

CHAPTER 3

MEETINGS WITH NGATI TURANGITUKUA IN 1964

3.1 BACKGROUND

The Minister of Electricity made a public announcement on 24 March 1964 that Cabinet had approved in principle the construction of the TPD (B2(a):32). This was confirmed at the 6 April Cabinet meeting, where Ministers agreed in principle:

to the construction of the Tongariro Power Development so that preliminary discussions, negotiations and further studies may proceed on a firm basis, on the understanding that further approval will be sought before commencement of construction. (B2(a):33)

At this meeting, the Ministry of Works was authorised to commission Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners to do the detailed design work for the first three of the proposed power scheme's five stages. Some preliminary planning for the required construction town had been done, and Turangi West had already been chosen as the preferred site. No start had yet been made on the negotiations for the land required for either the township or the hydroelectric power scheme.

Up to this time, it seems there had been an informal relationship between Jack Asher, the secretary of the Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board, and engineers with Gibb and Partners and the Ministry of Works. On 24 March 1964, Asher wrote to the Minister of Electricity in response to a newspaper report on the TPD approval, inviting the Minister, Gibson, and other officials 'to visit the Tuwharetoa people . . . so there cannot be any possible misunderstandings that our people most substantially

support this project' (B2(a):51). In this letter, Asher outlined his dealings with the engineers:

At the inception meeting convened on Oct 11th 1955 at Tokaanu, between the Tuwharetoa people and the Ministry of Works, then appointing me as their chairman and liaison representative relating to this project, and in particular then dealing with Lake Rotoaira, the meeting did not hesitate to adopt an unanimous decision to cooperate fully with the Crown in an endeavour to implement this most important hydro proposal.

Following on the Tuwharetoa decision, the English engineers in Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, whilst preparing the initial investigation carried out, in every incident, particularly, where the Maori land titles became involved, first sought through me our permission to enter upon our lands.

Now that you have made an open press statement, I want on behalf of that section of the Tuwharetoa people, whose lands could be affected, to inform you of our continued support. (B2(a):51)

The letter was written under the trust board's letterhead, but in it Asher described himself as:

past Chairman of the Taupo County Council, and the present Riding Member of the Tongariro riding, as Secretary also of both the Lake Rotoaira Trust and the Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board. (B2(a):51)

In these various roles, Asher would have been well aware of the Ministry of Works' preference for Turangi West as the site for the construction town, the Taupo County Council's support for freehold tenure in planning for a permanent township, and the desire to see this sort of development in his riding. He was probably persuaded of the long-term benefits of both the township and the hydro development for Ngati Tuwharetoa generally. Jack Atirau Asher was to play a pivotal role in the 1964 meetings between Crown officials and the Tuwharetoa people.

3.2 15 APRIL 1964 MEETING

On 15 April 1964, a meeting attended by J A Asher, J T Asher, T A Grace, L Grace, and H Te Heuheu of Ngati Tuwharetoa, as well as Maori Affairs, Works, and Electricity Department officials, was held in the trust board's offices in Tokaanu. Much of the meeting was taken up with explanations of the proposed power scheme and the land required and the need for further consultation with other Government departments, local authorities, and bodies such as the Waikato Valley Authority. The file note prepared by the Maori Affairs district officer summed up the issues relating to land acquisition and the timing of this process in relation to planning and construction work:

The procedures were talked about and I was convinced that the Ministry of Works personnel were under no misapprehensions as to the limits of what could be done through the Department of Maori Affairs. In fact, it was accepted by them that the Maori Land Court would give all the information necessary to enable the Ministry of Works to serve the appropriate notices on the appropriate people; that separate negotiations would have to be undertaken, in respect of any land leased, with the lessee; that the Maori Trustee would not have any interest whatsoever in the proceedings until after a proclamation had been issued; and finally, that the negotiations for compensation would have to be on a title for title basis. There could be no question of paying a lump sum to the Maori Trustee for the value of the land taken, and the Maori Trustee later distributing.

The original ideas of the Ministry of Works have been cut back quite considerably and the amount of land now sought is about 600 acres of freehold, lying between the Paper Road [Maori roadway] and the apex of a triangle formed by Turangi, limited on the road to Tokaanu by the present Maori Pa [Hirangi Marae]. The Ministry of Works also contemplate leasing about 200 acres on the western side of the Paper Road for a heavy industrial area.

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The point that worries the Ministry of Works engineers is that there may be some objection to the taking of the land. One single objection could throw the whole thing out of gear and they regard time as being of the essence. If there is any delay requiring particular negotiation with any individual, these delays could well out-weigh any other benefits that may accrue from the use of this particular area for the permanent town site.

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What the Ministry of Works is seeking is an unequivocal undertaking by somebody that there will be no objections once the notice of intention to take is advertised. They were informed that this was a matter for the Maori owners. It is to this end that the special meeting is to be arranged by Mr J A Asher. (B2(a):53–54)

At this stage, the Ministry of Works wanted the Maori land in the Turangi West site immediately. Its construction timetable, however, would not allow time to hear objections. The Ministry intended to use the Public Works Act 1928 to take the land, estimated to be about 600 to 800 acres freehold for the town and 100 to 200 acres leasehold for the industrial area to the south of the proposed new SH41. Assurances were also given at this meeting about alternative housing for those who might be affected, the provision of schools, commercial development in a new ‘town centre’, the exclusion of Hirangi Marae from land to be requisitioned, and the intention that planning would proceed for a permanent township, which would ‘revert to normal local body administration’ in about five years (A7:205–207).

3.3 7 MAY 1964 MEETING WITH TUWHARETOA MAORI TRUST BOARD REPRESENTATIVES

On 7 May 1964, another meeting was held in the trust board's Tokaanu offices. In attendance were J A Asher, H Te Heuheu, and P Hura representing the trust board, officials from the Ministry of Works and the Electricity, Maori Affairs, and Internal Affairs Departments, and members of the Taupo County Council. Warren Gibson, for the Ministry of Works, outlined the land requirements for the township and promised that a plan would be available in time for the proposed meeting of owners on 24 May. The Taupo County chairman, H Besley, spoke in favour of a permanent town, with houses meeting county standards, and Works officials suggested that private enterprise would need to be encouraged. The Internal Affairs officials expressed support. There was some discussion of roads and access, the water supply and sewerage, and the location of the commercial centre near SH1. The minutes record that Jack Asher said that most landowners were prepared to negotiate with the department but that some could prove difficult. He also pointed out that a question of values would be stressed at the meeting on 24 May (A7:189–191). No decisions were made at this meeting, which seems to have been intended as a forum for the various interest groups to meet and exchange ideas.

On 8 May 1964, a letter signed jointly by Jack Asher and Warren Gibson was sent out on Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board letterhead to 'Maori Land Owners for the

Waipapa, Ohuanga North, Tokaanu B and Tokaanu Township Blocks', inviting them to 'the inception meeting . . . to state fully the proposals relating to this major and important project'. The letter indicated that the first stage of the power project included the construction of a tunnel to carry water from Lake Rotoaira to the Tokaanu Power Station and the need for a freehold area in the Tokaanu village for up to 50 residences for staff. The proposals for the Turangi township were:

The preparation of the *permanent* town to accommodate some 8,000 workers and other residents at Turangi for an area of some 800 acres freeholding. The proposed town shall contain some 1,400 *permanent* residences, apart from a central shopping or commercial area. In addition three primary schools and a college are required. A hospital will also be provided. There will be a further area of some 2/300 acres of the Waipapa and Ohuanga North area located on the South West side of the Hangareko [sic] Stream, as a leasehold area for temporary erection of work-shops etc during the construction stages, after which the area shall revert to the owners. Possibly part of this area will be declared a *permanent* industrial area for future erection of factories under the Town and County planning of the local County. [Emphasis added.] (B2(a):61)

3.4 24 MAY 1964 MEETING OF MAORI LANDOWNERS WITH THE CROWN

The meeting on 24 May 1964 between Maori landowners and the Crown was again held at the trust board's premises in Tokaanu and was attended by J A Asher, H Te Heuheu, P Hura, A Grace Snr, 'a large representation of Maori Land Owners', and two legal advisers, R E Tripe of Wellington and A G Horsley of Wanganui. Maori Affairs and Ministry of Works representatives were also present. The meeting was chaired by Asher, who, in his opening comments, 'pledged the Maori owners wish to cooperate', and noted that the meeting was restricted to Maori landowners only

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(A7:177–184). Most of the first part of the meeting was taken up with explanatory descriptions of the TPD by Warren Gibson and proposals for the Turangi township. Questions covered the effects on Lake Rotoaira, whether eels could get into Lake Taupo through the tunnel, flood protection on the Tongariro River, water levels in Lake Taupo, road access, impacts on fishing, and employment and housing issues. John Bennion, for the Ministry of Works, then addressed the meeting and talked about the proposed Turangi township:

He reiterated Mr Gibson's statement that the village was expected to cost about £4 million and made the fact that the Crown must ensure a permanent return for this expenditure, and to achieve this a village must be built on freehold land.

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The Government would not consider building to the standard envisaged on leasehold land. It was hoped that the village would become a normal county town under Taupo County Council administration within 3 or 4 years. Therefore standards of construction and buildings must be to local by-law standards.

Mr Bennion then described with the use of an illustrated map, which he emphasised at this stage, was not to be taken as final, the proposed layout of the town area giving details of roading proposed standards of development etc. All essential services as for a normal town could be expected and this would be essential as it was hoped to attract private capital to the town. (A7:180)

The 'map' shown to the meeting was based on a draft plan completed by 1 April 1964, although this had already been revised. Crown consultant David Alexander advised the Tribunal that he had 'not located this plan' (B2:14). Bennion outlined the various facilities proposed for the town. The need for a water supply was indicated but no specific site was identified, although the area proposed for the oxidation ponds was pointed out.

The minutes go on to record that Dick Lynch, the Ministry of Works' district land purchase officer in Wanganui, indicated on the plan the probable areas required for both the township and the power development, stressing that no more land would be taken than necessary. He explained that compensation could not be paid until the full effects of the works had been assessed at a later stage. He also reiterated the desirability of the Turangi West site and the need for the land to be freehold before work could begin. Lynch stressed that the Government wished to cooperate and cited the presence of officials at the meeting as evidence of its good faith. Some residents, he added:

would be involved in disturbance but their interest would be considered and they would be fairly compensated. He could not say at present specifically how much compensation would be paid and advised on the process that the law required him to take in acquiring the land. Firstly the title to the land would be required by proclamation and then the amount of compensation would be settled by negotiation between valuers appointed by the Crown and Owners. (A7:182)

If agreement could not be reached, the Land Valuation Court would arbitrate. He also stated that the Crown would engage private valuers.

Lynch explained that houses interfering with the town plan would have to be removed or relocated, and indicated that exchanges of sections for nearby Crown lands were possible. The Ministry of Works' intention, he explained, 'was that the owner should be left as well off as he was previously. The Department will avoid as far as possible disturbing people unnecessarily.' The minutes record that an early decision on the preparedness of the owners to sell or not was required, and if there was 'any serious objection the Crown will have to select one of the alternative town sites which are being considered' (A7:182).

There was further discussion of housing issues, compensation provisions, the new SH41, and the land around Hirangi Marae. What the officials sought at this stage was some sort of agreement in principle as to whether the Turangi township should be built on Ngati Turangitukua land. At the end of the meeting, it was unanimously resolved that 'this meeting approves the proposal of the Crown for [the] establishment of a town at Turangi along the lines outlined to the meeting, and accepts the assurance given that the owners will be reasonably and fairly compensated' (A7:184).

The question of the extent of land to be reserved at Hirangi Marae was held over. The owners also appointed a committee to 'confer without delay with the Ministry of Works on any matters of tribal importance'. The committee comprised Pat Hura, Wairemana Tamaira, Jack Asher, Fearon Grace, Walter Ngahana, Lang Grace, George Rawhiti, John Grace, Arthur Grace Snr, Pura Turanga, Mana Hallett, M Potaka, and Bessie Jorgensen. They met together after the main meeting on 24 May with Lynch and Taylor from the Ministry of Works and the two solicitors, Tripe and

Horsley. The committee discussed the Hirangi Marae lands and decided to refer this issue to Ngati Turangitukua, arranging a meeting for the following Sunday, 31 May.

3.5 31 MAY 1964 MEETING OF NGATI TURANGITUKUA COMMITTEE WITH OWNERS

The tribal committee met at Hirangi Marae on 31 May, and a large number of owners also attended. No Crown officials were present, but agreement was reached among Ngati Turangitukua on a number of issues, which were summarised in a letter written on 14 August 1964 to the Minister of Works by Arthur Grace Snr. It was agreed that 20 acres should be retained as the Hirangi Marae reserve and the other 30 acres of Waipapa 1A should be made available for the township. The committee was anxious to preserve housing sites for Ngati Turangitukua by excluding the land between Hirangi Road (the old SH41) and the Tongariro River and the land on the western side of the old SH1 (now Taupahi Road) from the area to be developed for the township. The committee also wanted to explore the exchange of shares in the Turangi site for land elsewhere, and proposed that owners be given an option to repurchase up to two acres at cost price in the town centre, ‘to create an asset for their heirs who through this particular sale will have lost this valuable heritage which otherwise would ultimately become theirs’ (A7:144–146).

Another meeting of owners was set for 14 June but it did not eventuate. The reason for Grace's letter of 14 August was to request a meeting so that these issues could be discussed and clarified before the Crown took any land. 'This does not mean however,' he explained, 'that we are opposed to any works on the overall scheme in its initial stages being started' (A7:145). Ngati Turangitukua owners simply wanted to clarify which areas would be taken for the new town and the procedures to be established. The Minister replied by telegram that 'Government officials [were] only too happy to disclose to owners the plans being prepared of new town at Turangi' and that a meeting would be arranged at an early date (A7:141). Although Lynch had talked with Jack Asher and other individuals, there had been no other open forum where locals could discuss matters with Ministry of Works staff. There does not appear to have been any consultation with the owners' committee that was set up on 24 May.

Meanwhile, Ministry of Works officials were preparing submissions for the Minister of Works to take to Cabinet to obtain final approval for the start of construction. The proposals put to the Minister of Works on 25 August 1964 were:

1. It is proposed to purchase about 900 acres and lease some 200 acres from Tuwharetoa tribal lands situated to the west of Highway 1 and South of Highway 41 at Turangi on which to build a construction town estimated to reach a population of 8000. Owing to multiple ownership it will be necessary to take the land and settle compensation either by negotiation or assessment by the Land Valuation Court.

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2. **As part of the scheme it is proposed to relocate Highway 1 to the west of its present position and relocate Highway 41 with its junction nearly one mile south of its present position near Bridge Lodge. The old section of highway will be cut off.**
3. **It is proposed that the new town be built with water supply, streets and sewage disposal to permanent standards, and with its buildings to County By-law requirements, so that after construction is completed houses and buildings may be sold in situ to form a permanent town under control of the Taupo County Council.**
4. **It is proposed the town be subject to special legislation introduced by the Internal Affairs Department to enable control to pass gradually from the Ministry of Works to the Taupo County Council over a period of years. This will be effected and arranged through a joint Liaison Committee comprising representatives of the Taupo County Council and Ministry of Works.**
5. **The Taupo County Council has prepared a district scheme plan covering this area. It is proposed that this be issued and immediate steps taken to amend it to include the Government's present proposal, all according to statutory procedures of the Town and Country Planning Act. (B2(a):93-94)**

Officials noted that the area required was Maori land but that the 'Tuwharetoa tribe' had passed a resolution at a special meeting on 24 May 1964 which approved the Crown proposal for the Turangi township. They added that 'Some variations to meet detail requirements may be necessary but it is considered all requests of the Maori owners can be met' (B2(a):95).

On 26 August 1964, the Minister of Works approved the proposals and the following recommendations:

1. **The proposed site at Turangi be accepted for a construction town in connection with the Tongariro Power Development.**
2. **The Maori land on which the town is to be sited be taken for that purpose.**
3. **The town be constructed to permanent standards with a view to continuing existence as a permanent town.**
4. **Proposals for relocations of Highways 1 and 41 be referred to National Roads Board for concurrence.**
5. **Special legislation be drawn up to cover the gradual change of control to the Taupo County Council.**

6. **The procedures of the Town and Country Planning Act be followed in adopting the new township into the Taupo County District Plan. (B2(a):97)**

3.6 20 SEPTEMBER 1964 MEETING OF NGATI TURANGITUKUA OWNERS WITH CROWN

On 20 September 1964, a meeting of Maori owners with the Crown was held to advise on the progress of the TPD as well as to explain the detailed town plan for the Turangi township and to outline land requirements. The meeting began in the morning at the trust board's offices in Tokaanu, and adjourned to Hirangi Marae in the afternoon. The meeting was again chaired by Jack Asher and was attended by Hepi Te Heuheu, Pat Hura, Arthur Grace Snr, 'and a large representation of Maori Land Owners', with their legal advisers, Tripe and Horsley. Officials of the Ministry of Works and Department of Maori Affairs were present, as well as one representative of the Taupo County Council (A7:73–92).

The first part of the meeting, as recorded in the minutes, was taken up with Warren Gibson's review of the progress in the planning for the TPD and with the answering of questions about Rotoaira lake levels; new roads and hydro lakes; quarries; and the impact on rivers, especially the Tongariro. He explained that it was the Ministry of Works' wish 'to arrange this programme as far as humanly possible so that there would be the minimum of upset to those affected'. He promised that he and Lynch would meet all owners individually to discuss details, and added that the issue of excluding 'sacred grounds' from town development would be looked into (A7:73).

During Gibson's review, Jack Asher reminded him of the 'standing committee' of owners elected at the 24 May meeting, 'which can be approached from time to time.

They would like to be consulted' (A7:74). The Tribunal notes that, apart from the committee meeting held immediately after the 24 May 1964 meeting, Fearon Grace stated on 3 March 1968 that he had never been called on to attend any further meetings whatsoever (B3(a):18).

After answering a number of questions about the power scheme, Gibson turned to the plan for the Turangi township. He pointed out the relocation of SH1 and SH41, which he described as 'the main framework to the main development plan, and everything else hangs on it' (A7:74). He also pointed out the commercial area or town centre, school sites, the industrial area, the source of water, the need for a 'water supply reserve' (without specifically mentioning any area), and the location of the oxidation ponds. As noted earlier, David Alexander informed the Tribunal that he had not been able to locate the actual plans presented to this or the 24 May meeting. The earliest plan held on the Works files consulted was dated October 1964 (B4(a):15), which has been redrawn in figure 9.

In the afternoon, the meeting reconvened at Hirangi Marae with further discussion of the proposed works around Lake Rotoaira; the two new hydro lakes; and the impact on Otukou Pa of working a quarry nearby. Gibson confirmed that the Ministry proposed to lease land for an industrial area on a temporary, 10-year basis only (which would be developed to the standard required by the county), but added that there would need to be provision for further development by private industry (A7:80). Turangi would have a cheap water supply, the owners were told, and this would help keep rates low and encourage people to come to the area. It was also noted that the spring chosen for the water supply would have to be further down the Tokaanu River than first envisaged because of an Internal Affairs trout hatchery. A reserve would surround the springs to protect them from contamination, and would

be 'fenced to make it big and small boy-proof' (A7:81). There was no comment on how large this 'reserve' would be, or that it might also be taken.

Discussion then moved to the sewage disposal system, and the significance of locating the oxidation ponds (described as 'one of the biggest advances' in sewage treatment) on higher ground so that natural drainage would carry effluent out to pasture land without pumping. The area required would be 58 acres, and while there would be disruption to farming in that area, the treatment system proposed would be low cost, 'meaning that rates will be very very low' (A7:81). It would also be necessary to maintain an undefined buffer zone between the ponds and the residential area.

Questions were also asked about the location of the Tokaanu Power Station and tailrace. It was explained that the tailrace would be 'an open wide canal and will be considerably lower than the land'. It would be 100 yards wide, and an embankment would be provided in conjunction with a flood relief valve. Gibson told the owners that 'All this has to be finally settled. Everything will be dovetailed in to ensure that the fishing remains good and that property owners are not flooded' (A7:81-82).

These issues belonged to a later stage, and detailed design work had not yet been done. As it turned out, the drainage channel proposed by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners was not constructed and the route of the tailrace was shifted westward. At this stage, the owners had to accept Gibson's assurances that everything would be worked out satisfactorily.

Much of the remaining discussion ranged over the location of specific facilities in the township. There was general concern about the fate of existing houses. Gibson explained that houses affected by the re-siting of SH41 could be moved to another site but that it all depended on owners' preferences: 'They will have the opportunity of doing what they wish,' he said (A7:82-83). He added that SH41 was being shifted to

stop highway traffic passing through what was to become a residential area. He continued:

When the highway is wiped out the Crown will own the land. MOW proposes to buy all the land. If owners wanted they could then make application to buy it back. All this is subject to negotiation. (A7:83)

This could not have been very comforting to those whose houses were along SH41 and SH1 and within the Turangi township plan. This last comment from Gibson suggests that the Ministry of Works' strategy was to develop a model township plan in the office in Wellington, ignoring existing dwellings on the site. The plan had curving streets in the residential areas, separated main highway traffic from suburban motorists and pedestrians, concentrated the commercial activities in a planned town centre, and scattered schools and recreation reserves throughout the residential streets. No consideration at all appears to have been given to the location of existing houses, to family relationships, or to the viability of the existing Ngati Turangitukua community related to Hirangi Marae. In response to Gibson's estimate of 1000 to 1200 acres being taken for the township, Fearon Grace commented that it was a 'big space for a small area' and raised a concern about those owners who did not wish to leave their homes. Gibson replied that:

the proposition as discussed at the previous meeting was that some of these folk would have to go, but it may be that the Department will just have to move houses a bit forward or back on the present sections or adjust streets to suit, but some will just have to go.

Mr Gibson went on to say that the Department intended to provide alternative accommodation for all existing residents or alternatively to buy them out. The position of present house[s] affects final completion of the plan.

Fearon Grace stated that the Owners have not made up their minds whether they will give this area for a town site.

Mr Gibson replied that they did in fact agree at the last meeting. On that basis, in good faith, the Crown has gone ahead. Considerable discussions with other people about the preference for the Turangi town site had taken place as a result of the last

meeting when the Tuwharetoa people agreed to township being located at Turangi. (A7:84)

The resolution of the 24 May 1964 meeting had been an agreement in principle to the Turangi township proposal. Careful reading of the minutes suggests that the local people were given a reasonable expectation that they would be consulted as planning progressed.

There was also a good deal of discussion at the 20 September 1964 meeting about the procedures for taking land and the payment of compensation. These undertakings were to some extent governed by existing legislation in the form of the Public Works Act 1928 and the Turangi Township Act, which came into effect in December 1964. These issues are considered in more detail in chapters 13 and 14. At the meeting it was made clear that compensation would be payable; that the Maori Trustee and the two solicitors present would be involved; that negotiations would be conducted with individual owners of separate titles; and that the Maori Trustee would negotiate on blocks in multiple ownership. The Department of Maori Affairs would also be involved in the repayment of debts and the payment of compensation to lessees in respect of lands in the Tokaanu development scheme.

With respect to scheme lands, Wally Ngahana stated that the lands had for so long been treated together that 'compensation should be on a blanket basis, not dealing with individual blocks' (A7:85). The district officer of the Department of Maori Affairs, J E Cater, responded that compensation 'cannot be treated as a blanket'(A7:86). He then explained the statutory role of the Maori Trustee in negotiating compensation for land held by more than one owner; the requirements for preserving unimproved values in land under Part XXIV of the Maori Affairs Act 1953; the need to get separate independent valuations for each block; the role of the

two solicitors, Tripe and Horsley; and the fact that no compensation would be paid until after a proclamation taking the land for the Crown had been issued. When considered against the many other issues which the local people were confronted with at this meeting, it is doubtful that the complexity of the taking and compensation procedures were fully understood.

Another issue raised at this meeting was the protection of wahi tapu. The location of burials in the industrial area and 'reservoir ridge' were specifically mentioned. There were also the issues of how much of the Hirangi Marae land was to be retained, where the township cemetery and rubbish tip were to be located, and whether the owners could be allocated commercial sites in the town centre for a 'trading post'. Gibson's response to the latter request was that, while public advertisement for tenders would be sought to allocate commercial sites, 'on the trading post, Ministry of Works have given the assurance that the Tuwharetoa people will be given preferential treatment' (A7:91).

The meeting concluded with a statement from Gibson:

In the development of this town Ministry of Works don't want to upset anyone. Very shortly they will get approval from the Government to build the town and will have to build it in a big hurry. The development of the five stages [of the TPD] costing £70 million is going to be dependent on the town being built. The Department will be in one very big hurry. When things have to be done in a hurry sometimes mistakes are made and sometimes people are upset. His Department does not want to upset anyone. If there is anything that the Owners think are [sic] not in their best interests they must tell his officers as soon as possible. If Owners can give the Department their assistance the misunderstandings will be very few. He would like to have very happy relations. (A7:92)

John Gardenier, a senior Ministry of Works engineer with the TPD, provided a retrospective view of the meetings with Ngati Tuwharetoa, which illustrates the 'official' version of the Ministry's dealings with local Maori:

The local Tuwharetoa people were playing a prominent part in the development of their tribal lands, in association with European settlers, whose respect they had earned

from earliest acquaintance. Tuwharetoa elders, concerned about their young people migrating to the cities, were in favour of the TPD, which would provide local employment opportunities. Once again they proved their stature in the dignified manner in which meetings on the marae were conducted. Negotiators will not lightly forget how proposals to make land available for the TPD were democratically deliberated and constructively agreed upon.¹

In 1964 the Ministry of Works seems to have been determined that the Turangi township and the TPD would go ahead regardless. No formal resolution was passed at the 20 September meeting, yet, on the following day, Monday 21 September 1964, Cabinet approved the construction of the first three stages of the TPD; the acquisition of the freehold of about 900 acres; and the lease of some 200 acres of Maori land to construct the Turangi township, 'with a view to its continuing existence as a permanent town'. It was also agreed by Cabinet that special legislation should be drawn up for the transfer of the township to the Taupo County Council.

References

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1. B Cooper, *Te Mata o Taupounui a Tia: The Head of the Lake*, Turangi District Historical Society, 1982, p 30