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Mana Tohu Mātauranga o Aotearoa
New Zealand Qualifications Authority

Scholarship 2024 History

RESOURCE BOOKLET

Refer to this booklet to answer the questions for Scholarship History.

Check that this booklet has pages 2–24 in the correct order and that none of these pages is blank.

YOU MAY KEEP THIS BOOKLET AT THE END OF THE EXAMINATION.

TREATIES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

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QUESTION ONE: HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

SOURCE A1: The New Zealand coat of arms



The New Zealand coat of arms, adopted in 1911 and revised in 1956, identifies New Zealand as a bicultural country, with a European female figure on one side and a Māori rangatira (chief) on the other. The symbols on the central shield represent New Zealand's trade, agriculture, and industry. The fern is a popular symbol of nationhood, and the crown is a reminder that the country is a constitutional monarchy.

Source (adapted): Wilson, J. (2016, September 1). *Nation and government – Nationhood and identity*. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ephemera/2575/new-zealand-coat-of-arms>

SOURCE A2: The importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi has been described as “simply the most important document in New Zealand’s history”. At its heart, the Treaty provides a framework for the relationship between Māori and the New Zealand government. Consequently, the Treaty informs discussions in New Zealand public life that relate to constitutional powers and limitations, race relations, justice, identity, and reconciliation. It is a legal instrument, a political tool, and a historical document.

Source (adapted): Jones, C. (2016). *New treaty, new tradition: Reconciling New Zealand and Māori law* (p. 7). Victoria University Press.

SOURCE B: The language of the Treaty

It is true of course that Busby 'wrote' the Treaty, on the basis of notes provided by Hobson and Freeman.

It is the Maori text that gives Waitangi its most distinctive quality. We in New Zealand have not yet come to terms with that.

Source (adapted): Sorrenson, M. P. K. (1991). Treaties in British colonial policy: Precedents for Waitangi. In W. Renwick (Ed.), *Sovereignty & Indigenous rights: The Treaty of Waitangi in international contexts* (p. 29). Victoria University Press.

SOURCE C: The Treaty: A 'sacred compact'?

... Ever since the 1840s, the New Zealander has been told that the Treaty of Waitangi is the Maori *Magna Carta* [1215]. In modern times, Lord Bledisloe's prayer has been repeated each Waitangi Day "that the sacred compact then made in these waters may be faithfully and honourably kept for all time to come". Yet how many of today's New Zealanders, Maori or Pakeha, ever look at the Treaty of Waitangi? To each one of us – the politician in Parliament, the *kaumatua* on the marae, *Nga Tamatoa* in the city, the teacher in the classroom, the preacher in the pulpit – the Treaty of Waitangi says whatever we want it to say. It is a symbol, of Pakeha self-righteousness, of Maori disillusionment. On the one hand, lip service is paid to 'spirit' and 'intentions'; on the other, agitation mounts for its 'observance' and 'ratification'.

However good intentions may have been, a close study of events shows that the Treaty of Waitangi was hastily and inexpertly drawn up, ambiguous and contradictory in content, chaotic in its execution. To persist in postulating that this was a 'sacred compact' is sheer hypocrisy.

Source (adapted): Ross, R. M. (2001). Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In J. Binney (Ed.), *The shaping of history: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History, 1967–1999* (p. 110). Bridget Williams Books.

SOURCE D: Differing perspectives of the Treaty

... Over the next 150 years, Waitangi – day, place, and document – became encrusted with myth and meaning, controversy, and sanctity.

Dismissing the Treaty, or accepting it as unquestionable, are not options open to historians.

Source (adapted): Belich, J. (1996). *Making Peoples: A history of New Zealanders: From Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (pp.193–194). Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

SOURCE E: The Treaty as the founding document of our nation?

In their more recent search for national self-definition, Pakeha have been drawn back to the Treaty again, and they are finding unexpected meanings in it as they interpret it not in imperial but in national and cultural terms.

Instead, then, of being thought of as the *Magna Carta* of the Maori people, the Treaty is coming to be recognised as the founding document of the New Zealand nation.

Source (adapted): Renwick, W. (1991). A variation of a theme. In W. Renwick (Ed.), *Sovereignty & Indigenous rights: The Treaty of Waitangi in international contexts* (p. 219–220). Victoria University Press.

SOURCE F: Past and present attitudes to the Treaty

Curiously, this evolution of shared meaning has been reflected in the journey of the document signed at Waitangi on 6 February 1840.

Such care and cost underscores the fact that, as a social concept that has evolved into a vision for twenty-first-century race relations, the Treaty had become far more than just a piece of paper, far more than the few words that officials of 1840 scabbled together to meet contemporary need; far more than the diplomatic platitude that, William Colenso tells us, Hobson uttered to signatories at the time. And as a socially living entity, its conceptual place reshaped through history to meet the new demands of each new generation or two, the Treaty is therefore as relevant to New Zealand today as it was in 1840, a time when values and attitudes were very different, and when colonial officials did not know how the future would develop.

Source (adapted): Wright, M. (2019). *Waitangi: A living treaty* (p. 15). Bateman Books.

SOURCE G: The Kohimarama conference

In July 1860, Governor Browne convened a conference of more than 200 chiefs, mostly deemed 'loyal' to the Crown at Kohimarama in Auckland. Browne's objective was to secure support for the government's position in Taranaki, thereby isolating the King movement, supporters of which had condemned the disputed Waitara purchase and gone to Wiremu Kingi's aid. Many of the assembled chiefs viewed the conference as the first occasion on which the Crown had taken steps to consult with and involve them in the administration of policies pertaining to their own affairs, and the opportunity was used to debate a wide range of matters, including the true meaning and significance of the Treaty itself.

Source (adapted): O'Malley, V., Stirling, B., & Penetito, W. (Eds.) (2010). *The Treaty of Waitangi companion: Māori and Pākehā from Tasman to today* (p. 99). Auckland University Press.

SOURCE H: The Treaty as a possible focus for nationhood

Despite a century of political, statutory, and judicial denial of the Treaty, New Zealand's growing sense of nationhood sought symbolic expression through the Treaty of Waitangi.



However, the measure was not retrospective to 1840. Only infractions of the Treaty after 1975, when the Act came into force, would be heard.

Source (adapted): Walker, R. (1993). The Treaty of Waitangi as the focus of Māori protest. In W. Ihimaera (Ed.). *Te ao mārama: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out* (p.123). Reed Books.

SOURCE I1: Apirana Ngata's view on the Treaty in 1922

The meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi has been much debated in recent years. In 1922, the great Māori leader Sir Apirana Ngata, wrote an explanation of the Māori version of the Treaty that sets out its original meaning. Here is an extract from that explanation:

“These are the words of Nopera Panakareao, a Chief of the Rarawa, when a copy of the Treaty reached Kaitaia for Te Rarawa and Aupouri Tribes to sign:

‘It is the shadow of the land which had been given to the Queen while the soil remains.’

These are very wise words, an old time saying.

It is the shadow, that is, the main authority covering the land; it is the power to make laws, the power to say this group shall adjudicate, that authority should see that the purchase is right, while that one leads the individual through the many intricacies of the law, that was the shadow ceded to the Queen by the first article of the Treaty.”

Source (adapted): New Zealand Centre for Political Research. (2024). *The Treaty of Waitangi: An explanation / Te Tiriti o Waitangi: He whakamarama*. p. 8.

SOURCE I2: Apirana Ngata's view on the Treaty in 1939

This is an extract from a speech given by Sir Apirana Ngata to the House of Representatives on 25 July 1939:

“Let us consider the historical reasons for the hesitations of the Maori people to take a pronounced part in the 1940 celebrations. 

 One old man rose and said: ‘We can reverse what was said one hundred years ago and say today that the substance has gone to the Queen and the shadow remains with us’.

Can anyone conceive of a generation of Maoris agreeing that the Treaty has been a good one from the Maori standpoint? ... Can he say that with any heart in the light of the experience of one hundred years?”

¹. adjured urged or commanded

Source (adapted): Templeton, H., Templeton, I. & Easby, J. (2014). *Speeches that shaped New Zealand: 1814–1956* (p. 301). Hurricane Press.

SOURCE I3: The centennial celebration of the signing of the Treaty

The commemoration of the centennial in 1940 was a big event in New Zealand. The centrepiece, the Centennial Exhibition at Rongotai in Wellington, lasted for six months and attracted some 2.6 million visitors. ...



... Newspaper comments on Ngata's speech played up his positive remarks, not his expression of grievance; and most Pakeha read into the Treaty other considerations than obligations not met. Some saw the Treaty as initiating British settlement in New Zealand; others as the beginning of organised government. It was primarily about British colonisation, not relations with Maori. To the extent that Maori were remembered in connection with the Treaty, it was to celebrate the success of race relations here.

Source (adapted): Phillips J. (2004). *Creating a national spirit: Celebrating New Zealand's Centennial* (pp. 272–274). Victoria University of Wellington. <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-RenCrea-t1-body-d4.html>

SOURCE J: Making our way into the future

While settlements have provided the foundations for a more positive ongoing relationship between the Crown and Māori, they now also pose one of its greatest risks.

As Bill English said in 2017, “we are all engaged in a great enterprise of building a country based on fairness, tolerance, and respect, and we’ve all got better at it because of our struggles over the Treaty”.

Source (adapted): Finlayson, C. & Christmas, J. (2021). *He kupu taurangi: Treaty settlements and the future of Aotearoa New Zealand* (p. 233). Huia Publishers.

QUESTION TWO: HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIPS

INTRODUCTION: The Indigenous peoples of North America

In the pre-European period, North America was inhabited by numerous Indigenous peoples, each inhabiting their own 'nation' with distinct political, economic, linguistic, and cultural characteristics.

The consequences of these broken agreements continue into the present day, but Native Americans are united through collaboration and self-determination to right the wrongs of the past.

SOURCE K: The importance of treaties for Indigenous states in North America

... Indigenous states in North America had a long history of treaty making before they ever encountered people from the other side of the Atlantic. A wide variety of treaty relationships existed among many of the Indian nations in North America, in some places extending over very long distances. Trade of natural resources and produced goods could occur over thousands of miles. Military alliances were also forged in opposition to common enemies, and military conflict was frequently resolved through creating new peace and friendship commitments through solemn treaty promises.

Treaty making, therefore, worked well as a common vehicle by which both sides could pursue the establishment of new relations based upon clear understandings. ... Treaties became the best method by which to cement a relationship inspired by desires for peace and friendship, to encourage trading patterns that were economically beneficial to both sides ...

Source (adapted): Langton, M., Tehan, M., Palmer, L., & Shain, K. (Eds.) (2004). *Honour among nations? Treaties and agreements with Indigenous people* (p. 51). Melbourne University Press.

SOURCE L: Treaties and land

... General Wayne was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army by President Washington to subdue the Indians in the northwest territory.

... After fighting for some time, the Indians in August 1795, concluded a treaty at Greenville.

...

Wayne destroyed every Indian village he could find; then he built Fort Wayne in Indiana and retired for the winter to Greenville.

... White settlers flocked to Ohio, and it became a state in 1802.

Source (adapted): Independence Hall Association. (n.d.). *Historic valley forge*. <https://www.ushistory.org/valleyforge/served/wayne.html> and Debo, A. (1970). *A history of the Indians of the United States* (p. 94). University of Oklahoma Press.

SOURCE M: Treaties and changing settlement patterns

From 1848 to 1855, the United States made several treaties with the tribes of western Oregon. Those treaties cleared the way for increased settlement by Americans and other immigrants into the Willamette Valley, as Native people were removed to reservations to eliminate conflicts and competition. This policy of removal helped create one of the most productive agricultural regions in the West.

White settlers considered the lush Willamette Valley a prize, and the earliest immigrants sent word to friends and family and newspapers in the East that the rich soils and park-like settings were ideal for agriculture. The valley was an “Eden”, they reported, and beginning in the 1840s, tens of thousands of Americans left the East and Midwest to travel west on the Oregon Trail.

Source (adapted): Lewis, D. (2023, August 1). *Willamette Valley treaties*. Oregon Encyclopedia. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/willamette_valley_treaties/

SOURCE N: Treaties and promises

In negotiations with Native nations, American officials promised that Indian reservations would always belong to the tribes, and that treaty payments and provisions would be delivered in full and on time. Dakota and Ojibwe people were promised everlasting possession of their reservation lands. However, time would show that these promises were not to be honoured.



Over the intervening decades, the US exploited tribal resources and attempted to dismantle tribal land ownership by dividing reservations into parcels for allotment to individual tribal members.

Source (adapted): Why treaties matter: Self-government in the Dakota and Ojibwe Nations. (n.d.) *Broken promises*. <https://treatiesmatter.org/exhibit/welcome/broken-promises/>

SOURCE O: The possible benefits of treaties

This is an extract from Abraham Lincoln's annual message to Congress on 8 December 1863:

“I invite your attention to the views of the Secretary [of the Interior] as to the propriety of raising by appropriate legislation a revenue from the mineral lands of the United States.



Sound policy and our imperative duty to these wards of the government demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to their progress in the arts of civilisation, and, above all, to that moral training which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, will confer upon them the elevated and satisfying influences, the hopes and consolation of the Christian faith.”

Source (adapted): Lincoln, A. (1989). *Abraham Lincoln Speeches and writings 1859–1865: Speeches, letters, and miscellaneous writings, presidential messages and proclamations* (pp. 548–549). Library of America.

SOURCE P1: The Battle of the Little Bighorn

Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse (c. 1840–1877), leaders of the Sioux on the Great Plains, strongly resisted the mid-nineteenth-century efforts of the US Government to confine their people to Indian reservations. In 1875, after gold was discovered in South Dakota's Black Hills, the US Army ignored previous treaty agreements and invaded the region. This betrayal led many Sioux and Cheyenne tribesmen to leave their reservations and join Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse in Montana. By the late spring of 1876, more than 10,000 Native Americans had gathered in a camp along the Little Bighorn River ...



The Battle of the Little Bighorn, also called Custer's Last Stand, marked the most decisive Native American victory and the worst US Army defeat in the long Plains Indian War. The demise of Custer and his men outraged many white Americans and confirmed their image of the Indians as wild and bloodthirsty. Meanwhile, the US government increased its efforts to subdue the tribes. Within five years, almost all of the Sioux and Cheyenne would be confined to reservations.

Source (adapted): History.com Editors. (2020, December 21). *Battle of the Little Bighorn*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/native-american-history/battle-of-the-little-bighorn>

SOURCE P2: Custer's Last Fight

“Custer’s Last Fight”, an American silent Western film, was first released in 1912, and re-released in 1925 and 1933.

Source (adapted): Unknown. (2010, March 31). *Custer's last fight* [Movie poster]. In *Wikipedia*. https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Custer%27s_Last_Fight_-_movie_poster.jpg

SOURCE Q: Historic wrongs are addressed

The pages of American history are littered with broken treaties. Some of the earliest are still being contested today. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 remains at the centre of a land dispute that brings into question the very meaning of international agreements and who has the right to adjudicate them when they break down.



“We’d like to see that land back,” says Chief John Spotted Tail, who works for the president of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. He was speaking at the unveiling of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, parts of which are now on display at the National Museum of the American Indian. On loan from the National Archives, the treaty is one of a series that are being rotated into the exhibition “Nation to Nation: Treaties between the United States and American Indian Nations” Most of the 16 pages of the Fort Laramie Treaty on display are signature pages. They feature the names of US Government representatives and roughly 130 tribal leaders.

Source (adapted): Cutlip, K. (2018, November 7). *In 1868, two nations made a treaty, the US broke it and Plains Indian Tribes are still seeking justice*. Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/1868-two-nations-made-treaty-us-broke-it-and-plains-indian-tribes-are-still-seeking-justice-180970741/>

SOURCE R: Native schools and their impact

Education is an important cornerstone for self-sufficiency and quality of life. Centuries ago, the United States government signed a treaty with Native Americans agreeing that in exchange for giving up their land, the federal government would fully operate and fund schools for Native students, in perpetuity. Since then, the US government has failed to deliver on that promise. No other group of students in America fails to graduate or achieve proficiency at such a disproportionate rate as students in Indigenous communities.



Decades later, when Native Americans were granted self-determination rights that extended to education, the quality of their education did not improve. Since then, there have been reports and inter-governmental condemnation regarding the management and state of reservation education, but with insufficient action to correct the situation.

Source (adapted): The Red Road. (n.d.). *Education of the First People*. <https://theredroad.org/issues/native-american-education/>

SOURCE S: Social issues

No one would deny the many problems facing Native American communities today, including alcoholism, depression, and discrimination. Some nations, such as the Akimel O'odham, have suffered serious health problems adjusting to a less active lifestyle and a rich western diet. The Akimel O'odham were genetically adapted to a desert environment in which food and water were both in short supply; today more than half of all adults develop diabetes at the young average age of thirty-six.



One unexpected development has been the billions of dollars raised by casinos on Indian reservations, established by the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988. The hard-core gambling that goes on in such establishments has none of the religious context, the fun, or the laughter of traditional Indian gambling, and many Native Americans object to the greed and commercialism that it [western-style gambling] fosters. But the money flowing in from the casinos has revolutionised the finances of many of the First Nations.

Source (adapted): Philip, N. (2006). *The great circle: A history of the First Nations* (p. 137). Clarion Books.

SOURCE T: Keystone pipeline

On Wednesday 9 June 2021, TransCanada (TC Energy) announced that it is terminating its Keystone XL (KXL) pipeline project. This is great news for the tribes, people, and sacred places in the path of the proposed pipeline.

[REDACTED]

...

[REDACTED]

... Bordeaux spoke to the KXL issue, “In approving the Keystone XL pipeline, the federal government repeatedly ignored treaty rights, tribal sovereignty, and widespread opposition to push forward the interests of a foreign oil and gas company. Revoking the illegally issued pipeline permit is a start, but we call on the Biden administration to do more, to go further, to respect the rights of Native peoples, and improve the relationships between tribes and the federal government”.

Source (adapted): Native American Rights Fund. (n.d.). *Keystone XL pipeline (Rosebud Sioux Tribe v Trump)*. <https://narf.org/cases/keystone/>

QUESTION THREE: SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

SOURCE U1: Petition from the northern chiefs to King William IV

This is a translation by Dr Patu Hohepa, a former Māori Language Commissioner and an expert in Ngāpuhi reo, of the original text of the 1831 petition to King William IV, signed in the presence of the Committee of Missionaries at Kerikeri, 5 October 1831:

“King William, the Caring Chief of England,

[REDACTED]

This message is from us, from the Chiefs of the Maori People of New Zealand.”

Source (adapted): Waitangi Tribunal. (2014). *He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti / The Declaration and the Treaty: The report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry* (pp. 114–115). https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_85648980/Te%20Raki%20W.pdf

SOURCE U2: The arrival of Busby

Chiefs from the Bay of Islands in 1831 petitioned William IV for protection by Britain against its subjects and French ambitions.

[REDACTED]

Internal dynamics in the South Pacific region were already asserting their primacy, obliging the colonial government based at Sydney to extend perfunctory policing to New Zealand.

Source (adapted): Mein Smith, P. (2005). *A concise history of New Zealand* (p. 39). Cambridge University Press.

SOURCE V1: The flag chosen by the northern chiefs

This is the flag that Māori rangatira chose in 1834 as the symbol of the United Tribes of New Zealand. It is also called Te Kara or 'the colours'.

Source (adapted): The National Library of New Zealand. (n.d.). *He Tohu: A declaration, a treaty, a petition*. <https://natlib.govt.nz/he-tohu/learning/school-visits/he-tohu-workbooks/he-tohu-a-declaration-a-treaty-a-petition-workbook>

SOURCE V2: The Declaration of Independence

In March 1834, Busby convened a meeting of Māori chiefs to deal with the difficulties faced by Māori- and Pākehā-owned shipping in international waters, and regarding customs regulations at Sydney.

Māori were strengthening their alliance with Britain, but independent groups continued to defend their autonomy and seek economic opportunities to enhance their political power in customary ways.

Source (adapted): Petrie, H. (2006). *Chiefs of industry: Māori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand* (p. 58). Auckland University Press.

SOURCE W1: The role of missionaries in the north

Henry and William Williams demonstrate the power of God's word by speaking extracts of the Bible in te reo Māori.

Henry Williams's forceful personality and discipline contributed to his growing mana among Māori. He was not easily intimidated by the threats and actions of utu and muru plundering parties, and by the late 1820s, he felt confident enough to intervene in inter-tribal disputes. This was both a cause and a consequence of his growing mana. As his reputation grew, so did the influence of the mission.

Source (adapted): Unknown. (1856). *The power of God's Word* [Lithograph]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23026181>

SOURCE W2: Colonisation and the missionaries

Theories, debates, and plans on colonisation were the order of the day at the Colonial Office. Its cautious permanent head, James Stephen, strongly evangelical and influenced by humanitarian ideals, hoped that settlement in New Zealand – and he thought it ultimately inevitable – might be different from elsewhere in the Empire. The Indigenous race would receive fair and just consideration. British relations with the Maori would establish a new pattern.



By the end of the 1830s, however, the CMS and the WMS, and their New Zealand missionaries, reluctantly accepted that British annexation had to come.

Source (adapted): Orange, C. (2005). Flags and nations, 1839–1852. In B. Dalley & G. McLean (Eds.), *Frontier of dreams: The story of New Zealand* (p. 97). Hachette Livre NZ Ltd.

SOURCE X1: Here and there; or, emigration a remedy

This famous emigration poster compares life in England and New Zealand. In the 1830s and 1840s, many people in England believed in the theory that population growth was related to food production, and that as Britain's population continued to rise there would be penury and starvation – as depicted in the scene on the left. The solution was to encourage emigration to countries where abundant land would bring plenty of food and health – as in the happy scene on the right.

Source (adapted): Punch. (1848, July 8). *Here and there; or, emigration a remedy* [Wood engraving]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23241802>

SOURCE X2: The emergence of the New Zealand Company

The Colonial Office was also influenced by the plans of several private colonisation groups, in particular the New Zealand Association (later Company).

the inevitability of colonisation forced the Government to act.

Source (adapted): Orange, C. (1993). The Māori People and the British Crown. In K. Sinclair (Ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*. (2nd ed., p. 42). Oxford University Press.

SOURCE Y1: A voice for the signing of the Treaty

Tamati Waka Nene, chief of the Ngatihao Tribe, rose and said:

“I shall speak first to us, to ourselves, Natives” (addressing them).

[Redacted]

Had you spoken thus in the old time, when the traders and the grog-sellers came – had you turned them away, then you could well say to the Governor, ‘Go back’, and it would have been correct, straight; and I would have also said with you, ‘Go back’; – yes, we together as one man, one voice. But now, as things are, no, no, no.”

Turning to His Excellency, he resumed:

“o Governor! sit.

[Redacted] Do not thou listen to what Ngapuhi say. Stay thou, our friend, our father, our Governor.”

Source (adapted): Ward, J. (2011). *Fact or fiction? William Colenso's authentic & genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* [Thesis, Massey University] (pp. 55–56). Massey Documents by Type. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/3412>

SOURCE Y2: A voice against the signing of the Treaty

Rewa, chief of the Ngaitawake Tribe, arose, and said (his first short sentence being in English), “How d’ye do, Mr Governor?” which, unexpected as it was, set all hands a-laughing:

“This is mine to thee, O Governor! Go back. Let the Governor return to his own country.

[Redacted]

Return. I, Rewa, say to thee, O Governor! go back.”

No, no.

Source (adapted): Ward, J. (2011). *Fact or fiction? William Colenso's authentic & genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* [Thesis, Massey University] (pp. 47–48). Massey Documents by Type. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/3412>