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# The Treaty of Waitangi

Thomas Lindsay Buick (1865–1938) became interested in New Zealand history while working as a political journalist in Wellington, and became an influential figure in the field. He went on to write twelve books and numerous pamphlets on the early history of the country and was elected a fellow of the Royal Historical Society in 1914. In this book Buick recounts the events leading up to the Treaty of Waitangi, the controversial document signed by British officials and Maori chiefs which ceded New Zealand to the British Empire in 1840. Buick claims that the need for a formal handover of authority to Britain arose from the rowdy misdeeds of sealers, whalers, and escaped convicts from Australia, who needed to be kept in check. The work was first published in 1914; the revised edition reissued here appeared in 1933, and a third edition was published in 1936.



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# The Treaty of Waitangi

How New Zealand Became a British Colony

T. LINDSAY BUICK





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THE TREATY OF WAITANGI



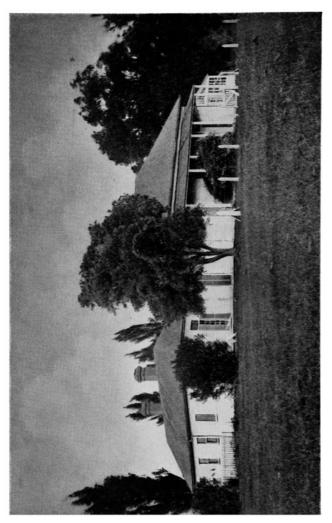


#### T. LINDSAY BUICK, F.R.Hist.S.

Author of

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Old Manawatu
An Old New Zealander
New Zealand's First War
The Romance of the Gramophone
The French at Akaroa
Wellington
The Mystery of the Moa





FORMER BRITISH RESIDENCY, BAY OF ISLANDS.



# THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

# HOW NEW ZEALAND BECAME A BRITISH COLONY

T. LINDSAY BUICK

NEW PLYMOUTH, N.Z.
THOMAS AVERY AND SONS LIMITED

1933



> FIRST EDITION 1914 SECOND EDITION 1933



# **DEDICATION**

By gracious permission this book is dedicated to

THEIR EXCELLENCIES

THE RIGHT HON. LORD BLEDISLOE P.C., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., D.Sc., M.A., M.R.A.C.

Governor-General of New Zealand

and

THE LADY BLEDISLOE

Whose munificent gift to the Dominion of the Waitangi Estate, has preserved to the people of New Zealand the classic ground whereon the Treaty was negotiated and signed on 5th and 6th February, 1840.



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# PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE call for a second edition of this book has been insistent for some time. The original issue has been out of print for several years, and copies have been bringing high prices at the book-sales. Even these considerations might not, however, have galvanised me into actually setting about the preparation of a second edition, had it not been for the munificence of Their Excellencies, The Governor-General and The Lady Bledisloe. In May of this year the attention of the public was arrested by the announcement that Their Excellencies had purchased the historic house which had formerly been the British Residency, at the Bay of Islands, together with the estate whereon the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. With characteristic generosity they have presented to the people of the Dominion this romantic property, as rich in scenic beauties as in old-time lore, to be preserved in perpetuity as a State Domain; thus keeping green in our memories the negotiation of 1840, between the British Crown and the Maori race, which resulted in New Zealand becoming a part of the British Empire. This patriotic act has been as timely as it is gracious, for unmistakably it has revived a waning interest in the chief political incident in the history of our country. It seems, therefore, not only courteous to Their Excellencies, but in other ways opportune that the romantic story of the treaty should be made available to the people upon whom there has thus been conferred a national proprietorship in the classic ground on which white and brown men met and decided to put their trust in each other.

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Apart from this major incentive to publish a second edition, it has to be admitted that much water has run under the bridge since the book was originally written. Additional information has been made available, and older facts now appear in a new perspective. In these circumstances, while the story stands substantially as it was first told, it has been possible to garnish the text with some more recently discovered details; some historical puzzles have been solved, and some re-adjustments have been made which bring the facts more closely into line with historical Thus, I think, there can no longer be any doubt that the first chief to sign the treaty was Hone Heke; the position of Captain Lavaud, the representative of the French nation, who arrived in New Zealand shortly after British Sovereignty was declared, is now better understood; and the lapse of time has greatly cleared the atmosphere on the subject of Bishop Pompallier's attitude towards the treaty.

All this is to the good, and helps to present to us a more perfect assessment of the outstanding epoch in our political history—the Treaty of Waitangi—which through the intervening years has served as a pledge of security to the enterprising colonist and as a protecting garment to the unprotected Maori.

One problem still remains with only an approximate solution, namely, the spot on which sovereignty over Stewart Island was declared. Even if my readers are disposed to agree with me that the Zephyr Bay mentioned by Major Bunbury in his report, as the destination of the *Herald*, originated in a slip of the pen, and even if we agree that the *Herald* was, in fact, "moored across Sylvan Bay," doubt still arises as to exactly where she lay, and as to where "near the anchorage" the Queen's proclamation was actually read. The bearings given in the ship's log, as



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transmitted to us by the late Dr. McNab, do not harmonise with other information in our possession, and, therefore, I have not ventured to do more than suggest where I think the act of declaring sovereignty was performed. Until someone with the necessary resources at their command can go down to Southern Port, and dig for the bottle in which the original copy of the declaration is buried, I doubt if we will ever be able to determine with any degree of accuracy the position of this historic spot.

THE AUTHOR.

5 Boston Terrace,
Wellington.
15th December, 1932.



#### PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE arrival in New Zealand waters of the battleship given to the Empire by this Dominion during a grave national crisis, marks a new epoch in the life of our country, and an event so pregnant with the spirit of Imperialism seems to the author to provide an appropriate point at which to pause and retrospectively review the causes which have made possible such an innovation in our naval policysuch a mile-stone in our national history. The story of New Zealand's progress since 1814 has been one of splendid emulation tempered by vicissitude. There have been dark days, days of doubt, of devastation by war, but never a period when our people lost heart or renounced their national faith. No attempt has been here made to tell the whole of that story. All that I have tried to do is to get back to the beginning of things, to the birth of law and order, to the genesis of the day when we were able to say to the Mother Land, "We will build you a Dreadnought, and yet another if needs must." The Treaty of Waitangi has been frequently derided and denounced, but it was in very truth the foundation of our nationhood. When we consider what Britain would have lost in material wealth. in loyalty, in strategetical advantage; when we reflect what it would have cost to have conquered the country by force of arms, then it is that we can see in clearer perspective the wisdom of Lord Normanby's policy, the breadth of his statesmanship, and we are the better able to appreciate the triumph in diplomacy which that treaty represents.

Unfortunately the lapse of seventy-three years has robbed us of all who were actively concerned in its consummation, and equally unfortunately they have left few records behind them. There are grey-headed men



#### PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

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and aged women alive to-day who were children at the time, but so far as I know there is only one with us now who was actually present at the signing of the treaty.\* Old Rahira te Hua, the daughter of one of the great Hongi's slaves, who has seen ninety-three summers pass, still carries in her weakening memory some misty recollections of that day fraught with such far-reaching consequences to both The opportunity for obtaining personal testimony of what happened is thus irretrievably gone. therefore, had to rely for my information almost entirely upon official documents, supplemented by such fugitive memoranda as may have been left by a few concerned who happened to have placed their opinions or impressions on record. The gathering together of this widely scattered material, the moulding of it into a connected narrative, has had its pleasurable as well as its anxious moments, for the subject has not been without its perplexities, ambiguities and contradictions. All of these I have sought to sift with justice and treat with perfect impartiality. Where I have met with conflicting statements it has been my endeavour so to present the position that the reader will be able to form his own conclusions, and where I have expressed my personal opinions they have only been such opinions as appeared to me to be justified by the facts Whatever impression the reading of this of the case. narrative may leave with those who peruse it, I for one cannot lay down my pen from its writing without affirming that two things appear to me to be established—that Britain has no reason to be ashamed of the manner in which she obtained the sovereignty of New Zealand, and in the light of subsequent events, she has no reason to regret it. I have not attempted to arraign or to defend the various, real or alleged, breaches of the treaty committed

<sup>\*</sup>A boy, who afterwards became Bishop Leonard Williams, of Waiapu, must also be included among those present and living at this date.



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by our Governors or Governments. That phase of the subject is necessarily so controversial in character, that to do it justice would require a volume of its own, the need for which has to some extent been obviated by the publication, in 1888, of his "Aureretanga," by Mr. G. W. Rusden, in which that vigorous writer deals exhaustively with at least the Maori side of the case. The Treaty of Waitangi, the first diplomatic arrangement of the kind entered into between Britain and a savage race, was a wise, politic, and humane measure, the justice of which has been vindicated with the lapse of time. In the expressive language of a native address to Lord Ranfurly, "This treaty has been rained upon by the rain, it has been exposed to the blast of the storm, but the words are still clear, they cannot be obliterated."

Let us hope that no attempt will ever be made to violate either its letter or its spirit.

THE AUTHOR.

"Ennismore,"
Boulcott Street,
Wellington.

30th April, 1913.



#### NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

As in the case of all my previous works, I have, in compiling this book, been placed under obligations to a number of friends whose services I now desire to acknowledge.

I am especially indebted to Dr. G. H. Scholefield, O.B.E., chief of the General Assembly Library; to Mr. Johannes Andersen, Librarian of the Turnbull Library; Mrs. Macdonald, Librarian of the Hocken Collection; and to the staffs of these institutions for their unremitting attention and courtesy in meeting my many calls upon their time for innumerable references. To Mr. H. E. M. Fildes, whose unrivalled knowledge of the period has been as readily placed at my disposal as it has been invaluable, I tender my sincere thanks, as I also do to His Lordship Bishop Herbert Williams, of Waiapu, for many helpful suggestions, and much useful criticism always graciously and ungrudgingly given out of days all too short in a busy life. To the Misses Harper and Medley, granddaughters of the Rev. Richard Taylor, I owe the favour of those little personal touches from the reverend gentleman's well-written diary—a rare storehouse of early New Zealand history. For assistance in the matter of Maori translations, I am deeply indebted to the Hon. Sir Apirana Ngata, M.P., to Mr. H. R. H. Balneavis, to Mr. H. M. Stowell, and to Mr. James Cowan, who have ever cheerfully responded to my requests for assistance.

In the somewhat tedious but indispensable business of reading proofs I have had the most comforting co-operation from the Rev. A. B. Chappell, and from Mr. T. M. Hinkley, whose watchful eyes have caught many slips that otherwise might have passed unnoticed until they were beyond repair. It is possible, too, there are others from whom I have, at times, received not only a helping hand, but the equally important impetus of timely encouragement. If so, I now ask them to accept my best thanks, none the less sincerely given because the recipients are not personally mentioned.

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For the illustrations my obligations are equally deep and wide-spread. The picture of Waitangi Falls is from a photograph taken by His Excellency Lord Bledisloe; the drawings of Mr. James Busby, Captain Hobson, Tamati Waaka Nēnē, and Major Bunbury are from the brush of that versatile artist, Mr. James McDonald, whose enthusiasm for New Zealand history has led him most generously to place his services at my disposal. The picture of Lord Palmerston is from the rich collection of celebrity portraits in the Turnbull Library, to which institution I am also indebted for the drawing by Mr. E. M. Williams of H.M.S. Herald at Sylvan Bay. The portrait of Lord Normanby, painted by H. P. Briggs, R.A., and engraved by H. Robinson, came from the library of Mr. Fildes, and that of Hone Heke from the Hocken Collection, in Dunedin. This portrait of the Maori chief, who was the first to sign the treaty, was originally drawn, in 1845, in the sketch book of a British officer, whose name has not been preserved, and was later copied by Mrs. Hocken. The water-colour drawing depicting the signing of the treaty at the mouth of the Tamaki River, and the original of the invitation sent to Tamati Waaka Nēnē to attend the meeting at Waitangi, are both in the Auckland Memorial Museum, copies of which were kindly supplied to me by the late curator, Mr. Cheeseman, for insertion in the first edition, but arriving too late could not be included. To the Royal Society of Tasmania I am indebted for permission to publish the sketches made by Captain Owen Stanley, R.N., when in New Zealand, in 1840. These are not only germane to subjects discussed in the book, but being reminiscent of the period are of especial interest.

In my friends I am conscious that I have been truly fortunate, but I observe with deep regret that of those to whom I expressed my thanks for assistance in connection with the first edition of this book, no fewer than eight have passed to their long rest. To these devoted helpers of former days nothing now remains for me to say but, Requiescat in pace.



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