

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**Massey University Library
Thesis Copyright Form**

Title of thesis:

Kotahitanga: The Search for Māori Political Unity.

- 1) (a) I give permission for my thesis to be made available to readers in Massey University Library under conditions determined by the Librarian.
- (b) ~~I do not wish my thesis to be made available to readers without my written consent for . . . months.~~
- 2) (a) I agree that my thesis, or a copy, may be sent to another institution under conditions determined by the Librarian.
- (b) ~~I do not wish my thesis, or a copy, to be sent to another institution without my written consent for . . . months.~~
- 3) (a) I agree that my thesis may be copied for Library use.
- (b) ~~I do not wish my thesis to be copied for Library use for . . . months.~~

Signed



Date

21 February 1992

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author. Readers must sign their name in the space below to show that they recognise this. They are asked to add their permanent address.

NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE

Kotahitanga:

The Search for Māori Political Unity

*A Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of*

Master of Arts

Massey University, Palmerston North

Lindsay Cox

1991

**Massey University Library
Thesis Copyright Form**

Title of thesis:

Kotahitanga: The Search for Māori Political Unity.

- 1) (a) I give permission for my thesis to be made available to readers in Massey University Library under conditions determined by the Librarian.
- (b) ~~I do not wish my thesis to be made available to readers without my written consent for . . . months.~~
- 2) (a) I agree that my thesis, or a copy, may be sent to another institution under conditions determined by the Librarian.
- (b) ~~I do not wish my thesis, or a copy, to be sent to another institution without my written consent for . . . months.~~
- 3) (a) I agree that my thesis may be copied for Library use.
- (b) ~~I do not wish my thesis to be copied for Library use for . . . months.~~

Signed



Date

21 February 1992

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author. Readers must sign their name in the space below to show that they recognise this. They are asked to add their permanent address.

NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE

Kotahitanga: The Search for Political Unity

Abstract

This thesis is a thematic exploration of the structures and aspirations of Māori which had as their objective, Kotahitanga. One focus is upon causative factors which created an environment under which traditional leaders sought the strength of unity with other iwi. Influences, both internal and external which shaped policy and either provided an incentive for or mitigated against Kotahitanga are canvassed. The extent to which Māori unity is already a reality as a result of assimilation with pakeha is covered. That this is distinct from the type of unified political voice which can express Māori opinion, input into policy at a national level, and advance Māori development is fundamental to this document.

Three themes, each of which are explored chronologically and through case studies, emerge from this discussion. They are:

- i. the theme of **He Whakaminenga o Nga Hapu**, which examines movements based upon tribal constructs;
- ii. **He Iwi Tahī Tatou**, where the focus shifts toward structures based upon notions of assimilation;
- iii. and thirdly, **He Paihere Tangata**, where the thrust for unity stems from a particular sectarian interest.

The principle discussion centres upon the structures and mechanisms which operated and were instituted to achieve a concerted platform for action; the outcomes for Maori as well as the reaction of society in general and of the Crown in particular.

That these movements tended to be reactive, is central to this study which covers each of these themes chronologically.

The thesis concludes with an analysis of the contemporary National Maori Congress, established July 14 1990, with some comments regarding the process to date, potential constitutional ramifications and an opinion on how best to achieve future valuable outcomes for Maori.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	1
List of Abbreviations	vi
Table of Photographs	vii
He Kupu Whakatau	1
Preface	2
Chapter One, The Emergence of Māori Sovereignty	5
Sovereignty	
The British View	6
Māori Nationalism	9
The Basis for a Thematic Approach	10
Table 1.1	10
Table 1.1. Parameters of Māori Unity	
A chronological overview	11
The Framework	11
Theme One	
“He Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapu”	12
Theme Two	
“He Iwi Tahi Tātou”	13
Theme Three	
“He Paihere Tangata”	13
Chapter Two, Tribal Unity	
Cultural Predeterminants	16
A Note on Sources	17
Oral Tradition	17
Early Writings	19
Archaeological Evidence	21
Regional Variation	22
Social Organisation	25
Leadership	25
Militarism as a Catalyst for Unity	28
Concerted Economic Activity	28
Muriwhenua	29
Ngai Tahu	31
Specificity of Purpose	32
Chapter Three, Kawanatanga	
A Catalyst for Kotahitanga	34
The Treaty of Waitangi	34
Non Signatory Tribes	36
Constitutional Abrogation of Tino Rangatiratanga	39
The Charter of 1840	40
Demands for Representative Government	41

The 1852 Constitution Act.....	43
Plate 4.1 King Tāwhiao.....	46
Chapter Four, He Whakaminenga o ngā Hapu.....	47
Characteristics of theme one.....	47
The Declaration of Independence.....	48
A Background.....	48
A Māori Flag.....	49
The Declaration.....	50
Plate 4.2 Tamihana Te Waharoa.....	52
Ko Te Kingitanga o Aotearoa.....	53
Development of a Māori Monarchy.....	53
Plate 4.3 Mātene Te Whiwhi.....	55
Plate 4.4 Pukawa, 1858.....	60
Te Wherowhero.....	61
Te Ua Haumene.....	63
Te Hokiioi, E Rere Atu Na.....	64
Te Rohe Potae me Te Riri Pakeha.....	66
Delegation to Queen Victoria.....	68
Kauhanganui.....	69
Kingitanga Today.....	71
Table 4.1 Ngā Arikinui o te Kingitanga.....	72
Paremata Māori.....	73
Tribal Runanga.....	73
Plate 4.5 A Gather of Mataatua Chiefs.....	74
Repudiation Movement.....	75
Te Tiriti o Waitangi.....	78
Table 4.2 Resolutions of Te Kotahitanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi.....	81
Table 4.3 Inaugural Office Holders, Paremata Māori, 1892.....	82
Hone Heke.....	83
Plate 5.7 Papawai Marae.....	84
Chapter Five, He Iwi Tahī Tātou.....	85
Characteristics of Theme Two.....	85
The Kohimārama Conference, 1860.....	88
Plate 5.1 Paora Tuhaere.....	90
Grey's Runanga System.....	91
Te Taitokerau District Runanga.....	94
Plate 5.2 Tamati Waka Nene.....	95
Standing Orders.....	95
The Effectiveness of the Runanga.....	96
The Breakdown of the System.....	100
Plate 5.3 Pomare, Buck, Ngata & Carroll.....	103
The Effect of the Young Māori Party.....	106
The Māori Councils of 1900.....	108
Plate 5.5	
the Tākitimu Māori Committee, 1902.....	110

Plate 5.6 Paraire Paikea with Fraser, 1942.....	111
The Māori War Effort Organisation	112
The 28th Māori Battalion.....	112
Table 5.1 Battalion Commanders.....	113
The Home Front.....	114
Plate 5.8 Ngāti Raukawa women participate in the war effort.....	115
The New Zealand Māori Council	117
Departmental Opposition.....	117
Tribal Committees	
the 1900 Act Revived.....	118
Plate 5.8 North Taranaki Tribal Committee.....	119
Table 5.2 NZMC Districts.....	122
Chapter Six, He Paihere Tangata.....	124
Characteristics of Theme Three	124
Contemporary Demographic Trends	125
Figure 6.1 Māori Urbanisation.....	126
The Ratana Movement.....	127
The Prophetic Tradition.....	128
The Emergence of the Prophet.....	129
Plate 6.1 Te Tempara Ratana	130
Plate 6.2 Te Puea Herangi.....	132
Ratana and The Treaty	134
Ratana and Parliament.....	136
Plate 6.3 Ko te Māngai me ngā “Koata e Wha”	137
Table 6.1 Nga Koata e Wha	139
The Ratana/Labour Political Alliance	139
Te Rōpu Wahine Māori Toko i Te Ora	141
Plate 6.4 Inaugural MWWL Conference	141
The Structure of the League.....	144
Table 6.2 League Presidents.....	144
Plate 6.5 Māori Education Foundation	148
The Mana Motuhake Political Party.....	149
Chapter Seven,	152
The Need for Urgency	153
Origin.....	156
Hui a Iwi	157
Plate 7.1 Sir Hepi Te Heuheu	157
Ratana Pa 14 August 1991	162
Regional Workshops.....	162
Table 7.1 Workshops, Ratana Hui Rangatira,	163
Plate 7.2 Mason Durie	165
The Whakakotahi Task Force	166
Table 7.2 Whakakotahi Taskforce Meetings.....	166
Goals of the task force.....	166
Funding.....	167

The Shaping of Congress	168
Turangawaewae, July 14, 1990	170
Membership.....	170
Objectives and Principles.....	171
Table 7.3 Taskforce Recommendations 4 (a) & (b)	171
The Initial Structure.....	173
Figure 7.1 Proposed Structure, TFDP 7.....	174
Proposed Leadership Structure	174
Table 7.4 NMC Executive Committees.....	176
Plate 7.3 Dame Te Atairangikāhu.....	177
Plate 7.4 Mr Apirana Mahuika	178
Congress Activities	178
Executive Hui	178
Table 7.4 NMC Executive Hui	179
Figure 7.2 Congress Membership Structure.....	183
Relationship With the State.....	185
The Eight Goals of Congress.....	190
Table 7. 5 The Eight Goals	190
Goal one: Māori Employment	190
Goal two: Māori Education Policy.....	191
Goal three: Iwi Development Banks	191
Goal four: An International Māori Identity	192
Goal five: Constitutional Rearrangements.....	192
Goal six: Increased Congress Membership.....	193
Goal seven: A Congress Secretariat.....	194
Goal eight: A National Identity for Congress.....	195
Other Goals.....	195
Conclusion	196
 Chapter Eight, Conclusions.....	 200
Appendices	I
Appendix One	I
He Wakaputanga O Te Rangatiratanga O Nu Tirene.....	I
Declaration of Independence of New Zealand.....	II
Appendix Two.....	IV
Ko Te Tiriti o Waitangi.....	IV
The Treaty of Waitangi	
The English Version.....	V
Appendix Three.....	VII
Resolutions adopted by the Hui at Kohimārama	VII
Appendix Four.....	IX
Appendix Five	XI
Native Rights Bill.....	XI
Appendix Six.....	XII
King Tawhiao's Constitution	XII
Appendix Seven.....	XV
THE MAORI COUNCILS ACT	XV

Appendix Eight.....	XVII
Taskforce Recommendations.....	XVII
Appendix Nine.....	XIX
National Māori Congress Constitution	XIX
Appendix Ten.....	XXI
The Eight Goals.....	XXI
Appendix Eleven	XXII
Participation at Ratana Hui Rangatira	XXII
Bibliography	XXIV
Books.....	XXIV
Essays and Papers.....	XXVII
Reports and Official Publications	XXXI
Legislation and Court Cases	
Unpublished Sources	XXXII
National Maori Congress and Whakakotahi Task Force Records	XXXII
Te Whakakotahi Taskforce.....	XXXII
National Māori Congress Papers	XXXIII

List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this text and in the Bibliography.

FOMA	Federation of Māori Authorities
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MWWL	Māori Women's Welfare League
NMC	National Māori Congress
NZMC	New Zealand Māori Council
<i>Dic NZ Bio.</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*</i>
<i>DP [1]</i>	<i>Taskforce Discussion Papers</i>
GBPP	Great Britain Parliamentary Papers
<i>JPH</i>	<i>Journal of Pacific History</i>
<i>JPS</i>	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i>
<i>JRSNZ</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal New Zealand Society</i>
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal Of History</i>
<i>NZULR</i>	<i>New Zealand Universities Law Review</i>
<i>TP 1</i>	<i>Taskforce Proceedings of Hui-a-Iwi</i>
<i>TPNZI</i>	<i>Transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.</i>

* NB. references to biographies from this publication include the both the biography numbers and the page numbers: ie *Dic NZ Bio.* G21: 161. The names of individual authors are not included.

Table of Photographs

The following table contains names and descriptions of photographic images contained in this thesis. Grateful acknowledgment is given to **Alexander Turnbull Library**, (ATL), **National Museum**, (NM). Where appropriate, the reference number and collection details are recorded in the *Provenance* column. The information contained in the *Description* column is derived from the data which appears on the back of each original image.

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Page</i>
4.1	ALT (F 29265 _{1/2}).	Tāwhiao Matutaera Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, (second Maori king). Portrait published in <i>The Maori King</i> by Gorst JE. Date: unknown.	49
4.2	ATL (F 5536 _{1/2}), Cowan Collection	Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa. Date: unknown.	54
4.3	NM (B 10798)	Mātene Te Whiwhi. Date: unknown.	57
4.4	ATL (f 52645 _{1/2})	"Pukawa" Lake Taupō, pencil and wash by Stevenson Percy Smith. Date: January, 1858	62
4.5	ATL (F30888 _{1/2}), Sister Annie Henry Collection.	Gathering of high ranking chiefs of Mataatua and Arawa Tribes. Apirana, Timutimu, Hemi Huata, Tomarau, Mr Loughton, Wharetini Rangi, Nomena Whakamoe-Tamaiti o Takuta, Paerino, Te Pairi, Pakitu, Te Waiunu, Queenie, Takuta, Whatanui, Meta Tapoki, Te Aranga, Tahuri, Pomare, Kohiti, Te Kawa, Te Whenua, Ruatoto. Date: unknown.	76
4.6	ATL (F 18846 _{1/2}),	Hone Heke. Date: unknown.	85
4.7	ATL (G 48471 _{1/2}), SC Smith Collection.	Papawai Pa, Greytown. Date: unknown.	86

5.1	NM (B 1393)	Paora Tuhaere. Date: unknown.	92
5.2	NM (B 2099)	Tamati Waka Nene. Date: unknown.	98
5.3	ATL (G 13678 1/1)	Native Affairs Committee, Date: unknown <u>Back row from left:</u> Sir Peter Buck, ? <u>Front Row form left:</u> Sir Maui Pomare, Sir Apirana Ngata, ?, Sir James Carroll, ?.	106
5.4	ATL (F 90445 _{1/2})	Native Lands Committee, Date: unknown. <u>Back row from left:</u> ?, Henry James Greenslade, Robert Heaton Rhodes, ?. <u>Middle Row form left:</u> Sir Peter Buck, Thomas Edward Youd Seddon, Bradshaw Dive, William Donald Stuart McDonald. <u>Front Row form left:</u> WH Herries, Sir James Carroll, William Thomas Jennings, Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata, Tame Parata.	110
5.5	ATL (F 44563 _{1/2}), Gordon Collection.	First meeting of the Takitimu Maori Council, in front of the second Poho-o-Rawiri Meeting House. <u>Seated:</u> Mr Brooking, Otene Pitau. <u>Front row from left, (standing):</u> Takina, Charles Ferris, Hetekia Te Kane Pere, Paratene Tatae, Hemi Tutapu, Matenga Taihuka Te Kooti, (far right). <u>Back row from left, (standing):</u> Hapi Hinaki, Paora Kohu, Pewhairangi, Rangi, ?, Arani Kunaiti. Date: 10 June 1902.	113
5.6	ATL (F 327 _{1/4}), JD Pascoe Collection	Prime Minister Peter Fraser with the Hon Paraire Kakara Paikea at the opening of the Savage Memorial Date: 1942.	114

5.7	ATL (F2581/4), JD Pascoe Collection	“Maoris of three generations, mostly women, complete their days work on the Otaki vegetable farm while their menfolk fight on the North Africa front.” Date: Early 1940’s	118
5.8	ALT (393081/2), National Publicity Studios Collection.	Tribal Committee in session, North Taranaki. Date: September 1962.	122
6.1	ATL (G 186481/2), Godber Collection.	Tempara o Te Hāhi Ratana, Ratana. Date: unknown.	134
6.3	NM (B13002) Taken by W Hall Raine	Ratana Leaders <u>Back row from left:</u> Tiaka Ormond, Tapihana Paraire Paikea. <u>Front row from left:</u> Haami Tokouru Ratana, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, Sir Eruera Tirikatene. Date: unknown, circa 1943.	136
6.4	ALT (F 405371/2), National Publicity Studios Collection.	“First General Conference Maori Women’s Welfare League, Wellington. <u>From left:</u> Roda Ropiha, Mr Corbett, (Minister of Maori Affairs), Mr Holland, (Prime Minister), Rumatiki Wright, (Chairperson of Conference). Date: September 1951.	141
6.5	ATL (F 600861/2), Evening Post Collection	First Meeting of the Maori Education Foundation. Date: December 1961. <u>Back row from left:</u> JK Hunn, Sir Eruera Tirikatene, Miraka Szaszy, AE Campbell, JS Joliff, AE Webb, RL Bradley. <u>Front Row from left:</u> Hanon, DG Ball, Tennent.	146
7.1	New Zealand Geographic	Sir Hepi Te Heuheu	161
7.2	Private Collection	Mason Durie	169
7.3	Healthy Lifestyles, MWWL, 1991	Dame Te Atairangikāhu	181
7.4	Private Collection	Apirana Mahuika	182

He Kupu Whakatau

Tini whetū ki te rangi, ko Rangitāne nui ki te whenua.

Tihei Mauri Ora.

Ko te mea tuatahi, te mihi atu ki tō tātou Kaiwhakaora. Ko Ia te putaketanga o nga mea katoa. Nāna e homai, Nāna hoki e tangohia, na reira ka mihi atu, ka whakamoemiti atu ki a Ia.

Ka huri nga whakaaro ki ngā tini aitua kua hinga mai nei, kua hinga atu ra. Nā reira, haere atu ra koutou, haere, haere, hoki atu. E Te Reo, e te kaiwhakapiripiri, e te whaea i hapaingia te kaupapa o te Māngai, haere, haere, haere atu ra. Haere tahi atu i a Tā Hemi. Hoki atu korua ki a rātau i takatakahia tērā huarahi. Hoki atu ki Tawhīti Nui, ki Tawhīti Roa, ki Tawhīti Pamamao, Te Hono ki Wairua. Hoki atu korua, koutou katoa, ki te mīnenga i tū ai kei tua o te arai. Apiti hono tatai hono, rātau ki a rātau. Apiti hono tatai hono, tātau nei ngā hunga ora ki a tātou.

E Te Arikinui, Te Atairangikāhu, tēnā rawa atu koe. Tēnā hoki koe e te Ariki o Tūwharetoa, ko koe Tā Hepi Te Heuheu. Na tō korua mahi, a, koutou ko Te Reo Tahupotiki Wīremu Ratana Hura, i tūwhera ai te Whakamīnenga o Nga Iwi o Aotearoa i te kotahi tekau ma whā o ngā ra o Here Turi Koka, o te tau 1990. Na reira tēnā koutou katoa nga rangatira o te motu. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou.

Ko te kaupapa korero e whai ake nei, he tirohanga ki ngā puāwaitanga o te Kotahitanga puta noa i konei, i Aotearoa. He koha tēnei kia koutou, hei whakaki tetahi wahanga o te kete o te matauranga. E hāra tēnei te kupu kotahi, a, e hāra hoki he mea whakakopi kei waenganui, engari he kohikohinga tēnei o ngā kupu i puta ai i ngā pukapuka mo ngā mahi a koro ma a kui ma i raro i te maro o te kotahitanga. He kupu hoki kei roto nei, e pa ana ki te Kotahitanga o naianei, ara o Te Whakaminenga o ngā Iwi o Aotearoa.

Na reira, tēnā koutou e panui mai nei, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

PREFACE

Late in June, 1989, a National Māori Leadership Hui was called at short notice by Sir Hepi Te Heuheu. Interested in political developments occurring among and between iwi and also eager to hear and perhaps meet some of the notable rangatira of the nation, I welcomed the opportunity to accompany the Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa delegations who travelled to Turangi on the morning of June 23rd. I sensed that something very important was about to happen and the chance to be a part of it was indeed a rare one.

The debate was about forming a congress: a National Māori Congress; an issue of considerable moment. The speakers and participants included several Dames and Knights of the Realm, spiritual and political leaders, senior Māori academics, as well as kaumatua and kuia from many iwi. Surely this was a milestone in Māori development: history in the making; a hui which would set in motion something beneficial, something powerful, something for future generations.

Later, at Ratana, in August of that year, the Department of Māori Studies from Massey University undertook to record the proceedings of the follow up hui. Again the rangatira of the four winds attended, this time in even greater numbers. The collation of reports and documenting of historic events was stimulating. Observing the interplay and protocol as elders formulated opinions and expressed a desire for unity was not only educational, but allowed a degree of participation: albeit at that stage peripheral.

Momentum for a Congress grew in early 1990, and I was fortunate enough to assist Professor Mason Durie, the Secretary of the Whakakotahi Taskforce, (and the National Māori Congress), in his work. Concurrently, I enrolled in a masterate programme at Massey. As the year passed, and consideration was given to a possible thesis topic, the new Congress emerged as a challenging and timely subject for study.

The thesis itself grew from there, but in order to contextualise Congress, and provide a framework for analysis, it became clear that an historical and philosophical overview would be necessary.

Chapter One of the thesis then, explores the British concept of Sovereignty and the effect it had upon Māori. It is submitted that kotahitanga movements, whether spiritual, political, social, economic or all of these, are, at least in part, manifestations of a desire to exert Māori sovereignty, or are a reaction to the impact of European administration: kawanatanga. The eventual outcomes of this desire are categorised according to three themes, each of which is explored chronologically through case studies.

Chapter Two, provides a brief background to Māori social organisation and leadership, with a particular emphasis on the capacity for interaction within and between discrete kin based units: forerunners, so to speak, of kotahitanga. Examples of cooperation in military or economic ventures are used to illustrate purposeful intertribal unity.

The third chapter, outlines briefly the Treaty of Waitangi and explores some of the early colonial administrative instruments through which the principle of kawanatanga was expressed.

The next three Chapters deal with the three themes that form the basis of this analysis of Māori political unity.

- i. the theme of **He Whakaminenga o Nga Hapu**, examines unity based upon tribal constructs, (Chapter Four);
- ii. in **He Iwi Tahi Tātou**, the focus shifts toward unity based upon notions of assimilation and amalgamation, (Chapter Five);
- iii. while in, **He Paihere Tangata**, the thrust for unity is seen to stem from a particular sectarian interest, (Chapter Six).

A history and analysis of the latest kotahitanga movement, the National Māori Congress forms the basis of Chapter Seven and the Conclusions are covered as Chapter Eight.

Much of the information used to illustrate the case studies covered in this work is derived from secondary sources, which are referenced in the text. The subject of Māori political unity has been dealt with by many leading authorities from within the disciplines of History, Anthropology as well as Māori Studies, and I am humbled by the significance and depth of those earlier writings and the chance to comment on them.

Some data was obtained through perusal of published minutes of various hui associated with the Paremata Māori, while other material derives from the Irish University Press Series, *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers*.

Contemporary bodies, such as Māori Committees and District Councils, have been experienced at first hand. While details of meetings and personalities involved at this level are not directly relevant to this study, nor are they included here, direct participation has enabled a degree of familiarity to develop.

As one of the five delegates to Congress from Te Runanganui o Rangitāne, and a member of the NMC Operations Committee, I have been able to sit among the representatives from other iwi at Congress Executive meetings and at various committee meetings, as well as the Hui-a-Iwi convened occasionally to respond to Government policy initiatives. This opportunity to be part of the movement and to spend time with leaders and workers of the NMC, has been invaluable in researching kotahitanga as it emerges in the 1990's.

Perhaps the most valuable outcome of this association has been the realisation that unity doesn't just happen because people are willing to act in concert; the momentum for unity, all too often taken for granted, must be actively maintained and pursued. This insight, while superficially quite obvious, emerged gradually and is perhaps an aspect of kotahitanga which is not as apparent to those who are involved at other levels.

This thesis is neither the first nor the last word on Māori unity. If it contributes to the understanding of Kotahitanga and provides an accurate record of the formative years of the National Māori Congress, then it will have achieved its purpose.

Heoi ano, e whakamatau ana e mātou ki te whakawhānui, ki te whakamārama hoki, nga mahi o mua ra, a, o inaianei, mo rātou, nga Rangatira mo Apopo.
Naku noa iti

Lindsay Cox