

# COMPILATION OF 5 MINUTE PRE-TREATY STORIES

## Contents

Abel Tasman.....	2
Cook Arrival.....	3
Cook Contact Attempt 1 .....	4
Cook Contact Attempt 2 .....	5
Cook Contact Attempt 3 .....	6
Surville and Ranginui.....	7
Marion de Fresne .....	8
First Sealing Gang.....	9
Huru and Tuki.....	10
Beginning of the Timber Trade .....	11
Te Pahi and Governor King .....	12
Te Pahi and Marsden .....	13
Seal Rush .....	14
Bruce and Atahoe .....	15
Moehanga .....	16
Te Wakaminenga/Confederation of Chiefs .....	17
Ruatara and Marsden .....	18
The Boyd .....	19
James Caddell.....	20
Ruatara’s Wheat .....	21
Jacky Guard .....	22
The Elizabeth Incident.....	23
A Lawless Land .....	24
British Resident – James Busby.....	25
Finding Common Ground.....	26
Day of the Flags.....	27
Troops in Taranaki.....	28
Declaration of Independence .....	29
SOURCES .....	30

## Abel Tasman

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The first encounter between European and Maori occurred in 1642 in Mohua (Golden Bay), Nelson. Dutch explorer Abel Tasman had been at sea for 121 days with his crew of 110 sailors aboard two ships. Instructed to find trading opportunities on behalf of the Dutch East India Company, their journey of discovery had brought them from Indonesia to Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island) of New Zealand.

At that time, The Netherlands was prospering and the Dutch East India Company was a powerful trading force in the Pacific. Trade was predominantly in gold, silver and spices such as nutmeg, cloves and pepper. With 150 ships and more than 15,000 men, they had the power to make treaties or war and regularly partook in both.

It was dusk on 18 December 1642. The two ships had rounded Onetahua (Farewell Spit) and anchored about two kilometres offshore, from where they observed the glow and smoke from many fires on the land. Tangata whenua in the Mohua area at that time were Ngati Tumatakokiri. Two double-hulled canoe-loads of Maori ventured out to inspect the ships. The Dutchmen were under strict instructions to treat any peoples with whom they came into contact with friendship and kindness. They were not to injure them or their property in any way as the expedition was to simply gather information regarding possible future trading opportunities. After a verbal exchange, which was not understood by either party, Maori took the offensive and sounded their pukaea (long wooden trumpet) heralding a challenge to fight. In ignorance of Maori custom and lack of knowledge of the local political climate, the sailors trumpeted back a response. Thinking they were being friendly, they had actually given their acceptance to fight.

The following morning, a canoe carrying thirteen Maori approached within a few meters of the ships and then paddled back to shore. A short time later, seven canoes returned and a cockboat carrying seven sailors was rammed. Three Dutchmen were killed by Maori armed with short hand-clubs. Having no mandate to engage in warfare, Tasman immediately ordered the ships to depart. By the time the crew had raised the anchor and set sail, eleven canoes were pursuing them. Guns were fired to ward off the Maori and at least one man was shot.

Tasman spent several more days charting the coastline of New Zealand before heading further north into the Pacific. Because of his recordings, maps produced from 1645 now included Nova Zeelandia or Nieuw Zeeland. It would be another 126 years before Maori and European would encounter each other again.

## Cook Arrival

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Captain James Cook of the Royal Navy was the first European explorer to venture into the waters of Aotearoa and actually set foot on land. From a humble farming background, Cook had joined the Merchant Navy at the age of 18 and worked his way up to being a captain for the Royal Navy and was known for his surveying and mapping skills. In 1768 the Royal Society (an organisation that existed to promote science and discovery) convinced the Royal Navy to send an expedition into the Pacific. Cook was chosen as commander.

Cook's first mission was to sail to Tahiti to observe and study the Transit of Venus; a rare event when Venus passes directly between the sun and Earth. The Royal Society saw to it that Cook was equipped with the latest navigational tools and equipment from a telescope to animal traps as well as an extensive library of navigational journals and natural history books. Accompanying Cook was botanist Joseph Banks, artist John Buchan, naturalist Daniel Solander, astronomer Charles Green and a crew of 85. While in French Polynesia, a Tahitian high priest named Tupaia also joined them and he was an enormous help to the Englishmen by educating them on the practices, customs and languages of the indigenous people of the South Pacific.

Upon completion of the first mission in Tahiti, Cook set about his next assignment; to discover more about the unknown southern continent known then as Terra Australis Incognita. He was required to record descriptions of and take samples of the soil, animals, birds, fish, mineral resources, and flora while finding out what the native people were like. Using notes and charts from the journeys of previous expeditions the hopeful adventurers sailed on, expectant of great discoveries. In October 1769, they arrived at the East Coast of the North Island sailed into Turanganui-a-Rua (Poverty Bay) and laid anchor at the mouth of the Turanganui River. Wanting to explore the land and needing supplies of fresh food and water, a party of men in two small boats rowed ashore, making the first landfall of a European in New Zealand.

The following year a Whitianga man, Horeta Te Taniwha, met Cook in Mercury Bay. He described the Europeans as 'goblins with eyes in the back of their heads' when he saw them rowing boats with their backs to the land. This small difference between a canoe and a rowboat illustrated the contrast in behaviours and culture of the two peoples. Nevertheless, both parties were curious to explore the mystery between the two and a relationship was about to begin.

## Cook Contact Attempt 1

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Captain James Cook and his small party of men were the first Europeans to set foot on New Zealand soil. Their arrival in Poverty Bay in October 1769 had been observed by tangata whenua of the area. At that time they were Rongowhakaata, Ngai Tamanuhiri, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. Having never seen any peoples other than themselves, at first they thought these outsiders may have been atua (supernatural beings) or tupuna (ancestors) who were coming to visit them. These white-skinned people were obviously not their kin. Never before had they seen such a sailing ship and some thought it was an island while others thought it was a great bird. For the first time, there they both were; Maori and European on the same land.

The local people had hidden themselves. Cook and a small party set out to investigate the surroundings and hopefully speak to some of the local people, leaving four men behind to look after the boats at the mouth of the Waikanae River. Approximately 250m from the shore they came upon a vacant kainga (village) which belonged to Te Whanau-a-iwi (hapu of Te-Aitanga-a-Mahaki). The maramataka Maori (the seasonal calendar) was the guide for times to fish, go eeling, hunt, and plant and people would move around to and from inland areas and coastal areas depending on the seasonal food supply, leaving a kāinga empty for a time. As a gesture of respect, Cook left some nails and beads and continued further up the river. Their exploration was suddenly interrupted with the sound of gun shots.

Back at the shore and on the opposite side of the river, a group of four Ngati Rakai (hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti) warriors armed with their traditional weapons approached the boatmen who hastily leaped into the boats and rowed for safety. As they fled, they fired two musket shots over the heads of the Maori to frighten them off. After the first shot the Maori stopped and looked around, not understanding what the noise was but they ignored the second shot completely and continued their pursuit. As one of the warriors, Te Maro, was about to throw his spear at the fleeing boatmen, a third shot was fired. This time the shot was deadly. Te Maro was killed. Before returning to the safety of their ship, Cook and his party returned to the river bank and lay some beads and nails on the dead body as a way of communicating some kind of peace. Diplomatic relations were not off to a good start.

## Cook Contact Attempt 2

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Captain James Cook and his small party of men were the first Europeans to set foot on New Zealand soil. Their first attempt at contact with Tangata Whenua had resulted in the death of a Maori warrior. On his second attempt, Cook took Tupaia (a Tahitian priest who was travelling with the expedition) with him as an interpreter. They stepped onto the bank of the Turanganui River. Ngai Tawhiri and Whanau-a-Iwi (hapu of Rongowhakaata) had assembled in lines on the opposite river bank and performed a haka which came to an abrupt end at the firing of a musket. Tupaia spoke to them in his language and fortunately was understood. He convinced one of the Rangatira to swim out to Te Toka-a-Taiau (a sacred rock located in the middle of the river) and Cook responded by doing the same. The two leaders formally met with a hongī and two of Cook's men swam out with gifts of iron and beads for the chief. Unfortunately this initially promising meeting did not end well.

When the Maori broke into a haka, Cook returned to his men on the eastern side of the river. He was followed by 20-30 Maori who repeated their haka and indicated they wanted to exchange weapons. Not wanting to trade their personal safety, the Europeans refused. The warriors were not going to give up and began to snatch at the weapons anyway. Finally Rongowhakaata chief Te Rakau was able to grab a sword which he victoriously waved above his head. Shots were fired, Te Rakau was killed and in the skirmish that followed at least three more Maori were injured or killed. Because of the unfortunate actions of his men, Cook was making an enemy of the people he had wanted to befriend. After retreating to the ship but still needing to find water, the Englishmen sailed on to the south end of Turanganui-a-Rua (Poverty Bay). The establishment of peaceful diplomatic relations would have to wait for another day.

### Cook Contact Attempt 3

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Captain James Cook and his small party of men were the first Europeans to set foot on New Zealand soil at Turanganui-a-Rua in 1769. After two clashes with the locals that had ended in bloodshed, Cook decided on a new strategy to befriend the Maori. Noticing two canoe-loads of Maori fishermen nearby, he came up with a plan to capture some of the party, bring them on board his ship and then win their trust by treating them well. Using the smaller boats, his crew managed to cut one of the canoes off. With Tupaia (a Tahitian priest who was travelling with the expedition) acting as translator, the startled Maori resisted attempts to convince them to come alongside. As they had done before, Cook's men resorted to firing their muskets to get their way. Two of the seven Maori were killed, two were injured and the remaining three were captured and brought aboard the ship.

The fishermen were Te Haurangi, Hikurangi and Maru Kaiti of Ngati Kaipoho (hapu of Rongowhakaata). Unsurprisingly after an aggressive abduction, the three captives were fearful of what would happen next however they were soon put at ease. Wanting to show their friendly intentions, the hosts fed their guests with salted pork, bread and biscuits along with water and wine. Before long, the lines of communication began to open. Through Tupaia, Cook was able to learn something of the country he now found himself in. As well as speaking of their people and their land, the guests danced, sang and spent the night on board the ship.

The next morning Cook's party and the three fishermen returned to shore at the Turanganui River. Maori assembled on the opposite side of the river. Tupaia was called upon as mediator and eventually an elderly Ngati Kaipoho man swam across the river and in a gesture of goodwill gave Tupaia a green twig. Tupaia reciprocated with a gift of nails, beads and ribbons. Peaceful progress had been made. Cook's party returned to their ship and set sail the next morning. Upset because of the loss of life and disappointed with the limited knowledge gleaned from the brief visit, Cook named the place Poverty Bay, even though the place already had a name.

Despite the bloodshed of their initial encounters, Cook genuinely wanted to befriend the Maori people and believed that no European nation had the right to occupy any part of their land without their voluntary consent. He regarded the Maori as brave, noble, open and generous although unwilling to tolerate an insult. Trading between the two peoples had been quickly established and a journey of discovery was just beginning.

## Surville and Ranginui

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In the 1770's, the English were not the only people who were exploring the South Pacific in search of undiscovered lands, natural resources and trading opportunities. The French and the Spanish were also exploring these uncharted territories. Science and trade were driving factors for these voyages. Science wanted to discover everything physical about the world to put reason as the source of reality. Wealth and power was the motive for trade and potential colonisation. These motivations were in contrast to Maori philosophies that described the world by means of whakapapa (genealogy) and spirituality.

One French explorer was Captain Jean François Marie de Surville who was sailing around the South Pacific on his ship *St Jean Baptist*. Late in December 1769, he had been anchored off the coast of Doubtless Bay (in the Bay of Islands) for two weeks. A Catholic chaplain named Paul-Antoine Leonard de Villefeix held a service aboard *St Jean Baptist* on Christmas Day. This was the first Christian service to be held in New Zealand waters.

The Bay of Islands was heavily populated; an estimated 8,000 Maori from various hapu lived in the area. Surville and local Maori were enjoying friendly relations. Maori allowed the visitors to cut trees, to access fresh water and supplied them with fresh food and clothes. Several of the crew who were sick with scurvy went ashore and were cared for by the local people. Surville had shown respect for his hosts and had even given his sword to a chief along with other gifts. Sadly these friendly interactions were to end in kidnapping and fire.

A terrible gale had blown up and one of the ship's small boats had been washed ashore. The anchors were lost and the loose vessel was claimed by local Maori, as was the custom when items were found on the shore. When Surville discovered the Maori had taken his boat he retaliated in anger by burning houses, canoes and nets. He also kidnapped a Te Patupo chief named Ranginui before sailing eastward into the Pacific toward South America. Justifiably, this offended the Maori people and would affect their trust toward other foreigners.

Although well treated, Ranginui died from scurvy in March 1770. Surville drowned off the coast of Peru only two weeks later. His detailed accounts of life in New Zealand, along with those of his crew, helped later European explorers who ventured to New Zealand shores learn more about the Maori people. Unfortunately his own lack of understanding of local kawa had led to an unnecessary retaliation and destruction.

## Marion de Fresne

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One early European explorer to navigate his way to New Zealand was the Breton-born Frenchman, Marion du Fresne. With a background in the Royal and Merchant Navies, Marion was a skilled and brave sailor. His trading and exploration expedition into the South Pacific had begun in Isle de France (modern day Mauritius) and was funded by the French government. After six months at sea, repairs were needed for his two ships and his crew began searching the New Zealand coastline for a good place to anchor and find fresh water. They set anchor in the Bay of Islands in May 1772. Encounters with the local Maori were friendly, perhaps due to the familiarity that was beginning to grow between the two peoples. A handful of Maori had climbed aboard one of the ships and had been sleeping in makeshift beds in the main cabin. Some of Marion's men were suffering from scurvy which developed after spending long periods at sea and is caused by a diet lacking in Vitamin C. It can result in over-tiredness, spots on the skin, spongy and bleeding gums, loss of teeth, jaundice, fever, nerve damage and even death. During the 18th century, scurvy killed more British sailors than enemy action! A camp was set up for these men on Moturua Island where they received fresh food and rest. While the repairs were being made to the ships and his crews were recovering, Marion took the time to explore the local region. He was particularly interested in discovering natural resources which could result in some kind of commerce. This enabled him to spend more time with the local people and because he knew some Tahitian vocabulary there was some limited communication. As a sign of friendship and hospitality, Maori ceremoniously presented Marion with a hei tiki and a crown of four white feathers. He was now an honorary chief! Unfortunately, due to a lack of understanding of the local ways, this friendship was not to last and not all of the hapu in the area were as welcoming toward the visitors. Tensions were rising. Unwittingly, Marion caused intolerable offence when he fished in a bay where the bodies of two drowned tribe members had washed up. The fish could have fed on the dead bodies and so the bay was tapu. This act was desecration to Maori and tikanga required that Marion and the men who were fishing with him be killed. In retaliation, the remaining Frenchmen fought and killed 250 Maori before quickly leaving New Zealand shores. What had started out as a hopeful association had ended with the shedding of blood. Concepts of mana (power/prestige), tapu (subject to sacred restriction) and utu (reciprocity) were not understood by the European visitors and a hopeful alliance was deferred until another time.

## First Sealing Gang

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New Zealand's natural resources were the bait that drew many adventurers down under. By the 1790's, word had got back to Europe about the bountiful supply of sea life in New Zealand and hundreds of sealers set their sights on this new harvest field. The kekeno (fur seal) and rapoka (sea lion) were hunted for their soft pelts which were fashioned into fur coats, boots and hats. The ihu koropuku (elephant seal) was sought-after for its clean-burning oil. The London-based East India Company was behind most sealing expeditions along with some American ventures. Sealing was hard, dangerous work. The sealers themselves were a wild breed of men who often regarded a life on the sea as one free from law and obligations and they were willing to endure the many hardships of such an existence. Many sealers were either convicts who had escaped or ex-convicts who had secured a place on a ship once they had paid their penance. The British had established three penal colonies in the vicinity of New Zealand; Port Jackson (Sydney), Norfolk Island and Hobart. Over time, tens of thousands of prisoners were transported south and consequently, convicts and ex-convicts became a significant part of the labour force. Killing and skinning seals was physically demanding. Using a wooden club, the sealer would stun the animal with a blow to the snout. A second blow crushing the skull or a stab under the flipper with a lance would finish the kill. Once the animal was dead, oil would be extracted from the blubber by boiling it and the pelts were preserved by either salting them in casks or pegging them out to dry.

The first sealing gang arrived in Dusky Sound, Fiordland in November 1792. A group of twelve men were put ashore with one year of provisions. Their instructions were to hunt as many seal skins as possible while also building a ship made of local timber in case their ship did not make it back to collect them - life on the southern seas was unpredictable. By the time their ship did return ten months later, the gang had experienced extremes of weather and earthquakes; they had harvested 4500 pelts and almost finished building a schooner. Although they did not have time to finish building the vessel, it was completed in 1795 by a later group. Named Providence, it is the first vessel to be built by non-Maori from New Zealand timber. The sealers only encountered the local iwi, Ngati Mamoe, once and tried to encourage a meeting by leaving gifts out, but the natives of Dusky Sound did not engage.

## Huru and Tuki

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One such episode in 1793, was the kidnapping of two Maori – warrior Huru-kotiki (Huru) and priest Tuki-tahua (Tuki) who were taken from the Bay of Islands to Norfolk Island in the hope that they could teach Governor Philip Gidley King the proper techniques to dress and treat harakeke (European linen flax).

At that time, Europeans sought harakeke for clothing, canvas and rope. To Maori it also has a deeper meaning and is often used as a metaphor for family bonds; there is a Maori saying, ‘Kua tupu te pa harakeke’ (the flax plantation is growing) which means that a family is being successfully raised. Essential to Maori daily life, harakeke was considered a most valuable resource. It was used predominantly for mats and baskets, the muka (when stripped down to its fibres) was used to make clothing, footwear, fishing nets, traps and ropes. After further processing, it could be made into cloaks as soft as cotton and dyes made from tree bark or leaves were used to colour these beautiful garments. The roots were crushed and used medicinally as a disinfectant, laxative and healing balm. Honey nectar from the flowers made a delicious sweet drink.

In April 1793 Lieutenant Hanson sailed in to the Bay of Islands on his ship Daedalus. Huru and Tuki had paddled out in their canoe to take a closer look at the ship. Hansen lured them on board by offering them iron tools and although hesitant at first their natural inquisitiveness got the better of them. Offered a meal, they went below deck and while they were distracted the ship set sail. Finding themselves trapped, Huru and Tuki became frantic and kicked out the windows of the cabin hoping to leap to their freedom but they were overpowered. The ship sailed on to Port Jackson, Sydney. From there they journeyed on another ship to Norfolk Island where Governor King was residing.

Unfortunately for King it turned out that Huru and Tuki knew very little about how to work with harakeke because flax work was carried out by the wahine (women) of the tribe. It would breach tapu for men to touch or even be near weaving when it was in progress! However in the seven months they spent on Norfolk Island they developed an amicable friendship with King and his wife Anna while being treated as honoured guests rather than captives. Tuki helped prepare maps and explained some of the geographical tribal boundaries within New Zealand. They learned some of each other’s language and customs. Their presence on the island changed the narrow impression many Europeans had of Maori as ferocious cannibals. Despite this Huru and Tuki desperately missed their home and longed to return to their beloved Aotearoa.

Convincing the British Admiralty of the potential possibilities of trade with New Zealand, King was given permission to make the four day journey to New Zealand. Finally Huru and Tuki could return home. They arrived at North Cape on 12 November 1793 and were greeted by six large waka. Tuki and Huru were instantly recognised and embraced. Over the next few days many Maori arrived to greet the returned sons and the visitors. Many gifts were exchanged. Even though the association had begun with a kidnapping the overall episode had been largely positive. A friendship between peoples had begun which would continue on into the future.

## Beginning of the Timber Trade

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Inter-nation warring in Europe was part of life just as was inter-tribal warring in Aotearoa. Since the kingdom of Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) was formed in 1707, the British army had been at war in Europe, America and parts of Indonesia. Constant war required constant demand for supplies. Timber was needed for the hulls and masts of warships, flax was needed to make the fabric needed for rigging, sails and uniforms and saltpetre was an essential ingredient in gunpowder. As supplies for these items became scarce, expeditions were sent to unexplored regions of the world to search for new sources.

One such expedition was that of the *Fancy*, under the command of Captain Edgar Dell. Commissioned by the East India Trading Company, Dell was sent to Aotearoa New Zealand to collect timber masts, planks and spars. Some members of the crew were Indian sailors known as lascars as well as Indian soldiers known as sepoy. In November 1794, *Fancy* sailed into Tokerau (Doubtless Bay) before continuing on to Hauraki Gulf where they hoped to find the timber they wanted.

Dell decided to explore up the Waihou River and many friendly locals welcomed them along the way and exchanged goods. After further exploration inland, Dell identified a magnificent Kahikatea forest at a place known as Hikutaia. Some of these mighty trees stood 40-50 meters tall and were 'branchless' far up the trunk which was important for strength. Felling began. In addition to the timber, flax was also collected from the locals and then dressed and rolled by crewmembers aboard ship to make rope for rigging.

More and more Maori from various villages in the area began to gather around the ship and soon several thousand were camped beside the river. While gifts were being exchanged and relations seemed peaceable, there was tension in the air. What Dell did not realize was the Kahikatea trees they were felling were treasured for their fruit and the birds that lived in them. Individual trees were named and claimed by particular hapu. After a wood axe and a piece of iron were stolen (probably as a response to the felling of the trees), shots were fired; two local men and one woman were killed. The merchant party departed shortly after.

Over the three months that the crew of *Fancy* had spent at Hauraki, they felled 213 trees as well as processing a significant amount of flax. The amount of timber was too much for the ship to carry and the surplus was left behind in the care of the locals to be collected at a later date. For the next 150 years, the international timber trade would be a significant industry in New Zealand.

## Te Pahi and Governor King

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In the early 1800's, an important chief in the Bay of Islands was Te Pahi. Being a descendant of both Ngati Awa and Nga Puhi he had significant mana over the land and people. He had several wives, four sons and three daughters who lived in Rangihoua Bay and Moturoa. His principle pa was on a small island called Te Puna. After hearing accounts of how advantageous trade was with Europeans and the hospitable treatment and protection being offered by Governor King he allowed his son Matara to visit Sydney in 1804. Matara returned home with many gifts including pig breeding stock. In 1805 Te Pahi travelled to Port Jackson himself. In addition to discussing trade, he wanted to deal with the issue of the mistreatment which many Maori faced in the hands of European sea captains. Maori were being recruited or kidnapped by visiting ships as crew but they were often treated very badly; an estimated 900 had even been abandoned in New South Wales.

As Governor, King faced many challenges in the hard conditions of an early convict colony. He was very keen to establish a strong relationship with Te Pahi because of the safety and anchorage the chief could provide for Europeans visiting New Zealand to trade. Many gifts were exchanged – iron tools, trees and pigs were among the gifts given to Te Pahi who in turn presented Governor King with many fine cloaks and a stone mere.

While staying at Government House, Te Pahi was eager to learn everything that could be useful to his people and he took particular interest in farming practices. What a sight it must have been. The six foot tall, full-face tattooed Te Pahi and the uniformed, white-haired Governor King talking and working together to create opportunities for their peoples! While they had many common visions for the future, there were cultural aspects of the two races that appalled the other. One example was in the execution of justice. Te Pahi learned of a man who was to be hanged for stealing some pork. He considered this a great injustice and pleaded for the release of the man into his charge so he could take him back to New Zealand where it was not a crime to steal food; food was held in common and belonged to everyone. In contrast, British law demanded that a person's property, including food, be protected to the extent that theft could be punished with death! Because of Te Pahi's desperate defence, the man was eventually pardoned. On the other hand, Europeans were perplexed at the consequences of those who breached mana or tapu and the seeming injustice of that. An insult could provoke death! However, despite vast differences in culture and custom Te Pahi and Governor King still sought to find a way to work together for the benefit of all.

## Te Pahi and Marsden

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In the early 1800's, an important Ngati Awa/Nga Puhi Rangatira from the Bay of Islands, Te Pahi, travelled to Sydney to meet with Governor King to discuss trade and the mistreatment some Maori were enduring from unruly sea captains. During his stay, Te Pahi also met Chaplain Samuel Marsden.

Marsden had been in Sydney since 1794 as chaplain and magistrate to the growing English colony. Furthermore, he had acquired nearly 3000 acres of land west of the settlement in Parramatta where he established a farm producing vegetables, fruit, wheat and corn along with horses, cattle, goats and pigs. He also experimented with various breeds of sheep to produce top quality wool which was shipped to England.

Because of the fellowship and religious discussions the two men enjoyed, they began to plan to build a mission station at Te Puna. Marsden regarded Maori people very highly; *"Their habits of industry are very strong; and their thirst of knowledge is great ... they appear like a superior race of people"*. The Parramatta holding was of great interest to Te Pahi and he arranged for other Maori to come there for further learning about European agriculture and farming. Marsden was eager to bring Te Pahi into the Christian faith.

Although the prospects of this first visit of a Maori chief to New South Wales seemed promising the plans that were made did not eventuate. Laws were passed by the Admiralty to address the issues with unruly sea captains; however they proved to be ineffective. Governor King was replaced by a new governor who did not proceed with plans to settle a group of Europeans at Te Puna. In 1810 Te Pahi was killed after a revenge attack by whalers who had wrongly blamed him for the massacre of the passengers and crew of an English ship. The mission station did get built with Te Puna's predecessor but it did not last. Despite vast differences in cultures and customs Te Pahi, Governor King and Marsden had sought to find a way to work together for the benefit of all.

## Seal Rush

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A great seal rush erupted from 1804 through to 1810 with hundreds of thousands of skins harvested from Murihiku (southern area of New Zealand) and the southern islands around New Zealand. The largest recorded cargo was that of an American vessel in 1806; a record-breaking 60,000 skins. The sealing industry was highly competitive and very secretive. Not wanting to divulge information regarding the location of rookeries, captains would closely guard details of their expeditions. These tough, unruly men would often treat their crews severely – a moment of rest could result in a severe whipping. The food was particularly poor and disease and sickness were often fatal. If presented with a more profitable opportunity, captains would heartlessly abandon crews they had agreed to return for and leave them to chance a rescue with another shipmaster. Along with the risk of drowning, sealers faced the hardships of living in desolate locations for months or even years on end, sometimes dying of starvation before being rescued.

In some areas trade between the sealers and the Maori prospered; potatoes, fish and other food were exchanged for tools and nails. In other areas, offence and misunderstanding would ultimately end in bloodshed. One incident occurred on Taukihepa (South Cape Island) which is on the south-west coast of Rakiura (Stewart Island). The sealers were killing titi (mutton birds) which offended the locals. Maori had protocols based on centuries of tradition around the harvesting of titi and they rebuked the sealers for what they were doing. In the confrontation that followed, one of the sealers cut Ngai Tahu Rangatira Te Kaou's koukou (topknot). To touch the head of a chief was a severe breach of tapu. The only way to avenge this insult and preserve the mana of the chief was to kill the foolish intruders. The spot later became known as Murderers Cove.

By the late 1820's sealing had all but come to an end. With so many gangs competing for supply, stocks were soon depleted. Unfortunately, sealers had no regard for conservation of the species and had slaughtered females and pups with no consideration for the future. Many sealers left New Zealand shores or turned their hand to trading or whaling. No longer a profitable enterprise, the sealing industry in New Zealand had run its course. With only an estimated 10% of the original seal population remaining, it would take decades for the species to recover.

## Bruce and Atahoe

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Pakeha Maori were the early European settlers in New Zealand who lived among the Maori. An Englishman, George Bruce, was welcomed into the hapu of Ngapuhi Rangatira, Te Pahi. The pair had met aboard a ship returning to the Bay of Islands from Sydney in 1806. Te Pahi had become ill and Bruce cared for him. Originally sent to Port Jackson as a convict at the age of ten (for crimes of petty theft) he decided to escape his life of hard labour to live at Te Puna.

Once Bruce had observed and accepted the way of his hosts he became a ranking warrior and underwent the process of ta moko (facial tattooing). Each line and pattern is not just for decoration but has particular meaning. A moko is the equivalent of an Englishman's signature. Te Pahi also gave his daughter, Atahoe, to Bruce to be his wife and she became known as Mary Bruce. Bruce was useful as a mediator between his new Maori whanau and the visiting European traders.

One such trader was Captain David Dalrymple who visited the Bay of Islands in 1807. Bruce assisted in arranging and completing a trade of spars (ship booms or masts) in exchange for iron axes. This involved a lot of work. First the spars were cut, then hauled down the river and finally loaded on to the ship. While this was going on, another whaling ship arrived and the captain held a warrant for the capture of Bruce. The fugitive hid aboard the ship under a bed while a woman passenger and her children sat on it as a full search of the vessel was made. He was not found. In gratitude Bruce told Dalrymple of a gold mine he had discovered further north (he may have made the whole story up to get away) and agreed to go there with him to investigate further. No gold was discovered and unfortunately for George, Atahoe and three other Maori, the impatient captain set sail for India without returning them to their home.

Sadly, the group never made it back to Aotearoa. They travelled from Malaysia, to Calcutta and then to Sydney, trying to get back home. Along the journey, Atahoe gave birth to their daughter but in 1810 she tragically died of dysentery while in Sydney. After burying his wife and afraid of being arrested for escaping from custody, Bruce chose to leave their daughter at an orphanage and returned to England. He died nine years later, regarded by many as a freak – no longer an Englishman but not Maori either. What became of the three other Maori? One was sold as a slave by Dalrymple in Malaysia and the others' fates remain a mystery.

## Moehanga

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The first book ever to be written about New Zealand was by English military surgeon John Savage. Entitled 'Some Account of New Zealand' the text was published in London in 1807. After arriving at the Bay of Islands September 1805, Savage began to write an account of life at Te Puna settlement. He wrote of the immense forests and abundant minerals, the varied and plentiful wildlife, sea life and precious stone such as pounamu (greenstone) and of the day to day life and beliefs of the local inhabitants. Greatly impressed by the tangata whenua, he described the men as strong, courageous and intelligent whilst the women were beautiful with sweet voices. He observed many practices relating to chieftainship, tradition, mana and tapu and described the people as passionate and affectionate.

After his short stay, many locals offered to accompany Savage back to England and a young Ngapuhi named Moehanga was chosen to make the voyage. As they journeyed across the oceans towards Britain, Savage was able to learn a great deal from Moehanga regarding the indigenous people of Aotearoa. While on the long journey, Moehanga was disappointed when he saw the land at Cape Horn covered in snow but marvelled at the fish and birdlife of St Helena. Seeing a man travel on horseback for the first time surprised Moehanga and he excitedly chased after the rider. He liked the company of his fellow sailors and enjoyed fishing from the deck. When the ship docked in London in April 1806, Moehanga became the first known Maori to ever visit England.

The contrast of this new land to his home at first overwhelmed Moehanga but he eagerly took in everything about this foreign ground he had now entered. The sailors taught him how to shake hands and say 'How do you do, my boy,' however his appearance intimidated many. Moehanga observed many strange and unusual sights in the streets and markets of London. Some intrigued him, some he found distasteful. The magnitude of people, food, iron and ships impressed him and his homeland now seemed very small. King George and Queen Charlotte were intrigued to hear of his presence and received him for a short visit. After staying for just a few weeks, Moehanga returned to Aotearoa with many gifts including carpentry and cooper's tools (a cooper is a tradesman who makes wooden barrels).

Although not intimidated by the land the Pakeha came from, there is no doubt that the contrast of the two worlds was immense. Nevertheless, both races were curious of each other and more and more relationships were forming between the peoples of these two very distant lands.

## **Te Wakaminenga/Confederation of Chiefs**

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Although the British may have seen Maori as one people, they were actually separate, autonomous hapu and iwi who shared the land within certain authorities and agreements. The tribal divisions within Aotearoa reached back for centuries. The two main factors that held various hapu together were whakapapa (genealogical ties) and relationships and connectedness known as karanga-maha. While hapu and iwi were each independent, their shared whakapapa and the fact that they were neighbours caused them to also be interdependent and so alliances were a normal part of life. Common purposes such as military defence and offence, food production, political marriage-making, trade and management of natural resources were things that brought them together. Some alliances would extend over long distances. The system of Maori law known as tikanga operated amongst the people.

When alliances existed, Rangatira would meet to make treaties, formulate new laws, set codes of behaviour and plan for the future. With the arrival of many newcomers to Aotearoa, local Maori were experiencing both opportunities and problems. There were explorers, sealers, whalers, escaped convicts, traders, merchants, missionaries and diplomats from various nations (mostly British, French and American) to contend with.

From about 1808, northern Rangatira began meeting in a formal gathering which became known as Te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tirenī (Te Wakaminenga). It was known in English as the Confederation of United Tribes (or Chiefs) or the General Assembly of Tribal Nations. They met to discuss strategies for dealing with the many challenges they were facing, both good and bad. International trade was progressing and many Ngapuhi were travelling abroad in order to expand relationships. The group also desired to strengthen their relationship with the British Crown. However, due to cultural differences between Maori and Pakeha, along with the unwillingness of many visitors to accept Maori lore and the absence of any other enforcement resulting in serious Pakeha lawlessness, hapu had many concerns. Maori followed principles of manaakitanga (hospitality) with newcomers and expected that the newcomers would respect the customary practices that operated amongst their people. Te Wakaminenga allowed the opportunity for northern Maori to come to debate, discuss and collectively make decisions to protect and strengthen their way of life.

## Ruatara and Marsden

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One prominent Maori Rangatira of the early 1800's was Ngapuhi chief, Ruatara. Just as his uncle, Te Pahi, had done, Ruatara also travelled to other lands. After observing Europeans arriving on the shores of Aotearoa, he was stirred to investigate what was beyond the horizon of his homeland. As a Rangatira, he longed to journey to England meet the king of the Europeans; King George III.

The only means of securing passage to England was to work as crew on a sealing or whaling ship. This led him to several expeditions; firstly to Sydney, then the Bounty Islands, back to Sydney and finally London in 1809, two years after he left New Zealand. He had mixed experiences on these ships; some captains had treated him well while others had cheated and abandoned him. Sadly, despite finally reaching England, the meeting he had so anticipated did not eventuate. Not only was Ruatara cheated of his wages, he was very sick and had endured heartless beatings. He was barely allowed to leave the ship, let alone visit the king. Transferred instead to convict ship, Ruatara now found himself bound for Sydney, defrauded, despondent and dying.

Fortuitously, also aboard was the Anglican minister, Samuel Marsden who had been rallying support for a mission station to be established in New Zealand. After finding Ruatara wrapped in an old coat and coughing up blood, he helped nurse him back to health and upon arrival in Sydney Ruatara spent nine months at Marsden's home in Sydney. As Te Pahi had done before him, he learned a great deal about European agricultural techniques, along with other skills such as carpentry. After discovering the benefits of growing wheat as an export crop, Ruatara developed a plan to cultivate wheat in New Zealand.

To return home would mean a final voyage aboard a whaler and a passage was secured. Unfortunately the dishonourable captain abandoned Ruatara in Norfolk Island with no provisions or means of getting home. Gifts he had received from Marsden were stolen. Once again Ruatara found himself cheated, deceived and a long way from home. Eventually, he was able to return to Sydney and once again found himself at the home of Samuel Marsden. Appalled at the treatment of the Rangatira, Marsden replenished what had been stolen from him and further arrangements were made for his passage home.

Five years had passed by the time Ruatara made it home. He had formed a lasting relationship with Samuel Marsden and the mutual respect the pair shared led to ongoing association. Ruatara asked Marsden to send someone to teach the tamariki of his hapu to read and write. Also at the invitation of Ruatara, Samuel Marsden (through the Church Missionary Society) did set up a mission station in the north under the chief's protection, with the first Anglican church service being Christmas Day, 1814.

## The Boyd

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In the early 1800's, beneficial trading between Maori and Pakeha was increasing by the day however disputes would sometimes end in bloodshed. One such incident in 1809 was that involving the crew of the *Boyd*, commanded by Captain John Thompson. The ship had sailed from Sydney to Whangaroa to pick up a shipment of kauri spars destined for England. Spars are long poles which are used for ship masts and booms and kauri was particularly sought after because of its strength.

At that time, many young Maori had become crewmembers of whaling, sealing and trading ships and one such adventurer was Ngati Uru man, Te Ara. Te Ara was working his passage home to Whangaroa after travelling for two years. Unfortunately an incident occurred on board which resulted in the young chieftain being flogged with a short, knotted whip called a cat o' nine tails. Differing accounts record his misdemeanour as either being blamed (falsely) for some spoons being thrown overboard, concealing an axe under his cloak or his refusal to work because of his mana as the son of a chief.

When Te Ara's hapu learned of what had happened they were outraged and decided on utu for such humiliation of the son of a chief. Thompson was ignorant to the offence; as master of the ship he was fully entitled to impose such punishment under British Common Law. Under Maori law to dishonour Te Ara in this way required a rebalancing of the scales. This was against the background of a previous incident involving another ship's visit. When the ship had visited Whangaroa an epidemic broke out which claimed lives. During the visit, the captain had shown off a chiming pocket-watch to Maori aboard his ship and accidentally dropped it into the harbour. Maori believed the watch was cursed and was the cause of the outbreak. Consequently they were wary of Europeans.

Putting their plan of utu into action, the warriors lured Thompson and some crew members into the forest under the guise of seeing some choice timber. Instead, they killed them. Then the warriors dressed in the clothes of the slain Englishmen and under the cover of darkness boarded the ship to kill the remaining crew. Some days later a party of warriors went aboard the *Boyd* to inspect the spoils and while they were examining the muskets and gunpowder a flint ignited an open barrel of gunpowder which exploded, causing a chain reaction resulting in the ship being set aflame. Eventually it burned to the waterline and sank. Several warriors were killed in the explosion.

## James Caddell

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Of the hundreds of sealers who came to New Zealand in the early 1800's, many considered running away and escaping to a new life among Maori a better option than continuing in the harsh existence of sealing. Those who were taken in by Maori became part of the whanau and lived as such. Some Maori liked to have their own Pakeha as a kind of mokai (slave or pet) and they became known to Europeans as 'Pakeha Maori'. Because of their ability to speak English they were useful negotiators with visiting traders. When a Pakeha Maori fought in battle it would increase his (they were of course all men at that time) mana and he would be allowed a moko (meaningful tattoo) on his face. A moko would say many things about a person – their whakapapa (genealogy), their tribal affiliations and their standing in the iwi.

One such Pakeha Maori was James Caddell. While working aboard the sealer *Sydney Cove* in 1810, the 16 year old decided it was time to escape to a life of freedom. His gang had been left on the south coast of Rakiura (Stewart Island). Along with five others, he stole a boat and some tools and headed across Foveaux Strait for the mainland. Unfortunately, the small party was attacked and all (except Caddell) killed. The only reason he was spared was that he inadvertently invoked tapu upon himself when he touched the kakahu (cloak) worn by Ngai Tahu chief Honekai. As he threw himself at the feet of the Rangatira, pleading for his life, he touched the cloak and unwittingly saved his life.

From that point on the young European became one of the tribe. Situated near Invercargill, Honekai's kainga (settlement) was known as Oue and was abundant in plant and animal life. Caddell took on his host's practices and beliefs and lived as if Aotearoa was his native country. He married Honekai's daughter, Tokitoki. As part of the hapu, he fought with them underwent full ta moko (facial tattooing) and increased his mana to reach a status approaching that of a chief. He acted as an interpreter and intermediary with visiting sealers and whalers and would sometimes pilot their vessels around the coastline of Murihiku. On two occasions, Caddell and Tokitoki travelled to Sydney where they were seen strolling through the streets wearing customary Maori garments. After returning to New Zealand, little is known of what became of the pair, whose roots are found at opposite ends of the earth.

## Ruatara's Wheat

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From their earliest interactions Maori had shown themselves to be keen entrepreneurs and strategists who were responsive to the opportunities that trade with Europeans offered. Ngapuhi chief Ruatara was the first to sow a crop of wheat in New Zealand.

Ruatara was an adventurer who had travelled to England and Australia and had spent time at Samuel Marsden's farm in Sydney. While there he learned a great deal about European agricultural techniques and after discovering the benefits of growing wheat for export, he developed a plan to cultivate this potentially profitable produce in his home land. Marsden gave him tools and a supply of seed to get started.

After several years overseas, upon his return to New Zealand at the end of 1812 Ruatara set about distributing the wheat to various Rangatira throughout Te Tai Tokerau (also known as Northland) for planting. He told stories of the food - such as bread and biscuits - that could be made with this superior grain. The crops flourished but, because the growers were unfamiliar with the plant, many pulled the stems prematurely and mocked Ruatara when no wheat was found in the roots as they had expected. (If they had waited, they would have seen the grain form on the top of the stems). Not to be deterred, Ruatara and his uncle, Hongi Hika, pressed on with their crops and it wasn't long before they managed a decent harvest. Now all that remained to prove the worth of the wheat crop to other Rangatira was to make bread.

Without some kind of mill it was impossible for Ruatara to grind the wheat into flour. His first attempt was by using a coffee grinder that he borrowed from a ship's captain, but this proved to be too small for the job. Finally, when missionary Thomas Kendall arrived in June 1814, he delivered the mill stones that Marsden had sent over for Ruatara. It wasn't long before he presented his relatives with a cake and a new industry was born.

Ruatara is remembered as an adventurer and entrepreneur, qualities that New Zealanders are still renowned for today.

## Jacky Guard

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One English entrepreneur of the time was John (Jacky) Guard. After receiving a seven year sentence to hard labour for stealing, Guard was transported to Sydney in 1815. Once he had his freedom he decided to embark on a life on the high seas and gained employment on a sealing gang. After several years he eventually purchased his own ship. When the sealing trade deteriorated in the 1820's Guard turned his attention to whaling, particularly shore whaling, and established bases in the Marlborough Sounds. Later his younger brother Charles joined him after also having been convicted of stealing and transported to Sydney.

Jacky first began shore whaling at Te Awaiti in the Tory Channel, Marlborough Sounds, in 1827. This was a prime position to take advantage of the plentiful supply of whales that migrated through Cook Strait and Cloudy Bay from May through to October. Over the summer months he would trade in flax, pigs and potatoes.

For Maori, whales had long been part of tribal histories; some tell of whales being guardians on the ancestors' canoe journeys to Aotearoa and some of interactions between people and whales. While it is not certain whether earlier Maori hunted whales, they regarded stranded whales as a source of meat and used whale teeth and bones for ornaments and utensils.

At first the local hapu repeatedly burned down Jacky's buildings however over time trade with them increased until they were very much involved in the whole enterprise. Many intermarried and had children and the community thrived. Later Jacky moved his base to Kakapo Bay in Port Underwood, considering it a more suitable harbour. Using tobacco, cloth, oxen, iron pots and blankets as currency, he purchased land from Te Rauparaha and began his operation from there. This station and whaleboats were manned mainly by Maori who were experts at the task and the shore-based whaling industry grew.

Because of inter-tribal feuding between Rangitane and Ngai Tahu there was always the danger that a war party would raid the settlement. Furthermore, his conduct and that of his men had also caused bad feeling with some other hapu and so utu was always a threat. Nothing was ever certain or predictable for Jacky Guard. While he retired from whaling in 1846, shore-based whaling in New Zealand was to continue for over 100 years.

## The Elizabeth Incident

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Although inter-tribal warring was occurring among Maori, an incident in 1830 marked the first time a European vessel would play an integral part. The British trading ship *Elizabeth* had arrived at Kapiti Island via Sydney under the command of Captain John Stewart. Local Ngati Toa chief Te Rauparaha promised Stewart a cargo of flax in exchange for the transportation of a taua (war party) to Akaroa where he planned to seek retribution for the blood of his uncle, Te Pehi, and to restore his own mana.

The feuding had first begun in 1828. Te Rauparaha was a powerful chief in lower Te Ika-a-Maui (the North Island). After being driven out of Kawhia in Waikato he had successfully fought and negotiated his way down the west coast of the North Island and set up headquarters on Kapiti Island. He had earned a reputation as a powerful, warring leader and became known in England as the Napoleon of the South. Knowledge of the abundant quantities of precious pounamu (greenstone) that existed in Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island) roused Te Rauparaha's desire to conquer the southern territory. Further provoked by an insult, he led a war party to the south. After sacking pa in the Kaikoura area he continued on and prepared to take on Tamaiharanui at the Ngai Tahu pa at Kaiapoi. Pretending to come to trade and to prove his peaceful intentions Te Rauparaha allowed his most distinguished chiefs to enter the pa, indicating to the hosts there was no hostility. However, fugitives from Kaikoura arrived reporting tales of the sacking of their pa and the true plan was uncovered. Six of the northern warrior chiefs, including Te Pehi, were killed and Te Rauparaha returned to Kapiti.

Two years later, he was back. With the exception of supplying muskets, up until this time Europeans had not been involved in inter-tribal fighting. *Elizabeth* sailed into Akaroa harbour with Te Rauparaha and his war party of 170 hidden below deck. His accomplice, Captain Stewart, welcomed Tamaiharanui and his wife and daughter Ngaroimata on board and invited them to his cabin in a show of hospitality. Just as they were seated Te Rauparaha and his chiefs burst through the door and took them captive. The pa was sacked and many were killed or taken as slaves back to Kapiti. Tamaiharanui, his wife and daughter did not survive.

Within Maori protocol the series of incidents and retribution were expected, however it was in such contrast to what seemed normal under the British law and custom. When news of what had occurred reached Sydney, Captain Stewart was arrested and charged with accessory to murder, however, due to a lack of acceptable witnesses (Maori not being allowed to give evidence) and a lack of surety as to the application of British law in New Zealand, the case was dismissed.

## A Lawless Land

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By the early 1830's, Kororareka (Russell in the Bay of Islands) became a hub for the wild and lawless. While Maori expected Europeans to accept their tikanga (customary practices), many did not and would even retaliate with further crimes. These visitors were acting outside both Maori and British law. Local Rangatira and resident missionaries were becoming increasingly distressed by the wretched behaviour of Pakeha who were taking over the place with destruction, drunkenness, rape, fighting and even kidnapping. Many Maori women were suffering from venereal disease which was rampant. Northern chiefs united as Te Wakaminenga (Confederation of Chiefs) and met to seek solutions to the problems that the recklessness of the Pakeha was causing, but without losing the prosperity that the trading was earning them. The missionaries were also doing whatever they could through the Governor of New South Wales, who in turn sent the complaints to London. The French and Americans were also making moves to secure land and influence in Aotearoa, but Maori preferred to build a formal diplomatic relationship with the British as they saw this as offering the most advantageous possibilities.

Finally in 1831, with the assistance of missionary William Yates, Te Wakaminenga wrote to King William IV asking for his help. The chiefs wanted to know if he would be an ally to them as guardians of the country; a relationship first foreshadowed between Hongi Hika and King George III in 1820. The letter outlined the great difficulties that the lawlessness of the Europeans was causing and asked for some law and order to be exercised over the ever-increasing number of Europeans who lived in or visited Aotearoa. Maori hoped and expected that the king would take responsibility for his British subjects, or else they would be forced to take action instead. Maori were also concerned with the French presence which was steadily increasing and they sought to strengthen their protection from this possible threat.

The letter was finalized and signed on 5 October 1831 at Kororipo Pa. Rangatira signed with their ta moko and ngu moko. Despite the difficulties, the friendship and goodwill between the peoples were growing and carried great hopes for the future.

## British Resident – James Busby

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In 1831, Te Wakaminenga (Confederation of Chiefs) had written to King William IV asking for his help in addressing many challenges Maori were facing as a result of the lawlessness of many Europeans who were living in New Zealand. In response to the letter, the king decided to send a representative in the capacity of 'British Resident' and James Busby was selected for the job. Although born in Scotland, Busby had emigrated to Australia with his family in 1824. While trained as a viticulturist, his interest and subsequent reporting on the political state of New Zealand had earned him a positive reputation with the Colonial Office. His role would be to represent British authority in New Zealand by protecting English traders and settlers, preventing offences against Maori, punishing lawbreakers and apprehending escaped convicts. He carried with him the king's letter of reply outlining the purpose of Busby's presence and his hopes that the settlers and Maori would continue to live in peace.

In May 1833, Busby arrived in the Bay of Islands. His wife was to join him there a year later. At a gathering at the Paihia mission station, it was explained to the local Rangatira that Busby had been sent to them as a 'kaiwhakarite', or intermediary between the two peoples. It seemed to Maori that finally the British were taking responsibility for their own subjects. Because he had no legal power, jurisdiction or troops he would have to work with Rangatira to develop ways of ensuring a peaceful existence for all. Busby was further instructed to assist Maori in developing a settled form of government and court system through which crimes might be tried and punished - which he envisaged being in the same format as the British.

It did not take long for Busby to realize he was facing an almost impossible task. On the one hand he was charged with the role of protecting but on the other hand he was given no means to enforce this protection. As a civilian, he had no more power than anyone else and with no police or soldiers to help him he soon found himself powerless against the escalating problems. All he could really do was act as a mediator in disputes, a task at which he had limited success. Making his life even more difficult was that he barely got paid. His uniform and title were useless and he was a joke to those he had come to rein in.

## Finding Common Ground

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In response to Te Wakaminenga's (Confederation of Chiefs) request for help in dealing with the lawless Europeans living in Aotearoa in the early 1830's, King William IV appointed a British Resident, James Busby. His role was to represent British authority in New Zealand by protecting English traders and settlers, preventing offences against Maori, punishing lawbreakers and apprehending escaped convicts. Busby was further instructed to assist Maori in developing a settled form of government and court system through which crimes might be tried and punished - which he envisaged being in the same format as the British. At that time, the British regarded their systems of law and government as being superior to all others.

Rangatira regularly met with Busby to discuss issues relating to their international identity and trade, and for dealing with problems resulting from Pakeha lawlessness. Busby endeavoured to establish some form of settled governance, believing that if Maori would come together regularly and formally at a national level it would put an end to the inter-tribal warfare and provide stability. His strategy was to try to work through the chiefs just as you would work through the highest levels of society in England. However this was always to be a challenge for him as it was not the way the hapu and Rangatira operated. The Rangatira was considered to be the embodiment of the mana of the hapu and therefore whatever he or she did affected the whole group. Because of this, as a leader the Rangatira would usually make decisions in consensus with his or her people. In addition to this, while a Rangatira would have great influence over his or her own hapu, this may not extend necessarily to the whole iwi. To get the support of the entire iwi required a process of discussion and compromise with all of the people – a process that Busby was not familiar with in his English upbringing.

Over the next few years Busby pressed on to establish a home for his family in Waitangi. Because of the cultural differences he found his relationship with local Maori was unpredictable. Often, unaware that he had breached tikanga, he found himself subject to muru (ritual compensation) which could have resulted in a raid or loss of possessions. Another concept that was vastly different between the cultures was that of the 'ownership' of land. Europeans viewed ownership as being on an individual basis and implied that owners could do whatever they liked with the land. For Maori, land was held collectively and at their discretion they could allocate land to be used by others (a practice known as tuku whenua) with conditions attached.

Despite these significant differences and regular mistakes, disputes and misunderstandings, Maori continued to respond to the needs of newcomers as they were able.

## Day of the Flags

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By the late 1820's Maori had established very successful export trade with Australia. In 1830 the Ngapuhi owned trading ship, Sir George Murray, with chiefs and part-owners Patuone and Taonui on board, was confiscated at Port Jackson, Sydney for not flying an identifying flag. The problem was that international law required that all ships fly the flag of their country of origin. Because the ship had been built in Hokianga, the British flag could not be used as New Zealand was not a colony and New Zealand did not have a flag of its own. As far as the Admiralty was concerned, it was entitled to confiscate any ships (and their cargoes) that did not fly a recognised flag. The northern Rangatira, assisted by missionary Henry Williams and British Resident James Busby, began working with officials to select an appropriate flag. Eventually three designs were sent to Sydney where they were sewn up and returned. On 20 March 1834, 25 chiefs met at Waitangi to choose which one would fly on their ships. This day became known as the 'Day of the Flags' and the event was attended by a huge crowd including the chiefs and their hapu, missionaries, settlers, traders and some visiting British and American sea captains of various ships that were in the harbour at the time. The three flags were displayed on short poles and voted upon. The vote came out at 12-10-3 with the winning design being a white background with a red St George's cross and in the upper left corner a blue field with a red cross and four white stars. The winner was hoisted along with the British flag and honoured with a haka, 21-gun salute and cheering crowd.

From that day, all New Zealand built ships would fly the flag and carry a certificate of registration to the Independent Tribes of New Zealand. King William IV agreed to the flag, and a drawing of it was circulated through Admiralty with instructions that it be recognised as New Zealand's flag. This was recognition that Aotearoa was a trading nation and its ships now had the freedom to travel the oceans and waters of other nations under protection of the Admiralty through British royal proclamation. The new flag unified many Maori hapu as they agreed to share one flag for their international trading enterprises. It recognised Maori mana alongside that of the other nations of the world and further established international identity. This flag, known as the 'Flag of the Independent Chiefs of New Zealand' still flies at Waitangi.

## Troops in Taranaki

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Jacky Guard is predominantly remembered for his endeavours as a shore-based whaler, however this hardened pioneer was also the first European to secure the backing of British troops in New Zealand during a wrangle with Ngati Ruanui.

In 1834, while journeying from Sydney to Wellington, his ship was wrecked in a howling gale at Cape Egmont on the western coast of the North Island. All on board, including Jacky's wife Betty and two children, managed to safely land on shore at Moturoa. The castaways salvaged as many provisions as they could, constructed makeshift tents from a few sails, and waited for some kind of rescue.

These events were being carefully watched by the local hapu Ngati Ruanui who eventually raided the shipwrecked party. Two of the Europeans were killed, six escaped (including Jacky) and the others (including Betty and her two children) were taken prisoner. Miraculously, Betty survived being struck with a small axe because of a large tortoiseshell comb she wore in her hair. During Maori inter-tribal warfare, it was common practice for prisoners to be taken with the intention of later exchanging them for some kind of benefit, such as a prisoner swap; unlike kidnapping for ransom which was a completely European concept. Because the ship had been wrecked on their land and there were likely previous offences, Ngati Ruanui were just behaving as they considered fully entitled to do.

Realising the only way to rescue his wife was to secure a ransom of goods or money, Jacky made his way to Port Nicholson (now Wellington) to seek help. After procuring some items for ransom, he arranged for a ship to drop him at Moturoa on its way to Sydney. Unfortunately the ship was not able to approach Moturoa due to the wind so the entire party was forced to travel to Sydney. By now six weeks had passed by. Captain Jacky began to doubt that a ransom would be enough to rescue his family so he gathered support for British troops to be used. The engagement of military forces being deployed against Maori was unprecedented. Authorised by the Colonial Office, two ships and approximately 70 troops were eventually dispatched.

Upon arrival in Taranaki, the 'rescue' mission began. After expecting a peaceful handover, Ngati Ruanui however found themselves under full-on assault. Eventually three pas were destroyed with much bloodshed. The meagre muskets of the Maori were no match for the heavy artillery blasting them. Betty and the children were rescued but at a great cost.

This was the first clash between Maori and British troops and many people were appalled by the excessive use of force against the local people. It became a subject of an Inquiry by the English House of Commons (parliament) and the unnecessary violence was absolutely condemned.

## Declaration of Independence

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By 1835, Te Wakaminenga (Confederation of Chiefs) had been meeting for at least 27 years. A year earlier they had chosen a flag to protect Maori trading ships in international waters. Considering themselves equal in status to the King or Queen of England, the group now sought to declare their sovereignty as a nation by means of an international proclamation. British Resident James Busby also supported such a declaration but with a slightly different motivation; he saw it as a step toward Maori moving in the direction of a more centralised form of government, which he considered superior to their current tribal system. However, this was not the intention of hapu who were each autonomous and only operated collectively in matters of common interest, such as international relations, and they intended to continue as such.

The Rangatira met for two days of discussion in October 1835. The group worked together on the text, assisted by James Busby; talking, debating, drafting and redrafting until everyone was satisfied with the content. The document asserted the independence of New Zealand, the exclusive power and authority of the Rangatira and the hapu they represented, and it requested King William IV's protection from attempts against this independence. In return, the confederation agreed to provide protection for British interests and its citizens. It further stated that the Te Wakaminenga intended to continue to meet each autumn at Waitangi.

He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene (the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand) was signed by 35 Rangatira from the Northland area, mostly representative of Ngapuhi hapu, all members of Te Wakaminenga. The handwritten document was witnessed by missionaries Henry Williams and George Clarke along with American merchants James Clendon and Gilbert Mair. The missionaries translated it into English. The Declaration was duly sent to England for the king's agreement. In 1836, Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, responded to the Declaration in the king's name, reassuring the Rangatira of the his goodwill, support, protection and friendship and recognising New Zealand as an independent state governed by Maori.

Over time, other Rangatira also signed the Declaration and by 1839 52 chiefs had put their names to it. It is noted the United Tribes of New Zealand did not include all Maori of New Zealand, some believing it would reduce their mana and authority.

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