OFFICIAL

KI MUA I TE ROOPU WHAKAMANA
I TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

WAI 1508
WAI 1757

IN THE MATTER OF	Te Tiriti o Waitangi Act 1975 (as amended)
AND	
IN THE MATTER OF	Claims by **HUGH TE KIRI RIHARI & ORS** for and on behalf of **NGATI TOREHINA KI MATAKĀ** (Wai 1508 and Wai 1757)

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF HUGH TE KIRI RIHARI

Dated 3 June 2010

RECEIVED
Waitangi Tribunal
0 3 JUN 2010
Ministry of Justice
WELLINGTON

CORBAN REVELL
Barristers & Solicitors
133A Central Park Drive, Waitakere City
DX DP92558
PO Box 21-180
Phone: (09) 837-0550
Fax: (09) 838-7187
Counsel Acting: John Kahukiwa/Georgia Bates
jkahukiwa@corbanrevell.co.nz/ gbates@corbanrevell.co.nz

MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL

Introduction

1. My name is Hugh Te Kiri Rihari. I am of Ngati Torehina ki Matakā descent and a direct descendant of the Tupuna Te Reinga. I am one of the named claimants for our hapu.

2. We are kaitiaki of whenua on the Purerua Peninsula, the awa which run upon it, the moana which lies around it and all the taonga it conceives. Our rohe is the gateway to Pewhairangi.

3. Through the marriage of Rangi-Wheiao and Marokura, Ngati Torehina ki Matakā have had mana whenua at Rangihoua and Te Puna from the times of the fifteenth century. We are the sole remaining hapu maintaining Ahi Kā over this whenua tapu. Other hapu – Te Hikutu, Ngati Rua and Ngati Rehia in particular, have all played an integral part in supporting us in our role.

4. We continue to live under the rangatiratanga which was declared by our tupuna Wharepoaka in He Whakaputanga o te Rangatira o Nu Tirene.

5. Over the 50 years prior to the signing of Te Tiriti, we built a relationship with the British Crown through our gift exchange, trade, travel, and the establishment of the Mission on our whenua at Hohi and later at Te Puna.

6. We welcomed and supported the British. We provisioned and protected them. When problems arose, we appealed to the King and relied on his honourable response. Our tupuna trusted the missionaries and at their advice believed in the promises of the British Crown.

Background

7. I have been involved in a number of public and private roles in which I have represented the interests and kaupapa of our hapu and Ngapuhi iwi generally, including:

   a Mana ā-rohe: Far North District Council and Northland Regional Council – Cultural advisory and capacity-building;
   b Historic Places Trust – Northland Consultant (Maori Division) Pouhere Taonga;
   c Te Runanga A Iwi O Ngapuhi – Hapu kaitiaki;
   d Ngati Torehina ki Matakā – Resource Management unit;
   e H.E.M.P (Hapu Environmental Management Plan);
   f Pa Mai Te Aroha Trust – Chairperson; and
   g Wharengaere Papakainga Trust – Trustee.

8. My immersion in hapu matters and my uptake of these positions occurred approximately seven years ago when I returned to live at Wharengaere permanently; however the korero in this evidence has been passed to me from kaumatua within our hapu.

Claim

9. The claim we registered is connected to the land, resources and waters considered to be whenua papatipu for Ngati Torehina ki Matakā – that on the south side of the line running across the Purerua Peninsula from Ngakiriparauri to Waihapuku.

10. My evidence is directed to claims Wai 1508 and 1757, relating to Old Land Claims; the Native Land Court; land alienation; Public Works takings; the imposition of Crown Rating on Maori land; governance and management of environmental and cultural resources including the land, foreshore, seabed, waterways, and waahi tapu; as well as the balance of our generic claims against the Crown.

Outline of Evidence

11. My evidence focuses on the nature of early contact, the

development of relationships between the Crown and our hapu, and outlines Ngati Torehina's korero on He Whakaputanga and the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

12. I will structure my evidence under the following topics:

a Early provisioning

b International travel and diplomacy

c Development and Te Puna

d Church Mission Society

e Losing the land

f Petitioning the King

g He Whakaputanga

h Before Te Tiriti

i The Agreement

j Our mamae

Early provisioning

13. Our korero about engagement with the British begins with the commercial connections made in the course of provisioning the ships who visited us at our coastal kainga at Te Puna, Hohi and at our Pa - Rangihoua.

14. Ngati Torehina ki Matakā whakapapa to the whenua on the peninsula which juts out to the north-west of Pewhairangi (the area Pakeha call the Bay of Islands). Our people were the 'gateway' to the Bay of Islands during the early years of contact.

15. Our maunga – Matakā – sits prominently at the entrance to the harbour on the way to Waitangi, and is a maunga korero, which means it talks to neighbouring maunga in line with it. Matakā has significance in the wider context of Ngapuhi in that it is one of the pillars that uphold the side of the roof of Te Whare Tapu o Ngapuhi.

16. The views of moana from the summit of Matakā extend from Mangonui and the Cavalli Islands in the North, around past

Urupukapuka Island, Rawhiti and Whangamumu in the East and back, past Tapeka, into the Bay of Islands, with Waitangi and the awa of Kerikeri to the South; and inland to Okaihau in the West.

17. Our strategic coastal location meant that:

a for Maori - Hohi, which lies below Matakā was a gathering point for Ngapuhi Northern Alliance war parties; and

b for Pakeha – Hohi, Te Puna and Rangihoua were key trading points with sealing and whaling ships for a long time before the missionaries came.

18. Our first interaction with the British was in 1769 – when Captain Cook came onshore near Matakā for food and water before he sailed to Tahiti. In keeping with our ethics of manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga, our tupuna helped those onboard the ships (who were unwell from being at sea) refresh their supplies with fish, eels, birds and water.

19. We gifted and traded the resources readily available to us - fresh water, fish, kumara, and flax; and later we became renowned for growing and supplying potatoes.

20. This change in what we supplied was largely due to the travels of our whanaunga and the subsequent visit made by Kawana Kingi around the turn of the 19th century.

21. Our relationship with Kawana Kingi began when Tuki and Huru, were abducted by a British ship from Motukawanui Island (in the Cavalli Islands, north-west of our Peninsula) and taken to Norfolk Island. The crew tricked the men to go onboard the ship, so that British settled on the nearby Norfolk Island could learn the Maori art of preparing flax. Although unbeknownst to the ship captain, work with flax was usually undertaken by our wahine, as it was work done in and around the home.

22. Kawana Kingi, the governor of Norfolk Island, developed a relationship with Tuki and Huru and hosted them in his home. The Kawana was anxious to return these men safely to Pewhairangi and escorted them on the return trip. Upon meeting our rangatira, Te Pahi, the Kawana presented us with gifts of axes, tools, nails, pigs and potatoes, which became crucial in ensuring ongoing trade.

23. Subsequent to this visit, we established mahinga kai within our rohe for 'trading'. These were different to the ancient gardens and were used to cultivate 'fast' crops of potatoes specifically for trade with passing ships. We had almost three times the number of trading gardens than those we used for our own kai.

International travel and diplomacy

24. By the early 1800s our Pa, Rangihoua, and the valley to the west, Te Puna, was well known to ships as a haven to obtain fresh supplies. Our rangatira, Te Pahi, had earned a good reputation for trade and attracted a strong commercial presence in the Bay of Islands.

25. For Ngati Torehina the period of contact pre-Tiriti was about manaaki and whanaungatanga - caring and connection - relationship building. Te Pahi made significant efforts to host and accommodate the traders and missionaries at Rangihoua, a hospitality which was repaid when he travelled to Sydney.

26. Much like other tupuna, Te Pahi's ultimate ambition was to meet the King of England, rangatira ki te rangatira – kanohi ki te kanohi. To have direct negotiations with the chief himself, not any old potato peeler, but the man who makes decisions. He made great efforts to ensure that he and other manukura of the hapu developed relationships with the British by travelling to meet the King and his Governors.

27. Te Pahi first travelled to New South Wales as early as 1805 and was hosted by Crown and Church officials for the duration of his stay. The generous gifts made to him by his hosts speak volumes as to

the esteem in which they held, and respect that they afforded, him. Similarly, Ruatara, Matara, Wharemokaikai, Waikato, and Wharepoaka, were all ambassadors for the hapu of Matakā and travelled to Sydney and some to England, where necessary working onboard the vessels to attain passage.

Development and Te Puna

28. Following on from their experiences abroad, our tupuna Ruatara saw opportunities for cultural, economic and social exchange on our whenua. Ruatara had travelled widely and had observed industries and skills which he believed could enhance the livelihood of Maori and their ability to trade internationally by establishing a trade settlement under the mana of the hapu. He had a vision of creating an English-style town on the whenua at Te Puna. He had seen the cities with their street names, gas lights and horse and buggies and he envisaged such prosperity for his own people.

29. Our rangatira said come here Pakeha and be our friend – we have much to offer and learn from one another. It was a relationship of trust, reliance and exchange at that time – they had knowledge of certain things that our tupuna wanted and we had much to share to make that happen. The hope was that the philosophy of 'awhi mai, awhi atu' would continue to bear fruit for generations to come.

30. Ruatara discussed his plans for Te Puna with Reverend Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society ("CMS") when they met up in Parramatta, Sydney and told him it was to be a common venture of sorts. They travelled back together to Te Puna to: view the land; find a site for the CMS church; draw up a plan of the township; and discuss matters regarding the land with the hapu.

31. Unfortunately Ruatara passed away before this plan ever came to fruition, but it demonstrates the whaiwhakaaro of our rangatira to preserve our mana and develop ongoing relationships with the British.

32. It was with this vision for Te Puna in mind that our rangatira sought to sow our new allies into the hapu and whenua. In 1818 our tupuna allowed the CMS missionaries to build their homes at Te Puna – in hope that the town would be realised.

Church Mission Society

33. Our tupuna built up a relationship of trust and confidence with the CMS missionaries, particularly Samuel Marsden, from around the turn of the nineteenth century and welcomed their arrival. The missionaries played an important role in that they seemed to have direct connections to the seat of real power – the King.

34. In the course of their travels many of our tupuna had met and stayed with Reverend Samuel Marsden of CMS. Under his care Ruatara had engaged in learning English and teaching Marsden Maori – and prior to leaving Parramatta, Ruatara asked Marsden to send a teacher for the kotiro and tamariki at Rangihoua.

35. In about mid 1814 a ship arrived at Rangihoua and was met by our tupuna Nganga, Te Uri o Kanae and Wharemokaikai. Onboard the ship was Messrs Thomas Kendall and William Hall bearing a letter for Ruatara signed by his 'friend' Marsden. It stated they had been sent by the CMS to teach them how to grow wheat and build houses.

36. Our tupuna were keen to cultivate wheat as a commercial venture and had been growing it for some two years in hope that they could export it to Australia to obtain further iron tools such as hoes, axes, and spades – so crucial to the advancement of our commercial gardening.

37. Hongi Hika, Korokoro and Ruatara all sailed back to Port Jackson onboard the *Active* on its return trip to Australia in an attempt to further solidify relations and invite Marsden to establish a permanent settlement at Hohi.

38. We know that by the time of their return journey to Rangihoua in December of that year; our rangatira had become depressed and greatly concerned about the effects of their invitation. Their exposure to the British attitude towards Australian Aborigines and in particular a conversations with a gentleman in Sydney, had prompted fears that Maori would be killed or made slaves.

39. Samuel Marsden discussed this with Ruatara and to allay his fears made explicit undertakings to ensure the ongoing protection of the chiefs. Further, his korero was that the mission was not motivated by greed and he had no interest in taking Maori land.

40. We trusted in these words spoken to Ruatara. We respected the advice and assurances of the missionaries. Ko matou i powhiri mai i a ratou ki to matou whenua. We allowed Marsden to give his sermon on our land.

41. Following Ruatara's death, the relationship with the CMS missionaries was managed by the likes of Hongi Hika, Waikato, Wharepoaka, Te Uri o Kanae and Rakau. Under their direction, the missionaries and their whanau set about building their homes on the steep lands at Hohi (sometimes incorrectly called Oihi or Oshi).

42. With the settlement in this remote location, the hapu of Rangihoua maintained mana over: the missionaries; their interactions; their food supplies; and how they lived. However, the position at Hohi also enabled the hapu to more easily protect the settlers from neighbouring tribes and war parties.

43. The depth of trust and respect between our people and the families which formed the Mission is demonstrated by a number of key events:

    a Permission being given for the fertile whenua at Te Puna to be used for religious purposes and the mission station to relocate there;

b Towai becoming Kendall's assistant teacher and translator at the mission school;

c Wharepoaka's decision to give over two of his daughters, as whangai for the King family to raise in the early 1830s and by our tikanga, binding us together.

44. Ngati Torehina saw the missionaries' status as both rangatira and tohunga as a blessing. The Church mediated and pervaded all relations with the Crown and played a crucial role in the development of our relationship with the British prior to Te Tiriti.

45. It was not until after Te Tiriti, when the real intentions of the British administration became apparent, that we realised that the CMS had been complicit in the dual task of civilizing and scoping our whenua for colonization.

Losing the Land

46. My understanding is that whoever was in charge of the CMS operation in England at that time, had instructed those in New Zealand *not* to purchase land. They were here as missionaries – to bring the word of Our Lord to the people.

47. Before Marsden returned to Sydney in early 1815, he approached Ruatara to ask if he could purchase the land on which the Mission houses were built. Ruatara told Marsden that the land across the Waitohora stream belonged to Te Uri o Kanae and his brother Wharemokaikai. When the brothers were approached by Marsden, they agreed to the arrangement out of aroha for their nephew, Ruatara.

48. This was the first 'sale' and had all the hallmarks of an Englishman selling his land to another person. Marsden produced a deed of conveyance drafted by the missionaries, and Te Uri o Kanae's face moko and Wharemokaikai's nose moko were copied onto the paper to validate the deed and demonstrate their agreement. Hone Heke

acted as a witness and this was noted by putting his thumb print down.

49. The 12 axes handed to Te Uri o Kanae, bound the parties together. They signified the obligation of our tupuna and hapu to provide the missionaries with protection; to sow them into the whenua; to weave them into Ngati Torehina ki Mataka - with all the privileges and responsibilities that entailed.

50. The area "sold" is a matter of debate - our korero is that permission was given for about 12 acres to be used by the Pakeha at Hohi, but the area of land was later calculated by Marsden to contain approximately 60 acres and subsequent Pakeha have reckoned it to be about 200 acres which were permanently alienated.

51. This was the first 'sale', if we can call it that, of land in Pewhairangi. We know that our people were struggling with Western notions of property ownership, and what a 'sale' entailed into the 20th century – so our tupuna surely didn't have a clue about what was happening to their whenua in 1815.

52. I puta mai te tangata I te whenua ko Papatuanuku tera ko te tupuna whaea. Ko ta matou hei tiaki te whenua tae noa ki te wa e hoki nei matou kia ia. E kore te tangata e hokona ki tana whaea. Ko ahau te whenua, ko te whenua ko ahau. Tangata Whenua!

To us land of mother earth is like our own mother. We are destined to be her care takers until we finally return to be laid to rest. No man would ever consider selling off their mother. I am the land, the land is me. People of the land! (Not 'land of the people'.)

53. Our tupuna's approach to whenua was so completely different to the British. Our manaaki – our hospitality to the missionaries was misconstrued and led to the gradual alienation of our land and the impoverishment of our people.

54. After the 'sale' at Hohi and before we understood the implications under English law, further 'sales' occurred both at Te Puna and on the whenua nearby, until the British had 'bought' virtually the whole peninsula, as follows:

a 1818 the Te Puna block;
b 1832 the Waikapu block;
c 1834 the Te Koutu block;
d 1835 the Matapuratahi block;
e 1836 the Tapuaiti block;
f 1838 the Poukoura and Hawai Blocks; and
g 1839 the Putanui block.

Petitioning the King

55. By the 1830s there were growing complaints from Maori in terms of the attitudes of British subjects who were living on our whenua in Pewhairangi.

56. After half a century of relationship building with early British representatives – traders, missionaries, and Governors – our tupuna decided to put their trust in the honour of the King.

57. In 1831, thirteen chiefs (which we can whakapapa to) - collectively exercised their rangatiratanga and wrote a letter directly to King William. Their petition outlined the perceived threats of invasion and land alienation, as well as the troubles created by settlers. The chiefs asked the Crown to be a friend to our islands and discipline British subjects where necessary.

58. The King recognised our request and in response sent James Busby, to be the British Resident in New Zealand. The letter of reply, which Busby read out at Waitangi upon his arrival, spoke of the good will, confidence and the alliance between the countries. Busby and the missionaries told our tupuna that the role of the British Resident was to discourage convicts from escaping and settling in

New Zealand; prevent crimes being committed against the tangata whenua; and, where appropriate, punish the perpetrators.

59. The contents of this letter which the King sent with Busby, acknowledged that the British Crown was responsible, even prior to Te Tiriti, for the actions of it subjects and missionaries and would 'endeavour' to prevent any harm. More importantly, for our Tupuna, it demonstrated the respect the Crown had for both Maori and the integrity of New Zealand as an internationally recognisable country.

He Whakaputanga

60. Co-operation amongst the hapu of Ngapuhi nui tonu was not a new concept. Since ancient times those of Tai tama tane and Tai tama wahine have been inextricably bound and interdependent – the tides are linked and all northern Maori lived by the kawa of Rahiri.

61. On 28 October 1835, our tupuna expressed their '*ko te kingitanga, ko te mana i te wenua*', through the signing of He Whakaputanga. The Confederation of the Tribes of New Zealand declared the authority and leadership of New Zealand to be theirs alone. It was not this act of creating Whakaminenga that gave the rangatira authority. That authority was inherent in them and comes from Ariki.

62. He Whakaputanga was a paper tool – like that used in America – to remind manuhiri that Maori rangatiratanga and kawa was paramount.

63. For our tupuna, Wharepoaka, He Whakaputanga was about three things:

a Firstly, affirming his tino rangatirtanga;

b Secondly, affirming the Mana Ariki of the Whakaminenga over the land of Nu Tirene and the willingness of hapu to act in a collective and unified way to protect this; and

c Thirdly, growing our international trade and selecting a *Maori* flag to ensure our trading ships were recognisable in

foreign ports, to prevent a repeat of the seizure of Patuone and Taonui's ship and cargo upon entering Sydney harbour.

64. The words used in He Whakaputanga recognised the mana of our rangatira and stated that no law making or governorship could take place in New Zealand without their consent.

Before Te Tiriti

65. Before 1840, before the signing of Te Tiriti, we exercised tino rangatiratanga. Our social, cultural, economic and spiritual governance was set out by the kawa and tikanga that our people had followed since ancient times.

66. The trading which occurred with the British and American ships of sealers and whalers was at our discretion; the missionaries, who lived and taught at Hohi and Te Puna, did so under our care and protection; and the King's officials came to New Zealand in response to our invitation.

67. We made decisions within our own cultural framework and as mana whenua we exercised authority over the natural resources in our rohe.

68. The values we lived by were central to the way in which we engaged with the Crown in addressing: the increasing lawlessness of the settlers; the desecration of our waahi tapu and women; the ignorance of our tikanga; and the wrongful alienation of our lands by way of the perplexing concept of 'sale'.

69. Our approach was based on concepts such as tika, hau, mana, whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, wairuatanga, tiaki, hohou rongo and manaaki.

The Agreement

70. Te Tiriti was not about an all powerful foreign Crown overriding the mana of Ngati Torehina. We were politically dominant, well

travelled, and commercially savvy at this time. We had the numbers – we determined the rules. Rather, it was about building a framework of understanding of who was rightfully responsible for whom to ensure that the essence and wairua of the relationship was upheld.

71. In February 1840 when the rangatira of Tai Tokerau hapu went to Waitangi and made an agreement with the Crown, it was a way of formally setting the boundaries of our relationship with the British that had begun more than forty years prior. We knew what had happened to the Australian Aborigines in New South Wales with the influx of settlers and we saw Te Tiriti as a way of protecting ourselves from suffering a similar fate.

72. Te Tiriti was intended to ensure:

a the continuation of the direct relationships begun by our tupuna, Te Pahi and Kawana Kingi, Hongi Hika and the King;

b that Te Ao Maori remained supreme;

c that the substance of the land was protected from foreigners;

d that the mana, prestige and godliness of the chiefs was preserved and He Whakaputanga honoured;

e that trade and commerce opportunities were maximised; and

f that the wayward Pakeha settlers were brought to account under the control of a Kawana of the Crown, as in Norfolk Island and Sydney.

73. The Crown affirmed our rangatiratanga over our people and promised us undisturbed possession of our whenua, kainga and taonga. And we gave the Crown powers of 'kawanatanga' to make laws for the manuhiri and manage the problems we were facing due to the 'riff-raff' who were coming here.

74. As was the British tradition, this compact was recorded in writing. With hindsight I think we were vulnerable at this point in the

process as this was not our customary way of recording an agreement – and these English words put on the paper, later became a web to trap us.

75. There is only one valid or relevant version of that agreement and that is the Maori text – Te Tiriti. The words, recorded in te reo Maori, explained by the missionaries, and understood by our Tupuna, were what we agreed to. We only put our waitohu on the document that correctly set out our whakaaro with the Crown.

76. In Te Ao Maori, people are not distinct from the land; our conception of being is holistic. Ngati Torehina cannot separate our identity; our mana; or our obligations as kaitiaki from our land. We are mana whenua. We will be here forever. We could not cede sovereignty - as we *could* not give up our mana i te whenua or rangatiratanga. We belonged to the whenua, not the other way around.

77. The intentions of our tupuna, in signing Te Tiriti, were quite the opposite of what the Crown, governments and councils have said. This has been the pain that we have and the grievance that we hold - Ngati Torehina did not cede sovereignty. We continue to honour our tupuna to this day. We have kept our word - our korero remains the same.

Our mamae

78. Our pains that we carry with us are divisible into two parts – before and after the signing of Te Tiriti.

79. If you look back at that time – prior to Te Tiriti – we were thriving. Our tupuna lived on our whenua and developed commerce with the settlers, missionaries and ships that came under the British Crown. The future of our hapu, the potential, it was there for us. We were a powerful people; an industrious people; an *international* people.

80. It would have been so different if Marsden had kept his word to our tupuna. It would have been so different if the Queen and her governor had respected our kawa, - if the Crown had stuck to its commitment in Te Tiriti.

81. We trusted the commitments made by the British, for in the Maori world rangatira did not lie. But this rangatira, this Queen, and those under her Crown - their commitment to Te Tiriti did not last long. If only the Crown had been trustworthy, honest, and respectful, these pāmamae would not exist.

82. We believe there was some joint vision at the signing of Te Tiriti – that Pakeha could come to stay in this land, that The Queen would give Maori a governor to manage the settlers coming to Nu Tirene, that Maori retained their rangatiratanga; however, the succession of laws imposed thereafter revealed to us the Crown's deceit.

83. The Crown has done everything *except* that which was agreed. It has decimated our people. It is the putake of our pain, our loss, the pāmamae. The King had promised to respect and look after us; instead laws have been forced upon us and insidiously put in place supposedly justified under the "Treaty", the net effect of which violated everything Maori.

84. From this "Treaty" we lost our whenua. We lost the resources we had freely used since ancient times. We lost the red stone, the flint, the flax, the ōi, the poaka, the hapuka, the kaimoana, the oneone. We lost our forests, our mahinga kai. We lost the economic and social basis of our hapu. All that remains is the small area at Wharengaere and many of our people had to move away.

85. We have gone from a community of successful business people, trading people, fishing people recognising our own rangatiratanga – to a people who can no longer survive on this land.

86. We feel insignificant to the Crown; to these foreigners we cared for and foolishly trusted. They demand rates on our land, draw paper roads on it, tell us where our foreshore begins and ends, tell us when and where we may fish, how we may use our whenua, they control the laws which created the land titles that prevent us from freely accessing our maunga and allow our neighbours to desecrate our waahi tapu. We have no say and no control over things so sacred. This is not what our tupuna agreed to.

Conclusion

87. I remind you. I am of Ngati Torehina ki Matakā. Our rohe is the gateway to Pewhairangi. We have, and since ancient times have had, rangatiratanga of our moana and whenua and the abundance of resources they hold.

88. Our tupuna, our hapu, our whenua - we were the beginning of the relationship. Our rangatira, Te Pahi, Ruatara, Waikato, Hongi Hika, Wharemokaikai, Wharepoaka and Te Uri o Kanae were well thought of by Pakeha as reputable diplomats, leaders and traders.

89. We remind you the Crown is here on our terms. It was with the manaaki of our tupuna that the Pakeha were able to supply their ships and build their homes. We have shown honesty toward the Crown from the beginning. We have kept up our part of the bargain and our side of the relationship.

90. Our tupuna put his waitohu on He Whakaputanga and Ngati Torehina maintained our tino rangatiratanga. The tupuna of Ngapuhi put their waitohu on Te Tiriti and again we maintained our tino rangatiratanga.

91. The Kawana was for the foreigners that were coming to Nu Tirene, not for Ngati Torehina ki Matakā. We did not give our mana to the Crown. Te Tiriti did not override the Whakaminenga formalised by He Whakaputanga.

92. Let it be recorded for our uri and our mokopuna that we did not cede rangatiratanga. We have held fast to our mana and our whakapapa.

93. Te Ariki tino pai
Ata whakarongo mai
Tenei au ka ngakau koa
Mo to mahi atawhai.

Hugh Te Kiri Rihari