roughly 1750 square meters, which is remarkable when you consider that the land that Meremaihi Taratoa wanted to develop was virtually the same size. This is however from a land block of 9,814 square meters.

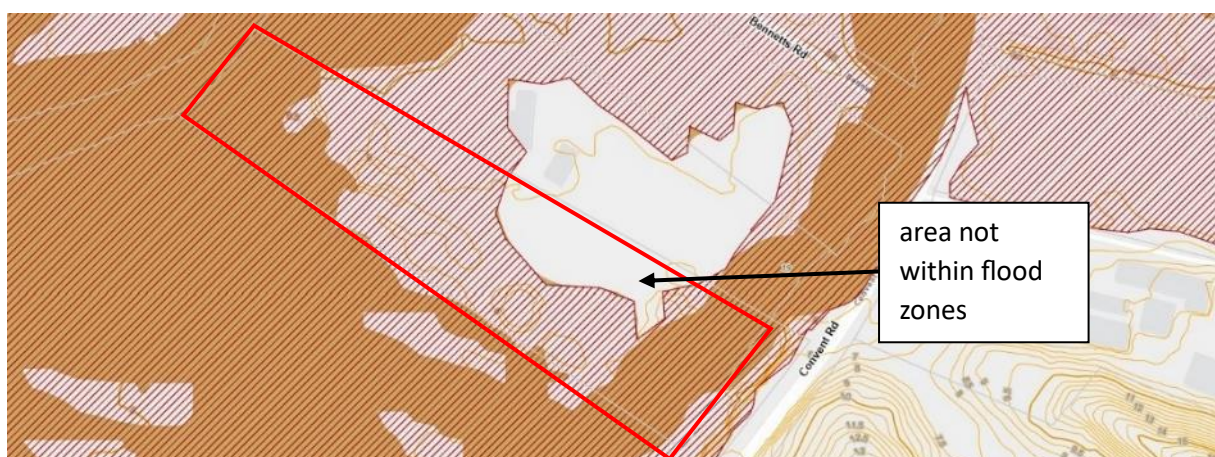


Figure 15 - Kāpiti Coast District Council and Greater Wellington Regional Council flood maps



These flood issues are significant for all Māori land, and all landowners seeking to develop papakāinga housing solutions in Ōtaki. The sadness that the hapū experience from knowing they cannot build safely on their land at present because other land has been prioritised and drained for farming purposes, often through spurious land transactions is another blow to our ability to pursue our housing aspirations grounded in ūkaipotanga, manaakitanga, ohaakitanga, and auahatanga.

This historical contextualisation of our contemporary situation helps us to understand how we have come to be in this situation, and shows us with concrete evidence that our ancestors have sought to live on this land, and maintain warm, dry homes, even when faced with huge bureaucratic obstacles.

## Appendix 1: History of Ownership of Whakahokiatapango Land Block

When Ngāti Kapu first came to this area, the land was regarded as under the mana of Te Rauparaha.<sup>36</sup> Native Land Court minutes show that Whakahokiatapango was under cultivation from the time of the first heke by Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kapu tūpuna. There was also a relationship with the land around agreements for occupation that were participated in by tūpuna such as Te Wano, Hakaraia Rangikura, Hineuia, and Te Rawaraki.<sup>37</sup> Following the second migration from the Waikato, further occupation and cultivation associations with Ngāti Kapu tūpuna are recorded in Native Land Court minutes.

The earliest section to have a title granted was Whakahokiatapango No. 1 to Roera Te Ahukaramū, on account of the occupation of his father Te Ahukaramū.<sup>38</sup> The various sections that initially made up Whakahokiatapango were initially awarded as follows:

Section	Date heard	Applicants	Plan	Title awarded to
Whakahokiatapango No.1	2/3/1868	Roera Te Ahukaramu	ML 3119 ML 393	Roera Te Ahu Karamu, Wiremu Paiaaka, Hoani Whareiaia, Rutu Whareiaia
Whakahokiatapango No.2	3/3/1868	Tiemi Ranapiri	ML 410	Haimona Ranapiri (b. 1862) with Hemi Ranapiri, Riria Ranapiri as Trustees
Whakahokiatapango	17/12/1879	Tiemi Ranapiri	ML 402	Hotene Ngawi, Ruihia Matuaharama
Whakahokiatapango No.4A	7-15/9/1881	Karanama Te Whakaheke, Mohi Heremia, Makarita Te Tihi	ML 290	Karanama Te Whakaheke and Tuhi Te Whakaheke
Whakahokiatapango No.4B	7-15/9/1881	Karanama Te Whakaheke, Mohi Heremia, Makarita Te Tihi	ML 290	Mohi Heremia Te Tihi, Makarita Te Tihi
Whakahokiatapango No.5	29/5/1885	Mereana Hura, Roera Hukiki and others	ML 669	Hema Te Ao, Hema Ropata and Hipora Te Whioa.
Whakahokiatapango A	12/7/1898	Hakaraia Te Rangikura, Piripi Te Ra	ML 1487	Hakaraia Rangikura
Whakahokiatapango B	12/7/1898	Robert Ransfield, Matiaha Ranapiri (on behalf of Pirihina Te Putu)	ML 1487	Ropata Ranapiri
Whakahokiatapango C	14/7/1898	Teraiti Te Hiwi	ML 1487	Teraiti Te Iwi, Hoani Te Rawaraki Arekatera, Urutukai Arekatera, Kereoma Taratoa, Hohipene, Mere Maihi, Emma te Heipiwhara, Tuhimareikura
Whakahokiatapango D	14/7/1898	Robert Ransfield, Heta Hakopa	ML 1487	Heremia Oriwia, Katarina Oriwia, Wiremu Oriwia, Te Paku Oriwia, Wihau Oriwia, Atareta Oriwia, Maria Oriwia, Hori Oriwia

### *Whakahokiatapango C*

Whakahokiatapango was surveyed in May 1898, with the creation of the subdivisions of A, B, C, and D. Ownership of Whakahokiatapango C was first brought before the Native Land Court in 1898. Te Raiti Tonihi of Ngāti Kapu was heard and explained her right to the land through her father who cultivated land there. She also provided evidence that she had leased the land to others in the past.

<sup>36</sup> Evidence of Eru Tahitangata, Native Land Court, 14 September 1881. Otaki Maori Land Court Minute Book No. 5, 14/9/1881, at 13-18.

<sup>37</sup> Evidence of Makarita Te Tihi, Otaki Maori Land Court Minute Book No.5, 13 September 1881, at 13-15.

<sup>38</sup> Otaki Maori Land Court Minute Book No.1B, 2 March 1868, at 131-133.

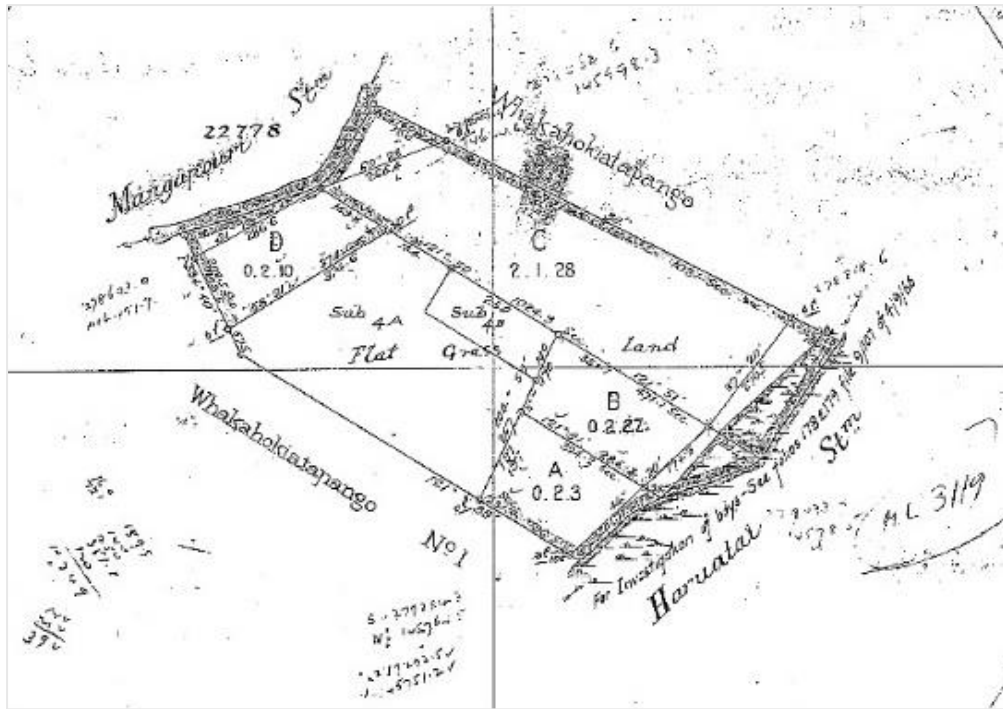


Figure 16 - detail from ML 1487

The Land Court minutes note that objectors challenged this claim, but none appeared, and the block was awarded to Te Raiti as trustee, and her seven grandchildren equally:

F	Teraiti te Iwi	adult
M	Hoani Te Rawaraki Arekatera	14yrs
F	Urutukai Arekatera	12yrs
M	Kereoma Taratoa	10yrs
F	Hohipene	7yrs
F	Mere Maihi	6yrs
F	Emma te Heipiwhara	2 yrs
M	Tuhimareikura	1month <sup>39</sup>

This is the only section within the Whakahokiatapango land block that remains in Ngāti Kapu ownership. Two of the original owners remain on the current title and these two individuals - Mere Maihi and Tuhimareikura - have 61.666 and 64.667 shares respectively. The shares of Hohipene “Kitty” Arekatera and their grandmother Te Raiti Tonihi were redistributed amongst the original owners through succession in the Māori Land Court.<sup>40</sup> There are currently 57 owners of this block, and the block covers approximately 10,000 square metres.

<sup>39</sup> Maori Land Court Order MFCO 14-7-1898

<sup>40</sup> Maori Land Court Minute Book, 14 October 1932 for Te Raiti Tonihi. Otaki Minute Book 78, 7 October 1974 at 243-246 for Kitty Arekatera.

## Appendix 2: Early Twentieth Century Kaumatua Experiences of trying to repair and maintain own home

Arekatera Te Ra and his wife Ani Arekatera (nee Gray) are the tūpuna of many Ngāti Kapu living today. In 1918 they moved their house from “the old pah at Pukekaraka”<sup>41</sup> to the land at Whakahokiatapango C, which had been left to their seven children by Te Raiti Tonihi, the mother of Arekatera Te Ra. A file held at Archives NZ provides some useful insights into this period a century ago, and the situation for this couple.



*Figure 17 Detail from Panorama photo, taken by Graham Dawson of Tainui Pa from atop Pukekaraka Hill, between 13 December 1941 and 25 January 1942 (Victoria University of Wellington Heritage and Archives Centre)*

Arekatera Eria Te Ra was the only child of Te Raiti Tonihi and Eria Te Rawaraki. Born in the 1860s, he went on to have a significant leadership role in Ngāti Kapu and was well known in the Ōtaki community generally. He was heavily involved in the Catholic Church at Pukekaraka, and the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club. He retained a number of land blocks in the Ngāti Kapu rohe, and in later years established a small horticultural enterprise at Tainui Pā, cultivating violets, which were often taken to Wellington for sale.

As one of the rangatira of Ngāti Kapu, he had a number of obligations to uphold on behalf of his people. We see from the government records that he sold land interests with the intention to pay off of debts incurred through covering the costs of tangi, large hui at the marae, and having headstones made for deceased whānau. A debt was owed to Martin Simcox that Arekatera Te Ra sold land to pay back, and Simcox provided evidence to the Native Department through the production of a copy of his “books” to show money lent. The details on the ledger include transfers from past ledgers, money lent to purchase sheep for tangi, interest charged, and the transfer of the balance of his mother’s debt to his account’. The accompanying letter also says debts were incurred to pay to get to Levin for Land Court hearings, to travel to Wellington to but he was not allowed to receive the funds himself, and payments were made by the Native Affairs Department on his behalf to others, such as to Martin

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<sup>41</sup> Letter W. Martin Simcox to R. Jones, Undersecretary, Native Affairs Department, 11 November 1926. Contained in Archives NZ file R22409942, *Received: 6th September 1926. - From: Arekatera Eria te Ra. - Subject: Pukehou No. [Number] 4G No. [Number] 8. Application under Section 3/25 that money held by Board under Section 92/13 be paid to him.*

Simcox, whose family acquired a high proportion of Ngāti Kapu lands, finding ways to evade the rules around individuals acquiring large land blocks, by having multiple family members acquire various land parcels.<sup>42</sup>

The Arekatera family home needed extensive maintenance by the mid-1920s, and the Native Department was still reluctant to let him have access to his own money, to make his home warm, dry, and weathertight. He applied directly to the Native Minister, Joseph Gordon Coates, on the advice of private secretary to the Native Minister, Henare Te Raumoa Balneavis.<sup>43</sup>

The proposed works to the house re-used a lot of existing material, including roofing, which is very difficult to re-use and create a weathertight envelope due to existing nail holes, but it seems he needed to propose a very humble plan of works to get it approved. He notes in his application to the Native Minister concerns that the Borough Council may condemn his house if he was unable to maintain it.<sup>44</sup>

There was a note from someone from the Native Department, written on the front of the letter from Arekatera, that read, "I think this is a case where the native might be assisted with his own money."<sup>45</sup>

Another letter dated 30 August 1927 has a note from Under-Secretary Jones, stating "I am getting a police report on this matter. He has already got one £200 and we must be careful regarding the balance". They had previously released funds to allow Arekatera Te Ra to pay back Simcox a debt but were very reluctant to let him have his own money to repair his own house.

The Native Department asked the local police constable to investigate whether this was a "necessary" request from Arekatera Te Ra (that is, to ask for his own money to repair his own house). A letter from the local police constable followed in support of the application, with concerns the house could be condemned by the borough council and confirming it as the home of the two kaumātua, along with two of their grandchildren.<sup>46</sup>

This request from Arekatera Te Ra to access his own money to make his own home warm and dry in his old age went from the Native Minister to the Native Department, to the local police station, then all the way back up the line to the Minister to approve the release of funds. But still, the funds were not released to Arekatera himself.

Under Secretary Jones then wrote to Constable Satherly at Ōtaki Police Station again, asking him to oversee all the works on the house, because "It is not desired to trust the native with the money, as he might dispose of it otherwise".<sup>47</sup> This is even though all other payments have been used for exactly the purpose they were requested. And it was his own money.

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<sup>42</sup> These acquisitions are detailed in Wai 2200 #A212 (a), Wai 2200 #A212 (b), and Wai 2200 #A212 (c), Wai 2200 #A199, and Wai 2200 #A239.

<sup>43</sup> Letter Arekatera Eria Te Ra to the Native Minister, 17/7/1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.

<sup>44</sup> Letter Arekatera Eria Te Ra to the Native Minister, 17/7/1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.

<sup>45</sup> Notation on back of letter from Arekatera Eria Te Ra to The Native Minister, The Hon. J. G. Coates, 17/7/1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.

<sup>46</sup> Letter Constable Allan Satherly to The Under Secretary, Native Department, 6 September 1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.

<sup>47</sup> Letter from R. N. Jones, Under Secretary, Native Department, to Constable Satherly, Otaki Police Station 30 September 1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.

Constable Satherly agreed, but also took the opportunity when writing back to Jones to clarify that “I may state that this Māori is looked upon as a very respectable old man and is the chief of his tribe at Tainui.”<sup>48</sup>

We also see in the letters from Arekatera Te Ra in this file at Archives NZ an indication of failing health with “... pardon my writing as my eyesight is becoming foggy” which is likely a reference to the development of cataracts. Arekatera Te Ra passed away only five years after this work on the whānau home was completed.

The cause of death listed on his death certificate was Hemiplegia (a stroke) with a secondary cause of arteriosclerosis myocardial degeneration. Poor housing increases the risks of these causes of death.<sup>49</sup>

His passing was reported in the Ōtaki Mail, noting:<sup>50</sup>

*... the Maori race has lost one of its most influential and leading members. The deceased, who was the head of the Ngati-Kapu tribe, was born in the Otaki district seventy years ago, and had lived practically all his life in this locality. He took a keen interest in matters affecting the welfare of his people. He was a staunch supporter of unity among his people, more so in the matter of denominational disputes and in this direction his efforts were amply rewarded, was a keen sportsman and had been a member of the Otaki Maori Racing Club since its inception and at the time of his death he was vice-president. The deceased also was co-trustee with Archbishop Redwood of the local Church property—a gift made to the church by the deceased’s mother.*

He left most of his land interests to his wife and children, but also arranged to leave some of his land to his brother-in-law, Whare Gray. This ensured that his wife and her brother had a home at Tainui Pā, especially since they had no home in Tauranga anymore where they were born.

Ani Arekatera continued to live in the whānau home at Whakahokiatapango C following the death of her husband in 1932, and we know from the correspondence of 1927 that there were two other houses on the Whakahokiatapango C block that were occupied by children and grandchildren of Ani and Arekatera.<sup>51</sup>

Ani played a significant role in the lives of her children (the owners of the block) and her grandchildren at Tainui Pā throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

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<sup>48</sup> Letter from Constable Satherly, Otaki Police Station to R. N. Jones, Under Secretary, Native Department. 5 October 1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.

<sup>49</sup> [Importance of Housing and Cardiovascular Health and Well-Being: A Scientific Statement From the American Heart Association](#), Mario Sims, PhD, MS, FAHA, Chair, Kiarri N. Kershaw, PhD, MPH, FAHA, Vice Chair, Khadijah Breathett, MD, MS, FAHA, Elizabeth A. Jackson, MD, Lisa M. Lewis, PhD, RN, FAHA, Mahasin S. Mujahid, PhD, MS, FAHA, Shakira F. Suglia, ScD, MS, FAHA, On behalf of the American Heart Association Council on Epidemiology and Prevention and Council on Quality of Care and Outcomes Research.

<sup>50</sup> Otaki Mail, [4 April 1932, Page 2](#)

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Arekatera Eria Te Ra to The Native Minister, The Hon. J. G. Coates, 17/7/1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.



### Appendix 3: Attempts in the 1950s to Build on Whakahokiatapango C

Ani Arekatera continued to live in the whānau home at Whakahokiatapango C following the death of her husband in 1932, and we know from the correspondence of 1927 that there were two other houses on the Whakahokiatapango C block that were occupied by children and grandchildren of Ani and Arekatera.<sup>52</sup>

Ani died in 1944 from influenza pneumonitis,<sup>53</sup> and by the time of her death, three of her four daughters had already passed away; with Ema dying in 1935, aged 38,<sup>54</sup> Urutakai dying in 1936, aged 48; and Hohipene dying in June 1938, aged 44.<sup>55</sup>

The only surviving daughter at the time of Ani's passing was Meremaihi, who had lived with, and supported Ani in her final years. Meremaihi continued to live in at Whakahokiatapango C, where she was one of the landowners.



*Figure 18 - Ani Arekatera and Meremaihi Taratoa at their home on the Whakahokiatapango C land block, Tainui Pa, Taken by Graham Dawson, between 13 December 1941 and 25 January 1942 (Victoria University of Wellington Heritage and Archives Centre)*

<sup>52</sup> Letter from Arekatera Eria Te Ra to The Native Minister, The Hon. J. G. Coates, 17/7/1927. Archives NZ file R22409942.

<sup>53</sup> A relationship between death by influenza pneumonitis and poor housing are also well established, for example see Wimalasena NN, Chang-Richards A, Wang KI-K, Dirks KN. Housing Risk Factors Associated with Respiratory Disease: A Systematic Review. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 2021

<sup>54</sup> Manawatu Herald, [Volume LV, Issue 4494, 21 May 1935, Page 2](#)

<sup>55</sup> Manawatu Herald, [Volume LVIII, Issue 4953, 29 June 1938, Page 2](#)

In March 1955, Meremaihi applied to partition some of the land at Whakahokiatapango. She did not request to sell any interests, or buy any, just to have her portion of the land put in her name.

The Māori Affairs Department decided that it was much more appropriate to “eliminate all the other land owners from the title”, so that Meremaihi would become the sole owner, through a process of conversion. A Māori Affairs file held at Archives NZ shows that they hoped to use this as a case study for future conversions under the Act.<sup>56</sup>

Meremaihi had a share that equated to 64.66 perches. In today’s terms, this is 1634 square meters, so a very comfortably sized parcel of land.

The Māori Affairs Department told Meremaihi a meeting needed to be held to pass a resolution to eliminate the “uneconomic interests” and confirm Meremaihi as the sole owner. A later internal memo pointed out that the resolution would in fact need to be to agree to the Māori Trustee purchasing the land, then Meremaihi purchasing back from the Māori Trustee.

The Department also needed confirmation that she would sell shares in two other land blocks to cover the costs “to refund the amount paid from the conversion fund.”<sup>57</sup> This is even though her original intention was not buying or selling any land at all.

They wanted Meremaihi to pay £224.190 to become sole owner, and do this by selling her other land - losing ownership of two land parcels - in order that she might continue to live on the same land block she always had.

A further memo, dated 7 June 1955, clarified that the proposal the Department had formulated under Part XXIII of the *Maori Affairs Act 1953* could not apply in this instance. They were trying to figure out how to make this ‘test case’ work, and eventually it was proposed that either:

- a) Permission from all owners as required, to sell to the Māori Trustee, who then would sell to Meremaihi; or
- b) a consolidation order under Sec 445 of the Māori Affairs Act.

Eventually, the Department settled on proposal for partition under Section 181 of the *Maori Affairs Act 1955*.

The families of our three tūpuna whaea who had passed away in the 1930s had all followed the rules imposed by the Māori Land Court, to succeed to the interests of their parents, yet now those who had dutifully followed these rules were being told by the Māori Affairs Department that they were now ‘economically uninteresting’ to them, and the Department was quite happy to ‘eliminate’ them.

Uneconomic interests as a category seems to contradict the effort involved in the process of requiring succession, and to me describes the Crown creating a time-consuming process that Māori are required to invest time and money adhering to.

The Department sought the views of other, more ‘economically interesting’ shareholders, and were told by Te Rawaraki Jack Carter that he, Tuhi, and Kere were not interested in selling their shares.

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<sup>56</sup> Whakahokiatapango C, Māori Affairs Dept File, Ref: R17215513, Archives NZ, Wellington.

<sup>57</sup> Māori Affairs Department Memo District Office to Head Office, D.O. file 15/1/3144/1 dated 16 May 1955. Whakahokiatapango C, Māori Affairs Dept File, Ref: R17215513, Archives NZ, Wellington.



Meremaihi's shares currently remain undivided on the title. When she passed, her son took over the responsibility of paying rates on the land, which was then taken up by her granddaughter. There is no record of the land being brought before the Māori Land Court in August 1955.

*Payment of Rates and attempts at Rates Remission*

Our family have been seeking appropriate rating of our land in Ōtaki for some time. The *Manawatu Herald*, notes the attendance of Arekatera Te Ra at a conference held at Motuiti pā with Māori Members of Parliament and iwi leaders over Christmas 1927.

One of the key outcomes being sought at the gathering was advocating that special legislation be enacted with the express purposes of exempting from rates from unoccupied native land.<sup>58</sup> At this time of course, the Whakahokiatapango C block was occupied, with the home of Arekatera himself, so he would not have been there campaigning for his own rates relief for at this time, but clearly felt concern with the situation for Māori land as it was in the 1920s.

Since the 1970s, Whakahokiatapango C has been unoccupied, with no improvements on the land. Meremaihi Taratoa had continued to pay the rates on this land even though she was unable to develop it, and the rating burden was taken up by her son upon her death, and rates payments have continued by the family, even though this land has been inaccessible due to landlocking.

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<sup>58</sup> *Manawatu Herald*, [Volume XLIX, Issue 3737, 5 January 1928, Page 3](#)



## Appendix 4: The Landlocking of Whakahokiatapango C

Part of the difficulty in developing the housing on Whakahokiatapango C is due to the section being landlocked. A small land block that is part of the original Pukekaraka lands lies across the road from the main Pukekaraka blocks and separates Whakahokiatapango C block from the road frontage.

The Mangapouri Stream was the original boundary between Whakahokiatapango and Pukekaraka.<sup>59</sup> The development of the Coach Road from Ōtaki to Foxton became what we now know as Convent Road. The formalisation of that road and the variations in surveying of this area has meant our land is inaccessible unless access is granted by private landowners.

The earliest plan with this land marked is from 1875. The Land is called Pukekaraka with an area of a1 r1 p5.<sup>60</sup> You will see that the stream is called the Makirikiri on this plan, and a dashed line of what looks to be the intended Wellington-Foxton Road is marked out with a dashed line.



Figure 19 - detail from SO 11162-2 dated 1875, showing stream marked "Makirikiri". Note all the following images are of the same area of land, with different survey plans laid over and aligned.

It then appears on WD 61 surveyed in 1876, and is described on the plan as "Otaki, Pukekaraka, Claimed by Piripi Te Rawaraki, Aterea Te Waka".<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Evidence of Karanama Te Whakaheke in the Māori Land Court, Otaki, 17 September 1881.

<sup>60</sup> SO 11162-2, Wellington Land District.

<sup>61</sup> ML 61 Wellington Land District.



Figure 20 - detail from WD 61, Otaki, dated 1876.

Survey WD 291 is dated October 1877 by AW and M Carkeek. This plan was produced at the Native Land Court on 13 March 1878,<sup>62</sup> where Piripi Te Ra claimed the land through the occupation of the land by his parents, stating his claim was through the interests of his father being a chief, and through Te Morere.<sup>63</sup> This claim was objected to and challenged by Te Raiti Tonihi (his late brother's wife), who gave evidence, along with Hoani Taipua, Perenara Te Tewe, and Ani Kanara. The Court dismissed the claim and "... stated that the claimant had failed to make out his claim and awarded the land to no one".<sup>64</sup>

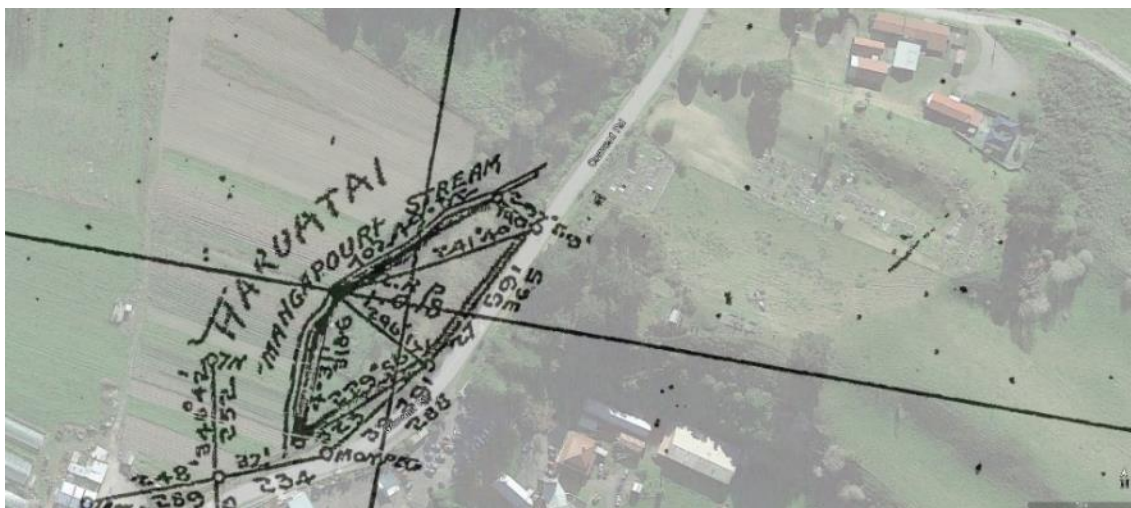


Figure 21 - detail from WD 291, Otaki, dated October 1877 by A.W. and M. Carkeek.

<sup>62</sup> Otaki Maori Land Court Minute Book 3, Monday 18 March 1878, at 134.

<sup>63</sup> Otaki Maori Land Court Minute Book 3, Monday 18 March 1878, at 156-157.

<sup>64</sup> Otaki Maori Land Court Minute Book 3, Monday 18 March 1878, at 157.



The survey undertaken for Pukekaraka No 5 in 1879 by Morgan Carkeek shows very little information about the section over the road.<sup>65</sup>

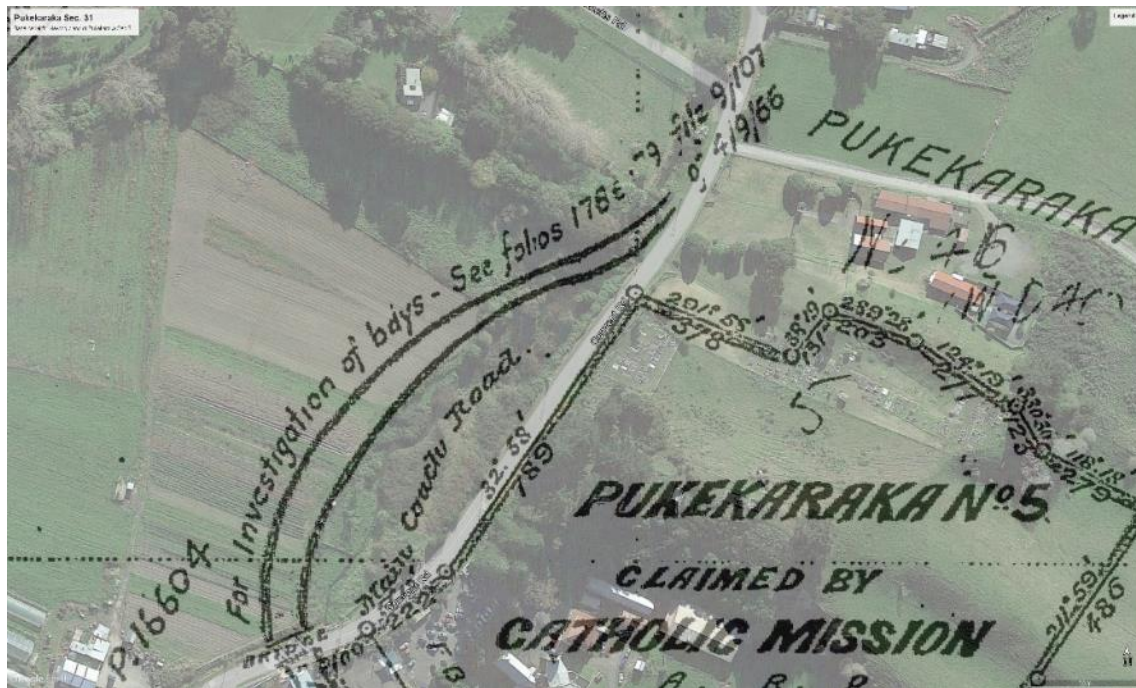


Figure 22 - detail from ML 401 Pukekaraka No. 5, dated October 1879 by M. Carkeek

In 1898, the adjacent Whakahokiatapango C block is surveyed and a title is awarded to Te Raiti Tonihi and her grandchildren. The section seems to end at the stream, but no detail is made of the road.

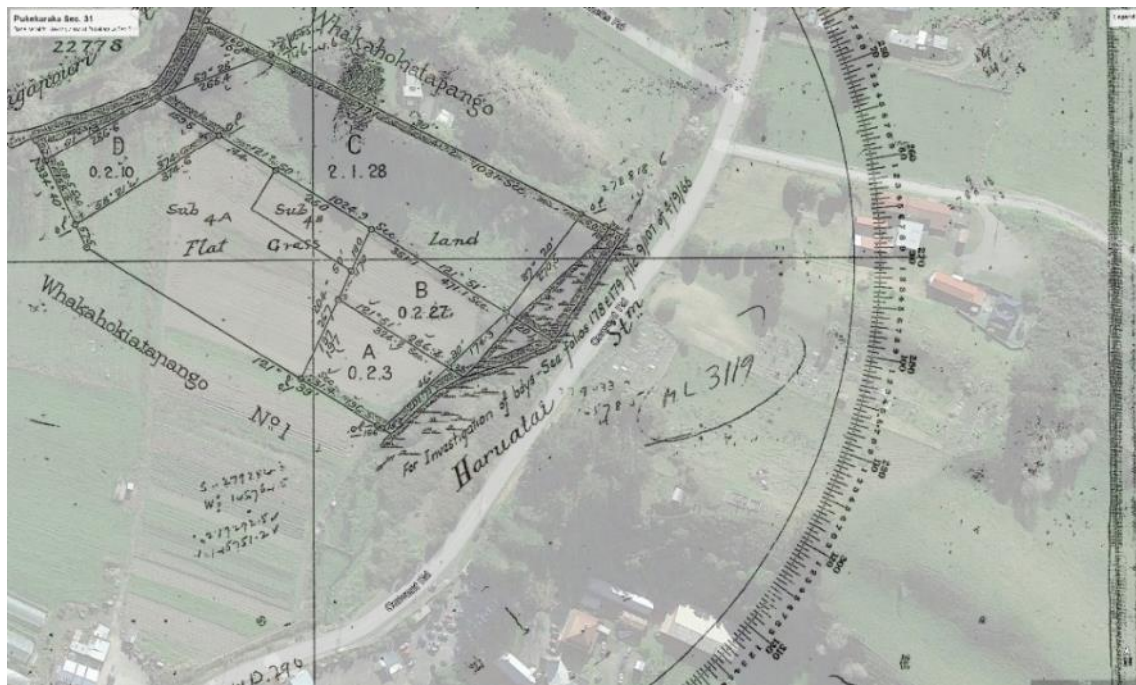


Figure 23 - detail from ML 1487 Showing Whakahokiatapango C. Brought before the Native Land Court on 14 July 1898.

<sup>65</sup> ML 401, Wellington Land District.



Whakahokiatapango C appears on SO 11163-2 and what has previously been called Pukekaraka Sec 31 is now only referred to as Pukekaraka, and measures a1 r0 p18 as shown in WD 291.



Figure 24 - detail from SO 11163-2 date unknown.

SO 11164-2 also describes the land as Pukekaraka a1 r0 p18 and WD 291 annotated. This plan clearly shows that the section does not extend in front of Whakahokiatapango C.

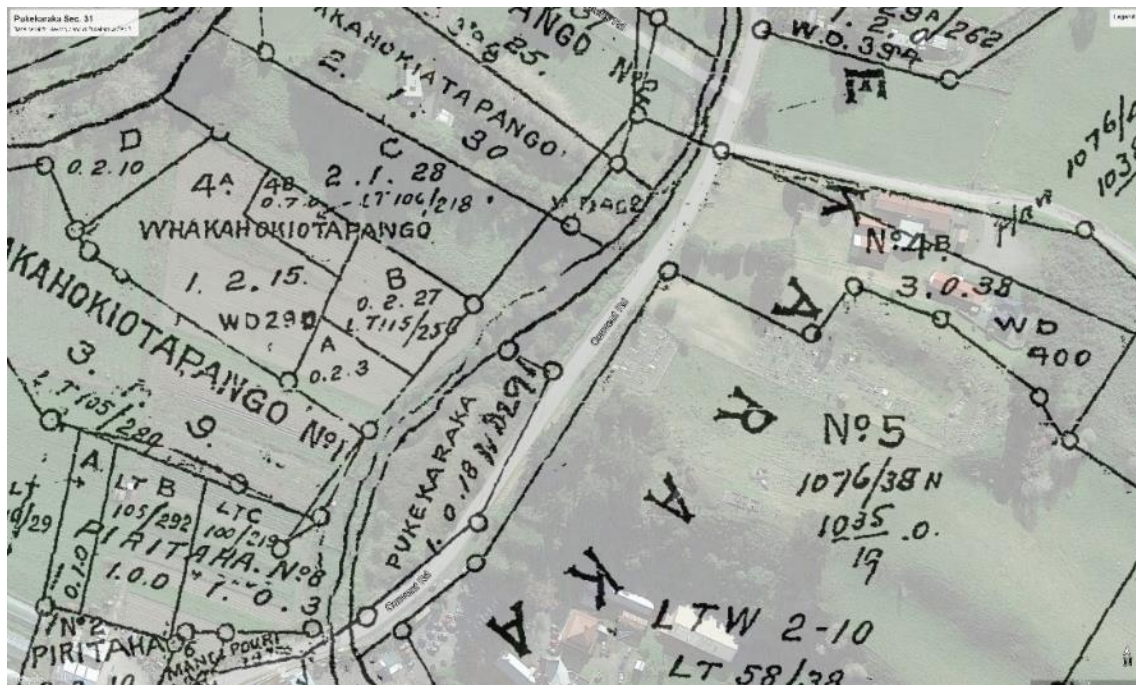


Figure 25 - detail from SO 11164-2 date unknown



In December 1900, Frank Bennett surveyed this land for William Jillett. There are no field book references included on the plan or identification of previous plans. This is the first plan that clearly shows this section encroaching to road boundary in front of Whakahokiatapango C, making it landlocked. The land was claimed by William Jillett through Te Raiti Tonihi because “she allocated it to us”. The title was awarded to Robert Jillett, William Jillett, Charlotte Jillett, Sabina Jillett, John Robert Jillett, and Joseph Frederick Jillett.

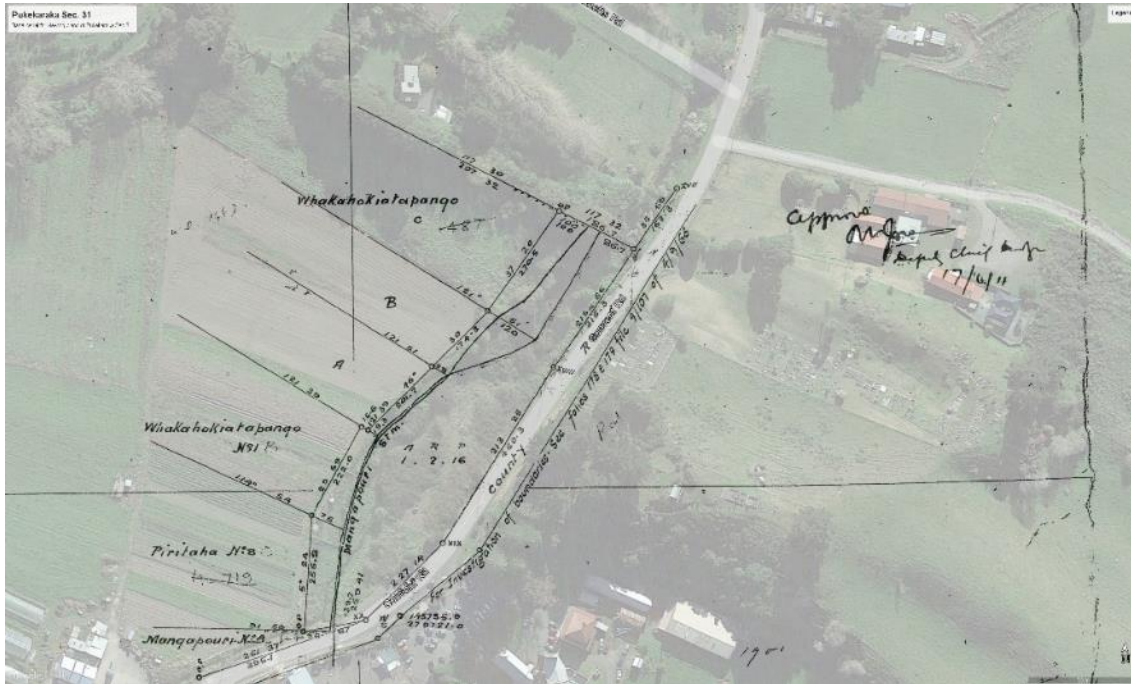


Figure 26 - detail from ML 1643, dated December 1900 survey plan by Frank Bennett for William Jillett.

By 1965, the land appears in SO 26604 as “Pt Pukekaraka Block”. This same lack of reference to plans WD 61 or WD 291 continue on plans dated to 1968<sup>66</sup> and 1982,<sup>67</sup> and the land has remained bounded on all sides by privately owned land.



Figure 27 - detail from SO 26604, dated 1965, by J. Veal.

<sup>66</sup> SO 27573, Wellington Land District.

<sup>67</sup> DP 60319, Wellington Land District.

For our whānau, these survey plans trace the process of landlocking us out of our ancestral lands that are right at the heart of Ngāti Kapu. Through my entire childhood, and my mother's, we were never able to visit this whenua because it would involve trespassing over someone else's private land, even though it lay directly across the road from our marae.