

chell Research, Nelson

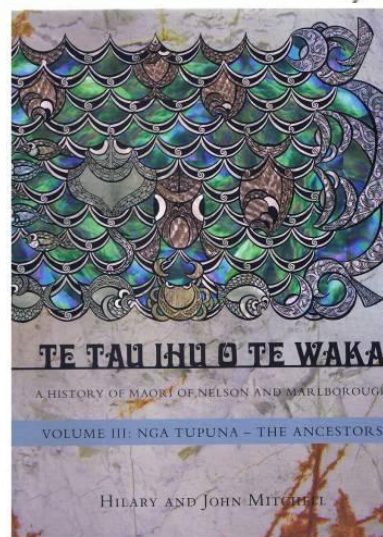
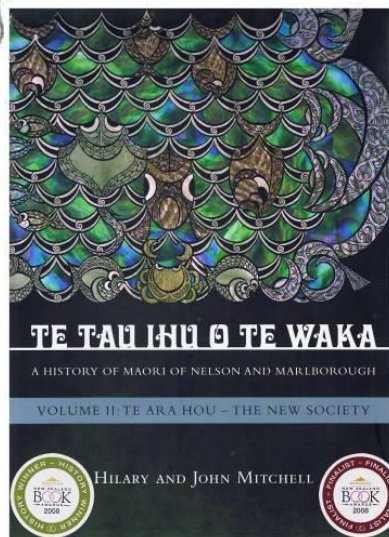
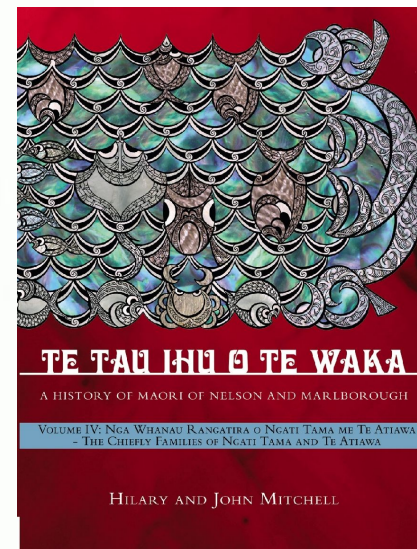
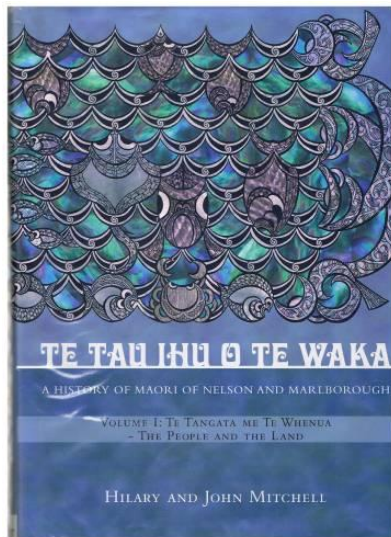
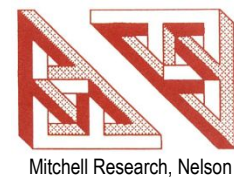


Presentation, Suter Gallery
Nelson, 11 March 2018



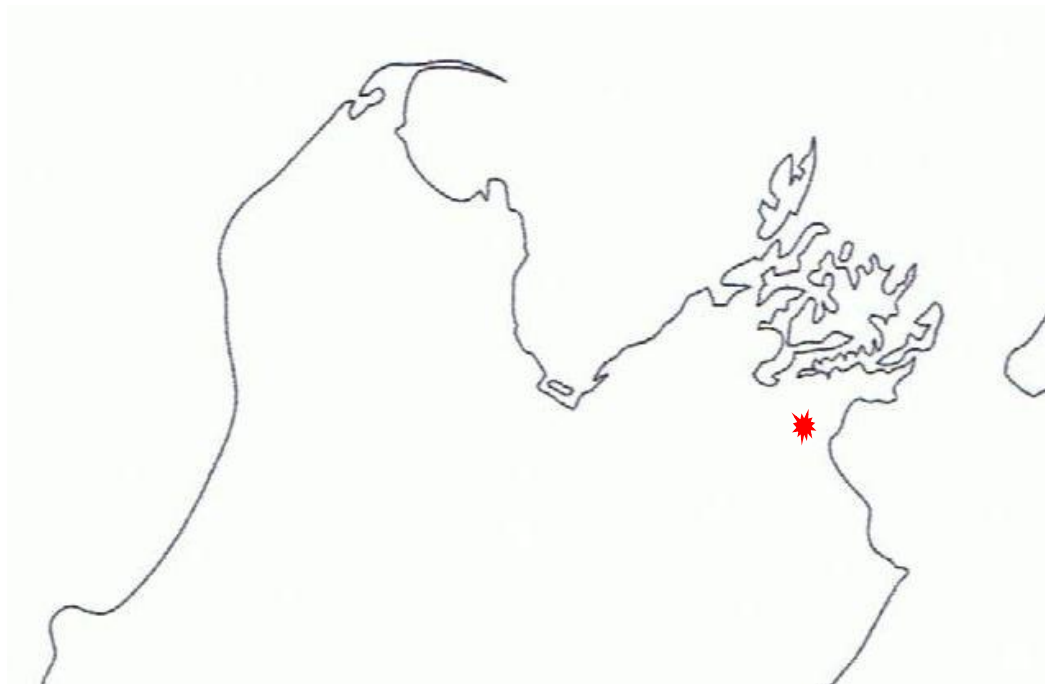
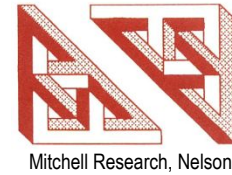
Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka

The Prow of the Canoe





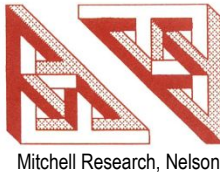
The Wairau 1843:



**New Zealand's First
Post-Treaty Armed Conflict**



Tribes c.1830 - Present Day (Nga Tangata Whenua ki Te Tau Ihu)



Mitchell Research, Nelson

□ ***Kurahaupo:***

- ❖ **Ngati Kuia** (direct from Hawaiki, 1250-1350 AD)
- ❖ **Rangitane** (from Wairarapa in 1500s)
- ❖ **Ngati Apa** (from Rangitikei, Manawatu etc, late 1700s)

□ ***Tainui:***

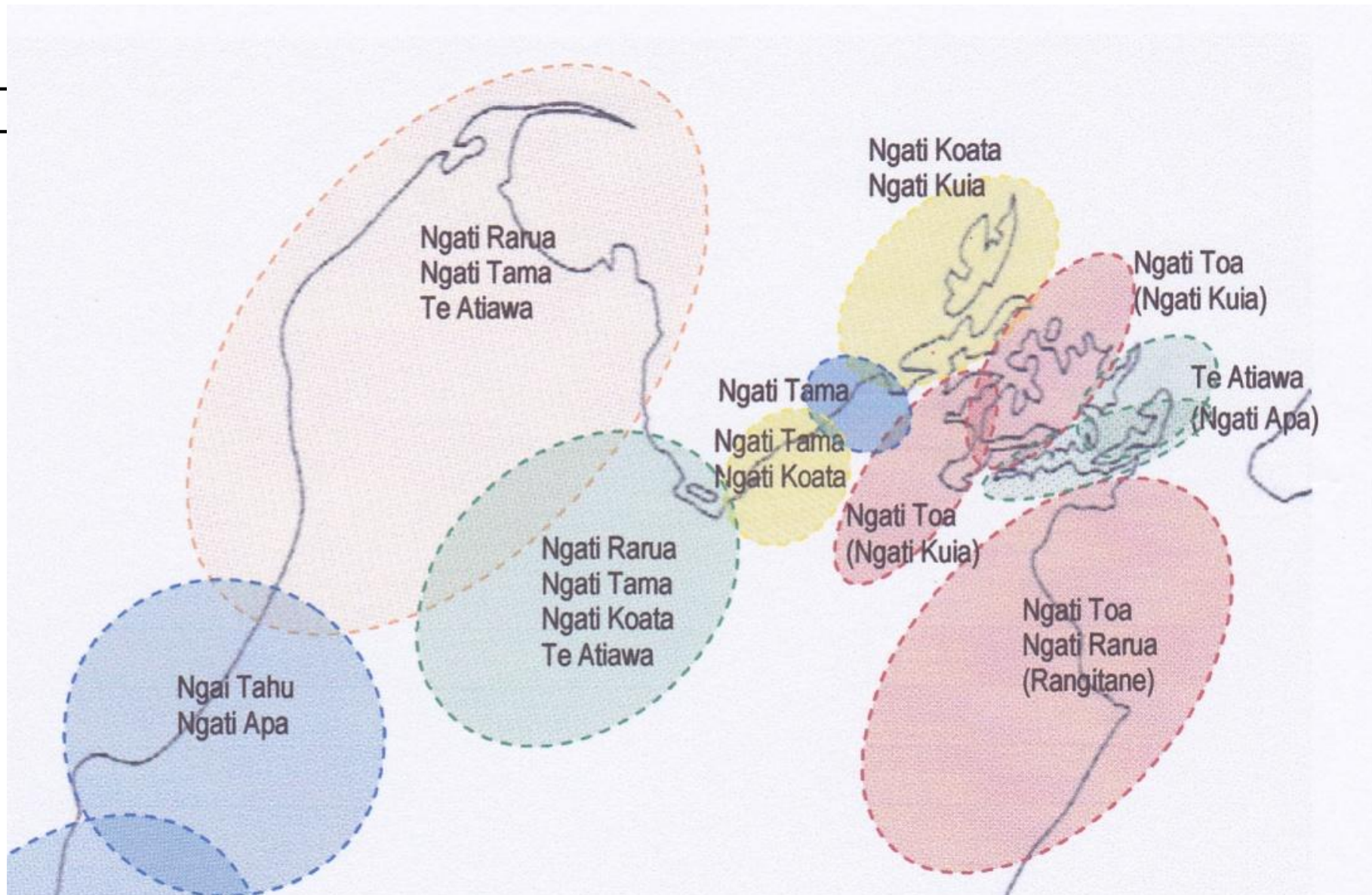
- ❖ **Ngati Toa** (from Kawhia, to Te Tau Ihu c.1828)
- ❖ **Ngati Rarua** (“ “ “ “ “ “)
- ❖ **Ngati Koata** (“ “ “ “ “ 1825)

□ ***Taranaki:***

- ❖ **Ngati Tama** (from Taranaki, to Te Tau Ihu c.1828)
- ❖ **Te Atiawa** (“ “ “ “ “ “)

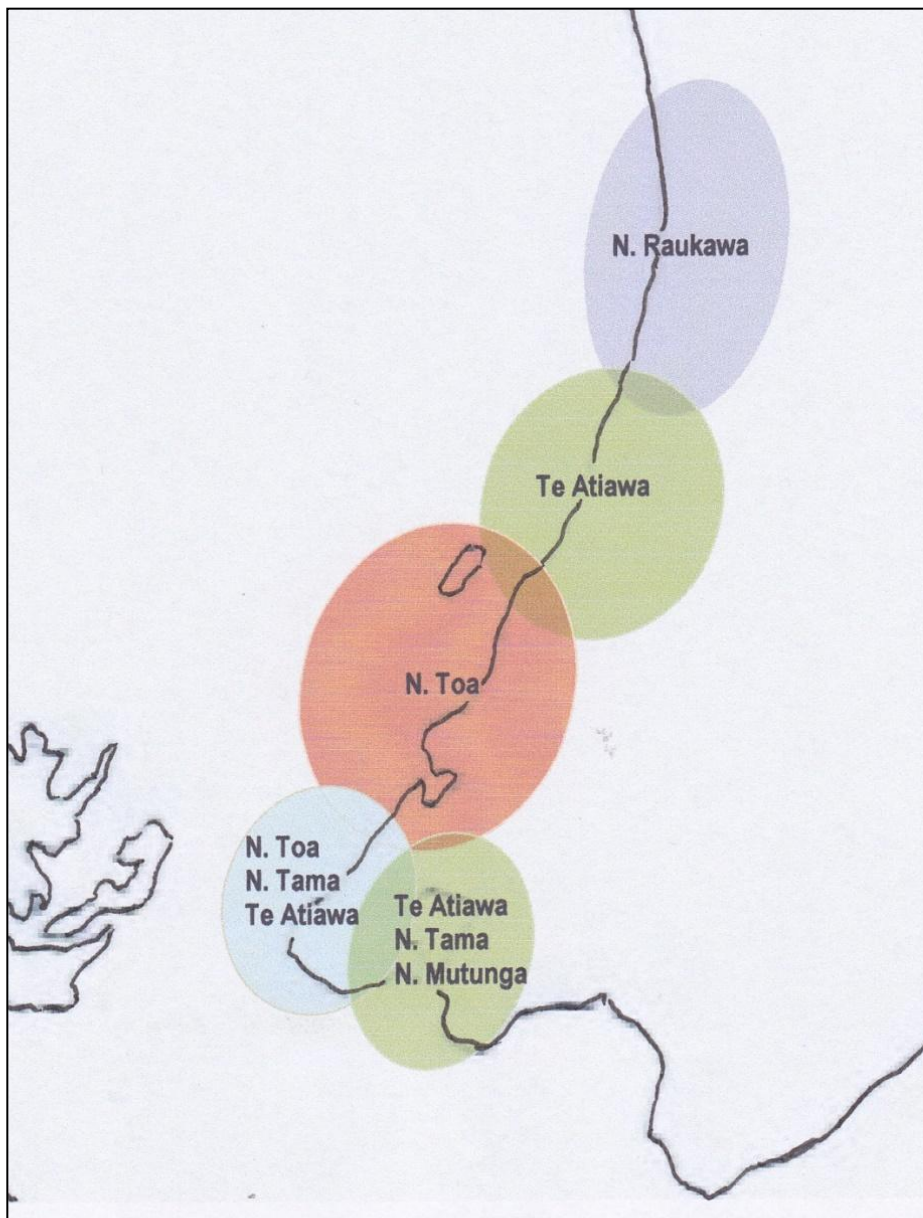


Manawhenua in the 1840s





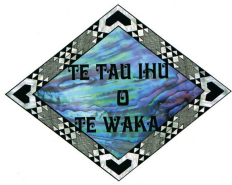
Manawhenua in the 1840s



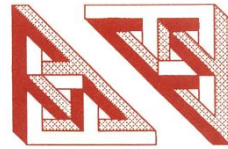
The New Zealand Land Company (a.k.a. the Wakefield Scheme)

- A commercial colonising venture.
- Edward Gibbon Wakefield:
Director, London.
- William Wakefield: leader of the
Wellington Settlement; Principal
Agent of the Company.
- Arthur Wakefield: leader of the
Nelson Settlement; Resident
Agent of the Company.
- Edward Jerningham Wakefield:
Adventure in New Zealand.

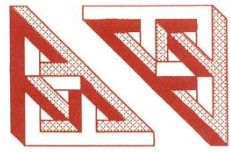




The New Zealand Company's Principles



- Maori owned all the land in NZ and so all land for settlement must be purchased from them
- Lands occupied and cultivated by Maori must be excluded from surveys and reserved in perpetuity for their use – i.e. Occupation Reserves
- Of the lands purchased for settlement, one-tenth would be set aside for the vendor chiefs and their families – Tenths Reserves



The Company's Vision

- Tenths Reserves would become very valuable as the settlement prospered and provide income for Maori
- Tenths Reserves would constitute the true payment for the land
- Maori would be able to participate in the new economy
- Maori would span the same range of society as colonists, from a chiefly aristocracy to working class, with the chiefs employing their people



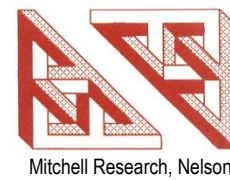
The Company in New Zealand, 1839:

- William Wakefield, Principal Agent
- Three Deeds of Purchase from some of the iwi on both sides of Cook Strait:
 - ❖ 27.9.1839: from Te Atiawa and N. Tama at Wellington
 - ❖ 25.10.1839: from N. Toa at Kapiti
 - ❖ 8.11.1839: from Te Atiawa at Queen Charlotte Sound
- Establishment of the Company's first settlement, Wellington



The Treaty of Waitangi

6 February 1840



According to the English version, the Treaty essentially says:

Article 1:

The chiefs cede their powers of sovereignty to the Queen of England

Article 2:

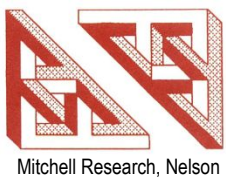
The chiefs retain “full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession” of their taonga (lands, forests, waterways etc) for as long as they wish to retain them. Only the Crown has the exclusive “right of preemption” to purchase lands and other assets from the chiefs

Article 3:

Maori to enjoy rights of Royal protection, and all the rights and privileges of British subjects



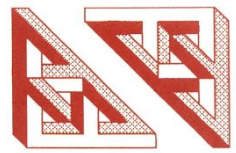
The Company in Nelson, 1841:



- Arthur Wakefield appointed Resident Agent
- Arthur Wakefield meets local chiefs at Kaiteriteri; receives gifts of cloaks, weapons, tools
- Establishment of the Company's second settlement, Nelson



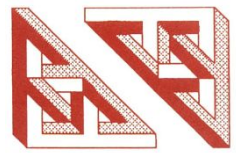
Problems at Nelson (1)



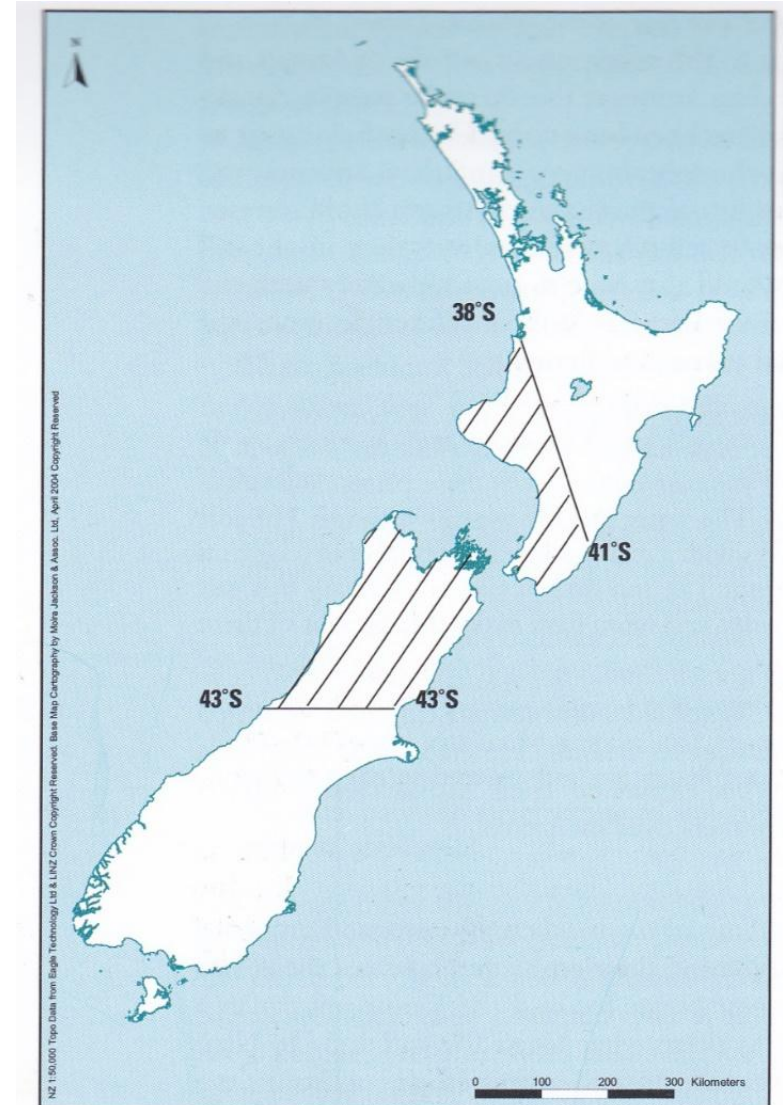
- 1839 purchases of Te Tau Ihu lands were made at Wellington, Kapiti and Queen Charlotte Sound
- Treaty (Feb 1840) and related legislation prohibited private purchases of land from Maori
- Land Commissioners appointed to investigate validity of alleged pre-Treaty purchases: Land Commissioner William Spain appointed to hear claims by the New Zealand Company



Problems at Nelson (2)

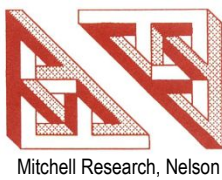


- Company therefore forced to rely on 1839 purchases alleged to amount to 20 million acres
- Purchases were **not negotiated** with the resident **iwi** who had conquered and occupied the Nelson districts a decade earlier





Problems with the Company's 1839 Purchases



- Misunderstandings over Company's intentions
- Misunderstandings over Te Rauparaha's list of place names
- Language/interpreter difficulties (Barrett turned 1500 English words on the Deeds into 116 words in pidgin Te Reo Maori)
- William Spain: *"... the territory [claimed] ... was as enormous in extent as the claim ... advanced under it was preposterous in principle"*



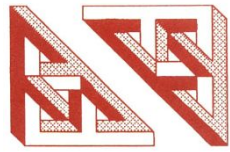
Company's Gifts at Nelson



- Although they were erstwhile allies (and relatives) of Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa, some Te Tau Ihu chiefs were not happy about Te Rauparaha selling their land
- Arthur Wakefield gave gifts of clothing, tobacco and weapons to local chiefs
 - ❖ to placate them
 - ❖ to prevent disputes with surveyors and immigrants
 - ❖ to allow the Company and its settlers to occupy the Nelson lands
- It is possible local chiefs regarded the Company's gifts
 - ❖ not as a form of payment to occupy their lands, but as
 - ❖ utu (reciprocity) for their earlier gifts of traditional clothing, weapons and other treasures to Wakefield



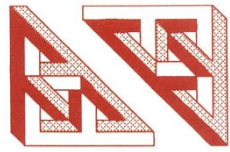
The Company's Nelson Settlement Scheme (1)



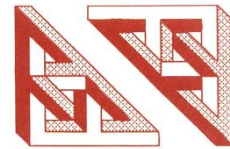
- The total area of the Nelson Settlement would be 221,100 acres, made up of 1,100 allotments:
 - ❖ Each allotment was to be 201 acres
 - ❖ 1,000 allotments (201,000 acres) were for colonists who paid £300 for each allotment
 - ❖ 100 allotments (20,100 acres – Tenths Reserves) were for Maori
- Each allotment of 201 acres was made up of three parcels of land:
 - ❖ One Town Section of one acre
 - ❖ One Accommodation or Suburban Section of 50 acres
 - ❖ One Rural Section of 150 acres
- Allotments were to be allocated by ballot



The Company's Nelson Settlement Scheme (2)



- The Native Tenths Reserves (20,100 acres) were to be made up as follows:
 - ❖ 100 Town acres
 - ❖ 100 Accommodation or Suburban Sections (5,000 acres)
 - ❖ 100 Rural Sections (15,000 acres)
- Tenths Reserves also to be allocated by ballot



What Actually Happened:

1. Occupation Reserves
 2. Nelson Town Sections
-



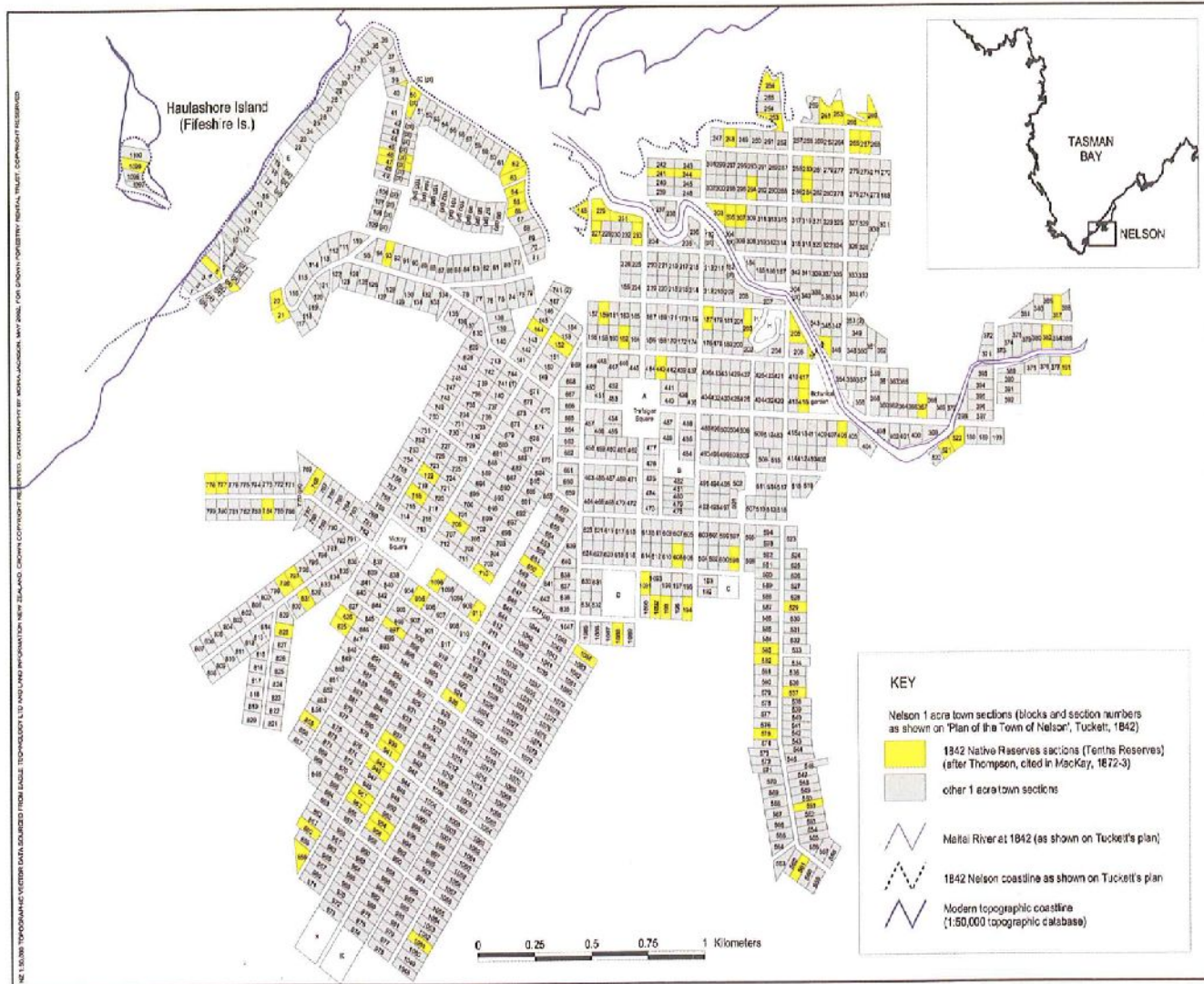
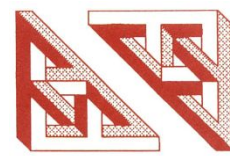
None of the existing occupation, habitation or cultivation lands of Maori were excluded from the surveys. i.e. Arthur Wakefield ignored Company policy; no Occupation Reserves were set aside

Nelson Town Sections:

- ❖ 1,100 Town acres were surveyed, as required by the scheme
- ❖ 100 sections were set aside as Tenths Reserves (March 1842)



Nelson Town Sections 1842 Plan



Plan of the town of Nelson showing the 1100 1-acre New Zealand Company Town Sections. The 100 Tenth's Reserves sections selected in 1842 are coloured yellow. (Adapted from Tuckett, 1842.)



What Actually Happened:

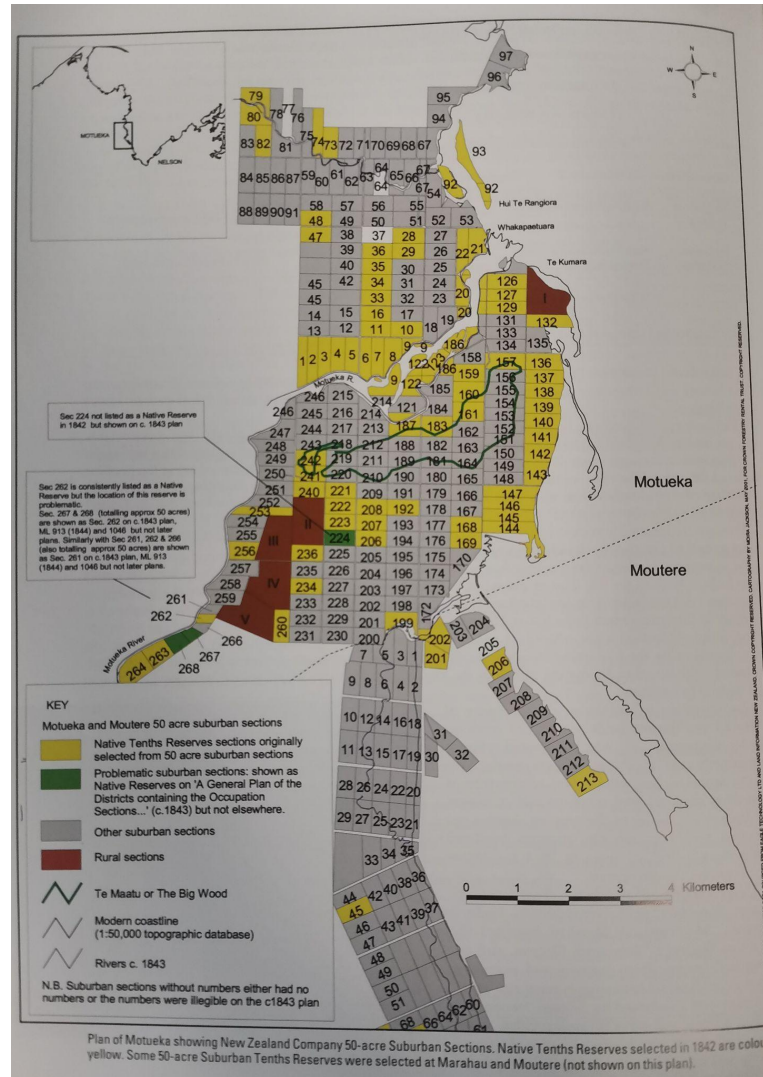
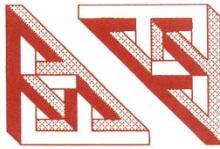


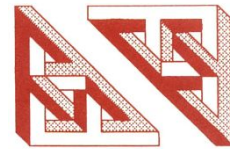
3. Accommodation/Suburban Sections

- The 50-acre Accommodation/Suburban sections at Waimea, Motueka, Moutere, Riwaka and Marahau:
 - ❖ 55,000 Accommodation/Suburban acres surveyed, as required by the Company's scheme
 - ❖ 5,000 acres (100 x 50 acres) set aside as Suburban Tenths Reserves at Motueka, Moutere, Riwaka and Marahau (August 1842)



Motueka Suburban Sections 1842 Plan





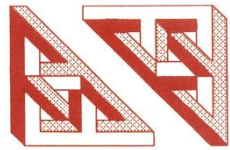
What Actually Happened:

4. The Rural Sections; Land Deficits

- 165,000 acres were required for Rural Sections but only c.95,000 acres could be found in the Nelson districts, including the upper Motueka River Valley and Golden Bay
- Therefore, in total, only 151,000 acres suitable for the Nelson Settlement was able to be surveyed, whereas 221,100 acres were required by the Nelson scheme
- No Rural Tenths Reserves were set aside in the Nelson districts



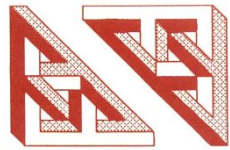
Motupipi Dispute, Oct-Nov. 1842 (1)



- Wakefield allowed immigrants to mine limestone and coal at Motupipi, although land was not yet surveyed or allocated as rural sections or Rural Tenths (or Occupation Reserve lands). The Europeans are essentially squatters
- Maori, led by Te Kawatiri Tinirau, Ngati Rarua chief, are aware of the situation and begin mining themselves, but their cargoes are refused
- Maori vandalise European facilities and casks of lime; no violence to persons
- Thompson resolves to teach Maori a lesson



Motupipi Dispute, Nov. 1842 (2)



- Thompson swears in and arms Special Constables who travel to Takaka where Kawatiri is arrested, charged, fined and warned
- Wakefield and Thompson convince themselves that in any similar situation they can act with impunity in defiance of the law, and in defiance of Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi

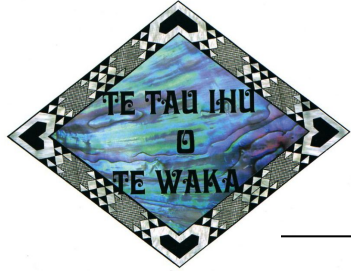




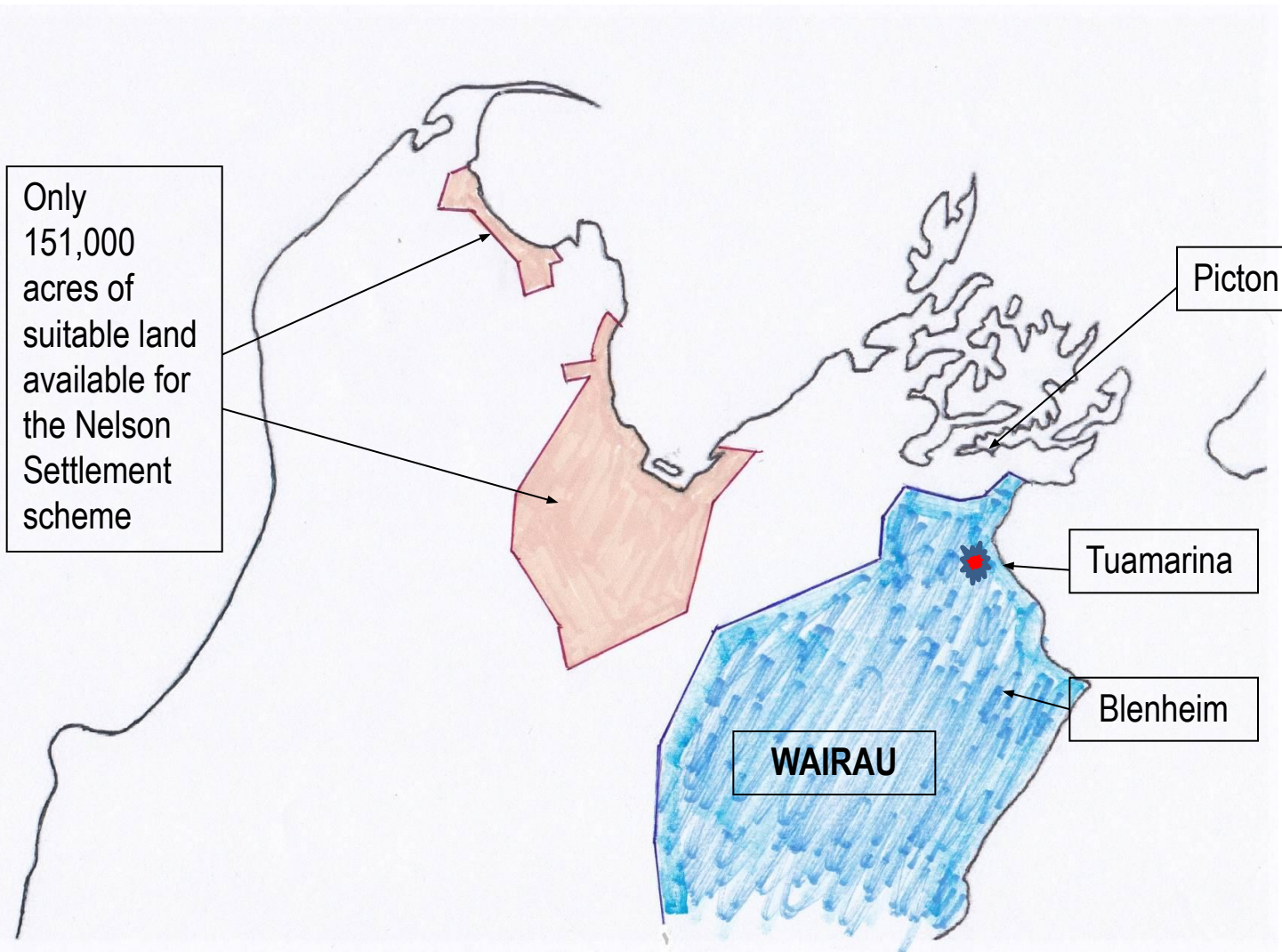
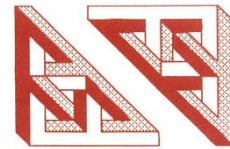
To the Wairau

- There was not enough arable, cultivable land in the Nelson districts, including Golden Bay, to satisfy the Company's requirements for Rural sections
- The Company therefore decided to include the Wairau
- In February-March 1843 Tuckett examined the Wairau district, returned to Nelson and called for tenders from surveyors





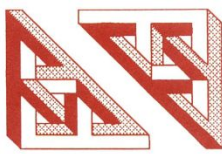
The Wairau





Maori Responses (1)

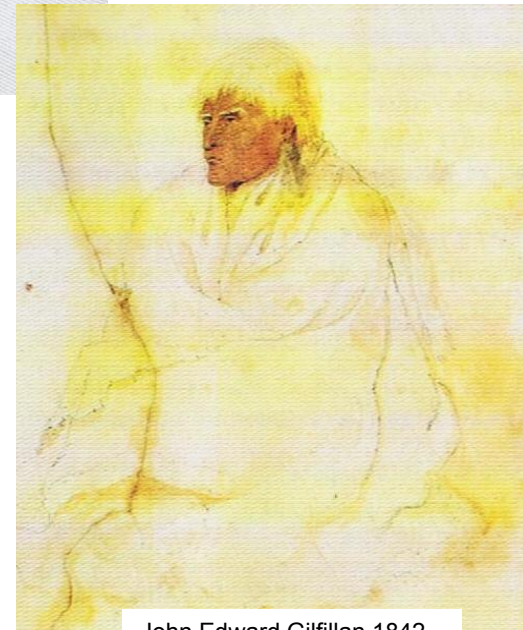
Article III Strategies



- Te Rauparaha (and Te Rangihaeata, Nohorua & others of Ngati Toa)
- ❖ were adamant they had not sold the Wairau in 1839
- ❖ asked the Company (both William and Arthur Wakefield) not to proceed with the survey
- ❖ asked the Company to wait until the Land Commissioner appointed to investigate the validity of the pre-Treaty purchases could consider the matter
- ❖ asked the Commissioner (William Spain) to give urgency to an investigation of the Wairau claims



Charles Heaphy 1839

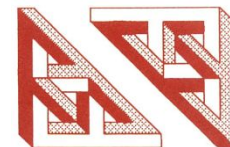


John Edward Gilfillan 1842



European Reactions (1)

Rejection of Maori Lobbying



□ Commissioner Spain:

- ❖ declined to interrupt his schedule
- ❖ said the Nelson hearings must wait until he had completed his Wellington investigations

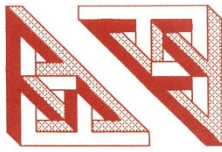
□ The Company:

- ❖ dismissed pleas of Te Rauparaha and other chiefs
- ❖ Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and other Ngati Toa chiefs were mocked in Company correspondence and in local newspapers
- ❖ Sent three parties of surveyors to the Wairau mid-April 1843





Maori Responses (2): Rangatiratanga Asserted



Isaac Coates 1842-1843

Rauparaha, Rangihaeata, warriors and families:

- proceeded to Tuamarina where the Company surveyors had begun work
- carefully removed the surveyors and their equipment
- burnt the shelters surveyors had erected and the pegs, stakes, rods and other temporary surveying materials cut from local forests
- carefully escorted the surveyors and their equipment to their ship in Cloudy Bay and ordered their departure to Nelson
- remained at Tuamarina establishing cultivations, demonstrating manawhenua



European Reactions (2)

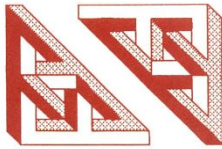
Charges of Arson

- On 12 June John Sylvanus Cotterell, a young surveyor, laid a formal complaint against Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata for burning his whare at Tuamarina
- Henry Thompson, Police Magistrate, and other magistrates in Nelson:
 - ❖ issued warrants for arrest of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata on charges of arson
 - ❖ swore a group of ill-trained and poorly-armed Company officials, settlers and labourers as Special Constables





European Actions (3)



Arthur Wakefield and Thompson

- ❖ led the party of Special Constables to Tuamarina to arrest the chiefs
- ❖ travelled on the Govt brig which happened to be at Port Nelson
- ❖ arrived at Wairau on 16 June
- ❖ expected that, as in Massacre Bay 8 months earlier, their show of force would intimidate Ngati Toa and quell their resistance



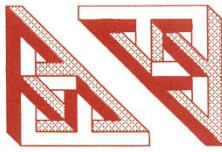
Arthur Wakefield | Resident Agent of The New Zealand Company



Henry Thompson | Police Magistrate, Nelson



At Tuamarina (1)

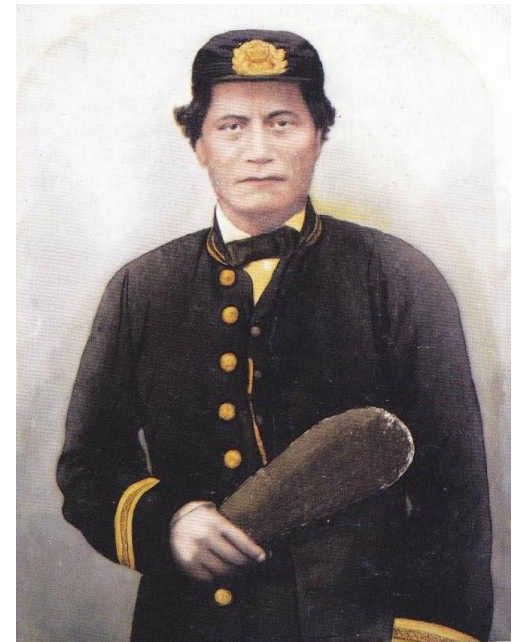


On 17 June 1843:

- The parties were arraigned on opposite sides of Tuamarina Stream
- The leaders of the Company party crossed to the Maori side to arrest the chiefs
- Rawiri Puaha, nephew of Te Rauparaha and a committed Wesleyan, carrying a Bible, advocated peace

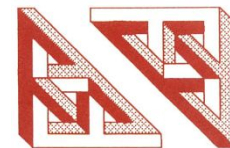


Rawiri Puaha | Te Rauparaha's nephew and resident of the Wairoa, Ngāihi Toa





At Tuamarina (2)



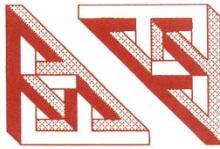
- The chiefs declined to give themselves over to the authorities
- The Company party was ordered forward to make the arrests
- A shot, perhaps accidental, killed Te Rongo, wife of Te Rangihaeata
- Maori retaliated



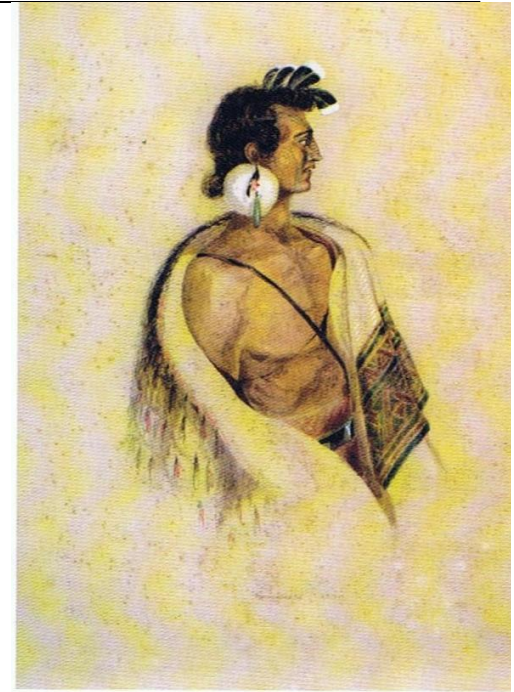
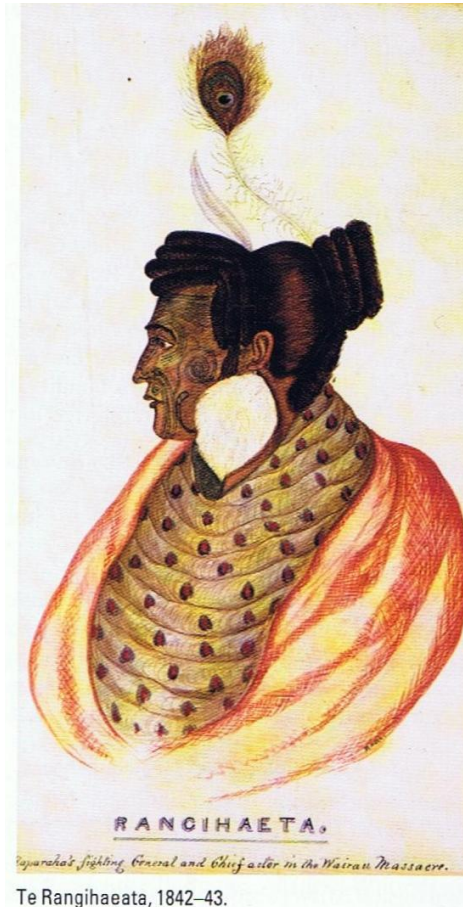
Te Rongo | Wife of Te Rangihaeata, Ngāti Toa



At Tuamarina (3)

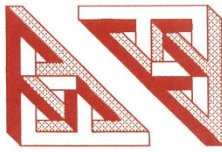


- When the Nelson party realised they were being bested
 - ❖ they ran to the hills behind, pursued by warriors
 - ❖ some attempted to surrender
- Despite protestations from Te Rauparaha, Puaha and others, Te Rangihaeata executed them

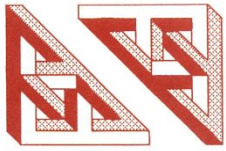


Te Rangihaeata, 1840.

At Tuamarina (4)



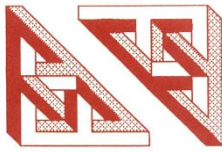
- Te Rangihaeata justified his actions as utu for deaths of Te Rongo, and his cousin, Kuika, wife of James Wymen
- 22 Europeans (including Wakefield and Thompson) killed
- Four, possibly nine Maori killed



Immediate Aftermath of the Wairau Affray (1)

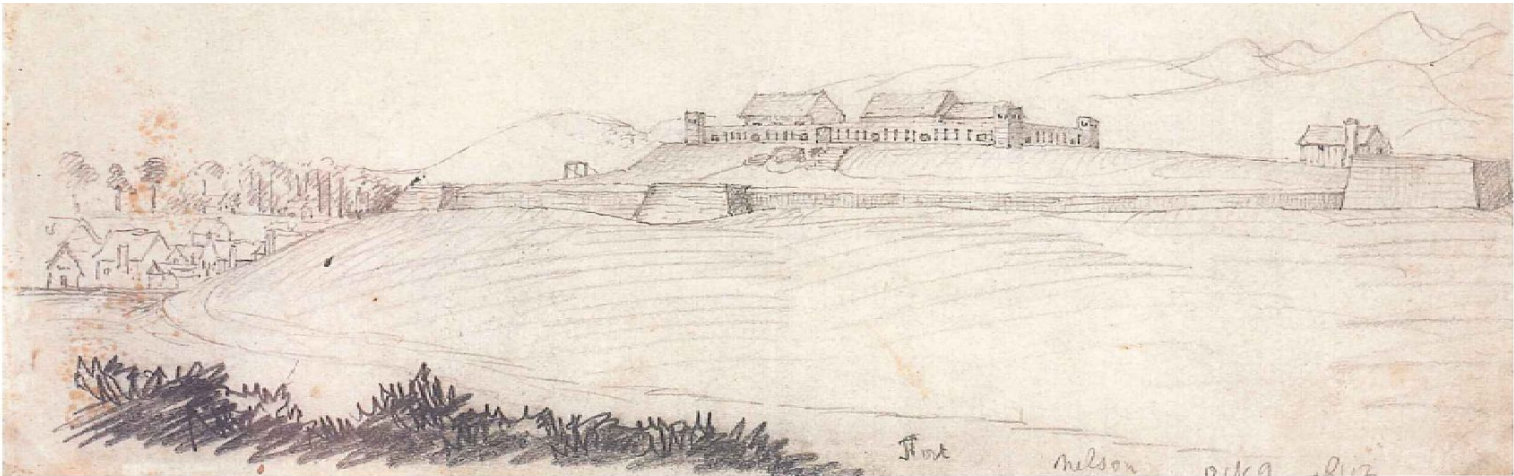
- Hundreds of Ngati Toa and Te Atiawa abandoned Wairau and Sounds areas and retreated to Kapiti and Waikanae districts in anticipation of revenge from Pakeha/British Government





Immediate Aftermath of the Wairau Affray (2)

- Rev. Ironside's Wesleyan congregations in the Sounds reduced from over 1,500 adherents to six
- Tensions heightened in Maori and settler communities on both sides of Cook Strait
- Church Hill in Nelson fortified; Maori banned from services there

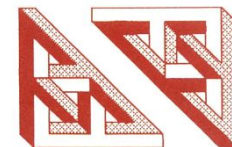


Above and opposite: Fort Arthur – Church Hill fortified, 1843–44.

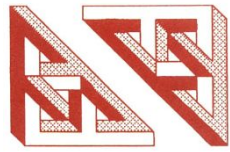
- Maori trade with settlers ceased for a period



Immediate Aftermath of the Wairau Affray (3)



- Settler fury in Nelson, Wellington and elsewhere
- Demands that Maori be punished
- Positive, early Maori-European relationships seriously damaged



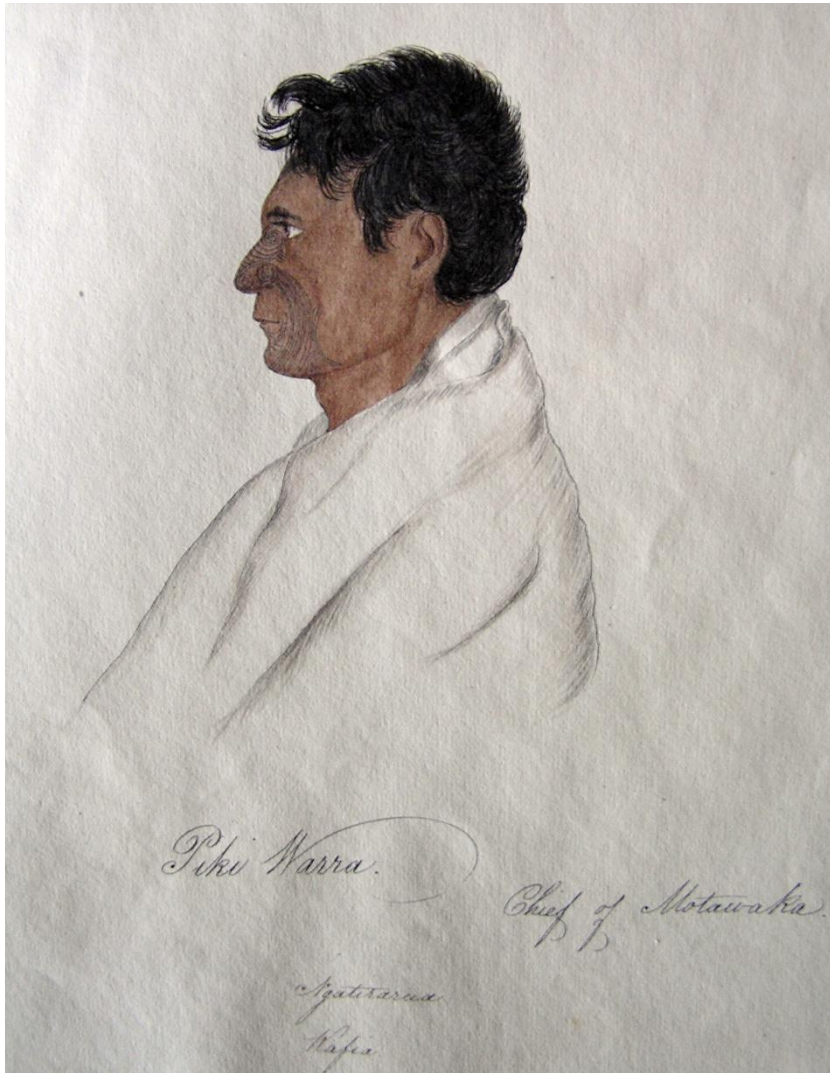
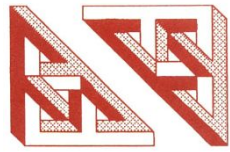
Fallout at Motueka



“A native, named Piccawarro who was at the Wairau Massacre, visited the Motueka ... with the intention of taking up his residence there among some friends ... E Piko and the other Ngatiawas, believing that, if they allowed him to remain, a bad feeling might be created between themselves and the Europeans, gave him notice that, unless he left the district within four days, they would lay violent hands on him. Piccawarro considered the threat too serious to be disregarded, and left within the given period.”



Pikiwara and Ngapiko



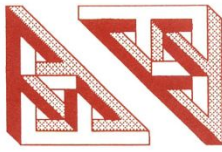
Pikiwara of Ngati Rarua



Nga Piko of Ngati Rarua / Ngati Tama



Aftermath: A Commentary



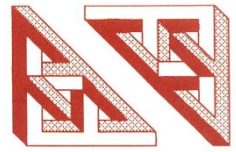
“At Wairau British law had been invoked in a wrong cause and brought into disrepute. In the aftermath, groups of Maori people ‘openly declared they would have nothing to do with white man’s law’. One settler wrote:

After the Wairau Affair, they seemed to be another race of people. They say they have no occasion to sell their land if they do not like; agree with Rauparaha in almost everything he says; very suspicious, obtrusive, boisterous, thieving, plundering, taking advantage of the white men in dealing; impudent, asking for anything, thinking you will give it them through fear, trying to frighten you, firing off muskets, practicing their war songs, eating more pork to make them strong, buying a deal of gunpowder and lead, making tomahawks, laugh at the white people, say they are cowards, the Queen is but a girl; they are ready to fight the people in Port Nicholson.

The settlers, for their part, longed for vengeance. The attempt to found a colony in which the rule of law would guarantee the rights and prosperity of Maori as well as settler appeared to be foundering in a welter of racial animosity and bloodshed”



William Spain, 1844, and subsequent events



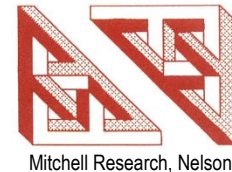
- Land Commissioner Spain decrees that:
 - ❖ Wairau had not been purchased by the Company
 - ❖ Nelson Settlement to be reduced to 151,000 acres
 - ❖ 15,100 acres to be set aside as Tenth's Reserves
 - ❖ Some 50-acre Suburban Tenth's Reserves in Motueka to be redesignated for occupation by Maori

- NZ Company volunteered to pay the local chiefs £800 to extinguish their land interests in the 151,000 acres

- No Rural Tenth's were ever allocated, therefore Nelson Tenth's estate was 10,000 acres short



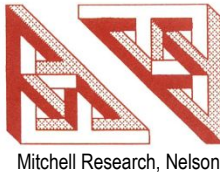
Governor FitzRoy



- Appointed Governor of New Zealand April 1843
- Arrived Auckland December 1843
- Investigated circumstances of the Wairau
- Deplored execution of the prisoners but
exonerated Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata
- Blamed Wakefield, Thompson and Nelson
magistrates
- Incurred settler hatred; orchestrated campaign
against FitzRoy developed



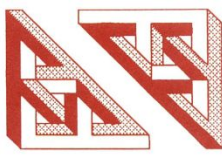
Governor Grey: National Impacts



- FitzRoy recalled in 1845
- George Grey appointed to succeed FitzRoy
- Grey imposed stronger (and often discriminatory) control over Maori
 - ❖ Arms Ordinance 1845
 - ❖ Sale of Spirits Ordinance 1846

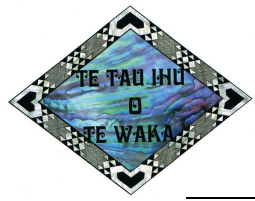


Aftermath: Another Commentary



“A good deal of Maori resentment centred on the Arms Ordinance and Sale of Spirits Ordinance which Grey had enacted in 1845 and 1846. In the interests of suppressing rebellion and preventing social dislocation there was of course a strong case to be made for preventing Maori from obtaining arms and liquor, but the Ordinances applied to Maori only and the discrimination was greatly resented by them and widely defied. Chiefs who were concerned about the demoralising effect of liquor on their people, sought its prohibition from both races in their districts.”

Alan Ward: “A Show of Justice” p87.



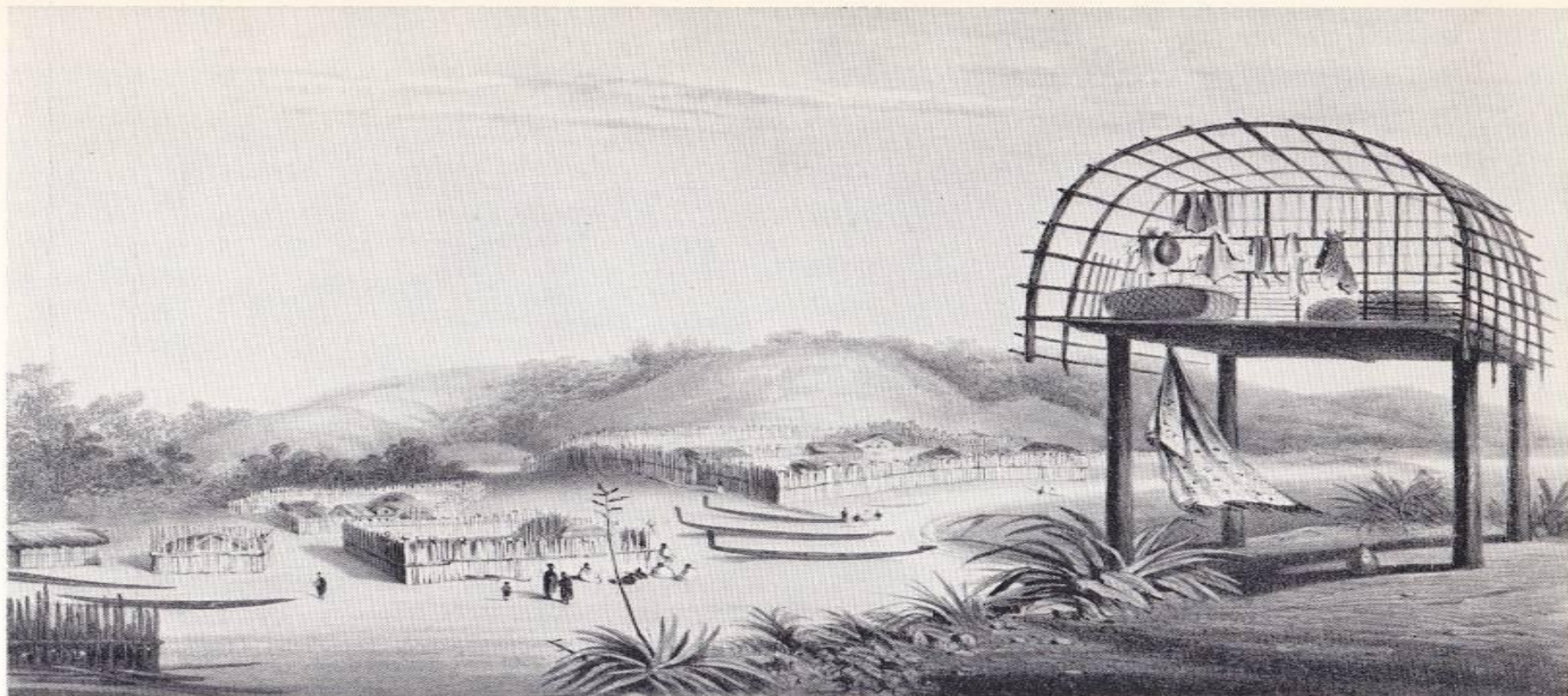
Grey's Orders, 1846 (1)



- Company and settlers never wavered from their plans for the Wairau
- July 1846: Grey ordered kidnap of Te Rauparaha and other Ngati Toa chiefs



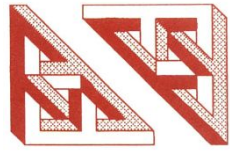
Grey's Orders, 1846 (2)



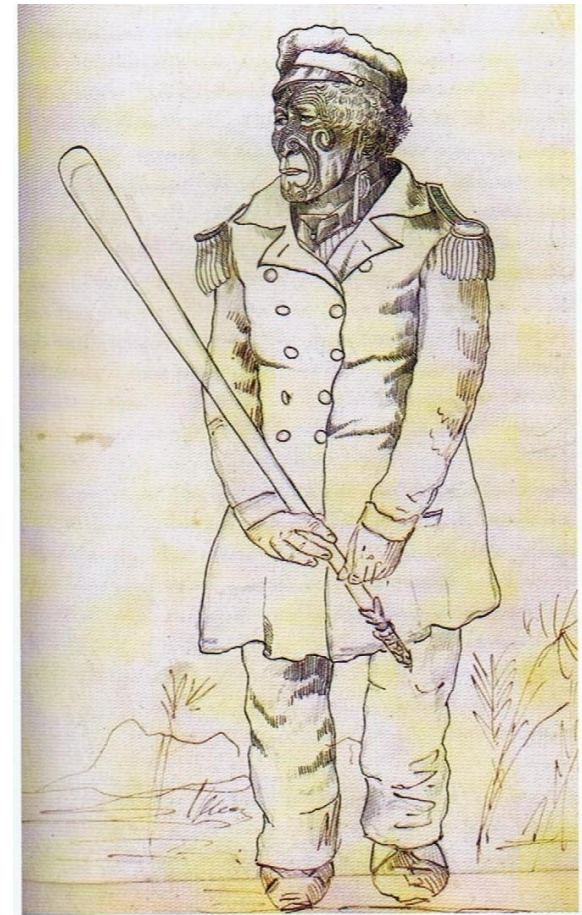
Taupo domestic pa, Plimmerton, scene of the capture of Te Rauparaha



Kidnap and Ransom, 1846-1848



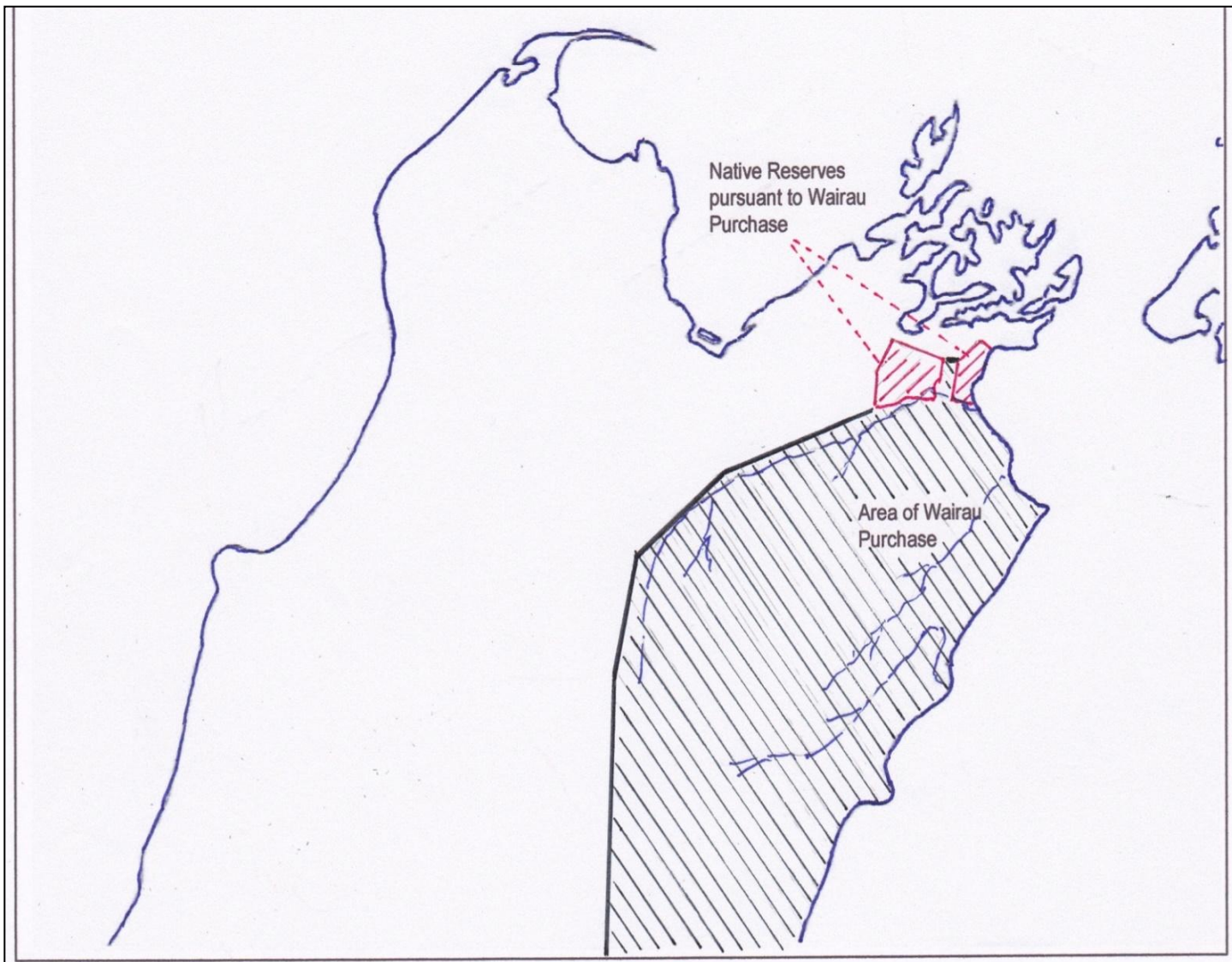
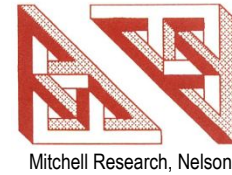
- Te Rauparaha held for 18 months but not charged or brought to trial
- 1847: Te Rauparaha's son (Tamihana) and nephews (Rawiri Puaha, Matene Te Whiwhi) bullied into selling the Wairau, and part of Porirua, as ransom for Te Rauparaha's release
- January 1848: Te Rauparaha released



Te Rauparaha, by William Bambridge, 1847



The Wairau "Purchase" Area, 18 March 1847

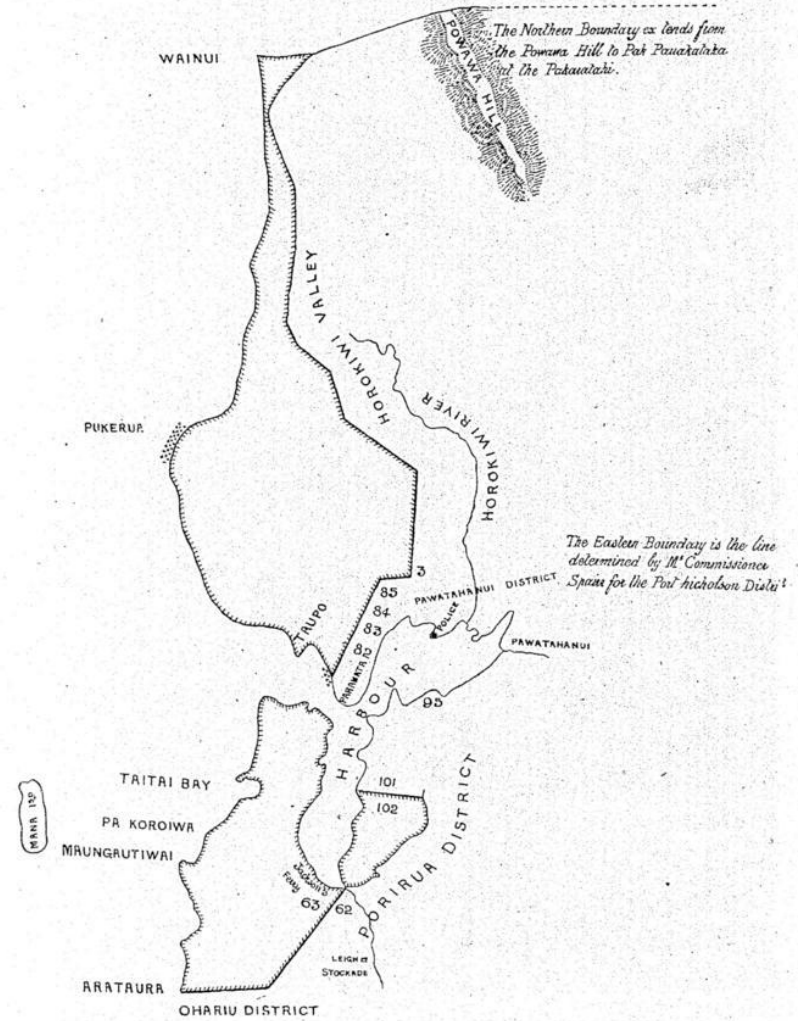




The Porirua "Purchase" Area, 1 April 1847

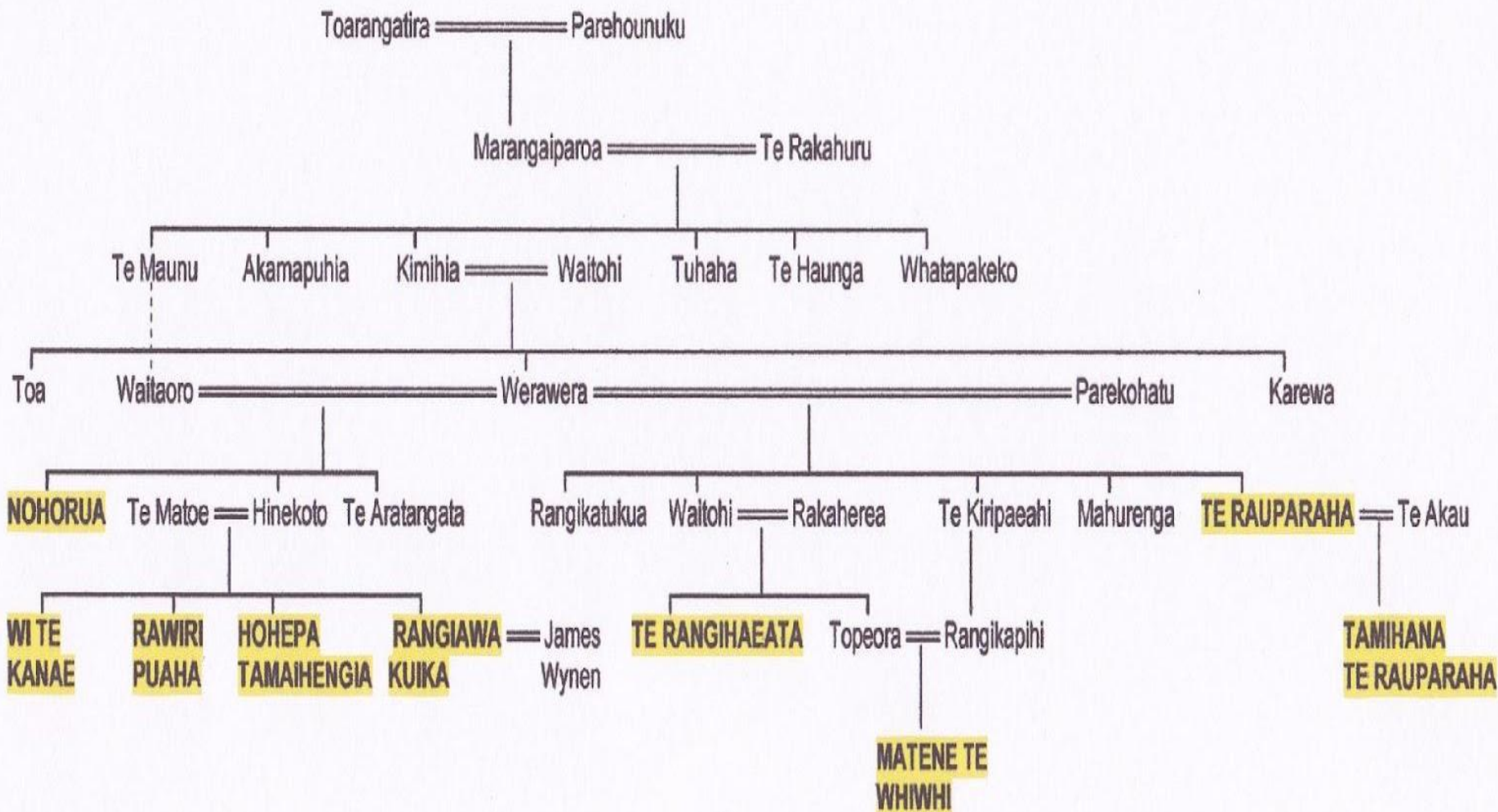
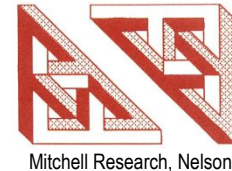
PORIRUA BLOCK [COL. M^{rs} CLEVERTY'S DEED]

1 APRIL 1847





Whakapapa showing connections of Te Rauparaha and Whanau



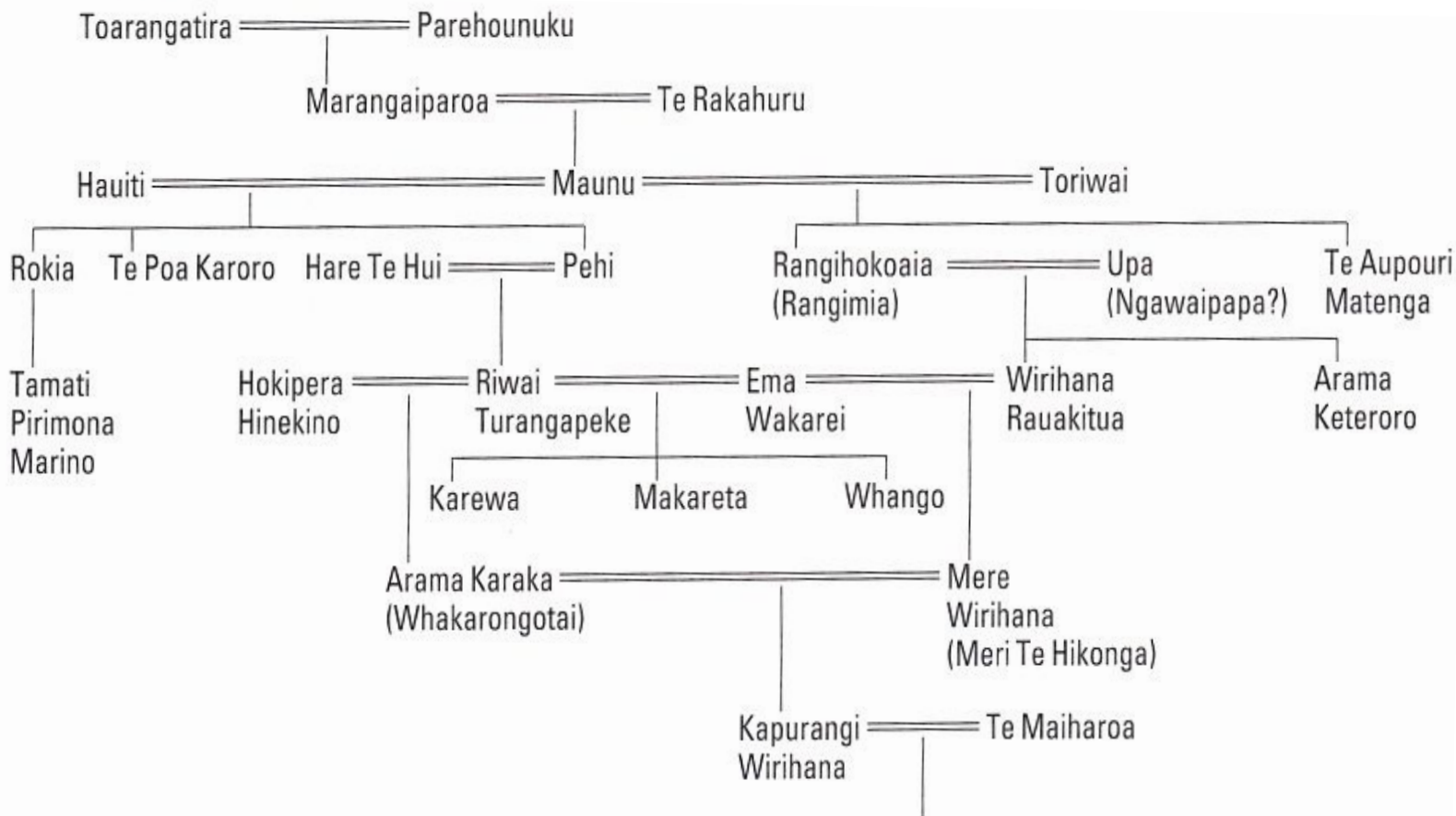
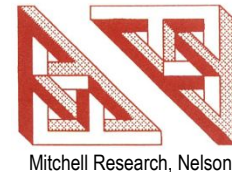


Marginalisation

- 1854: first meeting of white minority government
- 1858: the European population overtakes Maori population of NZ
- Maori become increasingly irrelevant, expected to fit into European system
- 1867: Maori allowed to elect 4 MPs – (56,000 Maori allocated 4 seats; 171,000 Europeans allocated 72 seats)

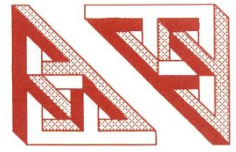


Whakapapa of Whakarongotai, a.k.a. Arama Karaka, Adam Clark





Nelson's first street kid: Samuel Stephens 1844 (1)

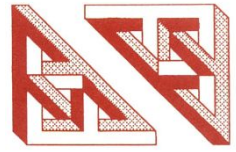


In 1844 Stephens was ashamed to be a European as the story of what may have been Nelson's first street kid unfolded while he was visiting Motueka Pa with William Fox:

“Here a trait of kindness and good feeling on the part of one of the Natives, (the son of a chief) accidentally became known to me, and gave me much interest, and pleasure, at the same time that the circumstances of the case when revealed to me, caused an indignant blush at the apathy and cruelty of some of my own countrymen. The circumstances are as follow. - Whilst standing chatting to a group of Maories, consisting of men, women, and children, I noticed a little boy amongst them of much lighter complexion than the rest, although clad in nearly similar habiliments. On inquiring about him, I learnt that he was of English birth - the child of one of the immigrants. ...



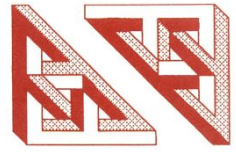
Nelson's first street kid: Samuel Stephens 1844 (2)



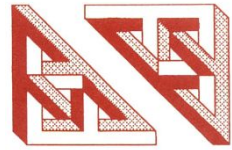
... I then questioned the boy, who was about 6 or 7 years old, and ascertained that his name was Smith, and that his father was one of the unfortunate men who was sacrificed at the late Wairao Massacre - that his own [mother] died before he left England - that he had no brothers, sisters or relatives out here - and that his step-mother (who I learnt afterwards was a woman of bad character) had after the death of his father formed a connection with another man, and turned the poor little fellow out of the house to shift for himself, without a friend to go to. About six weeks ago, the Native I alluded to Etai or as he is commonly called "Adam Clark", was at Nelson and there saw the boy from time to time haunting the usual rendezvous of the Maories, which induced him to inquire into his condition, and who his friends were and how he subsisted. ...



Nelson's first street kid: Samuel Stephens 1844 (3)



... The boy told him that he had no place to live in, had no friends, and that he picked up the food he wanted from the Maoris who visited the town from time to time on their trading expeditions. Etai seeing the forlorn and unfriended condition of the poor boy, without apparently a soul among his own countrymen who took any interest in him, asked him if he would like to come and live among the Maories with him at Motueka, and if he would, that he would take care of and feed him. To this the child gladly assented, and went with him to the Pah, and has lived with his kind protector ever since. Noticing a kind of dejected or mournful look in the boy's countenance, I asked him if he was happy, and whether he liked living among the natives. He said he was happier now than he had been at all, and that he never wished again to live with his own people who had treated him so cruelly - the Maoris all of them were always kind to him and gave him plenty to eat”.



Images courtesy of Sally Burton's
"Pale History"
Suter Gallery, 2017-2018



Te Rangihaeata | Chief of Ngāti Toa



Rawiri Puaha | Te Rauparaha's nephew and resident of the Waiuku, Ngāti Toa



Piki Warra | Chief of Motueka, Ngāti Raukawa



Te Rongo | Wife of Te Rangihaeata, Ngāti Toa



Te Rauparaha | Fighting Chief of Ngāti Toa



Arthur Wakefield | Resident Agent of The New Zealand Company



John Barricoat | Surveyor for The New Zealand Company



Frederick Tuckett | Surveyor for The New Zealand Company



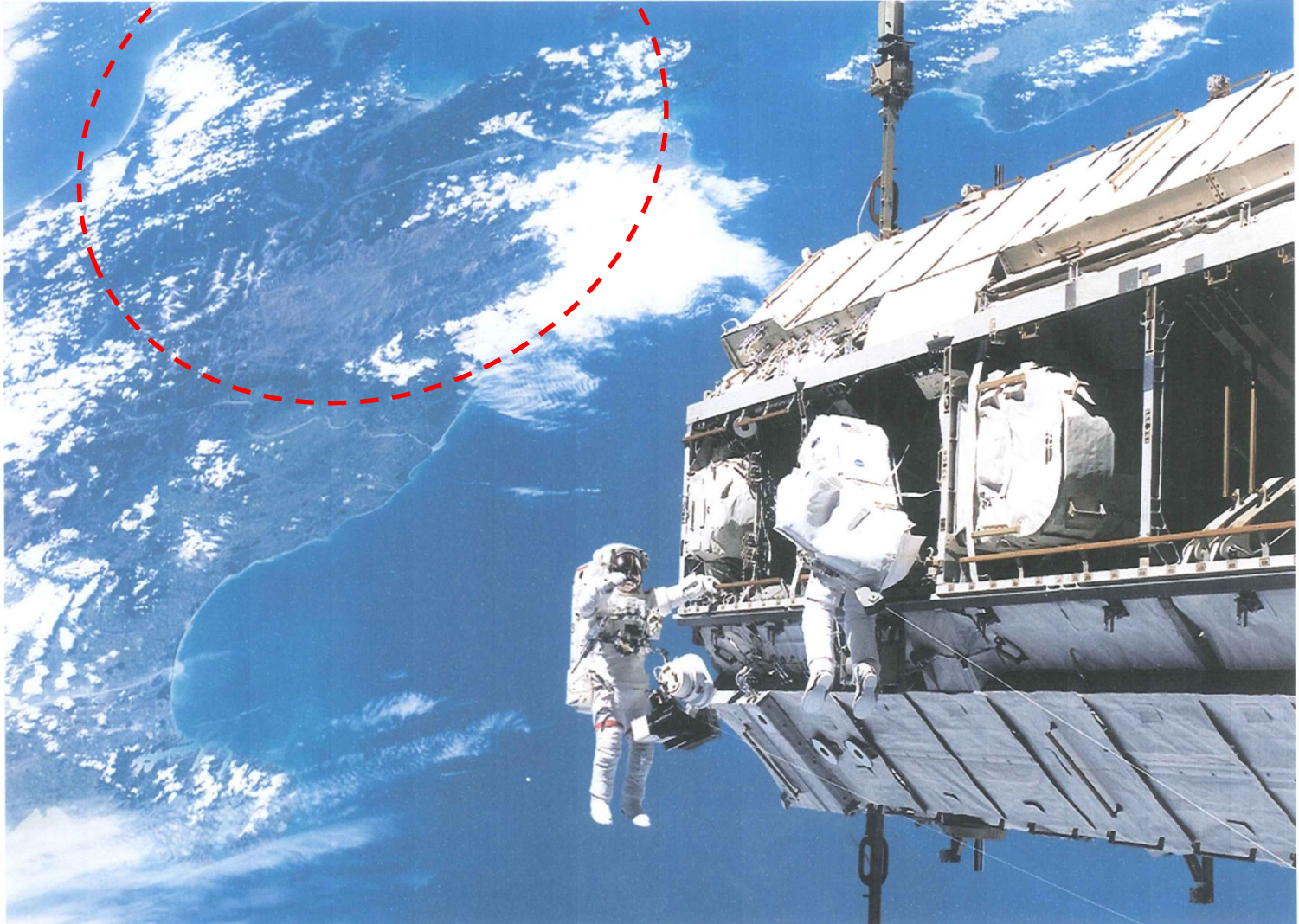
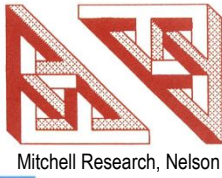
John Cotterell | Surveyor for The New Zealand Company



Henry Thompson | Police Magistrate, Nelson



Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka



The Prow of the Canoe