

**IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL**

**WAI 2700  
WAI 2859  
WAI 2864  
WAI 3011  
WAI 1511**

**CONCERNING**

the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

**AND  
IN THE MATTER OF**

Kaupapa Inquiry into claims concerning Mana Wahine (Wai 2700)

**AND  
IN THE MATTER OF**

Tina Barnett, Sharryn Te Atawhai Barton, Ray Brown, Lee Cooper, Syd Keepa, Laures Park, Muriel Tunoho, Grant Williams, Aubrey Wilkinson on behalf of Te Rūnanga o ngā Kaimahi Māori o Aotearoa (the Rūnanga of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions - Te Kauae Kaimahi) (WAI 2859)

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**BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF ANGELA WANHALLA**

**Dated this 8<sup>th</sup> day of August 2022**

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**RECEIVED**

Waitangi Tribunal

**8 Aug 22**

Ministry of Justice  
WELLINGTON



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**AND  
IN THE MATTER OF**

A claim by Paula Davis, Llani Harding, Georgina Kerr and William Newton on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Ngā Toa Āwhina (the Rūnanga of the New Zealand Public Service Association) (WAI 2864)

**AND  
IN THE MATTER OF**

A claim by Paula Ormsby and Cherie Kururangi on behalf of the Wāhine Toa Movement of the Mongrel Mob Kingdom (WAI 3011).

**AND  
IN THE MATTER OF**

A claim by Kate Keita Hudson on behalf of the descendants of Te Waru Tamatea and his people of Ngāi Tamatea Hapū ki Waiotahe (Whakatōhea) (WAI 1511).

## MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL

### HE MIHI

1. Tēnā koutou. Ko Aoraki tōku maunga, ko Waihora tōku moana, ko Waikirikiri tōku awa, ko Ngāi Tahu tōku iwi, ko Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki tōku hapū, ko Ngāti Moki tōku marae, ko Angela Wanhalla tōku ingoa.
2. I am a Professor in the History Programme at Te Whare Wānanga o Ōtākou/The University of Otago. I have been employed in the History Programme since 1 September 2005 where I teach New Zealand and Māori history at all levels of the undergraduate curriculum. I am also an experienced supervisor of postgraduate research in New Zealand and Māori history. Prior to my appointment I held a one-year post-doctoral fellowship in native-newcomer relations in the Department of History, University of Saskatchewan, Canada (2004-5). I completed my undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in History at the University of Canterbury. I hold a first class honours degree (1999), a MA (Distinction) (2001) and a PhD (2005).
3. My research expertise is on the impacts of colonisation and colonialism on Māori, especially Māori women, families and communities. I have published several monographs on how colonisation has impacted Māori women's lives, their standing and mana. Of most relevance to this brief of evidence are *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland University Press, 2013) and *He Reo Wāhine: Māori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland University Press, 2017). I co-authored the latter book with Professor Lachy Paterson (Te Tumu: School of Māori, Indigenous and Pacific Studies, University of Otago), a historian and expert in nineteenth-century Māori language sources.
4. I have also researched and written about the history of whaling and trading in early New Zealand, particularly the impacts of shore whaling on Ngāi Tahu communities in Otago and Southland. I have published extensively on intermarriage within a context of shore whaling in the 1830s, including a monograph called *In/visible Sight: The Mixed Descent Families of Southern New Zealand* (Bridget Williams Books, 2009) and several articles on Māori women's contribution to shore whaling through marriage alliances as well as their cultural expertise and knowledge. Of particular relevance is an article

co-authored with Dr. Kate Stevens (University of Waikato), 'Intimate Relations: kinship and the economics of shore whaling in southern New Zealand', *Journal of Pacific History* vol. 52, no. 2 (2017): 135-55. I submit this article as part of my brief of evidence as Appendix A.

5. In this brief of evidence I use archival evidence from research conducted for the three monographs and the article mentioned above to demonstrate Māori women's status, mana, leadership and authority pre-1840, specifically their leadership in political and community life.

### **EUROCENTRIC PATRIARCHAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

6. Some of the archival evidence referred to in this brief of evidence comes from the post-1840 period because these sources reveal the significance of women's participation in politics and, particularly, their political decision-making in relation to land, not to mention the cultural, social and economic roles they played in their communities. Among the records referred to in this brief of evidence are writings by Māori women from the 1840s, 1850s, 1860s and 1870s. These writings offer a powerful set of evidence for Māori women's political leadership and their active contribution to their communities pre-1840.
7. The writing of Aotearoa's histories has been dominated by research based on colonial archives and specifically by sources generated by colonial activities, such as land sales and war. With the advent of the colonial government, land purchase deeds and petitions, as well as government-produced Māori-language material like newspapers, entered the Māori world, as did ethnographers, collectors of Māori knowledge and tradition, many being government officials who paid 'native informants' for material.
8. Pākehā men created the archival materials that historians use to interpret the past. Archives, therefore, reflect these men's interests and concerns. These Pākehā men included ethnographers, officials, and politicians. Colonial officials assumed that politics was men's business. Women were politically active and played important roles in Māori political life, but cultural assumptions about politics as a male endeavour erased women from the archival record. A number of submissions touch on the power imbalance in

the evidence base created by male ethnographers and officials and how this has skewed the historical interpretation of Māori women's role as leaders. Ella Henry correctly states her in brief of evidence that 'the power of writing and recording history passed to Māori men, because Pākehā ethnographers actively sought them out and employed them.'<sup>1</sup>

9. A well-known historical example of colonial gender-based assumptions about Māori women's status relates to flax, identified by New South Wales political and mercantile leaders as a valuable trade item in the late eighteenth century. In 1793, two Māori men, Tuki Tahua ('Tuki') and Ngāhuruhuru Kokoti ('Huru') were kidnapped from near the Cavalli Islands by the HMS Daedalus on the orders of Lieutenant Governor Philip Gidley King. The two men were taken to Norfolk Island to teach convicts how to dress flax only for it to be discovered on arrival that they did not know how to work flax because dressing flax relied on the expertise and knowledge of women.
10. Women were political leaders, and made valued contributions to their communities, but this was not always recognised or acknowledged by Pākehā at the time. This attitude shaped how Pākehā collected information in the colonial period and in turn influenced the writing of New Zealand history which has not adequately encompassed nor fully recognised Māori women's political and economic leadership in the pre-1840 world. This is colonialism in action and is derived from imposing a western and patriarchal understanding of gender and gender roles upon te ao Māori.
11. Western interpretations of politics and leadership as a male activity meant that Māori women were not sought out for information, nor recognised as having authority and mana in the political realm. This partly helps to explain why there are only 13 female signatories to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
12. Western views about gender roles held by Pākehā men also meant they struggled to recognise that Māori women were military leaders and diplomats. Te Paea, or Tiāho, daughter of Tainui ariki Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, was part of a female peace mission to Ngāti Kahungungu as

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<sup>1</sup> WAI2700, A063, p.4.

a teenager during the musket wars.<sup>2</sup> Te Paea's mana derived from her whakapapa and her leadership skills, which she exercised even at a young age through expertise in political diplomacy. Hongi Hika's wife Turikatuku held mana in her own right and had a strategic and leadership role on his taua in the 1820s. In another example, in her brief of evidence Clara Kiikoro relates the story of Wairupe, a wāhine toa who led her people in war.<sup>3</sup>

13. Leadership is not defined or circumscribed by gender in te ao Māori but can be inherited or achieved. There were female ariki, such as Ngāti Porou's Hinematiaro. Ngāti Porou scholar Api Mahuika says such women are assumed to be the exception to the rule of male leadership, but he argued that evidence from tribal whakapapa and traditions show this is not the case.<sup>4</sup> He gives the example of hapū named for female ancestors: Ngāti Hinepare, for instance, derive their mana through tracing descent from this female ancestor and Ngāti Hinerupe are named for a woman who displayed personal qualities of leadership.
14. Archives collected in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century were created by European men and consequently these records and collections are dominated by male voices and viewpoints. This is something Kataraina Kahuwahine from Pigeon Bay, Canterbury, realised when in 1851 she advised Governor George Grey: 'Do not think this letter is from a man. No, I am a woman who wrote this letter.' Kataraina recognised the implications of new political structures centred on Pākehā male power.<sup>5</sup> In her statement that 'I am a woman who wrote this letter', Kataraina expressed female leadership, mana, power, and authority. Her words are a powerful indictment of colonial political structures and patriarchal views of gender roles where women were perceived as inferior to men.
15. A closer look at archival collections shows that Māori women were politically active in their communities and made sure colonial officials were aware of their views, which they expressed in letters, through petitions and in

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<sup>2</sup> A. Wanhalla and L. Paterson, *He Reo Wāhine: Māori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland, 2017), p.151.

<sup>3</sup> WAI2700, A078.

<sup>4</sup> A. Mahuika, 'Leadership: Inherited and Achieved', in *Te Ao Hurihuri : the world moves on: aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. M. King, (Wellington, 1975), p.46.

<sup>5</sup> Grey Māori Autograph Series, vol. 12, pp.27-29, GNZ MA, Auckland City Library, cited in Wanhalla and Paterson, *He Reo Wahine*, p.37.

testimonies before commissions of inquiry and the Native Land Court in the post-1840 period. Some of this material features in *He Reo Wāhine: Māori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland University Press, 2017). Our aim was to highlight Māori women's engagement with writing so as to encourage new histories of the colonial era that have Māori women at the heart of Aotearoa's history. To achieve this we had to demonstrate that archival sources existed to tell these histories, in Māori women's own words. We found just over 500 items and only scratched the surface of what is held in archival collections. A selection of these original records are reproduced in this brief of evidence.

16. Importantly, for the purpose of this brief of evidence, Māori women's writing and testimonies from the post-1840 period often refer to their traditional roles as political and community leaders in earlier eras, and to female ancestors as exemplars. For these reasons, letters, petitions and testimonies created after 1840 are valuable measures for interpreting Māori women's political and community leadership, their mana and authority, pre-1840.
17. Women played significant roles in waka traditions, were skilled navigators, helped create marine life, held important economic roles, and were politically significant as landholders pre-1840. They had other significant roles, as Makereti Papakura showed in her posthumous book, *The Old-Time Maori*. She canvassed topics usually reserved to the woman's domain: childbirth, child-rearing practices, and marriage customs, topics she noted were often ignored by male writers of Māori society.<sup>6</sup> Women are life-givers, and world creators, and derive their mana and authority from this role. Ani Mikaere and Ngahuia Murphy discuss this aspect of women's leadership and expertise in more detail in their submissions.<sup>7</sup>

## **MANA WAHINE TO BIND TANGATA AND WHENUA THROUGH WHAKAPAPA**

18. Māori women's participation in shore whaling in the 1830s, in the form of marriage alliances, as crew, and as gardeners, derived from their status and

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<sup>6</sup> Makereti Papakura, *The Old-Time Maori* (London/Auckland: Victor Gollancz Limited/New Woman's Press, 1938/1986).

<sup>7</sup> WAI2700, A017 and WAI2700, A067(d).

expertise, but also drew from female exemplars found in tribal traditions. Women played a role in voyaging traditions as navigators, ensuring their people got safely to their destination. In some traditions it was women who brought kūmara to Aotearoa and this ensured the survival of Māori people.

19. Women also played a role in the creation of the natural world and the creatures that populate it. Some traditions depict the sea as female, as the progenitors of certain kinds of fish, shellfish and seaweed, or as the ocean's protectors or guardians, such as taniwha. In the Hauraki Gulf, for example, Irakau is a female ancestor who had 'mana over all the creatures in the ocean, including the whales and taniwha.'<sup>8</sup> Hine-te-iwaiwa, known as Hine, Sina or Ina in other parts of the Pacific, gave fish their special characteristics thus explaining the variety of marine life.<sup>9</sup> In a version collected by southern historian James Herries Beattie, Hine-te-iwaiwa stomps the sole, tramples the sandfish and scratches the paikea, creating the distinctive markings on its front.<sup>10</sup> As creators of the natural world women provided resources for individual and collective survival.
20. Between the 1790s and the 1830s, Māori welcomed traders and whalers into their communities and into their families. Māori communities managed and governed these newcomers through marriage alliances with women of status and mana. Marriage operated to fold new members into relational networks, and such relationships cemented the rights of whalers to establish stations on land, guaranteeing their protection. These rights were based on the authority and mana of Māori women, not that of Pākehā men.
21. Women of rank married captains and station managers, other women worked as crew, station employees, and producers of key trade goods, while women's horticultural knowledge was essential to survival. In these new communities, women developed and managed gardens, cultivated potatoes, wove baskets, gathered fish, managed marine resources, including fishing grounds, and scraped flax thereby sustaining their whānau and communities. The status and mana being uplifted in the shore-whaling

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<sup>8</sup> M. Orbell, *The Encyclopaedia of Maori Myth and Tradition* (Christchurch, 1995), p.75.

<sup>9</sup> Christine Tremewan, *Traditional Stories from Southern New Zealand = He kōrero nō Te Waipounamu* (Christchurch, 2002), p.121.

<sup>10</sup> Tremewan, *Traditional Stories*, p.151.



context was that of the Pākehā men through marriage to Māori women of rank and authority.

22. Pre-1840 European visitors to Aotearoa applied western understandings of marriage and morality to their interpretations of Māori culture, especially the treatment of women. They regularly represented Māori marriage customs as akin to commercial transaction lacking in emotion or affection, while the acceptance of pre-marital sex was equated to a trade in women by outsiders. Sometimes historians have repeated these views going so far as to describe the early decades of cross-cultural contact as a 'sex trade' or 'prostitution.' A trade in goods, whether it be flax, pigs, potatoes, seals or whales, were connected to a trade in women's bodies when in fact local tikanga was being observed in the form of a marriage contract with traders, whalers, sailors and others. These marriages were based on the status and mana of Māori women and not undertaken lightly, nor as a form of 'trade'. Women had a degree of autonomy over their bodies and relationships, although the extent of their autonomy was determined by whakapapa and rank.
23. Shore whaling was an economically significant industry in 1830s Aotearoa, reflected in the numbers of whales successfully hunted and commodities exchanged. Māori communities derived wealth from their engagement with shore whaling. Women's labour and cultural expertise helped to generate wealth for their communities through key trade items: potatoes and flax. They brought their expertise and skills in horticultural knowledge and the manufacture of valued items of exchange, especially whāriki, which were traded with whalers and visiting ships.
24. The participation of Māori women in shore whaling during the 1830s demonstrates political leadership and diplomacy through their marriage alliances, their maritime and horticultural skills served the industry, and they were bearers of cultural knowledge, engaging in vital economic activities that enhanced collective wealth. Māori women's engagement in the industry was made possible by a system of gender relations that asserted and supported women's political and economic leadership. Other submissions address

women's fishing and horticultural knowledge among other iwi, highlighting women's leadership in these areas.<sup>11</sup>

25. Marriage has political and economic dimensions and could be undertaken for strategic reasons, such as in southern New Zealand where shore whaling was the prominent industry in the 1830s. In this context marriage alliances generated wealth and status for women and their communities. Marriage patterns reflected hierarchies of rank and power in Māori society, and these mapped onto the political and social structure of the shore-based whaling station. It should be noted, as individuals of rank and authority, Māori women had the freedom to choose to engage in intermarriage with traders.
26. Marriage is a key mechanism for managing whānau and hapū lands reflecting the fact that pre-1840 Māori women held rights over land and resources with the power and freedom to manage and direct the future of their land interests, including within marriage.
27. Importantly, marriage did not involve transfer of land ownership as it did for Pākehā women under the law of coverture. Charles Marshall, who set up as a trader in the Waikato region during the 1830s, explained that 'if a European married, or cohabited with a Native woman, [it was the custom] that he lived on sufferance on the land, and any family that might accrue would claim merely through the rights of the Mother.'<sup>12</sup>
28. Because Māori women had land interests they therefore had reasons to be writing about land to colonial officials in the mid-nineteenth century. Letters written by Māori women after 1840 about land attest to pre-1840 customs around land and the importance of whakapapa to authority.
29. Writing to Donald McLean in August 1857, Hana Te Unuhi called for public discussion about a proposed land purchase: 'listen lest you deprive me of the payments for the lands of my ancestors and mistake my identity. I am

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<sup>11</sup> E.g., WAI2700, A077; WAI2700, A071.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Marshall to Native Minister, 29 March 1878, LE 147 1878/145, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, cited in A. Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland, 2013), p.54.

the daughter of Te Rangiahuta, and the descendant of Tutariaria' and thus qualified to discuss the matter of land.<sup>13</sup>

30. Another example is from 1852, when Metiria Matara (Ngāti Toa) told McLean 'I am a woman who is experienced in the adjudication of land in these islands.'<sup>14</sup> The full letter is replicated below.

<p>Te Kawau Hepetema 13 1852</p> <p>E koro, e Te Makarini tena ra koe korua ko Kawana Kerei[.] he wahine pakeke au imua inga wakanga o tenei wenua onga motu[.] e koro, e makarini, e mohio ana koe ki tamaua rohe ko Karira i tukua atu ai kia koe i te ra taha o waiwakaiho, iaraheke[.] kua pakaru tera rohe amaua, notemea ka rongu te tokomaha o nga tangata, kawakahae katoa nga tangata ki taku tikanga[.] ka wahia ki Murumuru kei Pikipari tona rohenga mai outa ko mangorei kei pouakai tona rohe[.] ete Makarini raua ko Kawana kia rongu mai korua kua pau katoa i au te oneone te hoatu kia korua ko mangorei kua ho atu e au kia korua ko toku aroha tenei ki a korua ara ki nga pakeha[.] naku tenei tikanga na Metiria[.] me aroha mai hoki korua kiau, ki tetahi turanga motaku whare i roto i tenei taone[.] me aroha mai korua kiau,</p>	<p>[modern translation]</p> <p>Te Kawau 13 September 1852</p> <p>Sir, McLean,</p> <p>Greetings to you and Governor Grey. I am a woman who is experienced in the adjudication of land in these islands.</p> <p>Sir, McLean, you know our, my and Karira's, area that was given to you on the other side of Waiwakaiho, at Araheke. Well our boundary has been split, because when the majority of the people heard, they all agreed to my proposal. The boundary divides at Murumuru [and runs ?] to Pakipari [sic], inland from Mangorei, and out to Pouakai.</p> <p>McLean and Governor, listen. I have used up all the land in giving you Mangorei; and when I gave it to you it was because of my regard for you, that is, for the Pākehā. This was my idea, Metiria's, and so show me some</p>
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<sup>13</sup> Hana Te Unuhi to Donald McLean, 4 August 1857, MS-Papers-0032-0681b-14, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, cited in Wanhalla and Paterson, *He Reo Wāhine*, p.35.

<sup>14</sup> Metiria Matara to Donald McLean, 13 September 1852, MS-Papers-0032-0676D-18, McLean Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, cited in Wanhalla and Paterson, *He Reo Wāhine*, p.36.

<p>no temea he kainga tangata te wahi itu ai taku whare no Wiremu raua ko Matena[.] me aroha korua ki tetahi wahi moku hei turanga mo toku ware[.] heoi ano na takorua kotiro aroha na Metiria Matara[.]</p>	<p>consideration by [giving me] a site for my house in this town. Have aroha for me because the land where my house stood was someone's home, Wiremu and Matena's. Show consideration for me by a place for me to put my house. That is all.</p> <p>From your loving girl,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">from Metiria Matara</p>
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31. Women's authority pre-1840 was also attested to in the Native Land Court. Ngāti Kahungunu woman of mana, Niniwa-i-te-rangi Heremaia, was an expert in whakapapa and tribal history. At one hearing before the Native Land Court she explained how land was gifted to her ancestors after conflict between her iwi and Rangitāne. She attested to the political leadership of a female tipuna: 'The land given by Turangatatu for Tupongas garment. Te Auturuki of N Kahungunu was killed by Rangitane hapu[.] The N Kahungunu & Tuponga made a war party to avenge this death[.] They fought at Okahu and Rangitane were defeated. Turangatatu was made prisoner and was going to be killed & eaten but Tuponga who was with the war party said no and her brother also, and she threw her garment on him. Turangatatu was brother of Te Whakamau, there were six brothers. After that saving of his life Turangatatu gave the North part of his block to Tuponga and her brothers.'<sup>15</sup>
32. Maraea Hēpara wrote a letter about her land in the Dargaville district that was being cut up by a surveyor. Maraea makes it clear that women inherited interests in land and that they had the authority to manage that land.

<p>He Pukapuka Whenua na Miriama Hemara, o Ngatirango</p>	<p>[Modern translation]</p>
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<sup>15</sup> Native Land Court, Wairarapa Minute Book 19, pp.33-34, cited in Wanhalla and Paterson, *He Reo Wāhine*, p.41.

<p>Mahurangi, Akuhata 27, 1857.</p> <p>Ki a Hare Reweti, - tenei pukapuka. E kara, tenei ano te kupu ki a koe. Ki te tae mai Te Uriohau korero atu koe ki a ratou mo te pihī whenua i Aropaoa mo te pihī hou kia whakarereā, kua e tukua, erangi kia rite te mea tawhito ka tahi ka tika. Heoi ano ka mutu.</p> <p>Na Miriama Hemara</p>	<p>Letter about Land from Miriama Hēmara of Ngāti Rango [Rongo].</p> <p>Mahurangi, 27 August, 1857.</p> <p>To Charles Davis, this letter. Sir, here is [my] word to you. If Te Uri o Hau come, talk to them about the piece of land at Aropaoa, the new piece which is to be left, and not to be released [for sale] but let the old one be dealt with, and then it is right. That is all.</p> <p>From Miriama Hēmara.<sup>16</sup></p>
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33. Another example of women’s knowledge about land and the defence of their rights is from 1876 by Maraea Hepara.

<p>Te Houhanga Mei 17 1876</p> <p>Kia Te Penetana</p> <p>Tena koe Kua tae mai tau reta patai kia au mo Mango tara[.] e hoa ko tenei whenua no te tau 1869 ka ruri tia e Te Panati te putanga kei te tikitiki tai tua ka whakatu kite kotiu Te moko noho mai pu toetoe moe atoa Wai Rapa kura Tau mata kaha wai Wai Kawe ka whakatu kite Mara Ngai Marere Atu ki korari whero te awa o Kaihu[.] Kote raina tenei atoku tupuna[.] E hoa ko tenei whenua na Te Rokena i whakawa i te Aroa ko Mita hikairoi te Ate ha i te tau 1870 e hoa he mea tika ranei Tenei ki te Ture ma te tahi tangata</p>	<p>[Official translation]</p> <p>Te Houanga</p> <p>May 17th. 1876</p> <p>To Mr. Fenton,</p> <p>Greetings. Your letter asking about Mangotara has arrived. Friend, this land was surveyed by Mr. Barnard in 1869: the boundary runs as far as Tiritiritaitua, then goes on towards the North to Te Mokonohomai, Putoetoe, Moeatoa, Wairapakura, Taumatakaha, and Waiwaikawe; then turns and goes on towards the East to Korariwhero, the Kaihu River. This is my ancestor’s boundary.</p>
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<sup>16</sup> *Te Waka o te Iwi*, October 1857, p. 4.

<p>ke e raina tahae taku whenua kia mea ai koutou nana te whenua e Hoa e kore au e mangere mo taku whenua ake ano - Na to hoa</p> <p>Na Maraea Heparā</p> <p>Kia Te Penetana</p> <p>Tumuaki</p> <p>Kaiwhakawa</p>	<p>Friend, this land was adjudicated upon by Mr. Rogan and Hikairo, Assessor in 1870. Friend, is this right according to the law, to let another person survey my land clandestinely that you all may say “yes the land is his”. Friend, I will not be lazy about my land never, never, from your friend</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Sig) Maraea Heparā.<sup>17</sup></p>
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34. Ana Paora Te Iwi wrote to Frederick Weld on 21 June 1865 to explain Māori customs relating to land. Her letter is reproduced below.

<p>Rere whakarongo mai kia korerotia atu e ai O Matou tikanga Maori kia mohio koutou[.]</p> <p>E hoa kei te titiro pouri matou ki nga tikanga o te whakawa tango whenua ate Kawanatanga[.] te he i kitea e matou ko te whakataunga ate whakawa ki nga Ware ki nga tangata hehe nei ratou ki nga whenua ara ki Patumahoe ki Pokeno ki Maketu[.] he hunga nei hoki ratou he ngarengarenga ite oranga o matou Tupuna a tae niho ana kia matou matua[.] Kaore hoki</p>	<p>[official translation]</p> <p>Now listen while I tell you of our “Maori” customs that you may understand one – O friend we are looking with sorrow to the way in which the Compensation Court disposes of the land (claims)[.] the error we complain of is the awarding by the Court to the plebeians the right to the lands they have no (just) claim to – viz to Patumahoe to Pokeno and Maketu to those parties who were subservient to our parents and Ancestors and who were not admitted into their councils – their</p>
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<sup>17</sup> Maraea Heparā to J.D. Fenton, 17 May 1876, BBOP/4309 6/a-509 1876/931, Archives New Zealand, Auckland, cited in Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, p.49-50.

<p>ratou e karangatia ki nga whare korero ao matou Tupuna ao matou matua[.] Taratou nei karangatanga he mahi kai i nga kai i te Moana i nga kuri ano hoki o uta[.] kaore ano hokihe wehewehenga Whenua i te oranga o matou Tupuna kia whiwhi nga Ware[.] kei nga Rangatira anake hoki nga Whenua ara kei o matou nei Tupuna heoiano to nga Ware tikanga he noho noa iho i runga i te Whenua[.] me nga tangata ke ano hoki e haere atu na ki te korero kia koutou no ratou te Whenua kaore matou e mohio ki enana tu tangata tate mea he tino Taurekareka rawa ratou[.] koia matou ko oku hoa Wahine Rangatira ara ko nga uri o Hinewai O Rangī Heihei ka titiro pouri atu ai ki enei tu tangata[.] Heoiano te mea i marama ia matou ko te Tamaiti a Ihaka[.] whakaaroa e koe i te Oranga o Nuitireni[.] heoi ano nga tangata e haere atu ana kia koutou ko Mohi raua ko Ihaka ta te mea no roto raua i nga Tupuna Rangatira e korerotia atu e au nei[.] Heoi Tena[.]</p>	<p>duty was to cultivate food for them[.]</p> <p>There was no division of land made in the time of our parents or Ancestors that these plebeians should have a right (to hold lands) – The chiefs alone have the right to the lands. That right was our Ancestors – all that the plebeians had to do with it was living on it – Other men also come to you and tell you the land is theirs – we do not acknowledge that class of persons because they are really slaves – therefore we and our female friends of rank the descendants of Hinewai of Rangīheihei look with vexation towards that class of men (slaves) – The only person we acknowledge is Ihakas [sic] son – do you take into consideration when New Zealand was in health (ie before the war) the only (class) of men who had intercourse with the Government were such as Mohi [Mohi] and Ihaka Te Kanini [Takanini] because they descended from Ancestors of rank of whom I have been speaking[.]<sup>18</sup></p>
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<sup>18</sup> Ana Paora Te Iwi to Frederick Weld, 21 June 1865, ACFL/8170 1/dx 65/326, Archives New Zealand, Auckland, cited in Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, pp.125-126.

35. A women's council demonstrated leadership, mana and authority when they demanded the Governor leave their lands alone.

<p>Waiotahe, Akuhata 5, 1869.</p> <p>E hoa e te Kawana, --Tangata pai, tangata kino ranei tenakoe. Ka hua mau e atawhai nga tangata, o Hauraki, ara ko ou atawhai tenei. Ko a matou pihi whenua ma matou ano te tikanga mo a matou pihi. Kaua e apohia noatia ekoe a uta te moana. Kaua he ritenga motu a matou moana. Koe e tahae, kaua to matou whenua e tahae tia e koutou e nga pakeha. Engari whaka honeretia au tamariki, no te mea i ki koe kia kotahi tonu a taaua ritenga, ae ana au to tamaiti, i runga i ou whakaaro maha, neke kotore ana koe to matua, Tena te ngohi kiete moana he koura, te putanga mai ite rua neke kotore ana. He patai tenei, na tou Kuini ranei te ritenga, nau ano ranei, Ka ahua ko te tangata anake tau e patu ai patu rua ana koe ko te tangata ko te whenua. Aue! taku whenua e! koti koti ora te kainga, kaore e ngaro te moke tangata. Aue te rorohi e! Heoiano.-- Na te runanga wahine o Hauraki.—Na MARAEA PUREWA, na MIRIAMA KONEHU, na MATA PARAONE, na TURUHIRA RAPANA, na HERA APERAHAMA, na MATA TE KURA,</p>	<p>[newspaper translation.]</p> <p>Waiotahe, August 5, 1869.</p> <p>Friend the Governor, good man or bad man, greeting. It was supposed that you would be kindly towards the people of Hauraki (Thames), that is to say, your kindness to consist in this to leave with ourselves the arrangements about our own pieces of land that you should not grasp without cause both the land and the sea. Let there be no interference on your part with our lands on the sea (beach). "Thou shalt not steal." Do not you Europeans steal our land, but honour your children, because you said that our interests should be one. I, the child, consented to this but you, with your many thoughts, you the father, are moving backward [i.e., breaking your pledges]. There is a fish in the sea, the lobster: when it comes out of its cave it crawls backwards. This is a question. Is it your Queen, or does this purpose emanate from you [i.e., taking possession of the beaches on the sea shore at the Thames]? It was imagined that you would kill men only, but you are killing both the men and the land.</p>
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<p>na HERA PAREMATAITI, na Matou katoa</p>	<p>Alas, my lands are divided, whilst I still live, and the solitary ones of the land have not been destroyed! Alas, the affliction! Sufficient. From the council of women at Hauraki (Thames).--(Signed) MARAEA PUREWA, MIRIAMA KONEHU, MATA PARAONE, HERA APERAHAMA, MATA TE KURA, HERA PAREMATAITI, and the whole the of us.<sup>19</sup></p>
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36. Mere Petley demonstrated her knowledge of land, basing her rights on whakapapa.

<p>Hepetema 18 1865</p> <p>E hoa E Te Kawana</p> <p>He pukapuka whakamahara tenei ki nga whenua oku i Opotiki. Kei te taha a Heta, ka timata te Rohe, ka haere atu ki nga maunga o Waioeka, ko tona rohe kei te taha ki waho nei ko te Wai-Roa; ko te hokinga mai o te taha ki te Rawhiti ko Waioeka, kei Tutai-Toko. Kei te taha ki te Ra-to o Tutai-Toko ko te Rohe tenei puta tonu ki Maro-Wai-Wai, kei Roto Haka ka mutu. Ko te taha tenei ki te Rawhiti o</p>	<p>[modern translation]</p> <p>18 September 1865</p> <p>Friend, the Governor.</p> <p>This is a letter to inform you about my lands at Ōpōtiki. The boundary starts on Heta's side, and goes to the mountains of Waioeka, its outside boundary is the Wairoa. Coming back to the eastern side it is Waioeka at Tūtai-Toko. On the side of the west of Tūtai-Toko the boundary goes to Maro-Wai-Wai, and finishes at Roto-Haka. This is side on the east of Waioeka. The side on the West of Waioeka starts at the side inland of</p>
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<sup>19</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 12 August 1869, p. 5.

<p>Waioeka, ka timata ko te taha ki te Ra-to o Waioeka kei te taha ki uta o Tawa-Hewa ka timata tenei Rohe puta tonu atu ki te Wairoa ko tona putanga o tenei awa ko Pakihi[.] Ko te take o tenei Whenua ko te Rangī-wawata toko tupuna.</p> <p>Hoiano</p> <p>Na Mere Petley</p>	<p>Tawa-Hewa, and this boundary goes along to the Wairoa, and this river goes out at Pakihi. My rights for this land come from my ancestor, Te Rangī-wawata.</p> <p>Enough</p> <p>From Mere Petley.<sup>20</sup></p>
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37. Hundreds of petitions were sent to the government, many led by Māori women, over the nineteenth century. These also provide evidence of women’s political and community leadership. Women who possessed mana through illustrious whakapapa felt no qualms about speaking for their people: it was their responsibility to use this mana for the benefit of their people and often on a wider Māori stage and one way they did this was through collective petitions. The majority of these petitions emphasised that women had the ability to own land, direct its future, and to control it. Women were used to exerting authority in communities and over land.<sup>21</sup> Two examples are provided below.

Katikati

June 9th 1888.

To His Excellency the Governor and to the House of Representatives in Parliament Assembled.

Your Excellency and Sirs

Greeting

<sup>20</sup> Opotiki Confiscation, Minutes of Compensation Court: Opotiki sitting 7 March 1867, Raupatu Document Bank, Vol. 120, pp. 46195-6, cited in Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, pp.128-129.

<sup>21</sup> Wanhalla and Paterson, *He Reo Wāhine*, pp.192-228.

I wish to bring under your notice a serious injustice inflicted upon me in the consequence of the omission of my name from the title of a block of land at Rotorua called the Whakapoungakau Pukepoto block. I have large claims to that block and have no interests in any other lands. My claims through ancestry are admitted by all persons concerned and my name was put into the title at the original hearing of the block but when the subdivision was being made it was omitted and it was known that my name was left out by the Interpreters of the Court in arranging the names alphabetically. My two daughters who derived their claim from me were admitted into the title and my grandchildren, the children of Kaikaramu, who are some of the principal chiefs of the land as well as my great grandchildren were admitted as owners upon the same grounds while, I, the person through whom they claim am excluded.

For the reasons I have advanced I appeal to your Honourable House and to His Excellency the Governor to shew me some consideration after you have considered my letter and devise some means by which my name can be put into the title to my land when the Court sits to complete the subdivision. (the Court was adjourned owing to the Tarawera eruption Mr. Clarke being the presiding judge and it was then that my name was found to have been omitted).

May you be pleased to consider the injustice that has been done me living as I am upon the land of other persons at Katikati and send me a reply to my petition.

From your obedient Servant

(Sd.) Maraea Taunekiwehe.<sup>22</sup>

This Petition

The Humble Prayer of L. M. Plumbridge (Ruiha Teira)

This is my Petition to the House to consider the suffering of my mother.

This is what Sir William Fox said to me when the Commission was appointed with reference to the One hundred acres, on the 13<sup>th</sup> August 1880, he asked me why I laid claims to land while my mother was still living. My mother appeared before the Commission when here but received no favor from Sir William Fox.

I now therefore wish the House to look into the grievances of my mother, for the person who has left Parihaka will not return there again.

The Government ought to consider this matter.

From

Your Petitioner

Ruiha Teira

(L. M. Plumbridge)

Opunake<sup>23</sup>

38. Finally, we only have to look at Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia's address to the Māori Parliament 1893 calling for women to have the right to vote in that institution. In her address she reminds men of women's pre-existing and

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<sup>22</sup> Petition of Maraea Taunekiwehe, 9 June 1888, MA1 843 1892/448, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, cited in Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, p.196.

<sup>23</sup> Petition No. 334, IA1 461 [36] 1881/3845, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, cited in Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, p.223.

established roles as political and community leaders and that this ought to be recognised in the form of voting rights and to be members of parliament.

39. Meri said in her address:

Following are my reasons for presenting this motion that women may receive the vote and that there be women members:

1. There are many women who have been widowed and own much land.
2. There are many women whose fathers have died and do not have brothers.
3. There are many women who are knowledgeable of the management of land where their husbands are not.
4. There are many women whose fathers are elderly, who are also knowledgeable of the management of land and own land.
5. There have been many male leaders who have petitioned the Queen concerning the many issues that affect us all, however, we have not yet been adequately compensated according to those petitions. Therefore I pray to this gathering that women members be appointed. Perhaps by this course of action we may be satisfied concerning the many issues affecting us and our land.

Perhaps the Queen may listen to the petitions if they are presented by her Māori sisters, since she is a woman as well.<sup>24</sup>

## CONCLUSION

40. Pre-1840 Māori women were navigators, gardeners, diplomats, war leaders, military strategists, managed land and were makers of material wealth. They

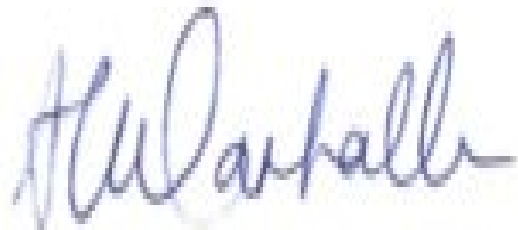
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<sup>24</sup> Translation by Charles Royal in Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (eds), *The book of New Zealand women/Ko kui ma te Kaupapa* (Wellington, 1991), p. 413.

held political, economic and cultural authority derived from their whakapapa and from their actions.

41. In the post-1840 world Māori women wrote letters, sent petitions, and testified before government commissions. The very act of doing so was an expression of their authority and leadership.

DATED 2<sup>nd</sup> day of August 2022

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'A Wanhalla', is centered on the page. The signature is fluid and cursive.

.....  
Professor Angela Wanhalla