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Whakaatuhia te Hītori o
te Iwi o Marutuahu me ōna Hāpū
me ngā Taonga o te Whenua.
1850 ki 1880

Let the Story Be Told.
The Iwi of Marutuahu and the Discovery of Gold
1850 to 1880

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters
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Kei te rara ā
 Kei te rara a te tai i waho
 Kei te rara a te tai i uta
 Kei te rara a te moana o Tikapa, aue, aue, aue
 Aue e tane, whakarongo, whakarongo
 Moehau te tupuna maunga i waho
 Tū tonu rā tū tonu
 Ko Tokatea, ko Hauturu, Ko Kaitarakihi
 Tū tonu koutou tū tonu
 Pakirarahi, Taumahurua
 Te Aroha te tūpuna maunga i uta
 Aue tū tonu ra, tū tonu

Ngā puke ki Hauraki
 Ka tarehua, ā
 E mihi ki te whenua
 E tangi ana ki te tangata
 Mai i nga toka o Ngā Kuri a Wharei
 Ki Ahuahu
 Whiti atu ki Aotea
 Huri roto ki te tuawhenua ki Takapuna
 Aa, ko ngā Poito o te Kupenga a Taramainuku
 E tere ana i te takutai moana o Tikapa
 Ko Waihou te awa
 Ko Marutuahu te tangata
 Ko Tainui te waka

Abstract

This thesis is a study of the interaction between Māori and Pākehā in the Hauraki region during the period 1850 to 1880. It examines the role played by the iwi of Marutuahu: Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Tamatera, and Ngāti Whanaunga in gold mining in the Hauraki region during this period. Three Hauraki goldfields, namely Coromandel, Thames and Ohinemuri, have been chosen as case studies to analysis the economic, political and social impact this involvement had on their lives. It offers a different perspective from what has been written previously about the participation of the tangata whenua of Hauraki in gold mining as it attempts to represent the discovery of gold from a Māori perspective. It looks at the role of the rangatira in distributing and utilizing the gold revenues, and examines at the tension that existed between their role in traditional Māori society and the impact of 'modernization'. It is argued that Māori involvement in these goldfields was primarily of an economic and entrepreneurial nature and it was due to circumstances beyond their control that they were unable to make a financial success of goldmining. This thesis concludes that the Hauraki rangatira who entered into the arrangements with the Crown to open their land for mining did so with the intention of improving the lifestyle of their people and to enable them to reap the benefits from participating in the colonial economy and that at no stage did these rangatira foresee the loss of their land and the damage that would occur to their traditional lifestyle.

Contents

Tauparapara	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abbreviations	v
Introduction	7
1. Money Scattered Like Maize To the Fowls	15
2. Let The Gold Be Dug	48
3. The Ugly Carcass of Gold	82
4. Mixed Messages	115
Conclusion	145
Glossary	151
Bibliography	152

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Abbreviations

<i>AJHR</i>	Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives
<i>NZG</i>	New Zealand Gazette
<i>NZJH</i>	New Zealand Journal of History
<i>ANZ</i>	Archives of New Zealand
<i>NZPD</i>	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
<i>ATL</i>	Alexander Turnbull Library

Introduction

Common perceptions of the nineteenth century history of the Coromandel Peninsular offer a portrayal of the white settlement of the Hauraki region and emphasize the importance of the role played by colonial officials and miners in the establishment of the region. There have been many depictions written by Pākehā which describe the story of the discovery of gold on the Coromandel Peninsular. These works have mainly taken the form of regional histories, such as *The Amazing Thames: the Story of the Town and the Famous Goldfield from which it Grew* by John Grainger and *History of "The River Thames"* by A. M. Isdale.¹ Other works were either constructed to act as pictorial guides to the location of goldmines in the area or were written as personal reminiscences about the experiences of family members during the gold mining period. All of these works have been written from a distinctly monocultural perspective and do not acknowledge in any great depth the contribution made by the Tāngata Whenua of the Hauraki rohe in these three goldfields and the consequences that the discovery of gold had on their lives. This thesis challenges some of the misconceptions that have been made about Pākehā and Māori race relations in the Hauraki region during the period 1850 to 1880. For example, the discovery of gold brought equal financial benefit to both Māori and Pākehā in the region, and that Hauraki

¹ John Grainger, *The Amazing Thames: the Story of the Town and the Famous Goldfield from which it Grew*, Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1951
A. M. Isdale, *History of "The River Thames"*, Thames: A. M. Isdale, 1967.

iwi were treated as equal partners in the negotiation process for the opening of the goldfields and in their administration.

The role played by the iwi of Marutuahu: Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Tamatera, and Ngāti Whanaunga in gold mining will be considered in this work. Three Hauraki goldfields, namely Coromandel, Thames and Ohinemuri have been chosen as casestudies to examine the relationship Hauraki Māori had with the Crown and with the wider mining community. This study is primarily concerned with making an analysis of the economic, political and social impact this involvement had on their lives.

The position taken in this work is based on the premise that when Hauraki rangatira entered into negotiations with the Crown representatives they mistakenly thought that though they had ceded the gold to the Crown, they still maintained control over their land. When they discovered that this was not the case they actively discouraged their people from further participation in the negotiation process. This caused a further deterioration in their relationship with the Crown and with the wider mining community.

My study will show that the involvement by the iwi of Marutuahu in gold mining in Hauraki was for the collective good of all iwi, not just for the benefit of individual rangatira. It must be pointed out that some scholars have offered other perspectives implying that Hauraki rangatira became involved in mining for their personal gain and not for the collective good of all their people. It is argued here that the manner in which rangatira distributed and utilized their new wealth was the result of their desire to maintain their traditional mana in their own society, yet encompass for their people all the economic and social benefits that the new colonial society had to offer. The manner in which their new wealth was distributed and used, led to the

misunderstandings, and stereotypical representations of Hauraki Māori, particularly of their rangatira, in the colonial press, artwork and photographs of the period. These representations heavily influenced how Māori were treated by the Crown representatives and the wider mining public.

A textual analysis of English and Māori language manuscripts and newspapers, and a visual analysis of artwork and photographs that were constructed during this period are offered in this work. My perspective on the impact that mining had on Hauraki Māori in the three Hauraki goldfields owes much to the consultation, which occurred with kaumatua and the descendants of Marutuahu. Having access to their whakapapa and traditional waiata enabled me to understand the connections that they have to the land in the rohe of Hauraki and that land in a certain area does not necessarily mean that it belongs to one hāpū or iwi alone. After consulting with descendants of the rangatira of the iwi of Marutuahu, who entered into negotiations for the mining of their rohe, I have their support and blessing to tell their side of the story.

This study has been divided into four chapters. Chapter One reflects on the negotiation process that occurred for the opening of land for mining. The influence and function of the Native Land Commissioners and the impact and consequences of their goldmining policies is also discussed in this chapter. This theme is continued in Chapter Two, as it is the intention of this chapter to look at the economic benefits the discovery of gold brought to Hauraki Māori. It also discusses the various economic and entrepreneurial ventures that they were engaged in. Chapter Three discusses the problems the new wealth caused the iwi of Marutuahu. It also focuses on the role of the rangatira in distributing and utilizing the gold revenues and explores the tension that existed between their traditional role in Māori

society and their role in the new colonial society. In Chapter Four, I consider the wider public assumptions that were made about the involvement of Hauraki Māori in gold mining by comparing how Hauraki Māori were represented in Māori and English newspapers, and examining how they were portrayed in artwork and photography of the period. In this chapter it is suggested that these representations influenced the manner, which the Crown and the wider public related to Hauraki Māori during the period of this study.

The sources used include the direct observations of Māori and Europeans as well as the official records of the period. Preference has been given to Maori sources and translated manuscripts. Particularly valuable sources were manuscripts written in English and in Te Reo Māori, and the correspondence from various Hauraki rangatira which form part of the Donald McLean Collection, held at the Alexander Turnbull Library, and the Hammond manuscripts held at the Auckland Institute and Museum Library. These have been particularly useful as they represented the issues Hauraki Māori were concerned about during the period of this study. Newspapers were another effective gauge of the wider public opinion of the time. A selection of English and Te Reo Māori newspapers has been chosen. The *Daily Southern Cross* and the *Thames Advertiser* were particularly useful because they were daily papers and provided a detailed record of what was happening on the goldfields on a day-to-day basis. Māori language newspapers such as *Ko Te Karere* and *Te Wananga* were also helpful as they were one of a limited number of sources, which were published in Te Reo Māori and directly represented the views of Hauraki rangatira. Maori voices are particularly important here as they offer a counterpoint to the more frequently cited Pakeha understandings of Māori involvement in goldmining from which the popular view of Māori has derived. The most useful official

publications were government files held at Archives New Zealand, and the reports of various Crown officials in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*. These documents provided a wealth of material and were useful in determining the opinions of key individuals involved in the administration of the Goldfields. The *Parliamentary Debates* also provided an excellent portrayal of the government's intentions, contentious issues and a variety of opinions on every issue concerned with the goldfields.

There are a number of recent and not so recent secondary sources, which also provided useful material. Academic studies such as *This is My Place: Hauraki Contested* by Paul Monin and *A History of Gold Mining in New Zealand*, by J.H. Salmon were used amongst other textual analyses to examine the impact mining had on Hauraki Māori.² Two theses further enhanced my knowledge of the Māori worldview and nineteenth century Māori economic practices. These are 'Troublesome Specimens: A Study of the Relationship between the Crown and the Tāngata Whenua of Hauraki 1863–1869' by John Hutton, and '"For a Season Quite the Rage?" Ships and Flourmills in the Māori Economy 1840-1860s' by Hazel Petrie.

Monin's work was consulted to assess the impact government policies had on the economy of the Hauraki region, and the subsequent dispossession and loss that resulted for Māori from the sale of land in the Hauraki. He contests that Maori became victims only in terms of subordination not in terms of absolute disempowerment and argues that outcomes for Maori were still influenced by their

² Paul Monin, *This is My Place: Hauraki Contested, 1769-1875*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001.

J. H. M. Salmon, *A History of Goldmining in New Zealand*, Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 1996.

decisions and by continuities in their culture.³ This work offers an alternative explanation as it is argued here that the Crown played a major role in the economic disempowerment of Hauraki Māori by creating conditions which hastened the sale of land and by stifling any opportunity Māori had to enjoy economic success. Salmon offered an understanding of the wider political, social and cultural discourses surrounding gold mining in New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century. His work was useful as it provided background information on the way Māori interacted with Crown officials and the wider mining community on other New Zealand goldfields.

Hutton's study provided guidance on the role of the Land Commissioner James Mackay and the relationship between the Crown and Hauraki Māori. His survey of Mackay's life destroyed some of the popular myths that are associated with Mackay's role in the Hauraki goldfields and is used to support the theory that Mackay utilized his relationship with Māori mainly to further both the Crown's and his own economic situation. Petrie's work enabled me to gain an in-depth knowledge of the economic challenges Māori faced while operating within the colonial world and was valuable in supporting the theory that Crown policy actively discouraged Māori from participating fully in the colonial economy. Petrie argues that the Maori economy flourished while they were free to pursue their business interests according to their own determinants. However, as colonisation proceeded, the pressures of force overwhelmed those of consent in imposing Pākehā hegemony. In the process, Maori lost their political strength and the ideologies of the colonisers had profound effects on their social structures and consequently on

³ Monin, *This is My Place*, p.4.

their economy.⁴ Petrie's work was also an excellent source for furthering my knowledge of nineteenth century Māori society and the importance of Māori customs such as Hakari and Mana. These concepts will be discussed in this work to illustrate how Hauraki rangatira mainly used the revenue they received from the goldfields to maintain their traditional lifestyle. Petrie explains how the ability to ensure optimum food supplies and economic benefits for the community was essential to the political and economic power of the chief.⁵ Petrie's recently published work *Chiefs of Industry* was also consulted in the later stages of this study.⁶

Reference has also been made to the work that has been carried out by researchers on behalf of the iwi of Marutuahu for their historic claims, which went before the Waitangi Tribunal during the period 1997 to 2006. In particular, reference has been made to the work carried out by Robyn Anderson, Russell Stone and W. H. Oliver. Their research provided a greater understanding of the negotiation process that occurred for the opening of the three goldfields, and of the economic, political, and social implications the ceding of large tracts of land had for the Hauraki people.

Words written in Te Reo Māori used in the text are bracketed with an English equivalent at their first appearance and a glossary of such words is included immediately before the Bibliography. Macrons have been used on words written in Te Reo Māori as they appear in the text. However, these are not used in sources quoted in this study, if they were not used in their original form.

⁴ Petrie, p.87.

⁵ Petrie, p.26.

⁶ Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006.

Overall this work discusses the impact the discovery of gold had on Māori society in the Hauraki region and makes an analysis of the role played by the iwi of Marutuahu in the three Hauraki goldfields, namely Coromandel, Thames and Ohinemuri. It discusses from a Māori perspective the economic, political and social consequences this involvement had for Māori and Pākehā race relations in the Hauraki region. It is suggested here that Māori involvement in these goldfields was primarily of an economic and entrepreneurial nature and it was due to circumstances beyond their control that they were unable to make a financial success of gold mining.