Te Rimu Tahi

Ponsonby Road Masterplan - Maori Heritage Report June 2013

Ngarimu Blair for Auckland Council

1. Introduction

The Waitemata Local Board and representatives from a number of community groups (supported by Auckland Council and Auckland Transport) are working together to develop a Master Plan for Ponsonby Road. The Ponsonby Road Master Plan will present a comprehensive blue print for improvement to the urban realm of Ponsonby Road over the next 30 years. The Master Plan will be prepared following a 'complete street/ living arterial' approach. The Master Plan is intended to facilitate the achievement of an urban realm that better meets the community's desired outcomes in the future.

The Auckland Council commissioned this report on Maori heritage values and opportunities from Ngarimu Blair in order to better engage with relevant Iwi for the project area. The Iwi listed by Auckland Council for this project includes Ngati Te Ata, Te Aakitai, Ngati Whatua Orakei, Te Runanga o Ngati Whatua, Ngai Tai ki Tamaki, Ngati Maru, Ngati Paoa and Te Kawerau a Maki.

Specifically the brief for this report is;

- Background research to identify areas of past (pre-European) Maori Occupation, Use and activity within the Ponsonby Road Master Plan study area;
- Background research to identify the more recent history of Urban Maori activity within the Ponsonby Road Master Plan study area; and
- Preparation of a short report outlining the findings of this research, which specifically provides:
 - (1) an historic context statement;
 - (2) a short issues analysis that identifies high-level positive, negative, and neutral issues (with regard to cultural heritage) and gaps in information that could not be filled through research or within the timeframe; and
 - (3) recommendations for preservation, protection or celebration of the cultural heritage.

The Master Plan study area will include the full extent of Ponsonby Road, from Jervois Road at the Three Lamps end, to Karangahape Road at the southern end (refer red outline in **Figure 1** below). Fringe areas (green outline in **Figure 1**) and the wider city context will also be considered in developing the Master Plan as appropriate.



Figure 1: Masterplan Area Map

2. Brief Historical Overview

Tāmaki Herenga Waka — 'Tāmaki - where waka are tied to', is an ancient name for the Auckland Isthmus. This narrow piece of land between the Pacific Ocean and Tasman sea was known well by the great Polynesian navigators who settled Aotearoa a thousand years ago. Waka arriving from the Pacific Islands with new seed stocks and migrants sought the narrowest part of the isthmus at Otāhuhu, a mere 800m portage between our 2 great oceans. Later voyagers found Tāmaki heavily populated with some marrying into local communities while others continued south in search of new lands. With excellent gardening soils, fish stocks and natural fortifications – the volcanic cones, Tāmaki became and still is today, the center of the largest Maori civilisation in the world. Some of the early arrivals were Toi, the famed Polynesian navigator. He left his mark around the country including at St Heliers Bay also known as Te Whanganui o Toi or 'Toi's Great Bay'. Some of the earliest known tribes were the Ngariki, Nga Iwi and Nga Oho. All Iwi of modern Auckland claim descent from Toi as the Te Tini o Toi (The Multitude of Toi) and these earliest peoples.

Maori had their food production organised into gardening and fishing circuits themselves dictated by soils, fish stocks and the native calendar (maramataka). There were many fishing stations supported by gardens throughout the Isthmus including the Waiatarau or Freemans Bay area. These satellite-fishing stations supported the main camps that by the 15th century included the volcanic Pa throughout Tāmaki.

Through the leadership of Hua Kaiwaka in the 16th century, the various tribes of the Tāmaki Isthmus were united under the confederation known as Te Waiohua. Under his reign, Tāmaki saw an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity that lead to saying; 'Te pai me te whai rawa o Tamaki'; 'The wealth and luxury of Tamaki'. The Hauraki confederation of tribes had periodic incursions onto the Isthmus as well as fishing stations in the Waitemata. Ngati Whatua domiciled in the north-west attacked Te Waiohua in the mid-17th century eventually settling on the central isthmus. In 1840 a 3,000 acre block of land was exchanged between Ngati Whatua leader, Te Kawau and Governor Hobson. The Ponsonby area was included as part of that block of land. Whilst all the lwi are related they continue to fiercely practice their own mana motuhake or autonomy.

With the loss of land followed by outbreak of war in the 1860s Maori were to no longer feature in the Ponsonby area until the after WW2. With encouragement from government a mass migration of Maori from other tribal areas descended on Auckland with a large concentration ending up in Freemans Bay, Ponsonby and Grey Lynn. They were attracted by cheap housing which was close to employment, good public transport and the hubbub of the inner city. With no marae in the locality the old army barracks next to Victoria Park became the focal point of the Maori community. It became affectionately known as, 'The Maori Community Centre'.

Newly arrived Pacific Islanders too found the cheap rents attractive as well as transients, creative's and recovering and also committed alcoholics and drug addicts. Many Pacific Island families pooled their wages and bought houses together in the area maintaining a foothold that still exists today. Maori however over the next 3 decades progressively left Ponsonby enticed by the Department of Maori Affairs into home ownership and rental houses in the 'new' suburbs of South and West Auckland.¹

As Ponsonby was gentrified racial tension escalated between Pakeha and Polynesians. Maori and Pacific Islanders were racially profiled by Police with the dawn raids an official manifestation of this in the 1970s. Betty Wark's Maori hostel called Arohanui operated off and on in various locations but closed at the end of the 1990s. The United Maori Mission still run a Maori hostel on Hepburn Street on land owned by the Maori Trustee. The Trustee has a mandate to develop housing opportunities for Maori in Auckland. Amiria Stirling and her husband were noted kaumatua and kuia with whom the famous song 'Me he manu rere' is associated with. Today the Maori community of Ponsonby and Grey Lynn are most visible in the hospitality, music and art industries.

¹ http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/page-2

3. Maori Map of Te Rimutahi Area



- Te Rimutahi 'The Lone Rimu'; a sacred Rimu tree was once located near the water reservoir near Artstation. Along with other sacred trees such as Te Totara i Ahua on Maungakiekie and Te Tiitutahi in Newmarket they were cut down as Maori were forced out of the central isthmus during the New Zealand Wars.
- Tunamau 'To Catch Eels'; the stream that runs (now in pipes) through Western Park and formerly discharging into Waiatarau (Freemans Bay). Tunamau was an Autumn eeling camp.

- Te Uru Karaka ' Karaka Tree Grove'; The Newton Gully area had a tended orchard of Karaka. The berries were a food and medicinal source whilst the caterpillar found in the floor litter of Karaka was burnt and combined with shark oil for use as ink in Moko.
- Te Rae o Kawharu 'The Brow of Kawharu'; A Waikato ancestor who led Ngati Whatua on a number of military campaigns in the 16th century into the Auckland Isthmus from the South Kaipara. At Arch Hill he rested after a battle and named it after his brow as was the Maori custom to proclaim mana over the land.
- Opoutukeha 'Poutukeha's Place'; Also known as Poutukeka this ancestor arrived on the Tainui waka. In time the stream became a boundary between early Iwi, Ngati Riu and Ngati Huarere.
- Te Koranga 'The Fish Scaffold'; At the foot of Victoria Street fish would be dried on scaffolds over the fishing season before the clans would move back to base camps further inland for the leaner winter months.
- The Maori Community Centre The former army barracks at the corner of Fanshawe and Halsey Street became a substitute Marae for the wave of new Maori migrants to Auckland after WW2. The dances and functions were legendary with many a famous Maori musician launching their career there including Billy T James, Tui Teka, Charlie Tumahai and Herbs and the Maori High 5s. Today the site has a 4 level office complex on it which is owned by Ngati Whatua Orakei.
- Waiatarau 'Reflecting Waters'; The former Freemans Bay now reclaimed to form Victoria Park.
- Waipiro Bay 'Alcoholics Bay'; In early Auckland Freemans Bay attracted working class Pakeha and it soon became a slum such to the extent that Maori referred to the area as the 'place of Pakeha Alcoholics'.
- Waikuta; Kuta is a native reed that grew in the waters around Waiatarau. The Waikuta Stream flowed down College Hill discharging into the bay.
- Te Too 'The Dragging of Waka'; Waka would be dragged on to the foreshore at Beaumont Street after fishing expeditions on the Waitemataa. This area of Auckland could be likened to a major fish processing plant. At one major event in 1844 at Remuwera, 9,000 sharks were served to guests many of which came from Te Too. The Paa above (now quarried away) provided refuge in times of inter-tribal tension.
- Te Onemaru o Huatau 'Huatau's Sheltered beach'; The small beach near the base of St Mary's Bay Rd provided an all tide launch site for waka onto the Waitemata. Huatau is a Te Waiohua ancestor who commanded the fisheries enterprise there in the 17th century.
- Okaa Paa; This Paa is located Pt Erin and was part of a vast network of fishing stations and strongholds along the coastline of the Waitemataa.
- Tukituki Muka 'To Prepare Flax'; The area at the north end of Jervois Road was a flax processing area. Flax would be harvested from the wetlands in the Cox's Bay gully then processed into rope and other fibers for clothes and dried on the north facing hill slopes of Herne Bay.
- St Anne's School for Maori Girls and Boys St Mary's College; The St Mary's Sisters of Mercy established a school for Maori girls on the site named by Bishop Pompallier as Mt St Mary's in

1854. In 1863 the Nazareth Institute for 'Maori and Half-Caste Girls' is founded on the same land.

• United Maori Mission Maori Hostel - Hepburn Street.

4. Maori Heritage Themes and Recommendations

4.1 Nga Ara Hononga - Transportation & Communication

The Te Rimutahi or Ponsonby ridgeline was a traditional Maori transport route and walking track that could take one from Maungawhau (Mt Eden) through Te Uru Karaka (Newton Gully) to Okaa and Te Too, the 2 headland Paa sites at Pt Erin and St Mary's Bay above Victoria Park.

The Karangahape track that begins near Te Iringa o Rauru, near Symonds Street is another related track the runs west along modern day Great North Road. The relevance of the name Karangahape denotes that this track was traditionally used to begin the long overland journey to Cornwallis known to Maori as Karangahape. Hape is a significant Tainui ancestor and he stood on the ridge, having arrived just before his kinsman from the Pacific, to call or karanga to them when the waka landed on the Waitemata.

Ponsonby Road today is heavily dominated by private motor vehicles with 2 lanes of traffic each way, parking both sides and a median strip to enable right turning traffic into side streets. There is only a short bus lane at the southern end with buses therefore competing for space with motor vehicles. Ponsonby Road has attracted a lot of attention over the past decade regarding its lack of safety for pedestrians. Recent research by Auckland Transport show Maori and Pacific Island people are being injured or killed on Auckland roads at alarming 65% higher rate than others.²

Maori values can be acknowledged by continuing to reinforce the Te Rimutahi ridgeline as a transport route. However walking and cycling should be prioritised over car-parking and cars in order to protect and enhance those values. Maori heritage can also be highlighted much more effectively in a safe and walkable environment as opposed to driving through the landscape at 40+km per hour. In summary a walkable and cyclable environment can support Maori values and heritage by;

- Being easier for pedestrians and cyclists to read and appreciate artwork and signage;
- Enabling a greater uptake of the Ponsonby walks brochures and maps by visitors;
- Being easier to appreciate the geographical form of the ridge, hill sides, gullies and streams;
- Improving the legibility of the location of other notable landmarks such as Maungawhau, Karangahape, Te Uru Karaka, Tunamau and the Waitemataa;
- Less Green House Gases being released adding to Climate Change;
- Less pollution of the Waitemataa from contaminated stormwater;
- Greater health co-benefits for Maori and Pacific living, working and visiting the Ponsonby area through more walking and cycling in a safer environment..

²://www.aucklandtransport.govt.nz/about-us/publications/Reports/Documents/social-geographical-differences-report-2013.pdf



Fig 3: Example of transport corridor layout prioritising walking, cycling and public transport³

4.1.2 Recommendations for Preservation, Protection and Celebration

With a major increase in walking and cycling the opportunities for stories to be told through art, signage or interaction between people is much greater. Potential place-making projects could include;

- > mock directional signage to Okaa Pa, Te Too Paa, Tuna Mau, Opoutukeha and Waiatarau.
- public sculpture themed on rimu, tuna, the traditional Maori economy and movement of people and goods.
- Encouraging the creative community to mark the post WW2 Ponsonby history the migration in and out by Maori, to dawn raids, the invisible 'colour bar' and move to a diverse and liberated community.
- > Creating more spaces for people to sit, watch, contemplate, interact and swap stories.
- Creating a language or theme for design of public infrastructure based on Rimu and its properties.

4.2 Te Wao Nui a Tāne - Terrestrial Biodiversity

Our bio-diversity is in crisis with Auckland having the dubious honour of being is the 'World's Weediest City'. Auckland has over 220 weeds and more than 10,000 exotic plant species compared to 400 natives. Each year an average of four species naturalise threatening our unique heritage landscapes. There are currently 1,100 naturalised exotic species in Auckland. Weeds displace native plants, alter soil chemistry, and drastically reduce food for native animals.⁴

Maori have a cultural duty to protect the realm of Tane - the God of Forests which is expressed through the principle of kaitiakitanga. Iwi therefore are highly concerned with species selection of vegetation having witnessed for generations the wholesale and continued loss of bio-diversity in Auckland City. For Mana Whenua to be without their nature is to be without their very culture. The state of the environment directly effects the wellbeing of an Iwi in both physical and spiritual terms. For urban Iwi the lack of nature which are markers of identity, has seriously impacted the confidence of those Iwi.

Ponsonby Road itself has almost no native trees in the public realm except for a couple of Pohutukawa trees at the Church at 253 Ponsonby Road. Exotic trees completely dominate whilst Western Park, the 2nd oldest park in Auckland was created in a time when settlers were thoroughly cleansing Auckland of its natives. Today, project by project lwi have to fight for natives to dominate in urban renewal programs.

Street tree and other planting should employ a 'systems thinking' approach. The deciduous exotic plane trees of the Ponsonby area drop their leaves in Autumn and Winter. Whilst this has benefits

³ (Source - http://transportblog.co.nz/2013/03/03/rethinking-ponsonby-road/)

⁴ http://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/science/plants-animals-fungi/plants/weeds/invasion-ecology

for allowing additional sunlight through to the street in the colder months it puts immense stress on stormwater infrastructure increasing the chance of flooding and adding significant costs due to street and drain cleaning. Much rate-payer expense goes into collecting tons of leaves from Ponsonby Streets and drains before being landfilled. Organic matter de-composting in landfills adds to Green House Gas emissions.



Fig 4: Blocked drains in Ponsonby - Franklin Road (note: permission to be sourced from photographer)

The Ponsonby masterplan area cannot be isolated and must be considered in the broader landscape and efforts to restore native bio-diversity to wider Auckland. The nearest 'patches' of stands of native vegetation of any note are at Te Rae o Kawharu (Arch Hill Reserve) and Te Uru Karaka (Spaghetti Junction motorway plantings). The value therefore of Western Park within the masterplan area for increased bio-diversity is significant. Street tree planting should aim to connect the existing and potential future patches (e.g. Tole Street reserve) of native vegetation to neighbouring patches such as at Pt Erin, Coxes Bay and Meola Reef. Patches of native vegetation linked by targeted street tree planting and encouraging residents to plant native can build the bio-diversity matrix required to provide more food and habitat for native fauna. Our trees and our birds are key components in creating a truly unique destination for visitors.

Landcare Research has undertaken a significant amount of research in this field and demonstrates the potential of bio-diversity enhancements in urban areas if it is undertaken systematically as opposed to the ad-hoc approach often employed.



Fig 5: Urban Bio-diversity Matrix⁵

To recognise Maori values plant species therefore should be selected that contribute to a systematic goal of protecting and restoring native bio-diversity, unless there are compelling reasons not to.

Rimu is an obvious candidate for specimen tree planting either in groves and/or as a 'noble' street tree. Rimu are not often used in street tree planting by Auckland Council however this should be investigated for use in the project area. Rimu do not shed leaves which has benefits for reducing street cleaning and drain clearing costs however they would increase shade.

4.2.1 Recommendations for Preservation, Protection and Celebration

A planting palette that is aligned to Tangata Whenua values would see the species selected based on;

- its value in assisting with the restoration of bio-diversity;
- its value in connecting patches of native vegetation across the central area;
- its value for highlighting Maori heritage e.g. Te Rimutahi
- Its value in normalising the sight of natives in urban contexts
- its value in providing for cultural practices such as rongoa (traditional medicines) and mahi toi (art)

The Auckland Council's Native Forest Restoration Guide whilst targeted at restoring comprehensive ecosystems, is useful in providing a suitable list of species that relate to the ridge and the gully in Western Park. Suitable ridge species for Ponsonby Road and nearby streets include Puriri which are large and evergreen whilst Rewarewa are medium sized and columnar. Kowhai can add colour and is semi deciduous for areas requiring more light.

Planting for hillsides sloping away from the Te Rimutahi Ridge and the gully in Western Park should also be formed on similar basis of replacing what was once there to reflect the indigenous landscape.

⁵ www.landcareresearch.co.nz/publications/researchpubs/Meurk.ppt

Maori name/common name	Species	Ridges	Hill slopes	Gullie
		1 ——		
Coprosma rhamnoides	Coprosma rhamnoides		[•]	
hīnau	Elaeocarpus dentatus		× 1	
horoeka, lancewood	Pseudopanax crassifolius		(i + i)	
houpara (coastal sites)	Pseudopanax lessonii		× 1	
kahikatea	Dacrycarpus dacrydiokles		(i + i)	
kanono	Coprosma grandifolia		÷ 1	¥.
kauri (see Kauri Dieback note)	Agathis australis	1	1 . 1	
kawakawa	Macropiper excelsum		(¥)	- ¥
kohekohe	Dysoxylum spectabile		•	
māmāngi	Coprosma arborea	1		
mangeao	Litsea calicaris		•	*
miro	Prumnopitys ferruginea	<u>i</u>	(÷)	¥
nīkau	Rhopalostylis sapida		•	*
pigeonwood	Hedycarya arborea	<u>i</u>		¥
põhutukawa (coastal sites)	Metrosideros excelsa		•	
pukatea	Laurelia novae-zelandiae			
pūriri	Vitex lucens			÷
rangiora (coastal sites)	Brachyglottis repanda	1		
rātā	Metrosideros robusta			
rewarewa	Knightia excelsa	1. 19		
rimu	Dacrydium cupressinum			*
taraire	Beilschmiedia tarairi			•
tawa	Beilschmiedia tawa		÷ .	
tītoki	Alectryon excelsus			•
tótara	Podocarpus totara or P. cunninghamii	. ÷	1. 4. 1.	

Fig 6 - Potential Complete Species List for Public Planting⁶

4.3 Te Wai Ora a Tāne and Mauri Moana (Waters and their Ecological Communities) -Waterways

Like most of the inner city the Ponsonby Road area no longer has viable fresh water springs and streams. Maori traditionally used streams as a source of food, bathing and cultural ceremonies. The Tunamau stream in Western Park and beyond was an Autumn eeling site. Ponsonby's population exploded with the introduction of efficient pubic transportation via trams. Without adequate sewage infrastructure the streams of the area became heavily polluted. By 1904, Western Park was considered a 'place of beauty' even though the Tunamau stream running though it was 'two-thirds sewage'. The remnant of Tunamau can still be seen today during heavy rains though it is mostly piped now all the way to the Waitemataa. The daylighting of this stream has been investigated by the former Auckland Regional Council in 2008. The cost of undertaking a full daylighting program are

⁶(http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/environmentwaste/naturalenvironment/Documents/nativeforestrestoration guide.pdf)

likely to be extremely high however there may be opportunities for more localised daylighting within Western Park itself.⁷

Another notable freshwater stream once flowed down College Hill and is called Waikuta. The Waikuta stream refers to the fresh water reed that once grew in the wetlands at the foot of College Hill. In 2002 a stormwater pipe burst trying to contain the Waikuta Stream during a heavy downpour causing a large hole to form on the road. Maori saw this event as an enduring reminder of the presence and mauri of Waikuta⁸.

The western side of the Rimutahi ridge drains to the Opoutukeha stream which had its headwaters in today's Grey Lynn Park. Poutukeha or Poutukeka was an ancestor from the Tainui waka and the stream was a tribal boundary between Ngati Riu and Ngati Huarere, 2 of the early tribes of the area.

4.3.1 Recommendations for Preservation, Protection and Celebration

- Daylighting a section of Tunamau
- Telling the story of Tunamau and Waikuta through art, signage
- Stormwater grate and manhole design with integrated art work to highlight tuna and the Waitemataa



Fig 7: Manhole covers in Wellington

4.4 Whenua and Ahi Kaa (Landscapes, People within them and Cultural Heritage)

As described above from the outbreak of war in the 1860s Maori had a minor living precence in the Ponsonby area until the 1950s. At the 2001 Census 8.7% of people in Ponsonby West were Maori [note- more up to date census stats needs t to be researched]. Ponsonby rents and landvalues are very high leading to fewer Maori living in the area. Despite this there are 2 schools with Te Reo Maori units at Freemans Bay Primary and Richmond Road Shools. Reducing houshold costs through improving walking, cylcing and public transport to Ponsonby. Wider societal obligations to lift Maori education and income levels would be needed in the long-term which is outside of the brief of this project.

The Treaty Settlements process and the establishment of the Tamaki Collective commercial company may provide future opportunties for more Maori land ownership in future. For example

^{7 (}see-http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/documents/technicalpublications/TR2008-027%20Stream%20Daylighting%20Identifying%20Opportunities%20part%201.pdf).

⁸ (see - http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=586099).

certain surplus Crown lands must be offered to the Tamaki Collective for purchase at market value for the next 172 years. This includes Ministry of Education land.

4.4.1 Recommendations for Preservation, Protection and Celebration

- Auckland Council to partner with Iwi should their be joint venture development opportutnities with surplus Council land.
- Schedule Tunamau as a Maori Heritage site in the Unitary Plan.
- Prioritise walking, cycling and public transport over private motor vehicles.

5. Summary of Iwi Priorities

Iwi were presented with a number of masterplan options at the community group meeting on May 22. A follow up hikoi along Ponsonby Road was also held by the writer, attended by Kawerau a Maki, Ngati Whatua Orakei and Ngati Maru. The following priorities were circulated by email to all Iwi associated with the project for comment.

Transport

- That the carriage-way for vehicles be reduced to one lane in each direction for the entire length of Ponsonby Road.
- This would allow more space to be allocated for public transport, cycling and safer walking.
- The footpath width could be maintained or increased enabling more activity and vibrancy than present further supporting local business.
- Traffic at 3 Lamps to be for cycling and public transport only to encourage a community meeting place.
- Develop a parking strategy for Ponsonby to make better use of exisiting car-parks e.g. carpark share scheme between businesses that open at different hours.
- Support for walkways through Western Park to connect to Vic Park, to Wynyard and to the future Foreshore Heritage trail.

Waterways and Stormwater treatment

- Road runoff treatment should be best practice noting also that more people using PT, walking and cycling will reduce pollution of the Waitemata.
- Support for the Tunamau stream to be daylighted.

Vegetation

- The entire vegetation pallette should be native except for where food is planted e.g. fruit trees or edible public gardens.
- A significant opportunity for increased bio-diversity exists in Western Park which should be enriched with massed planting along the stream course and with feature native trees throughout the park as exotics fail over time.

Maori Heritage Protection and Interpretation

- The Tuna Mau stream should be scheduled.
- Maori heritage sites should be marked creatively, possibly with mock directional signage and/or at the Nosh site (see below).
- Waikuta is proposed as the name of new shared space outside the old post office which is the head of the ancient stream that flowed down College Hill.

Nosh Site

- Strong support for this site to be open space with play facilities for children.
- Any building should incorporate a Maori art gallery and exhibition space.
- Te Rimutahi and its surrounding Maori heritage and stories could be highlighted at this site possibly through new technology story boards or posts.

References

Simmons, Dave, 1987, Maori Auckland, Bushman Press

Di Stewart and Bruce Petry, 1995, PONSONBY ROAD AND JERVOIS ROAD Heritage Study VOLUME I, AUCKLAND CITY, For Auckland City Council

Appendix 1

Ponsonby Rd Masterplan A brief history of Ponsonby with anecdotal post WW2 history. By Pita Turei

I was born in the Maternity Hospital that was situated near the corner of Hopetoun and Pitt St. I lived with my mother in a number of local boarding houses within the study area, Richmond Rd, Angelsea St, Collingwood st and Deadwood Tce. At this time, 1955, the boarding houses all had signs in the windows saying "No Maori". There were Maori Hostels in the area but these weren't for solo mothers. My mother worked as a cleaner for the other Boarding Houses and stayed in them with myself and older brother with instructions to keep a low profile. At this time the local hairdressers and barber shops also had "No Maori" signs while at the Britannia, the local picture Theatre in Three Lamps Maori were allowed downstairs. During this time people talked about the colour bar, a reference to the restrictions on Maori, written and unwritten. Once Social Welfare became aware of my mothers situation she became a fugitive and was ultimately forced to surrender her children for adoption under the 1955 adoption act without her consent.

It would be 15 years before I returned to Ponsonby in the early 1970's.

This was a time of change. Ponsonby was many things for many people at this time. The Irish community was still present, especially in the Bridge bar of the Gluepot on Jervoice Rd. Maori families still lived in the area with a large Pacific Island Community and a new generation of communal flat dwellers. Students, hippies, political activists, American draft dodgers, heroin addicts and an emerging wave of young professionals buying old dilapidated homes and making them liveable in the fashion of what they had experienced in London on their OE.

A trend with Pacific families was to buy a house and several families would move in and pay it off quickly and then buy another. Pre banking de regulation made mortgages less accessible to Maori and Pacific people with Maori & Pacific Island Affairs Dept. managing home finance under policies which meant most moved to Mangere or Otara.

I worked for local real estate agents maintaining rental houses. I got to know most of the drug squad at this time as they would turn up while I was cleaning up the needles and bent spoons from vacated tenants. Unscrupulous Real Estate salesmen were selling 10 year leases to Pacific Island families who thought they were buying a freehold Home. During this time there was a strong sense of community in Ponsonby with Community Law offices, food co-op's and the legendary People's Union on the corner of Hepburn & Ponsonby, now part of Western Park. Citizens Advice, Vege co-ops, tenancy disputes, emergency housing, women's refuge, prison visit bus services etc. all managed by volunteers from the Ponsonby Community and of course planning for various protests such as sporting contacts with Sth Africa, Maori Land, anti war, anti nuclear et al. One protest was against the demolition of Osborn House opposite Franklin Rd on Ponsonby, unsuccessful, another was for a set of traffic lights on the Franklin Rd intersection after a young Pacific island girl was

killed. participants in this protest were among the founding members of the Polynesian Panther movement as the passive acceptance of the colour bar became unacceptable to a younger generation. I remember a visit of the Polynesian Panthers to the Hells Angels residence in the area, although it was a friendly visit, most of the Hells Angels armed themselves with knives, many kept visible if not actually in their hands during the less than relaxed social occasion. at these times for a Pakeha to have friendships with Pacific Islanders was to earn them the label of liberal or nigger lover.

Racial tension was brought to the surface during these years. Pakeha men would drive around shouting obscenities at Pacific Island girls. Fights would be common and with only two drinking establishments at each end of the road the Police would patrol from Thursday to Saturday nights visiting the local pubs. Eventually the Police formed the notorious Task Force, who with two large white vans would be seen regularly patrolling Ponsonby Rd. It would be unusual for me to run from one end of Ponsonby Rd to the other during the evening without being stopped by Police, usually four abreast across the footpath. I new any evasive action would be an invitation to pursuit and presenting myself to them with articulate English was left to my own devices. I saw two of these officers on Ponsonby Rd around 1997 and we greeted each other as old comrades, funny how time changes things. The harshest years of the colour bar becoming defined as outright racism was during the infamous Dawn Raids. All movement became restricted as I was the wrong colour and I would be pulled over regularly by Police and asked for my Passport. in this environment voluntary association became necessary for survival for many and the emergence of groups like the King Cobra's was their only security from harassment.

At times I worked for local architects and remember one being criticised for doing up two old houses he owned by other younger architects, for destroying the nature of the area. All of these architects are now well and truly guilty of the same thing although the reality is that most houses were in a shocking state of dilapidation and would today be considered unfit for habitation.

Ponsonby had a large street population in the 70's when many of the large old homesteads would be shared flats occupied mainly by young people in communal living arrangements. The shops were peppered with 2nd hand shops, garages, motorcycle shops, dairies, green grocers, the legendary Ivan's restaurant with Mary taking orders from dozens of customers at a time without a notebook and always remembering who ordered what. One Chinese restaurant and one Maori owned Takeaways, the owners of which advised me to tell people I was Mexican to avoid the colour bar. This worked when I worked in the first Cafe on Ponsonby Rd, The Bronze Goat, now Prohibition, in the early 70's.

Other Maori in the area were Whina Cooper of Te Aupouri who led the Land March. Pita Awatere, leader of the Maori Battalion and his Daughter Donna Awatere who helped her mother with her second hand clothing business. Betty Wark was an adoptive like myself who ran hostels for homeless in the area until her death. A television series was made based on her activities called Betty's Bunch in 1990. Her hostels were usually called Arohanui. Mrs Robinson, Ngati Paoa grew up in the area and shared stories of the Americans in the neighbourhood during the war years when they camped in Victoria Park. Her brothers would bring them home when they had venereal disease and her mother would administer Maori medicine from native plants she collected from the area.

Many Maori residents in the area during the 70's became part of the re migration of Maori back to tupuna Papakainga, such as Hone Harawira and Donna Awatere.

Worthy of special mention are Eruera And Amiria Stirling whose legacy is the song 'Me he Manu Rere', that deserves its place as an anthem of Ponsonby. Eruera was affectionately known as "the old man". Always immaculately dressed and always stopping to say hullo. He was the first person who ever gave me a hongi when I met him on Ponsonby Rd. When I later learnt this was the trail Te Rangi Kaketu used when he raced to warn Rangimarie of Kiwi Tamaki's assassination plans. The image of Eruera addressing groups of young, frustrated activists and reinforcing the tenets of non violent protest are forever etched in my mind.

Though suppressed and mainly invisible, Ponsonby has a Maori heart that links through shared experience the lwi of the Motu.