OFFICIAL

APPENDIX "A"

APPENDIX TO PRESENTATION SUMMARY OF TE TIRITI AND ITS NORTHERN CONTEXT, MERATA KAWHARU, WAI 1040 #A20 – JULY 2010

This appendix provides a selection of nineteenth century perspectives of Northland rangatira, mainly on the subject of Te Tiriti, and their views on other issues as they affected rangatiratanga. The examples derive from chapters 2,3,5,6 and 7. Each example is prefaced by page numbers where they appear in the main report (Wai 1040 #A20).

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Waitangi Tribunal
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Chapter 2

(pp. 30 – 31) **1831 PETITION**:

E Kingi Wiremu te rangatira atawai o Ingarangi,

E Kingi Wiremu, Ko matou ko nga rangatira O Niu Tireni e huihuia nei ki tenei kainga, ki te Kerikeri, e tuhituhi atu nei ki a koe; e rongo ana hoki matou ko koe te Rangatira nui o tarawahi, nou hoki nga kaipuke maha e u mai nei ki to matou wenua.

He hunga raua kore matou he oi ano o matou taonga he rakau, he muka, he poaka, he oi ka hokona enei mea ki ou tangata, ka kite matou i te taonga o te Pakeha. Ko tou kainga anake te atawai ana ki a matou nou ano hoki nga Mihaneri e ako ne ii a matou ki te wakapono k a Ihowa te Atua ki a Ihu Karaiti ano hoki tana tamaiti.

Kua rongo matou ko te Iwi o Marian tenei me ake u mai ki te taonga i to matou kainga, koia matou ka inoi ai kia meinga koe hei hoa mo matou hei kai tiaki i enei motu kei tata mai te wakatoi o nga tau iwi, kei haere mai nga tangata ke ki te tango i to matou wenua. A ki tem ea ka tutu e tahi o ou tangata ki a matou, ka noho nei hoki he hinu ki te wenua nei he mea oma mai i runga i te kaipuke mau ra pea ratou i riri kia rongo ai, kei oho no ate riri o te tangata maori.

No matou tenei pukapuka no nga Rangatira o te Iwi Maori o Niu Tireni.

Translated into English as:

To King William, the Gracious Chief of England.

King William, We the chiefs of New Zealand assembled at this place, called the Kerikeri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great chief of the other side of the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from thee.

We are a people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork, and potatoes; we sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of Europeans. It is only they land which is liberal towards us. From thee also come the missionaries who teach us to believe on Jehovah God, and on Jesus Christ His Son.

APPENDIX "A"

We have heard that the tribe of Marian is at hand coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and the guardian of these islands, lest the teasing of other tribes should come near to us, and lest strangers should come and take away our land.

And if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us – for some persons are living here who have run away from ships – we pray thee to be angry with them that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land fall upon them.

This letter is from us, from the chiefs of the native of New Zealand.

Signed by:

Warerahi (Wharerahi) (Bay of Islands and of Ngai Tawake and Patukeha hapu, previously lived at Te Waimate and Kororipo)
Rewa (brother of Wharerahi)
Patuone (from Hokianga and of Ngati Hau hapu)
Nene (Tamati Waka) (brother of Patuone)
Kekeao (from Te Ahuahu and of Te Uri Taniwha)
Titore (from Kororareka and of Ngati Rehia hapu, previously lived at Te Waimate)
Tamoranga (Te Morenga) (from Waimate of Ngati Rahiri, Ngati Tautahi and other hapu)
Ripe (from Omapere and of Ngati Pou hapu)
Hara (from Ohaeawai and of Ngati Pou and Ngati Rangi hapu)
Atuahaeare (from Kaikohe)
Moetara (from Pakanae and of Ngati Korokoro hapu)
Matangi (from Hokianga and Utakura and of Te Popoto hapu) and
Taunui (Taonui) (from Utakura and of Te Popoto hapu).

(p. 39) **Hone (Pokai) Heke and Taihara letter to Bishop Selwyn**:

For, just as you exalt your queen and your governors, and your leaders have authority over you, despite the fact that they are dead, King Wiremu is dead, but his prestige is far greater than that of the queens, supreme leader to you and to us.

(p.45) **Titore's letter to the King** June 24th 1834 (translated by Yate)

..I have put on board the Buffalo a Meri Ponamee [mere pounamu] and two garments. These are all the things which New Zealanders possess. If I had anything better, I would give it to Captain Sadler for you. This is all mine to you.

(p.51) **Declaration**: letter from chiefs who could not attend Declaration hui:

APPENDIX "A"

> Ko matou ko nga rangatira, ahakoa kihai i tae ki te huihuinga nei no te nuinga o te Waipuke no te aha ranei, ka wakaae katoa ki te wakaputanga rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni a ka uru ki roto ki te wakaminenga.

Translated as:

> Of us the chiefs, who in spite of the fact that our absence was caused by floods or other natural causes, do agree wholly to the introduction of a new status of chieftainship upon New Zealand, and inclusion in the assembly (or confederation).
>
> (Signed)
>
> Nene; Huhu; Toua; Punakarao (probably Panakareao); Kiwikiwi; Tirerau (probably Tirarau).
>
> And on the back of letter: Paerata (Ko Te Patuko...?); Ururoa (ko Te Tahuwai); Hare Hongi; Hemi Tupe (Ko Te Uri Potete); Warepoaka [Wharepoaka] (Ko Te Hikutu); Titore; Moka (ko Te Patukeha); Warerahi; Rewa; Wai (Ko Ngai Te Wake); Reweti Atuahaere (Ko Ngati Tautahi); Awa; Wiremu Kati?; Taunui (Ko Te Wiu?); Tinana (Ngati Kuta); Pi (Ko Te Mahurehure); Kawa (Ko Te Herepaka?); Tareha (Ko Ngati Rehia); Kawiti (Ngati Hine); Pumuka (Ko Te Roroa); Kekeao (Ngai Te Matakeri); Te Kemara (Ngati Kawa); Pomare (Ko Te Wanau Pane); Wiwia (Ko Te Kapotahi); Te Tao (Ko Te Kaimata); Marupo (Ko Te Wanau Rara); Kopiri (Ko Te Uri Taniwa); Warau (Ko Ngati Takawero); Ngere (Ko Te Urikapau?); Moetara (Ko Ngati Korokoro); Hiamoe (Ko Te Uri o Ngongo); Pukututu (Ko Te Uri o Te Hawato); Te Reha; Hoani Wiremu Heki [Hone Heke of Matarahurahu and others]

Chapter 3

NORTHLAND MAORI PERSPECTIVES ON TE TIRITI

Against signing:

(p. 94) Rerewa and Takahia:

> Do not sign the paper! If you do you will be reduced to the condition of slaves and be obliged to break stones for the roads. Your land will be taken from you and your dignity as chiefs will be destroyed.

(p.105) Te Kemara (Ngati Kawa):

> I am not pleased towards you. I do not wish for you. I will not consent to your remaining here… No, no, no, I shall never agree to your staying. Were all to be on an equality, then perhaps Kamera [sic.] would say yes, but for the governor to be up and Kamera [sic.] down, Governor high, up, up, up and Kamera [sic] down, low, small a worm, a crawler! No, no, no! My land is gone, all gone, the inheritances of my ancestors, fathers, relatives, all gone, stolen, gone, with the missionaries. Yes they have it, all, all, all….

(p.106) Rewa (Ngai Tawake):

APPENDIX "A"

The Maori people don't want a governor! We aren't European. It's true that we've sold some of our lands. But this country is still ours! We chiefs govern this land of our ancestors.

(p.107) Wai (Ngai Tawake):

Will you remedy the selling, the cheating, the stealing of the whites, governor? Yesterday I was cursed by a white man, is that straight? The white gives us a pound for a pig, but he gives a white four pounds for such a pig. Is that straight? He gives as 1/- for a basket [of] potatoes but to a white he gives 4/-. Is that straight? No, no, they won't listen to you; go back, go back. Have they listened to the Busby? Will they listen to you, a newly arrived man? Sit, indeed, what for? Will you make dealing straight?

(p.108) Hakiro:

Indeed! I say no, no, go back, don't sit. What, sit here for, we are not your people; we are free, we won't have a Governor. Return, return, leave us. This missionaries and Mr Busby are our Matuas.

Tareha:

No governor for me, we are chiefs! We won't be ruled. What, you up, and I down, you high, and I Tareha, the great chief, low?...

(p.119) Mohi Tawhai:

We think you are going to deceive us. The Pakehas tell us so. Where does the Governor get his authority? Is it from the Queen? Well, let him come. Let him stop all the lands falling into Pakeha hands. I want everyone to hear that. It's only right to say what we think.

In support of signing:

(p.107/8) Pumuka:

Stay, Governor, remain for me. Hear all of you; I'll have this man, a foster-father for me. Stay, sit, listen to my words, Governor, don't go, remain....

(p.109) Rawiri:

Good morning, Mr Governor, very you (?), our Governor, our father. Stay, sit, that we may be in peace. A good thing this for us, yes, for us my friends, stay sit, remain.

Hone Heke:

To raise up or bring down? To raise up or to bring down? Which? Which? Sit Governor. If you return we are gone, ruined, what shall we do? Who are we? We don't know. Remain, a father for us. This is a good thing. Even as the word of God. You go, no, no, then the French, or the rum sellers, will have us. Remain, remain. But we are children; its not for us, but for you, Fathers, Missionaries, for you to say, to

APPENDIX "A"

choose, we are children. We don't know do you choose for us, you our Fathers, Missionaries.

(p.111) Waka Nene:

I shall speak to us, to ourselves, what do you say? The Governor return, what then shall we do? Is not the land gone? Is it not covered all covered with men, with strangers, over whom we have no power, we are down, they are up: what! Do you say? The Governor go back! I am sick with you! Had you said so in old time, when the traders, and grog-sellers came, had you turned them back, then you could say to the Governor go back, and it would have been correct. And I would also have said go back, but now? No, no, o Governor. Sit, I say sit, don't' you go away, remain, for us, a father, a judge, a peacemaker, Yes, it is good, straight, remain, don't go away. Heed not what Ngapuhi say, you stay, our friend and father o Governor.

(p.118) Aperahama Taonui was in favour of Pakeha to have a Governor, but not for Maori:

We are glad to see the Governor. Let him come to be a Governor to the Pakehas. As for us, we want no Governor.

(p.119) Taonui cont.:

We are not good (or willing) to give up our land; it is from the earth we obtain all things; the is our father; the land is our chieftainship, we will not give it up.

(p.120) Mohi Tawhai remained unsure about the governor, but cautiously welcomed him:

Where does the Governor get his authority? Is it from the Queen? Let him come; wheat power has he? Well, let him come, let him stop all the lands from falling into the hands of the Pakehas. Hear, all ye Pakehas! Perhaps you are rum-drinkers, perhaps not; hear what is said by us; I want all to hear; It is quite right for us to say what we think; it is right for us to speak; Let the tongue of everyone be free to speak; but what of it? What will be the end? Our sayings will sink to the bottom like a stone, but your sayings will float light, like the wood of the wan-tree, and always remain to be seen; Am I telling lies?

(p.126) Poari:

Let all our sayings be one, let no one say no, the governor has taken away none of our land, it has been taken before, my thoughts are very good for the governor. I say yes, yes, yes.

Matenga:

We shall not be taken slaves by these people. Had we gone to their lands we might have been made such, but they have come here to protect us, let us not darken our hearts with such thoughts, let us not listen to the thoughts from far, let us see first. It is a great sin to murder, to commit adultery, to steal and lie if those things told us by our teachers were lies then what we hear from the governor may be lies.

Waratona Wera:

APPENDIX "A"

If tour thoughts are towards Christ as ours are, we shall be one. I believe your intentions are very good.

(p.126-7) Nopera Panakareao:

... My desire is that we should all be of one heart. Speak your words openly. PSeak as you mean to act. Do not say one thing and mean another. I am at your head. I wish you all to accept the Governor. We are saved by this... What has the Governor doen wrong? The shdow of the land goes to Queen Victoria, but the substance remains with us. We will go to the Governor and get payment for our land as before. If the Ngapuhi commit evil they will suffer. We have always been friendly with the Pakehas. We never went in ships to England or Port Jackson to buy arms to kill our countrymen. If you want to be cut off go and fight the Governor. Do not be like the chiefs at Hokianga who wish to kill the Governor. Live peaceably with the Pakeha. We have now a helmsman. One said, 'Let me steer', and another said, 'Let me steer', and we never went straight... The natives did wrong at the Bay, and suffered.

We shall not be slaves. Had we gone to other lands, we might have been slaves; they have come to protect us; let not our hearts be dark; let us not listen to words from afar; let us see first. Is it not sin to murder, to commit adultery, to tell lies; if what we hear from our teachers be true, then what we hear from the Governor is not a lie.

Matiu:

Will a man be taken up if he walk in the night? That is all I am afraid of. If a man steal, it is right to punish him. This is all I have to say; let the Governors and Pakehas be like Missionaries, that we be good; we have not been hurt by them.

(p.127) Panakareao:

'If you have anything else to say, say on; if not finish, and say yes.'

(p.124) **Concern** over the Treaty; Richard Taylor Waero:

We do not want a shepherd, our ancestors were gentleman many generations back. You find us so now, you may be a good master, but shall we not be stopped by you from getting firewood, formerly we cleared any spot we liked and burned the wood from it but then perhaps someone else came and liked the spot and said this spot will do for me to build a house upon, then a quarrel took place.

Matiu:

I am afraid of that soldier, the governor according to report comes to kill all the Maori natives and take their land to himself. I never heard the meaning of the pukapuka (i.e the Treaty) before, a different explanation was given me by those who heard it read, plenty of Pakehas (Europeans) have come to buy the land but they have not come for our good, and the report is the soldiers have come to shoot the Maori. Many now sitting around think the Governor has not come as a shepherd, it is said Mr Puckey and Matthews know what will become of us, but they will not let us know. This is all I have to say.

(p.125) Wiremu Wiriana Kupa:

APPENDIX "A"

They tell us you are come to murder us all but if it were such as we are taught, it will be to save us all if your actions were like those of the missionaries I should not fear but I see the soldiers I am afraid of that (pointing to the soldiers) and that man since the time Mr Matthews and Puckey came to this place it has been kept in peace. Let not your tongues be set on fire, others speak better than we (turning to the people) the missionaries have brought us good they have joined the Governor would they have done so if it were not good. Say all you have to say now, but don't go to your houses and grumble... let us have the great baskets and then the little ones at once and all the baskets (a proverb).

Chapter 5

Letters

(p.175) Northern Maori leaders affirming their alliance to Crown in letter to Hobson (December 1841)

"Sir, Makutu (sic.) alone is answerable for his conduct, we had nothing to do with it, we leave that man to you, let us not see him again...

(p.176) another letter written the following week by northern leaders:

"we have nought disturbing or an evil intention towards Europeans..."

Both letters signed by: Te Kemara, Tamati Waka Nene, Waikato, Pomare II and others.

(p.180) Hone Heke to Selwyn about the challenge of mana (1842):

E Hoa, e te Pihopa

Tenei an otaku pukapuka ka hoatu ki a koe. Mau e Titiro iho te haerenga mai o nga Pakeha kit e pupuhi I nga manu o taku kainga, Omapere, no te mea, he mana kei runga i aua manu no to matou kingi i mua hei ingoa no to matou matua aua manu. He mea tapatapa. Tahae ake ano te tangata i aua manu, maru ake te Tukituki..

I tawahi ko ta koutou nei rahui he mea tuhituhi ki te reta koutou nei rahui, tahae ake te Pakeha. Ka mau te ture ko to matou tikanga he mea tapatapa tahae kau ka maru te Tukituki. Ko te toru tenei o aku korero hanga pono ki a koutou, ki a Te Rewiti, ki a Te Katene, ki a Te Teira, ki a koe hoki, ki nga kaumatua o te hahi. Mau e wakarite tenei hara, ki te kahore, ka haere atu ahau ano, he tahae i po. Me homai he whakamarie moku. Ka mutu ka tae te marietanga. Ki te kahore, e kore e mutu i utua.

My friend, the Bishop,

This is another of my letters to be given to you. I wish for you to investigate the excursions of the Europeans, to shoot the birds of my village, Omapere, because we have the rights over those birds, a chant has been recited over them so that should anyone stake those birds, they will die for their sin.

APPENDIX "A"

> Overseas, your territorial boundaries are written on paper and can be easily stolen by the European. It is our custom to adhere to the rules. A chant is recited, then should anything be stolen, the consequence is death. This is the third letter setting out rites, to you all, to Mr Davis, Mr Katene, Mr Taylor and also to you the elders of the church… It is for you to rectify this wrong, if you do not, I will go myself, as a thief in the night, to gain satisfaction for myself. Once done harmony will reign. If not revenge will never end.

Uncertainty about Crown

(p.181) The Oruru dispute highlighted what rangatiratanga meant in settling problems between Maori inter se. Nopera Panakareao commented:

> 'Let not the English [government] interfere with the natives, nor the natives interfere with the English.'

Land

(p.187) Pakirau summed up concerns about land after Heke chops flagstaff down:

> I have but little to say indeed, only be kind; our troubles are about the land; natives will not mind anything but the land. Be kind to us; we cannot prevent the evil that occurs, but we will try and promote the good; the person who will be good, he will be good and do good – the missionaries are good; and when any one does wrong , I will take my stand to prevent it.

Climax of conflict

(p.190) Heke's letter to Crown representatives in midst of fighting in 1845:

> Na nga Pakeha enei tawai i a matou – na nga Pakeha o Hokianga, o Wangawa (Whangaroa), o Kororareka, o Te Wahapu O Otuihu; na ratou e wakarite: 'Riro to koutou wenua i a Kawana, ko muri iho, ka wakamatea koutou. Titiro ki Pohakene , Haina, ki nga motu katoa – ko te ritenga ia mo tenei wenua.' Na, o Ingarangi ki mua – muri iho na te Wiwi – muri iho na te Marikena. Heoi ano ka wakaae ahau ki enei korero. E wha tau i mahi penei ai. No te rima a nga tau, ka wakaaetia tana korerotanga maha o te Pakeha ki a matou. Na, ka tahi matou ka mea 'he pono, nia hoki ka totohe.' Ka mea matou 'kia mate matou ki runga ki to matou wenua.'
>
> We are taunted with this laungage by the white people; by the white people of Hokianga, of Wangaroa, of Kororareka, of Wahapu, of Otuihi: they made this statement – 'Your land will be taken by the Governor, and after that you will be killed. Look at Port Jackson, at China, and at all the islands; after that manner will this land be treated; the flag takes possession of the land.' The English first; after that the French, and then the Americans (made this statement): then I assented to these statements. They did this for four years. On the fifth year we assented to these often-

APPENDIX "A"

repeated statements of the white people made to us. Then first, we touched the flag-staff. It was chopped, that it might fall; after that it was put up again. We then said, 'It is true, for they urge the point,' and we said we would die upon our land.

(p.191) in another letter from Heke:

Mr Governor, this is my message to you; let my faults be examined by you. Was the commencement made by you or by me? I think it was by you, by the white man. I was in ignorance; the white people said to me, 'John Heke, your land is taken by the Governor.' I replied, 'By what means is it taken?' The white people answered, 'By the flagstaff which stands at Maiki.' I said, 'What is to be done?' They replied, 'Cut down the flagstaff; it was chopped down, the tree fell.' I said, 'What meaning is there in the flagstaff? The white people told me the power of the Queen is in the flag; there are three nations in it.' I said, 'God made this land for us and for all our children.'

Then in August 1845, Heke writes:

The thing that I put most value upon is land, because it was given by God for a dwelling place for man in this world, a resting-place fir the soles of his feet, a burial-place for strangers of the world. Amen.

(p.193) Kawiti letter to Williams, September 1845:

To Mr Williams,
(Good is your word o friend)

Friend, Williams saluting you. Here am I feeling great regard for you. Sir, it is because you have said that peace should be made that I consent. I will not continue to jump upon yor word (or stamp upon it) (i.e. I will not run counter to your wishes). But then, if peace is made with me, it must be made with respect to the land also.

(pp.193-4) Kawiti to FitzRoy (the next day):

Friend, Governor,

Saluting you I am willing to make peace. Many Europeans have been killed and many Natives. In as much as you have said that I should make the first advance towards peace, I now do so and hereby consent.

This is all mine,
I finish here, by me,
Kawiti.

(p.196) Moses Tawai (Mohi Tawhai) speech to Grey:

I am afraid you will not have patience; I have much to say; I wish to show you all the sore places of my heart; I care not whether it is a stranger or a native who does me an injury, I will, in either case, defend myself.

<u>Aftermath: building relationships</u>

APPENDIX "A"

(p.201) Makoare, Aperhama Taonui and Wiremu Hopihana (December 1853):

> ... kua waiho koe hei matua ki a matou, na tou mana ano i mutu ai nga rarurarau o tenei whenua, ka hua nga mahi pai ki runga ki nga wahi katoa o tenei whenua....
>
> ... you have been left as a parent to us. By your authority/power, problems about this land have ended, and good things have arisen to all places of this land.

(pp.202-3) Hokianga leaders to Governor (March 1856); English version came first in 'Te Karere' the 'Maori Messenger:

> Mangungu, Hokianga, 24 March 1856
>
> Friend the Governor,
>
> Salutation to you; long may you live; and may God protect the Queen and yourself. May you be pleased to be hearken kindly to these our words, which are but two or three. We have heard from Mr John White the word you sent by him, that all quarrels should cease; we your children consent, and say yes; we do not say yes yes, no no; but we say yes and mean yes amen. We still remember the letter which we sent to England by the Rev. W. Yates; the answer to which was the 'King William became our Parent and sent Mr Busby the British Resident, when laws were made for this land. Then afain there was another letter sent to England to King William containing our thoughts, which we have continued to cherish even to these the days of Victoria Queen of England. These were our thoughts in the Treaty of Waitangi, which Treaty was worded thus: We the tribes of New Zealand residing to the North of the Thames being now assembled in the tenth Moon of the Native year to make Laws, to protect commerce and prevent war, and protect our Land, since we asked the King of England to become our Parent in this our childhood let our chieftainship be lost with the sovereignty of our Land which is held by the principal chides of this Assembly. This document was also sent to the King of England, and in answer to which he sent the first Governor. The Treaty of Waitangi was the giving up of the sovereignty of this land. When some of the Ngapuhi people fought against the Government, they did not think of these documents, and the agreements which they contained. We, the Chiefs of Hokianga remembering these things, rose up to put a stop to this evil, because by it the laws were made of more effect, and for this many of the tribes condemn us; but these tribes do not remember the laws, viz., the Treaty of Waitangi. We say again, our consent is not yes, yes, no, no, but we mean yes. And we further say our work shall be to prevent all evil for ever and ever. If you should hear of any quarrel in Hokianga heed it not: be assumed that we, the Chiefs, will unite to preserve order and peace. Let these words be printed in the "Maori Messenger", and send us each a few copies, so that these, our words, may be always with us, lest by the forgetfulness and stupidity the laws may again be broken, as in days gone by.
>
> Signed,
>
> Makoare Taonui, Mohi Tawhai, Aperahama Taonui, Otene Pura, Wiremu Waka, Turau Tiopira, Taoho Rana Te Waha Rihari, Watene Raumati, Te Riti Kaihau, Hena e Taramoeroa, Rawiri Mutu, Wataranihi Muriwai, Wiremu Hopihana, Tahau Wiremu Patene, Pura Tarewarewa, Arama Karaka Pi, Hoena Tahi Paru Paora, Matangi, Hekopa Taitua.

APPENDIX "A"

(Translation questionable)

E hoa e Te Kawana,

Tena ra ko koe; kia ora tonu koe, a ma Te Atua te Kuini e tiaki, a koe ano hoki. Na kia whakarangona ata whaitia, mai e koe, a matou kupu rua rua. Kua rongo matou, kia Hone Waiti ki au kupu, kia whakamutua te whawhai, ka whakae atu matou ou tamariki ki a koe; ae, e kore matou e pai ki te whawhai, ko ta matou ae e hara i te penei ae ae, kahore kahore, otira he ae ano he amene. E maharatia tonutia ana e matou, te pukapuka I kawea e te Peti ki Ingarangi, ka whakamatuatia a Kingi Wiremu kia matou; no reira, ka tonoa mai a te Puhipi, ka whakaritea ireira, he Ture mo tenei whenua. Ka kawea atu ano he pukapuka ki Ingarangi, kia Kingi Wiremu; a taea noatia nga ra o Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarangi; a taea noatia te Tiriti o Waitangi. I penei ra te korero o taua pukapuka. Ko matou ko nga Iwi o Nuitireni I raro mai o Hauraki, ka ou nei te hui hui ki te runanga ki Waitangi, a te ngahuru I tenei tau, ki te whakarite ture, kia tika ai te hokahoka, kia mau pu te rongo, kia whakarerea te whawhai, kia mahara ano, ki te whakaora, nga mo to matou whenua, koia matou ka mea ai ki te Kingi o Ingarangi, kia waihotia hei matua kia matou, i to matou tamarikitanga; kia whakakahoretia to matou rangatiratanga, ko te kingitanga ko te mana i te whenua o te whakaminenga o Nuitireni. Ko meatia nei, kei nga tino Rangatira anake i to matou huihuinga ka kawea atu ano tenei pukapuka ki Ingarangi: katahi ka tukua mai ko te Kawana tuatahi; no reira Te Tiriti o Waitangi; (ara te pukapuka whakaaetanga a nga Rangatira o Nuitireni, ki te Kawanatanga mo tenei whenua). Na ka whakatika Ngapuhi ka patua te Pakeha, kihai i mahara ki aua ture, a takahia ana; whakaaro ana matou nga Rangatira o Hokianga, ki te pehi i taua he, mo nga ture i takahia. Heoi e mea ana nga iwi katoa, i he to matou whakatikanga ki te pehi i taua whawhai. Otira kihai ratou i matau ki te whakaritenga o ana ture. Koia matou ka mea atu nei, ehara ta matou ae i te penei ae, ae, kahore, kahore, koia matou ka mea ai; ko ta matou mahi tenei, he takahi i te kino, a ake tonu atu. E rongo koe i tetahi raruraru e upu ana kei Hokianga; he mea noa ano, ki ano i rangona noatia e te runanga. Me ta enei kupu ki te Nupepa; ka whakahokia mai ai e tahi kia matou, kia tu katoa ia matou i te Niupepa: mo te paanga ki te he, ka maharatia ano aua kupu, kei pera me ana ture i mua, na te wareware, na te kuare takahia ana, otiia kei a kao te whakaaro.

Signed…

(p.206) Moetara to the Governor to support their (Hokianga) development:

O Sir, The Governor,

Salutations to you. We the Chiefs of the heads of Hokianga have assembled for the purpose of searching out something for our improvement. We are looking to you, do you think of us therefore, in refernce to Europeans coming to reside amongst us. We are all young; our elder chief is Rangatira Moetara…

The people of Hokianga have done no wrong that they should be thus deserted by the Europeans. We have heard that the remaining Europeans are going to leave, and there will be no ministers and no magistrates, - the magistrate will be only be a paper… Hokianga has not injured the Europeans.

APPENDIX "A"

There are many Europeans coming to Auckland from Port Philip, but you send me them back. Let them come hither, for we assembled at Mangungu at the landing of the first Governor, and consented to his remaining in this land; that is to say our consenting was the writing of our names – the names of Moetara's people [to the Treaty of Waitangi]…

There are potatoes here, and wheat, and maize, and all other things; for the soil is the parent of that which grows. Be quick, and let us have some Europeans in the summer; - next summer.

These are all our thoughts to the Governor, namely those of fifty Chiefs at the heads of the Hokianga, who assembled to consent to the writing of this letter.

(signed) Rangatira Moetara

At Pakanae, Hokianga.

E Mara, E Te Kawana,

Tena ra koe. Ko matou nga rangatira o te Wahapu o Hokianga kua huihui ki te rapu i tetahi tikanga e whiwhi haere ai matou ki nga painga mo te tinana. E Titiro ana matou ki a koe e Te Kawana, ki etahi Pakeha hei noho i roto i a matou. E tamariki ana matou; ko Rangatiratanga Moetara te kaumatua….

Kahore aianei he kino o nga tangata o Hokianga i whakarerea noatia e te Pakeha. Kua rongo matou, e haere and nga Pakeha e noho nei; a, kahore he minita, kahore he kaiwhakawa; heoi nei te kaiwhakawa he pukapuka… tena ko Hokianga kahore ano ana kino ki te Pakeha.

He tini nga Pakeha e haere mai ana ki Akarana i Pohiripi, otiia, e whakahokia ana e koutou. Engari, tukua mai ki konei, no tem ea hoki i whakaae matou ki te Kawana tuatahi kia noho i tenei whenua, ara, ko te whakaae tenei ko te tuhinga o nga tangata o Moetara.

He riwai ano enei, he witi, he kanga, me era atu mea, ko te whenua hoki te matua o nga mea e tupu ana.

Hohoro te whakaae ki etahi Pakeha mo matou i te raumati, tenei raumati ano.

Heoi ano o matou whakaaro ki a koe e te Kawana, nga whakaaro o nga rangatira o te Wahapu o Hokianga, e rima tekau o ratou i whakamine ki te whakaae i te tuhituhinga o tenei pukapuka.

Na Rangatira Moetara

Kei Pakanae, Hokianga.

(p.207) Taku (son of Moetara?) to the visiting Governor November 1855:

During former years even until this time, we have been exclaiming, 'Alas! There is no town! Alas! There is no town!' We are impoverished and neglected as you now see us. We know that love is in your heart towards us, therefore we wish you to carry with

you our thoughts, and lay them before the Governor, in order that something may be devised to remedy the present state of things.

I ara tau iho ki enei wahi, e Karanga tonu ana matou, 'Aue! Kahore he taone! Aue! Kahore he taone!' E rawakore nei matou, e kitea nei e koe. E matau ana matou he aroha kei roto kei tou ngakau, no konei matou i mea ai kia kawea atu o matou whakaaro ki a te Kawana, me kore ra nei e rapua tetahi tikanga hei whakaora i a matou.

(pp.208-9) waiata composed by Te Wheinga and Haimona Hauraki (Ngati Whatua), illustrating the importance of alliance between Maori and governors (1855):

E pa e te hau, e kai ki tuku kiri.	Blow thou wind, blow on my skin;
Te ata kitea atu te whetu o te rangi.	I cannot see the stars of Heaven.
Ka manginoa au heoi te ao rere.	My regret is great, the world is going.
Kahua i te poia ra, kai raru ai,	Many ask for my affection, how can I give it?
Tena te tangata hihiri atu nei;	Return all of you
Te hoki atu koe Ki waho na, i te roro.	Out of my sight, I cannot consent
Kahore te kakea i te wehi o te patu.	For fear. He whom I love is here
Te Korou tu mai no te whakatakere.	He arrived when all was cut (in confusion)
Rokohanga mai ka taia rawatia.	To think of, it was small, but
Naku i hoe atu, he rau puna ngahuru.	Thy coming has made us great
He pononga; erangi to haerenga mai.	Thy hand has done it, return
Te ringa i whatoro.	Thou sacred, and live.
Hoki tapu ka noho ai.	

Unease continues

(p.211) letter written by Hemi Tautari, dictated by Kawiti (1848):

Waimoio Aperira 3 1848

Ko te korero tenei I rongo ai a hau kia Tamati Waka, I te raua haerenga ko te Kawana ki Te Kerikeri ki te titiro taone ka eke raua ki runga o Pukekohe, ka ui mai a Kawana kia te Waka, no wait era wenua [?] [N]o Te Wiremu. [N]o wait era? [N]o Te Wiremu. [N]o wai tena puke[?] No Te Wiremu. Ka mea mai a Kawana ara kei a Te Wiremu

APPENDIX "A"

anake te wenua, e wawai [whawhai] ahau ki nga Mihinare kia wakahokia tetahi wahi o te wenua ki nga tangata maori, he mea wawai pukapuka ta matou wawai.

Na Kawiti

Waimoio April 3 1848

This is what I understood from Tamati Waka when he and the Governor went to the Kerikeri to look for a site for a town. They both ascended Pukekohe, the Governor asked Waka – Whose is that land? It belongs to Williams. Whose is that land? It belongs to Williams. Whose is that hill? It belongs to Williams. The Governor replied, what does Williams alone own the land? I shall fight with the missionaries to return a portion of the land to the Natives. We shall have a paper war.

Kawiti.

(p.214)Hori Kingi Te Ngere at Whananaki (1850):

Ka tahi ano te mea kino ko tenei mahi ko te tuku kainga mo te Pakeha, koia ahau ka mea atu nei ki a koe, e kara e kore ahau e pai ki te wenua ki a tukua. Otira kei a koe te wakaaro mo te wenua nau ano te kupu ki a maua ki a pakeke ki te wenua, i mua, mau ano te kupu ki a haere maua.

Indeed it is an evil thing, this handling over of homes for the Pakeha and I say to you, Sir, that I am displeased that land should be sold [handed over]. But you know the intentions regarding the land and it was you who advised us to be obstinate regarding the land formerly, and the advice is followed that we should continue.

(pp.215-6) Wiremu Pohe (1851):

E hoa, e te Paraone Hemara, tena taku korero kia koe. I rongo ahau e aroha ana ou wakaro ki te tangata Maori koia ahau i tuhi atu ai i taku korero kia koe. I mua, ia matou e noho Kawana kore ana, ka nui to matou wiwi ki te taonga, te na ko te nei horerawa matou e wiwi. Na te Kawana tenei mahi e mea na o matou wakaro, na te Kuini ranei tenei atawai na te Kawana ake ano pea. Katahi nga wakaro kino ka kitea, e hara tenei i te kaitiaki pai. Kahore, he aroha o nga kupu a tenei Kawana. Mahi noa matou te rite ki te utu o mua te nui o te nui o te rironga mai i mua i te mea kahore ano he Kawana, ka nui te pai, ka tini haere mai a nga Pakeha me nga taonga; tena ko te nei, kua tae mai he Pakeha hou ki toku kainga ka wakaro kia hoki horerawa, e puta to ratou waka ro i te na taku I nga mahi a Kawana, ka pai te tokomaha o nga Pakeha. Nga Pakeha ki nga Maori, tena ko tenei tini noa nga kaipuke, ki te rere hore he mea hei utanga; tini noa nga tangata ki te mahi, hore he painga e riro mai. Kahore he atawai o te Kawana ka wakawakaha nga wahine ki te mahi ka riro mai he kakahu hore kai nui te kakahu … Koia koa ahau i mea kia tuhia nga mahi a Kawana kia rangona e te waka nuinga ki Akarana ena mahi kia korerotia, a ki te pai a te Paraone, me ta ki te nupepa kia matakitaki te hunga, o te taone hoiano aku wakaro kia koe ka mutu.

Na Wiremu Pohe.

My Friend [Gore Browne], This is my talk to you. I have heard that your thoughts love the natives, therefore I write my ideas to you. Formerly when we lived without a

APPENDIX "A"

Governor we received plenty of goods, but now, we receive none. We are thinking within ourselves whether this is the work of the Governor, or of the Queen; it is the Governor's alone perhaps. What evil things we see now! This is not a good guardian; there is no love in the words of this Governor. We work on, but the payment is not equal to what it was formerly. Before we had a Governor, it was very good, the white men came in numbers, and brought plenty of goods. Now, new white men have come to my place; but their hearts are always sad because they are not allowed to purchase land for themselves. It is good that the natives should be kind to the white men, and the white men to the natives; but numbers of vessels are sailing, and there is nothing to put in them, numbers of natives are working, but no good comes to them; there is no kindness in the Governor. The women are made strong to work that they may get some clothes, but the clothes they receive are not much ... Therefore I have written concerning the work of the Governor, that it may be heard by the assemblage at Auckland; and if you are willing, print this in the newspaper, that the people of the town may see it. These are my thoughts to you.

From Wiremu Pohe.

(pp.216-7) Hui of Northern Maori at Te Ti (1851):

Kia Kawana,

Pepuere 5 1851

Huihuinga

Ko te whakaaetanga o te whakaminenga ki Te Ti mo te Taonga kia tukua mai e te Kawana, ko te putake o tenei karanga mo te taone na Kingi Wiremu, Tareha, na Hohaia Waikato, na te Pakira, na Wiremu Hau, na te Rata Hongi, na Wiremu Parangi, na Eruera Pika, na ratou i karanga tenei huihuinga mo to kupu ki a Tareha i tana oranga. Kua mate ia, ko koe i ora. Na koia tenei ko te whakaturanga o to kupu kia tukua mai e koe tetahi taone, kia tino whakaritea e koe tenei whakaminenga kia pono i te whakakotahitanga ki a te kuini. Ko te hiri tenei o te whakaminenga. Ae. Amine.

(na nga rangatira e 90)

Ko te pukapuka o te whakaminenga o ia hapu, o ia hapu, ko te whakaaetanga koia tenei. I mara, e te Kawana, tena ra ko koe, ko ta matou kupu tenei ki a koe, homai e koe he taone ki tenei whakaminenga hei pa mo matou. Ko to matou whakakotahitanga tenei ki a te kuini, kia runa ki roto ki nga pakau o te kuini hei matua mo matou ake ake ake.

To the Governor

February 5 1851

Meeting

The agreement of the meeting held at Te Ti (Mangonui, near Te Puna, Tareha's River, Bay of Islands) for a town to be laid out by the Governor. This request originated

APPENDIX "A"

with King William, Tareha, Josiah Waikato, Te Pakira, William Hau, Te Rata Hongi, William Parangi, Edward Pika, by whom this meeting was called to consider your word given to Tareha in his lifetime. He is dead, but you are still alive. This therefore is the fulfilment of your word, that a town should be laid out, so that the wishes of this meeting may be fully carried out by you, and that the Queen and ourselves may in truth be joined as one people. This is the seal of the meeting, yes, amen.

(signed by 90 chiefs).

This is the book of the meeting of all the sub-tribes, this is their agreement. Oh friend, the Governor, salutation to you. This is our word to you, that you should give a town to this meeting for a pa for us. This is our union (whakakotahitanga) with the queen. That we may be gathered under her wings, and that she may be a parent to us for ever and ever.

(p.218) Hemi Tautari (of Kaikohe) to McLean (1859):

... kahore aku pai ki te moni, taku e pai ai he whenua ki a takoto ki a au, ki to te pakeha mana, ara ki to te Kuini ingoa.

... I am not concerned with money, my desire is land for myself, under Pakeha authority, that is authority of the Queen.

Chapter 6

KOHIMARAMA CONFERENCE: MAORI VIEWS

(p.229) Wiremu Pohe, Whangarei:

Ki te mea ko tenei ra anake, i roto nei i te tau 1860, ko konei mutu ai te whakamarama i tenei kanara ka tiaho nei ki roto ki tenei whare pouri. E mea ana ahau e ohooho ranei, kahore ranei; koia ahai i mea ai, peneitia ano e koe i roto i nga tau. Kei wawara ke enei hipi kua whakamine nei ko ou pakau, ki o korua pakau ko te ture.

If this is to be the only time- this day in the year 1860 – then the light that shine from the candle set up in this dark house, will cease at once. I ask, will it have any effect or not? I say, therefore, let this be done every year, lest these sheep which are now gathered under your wings and under the wings of the law should stray.

APPENDIX "A"

(p.231) Paora Tuhaere, Ngati Whatua, in support of a joint relationship between Maori and Crown:

> Kei ki koutou ma matou anake e mahi, e kore e tika, erangi, ma tatou tahi. Heoi ano, na matou, na o hoa aroha, na te runanga e noho nei ki Orakei.
>
> You must not say that we alone must see to this matter [offences]. This will not be right; we must work together.

(p.233) Tamati Waka Nene in support of the Governor:

> Ehara taku i te tango i te Pakeha moku anake, erangi mo tatou. Ara, ko taku whakaro i a Kawana Hopihana ra ano kia tangohia tera Kawana hei tiaki i a tatou.
>
> I am not accepting the Pakeha for myself alone, but for the whole of us. My desire when Governor Hobson arrived here was to take him as our Governor, in order that we might have his protection.

(p.238) Paora Tuhaere in favour of the Treaty:

> Koia tenei, e rangi tenei, ko te tino Tiriti tenei e iri ai te mana o te Kuini: ta te mea kua hui katoa mai nga rangatira o ia wahi o ia wahi, o tetahi motu atu hoki, ki konei, ki te rapurapu tikanga.
>
> this (alluding to the conference) is more like it; this is the real Treaty upon which the sovereignty of the Queen will hang, because here are assembled chiefs from every quarter, and even from the other island, to discuss various questions and to seek out a path.

(p.239) Honatana, Bay of Islands:

> Na, e mea ana ahau kia tino rapua e matou te tino tikanga o te hepeta o Kuini Wikitoria; ki te kahore e kitea e Niu Tirani taua hepeta, ka pena o matou whakaaro me te koura kua pau I te waikura.
>
> Now, I say let us fully enquire into the meaning of Queen Victoria's sceptre. If we of New Zealand do not understand that sceptre we shall be like unto gold eaten up of rust.

(p.239) Winiata Papahia, Hokianga, spoke about talks having the <u>wrong focus:</u>

> 'He ma te Kuini, he mangu ahau; ko o tatou reo ia e kotahi tonu ana'
>
> 'The Queen is white, I am black-but our speech is only one'

APPENDIX "A"

(p. 241) Paora Tuhaere, Ngati Whatua:

Re-emphasized the need for Maori to participate not only on councils, but also in the Governor's assembly.

(p. 241) Maihi Paraone Kawiti, Ngapuhi:

> Ka mea ahau he tika taua Tiriti, kaua e tikina e whakahengia e tenei runanga [conference] taua Tiriti ki Waitangi. Ko te he i he ai, kei te he a Heke raua ko Kawiti, koia na ko te whainga ki te Pakeha. I kapi ana ano te tuanui o taua whare, tikina ana e Heke raua ko Kawiti, hura ana nga toetoe o te Tiriti, akirikiritia ana, ka ua iho te ua puta ana te matao ki roto.
>
> I say that Treaty was right. Let not this Conference condemn the Treaty of Waitangi. That which was wrong was the error of Heke and Kawiti, that is, the fighting against the Europeans. But the roof of that house was yet perfect when Heke and Kawiti went and uncovered the thatching of the Treaty and threw it away. When the rain came it passed through and the cold was felt.

(p. 242) Patuone, Ngapuhi:

The only conference of substance was the present one, which followed the Treaty signings at 1840.

(p. 243) Wiremu Pohe, Ngapuhi:

> ... kua eke i runga i te waka kotahi. Kia mahara tatou kei hoe whakatuara. Kia tika ano te tikanga o te hoe ki to te hunga o te ihu. Kei huri te hunga o te kei ki te hoe whakamuri.
>
> ... now that we have all embarked in one canoe, let us be careful that we do not pull backwards. Let all pull in the same direction, as those who sit in the bows; do not let the people in the stern paddle in the opposite direction.

(p. 243) Paikea, Ngati Whatua (resolution proposal for hui):

APPENDIX "A"

That this Conference takes cognizance of the fact that several Chiefs, members thereof, are pledged to each other, to do nothing inconsistent with their declared recognition of the Queen's sovereignty, and of the union of the two races; also to discountenance all proceedings tending to a breach of the covenant here solemnly entered into by them.

Chapter 7

ORAKEI PARLIAMENT 1879

(p. 273) Te Hemara, Ngati Whatua:

"With reference to the Treaty of Waitangi, I was present when it was signed. All m fathers were there also. Also Pomare, Tako, Kiwi and Kawiti were there. I saw the making of that treaty, in the days of Busby. When Governor Hobson came there was a great deal of talking. This was the work of Ngapuhi from the Bay of Islands to Ngapuhi and the North Cape, "Welcome, pakehas." The Ngapuhi were the first friends of the pakeha, from the time that the chief Hongi went to England. Therefore the Ngapuhis decided to enter into that treaty at Waitangi. The chiefs of the North went there, but the chiefs from the south part of the island did not assemble at Waitangi. The Ngapuhis gave their sovereignty to the Queen. They placed all their thoughts before the Queen, and left them for her to consider, and to devise measures for their benefit. The words of the Queen were that the mana of the chiefs would be left in their possession, that they were to retain the mana of their lands, fisheries, pipi-grounds, forests. These were the stipulations of the Queen in reply to the terms agreed to be Ngapuhi. Another promise of the Queen was that she would protect these Islands, lest foreign nations should come and fight against the people of these Islands. These were the only words of the Queen that I heard."

(p. 273) Paraone Ngaweke:

The Treaty is a covenant and a treasure for both Ngapuhi and Ngati Whatua. The Kohimarama conference was a treaty also.

(p. 273) Renata Paraire, Ngapuhi, and Ngakuru, Te Rarawa:

APPENDIX "A"

Critical of government which had not fulfilled its responsibilities concerning fisheries and the prohibition of private purchase of lands. Misfortunes began with the first governor.

(p. 274) Paora Tuhaere, Ngati Whatua:

> "When the Queen established her authority in this Island she promnised that the chieftainship of the Maori people should be preserved to them. She has not deprived the chiefs of their mana. She left a share of the mana of the Island to the Native chiefs. That Treaty of Waitangi left the rights of the soil with the Maori chiefs. She also left the fisheries to the Maories. She did not deprive us of those. She also left us the places where the pipis, mussels, and oysters, and other shell-fish are collected. It is for you to discuss these matters today, and not wander away from the proper subjects. It is for you to say what benefits the Maoris have received from that treaty... Let your opinions be clear, because are many grievances in this Island, and it is for you to suggest some means by which they may be redressed. Let us see whether the stipulations made in the Treaty are still in force or not. Do not let our grievances be attributed to the wrong causes."

(p. 274) Eruera Paerimu, Ngati Whatua:

> "I will speak on the subject of the Treaty of Waitangi. My opinion is, that there is both life and death in that Treaty. I will first speak of the ora – the benefits that we received from that treaty. It is through the good influence of that threat that we are able to assemble in this house today and discuss our grievances freely, and that we are protected from attack by people of foreign lands. Had it not been for that treaty, this Island would have been occupied by foreigners, and we should have been destroyed. Secondly, it was through that treaty that the wars between the Native tribes ceased. These are the only benefits that I can see that we derived from the Treaty of Waitangi. I will now speak of the disadvantages that arose from the treaty. The Queen stipulated in that treaty that we should retain the mana of our lands; the mana of our forests, fisheries, pipi-grounds, and other things should be retained by the Maoris: but now these words have been overlooked. We have not received any of those benefits; but I think the Queen was not the cause of this – it lies with the Government of New Zealand."

APPENDIX "A"

(p. 275) Ngapuhi representative:

Mana has been lost over land, fisheries and the sea, which were great possessions of Maori.

(p. 275) Te Keene, Ngati Whatua:

Aggrieved by the Native Lands Act, 1862, the Native Land Court system and Crown grants, which took away the mana of his land.

(p. 275) Te Hemara, Ngati Whatua:

Angry at the loss of his land at Mahurangi, at having to pay land taxes and disapproved of the Road Board.

(p. 275) Arama Karaka, Ngati Whatua:

Did not believe in the tax by the Road Board for something that belonged to him.

(p. 275) Te Reweti, Ngati Whatua:

Unfairness at paying taxes concerning lands on North Shore.

(p. 276) Kerei Mangonui, Ngapuhi:

Important to remain loyal to Grey.

(p. 276) Hui resolutions:

APPENDIX "A"

To remain loyal to the Queen, to adhere to the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi and to continue to assert mana over fishing grounds, shell-fishing area, kuaka, parera, titi, tui, kukupa and bird life in general.

TE KOPUA 1879

(p. 278) Mohi Tawhai, Ngapuhi:

Emphasised the importance of the Treaty which had guaranteed protection of chieftainship.

> "Now listen! I reply in this way. Governor Hobson arrived amongst the Ngapuhis, the Treaty of Waitangi was made, and the whole of my parents came under that treaty. They agreed to hand over all their lands their bodies and all their heirs after them to be under the power of the Treaty of Waitangi. From the time of my parents until now, as I stand here, they have all been under the Treaty of Waitangi. Our lands, our bodies, our children, - they are all under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi was agreed to by all the tribes of the Island as far as Taiaroa. Secondly, respecting the chieftainship, - it belongs to the whole of the people assembled here. From the days of our ancestors we put ourselves under the protection of the Queen until this day, and I am still under her protection. Thirdly, respecting what Wahanui said, that all the people should assemble and listen to the words that were spoken yesterday; my answer is this: The whole of us have been assembled and collected from the days of our fathers under the shadow of the Queen."

(p. 278) Hori Te Koria, Ngapuhi:

"The Ngapuhi come here bringing with them authority of old from the time of Governor Hobson."

(p. 279) Hirini Taiwhanga, Ngapuhi:

APPENDIX "A"

Emphasised his trust in Governor Grey adding that it was he who provided salvation to his people.

1880 ORAKEI PARLIAMENT

(p. 285) Renata Rehua:

Condemned the government for stopping native food and medicine. Maori and Pakeha should share in the finances of the colony.

(p. 285) Hirini Taiwhanga, Ngapuhi:

Advocated a separate branch in the legislature for Maori.

(p. 285) Kerei Mangonui, Ngapuhi:

All sales of land to Pakeha should be stopped.

1881 MAORI PARLIAMENT, WAITANGI

(p. 287) Hare Hongi Hika and other Ngapuhi rangatira; petition to government 1878:

> "The petitioners, who are members of the Ngapuhi Tribe, begin by declaring that their petition emanates from hearts thoughtful of the covenant made by the Treaty of Waitangi. They pray that a fine house should be erected on the spot where the treaty was signed, and the cost should be borne upon the Consolidated Fund, which has found an existence only by reason of the Treaty itself. The petitioners think that the house should be used as a place where the Governor might explain the instructions of the Queen in regard to the Maori people, and where the Native chiefs could return thanks for the benefits they have received from Her Majesty."

APPENDIX "A"

(p. 289) Wi Raukawa, Ngapuhi:

"Welcome Treaty of Waitangi! We would like to know your opinion, if favourable or otherwise, to us Ngapuhi. Hold fast the Treaty of Waitangi!"

(p. 289) Parihi:

"We have always been loyal since the treaty was first signed. The governor declines our invitation."

(p. 289) Hamiora Ngatiura:

"Welcome! I approve of the treaty. But not of the dog tax."

(p. 289) Hirini Taiwhanga, Ngapuhi:

"We are suffering injustice under the Treaty. The Treaty should be revised."

(p. 289) Wi Katene:

"Welcome Governor! My friend Rolleston, I speak the thoughts of all assembled. There should be two parliaments: one English, and the other Maori.. All lands confiscated should be given back. The proclamation of 1863 is in opposition to the Treaty. I respect you for coming, as we were anxious for you to ascertain whether there was any truth in what the Luminary reported of us as to casting doubt on our loyalty. We think the Governor slighted us. We reserve the unveiling for the Governor bye and bye when at liberty, and we shall be glad for him to do it. This is our firm desire. If this Governor cannot come, some future Governor will do it. Hone Heke asked King George for soldiers. He gave him missionaries. The Queen gave us a Governor, but they are going and coming."

APPENDIX "A"

(p. 291) Kiri:

> "By Treaty our fisheries and pipi beds were secured to us. We hope the Government will accede to this."

(p. 291) Kawiti, Ngapuhi:

> "In 1840 the treaty was made. (Reads the treaty.) Government has milked the cow of New Zealand; therefore evils are among us. Five tribes have agreed to keep our lands, and that a committee shall manage our own affairs."

> "We must be careful not to infringe on the rights of others."

> "Let the committee be appointed under the sanction of the Treaty of Waitangi."

(p. 292) Wi Katene:

> "Should a town spring up here, what about our pipi beds? And another point, re our lands. Before the treaty we received fees for vessels anchoring. After the treaty the Government took the fees. Why does the Government allow fishermen to come and take away our oysters?"

(p. 292) Riwi, Ngapuhi:

> "This work, the treaty, was adopted by our fathers, and bequeathed to us. Let us adopt the legacy, and be one people under the Queen."

(p. 293) Te Hemara Tauhia, Ngati Whatua:

APPENDIX "A"

Te Hemara made a particular reference to the importance of the petition to King George by his fathers which led to the Treaty. He also agreed with the idea of a Maori parliament because the existing parliament had not helped Maori.

(p. 293) Mangonui:

> "You gave us a treaty; now give us a Parliament."

(pp. 295-296) Parore Te Awha, Ngapuhi (in a letter to the Native Office, 1883):

> "We the Maori people, are entirely subject to the authority of our most gracious Queen Victoria.' 'Ko matou ko te iwi Maori kei raro tonu i te mana o Kuini Wikitoria tino atawhai."

1882 PETITION TO THE QUEEN

(p. 297) Parore Te Awha, Hare Hongi Hika, Maihi Paraone Kawiti, Kingi Hori Kira, Mangonui Rewa, Hirini Taiwhanga, Wiremu Puhi Te Hihi and Hakena Parore asking the Queen to authorize:

> "the appointment of a Royal English Commission to abrogate the evil laws affecting the Maori people, and to establish a Maori Parliament which shall hold in check the European authorities who are endeavouring to set aside the Treaty of Waitangi; to put a bridle also in the mouth of minister for native affairs who may act as ministers have done at Parihaka, so that all may be brought back to obey your laws, and to prevent the continued wrongs of land matters which are troubling the Maori people through days and years: and to restore to the Maoris those lands which have been wrongfully confiscated according to the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, and to draw forth from beneath the many unauthorized acts of the New Zealand Parliament the concealed treaty, that it may now assert its own dignity."

APPENDIX "A"

OTHER PETITIONS

(p. 299) Hone Mohi Tawhai and other Maori Members of Parliament (1883):

> "We have always admitted the Supremacy of the Queen. Our protest is against the breaking of the bond of Waitangi by the Colonial Government which being a party to a suit in the question of lands, acts also as the judge. We do not object to being subject to any laws made by the New Zealand government that do not overstep the bounds of our bond with the Queen. We desire that the Native Courts should be done away with and the land vested in an elective body of Maoris, who would be better able to decide questions of title than Europeans judges. We desire also that this board should have power to make roads through the territory which we wish to reserve, raise taxation for the purpose and pass laws for Maori guidance subject to the approval of the governor.
>
> If we can obtain this we intend to lease all our lands except that small portion which we wish to remain in undisturbed possession of Maoris, free from the evils that destroy us. Every year laws are made taking the control of land more out of our hands and vesting it in the minister for Native Affairs and our voices being but four are powerless against eighty seven representing the European portion of the population in the NZ parliament.
>
> It is the intention of Tawhiao whom we recognize as the head of our race to visit your end of the world shortly for the purpose of petitioning Her Majesty on these things.
>
> In the meantime we make them known to you in the hope that a knowledge of our desires may assist you and the Society that has so often made its influence felt for good in remote places to continue the aid that has been so kindly extended to the people for whom we sign."

(pp. 300-301) Komiti o Te Tiriti o Waitangi petition 1883 to the Queen:

I.

> Make good those portions of the Treaty of Waitangi that have been broken;
>
> In as much as the Queen's right of purchase has not been carried out in a proper manger by her Land Purchase Agents in connection with Maori lands since the making of the Treaty of Waitangi;
>
> In as much as the Government have set aside her conditions

APPENDIX "A"

In as much as the law has been trampled upon by them

For the Treaty of Waitangi is 'the law' for New Zealand.

II.

Foreshores, pipibanks and fishing places – (1) that the 'mana' of those places be returned to the natives, (2) so that they should be as they were in Hone Heke's time.

III.

The wrongful purchase of Native Lands in former times – (1) paying for land with … (2) the simple pointing out of land … and being taken as indicating the boundaries (3) and the subsequent unauthorized survey of land without a proper person to point out the lines.

IV.

Native Land Courts – (1) to entirely abolish the Native Land Court (2) that our claims to land be adjudicated upon in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi (3) that the acts relating to the Native Land Court which dealt a blow to the Treaty of Waitangi be abolished.

V.

The wrongful imprisonment of Te Whiti…

VI.

To alter the present (constitution of the) Parliament of New Zealand – (1) Europeans only make the laws (2) they should both have equal power to assent or dissent (3) so that they may have equal power in making laws.

VII.

The government laws relating to confiscation … that they be given back to the natives.

APPENDIX "A"

VIII.

The imposition of taxes on lands held according to Maori custom to be abolished – (1) That this law be abolished (2) This act is not in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi. …

ORAKEI PARLIAMENT 1889

(p. 302) Paora Tuhaere, Ngati Whatua:

The consolidation of the two races. To lay before the hui the fact that in olden times they were chiefs, and now they are not. Last year the first movement was made re the Treaty of Waitangi. The meaning of that Treaty was to make Europeans and Maoris as one people. To make all of the native tribes one in asserting their rights against the Government.

Her Majesty the Queen gave us a right to all our lands. Now, have we got them? The treaty has been broken by the present Government. Former Governments did do something for us, but this Government has done nothing for us. They have behaved treacherously to us.

(p. 303) Matenga Taiwhanga, Ngapuhi:

Only Maori could deal with their problems.

(Many spoke directly about the Treaty of Waitangi. Those from Ngapuhi to do so included Titore, Pene Taui and Wiremu Hoete (this could be Hoete of Ngati Paoa from Waiheke). The hui unanimously agreed to uphold the Treaty).

1890s

APPENDIX "A"

(pp. 308-309) Wiremu Pomare:

> "It is the Native Land Court that causes the main difficulty between the Maoris. Let me explain about that Court. In the year 1864 the Native Land Court began its work. The first lot brought before it was Mahurangi. Crown grants were issued. It was not stated that there should be ten people in the grant. The whole of the owners of that land were not included in the Crown grant ... and trouble came upon the tribe in consequence. ... Then the Natives and the chiefs asked that the work of the Native Land Court should be discontinued, and it was stated then that Native Committees should adjudicate upon the lands within their own districts, and the land was awarded by the Judges and the Assessors to the people who claimed it. Those now who have suffered from the operation of the Native Land Court feel greatly aggrieved. Now with regard to the laws. ... I was at Wellington and I attended at the Legislative Council, along with Paora Tuhaere and Hamiora Tupaea, and gave evidence before a Committee of that Council. We requested that the Premier and the Native Minister should come to a meeting that was to be held at the place where the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, so that the Premier and the Native Minister might explain to the assemblage there the laws relating to the Native lands, so that the whole of the people of the tribes might hear what they had to say .... And that the Premier and the Native Minister might have the opportunity of hearing whether the people dissented or not... But the Committee of the Council did not agree that the Premier should come. There was some trouble then with respect to these Native land laws. ... I am one who is very bitterly opposed to the present Native Land laws."

1892 WAITANGI KOTAHITANGA

(pp. 311-312) Hamuera (Hamiora?) Mangakahia:

> "By that Treaty the chiefs of the Maori race gave the Queen and her people licence to live in Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu, that is, it was an agreement that the mana of the Government of the Queen could obtain in all places in New Zealand. Therefore, it was agreed that the people without shares could have shares in this island, that is, only with the consent of the person owning the land, and to be sold at the price arranged by the buyer together with the landowner.

APPENDIX "A"

> By that Treaty too it was settled by the two sides that the Maori people alone had mana over their lands. You know our meaning for this word in our own language because this word mana is something exceptional. According to our custom one chieftain would never proceed to arrange conditions for the property under the mana accorded to another chieftain."

OTHER VIEWS 1890s

(p. 321) Timoti Kiriwhi (to Governor Ranfurly, Te Tii marae):

> "This Treaty has been rained upon by the rain, it has been exposed to the blast of the storm, but the words are still clear, they cannot be obliterated."

Hone Heke:

(p. 323) 1894 re Native Rights Bill:

> "The natives had in many instances raised the question of the Treaty of Waitangi, and asked that the provisions of that treaty be maintained by the different governments of New Zealand, but without avail. It had always been told them by many Europeans outside of this House, and also by members representing the government of the day, that the treaty was nothing at all. What was the result? .... several petitions, signed by prominent chiefs of the native race, were sent to England, making enquiries whether the Treaty of Waitangi was repealed as stated. The answer to a number of the petitioners was to the effect that this treaty, signed in 1840, was as good now as it was then."

(p. 323) Heke continued saying that Maori chiefs did not:

> "wish to be harassed by any other power, or to have their own power trodden down by a foreign power."

APPENDIX "A"

(p. 325) 1894 re Sea Fisheries Bill:

> There were clauses in the Bill which, it was quite clear, were inconsistent with the treaty that was made between Her Majesty the Queen and the Native chiefs of New Zealand. This, of course, related to any property the Natives might hold either individually or in common, which were confirmed to them by Article 2 of that treaty.

Heke was concerned also to get an understanding of the "real effect of this treaty."

(p. 326) 1896 re Mining Bill:

> "... the fact of the Natives on the one hand and of the Queen on the other hand agreeing upon a treaty, which confirms an obligation between two parties, shows completely that the landed property and every other property contained thereon and therein belonged to the Natives.
>
> ... that in the second article [of the Treaty] the Queen guarantees to the Natives of New Zealand all the undisturbed rights to their properties. Then, the question is, what are these properties? I submit that in this case the properties mean the lands and all that the lands contain, either on, in, or under the earth."
>
> "All minerals which are unworked and unsevered are parts of the freehold. And as such constitute landed property or real estate."

(p. 325) MP M Kapa re Fisheries Conservation Bill 1892: Kapa was very concerned that the Bill was contrary to the Treaty:

He thought that this Bill did not go in the direction of what was promised them in the Treaty of Waitangi. A great number of Native members had been in this House, and they had repeatedly been talking of the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi; but he had never seen any one of those provisions fulfilled or carried out by their speaking on it. He hoped the Natives would not be prevented from taking what fish they wanted.

APPENDIX "A"

(p. 324) Matiu Tauhara and 204 others of north Auckland, petition re Native Land Bill 1891:

> Your petitioners, that is to say the tribes residing north of Auckland, wish to state that they protest against the Government becoming guardians of their land for ninety-nine years. We pray that each individual owner shall have the right to deal with his own land either by way of lease or sale; and as regards the present Bill we will never agree to it, neither now nor evermore.