CULTURAL VALUES REPORT

UPPER STEBBINGS VALLEY AND MARSHALL RIDGE
STRUCTURE PLANNING

REPORT TO NEW ZEALAND WELLINGTON CITY COUNCIL
IN ASSOCIATION WITH PORT NICHOLSON BLOCK SETTLEMENT
TRUST
& WELLINGTON TENTHS TRUST

MAY 2018
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1. Wellington City Council is undertaking a planning exercise to examine the area identified as Upper Stebbings Valley and Marshall Ridge (Glenside). The intention of this exercise is to appropriately determine the future use of this land which is currently zoned Rural under the District Plan. This aligns with the Wellington Urban Growth Plan and the Northern Growth Management Framework.

2. To do this, the Council is using a structure planning process, similar to those also used in Wellington’s north. A structure plan is able to look at the land and all associated issues at once.

3. This report will provide information on cultural values and related iwi matters appropriate for this stage of the process.

4. The findings from this report are that the area of Upper Stebbings Valley and Marshall Ridge has little cultural value to the associated iwi. However, wider impacts, such as water issues, should be considered as the development of this area happens.
Site Map of the proposed area for the Upper Stebbings Valley and Marshall Ridge Structure Planning

STRATEGIC CONTEXT

WELLINGTON URBAN GROWTH PLAN

1. Wellington City’s population is expected to grow from the current 200,000 to approximately 250,000 over the next 30 years and to become more diverse. Wellington Urban Growth Plan ensures that as the city’s population increases, new houses, transport networks, infrastructure and services are developed sustainably and in areas that benefit the city the most so that residents continue to enjoy a world-class quality of life. It is an action-focussed plan, which builds on, updates and replaces the existing urban development and transport strategies. It seeks to:
• maintain the city’s liveability – the features that support our high quality of life and the city’s character
• keep the city compact, walkable and supported by an efficient transport network
• protect the city’s natural setting – nested between our green hills and coastline, contributing to our distinctive character
• The plan is the Council’s guide for directing investment and supporting development in growth areas – a blueprint for prioritising and managing future growth. This includes actions to support:
  • Transformational growth areas: The City will support quality urban development in locations suitable for growth including the regeneration of existing urban areas and development in new greenfield areas
  • Liveable and vibrant centres: The City will continue improving the central city and suburban centres
  • Real transport choices: The City will continue improving conditions for walking, cycling and public transport, improving our road network, and managing parking more efficiently
  • Housing choice and supply: The City will support an increase in housing supply, encourage a greater variety of housing types and more affordable options, and facilitate the development of medium-density housing
  • The City’s natural environment: The City will continue to enhance its natural assets, and reduce the environmental impact of urban development and transport
  • City resilience:

2. It will ensure the city’s buildings, infrastructure and coastline can cope with or adapt to the risks posed by natural hazards and climate change.

3. The plan will support Council decisions on planning and investment and provide certainty for the city’s stakeholders – developers, central government, iwi, ratepayers and residents. The priority projects identified in the plan will inform our Long-term Plan. To make sure the plan is effective, it will be reviewed and updated every three years, alongside the Long-term Plan, to reflect changing local
priorities and development pressures. This will include assessing the progress made in putting the plan into action and reporting back to Councillors and the wider organisation.

4. In summary, the Wellington Urban Growth Plan provides a framework to manage the city’s future growth while protecting our environment and heritage, and building on the things that make the city special. We think it will be a catalyst for positive change.

NORTHERN GROWTH MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK

5. Protection and enhancement of the green (open space and natural areas) and blue (streams and stormwater systems) networks will be central to how the area develops. We can shape the extent and type of residential development by setting our priorities on looking after natural open spaces and providing links between these areas (including urban parks and reserves wherever possible). For example, Porirua Stream, Glenside Reserve, Seton Nossiter Park and Belmont Gully should all be seen as part of a larger network that is crossed by important transport routes but is otherwise kept as a continuous green belt. This can have links to other key areas such as the Outer Green Belt, Belmont Regional Park and the Wellington Escarpment.

6. Similarly, guidelines to ensure natural waterways are not polluted or unnecessarily modified by new construction, and that stormwater systems are not overloaded in flood events, will have an effect on future development and housing styles. For example, existing streams, soils and natural vegetation absorb more rainwater than roads and other hard surfaces. Development styles which retain these natural assets, and minimise hard and impermeable surfaces, will reduce runoff and flood risk.
   • Protect ecologically sensitive areas.
   • Protect or acquire land with significant open space or ecological values.
   • Restrict or manage development in some areas so that streams, significant ridgetops and hilltops, wetlands and bush remnants are recognised and
protected, using if necessary new District Plan policies and appropriate zoning changes.

• Provide green linkages between natural habitats where ecologically and recreationally beneficial and ensure recognition in any future development proposals.

• Encourage owners of large properties to retain and protect significant areas of bush so that they help to form a corridor of vegetation.

• Encourage land owners to plant native trees and shrubs on their properties.

• Establish an area-wide track network for walking, cycling and wherever appropriate, other forms of recreation.

• Improve water quality by limiting the impact of urban development on catchments.

• Work with developers, Greater Wellington Regional Council and Porirua City Council on flood and stormwater management to minimise impacts on stream and water quality and to protect the water catchment of Porirua Stream (figure 13).

• Work with developers to rationalise the number and positioning of water reservoirs.

• Plan for the future effective solid and liquid waste disposal for the northern area.
The transmission lines approximately mark the boundary between the current Churton Park (Amesbury) area being subdivided and the area to the left of the photo which would be included in this proposal.

7. The land being investigated adjoins the developing areas of Churton Park. The pine plantation shown above is part of the Prison site. There is currently little road access into the areas of farmland and forest that form most of the proposed area. The farmland is largely devoted to pastoral farming with sheep and cattle on land that was converted quite early in times of colonisation from indigenous forest to pasture. Some of the higher land has been converted into exotic pine plantations some of which are now ready for harvest.
8. The streams through the area are in part ephemeral flowing only in times of heavier rainfall however there are a few permanent streams in the larger gullies which flow down eventually into the Porirua Stream. Stebbing Stream is one of these.

AROHATA WOMEN’S PRISON, 1 MAIN ROAD, TAWA

9. The prison was built in 1944 as a women's borstal. Arohata was the first purpose built women's prison in New Zealand & replaced the Women's Reformatory at Point Halswell, near Shelly Bay. In 1981 it changed functions to become a youth prison, and later a women's prison again, which contained the national female facility for drug rehabilitation. Between April 1992 and May 1994, 40 minimum-security male inmates were also kept at Arohata. In te reo Māori, Arohata means "the bridge". The name was chosen in the hope that Arohata would provide a bridge between past offending, and a future life in the community.

10. Corrections have a significant area of land, only part of which, it appears, is used for Corrections purposes. Land behind the prison is in planted pine forest with other scrubland areas.

TREATY OF WAITANGI SETTLEMENT INTERESTS

11. The Prison is a part of the commercial redress for Ngati Toarangatira in what is known as the “sale and leaseback offer”. In summary with this mechanism Ngati Toa can chose to purchase the fee simple of the property on the basis that it is leased back to Corrections under the terms of the Deed of Settlement.

12. These are matters to be finally negotiated between Te Runanga o Toarangatira and Corrections with a lease to be put in place if Ngati Toa decides to purchase the Prison Property. It is understood that these matters are in progress with further details being commercially confident.

13. Arohata Prison is not part of the sale and leaseback arrangement with the Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust (Taranaki Whanui).
14. There are a number of Iwi Authorities for this area however those leading this area are the settlement entities of Te Runanga o Toa Rangatira (Ngati Toa) and Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust (PNBST), (Taranaki Whanui ki te Upoko o Te Ika a Maui) and beside that the earlier entity of the Wellington Tenths Trust (a tribal land-owning ahu whenua trust which was the Iwi Authority prior to the PNBST settlement of 2009).

15. However there is potentially another entity or entities representing parts of Ngati Tama in Wellington. Potentially this group has been able to seek a mandate from those who affiliate to Ngati Tama in Wellington and who have chosen not to be represented by PNBST.

16. Ngati Tama were a part of this landscape and that needs to be recognised.

17. In an earlier Court case Ngati Wai o Ngati Tama Incorporated became a party to the court proceedings as the Court agreed that they had an interest in the proceedings greater than the public generally.

18. However, Ngati Wai o Ngati Tama have not been active since 2014.

19. Ngati Tama Mandate Limited is the entity which holds a mandate to negotiate a Treaty Settlement from December 2013, but since getting terms of negotiation in March 2014 all Ngati Tama Wellington activity has ceased aside from their people opting to be a part of Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust.

20. Ngati Tama ki te Upoko o te Ika a Maui Society Incorporated also seems to have been inactive.

21. In terms of consultation with Iwi groups Ngati Toarangatira is represented by Te Runanga o Toa Rangatira and Te Atiawa/Taranaki Whanui (including its Ngati Tama members) are represented by Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust and Wellington Tenths Trust. If Ngati Tama completes its mandate process and gains a Treaty claim settlement from the Government and becomes active in the Wellington District again, then clearly it becomes an Iwi Authority in the district.
22. Within the area referred to here as Upper Stebbings and Marshall Ridge, there were no known Pa or kainga (Villages), urupa however there was probably some gardening in parts. The main Maori use would be for hunting and gathering of taonga raranga (weaving materials), rongoa (medicinal plants), birding and in places fishing for tuna/eel and other freshwater fish and some koura. This area was certainly not renowned for any of these resources and is no longer an area of any cultural significance for these resources.

23. This report however sets the context for the plan area showing the intense coastal occupation by Maori leading up to the arrival of European settlers. There was also a higher degree of Maori occupation up the valley leading to the Porirua Harbour along the Porirua Stream.

24. The indigenous vegetation has almost completely been removed today for farming and forestry.

25. This area in Maori times was some distance from the largely coastal settlements of Ohariu Pa and north to the Ngati Tama Pa of Ngutu Kaka near Boom Rock. Although Te Atiawa had the village of Koangaumu in Titahi Bay and Ngati Tama at Korohiwa (Coalheavers) (a Whaling Station) along with other Taranaki whanui kainga along the coast these were some distance from this area. The northern extent of the takiwa of Te Atiawa/Taranaki whanui, in the valley where today the Porirua Stream flows, there were the gardens at Takapu associated with the Ngati Mutunga Chief Patukawenga.

26. To the north Ngati Toa villages, garden and urupa prevailed around the Porirua harbour at Takupuwhiahia and around to Taupo Swamp and then further north.

27. In terms of tribal connection this block is just to the south of the “Ara Taura line” which started at Ara Taura on the west coast and formed the southern boundary of the Porirua Block set out in the McCleverty Awards of 1847. Ngati Toa would certainly have used this area for hunting and gathering activity.
28. For much of the time Te Atiawa/Taranaki whanui and Ngati Toarangatira were in an alliance, however this was to break down with the iwi going their separate ways in the 1830s.

29. Any Maori cultural impacts of subdivision in this area are minimal. The Ohariu – Te Ika a Mari Maori Precinct in the Wellington District Plan is largely confined to the coastal region and does not include any of this plan area.

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Turton, H Hanson, An Epitome of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand, Government Printer, 1883.
Old Maori tracks as dashed orange and red lines. Track 3a is the route of the old Owharia to Thorndon Maori track as shown by Best and McLeod (1918). Track 3b is the route of the track as shown on the Wellington City Council District Plan. None of these tracks pass through the plan area.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANAGEMENT PLAN – June 2012
Authority No. 2012/798, Mill Creek Wind Farm, Wellington, Bruce McFadgen
30. The main stream leading to the Porirua harbour is the Porirua stream. It was known as Kenepuru at one time. Much of the catchment for the Upper Stebbings valley flows via the Stebbings Stream and other small streams into the Porirua Stream. All the streams from Johnsonville, Grenada and Takapu flow to Porirua Harbour and the Porirua Stream. These are all of great interest to Ngati Toa Rangatira and their interests in the streams as well as with what flows into the harbour will be set out by the Whaitua process with Greater Wellington Regional Council. The development of these catchments will inevitably increase runoff with a much higher degree of impermeable areas of catchment including; roofs, driveways, and so on. That can increase flood peaks in times of high rainfall. Subdivisions today are designed for what is known as stormwater neutrality whereby there is an amount of stormwater detention introduced into the systems to detain stormwater on site much in the way the grassed catchments did. Silt control during construction will help mitigate any adverse effects into the Porirua Harbour.

31. A small part of the catchment area flows into the Ohariu Stream where similar considerations regarding runoff particularly during bulk earthworks and the establishment of subdivisions.

32. The Porirua Harbour is the ultimate receiving water from the Porirua Whaitua Catchment with a dominance of the Porirua Stream. The Harbour had been a significant food source for the iwi around the harbour however as development around the harbour grew the quality of the water deteriorated and the ability for iwi to gather kaimoana came to an end. Iwi still use the harbour for waka racing and recreation. The quality of the water is seen as reflecting on the adjacent Marae and papakainga.
33. Te Awarua-o-Porirua Whaitua Committee is a group of local people tasked with recommending ways to maintain and improve the quality of our fresh water. The Committee, established in December 2014, has been working to collect and relay environmental, mana whenua, economic, and technical information and

2 http://www.gw.govt.nz/te-awarua-o-porirua-whaitua/
community knowledge between the community, committee and the Regional Council.

34. The Committee will use the results of its engagement to develop a Whaitua Implementation Programme, or WIP. The WIP will set limits for water and associated land use, and will become a chapter in the Natural Resources Plan.
CONCLUDING COMMENTS

1. There are no known Maori sites of significance within the Upper Stebbings Valley area and it is unlikely that there would be Maori archaeological sites to be found. The area was used by Maori for hunting and gathering but villages and burial grounds were more likely in the coastal area of Ohariu and Porirua Harbour.

2. The areas in the upper catchments of both the Ohariu Stream and the Porirua Stream have the potential if developed to adversely impact both the streams and their respective estuary areas and the Porirua Harbour.

3. Although the Te Atiawa/Taranaki whanui traditional interests were through to Takapu and Tawa it is acknowledged that today Ngati Toa have similar interests in those areas and particularly as it potentially could affect the Porirua Stream and the Harbour.

RECOMMENDATIONS

a. Given the importance of the waterways and Porirua Harbour, any development in this area would need to adequately respond to ecological and iwi concerns. The baseline in terms of water quality and other matters will be set through the Whaitua process including the types of conditions on subdivision and the control of runoff and sediment discharge.

b. What happens with the Arohata Prison Site is likely to be a matter between Ngati Toa Rangatira and the Department for Corrections.

c. There are very limited cultural values that directly impinge on this area.
Looking North towards part of the area for inclusion in the scheme showing the typical landscape of this area.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


iii. Ward, Louis E. *Early Wellington*, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1928,

iv. Māori Land Court Minute Book 1C


vii. Turton, H Hanson, An Epitome of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand, Government Printer, 1883


ix. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANAGEMENT PLAN – June 2012 Authority No. 2012/798, Mill Creek Wind Farm, Wellington, Bruce McFadgen


4. Elsdon Best, the well-known ethnologist who lived at Tawa, studied this quite intensely and was familiar with both its traditional Māori history and its landscape. He describes Owhariu this way:

The district was occasionally raided, or traversed, by enemies, who usually came from the west coast of the island, for Porirua, prior to the twenties of last century, was ever occupied by clans of the East Coast people. Indeed, there local natives were related to the Mua-Upoko fold of the Otaki district, and to other clans as far north as Whanga-nui. Apparently the forest was their principal refuge during such invasions, for there are but few signs of old pa, or fortified places, in the district. Only three have been located, and all these are on the coast south of Mount Cooper. No sign of earthwork, save terraced hut sites, is seen at any other old village sites, and indeed many such sites would not lend themselves to defensive works, and are situated on sloping ground commanded by higher land in close proximity. But more of this anon. We do know, however, that it was a custom of the local tribes in former times to have places of refuge in the forest, to which at least non-combatants, as also defeated peoples, were accustomed to retire in troubled times.

Ngati-Toa were not a numerous people hence the alliances with other tribes made by Te Rau-paraha. That section of the tribe living at Wainui have, like other clans, much diminished in numbers, and few of them are now left. Our old friend Aperahama Mira and his wife are the last of the old folk now surviving at that hamlet.

In the year 1840 an estimate was made by the officials of the New Zealand Company of the number of Natives in the Wellington district, from which we extract the following items:

- Port Nicholson (Ngati-Awa, N-Ruanui and Taranaki) 500
- Owhariu, Oterongo and Wai-ariki (Nga-ti-Awa) 40
- Manga-rautawhiri (Ngati-Awa) 50
- Titahi 60
- Porirua (Ngati-Toa) 60
- Mana Isle (Ngati-Toa) 30

Those at Manga-rautawhiri given as Ngati-Awa were probably members of the Ngati-Tama clan. Oterongo was a small hamlet near Omere (the seaward range at Cape Te Rawhiti, so-called), southern end, while Wai-ariki was near the old

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3 Best, Elsdon, *Porirua – and they who settled it*, serialized in Canterbury Times, commencing March 1914
M’Menamin homestead. At that time it was estimated that 400 Natives were living at Wai-kanae and 1000 about Otaki. Dieffenbach gave the Native population of the shores of Port Nicholson and Owhariu as numbering 800 in 1840, but this was assuredly an over-estimate. These were all Ngati-Awa, except the inhabitants of the village at Te Aro, who were of Taranaki clan. The Puketapu clan of Ngati-Awa were living in Owhariu Bay, and at Waipirau, a little hamlet at the foot of Bowen Street. The Ngamotu hapu were located at Nga Uranga and Pito-one; Ngati-Tama were at Pipi-tea and Kai-wharawhara, while Ngati-Mutunga were at Wai-whetu. Dieffenbach also remarks that 120 of Ngāti Toa were living at Porirua and Mana, 200 more on Kapiti, while 700 Ngāti Awa resided at Waikanae. Presumably there was a good deal of guess work about this census business. In the “New Zealand Journal” of 1851 appears a report on the Māori villages of the Wellington district, and as far as Wairarapa and Rangitikei, from which we cull a few notes.

Takapuahia, Porirua: A Ngati-Toa hamlet situated on the native reserve; about 250 Natives here. Two chapels have been built of reeds and the materials for a water-power mill have been bought by the Natives. Cultivation of wheat, maize and potatoes. The Natives have abandoned the Taupo (Plimmerton) and Pukerua settlements and are now located here, a much more desirable place. (Presumably this village, which is still occupied by Ngati-Toa, should be written Takapu-wahia. It was named after a place at Kawhia.)

Komanga-rautawhiri: A fishing village on the coast near Titahi. Forty-five Natives dwell here, probably attracted by the whaling station at the Coalheavers (Te Korohiwa; “Coalheavers” is a whaler’s corruption.) A very bleak place. (This place is marked Bridge Pa on some maps. It is just south of the old whaling station.)

Taupo (Plimmerton): Now deserted.

Pukerua: One of the first settlements of Ngati-Toa in the district, and residence of the late chief Tungia. It has been abandoned, the Natives having joined Puaha at Takapuahia, though many of them have died within the last five or six years. Houses in a state of decay. Mr Couper has a cattle station here.

Te Paripari (between Pukerua and Paekakariki): Occupied by Ngati-Awa. About twenty-two Natives here. Many of these people have returned to Taranaki. This decadent hamlet was formerly known to us as the Rocky Settlement.

At Wairaka, Pae-kakariki and Wai-nui are 195 Natives. A school at Wai-nui is under the superintendence of one of the young chiefs. These natives have several stacks of wheat awaiting the completion of the mill at Porirua. Ohariu (Owahiri) is accessible from Wellington only by a footpath; the pa is in a state of decay. Originally the population of Ohariu was numerous, it being the principal landing place for canoes from both sides of the straits. These Natives are Ngati-Tama from Taranaki. The mortality among them of late years has been great. The Native teacher informs me that he has buried one hundred persons here within the last ten years. A few Whanga-nui Natives live here who have intermarried with the people of the place. The present population is 119, but there is a great scarcity of children. More of these folk will soon return to Taranaki.
The hamlets of the aborigines were situated on promontories, on terraces, on flat or sloping land above the bluffs, or on the small flats found in the little bays and indentations of the coast. All settlements were near the shores, for there was no land away from the coast that appealed to the Maori as a desirable place of residence. His clearings were small indeed, and confined to the vicinity of the hamlets. Bush had been cleared at some places suitable for cultivation, such as Motu-karaka, Kahotea, and some parts of the Whitiareia peninsula and old sweet potato gardens are recognised by the presence of water-worn gravel in the soil, as seen at Titahi, Kaipawa, and many other places. When the common potato was acquired, then clearings became more numerous, but we are not aware of the date of the introduction of the tuber into this district.

But the forest was practically untouched in pre-European times, it was a food preserve, and a prized one, and it was also a haven of refuge in many cases, when raiding enemies reached these parts.

One of the most interesting types of relics of Maori occupation seen in these isles is the remains of the old pa or fortified villages seen in so many places, and of which the earthworks of thousands may be seen in the North Island. The Wellington and Porirua districts, however, show a great paucity of such remains, and what there are here are assuredly poor specimens of the pa Maori. There is not, in the whole district, a single example of the elaborate defences, heavy earthworks and deep fosses seen on the East Coast, in the Bay of Plenty, in the far north, and the Taranaki district. This fact is essentially a rocky district, and the bluffs, knolls and promontories which were selected as sites of fortified hamlets showed rock so near the surface that heavy earthworks could not possibly be formed by a people not possessing metal tools, hence the defences of such places were composed principally of stockades. Thus it is that so few signs of old pa are seen in this district. The latest occupied of the old pa were abandoned in the twenties of last century, the stockades soon disappeared through the agency of fire and decay, and no sign remains of such places save maybe a few water-worn stones, and perchance, a shell midden.

There is also another item to be mentioned, and that is that there is some evidence to show that the Natives of this district did not habitually reside in fortified places; indeed, judging from the evidence of middens, they appear to have lived principally at places that could scarcely have been defended for any length of time. Such must have been either open hamlets or were merely surrounded by palisading. Doubtless these folk were generally provided with a fortified place on some adjacent hill or headland, to which they retreated when threatened by an enemy; in fact, we know the sites of a goodly number of such stockaded forts near Wellington. In a few places are seen remains of earthwork defences, parapets and fosses, the heaviest of which are probably those of the old Ika-a-Maru pa near Mr James M’Menamin’s homestead, between Owhariu and Ohau Bay.
35. It is of note that none of the surveyed garden Maori sites of the 1840s in the Ohariu valley were located on the lands of Upper Stebbings Valley. There were large garden sites in Ohariu and one of those was called Kumuhore. These areas may have been natural clearings in Māori times and were certainly still in use when surveyors and other arrived from 1840 onwards. The surveyor Robert Nankeville noted Pā sites on his coastal survey from Evans Bay to Manawatu in 1841 although his survey did not penetrate far into the hinterland. From a New Zealand Company report from 1855 (1853?) clearly shows the gardens of Kumuhore\(^4\) and those further inland which were largely included in the ‘country acres’ Ohariu Sections 77, 88 & 97 which were blocks of approximately 351 acres. These blocks were NZ Company Tenths Reserves and Fitzgerald\(^5\) noted that about 150 acres of these sections were fit for cultivation, however, he described the sections as poor and hilly.\(^6\) A certificate of title was issued for these blocks in 1882. The sections appear to have been sold in 1859 yet leases from Maori to settlers continued. Restrictions on alienation were removed in 1908 and the sections were sold in 1912.

36. McCleverty’s census in 1847 shows 119 people living at Ohariu. A visit to Ohariu Pā from the Deputy Inspector of Police in 1846 stated that he estimated the pa was able to hold up to 400 people, although he also came to a figure of 120 people living there at the time. Many of these people had been removed from the Hutt Valley and settled at Ohariu.\(^7\) The signatories for Turton Deed No 9 Ohariu and Makara were Ngapara, Te Pohe, Tihoira, and Tapoto.

\(^4\) Ohariu Blk RP 382, SO 11034 showing ‘native gardens’ in green in the upper centre of the map including sections 77 (Including site M7), 88 & 97 being Native Reserves and in the adjacent block outlined in red being lots X, X1 & XII Ohariu. Circa 1855

\(^5\) Fitzgerald, was the Land Claims Commissioner Surveyor in the 1840s


\(^7\) Bremner, Julie, Onslow Historian Vol 9 No 3 1979, p5, citing Archives NM 46/354
37. McCleverty’s report on cultivations shows a total of 233 acres 3 roods 8 perches of Māori cultivations on Ohariu and Makara, almost a third of his total cultivations recorded for the whole of Port Nicholson district. Fitzgerald’s report seems to indicate a much higher figure under cultivation in the area – perhaps as many as 1400 acres.  

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8 Fitzgerald Report 13/5/1867 enclosed on Colonel Wakefield in the Secretary to the Secretary of the New Zealand Company, NZC 3/6 n.o.27 pp206-218