

The ‘Illustrious’ Hariata Hongi and the Authorship of Hōne Heke’s Letters



IN 2014, HŌNE SADLER called for the greater recognition of Māori women in New Zealand history.¹ The subject of this article, Hariata Hongi, lived part of her life at Tautoro, the heart of Sadler’s, and Ngāpuhi’s, world, and another part at Kaikohe, only a short distance away, in northern New Zealand. She was of particular significance in the Ngāpuhi² political realm of the nineteenth century, but her role as a wahine toa, a warrior woman, has received little or no acknowledgement. Although Sadler points out that men and women are of equal status among Ngāpuhi, the issue of gender³ may have kept her in the shadow of her better-known husband, Hōne Heke, whose role in felling the British flag that once flew at Kororāreka (in the Bay of Islands) signalled the beginning of the country’s first war between Māori and the British, in 1845. Indeed, the English artist Joseph Jenner Merrett chose to portray Hariata in two watercolours of 1846, standing behind Heke, one with the warrior holding his trusty musket (Figure 1).⁴

Hōne Heke and Hariata were both active political figures in northern New Zealand during the 1840s; their networks encompassed traditional iwi communities, as well as governors, administrators and missionaries. While Hōne Heke’s letters to governors FitzRoy and Grey, along with other officials and settlers, have been quoted and used by historians throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, research demonstrates that Hariata contributed to these and may have been solely responsible for some, as she herself stated.

The time has come for this ‘illustrious’⁵ woman to move out of Heke’s shadow and to be acknowledged as the innovative leader she was, combining skills she learnt in both the traditional Māori world and the new European and missionary realms. She was a forerunner in communicating in the new technology of early-nineteenth-century Māori literacy, using these skills to communicate with Māori and European political leaders, and signing letters she wrote for Heke in his name.



Figure 1: Hōne Heke and Hariata, a composite watercolour by Joseph Jenner Merrett, 1846. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, E-309-q-2-033.

Source: Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, original in private collection.

Hariata Hongi's life spanned almost the length of the nineteenth century. She was the daughter of two significant Ngāpuhi leaders, the chief Hongi Hika and his primary wife, Turikatuku. Matenga (Marsden) was her first given name, noting the presence of Samuel Marsden, the founder of the first Church Missionary Society (CMS) mission to New Zealand, at the pā where she was born on either 9 or 10 January 1815; another of Hariata's names was Rongo.⁶ Her mana, inherited from both her parents, was greater than that of either of her husbands, Hōne Heke and Arama Karaka Pt.⁷ Sir George Grey considered that 'it was from her rank that Heke had, in a great measure, derived his influence.'⁸

Authorial Authenticity and Agency

Historians, particularly those writing for the Waitangi Tribunal, have made wide use of Heke's letters in the analysis of the 1845 'War in the North' and related political events. This body of letters is scattered through archives, often as copies and translations, and the letters are quoted in texts as Heke's own work and expression. Handwritten originals of such letters can be found in the Auckland City Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections (with five purported to be from Heke and two from Hariata), the Hocken Library (one

from Hariata, as well as copies of those from the Auckland City Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections), and, after extensive searching, one in Archives New Zealand. Other letters are held as copies only in Archives New Zealand and as printed copies in the Great Britain Parliamentary Papers.⁹ This search for original letters has not been exhaustive and other examples may remain to be found.

Heke appears to have been a prolific and astute letter-writer, his letters written in the metaphorical and poetic style of a master of the Māori language, where such eloquence is valued. The first letter quoted in Buick's 1926 *War in the North* has a directness that conveys Heke's sense of equality with British authority. This letter relates to the felling of the flagpole, the pou, at Kororāreka, perhaps the event for which he is best known. As Heke points out, this pou was his own, originally erected at Waitangi to fly Te Kara, the flag of independence:

Friend Governor, this is my speech to you. My disobedience and rudeness is no new thing. I inherit it from my parents — from my ancestors. Do not imagine that it is a new feature of my character; but I am thinking of leaving off my rude conduct to the Europeans. Now I say I will prepare another pole inland at Waimate and I will erect it at its proper place at Kororareka, in order to put a stop to our present quarrel. Let your soldiers remain beyond the sea and at Auckland. Do not send them here. The pole that was cut down belonged to me. I had it made for the native flag, and it was never paid for by the Europeans.¹⁰

The same letter is quoted in Vincent O'Malley, Bruce Stirling and Wally Penetito's *The Treaty of Waitangi Companion*, along with others the authors assume to be written by Heke.¹¹ This has been accepted at face value as Heke's work, but Buick provides a quote from Hariata Hongi, stating that she wrote all Heke's letters, raising the question about who, indeed, was the writer.¹² Fifty years later, John Caselberg (1975) used Buick as a source for two of the four of Heke's letters that appear in his seminal collection of Māori writing.¹³ Other historians such as James Belich¹⁴ have also used Buick's *New Zealand's First War* as a source, but none seem to have noted Hariata's place, ignoring the role that Māori women had traditionally played alongside men in social and political matters, as well as Buick's clear quote from Hariata.¹⁵ In fact, her letters may be hiding in Buick's, Caselberg's and other later work, masquerading as Heke's.

The obvious way to address this question is to examine the signatures, handwriting and writing style in original documents, known to be from either Heke or Hariata. The difficulty lies in identifying original letters. For example, Grant Phillipson's 2005 report, an overview of 'Bay of Islands Maori and the Crown 1793–1853', written for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust and the

Waitangi Tribunal, includes letters in the Appendix that are identified as those Hōne Heke wrote in 1845 and 1849, the last to Queen Victoria. These are not Heke's own letters, even though Document 1 at first glance might appear to be an original, not a copy.¹⁶ The signature on this letter is not Heke's own.

The earliest, and obviously authentic (because they were witnessed), examples of Heke's signatures can be found on official documents such as He Whakaputanga (the Declaration of Independence, 1835), his marriage certificate (1837) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840), while an earlier still example of Hariata's signature is shown on a writing slate dating to about 1831, recovered from an archaeological context at Kemp House in 2000 (Figure 2).¹⁷ It reads, 'Na Rongo Hongi 16', 'by Rongo Hongi 16' and is possibly 'the earliest extant written text by a Māori woman.'¹⁸

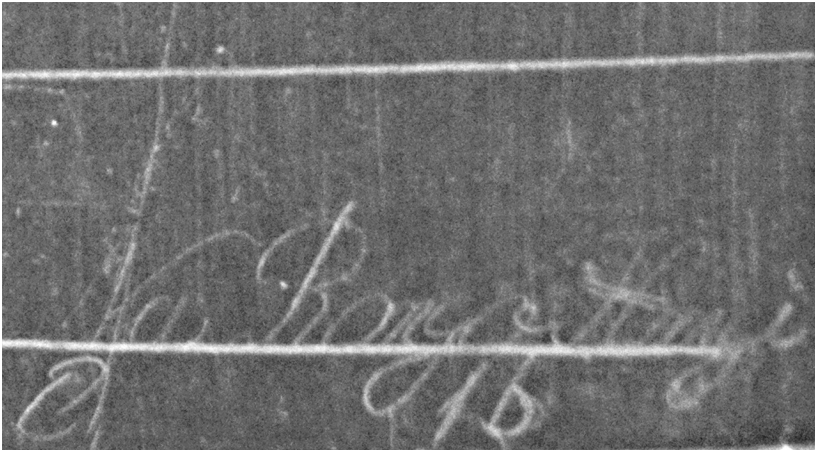


Figure 2: Rongo (Hariata) Hongi's signature on a writing slate, recovered from beneath the floor of Kemp House kitchen in 2000. In 1831, when James Kemp was constructing the lean-to kitchen, Rongo (Hariata) would have been aged 16.

Source: Author's collection.

One original letter from Heke can be found in Archives New Zealand dated 10 October 1848, and written to Petingale, a Whangarei settler, about the killing — or stealing — of Heke's sister's pigs.¹⁹ The letter is written on thick paper, in pencil, and at the top right notes, 'no toku kainga — no Haina' — 'from my home, from China'. Heke requested one saddle and £6 in compensation for the loss of the pigs. Beneath his signature on the last of three pages, Heke has written, 'Kei Tautoro Hainia e noho ana' — 'I am living at Chinese Tautoro'. Below this, 'Ko te Tautoro pukapuka he pene te tuhituhi ka

witi [whiti] ki Kaikohe he mangumangu te pukapuka' — 'Tautoro letters are written in pencil, cross over to Kaikohe and the letters are in pen'.²⁰ This matter of Heke's sister's pigs continued in correspondence with Cyprian Bridge, then the Resident Magistrate at Russell, and with Gilbert Mair, once of Te Wahapu but by that time settled in Whangarei, who Heke asked to translate the letter for Petingale. The 'Chinese Tautoro' is curious, as is the manner of writing letters there, compared with Kaikohe — perhaps resources (ink, or pens) were scarce. Another of 'Heke's' letters, written to Governor FitzRoy in May 1845, provides a context for this, identifying China as another country colonized by Britain; perhaps the 1848 letter suggests that Tautoro itself is now part of a British colony, as indeed it was.²¹ The content of the letter (concerned fundamentally with Heke's land interests in the Whangarei district) requires no further attention, but the matter of Heke's signature and style of handwriting does.

Figure 3: Heke's signature, which is on the last page of the letter written from Tautoro, 10 October 1848.

Source: Cyprian Bridge Resident Magistrate, Russell, ACGO 8333 IA1 76 1849/351, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Heke's signature on this letter (Figure 3) can be compared with the earlier signature on his and Hariata's marriage certificate, in March of 1837 (Figure 4), and his signature on He Whakaputanga, the Declaration of Independence, in 1835 (Figure 5). The earlier signatures are written in a less confident style, despite his mission tutelage at Paihia, as the protege of Henry Williams.

<i>John Heke</i>	of _____	Parish
<i>of Kaikohe</i>		
and <i>Rongo</i>	of _____	Parish
<i>of Teitikei</i>		
were married in this <i>the Chapel of Teitikei</i>	by _____	with Consent of
<i>Guardsians</i>	this <i>thirtieth</i>	Day of
<i>March</i>	in the Year One thousand eight hundred and <i>Sixty seven</i>	
By me <i>William Williams</i>		
This Marriage was solemnized between us {	<i>John Heke</i>	
	<i>Rongo</i>	
In the Presence of {	<i>Henry Williams</i>	
No. 9.	<i>James Williams</i>	

Figure 4: Rongo (Hariata) and Heke's marriage certificate, 30 March 1837.

Source: Anglican Diocese Records, from Kaikohe Library copies.

Five years after signing He Whakaputanga, Heke was the first to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), although other signatures later appeared above his. His signature appears on these two documents in Te Kōngahu Museum of Waitangi, in negative format; that is, transformed into white on black. The signature on He Whakaputanga is the more easily decipherable (Figure 5), while that on the Tiriti is more obscure (Figure 6).

Moetara
Hiamoe
Pukuhutu
Te Peha
Honore Waimu Heke
English Witness Henry Williams Missionary
George Clark

W.
Roha
Corue

John Williams

Figure 5: Detail from a list of the signatories to He Whakaputanga, the Declaration of Independence, 1835, in Waitangi Museum. The list of names is on the left, while Heke's actual signature is outlined in white beside his name. Below this is 'English Witness Henry Williams Missionary George Clark'.

Source: Reproduced with permission from the Waitangi Treaty Grounds.

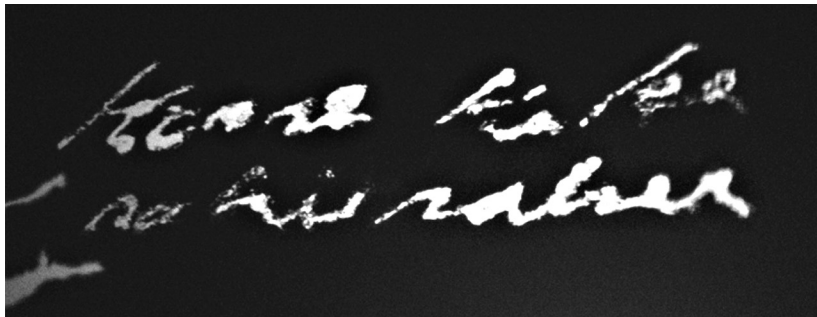


Figure 6: Hōne Heke's signature (top line) on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840.

Source: Photograph of a wall projection, Waitangi Museum.

Reproduced with permission from the Waitangi Treaty Grounds.

In February 1846, following the end of the 1845 War in the North with the battle of Ruapekapeka, the artist Joseph Jenner Merrett went in search of Heke and his ally Kawiti, wanting to interview them for an article he later published in *Simmond's Colonial Magazine*.²² Fortifying himself with a forged letter of introduction from a supposed friend of Heke's with American connections, Merrett travelled to Whangaroa, where he was told the chief was staying. There he found Hariata, with her brother Hare Hongi, who was tattooing her chin. Hariata accepted Merrett's letter of introduction, and they began to discuss the 'political situation' following the battle of Ruapekapeka. Merrett described Hariata as: 'her husband's secretary, writes all his letters.'²³ At this point, the meaning of the word 'secretary' is important. Merrett may have used this term to disempower Hariata, to downplay any active role she may have had in composing Heke's letters by suggesting she was merely a scribe, the imposition of a colonial attitude denying her, as a woman, any authorial or political authority. But the role of 'secretary' is one that could be interpreted in several ways, and could indeed extend to the composition of a letter for another person, not simply writing a dictation. Hariata stated that Heke was 'willing to make peace', and moreover, 'I myself wrote a letter for him to the Governor expressing his wishes. I confined myself to civil language, and it was a good letter.' Hariata's explanation at this point seems clear — she had written a letter herself, using the language of her own choosing, and considered this a 'good letter'. Hariata and her brother expressed Heke's point of view on making peace with Grey after the recent battle — a position she was no doubt familiar with, and espoused, given the letter she had written. Heke would make peace with Governor Grey if Grey 'treated him honourably'.²⁴ These may have been her own views and

‘Heke’s’ letters, when not Hariata’s own, as she noted above, may well have been joint efforts, the pair perhaps not always ‘confining’ themselves to ‘civil language’ as they wrote to various British officials. Hariata directed Merrett to Takou Bay to find Heke, where the artist had a successful meeting with the rangatira, thanks to the forged letter of introduction. Merrett produced a series of drawings of the couple (Figure 1; and of Kawiti also), later combined in the well-known composite watercolours of the three. During his visit, the chief dictated a letter in reply to the one Merrett had brought, leading Merrett to think that perhaps Heke was ‘not able to write’.²⁵

A letter in Phillipson, ‘Hone Wiremu Pokai to the Governor, 21 May 1845, G30/7’, could almost be an original.²⁶ It has no note of a copyist, but the signature is not that of the person who signed the letter from ‘Tautoro Hainia’, nor does the signature look like any of Heke’s signatures of 1835, 1837 or 1840. A further letter in the same document, ‘Hone Heke Pokai to Governor Fitzroy, nd (1844), G30/6’, is a copy in Māori by George Clarke, of the original.²⁷

After Ruapekapeka, Kawiti accepted peace between Ngāpuhi forces and the British on 29 January 1846, and ‘Heke’ (or was this Hariata?) wrote to Governor Grey requesting that he and FitzRoy come to meet him at Kororāreka to resolve issues over the flagpole.²⁸

Although the meeting between Grey and Heke did not happen until 1849,²⁹ an apparently civil, or even friendly, correspondence between them — and Hariata — began in the years after Ruapekapeka. In one letter Hariata wrote to Governor Grey, ‘ki toku hoa aroha kia Kawana’ (‘to my dear friend the governor’) and also sent her love to ‘Mihi Kerei’ (‘Mrs Grey’), signing it, ‘Na ku na to tuahine aroha’ (‘From me your dear sister’) ‘Hariata Hone W Heke Pokai’ (Figure 7).³⁰ Comparison of this signature and handwriting with other examples attributed to Heke demonstrates that Hariata did indeed write and sign Heke’s letters.

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 Kia Kawana
 Etohu hōa aroha, e Kawana
 tena wa hōhōe, hea tūhūa ahē e
 ahau, tūhū aroha, hea Kawana,
 me tana hōa, me Mīhi Kereu,
 tena wa hō hōma, hō tū hōa,
 Eia, e Mīhi Kereu, tena wa hō hōe,
 e wa ana wa nei hōe, me tū hōa,
 tēnei ano ahau e wa ana, māu
 e hōati tūhū aroha, he tū
 hōa, hea Mīhi Kereu,

 Na he na to he ahine aroha
 Na Hariata Heke Heke Heke
 he tūhū hōa aroha hea Kawana

Figure 7: Hariata's letter to the 'Kawana' (Governor Grey) with her signature at the bottom. This was enclosed with a letter from Heke showing the date of 30 May 1850.

Source: GNZ MA 377, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries; see also GBPP 1420.01.21.

A letter to the Governor dated 20 April (but with no year) is written in a similar style, and although signed by 'Heke', the signature is exactly the same as that of Hariata.³¹ The comparison is perhaps made easier by Hariata's use of Heke's names. Similar examples follow. A letter of 16 October, probably to Gilbert Mair, does not have any year and is signed by 'Heke'.³² Once again, comparison of this signature with that on Hariata's letter to the Governor shows clearly that she wrote and signed this letter of Heke's also (Figure 8).



Figure 8: ‘Heke’s’ signature (actually written and signed by Hariata) on the letter of 16 October (n.d.), probably to Gilbert Mair.

Source: NZMS 724, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries.

The same evidence demonstrates that it was Hariata who wrote and signed the letter ‘Heke’ sent to Governor Grey on 2 July 1849 (Figure 9), which includes the beautiful lament Hōne Sadler has translated and analysed in his *Ngāpuhi Narrative*.³³ While the lament has been espoused as Heke’s, the question remains: to what extent was this a joint composition, with Heke and Hariata working together? Was Hariata simply the scribe, or has she put herself, and her own words, into the composition? It is possible to consider Hariata the poet, the wordsmith, and Heke the warrior, working together in the Ngāpuhi political realm, but there is no clear answer to these questions. Her substantial mana, inherited through both her parents, and her insights into the world of European literacy acquired through missionary teaching, gave her a position of power and influence. While gender stereotypes in the colonial world might have led this kind of power to be dismissed, in the Māori world women could equally hold political roles, as Hariata’s mother, Turikatuku, did.

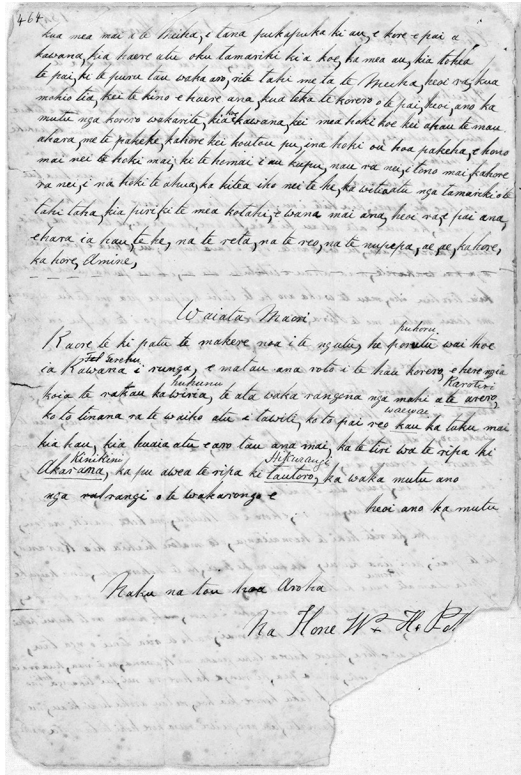


Figure 9: ‘Heke’s’ letter to the Governor, 4 July 1849, with the traditional lament. Comparison between this and Hariata’s letter, above, demonstrates that this was also written and signed by Hariata.

Source: GNZ MA 373, Sir George Grey Special, Auckland City Libraries.

July of 1849 must have been a busy time for letter-writing, perhaps brought about by Heke’s illness (‘consumption’) and a desire to achieve some political outcomes before his impending death. Equally of interest is the letter, always ascribed to Heke, written to Queen Victoria on 10 July 1849.³⁴ This, too, is most likely to have been the work of Hariata. The copy in Māori that appears in Phillipson carries no signature and the handwriting is that of a copyist. A letter of significant political and historical importance, its eloquence may illuminate the writing style of Hariata. It attempts to explain the conflicts and misunderstandings that had arisen between Ngāpuhi and the Crown, recalling the meeting between Hongi Hika, Hariata’s father, and George IV,

King of England, in 1820, when the King declared that he would not send soldiers to New Zealand, 'lest you should be deprived of your country, which I wish should be left for your children and your people'. Although the King and Hongi were by then dead, 'still the conversation lives', understood by the writer(s) of the letter as a sacred political alliance established between Ngāpuhi and the British Crown, as it still is understood by Ngāpuhi today.³⁵ Heke requested that his flag, Te Kara, be resurrected at Kororāreka and that chiefly authority should be respected. This letter had the effect of prompting Grey to come to Kororāreka, to the large hakari Ngāti Manu hosted in September 1849. Finally Grey met Heke and Kawiti, kanohi ki kanohi, face to face, and peace was acknowledged.³⁶

It is tempting to identify the more eloquent, poetic and metaphorical style of writing as Hariata's, while ascribing the more terse, matter-of-fact-letters, such as that quoted earlier from Buick, to Heke. But such a detailed analysis of style and composition, which might confirm this, is not undertaken here. In analysis of Hariata's and Heke's signatures, particular letters to note are the capitals H, W, P, while in the larger documents, words such as 'Kawana', 'Na' and 'na' confirm their handwriting styles. The capital 'E', seen above as 'Etoku' in Hariata's letter to the Governor (Figure 7), is another defining characteristic of her handwriting. The same 'E' as in 'Ehoa', is in the first line of the letter signed by 'Heke' (Figure 8), further confirming Hariata's penning of this letter. The 'E' written by Heke in the first page of his 10 October 1848 letter to Petingale from Tautoro is completely different from Hariata's. Again, Hariata's defining capital 'E' and 'K' in 'Kawana' appear in 'Heke's' letter to the Governor of 2 July 1848, written from Tautoro. Analysis of the signature on this letter shows that it, too, was written and signed by Hariata in Heke's name, as in the ongoing correspondence with Governor Grey in 1849 and 1850.³⁷ A letter written at Tautoro from Hariata to Grey in February 1851, after Heke's death, is also in the George Grey Special Collections at Auckland City Libraries.³⁸ Signed 'Naku, na Hariata te Pouaru' ('By me, Hariata the Widow'), this seems only to exist as a copy, with a note that the original was written (as a scribe) by Pene Tauī, a rangatira of Ngāti Rāngi who had fought alongside Heke and Kawiti in 1845.

This evidence, and Hariata's statement to Merrett in 1846, demonstrates the agency and political role Hariata played in Ngāpuhi politics, alongside Heke. She adopted the innovative technology of literacy, and adapted it to their political ends, using the letter as a weapon in the fight to retain Ngāpuhi sovereignty and land. This was an innovation in the Māori world. Her role has never been acknowledged, while her husband, Heke the warrior, retains political fame into the present. He was the figure who felled the pou, the flagpole at Kororāreka, but Hariata was the woman wielding the pen.

Who was Hariata?

In late 1827 and early 1828, the English artist Augustus Earle visited the Bay of Islands, staying for much of this time at the Ngāti Manu settlement of Kororāreka. One morning he awoke to find the settlement in excitement, as a great waka arrived at the beach from the northern shores of the Bay, bringing the chief Hongi Hika and his entourage, from the hapu of Ngāi Tawake. The artist and the chief met on the beach at Tapeka Bay, where Earle sketched (and later produced a watercolour) of Hongi, with one of his wives at his left and his daughter to his right. In the foreground lies a musket, a metaphor for major social and material change in the Māori world of the early nineteenth century. This was Hongi's favourite form of arms and trade, the weapon that had allowed him to wage the 'musket wars' and the object that brought about his own downfall. By this time, the chief was dying, shot through the lung with a musket ball in March 1827; he would die in March 1828. Although Earle has not named her, the daughter at his side is most likely to be Hariata, who was then known as Matenga, or Rongo. She would later take Hariata as her baptismal name. The woman on the other side of Hongi was not Hariata's mother, as Turikatuku had died in January 1827, and her sister Tangiwhare, another wife of the chief, was also dead by this time.³⁹

In November 1827, Captain Peter Dillon described Rongo as 'an interesting girl [aged] about thirteen,' as she and Hongi, an old acquaintance of Dillon, came on board his ship at Kororāreka.⁴⁰ Dillon remarked on the musket ball hole through Hongi's chest and back; as he breathed, 'the wind issues with a noise resembling in some degree that from the safety-valve of a steam engine; which, however, he himself makes a subject of merriment.'⁴¹ Rongo wiped the suppurating wound in her father's back with a cloth. Hongi was anxious about Rongo and what would become of her, a 'good girl', after his imminent death, when his enemies would 'fall upon' his family and friends in revenge. Hongi asked Dillon to become his son in law and take Rongo as his wife, but Dillon demurred, noting, 'had I been single, I would have embraced with joy so advantageous and honourable an alliance.'⁴²

A Life 'Between Worlds'⁴³

This young woman was born on the 9 or 10 January 1815, at the same moment as the first Christian mission to New Zealand, a time on the cusp of change in the Ngāpuhi world. This CMS mission was established at Hohi, next to the imposing Rangihoua pā, in the Bay of Islands, in late December 1814. Samuel Marsden, the chaplain to the penal colony in New South Wales, had long planned this venture, inspired by his meetings with the chief Te Pahi in Sydney in 1805. Marsden came to Pēwhairangi, the Bay of Islands,

with his chosen missionaries, Thomas Kendall, William Hall and John King, with their wives and children.⁴⁴ In early January, Hongi Hika invited Marsden to visit his inland gardens and villages. They travelled in a 'very large and commodious' canoe and by foot to the Waimate area, where Marsden stayed at Okuratope pā on the nights of 9 and 10 January, the guest of Hongi and Turikatuku.⁴⁵

Nearly five years later, Marsden made his second visit to the Bay of Islands from his home in Parramatta, New South Wales. In September 1819 he walked from Hohi across the hill to Hongi's gardens at Te Puna, where Marsden met the 'extraordinary woman', Turikatuku, Hongi Hika's senior wife, who was blind by that time. She was working in the gardens with her wooden kō (digging stick). Beside her sat 'her little daughter, between four and five years old'; Marsden 'knew the age of this little girl, for she was born at Shunghee's hippa [Hongi's pā, Okuratope] ... the very night I slept there when first at New Zealand'. Turikatuku told Marsden that her daughter's name was Matenga, after Marsden himself; another name was Rongo.⁴⁶

Although in 1819 Rongo was beside her mother as she worked these gardens, she also spent her early life alongside the missionaries. Another of Hongi's pā, Kororipo, overlooked Kerikeri, the second CMS mission Marsden established, in late 1819, on land 'purchased' from the chief and his relative, Rewa, both of Ngāi Tawake.⁴⁷ Hongi's family became closely associated with the mission families and with Samuel Marsden: his eldest son, Ripero, had travelled to Port Jackson with Thomas Kendall and William Hall in July 1815, where he stayed with Marsden and his family, taking the name Charles (Hare) after Marsden's son.⁴⁸ In November 1819 Ripero returned to Sydney on the *Active*, Hongi parting 'with his favourite son in the cabin without a tear. Afterwards I heard him on deck, giving vent to his feelings with the loudest bursts of weeping'.⁴⁹ Ripero came back to the Bay with Marsden in February 1820. Hongi's efforts in 1823 to send his younger son, Ruinga ('Duinga', later also know as Hare) were thwarted when his wife, Turikatuku, forbade his departure in strong terms. She was afraid Ruinga would die if he went. Hongi acquiesced.⁵⁰ In 1821, Ripero (Hare) was cared for by the Kerikeri missionaries after he was badly burnt in an explosion of gunpowder,⁵¹ and in 1823 John Butler remarked that one of Hongi's 'little daughters has been at our house a long time, learning to read and study, and household work.'⁵² Others of Hongi's daughters were associated with the mission, although it is not clear that Hongi's eldest daughter was living there when she died in October 1824.⁵³ Again, in December 1825, the 'youngest daughter of Hongi' (Rongo/Hariata) was living with the Kemps at Kerikeri. James Kemp thought she was then 'about eight years of age and very much attached to Mrs. K.'⁵⁴

although Rongo would have been 10 in that year. Hongi no doubt sent his eldest son to Sydney to receive an education from Marsden at the 'seminary' he had established Parramatta, and to experience the European world (and attempted to do the same for his younger son), while Hariata was educated by the Kerikeri missionaries, close to her own and Hongi's tūrangawaewae at Kororipo.⁵⁵

Hongi was a frequent visitor to the mission, walking the short distance from Kororipo pā, where by 1824 he was living in the small wooden house Marsden had ordered to be built for him.⁵⁶ He breakfasted regularly with the Kemps or the Clarkes, even though these relationships were sometimes strained. In 1824 and 1825, Rongo's cousin Heke Pokai, who would later take the baptismal name of Hōne, also lived there and attended the mission school. After this time Heke lived at the Paihia mission and also at Kaikohe.⁵⁷ Rongo's residence with the Kemps at the mission below Kororipo pā did not involve a separation or alienation from her own whanau, but was an inclusive relationship, regardless of the friction between the missionaries and Māori over issues such as war and the gun trade. But this was the place where she gained the innovative literacy skills she would use in communicating and negotiating with British politicians, governors and monarchs. It provided her with insight into the world of the missionary and the European, but it did not mean the loss of her Ngāpuhi or Māori identity, and she continued to be involved in traditional events.

Despite her blindness, Turikatuku accompanied Hongi on his fighting expeditions and was his advisor in war and political strategy. Rongo, whose name means peace, would also learn these skills alongside her parents, notably at the last major battle between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua, Te Ika a Ranganui, fought near Mangawhai in February 1825.⁵⁸ She was present at this battle along with Katerina Kohu, the daughter of Te Whareumu of Ngāti Manu. Katerina wore scarlet and white feathers, while Hariata was in 'grey and scarlet', with Turikatuku and other leading women of rank. These 'two beautiful girls' were taken to attend the great tapu chiefs, who were not able to do anything for themselves: the girls' role was to comb the warriors' hair and feed them, to carry their mere pounamu and cartridges.⁵⁹ This event may have been a family affair; another of Hongi's daughters and her husband were there, but they returned to Kerikeri early, because they were unwell.⁶⁰ While Ngāpuhi were the victors in this battle, 'altogether some two hundred' of the iwi were killed. The cost for Hongi was great, however, as his son Hare (Ripero) Hongi was among the dead.⁶¹ After Ripero's death, his younger brother, once known as 'Ruinga' and other names, took his brother's name of Hare. This death was the beginning of the events that led to a downward

spiral for the chief, culminating in his injury some two years later, as Earle depicted, soon to be followed by his death.

Rongo would later experience the tactics of warfare in a different context. It is unclear whether she was at Kororāreka during the 'Girls War' of 1830, but her sister Pehi was one of the main protagonists.⁶² With her parents, her brother Ripero (Hare) and her aunt, Tangiwhare, all dead, Rongo may well have been without protection, as Hongi had feared in 1827. Perhaps the physical or psychological effects of this conflict were substantial, bringing Rongo back to a place of safety, her tūrangawaewae, the Kerikeri mission and Kororipo pā. During April and May 1831 James Kemp was building a new kitchen, or lean-to, and chimney at the rear of the mission house. At the end of May he wrote, 'We have had a Native Girl very ill she is the youngest daughter of the last Hongi and the only one by his head Wife that is living, she have been very near death's door but is somewhat revived yesterday and today.'⁶³ Rongo recovered from this illness. In 2000, archaeologists found tangible evidence of her presence (and her literacy) in Kemp House, recovering the writing slate signed 'Na Rongi Hongi 16' (Figure 2), during restoration of the kitchen floor.⁶⁴

Kerikeri is likely to have been Rongo's home base for the next six years. On 30 March 1837, a new era began when William Williams conducted the marriage between Rongo and her cousin, Hōne Heke Pokai, in the Kerikeri mission chapel, witnessed by Williams's wife, Jane, and the cleric Frederick Wilkinson, of New South Wales (Figure 4).⁶⁵ On the marriage certificate Heke was noted as being from Kaikohe and Rongo, from Kerikeri. According to Freda Rankin Kawharu, Heke lived at Kaikohe from 1837, where he and Rongo are likely to have made their home, but he still maintained his links to Henry Williams at Paihia. At Kaikohe, Heke built his own pā near the centre of what is today's town, but as his letters demonstrate, he also lived at Tautoro, a small settlement some nine kilometres to the south. As Heke's wife, Hariata was described by a settler as 'young, tall and rather good looking ... she wore a tartan dress with red sash slung around her shoulders like a shepherd's plaid.'⁶⁶

Hariata Hōne Heke Pokai

It was not until 26 January 1840 that Rongo was baptized, at the Waimate mission, the Rev. Richard Taylor officiating.⁶⁷ Although the certificate notes her baptismal name was 'Harriet', as 'Hariata' confirms, Marsden identifies this name as 'Harata', a transliteration of 'Charlotte'.⁶⁸ Whichever name was the originating source, 'Hariata' was certainly the name Rongo used from 1840 onwards.

Only four days after Hariata's baptism, the news came of the arrival of William Hobson in the Bay, bringing with him the document that Henry Williams and his son Edward translated into Māori as Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Williams immediately invited all influential local rangatira to Waitangi, where his translated 'Tiriti' was debated over 4 and 5 February. Hōne Heke was the first of 45 chiefs to put his signature to the Tiriti o Waitangi on 6 February 1840.⁶⁹

Although Heke was the first to sign, his dissatisfaction with the outcome of Te Tiriti grew over the next four years as Governor Hobson moved the seat of government to Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), and the north fell into an economic decline. Ngāpuhi became aware that they no longer held the sovereignty over their own lands that they thought they were promised in signing Te Tiriti. By March 1845 the War in the North began, between the British and factions of Ngāpuhi, when Heke felled the flagstaff at Kororāreka for the fourth time. The conflict ended in January 1846 with the final battle at Ruapekapeka.

When he met Hariata at Whangaroa in February 1846, Merrett thought her aged about 22 or 23 years, although she would then have been 31.⁷⁰ Her clothing was of 'English print with a native mat thrown loosely over her shoulders'. On a Sunday, Merrett met her returning from church: 'her dress was plain, but her *tout-ensemble* the picture of neatness; she had a Testament in one hand, while the other held an umbrella, with which she sheltered herself from the heat of the sun.'⁷¹ Merrett had heard that as a girl, Hariata was very attractive. He thought her, without question, 'a superior woman'. While Merrett described Hariata as well-covered, dressed in a modest gown, it is clear that in his subsequent images of her he took certain liberties, such as revealing a bare shoulder in the watercolour of Heke, Hariata and Kawiti, *The Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand*,⁷² and in other variations, even showing a bare breast in *Hone Heke And His Wife Harriet With Four Attendants*,⁷³ perhaps succumbing to a desire to depict her in a way that might tease male colonial appetites.

Peace-making after Ruapekapeka led to Hariata and Heke's correspondence with Governor George Grey, much of this written from Tautoro where they lived after Ruapekapeka.⁷⁴ Their marriage produced no children.

Only some four years after the end of the war, Heke died on 6 August 1850, of tuberculosis. At that time Hariata was still a comparatively young woman, aged 35. In his last illness Heke and Hariata moved to Kaikohe, where the Rev. Richard Davis visited the chief regularly, acting as both physician and clergyman. According to Freda Rankin Kawharu,⁷⁵ it was most likely Heke's desire for an heir that led him to take a second wife, not long before his death. On hearing this, Hariata beat him 'and used him very roughly', treatment

that the warrior submitted to passively. The second wife, a woman whose name was likely to have been Kahutaha, did not come to Kaikohe; Heke and Hariata ‘healed the breach’ and she continued to care for him until his death.⁷⁶

Some blamed Hariata for Heke’s death, claiming it was the result of the ‘savage beating’ she had dealt him. Although Pene Tauī may have written letters for Hariata, he was not necessarily her ally. In a letter dated 15 August 1850, Tauī wrote to the Governor, informing him of Heke’s death at 3am on 6 August. Tauī stated that Heke died after Hariata had beaten him with a ‘hani’ (a short weapon, similar to a taiaha), and then had ‘showered blows and kicks upon him.’⁷⁷ Later, A.S. Thomson wrote to the Colonial Secretary to do ‘an act of justice to Heki’s wife, a woman of considerable New Zealand celebrity’ and corrected this.⁷⁸ The Rev. Richard Davis had seen Heke ‘naked after his quarrel with his wife, and he did not observe any injury on his side’. The suppurating sore on Heke’s back was more likely to have resulted from a poultice Davis had applied, just two days before Heke died. Heke’s wife ‘had attended her husband with kindness on his deathbed and now lives respected by the tribe.’ Moreover, Thomson had dined with Heke at Davis’s house some 18 months before, when Heke already displayed symptoms of tuberculosis. Thomson reassured the Colonial Secretary, ‘Heki died a Christian’, but Rev. Robert Burrows qualified this, considering that Heke ‘lived and died a Christian, by profession at least’.⁷⁹

After death, Heke’s body was covered in a scarlet cloth with an elaborate fringe, black crepe was tied over his eyes and his head was dressed with ‘beautiful white feathers. On his right side lay his trusty musket, on his left his favourite paraoa (long whale bone weapon).⁸⁰ Heke was buried on the 11th, ‘at midnight. The whole of Ngapuhi was at the crying for John Heke.’⁸¹ The following summer his remains were placed ‘in a secret burial-place’ in the practice known as the ‘hahunga’. Davis does not mention Hariata in these events, but no doubt she was there, playing a primary role in Heke’s tangi and hahunga, traditional practices she had been familiar with since childhood. Tauī, however, says that ‘the assemblage’ was angry with Hariata, and she was left nothing after Heke’s death, because his relations were ‘extremely angry.’⁸² But Tauī’s account is apparently not to be trusted, as Davis’s evidence contradicted this. Hariata’s brother, Hare Hongi, inherited Heke’s influence after his death, but was ‘not likely to take any prominent part.’⁸³ She appeared to repudiate her mission life after Heke’s death, and placed a prohibition on Pākehā entering Kaikohe, which others such as Wiremu Hau disputed.⁸⁴

Hariata Arama Karaka Pī

Hariata’s second husband was Arama Karaka Pī, a leader of Te Māhurehure from Waimā in the Hokianga. Exactly when this marriage took place is not known, but it was perhaps a marriage designed to bring peace between the

two sides of Ngāpuhi which had fought against each other in 1845, Pī being of the hapū aligned to that of Waka Nene and Patuone, opposers of Heke and Kawiti. Pī was a 'native assessor' and had other ventures in the Hokianga; he organized gumdiggers for local trader John Webster, while Webster acted as guarantor for a flour mill Pī was building. After Arama Karaka Pī's death in 1867, Hariata took over organizing labour for Webster.⁸⁵

During the early 1860s further conflict arose south of the Hokianga, the resurrection of old disputes over contested land and grievances between Ngāti Whātua and Ngāpuhi resulting from the battle of Te Ika a Ranganui, and earlier. Known as the 'Ngāpuhi War',⁸⁶ this dispute focused on land sales at Waitomotomo, inland from Whangarei. Hariata played a diplomatic role, telling Matiu Te Aranui (on one side) that she did not like the fighting, and would not require payment for men killed on the other side (that of the Ngāpuhi-aligned rangatira Tirarau, where Hariata's allegiances lay) if he would simply stop fighting. Arama Karaka Pī aligned himself with Matiu Te Aranui, bringing 60 warriors to this side, demonstrating the complexities of Ngāpuhi politics (and the politics of this marriage). Arama Karaka Pī clearly stated his motivation: 'I don't come to fight about land, I come to fight about old quarrells' (in which his father had been killed fighting against Tirarau's people in 1837, during a dispute between Kororāreka and Otuihu hapū).⁸⁷

In 1868, Hariata must have put aside her peacemaking role, as Hokianga settler James Johnstone Fergusson described her on 8 May 1868 as being 'in command of 700 men and they were marching along to meet and fight the Rarawa tribe on the banks of the Hokianga river. The lady was in her war garb with red jacket and red sash and red feathers in her bonnet. ... She was marching to the battlefield just the same as Hongi and Heke done before her.'⁸⁸ Fergusson has exaggerated to good effect this description of Hariata 'leading' a party of Ngāpuhi in a dispute with Te Rawara, once again over land. This antagonism lingered on for several months, exacerbated with the shooting of Nuku, of Ngāpuhi, by Tawake (or, Te Wake), of Te Rawara, after Nuku had crossed a demarcation line between the two iwi.⁸⁹ Hariata's forces are likely to have been fewer than 700 men; other reports state that it was Mohi Tawhai who led 'about 500' Ngāpuhi.⁹⁰

Hariata Hongi Hika and the 'Last' Hahunga

After being widowed for a second time, Hariata's original identity was not forgotten. Writing to Hōne Mohi Tawhai (the son of Mohi Tawhai and then a member of Parliament for Northern Maori) from Kaikohe in October 1874, she signed 'Na to Kuia Na Hariata Hongi Hika' ('from your kuia, from Hariata Hongi Hika'), reverting to her father's name.⁹¹ This letter contains none of the

consistently characteristic letters noted in any of the above documents and suggests that it was written by a scribe. In this, Hariata asked Hōne Tawhai to write to her about what was happening in Parliament and to give her love to George Grey and his friends, recalling their earlier, warm correspondence.

In October 1869, Wesleyan missionary James Buller, once based at Tangiteroria in the northern Kaipara, visited Waimā on missionary business.⁹² Arama Karaka Pī had died some two years previously, ‘a chief of high Christian principle’, whose death was ‘a great loss.’⁹³ Buller recorded: ‘He left a solemn injunction that no Maori custom should be observed at his death’. Arama’s grave stood on top of a hill by Hariata’s house, where she provided dinner ‘in English style’ for her missionary visitors.⁹⁴ Despite Arama Karaka’s Christian ‘injunction’, ‘his widow’s friends had prevailed in their resolve to have an exhumation, according to their old usage. Preparations were on foot for it.’ Hariata ‘scandalised’ the Hokianga ‘Wesleyan brotherhood’ by preparing for yet another ‘last’ hahunga as Arama Karaka’s remains were exhumed and taken to a whare where they were left to dry for the next two years.

Some 20 years later, Maria Amina Maning, a daughter of Frederick Maning and his Te Hikūtu wife, Moengaroa, recalled attending this ‘old strange ceremony.’⁹⁵ This was ‘the most pronounced of their [Ngāpuhi] national funeral fetes with unusual impressiveness, even compared with those of the past.’ Hariata was ‘no ordinary woman’; both her husbands, even Hōne Heke, Maning thought, only held a position as her ‘consort’ and Arama Karaka’s hahunga only took place because of Hariata’s superior social standing.

The ‘sobbing cadence of the tangi’ thronged the air as Maning came up the Waimā river for the hahunga, to where a ‘long low wall’ disappeared into the distance from the landing spot. This ‘wall’ was revealed to be food piled up for distribution — ‘endless kits of potatoes & kumaras piled one upon another — bags of flour, rice, sugar, boxes of tea — melons everything, esteemed among them as edible, with special dainties that were somewhat “high” to a fragrance loving sense. All to be given away in sections to the hapus of the visitors.’⁹⁶ The multitude of ‘several thousands’ of visitors, most of them Maria Maning’s relatives, were provisioned for a whole week, as well as being given gifts on their departure.

Hariata, ‘petite, dignified, graceful,’ and wearing a soft black dress and shawl over her head, was sitting in her house on a white mat with a group of ‘ancient dames’ in attendance.⁹⁷ She was still beautiful, but her hair had been cut in accordance with mourning.⁹⁸ Maria Maning’s own mother, long deceased, was called in the tangi, as was her mother’s brother, Hauraki, who had died fighting in 1845. Hariata gave orders from where she sat. Dinner was

served out by some hundred young women, their long hair decorated with huia feathers, calling out the names of prominent guests as they distributed flax food baskets. Later, there was haka, dancing and singing by firelight until Hariata vanished with a tohunga into the house where Arama Karaka's remains had been left for the previous two years. She was to spend the night 'scraping the bones'. At dawn she appeared, bent over, her hands across her chest clasping the shawl that carried Karaka's bones on her back, as she stepped slowly along a path, stopping to weep and wail with a chorus of women wreathed in green head garlands and carrying green branches. The bones were placed on a bier for public display, while Hariata remained alongside, now highly tapu and not to be touched. Later that night, in the darkness, his remains were to disappear, taken away to 'some hidden cave in the forest.'⁹⁹ The last Maria Maning saw of her, Hariata was still the 'same figure with the black shawl pulled over her head & her attendant mourning women surrounding her.' Only Hariata, although baptized, was able to 'defy convention' in this way and pay her second husband such an honour through the hahunga.

Hariata lived on into old age, attending all the large northern gatherings, 'perfect still in her manners.'¹⁰⁰ She died at Kaikohe on 8 January 1894, just before her eightieth birthday. George Grey received a letter from Kaikohe on that date, informing him of her death. She was remembered as a woman of 'illustrious lineage and allied to many of the famous Maori chiefs in the ranks.'¹⁰¹

Conclusion

Hariata's life encapsulates the century of huge social and political change in New Zealand. Born in 1815, at almost the same moment as the first New Zealand mission, the first permanent European settlement, the child of two significant Ngāpuhi leaders, and given the name Matenga, Marsden, she once knew the landscape of Pēwhairangi when gardens were dug with the wooden kō and the musket was an innovative weapon. At the Kerikeri mission, she acquired insights into the European world and the new skills of literacy, highly prized in the Māori world at the time. This ability gave her a voice in the world. Hariata did not lose her Ngāpuhi or Māori identity in the process of acquiring new Pākehā skills. She stayed fast to the traditional practices she had experienced and learnt in her childhood, and later in her life demonstrated commitment to these traditions. Although both she and Heke were baptized, once bright hopes of the Church Missionary Society, their 'conversion' was easily submerged as they fought for Ngāpuhi sovereignty. She was the one of her family who carried this mana, and her father's political ability, after the death of Hongi's favourite son, Ripero, and other children.

Hariata's practice of the hahunga, one of the most 'horrid' of Māori cultural practices, according to missionary thinking, demonstrated the depth of her cultural and political identity, while she adopted Pākehā practices as it suited her, such as literacy, dress and appearance. She was a wahine toa, carrying the mana of her famous parents through to her death at the end of the nineteenth century.

Hariata's role in Ngāpuhi politics during the war of 1845 and beyond has not been brought to light before. Examination of the signatures of a sample of original letters Heke was thought to have written and signed as his own has demonstrated that, in fact, it was Hariata who wrote and signed these. From her own comment to Merrett, it is clear that Hariata not only penned these — she was not simply Heke's scribe — but wrote letters in Heke's name. It remains a question to what extent they may have produced these compositions jointly, or which letters Hariata may have produced entirely on her own. Some further analysis of composition and writing style may help answer this. Was Heke the warrior and Hariata the writer and poet, expressing the complementary ancestral power of male and female?¹⁰² Or, in the Māori world, where women were active fighters alongside men, Hariata may have found her own new method, letter-writing, to join Heke in the battle. It is time for Hariata to take her place alongside other nineteenth-century notables, for her voice to be acknowledged.

ANGELA MIDDLETON

University of Otago

NOTES

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1 Hōne Sadler, *Ko Tautoro te Pito o Tōku Ao: A Ngāpuhi Narrative*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2014, pp.140–1.

2 Ngāpuhi is the iwi whose tribal territory extends through much of Te Tai Tokerau (northern New Zealand), centred in the Hokianga, Bay of Islands and Whangarei: <http://www.ngapuhi.iwi.nz>; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ng%C4%81puhi>.

3 Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine: Māori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2017, p.23.

4 Angela Middleton, *Pēwhairangi: Bay of Islands Missions and Māori 1814 to 1845*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2014, pp.260–1.

5 *Auckland Star*, 18 January 1894.

6 John Rawson Elder, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, Coulls Somerville, Wilkie Ltd, Dunedin, 1932, p.166, 166n; Middleton *Pēwhairangi*, p.75.

7 Maria Amina Maning, Papers and Reflections on Maori Life The Last Hahunga, Misc-MS-0082, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago. See Anne Salmund, *Tears of Rangi: Experiments Across Worlds*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2017, p.396 for a discussion about women and mana.

8 George Grey to Earl Grey, 5 September 1850, 1420.01.25, *British Parliamentary Papers* (GBPP); <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=d-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-1-11-en-50---20-bpphome---00-3-1-00-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=despatch&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH01ce77669b175bb86ea5acfa>

9 <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz>.

10 T. Lindsay Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1926, p.43; see also 'The Pole Belonged To Me by Hone Heke', in John Caselberg, ed., *Maori is my Name*, John McIndoe, Dunedin, 1975, p.61.

11 Vincent O'Malley, Bruce Stirling and Wally Penetito, eds, *The Treaty of Waitangi Companion*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2010, p.55. See also reports produced for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust/Waitangi Tribunal, such as Grant Phillipson, *Bay of Islands Maori and the Crown, 1793–1853: An Exploratory Overview for the CFRT*, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington, 2005.

12 Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p.280. While Buick does not provide sources, it is clear that this quote came from *Simmond's Colonial Magazine*, Vol. 9. See note 22.

13 Caselberg, *Maori is my Name*, pp.61, 63; the others are sourced from Despatches G30/3 pp.1004–8 and G30/9 pp.500–502, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

14 James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Penguin, Auckland, 1986, pp.32–35, 56, for example.

15 Salmund, *Tears of Rangi*, pp. 378–405.

16 Phillipson, *Bay of Islands Maori and the Crown*, Appendix, Document 1, p.3.

17 Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, p.132.

18 Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, p.24.

19 Hone Wiremu Pokai Heke to Petingale, 10 October 1848, ACG0 8333 IA1/76 1849/351, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

20 This translation is mine, completed with the assistance of a translation of the complete letter held in the same file. This identifies 'pene' as 'pencil' and 'mangumangu' as pen.

21 Caselberg, *Maori is my Name*, p.63.

22 Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p.280; Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, pp.260–1; Joseph Jenner Merrett, 'An Account of a Visit to the New Zealand Chiefs, Heki and Kawiti', *Simmond's Colonial Magazine*, Vol. 9, September–December 1846, pp.427–40; <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14606011/18461200/00090036/41-50.pdf>. Parts of Merrett's article were also published in the *New Zealand Journal*, 5 December 1846, p.305.

23 Merrett, 'An Account of a Visit', p.429; Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p.279; Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, pp.260–1.

24 Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p.280.

25 Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p.280.

26 Phillipson, *Bay of Islands Maori and the Crown*, Appendix, Document 1: Hone Wiremu Pokai to the Governor, 21 May 1845, G30/7. Note that Archives New Zealand items with G30 identifications were copies of letters sent in duplicate and triplicate.

27 Phillipson, *Bay of Islands Maori and the Crown*, Document 8, p.345.

28 Ralph Johnson, *The Northern War 1844–1846: An overview report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust*, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington, 2006, pp.397–8.

29 Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, p.263.

30 MS-1841/157, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago. Although undated, the copy in 1420.01.21 GBPP is dated 30 May 1850; <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=d-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-bpphome---00-3-1-00-0-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=despatch&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH018798956499fb2ad52211e1>.

31 GNZMA 376, Sir George Grey Collection, New Zealand Maori Letters–Nga reta Maori, Auckland City Libraries. See also MS-1841/157, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

32 NZMS 724, New Zealand Manuscripts, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries. See the translation, Misc-MS 55, which has the year 1844, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

33 Sadler, *Ko Tautoro te Pito o Tōku Ao*, pp.103–13.

34 Phillipson, *Bay of Islands Maori and the Crown*, Document 3: Hone Wiremu Heke to Queen Victoria, 10 Hurae 1849, G30/16; Johnson, *The Northern War*, pp.401–404; 1280.01.02, GBPP, <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=q-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-bpphome-%22still+the+conversation+lives%22--00-3-1-00-0-0-11-0-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=despatch&srp=0&srn=0&cl=search&d=HASH01ec67fd3a833c3e4d0a8297;;>; see also 1280.01.01, GBPP, <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=d-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-bpphome-%221280%2e01%2e01+%22--00-3-1-00-0-0-11-0-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL3.10&d=HASHfdce973b71a442d5677681>.

35 Manuka Henare, 'The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society – From Tribes to Nation', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2003, pp.161–3; Manuka Henare, Angela Middleton and Adrienne Puckey, *Ngā Rangi-Waiata-Whakahōu Ake Ake Ake: 'Melodies Eternally New', Te Aho Claims Alliance Traditional and Oral History report (to Waitangi Tribunal)*, Uniservices, University of Auckland, Auckland, 2013, pp.216, 233–4; Middleton *Pēwhairangi*, pp.227–9.

36 Johnson, *Northern War*, p.404; Middleton *Pēwhairangi*, p.263; Rev. Robert Burrows, *Extracts from a Diary during Heke's War in the North, in 1845*, Upton & Co., Auckland, 1886, p.56.

37 GNZMA 374, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries; see also G377, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries.

- 38 GNZMA 379, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries.
- 39 Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, pp.116–17.
- 40 Peter Dillon, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas*, Hurst, Chance and Co., London, 1829, p.333.
- 41 Dillon, *Narrative*, p.332.
- 42 Dillon, *Narrative*, p.334.
- 43 With acknowledgements to Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1773–1815*, Viking Penguin, Auckland, 1997.
- 44 Middleton *Pēwhairangi*, Chapter 2; Ian Smith, Angela Middleton, Jessie Garland and Naomi Woods, *The Archaeology of the Hoho Mission Station*, University of Otago Studies in Archaeology No. 24, Dunedin, 2012.
- 45 Elder, *Letters and Journals*, pp.96–99.
- 46 Elder, *Letters and Journals*, p.166, 166n; Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, p.75.
- 47 Angela Middleton, *Kerikeri Mission and Kororipo Pa: An entwined history*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2014, p.14; for the land deed, see S12-598c, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
- 48 Hariata's eldest brother was Ripero, presumably named after the site of the 1807 battle of Moremonui, near Ripero beach (see S. Percy Smith, *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, Whitcomb and Tombs Ltd., Christchurch, p.47). After this visit to Port Jackson, he took the name Hare (Charles) after Samuel Marsden's son of that name. After Ripero/Hare was killed in 1825 at the battle of Te Ika a Ranganui, his younger brother took the name Hare. The younger Hare's earlier names were Ruinga, Puao and Poihākēna (Port Jackson). Personal communication, Jared Davidson, Archives New Zealand, 10 November 2015; see also J.R. Elder, *Marsden's Lieutenants*, Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie, Dunedin, 1934, p.65; Hugh Carleton, *Life of Henry Williams*, Upton & Co, Auckland, 1874, fn.11 p.62: 'Hongi had two wives, Tangiwhare, the mother of Puru, who died, and Turikatuku, the mother of Hare Hongi, who was killed at Te Ikaranganui, of Hariata Rongo, widow of Hone Heke and also of Arama Karaka Pi, and Hare Hongi of Whangaroa, still living.'
- 49 Elder, *Letters and Journals*, p.219.
- 50 R.J. Barton, *Earliest New Zealand*, Palamountain & Petherick, Masterton, 1927, p.304.
- 51 Barton, *Earliest New Zealand*, pp.130–1.
- 52 Barton, *Earliest New Zealand*, p.304.
- 53 27 October 1824, Journals of James Kemp of the Church Missionary Society, p.34, copy of Kemp Journals from Kerikeri Mission, originals NZMS 59 in Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries. Kemp noted that a man had been shot at Waimate, accused of having bewitched Hongi's daughter.
- 54 James Kemp to Secretary, CMS, December 1825, in Correspondence of James Kemp of the Church Missionary Society, p.67, copy of Correspondence of James Kemp from Kerikeri Mission, originals NZMS 60 in Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries.
- 55 For details of Rangihu Cottage and Marsden's school for Māori at Parramatta, see Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, pp.70–71.
- 56 James Kemp to Rev. Josiah Pratt, 24 July 1824, in Correspondence of James Kemp of the Church Missionary Society, p.28.
- 57 Freda Rankin Kawharu, 'Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara — the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h16/heke-pokai-hone-wiremu>; George Clarke, *Early Life in New Zealand*, J. Walch & Sons, Hobart, 1903, p.18.
- 58 Smith, *Maori Wars*, p.333.
- 59 Judith Holloway, *The Bryers Family*, Bryers Family, 1993, pp.31, 36.
- 60 23 April 1825, Journals of James Kemp, MS-0306, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

61 Smith, *Maori Wars*, p.343.

62 Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, p.118.

63 30 May 1831, James Kemp Journals, from Kerikeri Mission, p.240, Kerikeri.

64 Middleton, *Pēwhairangi*, p.132.

65 Volume 9, Burials 1837–1842 Marriages 1835–1943, Church of England Archives, Anglican Diocese Office, Parnell, Auckland. Copies held at Kaikohe Public Library. Hōne Heke had spent some time living at the Paihia mission, where he was associated with the Williams family. There, in 1835, Heke, his first wife Ono, a daughter of Te Pahi, and their two small children were baptized. Ono and the two children died shortly afterwards.

66 James Johnstone Fergusson draft manuscript, MS Papers 1187–51, N–0–181, p.8, Polynesian Society, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington. Thanks to Maureen Lander for a transcript.

67 Volume 2, Baptisms, 1838–1840, Church of England Archives, Anglican Diocese Office, Parnell, Auckland. Copies held at Kaikohe Public Library.

68 Elder, *Letters and Journals*, p.166n; the name ‘Charlotte’ would suggest the connection with Charlotte Kemp, to whom Rongo was once ‘much attached’.

69 Henare, Middleton and Puckey, *Ngā Rangi-Waiata-Whakahōu Ake Ake Ake*, p.226; Kawharu ‘Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu’.

70 Merrett, ‘An Account of a Visit’, p.429.

71 Merrett, ‘An Account of a Visit’, pp.429–30.

72 J.J. Merrett, *The Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand*, 1846, C–012–019, ATL.

73 J.J. Merrett, *Hone Heke And His Wife Harriet With Four Attendants*, 1846. The Fletcher Trust Collection, <http://www.fletchercollection.co.nz/item.php?id=241>. See also J.J. Merrett, *Heke and his wife*, 1845, lithograph London 1859, A-092-001, ATL.

74 Sadler, *Ko Tautoro te Pito o Tōku Ao*, pp.102–13; Buick, *New Zealand’s First War*, p.277.

75 Kawharu, ‘Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu’.

76 H. Coleman, *A Memoir of the Reverend Richard Davis*, James Nisbett and Co., London, 1865, pp.353–5.

77 Pene Taiu, 1420.01.25, GBPP, <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=d-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-bpphome---00-3-1-00-0-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=despatch&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH01ce77669b175bb86ea5acfa>.

78 A.S. Thomson, Surgeon, 58th Regiment, to the Colonial Secretary, Auckland, 22 June 1852, 1779.01.060, GBPP, <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=q-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-bpphome-A+S+Thomson--00-3-41-00-0-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=despatch&srp=0&srn=0&cl=search&d=HASHbbec816c29b1bdc07d7ebb>; see also ACG0 8333 IA1 108 1852/2034 52/1360, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, for the original letter.

79 Burrows, *Extracts from a Diary*, p.57.

80 Coleman, *A Memoir*, pp.355–6.

81 Pene Taiu to the Governor, Owhaeawai [sic], 15 August 1850, 1420.01.25, GBPP, <http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=d-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-Zz-1---50-bpphome---00-3-1-00-0-0-11-1-0big5-00&a=d&c=despatch&cl=CL2.4.21&d=HASH01ce77669b175bb86ea5acfa>; Copy of a dispatch from Governor Sir George Grey to Earl Grey (see note 75).

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83 James Clendon, Resident Magistrate, Kororareka to Sir George Grey, 10 August 1850, 1420.01.23, GBPP.

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85 Jennifer Ashton, *At the Margin of Empire: John Webster and Hokianga, 1841–1900*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2015, p.111.

86 Stephen Fordyce, *Tangiteroria: Crucible of the Kaipara*, Charford Press, Ruawai, 2009, p.404.

87 Fordyce, *Tangiteroria*, p.403; *Daily Southern Cross*, 24 May 1862, p.3; for Pi's death, see Carleton, *Life of Henry Williams*, pp.201, 204.

88 Fergusson, Draft manuscript, p.8. See also Maureen Lander, *Homage to Hariata*, installation at Toi Ngāpuhi Festival Exhibition, Kaikohe, 2016.

89 *Daily Southern Cross*, 29 May 1868, p.2.

90 *Wellington Independent*, 13 June 1868, p.5.

91 Hariata Hongi Hika to Hone Mohi Tawhai, 18 Oketopa 1874, GNZMA28, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries.

92 James Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1878, p.141. For more about Buller at Tangiteroria, see Fordyce, *Tangiteroria*.

93 Buller, *Forty Years*, p.141.

94 Buller, *Forty Years*, pp.142–3.

95 John Nicholson, *White Chief: the Story of a Pakeha-Maori*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 2006, pp.72–74; Maning, *Papers and Reflections*, p.1.

96 Maning, *Papers and Reflections*, p.2.

97 Maning, *Papers and Reflections*, p.2.

98 The Alexander Turnbull Library has a piece of Hariata's hair in its collections. The reference is 'Artist unknown: Hair of John Heke's wife, only daughter of the celebrated E Hongi [ca 1844]'; G.F. Angas Sketchbook 1844, A-020-047, or [http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22814238?search\[path\]=items&search\[text\]=hariata+hongi](http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22814238?search[path]=items&search[text]=hariata+hongi).

99 Maning, *Papers and Reflections*, p.5.

100 Maning, *Papers and Reflections*, p.5.

101 *Auckland Star*, 9 January 1894, p.4.

102 Salmond, *Tears of Rangi*, p.382.